The

J O U R N A L

OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

volume 54
1996

The Walters Art Gallery welcomes contributions on all aspects of art history; contributions deriving from or related to the museum's collection are preferred, but others will be accepted as well. In addition to full-length articles, short notes are also published. The preferred language is English, but contributions in other western European languages will be considered. Articles in languages other than English must be accompanied by an English summary that adequately describes the arguments and evidence presented, including references to illustrations. Send submissions, prepared according to the following instructions, to:

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> C.C. Vermeule, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 330–33, fig. 22.

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> F. Villard, "Une tête romaine de porphyre," *La Revue du Louvre et des musées de France,* 27 (1977), 235–37.

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> Vermeule, *Imperial Art,* 335–68.
> Villard, "Une tête romaine," 235.

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All submitted manuscripts are reviewed by members of the Editorial Board, at times in consultation with outside experts. *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* is published annually; articles submitted before December 1 are eligible for consideration for the next year's issue, which will appear in the following summer. Authors have the opportunity to review their manuscripts after editing has been completed and again in galleys. Authors will be billed for any changes to galleys in excess of ten percent of the original cost of typesetting their articles.

C O N T E N T S

Acknowledgements

Color Plates

Preface

The Walters Art Gallery is known worldwide for its superb collections and for its enviable tradition of collection care. Given in 1931 to the City of Baltimore "for the benefit of the public," the fifty centuries of art assembled by father and son William and Henry Walters have since benefitted from the scholarship of some of the most respected curators in the history of American museums. Dr. Lilian M.C. Randall, in her twenty years as Curator of Manuscripts and Rare Books (1974–1994), has established an astonishingly high level of achievement even by Walters standards, one fully in proportion to what is, at The Walters, by far the largest museum collection of illuminated manuscripts in United States.

This volume of seventeen essays by friends and colleagues is a celebration of Pooh Randall the scholar and curator, but also of Pooh Randall the individual. This is clear from the large number of contributors who either were trained in their early study of illuminated manuscripts by Pooh or later collaborated with her on a major research project or publication. Pooh has earned not only their respect, but also their friendship, for the quiet dignity and uncompromising thoroughness with which she has pursued her own work, and for the generosity with which she has always been willing to share it. Pooh's books, articles, scholarly papers, and exhibitions add up to the singular career, to the singular individual, that we warmly celebrate in these pages.

Gary Vikan
Director, the Walters Art Gallery

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Souvenirs "enchantés" de la Walters Art Gallery

Michel Huglo

In the course of several months spent in Baltimore in 1987, the author conducted a study of three manuscripts relating to the theory of medieval music. From the rich collection of the Walters Art Gallery, he also culled considerable information on neumatic notation without staves in choral manuscripts of German, Italian, and French origin; on manuscripts with notation on four-line staves, specifically missals and processionals; and on depictions of medieval musical instruments.

Au cours de son séjour à Baltimore, en 1987, l'auteur recueillit dans la riche collection de la Walters Art Gallery un nombre considérable d'informations sur trois manuscrits relatifs à la théorie de la musique médiévale, mais surtout sur la notation neumatique sans portée des manuscrits de chant d'origine allemande, italienne ou française; puis sur les manuscrits notés sur portée de quatre lignes, missels ou processionnaux; enfin, sur les représentations d'instruments de musique médiévaux.

Le 3 mai 1979, Lilian M.C. Randall, ayant appris par le regretté Niels Krog Rasmussen (d. 28 août 1987) que j'avais entrepris en 1963 un catalogue de processionnaux, m'écrivait les lignes suivantes:

> Nous avons dans notre collection un exemple dont je vous envoie deux photos, en l'espoir que vous pourrez me donner des renseignements de date et de nationalité...

Il s'agissait du manuscrit W.786 que, dans ma réponse conservée aujourd'hui dans les dossiers préparés pour chaque manuscrit de la Walters Art Gallery, j'estimais d'origine allemande. Je devais remettre à plus tard l'examen de ce processionnal pour la constitution du catalogue de processionnaux manuscrits que le Directoire du Répertoire International des Sources Musicales (RISM) à Kassel m'avait commandé en 1964.

Ma première visite à la Walters Art Gallery date du mois d'octobre 1984; muni d'un ordre de mission du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique pour l'inventaire des traités de théorie musicale conservés aux Etats-Unis, Nancy Phillips et moi-même arrivâmes un samedi matin à la Walters Art Gallery sur invitation de Lilian Randall qui avait préparé à notre intention un lot de manuscrits susceptibles de contenir les textes recherchés. En fait, trois seulement furent retenus qui furent ultérieurement décrits dans la seconde partie du volume B iij 4 du RISM donnant la description des manuscrits de théorie musicale conservés dans les collections publiques des Etats-Unis.[1]

Le premier texte théorique décrit dans le RISM est contenu dans un petit volume du XIIe siècle (W.22; fig. 1) contenant le Commentaire sur le "Songe de Scipion" par Macrobe,[2] suivi d'un diagramme glosé expliquant la constitution des consonances pythagoriciennes d'après des proportions numériques simples.

Les deux antiphonaires cisterciens d'Espagne[3] contiennent à la fin le "Tonaire de saint Bernard," c'est-à-dire les règles d'intonation des psaumes de l'office suivant la réforme du chant ordonnée par saint Bernard de Clairvaux (1090–1153); ce petit traité de théorie, destiné à la pratique, est habituellement transcrit à la fin des antiphonaires cisterciens,[4] mais celui du W.62 comporte en outre un exemple de psalmodie pris du Psaume I (*Apprehendite disciplinam...*), exemple qui ne se trouve que dans le traité des *Regulae de cantu* attribué à l'Abbé Gui d'Eu.[5]

A la fin de l'année 1986, Lilian Randall m'invitait à faire un inventaire détaillé des manuscrits notés de la Walters Art Gallery et me fournissait en attendant une liste provisoire de trente-cinq "Manuscripts with Musical Notation,"[6] datée du 26 août 1986. Il ne me restait plus qu'à reprendre cette liste en détail et au besoin à l'élargir. Il me plait aujourd'hui d'offrir à Lilian Randall le résultat des recherches accomplies grâce à elle durant les premiers mois de l'année 1987, qui comptent parmi les plus belles étapes de ma carrière de chercheur.
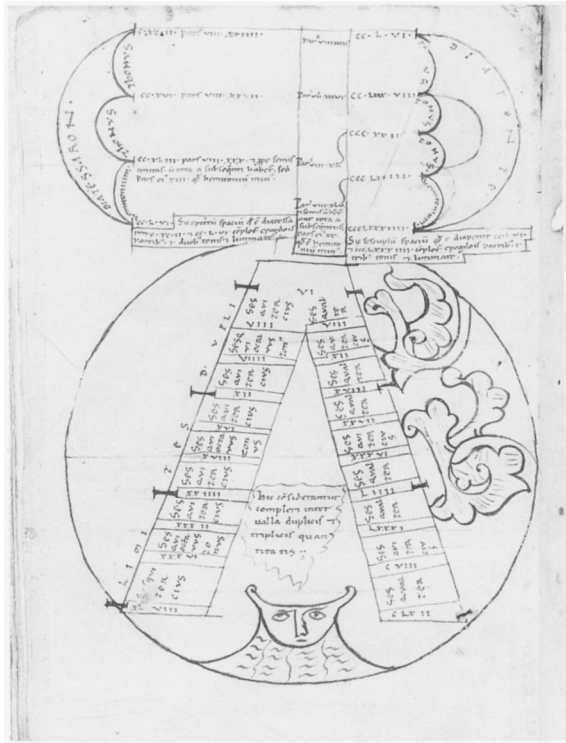
Fig. 1. Tableau des proportions numériques qui établissent les consonances musicales. Macrobius, *Commentaire sur le "Songe de Scipion" de Cicéron*, français, dernier quart du XIIe siècle. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.22, fol. 65v.

Fig. 2. Introït de la Messe de Pâques. Missel de Seitenstetten, avec notation neumatique allemande du XIIIe siècle. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.33, fol. 9 (détail).

La meilleure méthode de présentation des diverses notations musicales contenues dans les manuscrits de la Walters Art Gallery est l'ordre géographique; dans chaque région d'Europe, en effet, la notation primitive sans portée, dite notation neumatique, s'est diversifiée, puis s'est précisée grâce à l'invention de la portée, due au moine camaldule Guy d'Arezzo (d. ca. 1050). En partant des pays de langue germanique, nous descendrons en Italie, pour terminer cet inventaire par l'étude des notations françaises, dont les supports—c'est-à-dire les manuscrits!—ont été minutieusement décrits dans les deux premiers volumes du Catalogue de Lilian Randall.

1. Notations germaniques

Les évangiles de Freising (MS W.4),[7] écrits entre 854 et 875, ne comportent pas de notation musicale, mais des indications sténographiques sur le tempo de la cantillation du récit de la Passion le Dimanche des Rameaux; en effet, le récit de la Passion selon Matthieu (chap. 26 et 27) est surmonté de la lettre *c*, abréviation de *celeriter* (c'est-à-dire débit rapide),

ajoutée de seconde main à l'encre noire, et les paroles du Christ sont signalées par la lettre *l*, qui veut dire *leniter* (doucement). Ce système abrégé ne comportant que deux lettres se rencontre surtout à Cologne (Dombibliothek LVI), tandis qu'ailleurs en Allemagne on emploie habituellement trois lettres: *c l a* (*a*=altius, c'est-à-dire plus haut) ou *c t a* (*t*=tarde, avec lenteur). Ce dernier système figure ici dans ce manuscrit sur le texte de la Passion selon saint Marc. En France et en Italie, la série de lettres *c t s* ou *c + s* était plus répandue: ainsi dans l'évangéliaire de Saint-Victor de Paris (MS W.296) ou dans le missel neumé de Ranchio en Italie du nord (MS W.11: voir plus bas).

Le plus bel exemple d'une notation neumatique allemande est représenté par le Missel de Melk (MS W.33; fig. 2), provenant de Seitenstetten[8] en Basse-Autriche: cette notation sans portée allégeait le travail de mémorisation du chant, qui exigeait auparavant une dizaine d'années d'effort. Néanmoins, en Bavière, en Autriche et particulièrement à Melk, la notation neumatique resta en usage courant jusqu'au XIIIe siècle[9] et parfois jusqu'à la fin du XIVe.

En Rhénanie, où la notation sur lignes a pénétré dès le XIIe siècle, on rencontre encore des additions tardives de neumes dans les manuscrits liturgiques: ainsi, par exemple, dans un lectionnaire de Trèves (MS W.9), écrit autour de l'an 1000, des additions de

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Fig. 3. Introït de la Messe de l'Assomption (15 août). Fragment de graduel noté sur lignes d'origine allemande, fin du XIIIᵉ siècle ou début du XIVᵉ. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.756, feuillet unique.

Fig. 4. Antienne pour la procession de la Chandeleur (2 février). Processionnal de format album, avec notation gothique allemande sur portée de quatre lignes, fin du XIVᵉ siècle. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.786, fol. 1.

neumes gothiques sans portée ont été tracées aux folios 8v et 9r.

A la fin du *De rectoribus christianis* de Sedulius Scotus (W.12, fol. 117), écrit au XIᵉ siècle, on a ajouté au XIIIᵉ plusieurs répons pour sainte Catherine[10] notés en neumes allemands disposés sur une portée de quatre lignes tracées à la mine de plomb.

Parmi les fragments de manuscrits liturgiques de la Walters Art Gallery, on relève un beau fragment de graduel ou antiphonaire de la messe (MS W.756; fig. 3) qui a été préservé en raison de sa lettre historiée ouvrant la messe de l'Assomption de la Vierge (15 août): l'origine de l'écriture et de la miniature est difficile à préciser, mais la notation très soignée tracée obliquement sur portée de quatre lignes devrait, semble-t-il, être comparée aux manuscrits du nord-ouest de l'Allemagne.

C'est encore en Allemagne de l'ouest qu'il conviendrait de situer le processionnal (MS W.786; fig. 4) de format "album", plus large (14 cm) que haut (9 cm), assez inhabituel pour un manuscrit liturgique,[11] mais courant au XVIᵉ siècle pour l'impression des parties de pièces polyphoniques. Du fait de ce format insolite, la notation gothique n'occupe que trois portées par page. La décoration de ce processionnal laisse penser qu'il s'agit ici d'un manuscrit préparé pour un abbé ou un évêque.

2. Notations italiennes

La Walters Art Gallery est riche en manuscrits italiens, que Leo Olschki, l'antiquaire de Florence, avait procurés dans bien des cas pour Henry Walters: l'un des plus beaux manuscrits neumés de la collection est sans doute le Missel de Sant'Ambrogio de Ranchio au diocèse de Ravenne (MS W.11; fig. 5), du courant du XIᵉ siècle.[12] La notation très fine de ce missel est à rapprocher de la notation neumatique du Bréviaire de Pomposa,[13] notation que Guy d'Arezzo, lors de ses débuts dans l'abbaye sise dans les lagunes, déclarait semblable à un puits sans corde pour en tirer de l'eau (*puteus sine fune*): de fait, si belle soit-elle, cette notation neumatique est impossible à lire si le chantre n'a pas mémorisé auparavant l'exacte mélodie représentée par ces signes.

Un exemple de notation d'Italie centrale, peut-être même d'Arezzo, mais cette fois disposée sur portée aux lignes de couleurs différentes suivant les conventions de Guy d'Arezzo,[14] figure dans un fragment de manuscrit servant de garde dans un incunable de la Walters:[15] les quatre lignes de la

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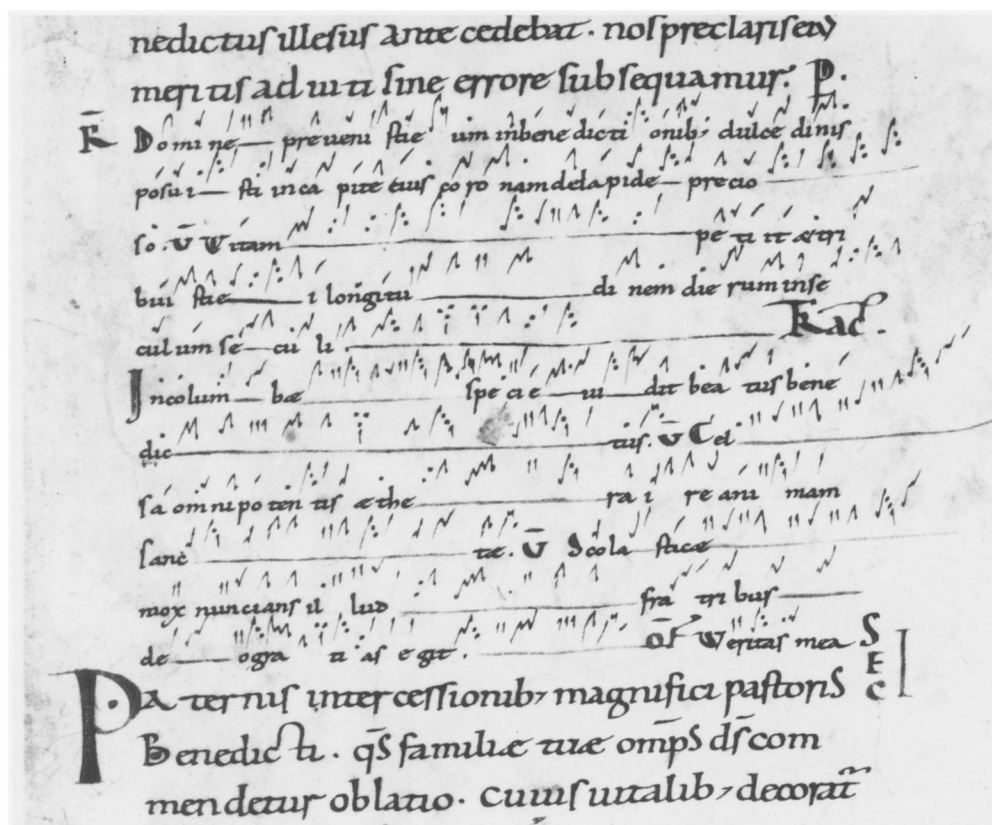
Fig. 5. Messe pour la fête de saint Benoît (21 mars). Missel neumé du XIe siècle, à l'usage de S. Ambrogio di Ranchio, diocèse de Ravenne (Italie du nord). Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.11, fol. 37 (détail).

portée sont tracées à la pointe sèche, celle du *F* est repassée au minium et celle du *C* a gardé des traces de jaune clair. Ce fragment provenant d'un antiphonaire monastique du XIIe siècle contient plusieurs pièces de la Toussaint (1er novembre) et de la saint Martin (11 novembre).

En Italie du sud, où la minuscule caroline et le chant grégorien n'avaient pas encore pénétré au IXe siècle, les manuscrits liturgiques ont conservé plusieurs archaïsmes intéressants. Ainsi, le missel MS W.6 (fig. 6), écrit en écriture bénéventaine à ligatures pour l'église de Canosa en Apulie, contient de nombreuses préfaces propres[16] et deux alleluias, l'un pour Noël et l'autre pour Pâques, provenant tous deux de l'ancien répertoire bénéventain.[17]

A côté de ces très anciens manuscrits, les collections de la Walters Art Gallery contiennent une douzaine de manuscrits liturgiques italiens notés sur portée: signalons en particulier quelques livres dominicains: un antiphonaire pour les fêtes d'été (MS W.64), écrit aux environs de l'an 1300; vingt-trois feuillets d'un grand psautier dominicain (MS W.336) à l'usage du choeur d'un couvent d'Italie centrale, dont l'ordre put être reconstitué par comparaison avec les autres

manuscrits dominicains de la Walters; enfin, un corale florentin de grand format (MS W.337), daté du 6 juin 1492.

La caractéristique propre à ces notations italiennes est l'usage du guidon en fin de portée, indiquant au chantre la place de la première note sur la portée suivante: ce détail de la notation sur lignes n'entrera en usage dans les manuscrits notés français qu'à une date relativement tardive.

3. Notations françaises

La Walters Art Gallery possède actuellement 237 manuscrits français dont 109 ont été vendus à Henry Walters par la firme Léon Gruel, 418 rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré à Paris, et quelques autres par Leo Olschki. Comme ces manuscrits français ont été classés par ordre chronologique et décrits dans les moindres détails par Lilian Randall,[18] il suffira d'ajouter à ses notices quelques commentaires de caractère musicologique.

Le plus ancien témoin noté des collections de la Walters est en même temps son plus vieux manuscrit:
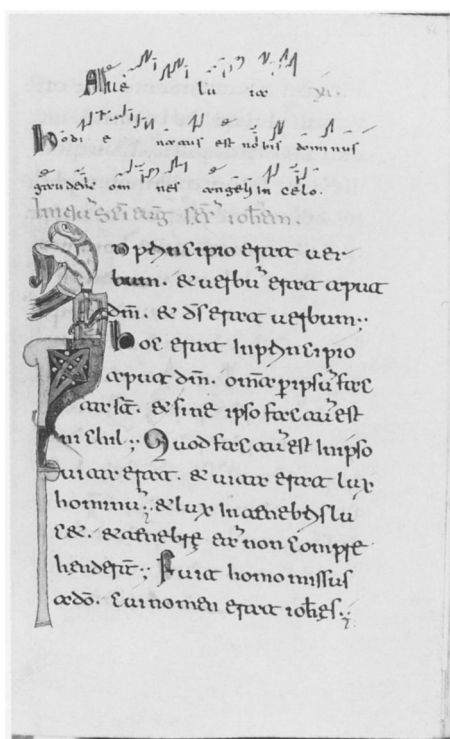
Fig. 6. Messe de Noël avec l'alleluia de l'ancien rit bénéventain. Écriture et notation bénéventaines. Missel neumé de la deuxième moitié du XIᵉ siècle, Canosa (Italie du sud). Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.6, fol. 86.

Fig. 7. Prosule d'offertoire de la Messe de l'Aurore à Noël. Missel noté de Notre-Dame de Paris, deuxième quart du XVᵉ siècle, copié sur un missel du XIIIᵉ. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.302, fol. 26, col. B.

il s'agit d'un recueil de traités de saint Augustin, auxquels on a ajouté un commentaire anonyme sur la création de l'homme (W.2, Cat. 1): l'écriture, suivant Bernard Bischoff, suggère la région de Reims et date du règne de Charles le Chauve.[19] Sur une partie non écrite du folio 106v, une main du début du XIᵉ siècle a ajouté quatre lignes de neumes français, légèrement inclinés, en guise d'essai de plume. Ces neumes ne furent pas ajoutés à Reims qui notait ses manuscrits de préférence avec des neumes lorrains ou messins: d'après quelques détails de leurs formes, ces neumes français semblent bien provenir de Bourgogne.

Dans l'évangéliaire de Fleury (MS W.3, Cat. 3), de la fin du Xᵉ siècle, on remarque que des neumes ont été ajoutés au début de chaque phrase du récit de la Passion selon Matthieu et que la dernière parole du Christ, *Eloi, Eloi lamma sabacthani* (Mt. 27:46), a été ornée d'une mélodie notée en neumes français.

Suivant l'ordre chronologique, on passe des neumes à la notation carrée sur portée, avec le bréviaire noté parisien à l'usage de Sens (W.108, Cat. 19), écrit entre 1230 et 1270: on remarquera sur les figures 40 et 41 du Catalogue que le guidon en fin de ligne, courant en Italie, fait défaut dans ce manuscrit. Il en est de même dans le beau bréviaire de chœur,

de grand format, écrit, noté et décoré dans le sud-ouest de la France (W.130, Cat. 60; fig. 124).

Les Dominicains qui, en 1254, avaient introduit dans la notation musicale de leurs manuscrits l'usage du guidon en fin de ligne[20] ne se sont pas toujours conformé à cet usage au fil des siècles, notamment à partir du XIVᵉ: on peut le constater, par exemple, dans le Processionnal des Dominicaines de Poissy (MS W.107, Cat. 66),[21] plus intéressant par sa décoration et ses pièces en l'honneur de saint Louis,[22] que par sa notation musicale. Par contre, le guidon apparaît dans un processionnal dominicain du troisième quart du XVᵉ siècle (MS W.801), qui provient du couvent de la Sainte Baume, près de Sisteron, en Provence.

La messe pour la fête de saint Louis (26 août) ne figure pas au calendrier du missel parisien W.124 (Cat. 67), parce que la confection du manuscrit était encore trop proche de la canonisation du roi, en 1297. Par contre, dans le missel noté de la cathédrale Notre-Dame de Paris (MS W.302; fig. 7), écrit et noté

Fig. 8. Notation carrée du XIVe siècle sur portée de quatre lignes rouges. Orgue postif à tirettes. Antiphonaire cistercien de Beaupré (Flandre). Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.761, fol. 270v (détail).

à Notre-Dame, puis décoré dans un atelier de la Cité entre 1425 et 1450, la fête a été inscrite de première main à l'encre bleue: "Ludovici regis et confessoris. Duplex."[23]

Ce missel, entièrement noté sur quatre lignes rouges,[24] est d'un grand interêt, malgré sa date tardive: il semble bien, en effet, avoir été copié sur le missel de Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 15615, du courant du XIIIe siècle.[25] Ces deux missels sont en effet les seuls témoins de la prosule *Laetemur gaudiis* qui avait été prescrite en 1198 par l'évêque Eudes de Sully.[26] Enfin, ce missel contient à la fin (fol. 470) les pièces de l'Ordinaire ou Kyriale "sicut cantatur in ecclesia parisiensi," puis (fols. 480–592v) les quatre-vingt-six séquences notées en usage au choeur de Notre-Dame de Paris, dont la liste est relevée dans la description de ce missel[27] et, juste après (fols. 591v–592v), le *Credo*, chanté les dimanches et jours de fête.

4. Chantres et instruments de musique

Les nombreux psautiers, livres d'heures et autres manuscrits illustrés, notamment les bibles, contiennent souvent des représentations de chantres devant un lutrin supportant un livre de chant ouvert. Cette représentation de chantres dans les lettrines historiées des manuscrits du XIIIe siècle, bien connue depuis les travaux de Gustav Haseloff,[28] mériterait

d'être reprise en détail sur les manuscrits de la Walters:[29] on y découvrirait en effet bien des éléments sur l'evolution du chant choral, qui de la mémorisation pure passe peu à peu au "chant sur le livre," sans cependant totalement supprimer l'effort de mémoire. Sur certaines miniatures on remarque aussi le geste chironomique de l'un des trois ou quatre chantres qui, devant le livre ouvert, exécutent le plain chant ou bien improvisent à vue la polyphonie en regardant la mélodie du plain chant "sur le livre."

Les représentations d'instruments—la harpe dans les mains de David, le carillon frappé par un marteau, l'orgue portatif, etc.—sont fréquents dans tous les livres liturgiques de toutes les époques: on en relève souvent dans les manuscrits de la Walters.[30] Il convient cependant de signaler la représentation de l'orgue à tirettes (et non à touches) de l'antiphonaire cistercien de Beaupré (MS W.761, fol. 270v; fig. 8) avec l'organiste, un moine tonsuré portant le scapulaire noir, et le souffleur, un convers ou laïc.

Enfin, dans l'un des deux cents manuscrits conservant le Roman de la Rose, le W.143 (Cat. 65), on découvre au folio 6v une carole dansée par deux couples au son de la cornemuse: "Cest la karole au dieu damours."

Pour terminer, je voudrais attrirer l'attention des organologues sur un étonnant livre d'heures parisien (W.260, Cat. 94), issu de l'atelier de Boucicaut vers 1410–1420. Ce livre merveilleux ne contient pas moins de 121 représentations d'instruments de

musique qui se répartissent en 71 cordophones, 45 aérophones et 15 membranophones, qui évoquent certes la musique céleste, mais aussi son écho sur terre, notamment dans la bonne ville de Paris.

Au folio 48v, on peut lire sur un rotulus tenu en mains par un chantre l'invocation "[O] Mater dei memento mei" qui sera reprise à la fin de ce même siècle en conclusion d'une composition célèbre de Josquin des Prez, le motet *Ave Maria... virgo serena*.

Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique
Paris

Notes

1. *The Theory of Music, IV, Manuscripts from the Carolingian Era up to c. 1500 in Great Britain and in the United States of America.* Descriptive Catalogue, Part II: *United States of America* (Munich, 1992) (RISM B iij 4), 139.

2. W.22 (Phillipps 1029), soigneusement décrit par L.M.C. Randall et al., *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, I, France, 875–1420* (Baltimore and London, 1989), 22–23, n. 9 et fig. 18 (fol. 47v). J'ai présenté la méthode de description des manuscripts inaugurée par Lilian Randall dans *Scriptorium*, 45 (1991), comptes rendus, 306-308. Ce Catalogue sera désormais cité en abrégé par la mention "Cat."

3. MSS W.62 et W.63 (RISM B iii 4, 140–141). La seconde partie du MS W.63 contenant le Temporal est conservé à New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.966. Sur les miniatures du W.62, voir L. Randall, "From Cîteaux Onwards: Cistercian Related Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery," *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture*, III (Kalamazoo, 1987), 134, n. 26, fig. 10 (fol. 1).

4. M. Huglo, *Les Tonaires* (Paris, 1971), 357–67.

5. *Scriptorum de Musica Medii Aevi novam seriem*, ed. C.-E. de Coussemaker, II (Paris, 1867), 188. Ce traité a été réédité par C. Maître, *La réforme cistercienne du plain-chant. Etude d'un traité théorique* (Brecht, 1995).

6. Cette liste avait été établie à l'attention de Roger S. Wieck, pour préparer l'exposition présentée au 3e étage de la Walters de janvier à avril 1987: R.S. Wieck, "O Sing Unto the Lord a New Song: Music Manuscripts from the Middle Ages," *Walters Art Gallery Bulletin*, 40/2 (mars 1987), 1–3, avec facsimilés de notations carrées sur portées de quatre lignes empruntés aux MSS W.760, W.115 (Cat. 59) et W.124 (Cat. 67).

7. MS W.4: au sujet de ce manuscrit, voir l'article de F. Mütherich, "The Gospel Book W.4 of the Walters Art Gallery and Its Place in the Freising Scriptorium," dans *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner*, ed. U.E. McCracken, L.M.C. Randall, et R.H. Randall, Jr. (Baltimore, 1974), 115–28. Du point de vue iconographique, ce manuscrit est rapproché des mss. Clm 17011 et 6215 de la Bayerische Staatsbibliothek de Munich (Freising). Ajoutons que le point d'interrogation du W.4 se rapproche beaucoup du *quilisma* de la notation neumatique de St. Gall.

8. Seitenstetten, Stiftsbibl. CXXVII: voir *Le Graduel romain, Edition critique*, II, *Les Sources* (Solesmes, 1957), 136.

9. Par exemple le missel de Seitenstetten, Stiftsbibl. XIV, aujourd'hui à New York (Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.855): voir J. Plummer, *Liturgical Manuscripts for the Mass and the Divine Office* (New York, 1964), n. 6 et pl. 2.

10. R/ *O quam felices* (Analecta Hymnica 26, 198); R/ *Cum coetu virgineo* (AH 26, 203) et R/ *Sponsa Christi gloriosa* (AH 26, 208).

11. M. Huglo, *Les livres de chant liturgique* (Turnhout, 1988), Typologie des Sources du Moyen-Âge occidental, Fasc. 52, 78.

12. L.F. Miller, "Missal W.11 of the Walters Art Gallery," *Traditio*, 2 (1994), 123–54. A. Strittmater, "Notes on an Eleventh Century Missal, Walters MS 11," *Traditio*, 6 (1948), 328–40. *Le Graduel romain*, II, 29.

13. Udine, Biblioteca Arcivescovile 79 (XIe siècle).

14. C'est-à-dire la couleur jaune pour la ligne du do (C) et rouge minium pour la ligne du fa (F): cf. J. Smits van Waesberghe, *De musico-paedagogico et theoretico Guidone Aretino ejusque vita et moribus* (Florence, 1950), 47–85.

15. Incunable G-31 (G-30), *Expositio regularum et sophismata Hentisberi* (Venise: Andreas de Bonetis, 1483). F.R. Goff, *Incunabula in American Libraries: A Third Census of Fifteenth-Century Books Recorded in North-American Collections* (New York, 1973), 254. Les deux feuillets de garde, aujourd'hui tronqués, devaient jadis mesurer environ 34 x 20 cm et devaient compter treize portées par page, tout comme l'antiphonaire des archives du Duomo de Florence (Huglo, *Les livres de chant*, 95).

16. Les textes liturgiques de ce missel ont été édités par S. Rehle, *Missale beneventanum von Canosa (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.6)*, Textus Patristici et Liturgici, IX (Regensburg, 1972).

17. Alleluia V/ *Resurrexit tamquam dormiens* (fol. 124v) reproduit dans l'article de M. Huglo, "L'ancien chant bénéventain," *Ecclesia orans*, 2 (1985), 285 et dans *Les témoins manuscrits du chant bénéventain*, ed. T.F. Kelly, *Paléographie musicale*, XXI (Solesmes, 1992); transcription de la mélodie (d'après les manuscrits de Bénévent, Biblioteca Capitolare 34 et 40) par T.F. Kelly, *The Beneventan Chant* (Cambridge, 1989), 123 (cf. p. 24, n. 26 et p. 288). Alleluia V/ *Hodie natus est* (fol. 86; fig. 6), adapté sur la mélodie du précédent: cf Kelly, *Beneventan Chant*, 45 et 77, n. 75 et 275.

18. Le Volume II du catalogue, divisé en deux parties, couvre la période de 1420–1540. Voir mon compte-rendu dans le Bulletin codicologique de *Scriptorium*, 49/2 (1995) n. 663.

19. Voir sur la figure 1 du Cat. I le distique "Perlege rex sapiens etc." qui permet de situer ce traité avant le couronnement de Charles le Chauve comme Empereur d'Occident en 875.

20. Sur l'usage (ou l'absence) du guidon en Italie et en France, notamment chez les Dominicains, voir M. Huglo, "Règlement du XIIIe siècle pour la transcription des livres notés," *Festschrift Bruno Stäblein zum 70. Geburtstag* (Kassell et Bâle, 1967), 121–33; "Notated Performance Practices in Parisian Chant Manuscripts of the Thirteenth Century," dans *Plainsong in the Age of Polyphony*, ed. T.F. Kelly (Cambridge, 1992), 32–44. Le W.302 (Cat. 110) est mentionné à la p. 35.

21. Voir aussi M. Huglo, "Les Processionnaux de Poissy," dans *Rituels. Mélanges offerts au Père Gy, o.p.*, ed. P. de Clerck et E. Palazzo (Paris, 1990), 339–46.

22. Les pièces de l'office du processionnal de Poissy ont été comparées à celles des autres processionnaux de même provenance par M. Huglo, ibid., n. 21. Remarquer que le plan de l'église du couvent St.-Louis-de-Poissy, construit par ordre de Philippe le Bel, est calqué sur celui de l'église cistercienne de Royaumont, que saint Louis aida à construire de ses mains au cours de ses fréquents séjours à l'abbaye. Dans une des marges du W.65 (Cat. 13), qui porte l'ex-libris de Royaumont, on relève quelques notes carrées sans portée, sans doute comme essais de plume.

23. Voir Cat. II, 1, p. 45.

24. Voir Cat. II, 2, pl. XIa (en couleurs), un échantillon de la notation carrée. Voir aussi Huglo, "Notated Performance," 35, n. 20.

25. V. Leroquais, *Les sacramentaires et missels des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris, 1924), II, 112–13. *Le Graduel romain*, II, *Les Sources* (Solesmes, 1957), 107. R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of St. Louis* (Berkeley, 1977), 225. E.H. Roesner, *Le Magnus Liber Organi de Notre-Dame de Paris*, I, *Les Quadrupla et Tripla de Paris*, Edition des plains-chants établie par M. Huglo (Monaco, 1993), 81.

26. Decrêt d'Eudes de Sully dans J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina*, 212, col. 72. Edition de la prosule dans Roesner, *Le Magnus Liber*, 277, n. 9 et commentaire, 326, n. 13.

27. Cat. 110 (II, 47–48). Sur ces séquences attribuées à Adam de St.-Victor (confondu avec Adam le Chantre), voir M. Fassler, *Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustine Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris* (Cambrige, 1993), en particulier l'Appendice 5, 390–411.

28. G. Haseloff, *Die Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert* (Kiel, 1938).

29. Voir les manuscrits décrits dans le Catalogue I, sous les nos. 19, 20, 31, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 41, 45, 48, 55, 68, 75, 85, 86, 87, 88, 90, 93 et 97.

30. Voir dans les deux volumes du Catalogue l'"Iconographic Index" au mot "musicians".

PHOTOGRAPHS: Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery.

Mixing Styles on the Pilgrimage Roads:
A Romanesque Manuscript in the Walters Art Gallery

Elizabeth Burin

This article discusses a Gospel book in the Walters collection, MS W.17, which is illuminated by two very different hands. Comparisons with works from Catalonia, Aquitaine, the Loire Valley, and the Norman world make the case for attributing the manuscript to a site on the pilgrimage roads of west-central France and dating it around 1130. The artist of the only surviving evangelist portrait was probably a mural painter with ties to the southwest.

Note: See color plate section for color plates 1–3.

Among the handful of Romanesque illuminated books published in the first volume of Lilian Randall's catalogue of the Walters manuscript collection, the most striking is perhaps MS W.17, a Gospel book attributed to southern France.[1] Although this work has appeared in several major exhibitions, its origins and artistic sources have never been studied closely, perhaps in part because of the fragmentary state of its illumination. The latter includes a portrait of Saint Matthew (fig. 1), three large illuminated initials (figs. 2–4), and a decorative rubricated initial to the prologues at the beginning of the volume (fig. 5). Regrettably, the remaining evangelists' portraits and the opening page of the Gospel of Saint Mark are lacking. They may have been removed in the nineteenth century when the manuscript was acquired by the firm of Gruel and Engelmann[2] and rebound. However, the book's prior history is unknown. Distinguishing textual features of this manuscript include a list of pericopes for the liturgical year and for various specific circumstances, and, more unexpectedly, a pilgrim's guide to the Holy Land added shortly after the book was first completed. The latter text raises interesting questions of patronage and of a possible provenance on a major pilgrimage route, to which we shall return.

As Randall has noted, the surviving illumination was carried out by two hands.[3] The illustration and initial to Matthew are painted in a bold manner, with strong black outlines and flat expanses of primary colors (fols. 8v–9; figs. 1 and 2).[4] Randall describes this as "a broad painterly style, influenced by wall paintings." By contrast, the initial to Luke is delicately drawn in light brown ink (fol. 80; fig. 3); only the background is colored, principally within the field of the Q, in red and a greyish green. The initial to John (fol. 123; fig. 4) has the bright palette and black outlines of the painter of Matthew, but without his clean technique. The paint has flaked severely and has been overpainted in places, suggesting that the letter was designed and partly executed by the artist of the Luke initial, then repainted by the Matthew painter. Microscopic examination has not fully explained this letter's damaged condition, but it has revealed retouching in the blue areas and severe sulfiding of the lead white, which has turned highlights an ugly grey (pl. 1). The latter problem occurs to a lesser degree on folios 8v–9, chiefly where the white comes in contact with yellow orpiment (pl. 2).[5]

The portrait of Saint Matthew (fig. 1) displays a boldness of design and a flair for abstract form characteristic of some of the best high Romanesque art. Firm lines reveal the assurance of an experienced artist. The monumentality of the scene is strangely at odds with the tiny, pale Carolingian script of the last few lines of the chapter list, which have spilt over from the recto of the leaf. One guesses the annoyance of the illuminator at finding that the scribe had intruded upon a page that would otherwise have been reserved entirely for his picture. Had this not been the case, the arch under which Matthew is seated would perhaps have risen to the top-most ruled line. The artist remained intent on drawing his main figure as large as possible: with Matthew's head tilted, his halo just fits under the arch.

As the only surviving illustration, this image has naturally received more art-historical attention than the rest of the manuscript. Dorothy Miner noted the

Fig. 1. Saint Matthew. Gospel Book. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.17, fol. 8v.

artist's indebtedness to Carolingian prototypes, while observing in the large, flat areas of primary color a hint of Catalan taste.[6] She also mentioned a manuscript in Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes, ms. 7, as showing many similarities to W.17.[7] It was perhaps on the basis of this comparison that she assigned the Walters Gospels to southern France, and subsequent publications have mostly accepted this localization, with an occasional preference for northern Spain.[8] More recently, however, Walter Cahn has suggested that a Gospel book formerly owned by Saint-Corneille at Compiègne (Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 17970) might provide a more telling comparison and noted that a more northerly attribution would make better sense of the initials in the Walters manuscript.[9] Less specific but more revealing, as we shall see below, is Lilian Randall's observation that the artist was influenced by wall paintings. Miner's dating of circa 1100 has not been challenged.

Iconographically, the miniature owes much to Carolingian art. The very concept of the author portrait, ubiquitous in the Middle Ages, was an ancient idea revived in the West under Charlemagne, and the architectural conceit of the columns and arch belongs to the same tradition. The frontal pose with splayed knees also appears in eighth- and ninth-century art, sometimes for the evangelists, more often in ruler portraits and depictions of Christ in Majesty.

Matthew's angel plays a double role as both symbol of the evangelist and messenger descending from Heaven to deliver the sacred text. He too has Carolingian antecedents, for example in a Gospel book in the Walters Art Gallery, MS W.4, attributed to Freising (Bavaria) and datable to circa 865–875 (fig. 6).[10] Imagery showing the revealed text as being copied from a bound exemplar persists to the end of the Middle Ages, reflecting assumptions about book making that must have come naturally to anyone involved in the process.[11] In this context, it is odd to find that our artist has omitted the saint's pen altogether. In fact, the scribe's hands, the blank bifolia, and the desk with only two legs form the one

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Fig. 2. Opening page to the Gospel of St. Matthew. Gospel Book. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.17, fol. 9.

portion of the miniature that is awkwardly drawn, as though our painter were unaccustomed to depicting this sort of subject.

Neither the Aix manuscript nor that from Compiègne is close enough to W.17 to provide evidence for its origin. Both contain evangelist portraits with thick black outlines, but this technique is unexceptional in itself. In Aix ms. 7, a Gospel book from Saint-Sauveur at Aix, relatively small portraits are placed within or adjacent to the much larger initials (fig. 7). The effect is that of an historiated initial, in contrast to the large, independent picture in W.17. While Matthew's book is similarly positioned, both he and the angel are posed quite differently from their Walters counterparts. The linear white highlights on the drapery form schematic surface patterns rather than regular folds. The hair is drawn as a round mass (with a tonsure in Matthew's case), not as a series of separate clumps. The initial consists of individual panels filled with ornament and large, tight knots of gold and silver interlace[12] sprouting tendrils; the interlace

in W.17 is far less elaborate in construction and is painted in stripes of red, yellow, and white.

The Gospel book from Compiègne (BNF lat. 17970) provides an equally inconclusive comparison. Its portraits are painted within thick frames ultimately derived from Anglo-Saxon prototypes, with unevenly shaped interlace at the corners (fig. 8). Of this only the tight curls growing on the interlace have a parallel, albeit a timid one, in W.17 (fig. 2). The evangelists have small eyes and mouths. The palette includes, in addition to the red, ultramarine, and yellow dominant in the Walters manuscript, orange, brown, purple, mauve, and a pale blue. The drapery folds are marked by contrasting colors (e.g., dark red and blue for the cloak, red and yellow for the tunic in the Luke portrait) instead of the gradations of color (red/pink/white, blue/blue-grey/white) in W.17. The entire appearance of the Compiègne portraits is both stiff and somewhat jarring. The illuminated initials resemble Norman prototypes.

Fig. 3. Opening page to the Gospel of St. Luke. Gospel Book. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.17, fol. 80.

Fig. 4. Opening page to the Gospel of St. John. Gospel Book. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.17, fol. 123.

As previously observed, our Matthew's firm, simple outlines and broad expanses of flat, vivid color recall the art of Catalonia. The closest parallels, however, are found not in Catalan manuscripts[13] but rather in murals. The well-known paintings from the apse of San Climent de Taüll (fig. 9), dated to around 1123 and now in the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya in Barcelona, share our artist's technique of strong black outlines, large black eyes, red dots on cheeks, and minimal modeling of faces.[14] Just as importantly, the fluidity of line and the imposing proportions of the figure of Christ in Majesty are similar to what we find in the Matthew portrait. As in W.17 (fig. 1), the garments are shaded with a gradation of distinct stripes, and the cloak falls in much the same way over the knees of the seated figure. The colors are similar too (apart from small quantities of brown and green), although much less brilliant in the wall painting, at least in its present condition. For the drawing of the faces and the use of color, an even closer comparison may be made with the wall paintings of Santa Maria de Mur, for example with an angel now preserved in Barcelona.[15]

However, none of these similarities can be construed as proof of a Catalan origin for the Matthew artist or for the manuscript. First, the comparative lack of surviving murals in the rest of northern Spain and in southern France may be misleading. As Otto Demus indicated, the Master of San Climent was probably of Aragonese origin and certainly much influenced by the art of southern France;[16] Santa Maria de Mur was a dependency of an Augustinian house in Marseille.[17] Second, a Spanish origin could not account for the design of the initials. As we shall see, these relate more closely to west-French examples.

The treatment of the evangelist's hair and eyes, the simple and vigorous draftsmanship of the miniature can also be compared to works from western France. Interesting similarities to the figure style of W.17 appear in a volume of Augustine's *Commentaries on the Psalms* that belonged to the library of Saint-Martial at Limoges (Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 1987), even though the foliate ornament of the decorated initials is quite unrelated.[18] In the initial to Psalm 66 (fig. 10), the treatment of the faces and hair, outlined in black, recalls our Saint Matthew. The palette is similarly dominated by primary colors, notably an intense red

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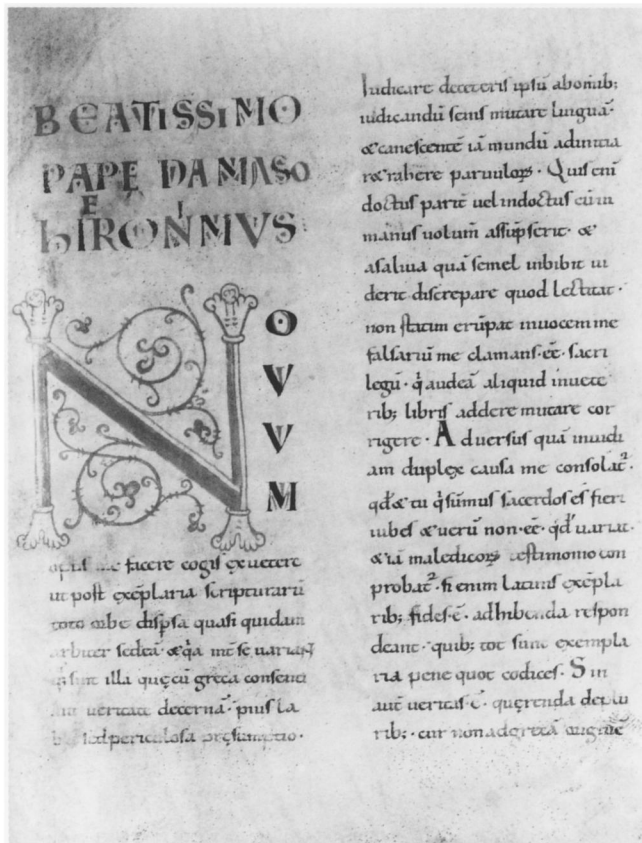
Fig. 5. Rubricated initial to prologue. Gospel Book. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.17, fol. 1.
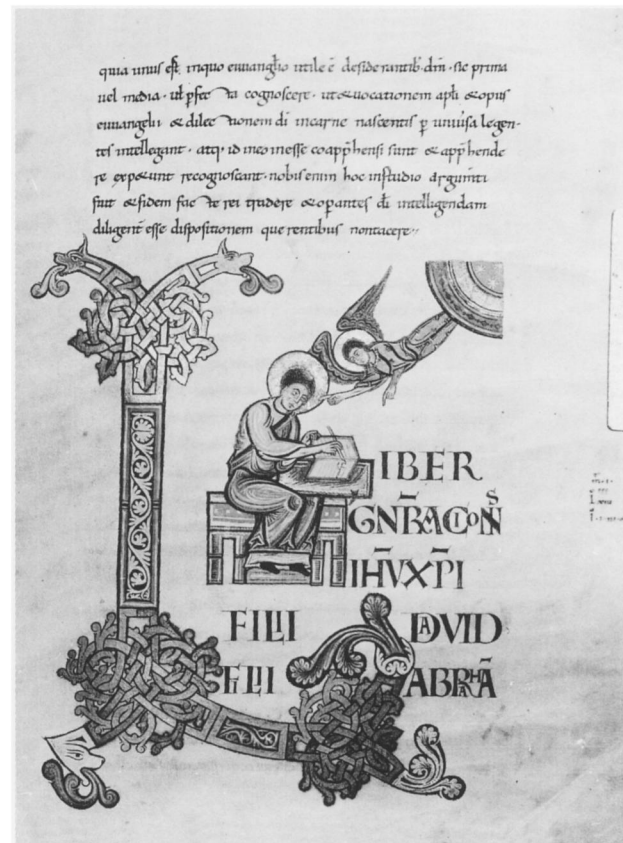
Fig. 7. Saint Matthew. Gospel book. Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. des Adultes (formerly Bibl. Méjanes), ms. 7, p. 57

Fig. 6. Saint Matthew. Gospel book. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.4, fol. 33v.

and the same "Wedgwood" blue (actually a coarsely ground ultramarine) as in W.17. David surrounded by his musicians (or perhaps Saul listening to David who plays the fiddle) wears armor not unlike that of the two clambering soldiers in W.17, folio 9, who are paralleled in other Limoges manuscripts as well.[19]

The evangelist's oddly raised left elbow recalls another historiated initial in the Augustine volume depicting David fighting the lion (fig. 11), as well as the figure of Saint Luke in a Limoges Bible, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, mss. lat. 1–2.[20] The oval jewels on Matthew's collar and the two-colored lozenges on the arch above him resemble the ornaments on Saint Augustine's collar in a further initial from the *Commentaries* (fig. 12). However, this is a widespread motif found elsewhere in southern France and northern Spain, for example in the wall paintings of San Climent and Santa Maria de Taüll and in those of Saint-Michel in Le Puy.[21]

While the evangelist's symbol as divine messenger is an old and widespread iconographic formula, as we have observed, the almost vertical position of the angel plunging out of the heavens is best paralleled in works from Aquitaine,[22] notably in two of the most

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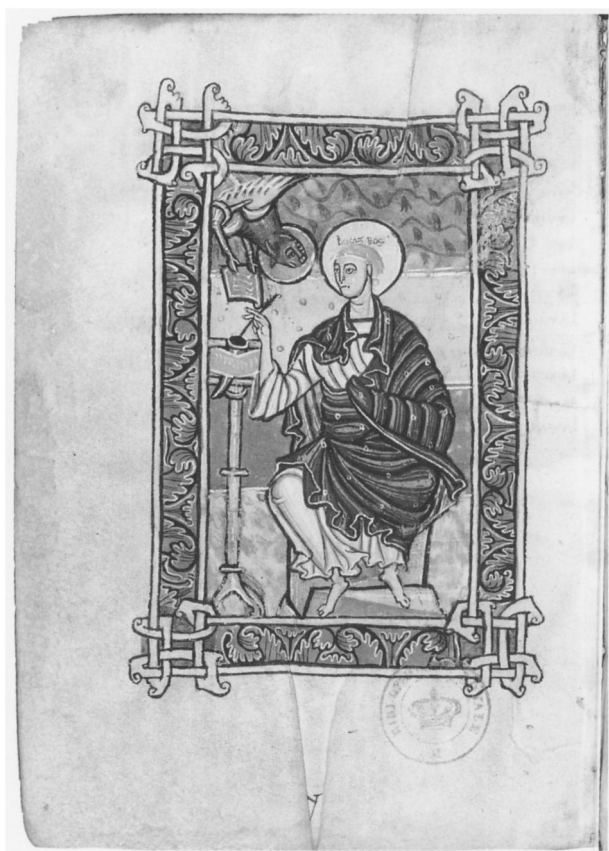
Fig. 8. Saint Luke. Gospel book. Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 17970, fol. 115v.

famous Romanesque manuscripts from Limoges: the Second Bible of Saint-Martial (fig. 13)[23] and the Sacramentary of Saint-Étienne (fig. 14),[24] Bibliothèque nationale de France, mss. lat. 8 and lat. 9438 respectively. The examples illustrated show iconographically unrelated scenes, God speaking to Moses and an angel censing over the tomb of the risen Christ respectively. In both cases, the heavenly figure descends head first from above. God speaking to Moses is similarly portrayed in Paris, Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Députés, ms. 2,[25] a Bible attributed to Vendôme.[26] This may simply reflect the numerous ties between Aquitaine and the Loire Valley in this period.

The Limoges artists, like others working throughout western France in the first half of the twelfth century, represented the clothed human figure in a highly standardized manner.[27] This scheme includes arched lines on the torso, a clearly defined oval abdomen, a bunched fold of fabric falling along the hip, and V-shaped folds between the legs (figs. 11, 13, and 14). Somewhat surprisingly, this figure style does not occur in the Walters manuscript. It must be noted, however, that the standard model was less closely adhered to in the case of seated figures, and that the downward

curving folds on Matthew's chest may therefore have little significance, especially since the figure is partially concealed by a heavy cloak. The angel is drawn in a manner that approximates the usual west-French scheme except for the absence of the bunch of fabric at the hip.

What W.17 does not share with the manuscripts from Limoges and other artistic centers in Aquitaine is the style of ornament typical of that area. Most characteristic of this style are illuminated initials articulated by loose knots of fine interlace on a colored background (fig. 13) and supplemented by equally fine intertwined stems with light foliage, traditionally in the form of flat palmettes.[28] This type of ornament was at its most popular in the eleventh century, and the Gradual of Saint-Michel de Gaillac (BNF, ms. lat. 776)[29] is perhaps the best known example of it, but far from the only one. It remained in use well into the twelfth century from Limoges southward, but gradually gave way to newer, more three-dimensional foliage styles.

The initial to Luke on folio 80 of our Gospel book (fig. 3) derives from a totally different decorative tradition, one native to northwest rather than south-west France. The technique of motifs drawn lightly in ink and reserved (or in some other cases partly painted with watercolor) against a colored background was common in Normandy and the Loire region. Spiralling plant scrolls combined with dragons were standard elements of Norman illumination from the second half of the eleventh century, often filling decorated initials in a dense tangle.[30] By the 1120s and 1130s, this form of decoration had spread south of the Loire and had become more organized in appearance: instead of multiple small spirals, one or two large, even ones per initial became the norm, with leaves growing outward from them in a more markedly centrifugal pattern. This effect is noticeable in W.17, where leaves growing from the inner parts of the stem appear to grasp its outer coils or to be pierced by them.

These leaves include, in addition to flat, scalloped forms, a triangular shape with one edge folded over (fig. 3, upper left) and a curled type with what look like clenched fingers. A trefoil element occupies the center of the spiral. Parts of the letter grow out of a distinctive pleated sheath (top). These three-dimensional-looking forms characterize a style of manuscript ornament that became prevalent in northwest France in the second quarter of the twelfth century, growing increasingly lush and complex toward mid-century. The occasional migration of artists as well as books

Fig. 9. Christ in Majesty. Paintings from the apse of San Climent de Taüll. Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya.

Fig. 10. David and musicians. Historiated initial from Augustine, *Commentaries on the Psalms.* Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 1987, fol. 53v (detail).

Fig. 11. David and the lion. Historiated initial from Augustine, *Commentaries on the Psalms.* Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 1987, fol. 56v (detail).

Fig. 12. Augustine writing. Historiated initial from Augustine, *Commentaries on the Psalms.* Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 1987, fol. 43 (detail).

Fig. 13. God speaking to Moses. Historiated initial from the Second Bible of St.-Martial, Limoges. Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8, vol. I, fol. 52 (detail).

Fig. 14. The Three Maries at the Tomb. Sacramentary of St.-Étienne, Limoges. Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 9438, fol. 76v.

Fig. 15. Decorated initial. Lives of the Saints. Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 5323, fol. 49 (detail).

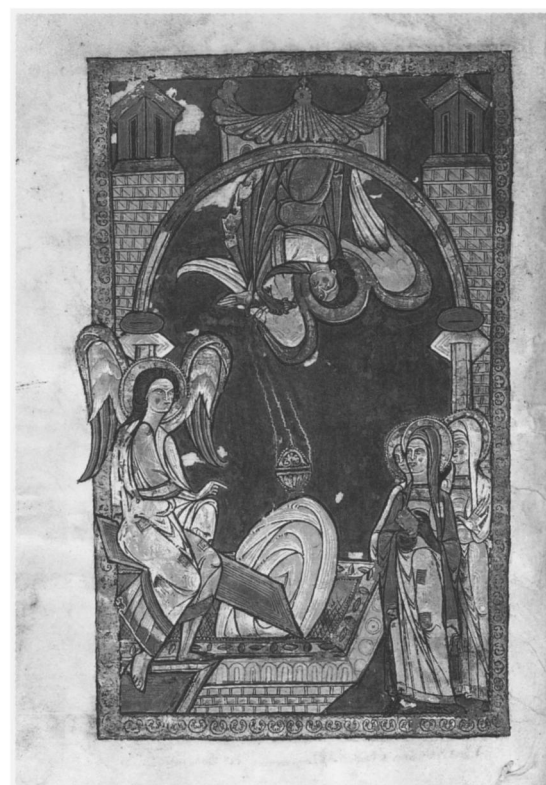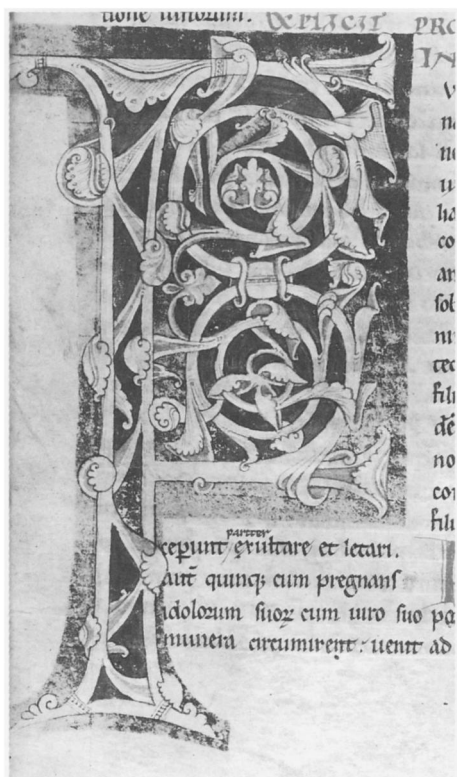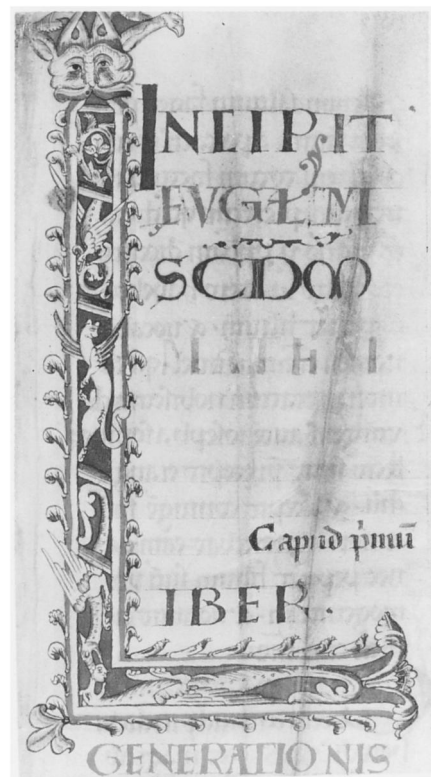Fig. 16. Decorated initial. New Testament. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.18, fol. 1 (detail).

seems to account for the appearance of this style south of the Loire. Such is the case of the *Codex calixtinus* in the cathedral archives of Santiago de Compostela, whose main artist was probably French,[31] and of a volume of Lives of Saints written in Poitou in the 1140s for local use, but partially illuminated by an artist with close ties to Le Mans (BNF, ms. lat. 5323).[32] The initial illustrated here (fig. 15) includes spiralling stems and more carefully modeled versions of the leaf forms mentioned above, drawn in sepia ink against a parti-colored ground. Other leaves are more elaborate in design, reflecting in all likelihood a slightly later date as well as the exceptional skill of this artist, the first of two illuminators responsible for the Lives of Saints manuscript.

The initial to the Gospel of John in MS W.17 has a few comparable leaves growing from the tails of two small dragons clambering in the ladder-like letter *I* (fig. 4). Such climbing monsters occur frequently in the Norman world. A good English example may be found in a Walters manuscript, W.18, a New Testament illuminated in Rochester (fig. 16).[33] It is in a similar context that one might expect to find the thick interlacing terminals, sometimes embellished with leaf forms or animal heads, which complete both the initial on folio 123 of the Gospel book and the *LI* monogram on folio 9 (fig. 2).[34]

Thus, the decorated initials in the manuscript point to an origin in western or northwestern France, while the figure style recalls works painted in the Duchy of Aquitaine and northeastern Spain. The area where the two artists responsible for the surviving illumination are most likely to have crossed paths is therefore west-central France, perhaps Poitou or Limousin. The script and the ornamental capital lettering (figs. 2–4) appear to support this attribution,[35] and the large rubricated initial on folio 1 (fig. 5) is broadly similar to examples found in the same area. The variants in the Gospel text are mostly common, but they too would be compatible with a west-French origin.[36]

At least one of the two illuminators probably learned his craft elsewhere than in the scriptorium that produced the Walters manuscript. This is a plausible supposition in view both of the many documented contacts between far-flung monastic houses in this period and, as importantly, of the location of all major abbeys in the area on one or other of the well-traveled pilgrimage roads leading to Compostela.[37] Of the two artists, the Matthew painter is the more likely to have traveled. According to the material evidence on folio 123, he was called in to complete the manuscript after at least some of the initials had been illuminated by

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one who was probably deemed a lesser artist.

The resemblance of the Matthew painter's work to Catalan wall paintings suggests that he may have been accustomed to painting on a large scale. The strong, monumental quality of the miniature and the artist's unexpected awkwardness in depicting a scribe's work support this thesis. The technique of distinct strokes of color laid down side by side or overlapping would suit a large-scale, quick-drying medium such as *fresco secco* or tempera on plaster (pl. 3).[38]

While it cannot be proven that this artist painted murals, it is certainly plausible. To my knowledge, there has yet been no thorough discussion of the extent to which artists worked in different media in the Romanesque period, and the matter deserves further study. Nevertheless, it is generally accepted that medieval artists frequently did practice various art forms. Growing numbers of twelfth-century painters were lay professionals, and at least some were itinerant.[39] After completing the decoration of a given church, they might move on to seek employment elsewhere or accept work on a smaller scale, such as the illustration of a manuscript. The Matthew painter may have left southwestern France in search of work once his talents were no longer in local demand. He may even have traveled the pilgrimage roads to Spain, working and acquiring new stylistic habits there before returning to his own country.

As regards dating, the comparison with the Taüll paintings supports an origin in the 1120s, while the foliage ornament contains forms that became common between 1125 and 1135.[40] A date of circa 1130 is therefore likely to be more accurate than Miner's estimate of circa 1100.

Who commissioned this work is more difficult to ascertain. Most books still belonged to monastic houses in the first half of the twelfth century, but monasteries maintained strong ties with the laity. Families stayed in contact with members who had entered religious orders, and gifts to ecclesiastical institutions were a common means for the nobility to earn spiritual merit.[41] The presence of the pilgrim's guide to the Holy Land at the end of the volume is intriguing in this regard. It suggests that the book was expected, at least occasionally, to be read by or to someone who would have the opportunity to make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, a chance more readily available to wealthy laymen than to the regular clergy. Individuals who traveled to Compostela or who lived along the main roads that led there were perhaps the most likely to contemplate an even longer pilgrimage, that to the Holy Sepulchre. The First Crusade, itself often seen

by the participants as a pilgrimage under arms,[42] had brought many Frenchmen to Palestine and increased the flow of pilgrims thereafter. It is quite conceivable, in sum, that the Walters Gospel book was commissioned by a layman, perhaps as a gift to a monastery.

Much remains to be discovered about French Romanesque illumination outside of a few well-published centers. The second quarter of the twelfth century, a period of accelerating artistic exchange, is especially worthy of close study. Future research may shed more light on the circumstances in which MS W.17 was created, perhaps leading to a precise localization. It is still to be hoped that the reappearance of the lost miniatures will one day facilitate this work.

Walters Art Gallery
Baltimore, Maryland

Notes

I wish to thank François Avril and Jean Vézin for their advice on this article. Patricia Danz Stirnemann and Yolanta Załuska also provided helpful comments and suggestions for which I am most grateful.

1. L.M.C. Randall et al., *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, I, France, 875–1420* (Baltimore and London, 1989), 9–11, no. 4, with bibliography. As this article goes to press, the entry in W. Cahn's important new survey has come to my attention: *Romanesque Manuscripts: The Twelfth Century*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in France, ed. F. Avril and J.J.G. Alexander, 2 vols. (London, 1996), I, figs. 207 and 208, and II, 105, no. 85.

2. No. 1094 of their collection, according to the bookplate.

3. Randall, *Walters*, I, 10.

4. For color illustrations, see ibid., pl. II or L.M.C. Randall, *Illuminated Manuscripts: Masterpieces in Miniature. Highlights from the Collection of the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1984), pl. 8.

5. I thank Abigail Quandt and Priscilla Anderson of the Walters conservation laboratory for their assistance in studying and photographing the manuscript under the microscope.

6. [D. Miner,] *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, exh. cat., Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery with the Baltimore Museum of Art (Baltimore, 1949), 10, no. 21. These observations were repeated in D. Diringer, *The Illuminated Book: Its History and Production* (London, 1958), 370 and *El arte románico*, exh. cat., Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, and Santiago de Compostela (Barcelona, 1961), 54–55, no. 77.

7. Miner, *Illuminated Books*, 10. The parallel was first suggested to Miner by Albert Friend in 1936 (correspondence, Walters Art Gallery curatorial file). See Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, I, figs. 105 and 106 and II, 57, no. 45. Cahn connects the style of the Aix manuscript with Lombardy.

8. D.S. Berkowitz, *In Remembrance of Creation: Evolution of Art and Scholarship in the Medieval and Renaissance Bible*, exh. cat., (Waltham, Mass., 1968) Brandeis University Library, 39, no. 64.

9. 1987 correspondence with Lilian Randall, Walters curatorial file, and Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, II, 105. Cf. Randall, *Walters*, I, 11.

10. See F. Mütherich, "The Gospel Book W.4 of the Walters Art Gallery and Its Place in the Freising Scriptorium," in *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner*, ed. U.E. McCracken, L.M.C. Randall, and R.H. Randall, Jr. (Baltimore, 1974), 115–28.

11. On the draping of the hand that carries the holy book, see F.A. Bearman's article in this volume.

12. Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, II, 57. The dominant colors are described as red, slate blue, mauve, and green. I have not had the opportunity to see this manuscript.

13. On Catalan Romanesque illumination, see P. Bohigas, *La ilustración y la decoración del libro manuscrito en Cataluña: contribución al estudio de la historia de la miniatura catalana*, I (Barcelona, 1960).

14. For color illustrations, see H. Schrade, *Die romanische Malerei: Ihre Maiestas* (Cologne, 1963), 31; J.M. Pita Andrade, *Treasures of Spain, from Altamira to the Catholic Kings* (Geneva, 1967), 132; O. Demus, *Romanische Wandmalerei*, with photography by M. Hirmer (Munich, 1968), pl. LXX; or C.R. Dodwell, *The Pictorial Arts of the West, 800–1200* (New Haven and London, 1993), 255.

15. J. Ainaud de Lasarte, *Catalan Painting: The Fascination of Romanesque* (Geneva and New York, 1990), 88, illus. The paintings of the main apse of Mur, which have been restored, are now at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (illustrated in E.W. Anthony, *Romanesque Frescoes* [Princeton, 1951], illus. 413 and Dodwell, *Pictorial Arts*, 262). I am grateful to Montserrat Pagès of the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya for drawing my attention to this parallel.

16. Demus, *Romanische Wandmalerei*, 37, 75 and 78–79; *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500–1200*, exh. cat., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1993), 190 and 194. The paintings of the Panteón de los Reyes in León, also related to west-French works, display a palette comparable to that in W.17. Once thought to belong to the second half of the twelfth century, they are now dated before 1149. J. Williams, "San Isidoro in León: Evidence for a New History," *Art Bulletin*, 55 (1973), 171–84.

17. Demus, *Romanische Wandmalerei*, 80.

18. D. Gaborit-Chopin, *La décoration des manuscrits à Saint-Martial de Limoges et en Limousin du IXe au XIIe siècle* (Paris and Geneva, 1969), 119–21 and figs. 139–44, 146. Gaborit-Chopin sees the decorated letters as being of Cluniac derivation. This manuscript must be considered with some caution, as it has suffered from severe loss of paint and has probably been retouched in places. The grainy-looking, bronze-colored gold is probably a later addition.

For another related treatment of faces and especially hair, see a missal from Poitiers: Poitiers, Bibl. mun., ms. 40 (Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, I, figs. 13 and 14, and II, 16–17, no. 4).

19. See Gaborit-Chopin, *Décoration des manuscrits*, figs. 102 (BNF, lat. 2303, fol. 63v), 211 (Bibl. Mazarine, ms. lat. 1, fol. 96v), and 216 (BNF, lat. 5365, fol. 62v).

20. Ms. lat. 2, fol. 178. Gaborit-Chopin, *Décoration des manuscrits*, 102, fig. 174. The manuscript is catalogued in W. Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982), 275, no. 81, and Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, II, 51–52, no. 40.

21. Demus, *Romanische Wandmalerei*, pls. XXXVIII, LXVIII, and LXX. The motif also occurs in sculpture, e.g. on the figure of Christ in Majesty in the cloister of Santillana del Mar, on the north coast of Spain (M. Durliat, *L'art roman en Espagne* [Paris, 1962], pl. 171). Aspects of the drapery folds and hems in this work also recall the miniature in W.17.

22. I thank Yolanta Załuska for pointing this out to me.

23. Cahn, *Romanesque Bible*, 276, no. 85, and Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, II, 47–48, no. 37. See Gaborit-Chopin, 86–99.

24. Ibid., 127–40, and Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, II, 49–50, no. 38. The pattern of triple dots that decorates the background of the Matthew portrait also appears in the Sacramentary, but this motif is fairly widespread.

25. Fol. 32v. See A. Boinet, "Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Députés à Paris," *Bulletin de la Société Française de Reproduction de Manuscrits à Peintures*, 6 (1922), pl. VIII.

26. F. Avril in conversation with the author, March 1996. See Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, II, 26–27, no. 15 for an account of this manuscript and related works. Also Cahn, *Romanesque Bible*, 274–75, no. 80.

27. L.M. Ayres, "The Role of an Angevin Style in English Romanesque Painting," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 37 (1974), 193–223, and Ayres, "English Painting and the Continent During the Reign of Henry II and Eleanor," in *Eleanor of Aquitaine, Patron and Politician*, ed. W.W. Kibler (Austin and London, 1976), 115–46. See also E. Burin, "Réflexions sur quelques aspects de l'enluminure dans l'Ouest de la France au XIIe siècle: le manuscrit latin 5323 de la Bibliothèque nationale," *Bulletin Monumental*, 143 (1985), 209–25 (211–19) and M. Kupfer, *Romanesque Wall Painting in Central France: The Politics of Narrative* (New Haven and London, 1993), 43. J. Porcher regarded Angevin painting as a southern enclave in Carolingian territory (*French Miniatures from Illuminated Manuscripts* [London, 1960], 30).

28. Ibid., 25–26, and Gaborit-Chopin, *Décoration des manuscrits*, 61–62. Similar forms of ornament occur south of the Pyrenees, for example at Calahorra, reflecting the close artistic ties between southwestern France and Spain. See T. Ayuso Marazuela, "Un scriptorium español desconocido," *Scriptorium*, 2 (1948), 3–27, pls. 4 and 5.

29. Illustrated in color in Porcher, *French Miniatures*, pl. XV and in *Creating French Culture: Treasures from the Bibliothèque nationale de France*, ed. M.-H. Tesnière and P. Gifford, exh. cat., Washington, D.C., Library of Congress (New Haven and London, 1995), 51, no. 10.

30. For a particularly fine but otherwise typical example among many, see Avranches, Bibl. mun., ms. 77, a manuscript of Augustine's commentaries on the Psalms from Mont Saint-Michel (illustrated in color in M. Dosdat, *L'enluminure romane au Mont Saint-Michel, Xe-XIIe siècles* [Rennes, 1991], 65 and cover).

31. See A. Stones, "The Decoration and Illumination of the *Codex Calixtinus* at Santiago de Compostela," in *The Codex Calixtinus and the Shrine of St. James*, ed. J. Williams and A. Stones (Tübingen, 1992), 137–84, esp. 149, 156 and many useful comparative illustrations. Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, II, 35–37, no. 24.

32. Burin, "Réflexions," passim. Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, II, 30-31, no. 19.

33. See C.M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts, 1066–1190, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, III, ed. J.J.G. Alexander (London, 1975), 81, no. 45 and M.P. Richards, "A Decorated Vulgate Set from 12th-Century Rochester, England," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 39 (1981), 59–67. Other examples of the motif are illustrated in C.R. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of Illumination, 1066–1200* (Cambridge, 1954), e.g. pl. 7f (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 62, fol. 1v).

34 See for example the works of Saint Ambrose, Avranches, Bibl. mun., ms. 61, fol. 2v, illustrated in Dosdat, *Mont Saint-Michel*, 66.

35. I thank Jean Vézin for giving me his opinion of the script. The capital letters in alternating lines of red and blue are comparable to

some of the epigraphical inscriptions illustrated in R. Favreau and J. Michaud, *Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale. I Poitou-Charentes* (Paris, 1974–1975), e.g. part 1 (Poitiers), 72–74 and fig. 48, no. 68 (St.-Hilaire-le-Grand, epitaph of Constantin, ca. 1100–1125).

36. This was determined by comparing samples of text from the Gospels according to Matthew and Luke with the variants listed in B. Fischer, *Die lateinischen Evangelien bis zum 10. Jahrhundert*, 4 vols. (Freiburg, 1988–1991).

37. On painting along the roads to Compostela and traveling artists, see J. Yarza Luaces, "La peregrinación a Santiago y la pintura y miniatura románicas," *Compostellanum*, 30 (1985), 369–93, esp. 369–71, and 392.

38. See the account of Romanesque wall-painting techniques by Demus, *Romanische Wandmalerei*, 40–41. Good parallels for the Matthew painter's technique can be found in the murals of Tavant (color illustration in A. Grabar and C. Nordenfalk, *La peinture romane du onzième au treizième siècle* [Geneva, 1958], 100) and St.-Sernin de Toulouse (M. Durliat, "Les peintures murales de Saint-Sernin de Toulouse: découvertes récentes," *Revue de l'Art*, no. 25 [1974], 8–23, esp. fig. 2).

39. Grabar and Nordenfalk, *Peinture romane*, 13; Demus, *Romanische Wandmalerei*, 37.

40. See Burin, "Réflexions," 220.

41. M. Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c. 970–1130* (Oxford, 1993), 157–58.

42. Ibid., 204.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–6, 16, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; fig. 7, A. Friend; figs. 8, 10–15, Paris, BNF; fig. 9, Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya; pls. 1–3, P. Anderson.

A Thirteenth-Century French Book of Hours for Marie

Adelaide Bennett

A richly illuminated book of hours in Latin was made in north France in the 1270s for a laywoman, Marie, named in a prayer to the Trinity. The pictorial program of the marginalia and initials is quite personalized. Sixteen out of twenty-one historiated initials portray women, either in supplication as in the Office of the Holy Spirit, or actively involved with religious and family life from childhood to death as in the Office of the Virgin and in the Office of the Dead.

Over a decade ago, Susan Bell of Stanford University published an important essay on the significance of medieval women's ownership of manuscripts, especially books of hours. Her study examined the role that women played in promoting and transmitting religious cultural life in the late Middle Ages, that is, the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[1] Nevertheless, this function can be traced to an earlier period, as is amply documented in thirteenth-century books of hours from northern France.[2]

Books of hours became an important genre of private prayer book in the thirteenth century. Their production and use clearly correspond to a new form of personal piety, especially among the laity. A book of hours consists of devotions extracted from the scriptures, particularly the Psalms and the sapiential books, and prayers. The most popular text is the Hours of the Virgin, which the user could recite and contemplate daily. Early in the thirteenth century, this Marian office, originally part of the breviary of the divine office recited by the religious, was combined with other devotional texts to form the book of hours. The latter might include the Hours of the Holy Spirit or the Hours of the Passion or both, the Penitential Psalms with the litany and petitions, the Gradual Psalms, and the Office of the Dead. Some or all of these texts were at first appended to psalters, but books of hours largely replaced psalters as the book of devotions by the end of the thirteenth century, especially in northern France.

So far my survey of some fifty north-French books of hours or psalter-hours indicates that each one appears singular in make-up and sequence of texts and in choice of illustrations, probably because each was made at the behest of a particular individual. The local use of the hours, as well as the local feasts and saints commemorated in the calendar and the litany, and the choice of intercessory prayers to God, Christ, the Virgin, and saints also made books of hours a highly personal book. Books of hours came into popularity because they were commissioned by patrons for themselves or for their families. Many French books of hours show that they were made for and used by well-to-do women, and they provide good evidence for laywomen's literacy, spirituality, and patronage of the arts.[3]

One outstanding example of this phenomenon concerns an unpublished French book of hours, now on loan to the Cloisters (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS L.1990.38).[4] This book of 207 parchment folios is small, measuring 174 x 115 mm. Its justified space of 110 x 70 mm contains eighteen long lines of black *gothica textura semiquadrata* script. It is illuminated with twenty-one historiated initials and numerous decorative initials. Creatures and ornament of foliage enliven the margins and line-fillers. As will be shown, the artistic evidence assigns it to the early 1270s and to the Paris basin or the area northeast of it. The subsequent history of this book remained obscure as late as 1987, when a London bookdealer, Sam Fogg, sold it to an anonymous collector, who lent it three years later to the Cloisters. No evidence of medieval or early modern provenance exists, except for three added devotional texts in Italian *rotunda* script of the fourteenth or fifteenth century.[5] Nonetheless, this prayer book offers a rich yield of textual and pictorial information on the devotional practices of a woman and her family early in the reign of Philip III (1270–1285) and is the focal point of this paper.

The Cloisters book of hours comprises both standard and personal Latin texts. It now opens imperfectly with the Hours of the Holy Spirit (fols. 3r–3v, 5r–15r) at Lauds. Matins is gone, except for one leaf (fol. 4) inserted in Lauds.[6] The Hours of the Virgin (fols. 17r–66r), with nine lessons for Matins, follows as the second office. These two offices are private devotions of liturgical form, structured according to eight canonical hours of the day from Matins to Compline. The next section (fols. 66v–93v) includes two groups of psalms selected for penitential and devotional exercises. It starts with the Seven Penitential Psalms (fols. 66v–75r), which were recited as means of doing penance for one's sins.[7] This standard group of Psalms 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, and 142 normally concludes with the litany, petitions, and collects, but in this manuscript the Penitential Psalms precede the Gradual Psalms 119–133, a set of devotions usually recited privately (fols. 75r–82v).[8] The first (*Ad dominum cum tribularer*) of the fifteen psalms is a prayer for deliverance from sins and troubles, but the collective psalms represent fifteen steps of spiritual ascent to God. This is accompanied by the Athanasian Creed of *Quicumque uult*, Psalm 78 (*Deus uenerunt gentes*), *Kyrie eleison*, *Pater noster*, and a prayer, *Deus qui ad redemptionis nostre* (fols. 82v–87r). Then appear the litany of saints, petitions, preces, and collects (fols. 87r–93v). The litany includes fourteen martyrs, fifteen confessors, and ten virgins, whose names are invoked for their intercession to God. Appended to the litany are petitions of three types of intercessory requests, consisting of thirteen *Ab* appeals for protection usually from sins or disasters, five *Per* appeals through events of Christ's life, and nineteen *Ut* appeals or blessings for people or institutions of various categories.[9] Preces and eight collects (formulaic prayers) follow. The final two texts deal with the end of one's life: the Office of the Dead consisting of Vespers, Matins with nine lessons, and Lauds (fols. 94r–131v), and the Commendation of the Soul (fols. 131v–151v).[10] Thus the first two-thirds of this manuscript contain mainly texts common to thirteenth-century French books of hours.[11]

The last section of the manuscript (fols. 154r–207r) reflects a personal choice of texts, mainly prayers.[12] First are the forty suffrages (or memorials) to saints and Peace (fols. 154r–173r). In thirteenth-century French books of hours, suffrages are optional: they vary in number and choice of individual saints.[13] Suffrages tend to be placed in the section of devotions personal to the owner, though in some French *horae* they follow Lauds of the Hours of the Virgin.[14] Second

and much more unusual is the litany of the Virgin, composed of praises to her (fols. 173r–176r). It invokes God, the Son, the Holy Spirit, and the Trinity, as standard in the All-Saints litany, and proceeds with seventy-one invocations to the Virgin, each one beginning with *Sancta Maria*, lauding her virtues.[15] This Marian litany concludes with *Ave Maria* (fol. 176r) and a collect to All Saints, *Concede quesumus omnipotens deus ut intercessio nos sancte dei genitricis* (fol. 176v). Then follows the votive mass of the Virgin, *Salue sancta parens enixa puerpera* (fol. 177v), the Gloria (fols. 177v–178r), the Creed (fols. 178r–179r), a long verse-prayer to Christ and to the Virgin, *Deus pater piissime christe ihesu dulcissime spiritus clementissime* (fols. 179r–185r), and a collect, *Deus qui uirginalem aulam beate marie semper uirginis* (fol. 185r). Next is the Psalter of Jerome (fols. 185v–197v), a compilation of verses from different psalms, useful in a book of hours for a person who lacked the time to recite the full Psalter on a weekly basis.[16] Individual devotions of four more prayers (fols. 198r–204v) consist of one to the Trinity, *Domine deus pater omnipotens qui es trinus et unus*,[17] *Domine deus omnipotens rex creator celi et terre, Iuste iudex ihesu criste rex regum et domine*, and the well-known *O intemerata*.[18] The book ends with four special prayers, one to Mary Magdalene and three to Nicholas of Myra (fols. 204v–207r).

All the texts are fully transcribed for the reader. They are introduced by rubrics in Latin and more often in French; these are cues to find Latin devotions to be recited privately or at structured times of the day. Occasionally, rubrics in French give instructions on when to recite (e.g., at beginning of suffrages, fol. 154r) or what not to recite (e.g., in Commendation of the Soul, fol. 132v).

Liturgical evidence for the localization of the prayer book points tentatively to the Ile-de-France region or just northeast of it. The book lacks the calendar at the beginning, which deprives us of information for its use or destination. The usage of the Hours of the Virgin is uncertain.[19] The Office of the Dead conforms to the use of Senlis, northeast of Paris.[20] The litany is not wholly Parisian. Although it cites Dionysius and Germanus, both of Paris, it includes Irenaeus of Lyons, Eligius of Noyon, Firmin the Martyr of Amiens, Vedast of Arras, Remigius of Rheims, and Columban of Luxeuil. Suffrages include saints venerated in the Ile-de-France, such as Victor the Martyr, Dionysius the Areopagite, Nicasius of Rheims, Maurus of Glanfeuil, Sulpicius of Bourges, Germanus of Paris, Fiacrius of Meaux, and Geneviève of Paris, but some of these persons are widely

honored. After the Virgins, God, and Peace, however, are memorials to Leonard of Limoges, Lupus of Sens, and Theobald of Provins, all written in the original hand. Only two mendicant saints, Francis of Assisi and Elizabeth of Hungary, appear in the suffrages, but not in the litany. The use of the Hours of the Holy Spirit cannot be determined, largely because there has been no general study to identify the different usages. Nevertheless, some readings, especially the single psalm, the one lesson of Matins, and the antiphons and the chapters, affiliate this manuscript closely with those of a particular version found in some Franco-Flemish and English manuscripts of East Anglian origin.[21]

It is the last part of the manuscript that gives evidence for the feminine gender of the owner-reader. Although the *O intemerata* prayer to the Virgin and Evangelist John (fols. 203r–204v) omits references to gender,[22] there are four prayers referring to the sinner in female forms. Following the Litany of the Virgin is the *Ave Maria* requesting intercession for the miserable female sinner, "pro misera peccatrice" (fol. 176r).[23] A prayer, *Domine deus omnipotens rex creator celi,* mentions "ego misera peccatrix" (fol. 200r). The first prayer, *Nicholae beatissime amice dei te peto,* to Nicholas, perhaps one of her two patron saints, is invoked to help the female sinner, "michi miserere peccatrici" (fol. 205v). The owner is, however, not anonymous, for the prayer to the Trinity, *Domine deus pater omnipotens qui es trinus et unus,* is addressed to "your servant Marie," (famula tua maria, fol. 198v).[24] Her name may account for the presence of a special prayer of *O piissima peccatrix pedumque dei lauatrix* (fols. 204v–205r) to Mary Magdalene, who may be her other patron saint. No other evidence, such as heraldic shields, exists to identify the family of Marie. This book is henceforth known as Marie's Book of Hours. It may be one of the earliest French books of hours to name an owner.

The Office of the Dead emphasizes prayers for the laity. Both Vespers and Lauds end with standard prayers or collects, which in manuscripts vary in number and selection, and which specify gender endings of the departed souls.[25] After Vespers in Marie's book, the first three orations remember a deceased man, parents, and a woman.[26] Then follow two standard prayers for benefactors and a general one for the people. The fifth collect, introduced by a French rubric, *Orison pour touz ses bienfaiteurs,* mentions brothers and sisters, parents, friends, and benefactors of the congregation. Lauds repeats the same set of six collects, except that the first general

prayer for souls of male and female servants of God replaces the collect for a deceased man. Also the Commendation of the Soul, recited for the soul of a dying person, includes five general collects for both men and women.[27] Most telling is the absence of collects addressed only to the clergy in Marie's book.

Marie's manuscript is amply illuminated with historiated and decorated initials as visual cues to the particular texts. They provide some idea of the approximate dating and of the identity of the two artists, whose stylistic origins differ entirely. The chronology, workshop methods, and personal nature of their commissioned work are important considerations for shedding light on the current state and locale of female devotions in north France.

All but one of twenty-one historiated initials of nine to three lines introduce the canonical hours of the Offices of the Holy Spirit and of the Virgin and the ensuing major texts (figs. 1–14, 17–20, 22). Numerous two-line initials mark the minor divisions of texts, such as psalms, lessons, hymns, chapters, canticles, and collects; most are decorative, and some enclose busts or half-length figures of men or women. All these initials, line-fillers, and figural marginalia are painted, save for blue and red penwork of one-line gold and blue versals and of blue and red diagonal sprays in the lower margins.[28] The infillings of the painted initials are of burnished gold. Dark blue and rose pink are the dominant pigments, followed by maroon, orange, green, and gray. These colors are typically found in manuscripts of Parisian origin or influence in the middle through the third quarter of the thirteenth century.[29] One color that may help date Marie's manuscript to probably not before 1270 is the unorthodox gilt-like tawny yellow modeled with pale or olive green.[30] It is applied to the female saint's garment in the Lauds initial (fol. 34v; fig. 9) and to the young woman's surcoat over orange sleeves in the None initial (fol. 53v; fig. 13), both in the Hours of the Virgin. Occasionally initials and spandrels are colored with pastel blue and pink, which become the usual hues from the 1260s on.[31]

Except for the two initials, the figure style and decoration recall some illuminated manuscripts of the Bari workshop localized in Paris and dated to the 1250s and 1260s by Robert Branner.[32] The black-inked contour lines and details contrast strongly with the unmodulated white flesh, and the interior black lines delineate the drapery folds. Absent are the shading or modeling of draperies and flesh. Yet Branner's manuscripts attributed to the Bari atelier seem variable in figural and decorative style. One notable

product is the *Roman de la Poire* (Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 2186), now thought likely to be dated to circa 1270–1280, for its text is an alteration of the text composed soon after 1259.[33] This would mean that the Bari shop continued working into the 1270s, and this chronology would suit the Hours of Marie. One facial feature that distinguishes Marie's manuscript from other Bari manuscripts is the long arched noses with slightly flattened nostrils, particularly of women. So far no close parallels are known for the style of the main artist of this book.

Clearly recognizable, on the other hand, is the style of the second artist embellishing only two small initials for verses 121 and 129 of the long Psalm 118 in the Commendation of the Soul, on folios 146v, 147r (fig. 21) in quire 19. He hails from the Artois-Cambrai region. His work closely resembles that of a Bible (Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 16260) by a shop active circa 1265–1280. This workshop was also responsible for the epistolary and Gospel book (Cambrai, Bibl. mun., mss. 189–190) written by the scribe Johannes Phylomena in 1266 for Nicholas de Fontaines, Bishop of Cambrai, and the Pontifical of Cambrai (Toledo, Archivo de la Catedral, ms. 56.19) made around 1277 for Bishop Enguerrand de Créquy.[34] Like his Cambrai cohorts, the second illuminator painted the characteristic long-eared equine dragon with tri-colored outspread wings and striped body, which forms part of the initial stem. For the two male figures, he depicted round heads framed by wispy curls and drew small eyes and "archaic" smiles. His lighter palette of pink and blue differs from the dominant darker one of the first artist. The second illuminator's style appears to have been current into the 1270s; his presence, though quite minor, actually helps to support the dating of the Cloisters book to the 1270s. His intervention suggests that he was an outsider in a workshop perhaps somewhere in the Ile-de-France basin, or that the manuscript originated northeast of it, where the influence of Parisian style was strong.

Internal evidence shows that a professional shop produced Marie's book. An extant example of workshop procedure appears on folio 7 (fig. 3) in the margin left of the four-line initial, where a cursive letter *D* guided the illuminator to paint the initial *D* at Terce of the Hours of the Holy Spirit. That Marie's manuscript is very richly illuminated confirms her wealthy status. Parchment, pigments, especially gold, and profuse decoration must indeed have made this book expensive. Her book is also quite personalized in the pictorial program of the marginalia and initials.

Until now, no other contemporary French manuscript—Parisian or from the northeast—has prepared us for the virtual explosion of coordinated penwork and imagery in the margins of Marie's book. Natural and fabulous creatures and human beings squeeze themselves into line-fillers; they hug the initials and populate the margins. In the bottom margins of nearly all pages are blue and red pen-flourished diagonal shafts, independent from the texts above. They spout from faces of figures or creatures, or they emerge from their hands or paws, or even their behinds.[35] These astonishing penwork sprays resemble sparks, often converging toward the gutter of the book. Here also, different people of medieval society parade, for instance, a traveler with his staff and sack (fol. 57v, fig. 15; fol. 72r), a soldier (fols. 66v, 91r), a monk (fol. 11r), a priest (fol. 65v), a deacon (fol. 78v), a female spinner (fol. 59r), female and male falconers (fols. 154r, 203v), female and male dancers (fols. 61r, 77r, 74r), a bell-ringer (fols. 65r, 73v), or a male musician with a fiddle (fol. 76v). On the facing pages of the Vespers *Magnificat* of the Virgin (fols. 60v–61r; fig. 16), two young women dance face to face. We see the bizarre, such as a standing dog with a pilgrim's staff and purse (fol. 199v) or a hybrid knight with a sword confronted by a snail (fol. 114r),[36] and the exotic, such as a mermaid (fol. 79v). Hybrids of both sexes, and nude males, some covering their genitalia, inhabit the fringes of the sacred text. Would the peripheral activities serve as reminders of worldly life or human foibles and sins, or as amusing distractions, or as word play for the reader?[37] Some of these possibilities will be explored in the discussion of the pictorial program.

In Marie's prayer book, the picture cycle of initials focuses almost exclusively on laywomen. Out of twenty-one historiated initials throughout different offices, psalms, and prayers, sixteen portray women.

The canonical Hours of the Holy Spirit repeat the picture type of a female devotee alone in prayer in six of the seven extant initials. At Lauds (fol. 3r; fig. 1), a queen supplicates at an altar with a covered chalice, and at Terce (fol. 7r; fig. 3), she prays before a building. A lady, wearing a berbette, kneels in prayer before a church in the Prime initial (fol. 5v; fig. 2) and before a plain altar in the Sext initial (fol. 8v; fig. 4). At None (fol. 10r; fig. 5), a long-haired woman without a headdress, perhaps representing a sinner, petitions before a church. The Vespers initial (fol. 11v; fig. 6) illustrates a veiled worshipper at an altar. These women may represent different social categories. Even the smaller two-line initials occasionally depict

women, for instance the chapter initials of None and Vespers (fols. 11r and 12r).[38] Only at Compline (fol. 13v; fig. 7) does a crowned male supplicant appear. For this office, the picture cycle of single lay devotional figures kneeling upright with hands joined in prayer appears exceptional. In north-French books of hours, cycles usually illustrate the Passion of Christ and post-Passion scenes, or the Trinity, Pentecost, saints, or missionary activities of the apostles.[39] In Marie's book, the iconography of prayer for all the extant canonical Hours of the Holy Spirit is quite apt, for these initials seem to represent the silent world of meditation inspired by the Holy Spirit.

In contrast to the preceding cycle of contemplative life, the Hours of the Virgin shows a woman actively involved with her religious and family life. In the large Matins initial *D* of nine lines (fol. 17r; fig. 8), not one but two women approach the seated Virgin and Christ Child in an attitude of adoration. An older woman, wearing a wimple, at the left and a younger kneeling lady at the right suggest mother and daughter. These two family members appear nearly on the same scale as the Holy Family. They appeal to the Virgin with her Son as intercessor for and protector of the family. Under an arch beneath them, a rabbit as a common symbol of fertility alludes to the different generations or to the daughter's nubility.[40] Rabbits proliferate throughout the margins and line-fillers of the book.

In French books of hours for most of the thirteenth century, representations of the Virgin and Child were customary for Matins of the Virgin, and book owners frequently selected the Matins page as the favorite place for their portrayals.[41] Whereas one person is commonly depicted, illustrations of two women are rare. A late thirteenth-century book of hours from Rheims (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.98, fol. 1r) shows both a Franciscan nun and a laywoman supplicating before the standing Virgin and Child.[42] But so far only in Marie's Hours do I find a mother and daughter presented before the Marian image.[43]

Whereas the Matins text illustration is traditional in stressing personal devotions to the Virgin, the margins are replete with secular vignettes of hunting, music-playing, and martial games of combat and jousting—all aristocratic pastimes of the household. At the top, a hunter, accompanied by his pet dog (their heads trimmed by the binder), blows his horn while two hounds chase a rabbit. At the right, a youth plays a fiddle and glances up at a rabbit, perched on a foliate platform. In the bas-de-page, two mounted knights with swords charge toward a giant woman

standing frontally and holding two lances with pennants. To the right, spectators including two soldiers watch in a tower; a warrior, wearing a visor and equipped with a sword, a pennoned lance, and a shield, rides his galloping horse; two men (one cut off by the binder) battle with swords and round shields; and a female hybrid spreads her wings and holds up a round object. The chase of a rabbit by hounds would ordinarily be viewed as a common hunting motif in margins of private devotional books. Another familiar representation is the two jousting knights. They appear, for instance, in the lower margin of the Matins page of the Virgin in the late thirteenth-century Ruskins Hours (Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS Ludwig IX 3, fol. 37v),[44] or in the margins of the first psalm in thirteenth-century English and French psalters.[45] Such an image would often be interpreted as an exemplum of spiritual warfare between good and evil.[46] In Marie's Hours, the hunting and jousting illustrations are likely to be instructional as well.

The traditional metaphor for the mounted combatants is surely altered by the presence of an armed lady standing as the centerpiece of jousting in Marie's Hours. This female, rigid in composure, aloof from action, and enlarged in size, suggests an allegorical figure. The pictorial convention of a woman between the jousters is featured already in a psalter-hours of the 1250s from the Arras-Douai region (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.730, fol. 239v). Here she stands with two heraldic banners between the mounted knights, identifiable by their arms and caparisons; though similar in scale, they form the top part of the initial *L* of Psalm 121 in the Terce Hours of the Virgin.[47] The image of the lady holding banners may epitomize the contents of Ps. 121:6–8, especially verse 7, "Fiat pax in virtute tua" (Let peace be in thy strength). Perhaps this woman with banners personifies peace. But is this meaning generic enough for the same imagery rendered in other but later north-French liturgical or romance manuscripts? Such examples are in the bas-de-page of the first psalm illustration of David as a harpist and his beheading of Goliath in a late thirteenth-century psalter-hours (Manchester, John Rylands Library of the University of Manchester, MS Lat. 117, fol. 9r)[48] and in the bas-de-page of the first folio with a quadripartite miniature narrating the episodes of Joseph of Arimathea in the early fourteenth-century *Roman de Tristan* probably from Arras (Vienna, ÖNB, MS 2542, fol. 1r).[49] In the Tristan book, a queen in an armorial garb stands with her two pennoned lances but turns her head toward one of two knights on caparisoned

horses. Perhaps she does signify peace, in contrast to the violence represented by Sadoc's slaying of his brother Nabusarden, depicted in the initial *A* that begins the text.[50]

In Marie's book, however, the armed woman between the jousters may have additional meanings. In one sense, this bas-de-page image could be understood in the particular context of the Matins initial, where the two pious women devote themselves to the Holy Family. The Matins text begins with the versicle, *Domine labia mea aperies* (Open my lips O Lord) from Ps. 50:17. The following versicle and response from Ps. 69:1, *Deus in adiutorium me intende* and *Domine ad adiuuandum me festina*, are part of a prayer by David, who cries to the Lord to aid and protect him from enemies. These verses are eminently adaptable for supplication to the Virgin as the mediatrix and intercessor for the two women. At the foot of the page, the frontal woman appears as a standard-bearer. Could she also exemplify female prowess and embody self-protection?[51] Though clad in lay garments and headdress, she is armed with weapons to defend her honor—her chastity, complementing the Virgin's paradigm of chastity in the text initial. She does stand in direct alignment with the seated Virgin above. Another interpretation would be chivalrous: a knight fights as champion of his mistress and seeks to win her approval. Juliet Barker has pointed out that a lady wore or held tokens of jousters, that is, pennoned lances, and presented them as favors to the winner. Yet this practice was disapproved by the well-known Dominican preacher, James of Vitry, who viewed the woman as unchaste.[52] Perhaps in Marie's book she is considered a trophy—an object of erotic desire, which may be perceived as a chivalrous quest for virtuous love. As the equestrians charge and two spectators in the crenelated tower watch, they gaze at the lady in the center. But often in the eyes of the Church, which castigated jousting and tourneying, courtly love was interpreted as a euphemism for lust and adultery.[53] Similarly, rabbit hunting disguised the real quest for sexual satisfaction. Though chivalric rituals and sports form a public part of a noblewoman's life, they are here relegated to the margins of the manuscript. These peripheral images of hunting and jousting may seem distracting, but they also appear as didactic aids to remind the lady of her need to preserve her chastity; she was expected to be chaste, yet fruitful in procreation. More important, the block-like religious text centers the reader's attention on her private devotions, so aptly illustrated within the initial.

The canonical Hours of the Virgin from Lauds to Compline show other aspects of family life. The three initials of the second, third, and fourth canonical hours may be viewed together as a visual commentary on motherhood.

At Lauds (fol. 34v; fig. 9), a haloed woman, dressed in a gilt-like yellow garment modeled with olive green, stands alone and bows her head slightly. She extends a book toward the Deity above an altar, seemingly receiving divine inspiration or message from him. Perhaps this is an annunciation of the parturition, as to be realized in the following initial.

At Prime (fol. 43r; fig. 10), a standing mother cradles her swaddled infant in her arms in the presence of a female saint. This rendering of maternal love at this date seems quite unusual for the first stage of childhood.[54] Traditionally a birth scene or a seated mother holding or breastfeeding her babe on her lap signified infancy, for instance in the bottom medallion of the Ages of Man in the late thirteenth-century *Verger de Solas* from Arras (Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 9220, fol. 16r).[55] In Marie's book, the haloed figure holds up a book as though she displays it as an amulet of the word of God representing authority or protection. This holy woman may be a "lady mistress of the nursery," often appointed for her virtuous ways,[56] or a guardian to provide spiritual supervision of the young. The mother in intimate contact with her infant demonstrates her very human concern for parenting—nurturing and caring for her child.

The Terce initial (fol. 47r; fig. 11) represents another stage of childhood. A veiled woman, seated on a bench, grips a book with her right hand and raises her left hand toward a standing youth, who gesticulates and points with his left hand toward her. This illustration suggests a household scene of a mother educating her son. The mute infant of the Prime initial has grown to be a youth, whose stance signals his physical independence and whose gestures indicate his dialogue with his mother. Glances between the two bond them, for the mother with her book now imparts spiritual guidance to her son, just as she provides physical comfort for her infant in the previous initial. A woman's instructing her son can only have taken place at home, and not at school where a male tutor, cleric or lay, would teach him and others.[57] For the latter, illustrations based on the biblical precedent of Solomon and Rehoboam show a seated master, often wielding a rod or switches, before one or more seated pupils with their books.[58] Such a picture type also denotes one of the Ages of Man, labeled as "adolescens" in the same folio of the *Verger* manuscript.[59] It seems that around the middle of the

thirteenth century more extensive theological discussions of children's upbringing began to appear, especially in sermon manuals composed by prominent mendicants in Paris and Oxford.[60] Using these preaching aids for their sermons, priests disseminated ideas of child care and education to the laity. Marie's book is an early visual document, stressing the role of an ordinary woman—a mother—as an educator in childrearing. She was to instruct her children, boys as well as girls, to lead a pious life by memorizing and reciting psalms, the Paternoster, the Aves, the Creed, and prayers, and by learning the alphabet so that they could be literate enough to read their prayer books on a daily basis.[61]

The next four initials of Marie's Hours of the Virgin revert to illustrating devout practices undertaken in the middle stage of life. For both the fifth and sixth hours at Sext (fol. 50v; fig. 12) and None (fol. 53v; fig. 13), the initials focus on prayerful dialogue with the Lord. In each initial, a lady kneels before an altar. For Sext, the Deity appears beyond the altar to extend a scroll to a wimpled lady. At the foot of the page stands a nude male with a sword, one among many who populate the margins of the manuscript; this image may be apotropaic, protecting against dangers of lust and sexuality.[62] For None a younger devotee, wearing a snood, supplicates at the altar to God appearing above. The last two initials concern a young man performing religious observances. For Vespers (fol. 56v; fig. 14), a young man at right holds an open book before a tonsured cleric and another man. For Compline, the last hour in the evening (fol. 62r; fig. 17), presumably the mother's son or Marie's husband prays behind a cleric at a lectern.

After the Hours of the Virgin are two texts of special psalms, each introduced by a single historiated initial. Within the initial D of Psalm 6 (fol. 66v; fig. 18), the first of the Seven Penitential Psalms, a young lady kneels in profile, raising her joined hands before the seated Christ, who turns and blesses her with his right hand and holds a tripartite globe in his left. In close proximity, she petitions to Christ the Judge for mercy, an image expressing penance and concern for her salvation. She is not far removed from the chivalric life that most likely formed part of her noble background. In the haut-de-page is a public spectacle of a battle with sharp weapons in a tournament, the most dangerous of martial sports. Heraldic shields of an eagle displayed at the left and of a fleur-de-lis at the right help to identify the two teams of mounted knights. The home team, coming from a castle at the left, and the visiting team, coming from a tent and

announced by a trumpeter at the right, charge furiously toward each other. Tournaments were popular in the Low Countries, Lorraine, and northeast France, but they were banned in territories of the French kings in 1260 and 1280.[63] Like the jousting in the bas-de-page of the Matins, tourneying was condemned by the Church, which equated it with sins of pride, vainglory, and lust.[64] Disapproval of tournaments is clearly displayed in a fourteenth-century Toulouse manuscript of the tract, *Breviari d'amor* (Biblioteca de San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial, ms. S.I.n.3, no. 3). In the third register of one page, devils hover around in the tourneying scene.[65] Moreover, in Marie's Hours, the issue of avoiding lust is vividly illustrated at the bottom, where a soldier faces a young woman on the opposite page, each seemingly sparking currents toward the other (fols. 66v–67r; fig. 18). All these sacred and secular images are linked with the theme of the Penitential Psalms, which dwell on the remission of sins.

At the first of the fifteen Gradual Psalms, the initial *A* of Psalm 119 (fol. 75r; fig. 19) shows only a male devotee. A supplicating figure, such as David or an owner, usually illustrates this psalm. In this book, however, the figure is a cleric, sanctified by his halo, kneeling in the formulaic manner of supplicating before a church. His holy identity is uncertain. In spite of his prayer in tribulation, the theme of this psalm, his haven appears safe from the outside domain of violence represented in the margins by a person heaving a stone upon a crossbowman, a charging unicorn, and a dragon spouting a flourished jet at a rabbit, and in the bottom line-filler of the text by a man wielding a sword and a round shield. All these images are word plays on verse 4, which mentions arrows, and the last verse 7, which says: "With them that hated peace I was peaceable." These beings and creatures on the fringe wage aggression, whereas the holy figure within the text initial embodies the inner sanctity of peace. Despite his halo, the supplicant may represent a chaplain or confessor who imparted holy advice or wisdom to the book owner.

At the Office of the Dead, the Vespers initial *D* of Psalm 114 (fol. 94r; fig. 20) represents the last stage of human life. Instead of the usual funeral service in the presence of a draped bier, this illustrates a rare scene, the last rite at the deathbed of a laic with a liturgical reading in the background. The partially nude man on the bed has just died; his face contorted by pain reveals his last agony, and his head turned to the side indicates the moment of death. His widow, identified by her headdress, holds her cheek in sorrow; a woman

tears her hair in the traditional gesture of bewailing; and a man grieves with his right hand to his cheek and touches the dead man's bedcover. They mourn the deceased, while in the presence of two lit candles and an altar cross a cleric reads the service book before two men. Despite the solemn event inside the initial, life outside the textblock goes on. An archer shoots at a stag pursued by a dog and confronted by two more dogs and a hunter. At right a nude man clambers up a stem, and in the lower right two of three creatures run and two youths wield weapons. In this particular context, the image of the pursued stag may allegorize the capture of the soul—a figure of mortality.[66] One more but small historiated initial of three lines (fol. 105v) introduces the first Matins lesson (Job 7:16–21), *Parce michi*, with an illustration of a standing cleric in a white vestment, holding an open book. The user would recite the office not only at funerals, but also as an exercise to prepare for death and judgment, to remember the dead, and to ensure salvation for the souls of the departed, here in this book for deceased family members and benefactors.

At the end of the manuscript, a woman is portrayed twice in her devotions. She prays to the Deity at an altar in the initial *U* of the Psalter of Jerome (fol. 186r). Appropriately, in the last historiated initial, *D* (fol. 198r; fig. 22), a young woman supplicating behind a standing priest at an altar illustrates the prayer to the Trinity, *Domine deus pater omnipotens qui es trinus et unus*, that mentions her name, Marie, on the verso.[67] There follows a special prayer to her namesake, Mary Magdalene, who is considered a paragon of penitence. Although its initial is not illustrated, the bottom margin features a woman looking at an object. Perhaps this is a mirror, symbolizing vanity and lust in reference to the saint's former sins.[68] Thus, this image would serve as an admonishment to the reader.

How unusual is the woman cycle in Marie's book for thirteenth-century French *horae*? To my knowledge so far, few books of hours of the 1260s and 1270s portray laywomen except in a simple repetitive mode of supplication for the canonical hours of the Office of the Virgin. One example is a Parisian manuscript of the 1260s in Baltimore (Walters Art Gallery, MS W.40).[69] Women in their formulaic devotional pose of kneeling with joined hands raised illustrate the seven initials of Lauds to Vespers of the Virgin and of the Matins Psalm 5 of the Office of the Dead. They pray before an altar except for the one in the Terce initial, who holds a book. The Matins initial depicts the Virgin with the Child, and the Compline initial shows presumably a husband at an altar. The earlier Walters Office of the Virgin, attributed to the Bari workshop by Lilian Randall, is no doubt a precedent for Marie's book, which considerably expands the woman cycle throughout.

Another cycle of a praying woman appears in the Office of the Virgin for the use of Saint-Denis, Rheims, executed in a style of the 1270s pointing to eastern France (Paris, BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 915).[70] At Matins the eight-line initial of the versicle, *Domine labia mea aperies*, depicts the traditional image of the Madonna and Child between the curtains, but the two-line initial of the next versicle, *Deus in adiutorium meum intende*, shows a female devotional figure wearing a wimpled veil and kneeling with her joined hands raised, beside a book on the ground. Except for Prime, illustrated with the Flagellation of Christ, other canonical hours represent a lady engaged in different devotional observances before an altar. Yet the Saint-Denis of Rheims book includes numerous prayers and collects in male gender; only one prayer has feminine endings.[71]

By the 1260s, however, French books of hours begin to include narrative cycles of the Virgin and Christ for canonical Hours of the Virgin and other offices, such as those of the Holy Spirit or the Passion. An early example of the 1260s for Sens use adopts a cycle of Christ's infancy in six initials of Lauds to Vespers of the Office of the Virgin.[72] Representations of women now tend to be fewer, as they are featured principally at the Matins page of the Office of the Virgin, or at the Penitential Psalm 6, or at the first Gradual Psalm 119. This occurs in a Parisian book of hours (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.97),[73] which has only two initial illustrations of a woman supplicant, at Matins of the Virgin and at Gradual Psalm 119. The remaining extant initials of the Virgin depict the Passion of Christ. In view of this background, Marie's book becomes an important, extensive pictorial document of female lay piety.

Yet the Hours of Marie was not only a book of piety, but also an instruction book for a woman. It would have proposed several ways to instruct the domestic household in reading, reciting, memorizing, praying, and following a Christian way of life as close as possible to the customs of the religious. The focus of one's devotions was, of course, the Latin texts in black letters within the ruled frames. The Offices of the Holy Spirit, of the Virgin, and of the Dead, the Penitential Psalms, the Gradual Psalms, the Psalter of Jerome, and the Creed furnished the standard texts to

read and to recite at church or home. The Marian litany, although uncommon, offered rhyming exercises to recite from memory in praise of the Virgin; it would be analogous to reciting the Aves of the Virgin. The individual prayers selected here were intended for the female reader. Some prayers were familiar, such as the *O intemerata*; others were not, such as those to Mary Magdalene and Nicholas chosen for the reader's devotions. This book of hours, like many others, provided the chief means of instructing a laywoman to read in Latin. It was a primer. Through pronunciation, recitation, and familiarity of Latin texts in her constant practice of devotions, she learned to read. She also taught the alphabet and later the devotions to her children of both genders in the household. Michael Clanchy aptly described the book of hours as a domesticated liturgical book.[74] Books of hours became important for the lay in the thirteenth century, especially in connection with the edicts of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. One factor was the decree that the laity was to make a confession at least once a year to a priest.[75] A result was to make a layperson examine her or his individual conscience. A book of hours provided suitable means of offering individual devotions through constant prayer to aid her or his conscience so as to lead a pious Christian life. In a sense, books of hours were a religious version of etiquette books of proper behavior for the lay.[76] They rapidly superseded psalters as the favorite prayer book of the laity, especially women.

In Marie's Hours, the text illustrations would have offered guidance to spiritual life, and the margins would have provided glimpses of and also edification to avoid sins of the worldly life and chivalrous culture and to ward off temptations of the soul. The periphery becomes a dynamic arena of figures performing social duties of secular and religious life, or human beings, creatures, and hybrids strutting, or clambering up stems, or emitting thunderbolts of penwork shafts. In contrast, most of the text initials center on interiorized devotions at different times of the day or at different stages of human life. The reiterated images mainly of a woman kneeling in erect pose with joined hands would have served as exemplary reminders to the reader-viewer about when and how to pray.[77] These institute a devotional schedule for the laity, patterned after the monastic routine of prayer.

The text illustrations also show three different states of womanhood: virginity, marriage with family, and widowhood. The presence of the two women in the Matins initial of the Virgin (fol. 17r; fig. 8) suggests that the mother commissioned the book as a wedding gift for her daughter, Marie. As Susan Bell pointed out, books of hours were traditional gifts for young women.[78] Though perceived as the model of virginity, Mary was considered also the maternal paragon to the daughter. It is noteworthy that the three individual prayers to Nicholas included at the end of the book underscore his importance for Marie as patron saint of maidens.[79] In the Lauds and Prime initials of the Office of the Virgin (fols. 34v, 43r; figs. 9, 10), the holy woman's presence in the domestic life of a mother may exemplify wisdom and saintliness. This perhaps introduces a new perception of ordinary women as lay saints who assure their holiness by repeatedly reciting their devotions in their daily life. Holiness was no longer restricted to nuns and saints. As new models of sanctity, wives and mothers were to lead and to perpetuate the Christian life through their offspring.[80] The Lauds, Prime, and Terce illustrations of the same office stress the role of the book in women's lives. The Terce initial (fol. 47r; fig. 11) shows a mother's use of a book in providing catechetical instruction for her child. This was a task prescribed not for priests but for parents or god-parents, according to synodal statutes issued in north France and the Low Countries after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, which were largely based on those of Eudes de Sully, Bishop of Paris from 1196 to 1208.[81] Here the illustration shows her concern for passing on the religious instruction and conduct to the next generation. This could be demonstrated with the young man's attendance in religious services at Vespers and Compline (fols. 56v, 62r; figs. 14, 17). These rather generalized illustrations could represent the mother's son or Marie's spouse. As for the third stage, the illustration of widowhood in the Office of the Dead concludes a woman's married life with her spouse (fol. 94r; fig. 20). This office reminds the user of his or her own mortality and the need to attain eternal salvation. Altogether, Marie's Book of Hours shows and endorses women as transmitters of religious and family values from one generation to the next. It is a family book.

Marie's manuscript belongs to a group of some fifty French books of hours surveyed to date, over half of which were made for laywomen, who surely formed a prominent social group of book owners in the thirteenth century. These manuscripts pose an interesting question as to the extent to which women had influence on manuscript production. This involves issues of status, money, connections, literacy, and pious need for devotions. These qualifications were surely met by Marie and her mother, whose requests

for particular devotional texts and didactic images, especially of female supplicants, must have wrought a close relationship with the book makers.

Marie's prayer book remains a remarkable document for its cyclic representations of a woman's life involved with her devotions and with her family on a spiritual level. It generates a wealth of insights into the religious family life and social status of women after the middle of the thirteenth century.

Index of Christian Art
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

Appendix

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cloisters, MS L.1990.38

Book of hours, France, Île-de-France or Northeast; early 1270s.

DESCRIPTION

Parchment: fol. i (modern) + fols. 3–207 (+2 = fols. 159bis, 187bis, medieval) + ii (medieval) + i (modern). The first two text leaves have been paginated 1–4 in pencil in outer top corner; the rest are foliated in pencil in bottom right, beginning with the third leaf as fol. 5. Ever since the manuscript was purchased by the current owner, its first leaf has been designated as fol. 3, which is followed here. Altogether the medieval leaves total 209 folios (fols. 3–207 = 205 + 2 [fols. 159b, 187bis] = 207 + two medieval end leaves = 209).

Size: whole page, 174 x 115 mm; written area, 110 x 70 mm; trimmed by binder; single column of eighteen lines of script. Ruling in lead. First ruling pattern of horizontals bound by double verticals extended to top and bottom of the page, with double verticals of full length in outer margins and double horizontals of full width in bottom margins in quires 1–4 (fols. 3r–32v) and 13–14 (fols. 94r–109v). Second ruling pattern of horizontals bound by single verticals extended to top and bottom of the page in quires 5–12 (fols. 33r–93v) and 15–28 (fols. 110r–207v).

Collation: 1⁶? (fols. 3–8; lacks some leaves; thread after fol. 3v; fol. 3r–v Lauds of the Hours of the Holy Spirit; inserted leaf fol. 4 of Matins of the Holy Spirit, followed by Lauds on fol. 5r), 2–11⁸ (fols. 9–88), 12⁶⁻¹ (fols. 89–93; thread between fols. 91 and 92; lacks leaf 5), 13–19⁸ (fols. 94–149), 20⁴ (fols. 150–153), 21⁸ (fols. 154–160, 159bis), 22–23⁸ (fols. 161–176), 24⁸⁻² (fols. 177–182; thread between fols. 178 and 179; lacks leaves 1, 2), 25⁸ (fols. 183–189, 187bis; thread between fols. 186 and 187), 26–27⁸ (fols. 190–205), 28⁴ (fols. 206–207 + ii; thread between fols. 207 and i; fol. 207v blank; end fols. i, ii, unruled and blank).

Script: *textura semiquadrata* in black ink; red rubrics in Latin and French for beginning and divisions of texts; occasional red strokes for capitals.

Penwork decoration: One-line versals in alternating gold with blue penwork and blue with red penwork, typically Parisian of the third quarter of the thirteenth century.

Diagonal penwork sprays in blue and red, flanking blue (not gold) spines, in lower margins of nearly all pages. Example of penwork spray drawn after a painted figure on fol. 61r (a penwork shaft curves around the raised right hand of a female dancer and then straightens to a diagonal, fig. 16).

Painted decoration: Twenty-one historiated initials of nine to three lines, introducing the major texts and the canonical hours of the Offices of the Holy Spirit and of the Virgin. One nine-line initial for Matins of the Virgin; one eight-line initial for the Vespers of the Office of the Dead; nine six-line initials for the remaining canonical hours of the Virgin, Penitential Psalm 6, and Gradual Psalm 119; seven four-line initials for Prime to Compline of the Holy Spirit and for the Psalter of Jerome; three three-line initials for Lauds of the Holy Spirit, first lesson of the Office of the Dead, and the prayer to the Trinity, *Domine deus pater omnipotens qui es trinus et unus.*

Two-line decorated initials for texts, such as prayers, and for subdivisions of texts, e.g., psalms, hymns, lessons, chapters, canticles, and collects. Infillings of occasional busts or half-figures of women and men and, more typically, foliage and hybrids.

Line-fillers painted in gold, blue, and rose pink grounds embellished with fish, animals including running rabbits and dogs, dragons, hybrids, birds, female and male human figures, sometimes playing musical instruments or wielding weapons.

CONTENTS

Folio   Text/Illustration

3–15 LONG HOURS OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

3   LAUDS. 3-line *initial D*, Queen kneeling in prayer before draped altar with covered chalice.

5v   PRIME. *Ad prime.* 4-line *initial D*, Woman, wearing snood and headdress, kneeling in prayer before church.

7   TERCE. *Ad tierce.* 4-line *initial D*, Queen kneeling in prayer before building.

8v   SEXT. *Ad miedi.* 4-line *initial D*, Woman, wearing head-dress, kneeling in prayer before draped altar.

10   NONE. *Ad none.* 4-line *initial D*, Woman with long hair, kneeling in prayer before church.

11v   VESPERS. *Ad vespres.* 4-line *initial D*, Veiled woman kneeling in prayer before draped altar.

13v   COMPLINE. *Ad complie.* 4-line *initial C*, King kneeling in prayer, before building.

15v–16v PRAYER [added in Italian brown *rotunda* script of fourteenth or fifteenth century]. Domine ihesu christe fili dei et gloriose uirginis marie summe sacerdos et pontifex eterne tibi et patri et spiritu sancto peccati misericordia magna.... *Infra scripti uersus extracti sunt de psalterios et sunt magne uirtutis.* In manus tuas domine commendo spiritum meum redemisti me domine deus ueritatis. Illumina oculos meos ne numquam obdormiam in morte....

17–66   HOURS OF THE VIRGIN, unidentified use, with nine lessons at Matins.

17   MATINS. 9-line *initial D*, Seated Virgin and Child flanked by wimpled mother and daughter, both kneeling, above rabbit beneath arch. *Margin, top,* Hunting scene of dog beside hunter, and two hounds pursuing rabbit. *Margin, right,* Youth playing viol and knight wearing visor and armor, with pennoned lance, sword and shield, on galloping horse. *Margin, bottom,* Woman holding two pennoned lances, flanked by two mounted jousters with swords, and spectators in castle; winged female hybrid; and two men battling each other with shield and sword.

34v   LAUDS. *In laudibus.* 6-line *initial D*, Female saint standing, extending book, in communication with the Lord above draped altar.

43   PRIME. *Ad prime.* 6-line *initial D*, Female saint holding up book, and veiled mother cradling swaddled infant, both

47   TERCE. *Ad tierce.* 6-line *initial D*, Veiled woman holding white book, seated on bench, beside young man standing (mother instructing son).

50v   SEXT. *Ad miedi.* 6-line *initial D*, Woman wearing wimpled veil, kneeling in prayer to the Lord above draped altar.

53v   NONE. *Ad nonam.* 6-line *initial D*, Woman wearing snood, kneeling in prayer to the Lord above draped altar.

56v   VESPERS. *Ad vespres.* 6-line *initial D*, Liturgical scene of cleric and two men, one holding open book, all standing.

62   COMPLINE. *Ad complie.* 6-line *initial C*, Man, possibly husband or son, kneeling in prayer behind cleric holding open book on lectern.

66v–75 SEVEN PENITENTIAL PSALMS 6, 31, 37, 50, 101, 129, and 142.

66v   *Ci commencent les vii siaumes.* **Psalm 6**. Domine ne in furore.... 6-line *initial D*, Woman kneeling in prayer, before Christ blessing and holding tripartite globe, seated on bench. *Margin, top*, Tournament scene with castle at left and tent at right. *Margin, bottom*, Soldier armed with shield and armor.

75–82v GRADUAL PSALMS 119–133.

75   *Ci commencent xv saumes.* **Psalm 119**. Ad te dominum cum tribularer clamaui.... 6-line *initial A*, Haloed cleric kneeling in prayer before church. *Margins*, Unicorn, crossbow man, and man heaving stone, and hybrid issuing jet of pen spray at rabbit; *Line-filler*, Man with shield and sword.

82v–86v MISCELLANEOUS TEXTS.

82v   **Athanasian Creed**. Quicumque uult.... 2-line *initial Q*, Half figure of youth.

85v   **Psalm 78**. *Siaume dd.* Deus uenerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam polluerunt et templum sanctum tuum posuerunt....

86v   **Kyrie eleison**. Paternoster. Et ne nos....

87   **Prayer**. Oremus. *Oroison.* Deus qui ad redemptionis nostre exibenda mysteria....

87–93v LITANY, PETITIONS, PRECES, and COLLECTS.

87–89v Litany. *La letanie.* Kyrie eleyson, Xpiste eleyson, Xpiste audi nos, Pater de celis deus, Fili redemptor mundi, spiritus sancte, sancta trinitas unus deus, sancta maria, sancta dei genitrix, sancta uirgo uirginum, sancte michael, sancte gabriel, sancte raphael, omnes sancti angeli et archangeli dei, orate pro nobis, omnes sancti beatorum spiritum ordines, sancte iohannes baptiste, omnes sancti patriarche et prophete orate pro nobis. [**16 Apostles and Evangelists**] Sancte petre, paule, andrea, iohannes, iacobe, philippe, bartholomee, mathee, thoma, iacobe, symon, thadee, mathia, barnaba, luca, marce, omnes sancti apostoli et euangeliste. orate pro nobis. omnes sancti discipuli domini orate, omnes sancti innocentes orate pro nobis. [**14 Martyrs**] Sancte stephane, line, clete, clemens, syxte, urbane, corneli, cypriane, laurenti, uincenti, dyonisii cum sociis tuis, maurici cum sociis tuis, hyrenee cum sociis tuis, firmine, omnes sancti martyres orate pro nobis. [**15 Confessors**] Sancte siluester, leo, gregori, hylari, martine, nicholae, ambrosi, augustine, germane, uedaste, remigii, ieronime, benedicte, columbane, maure, omnes sancti confessores orate pro nobis. [**10 Virgins**] Sancta maria magdalene, felicitas, perpetua, agatha, agnes, cecilia, lucia, margareta, columba, scolastica, omnes sancte uirgines orate pro nobis.

89v–91v **Petitions**. Propicius esto parce nobis domine. *Ab.* 1) Ab omni malo libere nos domine. 2) Ab insidiis diaboli libera nos domine. 3) Ab imminentibus peccatorum nostrorum periculis. 4) Ab infestationibus demonum. 5) A spiritu fornicationis. 6) Ab appetitu inanis glorie. 7) Ab omni immundicia mentis et corporis. 8) Ab ira et odio et omni mala uoluntate. 9) Ab omnibus prauis cogitationibus. 10) A cecitate cordis. 11) A fulgure et tempestate. 12) A subitanea morte. 13) A dampnatione perpetua. *Per.* 1) Per mysterium sancte incarnatione tue. 2) Per passionem et crucem tuam. 3) Per gloriosam resurrectionem tuam. 4) Per admirabilem ascensionem tuam. 5) Per graciam sancti spiritu paracliti. In die iudicii. Peccatores te rogamus audi nos. *Ut.* 1) Ut pacem nobis dones te rogamus audi nos. 2) Ut misericordia et pietas tua nos custodiat. 3) Ut ecclesiam tuam regere et defensare digneris. 4) Ut domnum apostolicum et omnes gradus ecclesie in sancta religione conseruare digneris. 5) Ut regibus et principibus nostris pacem et ueram concordiam atque uictoriam donare digneris. 6) Ut episcopos et abbates nostros et omnes congregationes illis commissas in sancta religione conseruare deus. 7) Ut cunctum populum christianum precioso sanguine tuo redemptum conseruare digneris. 8) Ut omnibus benefactoribus nostris sempiterna bona retribuas. 9) Ut animas nostras et parentum nostrorum ab eterna dampnatione eripias. 10) Ut fructus terre dare et conseruare digneris. 11) Ut oculos misericordie tue super nos reducere digneris. 12) Ut obsequium seruitutis nostre rationabile facias. 13) Ut mentes nostras ad celestia desideria erigas. 14) Ut miserias pauperum et captiuorum intueri et releuare digneris. 15) Ut locum istum et omnes habitantes in eo uisitare et consolari deus. 16) Ut regularibus disciplinis nos instruere digneris. 17) Ut iter famulorum famularumque tuarum in salutis tue prosperitate disponas. 18) Ut omnibus fidelibus defunctis requiem eternam dones. 19) Ut nos exaudire digneris.

91v–92 **Preces**. Fili dei (3 x). Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi.... (3 x). Paternoster....

92–93v **Collects** with French rubrics, *orison* for the first collect and *autre orison* for the remaining collects. [Latin words for servant(s) in bold indicate gender.] 1) Deus qui corda fidelium sancti spiritus illustratione docuisti.... 2) Deus cui proprium est misereri semper et parcere suscipe deprecationem nostram et quos delictorum cathena constringit miseratio tue pietatis absoluat. 3) Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui facis mirabilia magna solus pretende super **famulos tuos** et super cunctas congregationes illis commissas.... 4) Pretende domine misericordiam tuam **famulis et famulabus** tuis dexteram celestis auxilii.... 5) Actiones nostras quesumus domine et aspirando preueni et adiuuando prosequere ut cuncta operato.... 6) Deus a quo sancta desideria recta consilia et iusta sunt opera da seruis tuis.... 7) Animabus quesumus domine **famulorum famularumque tuarum** oratio proficiat supplicantium ut eas et a peccatis omnibus.... 8) Deus qui es sanctorum tuorum splendor mirabilis atque lapsorum subleuator inenarrabilis fac nos **famulos tuos** sancte dei genitricis uirginis....

94–131v OFFICE OF THE DEAD, use of Senlis, with nine lessons at Matins.

94–100v VESPERS. *Ci commencent vespres des mors.*

94   **Antiphon**. *A.* Placebo domino [cue]. **Psalm 114**. Dilexi quoniam.... 8-line *initial D*, Last Rite, the last agony and death of man in the presence of widow, female and male

mourners, and cleric reading service. *Margin, top,* Archer and hounds pursuing stag; hunter and two hounds encountering the stag. *Margin, right,* Two men battling; rabbit.

99–100v **Collects** following Vespers. 1) *Orison.* Inclina domine aurem tuam ad preces nostras, quibus misericordiam tuam supplices deprecamur ut **animam famuli tui N. et animas famulorum famularumque tuarum....** 2) *Orison pour son pere et pour sa mere.* Deus qui nos patrem et matrem hon orare precipisti.... 3) *Orison pour feme.* Quesumus domine pro tua pietate miserere **anime famule tue....** 4) *Orison pour touz ses bienfaiteurs.* Miserere quesumus domine animabus omnium benefactorum nostrorum.... 5) *Orison pour touz ses bienfaiteurs.* Deus uenie largitor et humane...ut nostre congregationis fratres et sorores parentes amicos et benefactores nostros.... 6) *Orison pour tous le fiz diu.* Fidelium deus omnium conditor et redemptor **animabus famulorum famularumque tuarum....**

100v–120 MATINS. *Ci commencent matines des mors.*

100v **Invitatory.** *Inuitatorium.* Regem cui omnia uiuunt. Uenite adoremus. **Psalm 94.** *Ps. dd.* Uenite exultemus....

101v **Antiphon.** *A.* Dirige. **Psalm 5.** *Ps. dd.* Uerba mea auribus....

105v **Lesson 1 (L.)** Parce michi.... 3-line *initial P,* Cleric in white, standing and holding book; **response (R.)** Credo quod; **versicle (V.)** Quem uisurus. **L. 2** Tedet animam; **R.** Qui lazarum; **V.** Qui suscitasti. **L. 3** Manus tue; **R.** Heu michi; **V.** Anima mea turbata. **L. 4** Responde michi; **R.** Ne recorderis; **V.** Cui monti. **L. 5** Homo natus; **R.** Peccentem me; **V.** Deus in nomine tuo. **L. 6** Quis michi; **R.** Ne tradas; **V.** Memorare que. **L. 7** Spiritus meus; **R.** Memento mei; **V.** Cucis mea. **L. 8** Pelli mee; **R.** Libera me domine de uiis in ferni; **V.** Clamentes. **L. 9** Quare de uulua; **R.** Libera me domine de morte eterna; **V.** Dies illa dies.

120–131v LAUDS. *Chi commenchent les laudes des mors.*

120 **Antiphon.** *Antiene.* Exultabunt....

128v–131v **Collects** following Lauds. 1) *Orison pour touz.* Partem beate resurrectionis obtineat **anime famulorum famularumque tuarum....** 2) *Orison pour son pere et pour sa mere.* Deus qui nos patrem et matrem honorare precipisti.... 3) *Orison pour feme.* Quesumus domine pro tua pietate miserere **anime famule tue....** 4) *Orison por touz ses bienfaiteurs.* Miserere quesumus domine animabus omnium benefactorum nostrorum.... 5) *Orison pour tous ses bienfacteurs.* Deus uenie largitor et humane...ut nostre congregationis fratres et sorores parentes amicos et benefactores nostros.... 6) *Orison pour touz les fiz diu.* Fidelium deus omnium conditor et redemptor **animabus famulorum famularumque tuarum....**

131v–151v COMMENDATION OF THE SOUL.

131v **[Response].** *Antiene.* Subuenite sancti dei.... *Antiene.* Chorus angelorum.... **Collect.** *Orison.* Tibi domine commendamus **animam famuli tui et animas famulorum famularumque tuarum....**

132 **Collect.** *Autre orison.* Misericordiam tuam domine sancte pater...ut **animam famuli tui et animas famulorum famularumque....**

132v *Toutes li siaumes que ondit ou seruige des mors doiuent estre dites sans Gloria patri et sicut erat* [for Psalms 113–118].

133 **Antiphon.** *A.* Suscipiat. **Psalm 113.** *Ps.* In exitu israel de egypto....

134v **Collect.** *Orison.* Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui humano

corpore ad similitudinem...**animam famuli tui et animas famulorum famularumque tuarum....**

150–151v **Collects.** *Orison.* Dixi [Diri] uulneris nouitate percussi et quodammodo cordibus.... Pater noster.... *Orison pour touz.* Partem beate resurrectionis obtineat uitamque eternam habere.... *Orison pur touz.* Deus cui soli competit medicinam prestare post mortem tribue quesumus ut **anima famuli tui et anime famulorum famularumque tu arum....** *Orison pour touz.* Absolue domine **animam famuli tui et animas famulorum famularumque tuarum....**

152 PRAYER [added in fourteenth or fifteenth century by the same Italian scribe of prayers on fols. 15v–16v]. Domine Ihesu christe qui captus est es iudeis, miserere mei. Secundo domine ihesu christe qui ligatus es ad colupna, miserere mei....

152v–153v Blank.

154–173 SUFFRAGES, PRAYER, CANTICLE, PSALMS.

154 *Ici commencent les memoires des sains et des saintes quel on doit dire apres le decrain ne oroison de matines ou apres lorison de prime ou apres lorison de vespres.* [Forty suffrages, usually introduced by French rubrics, often Memoire de...].

154–169 **Suffrages.** Trinity, Holy Spirit, Holy Cross, Virgin Mary, Angels, John Baptist, Evangelist John, Apostle Andrew, Apostles Peter and Paul and other Apostles, Apostle Peter, Stephen Protomartyr, Holy Innocents, Victor the Martyr, Lawrence of Rome, Dionysius the Areopagite, Cyriacus and Julitta of Tarsus, Blasius of Sebaste, Thomas of Canterbury, Nicasius of Reims, Martyrs, Francis of Assisi, Maurus of Glanfeuil, Eligius of Noyon, Fiacrius of Meaux, Sulpicius of Bourges, Nicholas of Myra, Martin of Tours, Germanus of Paris, Confessors, Mary Magdalene, Catherine of Alexandria, Geneviève of Paris, Margaret of Antioch, Apollonia of Alexandria, Elizabeth of Hungary, All Saints, Peace. [Blank fols. 157v, 158r, 161v, 165r–v, 168v].

169v **Prayer to God.** *Orison a deu.* Deus qui contritorum non despicis.... [*Corpus Orationum,* ed. E. Moeller et al., Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 160A, 2 (Turnholt, 1993), no. 1503].

170 **Suffrage.** Leonard of Limoges.

170–170v **Canticle.** *Cantike.* Magnificat anima mea dominum....

171–172 **Psalm 119.** Ad dominum cum tribularer.... **Psalm 118:17.** Retribuo seruo tuo uiuifica me.... **Psalm 125.** In conuertendo dominus captiuitatem syon.... **Psalm 122.** Ad te leuaui oculos meos....

172v–173 **Suffrages.** Lupus of Sens and Theobald of Provins.

173–176 LITANY OF THE VIRGIN.

173 *Letanie de nostre dame.* Kyrie eleyson, Christe audi nos, Pater bis, Fili redemptor mundi deus miserere nobis, Spiritus sancte deus miserere nobis, Sancta trinitas unus deus miserere nobis, Sancta maria mater xpisti ora pro nobis, Sancta maria dei genitrix, Sancta maria mater innupta, Sancta maria mater intacta.... [71 invocations of Sancta maria all together].

176 Aue maria gratia plena dominus tecum benedicta tu in mulieribus intercede **pro misera peccatrice et famulis et famulabus tuis.**

176v **PRAYER** to All Saints. *Orison a deu.* Concede quesumus omnipotens deus ut intercessio nos sancte dei genitricis semperque uirginis marie et omnium sanctorum celestium uirtutum beatorum spirituum patriarcharum.... [*Corpus Orationum,* 160, 1 (1992), no. 752a].

177 Ruling only.

177v **THE MASS OF THE VIRGIN**. *Introite de la messe nostre dame*. Salue sancta parens enixa puerpera...[U. Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum* (Louvain, 1892–1921), no. 18197].

177v–178 **GLORIA**. Gloria in excelsis deo et in terra pax hominibus bone uoluntatis laudamus te benedicimus te adoramus te....

178-179 **Creed**. *Cest la credo que lendit a la messe apres levangile.* Credo in unum deum patrem omnipotentem factorem....

179–185 **PRAYER**, in verse. Deus pater piissime christe / ihesu dulcissime spiritus clementissime non est deus rex preter te /.... [*Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, ed. G. Dreves (Leipzig, 1886–1922), XV, 12–17, no. 2].

185 **PRAYER** to the Virgin. Deus qui uirginalem aulam beate marie semper uirginis.... [Leroquais, *Livres d'heures*, II, 125; *Corpus Orationum*, 160B, 3 (1993), no. 2167].

185v–197v PSALTER OF JEROME.

185v Beatus uero ieronimo in hoc mundo hoc psalterium vreuitur composuit ubi spiritus sanctus eum docuit.... *Ci se commence le sautier saint jerome.*

186 **Psalm 5**. Uerba mea auribus percipe domine.... 4-line *initial U*, Woman kneeling in prayer to the Lord above altar.

198-207 PRAYERS.

198–199v *Ci commencent les grans orisons en latin et en francois. Orison a diu.* Domine deus pater omnipotens qui es trinus et unus...**famula tua maria** omnem iactantiam mentis et auge in me compunctionem (fol. 198v)...[Leroquais, *Livres d'heures*, I, 210; Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, 573–75]. 3-line *initial D*, Woman kneeling in prayer behind standing cleric before altar.

200–201v *Alia oratio.* Domine deus omnipotens rex creator celi et terre sancta trinitas unus deus tibi confiteor omnia peccata mea que **ego misera peccatrix** feci.... [Leroquais, *Psautiers*, I, 6].

201v–203 *Orison pour les auersitez.* Iuste iudex ihesu xpiste rex regum et domine qui cum patre sancto regum et domine qui cum sancto flamine tu digneris preces nostras clementer suscipere.... [Leroquais, *Livres d'heures*, I, 155, 340].

203–204v *Orison de nostre dame et de saint iehan euangelistre.* O intemerata et in eternum benedicta singularis atque incomparabilis uirgo dei genitrix maria...esto michi pia in omnibus auxiliatrix.... [Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels*, 488–90].

204v–205 *De sainte marie magdalene orison.* O piissima peccatrix / pedumque dei lauatrix / non de fontibus aquarum / sed de guttis lacrimarum /.... [*Analecta Hymnica*, XXXII, 138–9, no. 158]. *Margin, bottom,* Woman with mirror(?).

205–207 1) *Orison de saint nicholai.* Nicholae beatissime amice dei te peto ut succurras **michi misere peccatrici** in hora exitus mei quem pietatis causa colit omnis ecclesia per totum orbem diffusa...ut **michi ancille tue** obtineas regnum uite.... 2) *Orison a deu.* O immense et ineffabilis misericordie sancte nicholae qui nautis tempestate.... 3) *De saint nicolas autre orison.* Sancte dei nicholae flos sanctorum fons bonorum te presumo inuocare exaudi me dignere....

207v Blank.

History

Written and illuminated for a woman, named Marie on fol. 198v, in northern France in the 1270s.

Italian possession in the fourteenth or fifteenth century (added prayers on fols. 15v–16v, 152r).

Rebound by the firm of Léon Gruel, Paris bookbinders and booksellers of late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (for description of the binding, see below for the 1932 catalogue of Hôtel Drouot).

Sold at Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 13–14 June 1932, 8–9, lot 7, (*Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de Feu M. L.-A. Barbet*, Première partie, Manuscrits sur vélin avec miniatures...). I thank the owner of Marie's Book of Hours for this reference. Since this catalogue is not widely available, I give the description:

> 7. [HORAE]—In-8 de 203 ff., mar. La Vall., bordures et comp. estampés à froid, dos orné, tr. dor. (Gruel).
>
> Très beau manuscrit du XIIIᵉ siècle sur vélin très fin, exécuté pour l'usage d'un monastère de chanoines réguliers de Senlis.
>
> Il est orné de 21 superbes initiales miniaturées en or et en couleurs, dont trois avec montants de bordure et, dans les marges, de 280 ravissants dessins en couleurs, représentant les personnages les plus variés, des grotesques, des animaux, etc.
>
> Le texte est orné de nombreuses majuscules et de bouts de lignes en or et en couleurs renfermant des poissons, des chiens, des lapins et des êtres fantastiques.
>
> Les titres des prières sont en français.—Deux ff. d'oraisons ont été ajoutés au XVᵉ siècle.
>
> Hauteur 174 mill.

After 1932 acquired by several anonymous owners until 1987 when the manuscript was in the possession of a London bookdealer, Sam Fogg. From 1987 owned by an anonymous American collector. On loan to the Cloisters of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (MS L.1990.38) since 1990.

Notes

For suggestions, I am indebted to Elizabeth Beatson, Michael Curshmann, Paula Gerson, Thomas Kren, James Marrow, Ruth Mellinkoff, Judith Oliver, John Plummer, Lilian Randall, Richard and Mary Rouse, Pamela Sheingorn, Patricia Danz Stirnemann, Alison Stones, Elizabeth Teviotdale, Amy Vandersall, and Roger Wieck, and to my Index of Christian Art colleagues, Barbara Deimling and Lois Drewer. Versions of this paper have been presented at Binghamton, Kalamazoo, the University of California at Los Angeles, the J. Paul Getty Museum at Malibu, Arizona State University at Tempe, and Princeton University (Index of Christian Art Symposium). I particularly thank Thomas Kren for a Museum Fellowship at the Getty Museum in the Spring of 1994, which enabled me to do research on French books of hours of the thirteenth century.

1. S. Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 7 (1982), 742–67. [Reprinted twice, in *Women & Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. M. Erler and M. Kowaleski (Athens, Ga. and London, 1988), 149–87 and in *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages*,

ed. J. Bennett et al. (Chicago and London, 1988), 135–61].

2. For a critique of Bell's article (note 1 above), see J. Friedman, *Northern English Books, Owners, and Makers in the Late Middle Ages* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1995), 10–11.

For early thirteenth-century French books of hours, see my forthcoming article, "The Formation of Female Patronage and Devotions in Thirteenth-Century French Books of Hours." This is also evident in thirteenth-century English books of hours (C. Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford* [London, 1991]) and in south Netherlandish manuscripts (J. Oliver, *Gothic Manuscript Illumination in the Diocese of Liège (c. 1250–c. 1330)* [Louvain, 1989]).

3. A catalogue of thirteenth-century French books of hours is planned.

4. I wish to thank the owner of this book of hours for his graciousness in allowing me to examine it in 1989 before it went to the Cloisters. Daniel Kletke and Mary Shepard of the Cloisters kindly assisted in my examination of the manuscript.

5. See Appendix for codicological description, contents, and history. Biblical references are taken from the Douai version of the Vulgate.

6. The first leaf, p. 1 or fol. 3r, begins with Lauds of the Holy Spirit, ending in the middle of the hymn, *Te nunc deus piissime corde precamur...largere nobis spiritus//*, on fol. 3v. The second leaf, p. 3 or fol. 4, is from Matins of the Holy Spirit; it contains Psalm 1:3–6 (*[plan]tatum est secus...peribit*), an antiphon, and a lesson with its versicles and responses, followed by rubrics for Lauds on the verso, originally intended for fol. 3r.

7. For the origin of Penitential Psalms traced to Cassidorus in the sixth century and the evolution of their use from the monastic to the lay, see V. Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1927), I, xx–xxi and also J. Tolhurst, *Introduction to the English Monastic Breviaries*, Henry Bradshaw Society, LXXX (London, 1942), 68.

8. For the monastic origin and practice of privately reciting the Gradual Psalms daily before Matins, introduced by Benedict of Aniane in the early ninth century, see E. Bishop, "On the Origin of the Prymer," *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918), 214 and 220; Tolhurst, *Introduction*, 64–68.

Leroquais (*Livres d'heures*, I, xxviii) commented on the rarity of Gradual Psalms in books of hours; he was followed by Donovan (*The de Brailes Hours*, 115 and n. 126). This may be true of later continental books of hours, but at least seventeen French books of hours or psalter-hours before 1300 from my survey in progress include this text, though at no fixed position.

9. In number, selection, and order, petitions vary greatly from one book of hours to another, as is true of psalter-hours and psalters.

10. See the printed text of the Commendation of the Soul in Tolhurst, *Introduction*, 77–81. The text begins with the response, *Subuenite sancti dei...*, in French books of hours. In later English books of hours, the Commendation usually begins with Psalm 118, *Beati immaculati....*

11. See the classic study of Leroquais, *Livres d'heures*, I, xiv, for his definition of texts as "essential," "secondary," and "accessory" parts of a book of hours, a definition that is most appropriate from the late fourteenth century on; this is fully developed in R. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in the Medieval Art and Life* (New York and Baltimore, 1988), published in connection with the exhibition of the same name at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. The situation for thirteenth-century French books of hours appears to be different; for instance, suffrages considered "essential" were less common, the fifteen Gradual Psalms considered "accessory" were

more common, and the prayer of *Obsecro te*, considered "secondary," was exceedingly rare. For discussion of texts in early French books of hours from the thirteenth century, see my forthcoming article, "The Formation of Female Patronage."

12. For the following texts, accompanied by references (whenever possible), see Appendix.

13. For instance, a psalter-hours of the 1270s from Douai (Brussels, Bibl. royale, ms. 9391) has seventy suffrages (I thank J. Oliver for her description of this manuscript).

14. In English books of hours or psalter-hours in the thirteenth century and after, suffrages normally appear after Lauds in the Hours of the Virgin. By contrast, thirteenth-century French examples infrequently follow this sequence.

In the Cloisters Hours, there is a vestige of the monastic tradition of suffrages after Lauds and Vespers in the Office of the Virgin. A memorial to All Saints appears twice, once after Lauds on fol. 42v, and again after Vespers of the Virgin on fol. 62r. Also, a memorial to the Trinity follows Lauds in the Office of the Holy Spirit, fol. 5r.

15. At least eight other thirteenth-century French books of hours include this list of eulogies of the Virgin's virtues, principally in verse form, varying in sequence and number. On the development of the Marian litany, see G. Meersseman, "'Virgo a Doctoribus Praetitulata': Die marianischen Litaneien als dogmensgeschichtliche Quellen," *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie*, 1 (1954), 129–78 and his *Der Hymnos Akathistos im Abendland*, Spicilegium Friburgense, II–III (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1958–1960), II, 44–76 and 214–56. The Cloisters and five other examples follow the "A" recension of the so-called Venetian Liturgy in an English mariale of ca. 1220 (London, BL, MS Cotton Titus A.XXI), as described in Meersseman, *Der Hymnos Akathistos*, II, 48–52 and 219–22. This version is traced to a late twelfth-century manuscript (Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 2882).

16. P. Salmon, "Psautiers abrégés du moyen âge," in *Analecta Liturgica: Extraits des manuscrits liturgiques de la Bibliothèque Vaticane; contribution à l'histoire de la prière chrétienne*, Studi e Testi, CCLXXIII (Vatican City, 1974), 81–82 for discussion of the Psalter of Jerome, *Verba mea auribus percipe*. Also V. Leroquais, *Les psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Mâcon, 1940–1941), I, xiii.

17. The Trinity prayer is discussed below, page 23, and in note 24.

18. So far in my catalogue of thirteenth-century French books of hours, fifteen have this prayer (see note 22). By contrast, it is quite rare in thirteenth-century English books of hours and psalter-hours, though found in one Benedictine psalter of Westminster around 1200 (London, BL, Royal MS 2.A.XX) and in a late thirteenth-century psalter for a lay couple (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 2-1954).

19. The text of the Office of the Virgin shows mixed readings pointing to Thérouanne and Meaux uses. This information is based on V. Leroquais's handwritten notes on liturgical uses of books of hours, preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France under the title, *Les Heures imprimées*, II, 142 and 210. Cf. the Hôtel Drouot catalogue description, which mentions use of Canon Regulars of Senlis, cited in my Appendix under History, but see note 20 below.

20. The responses of the nine lessons of the Office of the Dead conform to the use of Senlis, as recorded in Leroquais, *Heures imprimées*, II, 32 (no. 66).

21. E.g., London, BL, Add. MS 29407 of the late thirteenth century, Franco-Flemish; New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS Marston 22 of the 1240s, East Anglian; Cambridge, Christ's College, MS 8 of ca. 1300, East Anglian.

22. It reads as *esto michi pia in omnibus auxiliatrix* in the Cloisters Hours; this gender omission is rare in view of the fact that thirteen

out of fifteen examples (see note 18) from my survey in progress of thirteenth-century French books of hours refer to women and only one to a man.

23. Grenoble, Bibl. mun., ms. 650 also includes an intercessory petition with *pro me peccatrice N...debitrix* following the Marian litany. In the Litany of the Virgin in a Rheims book of hours of the late thirteenth century, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.98, fols. 101r–101v and 91r–92r (misbound), the *ora pro famula tua* follows every invocation to *Sancta maria...* (only the first two invocations recorded in L.M.C. Randall et al., *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, I, France, 875–1420* [Baltimore and London, 1989], 121, no. 49).

24. A Parisian psalter-hours of the 1250s (sold at Hôtel Drouot, Paris, 2 December 1987, lot 247) mentions the female supplicant three times ("peccatrice" on fol. 215v, "peccatricem" on fol. 216, "famulam tuam" on fol. 216v) in the Trinity prayer attributed to Saint Augustine of Hippo. I thank P. Stirnemann for information on this manuscript. See the printed version of this text entitled *Oratio sanctissima* in A. Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels et textes devôts du moyen âge latin: études d'histoire littéraire* (Paris, 1932), 573–75. See discussion of the Cloisters initial to the Trinity prayer, page 28 below.

25. For instance, a psalter-hours of the third quarter of the thirteenth century from the Franco-Flemish region of Saint-Omer, Paris, BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3104, fols. 225r–227r, has twelve Vespers collects, of which four are addressed to departed souls of women in the plural, but has no collects after Lauds.

26. For collects of the Office of the Dead (fols. 99r–100v, 128v–131v) and the Commendation of the Soul (fols. 131v–132r, 134v, 150r–151v), see Appendix.

27. Cf. the singular masculine forms in four of the same collects of monastic manuscripts in Tolhurst, *Monastic Breviaries*, 78, 80, and 81.

28. Pen-flourished *diagonal* sprays in the lower margins appear to be found frequently in Parisian psalters, psalter-hours, and books of hours. For a Parisian example, see note 35 below. Diagonal pen sprays occur occasionally in English manuscripts, e.g., the Egerton Hours, London, BL, Egerton MS 1151 or Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.102. Penwork sprays, diagonal or horizontal, in lower margins warrant further investigation.

29. On Parisian colors, see R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1977), 111; color pl. XX (Bari shop).

30. The combination of tawny yellow or unburnished gold with olive green appears in the later Parisian Martyrology of Saint-Germain des Prés (Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 12834), for instance, on the tunic of a young man with two flowering branches for the month of April on fol. 44v. The martyrology is datable to after 1278, for fol. 132r mentions the last abbot, Gerard de Moret (d. 1278, 24 January), in the original hand; this fact is kindly confirmed by A. Stones. Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, 239 supports the dating for ca. 1278–1279. This revised dating contradicts the date before 1278, as given in G. Vitzthum, *Die Pariser Miniaturmalerei von der Zeit des hl. Ludwig bis zu Philipp von Valois und ihr Verhältnis zur Malerei in Nordwesteuropa* (Leipzig, 1907), 18.

For English use of the fawny yellow with olive green, see N. Morgan, "Aspects of Colour in English and French Manuscript Painting of the Late 13th Century," *Europäische Kunst um 1300*, XXV. Internationaler Kongress für Kunstgeschichte, Wien 1983, 6 (Vienna, 1986), 114. Ultimately of Italian origin, this color combination appears early in the London psalter-hours after 1174 (Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 10433) and becomes more prevalent by the 1260s and 1270s in English illuminated manuscripts, e.g., the

Douce Apocalypse (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 180) or the Garrett Bible (Princeton, University Library, MS Garrett 28).

31. Pastel colors appear in Parisian manuscripts associated with the Aurifaber shop, which I believe flourished later than Branner envisioned; see his *Manuscript Painting*, 111 and 117.

32. For the Bari style, see Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, 102–107, 229–30, figs. 282–300.

33. For the *Roman de la Poire*, attributed to the Bari shop, see *Creating French Culture: Treasures from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, ed. M.-H. Tesnière and P. Gifford, with introduction by E. Le Roy Ladurie (New Haven and London, 1995), color fig. p. 66 (Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 2186, fols. 8v–9r), with earlier bibliography. This manuscript has been dated variously from the 1250s to 1270; cf. the dating of 1250–1270 proposed by Véronique Guilhaume, "Le manuscrit illustré du Roman de la Poire, XIIIᵉ siècle," *Histoire de l'art*, 23 (1993), 3–14. Recently for a date in the 1270s, see H.-E. Keller, "La structure du Roman de la Poire," in *Conjunctures: Medieval Studies in Honor of Douglas Kelly*, ed. K. Busby and N. Lacy (Amsterdam, 1994), 205–217, in which he sets the composition of the text after 1259. I owe this reference to A. Stones.

34. For the Phylomena workshop, see E. Beer, "Das Scriptorium des Johannes Phylomena und seine Illuminatoren," *Scriptorium*, 23 (1969), 24–38; E. Beer, "Liller Bibelcodices, Tournai und die Scriptorien der Stadt Arras," *Aachener Kunstblätter*, 43 (1972), 190–226; A. Stones and J. Steyaert, *Medieval Illumination, Glass, and Sculpture in Minnesota Collections* (Minneapolis, 1978), 12 and 20; figs. 13, 14, and 19. Stones lists more references to this stylistic group in her article, "Stylistic Associations, Evolution, and Collaboration: Charting the Bute Painter's Career," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, 23 (1995), 26 n. 3.

35. Cf. the diagonal pen sprays in the lower margins of a Parisian psalter of mid-thirteenth century, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.46, mentioned and reproduced in Randall, *Walters*, I, 51, no. 20, fig. 44. Here, these issue from a psalm initial, versal, or a head of a human or beast.

36. Usually a motif for cowardice, as recounted in L. Randall, "The Snail in Gothic Marginal Warfare," *Speculum*, 37 (1962), 358–67.

37. For review of different approaches to and interpretations of marginalia, see M. Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992) and, for the indispensable study and classifications of Gothic marginalia, see L.M.C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966). See also the essay by L.F. Sandler in this volume.

38. More examples of women are in the two-line initials of Prime Psalm 53 (fol. 6r), Terce collect (fol. 8r), Vespers hymn (fol. 12v), and Compline Psalm 14 (fol. 14r) in the Office of the Holy Spirit. More appear also in the Office of the Virgin.

39. E.g., Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.47 of the third quarter of thirteenth century from Thérouanne (Passion and post-Passion scenes, recorded in Randall, *Walters*, I, 94, no. 40, fig. 84 (fol. 172v, Prime of Holy Spirit); Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, ms. 280 of the 1260s from Cambrai (Pentecost, Passion and post-Passion scenes, recorded in Leroquais, *Psautiers*, II, 9–10); Paris, BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3104, in the 1270s, from the Franco-Flemish region of St.-Omer (Trinity and saints, recorded in *Manuscrits à peintures offerts à la Bibliothèque Nationale par le comte Guy du Boisrouvray* [Paris, 1961], 40).

Missionary activities of the apostles tend to be depicted later, in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, e.g., New York, Morgan Library, MS M.729 (K. Gould, *The Psalter and Hours of Yolande of Soissons* [Cambridge, Mass., 1978], 67, Creation scenes in miniatures facing historiated initials of apostles, Pentecost, and four scenes of Apostle Peter) and Marseilles, Bibl. mun., ms. 111 (J. Billioud, "Très

Anciennes Heures de Thérouanne à la Bibliothèque de Marseille," *Trésors des Bibliothèques de France*, 5 [1935], 168).

40. For procreative and sexual significance of rabbits, see M. Caviness, "Patron or Matron?: A Capetian Bride and a Vade Mecum for Her Marriage Bed," *Speculum*, 68 (1993), 343–44.

41. See my forthcoming article, "The Formation of Female Patronage."

42. Randall, *Walters*, I, 121, no. 49, fig. 100. An early fourteenth-century Amiens book of hours, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.38, fol. 14r, shows the enthroned Virgin and Child flanked by two female devotees in prayer (ibid., I, 153, no. 58).

43. Representations of a mother with a daughter seem quite rare. One thirteenth-century example may concern an English psalter of the 1270s, Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, ms. lat. I. 77 (2397), fol. 13r (N. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts, II, 1250–1285*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, IV, ed. J.J.G. Alexander, [London, 1988], 164–66, no. 166, illus. 329). Morgan associates the mature woman with the owner standing beside her daughter in the guise of Anna and the child Virgin Mary. I believe that the mother and daughter actually represent Anna and the Virgin, for their representation introduces the Christological cycle of miniatures before the psalter proper.

44. A. von Euw and J. Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, II (Cologne, 1982), 75, color pl. p. 81.

45. For Gothic psalters, see H. Helsinger, "Images on the Beatus Page of Some Medieval Psalters," *Art Bulletin*, 53 (1971), 161–76. See also the list of manuscripts under "Knights tilting" in Randall, *Images*, 140.

46. A very early example of two mounted warriors as a visual simile of the spiritual battle between good and evil appears in the haut-de-page of Psalm 1 in the twelfth-century Saint Albans Psalter (Hildesheim, Sankt Godehard, p. 72). This image accompanies the marginal gloss (O. Pächt, C.R. Dodwell, and F. Wormald, *The St. Albans Psalter (Albani Psalter)* [London, 1960], 149–51, pl. 41). This metaphorical battle derives from the earlier Christian allegory, the *Psychomachia* by Prudentius in the fourth century (M. Smith, Prudentius' *Psychomachia: A Reexamination* [Princeton, 1986], 109).

47. Unpublished folio. The arms represent Boisleau and Neuville, as described in the Morgan Library typescript. Martial images of women and men with weapons dominate the line-fillers and margins of MS M.730.

48. M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library at Manchester* (Manchester, 1921), I, 220 and II, pl. 154; Randall, *Images*, 140, fig. 108, the only manuscript cited under "Knights tilting, woman between them with two red staves in hands."

49. J. Hermann, *Die westeuropäischen Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Gotik und der Renaissance, 2. Englische und französische Handschriften des XIV. Jahrhunderts*, Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich, VIII, pt. 7, 2 (Leipzig, 1936), 1–17, pl. I.

50. J. Barker, *The Tournament in England 1100–1400* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1986), 100–111 discusses the role of women in chivalric events and also the influence of Arthurian romances.

51. See recent articles on women in military ventures, such as Crusades, mentioned in canon legal proceedings and described in chivalric literature of the thirteenth century, especially *Li Tournoiement as dames*, by H. Solterer, "Figures of Female Militancy in Medieval France," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 16 (1991), 522–49 and M. McLaughlin, "The Woman Warrior: Gender, Warfare and Society in Medieval Europe," *Women's Studies*, 17 (1990), 193–209. These references I owe to P. Sheingorn. While I

have benefitted much from their studies, I give somewhat different interpretations for the presence of the armed lady on the Matins page of Marie's Hours.

52. Barker, *Tournament*, 106. For Vienna, ÖNB, MS 2542, the two pennants held by a crowned woman were described as "offenbar Turnierpreise" in Hermann, *Die westeuropäischen Handschriften*, 4.

53. Barker, *Tournament*, 72.

54. See the classic study by P. Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, trans. R. Baldick (New York, 1962); and A. Martindale, "The Child in the Picture: A Medieval Perspective," in *The Church and Childhood*, ed. D. Wood, Studies in Church History, XXXI (Oxford, 1994), 206 (in agreement with Ariès's observation that "convincing representations of tiny children and babies are hard to find before about 1280").

For a discussion of negative attitudes toward infants in the Middle Ages, see D. Lett, "L'enfance: Aetas infirma, aetas infima," *Médiévales*, 15 (1988), 85–95. See also F. Garnier, "L'iconographie de l'enfant au moyen âge," *Annales de démographie historique* (1973), 135–36. He introduces his article with his statement: "Pour l'enfant ...: l'imagier du Moyen Age le représente peu, accidentellement et mal" (p. 135).

On the other hand, representations of infants and children are more numerous than hitherto thought, as noted in an excellent study by I. Forsyth, "Children in Early Medieval Art: Ninth through Twelfth Centuries," *Journal of Psychohistory*, 4 (1976), 31–70. Moreover, studies on infancy have been gathered together in a recent book connected with an exhibition at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in 1994, P. Riché and D. Alexandre-Bidon, *L'enfance au moyen âge* (Paris, 1994), with extensive bibliography. Particularly important are M. Goodich, *From Birth to Old Age: The Human Life Cycle in Medieval Thought, 1250–1350* (Lanham, N.Y. and London, 1989) and S. Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (London and New York, 1990).

55. E. Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle* (Princeton, 1986), 143, 146–48, figs. 84 (*Verger de Solas*) and 87 (Psalter of Robert de Lisle, London, BL, Arundel MS 83.II, fol. 126v, ca. 1310, Westminster).

56. For comparison in England, see N. Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy 1066–1530* (London and New York, 1984), 13 (by the second half of the thirteenth century a type of an aristocratic lady in charge of royal babies) and 26–27 (mistresses of nurseries for royal and noble daughters only).

57. E.g., a miniature of a master seated on a chair with a lapdesk, teaching three seated pupils in Paris, Bibl. de la Sorbonne, ms. 31, fol. 278r, reproduced in color on the cover of *La vie universitaire parisienne au XIII² siècle* (Paris, 1974), 80, no. 104.

58. C. Mattke, "Verges et discipline dans l'iconographie de l'enseignement," *Médiévales*, 27 (1994), 107–20.

59. Sears, *Ages of Man*, 143, fig. 84 (Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 9220, as cited in note 55 above).

60. J. Swanson, "Childhood and Childrearing in *Ad Status* Sermons by Later Thirteenth Century Friars," *Journal of Medieval History*, 16 (1990), 309–331; Orme, *Childhood*, 113–16; Goodich, *From Birth to Old Age*, 111–12.

61. M. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1993), 13 associates the phenomenal popularity of books of hours with the rise in female literacy in that learning to read was learning to pray and vice versa.

62. Nude male figures appear in the lower margins of fols. 29r, 40v, 53r, 55v, 59v, 79r (twice), 86r, 106v, 201v, and 204 in addition to fol. 50v; some are armed with a sword.

63. J. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context 1270–1350* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1982), 5; R. Barber and J. Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1989), 38–39.

64. Barber and Barker, *Tournaments*, 138–49 dwell on the dangers of tournaments, spiritual condemnation, and public disorder. Barker, *Tournament*, 70–83 outlines the hostility of the Church to tournaments.

65. K. Laske-Fix, *Der Bildzyklus des Breviari d'amor* (Munich and Zurich, 1973), fig. 137.

66. See Helsinger, "Images," 161–76 for various allegorical interpretations of the stag hunt.

67. For the Trinity prayer, see page 23 above.

68. On the various interpretations of mirrors, see F. Garnier, *Le langage de l'image au moyen âge: II. Grammaire des gestes* (Paris, 1989), 223–28 and 391–93. A useful essay is H. Schwarz, "The Mirror in Art," *Art Quarterly*, 15 (1952), 97–118; he points out two seventeenth-century paintings of Mary Magdalene with a mirror by Georges de la Tour and Charles Le Brun.

69. Randall, *Walters*, I, 68–71, no. 29, figs. 58 (Matins, fol. 33r) and 60 (Terce, fol. 75r). She attributes the historiated initials to an illuminator whose Bari shop style relates to that of a Dominican Bible from between 1254 and 1262 in Frankfurt, Museum für Kunstgewerbe, MS Linel L.M.17 (Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, 229, fig. 293).

70. Leroquais, *Livres d'heures*, II, 77–78; he dates the *horae* in the fourteenth century, which is too late. For reproduction of the Matins initial of the Office of the Virgin, see J.H. Marrow, *The Hours of Margaret of Cleves* (Lisbon, 1995), fig. 11 (fol. 1r).

71. Only one of the ten Lauds collects of the Office of the Dead (fols. 94r-95v) and one prayer of *Suscipere digneris domine deus omnipotens pater…*(fols. 98r–v) are addressed to a woman.

72. Sold at Christie's, 25 November 1992, lot 10, color pls. (fol. 29v, Annunciation at Lauds; fol. 55r, Nativity at Terce).

73. Randall, *Walters*, I, 97–99, no. 41, figs. 85 (fol. 7r, Matins of the Hours of the Virgin) and 86 (fol. 81r, Gradual Psalm 119).

74. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 112.

75. Canon 21, *Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata confiteatur fideliter, saltem semel in anno proprio sacerdoti, et iniunctam sibi poenitentiam studeat pro viribus adimplere…*, printed in *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, ed. J. Alberigo et al., 3rd ed. (Bologna, 1973), 245.

76. D. Bornstein, *The Lady in the Tower: Medieval Courtesy Literature for Women* (Hamden, Conn., 1983).

77. Cf. P. Saenger's remarks on the representations of praying individuals with raised joined hands, palms and fingers touching, which begin to be widespread in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in his "Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages," in *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe*, ed. R. Chartier, trans. L. Cochrane (Cambridge, 1989), 141–73, esp. 152–53. His article is a revised version of the one in *Scrittura e Civiltà*, 9 (1985), 239–69. Certainly this mode of prayer became known in the thirteenth century, as attested in Marie's Book of Hours and other French and English prayer books, for which see also my article, "The Formation of Female Patronage."

78. Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners," 757 and 763–64. For examples of a husband's gift of a book of hours to his wife: the Grey-Fitzpayn Hours (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 242) made for the marriage of Richard de Grey to Joan Fitzpayn between 1300 and 1308 (L.F. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285–1385*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, V, ed. J.J.G. Alexander [London, 1986], II, 36–37, no. 31); or the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, presented as a wedding gift by her husband, King Charles IV of France between 1324 and 1328 (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cloisters, MS 54.1.2), for which see most recently J. Holladay, "The Education of Jeanne d'Evreux: Personal Piety and Dynastic Salvation in her Book of Hours at the Cloisters," *Art History*, 17 (1994), 585–611.

79. C. Jones, *Saint Nicholas of Myra, Bari, and Manhattan: Biography of a Legend* (Chicago and London, 1978), 58. He speaks of Nicholas as "marriage broker and baby bringer."

80. On the sanctity of mothers, see C. Atkinson, *The Oldest Vocation: Christian Motherhood in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London, 1991), esp. 144–93 devoted to the theme of holiness in families of the later Middle Ages. Also D. Webb, "Woman and Home: The Domestic Setting of a Late Medieval Spirituality," in *Women in the Church*, ed. W. Sheils and D. Wood, Studies in Church History, XXVII (Oxford, 1990), 159–73 discusses domestic spirituality and household saints of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For insights into the domestic role of women and family sentiments in the later Middle Ages, see D. Herlihy, *Medieval Households* (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 112–56.

81. O. Pontal, *Les statuts synodaux français du XIIIe siècle, I. Les statuts de Paris et le synodal de l'Ouest* (Paris, 1971). For the role of parents and godparents in teaching children for the sacrament of confirmation, see C. Caspers, "The Role of the People in the Liturgy according to the Synodal Statutes of the Ancient Dioceses of Cambrai, Liège and Utrecht (c. 1300–c. 1500)," in *Omnes Circumadstantes: Contributions towards a History of the Role of the People in the Liturgy*, ed. C. Caspers and M. Schneiders (Kampen, 1990), 155–76. For the English practice of lay adults', but not clerics', instructing children on basic matters of faith and proper outward observances of religious behavior, see N. Orme, "Children and the Church in Medieval England," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 45 (1994), 563–87.
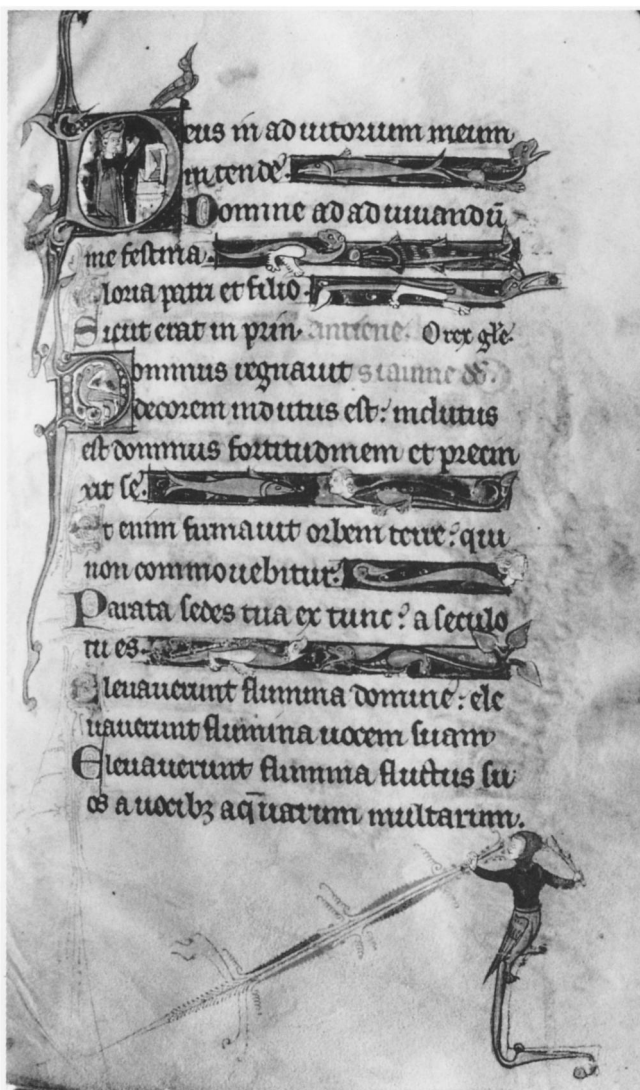
Fig. 1. Queen praying, Hours of the Holy Spirit, Lauds. The Hours of Marie. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS L.1990.38, fol. 3r.
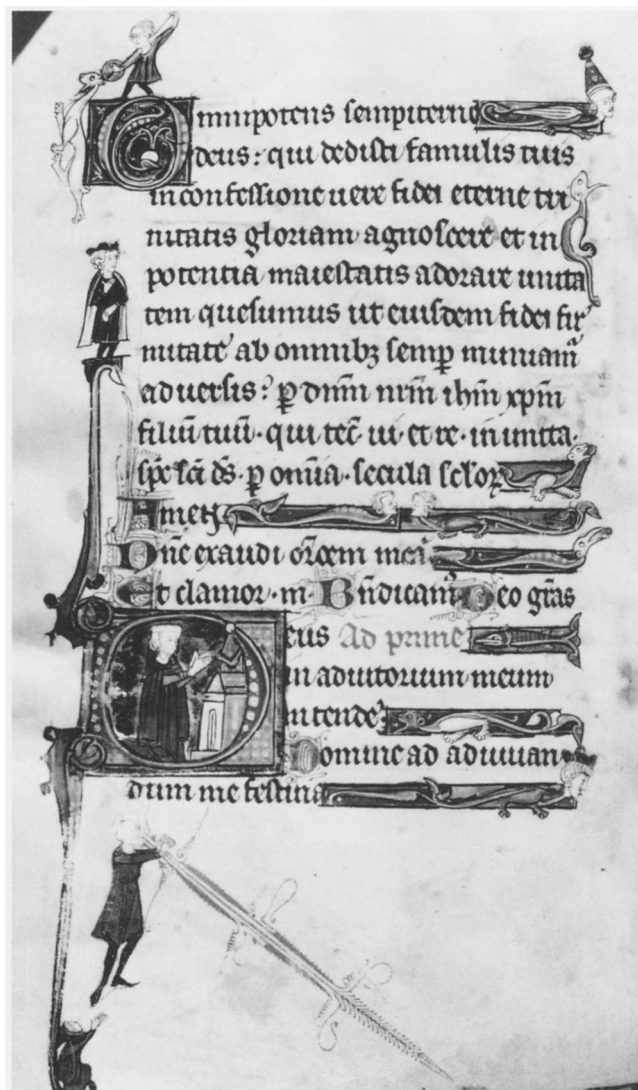
Fig. 2. Woman praying, Hours of the Holy Spirit, Prime. The Hours of Marie. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS L.1990.38, fol. 5v.
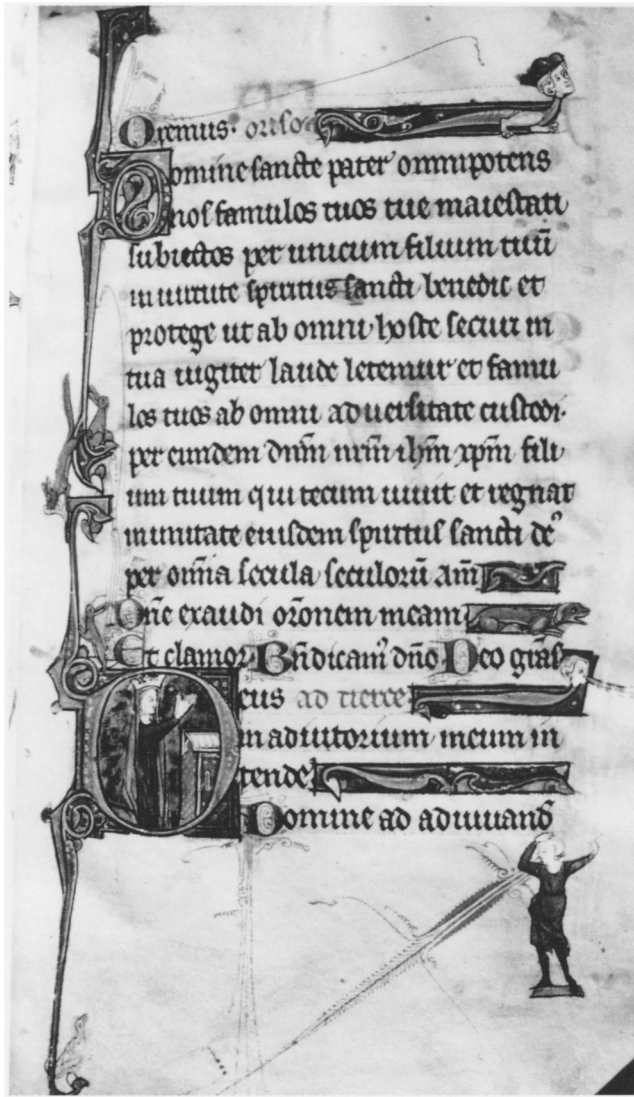
Fig. 3. Queen praying, Hours of the Holy Spirit, Terce. The Hours of Marie. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS L.1990.38, fol. 7r.
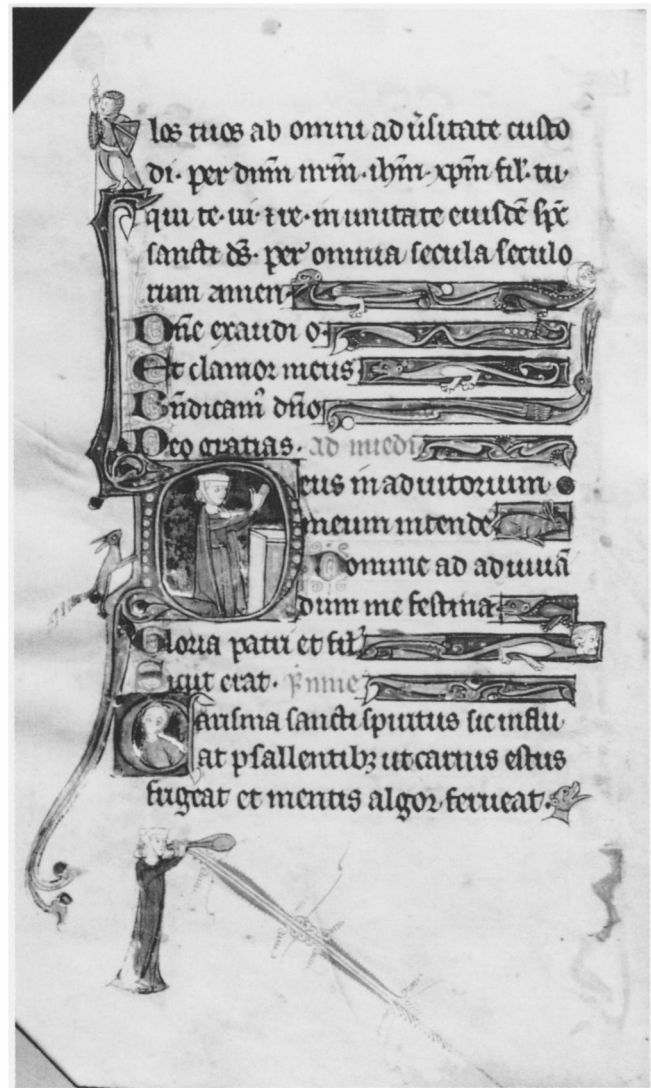
Fig. 4. Woman praying, Hours of the Holy Spirit, Sext. The Hours of Marie. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS L.1990.38, fol. 8v.
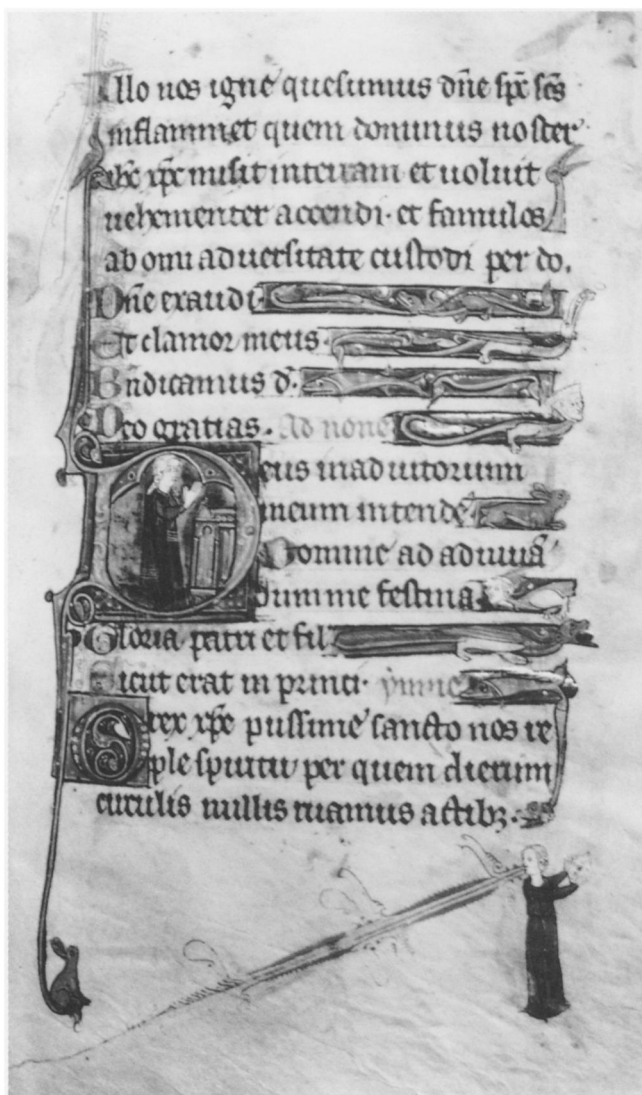
Fig. 5. Woman praying, Hours of the Holy Spirit, None. The Hours of Marie. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS L.1990.38, fol. 10r.
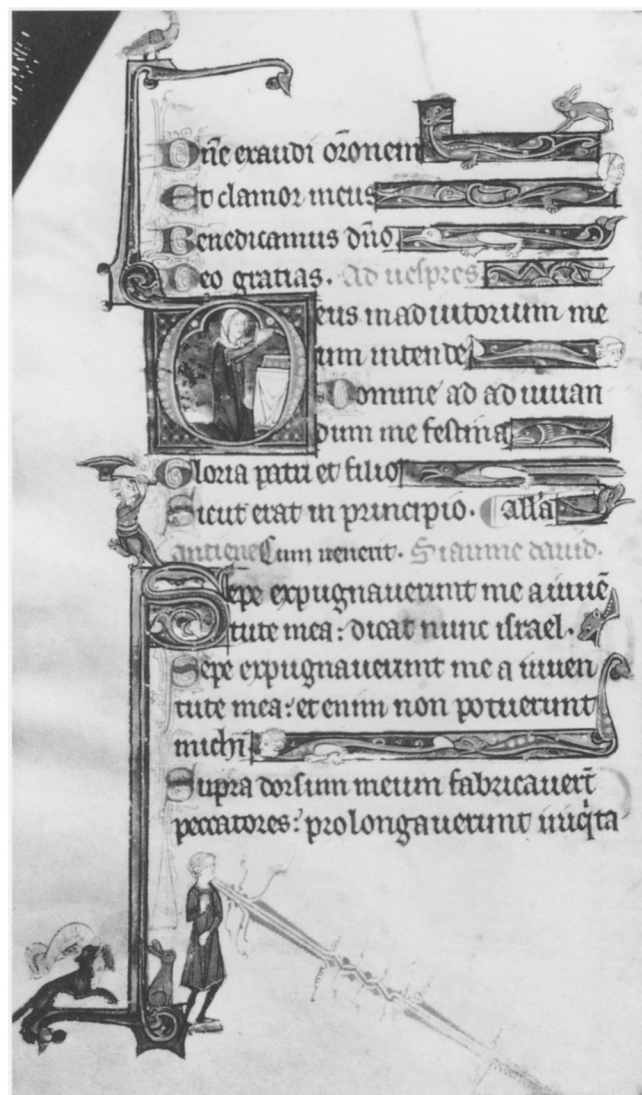
Fig. 6. Woman praying, Hours of the Holy Spirit, Vespers. The Hours of Marie. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS L.1990.38, fol. 11v.
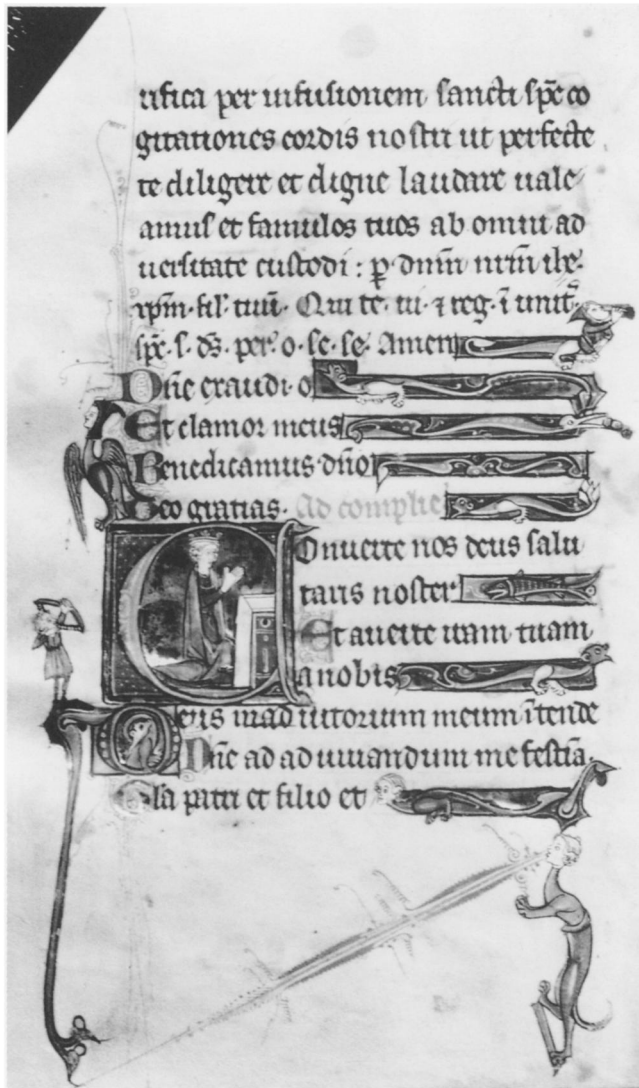
Fig. 7. King praying, Hours of the Holy Spirit, Compline. The Hours of Marie, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS L.1990.38, fol. 13v.
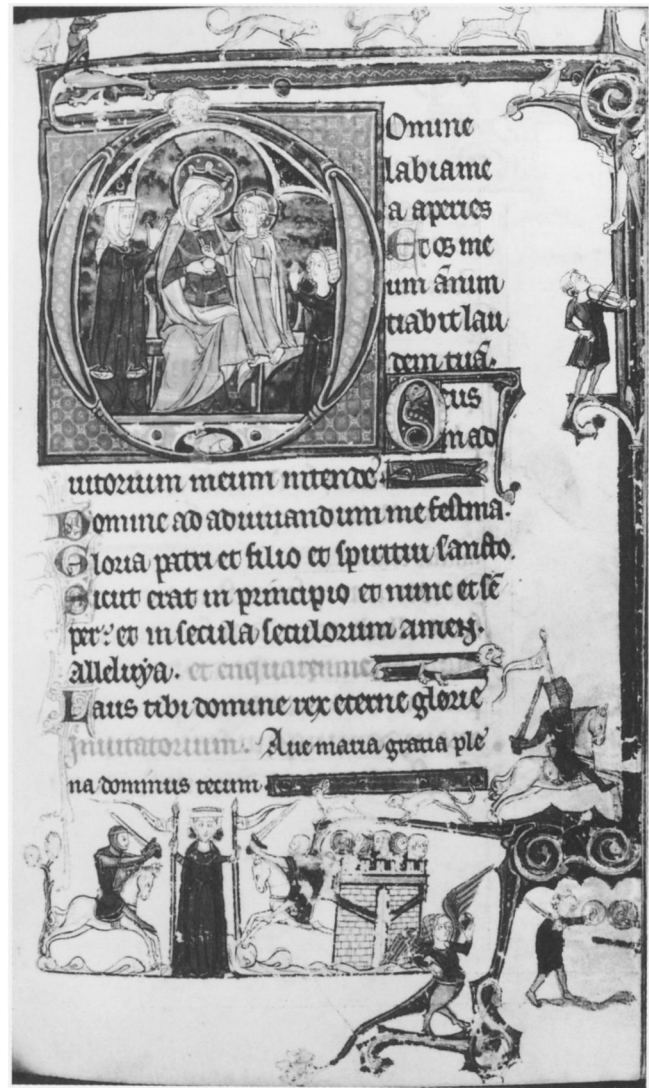
Fig. 8. Virgin and Child, with two women praying, Hours of the Virgin, Matins. The Hours of Marie. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS L.1990.38, fol. 17r.
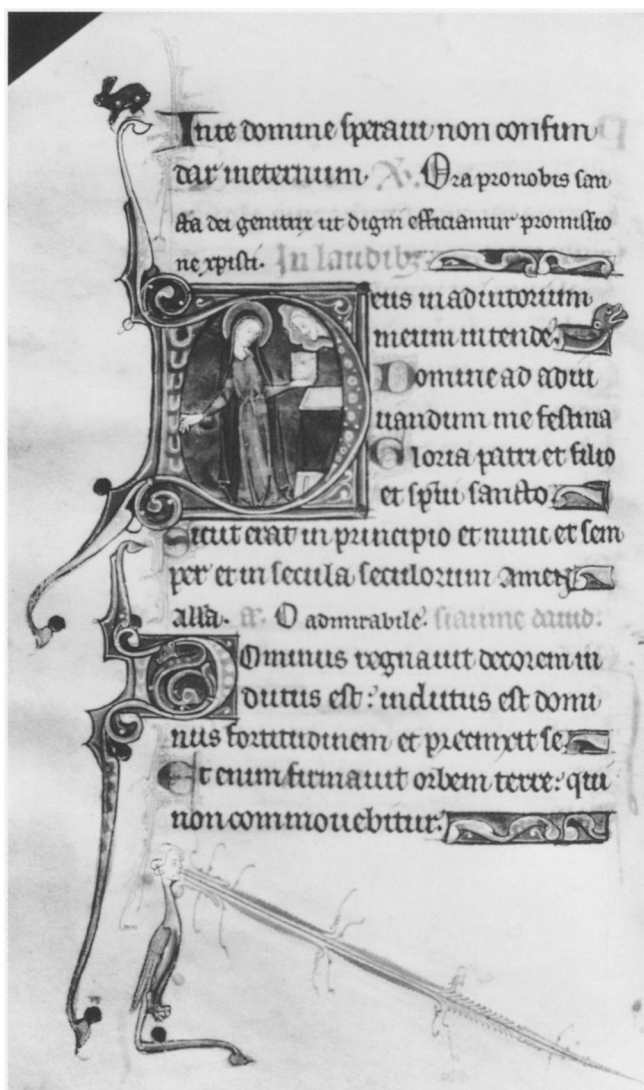
Fig. 9. Holy Woman, Hours of the Virgin, Lauds. The Hours of Marie. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS L.1990.38, fol. 34v.

Fig. 10. Holy Woman, with mother and infant, Hours of the Virgin, Prime. The Hours of Marie. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS L.1990.38, fol. 43r.
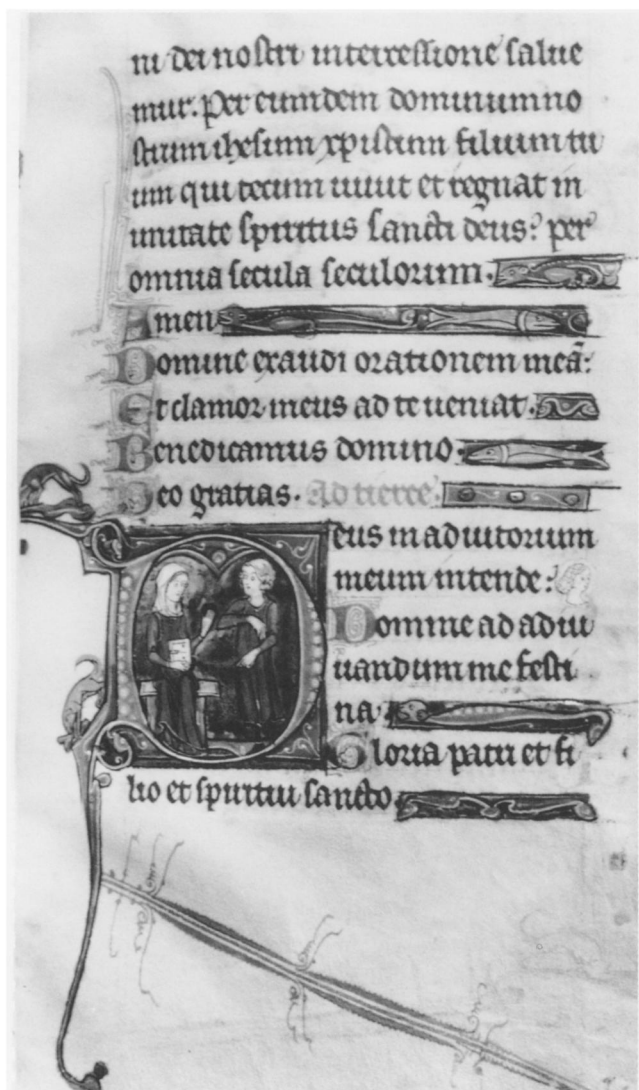
Fig. 11. Mother instructing son, Hours of the Virgin, Terce. The Hours of Marie. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS L.1990.38, fol. 47r.
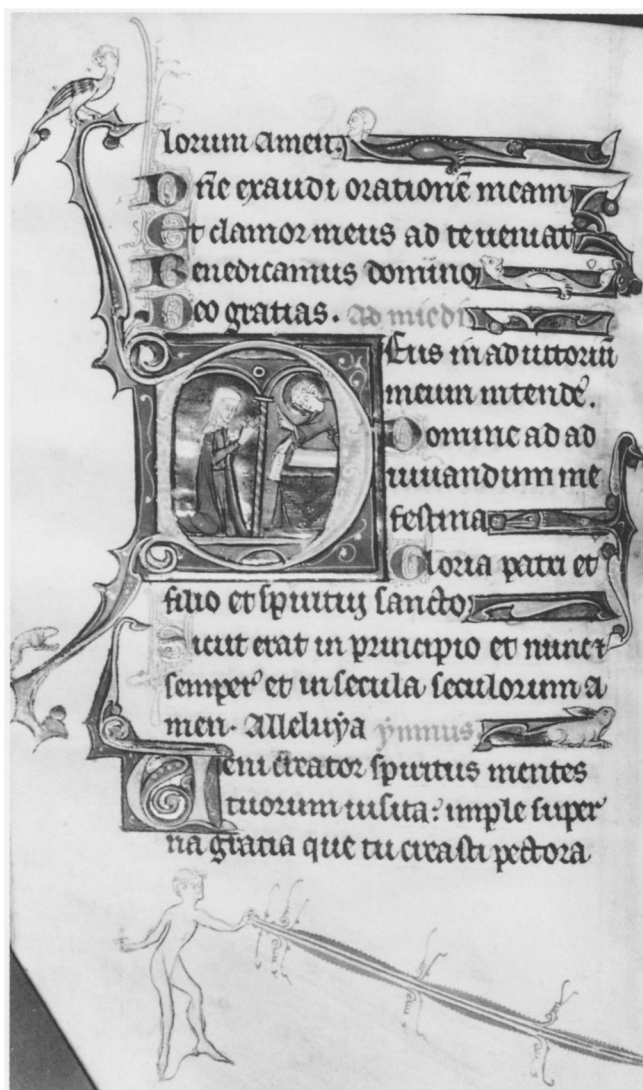
Fig. 12. Woman praying, Hours of the Virgin, Sext. The Hours of Marie. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS L.1990.38, fol. 50v.
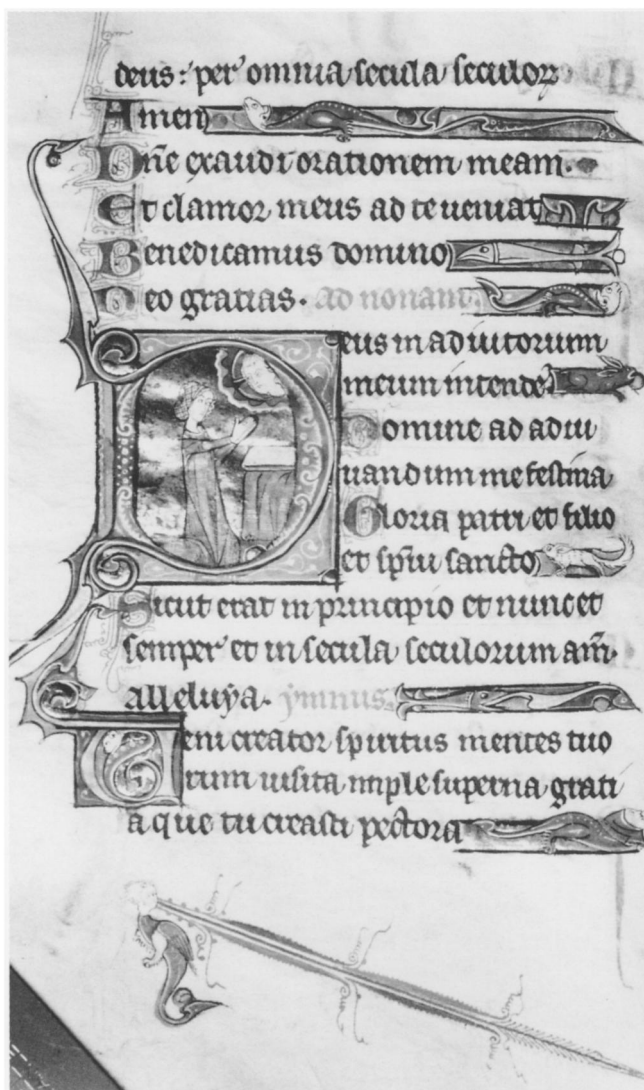
Fig. 13. Woman praying, Hours of the Virgin, None. The Hours of Marie. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS L.1990.38, fol. 53v.
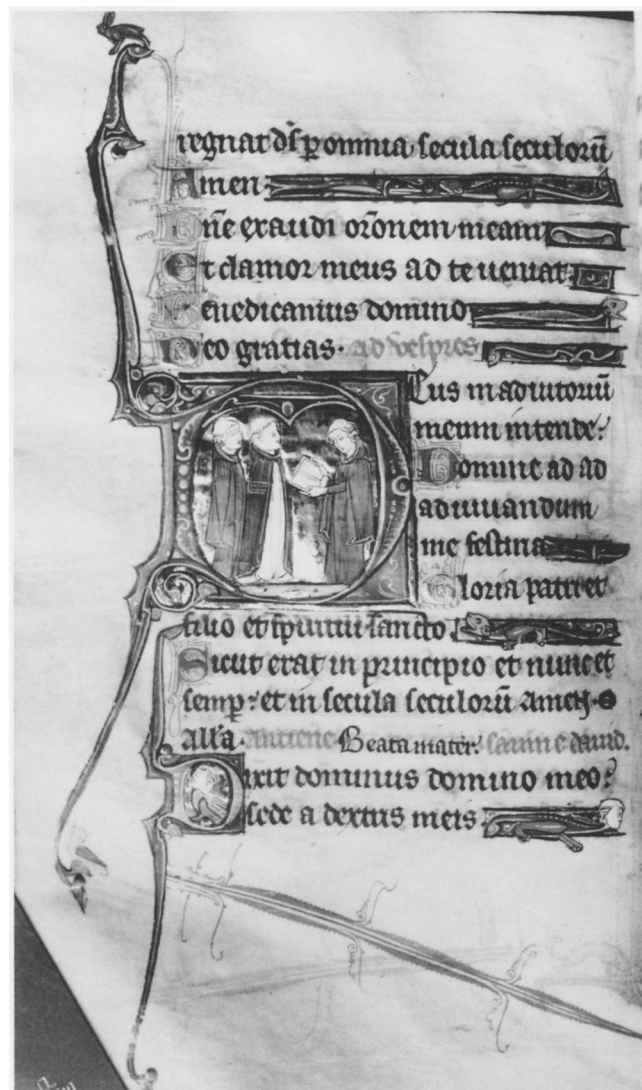
Fig. 14. Liturgical service, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers. The Hours of Marie, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS L.1990.38, fol. 56v.

la patri et filio et spiritu sco
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et
semper et in secula seculorum am
Laudate pueri dominum
Laudate nomen domini
Sit nomen domini benedictum: ex
hoc nunc et usque in seculum
A solis ortu usque ad occasum: lau
dabile nomen domini
Excelsus super omnes gentes domin'
et super celos gloria eius
Quis sicut dominus deus noster q
in altis habitat et humilia respicit
in celo et in terra
Suscitans a terra inopem et de sterco
re erigens pauperem
Ut collocet eum cum principibz cum
principibz populi sui

Fig. 15. Traveler, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers. The Hours of Marie. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS L.1990.38, fol. 57v.

Fig. 16. Two women dancing, Hours of the Virgin, Vespers. The Hours of Marie. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS L.1990.38, fols. 60v–61r.

Fig. 17. Man praying and cleric at lectern, Hours of the Virgin, Compline. The Hours of Marie. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS L.1990.38, fol. 62r.
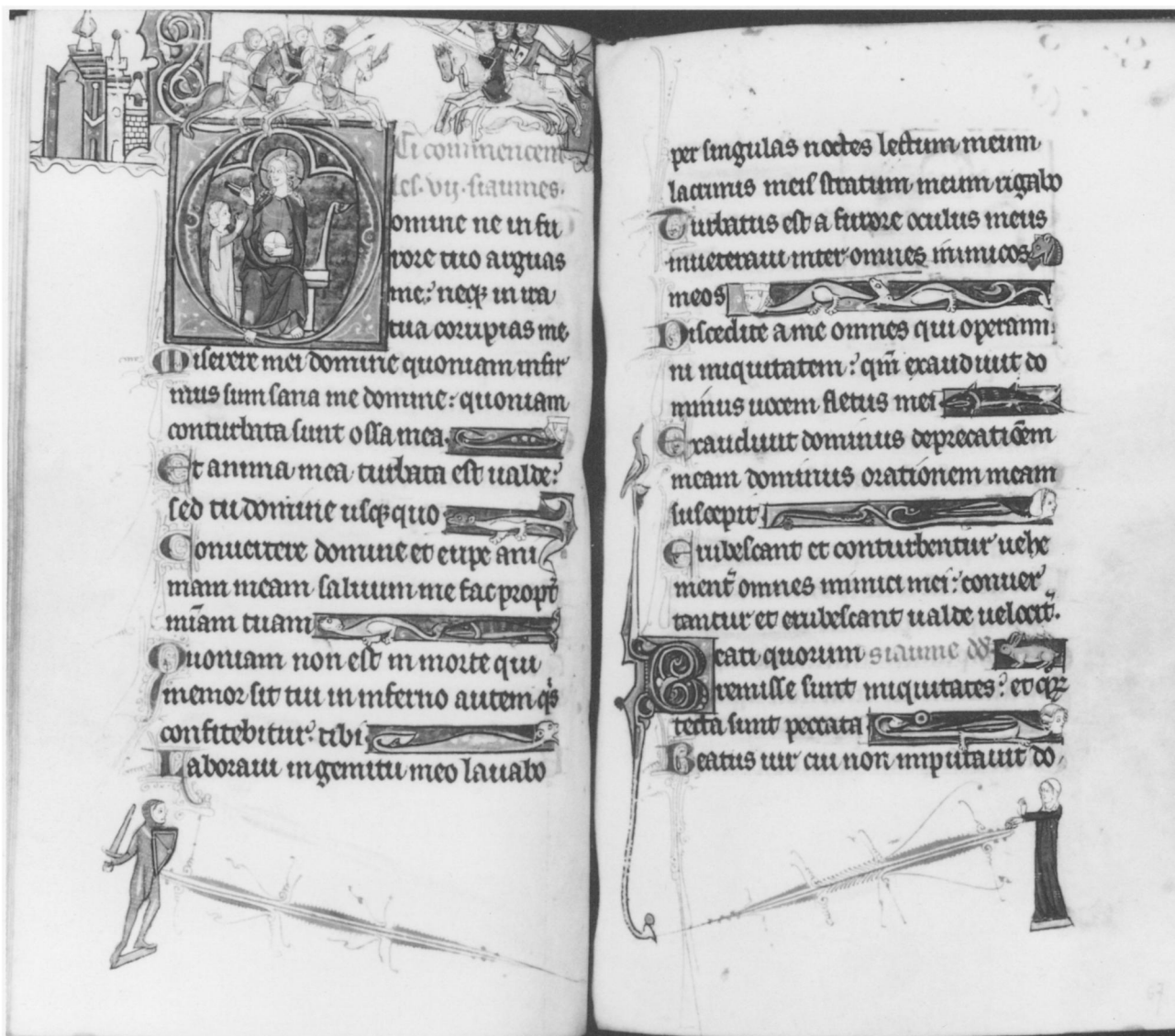
Fig. 18. Woman petitioning to the Lord, Penitential Psalm 6. The Hours of Marie. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS L.1990.38, fols. 66v–67r.
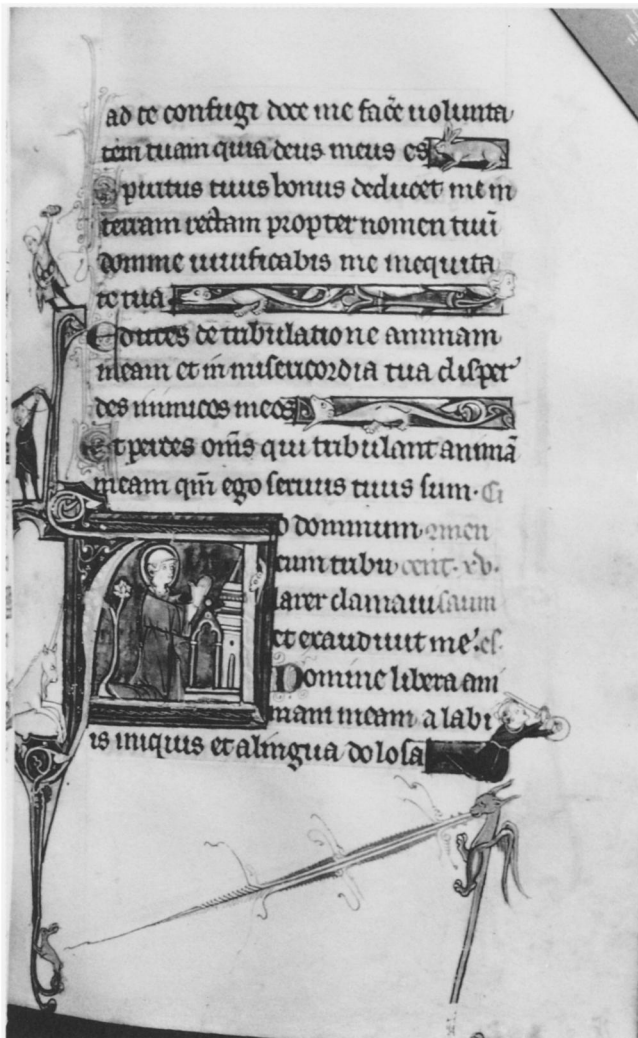
Fig. 19. Holy Man praying, Gradual Psalm 119. The Hours of Marie. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS L.1990.38, fol. 75r.
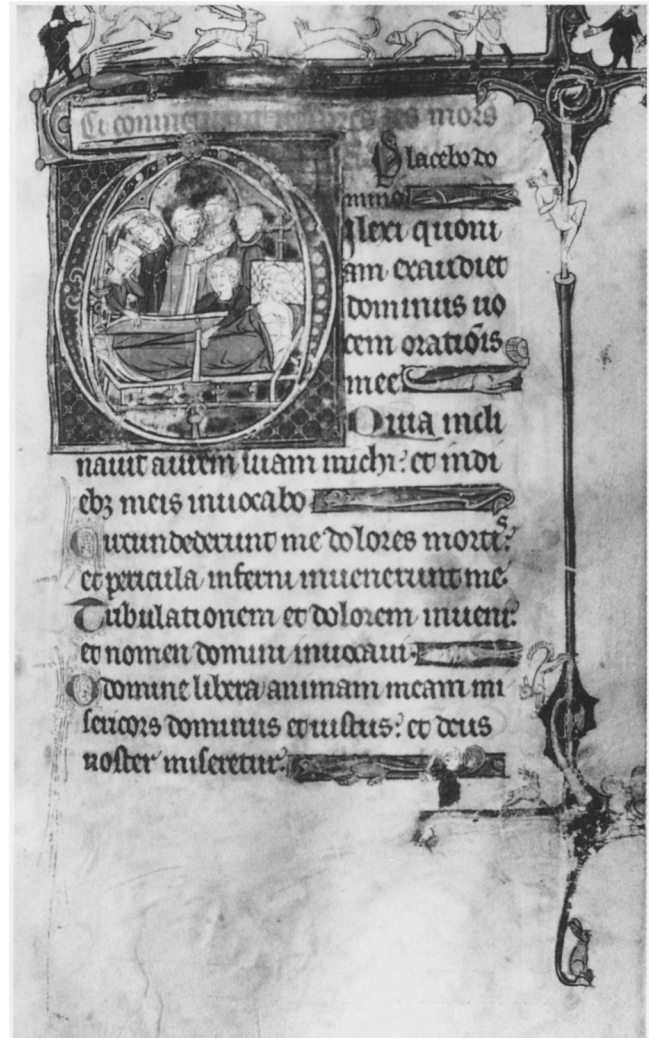
Fig. 20. Deathbed scene, Office of the Dead, Vespers. The Hours of Marie. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS L.1990.38, fol. 94r.

Fig. 21. Initial, Ps. 118:129, Commendation of the Soul. The Hours of Marie. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS L.1990.38, fol. 147r (detail).
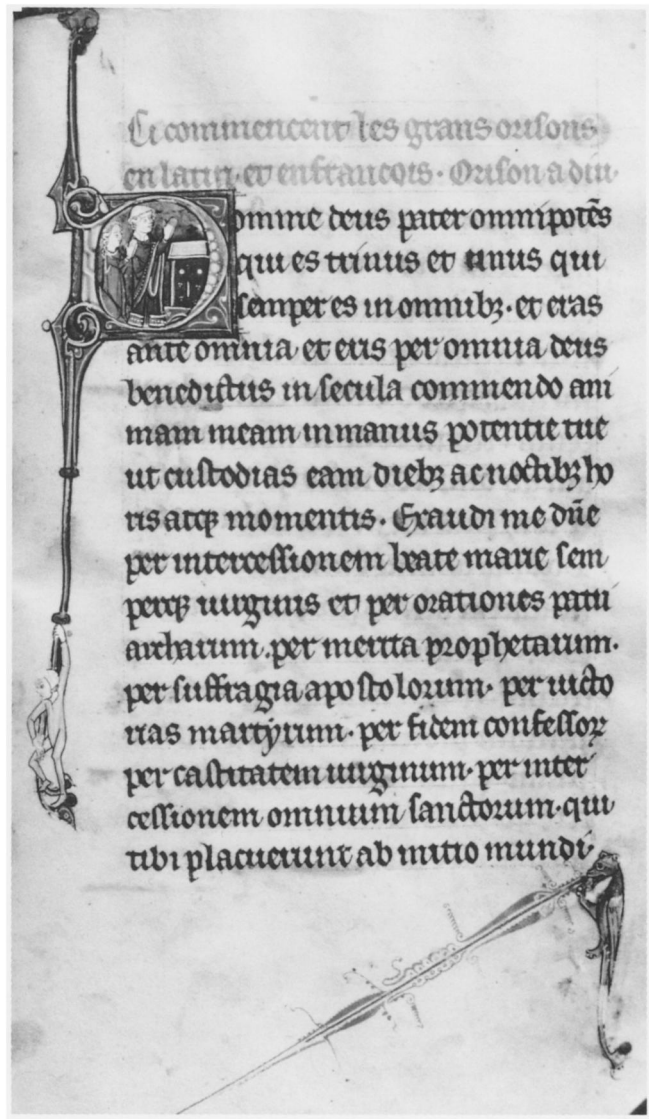
Fig. 22. Woman and cleric praying, Prayer to the Trinity. The Hours of Marie. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, MS L.1990.38, fol. 198r.

The Hospitaller Master in Paris and Acre:
Some Reconsiderations in Light of New Evidence

Jaroslav Folda

The Hospitaller Master is a painter who apparently worked on two manuscripts in Paris between 1276 and ca. 1280 before going to Saint-Jean d'Acre where, between ca. 1280 and 1291, he illustrated eight other codices. His hand has not been recognized before 1276 or after 1291. During the course of his work, his color palette changes and develops in response to various factors. By approaching the paintings of the Hospitaller Master in terms of color, the paper investigates what light this aspect of his work can shed on his career as reconstructed from these ten manuscripts.

Note: See color plate section for color plates 1–5.

Introduction

At the symposium in honor of Dr. Lilian Randall, held at the Walters Art Gallery on 25 February 1995, certain questions were voiced in response to my paper on the artist known as the Hospitaller Master.[1] This painter, who appears to have worked in Saint-Jean d'Acre during the last decade of its existence as the *de facto* capital of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, circa 1280–1291, is identified as being in Paris in the late 1270s before traveling to the Frankish East.[2] In reply to one particular question on the use of color by the Hospitaller Master, raised by Dr. Randall herself, and in light of the appearance of additional miniatures newly identified as painted by the Hospitaller Master, some reconsiderations are in order in regard to this artist.

To summarize aspects of the current state of the question on the work of the Hospitaller Master relevant here, his hand appears between 1276 and circa 1280 in two manuscripts produced in Paris, and between circa 1280 and 1291 in eight other codices made in Acre. Overall, the Hospitaller Master executed a group of miniature paintings remarkable for their coherence of style and notable for the diversity of the mostly secular texts they decorate. The iconography

and narrative imagery changes according to the content of the various individual texts and, no doubt, the wishes of the patrons. It is noteworthy that this artist appears to have done figural panels, historiated initials, drolleries, and painted flourishes in the margins of the manuscripts in which he worked. There is, however, no evidence that he was also a scribe, that is, it appears that various scribal hands, all different, wrote the texts of the codices in which he worked. Furthermore, the large red-and-blue penwork initials, which we find in many of his manuscripts, appear also in unillustrated exemplars, and as yet we cannot directly link the hand of the Hospitaller Master with these impressive calligraphic embellishments. We know neither the name of the Hospitaller Master, nor the name of his patron(s) in Paris, or why the Hospitaller Master left to go to Acre circa 1280. It appears that in Acre, a Hospitaller knight, William of St. Stephen, among others including members of the Hospitallers, Templars, and the aristocracy, commissioned work from him. It seems plausible that the Hospitaller Master may have been a cleric in one of the lower orders and that he may have gone to Acre because his personal patron left to go there.[3]

The earliest work in which the hand of the Hospitaller Master can be recognized is a *censier*—that is, rent list—done for the Abbey of Sainte-Geneviève in Paris, dated 1276, now in the Archives nationales, pièce S 1626[1]. Another manuscript also attributable to Paris, in which the Hospitaller Master apparently painted an historiated initial (pl. 1) before he left to go to Acre, has recently been identified at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 5334, a *libellus* on the life and miracles of Saint Martin.[4] Along with the seven manuscripts whose illustrations have previously been attributed to the hand of the Hospitaller Master in Acre, we now have a newly recognized codex in the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, to add to this group, ms. fr. app. 20 (=265), which contains the *Livre des assises*

of Jean d'Ibelin (pl. 5), the most celebrated law code from the Latin East. What light do these two new manuscripts shed on the work of the Hospitaller Master in Paris and Acre? What additional evidence do they provide in regard to questions of stylistic development, the use of color,[5] and the sequencing of undated manuscripts worked on by the Hospitaller Master?

The Hospitaller Master in Paris (1276–ca. 1280)

With the identification of BNF lat. 5334 as a work of the Hospitaller Master, it appears that he undertook at least two different commissions in Paris: one, for the Abbey of Sainte-Geneviève, consisted of four panel miniatures which illustrate the abbey's *censier*, or rent list, for the year 1276; the other was an historiated initial *S*, which marks the beginning of a *libellus* on the life and miracles of Saint Martin. Both of these manuscripts are in Latin, but they were done by different scribes. The illustrations for both of these codices are religious in content, but only the *libellus* contains texts with religious content; the text in the *censier* is secular but, of course, it was done for a religious institution. The illustrations for both of these manuscripts are, however, miniatures without direct textual bases in the codices in which they appear and must depend on multiple sources found elsewhere.

The four miniature panels in the *censier* are approximately 8.0 cm—twelve lines of text—high and nearly square in shape. The historiated initial *S* in the *libellus* is approximately 3.5 cm—four lines of text—high and also nearly square.[6] I have argued elsewhere that the *libellus* was done shortly after the *censier*, in the late 1270s. Are the miniatures by the same painter?

There can be no doubt that the figural work in both codices is in the same basic style. The question of determining whether they were done by precisely the same painter is more difficult to resolve. The obvious comparison is between Saint Martin (pl. 1) in the *libellus* initial and the two bishops, Saints Germain and Loup, in the *censier* panel on folio 1r.[7] Factoring in the change in dimensions, comparing the basic drawing style, and looking at details such as the handling of the facial features in three-quarter view, the curl over the ear, the miter, the blessing hands, etc., there can be no doubt that the figures are *very* close. However, the Saint Martin initial appears to be a bit more accomplished in execution. What does this mean?

A similar question was raised by Harvey Stahl in regard to the *censier* miniatures themselves. He proposed that the first three panels—including the scenes of Saints Martin, Loup, and Geneviève—were done by one hand, and that the fourth—illustrating the châsse of Saint Geneviève being carried through the streets of Paris on the feast of Saint Geneviève-des-Ardents—was the more accomplished in execution and was done by a second painter.[8] It is striking that the Saint Martin initial in the *libellus* is also closer to the fourth panel in quality: compare the overall drawing style, the figures of the *malades*, and, again, the details of faces, hair, and hands. What interpretation should be given to these observations?

Without minimizing the distinctions identified by Stahl, I think we can still see one hand at work on all five illustrations under discussion here. Consider the fact of diverse sources for all of these figural images and the impact of the different models used by the Hospitaller Master.[9] Further, consider the common elements that link the two groups of miniatures, for example the kneeling canons in the second and fourth panels of the *censier* on folios 13r and 26v. The remarkable closeness of these two figures—in design and in the basic technique and colors used by the painter—serves to unify these miniatures despite their slight differences. Differences do exist in regard to these two panels, as well as to the entire set of five miniatures. I propose, however, that they indicate change and development in one painter, not separate artists.

Development is indicated, I suggest, not only in the handling of the figures, which grew more assured as the artist worked along, but also in the use of color. One of the striking features of the *censier* is the artist's conservative selection of hues from the standard Gothic palette, which consists of pink and blue, white—some now discolored by oxidation of the lead white—and grey, brown, orange, and orange-red. Despite the small size of the *libellus* miniature, we find there a somewhat enriched palette, though still very typical of Gothic painting, which includes the standard pink, blue, orange-red, and white, but also includes lavender, pink-purple and brown-purple, and beige. Furthermore, it is striking that even though the historiated initial is much smaller than the miniature panels, the figures in the initial show a bit more interest in three-dimensional modeling, not so much in the draperies, which are still mainly defined by line and flat color, but in the more robust poses and in the faces, which were painted in white, with a touch of beige and some red.

The Hospitaller Master in Saint-Jean d'Acre (ca. 1280–1291)

In order to test further our proposal of one artistic hand, that of the Hospitaller Master working in Paris and Acre, let us also turn to manuscripts attributed to the Hospitaller Master in Saint-Jean d'Acre and consider similar criteria in other codices selected from his proposed oeuvre. The two earliest manuscripts that he painted in Acre appear to be a Bible, datable to circa 1280, and a manuscript of Cicero's *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and *De inventione*, dated 1282 (pls. 2 and 3).[10]

We can immediately recognize the same basic style in the Bible and Rhetoric miniatures that we found in the illustrations of the *censier* and *libellus*, in terms of figure style, the handling of poses, faces, and draperies, the design of architecture, and the overall aspect of the composition.[11] We can identify the presence of the same hand in certain figures by focusing on specific parallels in design,[12] details of execution in comparable aspects of imagery,[13] and signature details of the ornament in illuminated initials or drapery design.[14] Nonetheless, certain changes can be identified.

What developments do we see? There is a slight change in the character of the line drawing; the design is now carried out, in the Bible and in the Rhetoric codex, in black lines of equal fluency, but with, perhaps, greater substance in both the figures and the architecture, and there is a greater use of white lines, especially in the Rhetoric manuscript. In terms of figure style, the proportions of the figures grow slightly more stocky with larger heads. In terms of color, we notice not only a further enrichment of the palette—especially in the Rhetoric miniature with the introduction of yellow, a matter of taste and the availability of pigment—but also with regard to the shading of the color, for example in the draperies, which begin to indicate three-dimensional form (pls. 2 and 3). In fact, there are strong parallels between the color of the *libellus* initial (pl. 1) and that of the Bible (pl. 2) in regard to the basic French Gothic palette of pink, pink-purple, orange-red, light and dark blue, and lavender. And even though yellow and light green are also found in the Bible, they are employed merely as specialty colors, or accent colors, not as main hues in the way we see yellow used in the Rhetoric codex.[15] As a parallel to the development between the Bible and the Rhetoric manuscript, the practice of shading the garments, while again visible in the former—in the light blue garments of the standing or seated Lord (pl. 2)—is strengthened in the latter (pl. 3), so that

Helen, Zeuxis, and some of the athletes almost appear to wear garments with vertical stripes.

These trends, which begin in Acre with the Bible and the Chantilly Rhetoric manuscripts by the hand of the Hospitaller Master, intensify noticeably in some of his later work. In particular I refer to the miniatures in two manuscripts of the *History of Outremer* by William of Tyre: one now in Paris (BNF, ms. fr. 9084; pl. 4)[16] and the other in Boulogne-sur-Mer (Bibl. mun., ms. 142).[17] Setting aside the question of their sequence for the moment,[18] it is striking that the drawing style of the Hospitaller Master stabilizes in these two exemplars, with a greater consistency evident than found in his earlier work. Nonetheless, it is just at this point that the palette of the Hospitaller Master changes most dramatically and achieves its richest blossoming.

The reasons for this development are not fully known, but one very likely factor is the commission that the Hospitaller Master apparently received to finish BNF fr. 9084. The first five miniatures of this codex were painted in a colorful Crusader style, combining Byzantine, Italian, and Frankish elements.[19] The coloring of these miniatures is strikingly different from the French Gothic palette of the Hospitaller Master; one notices especially the strong oranges, yellows, and medium greens in these five panels, along with the blues, pinks, and variants of purple, brown, grey, and orange-red. In the seventeen panels the Hospitaller Master painted to complete the cycle of the miniatures, he introduces striking new emphases to his palette, apparently in response to these works (pl. 4).[20] In particular we notice the strong presence of yellow, more extensive use of lavenders and orange-reds, introduction of brown and black, and a reduction in the use of light blues. The shading of the hues employed on the garments continues, and now there is clearly some attempt to indicate this type of shading in the skin tones of certain figures (pl. 4).

Whereas BNF fr. 9084 shows a dramatic use of yellow as a focal color, often juxtaposed with pinks and lavenders in very unusual compositions, the manuscript from Boulogne-sur-Mer (ms. 142) shows a similar emphasis on bright lime-green.[21] Once again, it is not a unique color choice; light green is used regularly by Gothic painters. It is the way it is used that is significant. Here, in contrast to the more standard Gothic blue, red, or white,[22] we find entire city walls, towers, or arches, or in the case of the Holy Sepulchre, the sepulchre itself, in lime-green. There is also a vigorous use of bright orange-red for garments, especially on major figures. The shading of garments on certain

figures continues, especially in light blue, grey, and lavender hues.

In the initial publication of these two manuscripts, I proposed that BNF fr. 9084 was completed first by the Hospitaller Master in 1286, and that Boulogne 142 was done shortly thereafter. Stahl questioned this sequence, correctly pointing out that the Boulogne-sur-Mer manuscript cycle for Books 6 and following was, if anything, more conservative than that in BNF fr. 9084 and only partly derived from it. Upon reconsideration and in light of the coloristic evolution mentioned above, however, it seems that the sequence initially proposed is the more likely one.

Consider the following scenario. BNF fr. 9084 was begun in the colorful Crusader style of the first five panels, but then the work was handed to the Hospitaller Master, who completed the remaining miniatures in his own style, albeit with a sharp increase in coloristic intensity, especially in the use of yellow, lavenders and orange-reds, and brown and black. I propose that this was his direct response—adjusting or coordinating his style—to the work that had already been done in this manuscript.

The London *Histoire universelle* (BL, Add. MS 15268) was then executed by a large team of painters,[23] including one or two of those who had worked on BNF fr. 9084. Meanwhile, the Hospitaller Master was commissioned to do a second *History of Outremer* codex, Boulogne 142; for this manuscript he painted the complete set of twenty-two panels. What is notable is that he copied the iconographic program of the first five miniatures of BNF fr. 9084 directly, but transformed them with his own style. This means that he executed the imagery to suit his new patron, whoever it was. Coloristically, the result in the first five miniatures of Boulogne 142 is a combination of certain aspects of his models: at Book 1, the grey and black seen in the Patriarch of Jerusalem, his attendant, and Peter the Hermit, are combined with a Holy Sepulchre whose lavender superstructure imitates the purple dome of BNF fr. 9084, though the sepulchre itself is lavender with round red and blue decoration instead of intense pink with rounded black openings and golden trim.[24] The colors of other examples, for instance the miniatures of Books 3 and 4, are similarly a variation on what appear in their models. For Books 2 and 5, however, there is a notable and deliberate departure in the program of color, which was apparently prompted by the desires of the patron. The main figure in these two cases is given identifiable heraldic arms, whose distinctive colors clearly evoke the person of Godefroy de Bouillon![25]

In addition to the close relationship in the early part of these manuscripts, certain peculiarities found later in BNF fr. 9084 are also transferred into Boulogne 142, notably the odd text incipits and lack of miniatures at the start of Books 12 and 13. It is also worth pointing out that the format of BNF fr. 9084, with its numerous wide-format illustrations—there are six panel miniatures which are two text columns wide—is imitated in Boulogne 142 at Books 1 and 9. Finally, I would observe that these two manuscripts are the most colorful among those executed by the Hospitaller Master, both in terms of the range of hues employed and in the choice of focal colors, that is, colors chosen for major components of the miniatures. These colors are, however, not the same in each manuscript, presumably for the same reasons the colors of the most closely copied miniatures also vary: the Hospitaller Master had different patrons with different tastes, there were different pigments available, and he used color to customize his work. These various features nonetheless indicate the close linkage of the two manuscripts in terms of model and copy, because they are *not* found in a later *History of Outremer* codex (Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, ms. Plu.LXI.10), apparently the last extant manuscript done by the Hospitaller Master in Acre, in early 1291.[26]

Stahl points out, however, that Boulogne 142 does not follow BNF fr. 9084 in regard to the imagery of the miniatures at the start of Books 6, 9, 15, and 16, and that these refer back to an earlier cycle. Moreover, in relation to the later Florence Plu.LXI.10 cycle, the cycle in BNF fr. 9084 seems to be more forward-looking than the more conservative one in Boulogne 142, that is, more in harmony with the Florence codex.[27]

I would argue here that whereas there are differences between the manuscripts, as Stahl points out, we must distinguish between the dynamics of how the cycles were executed in regard to their patrons, on the one hand, and specific workshop procedures as indications of how the manuscripts are related, on the other. It seems clear that the Hospitaller Master carried out Boulogne 142 for a different patron than whoever ordered BNF fr. 9084. Thus, these two cycles are by no means identical, even though they are very close in certain respects; the imagery is not exactly the same in Boulogne 142 in those cases where the patron apparently had specific instructions, even for the images in Book 1–5 (such as in the case of the heraldry of Godefroy of Bouillon), and there were variations in what the patron wanted in the later parts of the cycle as well. Nonetheless, we should not lose sight of the fact that the program of miniatures for both

manuscripts, that is for BNF fr. 9084 and for Boulogne 142, went back to earlier Crusader cycles.[28] The question is, in what way were those earlier cycles available to the Hospitaller Master and how did he use them.[29] Moreover, when we isolate the other aspects discussed above, such as the color and the atelier characteristics of configuration and format, it appears that the strongest case to be made based on the evidence is that Boulogne 142 was executed shortly after BNF fr. 9084 and that the miniatures for Books 1–5 in Boulogne 142 were based directly on those in BNF fr. 9084, as previously argued.[30]

The Hospitaller Master painted two other manuscripts just before Acre fell in 1291. One is the *History of Outremer* codex now in Florence, mentioned above,[31] and the other is a manuscript of the *Livre des assises*, by Jean d'Ibelin, ms. fr. app. 20 (=265), in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice (pl. 5).[32] In terms of design, the drawing style is very consistent with the work seen in BNF fr. 9084 and Boulogne 142, but where do these two manuscripts stand coloristically in relation to the earlier development of the Hospitaller Master in Acre?[33]

Looking first at the codex in Venice, it is evident that the color palette is rich but that the colors used are more conservative, that is, more French Gothic than those in BNF fr. 9084 or Boulogne 142. In the miniature on folio 1r of the law book (pl. 5), the dominant colors are strong Gothic pink and blue, with subordinate use of white, lavender, orange-red, pink-purple, red-purple, and only minimal use of the yellow and light green found in the exemplars attributed to the time between 1286 and 1287. These same colors used in a similar manner, but somewhat softened, are found with very few exceptions in the Florence *History of Outremer*. Here too, the focal colors are pink, blue, and lavender, a clear reversion to the more traditional French Gothic colors used by the Hospitaller Master in Paris and just after his arrival in Acre. Furthermore, if we look closely at the way the colors are used in terms of the shading of drapery and the modeling of faces in the earlier works, we notice that the emphasis is less experimental and more on refinement in both these late manuscripts. The refinement in color is matched by other indications of the Hospitaller Master workshop's careful production of these manuscripts for what may have been very discriminating patrons.[34]

There is one final point raised by Harvey Stahl in regard to the Hospitaller Master manuscripts that is worth commenting on here. Stahl concluded his review with a discussion of style and made the following statement: "...the stylistic and iconographic relations described above would suggest that the Paris fr. 9084 and Boulogne manuscripts may have been executed as early as the late 1270's [sic] and that the most advanced manuscript in Folda's Acre series may be as early as the early 1280's [sic]."[35] Nonetheless, I stand by my original argument, with the *censier* done in Paris and dated 1276, the Bible in Acre circa 1280, the Chantilly Rhetoric manuscript dated 1282, BNF fr. 9084 dated circa 1286, Boulogne 142 circa 1286/early 1287, and Florence Plu. LXI.10 early 1291.[36] In proposing his reinterpretation, Stahl used as a criterion for Acre the standards of Parisian manuscript illumination. In arguing my dating, I am taking the position that, historically as well as geographically, Acre and Paris are distinct artistic centers despite certain strong ties between them. In the case at hand, when the Hospitaller Master came to Acre from Paris, he clearly retained his Parisian training, but his development as a painter in the East then proceeded according to his new circumstances and his interaction with this new artistic environment. Indeed, I propose as a matter of principle that Crusader art in the Latin Kingdom must be evaluated on its own historical terms, not those of Paris, Constantinople, Venice, or any other European center from which various components of its artistic stimuli may have originated. This last principle has been clearly and, I hope, convincingly argued in regard to Crusader art in the twelfth century.[37] A complete reconsideration of the dynamics of Crusader art in the context of the complex interactions of the Latin Kingdom with the Byzantine Empire, the Latin Empire, Frankish Greece, Lusignan Cyprus, the Armenian Kingdom, the Mamluk Empire, and Western Europe is needed to assess more fully the issues that are raised by the phenomenon of the Hospitaller Master in Acre, a French Gothic painter from Paris who comes to work in Saint-Jean d'Acre for the last decade of its existence as the Crusader capital.[38]

Conclusion

The discussion above has identified several problematic issues that can benefit from comparative research in late thirteenth-century manuscript illumination. Similar problems in regard to identifying artistic hands have been encountered with some of the most accomplished manuscript and icon painters in Paris and the Near East. The hand of Master Honoré and the work of his assistants in Paris is one obvious example;[39] in the Near East we have T'oros Roslin and his assistants in a

remarkable series of manuscripts from the 1250s and 1260s—most with colophons—done in Hromkla;[40] we have the challenging Palaeologina group in Constantinople at the end of the century;[41] there is the problematic series of painters associated with Crusader icons now in the Monastery of Saint Catherine's on Mt. Sinai;[42] and perhaps most relevant to the Hospitaller Master is the case of the *Histoire universelle* in the British Library (Add. MS 15268). Hugo Buchthal proposed a date of 1286 for this codex and commented that, "...several hands may be distinguished in the illustrations of this manuscript, [but] their style is surprisingly uniform."[43] In fact, the several hands have not been worked out, nor have they been related to other manuscripts of direct significance for the Hospitaller Master, such as BNF fr. 9084, which also clearly has several hands. New research on and critical reassessment of these prominent painters in the late thirteenth century promise to help shed light on the case of the Hospitaller Master working in Paris and then in Acre.

Compared to the work of these other important artists, the oeuvre of the Hospitaller Master is remarkably homogeneous, consistent, and coherent stylistically. Despite his obvious simplicity, even naiveté, the Hospitaller Master does, however, show development, certain signs of sophistication, and a limited sensitivity to his multicultural surroundings in Saint-Jean d'Acre while he worked there over a ten-year span prior to 1291.

It is remarkable, in fact, that the Hospitaller Master was accepted as a member of the Acre circle of painters, contributing his Parisian conceived style to the multicultural environment in which he worked. Thus, his distinctive hand found favor in the midst of work that in many ways looks very different, even within the confines of a single manuscript such as BNF fr. 9084. The Hospitaller Master become a Crusader painter by his *locus operandi*, his workshop circumstances, his patronage, and the specific commissions that caused his art to change and develop after he arrived in Acre. Among these changes one very important aspect is color.

The issues of color palette and the chemistry of pigments are ones relatively little studied in the history of manuscript illumination, and they clearly need greater attention in regard to Crusader and French book painting.[44] There are many factors that would influence the use of certain colors; they include style, taste, and the financial resources and specific requirements of a particular commission of any given patron, workshop practices, available materials, artistic preferences and skill in using certain pigments, and

the impact of other artistic work on the patron and the artist in individual circumstances. The discussion above has focused on color—observed as a hue, but not analyzed as a pigment—as an aspect in the consideration of artistic development; but even from such a limited perspective, my intention has been to emphasize the importance of color and the need for more attention to the issue of color in future studies of medieval painting.

Finally, the identification of a multicultural atelier in which the Hospitaller Master worked, one which apparently produced BNF fr. 9084, the London *Histoire universelle*, and Boulogne 142, among other manuscripts, raises interesting questions for investigation. How many hands in fact worked on these manuscripts as painters, calligraphers, and scribes? There were perhaps as many as three painters doing the miniatures in BNF fr. 9084—one of whom was the Hospitaller Master—and at least six or more on the London *Histoire*. More importantly, how can we understand the confluence of styles that appears in BNF fr. 9084—with the Frankish Eastern Crusader style in the first five miniatures starkly combined with the unapologetic French Gothic style of the Hospitaller Master in the last seventeen miniatures—or the Hospitaller Master's other Acre manuscripts, along with the French, Byzantine, Crusader, and Islamic components of the London *Histoire universelle*, as characteristic of what patrons of painted books in Acre wanted in the 1280s?

With regard to the Hospitaller Master, the discussion above has attempted to explore a bit further ways in which he functioned, not only in his brief career in Paris but also in the Acre environment after his departure from Paris circa 1280, in light of new evidence. As we assess his oeuvre, it is clear that color is an important component, and it is perhaps surprising that his color grows more conservative in the last years of his work in Saint-Jean d'Acre. What is not surprising is that his color changes as he develops as an artist. In the early and mid-1280s, his color is not the same as it was in Paris in the 1270s. By 1291, indeed by the early 1280s, he had become a Crusader painter.

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Notes

1. I would like to express my thanks to Betsy Burin and the Walters Art Gallery for the invitation to participate in the symposium honoring Lilian Randall, and for the opportunity to contribute to this *Festschrift* in her honor. The paper presented here is based on research done at the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu while a visiting scholar in the spring of 1995, as well as recent work cited in the notes below. I would like to express my appreciation to Thom Kren and Liz Teviotdale for their hospitality at the Getty, and to Alison Stones, Nancy Turner, Abigail Quandt, and Mary and Richard Rouse for their help with certain matters included in my paper. Finally I would like to thank members of my seminar on late thirteenth-century manuscript illumination at the University of North Carolina in the fall of 1995 for their work on certain problems dealing with the Hospitaller Master: Jennifer Germann, Elizabeth Hudson, Scott Karakas, Jonathon Kline, Jennifer Olmsted, Erika Rockett, Adera Scheinker, and Erika Yowell. All of these colleagues have contributed to the content of this work, but the problems that remain are, of course, mine alone.

2. On the Hospitaller Master, see the following: J. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275–1291* (Princeton, 1976), 42–116 and 178–96, nos. 4–9, 11, and 12; H. Stahl, review of Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination* in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 43 (1980), 416–23; and P. Edbury and J. Folda, "Two Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts of Crusader Legal Texts from Saint-Jean d'Acre," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 57 (1994), 243–54.

3. The forthcoming publication of the Lyell Lectures by Mary and Richard Rouse will shed important new light on evidence for book production in Paris in the period 1250–1350. In the meantime, the following article is available, among others: M.A. and R.H. Rouse, "The Book Trade at the University of Paris, ca. 1250–1350," in *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame, 1991), 259–338.

4. A separate study of this codex is in press. I would like to thank François Avril for drawing my attention to this manuscript.

5. All discussion of color hue in this article is based on direct observation of the manuscripts in question. So far no research has been carried out on the chemistry of the pigments used. Chemical analysis of samples from each of the Hospitaller Master manuscripts would enable us to specify what materials were being employed along with the coloristic results observed, and would help us evaluate what the original state of the colors may have been. One wonders about the effects of fading, oxidation, rubbing, repainting, etc., even in the case of paintings as well preserved as these seem to be.

Significant research has been done in recent years on pigmentation analysis and other important technical aspects connected with the study of manuscript illumination. See note 44 below for references to selected publications that will be of interest to the readers of this article.

6. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pls. 33–36 (*censier*), and pl. 1 here (*libellus*). The actual dimensions are (h x w): for the *censier* panels, fol. 1r, 7.2 x 7.7 cm; fol. 13r, 8.1 x 8.2 cm; fol. 20r, 7.8 x 7.9 cm; and fol. 26v, 8.0 x 8.1 cm. For the *libellus*, the initial is 3.55 x 3.45 cm.

In both cases there are painted marginalia associated with the main figural imagery, which are not our concern here.

7. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pl. 33 and, for the color, see the miniature on fol. 26v, opposite p. 58, pl. A.

8. Stahl, review of Folda, 421–22; Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pls. 33–36, opposite p. 58, pl. A. Stahl sees the first three panels as "by a less experienced artist who draws more weakly, exhibits a flaccidity of line and form and an awkwardness in proportions and spatial intervals not found in the fourth and finest miniature. There one sees a firmness of line and a care in detail, a sensitivity to scale and balance, and a

combination of strictness and relieving openness which is...the hallmark of the Hospitaller Master."

The review article of Stahl was the most probing and challenging discussion that dealt with my 1976 book and the proposed identification of the Hospitaller Master. Stahl's review was based on significant study of the original manuscripts and a number of the points he raised are worth further discussion here as research continues.

9. I do not propose to pursue the issue of models any further here, but the matter has already been discussed to some extent in regard to the *censier*. See Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, 55–59.

10. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, 42–76; Stahl, review of Folda, 417–19 and 422.

11. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pls. 27–50, and our pls. 2 and 3 here.

12. Compare the design of figures in the *libellus* (the bishop, pl. 1) with the seated figure in the Rhetoric codex, fol. 113r (Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pl. 31) or the figure of the Lord in the Bible (pl. 2).

13. Compare the rendering of elements of architecture in the *censier* (Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pl. 35) with those in the Bible (ibid, pl. 48) and the Rhetoric manuscript (ibid., pl. 27), or the handling of faces in the *libellus* (the *malades*, pl. 1 here) with those of the Bible (Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pl. 44, the executioner) or the Rhetoric codex (pl. 3 here, the javelin throwers).

14. Pls. 1–4 here and Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pls. 27–29, 33–36, 38, and 39, for the drapery; ibid., pls. 30–32 and pl. 1 here for the illuminated initials.

15. In the Zeuxis panel (pl. 3) the yellow is found on Zeuxis's ladder, a tower, and the capitals of the Temple, on the spears being thrown and on the shot which the athlete is putting. In the Orator panel (Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pl. 27), however, yellow is used in a more important way because it appears on two full-length towers, on certain stones and other building materials, as panels men hold, and as part of the garments people wear.

16. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pls. 101–117.

17. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, opposite p. 58, color pl. B, and pls. 118–39.

18. Stahl, review of Folda, 419 and 422 raised questions about the sequence. I will discuss this further below.

19. H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957), 92 and 93, pls. 135f and 136. For color illustrations of the miniatures, see: for Book 2, F. Shor, "In the Crusaders' Footsteps," *National Geographic*, 121 (1962), 735; for Book 3, J. Riley-Smith, ed., *The Atlas of the Crusades* (London, 1990), 105; and for Book 5, A. Hopkins, *Knights* (New York, 1990), 86 and 87, or a cropped and slightly dark reproduction in M. Billings, *The Cross and the Crescent* (New York, 1987), 88.

20. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pls. 101–117.

21. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, opposite p. 58, color pl. B, and pls. 118–39.

22. R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1977), color pl. XXI (Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8892, fol. 30); L.M.C. Randall et al., *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, I, France, 875–1420* (Baltimore and London, 1989), 291, color pl. Va (MS W.47, fol. 145v); and M. Thomas, *Medieval French Miniatures* (New York, [1959]), pl. XLVIII (Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 1023, fol. 1v).

23. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, 79–87.

24. This colorism is important evidence that the first five miniatures of BNF fr. 9084 were the actual model used by the Hospitaller Master in Boulogne 142, not some common model in the format of drawings.

25. Very specific looking, but different heraldry with its own distinct colorism is also found in the image for Book 4, but it is not clear how this might have been related to Tancred in the incident depicted. See Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, pl. 121.

26. See note 31 below.

27. Stahl, review of Folda, 419.

28. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, 83–91.

29. J.J.G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven and London, 1992), 107–120 makes some perceptive observations on changes, expansion, and experimentation in thirteenth-century illumination, which require careful analysis when assessing workshop procedures for dealing with cycles. Changes in the nature and role of the archetype, the relationship of text and image, the notion of an artistic program, and the possible artistic modes of activity with verbal instruction, sketches, motif books, etc., in addition to the fact that illustration in the new secular books was often executed on a much more *ad hoc* basis compared to Bibles and other religious books, inspire caution in how we interpret the programmatic variety in the miniatures found in BNF fr. 9084 and Boulogne 142 for Books 6–33.

30. Seen in the larger perspective, the cycles of BNF fr. 9084 and Boulogne 142 are quite similar in the way in which they incorporate the imagery of Books 1–5 as a unit and then have the remaining part of the cycle constructed selectively from earlier programs. Nonetheless, the end products are quite different when it comes to the particulars of the iconographic program for each cycle. Clearly, Stahl's perceptive observation about how BNF fr. 9084 and Boulogne 142 are closely linked in terms of the miniatures for Books 1–5 is a special workshop feature of the relationship between these two manuscripts that has not been fully explained even yet, but this phenomenon has an interesting parallel in the textual relationship of the first parts of the Arsenal Bible (Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, ms. 5211) and BNF ms. nouv. acq. fr. 1404 that also needs further study (Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, 60). Nonetheless, there is no compelling reason to reverse what are codicologically, textually, and artistically the indications that Boulogne 142 followed BNF fr. 9084.

31. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, opposite p. 58, color pl. C, pp. 111–16.

32. Edbury and Folda, "Two Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts," 243–54.

33. At the Walters symposium, held 25 February 1995, it was the question posed by Lilian Randall about the striking color used by the Hospitaller Master for painting this manuscript that stimulated my inquiry in regard to color as a part of his development.

34. The question of why this change to a more conservative palette occurs needs further study. Clearly, the issue of patronage is important, but unfortunately we know very little as yet about specific patrons for these two manuscripts, despite some indications (Edbury and Folda, "Two Thirteenth-Century Manuscripts," 249). Also it is obvious that the Hospitaller Master was joined by an assistant who was much more conservative than he in terms of color, the artist of Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 20125, done in Acre ca. 1287, and this may also have been a factor (Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, 95–102). Other factors including new contact with manuscripts and/or painters from elsewhere may also be identified with further research.

35. Stahl, review of Folda, 422.

36. The two newly identified manuscripts, the *libellus* from Paris from the late 1270s and the *Livre des assises* from Acre done ca. 1290, were not known to Stahl when he wrote his review article.

37. J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land: 1098–1187* (Cambridge, 1995). Exceptions can always be identified; however, it is important to recognize and consider the artistic independence of Acre in the thirteenth century, just as with Jerusalem in the twelfth. One must begin with that as a working principle, rather than

assume that Acre was somehow simply a colonial extension, a part of the same cultural continuum as Paris, which it was not. The Hospitaller Master was clearly Parisian, but Acre was distinctively different from Paris as a center for late thirteenth-century painting.

38. I propose to attempt that reexamination in the second volume of my study on the art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, dealing with the period 1187–1291.

39. E. Kosmer, "Master Honoré: A Reconsideration of the Documents," *Gesta*, 14 (1975), 63–68 has scrutinized the documentation associated with Honoré, but a critical analysis of the oeuvre by the master's hand since the time of Eric Millar's basic publications has yet to be carried out.

40. S. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1993), 51–76. Helen Evans is preparing a new study on the hand of T'oros Roslin and his assistants.

41. The main studies are by H. Belting and H. Buchthal, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople: An Atelier of Late Byzantine Book Illumination and Calligraphy* (Washington, D.C., 1978) and J. Lowden and R. Nelson, "The Palaeologina Group: Additional Manuscripts and New Questions," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 45 (1991), 59–68. See the bibliography in the latter article for a more complete list of publications on manuscripts in this group.

42. The main publications to date are the following: K. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth-Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai," *Art Bulletin*, 45 (1963), 179–203; K. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 20 (1966), 49–83; D. Mouriki, "Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting in Cyprus," *The Griffon*, n.s. 1–2 (1985–1986), 9–112; and D. Mouriki, "Icons from the 12th to the 15th Century," in *Sinai: Treasures of the Monastery*, ed. K.A. Manafis (Athens, 1990), 102–124.

43. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, 84.

44. Jonathan Alexander points out how little has been done relatively speaking (*Medieval Illuminators*, 39 and 40, nn. 43–49), but certain important studies exist as a basis for further research. Besides the basic reference work, R.J. Gettens and G.L. Stout, *Painting Materials: A Short Encyclopedia* (New York, 1942; reprt. 1966) and the studies of D.V. Thompson, e.g., *The Materials of Medieval Painting* (London, 1936), with later reprintings, there are a number of researchers active today whose work deals with medieval manuscript illumination. See the important analyses of micro-samples in Armenian manuscript illumination by T. Mathews, Mary Virginia Orna, et al. Their work is cited in T.F. Mathews and R.S. Wieck, eds., *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts*, exh. cat., New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (New York, 1994), 216, under "Pigments." Also in the United States, Arie Wallert at the J. Paul Getty Museum studies inorganic pigments and organic colorants. In England there is the Parker Library Conservation Project: see, e.g., C. Porter, "Some Considerations in Regard to the Need for Pigment Identification and Some Methods Suggested," in *Conservation and Preservation in Small Libraries*, ed. N. Hadgraft and K. Swift (Cambridge, 1994) 97–100; and the London Raman Microscopy Group: see, e.g., S.P. Best, R.J. Clark, and R. Withnall, "Non-destructive pigment analysis of artifacts by Raman microscopy," *Endeavor*, n.s. 16 (1992), 1–8. In Italy the PIXE technique of analysis is described by two teams of scholars: J.D. MacArthur, P. Del Carmine, F. Lucarelli, and P.A. Mandò, and M.G. Ciardi Duprè dal Pogetto, M. Rotta, and P. Semoli, "Use of Particle-Induced X-Ray Emission as a Non-Destructive Technique of Analysis of Ancient Miniatures," preprint from the Dipartimento di Fisica of the University of Florence, no. 67 (1988), 17; other findings using this method are reported in two papers of a conference in Erice, "Ancient and Medieval Book Materials and Techniques," in *Studi e Testi*, 357 (1993), 57–120. In France the paper by L. Dunlap, "Pigments and painting materials in fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Parisian manuscript illumination," in *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Age*, ed. X. Barral I Altet, II (Paris,

1990) 271–93 addresses the problem of pigments from an art-historical perspective. Also, papers given at an international colloquium in Paris were published: *Pigments et colorants de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age. Teinture, peinture, enluminure, études historiques et physico-chimiques* (Paris, 1990). Finally, in Germany, R. Fuchs (Fachhochschule Köln) and D. Oltrogge (Universität Göttingen) have been very active in this field. Moreover, in the catalogue of the exhibition, *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125–1235*, ed. J. Luckhardt and F. Niehoff, 3 vols., Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum (Munich, 1995), V.R. Kaufmann has an interesting paper, "Malanleitung im Buch I *De diversis artibus* des Theophilus und ihre Anwendung im Evangeliar Heinrichs des Löwen," II, 301–312.

These researchers and their published work give us a clear indication that pigment analysis in medieval manuscripts ca. 1100 to ca. 1400 is very actively being pursued at this time. My thanks to Abigail Quandt for drawing my attention to the impressive range of studies and different approaches represented by the material cited above.

NB: Readers may wish to consult the following sources for reproductions of illuminations mentioned in the text but not illustrated in pls. 1–5:

The châsse of Ste.-Geneviève carried in procession, *censier*, Paris, 1276. Paris, Archives nationales, pièce S 1626[1], fol. 26v.

In J. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275–1291* (Princeton, 1976), opposite p. 58, color pl. A.

Crusaders take Antioch. Book 6, William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, Acre, ca. 1287. Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibl. mun., ms. 142, fol. 49v.

In Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, opposite p. 58, color pl. B.

Crusader envoys to the Byzantine Emperor in Constantinople. Book 20, William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, Acre, ca. 1291. Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, ms. Plu. LXI.10, fol. 232v.

In Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, opposite p. 58, color pl. C.

PHOTOGRAGHS: pls. 1, 2, 4, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale; pl. 3, Chantilly, Musée Condé; pl. 5 ,Venice, Biblioteca Marciana.

Thomas of Wymondswold

Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse

This article examines an early fourteenth-century illuminated glossed Decretum *(Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 3893) and the people associated with its making. Its copyist, Thomas of Wymondswold, signed a second manuscript as well; he and his coworkers attest the presence of a community of bookmen of English background or origin, some preserving their English styles, who tended to work together in Paris. This* Decretum *manuscript also documents the close connection, sometimes overlooked, between books copied from rental pecias and those containing the work of first-rate illuminators.*

The end of the thirteenth century and beginning of the fourteenth saw a remarkable expansion of the commercial booktrade in Paris. Looking through the window, or more aptly the prism, of a tangible example, we should like to demonstrate some aspects of the changes in this trade, of the growth of a book-buying clientele, and of the response of a corresponding body of commercial book producers in the city. The object of our scrutiny is an early fourteenth-century glossed *Decretum* (Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 3893).[1] Because this *Decretum* is a signed and dated example of high quality illumination falling chronologically between Honoré and Pucelle, it has often figured in studies of early fourteenth-century painting. However, the manuscript has neither been considered as a whole, nor studied in detail. It and the people associated with its making merit a closer look. The copyist, Thomas of Wymondswold, signed a second manuscript as well; he and his coworkers attest the presence of a community of bookmen of English background or origin, some preserving their English styles, who tended to work together in Paris. This *Decretum* manuscript also documents the close connection, sometimes overlooked, between books copied from rental pecias and those containing the work of first-rate illuminators.

The present essay brings together what can be observed about the making of BNF lat. 3893 in the context of the Paris booktrade. We begin with the information that can be gleaned from the manuscript's colophon, continuing with the scribe and his text, and the manuscript's four illuminators. We conclude with a suggestion about the production of this book.

The *Decretum*'s colophon (fol. 387), repeatedly published,[2] is composed of two passages intertwined, written in alternating lines of red (represented by italic here) and black ink, with the first and last lines in red serving to frame the whole visually. The statement is to be read every other line and read through twice: first, the red passages, which contain the explicit along with the names of the scribe and the patron; and then the lines in black ink, which give the date of completion. A conventional scribal jingle provides the anticlimactic conclusion.[3]

> *Explicit liber decretorum correc-*
> anno domini millesimo trecentesimo
> *tus in textu et apparatu cum paleis*
> quarto decimo mense Augusti sexto die
> *historiis et quotis debitis locis po-*
> videlicet die Martis post festum beati Petri
> *sitis de manu Thome de Wymon-*
> apostoli ad vincula completa fuerunt
> *duswold Anglici scriptus. Et est*
> ista videlicet de rubeo scripta. In quo an-
> *liber iste <domini A. Reg. archid.*
> no supradicto multa in mundo facta sunt mirabilia.
> *Cameracen.> quem deus custodiat.*
>   Explicit hic totum scripto-
>   ri des bene potum. Amen.[4]

This colophon in the hand of the scribe provides the date of completion, 6 August 1314, and formerly provided the name of the person who commissioned the manuscript. That name has been erased and

replaced with the name of a slightly later owner, the canon lawyer and papal chaplain Arnaud Leroy, who was named archdeacon of Cambrai on 20 May 1323 and, as of 13 June 1327, papal collector in the diocese of Rheims for John XXII (1316–1334). The accounts of Arnaud's collections survive for the period 1328–1335; he died sometime between 26 August 1339 and 10 May 1341.[5] It was presumably Arnaud who erased the name of the commissioner of the manuscript, which Thomas had written in red, and who substituted his own name in somewhat larger letters, highly abbreviated to fit the space. A still later owner in turn erased Arnaud's name.[6] The compilers of *Manuscrits datés* have read "Magistri G. de //" beneath Arnaud's name.[7] One does not know whether Arnaud acquired the manuscript secondhand from a *libraire*[8] or from someone's estate, such as that of his colleague Gérard de Campmulo, chanter of Notre-Dame of Paris, to whom Arnaud rendered his accounts as papal collector in 1328.[9] For Master G. or Arnaud—just as for the canon lawyer Guillaume, who, a generation earlier, had acquired a *Decretum* from the illuminator Master Honoré in 1289[10]—an illuminated *Decretum* was a symbol of his rising dignity, authority, status, and wealth. Because of their affluence, ecclesiastics with a legal background serving as high-level government officials were an important element in the book-commissioning audience from the late thirteenth century, if not before.

The scribe of BNF lat. 3893, Thomas of Wymondswold, left his name in the manuscript twice, once on folio 97 at the end of the *Distinctiones*, "Explicit apparatus distinctionum decretorum per Thomam de Wymondw[old]," and again in the elaborate red and black colophon at the end of the whole text (fol. 387), quoted above. In the latter, he says that he wrote and corrected the text and gloss and implies that he saw to it that the *paleae, historiae,* and *quotae* were entered where they ought to be. It is difficult to assemble the body of work of Parisian scribes in the absence of payment records, since at this date they seldom signed their manuscripts. Thomas, exceptionally, left his name not only in this *Decretum* but also in a Bible (Paris, Bibl. de la Sorbonne, ms. 9, see below), which provides a broader base for studying his career.

Thomas was an Englishman; he declares the fact in the *Decretum*'s colophon, and he is so described in his appearance in university records.[11] His surname, Wymonduswold, is to be identified with the Leicestershire village of Wymondswold (modern Wymeswold), recorded in Domesday Book and still

extant today, some four and a half miles northeast of Loughborough in the Midlands.[12] How long he had worked in Paris is not known. Conceivably it was not he but an earlier generation of his family who had crossed the Channel to work in Paris, for there is no identifiable trace of insular forms in his hand.[13] His only idiosyncrasy, if so commonplace a practice deserves the label, is a constant use of line-fillers, an Italian scribal practice that came north with the law-books. In any event, as we have seen, he considered himself to be English. In early fourteenth-century Paris, the English were much the largest non-French community in the Paris booktrade, so Thomas would have had countrymen and perhaps even kinsmen in the trade.[14] His showy colophon to the *Decretum* foreshadows, on a modest scale, the colophons of the *libraire*-scribe Raoulet d'Orléans in the second half of the century.

Thomas observes in the colophon that he completed the *Decretum* in 1314, "in which year many extraordinary things happened in the world" (in quo anno supra dicto multa in mundo facta sunt mirabilia). Surely contemporary chroniclers and subsequent historians would concur with Thomas's sentiment that 1314, in France, was an *annus mirabilis*. Regardless of which of the two booktrade neighborhoods he lived in, whether the rue de la Parcheminerie on the Left Bank or the rue Neuve Notre-Dame on the Ile-de-la-Cité, we may assume that while writing the *Decretum* Thomas either saw, or had reported to him in lurid detail, the violent end of the senior Templars Geoffroy de Charnay, Preceptor of Normandy, and Jacques de Molay, Grand Master of the Order, who, in March 1314, recanted their confessions publicly on the parvis of Notre-Dame and then went to their deaths calling down God's vengeance on their persecutors, as the king's officers burned them at the stake in a double execution on a small island in the middle of the Seine.[15] In Easter week of 1314 (Easter Sunday was 9 April), Philip the Fair ordered the arrest of all three of his daughters-in-law, Marguerite, Blanche, and Jeanne, for adultery or conspiracy; the public flaying, mutilation, and hanging of their lovers followed almost immediately.[16] Before that astonishing month was out, on 20 April 1314, came the death at Avignon of Pope Clement V, friend and ally, if not puppet, of the French crown on most matters. In July 1314, in response to yet another uprising among his unwilling "vassals" in Flanders, Philip the Fair mobilized the French host for a campaign that was to begin in the following September, and on August first the king's financial minister an-

nounced the collection of a hated tax to pay for the war; such taxes always weighed heavily—unfairly so, they believed—on the Parisians. As Thomas was writing his colophon on the sixth of August, residents of the French capital believed a Flemish invasion to be imminent. Many extraordinary things, indeed.[17]

It has not hitherto been noted in print that Thomas of Wymondswold copied the text and the gloss of this *Decretum* from exemplar pecias rented from a university stationer. The pecia marks, written in the outer or inner margins with a fine pen, are in two sequences, one for the text and the other for the gloss. Marginal pecia numbers of this sort were intended ultimately to disappear, either in the gutter or under the binder's knife; therefore, one almost never finds a complete set surviving, and only seldom a fragmentary sequence long enough to be significant. It is sheer luck that enough of these annotations survive in Thomas's Gratian to reveal that they match the exemplar that was on the rental list in 1304 of the university stationer André de Sens, whose family *statio*, or shop, was located on the rue Saint-Jacques about two hundred meters south of the rue de la Parcheminerie.[18] André's price list in 1304 offered to rent the text of the *Decretum* in 104 pecias, or quires, for a total of seven solidi, and the apparatus in 120 pecias for the same sum ("In textu Decreti, c et iiij pecias...vij sol. In apparatu Decreti, cxx pecias...vij sol.").[19] In 1314, only ten years later, this shop, now headed by André's son Thomas de Sens, was most likely Thomas of Wymondswold's source for the text of his glossed *Decretum.*[20]

Both the text and the apparatus pecia numbers, in separate numerical sequences, are intermingled in the outer margins of BNF lat. 3893; to distinguish them, the text-pecia numbers bear the mark *p.t.,* that is, *pecia textus.* The sets of pecias for the various parts of the *Decretum* apparatus are numbered separately, with the apparatus for each part recommencing with the number 1, which complicates our task of compensating for notes that have disappeared in an attempt to reconstruct the sequence(s). As nearly as we can judge from surviving marks, the apparatus to the *Distinctiones* filled 28 pecias, to the first thirty-three *Causae* 65, to *De penitencia* and the remainder of the *Causae* 15,[21] and to the *De consecratione* 9; in addition, there was a separate apparatus of *quotae* that filled 3 pecias:[22] in total, 120 pecias of apparatus, identical with the number of apparatus pecias on the Sens rental list. The pecia numbers for the text, however, are a bit out of the ordinary: the last number marks the beginning of pecia 52 (fol. 380v, "lii .p.t."), exactly

half the number of 104 text pecias in the Sens list. We assume this is an instance of "double pecias," a practice that has not been discussed in print but that has nevertheless left traces from time to time—two pecias are rented, and numbered, as if one. The advantages of this practice, to renter and to borrower, are not evident: perhaps the borrower was able to rent at a two-for-one price; perhaps the stationer was enabled by this device to continue to make a few more pennies out of an exemplar that was no longer in heavy demand. Those are untested speculations.[23] The appearance of pecia notes in this manuscript is a useful reminder that plain, work-a-day university texts of the type that appear in Destrez's plates[24] and finely illuminated books, as depicted in the *Fastes du gothique*[25] can share a common origin.

While its words were written by one scribe, the quires of the *Decretum* were distributed among four different artists,[26] to be illuminated with a miniature, ornamented initial, and baguette at the opening of each principal division of the text, including the book of *Distinctiones,* each of the thirty-six *Causae,* the interpolated *De penitentia* and trees of consanguinity and affinity, and the concluding *De consecratione.*

The first illuminator, who may be called the Wymondswold Master, painted the miniature at the beginning of the *Distinctiones,* and those at the head of each of the *Causae* 17–33[27] and the *De penitentia* (fols. 1 and 223v–346).[28] He is a good painter, described by Avril as an anticipator of the style of Pucelle.[29] This painter worked from written instructions, entered inconspicuously in the margins, presumably by the artist himself, as aides-mémoire. Two of these notes have survived erasure. At folio 227v, at the beginning of *Causa* 18 concerning whether the bishop or the monastic community has jurisdiction over monastic elections, the miniature depicts a standing bishop addressing a group of seated monks intently conversing among themselves.[30] In the inner margin is most of five or six lines of a memorandum, although the right-hand side of some lines disappears into the gutter. One can see the words "[ab-]bahie/ de moines/ qui/...et un/ esvesque" (abbey of monks who...and a bishop). On folio 302v, at the opening of *Causa* 32, which concerns the purpose of marriage, the miniature depicts a wedding with the husband and wife on their knees beneath the canopy held by two laymen, receiving the nuptial blessing from the priest at the altar. The artist's reminder, this time in the upper margin, reads, "Un prestre qui epouse e[t] .i. home et .i. feme" (a priest performing a wedding, and a man and a woman).[31] In both notes, the illuminator

simply reminds himself of which scene to paint, without reference to details. The memoranda for the other illuminations by this painter have been erased. A second manuscript painted by the Wymondswold Master has recently been identified (Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 7470), a compendium of treatises on military tactics, starting with Vegetius and concluding with William of Tripoli and other crusading tracts, each element of the manuscript beginning with a historiated or ornamented initial.[32] Written circa 1315, the manuscript was signed on folio 115v by another English scribe: "Peter of Beverley wrote this little book" (Petrus de Beverlaco scripsit istum libellum). Although Peter left his name only here, the same hand in fact wrote the whole book. The quality of the manuscript and the fact that the historiations (fols. 15, 32v, 50v, 88v, 108v, 117, 123v, and 131) depict a king with the arms of France and Navarre (presumably Louis X)[33] suggest that it was either a royal commission or a commission by a courtier for presentation to royalty; for example, it might have been commissioned by someone like Gaucher de Châtillon, patron of poets, commissioner of manuscripts, and, since 1302, the constable of France, who was still riding into battle in 1329 at the age of eighty.[34] In addition, the Wymondswold Master makes a brief appearance in the imposing *Ovide moralisé* (Rouen, Bibl. mun., ms. 1044) that was almost certainly made for Clemence of Hungary, widow of Louis X, sometime between 1315 and her death in 1328. Its principal illuminator was the *Fauvel* Master; the Wymondswold Master's work appears on folios 48, 55, and 64v–79.[35] Because the Wymondswold Master illuminated manuscripts written by two different English scribes, one might wonder if he himself were English, since, as we have observed, members of foreign communities in the booktrade often worked together. His style, however, looks unmistakably Parisian.

On the contrary, the style of the second painter in Thomas's *Decretum* looks decidedly English, and he may well have been a countryman of Thomas's. He illuminated *Causae* 1–16 (fols. 98–223v).[36] The *Decretum*'s third illuminator painted only the two large tables or trees of consanguinity and affinity, on folios 352v–353.[37] Further examples of the work of these two artists have not been identified.

The fourth painter illuminated the rest of the manuscript, namely, *Causae* 34–36 and the *De consecratione* (fols. 347–357v, save the tables on 352v–353).[38] This artist's hand also appears in another manuscript, the original part of the *Grandes chroniques de France* (Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 2615) finished circa 1315–1320. It was illuminated by the fourth *Decretum* painter and the *Fauvel* Master;[39] one miniature (fol. 252) was painted by the Sisinnius Master from the *Vie de Saint Denis* group.[40]

While four painters worked on the *Decretum*, the two-line pen-flourished initials are the work of a single hand. These initials are blue throughout the manuscript, as is common to English fourteenth-century manuscripts. And the red pen-flourishing on the blue letters, distinguished by the large single upper loops, also is characteristically English. This, coupled with Wymondswold's name, has caused art historians in the past, such as Vitzthum, to consider this an English manuscript.[41] Perhaps the scribe Thomas of Wymondswold himself made the blue initials and flourished them; this is suggested by the facts that he was English and the initials were English, and that he (unlike any of the four illuminators) worked in every quire of the manuscript, just as the pen-flourished initials appear in every quire.[42] It is possible, however, that they were the work of yet another artisan of English origin. Although there are no corrector's notes at the end of the quires, it is apparent that the text has been carefully corrected. Like the pen-flourishing, this may have been the work of another person, but it may instead represent a rereading by Thomas himself.

Thomas wrote and signed another surviving manuscript, the large one-volume Latin Bible that is now Paris, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne 9.[43] In this case, he wrote his name very early in the book, at the end of the prologue to Genesis (fol. 3v): "Explicit prologus sancti Jeronimi. Incipit liber Genesis qui dicitur hebraice Brisith. Th. de Wymondwold."[44] It is an odd place for a signature. There is no colophon to the Bible proper; and if Thomas added one at the end, of the Index of Hebrew names, it has disappeared with the physical loss of the end of the manuscript. Thomas's script is more formal in this manuscript, the majuscule letters being carefully decorated with pen-lines and swashed with yellow. Constant, however, is Thomas's penchant for line-fillers. One can see that the text was carefully corrected throughout; a corrector's note survives on folio 326v, at the end of a quire. The Bible is illuminated by one painter. Remains of two illuminator's notes survive, on folio 157 (Esdras) and folio 299 (Daniel); on folio 173v (Esther) are the remains of a sketch—a graphic memorandum—in lead point. This artist worked in Paris circa 1325–1335, both in collaboration with other painters and by himself. His hand appears in three

manuscripts besides this Bible: Montpellier, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. H.49, a Bible that he illuminated with Mahiet, the *Vie de St. Louis* Master perhaps to be identified with Mahiet Vavasseur;[45] Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 8, a Guiart des Moulins *Bible historiale*, in which he appears with the *Fauvel* Master; and BNF, ms. fr. 1575, a *Roman de la rose*, of which he is the sole artist.[46]

The production of BNF lat. 3893, Thomas's *Decretum*, was probably commissioned by its original buyer from a Parisian *libraire*, who procured the exemplar-pecias from which to copy the new manuscript and who coordinated the efforts, and paid the salaries, of parchment-seller, copyist, illuminators, and perhaps binder. Since the booktrade did not, for the most part, reward its members handsomely enough to support a strictly managerial class, the chances are good that every *libraire* himself filled at least one of these roles. When a libraire received a commission, his competence in one of the book crafts permitted him to forego payment to at least one "subcontractor" by doing the job himself; and when his own business was slack, he could supplement his income by hiring out his talents to a neighboring *libraire* who had a commission. *Libraire*, it should be understood, was not a generic title that any shopkeeper might casually assume if he decided to sell a few books; it was instead the jealously guarded designation (often called an "office" by contemporary documents) of the twenty-eight men, under oath of obedience to the University of Paris, who enjoyed exclusive rights to sell books in the city of Paris.

We can make a reasonable case for assuming that Thomas of Wymondswold himself was not merely the copyist but the *libraire*, the "contractor," of BNF lat. 3893. We know that Thomas, called "Thomas de Wymondwold, Anglicus," was one of the corps of *libraires* who swore or renewed their oath of obedience to the university on 26 September 1323.[47] Earlier lists of university *libraires* (two, both in 1316) are partial, so there is nothing to preclude his having already been a *libraire* as early as 1314 when he signed the *Decretum*.[48] There is a reasonable chance that he is further to be identified with the *libraire* "Thomas Anglicus," who appears in the university's records in circa 1329 and in 1342, but the name is not distinctive enough to rely on without further evidence.[49] The fact that the colophon in the *Decretum* is elaborately written in alternating lines of red and black, to serve among other things as an advertisement of Thomas's work on this manuscript, is an act of proprietary self-

assurance one would not anticipate from a scribe who was merely a hired hand. Its presence suggests that Thomas was the *libraire* who received the commission from Master G., buying the parchment, renting the pecias, and letting the contracts for the illumination of BNF lat. 3893, while doing the copying himself. Given his signature virtually at the beginning of another manuscript, the Bible now Sorbonne 9, one might wonder if Thomas was not also the *libraire* responsible for that manuscript as well. If he truly was the *libraire* and scribe of the *Decretum*, it is interesting to see that he rented the text and the gloss pecia by pecia from a stationer and recorded each pecia or double pecia as it was copied, in the same manner as any hired scribe. It has normally been thought that pecia numbers were noted by the scribe as a record of work for which payment is due. In the case of Thomas's *Decretum*, and perhaps other cases as well, it is more likely that the pecia numbers served as Thomas's own record of completeness, rather like checking off items on a list of "things to do."

Thomas employed and worked with the better Parisian commercial illuminators of his day, illuminators who, in other manuscripts, worked with Mahiet and the *Fauvel* Master; each of these latter painted for the royal court. It is interesting to see two other English bookmen connected with him, directly or indirectly—the anonymous English illuminator who was the second painter in Thomas's *Decretum* (BNF lat. 3893) and Peter of Beverley, the scribe of the Vegetius manuscript (BNF lat. 7470), which was painted in part by the Wymondswold Master. It is to be expected that immigrant artisans in a foreign capital, sharing a common origin and, especially, a common language, would cooperate economically. A second matter to be expected is that the renters of exemplar-pecias in Paris served the booktrade at large, and not just university clientele. The text of a handsomely illuminated *Decretum* might as well have been copied from exemplar-pecias as the owner-produced text of an unilluminated manuscript of Thomas Aquinas on the *Sentences*.

With time and with continued searching—and not to forget serendipity—Thomas of Wymondswold's hand may become recognizable or distinguishable in unsigned works, and more manuscripts signed by him may turn up, allowing scholars to extend his known circle of patrons and fellow workers.

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Notes

Our acquaintance with Thomas of Wymondswold is a consequence of research for the forthcoming *Illiterati et uxorati: Book-Producers and Book-Production in Paris, 1200–1500*, a joint publication growing out of Richard's Lyell Lectures in Bibliography delivered in Oxford in 1992. We thank Louis Bataillon, O.P., and M.T. Gousset for having read an earlier version of this paper in manuscript and for sharing with us their knowledge and expertise. Remaining errors are our own special contribution.

1. See F. Avril and P.D. Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine insulaire VII*ᵉ*–XX*ᵉ* siècle* (Paris, 1987), 138–39 and pl. 66; F. Avril, in *Les fastes du gothique: Le siècle de Charles V*, exh. cat., Paris, Réunion des musées nationaux and the Bibliothèque nationale (Paris, 1981), 287–88, no. 233; *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste* II: *Bibliothèque nationale, fonds latin (nos. 1 à 8000)*, ed. M.-T. d'Alverny et al. (Paris, 1962), 199; R. Freyhan, "Ein englischer Buchmaler in Paris zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 6 (1931), 1–9; G. Vitzthum, *Die pariser Miniaturmalerei von der Zeit des hl. Ludwig bis zu Philipp von Valois und ihr Verhältnis zur Malerei in Nordwesteuropa* (Leipzig, 1907), 78–83 and pls. 18–19. The manuscript has been cited in the literature primarily for its artists. Reproductions of thirty-five illuminations from BNF lat. 3893 are scattered throughout A. Melnikas, *The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of Decretum Gratiani*, 3 vols., Studia Gratiana XVI–XVIII (Rome, 1975); cf. "Index 1: List of Manuscripts Containing Miniatures Reproduced in This Corpus" at III, 1249–50; *Manuscrits datés*, pl. 42 reproduces the script.

2. See most recently the transcriptions in Avril and Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés*, 138; *Manuscrits datés*, II, 199; and the partial transcription by the Benedictines of Bouveret, eds., *Colophons de manuscrits occidentaux des origines au XVI*ᵉ* siècle*, 7 vols. (Fribourg, Switz., 1965–1982), V, 423, no. 18032.

3. For examples of nearly identical verses, ranging in date from the second half of the thirteenth century to the early fifteenth, see W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, ed. 4 (1896; repr. Graz, 1958), 506–507 and 516.

4. Translation: [in red ink] Here ends the *Decretum*, corrected in text and apparatus, with *paleae, historiae,* and *quotae* positioned in their proper places, written by the hand of the Englishman Thomas of Wymondswold. This book belongs to <(over eras.) dom A. Leroy archdeacon of Cambrai>, God keep him. [in black ink] In the year of our Lord 1314, on the sixth day of the month of August, which is to say on the Tuesday after the Feast of Saint Peter in Chains [= Thursday, 1 August 1314] these writings were completed, which is to say the rubrication. In that year, many extraordinary things happened in the world. // Here ends the whole thing. Give the writer a good pourboire.

5. Regarding Arnaud see U. Berlière, *Les collectories pontificales dans les anciens diocèses de Cambrai, Thérouanne et Tournai au XIV*ᵉ* siècle*, Analecta vaticano-belgica X (Rome, 1929), x.

6. Pierre Gasnault first read and identified Arnaud's name in the erasures in the colophon of BNF lat. 3893; see his "La perception dans la royaume de France du subside sollicité par Jean XXII," *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome*, 69 (1957), 284, 289, and 313–15.

7. *Manuscrits datés*, II, 199. This reading is taken over by both the Benedictines of Bouveret, *Colophons*, V, 423, no. 18032 and by Avril and Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés*, 138–39.

8. We use the French *libraire* throughout, as a reminder that in fourteenth-century Paris this was a person who not only sold books but produced them (usually subcontracting either the copying or the illumination with his booktrade neighbors): a bookseller-publisher.

9. Concerning Master Gérard, see Berlière, *Les Collectories*.

10. Concerning Guillaume and the date of Honoré's Gratian, see Rouse and Rouse, *Illiterati et uxorati*, chapter 5 (forthcoming).

11. See below.

12. Also known as Wimundewalle, Wimundewald, and Wimundeswald; see E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, ed. 4 (Oxford, 1960), 541 and J.G. Bartholomew, *Gazetteer of the British Isles* (Edinburgh, 1966), 744.

13. See the reproduction of Thomas's hand in *Manuscrits datés*, II, pl. 42 and in Avril and Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés*, pl. 66, no. 172.

14. On the matter of English commercial book producers in Paris and elsewhere, see R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, "Wandering Scribes and Traveling Artists: Raulinus of Fremington and 'Regional' Style," in *"A Distinct Voice": Medieval Studies in Honor of Leonard E. Boyle, O.P.*, ed. J. Brown and W.P. Stoneman (Notre Dame, forthcoming).

15. Regarding the process against the Templars, see M. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), 280–313. The precise date of the execution is, fortunately, not crucial to our purpose; for it is variously reported as 3 March (H. Nickel, "Chivalry, Orders of," *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* III [New York, 1983], 304), 11 March, 18 March (these two respectively in the chronicles of Bernard Gui and of the Continuator of G. de Nangis: see *Les grandes chroniques de France*, ed. J. Viard, VIII [Paris, 1934], 295 n. 2), and 19 March (J. Favier, *Philippe le Bel* [Paris, 1978], 479–80). Barber, *New Knighthood*, 314 accepts the date 18 March 1314.

16. On 12 April, according to Viard, ed., *Grandes chroniques*, VIII, 298 and n. 3.

17. For a contemporary account of these calamities, see Viard, ed., *Grandes chroniques*, 295–304. The remainder of the year 1314, after the date of Thomas's colophon, was equally "extraordinary," with the Flemish gaining all their objectives via a "shameful" treaty and with the unexpected death of Philip the Fair in November, at the age of forty-six.

18. Concerning the Sens family of university stationers (known from before 1265 until after 1342), see R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, "The Book Trade at the University of Paris, ca. 1250-ca. 1350," in *La production du livre universitaire au moyen âge: Exemplar et pecia*, ed. L.J. Bataillon, B.G. Guyot, and R.H. Rouse (Paris, 1988), 41–114 (56–64); repr. in Rouse and Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame, 1991), 259–338 (282–94). Jean Destrez's careful eye noted the pecia marks in BNF lat. 3983 sixty years ago. We thank Louis Bataillon, O.P. for a copy of Destrez's handwritten description of this manuscript.

19. H. Denifle and E. Chatelain, *Chartularium universitatis Parisiensis* (hereafter CUP), 4 vols. (Paris, 1889–1897), II, 107–112, no. 642 (110).

20. The name of Thomas de Sens appears in university documents from 1313 through 1342; see CUP II, 171, CUP II, 179, CUP II, 180, CUP II, 192, CUP II, 273 n., and CUP II, 531. He is mentioned also in a pen trial in Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, ms. 37, fol. 178, and in the taille rolls, the tax lists, for 1313 (K. Michaëlsson, *Le livre de la taille de Paris...1313*, Göteborgs Universitets Årskrift LVII, no. 3 [Göteborg, 1951], 234). That Thomas was André's son, and the grandson of Guillaume and Marguerite de Sens, still earlier proprietors of this shop, is our assumption.

21. Or perhaps just 14; 12 is the last visible number in this sequence.

22. Or possibly 4; the last number for this segment occurs on fol. 53v, "iii .p. quot."

23. See, for another example, the manuscripts of Aquinas *Super Metaphysicam* discussed by J.P. Reilly, "The Numbering Systems of the Pecia Manuscripts of Aquinas's Commentary on the Metaphysics," in *La production du livre universitaire*, 209–223, esp. 210 and 218–20: manuscripts with pecia numbers that match the stationer's total of 53 (André de Sens again: CUP II, 110) and manuscripts with pecia numbers extending only to the number 27 (as nearly half of 53 as one can come) are derived from the same textual source. Reilly's proffered explanation (219–20) would not be valid for any text but the *Super Metaphysicam* and would not explain the phenomenon of double pecias in general.

24. J. Destrez, *La pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIIIᵉ et du XIVᵉ siècle* (Paris, 1935).

25. Cited above.

26. Avril, *Fastes du gothique*, 288 (followed by Avril and Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés*) distinguished three artists' hands. The fourth was identified by M.T. Gousset.

27. Avril, *Fastes du gothique*, 288 and Avril and Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés*, 138 give the last figure as *Causa* 32 because of an error in the manuscript's running headlines.

28. See reproductions of the majority of these in Melnikas, *Corpus*, I, 94, fig. 55 (fol. 1, *Distinctiones*); II, 561, fig. 26 (fol. 223v, *Causa* 17); II, 589, fig. 24 (fol. 227v, *Causa* 18); II, 619, fig. 24 (fol. 230, *Causa* 19); II, 640, fig. 21 (fol. 231v, *Causa* 20); II, 672, fig. 30 (fol. 234, *Causa* 21); II, 792, fig. 24 [not fig. 23, as in Melnikas's index] (fol. 262v, *Causa* 24); II, 819, fig. 24 (fol. 273, *Causa* 25); II, 848, fig. 23 (fol. 276v, *Causa* 26); III, 875, fig. 23 (fol. 282, *Causa* 27); III, 903, fig. 22 (fol. 291, *Causa* 28); III, 924, fig. 22 (fol. 294v, *Causa* 29); III, 956, fig. 27 (fol. 296, *Causa* 30); III, 981, fig. 22 (fol. 300, *Causa* 31); III, 1014, fig. 25 (fol. 302v, *Causa* 32); and III, 1042, fig. 21 (fol. 312v, *Causa* 33). Freyhan, "Buchmaler," 7, fig. 15 reproduces fol. 1; Avril, *Fastes du gothique*, 288 reproduces fol. 302v.

29. Avril, *Fastes du gothique*, 288.

30. See discussion in Melnikas, *Corpus*, II, 575–77 and the reproduction, II, 589, fig. 24, without mention of the note.

31. See the discussion in Melnikas, *Corpus*, III, 997 and the reproduction, III, 1014, fig. 25, without mention of instructions; and see Avril, *Fastes du gothique*, 288 and fig. 233, with transcription of the artist's note.

32. The identification was made by M.T. Gousset; we thank her for this information, and for sharing with us her notes on BNF lat. 7470 and its illuminator.

33. The French translation of William of Tripoli's *Qualiter Terra Sancta possit per christianos recuperari* (fols. 131–162v) is dated 1306–1307; this effectively rules out Philip IV or his wife Jeanne de Navarre as potential royal commissioner or recipient of BNF lat. 7470, because Louis X (d. 1316) became king of Navarre with the death of his mother Jeanne de Navarre in 1305. He could have displayed arms of both houses from that time, even before he inherited the French crown at his father's death late in 1314.

34. Concerning Gaucher, see P. Anselme, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France*, ed. 3, 9 vols. (Paris, 1726–1733; repr., 1967), VI, 90–91 and 109–110. Aside from the extensive articles on Gaucher's family in the French biographical dictionaries, see F.J. Pegues, *The Lawyers of the Last Capetians* (Princeton, 1962), esp. 146–50 and 176–85, tracing Gaucher's connections with Raoul de Presles; and J. Favier, *Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1978), 16–17, a brief but perceptive appraisal of the Châtillon family and the rank of society to which it pertained, "cette haute aristocratie dont les titres reflètent mal [leur] influence politique."

35. Concerning the provenance, see Avril, *Fastes du gothique*, 284–85, no. 230; the two miniatures reproduced there are the work of the *Fauvel* Master, not the Wymondswold Master. See the "grant roumans...de Fables d'Ovide" in the inventory of Clemence's estate: L. Douët-d'Arcq, ed., "Inventaire et vente après décès des biens de la reine Clémence d'Hongrie veuve de Louis le Hutin," in his *Nouveau recueil de comptes de l'argenterie des rois de France* (Paris, 1874), 63, no. 211. See also C. Lord, "Three Manuscripts of the Ovide moralisé," *Art Bulletin*, 57 (1975), 161–75 (162–63); the Wymondswold Master is the equivalent of Lord's Temporary Master. Identification of the secondary artist in Rouen, Bibl. mun., ms. 1044 with the first artist of BNF lat. 3893 was made by M.T. Gousset.

36. See reproductions of the majority of these in Melnikas, *Corpus* I, 129, fig. 40 (fol. 98, *Causa* 1); pl. V following I, 150 (fol. 122, *Causa* 2); pl. V facing I, 182 (fol. 142, *Causa* 3); I, 204, fig. 20 (fol. 151v, *Causa* 4); pl. I facing I, 230 (fol. 154v, *Causa* 5); pl. II facing I, 262 (fol. 157, *Causa* 6); pl. V facing I, 290 (fol. 160v, *Causa* 7); I, 315, fig. 18 (fol. 166v, *Causa* 8); pl. V facing II, 336 (fol. 170, *Causa* 9); II, 374, fig. 30 (fol. 173, *Causa* 10); II, 396, fig. 19 (fol. 176v, *Causa* 11); II, 423, fig. 23 (fol. 187v, *Causa* 12); II, 474, fig. 23 (fol. 201, *Causa* 14); pl. II facing II, 500 (fol. 204v, *Causa* 15); and II, 532, fig. 28 (fol. 209v, *Causa* 16). See also Freyhan, "Buchmaler," 2, fig. 1 (fol. 98); 3, fig. 5 (fol. 122); 2, fig. 2 (fol. 151v); 2, fig. 4 (fol. 173); 3, fig. 3 (fol. 176v); 5, fig. 7 (fol. 187v); 5, fig. 8 (fol. 197v, *Causa* 13); 5, fig. 9 (fol. 204v); 5, fig. 10 (fol. 209v).

37. See reproductions in Freyhan, "Buchmaler," 8, fig. 16 (fol. 352v) and 9, fig. 18 (fol. 353, partial); and Avril, *Fastes du gothique*, 287 (fol. 353).

38. See reproductions in Melnikas, *Corpus*, pl. III following III, 1096 (fol. 347, *Causa* 34); pl. II facing III, 1128 (fol. 348v, *Causa* 35); III, 1160, fig. 28 (fol. 356, *Causa* 36); and III, 1192, fig. 25 (fol. 357v, *De consecratione*). See also Freyhan, "Buchmaler," 6, fig. 13 (fol. 347) and 6, fig. 14 (fol. 356).

39. Concerning the *Fauvel* Master, see the introduction to *Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain*, facsimile edition by E.H. Roesner, F. Avril, and N.F. Regaldo (New York, 1990). We thank M.T. Gousset for this information regarding the fourth painter of BNF lat. 3893.

40. The original segment evidently ended on fol. 261v with the life of Philip III, although loss of a folio at this juncture clouds the issue. See A. Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France 1274–1422* (Los Angeles, 1991), 30–34 and notes (discussion), 241–43 (catalogue description), and figs. 18–20, all three of which are the work of the fourth *Decretum* painter (with obvious retouching in fig. 20). The matter is irrelevant to present purposes, but for clarity's sake we note that the three artists named in our text are the equivalent of Hedeman's I–VII (p. 243; VIII and IX are later campaigns); the fourth painter from Thomas of Wymondswold's *Decretum* is Hedeman's no. V.

41. See L.F. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285–1385*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, V, ed. J.J.G. Alexander (London, 1986), I, 19 who gives a number of examples of early fourteenth-century manuscripts made in Paris but exhibiting the handiwork of English artisans working with French artisans.

42. Avril and Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés*, 138 suggest that Thomas himself was responsible for the pen work.

43. Incorrectly described in the recent literature as two volumes; but see *Catalogue général des manuscrits...Université de Paris* (Paris, 1918), 2. From the library of the Collège des Cholets on the rue Cujas, founded in 1292 for students from the dioceses of Amiens, Beauvais, and Senlis. After this college was closed in 1763 its goods and students passed to the Collège Louis-le-Grand. 2nd folio: *ad templum reliquit*; end lacking.

44. François Avril first noted Thomas's name in the middle of

this manuscript; see *Fastes du gothique*, 288.

45. See Avril, *Fastes du gothique*, 300, no. 247.

46. We thank M.T. Gousset for the information regarding the oeuvre of the painter of Paris, Bibl. de la Sorbonne, ms. 9.

47. CUP II, 273, no. 825 n. The editors' transcription, "Wymondlkold," reflects a misreading of the florid W coupled with an unfamiliarity with English placenames.

48. CUP II, 179–80, no. 724 (June 1316) and II, 190–92, no. 733 (December 1316); these are records of a dispute between *libraires* and the university, and the names of only about half of the total, some twenty-eight, are mentioned.

49. See CUP II, 664a, no. 1184 (dated 1329/1336), a list of those who paid a special assessment levied by the university, which includes a Thomas Anglicus on the rue de la Parcheminerie, a principal location of the booktrade; William Courtenay has a new edition of this document forthcoming. And see CUP II, 532, no. 1064 (6 October 1342), which names a Thomas Anglicus among the *libraires* who swear the oath of obedience to the university— the next (and only surviving) corporate oath after the one of 1323 that mentions "Thomas de Wymondwold Anglicus." Lest the time-span (1314–1342) seem too long, we should remember that, as mentioned above, Thomas of Sens was a university stationer in 1313, if not before, and remained a stationer in 1342, if not thereafter.

The Walters Homilary and Westphalian Manuscripts

Judith Oliver

An early fourteenth-century German homilary in the Walters Art Gallery (MS W.148), unusually richly illuminated for a manuscript of this type, has previously excited scholarly interest because of its preliminary drawings, which link it to a homilary in the Bodleian Library (Douce 185), now attributed to the Willehalm Master's atelier. The present article localizes both homilaries to the Lower Rhineland through comparisons with extant illuminated Westphalian manuscripts and explores the phenomenon of manuscript ownership by nuns and manuscript painting by them.

The fourteenth-century German homilary, or *sermologium*, now Walters Art Gallery, MS W.148, has long excited scholarly interest because it contains a rare bifolium of drawings giving us valuable insight into the working methods of medieval artists (fig. 1).[1] The manuscript itself has elicited far less attention, although it is an unusually richly illuminated example of a homilary text. Localization to either the Upper or Lower Rhine has been suggested. Stylistic developments in the various regions along the Rhine have still not been thoroughly studied for the general period when this manuscript was produced—the early fourteenth century. The original ownership of the book is equally unsettled. A clearer picture of where and when W.148 might belong in the history of German Gothic painting thus needs to be established, and the general context in which it was created may also be better defined.

In addition to the four drawings now bound in at the front of the book, W.148 contains four full-page miniatures, one of one-column width, six smaller miniatures set into the text, and twenty-four historiated initials of varying size, some of them filling most of a page (figs. 2–6). The palette is bright, combining cherry red, deep blue, bright rose, pink, mustard yellow, olive green, gray, and lavender with highly burnished gold backgrounds. The slender and elegant figures wear robes with deeply scooped out folds and softly rippling hemlines. Initials are set against crosshatched rectilinear frames, with long curving vine tendrils sweeping along the outer borders and ending in leafbuds or single large grape, ivy, or oak leaves. The vine extensions are inhabited by occasional battling apes, dogs chasing hares, apes ringing bells, archers, and birds. Ornamental initials the same size as most historiated initials are composed of gold vines or latticework on parti-colored blue and pink grounds (between fols. 49 and 197v). Subsequently (from fol. 204v to 281v), non-figural initials share the same palette and decorative vocabulary as historiated initials. First lines of major texts are spelled out in gold versals on pink and blue bands. A date for the manuscript in the early fourteenth century seems likely. Previous scholarship has suggested a date circa 1320 or earlier. The script is a large and well separated Gothic *textualis* of a style fashionable in the late thirteenth century, evidence suggesting that the Walters homilary is unlikely to date any later than the 1320s.[2]

The bifolium of drawings sewn in at the beginning of the book includes one depicting nuns kneeling in prayer before an image of Christ stepping from the tomb (fig. 1). Since, as will be argued here, the drawings were already an integral part of the manuscript in the early fourteenth century, this indicates that the book either was made for nuns or at least was used by them at an early date. The drawing gives no indication of the color of the habit, but each nun has a distinctive red cross on the veil above her forehead. In 1949 a Walters exhibition catalogue suggested that the manuscript was made for Brigittine nuns in the second half of the fourteenth century, assuming that only Brigittine nuns wore such a cross on their veils, and thus the book had to postdate the foundation of this order in 1346.[3] More recently, Renate Kroos has proven conclusively that such headgear was worn by Cistercian and Premonstratensian nuns in northern Germany at least as early as circa

Fig. 1. Resurrection with kneeling nuns. Homilary. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.148, fol. 2v.
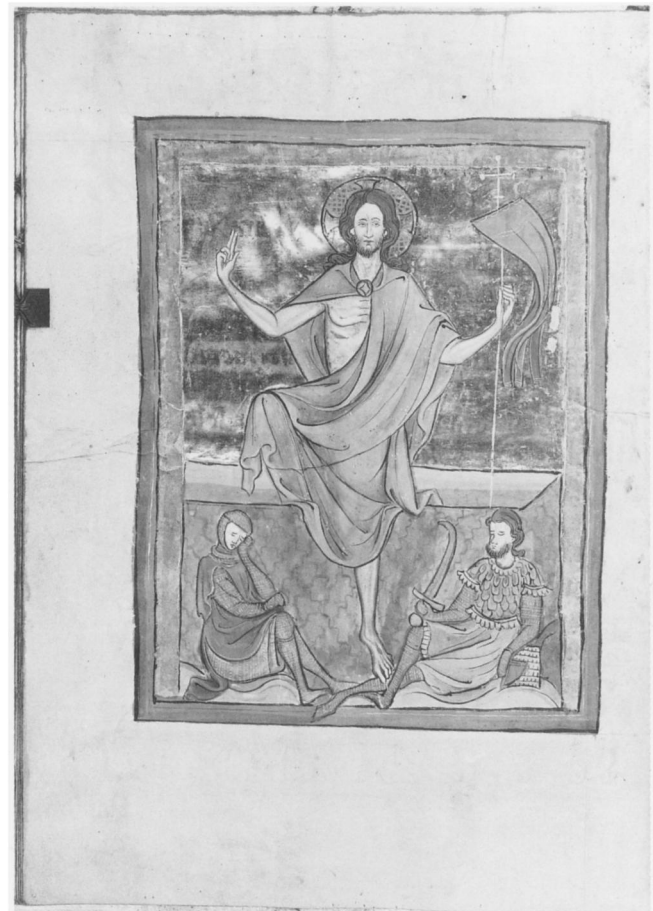
Fig. 2. Resurrection. Homilary. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.148, fol. 23v.

1320.[4] Whether one can be more specific about the identity of the nuns owning W.148 remains to be seen. There is no other internal evidence for ownership, save perhaps for the depiction of three crowned female heads and one young woman's head in two ornamental initials, noteworthy details because figures do not occur elsewhere in the manuscript's minor initials.[5]

Further evidence for dating and localization may be found in W.148's intimate relationship with a second homilary (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 185). As Dorothy Miner first noted, the two books have identical sixteenth-century stamped, white leather bindings. Together they form a partial set of readings for the liturgical year focusing on the two most important feasts, Easter and Christmas. The Walters homilary covers the period from the vigil of Easter through Pentecost,[6] Douce 185, the Christmas season, beginning with Advent. The two volumes have nearly the same proportions. Both are written in two columns of large formal Gothic script of equal size, with slightly differing numbers of lines per column. Distance between ruling lines and textblock dimensions also differ somewhat. (Pages within each volume also differ occasionally in number of lines per column. Douce 185 was the work of at least three different scribes.)

W.148	Douce 185
Page:	
305 x 212 mm	310 x 218 mm
Written Space:	
203 x 150 (65-21-64) mm	190 x 142 (58-26-58) mm
two columns	two columns
19 lines	15 lines
Between lines:	
12 mm	ca. 13 mm
Script height:	
6 mm	6 mm

Despite the minor differences in codicological make-up, it still seems likely that the two homilaries were composed as a set in one scriptorium. Differences in size, codicological layout, and scribal hands are not uncommon in multi-volume works made in earlier

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Fig. 3. Nativity. Homilary. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.148, fol. 63.
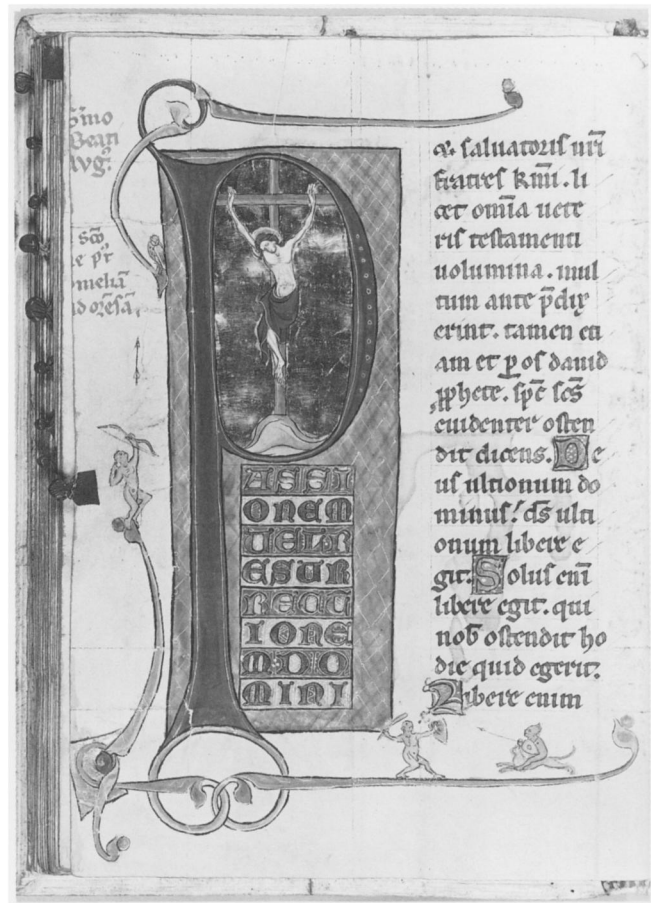
Fig. 4. Crucifixion. Homilary. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.148, fol. 33v.

centuries in monastic scriptoria.[7] Both have been illuminated in successive campaigns by several different artists. The interrelationships of the two homilaries strongly suggest that they were made for the same patrons and are very close in date.

The Walters manuscript is the work of one artist, with later embellishments, all of a less accomplished nature than the added prefatory bifolium of drawings. According to Dorothy Miner, the drawings were inspired by miniatures within the manuscript (without being slavish copies of them) and were done at a later date by a more courtly hand. Miner argued that these drawings are very similar to the style of the main artist of Douce 185; indeed she found them to be by the same hand, that of the Master of Douce 185, who has more recently been identified by Joan Holladay as a collaborator of the Willehalm Master (fig. 7).[8] As the drawings are more elegant than the somewhat robust style of this collaborator, they might be attributable instead to the Willehalm Master himself, who contributed underdrawings but only one completed miniature to Douce 185.

Another link between the two books, which has

never been commented upon, is the fact that the artist of W.148 worked on the first quire of Douce 185. The borders of folios 2–7v in the Douce homilary are distinctly different from those in the rest of the manuscript (fig. 8). Gables surmount the two text columns, with birds perched upon them; and apes or human figures are inserted into the spaces under the gables above the text. Apes playing bells or shooting at songbirds are depicted in profusion. Paired dogs or dragons with vine-tendril tails ending in a single large grape leaf "support" the columns in the lower margin. All of these motifs recur in W.148 (figs. 4 and 5). The palette is also identical, with touches of cherry red and mustard yellow contrasting with the dominant pink and blue. The rest of Douce 185 is the work of the Willehalm Master and a close collaborator, with later additions by a more amateurish hand.[9] The bifolium forming folios 1 and 8, wrapped around the work of the Walters artist is embellished with a huge historiated initial on folio 1v by the Willehalm Master's collaborator and rectilinear text borders on folios 8–8v by the Willehalm Master himself.
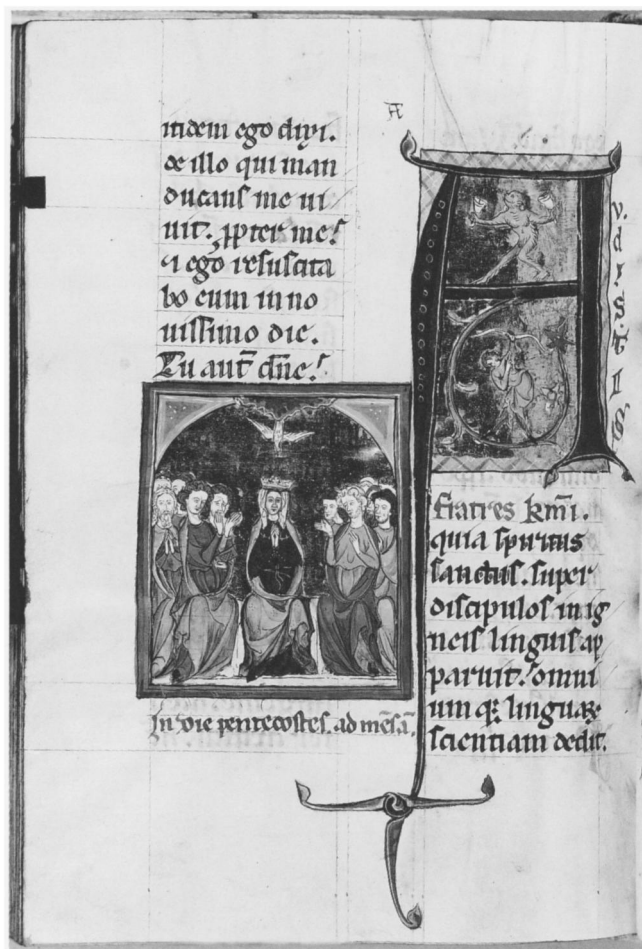
Fig. 5. Pentecost. Homilary. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.148, fol. 258v.

Presumably, when his shop began work on the Douce homilary, its first quire was already illuminated. The current first and last leaves (fols. 1 and 8) appear to be replacement pages added by the Willehalm Master's atelier, for the parchment of this bifolium is uncharacteristically thin. The lines of text are more widely spaced and the script is slightly more formal on folio 8 than on the preceding pages. Versals in red and blue with filigree penwork introduce sentences where spaces for capitals are left blank on folios 2–7v. Thus it appears likely that the W.148 artist began work on Douce 185, but the owners of the Douce codex quickly decided that the Walters artist's style was too old-fashioned or just not elegant enough and so hired the Willehalm Master and his assistant.[10] The Willehalm Master was active in the 1320s, and so there may not be any great difference in date between the two books.[11]

That the Walters homilary was necessarily painted earlier than Douce 185 is open to debate. The complex interplay of decoration in the two books

might suggest instead that they were being made simultaneously by artists trained in distinctively different regional styles. As the Willehalm Master's contribution to Douce 185 was largely limited to underdrawings completed by his collaborator, we should perhaps interpret his drawings in W.148 in a similar light: as preparatory models for the W.148 artist to imitate. This follower, however, worked freehand in a different style, simplifying and changing the models. While Dorothy Miner has argued the reverse—that the drawings copy the illuminated initials—her perceptive descriptions of the greater sophistication and complexity of the drawings can indeed support the opposite sequence. On the face of it, such an accomplished draftsman would have no need to copy the more standardized and simply draped figures in W.148, while such reductive use of a master artist's models is quite typical of shop work. It is quite typical of the Willehalm Master's working method, as well, that he would contribute drawings or finished miniatures for only a limited number of compositions in any one of his manuscripts, and that in each book he worked with a different collaborator.[12]

The bifolium with the drawings has now been sewn in folded the wrong way; correcting the order of the four drawings so that folio 2 precedes folio 1 would make them coincide with the four related illuminations in W.148 on folios 23, 23v, 24, and 24v.[13] The reason why the Willehalm Master would have been asked to provide models for these four compositions and not for the many which precede or follow them is that they form the liturgical heart of the manuscript, illustrating the first texts recited on Easter Day itself. The verse added in a spiky late Gothic hand on folio 1v, "Tam iocundam sollempnitatem tam miram veri luminis claritatem," coincides with the passage at the end of a sermon of Saint Augustine on folio 23 picked out in gold on colored bars by a late redecorator of the Walters manuscript. This sermon concludes the reading for Holy Saturday as dawn breaks on Easter morning.[14] The empty right-hand column received a miniature of the Virgin and Child, the verso a full-page Resurrection miniature. The facing page began Easter Day with the Gospel reading from Mark, followed on folio 24v by the homily of Saint Gregory on this lesson, the first of a long series of sermons for Easter Day.

The impact of the Willehalm Master can also be seen in the borders of W.148. While those by the Walters artist in the first quire of Douce 185 are gable-topped, more elaborate rectilinear borders are found on many pages in W.148 (fig. 6).[15] Brightly patterned

Fig. 6. Saint Augustine. Homilary. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.148, fol. 21v.

Fig. 7. Virgin and Child with musical angels and kneeling nuns. Homilary. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 185, fol. 44v.

colored bars frame the textblock and divide the two text columns. However, only some quires in W.148 received borders in this campaign (quires 1, 3–7, and 9), and most pages with historiated initials within these quires have no borders. In contrast, every page has a decorated frame in quires with borders in Douce 185, including every page with an historiated initial less than full-page in size.[16] This suggests that the borders in W.148 were an afterthought incorporated sporadically into the decorative program under the influence of the Douce homilary. None of the borders in W.148 are by the Willehalm Master's shop; they are instead comparable in palette and in their apes, archers, and dragons to the rest of W.148. However, the borders introduce more delicate and varied foliate patterns—flowers, palmettes, and oak leaves, plus hart hunts and battling figures—not seen in the initials.

That Douce 185 was still unfinished, with large blank spaces left for additional historiated initials, invited subsequent artistic effort. These later initials are decidedly amateurish in quality. Dorothy Miner compared them with the St. Katharinenthal gradual from the Upper Rhine of circa 1312, but there seems

little reason to compare such an accomplished book with the crude late Douce initials.[17] They are most likely *Nonnenarbeit* done during the fourteenth century by the owners of the Douce homilary. Other additions to Douce 185 include rectilinear text miniatures (on fols. 17v and 23v) and gold vine initials on parti-colored grounds (on fols. 67v and 71), features which have family resemblances with decoration in W.148, suggesting that later artists working on Douce 185 were familiar with the Walters homilary.

Such late "folk" quality embellishment also occurs on a number of pages of W.148. A second campaign of borders in quires 2 and 8 introduced rectilinear frames with turreted, trilobed arches, brightly colored and boldly patterned. A third campaign produced rather crude imitations of such arched frames with turrets in quires 10–11 and 13. Similarly arched and turreted frames (though not identical in style) occur in quire 9 of Douce 185, a quire illuminated by the artist of the later fourteenth-century initials.[18] A further level of added embellishment found in both books, and particularly in W.148, is overpainting of individual words and phrases in the text that were of especial liturgical significance, as I have argued elsewhere (fig. 6).[19] The most logical conclusion to be drawn from these numerous crisscrossing relation-

ships is that both books were made for the same nunnery and remained together in the fourteenth century. That both were subjected to related campaigns of redecorating suggests also that they probably remained unbound for some time.

As much of the illumination in Douce 185 can be attributed to the Willehalm Master and his collaborator, localization of both homiliaries is tied to pinpointing where this artist may have been working. His other

books related to it will help to pinpoint where the owner of both homiliaries was located.

While W.148 lacks internal evidence for localization, it is not stylistically isolated. Scholars have attributed it to the Lower Rhine based on general affinities between work in this region and English art (fig. 9).[22] The Walters homiliary is also stylistically close to the small ivory book illustrated with fourteen paintings of the Passion now in the Victoria and Albert Museum,
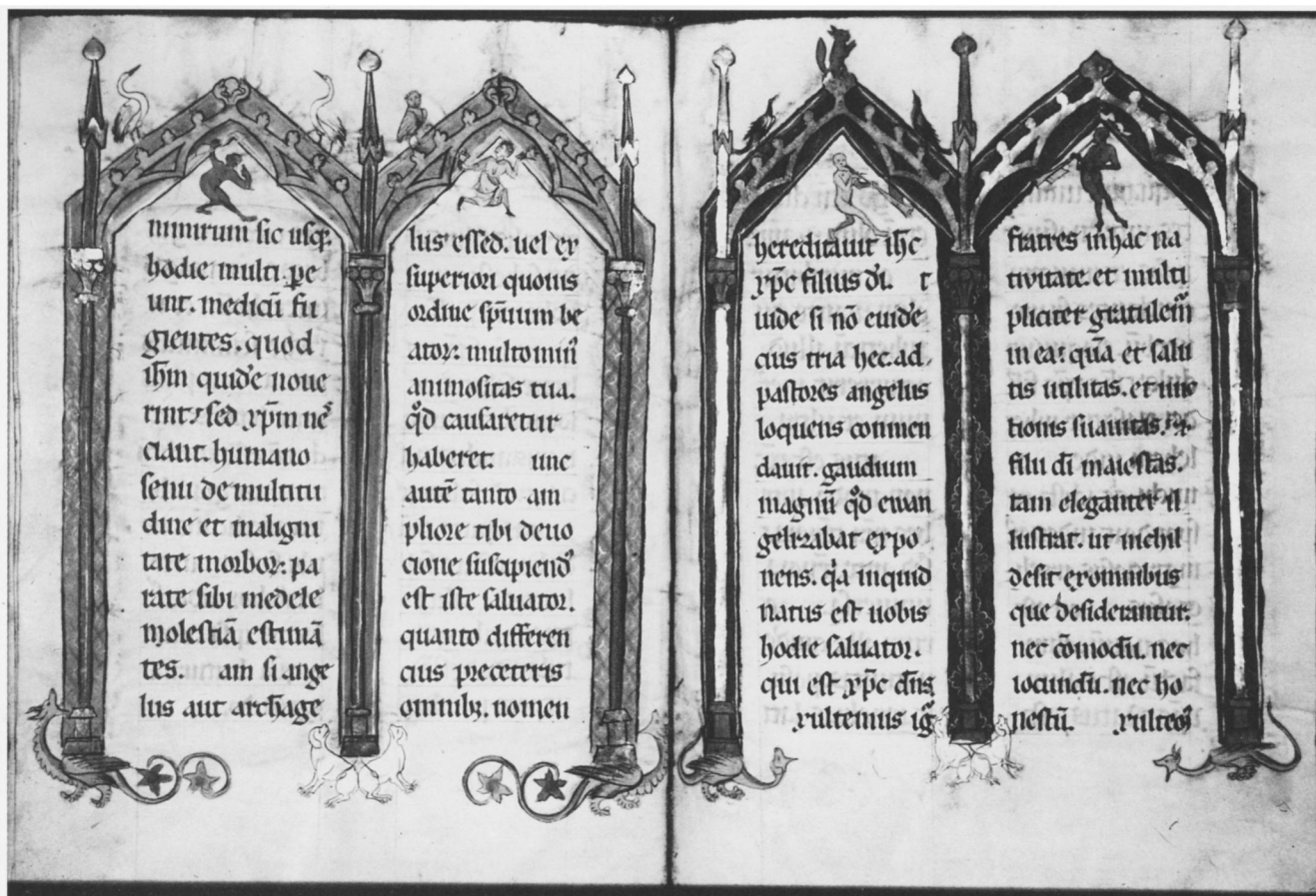
Fig. 8. Text pages. Homiliary. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 185, fols. 3v–4.

two manuscripts, the Willehalm Codex made for the Landgrave of Hesse and the Wettinger gradual owned by an Upper Rhenish house of Augustinian hermits, seemingly point in wildly differing directions. Otto Pächt localized the Douce homiliary to Constance, comparing its major miniatures with the Wettinger gradual and St. Katharinenthal gradual, a suggestion followed by some recent writers.[20] However, other scholars studying the Willehalm Master have argued that the artist most likely worked in Cologne.[21] W.148, on the other hand, has absolutely no connections with any work attributable to Cologne, nor does it resemble the St. Katharinenthal gradual, and so identifying

whose Westphalian and north German characteristics have been well defined by Wentzel (figs. 10 and 2). The ivory painting and W.148 share very similar Resurrection compositions, with identically clad figures of Christ. In both, he has the dark hair and beard, and the elongated and slightly concave face that Wentzel has identified as regionally distinctive. The ivory paintings have not been more precisely localized.[23]

A number of manuscript fragments from Westphalia are also comparable to W.148 and in one instance nearly identical in style. Immediate parallels can be found in fragments of an antiphonary now scattered in three German collections in the

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Westphalian region. Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek, MS D.37a is a partial leaf with historiated initial *H* for the Christmas Day responsory chant depicting the Nativity (fig. 11).[24] The Virgin reclines on a pallet knotted on the upper left and embraces her swaddled child. She is sheltered under what looks like a green hill with peculiar wavy projections, from which the ox and ass poke their heads to eat at the manger. Despite its green color, this hill is thus best interpreted as a shed with thatched roof.[25] Joseph leans on his staff to the right, fast asleep, while below the Virgin's bed a tiny shepherd plays bagpipes as he tends his flocks. With very minor variations, the identical composition appears in W.148 (fig. 3). The green hill/shed, the distinctive knotted pallet, and the tiny bagpiper and sheep are particularly distinctive shared features.
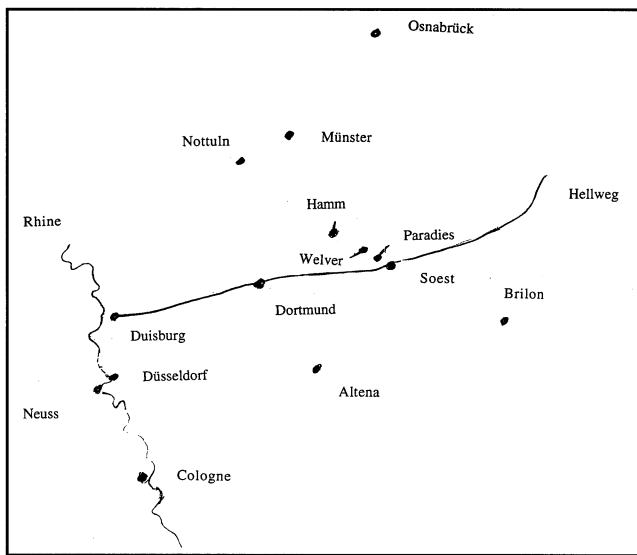
Fig. 9. Map of Westphalia.

Palette and figural drawing, as well as the use of checkered spandrels, large ivy-leaf terminals, and ape marginalia, are also so close that the two can be attributed to the same artist.

Two other initials on page fragments from this antiphonary are also preserved in Düsseldorf, one depicting Saint Paul and a prophet (MS D.37b),[26] the other an angel blowing a horn (MS D.37c).[27] Three full pages of the same book are now in the Städtisches Gustav Lübcke Museum in Hamm (MSS 5474–5476). They depict the Annunciation, the Entombment of Saint Agatha (fig. 12), and Christ calling apostles on the Sea of Galilee, with the Crucifixion of Saint Andrew in a lower register.[28] Five more are in a private collection in Neuss, with the standing Virgin, Baptism of Christ, Christ blessing above the Entombment, Saint Vincent being martyred on a grill (the Bosom of Abraham above him), and Saint Nicholas being made
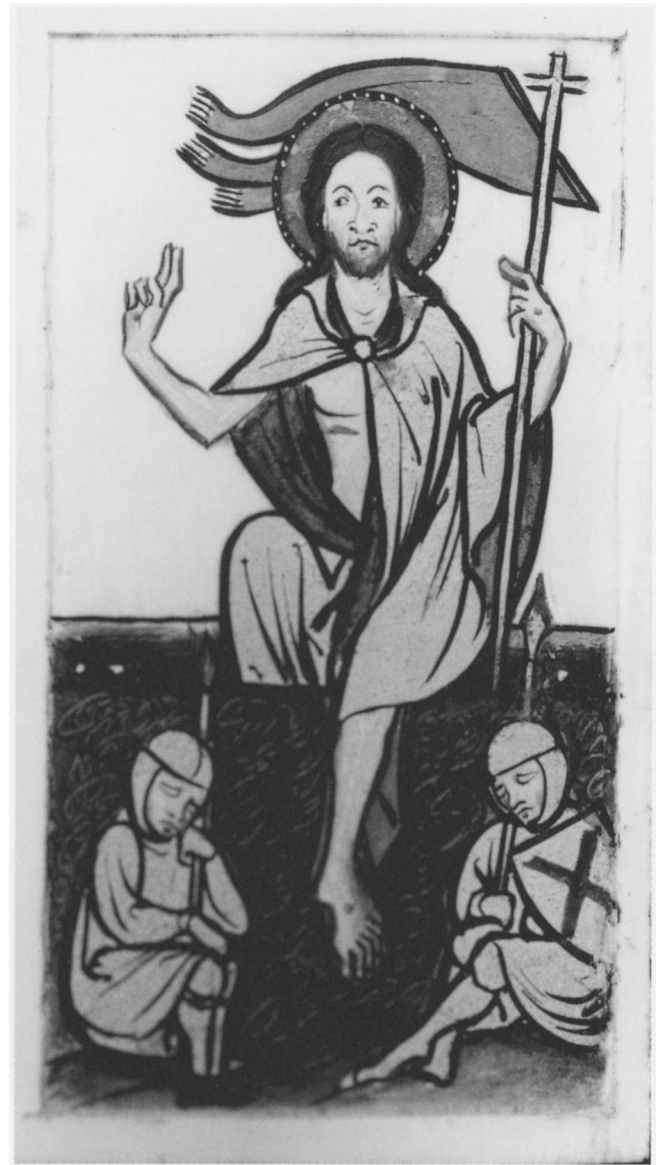
Fig. 10. Resurrection. Ivory devotional booklet. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 11-1872, fol. 4v.

bishop.[29] Thus, random pages from temporale, sanctorale, and common of saints have survived.

In all, eleven leaves and cuttings of this antiphonary can be identified.[30] They are distinguished by their use of square musical notation; halfnail notes were much commoner in Germany. All are presently located in Westphalian collections not far distant from one another. The leaves in Hamm were a gift of Gustav Lübcke of Düsseldorf, an antiquities dealer, in 1916. Provenance for the other fragments and earlier history are unknown.

Few of these initials have compositions comparable to those in W.148. The Entombment scene in a Neuss cutting is one theme that recurs in the Walters homilary, in a somewhat varied composition on folio

Fig. 11. Nativity. Antiphonary. Düsseldorf, Universitäts-
bibl., MS D.37a.
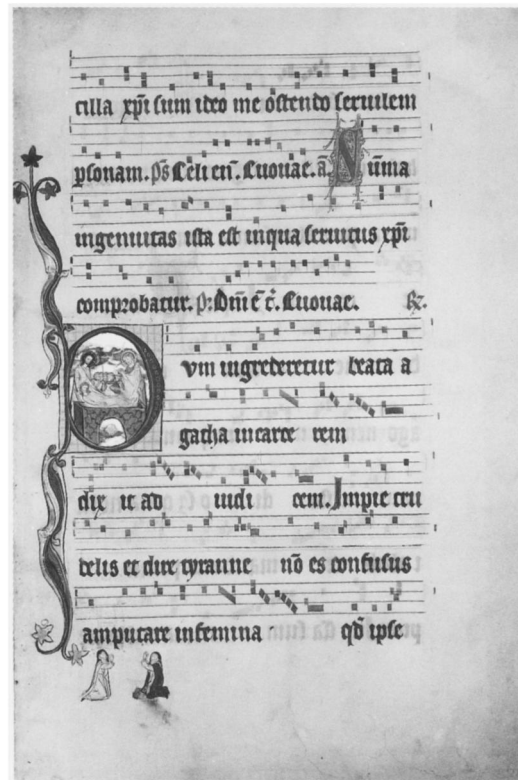
Fig. 12. Entombment of Saint Agatha. Antiphonary.
Hamm, Städtisches Gustav Lübcke Museum, MS 5475.

19. The standing Virgin and Child on a Neuss leaf has
drapery comparable to the Virgin on W.148, folio 23,
though here one is comparing a small historiated
initial of less accomplished draftsmanship to a
half-page miniature in the homilary. The slender,
undulating initial extensions of W.148 do not reappear
in the antiphonary cuttings, where such tendrils are
encased in broader, sharply cusped bars.

A second group of stylistically related manuscripts
may better establish the general region where W.148
was produced, since the manuscripts discussed so far
lack any certain provenance. Best preserved is a
two-volume antiphonary from the Dominican nunnery
of Paradies near Soest (Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibl.
MSS D.7 and D.9, fig. 13).[31] It is decorated with nineteen
historiated initials, evenly divided between the two
volumes, and nineteen foliate or gold vine initials,
largely found in the second.[32] Square notation is
shared with the Düsseldorf-Neuss-Hamm fragments;
in size the Paradies antiphonary is somewhat smaller.[33]
Initial extensions end in foliate vines sprouting oak,
ivy, or grape leaves, enclosed in broad cusped frames.
(Those in the Düsseldorf-Hamm-Neuss fragments are
more slender.)

From a nearby Cistercian nunnery in Welver
comes a martyrologium, known only from a few
drawings published in 1905 and one photograph
taken for an exhibition in 1879 (fig. 14).[34] Welver was
founded in 1240 and was located halfway between
Hamm and Soest.[35] Three historiated initials are
reproduced as line drawings in the 1905 volume of
Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Soest; one of them, that for
the Christmas reading, is better seen in a photograph
published by Wentzel in 1956.[36] It depicts the Nativity
in a composition somewhat reminiscent of that in
W.148 and the Düsseldorf D.37a cutting (figs. 3 and
11). The Virgin again reclines on a pallet knotted on
the left, a diamond-shaped pillow behind her head as
in Düsseldorf D.37a. On the other hand, the Virgin's
pose and the arrangement of ox and ass are closer to
that in the Paradies antiphonary (fig. 13).

Four cuttings from another antiphonary also
supposedly from Welver are now in the Museum
der Grafschaft Mark in Burg Altena (MSS 1267abc
and 1269; fig. 15).[37] They consist of a bifolium with
historiated initial of the Annunciation (MS B1267a), a
single leaf with initial for All Saints depicting the
Christian reconsecration of the Pantheon (MS
B1267b), and a text page (MS B1267c), as well as a
cut-out initial depicting a bishop and Saint Bernard(?)
(MS B1269). Musical notation is halfnail, unlike that
in the Düsseldorf-Hamm-Neuss fragments or Paradies

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Fig. 13. Nativity. Paradies antiphonary, Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibl., MS D.7, fol. 24.

antiphonary. The three historiated initials were reproduced in the 1905 *Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Soest* volume, along with the Welver martyrologium; at that time they were both in the same Münster collection. (In this publication, the Burg Altena manuscript is misidentified as a missal.) Two photographs and a line drawing reproduce the three historiated initials.[38] The figural drawing appears to be by the same, rather maladroit, hand as the Welver martyrology. One iconographic element they share is the artist's delight in painting tumbling demons. These dive from the tower approached by the Virgin in the martyrologium's Flight into Egypt and leap from the roof of the Pantheon in the antiphonary cutting's All Saints initial (MS 1267b; figs. 14 and 15). The slender bar extensions with vine-tendril terminals are reminiscent of Cologne manuscripts, but also come closer to the initial extensions of W.148 than to the other Westphalian antiphonaries previously mentioned (figs. 4 and 5).

Also from this general region are ten cuttings from a choirbook with square notation preserved in the Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte in Dortmund (formerly at Schloss Cappenberg über Lünen), MSS C5515-24 (fig. 16).[39] Scholars have attributed them to Paradies without giving any

evidence for this provenance.[40] They belonged to a gradual and are by a less accomplished hand than the Paradies antiphonary (fig. 13).

Nearly all of these Westphalian choirbooks contain depictions of nuns, kneeling beside initials or in the lower margins. One exception is the group of cuttings in Dortmund, which have been so closely trimmed that no marginal elements remain. The Welver martyrologium also has no figures of nuns in the three historiated initials known from reproductions.

Several of the leaves from the Düsseldorf-Hamm-Neuss antiphonary have marginal figures of nuns (fig. 12).[41] All show them wearing white robes with dark blue or black veils and mantles. This habit could be identified as Dominican. Houses of this order, however, were rare in Westphalia. Only one Dominican nunnery was established in Westphalia in the thirteenth century, that of Paradies in Soest in 1252, a second, also in Soest, circa 1300.[42] From the nunnery of Paradies we have the antiphonary, Düsseldorf D.7 and D.9. In it, nuns are depicted twice, wearing the same white tunics and black mantles and veils.[43] However, the style of the Paradies choirbook is not the same as that of the Düsseldorf-Hamm-Neuss choirbook, although there are regional similarities. Whether they could both have been made for the same house is therefore uncertain.

In the Burg Altena antiphonary leaves, nuns are again depicted in the lower margins. On one leaf (MS B1267b) the nuns wear white robes with black or grey veils (and no mantles), while on another (MS B1267a) a single kneeling nun is dressed entirely in white. Cistercian nuns wore white for choir services.[44] As this book supposedly belonged to the Cistercian nunnery of Welver, the difference in habit from that seen in the choirbooks just described might be significant.

Nuns in Douce 185 wear black cloaks and veils over white tunics, as in all the choirbooks discussed so far, save for that in Burg Altena. In addition, the nuns wear distinctive red forehead crosses, which are also found in the W.148 drawings (figs. 7 and 1).[45] These, as Renate Kroos's research has made clear, were worn by Premonstratensian and Cistercian nuns, as well as Brigittines and, at least by the fifteenth century, by other orders of nuns in northern Germany also. However, Kroos's examples all show nuns with cross-shaped white bands dividing the whole head, individual colored crosses at the cardinal points.[46] The habits depicted in Douce 185 and W.148 stand apart as they do not include crossed bands over the veil.

Fig. 14. Flight into Egypt; Virgin leading Christ Child by the hand; Nativity; Prophets. Welver martyrologium (location unknown). [From H. Wentzel, "Die Madonna mit dem Jesusknaben an der Hand aus Welver," *Westfalen*, 34 (1956), fig. 53.]

Fig. 15. Reconsecration of the Pantheon. Antiphonary. Burg Altena, Museum der Grafschaft Mark, MS 1267b.

Thus, costume evidence remains inconclusive for identifying which order a manuscript might have belonged to. That the nuns in W.148 and Douce 185 all have red forehead crosses makes it most likely that they are Cistercian or Premonstratensian rather than Dominican, as there are no known examples of Dominican nuns wearing such crosses. It also seems unlikely that so many of the extant liturgical books from this region would have belonged to just one or two Dominican houses when there were twenty-five Cistercian and ten Premonstratensian nunneries in the area.[47] Whether use of such crosses was required in all German Cistercian and Premonstratensian houses is uncertain. The Burg Altena figures do not wear them. The diminutive scale of the marginal figures in the Burg Altena choirbook cuttings raises the possibility that a detail as small as the forehead cross might have been omitted, as it would have been hard to indicate. Thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts identifiably from Cistercian nunneries in the neighboring Low Countries also do not show such forehead crosses. In them Cistercian nuns wear a brown tunic with a black mantle and either a white or black veil.[48]

Thus, a large number of choirbooks made for Westphalian nunneries have survived, all but one of them reduced to a few precious fragments.[49] Their prevalence is indicative of the great significance of liturgical ritual in the lives of encloistered nuns.[50] W.148 and Douce 185 also reflect, in their unusually full cycles of illustrations, the artistic and devotional importance of the liturgy to nuns, for it is not at all typical for homilaries to be so richly illustrated.[51] That the extant illuminated manuscripts attributable to Westphalian nunneries are limited to liturgical books reflects the centrality of services in convent life and also a corresponding lack of scholarly study, for no libraries are known to have existed in female convents at this period.[52]

While professional illuminators were most probably responsible for the creation of both W.148 and Douce 185, later hands working on both books were far more amateurish. Manuscript painting by nuns was widespread in Germany in the fourteenth and later centuries. The less accomplished draftsmanship of the two Welver books and the Dortmund cuttings suggests

Fig. 16. Nativity. Gradual. Dortmund, Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, MS C5515.

that, here again, one may be faced with books made by nuns. A far more naive "folk art" style is seen in Dortmund MS C7022, a leaf from yet another choir-book most likely illuminated by a nun. Illustrating the introit for the dedication of a church, it depicts seven nuns participating in the service within the initial, while four more kneel in the bas de page.[53]

In one instance, we can be certain that a nun from one of these Westphalian convents wrote and notated a choirbook. A gradual from Paradies written by the Dominican nun Elizabeth von Lünen in 1363 and decorated with filigree initials ends with the colophon "hunc librum scripsit, notavit, et cum labore complevit soror Elizabet de Luenen ordinis fratrum predicatorum in paradyso."[54] The phrase "cum labore complevit" may indicate that she also did the filigree initials. In the early fifteenth century, two graduals made for Paradies recall W.148 and Douce 185 in their combination of work by both a professional artist and nuns.[55] The Paradies antiphonary (Düsseldorf D.7 and D.9) was also embellished in the fifteenth century with figural decorations in a naive style.

Surveying the surviving early fourteenth-century manuscripts and fragments stylistically, one is led to

Fig. 17. The Cheat. Soest *Nequambuch*. Soest, Stadtarchiv, MS Abt. A Nr. 2771, fol. 41v.

conclude that some were made in Westphalian centers by professional artists, while others might be the work of nuns, and some are clearly joint productions. The major artistic center in the region was the town of Soest, which still possesses a number of Gothic churches, richly decorated during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with wall paintings, wooden altarpieces, and stained glass.[56] Soest was a prosperous Hansa town on the route from Cologne to the Baltic; the major east-west route known as the *Hellweg* ran from Duisburg through Soest. The names of several painters active in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have been recorded in the Soest burgher book listing citizens. The earliest was one Everwin, who was attached to the church of St. Patroclus in 1231. Herbordus, Conradus, and Joseph, all identified only as *pictor*, were entered in 1307 and 1308. Werner, who came from Dortmund, was listed in 1331.[57] What type(s) of painting they engaged in is unknown.

Evidence for manuscript production in Soest is meager but tantalizing. A large Crucifixion altarpiece made for St. Maria zur Wiese in the 1230s is painted on parchment over oak, indicating at least a proficiency in painting in the manuscript medium.[58] The one firmly localized manuscript made in Soest is the well-known *Nequambuch* (or Book of Misdeeds) of 1315, illustrated with thirteen full-page miniatures (fig. 17).[59] One other manuscript made by an artist from Soest providing evidence for the on-going practice of manuscript illumination was a large choir psalter dated to 1347 by its colophon: "Anno Domini MCCCXLVII istud psalterium est inceptum in vigilia epiphaniae Domini per Hermannum Buoge de Susato qui scripsit, notavit atque illuminavit."[60] Its decoration was apparently limited to non-figural penwork.

The somewhat related styles exhibited by the *Nequambuch*, the Paradies antiphonary, the cuttings from Dortmund, and the two books attributed to Welver may reflect the existence of an atelier of book production in Soest, with provincial imitations created in nearby convents. The Paradies antiphonary was made for a house just outside Soest, presumably by a professional artist; the Welver martyrologium and antiphonary for a Cistercian nunnery slightly further

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away along the road to Hamm, by a less accomplished hand. W.148 and the Düsseldorf-Hamm-Neuss antiphonary, on the other hand, stand somewhat apart stylistically, suggesting they may have been made in another town, perhaps closer to the Rhine. Unlike Soest, other Westphalian towns have been far less fortunate in retaining their medieval patrimony.

While two recent major exhibitions have been devoted to medieval art from Westphalia, only one manuscript of the thirteenth century was included and none from the fourteenth.[61] The general assessment that Westphalia was not rich in manuscript illumination in this period clearly needs to be reassessed in light of the wealth of choirbooks and other liturgical books made for nunneries in the area that can now be identified.[62]

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Notes

I am indebted to the late Dorothy Miner for first introducing me to medieval manuscripts when I was in graduate school. Her article on W.148 forms the foundation of my current study. My interest in this book was first sparked during the years I was Assistant Curator to Lilian Randall, to whom I am very grateful for the superb post-doctoral education in manuscript studies she gave me while I worked on the catalogue of *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery.*

Joan Holladay kindly read a draft of this paper and has provided much lively discussion of the homiliaries over the years. My thanks are due as well to Bruce Barker-Benfield of the Bodleian Library, Géza Jàszai of the Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Gerhard Karpp of the Universitätsbibliothek Düsseldorf, Agnes Klodnicki-Orlowski of the Museum der Grafschaft Mark, Burg Altena, Gisela Marenk of the Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte der Stadt Dortmund, and Burkhard Richter of the Städtisches Gustav Lübcke Museum, Hamm.

Identification of chants is based on R. Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonalium officii,* 6 vols. (Rome, 1963–1975).

1. S. de Ricci and W. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada,* I (New York, 1935), 823, no. 395; H. Comstock, "The Connoisseur in America: Illuminated Manuscripts and Early Books of the Walters Collection," *Connoisseur,* 96 (1935), 346; H. Swarzenski, review of Marie Mollwo, *Das Wettinger Graduale, Phoebus,* 2 (1948), 45; *Life of Christ,* exh. cat., Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum (Hartford, 1948), 31, no. 180; [D. Miner,] *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance,* exh. cat., Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery with the Baltimore Museum of Art (Baltimore, 1949), 50, no. 137, pl. LIIIa; D. Diringer, *The Illuminated Book. Its History and Production,* 2nd ed. (London, 1967), 190; *Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts,* exh. cat., Los Angeles County Museum (Los Angeles, 1953), no. 82; H. Wentzel, "Eine Deutsche Glasmalerei-Zeichnung des 14. Jahrhunderts,"

Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft, 12 (1958), 131–40; H. Wentzel, "Ein Elfenbeinbüchlein zur Passionsandacht," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch,* 24 (1962), 209 n. 40; W. Stechow, "Emmaus," in *Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte,* V, ed. O. Schmitt (Stuttgart, 1967), cols. 233–34 (figs. 4–5) and col. 241; D. Miner, "Preparatory Sketches by the Master of Bodleian Douce MS. 185," in *Kunsthistorische Forschungen Otto Pächt zu seinem 70. Geburtstag,* ed. A. Rosenauer and G. Weber (Salzburg, 1972), 118–23, figs. 1–10 and 17; R. Kroos, "Der Codex Gisle I. Forschungsbericht und Datierung," *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte,* 12 (1973), 130 n. 27; D. Robb, *The Art of the Illuminated Manuscript* (Cranbury, N.J., 1973), 256, fig. 176; M. Roosen-Runge-Mollwo, "Ein Illustriertes Blatt in Cleveland aus dem Wettinger Graduale," *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte,* 31 (1974), 97–109; D. Miner, *Anastasie and Her Sisters. Women Artists of the Middle Ages* (Baltimore, 1974), 14–18, figs. 4–5; *Transformations of the Court Style,* exh. cat., Providence, Brown Univerversity (Providence, 1977), 136; J.J.G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven, 1992), 56–57, 165 n. 33, and figs. 79–80.

2. I am grateful to Jeanne Krochalis for her assessment of the style of the script, which she thinks typical of the period from the 1260s or 1270s to ca. 1300. Miner, "Preparatory Sketches," 119 dates W.148 to the period "around 1320" and in *Anastasie,* 14 to "the first decades of the fourteenth century."

3. *Illuminated Books,* no. 137. Dorothy Miner rejected this earlier suggestion in her 1972 article, "Preparatory Sketches," 119 n. 5.

4. Kroos, "Der Codex Gisle."

5. MS W.148, fols. 222 and 281v. The only other figural decoration in ornamental initials consists of apes on fols. 258v, 270, and 281v, and an archer on fol. 258v.

6. It is lacking three leaves (fols. a–c) at the beginning with the first part of the Easter vigil text. Miner, "Preparatory Sketches," 121 gives a detailed codicological examination of the three extant stubs. The first quire would thus have been a quaternion (fols. a–c and 3) now with the added bifolium of drawings (fols. 1 and 2) sewn in. The rest of the book is composed of even quires of 8.

7. W. Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca, 1982), 216.

8. Miner, "Preparatory Sketches," 122–23 and Miner, *Anastasie,* 14 and 18. Kroos, "Der Codex Gisle," 130 n. 27, on the other hand, does not think they are by the same artist. For Douce 185, see now J. Holladay, "The Willehalm Master and His Colleagues: Collaborative Manuscript Decoration in Early-Fourteenth-Century Cologne," in *Making the Medieval Book: Techniques of Production,* Proceedings of the Second Conference of The Seminar in the History of the Book to 1500, ed. L. Brownrigg (Los Altos, 1995), 67–92. The Willehalm Master takes his name from his best-known manuscript, the Willehalm Codex in Kassel (Hessische Landesbibl., 2° MS poet. et roman. I).

9. Holladay, "Willehalm Master," 81–82.

10. Ibid., 83. Holladay argues that the Willehalm Master worked in Cologne and was not itinerant because in each of his three books he worked with different collaborators of great artistic talent, and picking up such highly trained artists "on the road" seems unlikely. On the other hand, as the Douce and Walters homiliaries were made for a nunnery not too far north of Cologne (as will be argued here), it remains possible that a pair of artists could have come from nearby Cologne to work in the Lower Rhineland. This is made more likely by the interrelationships with W.148, which (it will also be argued here) was made in Westphalia at the same time.

11. Another work by the Willehalm Master, the Willehalm Codex in Kassel, dates to 1334, providing one indication of the general period in which this artist was active. Holladay, "Willehalm Master," 86 links the Willehalm Master's career to the period 1320–1340. Miner, "Preparatory Sketches," 122 dates Douce 185 to ca.

1340–1350, which seems too late. Kroos, "Der Codex Gisle," 130 n. 27 proposes the 1320s.

12. In analyzing the working method of the Willehalm Master, Holladay, "Willehalm Master" notes that he and his collaborators worked in rather differing ways on the three manuscripts attributable to him. (The third is the three-volume Wettinger gradual, Aarau, Switzerland, Kantonsbibl., Wett. Fm 1–3.) In both the Douce homilary and the last two volumes of the Wettinger gradual, the Willehalm Master's personal contributions are scattered. Why the Willehalm Codex and Douce homilary remained unfinished is a mystery.

13. I am indebted to Joan Holladay for this observation.

14. See J. Oliver, "Worship of the Word: Some Gothic Nonnenbücher in Their Devotional Context," *Women and the Book: Assessing the Pictorial Evidence*, Proceedings of the St. Hilda's College, Oxford Conference on Women and the Medieval Book, vol. 3, ed. L. Smith and J. Taylor (London, in press).

15. As Miner, "Preparatory Sketches," 119 observed, the borders in quires 3–7 and 9 (fols. 12–51v and 60–67v) were part of the original decor (rather than being later additions) because in these quires initial extensions are often superimposed on the borders.

16. Borders are found in quires 2, 5–7, 14, 15, and 20. All were done by the Willehalm Master and/or his collaborator. There are two full-page historiated initials in these quires (on fols. 1v and 35v) lacking borders.

17. Miner, "Preparatory Sketches," 122. Zurich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, MS LM 26117. This gradual was made for a Dominican nunnery in the diocese of Constance. See E. Beer, "Die Buchkunst des Graduale von St. Katharinenthal," in *Das Graduale von Sankt Katharinenthal. Kommentarband zur Faksimile-Ausgabe* (Lucerne, 1983), 103–224 and, most recently, C. Heck, "Rapprochement, antagonisme, ou confusion dans le culte des saints: art et dévotion à Katharinenthal au quatorzième siècle," *Viator*, 21 (1990), 229–38; and *Himmel, Hölle, Fegefeuer*, exb. cat. Zurich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, (Munich, 1994), no. 129 with further bibliography.

18. Miner, "Preparatory Sketches," 123 noted the similarity of this later crude work in both manuscripts. Such frames are also added above earlier borders on fols. 33–35 in Douce 185.

19. Oliver, "Worship of the Word."

20. O. Pächt and J. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford, I. German, Dutch, Flemish, French and Spanish Schools* (Oxford, 1966), no. 136. He calls the later embellishments late fourteenth-century. The Constance attribution is repeated by G. Schmidt, "Malerei bis 1450: Tafelmalerei, Wandmalerei, Buchmalerei," in K. Swoboda, *Gotik in Böhmen* (Munich, 1969), 426 n. 59 and fig. 83. Kroos, "Der Codex Gisle," 130 n. 27 calls it south German and Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, 56–57 then attributes W.148 to Constance.

21. M. Mollwo, *Das Wettinger Graduale: Eine geistliche Bilderfolge vom Meister des Kasseler Willehalmcodex und seinem Nachfolger* (Bern, 1944); Swarzenski, *Phoebus*, 45; Mollwo, "Ein Illustriertes Blatt," 97–109; and most recently Holladay, "Willehalm Master," 83–87. Swarzenski compares the W.148 drawings to the apostle figures in Cologne Cathedral; Holladay compares Douce 185 to panel and wall paintings in the city.

For manuscript illuminators working in Cologne in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, see J. Oliver, "The French Gothic Style in Cologne: Manuscripts before Johannes von Valkenburg," in *Miscellanea Neerlandica. Opstellen voor Dr. Jan Deschamps ter gelegenheid van zijn zeventigste verjaardag*, I, ed. E. Cockx-Indestege and F. Hendrickx (Louvain, 1987), 381–96; J. Oliver, "The Mosan Origins of Johannes von Valkenburg," *Wallraf-Richartz*

Jahrbuch, 40 (1978), 23–37; *Vor Stefan Lochner. Die Kölner Maler von 1300 bis 1430*, exh. cat., Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum (Cologne, 1974), passim; R. Haussherr, "Die Chorschranken-malereien des Kölner Doms," 28–59; G. Plotzek-Wederhake, "Zur Stellung der Bibel aus Gross St. Martin innerhalb der Kölner Buch-malerei um 1300," 62–75; J. Kirschbaum, "Ein Kölner Chorbuch des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts," in *Vor Stefan Lochner. Die Kölner Maler von 1300–1430. Ergebnisse der Ausstellung und des Colloquiums* (Cologne, 1977), 76–80; R. Mattick, "Choralbuchfragmente aus dem Kloster St. Klara," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, 45 (1984), 291–303; R. Budde, *Köln und seine Maler 1300–1500* (Cologne, 1986), 21–37; V. Kessel, "Ein Antiphonar in Koblenz," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, 53 (1992), 323–33; and, most recently, S. Benecke, *Randgestaltung und Religiosität. Die Handschriften aus dem Kölner Kloster St. Klara* (Ammersbek bei Hamburg, 1995).

22. Wentzel, "Ein Elfenbeinbüchlein," 209 n. 40. Comstock, "Connoisseur," 346, citing a note in the Walters Art Gallery's files, says that Erwin Panofsky expressed the opinion that W.148 was Lower Rhenish, as its figure style has similarities with late thirteenth-century English manuscripts such as the Tenison Psalter (London, BL, Add. MS 24686). Much closer in style is the psalter fragment in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (MS 22.24.1–4) of ca. 1270, for which see now N. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts. II (1250–1285)* (London, 1988), no. 152, figs. 258–59.

23. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 11-1872. Wentzel, "Ein Elfenbeinbüchlein," 193–212 compares work from Westphalia and Saxony; H. Van Os, *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe 1300–1500* (Princeton, 1995), 114–15 and 182 attributes it to the Lower Rhine or Westphalia and dates it ca. 1330–1350.

24. *Hodie nobis celorum rex de virgine*, F. Nüss, *Die Christgeburt in Werken Niederrheinischer Meister* (Duisberg, 1962), fig. 24.

25. This composition seems based on the type seen in the Evangeliary of Gross Saint Martin made in Cologne in the 1220s (Brussels, Bibl. royale, ms. 9222, fol. 30v). Here the Virgin floats diagonally on a pallet below solid architectural gables, the ox and ass emerging from a wall. E. Grimme, *Das Evangeliar von Gross Sankt Martin* (Freiburg, 1989), n.p. Compare too the solid masonry shed with projecting roof in the Codex Gisle from Osnabrück of ca. 1300 (Osnabrück, Gymnasium Carolinum und Bischöfliches Generalvikariat MS). Kroos, "Codex Gisle," 117.

26. It illustrates *Ecce nomen domini venit de longinus*, the antiphon used for the first Sunday of Advent.

27. This illustrates the Advent responsory for the fourth Sunday in Advent, *Canite tuba in sion vocate*. Compare the Paradies antiphonary, Düsseldorf Universitätsbibl., MS D.7, fol. 12. B. Berkenkamp, *Zwei Bände eines Antiphonars aus dem Kloster Paradies bei Soest. Ein Beitrag zur Westfälischen Buchmalerei um 1300* (Munich, 1966), 10–11.

28. MS 5474: *Missus est gabriel angelus*, responsory for the feast of the Annunciation. Compare the Paradies antiphonary, Düsseldorf D.7, fol. 202v. Berkenkamp, *Zwei Bände*, 20. The Hamm initial is reproduced in F. Goldkuhle, "Unbekannte Einzelblätter einer Mittelalterlichen Miniaturhandschrift," *Neusser Jahrbuch für Kunst, Kulturgeschichte und Heimatskunde* (1958), 15, fig. 7 and in H. Zink, *Das Städtische Gustav-Lübcke-Museum in Hamm* (Hamm, 1981), 104.

MS 5475: *Dum ingrederetur beata agatha*, responsory for the feast of Saint Agatha. Compare Düsseldorf D.7, fol.194v for the text.

MS 5476: *Unus ex duobus qui secuti sunt*, antiphon for the vigil of the feast of Saint Andrew, reproduced in Goldkuhle, "Unbekannte Einzelblätter," 15, fig. 8.

29. Ibid., 10–18. I was unfortunately unable to locate these leaves. Goldkuhle first linked the Neuss and Hamm fragments, but he dated them to the mid-fourteenth century, and his stylistic parallels

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are unconvincing. Berkenkamp, *Zwei Bände*, 58 connected Düsseldorf D.37 with the Neuss and Hamm leaves. Wentzel, "Eine Deutsche Glasmalerei," 140 n. 40 noted a stylistic connection between the Neuss cuttings and W.148.

Goldkuhle, figs. 1–2: *H[o]die deus homo factus*, Commemoration of the Virgin from the common of saints; fig. 3: *Hodie in iordane*, responsory for Epiphany; fig. 4: *S[epulto domino signatum est]*, compare Düsseldorf D.7, fol. 131v, responsory for Holy Saturday; fig. 5: *Sacr[am presentis diei solemnitatem]*, responsory for the feast of Saint Vincent, compare Düsseldorf D.7, fol. 171v; and fig. 6: *Confessor dei nycholaus*, responsory for the feast of Saint Nicholas.

30. The largest full pages measure 462 x 303–310 mm.

31. A. Stange, "Zur Chronologie der Kölner Tafelbilder vor dem Klarenaltar," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, 6 (n.f. 1) (1930), 42 n. 16; A. Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik*, I (Berlin, 1934), 91; *Mittelalterliche Buchmalerei aus Westfalen*, exh. cat., Hamm, Städtische Gustav-Lübcke-Museum, (Hamm, 1954), nos. 29 and 30, pls. 12 and 14; Berkenkamp, *Zwei Bände, Köln/Westfalen 1180–1980. Landesgeschichte zwischen Rhein und Weser*, II, exh. cat., Münster, Westfälisches Landesmuseum (Münster, 1980–1981), no. 257 (J. Lammers); *Kostbarkeiten aus der Universitätsbibliothek Düsseldorf. Mittelalterliche Handschriften und Alte Drucke*, ed. G. Gattermann (Wiesbaden, 1989), 42–43, no. 14. The Universitätsbibliothek has a number of books from Paradies; see now B. Michael, *Die Mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Wissenschaftlichen Stadtbibliothek Soest* (Wiesbaden, 1990), 11–12, n. 3.

A number on the bindings of Düsseldorf D.7 and D.9 matches that on a list of Paradies books. Dominican ownership is also indicated by the inclusion of the feasts of Saints Augustine, Dominic, and Peter Martyr. MS D.7 contains the winter season (Advent to Easter vigil), D.9 the summer part (Easter through the season of Pentecost). The emphasis on feasts of female saints (Agnes, Agatha, Cecilia, and Catherine) in the historiated initials as well as those of the two Saint Johns (in four initials) is consistent with convent piety. Compare the St. Katharinenthal gradual, which has lavish cycles of scenes for both Saint Johns. Heck, "Rapprochement;" Beer, "Die Buchkunst des Graduale," 125–77.

32. As this is the only intact illuminated Westphalian choirbook surviving, it seems worthwhile to give a list of its historiated initials. They depict the following subjects: MS D.7 [temporale] folio 12: Angel blowing trumpet; fol. 25: Nativity; fol. 127: Christ before Pilate and Flagellation/Christ crowned with thorns and mocked; fol. 131v: Deposition/Entombment; [sanctorale] fol. 154: Saint John the Evangelist with kneeling nun; fol. 164v: Saint Agnes in flames; fol. 171v: Saint Vincent on a grill; fol. 187: Presentation; fol. 194v: Saint Agatha with kneeling nun; fol. 202v: Annunciation. MS D.9 [temporale] fol. 34: Pentecost; [sanctorale] fol. 107: Saint John the Evangelist in tub; fol. 111: John the Baptist; fol. 116v: Circumcision of John the Baptist; fol. 120v: Martyrdom of Saint Peter; fol. 173: Nativity of the Virgin; fol. 191: Throne of Grace with saints; fol. 210v: Saint Cecilia; fol. 217v: Saint Catherine. See Berkenkamp, "Zwei Bände," 8–10 and 26–27.

33. The books measure 415 x 305 mm.

34. The book measured 28 x 20 cm, roughly the size of W.148, and contained in addition to the martyrology a necrology of the convent. In 1879 it was in the collection of Max Freiherr von Spiessen of Münster. *Katalog zur Ausstellung Westfälischer Alterthümer und Kunsterzeugnisse vom Verein für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde Westfalens* (Münster, 1879), no. 1567. My thanks to Géza Jàszai for a photocopy of this entry. See also J. Nordhoff, "Die Soester Malerei unter Meister Conrad," *Bonner Jahrbuch*, 67 (1879), 117–18; Provinzial-Verbände der Provinz Westfalen, *Die Bau-und Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Soest*, in *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler von Westfalen*, ed. A. Ludorff (Münster, 1905), 154; H. Wentzel, "Die

Madonna mit dem Jesusknaben an der Hand aus Welver," *Westfalen*, 34 (1956), 217–33, fig. 53 reprints the 1879 photograph.

35. W. Kohl, "Frauenkloster in Westfalen," in *Monastisches Westfalen: Klöster und Stifte 800–1800*, ed. G. Jàszai, exh. cat., Münster, Westfälisches Landesmuseum (Münster, 1982), 33. See also the map on p. 44.

36. *Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Soest*, 155 reproduces line drawings of two historiated initials: the first, a letter *A* with a half-length sainted abbot above a seated sainted monk, the second a letter *C* with Presentation above Circumcision, accompanied by two prophets in the frame. Page 175 gives a line drawing of the Christmas *I[hesus]* initial depicting the Flight into Egypt (with demons fleeing from a tower), the Virgin leading the Christ Child by the hand, and the Nativity combined with Adoration by angels and Magi. In the left border, there are three prophets. See also Wentzel, "Madonna mit dem Jesusknaben," figs. 52 and 53.

37. They are also from the collection of Max Freiherr von Spiessen of Münster and were given to the Burg Altena Museum in 1914. *Katalog zur Ausstellung Westfälischer Alterthümer*, no. 1566. MSS 1267a and 1269 are reproduced in the *Verzeichniss der Photographien Westfälischer Alterthümer und Kunsterzeugnisse von der Ausstellung*, IV (Münster, 1879). Berkenkamp, *Zwei Bände*, 63 confuses the Welver martyrologium and these antiphonary cuttings. She lists only three of the four cuttings, omitting MS B1269. The full pages are 428 x 310 mm, slightly smaller than the Düsseldorf-Hamm-Neuss antiphonary.

38. *Kunstdenkmäler des Kreises Soest*, 1, 41, and 43 (for the historiated initials). In addition, this volume makes use of fourteen small filigree initials identified as coming from the Welver "missal." Seven one-color initials with pen-filigree surrounds are reproduced on p. 155 (nos. 3–9); others are used as chapter headings on pp. 9, 13, 21, 51, 64, 69, and 171. A larger bi-color initial with dense filigree pattern fill and surrounding tendrils on p. 149 is inadequately identified but definitely must come from the Welver martyrologium rather than the "missal."

39. P. Pieper, "Westfälische Malerei des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Westfalen*, 42 (1964), 10-91, nos. 101–104. This issue is the catalogue of an exhibition at the Westfälisches Landesmuseum in Münster. See also the exhibition at Schloss Cappenberg, *Dortmunder Kunstbesitz II. Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Erwerbungen 1958–1963*, ed. R. Fritz, (Dortmund, 1963), nos. 29–38 and R. Fritz, "Berichte aus Rheinischen Museen," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, 24 (1962), 428 and 430, fig. 261.

MS C5515: *P* with Nativity scene [*Puer natus*, Christmas introit] (*Dortmunder Kunstbesitz*, no. 29, color plate and Fritz, "Berichte", fig. 261).

MS C5516: *G* initial for Assumption of the Virgin with Death of the Virgin [*Gaudeamus* introit for the feast of the Assumption]

MS C5517: *R* initial with Resurrected Christ [*Resurrexi* introit for Easter]. Called *P* with Ascension in *Dortmunder Kunstbesitz*, no. 32.

MS C5518: *D* initial with Pentecost [*Domine in tua*, introit for first Sunday after Pentecost?]

MSS C5519 and C5520: *D* initials with vines (*Dortmunder Kunstbesitz*, no. 34 illustrates C5520.)

MS C5521: *N* initial with vines

MS C5522: *Ad te levavi* with King David playing harp [introit for first Sunday in Advent]

MS C5523: *G* initial with vines

MS C5524: *P* initial with Nativity (identical composition but smaller size than C5515)

Identification of texts could not be verified as the initials are cut out and glued to mats. MS C5522 alone includes text beside the initial. Leaves C5516, C5517, and C5520 could not be located when I visited in 1992. Berkenkamp, *Zwei Bände*, 70 n. 53 lists eight of the leaves by subject without identifying their shelfmarks. They were in the Haindorf colllection before 1862, and were acquired by the Dortmund Museum in 1961 from the Loeb collection in Caldenhof, near Hamm.

40. Fritz, "Berichte," 428; *Dortmunder Kunstbesitz*, nos. 29, 32, 35, and 38 "wohl aus Kloster Paradies"; Pieper, "Westfälische Malerei," 87.

41. A leaf in Hamm (fig. 12) has two nuns in the lower margin at the feast of Saint Agatha. Two appear on leaves in Neuss: a nun kneels below the initial depicting the Virgin and Child; three kneel in the lower margin below the initial with Christ's Baptism, where they flank a marginal scene of the Baptist and Christ meeting, each accompanied by disciples. Goldkuhle, "Unbekannte Einzelblätter," figs. 2 and 3.

42. W. Eckert, "Geschichte und Wirken des Dominikanerordens in Westfalen," 112–33 and Kohl, "Frauenkloster," in *Monastisches Westfalen*, 33–38.

43. MS D.7, fols. 154 and 194v. A nun kneels inside these two historiated initials before a standing figure of Saint John the Evangelist or Saint Agatha, respectively.

44. P. Helyot, *Dictionnaire des ordres réligieux ou histoire des ordres monastiques, réligieux et militaires*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1847), 926 and pl. 237.

45. Evidence for ownership by nuns is abundant in Douce 185. They are depicted in the margins or within initials by the Willehalm Master's collaborator on fols. 35v, 44v, 51v, 106, 115v–116, and 150, and in one initial (on fol. 190v) by a later amateur artist. Here, a less detailed rendering of the habit shows a blue mantle with white veil and a red cross above the forehead. The significance, if any, of the use of blue mantles and white veils instead of black ones is unknown. Blue or black mantles are used interchangeably in the Düsseldorf-Hamm-Neuss cuttings. See note 48 below for the use of either black or white veils by Cistercian nuns.

46. Kroos, "Codex Gisle." All of Kroos's examples are drawn from monumental sculpture, glass, wall painting, and panel painting with the exception of the Codex Gisle (a gradual from the Cistercian nunnery of Rulle of ca. 1300).

47. K. Elm, "Das männliche und weibliche Zisterziensertum in Westfalen von den Anfängen bis zur Reformation," *Monastisches Westfalen*, 51–55; E. Disselbeck-Tewes, "Mittelalterliche Frauenklöster zwischen Lippe und Ruhr," in *Vergessene Zeiten*, II, ed. F. Seibt and L. Tewes, exh. cat., Essen, Ruhrlandmuseum (Essen, 1990–1991), *Mittelalter im Ruhrgebiet*, 153–56.

48. For Cistercian nuns' habits in the southern Netherlands, see the Beaupré Antiphonary of 1290 (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MSS W.759–761), Walters Art Gallery, *Illuminated Manuscripts: Masterpieces in Miniature* (Baltimore, 1984), color pl. 18; the late thirteenth-century Life of Saint Lutgarde (Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibl., Ny Kgl. Saml., MS 168, 4°), *Benedictus en zijn Monniken in de Nederlanden*, III, exh. cat., Ghent, Centrum voor Kunst en Cultuur Sint-Pietersabdij (Ghent, 1980), no. 674; and the Herkenrode Indulgence of 1363 (Saint Trond, Provinciaal Museum voor Religieuze Kunst, inv. KPL/sd/251), J. Oliver, "The Herkenrode Indulgence, Avignon, and Pre-Eyckian Painting of the Mid-Fourteenth-Century Low Countries," in *Flanders in a European Perspective: Manuscript Illumination around 1400 in Flanders and Abroad*, ed. M. Smeyers and B. Cardon (Louvain, 1995), 194 n. 27, and fig. 1. The Beaupré Antiphonary shows white veils, the other two black veils. See above note 44 for the use of white in choir services.

49. One other manuscript that can be localized to the region, again made for a nunnery, is the notated missal from the Augustinian Damenstift of Nottuln near Münster (Münster, Bistumsarchiv, DA MS 2). It contains only foliate initials and may be dated to the late thirteenth century on stylistic grounds. Scholars have usually dated it ca. 1300 or even, most recently, ca. 1350. Heinrich Donner in his 1936 article proposes to identify it with a choirbook written by a Premonstratensian from Varler and commissioned by the Countess Jutta II von Holte, prioress and abbess of Nottuln 1284–1327. H. Donner, "Mittelalterliche Hymnenübertragungen aus dem Stifte Nottuln," *Westfalen*, 21 (1936), 100. See most recently *Imagination des Unsichtbaren. 1200 Jahre Bildende Kunst im Bistum Münster*, II, exh. cat., Münster, Westfälisches Landesmuseum (Münster, 1993), 381, no. B 1.3, with further bibliography.

50. See J. Hamburger, "Art, Enclosure, and the *Cura Monialium*: Prolegomena in the Guise of a Postscript," *Gesta*, 31 (1992), 108–134; and Oliver, "Worship of the Word."

51. Fuller consideration of the iconography and text contents of W.148 will form the subject of another article.

52. H.-J. Schmalor, "Klosterbibliotheken in Westfalen 800–1800," in *Monastisches Westfalen*, 516. For manuscripts identifiably owned by the nunnery in Essen, see G. Karpp, "Bemerkungen zu den Mittelalterlichen Handschriften des Adeligen Damenstiftes in Essen (9.–19. Jh.)," *Scriptorium*, 45 (1991), 163–204. Few from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries can be identified, all of them religious. They include four liturgical books: one gradual, two missals, and a fragment of a third.

53. *Terribilis est locus istus*. The leaf comes from a gradual and uses square notation. Here, the nuns wear white robes, gray mantles, and black veils.

54. This manuscript is owned by the Dortmund Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte but has no shelfmark and could not be located when I visited in 1992. See Pieper, "Westfälische Malerei," 87, no. 109 and Berkenkamp, *Zwei Bände*, 51.

55. Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibl., MSS D.11–12. *Kostbarkeiten aus der Universitätsbibliothek*, no. 17. Düsseldorf D.12 begins with four initials in the style of Conrad von Soest, followed by thirty-nine figural and ornamental initials in a naive style. A scribal note on fol. 11v identifies two Dominican nuns as the patrons of the manuscript and their fellow nun, Elisabet Rathus, as the scribe. Düsseldorf D.11 also has two initials for major feasts in an accomplished style, with more naive work in the other historiated initials.

56. H. Schmitz, *Die Mittelalterliche Malerei in Soest*, Beiträge zur Westfälischen Kunstgeschichte 3, ed. H. Ehrenberg (Münster, 1906), passim; A. Stange, "Einige Bemerkungen zur Westfälischen Malerei des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts," *Westfalen*, 32 (1954), 201–211.

57. Nordhoff, "Die Soester Malerei," 120–121; P. Pieper, "Die Miniaturen des Nequambuches," in *Das Soester Nequambuch*, ed. W. Kohl, Veroffentlichungen der Historisches Kommission für Westfalen XIV (Wiesbaden, 1980), 79.

58. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. 1216A. It measures 81 x 194 cm. Schmitz, *Mittelalterliche Malerei in Soest*, 73 and R. Haussherr, "*Si tu es Christus, dic nobis palam!* Ein Notiz zum Soester Retabel der Berliner Gemäldegalerie," in *Florilegium in honorem Carl Nordenfalk* (Stockholm, 1987), 81–90.

59. Soest, Stadtarchiv, MS Abt. A Nr. 2771. P. Pieper, "Die Miniaturen," 17–79 and W. Kohl, "Beschreibung der Handschrift," 11–16 in *Das Soester Nequambuch; Stadt im Wandel: Kunst und Kultur des Bürgertums in Norddeutschland 1150–1650*, II, exh. cat., Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum (Braunschweig, 1985), 969–72, no. 858 with earlier bibliography. The book has 51 folios and measures 215 x 155 mm. The text was begun in 1315 with entries added into the fifteenth century. The illuminations, however,

date to the time of the first entries and are integral to those quires. Kohl, "Beschreibung der Handschrift," 13 and 16.

60. Nordhoff, "Die Soester Malerei," 115; Schmitz, *Mittelalterliche Malerei in Soest*, 123. In 1879 the manuscript was in the parish church of Brilon south of Soest.

61. V*ergessene Zeiten* included no manuscripts dating before 1400; *Imagination des Unsichtbaren* exhibited only one (see note 49 above).

62. P. Pieper, "Die Altwestfälische Malerei. Forschungsbericht I," *Westfalen*, 27 (1948), 86–89, in surveying the fourteenth century, noted that based on the little research done on it, book painting seemed to have played a small role in Westphalia; in his "Die Minia-turen," 79, he thinks the existence of an atelier of illuminators in early fourteenth-century Soest unlikely and argues instead that the artist of the *Nequambuch* was probably a wallpainter.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–6, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; figs. 7, 8, Oxford, Bodleian Library; fig. 10, London, Victoria and Albert Museum; figs. 11, 13 Düsseldorf, Universitäts bibl.; fig. 12, Hamm, Städtisches Gustav Lübcke Museum; fig. 15, Burg Altena, Museum der Grafschaft Mark; fig. 16, Dortmund, Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte; fig. 17, Soest, Stadtarchiv.

The Word in the Text and the Image in the Margin: The Case of the Luttrell Psalter

Lucy Freeman Sandler

The psalter (London, BL, Add. MS 42130) made in the second quarter of the fourteenth century for the English landowner Geoffrey Luttrell includes about forty examples of marginal word illustration, or imagines verborum. *Some images are simple equivalents of the sense as well as the words and phrases in the psalms, some are pictorial examples of text passages, some picture words out of context, some are collections of word-images from separate text passages, and some are even based on single syllables. The* imagines verborum *of the Luttrell Psalter reinforce the process of reading by revealing all of the riches, both apparent and concealed, in the text.*

Images of words are childhood delights—Alice in Wonderland's tail/tale[1]—but they belong to an adult mode of expression with a long, rich, and varied history. Among the characteristically medieval manifestations are the anthropomorphized images of letters and even contraction signs typical of Merovingian manuscripts; simple word-pictures in historiated initials, such as, for instance, the ubiquitous figure pointing to his eyes in the *D* of Psalm 26 (The Lord is my light); and complex pictorial entities that correspond to strings of words or phrases, such as those of the Utrecht Psalter.[2] Illustrations like those of the Utrecht Psalter are usually called literal, but of course they entail interpretation, based either on customary understanding of the meaning of the word or words, or specific exegesis. In this way, the psalmist's cry at the beginning of Psalm 21 of the Vulgate, "O God my God, look upon me: why hast thou forsaken me," and the lines further on, "Thou hast brought me down into the dust of death," and "they parted my garments amongst them; and upon my vesture they cast lots," are translated pictorially into an image of the cross of the Crucifixion, the instruments of the Passion, and the cast-off mantle of Christ.[3] Indeed, instances of what might be called "pure," non-contextual translation of words into images are not so common in the Utrecht Psalter, much as such verbal metaphors as the "sheep to be eaten" of Psalm 43 or the "wicked" who "walk around" of Psalm 11 have produced direct illustrations that have attracted considerable attention—not unreasonably since they strike the post-medieval mentality as amazing perversions of the "real" meaning of the words.[4]

On the spectrum of text-image relationships, nothing could seem more opposite, at first sight, than the mode of illustration in the Utrecht Psalter and that of marginal illustration in Gothic manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter precede the texts of the individual psalms, so they might be said to be *in* the text; in dimensions they are exactly the width of the three columns of the text. The purpose of the images is to evoke the words, to redouble or reinforce their meaning, and to provide a visual gloss.

Gothic marginal illustrations, on the other hand, are not only physically *outside* the text, but their purpose is obscure, their relation to the sense of the text often seeming to be one of complete indifference, irrelevance, or even contrariness. To borrow the famous question of Saint Bernard, "What profit is there in those ridiculous monsters...to what purpose are those unclean apes...those fighting knights"[5] in the marginal illustrations of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century religious texts used in Christian worship? Saint Bernard protested that the grotesque sculptured decorations of Romanesque cloisters had a seductive fascination that could turn the monk from his proper meditation on the law of God.[6] How much greater, then, the potential danger of marginal illustrations in prayerbooks, adjacent to the sacred words themselves.

In modern times, many explanations of this kind of marginal imagery have been proposed.[7] Saint Bernard's views notwithstanding, marginalia have been interpreted as harmless, meaningless decoration;[8] as didactic or allegorical, intended to inculcate Christian morality by visualizing its evil opposite;[9] as an eruption of a popular, "low," comic, or grotesque spirit, playful
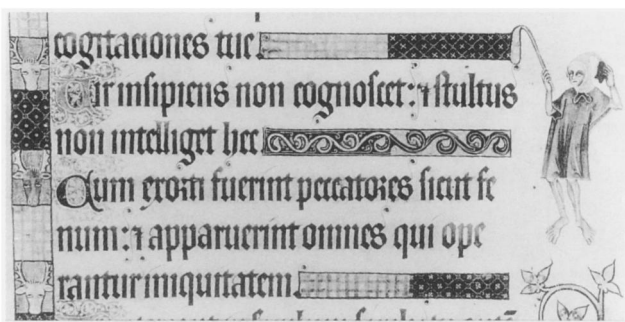
Fig. 1. Ps. 91:17. Luttrell Psalter. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 167 (detail). [From E. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1932), pl. 86.]
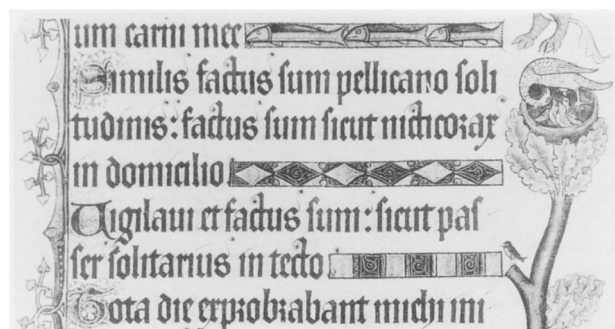

Fig. 2. Ps. 101:7-8. Luttrell Psalter. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 178 (detail). [From E. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1932), pl. 108.]

and life-affirming;[10] as evidence of the freedom of the artist to invent in the unregulated spaces of the page-borders;[11] or as apotropaic, protecting the words of the text with a fence of images, monstrous and even obscene.[12]

Would recognition that a large number of Gothic marginal images apparently without relation to the text can in fact be "read" as literal illustrations contribute to our understanding of the function, meaning, and purpose of the phenomenon of manuscript marginalia? Few manuscripts offer a better testing ground than the Luttrell Psalter, commissioned by the English landowner Geoffrey Luttrell in the second quarter of the fourteenth century.[13] On page after page, the Luttrell Psalter is provided with marginalia of utmost variety, from pious religious vignettes to biographical genre scenes of farming and feasting, to parodic episodes from a *monde renversé*, to the most fantastic monsters, the kind Saint Bernard characterized as having a "marvelous and deformed beauty"[14] and Eric Millar termed the product of a mind that "can hardly have been normal."[15]

About forty cases can be found in the Luttrell Psalter of illustrations explicable in one way or another by reference to the text. The number is far greater than that considered by either Millar, who was the first student of the manuscript, or by Michael Camille, one of the most recent.[16] In this study, I will present my findings, analyzing the various kinds of text-image relationship that fall generally into the word-picture category, and then address the question raised earlier: does the recognition of text-image relations in marginal illustration help us to gain a new understanding of this perplexing and fascinating phenomenon.

The point of departure is the simple case of words in the text, either nouns or verbs, and the direct representation of their visual equivalents in the margin. For example, opposite the words of Vulgate Ps. 91:7,[17] "The foolish man shall not know; nor will the stupid man understand these things," is a fool (fig. 1), shown in much the same way as in the historiated initial at the beginning of Ps. 52, "The fool hath said in his heart: there is no God".[18] In a similar case, the pictorial response to Ps. 101:7–8, "I am become like to a pelican of the wilderness...and as a sparrow all alone on the housetop," is a small bird perched on one branch of a marginal tree and a pelican at the summit (fig. 2). But the pelican, invoked by the grieving psalmist as a bird of solitude, is represented visually as a Christian symbol, sacrificing itself for the sake of its young by feeding them with blood from its own pierced breast. Just as they do in the Utrecht Psalter, symbolically meaningful words of the text automatically elicit appropriate visual counterparts.

Both the fool and the pelican would have been common components of an illuminator's repertory of mental and pictorial images; in the same category fall the pictorial equivalents for the musical instruments and performance so frequent in the psalms. Some text pages of the Luttrell Psalter are entirely surrounded by music-makers with their instruments and dancers, in response to words such as "exultate," "jubilate," "cantate," and "psallite."[19] These images illustrate both the letter and the spirit of the text, as does the multi-component illustration of Ps. 87:4–7, "For my soul is filled with evil; and my life hath drawn nigh to hell....Like the slain sleeping in the sepulchre whom thou rememberest no more....They have laid me in the lower pit; in the dark places, and in the shadow of death." There (fig. 3), the vertical margin is filled with a remorseful soul (in its standard manifestation as a naked human being), the mouth of hell, and the shrouded body in the tomb.

Fig. 3. Ps. 87:4–7. Luttrell Psalter. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 157v (detail). [From E. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1932), pl. 67.]

Fig. 4. Ps. 86:4. Luttrell Psalter. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 157 (detail). [From E. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1932), pl. 66.]

Other direct pictorial responses to the words produce less familiar images. Ps. 86:4, "Behold the foreigners, and Tyre, and the people of the Ethiopians, these were there," is matched with a marginal figure of a dark-skinned, bare-foot, exotically clothed "Ethiopian" (fig. 4); or, more elaborately, and translating an entire verse pictorially, Ps. 93:6, "They have slain the widow and the stranger; and they have murdered the fatherless," is coupled with three vignettes of murder, of which the central one shows the victim in the clothing and headdress of a widow and the lower, the slaughter of children (fig. 5).

Beyond translating words and phrases into their direct pictorial equivalents, many other Luttrell marginalia are related to the text indirectly. One of the mechanisms for the production of such images is the pictorial example of the verbal term. For instance, below the historiated initial of Psalm 26, showing a figure pointing to his eye, is a vignette of the murder of Saint Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, a marginal example of the words of line 3, "If armies in camp should stand together against me...if a battle should rise up against me."[20] This example, of course, represents an exposition of the text in terms of recent history.

Another pictorial example is the illustration of Ps. 104:16, "And He called a famine upon the earth," the last line of text directly above the vignette of a leper in a wheeled litter, his begging bowl at his side, adjacent to a well-dressed man who is opening his purse (fig. 6). This too draws on a contemporary association, linking hunger, poverty, and leprosy.[21]

Other pictorial examples, while suiting the action to the words, present the actors in unexpected guises, for example, Ps. 32:20, "Our soul waiteth for the Lord,

Fig. 5. Ps. 93:6. Luttrell Psalter. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 169. [From E. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1932), pl. 90.]

Fig. 6. Ps. 104:16. Luttrell Psalter. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 186v (detail). [From E. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1932), pl. 125.]

Fig. 7. Ps. 32:20. Luttrell Psalter. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 62v (detail).
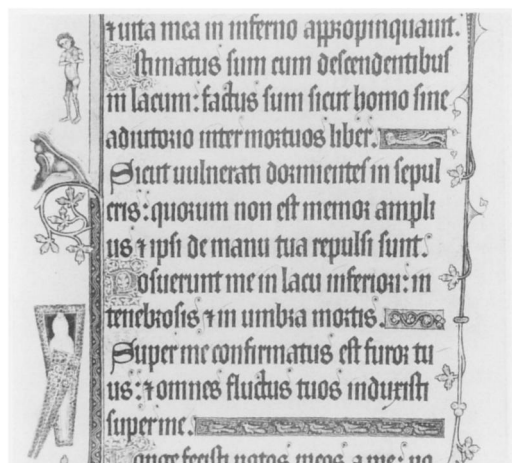

Fig. 8. Ps. 88:21. Luttrell Psalter. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 160v. [From E. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1932), pl. 73.]

standing of the psalm accounts for the historiated initial showing the Virgin and Child. What is more, the proximity of the line including the phrase "diffusa est gracia in labiis tuis" to the bottom margin seems to have elicited the illustration of the Annunciation, in which the scroll of the angel, customarily filled with the words "Hail Mary full of grace" but in this case blank, might almost be filled with the psalm phrase immediately above. The Annunciation is the first of a long marginal series of subjects from the lives of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints. The series began at this particular point because of the evocative power of the words of Psalm 44.

Two further cases of the generation of long cycles of marginal illustrations from words or phrases at a particular point in the text occur in the Luttrell Psalter. The most well-known genre scenes in the manuscript, they form a kind of pictorial biography of the Luttrell family, as Michael Camille has observed.[23] First is at Ps. 93:18, where, as Camille noted, the artist's literal response to the figural phrase "my foot is moved" is the plow, whose foot moves through the earth.[24] The plowing scene is followed by seven more sequential scenes of peasant labor, from sowing to harvesting.[25]

A second series starts on the page whose last line is from Ps. 113:4, "the works of the hands of men."[26] In the psalm, the works in question are pagan idols of silver and gold and their makers are condemned. In the marginal cycle, the words are isolated from this context. Spread over four pages, the sequence consists of a series of food preparation scenes ending in the service of dinner to Geoffrey Luttrell and his family and clerical retainers.[27] Here too, I think, the artist was responding to a single prominent text phrase with a non-contextual example nicely attuned to the interests of the commissioner of the manuscript, Geoffrey Luttrell.

The cooks roasting chickens represent the kind of imaginative leap from words to images that is characteristic of quite a few marginal illustrations in the Luttrell Psalter. They follow several patterns: first, the direct image of a word or phrase triggers a pictorial complex that does not correspond to the entirety of the text of which the word or phrase is a part. So, for example, Ps. 88:21: "I have found David my servant: with my holy oil I have anointed him." In the adjacent margin, Christ, attended by an angel, anoints the forehead of a man lying in a bed (fig. 8). This is not the anointing of David. Instead, the unction appears to be the sacrament given to the dying.[28] Thus, the artist has superimposed a new layer of visual meaning by focusing his attention on the words "with my holy oil I have anointed him."

for he is our helper and protector." To this line, at the bottom of the page, corresponds a strange blue man running away from a monster and pointing toward the word "protector" (fig. 7).

Some pictorial examples interpret text phrases in Christian terms, for instance, Ps. 44:3, "Thou art beautiful above the sons of men: grace is poured abroad in thy lips."[22] In Christian exegesis, the psalm was called an epithalamium, or nuptial hymn, of Christ and the Church; the Church was also embodied by Mary, the Virgin mother of Christ. This under-
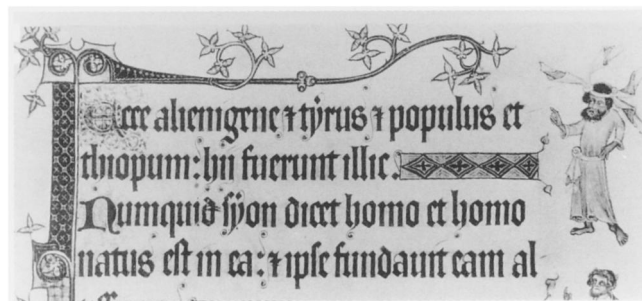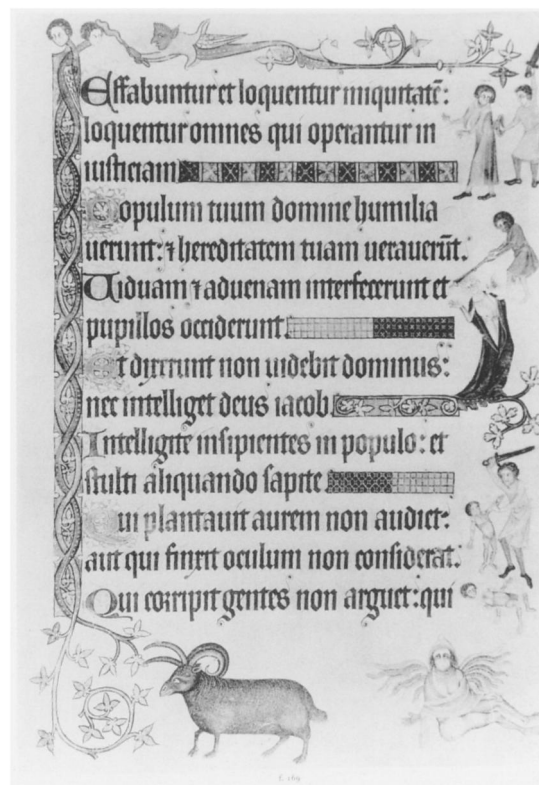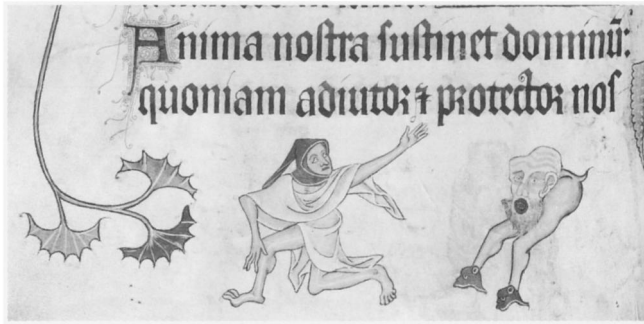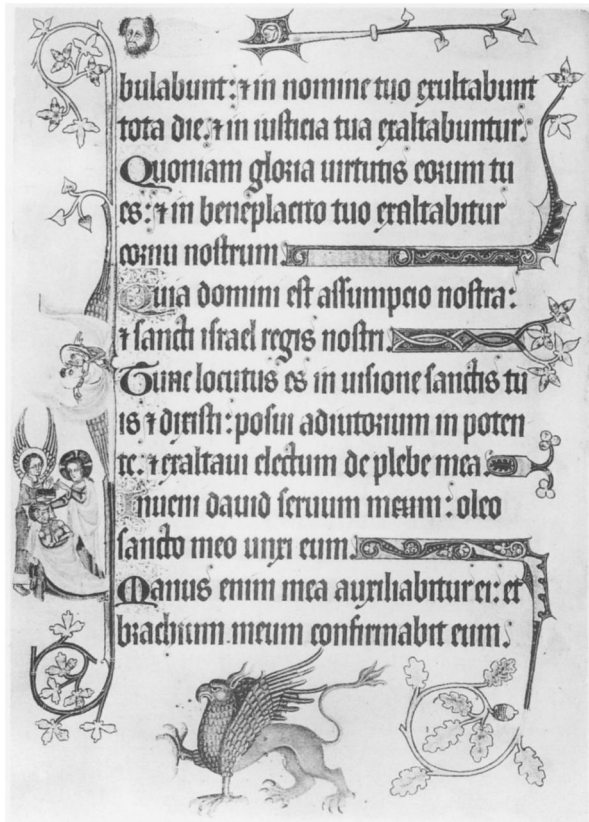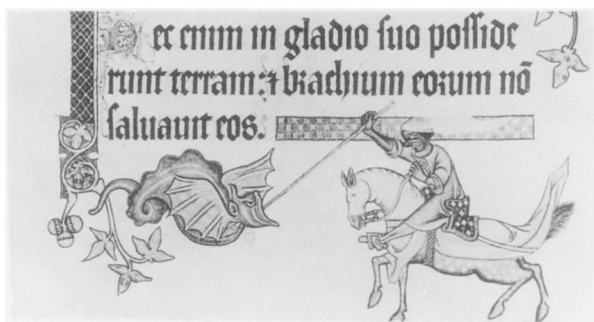
Fig. 9. Ps. 43:4. Luttrell Psalter. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 83v (detail). [From E. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1932), pl. 25f.]

Fig. 10. Ps. 104:3–4. Luttrell Psalter. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 185v (detail). [From E. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1932), pl. 123.]

Fig. 11. Ps. 87:9. Luttrell Psalter. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 157v (detail). [From E. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1932), pl. 67.]

Fig. 12. Ps. 87:19. Luttrell Psalter. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 158v (detail). [From E. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1932), pl. 69.]

This marginal scene has a pious tone, in keeping with the tenor of the text even if not with the words themselves. But in other cases, word-equivalents are the kernels around which wholly non-contextual pictorial complexes are elaborated. Ps. 43:4, "For they have not got the possession of the land by their own sword; neither did their own arm save them," referring to Israel's triumph over the Gentiles not by the sword but by the hand of God, takes up the last three lines of a page. In the marginal vignette immediately below, a grimacing blue-skinned man astride a horse spears a hybrid snail with a weapon held in his right arm (fig. 9). The seeds for the development of the scene seem to have been the words "gladius" (sword) and "brachium" (arm). Indeed, "brachium" is directly above the raised right arm of the warrior. As much as the action suits the word, the end result is non-contextual, that is, unrelated to the larger sense of the text.

A similar case is the illustration in the lower margin of the page whose last line is Ps. 104:3–4, "let the heart of them rejoice that seek the Lord." Here it seems probable that through a process of wordplay "cor" has elicited the horns, one of them silver, blown by the pushmipullyu-like hybrid immediately below, since, although in Latin *cor* is *heart*, it only takes the addition of a single letter to create *cornu*, or *horn* (fig. 10).

By far the most complex scene of this type is the illustration that corresponds to Ps. 87:9 (fig. 11). The illustrations in the side margin of this page have already been mentioned (fig. 3). At the bottom, the last line of text is "Thou hast put away my acquaintance far from me" (Douay-Rheims translation) or, in other words, "thou hast alienated those known to me from me." Attached to the word "notos" (those known to me) is a hook from which a funnel hangs over the mouth of a man lying helplessly suspended. Beside him another man with a ewer is pouring liquid through the funnel into the first man's mouth. Janet Backhouse described this scene as "an unidentified game of skill, one of many mysterious pastimes which cannot now be explained."[29] That may be, as there are certainly many marginal representations of sports and games in the Luttrell Psalter.[30] Nevertheless, the marginal image has a thread of connection, both literal and figural, with the words of the text, above all with the accusative plural "notos." *Noti* means those known, but in the nominative singular form, *nota*, it also means an identifying mark, or a quality or brand of wine, and with just this meaning it is translated visually in the line-filler of Ps. 87:19, "Friend and neighbors thou hast put far from me and my acquaintance [notos meos], because of misery," where the filler-block is composed of a series of wine jugs (fig. 12). Indeed, the multiple meanings of *noti* and *nota* seem to have elicited a rich variety of responses from the

Fig. 13. Ps. 102:7. Luttrell Psalter. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 180v (detail). [From E. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1932), pl. 112.]
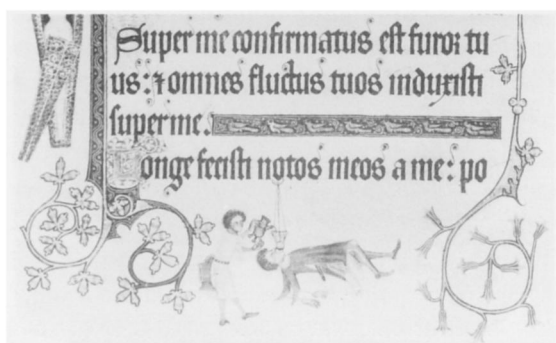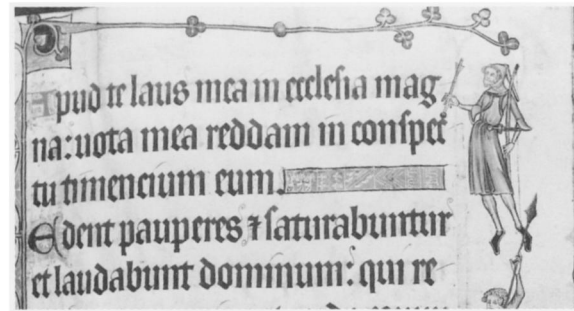

Fig. 14. Ps. 21:6. Luttrell Psalter. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 25 (detail).

Luttrell artist. In the form "notas" (things that are known), the term occurs in Ps. 102:7, "He hath made his ways known to Moses" (Notas fecit vias suas Moysi). Two images are related to this verse (fig. 13). First is the series of six bright gold rings on the marginal oak-leaf foliage. Nowhere else in the abundant marginal foliage of the manuscript are comparable ring-motifs found. Here it seems that the rings are equated with the word "notas" in its common meaning of "mark" or "sign." The second image inspired by "notas" turns up in the line-filler at the end of the same verse, where a hybrid eyes, or takes note (from the verb *notare*) of, the words of the text.

Now, to return to Ps. 87:9 and the mysterious "game" between the two marginal figures. It may be that the image of pouring liquid from a ewer into a funnel was elicited by the link between "notos" and wine. It could also be that the immediately preceding verse, "Thy wrath is strong over me: and all thy waves thou has brought in upon me," played a role in inspiring the marginal imagery. The verbal image of water pouring over the psalmist may be reflected, not only in the liquid draining from the funnel, but in the pose of the figure itself, since it is similar to common images of David drowning in historiated initials for Psalm 68, which begins, "Save me O God: for the waters are come in even unto my soul."[31] And finally, it seems possible that the "os" of "notos" had some part in the placement of the hanging funnel over the *os*—that is, the mouth—of the suspended man.

Visual syllabification of this sort was used elsewhere in the Luttrell Psalter for the imaginative production of marginal images, that is, the creation of images based not on phrases, or single words, but on single syllables, which themselves are complete words—a picture-building technique familiar from rebuses and the game of charades. Such cases are not so common in the manuscript, but they are well worth noting. A first example is found in Ps. 21:26, "I will pay my vows in

the sight of them that fear him" (in conspectu timentium). In the side margin of the page, an archer with a longbow strings an arrow, whose tip is poised directly over the syllable "spec" at the end of the line (fig. 14). *Conspecto* is from the verb *conspicere* (to behold), but "spec" is also part of the noun *spiculum*, the point of an arrow. So the picture suits the action, not to the word but to the syllable.[32]

A second example is linked with Ps. 83:3–4. Here the last line on the page reads "For the sparrow hath found herself a house." A direct visual translation of the word sparrow has already been cited (fig. 2). But here is an astonishing scene of two naked men, one seated on a stool and the other standing, engaged foot to foot in an antic two-step (fig. 15). Could this be another mysterious medieval game?[33] Perhaps, but it certainly is easier to account for if the word immediately above the two feet is divided into its syllabic components. "Passer" becomes *pas-ser*, and *pas* in French and *pes* in Latin mean *step* and *foot*. There seems no doubt that the artist was familiar with French, as he was with Latin, and that he was as capable of puns in one language as the other. Further, it appears that the nakedness of the figures was inspired by the text line immediately above, "My heart and my flesh have rejoiced in the living God" (cor meum et
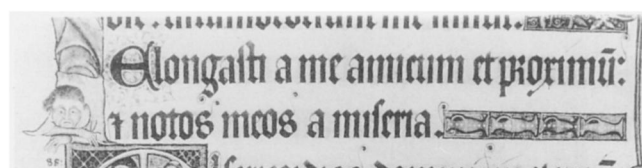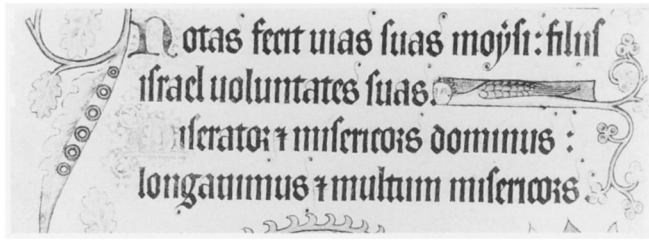

Fig. 15. Ps. 83:3-4. Luttrell Psalter. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 152v (detail). [From E. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1932), pl. 57.]

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Fig. 16. Ps. 34:13. Luttrell Psalter. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 66 (detail).

Fig. 17. Ps. 88:43-45. Luttrell Psalter. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 162v. [From E. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1932), pl. 77.]

caro mea exsultaverunt in Deum vivum). This is a case of de-contextualized translation of the word "caro" (flesh).

Most of the examples of word-pictures mentioned so far were inspired by nouns, but marginal images were also generated by verbs of action, as, for example, the previously cited correlation between such imperatives as "jubilate," "cantate," "psallite," and "exultate" and marginal images of music-making and dancing. Verbs of aggressive action, such as "to pursue," "to trouble," "to destroy," "to kill"—so common in the psalms— were particularly prone to vivid visual translation. Just as with nouns, the actions depicted might suit the verb but not the phrase or the sense of the text. Although such a line as "they have slain the widow and the stranger; and they have murdered the fatherless" was indeed translated in entirety (fig. 5), sometimes the verb, extracted from its context, became the base for the

imaginative construction of a narrative more specific than the action suggested by the words of the psalm. For example, Ps. 34:13, "when they were troublesome to me," is the last line of the page (fig. 16) above a vignette showing a hybrid spearing a half-clothed bearded human. The hybrid—grotesque, anti-natural, and hence imbued with evil—is a vivid evocation of the unspecified "them that devise evil against me" (Ps. 34:4), against whom the psalmist is crying out.

The words of Ps. 88:43–45 (fig. 17) elicit two successive images in the vertical margin: first, "Thou has set up the right hand of them that oppress him: thou has made all his enemies to rejoice. Thou hast turned away the help of his sword; and hast not assisted him in battle," exemplified by the vignette of armored soldiers battling a non-military civilian; and second, "Thou hast made his purification to cease: and thou hast cast his throne down to the ground." The word "destruxisti," in the Douai-Rheims translation "thou hast made to cease," literally means "thou hast destroyed," and this is the key to the action of the man kicking the pieces of wood, which perhaps should be equated with the throne cast down ("collisisti") to the ground. Although this figure looks like the victim in the vignette above, the imaginative patterns to which the two subscribe differ. In the first case, the action and the actors parallel what is recounted in the text; in the second, the actor and action in the text are attributed to the Lord, "angry with thy anointed [David]," but in the image the actor is an ordinary human. Thus the verb describing the action was detached from its context when the image was painted— a typical case of decontextualization.

Another, still more striking, example of verbal decontextualization is the translation of "persequeris" (thou shalt pursue) of Ps. 82:16—the last line on the page—into a hybrid monster, who, with cape flying, bounds across the bottom margin (fig. 18). Many of the lower margins of the Luttrell Psalter are filled with

Fig. 18. Ps. 82:16. Luttrell Psalter. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 152 (detail). [From E. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1932), pl. 56.]

Fig. 19. Ps. 80:9. Luttrell Psalter. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 149v (detail). [From E. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1932), pl. 51.]

large, single hybrids shown in profile, often opposed in direction to the left-to-right direction of the words of the text, but usually stationary.[34] This is one of the times when details of pose are related to the text lines immediately above, and consequently the creature is more active than usual. Again, it should be emphasized that only the action, not the actor, is related to the text, in which the pursuer is the Lord, not the evil-doer.

It may be that the illustration of a battle-ready hybrid (fig. 19) below Ps. 80:9, "Hear, O my people, and I will testify to thee," developed from a reading of the verb "contestabor," not as "I will testify," its Latin Vulgate meaning, but as "I will contest," that is, "dispute." Of course in modern English, and French too, *to contest* refers to physical as well as verbal fights and no longer has anything to do with testimony. But the now-standard meaning only began to emerge in the thirteenth century with the technical phrase *contestatio litis*, joining of a legal issue, or litigation.[35] Nevertheless, the illustration may actually provide some evidence of a change in usage before it was recorded in any surviving written text.

Fig. 20. Ps. 27:1. Luttrell Psalter. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 53 (detail). [From E. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1932), pl. 8.]
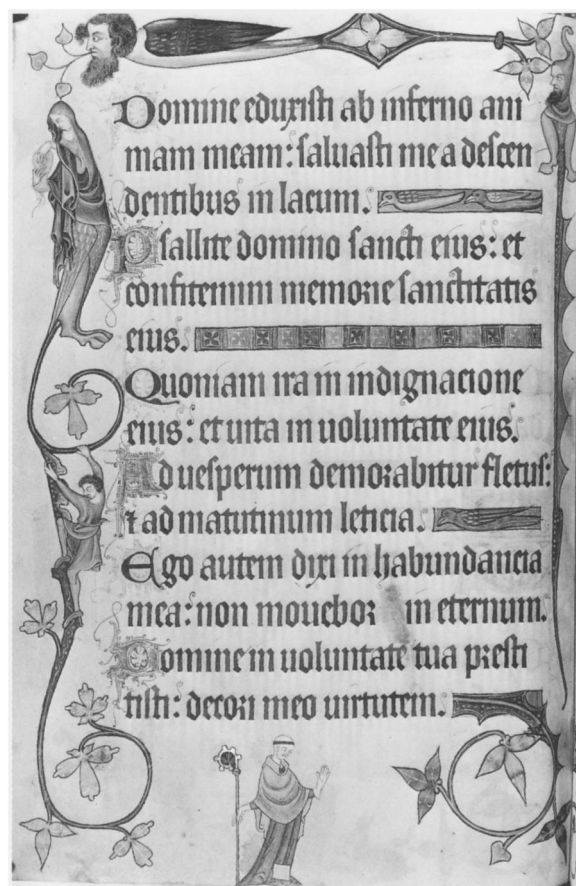
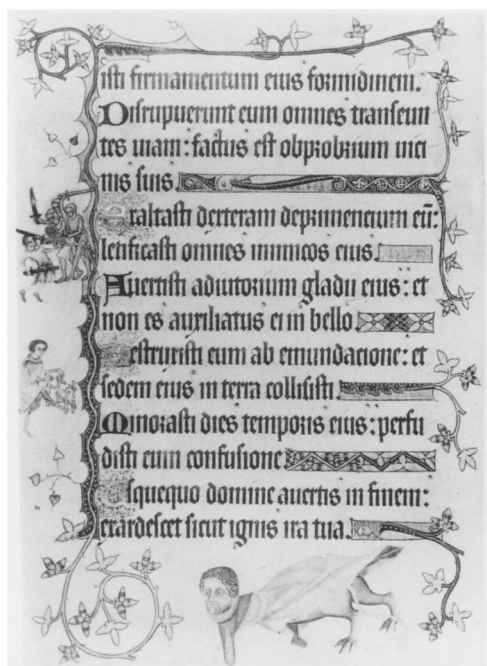Fig. 21. Ps. 29:4. Luttrell Psalter. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 55v.

In addition to verbs of violent action, other verbs of motion also have marginal equivalents. Especially striking are those that lend themselves to images in the vertical margins. Two examples are derived from the verb to lift up: Ps. 92:3, "The floods have lifted up, O Lord: the floods have lifted up their voice," the last two lines on the page, corresponding to the action of a human hybrid lifting up a smaller man on his shoulders;[36] and Ps. 101:11, "Because of thy anger and indignation: for having lifted me up thou hast thrown me down," the top two lines on the page, corresponding to another human-hybrid hoisting himself up on the foliated branch in the upper margin.[37] In both cases the verbal action is isolated from the context.

The verb *to descend* also inspired marginal equivalents. The same phrase, "them that go down into the pit" (descendentibus in lacum) in Ps. 27:1 and Ps. 29:4, again received two different marginal responses (figs. 20 and 21). In the first instance, a man falls down from a horse. Pictorial metaphor might have played a part in this vignette, since according to the psalm it is the wicked that go down into the pit, and a significant example of wickedness, Pride—the root of
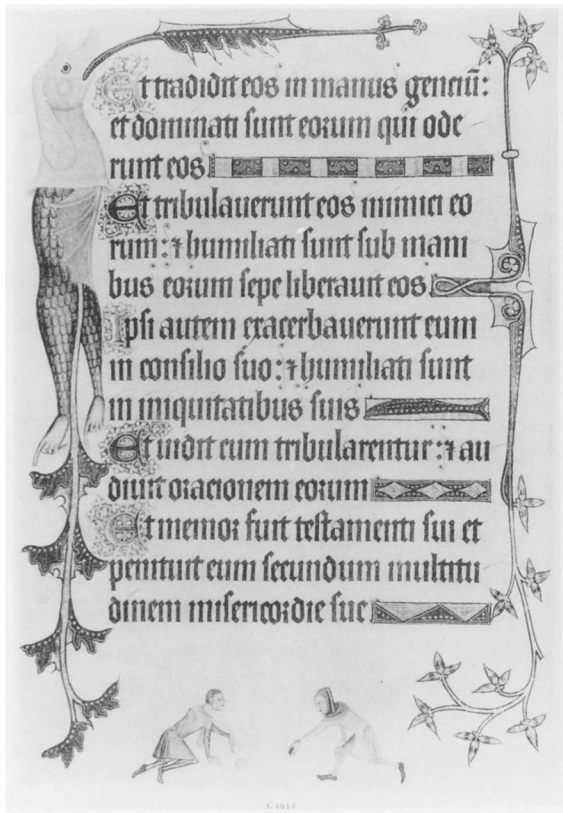
Fig. 22. Ps. 105:41. Luttrell Psalter. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 193v. [From E. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1932), pl. 139.]

Fig. 23. Ps. 80:11. Luttrell Psalter. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 150 (detail). [From E. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1932), pl. 52.]

all the vices—is frequently pictured as falling off a horse.[38] In the second instance, however, there is no evident correlation with the sense of the text. Here the verb *to descend* was isolated from the context in the shaping of the visual response. The corresponding pictorial action is a hybrid woman holding a vessel upside down and pouring out a stream of liquid that descends down the vertical margin. At the same time, *to descend* seems to have been the stimulus for visualization on the same page of the verbal opposite—*to ascend*—not in the text at all. This "thinking in antonyms" accounts for the action of the man climbing up the marginal foliate-tail of the female hybrid from below.[39]

Two further devices for the production of marginal word-images are marked by contrasting approaches: first, a word or phrase in the text has a visual counterpart in a detail of a marginal image; and conversely, the visual counterparts of multiple words or phrases from separate places in the text on the same page are pulled together as elements in a single marginal image. For example, the first line on the page with the text of Ps. 105:41 includes the word "hands," from "And he delivered them into the hands of the nations," and this may account for one feature

of the extraordinary marginal grotesque with hands replacing his feet, a feature made still more prominent by reversal of direction vis-à-vis the rest of the body (fig. 22). Details of other marginal grotesques also may have been inspired by words in the text, for instance, a beardless, armless, dark-haired, foliate-tailed hybrid with remarkable curving horns on the page with Ps. 80:11. The horns could be the imaginative leap responding to the text line "For I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt" (fig. 23). Of course it was Moses who led the Hebrew people out of Egypt, and the visual symbol of Moses for the Middle Ages was his horns,[40] this surely explaining the detail of the marginal image.

The second approach, that is, the concentration of disparate words into a single marginal entity, produced some of the most vivid and memorable images in the Luttrell Psalter. One is a construct whose components have both a direct and a metaphorical relation to scattered words and phrases in the text of Ps. 90:10–11 (fig. 24): "There shall no evil come to thee: nor shall
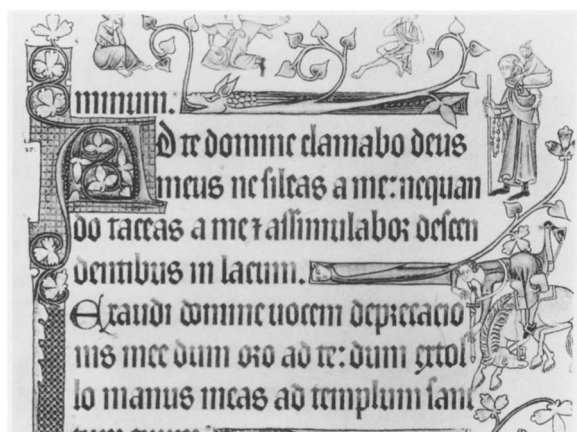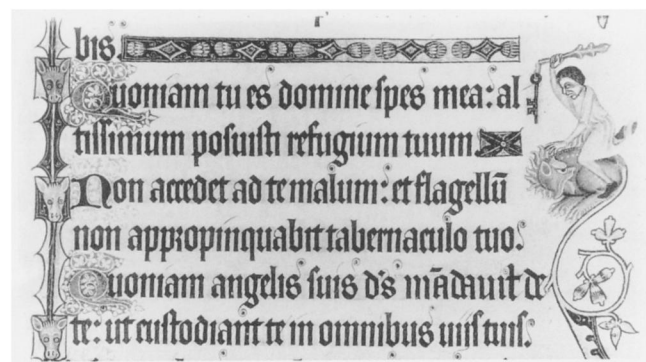

Fig. 24. Ps. 90:10–11. Luttrell Psalter. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 166 (detail). [From E. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1932), pl. 84.]
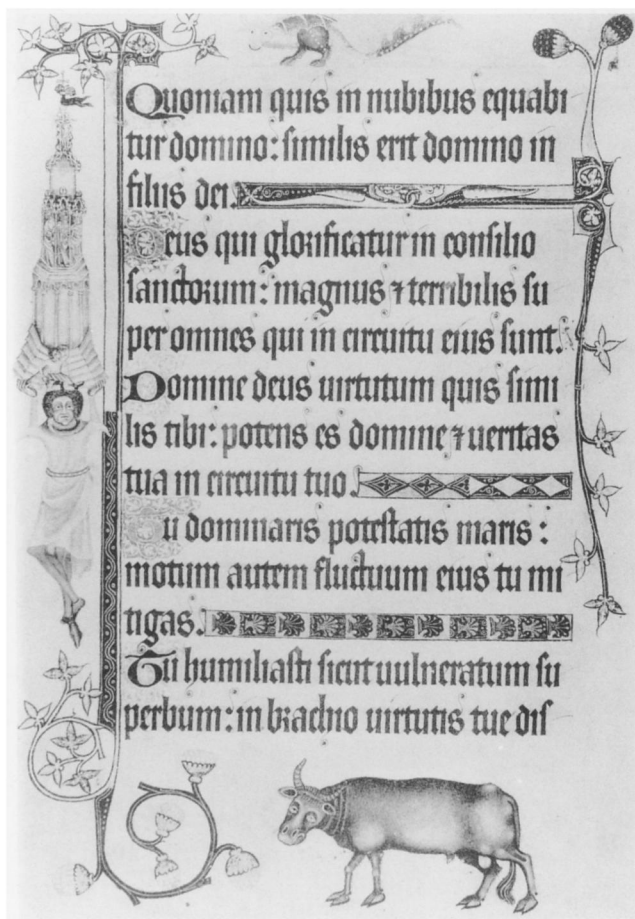
Fig. 25. Ps. 88:7–9. Luttrell Psalter. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 159v. [From E. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1932), pl. 71.]

Fig. 26. Ps. 88:12–14. Luttrell Psalter. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 160. [From E. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1932), pl. 72.]

the scourge come near thy dwelling. For he hath given his angels charge over thee; to keep thee in all thy ways." In the margin immediately adjacent to these lines, a man seated astride a snarling blue humanoid hybrid, surely an embodiment of "evil," beats, or "scourges," the creature with a club, from which, in apparent illogic, hangs a silver key. The key makes sense however if it is understood in connection with the verb "custodiant" (they have charge, or they guard) in the text.

The other image (fig. 25) has been compared to the stone crosses erected by Edward I in memory of his wife Eleanor, who died in 1290.[41] It is held aloft by a man balancing on one foot; at its base sits a small figure, hand raised to brow in a gesture of wonderment; on the cross are three crowned female figures, effigies of Eleanor, and near its summit just below the pennant, a crucified Christ. The adjacent text is from Ps. 88:7–9: "For who in the clouds can be compared to the Lord: or who among the sons of God shall be like to God? God, who is glorified in the assembly of the

saints: great and terrible above all them that are about him. O Lord God of hosts, who is like to thee? thou art mighty, O Lord, and thy truth is round about thee." Metaphorically the stone structure is raised up in the clouds, and God—or the Son of God, that is, the crucified Christ—is glorified above all them that are about him—the female figures. God is great and terrible, hence the seated man's gesture of wonder. The representation of a freestanding polygonal structure may have been sparked by the twice-repeated term "in circuitu" (round about), and the strongman holding the structure up is literally "potens" (mighty).

Facing this page is the continuation of the text of the same Psalm 88, lines 12–14 (fig. 26): "Thine are the heavens and thine is the earth: the world and the fullness thereof thou has founded: the north and the sea thou hast created. Thabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy name: thy arm is with might. Let thy hand be strengthened and thy right hand exalted: justice and judgment are the preparation of thy throne. Mercy and truth shall go before thy face." Here the key

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words are "mare" (the sea), "brachium cum potencia" (powerful arm), "firmetur manus tua" (strengthened hand), "sedis tue" (thy throne or seat), and "precedent faciem tuam" (go before thy face). Together these terms may be combined into a new sentence that corresponds to the marginal image of rowers seated in a boat pulled by two men. It would read something like this: "With their strong hands they go before the faces of men seated in a boat rowed through the sea by the power of their arms."

The image of the four men in the boat rowing for all they are worth in an empty sea is impossible to forget. The *picture* is certainly memorable; could it also be that the purpose of such *imagines verborum* was actually mnemonic, that is, that they are mnemonic devices intended to implant the *words* of the psalms into the memory? The fourteenth-century Oxford theologian Thomas Bradwardine wrote a treatise on memory, *De memoria artificiali*, recently made widely known in a translation by Mary Carruthers.[42] Bradwardine recommended that images of things, ideas, or words to be remembered should be wondrous and intense, not average, but extreme.[43] Images should denote or exemplify things or should replace the syllables of words with counterparts in Latin, or, as Bradwardine said, in another language.[44]

Almost magically, all of Bradwardine's techniques for the construction of mental images of words, things, and ideas seem to have been employed in the actual images in the margins of the Luttrell Psalter. But I believe that it would be wrong to conclude that such images were seriously intended to aid in memorization of the adjacent text.[45] Bradwardine, like other medieval writers on artificial memory, was concerned with remembering things not currently available in written form, primarily things heard. He allowed that mnemotechnique could be used for things seen and things read, but clearly the resulting images were to be mental, not actual.[46] So, if there was a written text that you wanted to remember, you would construct mental images of its words, you would not look at already provided visual exempla, puns, and rebuses. Moreover, Bradwardine stressed that the images of things to be remembered were to be fashioned by the individual for himself. This would make it unlikely that marginal images created by an artist could be used effectively for mnemonic purposes by someone else.

Although the generic similarities between images in the margins and those described by Bradwardine are striking, the purposes of actual and mental word-pictures are not the same. I believe that the Luttrell

imagines verborum represent the artist's response to the text, not to render the psalms more readily memorable, but to provide a heightened and intensified experience of *reading*, through the discovery and appreciation of all the riches both apparent and concealed in the words. If the words gave rise to the images, the images disclosed the depths of meaning in the text.

Implicit in this interdependent relation between marginal and non-marginal is the importance of active reading rather than passive hearing. Originally the words of the psalms were written down to record speech, and for those without literacy, or without books, they were apprehended aurally, through hearing and recitation.[47] But the *imagines verborum* of the Luttrell Psalter employ a mode of visual apprehension. Both words and images are to be read, using the faculty of sight.[48] Seeing the images made the effort to find their meanings in the words rewarding. It seems clear, moreover, that the experience of reading the words was itself enhanced by the unusually elaborate calligraphy of the volume, exceptional even among luxury illuminated manuscripts of the time.[49] We can conclude that the book provided Geoffrey Luttrell a sustained, repeatable, and incremental experience of reading, an experience derived from seeing words as well as images.

The Luttrell Psalter is a magnificent and complex book. The meanings of its marginal illustrations are certainly multiple and diverse, and by no means are all of the marginalia *imagines verborum.* But I believe it should be recognized that words in the text and images in the margin—even when apparently opposed—both belong to a *visual* system. *Imagines verborum* recur consistently in contemporary luxury illuminated manuscripts. As in the Luttrell Psalter, marginal word-images—and perhaps all marginal images—in contemporary books intended for individual use, whether sacred or secular, gave focus and rewarding depth of meaning to reading, a visual activity that increasingly characterized the mental culture of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

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Notes

Lilian Randall and I met forty years ago through a shared interest in marginal illustrations in medieval manuscripts. From time to time I have revisited this subject and, on each occasion, have turned first to Dr. Randall's pioneering study *Images in the Margins of Illuminated Manuscripts* (Berkeley, 1966), the fundamental source for all devotées of the phenomenon of manuscript marginalia. It is a privilege to acknowledge my scholarly debt to Dr. Randall with this paper in her honor.

1. Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, illus. John Tenniel (London, 1865), 37.

2. Utrecht, Rijksuniversiteit Bibl., MS 32. See *Utrecht-Psalter* (Graz, 1984), I (facsimile) and II (commentary by F. Van Der Horst and J.H.A. Engelbregt).

3. Utrecht, Rijksuniversiteit Bibl., MS 32, fols. 12–12v. See *Utrecht-Psalter* I and II, 67.

4. Utrecht Psalter, fols. 25–25v and 6v. Psalm 43 was selected by H.W. Janson as the illustration of the Utrecht Psalter in *History of Art*, 1st ed. (New York, 1962), fig. 327.

5. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apologia ad Guillelmum Sancti-Theoderi abbatem*, J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina*, 182 (Paris, 1854), 916; I use the translation of Meyer Schapiro, "On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art" in *Romanesque Art: Selected Papers* (New York, 1977), 6.

6. Bernard, *Apologia, Pat. lat.*, 916: "ut magis legere libeat in marmoribus quam in codicibus, totumque diem occupare singula ista mirando, quam in lege Dei meditando." The phrase "in lege Dei meditando" parallels Ps. 1:2: "sed in lege Domini voluntas eius, et in lege eius meditabitur die ac nocte." The line has a special reverberation because Ps. 1 is the first psalm recited at matins in the liturgical office.

7. The most searching interpretative study to date is M. Camille, *Image on the Edge, The Margins of Medieval Art* (London, 1992); see also P. Gerson, "Margins for Eros," *Romance Languages*, 5 (1993), 47–53, discussing the word-images of the north French hours of the 1330s divided between the British Library (Add. MS 36684) and the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (MS M.754).

8. E. Mâle, *The Gothic Image, Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century* (New York, 1958), 47–62.

9. H. Helsinger, "Images on the *Beatus* Page of Some Medieval Psalters," *Art Bulletin*, 53 (1971), 161–76; K.R. Wentersdorf, "The Symbolic Significance of *Figurae Scatalogicae* in Gothic Manuscripts," in *Word Picture and Spectacle* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1984), 1–19; M. Caviness, "Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a Vade Mecum for Her Marriage Bed," *Speculum*, 68 (1993), 333–62.

10. Cf. M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. H. Iswolsky (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), esp. 1–21, referring primarily to the "grotesque realism" in "folk culture" and passing lightly (27, n. 8) over visual imagery, which perhaps would have provided an obstacle to his sharp distinction between official and folk culture, since the two meet in the texts and the marginalia of illuminated manuscripts.

11. M. Schapiro, "Marginal Images and Drôlerie," *Speculum*, 45 (1950), 684–86 (review of Randall, *Images in the Margins*).

12. Ruth Mellinkoff, in "Some Thoughts on Marginal Motifs," a paper delivered in the session, "Marginal Imagery," at the Twenty-Ninth International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 5–8 May 1994.

13. London, BL, Add. MS 42130. E. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1932); J. Backhouse, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1989); M. Camille, "Labouring for the Lord: The Ploughman and the

Social Order in the Luttrell Psalter," *Art History*, 10 (1987), 423–54. Millar dated the manuscript between 1335 and 1340, the date of death of Geoffrey Luttrell's wife, who is depicted on fol. 202v, since he believed that the illustrations represented the "decadence" of the so-called East Anglian style; for a differing view, and a dating to 1325–1330, see L.F. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285–1385*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, V, ed. J.J.G. Alexander (London, 1986), I, 118–21, no. 107.

14. "Quaedam deformis formositas, ac formosa deformitas" (*Apologia, Pat. lat.*, 916), as translated in Schapiro, "Aesthetic Attitude," 6.

15. Millar, *Luttrell Psalter*, 16.

16. Millar (*Luttrell Psalter*, 13) noted nine cases and Camille, "Labouring for the Lord," 434–36 added several more. See also Backhouse, Luttrell Psalter, 14.

17. Psalm numbering follows the Vulgate and unless noted psalm quotations are from the Douay-Rheims version.

18. Ps. 52, fol. 98v; Backhouse, *Luttrell Psalter*, fig. 9. The marginal fool in fig. 1 (fol. 167) wears the short-sleeved and tabbed robe characteristic of the clothing of scholars, possibly a response to the words "cognoscet" (shall know) and "intelliget" (will understand) in the text.

19. See for example Ps. 35, 97, 99, and 104 (fols. 68, 174v, 176, and 185v); Millar, *Luttrell Psalter*, pls. 20a, 101, 104, and 123.

20. Ps. 26, fol. 51; Millar, *Luttrell Psalter*, pl. 7. The image is unusual in showing a haloed figure, with the Lord in a separate framed rectangle at the upper right corner of the border.

21. See M. Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages*, trans. A. Goldhammer (New Haven, 1986) and most recently, G. Guest, "A Discourse on the Poor: The Hours of Jeanne D'Evreux," *Viator*, 26 (1995), 153–80.

22. Ps. 44:3, fol. 86, last two lines; Millar, *Luttrell Psalter*, pl. 27d.

23. Camille, "Labouring for the Lord," 423–54.

24. Camille, "Labouring for the Lord," 435 and fig. 1.

25. Fols. 170–173v; Millar, *Luttrell Psalter*, pls. 92–99. Backhouse, *Luttrell Psalter*, figs. 17, 21, 22, 25, 26, and 29 (color). Backhouse (*Luttrell Psalter*, 14) noted that this marginal cycle accompanies a series of Psalms (94-96) of thanksgiving for the bounty of God.

26. Ps. 113(pt. 2)-114:4, fols. 206v–208; Millar, *Luttrell Psalter*, pls. 165–68 and Backhouse, *Luttrell Psalter*, figs. 47–48.

27. Camille, "Labouring for the Lord," 439–42 identified the psalm associated with the Luttrells at dinner as Ps. 115:3-4, but quoted correctly the Vulgate text of Ps. 114:3-4. Taking his cue from Millar (*Luttrell Psalter*, 49), who had commented on the "expressions of hopeless misery on the faces of most of the diners," Camille related the physiognomies to the words of the psalm, "I met with trouble and sorrow." This, I believe, is a case of the imposition of a modern interpretation on facial expressions that were characteristic of the Luttrell artist no matter what the pictorial subject, or, for that matter, the adjacent text passage. Similar heavily shadowed eyes and downturned mouths recur throughout the manuscript. Camille went on to claim that the lifting of a cup by Geoffrey Luttrell on fol. 208 was a "direct illustration" of the words "Calicem salutaris accipiam et nomen Domini invocabo" (I will take the chalice of salvation; and I will call upon the name of the Lord) of Ps. 115:13, but the reader would have to turn to fol. 209 to find this text passage. In my view, "literal" illustrations and the texts to which they are related must be visually available simultaneously, whether it is a question of the response of the artist to the words or the response of the reader to the pictures.

28. Cf. the representation of the Sacrament of Extreme Unction on

the page illustrating Ps. 26 in the Belleville Breviary (Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 10483, fol. 17v). See V. Leroquais, *Le bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris, 1934), plate vol., pl. 29.

29. Backhouse, *Luttrell Psalter*, 61.

30. Catalogued by Millar, *Luttrell Psalter*, 15, citing about ten examples.

31. See, for example, the psalter of Elizabeth de Bohun (ca. 1338/1355) formerly in the collection of Viscount Astor, Ginge Manor, fol. 101v; L.F. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285–1385*, I, 123–24, no. 111; II, illus. 286.

32. For an identical response to the phrase "in conspectu suo" see the thirteenth-century Rutland Psalter (London, BL, Add. MS 62925, fol. 87v). In the Rutland Psalter the phrase is at the end of the last line of text on the page; directly below a grotesque human shoots an arrow into the upended rear of a grotesque merman, the arrow attached to the extended descender of the letter p of "conspectu"; see Randall, *Images in the Margins*, fig. 502; Camille, *Image on the Edge*, 22 and fig. 6.

33. Cf. the Rutland Psalter (London, BL, Add. MS 62925, fol. 43v) for similar foot-wrestling on the page with Ps. 38:1–7, not apparently elicited by the words of the text; see E.G. Millar, *The Rutland Psalter* (Oxford, 1937), facsimile.

34. An exception is the implied movement of the wheeled dragon on fol. 184, according to Camille, "Labouring for the Lord," 435, responding to the line overleaf (Ps. 103:26), "This sea dragon which thou hast formed to play therein." Camille cited P. Meredith and J. Marshall, "The Wheeled Dragon in the Luttrell Psalter," *Medieval English Theatre*, 2 (1980), 70–73, interpreting the wheeled dragon as a stage machine responding to the verb *ad illudendum*, in the Vulgate sense, *to play therein*, in medieval Latin referring to play-acting. See the comment above, note 26.

35. See *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (London, 1981), s.v. "contestari;" also C. DuCange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* (Paris, 1883–1887), s.v. contestare. In Vulgate Latin the word for *to contest* was *contendere*.

36. Ps. 92:3, fol. 168; Millar, *Luttrell Psalter*, pl. 88.

37. Ps. 101:11, fol. 178v; Millar, *Luttrell Psalter*, pl. 117.

38. E.g., the Tree of Vices in the thirteenth-century French *Vergier de soulas* (Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 9220, fol. 6), citing Pride as the root of all the vices, with a pictorial example of a man falling from a horse into the mouth of Hell.

39. The visualization of the concept of descending by means of the flow of liquid and ascending by means of climbing, as inventive as it appears to be in the Luttrell Psalter, has in fact an interesting parallel in an earlier fourteenth-century English manuscript, the Ramsey Psalter (St. Paul in Lavantthal, Stiftsbibl. Cod. XXV/2, 19, fol. 108v), where similar images provide the visual "instructions" for the correct placement, or rather replacement, of a text line originally omitted by the scribe; see L.F. Sandler, *The Peterborough Psalter and Other Fenland Manuscripts* (London, 1974), fig. 345.

40. See R. Mellinkoff, *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought* (Berkeley, 1970).

41. Millar, *Luttrell Psalter*, 40.

42. M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory, a Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), 281–88.

43. Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 282.

44. Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 285.

45. In this I disagree with Suzanne Lewis, "Beyond the Frame: Marginal Figures and Historiated Initials in the Getty Apocalypse," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, 20 (1992), 71–74, who cited a number of *imagines verborum* in the chapter initials of a thirteenth-century English Apocalypse: "Such images are not iconographical, nor do they illustrate the content of a particular text, but instead serve to make each page memorable and remind the reader that the text contains matter to be committed to memory." The word-images of the Getty Apocalypse were placed on pages whose entire upper halves were filled with framed miniatures; these would certainly have been amply sufficient to make each page memorable. As far as committing the text-matter to memory, one wonders what the purpose of such an exercise would have been for the owner of such a splendid book. Would it not be more reasonable to expect the *imagines verborum* of the text initials to have encouraged the possessor of the book to read it over and over again.

46. Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 287.

47. See especially W.J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy, The Technologizing of the Word* (London, 1982); also F. Bäuml, "Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," *Speculum*, 55 (1980), 237–65; and further, Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, 17–18, 27–28, and 94–95.

48. Cf. M. Camille, "Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy," *Art History*, 8 (1985), 32, equating texts and images as "secondary representations, external to, but always referring back to, the spontaneous springs of speech."

49. The text is written in *precissa* script between upper as well as lower ruled lines; many penstrokes end with spiral flourishes; and there are very few abbreviations.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 7, 14, 16, 21, London, BL.

Art and Experience in Dutch Manuscript Illumination around 1400: Transcending the Boundaries

James H. Marrow

This paper treats two little-known but extraordinary manuscripts illustrated by the same painter, a book of hours of the late fourteenth century made for Duchess Margaret of Cleves, now in the Gulbenkian Museum in Lisbon, and a Biblia pauperum *of the early fifteenth century in the British Library. Each introduces fundamental innovations of design into the type of book it represents. I consider how these books were shaped to bring out new dimensions of their subject matter and to alter their users' consciousness of their experience of the book.*

Note: See color plate section for color plates 1–2.

The subject of this paper is two little-known but extraordinary illustrated manuscripts, a book of hours made in the late fourteenth century for Duchess Margaret of Cleves, now in the Gulbenkian Museum in Lisbon (ms. L.A. 148), and a *Biblia pauperum* of the early fifteenth century in the British Library in London (Kings MS 5).[1] The Lisbon Hours is the subject of a recent monograph published by the Gulbenkian Museum; the London *Biblia pauperum* has been reproduced in a full and splendid color facsimile by Faksimile Verlag Luzern.

The two manuscripts are of special interest because they stand at the beginning of an indigenous, sustained tradition of Dutch manuscript illumination and can be attributed to the same painter. They are much more important, however, for the nature and scope of their invention, which will be the main topic of my paper. They seem to me apt subjects for this volume of studies in honor of Lilian Randall because each introduces fundamental innovations of design into the type of book it represents, changing important elements of their function and meaning. I present them as a kind of case study of the ways in which medieval illuminated manuscripts could be reshaped to bring out new dimensions of their subject matter and to alter their users' consciousness of their experience of the book.

To set the stage, I provide a brief backdrop to the emergence of a Dutch school of illumination in the late fourteenth century. For much of the high Middle Ages, the region of the northern Netherlands, corresponding approximately to present-day Holland, was relatively undeveloped economically and dependent culturally on the more highly refined traditions of the neighboring territories of Germany and the southern Low Countries. As late as the first half of the fourteenth century, the counties of Holland and Zeeland were ruled by members of the house of Hainaut, who were resident primarily in Valenciennes, in the Franco-Flemish border region. In the second half of the century, however, rulership of Hainaut, Holland, and Zeeland passed to Duke Albert of Bavaria, a Wittelsbach prince who emigrated to the Low Countries and established his primary residence and the seat of his government at The Hague, rather than in the southern Netherlands. This provided one of the two primary factors responsible for the rise of a new artistic tradition in the northern Netherlands, namely, a new center of courtly patronage in the region.

The second factor that helps to account for the rise of certain distinctive traditions of book production in the northern Netherlands at this time was the emergence there of the *devotio moderna*, a religious reform movement that enjoyed extraordinary success in the fifteenth century. Founded by Geert Grote in the late fourteenth century, the movement had both monastic and semi-monastic branches—houses of Augustinian Canons and Brethren and Sisters of the Common Life—and counted among its best-known spiritual leaders, Thomas à Kempis, and among its best-known students, Erasmus of Rotterdam.

The two manuscripts I shall discuss date from the late fourteenth and the turn of the fifteenth century, and originated at or near the court of Duke Albert of Holland-Bavaria at The Hague. The first of the two is

Fig. 1. Margaret of Cleves in prayer before the Virgin and Child. Hours of Margaret of Cleves. Lisbon, Gulbenkian Museum, ms. L.A. 148, fol. 19v.
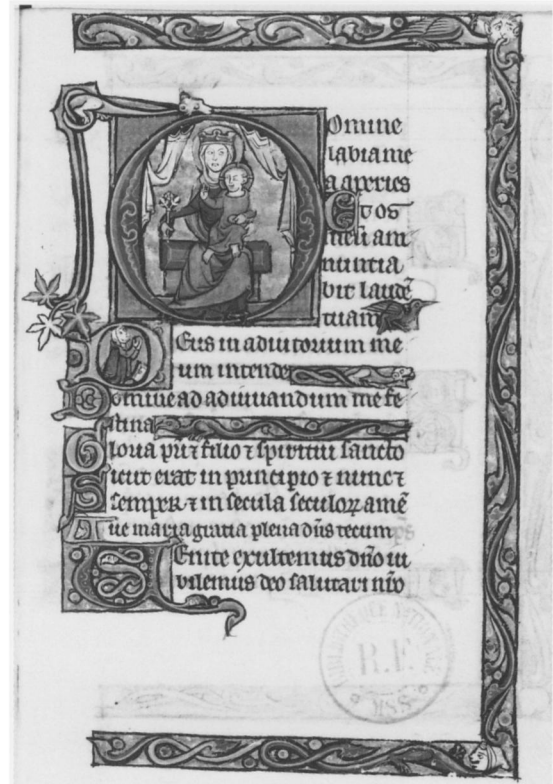
Fig. 2. Virgin and Child enthroned adored by a praying donor. Book of hours. Paris, BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 915, fol. 1r.

Fig. 3. Annunciation and Queen Jeanne d'Evreux in prayer. Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cloisters, inv. no. 54.1.2, fol. 16r.

a book of hours that was made for the duke's second wife, Margaret of Cleves, probably around 1394, when she married Duke Albert and moved to The Hague. The manuscript is identified as having belonged to Duchess Margaret in an inscription in fifteenth-century script on its final folio, which records her donation of the book to the convent of Schönensteinbach in the Alsace.[2] Duchess Margaret is also portrayed in the first miniature of the book, which commences the Hours of the Virgin (fig. 1). The subject matter of this miniature is noteworthy, for by the late fourteenth century texts of the Hours of the Virgin did not customarily commence with a full-page miniature of the Virgin and Child enthroned. What is most unusual about the illustration, however, is the prominence it gives to the donor and the way she is related to the subjects of her prayer.

Prior to this miniature, one finds two primary traditions of representing donors in prayer in Gothic illuminated manuscripts. In the first, donors are portrayed in a pictorial zone that is visually and conceptually distinct from that occupied by the subjects of their prayers, and they are usually also represented in smaller scale. Illustrated here are two examples in which praying donors appear in small scale in historiated initials beneath larger representa-

Fig. 4. Saint John Evangelist (historiated initial) and praying donor (right margin). Book of hours. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.754, fol. 5v.

Fig. 5. Virgin and Child enthroned (historiated initial) and praying donor (lower margin). Prayer book. Utrecht, Museum Het Catharijneconvent, MS BMH Warm. 92 A 12, fol. 21r.

tions of sacred figures or events, one from a French book of hours of about 1300 (fig. 2),[3] and another from the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, Queen of France, painted by Jean Pucelle around 1325 (fig. 3).[4] In other works, one finds donors represented, again in diminished scale, in the margins adjacent to or below sacred figures, as in two examples of the second quarter of the fourteenth century, one from a Franco-Flemish book of hours (fig. 4)[5] and another from a prayer book possibly made in the northern Netherlands (fig. 5).[6]

In a second pictorial tradition, which parallels the first chronologically and was to become the norm in the fifteenth century, artists represent donors within the same picture space as the sacred subjects of their prayer, although usually also subordinated to them by their smaller scale and their placement below and to the side of them (figs. 6 and 7).[7]

The miniature that commences the Hours of the Virgin in the Hours of Margaret of Cleves combines features of both earlier traditions of donor illustration, while also differing from both in important ways. As in the first tradition, in which donors are portrayed in a realm distinct from that of the subjects of their prayer, Duchess Margaret is shown as if inhabiting the left margin, which is spatially and conceptually separate from the shrine-like, framed and gilt zone of the

Madonna and Child. But as in the second tradition, in which donors are shown as if present, through the medium of their prayers, before the subjects of their devotion, Duchess Margaret is portrayed overlapping the sacred space of the Madonna and Child, and, what is more, interacting with the sacred figures to an unprecedented degree. To begin, the figures of Mary and Christ turn to Duchess Margaret, actively acknowledging her prayer, which is written on a scroll that proceeds from her joined hands, past the extended right hand of Mary, and into those of the Christ child. The text on the scroll is taken from the *Pater Noster*, a prayer inaugurated by Christ in the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. 6: 9–13). Significantly, Duchess Margaret's prayer is shown both as addressed to Christ and originating from him, for he is depicted writing the final word on the scroll. Coming after the first section of the Latin text, which reads "Father, thy kingdom come" (Pater adveniat regnum tuum), the "fiat" that he writes can be understood as expressing his response, "let it be done."[8] A similar iconography can be found about a decade later, in a French manuscript of 1406, where Princess Marie de Berry is shown likewise reciting the *Pater Noster*, and the Christ child again writes the final "fiat" on a separate section of the prayer scroll (fig. 8).[9]

Fig. 6. Virgin and Child enthroned adored by a donor. Gospel book and lectionary. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., MS Clm 7384, fol. 3v.

Fig. 7. Virgin and Child enthroned adored by a donor. Book of hours. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.97, fol. 7r.

Fig. 8. Marie de Berry and her daughter in prayer before the Virgin and Child. Pseudo-Bonaventure, *Stimulus amoris* and other texts (French translation). Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 926, fol. 2r (detail).

The representation of Margaret of Cleves embodies one other novel feature in a clever visual pun. Around her neck, just adjacent to the scroll, Duchess Margaret is shown wearing prayer beads or a rosary. Significantly, during Duchess Margaret's lifetime prayer beads were customarily termed "Paternosters."[10] When we recall that she is shown praying the *Pater Noster*, we realize that by aligning the prayer beads with the scroll inscribed with this prayer, the artist specifies the content of Duchess Margaret's prayer in both word and image.

What distinguishes this representation is the large scale and the insistent physicality of its portrayal of Margaret of Cleves and the high degree of interaction it establishes between the donor and the figures to whom she prays. Because of this reciprocity, the miniature is charged with narrative and psychological dimensions absent from earlier, static representations, which show donors isolated from the space of the Madonna or inhabiting it only passively. By activating the boundaries between the realms of the protagonists, the miniature in Duchess Margaret's Hours introduces a new dynamic into the relationship between the donor and the sacred figures to whom she prays. The result of these creative transformations of the tradition is to give new and compelling visual form to notions of the efforts and aims of devout prayer, by showing prayer as a transaction that effects a new measure of interrelationship between the petitioner and the subjects of her devotion.

Had only the prefatory miniature of the Hours of the Virgin survived from Duchess Margaret's book of hours, it would have furnished ample evidence of the originality of its painter, whom I have dubbed the Master of Margaret of Cleves after this manuscript.

Fig. 9. Arrest of Christ. Hours of Margaret of Cleves. Lisbon, Gulbenkian Museum, ms. L.A. 148, fol. 42v.

The full significance of this miniature and the range of the artist's invention only become apparent, however, in relation to the artist's treatment of the other illustrations in the picture cycle this introduces, all of which represent scenes from the Passion.

The most striking feature of the Passion miniatures is the way that figures and objects of each project over the frames of the miniatures into the margins. In the Arrest of Christ (fig. 9), spears project into the upper margin, Saint Peter's arm and a soldier's leg overlap the sides of the frame, and, in a motif of unprecedented visual boldness, Malchus and his long candle are shown falling into the lower margin, as if pitched forward from within the picture space. In Christ before Pilate (fig. 10), the soldier at the left, his spear, and Pilate's feet extend over the frame. In the Flagellation (fig. 11), parts of the bodies, arms, and whips of the scourgers extend over the frame and into the margins, and, in the Carrying of the Cross (fig. 12), the frame is broken by two of the ends of the cross and the figures leading and following Christ. In the hieratically conceived Crucifixion (fig. 13), only the lateral beams of the cross and parts of the lower portions of the robes of Mary and Saint John extend over the frame. But in the iconographically unique Lamentation (fig. 14), the entire slab bearing Christ's body is shown as if projected in front of the framed picture space, and blood from Christ's hands and feet is represented dripping into the lower margin.

Fig. 10. Christ before Pilate. Hours of Margaret of Cleves. Lisbon, Gulbenkian Museum, ms. L.A. 148, fol. 68v.
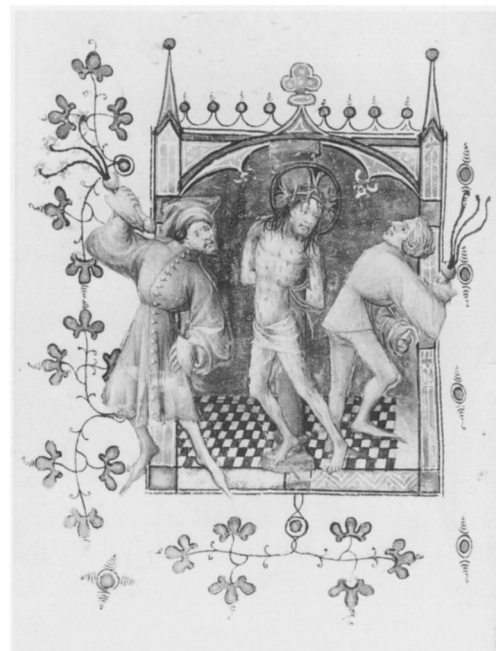
Fig. 11. Flagellation. Hours of Margaret of Cleves. Lisbon, Gulbenkian Museum, ms. L.A. 148, fol. 79v.

Fig. 12. Carrying of the Cross. Hours of Margaret of Cleves. Lisbon, Gulbenkian Museum, ms. L.A. 148, fol. 89v.
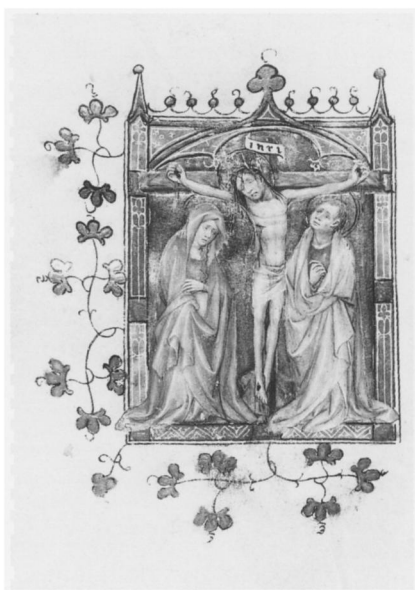
Fig. 13. Crucifixion. Hours of Margaret of Cleves. Lisbon, Gulbenkian Museum, ms. L.A. 148, fol. 99v.

In its dramatic display of the dead body of Christ, this Lamentation stands comparison with the well-known representation of the same event in the Rohan Hours (fig. 15), a manuscript that postdates the Dutch work by as much as thirty-five years.[11] The miniature in Duchess Margaret's Hours is noteworthy, moreover, in echoing features of two of the best-known types of *Andachtsbilder* of the late Middle Ages. The harsh angle at which Christ's head is tilted back (as if frozen in the position in which he turned upward on the

cross to direct his final words to the Father) recalls that found in some fourteenth-century German *Vesperbilder* (fig. 16).[12] By removing the figure of Christ from the familiar context of the *Vesperbild* group and isolating his body on a tomb slab that is shown projecting in front of the frame, the miniature increases the focus on Christ's wounded body and shifts the emphasis of the event from one in which Mary holds her son to a scene of the separation, or parting, of the holy figures from Christ.

Yet another type of *Andachtsbild* appears to be echoed in this miniature in a novel and moving iconographic motif that has Christ, although dead, shown extending his left hand to touch and seemingly comfort Saint John. This seems to me to recall *Andachtsbilder* of the so-called Christus-Johannes Gruppe, where Christ is portrayed embracing Saint John and holding his hand (fig. 17).[13]

The miniature of the Entombment (fig. 18) that concludes the cycle of illustration of the Hours of the Virgin proves that the artist meant to emphasize this special relationship of Christ to Saint John, for it again shows the dead Lord as if reaching out to John, this time placing his hand on Saint John's shoulder, as in the *Andachtsbilder* (fig. 17). Here as well, as in all other miniatures of the Passion cycle, figures and objects are shown as if extended over and in front of the framed picture space.

The full sense and meaning of the picture cycle that commences the Hours of Margaret of Cleves becomes evident when we consider the relationship of its opening miniature to those that follow. The controlling terms of the opening miniature are, on the one hand, its juxtaposition between the space and realm of the donor, Margaret of Cleves, and the shrine-like, sacred space inhabited by Mary and Jesus, and, on the other, its mitigation of the boundaries that separate the two realms, which is shown to be accomplished through the agency of prayer. Given this visual definition of the two realms in the opening miniature of the cycle and the role the miniature assigns to prayer in effacing the boundary between them and effecting an essential link or bond between the petitioner and the figures and events of sacred history, we can well understand the relation of the series of Passion miniatures to the opening illustration. In representing figures overlapping the frames in each of the Passion miniatures, the artist shows them escaping from the confines of a remote and enclosed sacral realm and entering into Duchess Margaret's spatial and devotional sphere. Far from simply expressing the narrative force and emotional content of the separate events of the Passion, these

Fig. 14. Lamentation. Hours of Margaret of Cleves. Lisbon, Gulbenkian Museum, ms. L.A. 148, fol. 108v.

Fig. 15. Lamentation. Rohan Hours. Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 9471, fol. 135r.

miniatures visualize the results of efficacious devotion and prayer by showing the sacred figures and events they portray as if emphatically *present* to Margaret of Cleves.

Analogous concerns are stressed time and again in devotional literature of the late Middle Ages. To adduce an example from one of the best-known devotional texts of the fourteenth century, Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi*, I cite a passage from Ludolph's general introduction to meditation on the Passion. There, Ludolph instructs his readers "to make yourself present by thought and in like manner as if you had been present at the time of the Passion...and as if Jesus were suffering before your very eyes."[14] Witness also a Dutch vernacular Passion tract of the period, which in its account of the Crucifixion admonishes the reader to imagine the event *not* as if he were viewing a stone or wooden image, but as if he were standing beneath the cross on Calvary and saw and heard Christ's death.[15] Through their insistence that the Passion be perceived as though it were a real, first-hand experience, such texts exhort the faithful to overcome an implied separation between the act of devotion and its subject matter, the one located in the present and the other in the past.

In terms pictorial rather than literary, the cycle of illustration of the Hours of the Virgin in Duchess Margaret's manuscript brings the figures and events of the Passion into her presence. Her prayer is shown to bridge the gap between her world and that of the

Fig. 16. Pietà (*Vesperbild*). Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, inv. no. 24 189.

Fig. 17. Christ and Saint John the Evangelist (*Andachtsbild*). Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, inv. no. 7950.

Fig. 18. Entombment. Hours of Margaret of Cleves. Lisbon, Gulbenkian Museum, ms. L.A. 148, fol. 126v.

subject of her devotion, or between mere sacred images and more palpable, lived experiences. What is finally most extraordinary and innovative about the images in this picture cycle is their audacious materiality, which separates them decisively from older conventions of representation and invests them with a different order of actuality and presence. The miniatures that commence the Hours of Margaret of Cleves establish both a new iconography of prayer and new ways of suggesting the essential experiences prayer is meant to facilitate.

As can be seen in another illustration of the Arrest of Christ (fig. 19), where figures again break the frame and Malchus and his candle are shown as if falling out of the miniature space into the lower margin (cf. fig. 9), the second manuscript I will treat in this paper appears to be a product of the same artist, the Master of Margaret of Cleves, although to date possibly as much as a decade later, about 1405. This is the so-called Golden *Biblia pauperum* in the British Library (Kings MS 5).

The *Biblia pauperum* is the modern name for a

type of book that sets forth the story of the redemption of mankind by Christ in the context of pertinent prophecies and prefigurations from the Old Testament. In the illustrated versions that dominate the tradition of copies of this book, a series of representations of important events from the New Testament (ranging from the Incarnation through Christ's Passion and the events associated with the Last Judgment and the end of time) are each accompanied by portrayals of four bust-length prophets and the texts of their prophecies that refer to the event and of two narrative incidents from the Old Testament that prefigure it.[16] Composed probably around the mid-thirteenth century in the region of present-day Austria or southern Germany, the *Biblia pauperum* enjoyed notable success. More than eighty manuscript copies survive in complete or fragmentary form, ranging in date from the turn of the fourteenth to the late fifteenth century. These are supplemented by editions printed both in blockbooks and moveable type, testifying to the enduring repute of the book in the era of printing.

From all evidence, the *Biblia pauperum* was created in monastic circles and enjoyed its greatest popularity in this sphere. Summarizing the course of Redemp-

Fig. 19. Arrest of Christ. Golden *Biblia pauperum*. London, BL, Kings MS 5, fol. 12r.

Fig. 20. Crowning with Thorns and Carrying of the Cross with Old Testament prefigurations and prophets. *Biblia pauperum*. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Vind. 1198, fol. 6v.

tion in word and picture, placing it in the context of biblical history from the Creation to the end of time, and illustrating the coherence of the two testaments, the *Biblia pauperum* provided fitting material for instruction and edification. In the two and a half centuries of its currency, it underwent continuous evolution and development, circulating not only in its original Latin form but also in vernacular versions, appearing in cycles of different length and varying content, and taking different forms both in its layout and the style of its illustrations.

Created more than a century after the invention of the *Biblia pauperum*, the manuscript we shall treat is the most exceptional copy in the known tradition of this book. Although it lacks any overt evidence of its original ownership, this manuscript was most likely also made for a member of the court of Duke Albert of Bavaria, possibly Duke Albert himself, or his wife, Margaret of Cleves. This copy of the *Biblia pauperum* is decidedly courtly in appearance, richer in its forms and more lavish in its illustration than any of the works that are known to have been made for Duke Albert and Duchess Margaret. When one further observes that manuscripts of the *Biblia pauperum* had

circulated previously almost exclusively in the territories of Austria and Bavaria, it is easy to see why one might hypothesize that the only known Netherlandish manuscript of this text would have been made either for Duke Albert of Bavaria-Holland, who had emigrated to the Low Countries from Bavaria, or for a member of his court.

The Golden *Biblia pauperum* departs in virtually all essential features of its forms and design from previous copies of the same text. To begin, earlier illustrated versions of the *Biblia pauperum* are all in larger and vertically oriented books, taller than they are wide, and they are illustrated exclusively with pen or pen-and-wash sketches arranged in schematic or diagrammatic configurations (fig. 20).[17] In contrast to the earlier copies, whose relatively economical pictorial technique, large size, and schematic forms reflect their use primarily for communal purposes in monasteries, this copy is courtly in its opulent materials and appears to have been designed for private rather than communal use. The illustrations are executed as richly

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colored, independently framed miniatures on highly decorated and burnished gold grounds, rather than in pen or pen-and-wash, and the script is written, uniquely, in alternating passages of blue, red, and gold, rather than brown.

As opposed to all earlier copies of the *Biblia pauperum*, which open to reveal one or two full ensembles of subjects per page (fig. 20), Kings MS 5 was originally arranged and bound not in its present-day, oblong format (pl. 2 and fig. 22), but as a series of thirty-one unusually folded leaves. The leaves were folded twice along vertical axes flanking the central miniature and were sewn individually at the left fold (pl. 1). In its original folded form, Kings MS 5 was therefore comparable in size and shape to traditional books of private devotion, such as psalters or books of hours.

The novel structure of the book, which appears to be unique, also had a devotional purpose, requiring that it be utilized in a manner unlike that of conventional codices and thereby setting forth the content of each of the ensembles in a sequential process. At each folded ensemble, the reader first encountered a leaf containing only a rubricated title for the New Testament event that was to follow, although by transparency, he could usually see some faint outlines of what lay behind the leaf (pl. 1). Turning the first page he then found one Old Testament prefiguration on its verso and the blank side of a folded leaf on the facing recto, although here again there was usually some inkling of more to come in the dim outlines of forms showing through the blank side of the page. With the subject of the rubric not yet visible, but only prefigured in the first Old Testament event, the reader was then forced to uncover the folded recto leaf in order to reveal all three miniatures that make up each ensemble, that is, an event from the Christian scheme of Redemption flanked by two of its prefigurations from the Old Testament.

The unconventional structure of Kings MS 5 leads its reader through a three-stage progression from expectation to fulfillment. With his anticipation aroused by the rubric of each ensemble and then further stimulated when the first page is turned to reveal one Old Testament prefiguration, the reader has to take a third step and uncover the folded recto leaf in order to see the complete grouping and discover what had only been announced in each of the first two openings.

The design of the book simulates the course of sacred history, both through the series of New Testament events it records and, as is unique to this

Fig. 21. Carrying of the Cross. Golden *Biblia pauperum*. London, BL, Kings MS 5, fol. 16.

copy, within the configuration of each ensemble. Demanding of the reader an unusual manipulation of the leaves of the volume, and thus drawing him in novel ways into the experience of the book, the structure of Kings MS 5 heightens the meaning of the *Biblia pauperum* as a document of the purposeful, evolutionary relationship between the two testaments. In turning and opening up the leaves which make up each folded ensemble, the reader is encouraged to envision sacred history as a literal *unfolding* of the divine order as it progresses from the Old Law to and through the New. The design thus articulates the content of the *Biblia pauperum* in a radically original manner, giving new depth and resonance to its prophetic and redemptive message by altering the reader's sense of temporal engagement with the book.

Another unique feature of this copy of the *Biblia pauperum* is its colored script, which alternates passages of gold, blue, and red (pl. 1). In addition to registering its courtly qualities, the colored script of Kings MS 5 seems to me to evoke particular traditions for characterizing sacred texts. We may recall, for example, the use of rich, colored pigments for scripts in biblical manuscripts, such as the numerous "golden Gospel books" and "golden Psalters" of the Hiberno-

Saxon, Carolingian, and Ottonian eras.[18] This tradition extends even into the fourteenth century, for the Gospel Book of Johannes von Troppau, a Bohemian manuscript of 1368, is written throughout in gold script complemented by blue chapter headings and capital letters alternating red and blue.[19]

One other tradition may be echoed in the colored scripts of Kings MS 5, namely, that of liturgical calendars, some of which are written in graded and decoratively arranged patterns of gold, red, and blue script.[20] Inasmuch as the *Biblia pauperum* outlines the course of sacred history, much as does the liturgy itself, it seems possible that in choosing gold, red, and blue pigments for its script, the designer of Kings MS 5 meant to evoke the sacral and festive character of liturgical calendars, if not also their function in summarizing the unfolding scheme of sacred time.

The colored pigments of the script in Kings MS 5 likely function also as basic aesthetic analogues of the structure and meaning of the *Biblia pauperum*. Every ensemble of the *Biblia pauperum* is simultaneously made up of triadic and dyadic groupings. That is, while each ensemble consists of three narrative illustrations, at the same time, it illustrates the concordance of two stages of history, the Old Law and the New. Significantly, the texts adjacent to the two Old Testament miniatures at the side of each leaf are set out in passages of all three colors, blue, gold, and red, arranged in units of three lines of each color (after fol. 1). At the center, in contrast, accompanying the New Testament event, which supersedes all prefigurations from the Old Law, the texts beneath most of the miniatures are written only in two colors, blue and gold, and in passages of two lines each (again after fol. 1). Other elements of the design that underscore binary associations around the central miniature include the subdivision of the texts of the prophets' scrolls into two differently colored halves (from fol. 6 onwards, always blue and gold), the coloristic configurations of the prophets' robes, many of which are arranged in reversed crossing patterns and which play off hot red colors against cool ones, and the backgrounds of the illustrations, which contrast burnished gold for the flanking Old Testament scenes with decorated black grounds for the central miniatures.

Seen from these perspectives, the richly colored script of Kings MS 5 is more than a mere embodiment of the luxury of the manuscript. It also conveys the sacral and possibly the liturgical connotations of its subject matter and articulates its essential binary and ternary structure. The colored pigments of the script can thus be understood as aesthetic forms which express fundamental aspects of the message and meaning of the book.

The differently colored backgrounds of the miniatures also purposefully contrast different stages of sacred history. The Old Testament events are all represented on burnished gold grounds whose brilliant and fugitive highlights hold the figures as if in suspension, constraining any tendency to view these illustrations as mere worldly narratives. In contrast, the New Testament events are all represented on architectonically designed matrices, the black and gold decoration appearing more active and substantial than burnished gold and forming a grid that anchors the figures to the picture field. The Old and New Testament events are thus defined in different aesthetic terms, the burnished gold backgrounds of the former lending them a certain remote and ephemeral quality and the boldly decorated forms of the latter emphasizing their greater substantiality and presence.

Although I know of no works that employ coloristically variant backgrounds of the same type to contrast different stages of sacred history, I can call attention to a later typological manuscript that distinguishes events from the New Testament from those in the Old through a comparable pattern of coloristic distinctions. This appears in a copy of the *Miroir de l'humaine salvation* (a French translation of the *Speculum humanae salvationis*) written in Flanders in 1455, in which all the events from the Old Testament are depicted in grisaille, while those from the New are shown in full color.[21] Produced approximately a half-century earlier, the Golden *Biblia pauperum* uses a different spectrum of coloristic variations in its script and the grounds of its miniatures to evoke essential distinctions between the Old and the New Testaments.

In addition to being distinctive in its formal qualities, the Golden *Biblia pauperum* is iconographically innovative. Many of the simple scenes of earlier traditions of the *Biblia pauperum* are recast and expanded in this copy so as to elaborate their narrative and expressive content in new ways. Double narratives replace the simple, single narratives of some scenes, as in the representation of the Return of the Prodigal Son (pl. 1c), which depicts both the moment when the son returns to his father and a subsequent incident, when the fatted calf is killed; in earlier versions of the *Biblia pauperum*, only the return of the son is portrayed, and without showing such evocative details as his torn clothing and the way he kneels to beg his father's forgiveness.
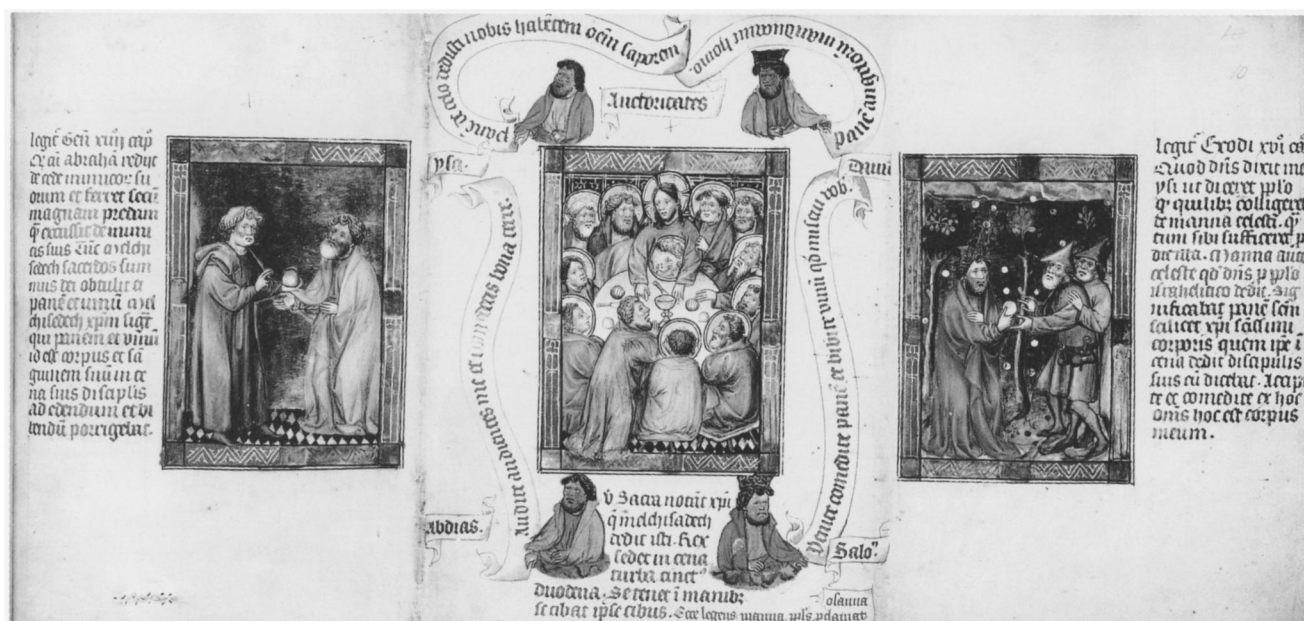
Fig. 22. Last Supper with Old Testament prefigurations and prophets. Golden *Biblia pauperum*. London, BL, Kings MS 5, fol. 10.

The Carrying of the Cross in Kings MS 5 (fig. 21) incorporates two narrative motives found neither in the text of the *Biblia pauperum* nor in its earlier pictorial tradition (cf. fig. 20). At the left side of the miniature, Saint Veronica stands holding the cloth with which, according to legend, she wiped Christ's face during the ascent of Calvary and which thereupon received its miraculous imprint. The right side of the miniature portrays two men sitting in a small open house, one of them conspicuously drinking from a raised flask. This is a reference to the "gate-watchers" and wine-drinkers of Ps. 68:13, which reads, "They that sat in the gate spoke against me; and they that drank wine made me their song." This psalm verse is cited to characterize the purported mockery of Christ by onlookers during the Carrying of the Cross in two important Latin lives of Christ of the late Middle Ages, the *Meditationes vitae Christi* of Pseudo-Bonaventure and Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi*. As I have shown elsewhere, the imagery of this psalm verse was most widely and fully elaborated in Dutch vernacular Passion tracts of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century.[22] The miniature in Kings MS 5 is the earliest of a mere handful of pictorial representations of the gate-watchers and wine-drinkers of the psalm verse in a narrative representation of the Carrying of the Cross, and one of the earliest works of northern European art to include Saint Veronica with her veil in this event. The motifs thus expand the anecdotal content of the miniature: situating Christ between two non-Gospel interpolations into the story of the ascent of Calvary, they posi-

tion him between one testimony to his miracle-working powers and another to the ignominy he endured from his tormentors.

Another novel way the painter of Kings MS 5 elaborates narrative in the manuscript is to establish links across illustrations in the book. The miniature of Joseph sold by his brothers to the Ismaelites (pl. 2a) is unusual in the first instance in showing Joseph sold to seafarers and entering their boat; usually only an exchange of money is shown, and if any reference to travel is made, it is through the presence of horses or camels. At the right side of the page (pl. 2c), which shows the subsequent event when Joseph is sold by the Ismaelites to Potiphar, Joseph is shown disembarking from a similar boat, thus visually suggesting that the events form a kind of continuous narrative, across the page, as it were.

Some uncommon iconographic motifs in Kings MS 5 establish pictorial links between different ensembles of illustrations. The final representation of the history of Joseph in the manuscript, which according to the accompanying text depicts Joseph making himself known to his brothers (pl. 1a), shows Joseph standing on land and confronting his family in a boat. This unusual representation seems to refer back to the earlier depictions of Joseph shown sold into slavery on a boat (pl. 2a, c), thus effecting a new form of visual and anecdotal linkage among some of the Old Testament prefigurations in the manuscript.

The New Testament miniature on the same leaf, which represents Christ appearing to Mary and the

Fig. 23. Christ expels the money-changers from the Temple. Golden *Biblia pauperum*, London, BL, Kings MS 5, fol. 7.

Apostles (pl. 1b), is unusual in showing Christ proffering large pieces of bread to the seated figures; in earlier pictorial traditions of this event, he is shown only blessing or speaking to the disciples. This uncommon iconographic motive refers to the Eucharist, as is implied by its relationship to earlier depictions in the codex. It harks back to the typological illustrations that accompany the Last Supper, where the protagonists in Abraham and Melchisedek and the Fall of Manna hold or offer similar round pieces of bread (fig. 22a, c), as well as to the Last Supper itself (fig. 22b), where similar round breads are displayed on the table.

The effect of all these means of elaborating the narrative of individual scenes and of establishing visual and iconographic links within and across ensembles of miniatures is to augment the anecdotal content of the illustrations in this copy of the *Biblia pauperum*, if not also to endow them with new historical density and resonance. Such devices accord with the new importance given to individual images in this manuscript, which are shown as separate framed miniatures rather than parts of diagrammatic schemes. They enhance the capacity of the illustrations to draw the viewer more fully and deeply into the life and meaning of the events they portray.

Yet another way, finally, that the painter draws us into the life of his images is by showing figures and objects dramatically overlapping their frames. In the Arrest of Christ (fig. 19), we recall, Malchus and his candle are boldly portrayed as if falling out of the miniature into the lower margin. The scene of Christ expelling the money-changers from the Temple (fig. 23) is even more elaborately energized: two figures are shown cut off by the frame as they flee to the left, the counting tables are depicted as if flying through the air, and coins are shown spilling over the lower frame and into the margin; indeed, as if in reaction to the commotion above them, the two prophets who appear in the lower section of this page are portrayed with their backs turned to us, looking up at the event. By extending the action of these and other figures and objects in the manuscript beyond the frames that had traditionally bounded them, the Master of Margaret of Cleves accentuates the expressive power of his illustrations and invests them with new orders of immediacy.

The Golden *Biblia pauperum* stands out as one of the most exceptional illuminated manuscripts of its day. I know of no other work that transforms so radically an existing and highly defined manuscript type, at once altering the structure of the book, its form and format, the color scheme of its script, the layout of the page, the form and medium of its illustrations, and their iconography and expression. Kings MS 5 fundamentally reconceives the *Biblia pauperum*, changing its character from monastic to courtly and its illustrations from diagrams to pictures.

What is important about this manuscript is not merely that it differs in appearance from all earlier copies of the *Biblia pauperum*. The real achievement of its artist and designer is to have altered the very way the manuscript conveys meaning, which is to say, how it structures its user's experience and understanding of its contents. The painter of the Golden *Biblia pauperum* articulates its parts and focuses and elaborates its visual interest in novel ways, and in so doing he changes the protocols of reading and comprehending this kind of book. He draws the user in new ways into the function of the manuscript, into its expression, and into a nuanced appreciation of the inner workings and implications of the relationships between the Old and New Testaments. As in the Hours of Margaret of Cleves, he defines and invokes new experiential dimensions of the book and its images, engaging the reader's intellect and imagination in fresh ways.

Few other medieval manuscripts reveal so fully how basic artistic properties—elements of pictorial

structure, form, and color—could be marshalled to reorder thoughts and experiences related to some of the most deeply held beliefs of the time. Even more than its iconography or the superficial elements of its artistic style, it is the underlying principles of design and the corollary aesthetic patterns of the Golden *Biblia pauperum* that enable it to stimulate intuited and lived experiences as well as conventionally conceptualized ones.

In addition to taking their place as founding documents of the tradition of Dutch manuscript illumination, the two works I have discussed in this paper seem to me to belong among the most profoundly innovative illustrated manuscripts produced during the late Middle Ages. The Master of Margaret of Cleves gave new visual form to prayer and sacred history in these books, reshaping them in ways that transformed readers' perception of their meaning.

Epilogue

How to account for such an unusual measure of sophistication and originality in these two manuscripts? Without pretending to respond fully to such a difficult question, I can nonetheless suggest some historical factors that might help us comprehend the invention in these works as something more than a mere product of autonomous artistic creativity. These works seem to me the likely result of a purposeful collaboration among at least three parties: a motivated patron (or patrons), one or more learned advisors, and a talented artist, who would have been charged with fashioning two distinctively designed books of private devotion.

The most likely site for such a collaboration would have been the court of Duke Albert of Bavaria-Holland at The Hague. Let us recall that Duke Albert emigrated from Bavaria to the Netherlands only in the latter part of the fourteenth century. In establishing his capital at The Hague, he transformed the existing ducal residence there into a true seat of government and the center of a vibrant courtly culture.[23] The duke mounted numerous banquets, tournaments, and hunts at The Hague, all of which necessitated the provision of appropriate music and costumes and called for the participation of specialized retainers. He also provided for spiritual life at the court: between 1367 and 1369 he expanded the existing court chapel into a chapter with twelve canons and a deacon, and he engaged distinguished monks to serve as confessors to his family. In both the secular and the spiritual spheres, the court at The Hague came to function as an important setting for literary, musical, and artistic life. Works of oratory, song, historical chronicles, theology, piety, morality, and amatory subject matter all flourished at Duke Albert's court. Art works mentioned in the court accounts include, among others, tapestries, jewelry, gold and silver works, sumptuous costumes, paintings, sculptures, and illuminated manuscripts. Duke Albert made a concerted effort to establish a courtly culture in his newly adopted capital, one that would be appropriate for a transplanted ruler who was also the son of the Holy Roman Emperor, Louis the Pious.

Both Duke Albert and his second wife, Margaret of Cleves, commissioned or received important illuminated manuscripts. Court records from The Hague mention several manuscripts made for or given to Margaret of Cleves, among which are as-yet-unidentified works made for the duchess by two of the court chaplains, William the Confessor and Dirc van Delft.[24] One wonders if one of these works might be identifiable with the Lisbon Hours of Margaret of Cleves? However that may be, the court chaplains seem to me likely candidates for the learned advisors who would have contributed to the original contents and design of Duchess Margaret's Hours and the London *Biblia pauperum*.[25] Dirc van Delft is the author of the one extant manuscript thus far known to have been made for Duke Albert of Bavaria, the liberally illustrated presentation copy of the *Tafel van den Kersten Ghelove*, which belongs to the Walters Art Gallery (MS W.171).[26] The *Tafel* is a monumental religious encyclopedia and catechetical handbook—indeed, the most extensive new text of its kind composed in the vernacular in the late Middle Ages. And although the London *Biblia pauperum* lacks any overt signs of its original ownership or destination, I think that there are strong reasons to consider that it was made for Duke Albert or Duchess Margaret, if only because of its manifest courtly qualities and the Germanic origins of all earlier copies of this text. Until such time as evidence to the contrary can be adduced, I take it as a strong likelihood that Duchess Margaret's Hours and the London *Biblia pauperum* were both products of court patronage at The Hague, and that they would have been composed and designed in consultation with one or both of the court chaplains.

The final collaborator would be a talented artist responsive to the special interests of his patrons and their theological advisors. A possible candidate is Jacob van Muneken (alternately: van Municken or van Munniken), who was the preeminent painter of his

day at Albert of Bavaria's court.[27] If, as seems likely, Jacob van Muneken is the equivalent of Jacob *van München*, then this might help to explain some of the prominent Germanic features of the art of the Master of Margaret of Cleves, including its undeniable expressive pathos (cf. fig. 14). As a Bavarian emigré himself, Duke Albert brought a considerable number of his countrymen to serve in his retinue at The Hague and maintained a strong tradition of hospitality for German culture. Whether from Munich or only of German descent, Jacob van Muneken might have owed part of his prominence at Duke Albert's court to his presumed German lineage.

The known documents place Jacob van Muneken at Duke Albert's court at The Hague through the first two years of Duchess Margaret's residence there (1394–1395). Thus far, however, his activity at the court has not been chronicled after 1395, and certainly not to circa 1405, which on stylistic grounds seems to me a likely estimate for the date of origin of the London *Biblia pauperum*. Considering our fragmentary knowledge of the contents of the ducal accounts, which are as yet neither fully indexed nor published (particularly after 1396), one hesitates to draw conclusions *ex silentio*. For that matter, Jacob need not have remained at the court at The Hague to have received later commissions: who is to say that he did not establish himself at some other town after circa 1395, such as Utrecht, where he could have painted one or both of these exceptional manuscripts?

Clearly there is not yet sufficient factual evidence to consider the suggested identification of the Master of Margaret of Cleves as Jacob van Muneken as anything more than a speculative hypothesis. I offer it nonetheless, for whether the Master of Margaret of Cleves was a court artist at The Hague or a professional illuminator in some other Dutch city, his art is distinguished from that of his contemporaries by certain Germanic strains and an undeniable monumental character. Even if Jacob van Muneken should prove not to be the Master of Margaret of Cleves, one might nonetheless imagine that the painter of Duchess Margaret's Hours and the London *Biblia pauperum* had a comparable background.

In sum, I attribute the many singular features of these two manuscripts to their likely courtly origin and the possibilities such a provenance offered for the creation of truly exceptional works of art. In the broader context of northern European manuscript illumination it is altogether fitting that works of such extraordinary invention should have appeared in books of private devotion made for royal or ducal patrons. One has only to think of such works as the books of hours made for Jeanne d'Evreux, Queen of France, or for Jean, duc de Berry, to recall the vital role played by such commissions in the evolution of new artistic traditions. In Holland, no less than in other regions of northern Europe, manuscripts made for court patrons founded and transformed traditions of illumination. This is apparent if we consider only the relative artistic importance in their own times of Duchess Margaret's Hours and of the best-known of all Dutch illuminated manuscripts, the book of hours made for her niece, Catherine of Cleves, toward 1440.[28] We should also recall, however, that it was under the patronage of one of Duke Albert's sons, John of Bavaria, that from 1422–1424 no less an artist than Jan van Eyck worked at The Hague. Although Jan spent his subsequent career in the southern Netherlands working at the court of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, this is the earliest record of his artistic activity. The documents of Van Eyck's employment at The Hague do not specify the nature of his work there, but many scholars have attributed the best miniatures of the famed Turin-Milan Hours to the period of his employment at the Dutch court.[29] Be that as it may, it was Jan's artistic vision, more than any other, that would determine the character of pictorial representation in both the northern and southern Netherlands after the second quarter of the fifteenth century. In Jan van Eyck and the Master of Margaret of Cleves, the court of the Bavarian Dukes of Holland at The Hague employed two of the most innovative painters active in northern Europe in the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth century.

The Hours of Margaret of Cleves and the London *Biblia pauperum* take their place against this background: court patronage and considerable artistic talent came together in these two works, resulting in the creation of books that define and communicate their meanings in fresh and singularly effective ways.

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Notes

1. This paper was originally drafted as a lecture for delivery at an international symposium on medieval book illumination sponsored by Faksimile Verlag Luzern and held at the City Hall of Lucerne in June 1994. In revising the paper for publication, I have made an effort to preserve its character as a lecture. Accordingly, I have resisted the temptation to elaborate points more fully and I provide only minimal footnotes. For detailed treatments of the two manuscripts that are my focus, including full sets of color reproductions and bibliographical references, as well as extensive discussions of such matters as their patronage, the historical, cultural, and artistic context in which they were created, related works of art, and their influence, see J.H. Marrow, *The Hours of Margaret of Cleves* (Lisbon, 1995) and *Biblia Pauperum: Kings MS 5, British Library, London* I (Lucerne, 1993), facsimile and II (Lucerne, 1994), commentary by J. Backhouse, J.H. Marrow, and G. Schmidt.

2. Fol. 283v: "Dis buch ist der hochgebornen frowen frow Margreta geboren von Cleve sol behallten werden von dem Co[n]vent zu schonensteinbach zu einer gedechtnis"; see Marrow, *Margaret of Cleves*, fig. 1.

3. Book of hours, Rheims use, Paris, BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 917; see V. Leroquais, *Les Livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1927), and *Supplement* (Macon, 1943), II, 277–78, no. 294.

4. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cloisters, inv. no. 54.1.2; see *Les Fastes du Gothique: Le siècle de Charles V*, exh. cat., Paris, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais (Paris, 1981), no. 239.

5. Book of hours (fragment; first portion in London, BL, Add. MS 36684), Thérouanne use, in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.754; see *The Pierpont Morgan Library: Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts Held at the New York Public Library* (New York, 1933), no. 74 and the updated information provided by P. Gerson, "Margins for Eros," *Romance Languages Annual*, 5 (1993), 47–53.

6. Utrecht, Museum Het Catharijneconvent, MS BMH Warmond 92 A 12; H.L.M. Defoer and W.C.M. Wüstefeld, *Fasciculus Temporum: Arte Tardo-medieval do Museu Nacional Het Catharijneconvent de Utreque*, exh. cat., Lisbon, Calouste Gulbenkian Museum (Lisbon, 1992), no. 1.

7. Fig. 6: gospel book and lectionary from the Convent of Hohenwart near Regensburg, eleventh/twelfth century, with miniatures added mid-thirteenth century, in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl., MS Clm 7384; see *Regensburger Buchmalerei: Von frühkarolingischer Zeit bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, exh. cat., Munich, Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek and Regensburg, Museen der Stadt (Munich, 1987), 67, no. 52. Fig. 7: book of hours, Paris use, in Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.97; L.M.C. Randall et al., *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, I, France, 875–1420* (Baltimore and London, 1989), 97–99, no. 41.

8. See F. Gorissen, *Das Stundenbuch der Katharina von Kleve: Analyse und Kommentar* (Berlin, 1973), 253 and Meiss, as cited below, note 9.

9. Pseudo-Bonaventure, *Stimulus amoris* and other texts (French translation), dated 1406, in Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 926; see M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, 2 vols. (New York, 1967), 206, fig. 667.

10. See E. Wilkins, *The Rose-Garden Game: The Symbolic Background to the European Prayer-Beads* (London, 1969), 36 and 40 ("guilds of paternosterers, bead-makers, had been formed even in the thirteenth century") and references to Paternosters in the fourteenth-century accounts of the court of Duke Albert of Bavaria-Holland at The Hague, as published by M. Tóth-Ubbens, *"Van goude, zelver, juellen ende anderen saken.* Twintig jaren Haagse tresorie-rekeningen betreffende beeldende kunst en kunstnijverheid ten tijde van Albrecht van Beieren 1358–1378," *Oud Holland*, 78 (1963), nos. 27, 42, 146, 149, 213, 249, 310, and 322.

11. Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 9471; see F. Avril and N. Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1440–1520* (Paris, 1993), 26, no. 4.

12. Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, inv. no. 24 189; see *Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn: Auswahlkatalog, 4. Kunst und Kunsthandwerk, Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Bonn and Cologne, 1977), 44–46, no. 21 and, for the iconographic tradition, *Gotische Vesperbilder*, exh. cat., Paderborn, Diözesanmuseum and Arnsberg, Sauerland Museum (Paderborn, 1980).

13. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, inv. no. 7950; see *Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen von der Spätantike bis zum Klassizismus. Aus den Beständen der Skulpturenabteilung der Staatlichen Museen, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem* (Munich, 1966), 59, no. 233 and, for the iconographic tradition, J. Lang, *Herzensanliegen. Die Mystik mittelalterlicher Christus-Johannes-Gruppen* (Ostfildern, 1994).

14. *Vita Christi*, pars II, cap. 58, ed. A.-C. Bolard et al. (Paris and Rome, 1865), 599: "Necessarium enim erit, ut aliquando ita cogites te praesentem cogitatione tua, ac si tunc temporis, ibi praesens fuisses quando passus fuit: et ita te habeas...ac si Dominum tuum coram oculis tuis cerneres patientem."

15. *Het gheestelijc Harpenspel van den Lijden ons Heren, uitgegeven naar een hs. der XVᵉ eeuw*, ed. J. Valckenaere (Roeselare, 1902), 12: "O sondighe mensche en laet nu dy selven oec niet duncken datstu nu sittes voer een beelde van stene oft van houte gemaket, mer laet di recht duncken oft du stondeste op den berch van Calvarien onder den cruce Ihesu, ende sietste ende hoorste den alre smadelicste bitterste allendichsten doot des sone Gods."

16. The standard study of the tradition is by H. Cornell, *Biblia Pauperum* (Stockholm, 1925), to be supplemented by Schmidt in *Biblia Pauperum: Kings MS 5*.

17. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Vind. 1198, fol. 6v; see for the manuscript, G. Schmidt, *Die Armenbibeln des XIV. Jahrhunderts* (Graz and Cologne, 1959), 10–11 and passim and, for the diagrammatic layouts of different families of the *Biblia pauperum*, ibid., 140.

18. See B. Bischoff, *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1979), 31 and, for Western European examples of the pre-Carolingian and Carolingian period, C. Nordenfalk, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Painting: Book Illumination in the British Isles, 600–800* (New York, 1977), pls. 33–35 and F. Mütherich and J.E. Gaehde, *Carolingian Painting* (New York, 1976), 11, 24–28, nos. I–III, VI, VIII, XII, XVII, and XX.

19. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Vind. 1182; see E. Trenkler, *Das Evangeliar des Johann von Troppau, Handschrift 1182 der Österreichischen National-bibliothek* (Klagenfurt and Vienna, 1948). The Peterborough Psalter (Brussels, Bibl. royale, ms. 9961–62), an English work of the early fourteenth century, is written in alternating passages of gold and blue, with gold, red and blue entries in the calendar, and red and blue descriptive verses accompanying a cycle of typological miniatures; see L.F. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285–1385*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, V (London, 1986), II, no. 40.

20. In addition to the Peterborough Psalter, cited in the previous footnote, see, for example, the calendar of the Belleville Breviary (Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 10483), reproduced in color by F. Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: The Fourteenth Century (1310–1380)* (New York, 1978), pl. 11.

21. Glasgow, University Library, Hunter MS 60; see A. Wilson and J.L. Wilson, *A Medieval Mirror: Speculum humanae salvationis, 1324–1500* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1984), 73–75, with plates.

22. J.H. Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the*

Constructing Memories: Scenes of Conversation and Presentation in Pierre Salmon's *Dialogues*

Anne D. Hedeman

This article traces the textual and visual transformations of Pierre Salmon's Dialogues, *from the first version of 1409 (Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 23279) to the revised and expanded version of 1413–1415 (Geneva, Bibl. publique et universitaire, ms. 165). Analysis of revisions to the images and texts in the second version reveal Salmon's desire to address a broadened audience that included the dauphin and other "governors of the realm" as well as the king. This was done in order to shape a memory for King Charles VI and offer a royal* exemplum *for the Dauphin Louis of Guyenne and for the others who governed for the "absent" monarch.*

Studies of the role of visual images in the construction of memory have proliferated in recent years, offering diverse attempts to explore the scholastic underpinnings of medieval memory and its adaptation in vernacular literature made for a non-scholastic audience.[1] Pierre Salmon's *Dialogues*[2] poses an interesting counterpoint to these studies of memorial systems, because it was made not so much to enhance memory as to substitute for it. Salmon's two versions of the *Dialogues* were made for a person whose memory was deficient: the mentally-ill King Charles VI of France.[3]

From 1392, shortly after he took full control of the government of France, until 1422 when he died, Charles VI suffered over forty psychotic episodes lasting from one week to six months.[4] Their onset and recurrence are described in such great detail in chronicles by Froissart and Michel Pintoin and in contemporary household accounts that modern scholars have suggested that the king suffered from a form of schizophrenia that involved periodic loss of memory and paranoia.[5]

Those who knew Charles VI in the fifteenth century would have described his illness differently, perhaps emphasizing the king's sporadic "absence," which is how the king's illness was described in royal documents. Because the king seemed capable between bouts, his wife, Queen Isabeau, and the king's male relatives, the Princes of the Blood, were faced with the problem of structuring a government that could function whether the king were present or "absent." Over the years, Queen Isabeau and the Princes of the Blood allied themselves in different combinations in order to run the government and supervise a series of underage dauphins who kept dying prematurely. By 1407 these arrangements were frayed and Duke John the Fearless of Burgundy, cousin of the king, arranged the assassination of his political rival, Duke Louis of Orléans, the king's brother. During 1409, the year that Salmon wrote the first version of the *Dialogues* (Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 23279), the Duke of Burgundy consolidated his position in Paris; by December of 1409 he had been named sole guardian of the heir to the throne, Dauphin Louis of Guyenne. In 1410 civil war erupted, and the dauphin, supported by his mother, sought and achieved independence from the duke, who removed himself from Paris from 1413–1415. When Pierre Salmon drafted the second version of his *Dialogues* (Geneva, Bibl. publique et universitaire, ms. 165) sometime between 1412 and 1415, Dauphin Louis of Guyenne was politically active, presiding over the royal council during his father's illness and negotiating with and against the Princes of the Blood.

Perhaps because of his illness, Charles VI was a singularly silent king. We do not have much insight into what he valued. By contrast, his father, Charles V, had commissioned numerous translations into French of classical texts, political theory, and history.[6] The study of Charles V's enormous manuscript collection, particularly of the works he commissioned personally, afford us an intimate knowledge of his concerns. There is no comparable body of work for Charles VI.

What survives instead from the period of Charles VI's reign is an outpouring of advice literature

generated in Paris and at the French court. Addressed variously to King Charles VI or to the members of the ruling council that governed for him when he was incapacitated, and written by authors as diverse as Christine de Pizan, an independent author, Jean de Montreuil, a royal secretary, or Jean Gerson, rector of the University of Paris, this literature became a forum for political discussion and for the evolution of political theory.[7] It was aimed at shoring up the government and urging those in power to act with the best interests of the monarchy in mind. These concerns were important because Europe was also a political mess—the Church was in the midst of the papal schism, and France was embroiled in the Hundred Years' War with England.

Pierre Salmon's two versions of his *Dialogues* are unusually sophisticated examples of this advice literature. They are sensitive to the royal situation and particularly aware of the important role that visual imagery can play in communicating with the "absent" king. In these manuscripts, texts and images work together in an attempt to fix in Charles VI's feeble memory fictional "real" conversations that carry moral messages. Further, Salmon's revision of his message from the first to second version of his text clarifies his concern about communicating with the "absent" king and with Louis of Guyenne, the young dauphin who governed in his stead. In moving from the first to the second version of the *Dialogues*, Salmon rewrote text and revamped images that either did not communicate effectively or that were out of date because of the dramatic historical changes that took place between 1409 and 1412.

The two versions of the illustrated text differ from each other, as Appendixes I and II illustrate.[8] Salmon's *Dialogues* from 1409 were divided into three parts. Part I was a conversation between king and secretary that defined the duties of the king and his counsellors. This was followed in Part II by a dialogue between Charles VI and Salmon about theological topics, essentially a royal catechism. The third and final part of the text was a narrative of Salmon's diplomatic missions for Charles VI, which was interwoven with transcriptions of twenty-nine letters and a speech that documented Salmon's contribution to French efforts to end the papal schism and find a cure for the king. This book ends on an upbeat note with a letter from the Duke of Burgundy to the pope elected to end the schism. The reader is led to believe that Salmon was successful and this letter will bring a doctor to heal Charles VI's illness. Thus the text comes to a positive conclusion, even though modern

readers with the benefit of hindsight know that the pope died in 1410 before he sent his doctor, the schism resumed, the king continued to suffer from his debilitating illness, and a civil war broke out in France in 1410.

The pictures that accompany Salmon's first version construct an idealized reality through the introduction of cross-referencing pictures, the manipulation of pictorial layout to guide and structure readings of the text, and the creative and self-conscious transformation of visual models. All of these emphasize a positive image of Charles VI's present and of his future that is at odds with the historical view we have of the king in 1409. A consideration of select examples from both the "moralizing" and "historical" sections of the 1409 *Dialogues* will clarify how visual language contributes to the message of Salmon's first version.

Images of conversation

Illustrations of Charles VI's conversations with Pierre Salmon (figs. 1 and 2) offer a glimpse of Charles's present and future before and after the cure of his illness. They introduce Parts I and II and, through their subject and style, reinforce the similarities between their texts, the conversations between Salmon and Charles VI that provide information on aspects of ideal behavior. In each picture, the king leans on his *lit de parement*, a ceremonial bed used in public places in the royal palace. He is engrossed in private conversation with Salmon, while three courtiers converse at the bed's foot. These representations are anchored with real fifteenth-century objects. Charles VI's emblems identify him; his heraldic colors (red, green, white, and black) and devices (the motto *jamais*, sprays of green leafy branches and of broom, and the tiger with a crown around its neck) dominate both scenes and are displayed on beds, wall hangings, and clothing in a realistic way; comparable furnishings appear in contemporary royal inventories.[9]

Even the figures at the foot of the bed wear collars and embroidered motifs on their robes that can, in some cases, be identified by comparison with inventories. In the image for Part I (fig. 1), the courtier in the center of the group at the foot of the bed wears a royal device that Charles often distributed: the collar of Charles's Order of the Broom-Pod.[10] In the picture for Part II (fig. 2), the figure in the long robe with the hop plant embroidered on his sleeve is Charles's cousin Duke John the
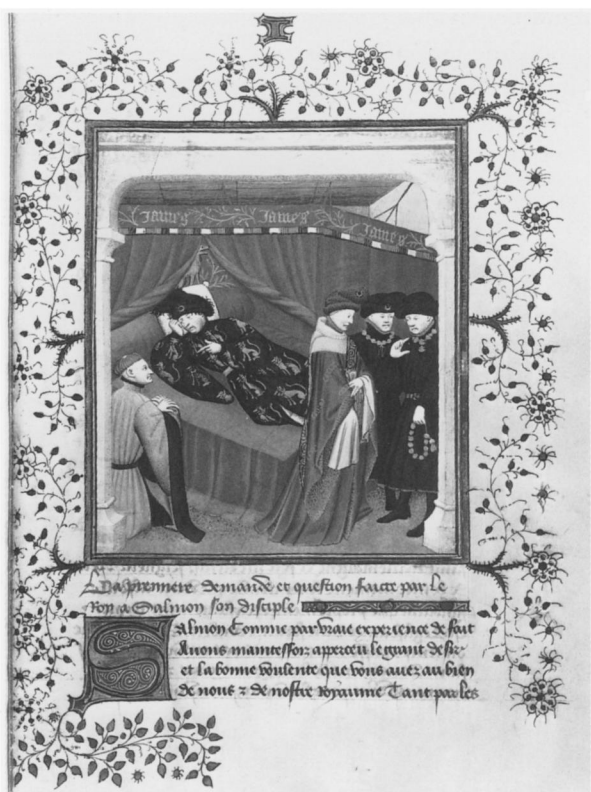
Fig. 1. Master of the *Cité des Dames*, Salmon in conversation with Charles VI. Pierre Salmon's *Dialogues*. Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 23279, fol. 5.

Fig. 2. Master of the *Cité des Dames*, Salmon in conversation with Charles VI. Pierre Salmon's *Dialogues*. Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 23279, fol. 19.

Fearless of Burgundy. John of Burgundy converses with a second figure, possibly a member of the Orléans family, who holds a crossbow bolt, an object often associated with that family.[11]

Despite their naturalism and employment of concrete contemporary political emblems, these images do not represent a specific contemporary moment. The concreteness of the settings and figures, and perhaps the shock of seeing the Duke of Burgundy talk to a member of the family of the man he assassinated, served to make this pair of pictures particularly vivid to Charles VI.

These miniatures gain in meaning by their *visual* allusion to illustrations of a popular literary form—the *complainte*—exemplified by an image painted by the same artist from a contemporary manuscript, which Salmon and the king might have known.[12] This picture (fig. 3) comes from the *complainte* of the duke from the *Livre de Duc des vrais amans* by Christine de Pizan in a manuscript assembled for Charles VI's queen between 1410 and 1415 and painted by the *Cité des Dames* Master, who had also painted Salmon's scenes of conversation.[13] This pictorial allusion calls attention to the portion of Salmon's text written as a *complainte*.

A *complainte* is an amorphous literary form, loosely defined by its sad contents and by the lamenting pose of the speaker.[14] This definition fits both the image that begins Part I and a portion of the text that accompanies it. Functioning as a preamble to Charles's question about good kingship, the text is a lament by the king on the state of France, the Church, and himself.[15] In it Charles admits that he has neglected his royal duties. In contrast to his predecessors, Saint Louis IX, Saint Charlemagne, or his father Charles V, Charles VI acknowledges that he has not lived up to his title of "most Christian king" in guarding and defending the Christian Church. As a result, the schism broke out, western armies met strong resistance in the Holy Land, and Charles had became ill, "like many kings, princes, and peoples of the Old and New Testament, who were often afflicted and punished by their faults and sins." After describing the dire state of his realm and its connection to his illness, Charles expresses a desire to mend his ways. Charles affirms that he would like to exercise the royal dignity, to follow in the footsteps of his royal ancestors, and to provide an example for his descendants. Charles asks God to save and relieve him of his tribulations and give him the wisdom to govern well.

Charles's brief lament is followed by a question to Salmon (What morals and qualifications should the
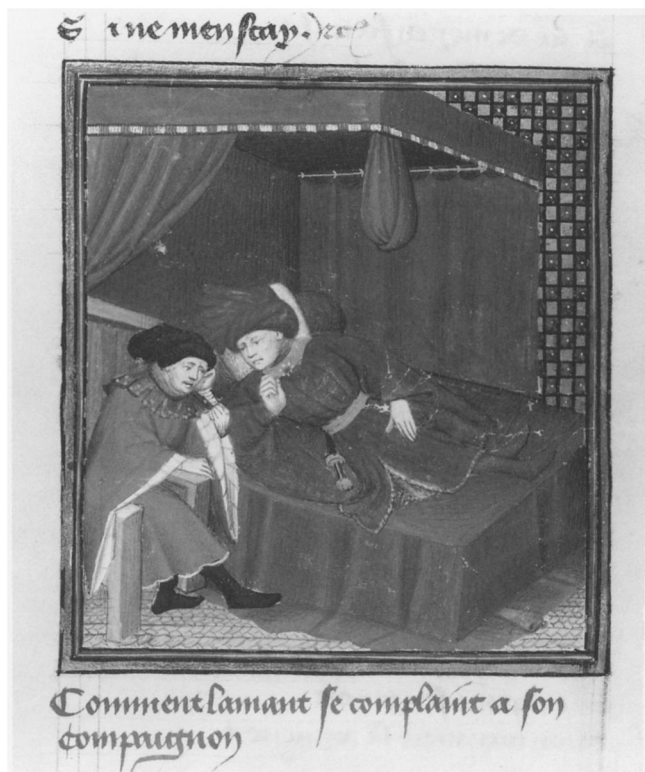
Fig. 3. Master of the *Cité des Dames*, "Complainte" of the duke.
Christine de Pizan, *Livre de duc des vrais amans*. London, BL, MS
Harley 4431, fol. 154v.

Fig. 4. Rhenish(?) artist, 1st virtue: David and Solomon. Pierre
Salmon's *Dialogues*. Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 23279, fol. 8.
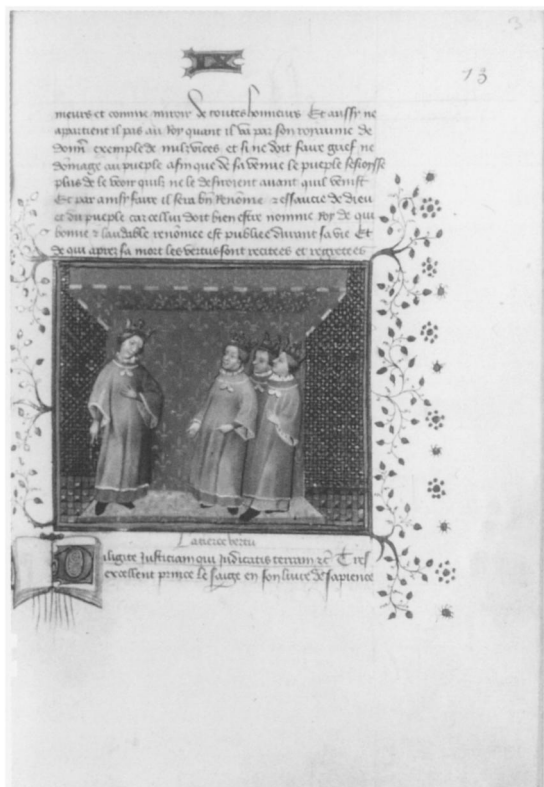
Fig. 5. Rhenish(?) artist, 3rd virtue: Solomon and successors.
Pierre Salmon's *Dialogues*. Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 23279, fol. 13.

Fig. 6. Master of the *Cité des Dames*, 2nd virtue: Charles VI enthroned.
Pierre Salmon's *Dialogues*. Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 23279, fol. 9.

king have to be blessed by God and in the world, and by which men should he be accompanied and served?) and Salmon's answer, about fifty folia of advice on good kingship.[16] Analysis of this advice has dominated the sparse literature on this text. When the image is considered, it becomes clear that it refers to Charles's lament and illness more than to any genuine court conversation. Given the proclivity of royalist manuscripts to present positive images of the king, the picture is significant because it comes as close to a visual allusion to Charles's illness as royalist imagery will allow.

Salmon's advice is sparsely illustrated. The only other miniatures in the first half of the manuscript accompany the three virtues that Salmon presents as desired in the ideal Christian king. These pictures derive from the opening lines of their text and cast ideal French kingship in a biblical frame. The first virtue (fig. 4), to fear and love God perfectly, is illustrated by an image of the biblical kings David and Solomon, with attributes of harp and book, placed here in part because the text begins with a quotation from Ecclesiastes, a book attributed to Solomon, son of David. The third virtue (fig. 5), to be just and preserve justice in the realm, is illustrated by an image of Solomon lecturing to kings. This picture derives from the words below it describing how Solomon in his Book of Wisdom admonished kings to love and desire justice. Not only does the style in which illustrations of the first and third virtues are painted link them visually, but their placement under French fleurs-de-lis canopies trimmed in red and white also associates these Old Testament kings with Charles's royal French ancestors who are positive models.[17]

By contrast the image illustrating the second virtue (fig. 6), to know and love the state of royal dignity, is of a strikingly different character. Its text begins with a generic description of a ruler's regalia, employed as a mnemonic device for recalling abstract virtues that contribute to the royal dignity. For example, Salmon tells the king that the royal crown signifies that he should shine in wisdom among all his realm. In the picture, the mnemonic process of concretizing goes one step further; it is not just any king, but Charles VI himself who is enthroned in majesty holding a scepter and golden orb, crowned and dressed in fleurs-de-lis robes under a red canopy lined with fleurs-de-lis and decorated with Charles's personal colors and leafy branches.

Subject and style make this picture resonate, independently of its text, with others in Part I. Because Charles VI is sandwiched ahistorically

Fig. 7. Boucicaut Master, Salmon presents his manuscript to Charles VI. Pierre Salmon's *Dialogues*. Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 23279, fol. 1v (detail).

between representations of the Old Testament kings David and Solomon and of Solomon and his descendants, the visual cycle merges biblical past and present French kingship. At the same time, David, Solomon, and their descendents are differentiated from Charles VI by the style in which they are painted. The image of Charles as an embodiment of the second virtue, royal dignity, is stylistically related to the scene of conversation between Salmon and Charles that began Part I, in which Charles VI asserts his desire to affirm the royal dignity. Such conscious manipulations of style and subject in the moralizing portion of Salmon's *Dialogues* reinforce for the mad king the hope that he will recover if he follows the moral precepts offered by Salmon.

Presentations

The pair of presentation scenes by the Boucicaut Master that begin the manuscript's prologue and Part III (figs. 7 and 8) are set in an undefined moment after the text is completed, when the newly healed king is restored to the royal dignity.[18] In these images, Salmon presents Charles VI with the book that documents Salmon's and others' roles in his healing. Placed at the beginning of the prologue to the manuscript as a whole and the beginning of Part III, they are clearly two variations on a theme. Their shared style and iconography aid the reader in associating sections of text and in extending the image of royal dignity established in Part I.[19]

These scenes of presentation emphasize the connection between the ideal outlined in Parts I and
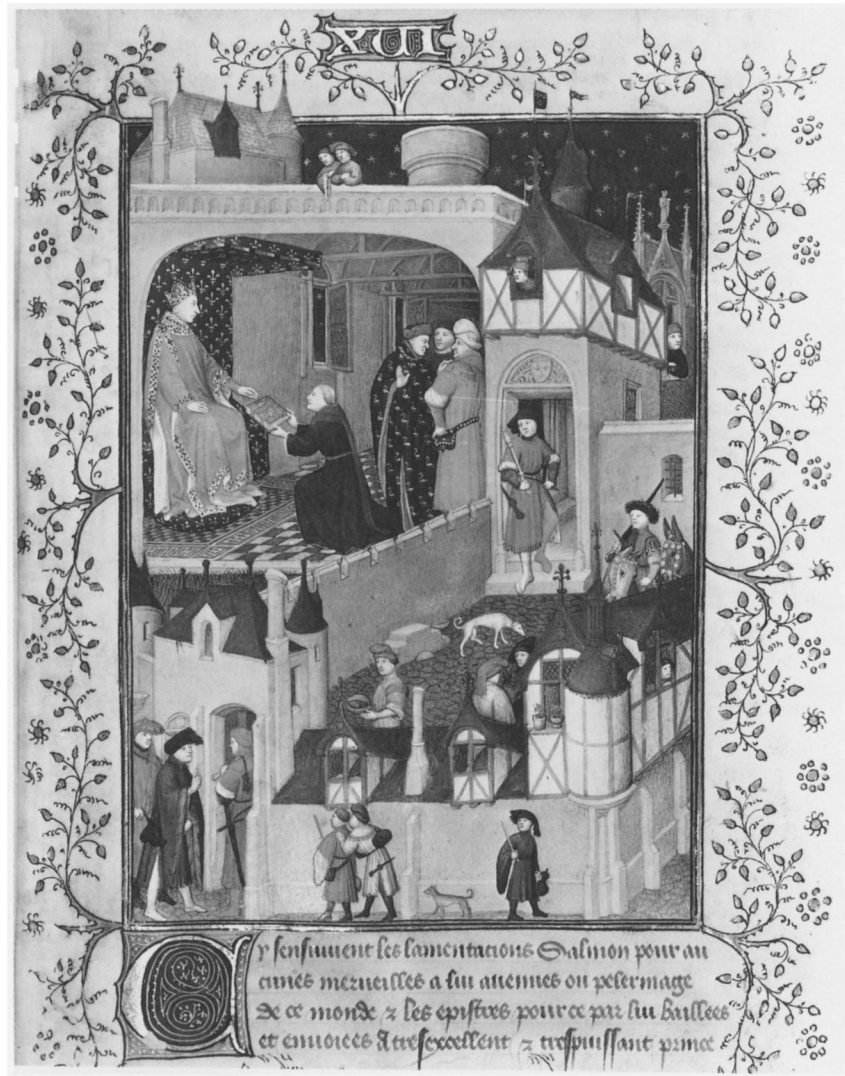
Fig. 8. Boucicaut Master, Salmon presents his manuscript to Charles VI. Pierre Salmon's *Dialogues*.
Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 23279, fol. 53.

II and the reality that is the subject of Part III. In the image from the manuscript's prologue (fig. 7), Salmon presents his book to Charles VI in the presence of Charles's cousin, Duke John the Fearless of Burgundy, whose pose seems to reflect an official portrait and who wears a *houppelande* covered with his emblems of the carpenter's plane and level.[20] Within a space plastered with the king's devices (the fleurs-de-lis, motto, branches of broom and green leaves, colors and peacock), Salmon's phylactery contains a text, "viscera tua replebuntur volumine isto," paraphrased from Ezek. 3:3, "And he said to me, 'Son of man, eat this scroll that I give you and fill your stomach with it.'"[21]

The inclusion of a Latin biblical quotation in the first scene of presentation may derive from a venerable model in the royal library, Charles V's copy of the French translation by Nicole Oresme of Aristotle's *Ethica Nicomachea* (The Hague, Meermanno-Westree-nianum, MS 10-D-1).[22] This manuscript contains a frontispiece to the translator's prologue that shows Oresme presenting his book to Charles V as they converse in Latin biblical paraphrases about the moral value of learning.[23] In her analysis of this illumination, Claire Sherman draws attention to the unique character of the Latin inscriptions on the banderoles, which served to enhance the authority of Oresme's translation, placing additional emphasis on the educational purpose of the manuscript and on the relationship between king and translator.

Differences in Salmon's visual allusion to Oresme's formulation clarify the altered relationship between "author" and king in Salmon's *Dialogues* and the different function of the manuscript. Charles VI

was not an active participant in the production of Salmon's *Dialogues*, and he is silent during the painted presentation. Salmon's selection of a Latin text traditionally glossed as referring to biblical study establishes both the authority of the material contained within the manuscript and its memorial nature.[24] Charles is urged to "devour" Salmon's text and place it in the storehouse of his memory.

The second miniature of presentation was painted by the Boucicaut Master to begin Part III (fig. 8). It echoes the prologue's illustration within a bustling scene of the royal palace. In an upper room, three nobles, including the king's uncle, Duke John of Berry, who wears a black robe covered with swans, converse while Salmon presents his manuscript to Charles VI.[25] Fleurs-de-lis decorate pennons flying from the palace, are carved over the door, and cover the king's throne, *dossier*, and *ciel*. The canopy of the *ciel* is fringed with Charles's colors, and court officials wear the king's livery. The bustle of activity in this scene presents Charles VI as an engaged king and gives the presentation a more narrative turn that makes it harmonize with the active scenes that fill Part III.

The pair of vivid scenes of presentation are constructed memorial images that associate the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry with the royal presence and reflect the structure of the government in 1409. Despite their apparent realism, which has led some scholars to try to identify the settings within the Hôtel Saint-Pol,[26] they neither commemorate the historical presentation of Salmon's text nor document patronage by the Dukes of Burgundy or Berry, who are given different emphases in the two presentations. Like the represented conversations, these vivid pictures incorporate clothing and tapestries similar to those inventoried in Charles's collection to capture the attention of Charles VI and clarify the function of the manuscript. They associate and contrast Parts I and II with Part III, and also present an image of Charles VI's court in the future, after the healing implicit at the end of Salmon's text has taken place and Charles has regained his royal dignity.[27]

The texts that the presentations accompany associate Salmon with the king and provide insight into Salmon's perception of their relationship and his understanding of the book's function. The prologue to the manuscript as a whole makes it clear that Salmon is a loyal subject who presents the king with a gift that he hopes Charles will glance through and read from time to time.[28] In the prologue, Salmon

compares the king to God, whose type he is on earth, and himself to David. He then describes how the book will record what he accomplished and learned during the king's service and expresses the hope that those who read it will benefit in body and in soul and that in the future people will be able to say about Charles what they said about Solomon when he was crowned king in Jerusalem, "Vivat, vivat rex in eternum," which Salmon glosses as living and reigning well in this world so as to deserve eternal joy in the next. In contrast, the second image of presentation (fig. 8) is preceded by a royal letter establishing that the king ordered Salmon to visit and advise him and requested that Salmon bring transcriptions of the letters Salmon had written in Charles's service so that Charles could "grasp, understand, and keep" them.[29]

Pictures of conversation and presentation in Salmon's first version of the *Dialogues* are particularly memorable images. Associated by style, composition, and the evocation of palpable space, they do more than just illustrate their texts. They shade and guide the king's experience of the *Dialogues* and exploit naturalism to establish the fiction that Charles VI's conversations with Salmon were real. They shape a memory for a king whose grasp on reality was fragile.

The elaborate construction that Salmon created in the first version of his *Dialogues* seems to have been a communications failure. No copies were ever made of the manuscript and Salmon himself began a revised and updated version of the text within three years, a version which strove for greater clarity and simplicity in both text and image. The new version still placed a strong emphasis on visual images and memory, but it relied more heavily on words to make the connection evident. In this version, pictures served to make the *Dialogues* present or palpable to an expanded audience, for the revised version of Salmon's text was not only for the mad king, but equally for his son, Louis of Guyenne, who governed in the king's mental "absence."

In the second version of the *Dialogues*, Salmon changed Parts I and II minimally, extensively revised Part III, and added Part IV, a new treatise on virtue and vice (see Appendix II). In moving from his first to his second version, Salmon consciously manipulated the text, both to address the intensified crisis in government and to reach a broader audience. The prologue of Salmon's first version had made clear that Charles VI was the principal audience in 1409 and that Salmon had offered the book as a gift to the king. In the second version, by contrast, virtually every refer-
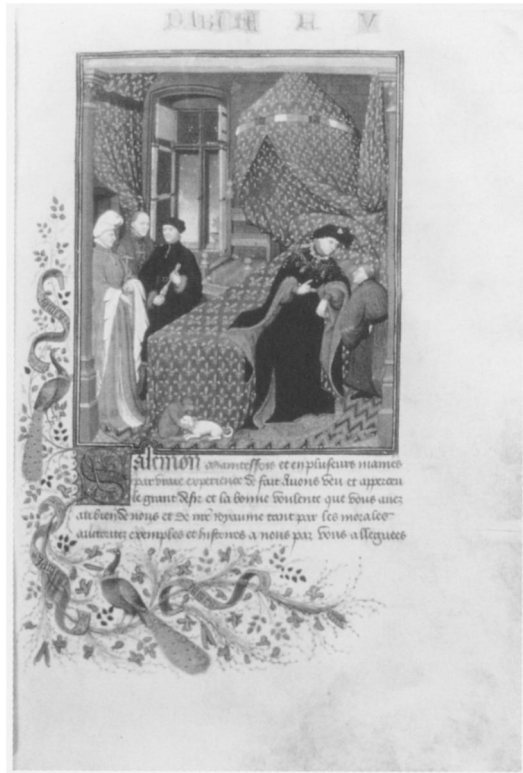
Fig. 9. Boucicaut Master, Salmon in conversation with Charles VI. Pierre Salmon's *Dialogues*. Geneva, Bibl. publique et universitaire, ms. 165, fol. 4.
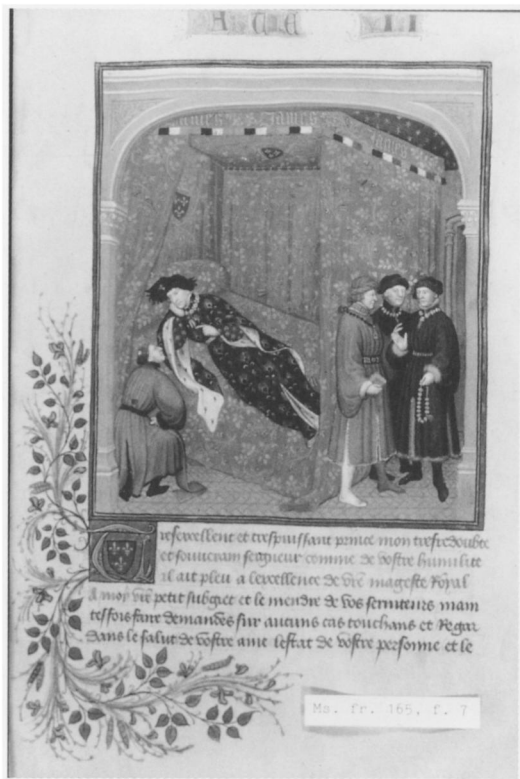
Fig. 10. Boucicaut Master, Salmon in conversation with Charles VI. Pierre Salmon's Dialogues. Geneva, Bibl. publique et universitaire, ms. 165, fol. 7.

ence to audiences alludes to multiple listeners and readers, "those who read and hear" the book, and the prologue presents the book as a royal commission, perhaps to enhance its authority in the eyes of its expanded readership.

As the segment most heavily edited between the first and the second versions of the text, Part III played a central role in establishing the changed focus of Salmon's second version of the *Dialogues*. Salmon eliminated the narrative sections of Part III, pared down the number of transcribed letters, and added two new letters. A collection of seven letters and one speech dating from 1409–1411 resulted from his revisions, and these were introduced by extensive explanatory rubrics that interpreted or provided historical contexts for them. The most striking example of the transformation that his revision allowed is the rubric to the fourth document copied in Part III: Salmon's transcription of his speech before the Duke of Burgundy, which had ended the first version of the *Dialogues*.[30] In the new rubric, Salmon added to the information provided in the first copy by describing how he had asked the pope to pray for the good health of the king, the Dauphin Louis of Guyenne, Queen Isabeau, and the Princes of the Blood, "in short," as Salmon puts it, "for the good government of the realm."[31]

Such textual revisions are a response to a changed historical situation, but they also suggest that the first version of Salmon's *Dialogues* had failed in its goal to communicate with the mad king. Its pictures had failed also. Just as the text was streamlined and its message made more explicit in Salmon's second version, so were its pictures. Salmon abandoned the device of manipulating style to convey meaning, which had been employed in the first version, and he made images less independent of their texts. Despite these changes in visual formulation, illustrations made an important contribution to constructing meaning in Salmon's second version of the *Dialogues*. They were particularly useful in redirecting Salmon's advice to enable Salmon to address the king and simultaneously to be heard by those who might guarantee "the good government of the realm."

Restaging conversations

Both Salmon and the Boucicaut Master, who painted this version, were familiar with the earlier manuscript and sought through textual emendation and pictorial revision to rewrite it. Pictures rework scenes from the

Fig. 11. Master of the Chronique scandaleuse, Salmon presents his manuscript to Charles VI. Pierre Salmon's *Dialogues*. Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 9610, fol. 1.

first manuscript in order to make the experience of them even more vivid to the forgetful king and young dauphin. Images copied from the first version are particularly useful for revealing the emphasis of Salmon's second version (cf. figs. 9 and 10 with 1 and 2). In the second *Dialogues*, pictures manipulate iconography and compositions from the earlier manuscript to allow readers to eavesdrop on conversations.

Scenes of conversation in Salmon's second manuscript visually supplant those in the earlier book. In these images, the Boucicaut Master deepens and clarifies space by the oblique position of the bed and the addition of visual details such as windows, doorways, rugs, or a chair. The new images were altered subtly to focus even more intently on the conversation. For example, the second conversation scene in Salmon's second manuscript (fig. 10) drew on its model (fig. 1) for the basic composition, the bold orange-red of the bed hangings, and the colors of the robes of the three courtiers at the foot of the bed. The bed curtains are drawn to screen out the spectators in the image, enhancing the intimacy of Salmon's conversation with the king.

Like the painted conversation, all royal emblems are confined to the intimate space within the *lit de parement*. Even the decoration of the initial that begins the text below emphasizes the private dialogue represented in the miniature. Salmon's opening words to Charles begin with an elaborate initial decorated with French arms, from which branches of broom and green leaves escape into the margins. This unusual initial duplicates the coat-of-arms and foliage on the cloth ceiling and drapes of the king's bed. The initial's decoration acts almost like the signs and symbols that match gloss to text in a scholastic manuscript; it infuses Salmon's words, preserved in the text just below the image, into the represented intimate space of Salmon's conversation with the king.[32] Text and image together thus make a conversation come alive, constructing a memory for Charles and enabling other listeners and readers to overhear a private royal conversation.

The first conversation scene from the prologue to Part I relates to its model more loosely, perhaps to enable it to allude to the now-lost frontispiece to the manuscript's prologue, dimly preserved in the later
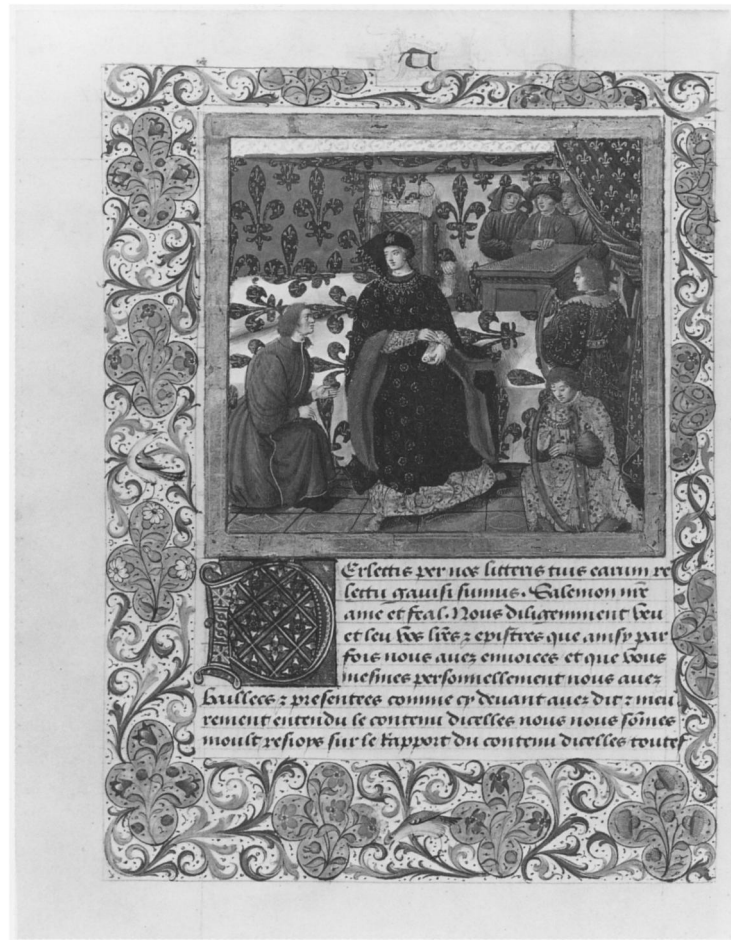
Fig. 12. Master of the *Chronique scandaleuse*, Salmon kneels before the king as musicians play. Pierre Salmon's *Dialogues*. Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 9610, fol. 71v.

copy.[33] The new image of dialogue (fig. 9) alludes to the prologue's lost picture (fig. 11) by repeating the fleurs-de-lis bed hangings and wall tapestry and the distinctive monkey that embraces a dog.[34] It simultaneously "rewrites" Salmon's first version (fig. 2) by preserving the juxtaposition of John the Fearless, who holds a hammer, and a member of the Orléans family, who holds a crossbow bolt, both of whom stand with John of Berry on the opposite side of the *lit de parement*.[35]

Changes emphasize the privacy of the conversation and the reader's ability to be present at it. The strong diagonal of the bed reinforces Salmon's special access to Charles more effectively than in the model, and the reversal of the composition and unusually elaborate text initial again equate the represented conversation with the recorded text. In this case, Charles is on the left speaking to Salmon, enabling the conversation to flow in the same direction as the words below. The sprays of peacock feathers, leafy branches, and broom embroidered around Charles's

shoulders correspond to the unusually flamboyant decoration of the initial below, perhaps to infuse the recorded dialogue of the text into the image.

A third image (fig. 12), excised but known through the later copy, is a distinctive variation on prior scenes of conversation. This picture and its text emphasize the importance of written memory for a king who would not recover. The text of Part III begins with a letter from Salmon to Charles VI in which Salmon promotes the written word as the locus of memory. He describes how he preferred to speak with Charles with his knees bent before Charles's majesty, but that since he was often far away or denied access to the king, he had written letters to give the king *memoire et souvenance* of the things they contained and to urge Charles to put them into effect. Within the text, Charles responded that for his own consolation he would like Salmon to proceed with his work until it was completed.

The illustration stresses the king's frailty and the importance of the letters transcribed in the

manuscript. Revising prior conversation scenes, the image contrasts Salmon's access to the king with others' exclusion from their conversation. The group of courtiers are isolated out of earshot on the other side of the bed, where music would drown out murmured words. Salmon and Charles VI both hold scrolls as visual references to the letters Salmon sent to the king and which were transcribed in Part III.

Like the other scenes of conversation, this picture is grounded in reality but enriched by visual tradition. Harpists like those represented in the picture existed at the French court and were favored by the Dauphin Louis of Guyenne.[36] However the image also makes an unmistakable visual allusion to Charles's madness by recalling innumerable Old Testament images in which David soothes King Saul's evil spirits by playing the harp.

Revising presentations

Salmon's second *Dialogues* contains only one scene of presentation, which derives from both presentations in the first version and illustrates the prologue to the manuscript as a whole. Its composition and subject are known through the later copy (fig. 11), which deletes all the early fifteenth-century political devices and emblems. Though much is lost in the copy, it reveals that the frontispiece to the Geneva manuscript of 1412–1415 combined the diagonal setting, the grouping of three nobles behind Salmon, and the courtly bustle of the second frontispiece of the early manuscript (fig. 8) with the close focus and contrast between the *ciel* and fleurs-de-lis tapestry of the earlier manuscript's first frontispiece (fig. 7).

A telling detail retained in the copy clarifies Salmon's different conception of the second version of his *Dialogues*. In the image, Salmon presents the king with a book wrapped in a chaplet of leaves or flowers. The prologue below the miniature suggests that the chaplet is a reference to the quality of the manuscript as a *florilegium*: "[I] was authorized to take and gather in many and diverse gardens and especially in the orchards of those...who share willingly and made a little chaplet of it to give and present to him who ordered and requested me to make this book."[37] Unlike the first version, where the quotation from Ezekiel urged Charles VI to take and devour the manuscript—to actively ruminate upon it in his memory—this preface and image present the book as predigested for the king by Salmon, and it may direct special attention toward Part IV, the new section of

Salmon's text that comes closest to being an authentic *florilegium*.[38] As is typical of illustrations from the second version of the *Dialogues*, the picture is a concrete representation of more abstract ideas already stated in the text.

In their diverse ways, both text and image of Salmon's second version of the *Dialogues* acknowledge the royal situation after 1412. Charles was not going to recover fully from his "absence"; for him the writings of authors like Salmon were both a source of consolation and a means of remembering past events. For other members of the government—most notably the Dauphin Louis of Guyenne—they were an education in kingship, presented in such a way that the dauphin could be taught good government by the example of his "absent" father.

Salmon's attempts at communication reflected his knowledge of the political situation at the royal court. The structure of his *Dialogues* was influenced by the practice of viewing kingship as localized in both an individual (Charles VI) and a broader group that included the dauphin, a practice that enabled the Dauphin Louis of Guyenne to stand for his father in the government. The achievement of Salmon's text and the Boucicaut Master's pictures in the final version of the *Dialogues* lay in their ability to offer advice to both the "absent" king and to the dauphin, who ruled in the king's absence and was expected to rule after his death. Salmon's solution has interesting analogies with the political concept of the "king's two bodies," which was fully developed long after these manuscripts were made.[39] The shift in focus between 1409 and 1412–1415 in Salmon's illustrated *Dialogues* could be seen as an attempt on Salmon's part to look toward the future. The final version of his illustrated text is more overtly aimed at one of the two royal bodies. It was not made exclusively for the individual king, who could be ill and incapacitated, but for the corporate kingship that never dies.

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Appendix I

Text and illustration of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. 23279

FPM denotes a full-page miniature

Text

PROLOGUE (fols. 1–4v)

Outlines three-part division of text and gives incipits.

PART I (fols. 5–18v)

Charles VI asks Salmon to define the qualities of a king blessed by God and to define the qualities a king should seek in his counsellors. Prefaced by a section where Charles describes the situation in France, intertwining his own mental illness and the schism. Structured as a series of questions and answers.

PART II (fols. 19–52)

Charles VI asks Salmon what he should know to be a true Catholic and Salmon answers, addressing topics that range from Creation to the Last Judgment. Toward the end, Salmon refers again to contemporary problems, stressing Charles's character as "Most Christian King" who should defend, guard, and augment the Church and should learn from past examples, many of whom are Old Testament kings cured by God of illness after listening to prophets. Structured as a series of questions and answers.

PART III (fols. 52v–121)

This section documents efforts by Salmon and others to help Charles become the ideal Christian king. Transcriptions of one speech and of twenty-nine letters written to and received from the king, the Princes of the Blood, government officials, popes, and the Council General at Pisa, which sought to end the schism, are interwoven with a narrative of the years 1394–1409 that describes Salmon's travels in search for a cure for Charles's illness and Salmon's contribution to French efforts to end the schism. Part III ends with the presumed resolution of the schism and the promise of Charles VI's cure; the Council of Pisa deposes Popes Urban and Benedict and elects Pope Alexander V, and Salmon persuades Duke John of Burgundy to write to Pope Alexander, requesting that he send a doctor who would be able to heal Charles VI's madness.

Illustration

PROLOGUE

1. fol. 1v Salmon presents his manuscript to Charles VI

PART I

2. fol. 5 Salmon in conversation with Charles VI

3. fol. 8 1st Virtue: David and Solomon

4. fol. 9 2nd Virtue: Charles VI enthroned

5. fol. 13 3rd Virtue: Solomon and successors

PART II

6. fol. 19 Salmon in conversation with Charles VI

PART III

7. fol. 53 Salmon presents his manuscript to Charles VI

8. fol. 54 FPM French and English assemble at Calais

9. fol. 55 Richard II speaks secretly to Salmon

10. fol. 57v Salmon acts as courier between England and France

11. fol. 58v Salmon talks to the Duke of Burgundy; the duke sends a cleric to England; Salmon presents him to Richard II

12. fol. 59v Richard II talks to Salmon; King Richard and Queen Isabel ride away

13. fol. 60v Salmon before Richard II

14. fol. 61v Salmon converses with Queen Isabel's confessor

15. fol. 64v FPM Salmon arrested; Salmon saves Charles VI from drowning

16. fol. 65 FPM Salmon confesses; Richard II rides toward heaven

17. fol. 67 Salmon goes to the chapel of the Virgin at Utrecht

18. fol. 69 FPM Salmon delivers a letter to Charles VI

19. fol. 70 Salmon delivers a letter to Duke Louis of Orléans

20. fol. 72v Salmon asks permission of Charles VI to go to Rome

21. fol. 74 FPM Salmon delivers letters to Pedro de la Luna

22. fol 75v Salmon delivers letters to Charles VI and to Duke John of Berry

23. fol. 81 FPM Salmon meets the Carthusian in Avignon

24. fol. 102 FPM Salmon presents letters to King Louis d'Anjou in Tarascon

25. fol. 115v FPM Salmon speaks before Pope Alexander V

26. fol. 117v Salmon speaks to Maître Héyle

27. fol. 119 FPM Salmon speaks to Duke John the Fearless

Appendix II

Text and illustration of Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, ms. 165

The subjects of miniatures excised from this manuscript are reconstructed by comparison with a later copy (Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 9610) and are placed within brackets.

HI denotes historiated initials

Text

PROLOGUE (excised page—fol. 1)

Introduces parts I and II and explains that Salmon assembled there the *demandes* which Charles VI had made in times past regarding "the praise of God, the salvation of your soul and body, and the *bien commun* of your realm" with his responses

PART I (fols. 1–23)

Close to that in Salmon's first version. Some examples are fleshed out and others condensed, but there is little change of meaning in the revisions. Structured as a series of questions and answers.

PART II (fols. 23–77)

Part II is close to that in Salmon's first version. It subdivides the text into seven chapters, each with its own rubric and illustration. Insignificant alterations to the text include changes in wording and omissions of a line or two. At the end is a newly written chapter (fols. 72–77) that describes the miracles Christ did for his people and emphasizes the transitory nature of human glory and the destruction of earthly kingdoms. It ends with the hope that Charles, heeding the information in the treatise, would reign eternally with God in heaven. Structured as a series of questions and answers.

PART III (fols. 78–104)

This section is radically restructured both in pictures and in text. The text is structured as a collection of letters and one speech from 1409–1411, accompanied by extensive explanatory rubrics that either interpret the "documents" or provide explanatory contexts for them. The introductory rubric separates the documents into two groups. The first (fols. 78–80) is a justification for the collection and a legitimation of it; Salmon's letter to Charles VI claims that the book is designed to give the king *mémoire et souvenance,* and the king's letter to Salmon authorizes him to proceed with it. The second group is a historical collection, comprised of four letters present in the first version of the *Dialogues* (but radically revised) and two letters written in 1410 and 1411, in which Salmon addressed the king and Princes of the Blood asking them to stop the civil war and also announced his withdrawal from the world and his fabrication for Charles of a book and a treatise (a reference to the manuscript itself and to the treatise that comprises Part IV).

PART IV (fols. 104 bis–258)

This describes Salmon's retirement to a solitary place and records his laments and complaints against Fortune. He prays for understanding and is rewarded by the appearance of three queens (Reason, Faith, and Hope), who engage him in dialogue (fols. 107–145v) in order to convince him that his condition was caused by sin, not Fortune. Finally convinced, Salmon pays homage to reason and is presented with a tablet of vices and virtues and an enormous treatise on them that fills the rest of the manuscript (fols. 146–258).

Illustration

PROLOGUE

1. fol. lacks
[Salmon presents book to Charles VI]

PART I

2. fol. 4 Salmon converses with Charles VI
3. fol. 7 Salmon converses with Charles VI

PART II

4. fol. lacks after fol. 23
[Trinity enthroned; HI Salmon and Charles VI]
5. fol. 34 HI Creation of Adam
6. fol. 44 HI Nativity
7. fol. 51 HI Last Supper
8. fol. 54 HI Hell
9. fol. 62v HI Antichrist
10. fol. 66v HI David in Prayer
11. fol. 72 HI French King in Prayer

PART III

12. fol. 78 HI Salmon at desk
13. fol. lacks after fol. 79
[Salmon with scroll kneels by king; musicians flank them and courtiers are behind a table]
14. fol. lacks after fol. 89
[Salmon before enthroned Duke of Burgundy]
15. fol. 95 HI Salmon with king
16. fol. 100v HI Salmon writing in study; sheep outside

PART IV

17. fol. lacks after fol. 104
[Salmon in prayer before an altar; outside, shepherd sleeps while wolf carries off sheep]
18. fol. lacks after fol. 107
[Salmon in study listens to Queens Reason, Faith, and Hope; outside, a man kneels before a lion and a second man switches a dog]
19. fol. 109v HI Salmon by lectern with standing queens
20. fol. 110 HI Seated Salmon with standing queens
21. fol. 114v HI Seated Salmon with standing queens
22. fol. 117 HI Seated Salmon with standing queens

Notes

I am pleased to offer this article in Lilian Randall's honor. She has been a generous scholar and a friend to me for almost twenty years: beginning with my first foray into manuscripts and first visit to the Walters Art Gallery when I was an undergraduate, continuing through my graduate career, and brief employment at the Walters to my appointment as a professor. I hope that she will see in my analysis of Salmon's work some influence of her example and of our past conversations about manuscript studies.

1. See F. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Chicago, 1966) and M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), who concentrate on classical, scholastic, and humanistic texts. Among the most successful recent studies analyzing memory structures in vernacular literary manuscripts are S. Huot, "Visualization and Memory: The Illustrations of Troubadour Lyric in a Thirteenth-Century Manuscript," *Gesta*, 31 (1992), 3–14 and S. Hagen, *Allegorical Remembrance: A Study of "The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man" as a Medieval Treatise on Seeing and Reading* (Athens, Ga., 1990).

2. Salmon does not provide a title for his work. Crapelet, the editor of Parts I and III of the first version of Salmon's text (Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 23279), was the first to give it a title. See P. Salmon, *Les demandes faites par le roi Charles VI touchant son état et le gouvernement de sa personne, avec les réponses de Pierre Salmon, son secrétaire et familier,* ed. G.-A. Crapelet (Paris, 1833). Charles Sterling employed Crapelet's title for Salmon's second version (Geneva, Bibl. publique et universitaire, ms. 165) and called the first version *Réponses à Charles VI et lamentation au roi sur son état.* See C. Sterling, *La peinture médiévale à Paris, 1300–1500,* I (Paris, 1987), 360–69. Since the over-riding form of both versions of the text is the dialogue, I have adopted this as a title.

3. What I will discuss here is only tangentially related to the kinds of structures that Carruthers, in particular, describes. Salmon, who became a "maistre en theologie" in 1398, would doubtlessly have been aware of memory aids, but they are used in a scattered fashion and only in the first copy of Salmon's *Dialogues*. One image, fig. 6 discussed below, elaborates visually on the mnemonic structure of

its text, and a second constructs a particularly frightful and haunting opening to communicate the central point of Part III of the *Dialogues.* For discussion of the latter, see A.D. Hedeman, "Pierre Salmon's Advice for a King," *Gesta*, 32 (1993), 116–17.

4. Numerous books chronicle the onslaught and progression of Charles VI's disease. Most notable among recent studies are F. Autrand, *Charles VI: la folie du roi* (Paris, 1986) and R. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue: Crisis at the Court of Charles VI 1392–1420* (New York, 1986). For additional discussion of the period, see J. d'Avout, *La querelle des Armagnacs et des Bourguignons* (Paris, 1943); B. Guenée, *Un meutre, une société: l'assassinat du duc d'Orléans, 23 novembre 1407* (Paris, 1992); E. Jarry, *La vie politique de Louis de France, duc d'Orléans 1372–1407,* (Paris, 1887); and M. Nordberg, *Les ducs et la royauté: Etudes sur la rivalité des ducs d'Orléans et de Bourgogne 1392–1407, Studia Historica Upsaliensia,* 12 (Uppsala, 1964).

5. For this, see Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue,* 1–21.

6. For Charles V's commissions, see J. Monfrin, "Les traducteurs et leurs publiques en France au Moyen-Age," *Journal des savants* (1964), 5–20; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *La librairie de Charles V* (Paris, 1968); *Les fastes du gothique: le siècle de Charles V,* exh. cat., Paris, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais (Paris, 1981); A.D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the "Grandes Chroniques de France," 1274–1422* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1991), 93–134; C.R. Sherman, *The Portraits of Charles V of France* (New York, 1969); and C.R. Sherman, *Imaging Aristotle: Verbal and Visual Representation in Fourteenth-Century France* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1995).

7. For a recent overview, see J. Krynen, *Idéal du prince et pouvoir royal en France à la fin du Moyen Age (1380–1440): étude de la littérature politique du temps* (Paris, 1981) and J. Krynen, *L'empire du roi: idées et croyances politiques en France XIII⁰-XV⁰ siècle* (Paris, 1993). More specific studies include: J. de Montreuil, *Opera,* ed. E. Ornato, G. Ouy, N. Pons, I–IV (Turin, 1963–1975 and Paris, 1981–1986); J. Gerson, *Oeuvres complètes,* ed. P. Glorieux, 10 vols. (Paris, 1960–1973); S. Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's "Épistre Othéa:" Painting and Politics at the Court of Charles VI* (Toronto, 1986); and, for extensive bibliography on editions and on diverse aspects of Christine de Pizan's writings, see M. Zimmermann and D. De Rentiis, eds., *The City of Scholars: New Approaches to Christine de Pizan* (Berlin, 1994).

8. Only the transcription of Parts I and III of Salmon's first version, Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 23279, is available in a critical edition. For it, see Salmon, *Les demandes*.

9. For discussion of Charles VI's emblems and devices, see C. Beaune, "Costume et pouvoir en France à la fin du Moyen Age: les devises royales vers 1400," *Revue des sciences humaines*, 183 (1981), 125–46; J.-B. de Vaivre, "A propos des devises de Charles VI," *Bulletin Monumental*, 141 (1983), 92–95. For the manipulation of devices and emblems in other manuscripts painted by the Master of the *Cité des Dames*, see Hindman, *Epistre Othéa*; and Hedeman, *Royal Image*, 153–77 and, for discussion of the use of realia in manuscript illustration, see S. Hindman, "The Iconography of Queen Isabeau of Bavaria: An Essay in Method," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 102 (1985), 102–110.

The hangings in the miniatures of conversation in the *Dialogues* echo objects recorded in inventories made after Charles VI's death. Compare, for instance, fig. 1 with this entry: "Item un banquier, ou dossier, de drap d'or et de soye, champ vermeil, bordé autour de satin vermeil, noir, et blanc, à tiges, cosses de genestres, et à ce mot: JAMAIZ." For these and others, see J.M. J. Guiffrey, "Inventaire des tapisseries du Roi Charles VI vendues par les anglais en 1422," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 48 (1887), 59–110 and 396–444, esp. 74.

10. For the Order of the Broom-Pod, see D'A.J.D. Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325–1520* (New York, 1987), 428–31.

11. For the identification of John the Fearless, see Hedeman, "Advice for a King," 114. For the association of the Orléans family and crossbow bolts, see H. David, *Philippe le Hardi, Duc de Bourgogne et co-régent de France de 1392 à 1404: Le train somptuaire d'un grand Valois* (Dijon, 1947), 81. David describes the record of a present given to Louis of Orléans by John the Fearless's father in 1394–1395: "Les habits qu'il offre à son neveu d'Orléans sont à l'insigne de l'arbelète, soit de brodice, soit d'or." For alternate views, see Sterling, *La peinture médiévale à Paris*, I, 363 (a *juge de camp*) and Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*, xvi–xvii (John, Lord of Hangest, Master of Crossbowmen from 1407–1411 and councillor and chamberlain to the king in 1408–1409). Famiglietti seems to reject the Orléans identification, of which he is aware, on the basis of the date of the manuscript.

12. On the *complainte* of the duke, see S. Hindman and S. Perkinson, "Insurgent Voices: Illuminated Versions of Christine de Pizan's *Le livre du Duc des vrais amans*," in Zimmermann and De Rentiis, eds., *The City of Scholars*, 221–31. For the text, see *The Book of the Duke of True Lovers*, trans. T. Fenster and N. Margolis (New York, 1991).

13. On this manuscript, see S. Hindman, "The Composition of the Manuscript of Christine de Pizan's Collected Works in the British Library: A Reassessment," *British Library Journal*, 9 (1983), 93–123. The parallel in iconography between the illustrations of Salmon's conversations and the duke's *complainte* was suggested to me by both Sandra Hindman and Nadia Margolis, and I would like to thank them.

14. For discussion of the *complainte* as a literary form, see M. Zimmermann, "Vox Femina, Vox Politica: The *Lamentation sur les maux de la France*," in *Politics, Gender and Genre: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, ed. M. Brabant (Boulder, 1992), 113–28.

15. For the text, see Salmon, *Les demandes*, 12–19.

16. Ibid., 19–40.

17. Meiss attributes these two miniatures to a Rhenish artist. See M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of John de Berry: The Boucicaut Master* (London, 1968), 124.

18. Recent scholars have emphasized the fictional quality of presentation miniatures. See for example, B. Buettner, "Profane Illuminations, Secular Illusions: Manuscripts in Late Medieval Courtly Society," *Art Bulletin*, 74 (1992), 75–90.

19. For an earlier discussion of the use of these images to associate portions of text, see Hedeman, "Advice for a King."

20. Meiss first suggested that an earlier model probably lay behind the portrait of John the Fearless in the frontispiece to the *Livre des merveilles* (Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 2810, fol. 226), executed in 1411–1412. Sterling speculated that it may have copied an official portrait of the duke because of the duke's profile presentation and unusual hand gesture. See Meiss, *Boucicaut Master*, 39–40 and Sterling, *La peinture médiévale*, I, 374. For a reproduction of an early copy of the "official" portrait, see M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, II (New York, 1969), fig. 506.

21. For discussion of the miniature and for identification of the text as a paraphrase of Ezekiel, see Beaune, *Le miroir du pouvoir*, 23.

22. This manuscript was in the library at the Louvre until 1425. On its frontispiece, see Sherman, *The Portraits of Charles V*, 24–31 and Sherman, *Imaging Aristotle*, 57–59 and 313–15.

23. Sherman, *Imaging Aristotle*, 55–57 and fig. 10.

24. For the tradition of glossing this text, see Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, 161 and 167–68.

25. John of Berry wears a *houppelande* covered with his emblem of the swan. For discussion of this miniature, see Sterling, *La peinture médiévale*, I, 362 and M. Thomas, *The Golden Age: Manuscript Painting at the Time of John, Duke of Berry* (New York, 1979), 96–97.

26. Thomas, *Golden Age*, 96.

27. I do not think that the approach taken by Hindman in her analysis of the frontispiece to Christine de Pizan's collected works (in which she identified the objects portrayed in the miniature as representing real objects from Isabeau of Bavaria's collection and speculated that the image might be set in a specific room of the Hôtel Saint-Pol) is valid for the analysis of Salmon's frontispieces. Compare Hindman, "The Iconography of Queen Isabeau de Bavière."

28. On gifts, see M. Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W.D. Halls (London, 1990); N.Z. Davis, "Beyond the Market: Books as Gifts in Sixteenth-Century France," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 33 (1983), 69–88; and B. Buettner, "Ritualized Fictions: Gift Giving in Paris c. 1400," unpublished paper presented at College Art Association, San Antonio, 1995.

29. Salmon, *Les demandes*, 41: "Salmon, comme naguères par nos lettres patentes vous aions mandé venir par-devers nous pour aucunes causes dont pluseurs fois nous avons parlé et escript pour le bien de nous et de nostre royaume; pourquoy nous, derechief, vous mandons et commandons expressément et sans délay, ces lettres veues, toutes excusations cessans et arrières mises, vous venez pardevers nous pour nous bien informer et instruire de la matière dessusdicte, et nous mettez par escript icelle matière, ainsy que autrefois vous avons commandé, et en telle manière que nous la puissions bien concevoir et entendre, et gardez, sur la léauté que avez à nous, en ce n'y ait aucun deffault." This letter on fol. 52v follows the explicit to Part II on fol. 52 but is not listed as the incipit to Part III in the extended rubric to the prologue at the beginning of the manuscript on fols. 1–5. Nonetheless, its inclusion justifies the assemblage of material in Part III.

30. Geneva, Bibl. publique et universitaire, ms. 165, fols. 90–94v.

31. See Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 9610, fol. 80v, which provides the text

from the excised folio that followed fol. 89 in Geneva, Bibl. publique et universitaire, ms. 165.

32. Salmon draws on many aspects of the scholastic *mise-en-page*. For discussion of scholastic forms of glossing, see *Mise en page et mise en texte du livre manuscrit*, ed. H.-J. Martin and J. Vezin (Paris, 1990), esp. 289–316.

33. This book (Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 9610) is such a faithful copy of the Geneva manuscript that it can be used to reconstitute its original cycle and missing texts. The only difference between the Geneva manuscript and its copy of ca. 1500 is that emblems and devices particular to the time of Charles VI were not copied.

34. Monkeys and dogs like those pictured here were owned by the royal family. Surviving documents indicate that monkeys ran loose; Grandeau records a payment in 1397 to repair Charles VI's daughter Michelle's golden *hanap*, which a monkey had broken. See Y. Grandeau, "Les enfants de Charles VI: Essai sur la vie privée des princes et des princesses de la maison de France à la fin du moyen âge," *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1610) du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1967), 840 n. 5. Further, Hindman cites archival entries that document a gift of a gilded silver collar with Charles VI's device to his *lévrier Roulland*. Hindman, "Iconography of Queen Isabeau," 109 n. 30.

35. Thomas, *Golden Age*, 38 identifies the figure as John of Berry. He wears a blue robe sprinkled with branches of broom that blends visually with the fleurs-de-lis tapestry behind him. The scalloped edge of a red *liripipe* falls across his shoulders, framing his robe and evoking the arms of Berry: fleurs-de-lis sémés, a bordure engrelé gueules.

36. Documents survive from 1415 that refer to the "queen's harps" at the Hôtel Saint-Pol, Charles's preferred residence, and to the queen's having harps played for her children. See F. Bournon, "L'hôtel royal de Saint-Pol," *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France*, 6 (1879), 116–17. Grandeau said that the queen had musicians play for her children when they were indisposed or nervous, citing a document of 1403 (Paris, Archives national, KK 43, fol. 88v). See Grandeau, "Les enfants de Charles VI," 809–49.

A description of Louis of Guyenne after his death is particularly noteworthy in relation to this image. The Monk of Saint-Denis wrote, "On eût dit qu'il lui répugnait de paraître en publique car il s'enfermait ordinairement dans les endroits les plus retirés du palais avec quelques-uns de ses serviteurs, pour jouer de la harpe et de l'épinette..." See *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denys*, ed. M.L. Belleguet, V (Paris, 1844), 587.

37. Geneva, Bibl. publique et universitaire, ms. 165, fols. 2v–3: "...en ay si auctorisie de prendre et cueiller plusieurs fleurs en maintes et divers jardins et en especial es vergers de ceulx qui par leur courtoisie en donnant et departent voulentiers aux amans et en faire un petit chappelet pour le presenter et donner a cellui qui ceste presente euvre m'a ainsi commande et ordonne a faire."

38. On *florilegia*, see R. and M. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia, and Sermons: Studies in the "Manipulus Florum" of Thomas of Ireland*, Studies and Texts, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 47 (Toronto, 1979).

39. On the concept of the "king's two bodies," see E. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957).

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1, 2, 4–8, 11, 12, Paris, BNF; fig. 3, London, BL; figs. 9, 10, Geneva, Bibl. publique et universitaire.

Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative (Kortrijk, 1979), 149–53.

23. For the following discussion, see especially F.P. van Oostrom, *Court and Culture: Dutch Literature, 1350–1450* (Berkeley, 1992) (revised English translation of *Het woord van eer: Literatuur aan het Hollandse hof omstreeks 1400* [Amsterdam, 1987]) and Marrow, *Margaret of Cleves*, 5–10.

24. For the manuscripts, see Marrow, *Margaret of Cleves*, 8–9; for William the Confessor, Oostrom, *Court and Culture*, 266–67, 290–291, and now W. van Anrooij, "Nieuwe biographica over Willem de Biechtvader," *Ons geestelijk erf*, 69 (1995), 47–52; and for Dirc van Delft, Oostrom, *Court and Culture*, 172–218. For Duchess Margaret's piety, see also Marrow, *Margaret of Cleves*, 61–62.

25. For the original textual contents of the *Hours of Margaret of Cleves*, and the hypothesis that some of these were devised especially for use at the court chapel at The Hague, see Marrow, *Margaret of Cleves*, 19–22, 63, and 157–69.

26. See *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*, exh. cat., Utrecht, Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent and New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (Stuttgart and Zurich, 1989), 33–34, no. 4.

27. For the following, see Marrow, *Margaret of Cleves*, 55–59.

28. See *Golden Age*, nos. 45 and 46.

29. See A. Châtelet, *Jan van Eyck enlumineur: Les Heures de Turin et de Milan-Turin* (Strasbourg, 1993).

Making Connections in the Irregular Web of Manuscript Production of the Southern Netherlands

James Douglas Farquhar

Paradigms of manuscript production as a star or solar system describe artists working in a center and, in turn, becoming a center around which assistants, associates, and imitators are arrayed. Increasingly, this model, based on the creative artist and the atelier, has been shown to be inadequate as a means of describing the phenomena of manuscript production in the southern Netherlands, and in this article a different, less hierarchical model of communication and exchange is introduced.

The third volume of the Walters Art Gallery's monumental manuscript catalogue promises to bring information, order, and insight to what its author, Lilian Randall, a little bemusedly calls "the wild bunch," the manuscripts from the southern Netherlands. After she had analyzed with exceptional thoroughness and expertise the characteristics of the French manuscripts between 875 and 1420 (volume I) and between 1420 and 1540 (volume II, parts 1 and 2), the Walters manuscripts from the southern Netherlands seemed a breed apart, where expectations about practice and procedure often encountered the unexpected.

Although these manuscripts, like their French counterparts, coexist in a series of relationships formed by links of production, the connections among their producers, owners, and methods appear to be different in the southern Netherlands. The practice of manuscript production in the southern Netherlands creates difficulties for the codicologist and art historian. The traditional model of production as a star or solar system presented artists working in a center and, in turn, forming a center around which assistants, associates, and imitators are arrayed. Called by Delaissé the "aristocratic approach," this concept, based on the creative artist and the atelier, derives from an Italian Renaissance model of scholarship. Increasingly, it has been shown to be inadequate as a means of explaining the phenomena of manuscript production in the Netherlands. Another description

with more explanatory power is needed, if not to replace the traditional star metaphor of masters, ateliers, and centers, then to coexist alongside it and be used when appropriate.[1] Manuscript production might be more usefully reconfigured as a web—not the common orb web, recalling the solar system model in which concentric rings with a central hub are connected by radii, but the maze like web with irregular intersections woven by certain families of spiders.[2] Both the orb and the irregular web analogies
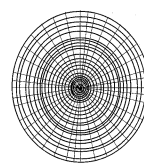
provide means to link styles, relate patterns, and note variations, changes, exchange, and degrees of borrowing and influence, but the irregular web allows the historian to take account of some of the apparent anomalies, the more variable and contingent, less centrifugal relationships. As a heuristic device the irregular web is also flexible enough to accommodate the market and users of the manuscripts, an empirical domain that is difficult to integrate into the more prescriptive star model.

The study of production calls for an integrative approach on the part of the specialist, who is ultimately faced with the problem of reconstructing a web of relationships and significance from a set of practices.[3] Each web model can be used to represent manuscript culture of this period as a mode of communication, but I contend that the irregular web provides a more flexible conceptual tool, a model that allows the historian to identify, understand, and explain more fully. Extending forward and backward in time, it offers a less hierarchical way of conceptualizing the relationships of the producers and allows for constant renewal; it may be rewoven or reconstituted with
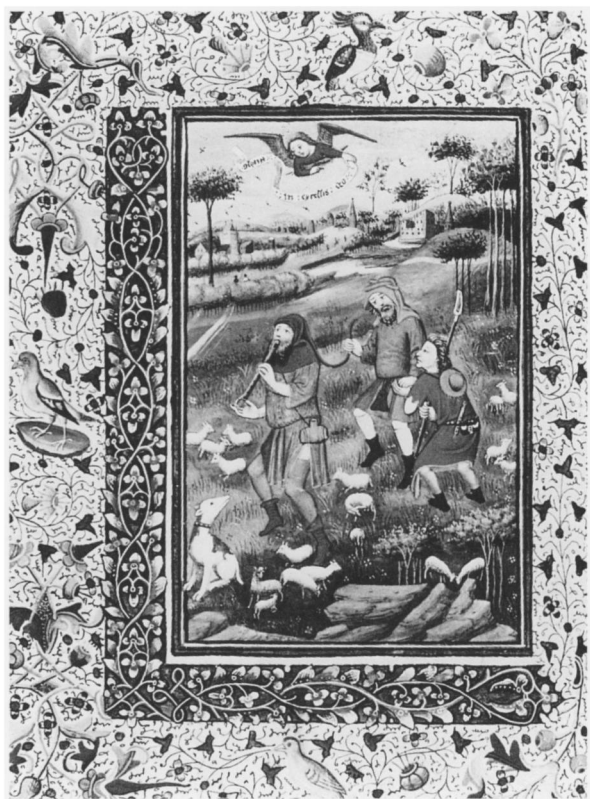
Fig. 1. Annunciation to the Shepherds. Book of hours. Brussels, Bibl. royale, ms. 9798, fol. 61v.
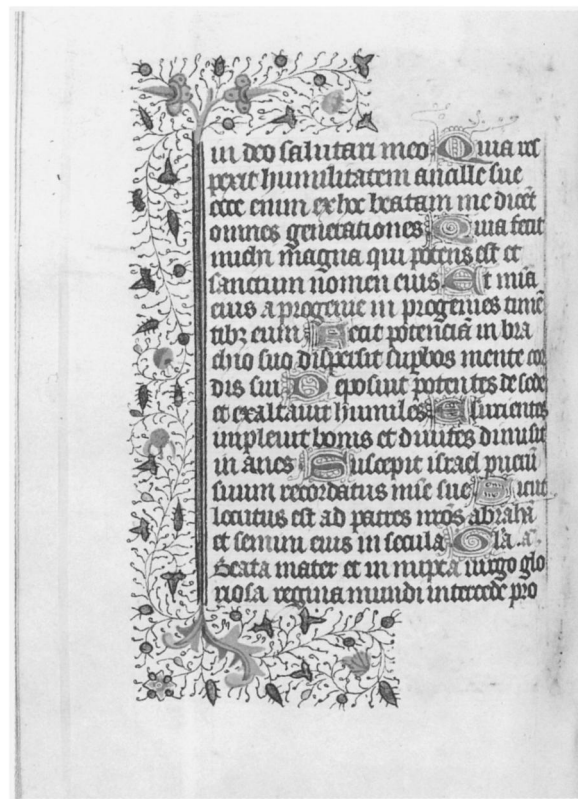
Fig. 2. Text borders and penwork initials. Book of hours. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.282, fol. 69v.

additions and subtractions whenever circumstances influencing production change, as artisans enter the profession, travel, retire, become ill, break working relationships, or have other commitments.

The purpose of this article is to illustrate how the metaphor of an irregular web may be applied to manuscript production, using MS W.282, one of the Walters's "wild bunch," as the point of reference. The manuscript is a book of hours (Rome use, Office of the Dead: Sarum use). Included within its 128 folios and nineteen miniatures are five miniatures and 26 folios, added about 1500 by the Recaumez family, which apparently resided in the region of Amiens and Soissons.[4] The main body of the text and miniatures, which are the focus of this article, was produced toward the middle of the fifteenth century in the region of the southern Netherlands and northeastern France. The Netherlandish portion of W.282 has been associated with the Master of the Gold Scrolls group.[5] It gives a striking example of how these webs of production were interconnected and allows us to reconstruct relationships with artisans whose work appears in these seemingly anomalous manuscripts from the southern Netherlands. Six types of interrelated manuscript procedures or practices will be partially

explored here: liturgical content, penwork initials, artistic style, illuminator's marks, artistic models, and borders.

The liturgical makeup of W.282 can serve as an indicator of the creative environment in which it was made, exhibiting a series of links that bring it into association with the resources used in producing other manuscripts. Lilian Randall points out in the entry on this manuscript:

> Calendar, litany: very closely related to fine example of Gold Scrolls style, c. 1440 (BR 9798: see below, f. 36, borders); further marks of kinship with a number of mid-15th century Bruges Horae, including New York, Christie's, 28 November 1990, lot 11, (circle of the Master of the Beady Eyes); PML M. 421, Eyckian style (Calendar only: 91%); W. 263 (litany components).[6]

Indeed, a detailed comparison shows that the W.282 litany and calendar are almost identical with the litany and calendar found in Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, ms. 9798, often considered a central manuscript of the Gold Scrolls group (fig. 1).[7] The eighty-nine citations in the litanies of the saints in W.282 and BR 9798 are the same, and they follow an identical order save that BR 9798 changes the position

of two apostles, placing Luke before Mark. The calendars of W.282 and BR 9798 are quite similar; out of 122 feasts listed in each calendar 121 feasts are the same, the exceptions being that Marcellus episcopus appears on June 2 in W.282 and 11,000 virgins appears on October 21 in BR 9798. Although the significance of these differences has not been determined, these parallels in the litanies and calendars establish a high degree of correspondence in the contents of the two works. Such correspondence is neither common nor uncommon, but when identified it encourages research to investigate what the associations might be.

In the case of W.282 and BR 9798, the correlation connects two southern Netherlandish manuscripts in a web of marketplace, intended use, and possibly production. The calendars and litanies of both manuscripts appear to preclude certainty about a narrowly defined region, such as either Bruges or Ghent, yet the feasts are consistent with that area of west Flanders.[8] The calendars of W.282 and BR 9798 are sparsely filled, but suggest the diocese of Tournai, west Flanders, possibly Bruges or Ghent. Basilius, 14.VI, and Donatianus episcopus, 14.X, indicating Bruges, both appear in red, and Bavo et Remigius, 1.X in red, and Adrianus martyr, 4.III in black ink, point to Ghent. The possible sharing of common models for the calendar and litany increases the chance that production links may not be so tenuous between these two works. Significantly, these liturgical similarities may provide an important clue to place W.282 more precisely in the context of its production, for in addition to indications concerning the intended use of the manuscript, they also prompt us to consider whether information discovered about the production of BR 9798—what can be called BR 9798's web of connections—also has significance for W.282. Similarities and differences can be established, and with further research, more connections might be found between the producers of W.282 and BR 9798, as well as between W.282 and other manuscripts that can be associated with BR 9798, those of The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 E. 2; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Germ. 83; Bruges, Onze-Lieve-Vrouw ter Potterie, MS Op. 5.1; The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 76. F. 25; London, Seilern Collection, book of hours (three miniatures); London, British Library, MS Harley 2846 and MS Add. 39638; and Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, S.P. 12.

One of the most useful production links between manuscripts, often providing unanticipated insights, involves the penwork of initial decoration. Trained in specific formulae, penworkers may be identified by a series of repeated motifs. Consequently, the manner
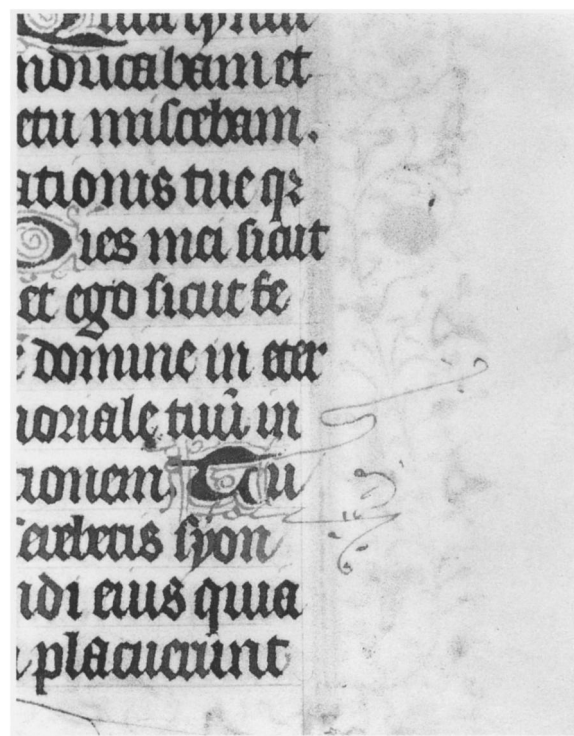
Fig. 3. Penwork initials. Book of hours. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.282, fol. 84 (detail).
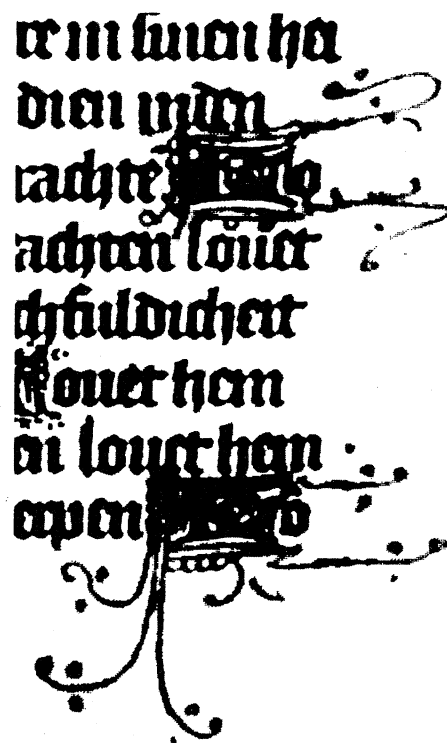
Fig. 4. Penwork initials. Book of hours. The Hague, Meermanno-Westreenianum Museum, MS 10 E.2, fol. 30 (detail).

of executing penwork patterns allows different manuscripts to be associated one with another.

In W.282 the penwork is quite distinct, consisting of simple, elegant patterns and favoring rhythmical looping curves ending in a circle or point and accompanied or flanked by small circles, usually one on each side of the tendrils (fig. 2). The left-hand side of an initial frequently employs two reinforcing lines plus a series of two or three loops extending about half way down the height of the initial before continuing in a curved tendril that ends in a circle. Interior design and reinforcing lines that accentuate the initial letter are often drawn quite simply; small loops are added to these reinforcing lines, but not consistently, and frequently two or three separated loops are placed on a side of the initial, especially the lowest side. A combination of simple economy and elegance individualizes the execution.

Initials in which the same formulae appear are found in Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum 10 E. 2, a book of hours in The Hague (cf. figs. 3 and 4). Thus the matrix of possible relationships expands. Like BR 9798, Meermanno-Westreenianum 10 E. 2 is one of the finest examples of the Gold Scrolls style, and its connection to W.282 reinforces the possibilities of communication and interaction between the producers of W.282 and one of the most prominent Gold Scrolls production groups, raising the question

for future research: how closely and in what other ways is W.282 related to this particular group of Gold Scrolls artists?

The artistic styles of BR 9798 and W.282, however, are distinct enough that there could be little chance of confusing the two, or even associating them closely with each other. Of manuscripts known to me, the illuminator(s) of W.282 evidence the closest bonds, in terms of style and patterns, with the illuminators of Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, ms. IV.288. Illuminators of two other manuscripts can also be included among the artists connected through style, patterns, and artist's marks to one another, as well as to artists of W.282 and BR IV.288.[9] These are: Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. Leber 135 (book of hours, for Sarum use) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Liturg. 17 (book of hours).

Three comparisons suggest models and stylistic associations that relate the illustration of W.282 to BR IV.288 (figs. 5 and 6). In the Death of the Virgin, the artist of W.282 creates a scene based on the kind of pattern that was also used in BR IV.288: there is a checkered floor; the Virgin, lying on a bed decorated with circles and rectilinear motifs, rests her nimbed head on a light colored cushion with corner tufts; behind her and leaning over the headboard is a male figure with a nimbus of radiating spokes. On the far side of the bed, below a partial orb containing the
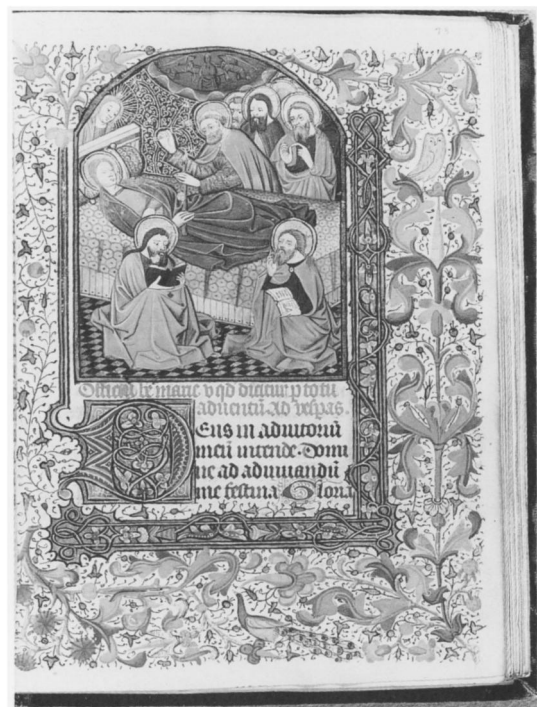
Fig. 5. Death of the Virgin. Book of hours. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.282, fol. 73.
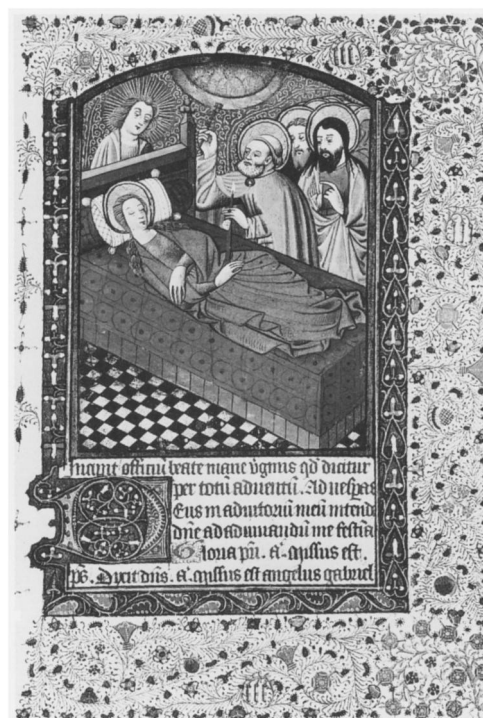
Fig. 6. Death of the Virgin. Book of hours. Brussels, Bibl. royale, ms. IV 288, fol. 43.

Lord and two figures, stands the tonsured figure of Peter, who leans slightly forward, sprinkling holy water with his right hand and with the other delicately suspending a censing orb and balancing a candle, which the Virgin touches with her limp right hand. The contours of the Virgin's body and individual folds forming the cascading pattern of her mantle also suggest the common origin of this pattern. In these manuscripts, the illuminator(s) is mindful of creating clearly articulated facial features and flattened volumes, with a preference for cascading, sculptural fold patterns, such as those seen in the garments worn by the Virgin and by the reading apostle seated in the foreground of W.282. A favored female facial type is that of the Virgin, where a series of slightly cupped lines depict the small lower lip, the lower rim of the nose, and the closed eyelids. The whole creates a face with the appearance of volume but which is smooth. Male facial types are more sculptural, with deep-set eyes and exaggerated noses. Often a wrinkle or line denoting thoughtful concentration or concern, like a scowl, is placed between the eyebrows on the bridge of the nose. The hands of most of the apostles are oversized. Expressive hands direct attention to the focal points of the scene. Note, for example, the Virgin's limp hand touching the candle, Peter's enlarged hands sprinkling holy water and balancing

the candle, and the apostle behind him, who, by his gesture of argumentation, directs attention with his curved index finger, inwardly to his own thoughts and outwardly to Peter s action on his right.[10]

In scenes of the Nativity (figs. 7 and 8), the W.282 artist alters a pattern shared with BR IV.288, changing the orientation of the shed, though not its basic structure and detail. He moves the wattle fence, reverses the figure of Mary, and removes the bed and cushion but reintroduces the cushion under the Christ Child, adds a stream and bridge, and moves the cruciform nimbed figure of God higher into the zenith, while retaining the orientation of the ox, ass, sarcophagus-like manger, and Joseph. Joseph, whose huge right hand envelops the shaft of a torch and whose left hand grasps the head of a cane to support himself, wears a slightly different tight-fitting cap and a mantle, which falls in large folds that form, for the most part, an identical pattern in both W.282 and BR IV.288. In addition, the preferred male and female facial types reappear in the two Nativities, and the fold patterns of the Virgin's robes and her large hands, although reversed and partially obscured, similarly reveal related origins.

The two scenes of the Annunciation also conform closely to the same basic pattern (figs. 9 and 10). Gabriel, emerging from behind the left side of the

Fig. 7. Nativity. Book of hours. Brussels, Bibl. royale, ms. IV 288, fol. 29.

Fig. 8. Nativity. Book of hours. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.282, fol. 56.

Fig. 9. Annunication. Book of hours. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.282, fol. 36.

Fig. 10 Annunciation. Book of hours. Brussels, Bibl. royale, ms. IV 288, fol. 16.

frame, kneels on his right knee, arches his head slightly backward and holds a phylactery in his right hand. The Virgin, who kneels before a prayer desk on which an open book tilted toward the viewer is placed, holds her right hand over her right breast as she turns her head toward Gabriel. Fold patterns in Gabriel's robes reveal a shared pattern, whereas those of the Virgin do not. Gabriel does not have a halo, but the Virgin wears the favored halo in the form of a gold disc with two outer bounding lines in black. A vase with lilies rests along the forward edge of the miniature. A

Fig. 11. Annunciation. Book of hours. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Liturg. 17, fol. 25v.

canopy in BR IV.288 enhances the simple hanging cloth that appears in W.282. From the mouth of God the Father (nimbed with a cruciform halo) radiate rays of light, with the dove of the Holy Spirit descending to the head of the Virgin. Both figures are rendered with the feminine facial type of smooth-surfaced volumes with a sequence of slight, upturned curved lines indicating the small lips of the mouth, the lower edge of the nose, and the eyelids. Parallel lines of yellow add accents to the hair. Also, distinctive background rinceaux, which give the appearance of bold tendrils and end in spraying bursts of lines, originate near the left edge of the miniature, arch over Gabriel's wing and split into two parts, one continuing in a downward curve, the other arching in a long sweep over the cloth hanging and canopy behind the Virgin. In this way the rinceau backgrounds combine with low retaining walls, decorated with crenations and blind arcades, to create visual unity.

Alongside these miniatures, additional connections such as illuminator's marks and artistic models may be postulated between the W.282 artist and other illuminators. For example, the underlying pattern of the Annunciation miniature as well as some of the stylistic features of this artist may be observed in a manuscript in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Liturg. 17 (fig. 11). The Annunciation in Canon. Liturg. 17 and the other miniatures by the artist in this manuscript contain an artist's mark, a clover stamped into the margin immediately alongside the

Fig. 12. Annunciation. Book of hours. Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.15.25, fol. 16v.

Fig. 13. Annunciation. Book of hours. Swaffham, Parish Church, MS 1, fol. 21v.

upper right-hand corner of the miniature. The basic pattern found in this Annunciation, while not unusual, conforms specifically to that of W.282 (fig. 9). Gabriel, kneeling on his right knee, holding the phylactery in his right hand, emerges from behind the left side of the frame. A vase of lilies rests on the lower edge of the miniature, and a checkered floor abutting into a wall enhanced with crenated decoration recedes into the middle distance. The Virgin, kneeling behind a prayer desk on which an open book rests, turns her head toward Gabriel. Above appears God the Father, from whose lips emerge the rays of light on which the dove descends toward the Virgin's head. Thus the two works can be shown to share related models.

The artists of Canon. Liturg. 17, W.282, and BR IV.288 appear to be different individuals. However, the shared artistic models as well as stylistic similarities between the artist(s) of W.282 and Canon. Liturg. 17 (for example, the method practiced to create shadows through broader dark bands, for example under the jaws of the Virgin and Gabriel) raise the possibility that the production webs of these manuscripts should be considered together.

Like Canon. Liturg. 17, Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. Leber 135, a book of hours for Sarum use, also contains miniatures marked by the identifying cloverleaf stamp.[11] Differences in style between miniatures from Canon. Liturg. 17 and Leber 135 make one hesitate to ascribe them to the same artist, even though a cloverleaf stamp appears and the styles

of the two works are clearly similar. As Maurits Smeyers and Bert Cardon have justly pointed out, identifying stamps, known to have been used in Bruges, may serve to identify not only individuals but also the products of two or more individuals working together, producing products that exhibit a family-like resemblance in style and pattern.[12] If the cloverleaf works of Canon. Liturg. 17 and Leber 135 were indeed by different artists, they would provide evidence of this practice. The cloverleaf miniatures and the unmarked miniatures of Leber 135 are not as close in style to the W.282 miniatures as

Fig. 14. Annunciation. Book of hours. Liège, Bibl. générale de l'Université, ms. Wittert 17, fol. 52.

Fig. 15. Presentation in the Temple. Book of hours. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.282, fol. 64.

Fig. 16. Presentation in the Temple. Book of hours. Rouen, Bibl. mun., ms. Leber 135, fol. 43.

they are to those of Canon. Liturg. 17, and so I would also hesitate to say that the cloverleaf miniatures and other miniatures in Leber 135 are by the W.282 artist(s), although several artistic models and stylistic techniques and idiosyncracies are apparently related. For example, the onion-dome motifs that serve as caps for trees in the landscape appear in the W.282 Visitation and the Leber 135 Annunciation to the Shepherds. These characteristics support a theory of family resemblance and creation as opposed to individual signature.

Further analysis may help answer this question. The miniatures of the Presentation in the Temple in both manuscripts share a similar aesthetic, and the same basic pattern is used to represent the subject (figs. 15 and 16). A large altar on a diagonally placed plinth intersects the frame below and at right in an arrangement that exposes checkered tiles in two areas of the floor. Five figures are placed around this altar, and the core group of four figures, the Virgin, Christ, Joseph, and the priest, correspond to one another in the two miniatures. Mary presents the Christ Child, who is seated on her outstretched hands and faces forward with arms outstretched in a gesture that parallels the Virgin's act of offering him to the priest. She kneels on her right knee and places her foot on the plinth. The priest on the other side of the altar reciprocates, gesture for gesture, with the Mother and Child. A bearded Joseph, wearing a close-fitting cap, mantle, and long-sleeved tunic, stands at the far end of the altar, holding a lighted taper in his slightly raised

hand. In W.282, his right hand is placed above the altar, grasping a dove. The handmaid, holding the basket of doves, her face framed by orange hair high-lighted with parallel gold streaks, is painted behind Mary. She wears different garments in the two scenes; but Mary's mantle and garment are not only generally alike in both miniatures, the fold patterns often trace the same path. In addition, the garments of the priest and especially the cloth on which he is to receive the child are depicted with the same intricate fold patterns.[13]

The style of these patterns suggests more than a coincidental affinity between the artist(s) of W.282 and the miniatures found in Leber 135. But obvious differences and variations exist alongside each stylistic feature. The characteristics the artists share in experience and training are sufficiently close, however, to create a situation that sometimes confronts the modern researcher: so many parallels exist in the works that the artists' styles may be viewed as melding together. But does the modern scholar postulate from this circumstance that the works issue from an illuminator's "atelier"? Indeed, Leber 135, Canon. Liturg. 17, BR IV.288, and W.282 are decorated by individuals with shared training and experience, and the marks in Leber 135 and Canon. Liturg. 17 appear to provide further links between them, making it tempting to attribute them to an illuminator's "atelier."

Artists such as these, however, may alternatively be conceived of as working independently and not necessarily in an atelier or together in a workshop. I
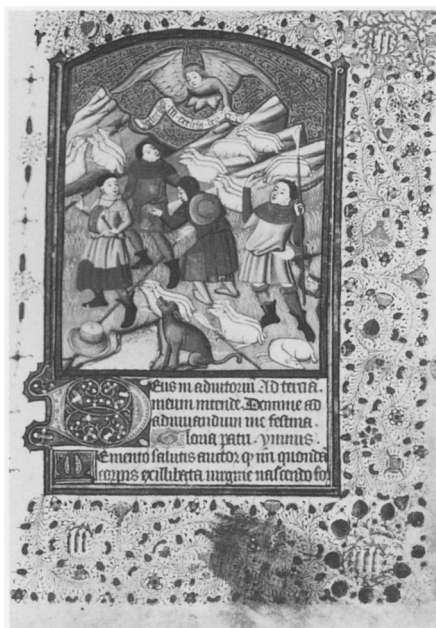
Fig. 17. Annunciation to the Shepherds. Book of hours. Brussels, Bibl., royale, ms. IV 288, fol. 31.

Fig. 18. Text borders, *Ad Sextam.* Book of hours. Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.15.25, fol. 50.

would propose that W.282 and the other three manuscripts may have evolved from a sophisticated system of production, some manuscripts issuing from a workshop in which two or more illuminators combined their efforts, while other manuscripts among those considered here came from independent producers. Until further evidence is discovered, it would be advisable to refrain from precluding the possibility that the apparent connections between these manuscripts may derive from several independent practitioners who were similarly trained and formed and who may have worked in proximity to one another but not in the same workshop. Moreover the illuminator's marks would affirm the role of the marketplace over the artist in legitimizing the work.

At this point, the production web that connects other manuscripts with W.282 is not unusual. But by bringing together more manuscripts, the interconnections of manuscripts such as W.282 and BR IV.288 may be more fully explained. When we look closely at manuscripts associated with the artist(s) of W.282, for example BR IV.288, and inquire into its web of production, beyond what it shares with W.282, we find a surprising range of possible connections for W.282. For example, BR IV.288 contains borders and penwork initials that do not correspond with those of W.282 (figs. 22, 6, 2, 17, and 19). The borders in BR IV.288 consist of rather dense, feathery rinceaux with distinctively shaped three-part ivy spikes, in which the two lower parts are rounded and shaped like semi-circles (fig. 17). Short spurs

are added to the vertical part of these ivy spikes. In addition, the borders often contain corner pieces, and a two- or three-part chime-like ornament is frequently included. Penwork initials have elaborate flourishes that methodically repeat several basic patterns of twists, pen squiggles, and curving lines, whereas two-line initials have spiky corners and are extended by hooked or sweeping lines into the margin (fig. 19). Many times the penwork is developed into a second level of flourishes.

Penwork and borders such as these appear in a number of manuscripts produced at this time, and five manuscripts in addition to BR IV.288 are known to contain these types of penwork and borders.[14] Two of these manuscripts are illustrated here (figs. 18, 20,
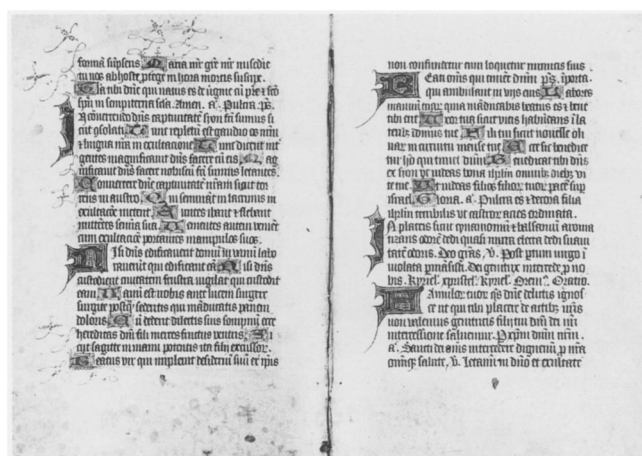
Fig. 19. Painted and penwork initials. Book of hours. Brussels, Bibl., royale, ms. IV 288, fols. 35v–36.
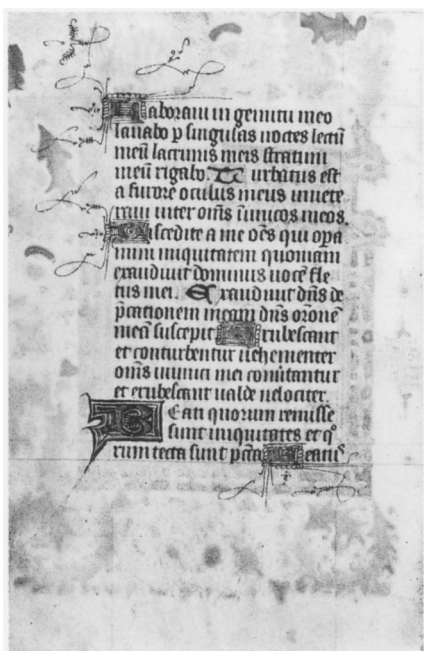
Fig. 20. Painted and penwork intitials. Book of hours. Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.15.25, fol. 68v.
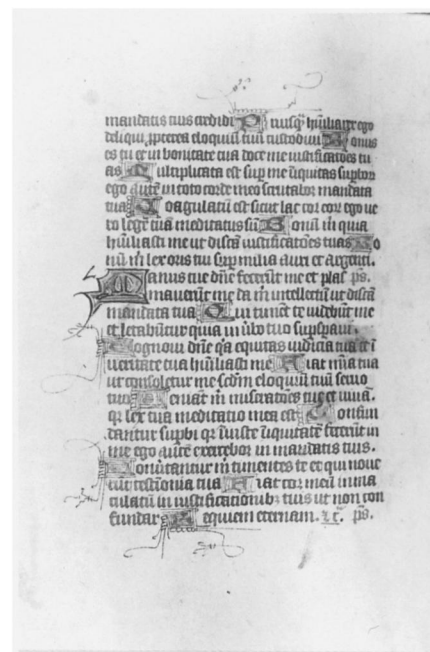
Fig. 21. Painted and penwork intitials. Book of hours. Swaffham, Parish Church, MS 1, fol. 66v.

and 21). The combination of borders and penwork found in BR IV.288 usually reappears in these six manuscripts, suggesting either a continuous, close working relationship of two or more decorators or a single practitioner who provided both the borders and penwork. The link provided by the penwork and borders of BR IV.288 to these manuscripts adds significantly to our understanding of the place W.282 assumes within this web of production. The illuminators of these manuscripts include artist(s) grouped under the name of the Master of Otto van Moerdrecht. The style is most often associated with Holland, but increasingly also with the southern Netherlands, in particular Bruges, through several books of hours that include inserted miniatures.[15]

Although manuscripts from this group have not previously been considered in the context of the artist(s) of W.282, a comparison of patterns used in the Annunciation miniatures (figs. 10–13) raises intriguing questions for further research. In Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.15.25 and Swaffham, Parish Church, MS 1, the scenes of the Annunciation include many of the elements found in the W.282 and BR IV.288 Annunciations: checkered floor, low parapet wall, canopy or hanging curtain on the right; an angel emerging from behind the left side of the frame, head slightly back, kneeling on the right knee, holding a curling phylactery in the right hand (in the Swaffham manuscript it appears to be the left hand); the kneeling Virgin, partially obscured by a cloth-covered prayer desk that is placed at an angle and on which is an open book tilted toward the viewer; and the figure of God above and to the Virgin's left. Another example of this Annunciation model is found in a Gold Scrolls manuscript in Liège, Bibliothèque générale de l'Université, ms. Wittert 17 (fig. 14).[16] One should also note that this pattern also appears in The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 131 G. 3, fol. 13v and Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, ms. 7556 II, fol. 14, two manuscripts apparently decorated in the northern Netherlands!

The objective in this article has been to study a typical manuscript of the southern Netherlands in order to develop a better sense of the provisional relationships that characterize production practices. Very often the traditional star paradigm has been inadequate in identifying and explaining these relationships. Using the irregular web as a model of communicative practice, however, makes it possible to link together disparate connections that might otherwise go unnoticed. Six interrelating procedures or practices of this production web have been partially explored here: liturgical content, penwork initials, artistic style, illuminator's marks, artistic patterns, and borders. As opposed to the convention of production emanating from a central point, such as an artist, an atelier, an *officine*, or a geographic center, the irregular web analogy allows us to reconstruct conditional relationships that are critical to our understanding of the vagaries of manuscript practice. Fundamental to the unique

Fig. 22. Annunciation to the Shepherds. Book of hours. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.282, fol. 59.

pattern of every web are the absent creators of other webs who provided models. The resulting "tissue of contingent relations" encourages different points of view, each determined by a vantage point generated by one's position within the web.[17] This model provides an awareness that no center exists as a single fixed point. In harmony with contemporary approaches to northern European manuscripts, the irregular web is neither artist-centric, nor founded on an Italian Renaissance painting model of scholarship. Rather each intersection serves as a new point of reference, making connections, in turn, with still other points of reference, mirroring the varying conditions that influence production. Moreover this irregular web extends backward and forward in time; it is indeed "a web of relations to be rewoven, a web which time lengthens everyday."[18] That the irregular web of production can and will be reconstituted is a sign of flexibility inherent in this model/metaphor, allowing the shifting associations among the book production artisans, including the marketplace, to be described more fully or "thickly,"[19] and enhancing our understanding of the local and collective practices of manuscript culture.

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Notes

1. See especially L.M.J. Delaissé, review of M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry Part I: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke,* in *Art Bulletin,* 52 (1970), 209. I am grateful to Professor Irving Lavin and the School of Historical Studies at the Institute for Advanced Study for the opportunity to be a summer visitor while working on this article.

2. For the irregular web, especially the family Theridiidae, and for the orb web, the family Araneidae. D.H. Wise, *Spiders in Ecological Webs,* Cambridge Studies in Ecology (Cambridge, 1993), 4–8.

3. This model reflects the influence of Clifford Geertz's "sense of integrative culture, his construal of culture as a localized and collective system of symbols." See L. Montrose, "New Historicisms," in *Redrawing the Boundaries, The Transformation of English and American Literary Studies,* ed. S. Greenblatt and G. Gunn (New York, 1992), 401.

4. For the full analysis and description of the French part of this manuscript, see L.M.C. Randall et. al., *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, II, France, 1420–1540* (Baltimore and London, 1992), part 2, 485–92. The Netherlandish part of this manuscript will be described in volume III, forthcoming.

5. See J.D. Farquhar, "Manuscript Production and Evidence for Localizing and Dating Fifteenth-Century Books of Hours: Walters Ms. 239," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery,* 45 (1987), 48 and 56 n. 45. G. Dogaer, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the 15th and 16th Centuries* (Amsterdam, 1987), 31.

6. Randall, *Walters,* III.

7. Randall, *Walters,* III.

8. C. Gaspar and F. Lyna, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique,* deuxième partie (Paris, 1945), 110–112, esp. 110, "...le calendrier est peut-être flamand," citing saints from Ghent and Bruges.

9. Randall, *Walters,* III identifies three hands, the main artist, responsible for fol. 23, 25v; a close follower, fol. 73, 79; and a collaborator working in a more rudimentary style.

10. See among others, F. Graf, "Gestures and conventions: the gestures of Roman actors and orators," in *A Cultural History of Gesture,* ed. J. Bremmer and H. Roodenburg (Ithaca, 1992), 36–58, and Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria,* trans. H.E. Butler, The Loeb Classical Library, Quintilian, IV (Cambridge, 1922), 295.

11. See M. Smeyers and H. Cardon, "Merktekens in de brugse minatuurkunst," in *Merken opmerken, Merk- en meestertekens op kunstwerken in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden en het Prinsbisdom Luik, Typologie en Methode,* ed. C. van Vlierden and M. Smeyers (Louvain, 1990), 45–71. J.D. Farquhar, "Identity in an Anonymous Age: Bruges Manuscript Illuminators and their Signs," *Viator,* 11 (1980), 371–83. Also see M. Camille, *Master of Death, The Lifeless Art of Pierre Remiet, Illuminator* (New Haven, 1996), chap. 1, esp. pp. 51–56, "A Sign and a Self," for his important analysis of "artistic" identity and p. 56 where he correctly, I think, sees the marks as signs functioning "like labels, not to identify a self but to protect their monopoly over the trade. Signs such as these, like modern company logos, are hardly revealing of personal identity." Nonetheless, signs have multiple meaning, and the modern researcher, if further research supports it, might still be able to use these marks to connect works with archival documents.

12. Smeyers and Cardon, "Merktekens in de brugse minatuurkunst," 51. Farquhar, "Identity in an Anonymous Age," 377.

13. See as well Louvain, Universiteits Bibl., book of hours, MS A-3, Presentation in the Temple, fol. 39v, where the fold pattern of the

receiving cloth is similar to that of W.282 and BR IV.288. Louvain A-3 is decorated by another Gold Scrolls group artist. The scene of the W.282 Presentation is loosely transformed into a Circumcision by another Gold Scrolls artist in a book of hours in Paris, Bibl. Ste.-Geneviève, ms. 1274.

14. Berkeley Heights, N.J., Lawrence J. Schoenberg Collection, book of hours; Cambridge, University Library, MS Dd.15.25, book of hours; Liverpool, University Library, Mayer 12009, book of hours; New York, Union Theological Seminary, MS 1, book of hours (fragment); Swaffham, Parish Church, MS 1, book of hours. Also see the loose leaves numbers 29 and 30 in the Denison Library of Scripps College, Claremont, Calif.: C.W. Dutschke and R.H. Rouse, assisted by M. Ferrari, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Claremont Libraries* (Berkeley, 1983), 106–107, fig. 24.

15. See M. Smeyers and B. Cardon, "Utrecht and Bruges—South and North. 'Boundless' Relations in the 15th Century," in *Masters and Miniatures: Proceeding of the Congress on Medieval Manuscript Illumination in the Northern Netherlands (Utrecht, 10–13 December 1989)*, Studies and Facsimiles of Netherlandish Illuminated Manuscripts 3, ed. K. van der Horst and J.-C. Klamt (Doornspijk, 1990), 96–97. Also Farquhar, "Manuscript Production and Evidence for Localizing and Dating," 48.

16. Note especially the comparison with the Annunciations in BR IV.288 and Canon. Liturg. 17, figs. 10 and 11. Wittert 17 should be considered in any further study of the relationships of W.282 to other manuscripts.

17. R. Rorty, *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity* (Cambridge, 1989), 41. Rorty creates this metaphor in his analysis of Nietzsche and Harold Bloom regarding artistic identity.

18. Rorty, *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity*, 41 and 43.

19. C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York, 1973), 3–30.

Dancing in the Streets

Jonathan J.G. Alexander

Dancing figures are shown in a variety of contexts in medieval art. Some have a positive significance, for example those in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Siena fresco of Good Government. Others, especially figures dancing singly or in couples, are condemned. A negative attitude to dance is also prevalent in literary texts. It is argued here that this negativity, which is a reaction to a threatening sexuality in the single and couple dances, is, as it were, neutralized in round and circle dances. The circle represents metaphorically the acceptance of the couple into the social fabric, especially through marriage.

> The worst horrors of the Middle Ages failed to stop people dancing for joy.
>
> Arnold Haskell, *The Wonderful World of Dance* (London, 1960), 50.

> I expected to hear laughter in the air and to see people dancing in the streets, and not just kids—everyone!
>
> Daniel Quinn, *Ishmael* (New York, 1992), 4–5.

In the margin of folio 164v of the well-known psalter made in England for Sir Geoffrey Luttrell in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, is an image of a group of five men holding hands and dancing (fig. 1).[1] They are led out of a walled city by two figures playing a pipe and a drum respectively. Above their heads, two long trumpets, whose players are invisible, extend from out of the city gate.[2] The image accompanies Psalm 89 (90), and in the line above the image are the words "exultavimus et delectati sumus" (We have rejoiced and been glad, verse 14), which no doubt triggered the representation.[3] We still speak of "dancing for joy" and of "dancing in the streets." The men dance with their backs to us, except for the leading figure. This means that they face a group of five women above the gateway, whose heads only are visible, looking over the battlements.[4] A circular

movement in the dance is suggested by the positioning of the figures' feet, which curve up in a shallow arc to left and right from the central figure. Since there are five men and five women, some form of pairing is implied. The woman to the left of the group extends her right arm as if reaching down toward the men, while the headband of the woman at the back of the group extends in two long white points, almost like the ears of a rabbit. This type of headdress seems to be opposed to the contained, disciplined cap of wife or widow. It occurs in another marginal scene in the Luttrell Psalter, where a woman is shown playing a board game with a man, a pastime that in a variety of media, for example secular ivory carvings, carries connotations of gendered courtship as a game of pursuit and conquest.[5] The implication in both scenes is that the woman is young and free to seek a lover. The men, on the other hand, wear neat flower garlands on their heads, which recall the garlands woven by women for their lovers in a number of calendars. Such is often the occupation for the month of May in later medieval calendar cycles.[6] These garlands, therefore, provide additional connotations of spring and betrothal.

In this article I want to investigate this and a number of other representations of circle or chain dances involving groups of men and women, sometimes of a single sex and sometimes mixed, in order to suggest how these connotations of courtship and betrothal are used with varying significance in a variety of contexts.[7] I will also take the opportunity to contrast the representations of circle dances with scenes in which either a single figure dances alone or in which a couple dance together. My interest concentrates on the symbolic meanings rather than the question, which has been of primary interest in so much of the literature until now, of whether imagery has mimetic value and can thus be used in attempts to reconstruct actual practice. I will argue that the

Fig. 1. Marginal scene of dancing men. Luttrell Psalter, England, second quarter of the 14th century. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 164v (detail).

representations of both types of dances, the circle dance and the solo or couple dance, are used sometimes with good and sometimes with bad connotations. Whereas the circle dance can signify social harmony or harmony between the sexes in marriage, the solo or couple dance often emphasizes the potentially disruptive or anti-social aspects of sexual encounter. But the solo dance can also be a dance of religious ecstasy. And the circle dance, which is sometimes even used to represent heavenly harmony beyond the grave in Paradise (fig. 17), can also be danced in gleeful frenzy by threatening devils or by women as a negative image of sexual temptation (fig. 16).[8] Thus, the dance image can be an ideological signifier of many different and even opposed values, and in this way it functions semiotically as an empty sign to be filled.[9] A side issue in this article will be how these images are situated, whether in the main or the subsidiary fields of an illuminated page or painting.

The topic is a rich one and leads in many different directions, all of which it is obviously impossible to follow in a single paper. Here I am prioritizing the issues of class and social context over those of gender, to which I hope to return in another paper.

The best-known monumental medieval image showing dancers in the city is in the Sala della Pace in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena. There, on the west, north, and east walls of the Council room, Ambrogio Lorenzetti represented Good and Bad Government. The subject is shown both allegorically in a learned and allusive way with personifications of the Commune, civic virtues, and forms of Justice, and also more literally, representing the city of Siena and the

surrounding *contada* mimetically with familiar types of buildings and activities inside and outside the city walls.[10] The painting is signed and dated 1338 and is thus more or less directly contemporary with the Luttrell Psalter image.

A number of people are shown active in the city on daily tasks, for example builders on scaffolding on the upper parts of a tower, shopkeepers, a teacher lecturing to a class, and various men and women riding or driving animals into and out of the city. In the midst of all this mundane activity, larger in scale as well as centrally placed, are the dancers (fig. 2). To their left, in what is the northeast corner of the room, a woman is shown riding on a white horse which is led by the bridle by a man. She is met by two women at a gate and is followed by two mounted men and two

Fig. 2. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, detail of the well-governed city with wedding procession and dancers, 1338. Siena, Palazzo Pubblico, Sala della Pace.

other men on foot. In a sermon preached in the square outside the Palazzo in 1427, Saint Bernadino of Siena alluded to a wedding procession among other subjects shown in the Lorenzetti frescoes, and it is assumed that he referred to this group of figures.[11] It should also be noted that this section of the wall is presided over by the planet Venus, shown in the upper border of the painting.[12] The children of Venus are commonly shown making music and dancing.

Since Lorenzetti's image of dancing takes place in the well-governed city under the rubric *Buon Governo*, it must be interpreted as positive in its connotations. However, in a 1972 article Ursula Feldges-Henning pointed out that dancing in the streets of Siena was prohibited by city statute.[13] In so far as they are mentioned (recent literature has concentrated much more on the other wall with the allegorical representation of Good Government), the dancing figures have been interpreted, for example by Chiara Frugoni, as symbolic of harmony in the well-governed city.[14] Caterina Eorsi, who, like Frugoni, considers the figures to be women, has argued that the fact that there are nine women is significant and that they are therefore the Muses.[15] She also interprets them as implying harmony, though the visual evidence for her identification, that is, her parallels with classical sculpture of the Muses, is more compelling than any other she provides. And though there are nine dancing figures forming two subgroups of four and five, there is an additional figure playing a tambourine, making ten figures in all. The most obviously accessible classical model for these dancers, strangely omitted by Eorsi, would have been the famous neo-Attic marble *krater* set up outside the Cathedral of Pisa and now in the Campo Santo.[16] There, the female dancers, who hold hands, are not the Muses, however, but maenads, the companions of Bacchus and Silenus, who can be found far more commonly than the Muses on classical relief sculptures.

Though the Siena dancing figures have mostly been considered in the literature to be young women, Jane Bridgeman has argued that they are young men.[17] Acknowledging that the men in the frescoes, especially if young, are clearly distinguished by their short tunics, as are also the Luttrell Psalter dancers, she argues from details of hair and costume that Lorenzetti's dancers may be a special class of male entertainer, the *giullari* or *buffoni*, who attended at weddings and other festivals and who were often criticized for the excessive ornament as well as the femininity of their dress. I will return to the question of the figures' gender later, but the reason for the

Fig. 3. Attributable to Simon Bening, calendar scene for May. Bruges, ca. 1530. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E. 4575-1910.

criticisms of the *giullari*, as Jane Bridgeman explains, is a distrust of any hint of cross-dressing.[18]

For the moment, the context and the type of dance are more crucial for my argument than the gender of the figures. For, though Lorenzetti's painting is constantly cited within one art-historical master narrative as a milestone in the development of realistic painting, whether of townscape or of landscape, the figures are not a transparent recording of contemporary custom, but are carriers of a range of symbolic and ideological significances.[19] Their naturalism, which will have given them added power for their original audience, has also concealed their ideological significance from later viewers.

A later image of the circular dance within the city walls occurs in a Flemish miniature attributable to the illuminator Simon Bening of Bruges. The leaf for May is one of six surviving months from the calendar of a book of hours executed probably late in the illuminator's career, circa 1520 to 1530 (fig. 3).[20] The composition is repeated in fact, though in a simplified form, for May in the calendars of two other hours whose illumination has also been attributed to Bening.[21] The image, like that in the Luttrell Psalter,

Fig. 4. Daughters of Sion dancing, illustration for Psalm 47. Anglo-Saxon psalter copying the Utrecht Psalter, Canterbury, ca. 1000. London, BL, Harley MS 603, fol. 27v (detail).
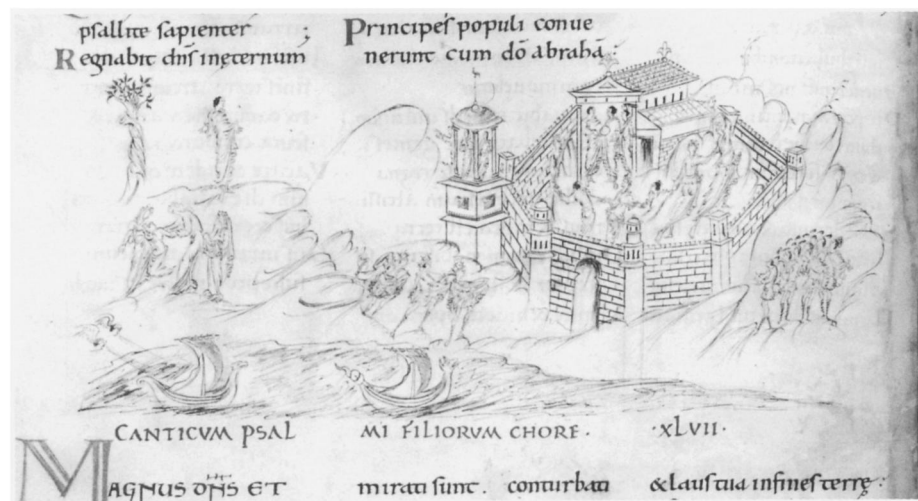
also contains viewed and viewers. The lovers in the boat in the foreground, well-dressed men and women of the wealthier classes, are watched by the more heterogeneous crowd leaning over the wall. But it is the two circles in the town square in the distance that are relevant in the present context: one, to the left, a mixed circle of dancing men and women, the other a smaller circle of children. The miniature represents a present in the foreground and, in the distance, an implied future further off; so courtship comes first in the foreground and is then followed by coupledom, that is marriage, and finally by the results of procreation, the dancing children. At the same time, the context in the city makes it clear that an ideal harmony of the citizenry includes harmony of the sexes, which will be in turn a guarantee of fertility, the circle of children representing a continuing citizen population.[22] Putting it in another way, the two circles are a gloss on the fertility that is the primary subject of the calendar image with its May greenery. This links back to the head garlands of the men in the Luttrell Psalter already mentioned. The Siena dancers also wear head garlands.

The Siena prohibition on dancing in the streets must be seen in the wider context of a medieval literature that is widely condemnatory of dancing. Such negative textual responses and, also, as we shall see, the frequent negative visual images mean that Lorenzetti's use of the image takes on added significance by, as it were, going against the grain. It must be admitted that the literary sources, like the numerous sumptuary laws of the time, draw attention by their very existence to practices which were

sufficiently prevalent that they had to be prohibited. But the reason that Lorenzetti was able to reverse the dominant negative discourse on dancing now becomes apparent. The dance juxtaposed to the marriage procession, while retaining the connotation of sexual desire, represents not just joy in the city, nor even the political harmony of the citizens as an end in itself, but harmony that leads to the positive outcome of reproduction.

Before turning to some examples of the circular dance with negative connotations, we should also briefly note that women are shown dancing in the city in the early Middle Ages in the Carolingian Utrecht Psalter[23] and its three later English copies, the copy made at Canterbury circa 1000 (fig. 4),[24] the mid-twelfth-century Eadwine Psalter,[25] and the late

Fig. 5. Initial C for *Corea*, dance. James le Palmer, *Encyclopedia*, London, late 14th century. London, BL, Royal MS 6 E.VI, part 2, folio 451v (detail).

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Fig. 6. Temptations of the Devil. Master Ermengaud, *Breviari d'amor*, Toulouse, ca. 1350–1370. Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 858, fol. 198v (detail).

twelfth-century Paris Psalter.[26] They are depicted dancing on Mount Sion as "word illustration" for Ps. 47 (48):11, "Laetetur Mons Sion, et exsultent filiae Judae, propter judicia tua" (Let Mount Sion rejoice and the daughters of Judah be glad; because of thy judgments, O Lord). Saint Augustine, in his *Enarratio in Psalmos*, comments on this verse saying: "Non errat Deus in judicando" (God does not err in his judgments).[27] In view of the preoccupation with Justice in Lorenzetti's allegorical image on the north wall, this suggests that the composer of the Siena program may have had the psalter's words and perhaps Augustine's commentary also in mind.[28]

As an example of a condemnatory image of women dancing, the encyclopedia composed by the English Chancery clerk, James le Palmer, in London in the late fourteenth century may be cited.[29] In the initial *C* introducing the entry for *Corea*, three women are shown half-length but clearly holding hands (fig. 5). Their long hair signifies that they are female temptresses, examples of *luxuria*. Among the texts copied here by James le Palmer is a phrase attributed to Jerome: "Mulieres in coreis sunt gladii dyaboli" (Women in dances are swords of the Devil).[30] All James's extracts, in fact, repeat the standard negative view of dancing of the Christian church throughout the Middle Ages found in theological tracts, penitentiaries,[31] sermons, and *exempla*.[32] In the early Middle Ages, dancing is often related in the texts to paganism. In the later Middle Ages, the primary emphasis is on the dangers of unbridled sexuality. Thus, in the manuscripts of Master Ermengaud's *Breviari d'amor* illuminated in southern France in the fourteenth century, dancing is shown

among other incitements to sin, and the mixed dance is framed by devils (fig. 6).[33]

At the same time in the fourteenth century, dance also begins to be represented in new secular contexts, particularly as part of the rituals of courtly love. The best-known image of the courtly dance is the *Carole d'amour* in the *Roman de la Rose* (fig. 7). John Fleming's analysis of the poem interprets the dance as a negative illustration of the lover's susceptibility to sexual desire, but the image in its visual context also represents aspects of aristocratic ideology, especially class cohesion and harmony.[34] A similar *carole* is shown in Guillaume de Machaut's *Le remède de Fortune*, in the

Fig. 7. "*La Karole d'amours.*" *Roman de la Rose*, French, mid-14th century. London, BL, Royal MS 20 A. XVII, fol. 9 (detail).

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Fig. 8. The *Carole*. Guillaume de Machaut, *Le remède de Fortune*, French, mid-14th century. Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 1586, fol. 51.

Fig. 9. Marginal scene of male mummers and women dancing. *Le retour du pavon*, Bruges, ca. 1338–1344. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264, fol. 181v.

Fig. 10. Annunciation to the Shepherds. Hours of Jeanne de Navarre, Paris, ca. 1340. Paris, BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3145, fol. 53.
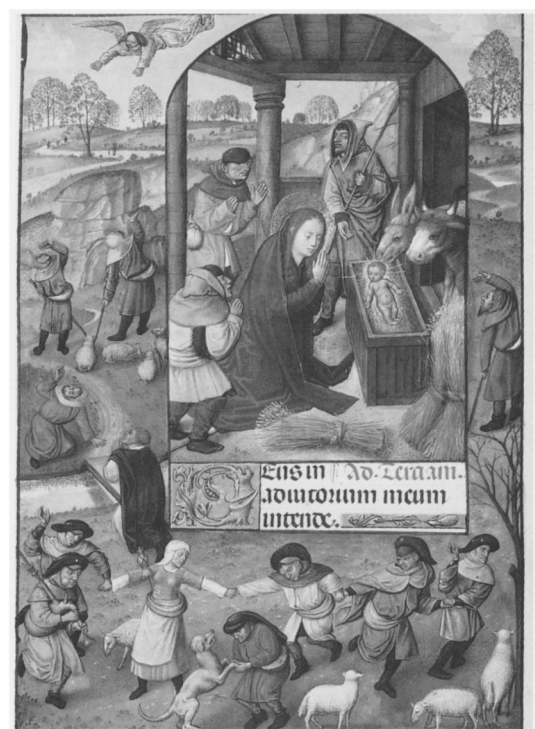

Fig. 11. The Nativity with the Annunciation to the Shepherds. Book of hours, Ghent or Bruges, early 16th century. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS Ludwig IX. 18, fol. 125v.

well-known manuscript of the mid-fourteenth century (fig. 8).[35] Men and women alternate hand in hand, as they do in the *Roman de la Rose* and in secular wall paintings, for example those of the early fifteenth century in the Schloss Runkelstein, Bozen (Bolzano).[36] These are mixed dances, though other chain or circular dances of the carole type may be single-sex, as for example the five male mummers in the Alexander Romance from Bruges of 1338–1344[37] or the young men with hands tied by ribbons in the margins of the slightly earlier English Queen Mary Psalter.[38] The mummers in the Alexander Romance, however, are juxtaposed in their dance with a group of six dancing women (fig. 9).

These are all aristocratic dances, and the representation of class is quite as important in them as that of gender. They complement the peasant dance, which begins to be represented at about the same period in scenes of the Annunciation to the Shepherds. As a marginal addition to the main scene, the peasant dance apparently first occurs in the Hours of Jeanne de Navarre, illuminated by Jean le Noir in Paris circa 1340 (fig. 10).[39] Later the peasant dance is shown in the main miniature, and Birgitte Fassbender considers the Duarte Hours in Lisbon, a manuscript of the so-called Gold Scrolls Group from the region of Tournai of circa 1430, to be one of the earliest examples.[40] But even before this, in the Rohan Hours, a single massive peasant pipes and stamps his foot in the miniature for Terce, as Birgitte Fassbender recognizes.[41]

Frequently a miniature of the Annunciation to the Shepherds at Terce follows the miniature of the Nativity for Prime in books of hours. In two other miniatures, both in books of hours, one French of circa 1475, the other Flemish of early sixteenth-century date (fig. 11), the two scenes are combined. In these hours in the miniatures of the Nativity for Prime, the mixed peasant dance is shown in the border, juxtaposed to a main scene of the Birth of Christ in the stable.[42] Here again the dance does not just signify the joy of the shepherds and their womenfolk, but suggests by its juxtaposition to the birth scene that desire has the positive result of fertility for the continuance of the human race.

Aspects of class differentiation in the images of the shepherd dances will not be analyzed in detail here,[43] but it should be noted how the peasants' movements in the dance tend toward exaggerated gestures and lifted legs, as opposed to the very static figures of the aristocrats. In these wild, exaggerated

Fig. 12. Marginal scene of woman dancing. Book of hours, Maastricht(?), ca. 1300. London, BL, Stowe MS 17, fol. 38 (detail).

poses, the peasants also resemble the numerous earlier and later images of the marginalized class of *jongleurs*.[44] For the aristocracy, the imagery of the dance encodes a love-making, in which the problematic aspects of sexual desire are to some extent elided or concealed. Their static dance is used as an image of social cohesion and class alliance, in which desire must be controlled or concealed. Feudal alliances and nobility by blood presupposed that the woman's fidelity in marriage resulted in legitimate birth, but this was precisely a problematic and contested area. The Siena dancers, if they are indeed *giullari*, are interesting, as they stand in an ambiguous position relative to both status and gender. This may be a prophylactic warding-off of sexual transgression by parody. Or the dangerous aspects of the dance may be being shifted onto the shoulders of outcasts.

I want now to contrast the representations of the circle or chain dances with a different type of dance, the couple or solo dance. If the round dance can represent the social cohesiveness of a group, the dancer who dances alone is by implication socially uncontrolled, free but dangerous in her or his lack of constraint. In the solo dance, even the higher-status women fling their arms in the air while their kerchiefs often blow loose, symbolically as we have already seen.[45] In an hours perhaps from Maastricht of circa 1300, a woman of lower social status is shown in the margin with arms outstretched, and she also has her skirt tellingly hitched up (fig. 12).[46] Such dances are often performed by *jongleurs* and have an aspect of acrobatic display to them.

The solo dance as one of sexual abandon has its forerunners in European representation in classical art in the rout of Bacchus with accompanying maenads and satyrs, as in the Pisa vase referred to earlier. These figures continue to be represented in Byzantine art in a variety of contexts, both secular and sacred, and can also be found in Italian marginal scenes.[47] Sometimes there may even be direct references in medieval art to such classical figures, for example the trumpeter in the psalter later owned by but not originally made for Robert of Ormesby, monk of Norwich Cathedral Priory. Otto Pächt identified the figure as the *tubicen* of classical triumphal processions (fig. 13).[48] Figures playing musical instruments, including pipes and trumpets, occur in Bacchic reliefs, for example the Roman copy of a Greek neo-Attic relief of Bacchus visiting the poet Icarius, which, probably not coincidentally, was reinterpreted in the sixteenth century as a matrimonial scene with a figure of Priapus added beside the poet's couch.[49] Medieval artists of a much earlier time were probably well aware of the sexual and erotic connotations of the figures in such reliefs. The double trumpets in the Luttrell Psalter dance (fig. 1) also recall the classical reliefs, and two trumpeters appear as well in one of the dancing images in the Queen Mary Psalter.[50] Lorenzetti, as was said earlier, may very well have had such figures in mind.

Lucy Sandler has drawn attention to erotic aspects of the marginalia on another page of the Ormesby Psalter.[51] It is undoubtedly significant that this dancing trumpeter is also placed in the margin, but, at the same time, I think we should see this not in opposition or subsidiary to the main religious narrative of the historiated initials but as a framing of the main text that carries an equally important message for the patrons. For it seems likely that the particular decorative program of the Ormesby Psalter aimed to sanctify and legitimate the wedding of the couple who are shown on the original *Beatus* page for Psalm 1.[52] In this sense, marginal and central representation are not opposed but form part of a single narrative, just as sacred and secular are part of a single social whole. But in any case, dance and marriage appear once again to be linked in the Ormesby Psalter.

Though my primary concern is with the social implications of the representation of dance in secular contexts, as usual in the Middle Ages religious imagery existed that also served sometimes to valorize, sometimes to criticize, directly or indirectly, social practice. Dance was often anathematized in the Christian religious context, as we have already seen. But it was also sanctified and incorporated into Christian experience. Its sanctification took place literally and physically in religious ceremonies and festivals.[53] The verbal and the visual also met in performance in the reenactments of holy events in religious drama.

Fig. 13. Marginal figure of a trumpeter dancing. Ormesby Psalter, England, early 14th century. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 366, fol. 147v.
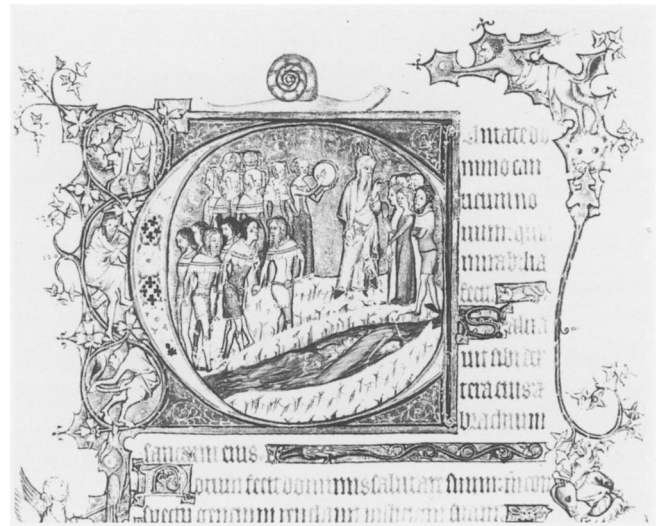
Fig. 14. Initial *C* with the Crossing of the Red Sea and the Dance of Miriam. Bohun Psalter, England, ca. 1370–1380. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1826*, fol. 85v (detail).

Certain biblical narratives that included a dance were commonly represented pictorially, and as a result dancing was shown publicly within the holy spaces of the church and more privately in religious manuscripts. Biblical images, especially of King David as psalmist, by stressing dance as religious ecstasy in some sense also valorized male dance, permitting or sublimating men's libido in this solo dance.[54] Another biblical dance of triumph is that of the Israelite maiden Miriam after the Crossing of the Red Sea. This is shown earlier in Byzantine psalters and later also in Western examples, for example in one of the Bohun family psalters (fig. 14).[55] In this aristocratic commission, Miriam, with close fitting cap and robe and playing the tambourine, once again leads a very contained and chaste dance, as do the Israelite men who surround her.

In other biblical images, however, dance is condemned, for example the Israelites' dance before the Golden Calf.[56] This is pagan idolatry, which is linked to immorality. Probably the most frequently represented biblical dance with negative connotations is that of Salome before Herod.[57] Here the sexual aspects of temptation of the weak man by the wicked woman are emphasized and by implication condemned. In the earlier representations, Salome is shown often as an acrobatic tumbler. Later, in a manuscript such as the Petites Heures of Jean de Berry (fig. 15), the tight fitting bodice and the toe

creeping out (which brings to mind the poet Suckling's "little mice") are the erotic pointers.[58] Saint John the Baptist had been imprisoned for his denunciation of Salome's mother's incestuous marriage to Herod. In so far as the dance celebrates that marriage, it is doubly evil.

Although the solo dance in particular is often condemned—and the sexual implications present in all dance representation, solo and circular, may be concealed, played down, or repressed in religious contexts (which in so far as they are clerical may also be consciously misogynist)—there remains nevertheless a discourse on sexuality and desire in all these images. We can say, as Michel Foucault demonstrated for the nineteenth century, that what on one level is condemned is still spoken about and on another level desired. Thus, within these representations there is always an ambivalence.

This can be clearly seen in another negative image, which is particularly remarkable considering the context in which it occurs. It shows seven nude women dancing outside in an open space (fig. 16). The manuscript, which contains texts concerning the life and miracles of Saint Benedict, was written and also illustrated, as a colophon states, by Jean de Stavelot, a monk of Saint-Laurent, Liège.[59] He dated it in two places, 1432 and 1437. The story illustrated here is told by Saint Gregory the Great in the *Dialogues* written circa 593.[60] Florentius, a jealous priest, having

Fig. 15. Salome dancing before Herod. Petites Heures of Jean de Berry, Paris, ca. 1390. Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 18014, fol. 212.

Fig. 16. The temptation of Saint Benedict. Jean de Stavelot, Collections on Saint Benedict, Liège, 1432–1437. Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 1401, fol. 135.
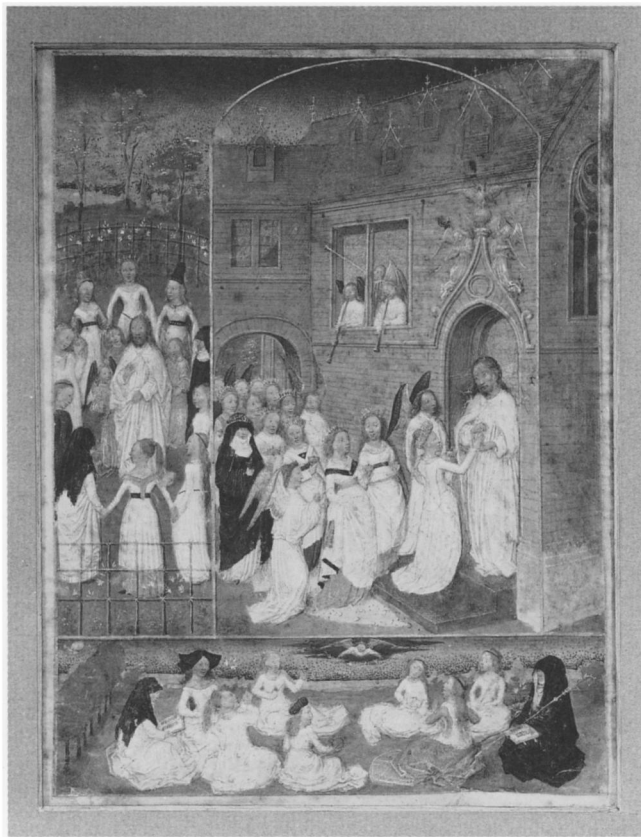
Fig. 17. Attributable to Simon Marmion, Blessed Virgins entering Paradise. Single leaf from a breviary, ca. 1460–1470. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, inv. no. 1975.I.2477.

first failed to poison Saint Benedict, then attempted to corrupt his disciples and destroy his spiritual community by sending a group of seven girl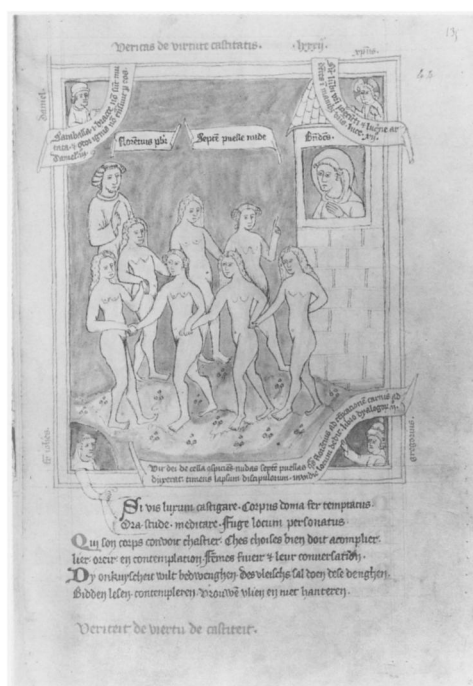s to inflame the monks to lust.[61] The image is placed below the heading, "Veritas de virtute castitatis" (the truth about the virtue of chastity). Texts in Latin on scrolls in the miniature identify the scene and include quotes held by figures representing Saint Luke, the prophet Daniel, Saint Gregory and "Frater Johannes." The main text below, in French and Flemish, draws the moral that whoever wishes to chastise his body ("son corps chastier") must flee from women ("femmes fuieir"). Here a specifically male gaze is represented. The standing cleric to the left, labelled "Florentius presbiter," presents the women to the haloed saint, labelled "Benedictus," at the window at the top right. A third implied gaze is that of the artist-monk, Jean himself, who has chosen to show the girls as dancing, though nothing in the text, which he himself excerpted and transcribed, directs him to do so. The text merely says the girls "held hands" and "played." He has even represented himself as voyeur in the picture, if the

Frater Johannes, who in the lower left corner of the frame holds a scroll with the first words of the text below, is, as seems likely, a self-portrait.

Only in Heaven could sexless beings, the Angels, be supposed to dance innocently with the blessed, as in Fra Angelico's San Marco Last Judgment or Botticelli's Nativity,[62] or in a detached miniature attributed to Simon Marmion of circa 1470, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (fig. 17).[63]

At an earlier stage of my examination of the medieval representation of the dance I was tempted to set up a dichotomy between the chain or round dance, the scenes of the carole, which are found represented in the center, in the main miniature or the main scene of a mural, because they are socially approved, and the pair or solo dances, which are disapproved of and so relegated to the margin. However, there are many exceptions; the round dance appears in both center and margin and is both approved and disapproved of in both places. And even the solo dance can be approved of and placed in the center, King David's dance for instance.[64]

There are dangers, in fact, in the conflation of the metaphorical sense of marginal with its descriptive sense. As Michael Camille has stressed, margin presupposes center and vice versa; one cannot exist without the other.[65] But the problem is that such a binary always divides, and a richer interpretative framework results if these representations are seen as dialectically related rather than in opposition: center and rather than versus margin, text and rather than versus image. There are many contradictions and collisions of meanings depending on the experiences of the viewers and the contexts within which the images were viewed. These meanings sometimes supplement each other, at other times are in opposition.[66]

I want to conclude by drawing on Freudian theory in order to propose an interpretation of some of the meanings that crisscross these representations of circle and solo dance. Once again it should be emphasized that what we are talking about are not historical actualities or practices, but images that may indeed reflect such practices, but that in their context as representations intervene in an historical situation and relate contextually and "intervisually" with other representations. By images relating "intervisually" I mean that the viewer, in seeing one image, recollects other images that are formally similar, but which have different contexts and thus different connotations.[67]

Laura Mulvey, drawing on the Russian formalist, Vladimir Propp's Morphology of the Folk Tale, has written
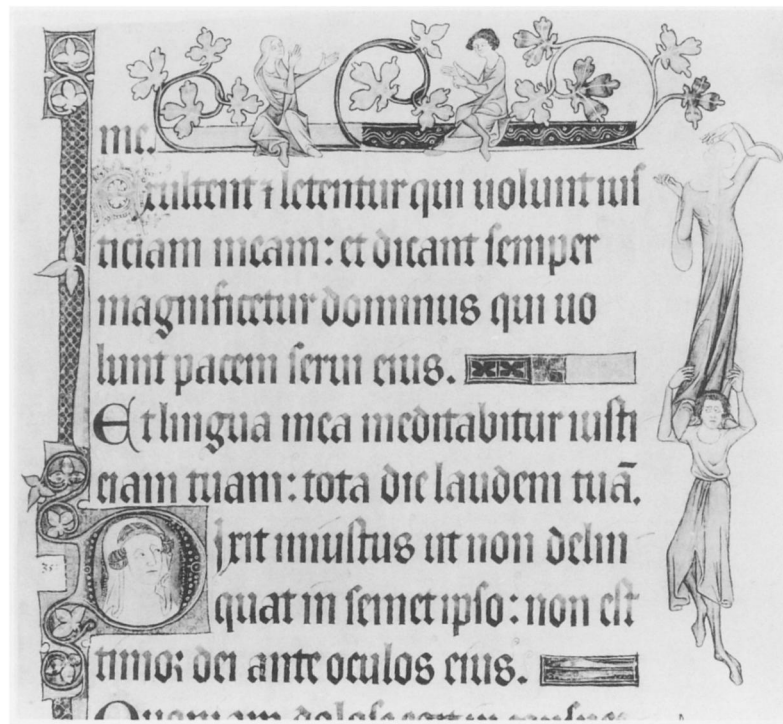
Fig. 18. Marginal scene of woman dancing on a man's shoulders. Luttrell Psalter,
England, second quarter of the 14th century. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 68 (detail).

of the closure of the narrative of the cowboy "Western" film by marriage.[68] She observes, however, that this closure is not inevitable, as it is in the folktales analyzed by Propp. It is sometimes refused, and the cowboy hero rides off alone into the sunset. Mulvey sees this resolution in marriage as paralleled to the entrance into the symbolic order achieved, according to Freudian theory, in the successful resolution of the Oedipal conflict. The cowboy's refusal of marriage, when it (rarely) occurs, is in Mulvey's phrase "a nostalgic celebration of phallic, narcissistic omnipotence."

According to my analysis of the medieval visual representation, sexual desire is primarily encoded, especially in its threatening, uncontrolled aspect, in the image of the solo or pair dance, as seen, for example, on another folio of the Luttrell Psalter (fig. 18).[69] At the top of this page, a courting couple are shown. In the right margin, the erect male standing with a woman balancing on his shoulders could perhaps be described as "a nostalgic celebration of phallic omnipotence." He is not enclosed in any circle of courtship and marriage. Placed in the right margin, he faces the viewer but glances sidelong at another woman, who is shown, head and shoulders only, in an initial D at the other side of the page. She also looks at him with a similar sidelong glance. The woman on his shoulders, apparently dominating him, is turned away, however, so that she is disempowered and cannot see this exchange.

Such acrobatic figures remaining as *jongleurs* on the margins of approved societal organization occur in representation in varying contexts, both sacred and secular, from the twelfth century onwards.[70] On the whole, however, the solo dancers shown are women, and they are thus frequently objects of the male gaze, which may be represented in the image itself, but is often implied by the gender of the probable reader, especially, of course, in liturgical manuscripts.[71] This latter male gaze is quite often a theoretically prohibited because a clerical gaze (figs. 12 and 16). Nevertheless though sexual desire is most obvious and most condemned in the solo dance, it is always implied in all images of dance, of whatever form. The resolution of that desire takes place in the entrance into the symbolic social order imaged in the circular or chain dance, as we see it in the cities "of Constantine," Siena, and Bruges (figs. 1–3). The circle closed or in the process of closure thus becomes the site of social integration, primarily exemplified as closure in marriage. Of course marriage is not an option for the cleric and so, for Jean de Stavelot, the circle dance must be condemned (fig. 16), even if the mode of

Fig. 19. The story of Oedipus. *Trésor de sapience*, southern Netherlands, ca. 1470–1480. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.307, fol. 26.

condemnation, the nudity of the girls, is figuratively as well as literally revealing!

A final example for our discussion showing the circular dance inside the city occurs in a copy of the *Trésor de sapience*, an historical compilation of events from the Creation to A.D. 138.[72] This luxury manuscript was illuminated for an unknown but obviously high-status patron in the southern Netherlands circa 1470–1480. What is shown in the miniature is none other than the story of Oedipus (fig. 19). To the left, he is discovered by the huntsmen as a baby suspended upside down from a tree. To the right, he kills his father with a long, phallic lance in a medieval joust. In the far distance to the left, he fights the Sphinx, shown as a dragon, with a sword. And in the distance in the center, a mixed circle dance is shown in the city square. Placing this in the context of the images already examined we can say that this represents what it was felt improper to show in a more direct way, Oedipus's incestuous marriage to his mother. The dance made so small in the main image is, however, enlarged upon by the marginal figures in the border, the woman above right with a triangle and the two male courtiers below. Here again the relation

of margin to main image is dialectical, the courtship dance in the border relating parodically to the marriage dance in the center.

Two points may be noted in conclusion. First, an image of women dancing inside city walls, linked pictorially to a preceding pagan and secular tradition of representation, makes its appearance in the ninth century in the context of a Christian devotional text, a psalter made probably for a religious community or member of the higher clergy (fig. 2). Over time this image is re-secularized, so that, though it continues to be found in devotional and religious texts such as the book of hours (fig. 3), it also is used in such secular contexts as an historical text (fig. 19) and a townhall mural (fig. 2). Details of costume and setting in the later images serve to emphasize the secular and social contexts and significances, even in religious images like the dance of Miriam in the Bohun Psalter (fig. 14).

Second, there is the complex question of the possibility of representation at any particular epoch. In describing the initial image discussed from the Luttrell Psalter (fig. 1), I stressed that the figures' feet are placed in a curve, which I believe represents the circular motion of the dance. Much earlier, in the Utrecht Psalter, the circular motion is constructed around Mount Sion more "realistically." In Siena, at the same moment in the fourteenth century when the Luttrell Psalter was made, Lorenzetti was able to show his dancers interweaving in an illusionistic, three-dimensional space. And in the *Trésor* of the late fifteenth century and in the book of hours of the early sixteenth century the circle is shown in a distant bird's-eye view as foreshortened (figs. 3 and 19). The circular or curving motion of the dance is still made clear in the Luttrell Psalter, however, where the image according to a developmental account of representation would be considered non-naturalistic. Within each representation it is also possible to uncover pictorial signifiers of gender and class. Thus, in images of both the fourteenth and the fifteenth century, exaggerated and angular postures and gestures denote lower-class figures, quite apart from any "realism" in spatial representation or stylistic difference depending on an individual artist.[73] The difference is that the naturalization of the images tends to conceal their constructedness, so that what is shown seems to be a picture of a "reality," and that reality is then taken by the viewer to be natural in the sense of normal or unalterable.[74] The images of dancers examined here show, however, neither a "real" world nor immutable meanings of which we can choose one as the "right" one. Rather, we have to recognize the necessity of

different readings for different spectators and, equally important, that there are contestations, contradictions, and uncertainties for each spectator—of approval and disapproval, of desire and repression, of conflicts in gender roles, and in Lorenzetti's image perhaps even of negotiations of gender itself.[75]

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Notes

It was a great privilege as well as a great pleasure to participate in the celebrations in honor of Lilian Randall, who has by her example always shown that scholarship and friendship can and should be linked together. This article is a revised and altered version of the paper read on that occasion. While I was writing it, a poem appeared in the New York subway trains which I should like to quote as relevant to the subject of the paper as well as to the further purpose of this volume:

> For friendship
> make a chain that holds
> to be bound to
> others two by two
> a walk, a garland,
> handed by hands
> that cannot move
> unless they hold.
>
> Robert Creeley (b. 1926)

1. London, BL, Add. MS 42130, fol. 164v. E.G. Millar, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1932), 42, pl. 81. L.F. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285–1385*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, V, ed. J.J.G. Alexander (London, 1986), no. 107. J. Backhouse, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1989), fig. 68. Dancing figures in marginalia are listed by L.M.C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966), 86–87, etc.

2. Above the city is written "Constantinus nobilis," a so-far unexplained label. Millar calls this a view of Constantinople, but that would suppose that a scribe mistranscribed "Constantinopolis" in this way, which seems implausible. Could this be a reference to Constantine's proclamation as Emperor by the Roman army at York? His mother, Saint Helena, a British noblewoman, was connected with the town of Colchester. Sir Geoffrey Luttrell's main lands were in Lincolnshire.

3. See the article by L.F. Sandler in this volume.

4. Millar, *Luttrell Psalter*, 42 incorrectly describes them as four men and one woman.

5. Fol. 76v. Backhouse, *Luttrell Psalter*, fig. 63. C. Jean Campbell, "Courting, Harlotry and the Art of Gothic Ivory Carving," *Gesta*, 34/1 (1995), 11–19.

6. W. Hansen, *Kalenderminiaturen der Stundenbücher. Mittelalterliches Leben im Jahreslauf* (Munich, 1984), 266 ("Stirnband der Jungfrau"), figs. 59–61. A good example of the kneeling lover receiving a garland from his beloved is Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 13568, fol. 1, Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, marginal scene, ca. 1330–1350. Reproduced by H. Martin, *La miniature française du XIIIᵉ au XVᵉ siècle* (Paris and Brussels, 1923), pl. 31.

7. There is, it goes without saying, a huge literature on the dance, historical, anthropological, and for more recent times sociological. Of general accounts I have found C. Sachs, *World History of the Dance*, trans. B. Schonberg (New York, 1963) and M. Wood, *Historical Dances (Twelfth to Nineteenth Century)*, 3rd ed. (London, 1982) helpful and, for specific aspects, E.L. Backman, *Religious Dances in the Christian Church and in Popular Medicine*, trans. E. Classen (London, 1952; Greenwood, Conn., 1977). The most substantial account of medieval representations of the dance is B. Fassbender, *Gotische Tanzdarstellungen*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, XXVIII. Kunstgeschichte, 192 (Frankfurt, 1994). She cites relevant literature and provides a catalogue of 258 images in various media from the later Middle Ages. Like much of the literature, her discussion is organized around types of dance. She then under each category, single dance, chain dance, etc., analyses representation of movement and relation to actual historical practice, and then discusses a range of contexts and meanings for the images, including their function as "dekorative Motive" or as "Textillustration," and their moral and allegorical meanings. There seem to me to be some problems with this structuring of the material, but this remains an invaluable overview. For the symbolic aspects which are of interest to me, R.L. McGrath, "The Dance as Pictorial Metaphor," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 89 (1977), 81–92 provides the most valuable insights, especially in relation to images of the Italian Renaissance. One whole class of dance imagery which I have ignored is the Dance of Death. For a recent discussion with further literature, see *The Danse Macabre of Women. Ms. fr. 995 of the Bibliothèque nationale*, ed. A.T. Harrison, with a chapter by S.L. Hindman (Kent, Ohio, 1994). Another important aspect of the dance that I have not been concerned with was the subject of a recent lecture in New York by Tilman Seebass and is what he terms "dance as acclamation," for example, the dance of Miriam discussed below (fig. 14). The marriage dance too is, no doubt, in a sense such an acclamation of the couple.

8. Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 18, fol. 3v. Augustine, *City of God*, ca. 1469–1473. F. Avril and N. Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France, 1440–1520*, exh. cat., Paris, BNF (Paris, 1993), no. 16. Fassbender, *Tanzdarstellungen*, no. 149, fig. 66.

9. As semiotic theory clearly demonstrates, meaning is not fixed, even though as Meyer Schapiro showed, there may be a linkage, for instance of extremes such as black and white as signs which in different cultural contexts may either of them, black or white, be linked to the extreme state of negation that is Death. M. Schapiro, *Words and Pictures. On the Literal and the Symbolic in the Illustration of a Text* (Mouton, The Hague, Paris, 1973), 47–48. Similarly it is the *contrast* between group and solo dance that is crucial. Another example in this paper is nudity. In the Chantilly manuscript, discussed later, nudity is an extreme that can be a negative sign for impurity, lust, and *luxuria* to be avoided by the holy man (fig. 16). But nudity in Christian art can also stand for the opposite extreme, purity or innocence in the Garden of Eden or in Paradise for example. Thus the blessed dance naked in Paradise in the King of Naples Dante illuminated by Giovanni di Paolo in Siena, ca. 1445, see below note 63.

10. There has been considerable discussion of the program and meaning of the frescoes recently. A convenient overview with selected bibliography is given by R. Starn, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti: the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena* (New York, 1994).

11. See Starn, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti*, 74, pl. The relevance of the sermon was first pointed out by C. Frugoni, *A Distant City. Images of Urban Experience in the Medieval World*, trans. W. McCraig (Princeton, 1991), 159 n. 137: "veggo andare fanciulle a marito."

12. M. Burke, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Sala della Pace. Its Historiography and Its 'Sensus Astrologicus'," unpublished Ph.D. diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 1993 has analyzed

the iconography in terms of the children of the planets. For the children of Venus see 154–62. This aspect of the paintings is also discussed by J.M. Greenstein, "The Vision of Peace: Meaning and Representation in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Sala della Pace* Cityscapes," *Art History*, 11 (1988), 500–501, referring to F. Saxl, "The Literary Sources of the Finiguerra Planets," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 2 (1938–1939), 72–74.

13. U. Feldges-Henning, "The Pictorial Program of the Sala della Pace: a New Interpretation," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 35 (1972), 145–62, esp. 154. Feldges-Henning attempted to explain the program in terms of Hugh of St. Victor's description of the mechanical Arts. For a critique, see Frugoni, *A Distant City*, 160–61.

14. Frugoni, *A Distant City*, 162–63.

15. A. Eorsi, "Donne danzanti sull'affresco: Efficacia del Buon Governo in città di Ambrogio Lorenzetti," *Acta Historia Artium*, 24 (1978), 85–89.

16. P.P. Bober and R.O. Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture* (London, 1986), no. 91. This is the same vase that provided models for Nicola Pisano in the scene of the Presentation in the Temple in the Pisa Baptistery Pulpit.

17. J. Bridgeman, "Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Dancing 'Maidens'," *Apollo*, 133, 350 (April 1991), 245–51. Saint Bernardino's words "veggo balli..." do not unfortunately help a decision. The Siena city statutes allow only one such entertainer to attend at a wedding according to Jane Bridgeman. Ms. Marina Vidas of the Institute of Fine Arts is working on a Ph.D. under my supervision on works of art commissioned in connection with marriages in fifteenth-century Florence. Dancing regularly formed a part of the ceremonies. For example, in the description of the wedding of Lorenzo dei Medici to Clarice Orsini, both youths and "about fifty" maidens are described as dancing. A stage was erected in the street for the purpose. See her forthcoming dissertation for further references.

18. Considerable damage to the figures, visible in the earlier photos, has now been repainted, so caution is required in discussing the costume. The whole question of gender ambivalence and of cross-dressing is an area, so far as I know, barely explored in medieval representation. For the Church's prohibitions, see Backman, *Religious Dances*, 58 and, for more general social condemnation, V.L. Bullough, "Transvestism in the Middle Ages," *Sexual Practices and the Medieval Church*, ed. V.L. Bullough and J. Brundage (Buffalo, 1982), 43–71.

19. See Greenstein, "The Vision of Peace," 493: "it is a mistake to regard Lorenzetti's fresco as mimetic." See also note 74 below.

20. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E. 4575-1910, May, June. E. 4576-1910 shows September, October, while March, April and July, August are inserted in the French book of hours, London, BL, Add. MS 18855. See *Burlington Fine Arts Club*, exh. cat. (London, 1908), no. 231.

21. Brussels, Bibl. royale, ms. II.158. Hansen, *Kalenderminiaturen*, 197–99, fig. 49. Another variation of the composition is in another hours by Bening, Waddesdon Manor, Buckinghamshire, MS 26, fols. 5v–6. L.M.J. Delaissé, J. Marrow, and J. de Wit, T*he James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor. Illuminated Manuscripts* (Fribourg, 1977), 562–95, fig. 19.

22. For social harmony as "generated and perpetuated through marriages" see S. Vecchio, "The Good Wife" in *A History of Women in the West, II, Silences of the Middle Ages*, ed. C. Klapisch-Zuber (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 109. The same point is made by C. Frugoni, "L'iconografia del matrimonio e della copia nel medioevo," *Il matrimonio nella società altomedioevale* (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 24) (Spoleto, 1977).

23. Utrecht, Bibl. der Rijksuniversiteit, MS 32, fol. 27v. E.T. Dewald, *The Illustrations of the Utrecht Psalter* (Princeton, [1932]), 23, pl. XLIV. Five women are shown.

24. London, BL, Harley MS 603, fol. 27v. Psalm 47. E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900–1066*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, II, ed. J.J.G. Alexander (London, 1976), no. 64.

25. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 17.1, fol. 82v. M.R. James, *The Canterbury Psalter* (London, 1935), 23. C.M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066–1190*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, III, ed. J.J.G. Alexander (London 1975), no. 68.

26. Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 8846, fol. 82v. H. Omont, *Psautier illustré (XIIIᵉ siècle)* (Paris, n.d.), pl. LVI. N.J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts 1190–1250*, A Survey of Manuscripts illuminated in the British Isles, IV, ed. J.J.G. Alexander (London, 1982), I, no. 1. This is one of the folios completed in Catalonia ca. 1340–1350.

27. J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia cursus completus, Series latina*, 36 (Paris, 1861), 539.

28. Though Ghiberti described Lorenzetti as "pictor doctus" he may well have deduced that from the work, rather than from any hard evidence. I am convinced that there was detailed written guidance provided for the program at the time the contract was awarded in this and in many other cases where none now survives. Such was certainly often the case for book illumination. See my *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven, 1992), chap. 3.

29. London, BL, Royal MS 6 E.VI, part 2, fol. 451v. G.F. Warner and J.P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections* (London, 1921), 157–59. Originally bound in two huge volumes, the manuscript is now rebound in four volumes. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, no. 124, as ca. 1360–1380s. Professor Sandler, who has a book in the press on this manuscript, kindly drew my attention to this image.

30. I have searched for these words in the CETEDOC CD-ROM without success. A similar sentiment occurs in one of Jacques de Vitry's *exempla*, see note 32.

31. For example *Robert of Flamborough, Canon Penitentiary of Saint-Victor at Paris, Liber Poenitentialis. A Critical Edition with Introduction and Notes*, ed. J.J. Francis Firth (Toronto, 1971), 264.

32. F.C. Tubach, *Index Exemplorum. A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales* (Helsinki, 1981), nos. 1063, 1412–30, 2629, 2780, and 4238. T.F. Crane, *The exempla or illustrative stories from the Sermones Vulgares of Jacques de Vitry* (New York, 1971), nos. LXXVIII, CCLXXIII bis (includes the words "mulier cantans in chorea est velut instrumentum dyaboli"), CCLXXV, and CCCXIV. H.L.D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (II, London, 1893), 660 (the often-repeated story of the dancers in the churchyard of Saint Magnus). For further references to dance, both positive and negative, see A.W. Smith, "References to Fifteenth-century Italian *Sacre Rappresentazioni*," *Dance Research Journal*, 23 (1991), 17–24. I am grateful to Constance Old for the reference.

33. K. Laske-Fix, *Der Bildzyklus des Breviari d'Amor*, Münchner Kunsthistorische Abhandlungen, V, (Munich, 1973), 112, Min. 137. "Le diables fai dansar los aimadors ab lurs donas, lequals diables mena lur dansa."

34. J.V. Flemming, *The "Roman de la Rose." A Study in Allegory and Iconography* (Princeton, 1969), 82–89.

35. Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 1586, fol. 51. F. Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France* (New York, 1978), pl. 24.

36. Fassbender, *Tanzdarstellungen*, no. 84, fig. 38.

37. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264, fol.181v. M.R. James,

The Romance of Alexander (Oxford, 1933). Fassbender, *Tanzdarstellungen*, 64, no. 104. Five men with animal masks are in the margin below the left column of script and six women below the right column. The main miniature above in the left column shows a *carole* of four men and five women to celebrate a "graunt feste." The text is *Le retour du pavon*. Other marginal dancing scenes are on fols. 78, 84v, and 129.

38. London, BL, Royal MS 2 B.VII, fol. 189. G.F. Warner, *Queen Mary's Psalter* (London, 1912), 42, pl. 209. There are also mixed dancers on fols. 173v, 176v, 178v, 181v, ibid., 42, pls. 202, 203, 204, 206, and on fol. 179v a dance of monkeys, ibid., pl. 205.

39. Paris, BNF, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3145, fol. 53. Avril, *Manuscript Painting*, pl. 15.

40. Fassbender, *Tanzdarstellungen*, 68–74. For the Duarte Hours in Lisbon, see her no. 129.

41. Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 9471, fol. 85v. M. Meiss and M. Thomas, *The Rohan Book of Hours* (London, 1973), pl. 46. Fassbender, *Tanzdarstellungen*, 71 n. 5. For peasants dancing see also R. Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1993), 139, 202, pl. VI.58, 61, 63, X.19, and also for the contorted pose of the dancing jester, 16–17, 20, pl. I.24.

42. New York, Morgan Library, MS M.1001, fol. 44. J. Plummer with G. Clark, *The Last Flowering. French Painting in Manuscripts, 1420–1530*, exh. cat., New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (New York, 1992), no. 62. Fassbender, *Tanzdarstellungen*, no. 89, fig. 39. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig MS IX.18, fol. 125v. A. von Euw and J. Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig* II (Cologne, 1982), 256–85, fig. 425.

43. I hope to return to this topic elsewhere, arguing that there are aspects of voyeurism on the part of the upper-class audience in such representations. See also my "*Labeur* and *paresse*: Ideological Representations of Medieval Peasant Labor," *Art Bulletin*, 72 (1990), 436–52.

44. Fassbender, *Tanzdarstellungen*, passim and 140–57.

45. London, BL, Yates Thompson MS 8, fol. 345v. Breviary of Marguerite de Bar, Verdun, after 1302. Randall, *Images*, fig. 490. For numerous examples see ibid., 86, s.v. Dancing; 163, s.v. "Man dancing;" and 230, s.v. "Woman dancing."

46. London, BL, Stowe MS 17, fol. 38. Randall, *Images*, fig. 509.

47. Ms. Jenny Liu has done research on these representations in an Institute of Fine Arts Seminar directed by Professor Thomas Mathews. I am grateful to her for making her material available to me. A good example of such dancing figures is the ivory casket in the Walters Art Gallery, Egyptian, 4th–5th century. R.H. Randall Jr., *Masterpieces of Ivory from the Walters Art Gallery*, (New York, 1985), 90, no. 135, color pl. 44.

48. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 366, fol. 147v. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, no. 43. O. Pächt, "A Giottesque Episode in English Medieval Art," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 6 (1943), 43–44, pl. 14e. Pächt argued that the figure was transmitted via an Italian source, probably a Bolognese law manuscript.

49. Bober and Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists*, nos. 78, 83, etc., and the Icarius relief, no. 90.

50. Fol. 201. Warner, *Queen Mary Psalter*, pl. 217d.

51. L.F. Sandler, "A Bawdy Betrothal in the Ormesby Psalter," *Tribute to Lotte Brand Philip, Art Historian and Detective*, ed. W.W. Clark et al. (New York, 1985), 154–59.

52. The giving of manuscripts, especially books of hours, as marriage gifts is a subject still requiring further study. For an examination of the pictorial programme in one such manuscript, the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, see M. Caviness, "Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a *Vade mecum* for Her Marriage Bed," *Speculum*, 68 (1993), 333–62. Professor Caviness shows how the marginal scenes in particular articulate a discourse on female fertility and male phallic eroticism.

53. Backman, *Religious Dances*. I have not had access to J. Horowitz, "Les dances cléricales dans les églises du Moyen Age," *Le Moyen Age*, 95/2 (1989), 279–92.

54. "And David danced before the Lord with all his might," II Sam. 6:14. He is shown dancing in Carolingian manuscripts, for example the Utrecht Psalter, the Vivian Bible, and the St. Gall Psalter. See H. Steger, *David Rex et propheta*, Erlanger Beiträge zur Sprach- und Kunstwissenschaft, 6, (Nuremberg, 1961). In the later period the scene of his triumphant return after the slaying of Goliath is often shown. His wife, Michal, who does not dance, is punished by the Lord for despising his exhibitionism. For some of the later examples of David dancing, see Fassbender, *Tanzdarstellungen*, nos. 41–46. There is, so far as I know, no specific study or listing of later representations.

55. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1826*, fol. 85v, Psalm 97. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, no. 133. Probably begun for Humfrey de Bohun, sixth earl of Hereford, died 1361, and completed under his nephew, Humfrey, seventh earl, died 1373. R. Marks and N. Morgan, *The Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting 1200–1500* (New York, London, 1981), pl. 23.

56. For example a late fourteenth-century missal from Fritzlar (Hesse), Kassel, Landesbibl., Cod. theol. fol. 118, fol. 210. G. Schmidt, "'Pre-Eyckian realism': Versuch einer Abgrenzung," in *Flanders in a European Perspective. Manuscript illumination around 1400 in Flanders and Abroad* (Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Leuven 7–10 September 1993), ed. M. Smeyers and B. Cardon (Leuven, 1995), 759, fig. 12.

57. H. Steger, "Der unheilige Tanz der Salome. Eine bildsemiotische Studie zum mehrfachen Schriftsinn im Hochmittelalter," in *Mein ganzer Körper ist Gesicht. Groteske Darstellungen in der europäischen Kunst und Literatur des Mittelalters*, ed. K. Kroll and H. Steger (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1994), 131–69.

58. For the earlier representations, see also Fassbender, *Tanzdarstellungen*. The Petites Heures is Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 18014, fol. 212. M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry. The Late XIVth Century and the Patronage of the Duke* (London, 1967), 155–93, fig. 170. F. Avril, L. Dunlop, and B. Yapp, *Les Petites Heures de Jean, duc de Berry*, introduction to facsimile (Lucerne, 1989). Sir John Suckling's lines are: "...her feet beneath her petticoat like little mice stole in and out, as if they feared the light. But oh she dances in such a way, no sun upon an Easter Day is half so fine a sight."

59. Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 1401, fol. 135. J. Meurgey, "Les principaux manuscrits à peintures du Musée Condé à Chantilly," *Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures*, 14 (1930), 75–78, pl. L. G. Dogaer, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the 15th and 16th Centuries* (Amsterdam, 1987), 49, pl. 21. Fassbender, *Tanzdarstellungen*, no. 148. I am grateful to Michael Gullick for originally showing me a photograph of this folio.

60. Book II, chap. 8. J.-P. Migne, ed., *Pat. lat.*, vol. 66 (Paris, 1859), 148.

61. "...ante eorum [the monks] oculos nudas septem puellas mitteret, quae coram eis sibi invicem manus tenentes et diutius ludentes, illorum mentes ad perversitatem libidinis inflammarent."

62. E. Morante and U. Baldini, *L'Opera Completa dell'Angelico* (Milan, 1970), pl. IV. See also the Uffizi *Coronation of the Virgin*, pl. XVII. For angels dancing, see Backman, *Religious Dances*, 19–38 and his fig. 5 of Botticelli's *Nativity* in the National Gallery, London. In the *Queen*

Mary Psalter, a marginal image shows among the miracles of the Virgin how she and her virgins appeared to Saint Dunstan and danced to the music of an angel, London, BL, Royal MS 2 B.VII, fol. 229. Warner, *Queen Mary Psalter*, 46, pl. 237a. Fassbender, *Tanzdarstellungen*, 79 is wrong to describe this as a dance of angels, however.

63. The Robert Lehman Collection, inv. no. 1975.I.2477. Reproduced in *Le jardin clos de l'âme. L'imaginaire des religieuses dans les Pays-Bas du Sud, depuis le XIIIᵉ siècle*, ed. P. Vandenbroeck, exh. cat., Brussels, Palais des Beaux Arts (Brussels, 1994), 104, no. 168, fig. 101. In the Dante illuminated in Siena for Alfonso of Aragon, ca. 1445, London, BL, Yates Thompson MS 36, fol. 161, Dante and Beatrice ascend to the Heaven of Jupiter where a group of ten nude men, the judges who have loved justice (Canto XVIII), dance in a circle. J. Pope-Hennessy, *A Sienese Codex of the Divine Comedy* (London, 1947), fig. 66. J. Pope-Hennessy, *Paradiso. The Illuminations to Dante's Divine Comedy by Giovanni di Paolo* (New York, 1993), 130.

64. In the scene below the figure of Justice in the Arena Chapel, Padua, Giotto has painted an energetically dancing man, a woman dancing with hands raised above her head, and a second woman apparently shaking a tambourine. This would appear to be a rare example of a couple dance with positive connotations. On the left are two horsemen, one with a falcon, and another pair of horsemen is on the right. Though I need to research the image further, my suspicion is that there are class aspects to this scene, the dancers being of the peasant class (their unrestrained movements are a significant indication as noted earlier), the falconers being aristocrats, and the horsemen on the right perhaps of the merchant class (one seems to have baggage behind his saddle). The corresponding scenes under Injustice of robbery (the baggage on the horse's rump is easier to see), rape and a pair of foot soldiers serve as antithesis. See *The Complete Paintings of Giotto*, intro. A. Martindale, notes and catalogue by E. Baccheschi (London, 1969), pl. XXXVII.

65. M. Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 10: "The center is, I shall argue, dependent on the margins for its continued existence."

66. For example D.W. Robertson, *A Preface to Chaucer. Studies in Medieval Perspectives* (Princeton, 1962), 127–37 has an informative discussion of the "New Song" and the "Old Song," into which he introduces a number of representations of dance; but the account is too simple in its opposition of good=New and bad (Old)="the inherited evil habit of the flesh."

67. I owe the adverb "intervisually" with the noun "intervisuality", which alludes to the term "intertextuality" as used by Julia Kristeva and others, to conversations with Michael Camille.

68. V.I. Propp, *Morphology of the Folk Tale* (Austin, 1968). L. Mulvey, "Afterthoughts on 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' inspired by King Vidor's *Duel in the Sun*," reprinted from *Framework*, 1981, in *Visual and Other Pleasures* (Bloomington, 1989), 29–44, esp. 33–34.

69. Fol. 68. Millar, *Luttrell Psalter*, pl. 20a. Backhouse, *Luttrell*, fig. 56, "acrobatic dancers."

70. The pictorial tradition of acrobatic dancers as entertainers extends continuously back at least to the early twelfth century. Examples occur in both secular and religious contexts. M.M. Gauthier, "Danseuses et musiciens dans les arts précieux au moyen âge," in *Romanico padano, Romanico europeo* (Convegno internazionale di Studi, Modena-Parma 26 Oct.–1 Nov. 1977) (Parma, 1982), 78–88 discusses Limoges enamel bowls of the early thirteenth century, which she considers may have had either sacred or secular use. For Salome as contorted dancer, see Steger, "Der unheilige Tanz." And for a Romanesque sculpture of a dancing *jongleur* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyons, see W. Cahn, "Focillon's jongleur," *Art History*, 18 (1995), 345–62, quoting other examples and giving further literature.

71. The images of women dancing listed by Randall, *Images* are far more numerous than those of men. Once again further research is desirable to compare imagery in manuscripts primarily intended for women or for men. For women's (divergent) postures in representation and in actual dances, see S. Fermor, "Movement and Gender in Sixteenth-century Italian Painting," in *The Body Imaged*, ed. K. Adler and M. Pointon (London, 1993), 129–45.

72. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.307, fol. 26. I am grateful to Dr. Diane Booton for bringing this to my attention. The manuscript is briefly described in S. de Ricci and W.J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada. I, Alabama to Massachusetts* (New York, 1935, repr. 1961), 849, no. 520. It has added arms identified by de Ricci as those of Adolphe de Bourgogne. See L.M.C. Randall et al., *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, III, Belgium 1250–1530* (forthcoming), no. 273.

73. For this point, see A. Heslop, "Romanesque Painting and Social Distinction: the Magi and the Shepherds," in *England in the Twelfth Century (Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium)*, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge, 1990), 137–52.

74. Greenstein (as in note 12) observes that the "reality effect," a phrase he takes from Roland Barthes, in Lorenzetti's fresco "was due to the verisimilitudinous concretization of cosmic symbolism" achieved by, on the one hand, "the code of monumental religious or allegorical narrative" and, on the other, "scientific nature illustration," pp. 504–505. He seems to me not to stress sufficiently the ideological benefits of the "reality effect," which may also have contributed to the preservation of the fresco cycle in spite of changes of political rule after the fall of the Nine (on which he remarks, p. 493).

75. Numerous friends have helped me with references and comments on this paper. I should especially like to thank: Diane Booton; Elizabeth Burin; Martha Driver; Constance Old (who generously allowed me to look at the catalogue of dance images in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, which she is compiling); Nancy Regalado; Lucy Sandler. As I was completing this paper, W.M. McNeill, *Dance and Drill in Human History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995) came to my attention. I hope my paper may cause him to modify somewhat his judgment on p. 40 that: "Art, therefore, like literature can tell us little about the history of community wide dancing."

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1, 4, 5, 7, 12, 18, London, BL; figs. 2, 16, New York, Art Resource; fig. 3, London, Board of Trustees, Victoria and Albert Museum; figs. 6, 8, 10, 15, Paris, BNF; figs. 9, 13, Oxford, Bodleian Library; fig. 11, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum; fig. 14, Foto Leutner, Vienna, ÖNB; fig. 17, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Lehman Collection; fig. 19, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery.

The Origins and Significance of Two Late Medieval Textile Chemise Bookbindings in the Walters Art Gallery

Frederick Bearman

The two late medieval textile chemise bindings in the Walters Art Gallery reveal themselves as belonging to one of the most important developments in the history of bookbinding during the Middle Ages. As symbols of veneration, chemise bindings played a significant role in the religious life of medieval Europe and were often included in the iconography of painting, sculpture, and manuscript illumination. During the late fourteenth century, the utilitarian monastic chemises of animal skins were transformed into rich textile coverings. As a style, this type of binding persisted until the artistic and political changes of the sixteenth century.

> Take thou a book into thine hands as Simon the Just took the child Jesus into his arms to carry him and kiss him. And when thou hast finished reading, close the book and give thanks for every word out of the mouth of God; because in the Lord's field thou hast found a hidden treasure.
>
> Thomas à Kempis (1380–1471),
> *Doctrinale Juvenum*

Having found little evidence of tooled leather decoration on late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century English bookbindings, G.D. Hobson remarked that, although this period had produced great works of art, it had "left hardly anything of any interest to the student of bindings."[1] Hobson has not been alone in perceiving the history of bookbinding purely as a study of surface decoration. Other scholars have taken this path, and in time an interpretative pattern has emerged.[2] On the one hand, the study of surface decoration has greatly enhanced our understanding of the function of early decorated bindings within the wider context of the history of the book; on the other, it has shed little light on the study of undecorated bindings or the materials and structural components that make up the medieval bound book. But through the pioneering work of Berthe van Regemorter, Graham Pollard, and others, medieval bookbindings can now be appreciated as historical

objects and studied from several more inclusive perspectives.[3]

A particular set of medieval bindings, however, still eludes attempts to place it in a precise historical context. This group shares one striking feature. Whether of textile, alum-tawed skin (here called *tawed*, or *tawed skin*), or leather, the material that covers these bindings was designed to protrude beyond the edges of the bound book in soft, pliant flaps—even to the point where the edges of the textblock could no longer be seen. When made of tawed skin or leather, these covers are understood to have been applied to already bound books as an extra mantle protecting against wear and tear, or to facilitate portage by grasping the extended flap or flaps (see fig. 1).[4] While animal skin coverings possess an inherent durability, those of textile, known as chemises (see fig. 7), currently are believed to have been expendable and to have had little practical or aesthetic purpose.[5]

The scarcity of surface decoration on this type of book covering has facilitated the spread of misconceptions based upon the assumption that these bindings were merely utilitarian.[6] Indeed, in one extant example (The Hague, Royal Library, MS 135 J 55, book of hours, ca. 1460), a secondary undecorated velvet chemise covering actually conceals an elaborate blind-tooled leather binding beneath it.[7]

Two late medieval textile chemise bindings of crimson velvet in the collection of the Walters Art Gallery (MSS W.294 and W.480) provide an opportunity to unravel the history and function of these supposedly ephemeral coverings. One covers a French book of hours, possibly made in Paris around 1500 (MS W.294; figs. 2a and 2b). The other (MS W.480), made in Florence, covers the *Statuti della Compagnia di San Bastiano*, dated 1499, with additions dating up to January 1777 (fig. 3).
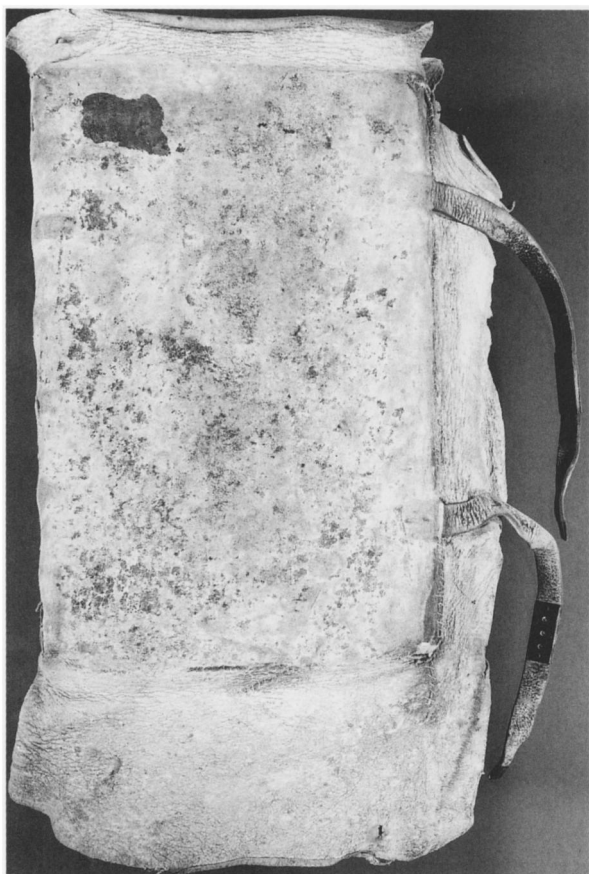
Fig. 1. Upper cover of mid-fourteenth-century(?) English alum-tawed chemise binding, showing head, fore-edge, and tail flaps. (See Appendix II, no. 9.) Exeter Cathedral Library, MS D & C 3505.

Since these two textile chemises are devoid of surface decoration, their stylistic origins and social functions can best be understood through a detailed study of the binding structures and materials employed. The following technical descriptions concentrate on the original elements that survive; where conservation/restoration work is mentioned, the period is specified.[8]

The French book of hours (MS W.294) comprises a parchment textblock[9] (246 x 157 x 33 mm) of ninety-two foliated leaves, forming gatherings of eights. Evidence of some missing leaves and others tipped or hooked in place suggests resewing.[10] Both front and back endleaves comprise a set of two single (ruled as text) hooked parchment leaves; the endleaf hook is trimmed to a 47 mm stub, with the narrow stub of the fly-leaf hooked around it. Both stubs are adhered as hinges across the inner joints of the boards. A herring-bone stitch forms the sewing onto double, raised slit tawed thongs with kettle-stitches at each end. A technique known as "natural rounding and backing" may have been used to produce the convex spine.[11]

Edge gilding and gauffering are suggested by the remains of gold and pointillé tooling, now disturbed. Silk "curtains," ranging in color from light brown and olive green to pink and crimson, covering illuminations in the text have been removed.[12] Primary plain thread endbands, with secondary sewing in yellow and blue silk (now faded) with front bead, are worked over single tawed cores laced into diagonal channels 31 mm long, cut into the quartersawn beech boards (252 x 157 x 3 mm), which have 5 to 6 mm squares. Back cornering made to accommodate endband cores and a 4 mm spine-edge bevel are the only workings on the otherwise flat outer board surfaces. The three inside edges are cut with a 3 mm bevel and a 6 mm spine-edge bevel. All slips are laced into 22-mm-long parallel, earth-filled board channels, secured with two small wooden pegs. Lacing channel score marks are visible on either side of both boards. Flaps of the velvet primary chemise covering extend as follows: head, 80 mm; tail, 90 mm; upper cover fore-edge, 135 mm. A lower cover fore-edge turn-in (60 mm wide), bearing selvage, is adhered to the inside of the lower board, forming a pocket. Both chemise and lining are edged with red silk and silver braid. Four pieces of the original crimson silk lining (identical to the crimson silk curtains mentioned above) remain attached: across the inside surface of the upper board; from the inner joint to the selvage of the velvet pocket on the lower board (this piece retains selvage); stitched to the fore-edge flap; and part of the tail flap (also retaining selvage).[13] Dark brown stains at the fore-edge of the front endleaves suggest two leather fore-edge fastening straps attached to the inside surface of the upper board, secured in place by strap plates attached to the outside surface of the board. Impressions left by the now lost lower-cover fore-edge catch plates can be seen in the velvet chemise. Slits in the fore-edge flap adjacent to the strap plates suggest that the fastening straps once passed through them.

The velvet chemise is the only covering on this binding, and in this respect it resembles an English example from circa 1559, with a single covering of a velvet chemise (see Appendix I, no. 5).[14]

In contrast, the binding on the Walters Florentine manuscript (MS W.480) is constructed very differently. The parchment textblock (258 x 174 x 33 mm) of thirty-seven foliated leaves forms four uneven gatherings, with single parchment bifolium endleaves (of a lesser quality than the text), the first leaf forming pastedowns (now partly disturbed). The textblock is sewn onto three slit tawed straps with kettle-stitches at each end. A double linen thread, stab

Fig. 2a. French velvet chemise binding, ca. 1500, showing head and tail flaps, with upper cover fore-edge flap draped over page opening. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.294.

Fig. 2b. Book in fig. 2a shown closed with head and tail flaps, and upper cover fore-edge flap draped over lower cover. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.294.

sewn through folio 37 and the back fly-leaf, may have supported a pendant seal. Natural rounding and backing was used on the spine, with the edges of the textblock gilded and gauffered. Endbands of a primary and a secondary sewing in green and buff thread with a front bead are worked over single tawed cores. Both wooden boards are cut with inside bevels. A primary covering of reddish-brown goatskin leather with turn-ins is blind-tooled, with a four-line outer border and central decoration. A secondary chemise of dark red velvet extends 250 mm at the tail edge only. The adhering of the chemise turn-ins (pockets) on top of those of the leather cover, the edging of pink canvas to the fore-edges of the chemise turn-ins, and the addition of a maroon silk fringe 60 mm wide stitched around the tail flap are all seventeenth-century restoration work. Evidence of the original fastenings exists. Two later leather fastening straps bearing metal clasps are attached to the fore-edge of the upper cover, underneath the chemise, and protrude through slits in the chemise. Lower-cover catch plates (one a later replacement) are attached through the outer surface of the chemise. The covers are further embellished with four engraved metal corner-pieces, with edge guards and a lower cover center boss. The upper cover features an almond-shaped repoussé central frame containing a miniature of Saint Sebastian (by the same artist who executed the frontispiece of the manuscript),[15] protected by transparent horn.

Judged without their chemise coverings, both books can be regarded as having been bound in their respective regional styles using the techniques and materials common during the late fifteenth century.[16] These textile coverings with their extending flaps, however, transform the bookbindings into another species altogether. The Walters French textile chemise binding is related stylistically to other surviving northern European (and Iberian) chemise bindings, and is of a type represented in fifteenth-century northern European art. The Florentine binding remains unique, as the only surviving example of an Italian chemise-covered book. It is germane to focus first on the origins of this type of binding in the area north of the Alps and then on its adaptation in fifteenth-century Italy.

Past discussions and extant examples

In 1988 the Royal Library in The Hague acquired a Spanish book of hours from circa 1460, with its contemporary crimson velvet chemise covering intact. Jan Storm van Leeuwen's comprehensive study of this

Fig. 3. Upper and lower covers of Florentine velvet chemise binding, ca. 1499, with long tail flap and fringe. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.480.

binding and its related structures discusses the depiction of these bindings in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century and lists extant examples.[17]

Using the taxonomy of Adolf Rhein,[18] this class of binding was divided into four groups. First, there are the *textile chemise bindings*, sometimes known as "wrapper bindings" or, in recent coinage, "lappen bindings."[19] Made for both small and large books, these coverings were designed with either short or long flaps. In some cases, the flaps covered all three edges of the binding. In others, only the head and tail edges are covered, or the fore-edges and tail, or the tail-edge alone. Lined with tawed skin, as in the example now in Christ Church College Library, Oxford (MS 92; see below), with silk, or with damask, the coverings were most commonly attached to the bound book by pockets stitched to the inside of the chemise. A conventional primary cover of tawed skin, leather, or cloth was often made for the book before the chemise was applied, but clearly it could be left without any first covering at all (as in the French and English examples cited above). Strap plates and metal clasps were invariably riveted to the upper cover after the chemise was applied. However, fastening straps on many of the surviving examples are attached to the binding underneath the chemise, protrude through slits in the fore-edge flap, and close onto side pins or catch plates, attached to the outer surface of the opposite cover. Often the chemise and lining were edged with colored threads and corner tassels. Metal

bosses and other fittings served to embellish, protect, and secure the loose coverings to the binding.

Storm van Leeuwen's study increased the then-known examples of textile chemise bindings to seven. Although he makes reference to their country of origin and supplies technical descriptions, a reappraisal is required. The chemise binding from Christ Church College, Oxford (MS 92, Walter de Milemete, *De nobilitatibus, sapientiis, et prudentiis regum,* 1326), which is incorrectly described as an Italian binding,[20] might be more appropriately understood as an English fifteenth-century(?) textile chemise binding, made of contemporary red velvet with embroidered decoration, possibly of Italian manufacture.[21] If the six examples of textile chemise bindings in Appendix I are added—all of which, with the possible exceptions of numbers four and six, are English—the total number of existing textile chemise bindings grows to thirteen: seven of English origin, two possibly English, two Spanish (if the example in the Royal Library, The Hague, is included),[22] one French (Walters, MS W.294), and one Italian (Walters, MS W.480). All originate from circa 1460 to 1559.

Forty-nine *Hülleneinbände* (wrapper bindings), with coverings made of tawed skin or leather and with flaps extending around all three edges of the book, constitute the second group. These examples date from the twelfth to the mid-sixteenth century. Their coverings, whether primary or secondary, are, for the most part, constructed in a fashion almost identical to that of the textile bindings cited above. Yet the flaps tend to be shorter on the earlier dated examples and progressively longer on the later ones. Many have pockets, fastening straps, and bosses arranged as on the textile chemise bindings. Some *Hülleneinbände* have the extra covering pasted or glued to the primary covering. A number of the tawed coverings are stained green, red, or blue (perhaps as color coding for identification and quick reference),[23] and blind tooling decorates a few of those in leather.[24] There are no tassels on the bindings listed by Storm van Leeuwen, all of which were of Flemish, Netherlandish, central European, or eastern European origin.

A late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century binding of this type at Yale University (Beinecke Library, MS 27, *Speculum humanae salvationis*),[25] previously believed to be of Dutch or German origin,[26] recently has been identified as an English manuscript in a contemporary English binding.[27] Other English and French examples are recorded in Appendix II.[28] Their construction is similar to those cited by Storm van Leeuwen. They date from the first

Fig. 4. English girdle binding, ca. 1530s, with head, fore-edge, and tail flaps. London, PRO, E. 36/282.

quarter of the twelfth to the early sixteenth century.

Tragehüllen I and *Tragehüllen II* (wrapper bindings with the distinct feature of a long tail flap for carrying the book, plus the occasional additions of head and fore-edge flaps) comprise the third and fourth groupings. These bindings are constructed in the same manner as the two groups above, with coverings made from either textile(s), tawed skin, or leather, often supplied with corner tassels.

Although *girdle bindings* did not properly fall within Storm van Leeuwen's purview, they can be proposed as another group. In structural terms, they relate to the four binding styles described, in that the primary or secondary covering could be made from any one of the three materials above, but cut with a characteristic long tail flap, often including flaps at the head and fore-edge. Girdle bindings appear almost as miniature versions of the other four groups. Practical only for relatively small, lightweight books, they were meant to be suspended upside down from the *cingulum* (girdle or belt) by the tail flap, which sometimes was gathered and fitted with a metal clip, hook, or Turk's-head knot.[29] The exact date of origin is uncertain, but, judging by numerous artistic representations, the girdle book appears to have been fairly common throughout most of Europe in the later Middle Ages.[30] Surviving girdle books date from the fifteenth century; most contain religious texts, some secular manuscripts. The existence of an English girdle binding from the second quarter of the sixteenth century, now preserved in the Public Record Office, London (E. 36/282, fig. 4),[31] contradicts the generally held belief that girdle bindings were

produced only in the Low Countries and the Rhine Valley.

The above four groupings and girdle bindings exhibit many common structural features, which in the past were overlooked. The textile chemise bindings, for example, often regarded as "outstandingly feminine," have been segregated from the other binding groups, not on the grounds of any structural differences but on the assertion that their soft textile covers bear a resemblance to the long flowing garments worn by women in the fifteenth century. Furthermore, it is argued that, because women are seen more than men in artistic representations with textile chemise bindings, this would indicate a feminine role for this type of binding.[32]

However, the art of the period, notably manuscript illustration, confirms that clothes for the aristocracy and the prosperous bourgeoisie of the late Middle Ages were often tailored full and long for both men and women. Clothes played an important role in the cultural display of conspicuous wealth and social standing. Two miniatures from the Bedford Hours (London, BL, Add. MS 18850, fol. 257v and 288v, ca. 1423) illustrate this point. The Duke and Duchess of Bedford wear almost identical long, flowing robes as they kneel before what appears to be an open prayer book, bound in a green textile chemise covering with head, fore-edge, and long tail flaps, embellished with gold thread edging and small corner tassels.[33] The textile chemise binding illustrated here is used by both duke and duchess.

Female saints, especially the Virgin Mary, were as much a part of the iconography of worship for the medieval male as they were for the medieval female.[34] An important part of the ritual worship of the Virgin was the popular book of hours, commissioned and owned by both men and women, as exemplified by the Bedford Hours discussed above. Images of the Annunciation in fifteenth-century books of hours frequently depicted the Virgin either holding a textile chemise-covered book or reading from a manuscript bound in a chemise binding placed on a *prie-dieu*, such as the Annunciation miniature from a French book of hours of the mid-fifteenth century in figure 6.[35] Examples of male saints and laymen with textile chemise bindings coexist with such images. The painting of the *Mass of Saint Giles* by the Master of Saint Giles (London, National Gallery, ca. 1480–1490), shows two textile chemise bindings, one used by Saint Giles at the altar and the other by Emperor Charlemagne. Moreover, the largest and most elaborate group of surviving textile chemise
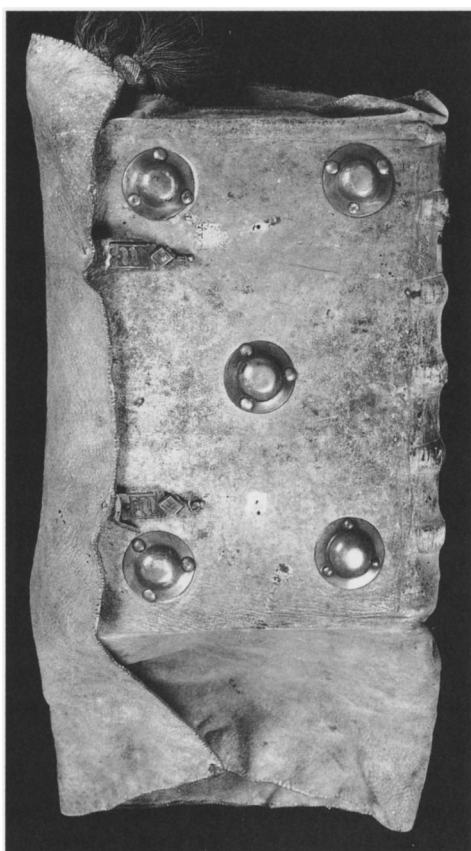
Fig. 5. Lower cover of mid-fifteenth-century(?) English alum-tawed chemise binding with corner tassels. (See Appendix II, no. 19.) London, PRO, E. 164/10.

Fig. 6. The open book that rests on the Virgin's *prie-dieu* in this Annunciation is covered in a white chemise. The lower cover fore-edge and long tail flaps are both represented. Master of the Munich Golden Legend, French book of hours, ca. 1425–1430. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.288, fol. 17 (deatil).

bindings belongs to a set of four indentures of agreed prayers and services, commissioned by King Henry VII of England in 1504 (Appendix I, nos. 1–3; see fig. 7). The contents of these manuscripts have no affiliation with early sixteenth-century feminine culture, nor do their illustrations include any depiction of the Virgin or other female saints, suggesting that textile chemise bindings were utilized to cover devotional books, not because of any feminine associations, but rather as appropriate coverings for religious and related texts.

Tassels attached to the corners of this type of binding are there to embellish the visual splendor of the book. This observation also applies to the fifteenth-century tawed binding (PRO, E 164/10, Transcripts of Statutes, Edward III to Henry VI; see Appendix II, no. 19) with green silk corner tassels attached to the head flap and evidence of tassels on the tail flap (fig. 5). Tassels stitched to the corners of cushions had a similar function, as shown in contemporary paintings. In this context, they enhance the cushion as a sumptuous manifestation of aristocratic status.[36] As early as the thirteenth century,

cushions were used on altars as resting places or as suitable supports for devotional books.[37] When opened flat, the flaps of a chemise binding give the appearance of a cushion, emphasizing the traditional relationship between the cushion and the book. The textile chemise-bound book with corner tassels being read by the Virgin in the Annunciation in a French book of hours (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS H.8, fol. 30v, ca. 1500) also rests upon a cushion embellished with tassels; together, book and cushion form a type of portable altar (fig. 8).

The strategy of using the length of the tail flap to classify these bindings also leads to confusion. Under this criterion, the few extant textile chemise bindings with long tail flaps, those from the Hülleneinbände group, and the many examples seen in late medieval art become impossible to locate in any of the above categories. For instance, should the four textile bindings with long tail flaps that cover the indentures of Henry VII be categorized as Tragehüllen II (bindings with head, fore-edge, and long tail flaps) or simply as textile chemise bindings?
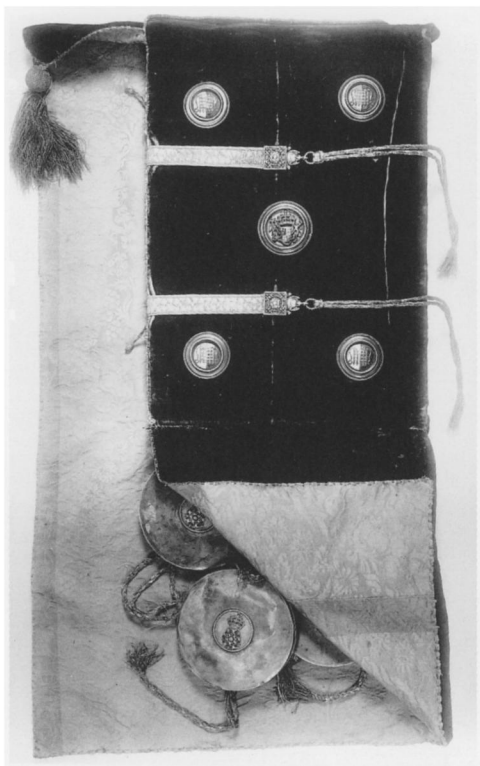
Fig. 7. Velvet chemise binding covering Foundation Indentures of Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, 1504. Showing head, upper cover fore-edge, and tail flaps. London, BL, Harley MS 1498.

Fig. 8. Chemise-bound book supported by a cushion, both embellished with tassels. Annunciation from a French book of hours, ca. 1500. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS H.8, fol. 30v.

Since extending flaps are the common denominator that draws such bindings into one grouping, the established English term *chemise binding* is used generically here to describe medieval and early modern (or Renaissance) bookbindings with coverings meant to extend as pliant flaps beyond the edges of the bound book, other than girdle bindings. This suggests grouping them according to the material used for the outer cover.[38]

The origins of chemise bindings

> We are not only rendering service to God in preparing volumes of new books, but also exercising an office of sacred piety when we treat books carefully.
>
> Richard de Bury (1281–1345), *Philobiblon*

In the monasteries of the twelfth century, chemises made from animal skins were being produced for use as secondary coverings on already bound and covered books.[39] They also may well have been used as primary coverings.[40] An example of a monastic binding covered in a secondary tawed chemise has been described briefly by Graham Pollard. The manuscript

and binding were made by the monks at Fountains Abbey around the year 1120 and are now preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford (MS D. 209; see Appendix II, no. 1).[41]

Only two out of the two hundred and fifty or so English twelfth-century bindings discussed by Pollard were found to have intact chemise coverings: the Corpus Christi binding just mentioned and one from Lincoln Cathedral. (The Lincoln binding covers a copy of Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*, written before the year 1166: University of Nottingham, Hallward Library, Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library, MS 31; see Appendix II, no. 3.) However, a substantial number of these bindings may have had chemises made for them, as is shown by the remains of chemise coverings still attached to some.[42] The recurrence of rather thin tawed skin used as a primary covering also suggests the potential for a chemise.[43] A pair of parallel holes left in the fastening strap might indicate that a tacket once held the strap to the fore-edge flap of a missing chemise. These clues to the frequent use of chemise coverings in European monasteries strongly suggest that these coverings were perceived as the final finish in the binding operation.[44]

Pollard also indicates that this type of binding only covered works of the Church Fathers, Peter Lombard, Peter Comestor, or glossed books of the Bible, with no university books being found among those he investigated.[45] Three French twelfth- and early thirteenth-century tawed chemise bindings from the Cistercian abbeys of Clairvaux and Cîteaux also cover a glossed book of the Bible and works by Saint Augustine (see Appendix II, nos. 2, 4, and 5). The notion that certain medieval texts were bound in particular binding styles is intriguing, since it seems that the appropriate binding for a privately commissioned glossed book of the Bible was a covering of shiny tanned leather, usually stained reddish-brown and decorated with blind tooling (a style known today as "Romanesque binding").[46] In a number of instances where these privately owned books were donated to monastic institutions, the Romanesque binding was subsequently covered in a plain chemise.[47] The monastic practice of covering Romanesque bindings in plain chemises again suggests the possibility of an actual "chemise binding style" reserved by the monks as a conscious choice for covering certain revered texts.

However, the thirteenth-century tawed chemise binding now in Shrewsbury School Library (MS 1, *Sapientia atque Ecclesiasticus, cum glossa*; see Appendix II, no. 6) suggests the opposite. This binding shows signs of having been chained to a lectern or shelf, implying that books meant for everyday use were simply given a chemise covering to protect the binding, rather than being an exercise in a particular binding style. The utilitarian application in the Middle Ages of extra coverings to protect books, whether stored in aumbries, in chests, or upon open shelves and lecterns, is not disputed.[48] But it is possible that chemise coverings, with their protruding flaps, may have served a further symbolic purpose for the monks who made and used them. They may have been associated with the practice of draping and covering the hands while holding, offering, or receiving sacred books and other precious objects. The tradition of using drapery in this way can be traced back to the Early Christian period.[49]

Although there are many instances of books and other objects being handled in a religious context without covered hands, the custom of swathing hands must have been seen, practiced, and depicted as an unmistakable act of piety and veneration. In that context it persists in European art from this early period until the nineteenth century.[50]

Fig. 9. Saint Dunstan writing out the rule of Saint Benedict, ca. 1170. London, BL., Royal MS 10. A. xiii, fol. 2v.

In Anglo-Saxon and Romanesque manuscript portraiture, scribes, Evangelists, and other figures, including the Virgin,[51] are seated in front of draped lecterns. The celebrated illumination of Saint Dunstan writing out the Rule of Saint Benedict (ca. 1170), with his manuscript resting on a lectern swathed in cloth, is typical of this type of image (fig. 9).[52] Carl Nordenfalk, in his study of draped lecterns in Anglo-Saxon portraits, suggests that drapery had a symbolic importance: the presence of a covering made the lectern a suitable object to bear the Holy Word of God.[53] Nordenfalk links this sign of veneration toward the book with the custom of covering thrones and altars in a comparable way.[54] Holding sacred books in covered hands, too, can be viewed in this light. An eleventh-century drawing from the Gospels of Odbert of St. Bertin (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.33, fol. 84), shows Odbert and a fellow scribe presenting their manuscript to their patron saint, who stands before a draped altar. The hands of both scribes are completely covered with cloth as they support their books (fig. 10).
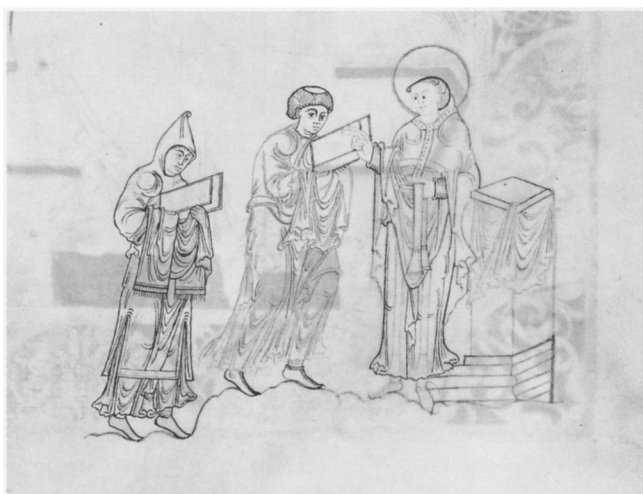
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Fig. 10. Odbert and a scribe presenting their manuscript with covered hands. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.33, fol. 84 (detail).

Fig. 11. The Great Angel of the Apocalypse and the figure at the extreme right both hold books with drapery hanging from the tail edge. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 180, fol. 33 (detail).

The conjunction of drapery and private prayer is evident in a miniature from the Vienna Hours, produced in Oxford between 1250 and 1255 (Vienna, Museum für angewandte Kunst, Cod. lat. XIV [S 5], fol. 173v). The female owner of this book of hours is portrayed at prayer holding a cloth and simultaneously supporting her book,[55] suggesting possible connections among drapery, prayer, and book handling. A late thirteenth-century illumination from the Douce Apocalypse[56] depicts the cloth as part of the binding itself. Scrutiny reveals the Great Angel of the Apocalypse as supporting a book with drapery hanging from its tail edge. Another figure, on the right-hand side of the miniature, also holds a book with drapery clearly hanging from the tail edge of the binding, intimating a bond between drapery and sacred books (fig. 11).[57]

While it is uncertain whether fabric was used to cover books in the thirteenth century, fine textiles were certainly employed in the making and decoration of the great "treasure bindings" of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[58] Indeed, the Cistercians, at a chapter general (ca. 1145–1151) on restricting luxury in their buildings, appear to have forbidden the use of cloth as a covering on their books.[59] The implication is that, in the monasteries of the twelfth century, fabrics may have been used to cover books other than those with treasure bindings.

The use of textiles as sumptuous coverings for sacred books seems to reappear in the fourteenth century. This is demonstrated by the embroidered canvas covers on the early fourteenth-century Felbrigge Psalter[60] and by the additional tailor-made cover of Indian cloth of gold with fleurs-de-lis decoration put on a late twelfth-century French Romanesque binding when it entered the library of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris in the later part of the century.[61] However, it is not known whether these coverings were made as chemises, that is, with extending flaps. But during the same period, the professional classes continued the hallowed practice of using "monastic" animal-skin chemise coverings for binding devotional and other important books. These include the valuable books of the Royal Courts (see Appendix II, nos. 10, 11, and 17). The Red Book of the Exchequer (Appendix II, no. 18), a particularly venerated text,[62] may have had a red-stained, tawed secondary chemise covering when first bound at some point during the reign of Henry III (1216–1272).

The late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries also witnessed the beginnings of an independent commercial book trade, which, with far-reaching effects, ended the long-standing monastic monopoly on book production.[63] The production of books of hours, for instance, began around this time and, although derived from the service books of the Church, enabled the laity to practice private prayer without the need of an intermediary. These private books could be decorated and bound with greater or lesser elaboration according to the wealth and station of their owners.[64] The De Brailes Hours, the earliest extant English book of hours (London, BL, Add. MS 49999), was produced at an early stage during these changes. Executed around 1240 by the freelance illuminator William de Brailes of Oxford,[65] its small format (150 x 123 mm)[66] is typical of small personal

Fig. 12. French(?) fifteenth-century alabaster sculpture of mourner holding chemise binding by its tail flap. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 27.339.

books popular at the time—in particular, the tiny Bibles and breviaries much desired by laity and mendicant orders alike.

Aside from the chests and other furniture used for storing books, more practical solutions were found for those who needed their private prayer books and other important texts close at hand. A leather satchel, of the kind that had been in use for many centuries, was one way of ensuring the safekeeping and handiness of a favorite book.[67] Aristocratic ladies, on the other hand, could slip their small devotional books inside an *aumônière* (purse or bag) in order to protect and keep them at hand during the daily round of prayers. Such bags are seen in medieval art as an ostentatious display of piety.[68] A girdle book, hanging from the waist, offered the extra assurance that a personal book, such as a book of hours, would always be in readiness.

A special aura of spirituality was evoked in northern Europe at the end of the fourteenth century by the venerable association between drapery and book, particularly books covered in chemises and bound in girdle bindings. Moreover, the traditional use of chemises as protective coverings, and girdle bindings as a convenient portage method had both,

by this time, become symbols of spiritual devotion and ecclesiastical status. Chemises in particular played a dual role as cloth, or mantle, of honor when the books that they covered were open flat and as a shroud-like draping when the books were left closed (as is illustrated bellow).

Such associations are strikingly displayed in the famous sculptures by Claus Sluter that adorn the tomb of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1342–1404).[69] Sluter, who began work on the tomb around 1390, sculpted a procession of mourners dressed in voluminous cloaks.[70] These small figures, known as *pleurants*, convey a sense of bereavement through the standard gestures of grief and despair, the holding of books in covered hands, and the carrying of chemise bindings by their long tail flaps, emphasizing the importance of prayer for the salvation of the soul.

The portrayal of ritual mourning, as captured by Sluter, influenced monumental tomb sculpture throughout the fifteenth century. This is evident in a later sculpture of possible French origin showing a mourner dressed in a large cloak and hood who holds a chemise binding by its long tail flap. In this iconographic tradition there is a noteworthy visual echo between the mourner's cowl, as it drapes the whole body, and the book which is completely engulfed by the chemise itself (fig. 12).

In England, too, the style seems to have flourished. The small bronzes around the tomb of Richard Beauchamp, fifth Earl of Warwick, who died in 1439, are dressed in the same style as those carved by Sluter. This is particularly true of the figure of Richard Neville, who is portrayed holding the tail flap of a chemise binding that covers a moderately large book.[71] The carrying and use of chemise-bound books in association with mourning appears again in Henry VII's chapel, Westminster Abbey, 1509.[72]

There is evidence of an even earlier artistic rendition of a chemise binding in northern Europe that may predate those produced by Sluter and his followers. An altarpiece commissioned by Philip the Bold for the Chartreuse de Champmol near Dijon, executed in 1399 by another Netherlandish sculptor, Jacques de Baerze (Musée des Beaux Arts, Dijon), contains a figure of Saint Anthony holding a book covered in a brocade or an embroidered textile chemise, made with a very long tail flap adorned with corner tassels.[73] De Baerze's rendition in the altarpiece is understood to have been made from originals that he had carved for the main church in Termonde and the Abbey Church of Byloke some years before.[74] The spiritual import of Saint Anthony's chemise-

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Fig. 13. Thomas Chaundler presenting a textile chemise-bound book to Bishop Bekynton. A smaller chemise binding with corner tassels is held by the standing figure in the background, ca. 1460. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R. 14. 5. fol. 9b.

bound book in the Chartreuse de Champmol altarpiece is emphasized by the presence of prayer beads held in the same hand. Saint Anthony holds the book in the same way that other saints in the altarpiece display their own particular attributes and symbols. By the early 1400s, a prototype for Saint Anthony's book appears to have been established; throughout the century, it often was shown covered in either a chemise or a girdle binding.[75]

Monastic chemise coverings of animal skin and girdle bindings must have gone hand in hand with the idea of a devout life, not only for the clergy, but also for the officials of the royal courts and the universities, whose own traditions and laws were rooted firmly in monastic ritual.[76] These coverings were transformed by late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Netherlandish artists into objects of luxury, befitting the lifestyles of those in heaven and on earth who could afford them. The impact created by the

Netherlandish artists working in Dijon is evident in the Annunciation in the Beaufort/Beauchamp Hours (London, BL, Royal MS 2 A.XVIII, fol. 23v, ca. 1400). Like the miniatures of the later Bedford Hours discussed above, a couple, dressed in voluminous, almost identical garments, kneels in prayer in front of open prayer books. Both books appear to be covered in a chemise of blue cloth with head, tail, and fore-edge flaps with silver edging.[77] Although made in England, the manuscript's illustrations have been attributed to Herman Scheere, who may well have been a Netherlandish artist influenced by his own countrymen working at the Chartreuse de Champmol around 1400.[78] Later, in the mid-fifteenth century, Thomas Chaundler—a noted official of Oxford University who rose to the office of chancellor in 1457—commissioned an illuminator, believed to be Netherlandish, to illustrate his book *Liber apologeticus*, written around 1460. In the first miniature, Chaundler is portrayed presenting his book, bound in what appears to be a brocade chemise binding, to Bishop Bekynton (fig. 13).[79]

Images of saints and clergy using chemise-bound books or wearing girdle bindings provided powerful role models for the laity, who, in imitating these binding styles, often chose the richer and more costly covering of textiles as ultimate expressions of personal piety and pride. Members of the clergy, in contrast, could choose to be portrayed with their private prayer books bound in the more modest, traditional materials of tawed skin and leather, as in Jan van Eyck's *Madonna with Canon George van der Paele*, painted in 1436 (Bruges, Groeningemuseum). While this altarpiece points strongly to the nature of the canon's wealth and status, he himself kneels in prayer dressed in a humble surplice, holding a breviary bound in a chemise binding made from plain tawed(?) skin, cut with head, long fore-edge, and tail flaps. Chancellor Rolin, on the other hand, is portrayed very differently in another painting by Van Eyck (1435). As befits his character, Rolin is dressed in luxurious clothes and prays from a book bound in a textile chemise covering—a lavish display of personal pomp and pride.[80]

Chemise bindings must have become synonymous with the personal prayer book, to the degree that, even if these books were bound conventionally and decorated with tooling, they were not considered finished unless covered with a chemise, as in the Spanish book of hours (ca. 1460) now in the Royal Library, The Hague, and the Walters Florentine manuscript (MS W.480) mentioned above.

Fig. 14. Rogier van der Weyden, *The Magdalene Reading*, oil on panel, ca. 1435. London, National Gallery.

Fig. 15. Decorated initial from Abbot Islip's copy of the Foundation Indentures of Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, 1504, representing Henry VII handing a chemise-bound book, with long tail flap and corner tassels, to Abbot Islip. The indentured top of the binding is also visible. London, BL, Harley MS 1498, fol. 59 (detail).

In Rogier van der Weyden's painting *The Magdalene Reading* (London, National Gallery, ca. 1435), the saint's white textile chemise-bound book provides a link with past monastic traditions of using chemise bindings to cover devotional texts and serves as a metaphor for the long-standing tradition of symbolic associations between drapery and the divine book. Mary Magdalene's textile chemise binding plays an important role in creating an atmosphere of deeply felt piety in this painting (fig. 14).

Netherlandish art exerted a strong influence throughout northern Europe during the fifteenth century, along with the use and depiction of chemise book coverings. Hence it is possible to talk of an actual chemise style of binding which, by this period, had come to characterize a type of covering befitting books containing prayers or other works of spiritual importance. The chemise style of binding was equally recognizable to both late medieval bookbinders and manuscript illuminators, as it was to painters and sculptors.

The existence of a canonical chemise style of binding for certain devotional texts is suggested by the illuminations in the Foundation Indentures to Henry VII's chapel. The first decorated initial in Abbot Islip's copy of the indentures (London, BL, Harley MS 1498, fol. 59), for instance, shows the king offering to the abbot a maroon-colored book with indentured top, gold bosses, clasps, long tail flap, and corner tassels (fig. 15). The king's copy of the indentures (PRO, E. 33/1) illustrates the same scene but in reverse, with the abbot offering an identically bound book to the

king. The same is true for the other two volumes that belong to this set (see Appendix I, nos. 2 and 3). Although both manuscript illuminator and bookbinder remain anonymous,[81] it is certain that this group of four manuscripts was written and painted prior to binding. Given such a clear rendition of the bound book in each of the four separate volumes, there can be no doubt that the chemise style of binding was chosen as an appropriate covering for this type of book from the outset of the project.[82]

The French velvet chemise binding covering Walters MS W.294, which began this investigation, needed no primary covering or surface decoration to convey the correct devotional message to its owner. Although not the most luxurious example, it still manages to relate the emotive imagery and structural elements inherent in the traditional monastic animal-skin chemise coverings to the spiritual needs and cultural refinement of life at the end of the Middle Ages.

The decline of chemise bindings

The Romish Doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping and Adoration, as well of Images as of Reliques, and also invocation of Saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God.

Book of Common Prayer, Articles of Religion, No. 22

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The unprecedented increase in the number of books after the invention of printing in the middle of the fifteenth century caused many libraries to begin shelving books on end, side by side, on rows of shelving (the chained library at Hereford Cathedral is a good example of this new, late medieval book storage method). Any chemise or girdle bindings found in a large collection would, of course, pose a considerable storage problem. Indeed, it is generally believed that, in the rush to reshelve books, the flaps on these bindings were cut off and discarded, or the covers were removed altogether. Thus, as a consequence of their inconvenience for such storage arrangements, chemise and girdle styles died out. The Reformation, too, may have had an effect on these binding styles, but no convincing arguments in support of this appear to exist.[83] Books in chemise or girdle bindings nevertheless were being commissioned and illustrated in manuscripts and printed books until the mid-sixteenth century.[84] The latest extant textile chemise binding covers indentures written in England in 1559 (Appendix I, no. 5). Among the last depiction of a girdle binding is the engraving by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, 1579, after his panel painting *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* (London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, 1565).[85]

The network of events that destroyed the ideas underpinning binding devotional and related texts in chemises or a girdle format were manifold. The changing style of French book design in the early sixteenth century, which increasingly favored Italian Renaissance imagery (affecting manuscript and printed books alike), had a fundamental effect by creating a climate in which the iconography of chemise bindings could no longer exist. The taste for things Italian is personified by the calligrapher, printer, and publisher Geoffroy Tory. During the first two decades of the 1500s, Tory was responsible for transforming the traditional French Gothic book of hours into a modern Italian Renaissance book.[86] The Italian gold-tooled "humanist" bindings, produced in France by the early years of the sixteenth century,[87] supplanted textile chemises as a luxurious option for covering personal prayer books and no doubt played a decisive role in the rebinding of many older chemise and girdle bindings. Jan Bialostocki remarks in *The Message of Images* that northern European humanism of the early sixteenth century began to venerate books, not as signs of piety and divine wisdom, but rather as secular symbols of learning and culture. A new class of humanist, typified by such figures as Conrad Celtis and Johannes Cuspinian, proclaimed that they would

live on, after their deaths, in the books that they had written.[88] The girdle book in Bruegel's print and painting is a remnant from an outmoded past, not an illustration of modern thought personified in a fashionable humanist binding.

In England, the situation was perhaps somewhat different. Though Henry VIII had adopted the fashionable trappings expected of a Renaissance prince, many of his books being bound in leather with gold tooling in the new humanist manner,[89] textile chemise bindings still appeared to be appropriate for covering personal prayer books. This is evident from the so-called Psalter of Anne Boleyn (ca. 1520s), bound in a textile chemise made with short flaps all around. The work was probably commissioned by the French ambassador to England as a gift for the future queen (Appendix I, no. 4).[90]

The binding and rebinding of important Exchequer books in tawed chemises declined only when the books themselves lost their importance as testaments to the privileges of the old ruling elite of government officials, whose positions were usurped by "lowly born men," a process which began during the reign of Henry VII.[91] Men such as Thomas Cromwell who achieved high office had no loyalties to the noble or ecclesiastical traditions of the past.[92] The consequences of the split with Rome, the dissolution of the monasteries, and the attempts of Edward VI's advocates systematically to eradicate the "superstitious" activities of the Church, diminished the popular preoccupation with saints, shrines, and pilgrimages. The passing of the Chantries Act in 1547 put a stop to prayers given for the dead by paid priests,[93] even those said at the tomb of Henry VII. The king's copies of the indentures were put in storage, not to resurface until a survey of the records in 1631.[94]

The restoration of the Roman Church with the succession of Queen Mary may have brought about a revival of textile chemise bindings—that is, if the binding now in Stonyhurst College in fact was made for Queen Mary.[95] The reestablishment of the custom of binding books in textile chemises is perhaps confirmed by the selection of a textile chemise to cover the Elizabethan indenture of 1559 (Appendix I, no. 5).

Chemise and girdle bindings, however, had little chance of survival after the 1563 publication of John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*. In many of its illustrations, girdle bindings are seen hanging from the waists of Spanish priests and friars, who played a central part in the interrogation and execution of Protestant martyrs. This imagery reappears with extra

Fig. 16. The Pope Suppressed by King Henry VIII, woodcut from John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments* (1570). A girdle binding is worn by the priest in the center foreground. Washington, D.C., Folger Shakespeare Library, STC 11223, vol. 2, pl.1201 (detail).

Fig. 17. Giovanni Bellini, *The Assassination of Saint Peter Martyr*, oil on panel, ca. 1509. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries.

force in the 1570 edition of *Actes and Monuments*. Typically, an illustration of Henry VIII suppressing Pope Clement under his feet also depicts a priest (in center foreground) with a girdle binding at his waist (fig. 16). Chemise bindings, too, are represented in this way. A large chemise binding, with long tail flap and corner tassel, is carried under the arm of a papal servant in a woodcut from the 1576 edition of *Actes and Monuments*. The illustration depicts the expulsion of the papists during the reign of Edward VI.[96] Chemise and girdle bindings serve in Foxe's book as emblems of the Roman Church, and this work was not alone in using this symbolism. In its lower left corner, a broadsheet entitled *The Fall of the Papacy*, published in Germany around 1524, shows a priest wearing a girdle binding.[97]

Although fine velvets and other textiles, often embroidered, continued to be used to cover personal prayer books for many centuries to come,[98] chemise and girdle bindings fell from favor in England, less for practical reasons than for ideological ones. In sum, the cause was less the introduction of upright shelving or the new humanist tastes in book illustration and binding, than the bindings' associations with the vivid symbolism of Catholic subjugation.

Chemise bindings south of the Alps

The only chemise binding known to have been made in Italy (Walters MS W.480) seemed an anomaly when it was exhibited at the Walters Art Gallery in 1957.[99] It

remained a curiosity insofar as no representations of this type of binding had come to light in Italian art of the period, even at the time of Storm van Leeuwen's survey.[100] Yet, by setting aside the awkward groupings used by earlier writers, a number of chemise or girdle bindings in fact can be found in Italian paintings, including manuscript illuminations. The prayer book of circa 1410 illuminated by the Milanese artist Michelino da Besozzo (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.944, fols. 30v and 89v) shows Saints James Minor and Lucy, each holding a chemise binding by its long tail flap (the coverings also appear to have head and fore-edge flaps).[101] A relatively large chemise binding with head and tail flaps occurs in the panel painting, *The Assassination of Saint Peter Martyr*, attributed to Giovanni Bellini (London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, ca. 1509). The book has fallen to the ground at the feet of the second assassin in the lower center of the painting (fig. 17).

The same type of binding is visible in paintings by the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Venetian painter Vittore Carpaccio. For instance, *Saint Jerome Leading the Tame Lion into the Monastery* (Venice, Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, 1504) shows a girdle binding, with head, fore-edge, and tail flaps, hanging from the waist of a monk; while another lies open on the ground, with head, fore-edge, and gathered tail flaps in view. These chemise and girdle bindings signaled the same symbolic message of spiritual devotion to audiences south of the Alps as they did to those in the north. In *Vision of Saint Augustine*, painted at the beginning of the sixteenth century (Venice, Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni), Carpaccio, in one of the first representations of an ideal humanist study, again invokes book symbolism.
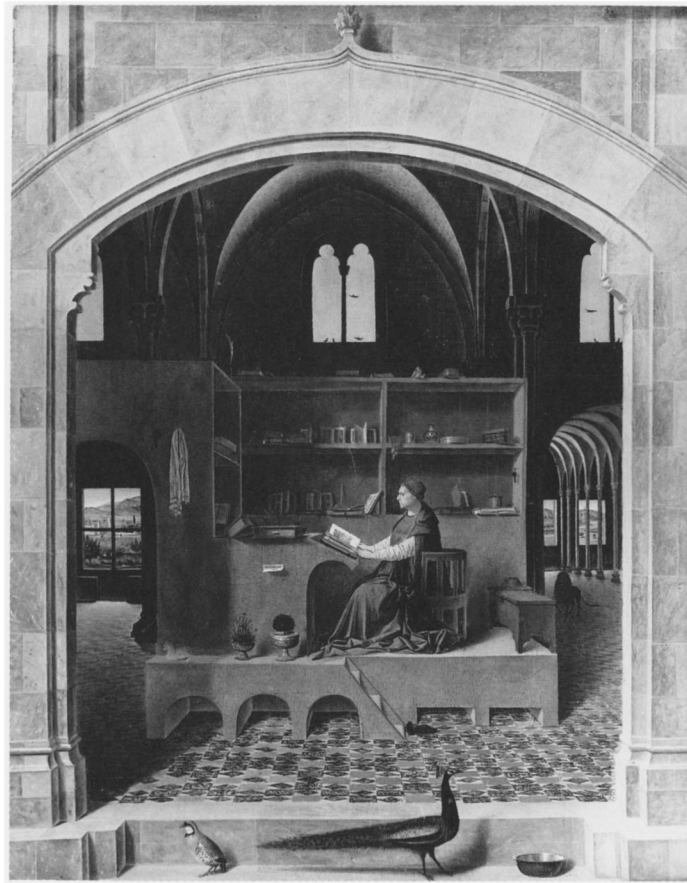
Fig. 18. Antonello da Messina, *Saint Jerome in His Study*, oil on panel, 1474. London, National Gallery.

A red velvet(?) chemise binding is stored on a bookshelf at the left of the painting (the book is one of the tallest on the shelf, with metal edge guards and a long tail flap). Shelved as it is directly above Saint Augustine's chair and *prie-dieu*, the chemise binding perhaps symbolizes spiritual wisdom, whereas the polychrome humanist binding placed upright on the saint's writing desk suggests the self-conscious relationship between the present and the ancient past so characteristic of the humanist movement.[102]

Netherlandish art had a following in Italy, influencing art circles from Naples to Venice.[103] For example, the early fifteenth-century illuminator Michelino da Besozzo (mentioned above) may have been influenced by the work of the contemporary Bruges master, Jacques Coene.[104] Antonello da Messina used the motif of the chemise-bound book in *Saint Jerome in His Study* (London, National Gallery, 1475), in which a white textile(?) chemise binding is stored on a shelf above the head of Saint Jerome, with the long tail flap tied into a knot (fig. 18). It is interesting to note that the same type of binding appears in a painting of the same subject (ca. 1445) by Antonello's master, Colantonio.[105] The inspiration for

both Italian painters may have been Jan van Eyck's *Saint Jerome*, which had once belonged to Alfonso of Naples (Detroit, Institute of Art, mid-1400s).[106] But the presence of the white chemise binding in both these paintings may well have been influenced by the pink chemise binding with knotted tail flap found in the painting *Jeremiah* (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux Arts, 1443–1445) by the Provençal Master of the Aix Annunciation, whose own presence is believed to have been felt in Naples during this time.[107]

All the above references strongly suggest the influence of northern European painting on fifteenth-century Italian art. Nevertheless, the chemise binding occurs in Italian art much earlier than the fifteenth century. An example of this precedent is the binding that rests on the lap of the Virgin in a Sienese Annunciation, dated to the late 1340s and lately attributed to Niccolò di Ser Sozzo Tegliacci (the painting now hangs in the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine, New York, fig. 19a).[108] Here the book is covered in a red material resembling brocade cloth, with gold tassels attached to what might be a bookmark. The red covering extends well beyond the tail edge of the book and to some extent is tucked under
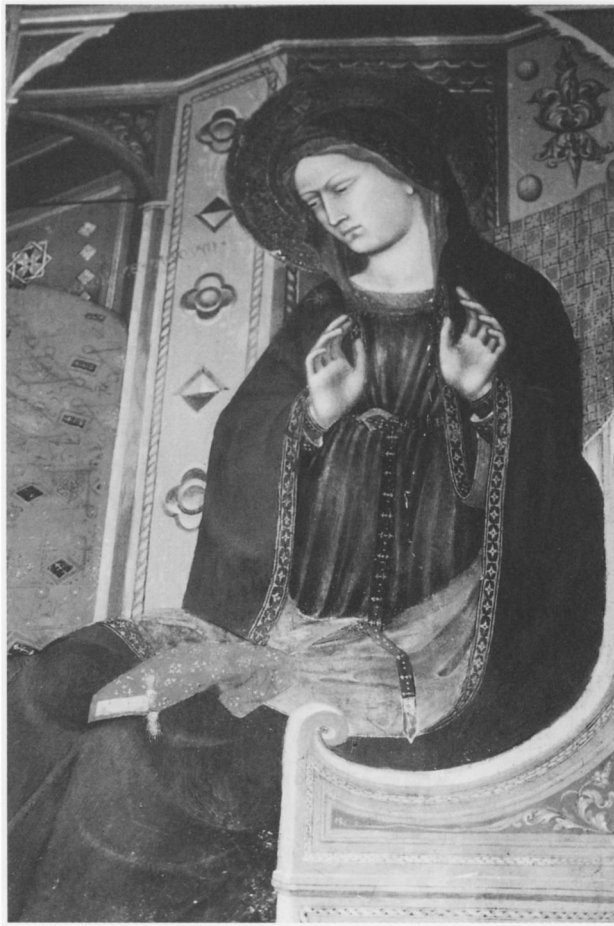
Fig. 19a. Attributed to Niccolò di Ser Sozzo Tegliacci, *Annunciation* (detail), tempera on panel, ca. 1340s. New York, Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine.

Fig. 19b. Detail of figure 19a, showing the chemise binding resting on the Madonna's lap.

itself (fig. 19b). There are even earlier depictions of chemise bindings. In a thirteenth-century fresco in the Baptistery at Parma, Saint Jerome is depicted leaving the desert carrying a chemise-bound book by its very long tail flap; two clasps are visible on the binding.[109]

The Walters's Italian chemise binding (MS W.480) falls broadly within the tradition outlined here. Clearly, Italy had a long-standing practice of utilizing both chemise-covered and girdle-bound books. The same can be said about the ancient practice of covering the hands while holding books and other sacred objects. This motif can be found in medieval Italian art, just as it is represented north of the Alps.[110] Other "northern" motifs associated with the divine word, the draped lectern, and cushions used as book supports all are displayed in the work of Botticelli (1445–1510).[111]

The choice of a chemise binding to cover the Walters's *Statuti della Compagnia di San Bastiano* can be

regarded either as an act of reverence toward Saint Sebastian himself or as equivalent to the way that the English employed tawed chemise coverings for their revered official manuscripts. The binding also may reflect the impact of fifteenth-century Netherlandish art on Italy at the time. But while this may be true of the later fifteenth century, the exhibition of a textile chemise-covered book in the fourteenth-century Sienese Annunciation discussed above strongly implies that the use of refined textile chemise coverings was an Italian innovation. Contrary to what has been proposed, it never could have been purely a Netherlandish phenomenon.[112]

Conclusion

Chemise bindings evidently were one of the most influential forms of book covering in the later Middle Ages. They required no embellishment with traditional forms of decoration to impart their message. Their popularity well may have been responsible for the decline in tooled bindings from the late thirteenth to the early fifteenth century. The examples of extant textile, tawed, and leather chemise bindings compiled by Storm van Leeuwen and those recorded here[113] are illustrative of a type of binding that must have flourished throughout Europe from the monastic period to the middle of the sixteenth century. Just as medieval scribes copied out new texts from venerable

exemplars, medieval binders in turn may have copied the style and structure of revered books bound in chemise coverings. This practice would explain the continued use of the soft pliant flaps characteristic of this style of binding.

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Notes

I thank Lilian M.C. Randall, Research Consultant for Manuscripts at the Walters Art Gallery, for her help and encouragement during the writing and publication stages of this article. Thanks also go to Abigail Quandt, Senior Conservator of Manuscripts and Rare Books at the Walters; to my colleagues at Columbia University Libraries, in particular Consuelo Dutschke for sharing her wide knowledge of the field; to Margaret Condon of the Public Record Office; to the many librarians who have supplied information on chemise bindings in their collections; and to those who helped formulate the ideas embodied in this study, including David Anfam, Michael Camille, Linda Kruger, Aileen H. Laing, Paula Nuttall, and Ján Szirmai.

1. G.D. Hobson, *English Binding Before 1500* (Cambridge, 1929), 15.

2. For the development of the history of bookbinding, see B.H. Breslauer, *The Uses of Bookbinding Literature*, Book Arts Press Occasional Publications No. 1 (New York, 1986).

3. M. Foot, *Studies in the History of Bookbinding* (Aldershot, Hampshire, 1993), 2–3.

4. *The History of Bookbinding, 525–1950 A.D.*, exh. cat., Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, presented at the Baltimore Museum of Art (Baltimore, 1957), 55.

5. M. Brown, *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts: A Guide to Technical Terms* (London, 1994), 38.

6. For examples of tooling on this type of binding, see J. Storm van Leeuwen, "The Well-Shirted Bookbinding: On Chemise Bindings and Hülleneinbände," in *Theatrum Orbis Librorum: Liber Amicorum Presented to Nico Israel on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. T. Croiset van Uchelen et al., (Utrecht, 1989), 297, no. 9 and 298, nos. 20–31.

7. Ibid., 277–305.

8. The staff of the Dept. of Manuscripts and Rare Books, Walters Art Gallery, kindly made available Christopher Clarkson's unpublished notes on the bindings of MSS W.294 and W.480, which assisted my own observations.

9. For descriptions of the structural bookbinding terms used here, see F. Bearman et al., *Fine and Historic Bookbindings from the Folger Shakespeare Library* (Washington, D.C., 1992), 259–62 and T. Roberts and D. Etherington, *Bookbinding and the Conservation of Books: A Dictionary of Descriptive Terminology* (Washington, D.C., 1982). For a comparison of Dutch, German, and French terms, see W.K. Gnirrep et al., *Kneep en Binding: Een terminologie voor de beschrijving van de constructies van oude boekbanden* (The Hague, 1992), 79–80.

10. The resewing of the text and the present textile chemise binding covering this manuscript may have been ordered by its second owner around 1500. See L.M.C. Randall et al., *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, II, France, 1420–1540* (Baltimore and London, 1992), II, 462.

11. B.C. Middleton, *A History of English Craft Bookbinding Technique* (London, 1988), 59.

12. The practice of covering important illuminations with silk curtains, which were usually secured to the leaf by stitching (as is evident from remains of silk stitching left on a silk curtain from MS W.294), can be traced to the twelfth century. For an English example, see M. Gibson, *The Eadwine Psalter* (London, 1992), 28. For silk curtains covering illuminations in a mid-thirteenth-century German manuscript, see M.B. Parkes, *The Medieval Manuscripts of Keble College, Oxford* (London, 1979), fig. 11. Also see R. Somerville, "The Cowcher Books of the Duchy of Lancaster," *English Historical Review*, 51 (1936), 599 for the purchase of green silk to cover illuminations in the two Cowcher Books of the Duchy of Lancaster (London, PRO, DL 42/1 and 2) at the time of their first binding, ca. 1406.

13. The restoration of the chemise in 1935—it was removed, relined, and repaired with heavy application of hide glue (discovered during recent conservation work)—makes it uncertain whether the two pieces of original silk lining adhered across the insides of the boards were originally intended to be stuck down in this way or left free. But as the silk lining covering the chemise and boards on the book of hours in the Royal Library, The Hague, is loose and not pasted down, this may suggest the same practice for the Walters binding (see Storm van Leeuwen, "Well-Shirted," 209).

14. The role of the velvet chemise on this binding as a primary covering was noted by D. Miner in *The History of Bookbinding*, 51.

15. Ibid., 51.

16. The binding techniques used on the Walters French and Florentine bindings (MSS W.294 and W.480) are similar to those found on the late fifteenth-century French and northern Italian bindings now in the Folger Shakespeare Library (see Bearman, *Fine and Historic Bookbindings*, 28 and 71).

17. Storm van Leeuwen, "Well-Shirted."

18. A. Rhein, "Falsche Begriffe in der Einbandgeschichte," Gutenberg-Jahrbuch, 60 (1960), 366–70.

19. The term *lappen binding* may derive from the German *Lappen* or *überlappend*. For the use of *lappen binding*, see Randall, *Walters*, II, 2, 459, and 461. For *überlappend*, see H. Petersen, *Bucheinbände* (Graz, Austria, 1991), 214.

20. Storm van Leeuwen, "Well-Shirted," 294, no. 6.

21. G. Barber, *Textile and Embroidered Bindings*, Bodleian Library Picture Books No. 12 (Oxford, 1971), 3–4, pl. 1.

22. Storm van Leeuwen was uncertain about the country of origin for the chemise binding covering the Spanish manuscript now in the Royal Library, The Hague (MS 135 J 55, book of hours, ca. 1460); he suggests both Spain and Italy as possibilities (Storm van Leeuwen, "Well-Shirted," 291). But the Spanish origin of the illuminated manuscript and the large number of chemise bindings depicted in fifteenth-century Spanish art strongly suggest Spanish workmanship as the source of this binding.

23. The Red Book and Black Book of the Exchequer (London, PRO, E. 164/2 and E. 36/266) were both named and identified by the color of their bindings; see E.M. Hallam, "Nine Centuries of Keeping the Public Records," in *The Records of the Nation*, ed. G.H. Martin (London, 1990), 32. Other notable medieval books named in this way are the Red Book of the Irish Exchequer, the Black Book of Lincoln, and the White Books of York and Southwell. H. Hall, *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, I (London, 1896; reprint, Wiesbaden, 1965), i–vii.

24. See note 6 above.

25. Storm van Leeuwen, "Well-Shirted," 300, no. 38.

26. B.A. Shailor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University*, I (Binghamton, N.Y., 1984), 42.

27. This binding is illustrated in J. Greenfield, "Notable Bindings," *Yale University Library Gazette*, 64, 3–4 (Apr. 1990), 172–73. Shown are the inside of the upper cover and the attachment of the secondary tawed chemise covering by a tawed pocket, stitched around the edges of the board. Greenfield identifies the binding as English, a conclusion that follows the findings of T. Marston, "The Speculum Humanae Salvationis," *Yale University Library Gazette*, 42, 3 (Jan. 1968), 125–30.

28. Other medieval tawed chemise bindings not recorded in Appendix II include: the English tawed chemise binding on a twelfth-century manuscript formerly at Buildwas Abbey (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 371); see J. Sheppard, "Some Twelfth-Century Monastic Bindings and the Question of Localization," in *Making the Medieval Book: Techniques of Production*, ed. L.L. Brownrigg (Los Altos Hills, Calif., 1995), 186 n. 22. Further remains of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century English tawed chemise bindings can be found in the Public Record Office, notably in the records of the Duchy of Lancaster (D.L. 148/4. Old Covers). An early fifteenth-century(?) Portuguese binding with tawed(?) primary covering and secondary tawed(?) chemise, with head, tail, and fore-edge flaps, is preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon (Alc. 425). For a description and illustration of the binding, see A.A. Nascimento, "Les reliures médiévales du Fonds Alcobaça de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Lisbonne," *Calames et Cahiers: Mélanges de codicologie et de paléographie offerts à Léon Gilissen*, ed. J. Lemaire and E. van Balberghe (Brussels, 1985), 107–117.

29. For the most recent work on girdle bindings, see J.A. Szirmai, "The girdle book of the Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum," *Quaerendo*, 18 (1988), 17–34 and J.A. Szirmai, "Ein neu aufgefundenes Beutelbuch in Berlin," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 65 (1990), 336–45. For further details of the structure of this type of binding, see B. Shailor, *The Medieval Book* (Toronto, 1988), 66, fig. 68 and K. Küp, "A Fifteenth-Century Girdle Book," *Bulletin of The New York Public Library*, 43/6 (June 1939), 471–84. For a census of extant girdle bindings, see U. Bruckner, "Beutelbuch-Originale," *Studien zum Buch und Bibliothekswesen*, 9 (1995), 5–23.

30. For a listing of chemise and girdle bindings in the visual arts, see O. Glauning, "Der Buchbeutel in der bildenden Kunst," *Archiv für Buchgewerbe und Gebrauchsgraphik*, 63 (1926), 124–52; L. Alker and H. Alker, *Das Beutelbuch in der bildenden Kunst. Ein beschreibendes Verzeichnis* (Mainz, 1966); and L. Alker and H. Alker, "Das Beutelbuch in der bildenden Kunst. Ein beschreibendes Verzeichnis: Ergänzungen," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 53 (1978), 302–308.

31. This girdle binding, ca. 1530, belonged to Sir John Hussye, whose muniments passed into the possession of the Crown after his execution in 1537. The secondary tawed covering has a gathered tail flap and short head and fore-edge flaps with two stitched-on tawed pockets concealing the remains of a leather panel-stamped binding (213 x 140 mm) of the second quarter of the sixteenth century. Three single sheets of paper containing ecclesiastical notes in a mid-sixteenth-century hand are stitched together and attached to one of the three leather sewing supports, which once held the contents of the leather binding. A slit in the end of the tail flap implies that the binding was suspended at the waist on a belt and later hung up on a hook in the Treasury of the Receipt (see Hallam, "Nine Centuries," 31). For the panel-stamps, see G.D. Hobson, *Bindings in Cambridge Libraries* (Cambridge, 1929), 58, pl. 19; J.B. Oldham, *Blind Panels of English Bindings* (Cambridge, 1957), 14, 46, Ac. 8, Quad. 7; H.M. Nixon, *Five Centuries of English Bookbinding* (London, 1978), 30, pl. 9; and Public Record Office *Catalogue of Manuscripts and Other Objects in the Museum of the Public Record Office* (London, 1925), 20. For the girdle binding, see the catalogue, Public Record Office, *Record Binding and Repair Binding* (London, 1952–1980).

32. Storm van Leeuwen, "Well-Shirted," 283.

33. For an illustration of the miniature depicting the Duke of Bedford, see J. Backhouse, *Books of Hours* (London, 1985), 6. For the duchess, see M. Thomas, *The Golden Age: Manuscript Painting at the Time of Jean, Duke of Berry* (New York, 1979), 85.

34. M. Carroll, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary* (Princeton, 1986) and K. Ashley, *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society* (Athens, Ga., 1990).

35. An open chemise-bound book, depicted in painting or manuscript illustration, is perhaps identified by the drape of the tail flap and the lack of any visible boards to the binding, which by necessity are covered by the pockets, linings, or turn-ins of the chemise.

36. S. Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command: A Contribution to Anonymous History* (New York, 1975), 264–68.

37. Richard de Bury (1281–1345) complained about the removal of a cushion which had once supported an evangelical text: "The cushion is withdrawn that should support our evangelical sides." See E.C. Thomas, *The Love of Books: The Philobiblon of Richard de Bury* (London, 1901), 30. A miniature from a late thirteenth-century French manuscript, *La Sainte Abbaye* (London, BL, Yates Thompson MS 11, fol. 6 v), shows a book on a cushion with corner tassels forming part of a religious ceremony. The scene is illustrated in J. Backhouse, *The Illuminated Manuscript* (Oxford, 1979), fig. 35.

38. For an early use of the term *chemise binding*, see M.R. James, *The Treatise of Walter de Milemete* (London, 1913). Continuing in this tradition, C. de Hamel uses the term to describe a previously unrecorded English binding covering a twelfth-century manuscript from the priory of Stoke-by-Clare; the binding has a secondary cover of soft leather (tawed skin?) with head, fore-edge, and tail flaps. De Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*, 2nd ed. (London, 1994), 106, fig. 91.

39. Graham Pollard, "The Construction of English Twelfth-Century Bindings," *The Library*, 5th ser., 17, 1 (Mar. 1962), 14. See also B. van Regemorter, *Binding Structures in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. Greenfield (Brussels, 1992), 36.

40. The use of tawed chemises as primary coverings is mentioned in Pollard, "Twelfth-Century Bindings," 14. A twelfth-century binding from the Cathedral of Urgel, Catalonia, bound in wooden boards but left uncovered, is perhaps typical of the type of binding given a loose primary chemise covering that is now lost. This binding is reproduced in P. Needham, *Twelve Centuries of Bookbindings, 400–1600* (New York, 1979), 59. But the practice can be found in use as late as the fourteenth or early fifteenth century (see Storm van Leeuwen, "Well-Shirted," 300, nos. 42 and 43).

41. Pollard, "Twelfth-Century Bindings," 13 and 14, figs. 1 and 2.

42. Ibid., 14. See also Sheppard, "Some Twelfth-Century Monastic Bindings," 188–90.

43. C. Clarkson, "English Monastic Bookbinding in the Twelfth Century," in *Ancient and Medieval Book Materials and Techniques*, Erice, 18–25 September 1992, II, ed. M. Maniaci (Rome, 1993), 197. Thin tawed primary coverings covered by chemises are described in Appendix II, nos. 4, 10, 12, and 18.

44. The point that all monastic library books (working books) were probably protected with a chemise has been made in Clarkson, "English Monastic Bookbinding," 197.

45. Pollard, "Twelfth-Century Bindings," 3.

46. C. de Hamel, *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Booktrade* (Suffolk, N.H., 1984), 82–83.

47. A Romanesque binding by the "Vich" binder, covering a single volume of the glossed gospels of Matthew and Mark, received an animal skin chemise covering after it was given to the Abbey of St. Claude du Jura in the first half of the thirteenth century. The binding later was described in the abbey library catalogue of 1492 as having a plain white leather binding. The cataloguer of that time must have been unaware of the Romanesque binding beneath the chemise (see De Hamel, *Glossed Books*, 77).

48. For the history of storing and keeping medieval books, see Hallam, "Nine Centuries," 23–42; Public Record Office, *Early Chests in Wood and Iron*, Pamphlet No. 7 (London, 1974); F. Harrison, *A Book about Books* (London, 1943); and J.W. Clark, *The Care of Books* (London, 1901).

49. A relief on a late Roman sarcophagus of ca. A.D. 370, now in the Vatican collections, depicts Christ giving a scroll to Saint Peter, which falls open into the draped and covered hands of the saint (for an illustration of the sarcophagus, see *The Vatican Collections: The Papacy and Art*, exh. cat., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art [New York, 1982], fig. 1). Perhaps the earliest representation of a bound book being held in this manner is the figure of Christ as a warrior from the fifth-century Archbishop's chapel in Ravenna; for the mosaic, see L. von Matt, *Ravenna* (Cologne, 1969), 59. The earliest in the realm of manuscript illustration comes from the Codex Amiatinus of ca. A.D. 700 (Florence, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, ms. Amiatinus 1, fol. 769b). Both Christ and three of the four Evangelists are portrayed holding books, with one or other of their hands covered, see L. Webster, *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture A.D. 600–900* (Toronto, 1991), fig. 88.

50. A nun of the order of Saint Basil is portrayed in the mid-nineteenth century supporting a book with covered hands, see L. Cibrario, *Ordini Religiosi*, I (Turin, 1845), 13.

51. Annunciation, from the Benedictional of Æthelwold, Winchester, Old Minster, ca. 963–84 (London, BL, Add. MS 49598, fol. 5v).

52. London, BL, Royal MS 10. A. xiii, fol. 2v.

53. C. Nordenfalk, *Studies in the History of Book Illumination* (London, 1992), 208–15.

54. Ibid., 210. The connection between drapery and the divine word recurs throughout medieval Christendom, including in the illuminated manuscripts of its easternmost kingdom, Armenia. *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. T.F. Mathews and R.S. Wieck, exh. cat., New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (New York and Princeton, 1994), 42, pls. 16, 29, 31, and 41, figs. 14 and 30.

55. C. Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours* (Toronto, 1991), 154, app. 3.

56. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 180, fol. 33.

57. A framed drawing of John of Wallingford (ca. 1247–1258) by Matthew Paris shows a psalter resting on a lectern, with drapery hanging from the tail edge of the binding (London, BL, Cotton Julius MS D. VII, fol. 42v). For an illustration, see N. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts, 1190–1250*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, IV, ed. J.J.G. Alexander (New York, 1982–1988), 141, fig. 301.

58. A. Muthesius, "The Silk over the Spine of the Mondsee Gospel Lectionary," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 37 (1978), 52–73. See also M. Laffitte, *Reliures Précieuses* (Paris, 1991), 7–25.

59. J.-P. Migne ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series latina*, 181, (Paris, 1844–1854; reprint, Turnhot, Belgium, 1990), col. 1723.

60. London, BL, Sloane MS 2400. See P. Wallis, "The Embroidered Binding of the Felbrigge Psalter," in *British Library Journal*, 13, 1 (1987), 71–78. Perhaps a further English example is the five

devotional books covered with remnants from royal garments during Edward III's reign (1327–1377); see T. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England: The Wardrobe, the Chamber, and the Small Seals*, IV (Manchester, 1920–1933; reprint, New York, 1967), 388.

61. Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, ms. 1186. De Hamel, *Glossed Books*, 77.

62. Hall, *Red Book of the Exchequer*, III, ccciv. The importance of both the Red Book and the Black Book of the Exchequer can be seen in the way they were used to administer oaths. In particular, the Black Book—which originally may have been bound in a black-stained tawed chemise binding—graphically illustrates its dual function as altar book and record by the number of its line drawings accompanied by initial verses of the Gospels which make up the beginning of the text. The drawings include the emblems of the Evangelists, the Virgin and Child, and other saints; see F. Palgrave, *The Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Exchequer*, I (London, 1836), lxxxvi–ix. For illustrations of these drawings, see Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts*, figs. 276–78.

63. R.H. Rouse, "The Commercial Production of Manuscript Books in Late Thirteenth-Century and Early Fourteenth-Century Paris," in Brownrigg, ed., *Medieval Book Production*, 103–15; also C. Donovan, "The Mise-en-Page of Early Books of Hours in England," ibid., 147–61. See also C.P. Christianson, *A Directory of London Stationers and Book Artisans, 1300–1500* (New York, 1990).

64. J. Harthan, *Books of Hours* (London, 1977), 9.

65. Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours*, 9–41.

66. Ibid., 17. The De Brailes Hours must have been somewhat larger originally than it is now. Trimming and gilding the edges of the book has resulted in an often savage cropping of miniatures throughout the text; perhaps this is the result of later work and not that of the original binder, as suggested by Donovan in *The de Brailes Hours*, 29. There is strong evidence that the book was rebound by an Italian binder working in the fifteenth century. Indeed, the current binding covering the De Brailes Hours was described by Sydney Cockerell as just that; see G.F. Warner, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins* (London, 1920), 24 n. 4. The Italian origin of this fifteenth-century rebinding has also been noted by Ján Szirmai. In recent correspondence with the author, Szirmai noted that the binding's beech boards are not English and called attention to the Italian fifteenth-century board attachment, the new set of endleaves, and remains of a rich Renaissance endband. There is also evidence of a final textile covering over the tawed skin—perhaps a chemise.

67. Hobson, *English Binding Before 1500*, 26–27, pls. 2 and 3.

68. The use of these bags continued into the fifteenth century. A rather fancy example is found in the bottom right corner of a full-page miniature from the Hours of Mary of Burgundy, ca. 1477 (Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1857, fol. 14v). While these fancy bags were appropriate for private use, ecclesiastical and royal officials were more likely to use a bag or pouch made from tawed skin to transport and store accounts and other records. A tawed pouch dating from 1336 and made with draw thongs still holds the accounts of Nicholas de Acton, an official in the court of Edward III (London, PRO, E. 101/19/13).

69. Dijon, Musée des Beaux Arts.

70. K. Morand, *Claus Sluter* (Austin, 1991), 125–28. For illustrations of Sluter's sculptures with chemise bindings and figures holding books through covered hands, see *Album du Musée de sculpture comparée* (Paris, 1897), pls. 35 and 41.

71. The tomb of Richard Beauchamp, Beauchamp Chapel, Collegiate Church of St. Mary, Warwick. For a reproduction of the figure of Richard Neville, see E. Hallam, *The Chronicles of the Wars of*

the Roses (London, 1988), 245.

72. H.J. Dow, *The Sculptural Decoration of the Henry VII Chapel, Westminster Abbey* (Edinburgh, 1992), 29.

73. The date of the first depiction of a chemise binding has been put at 1425 (see Storm van Leeuwen, "Well-Shirted," 282). For an illustration of the De Baerze altarpiece, showing Saint Anthony holding a chemise binding, see A. Martindale, *Gothic Art* (London, 1967, reprint London, 1985), frontispiece.

74. E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (New York, 1971), 78–79.

75. In the Isenheim altarpiece (1515), Matthias Grünewald depicted Saint Anthony's book in a plain chemise binding with fore-edge and tail flap; see J.M. Massing, "Schongauer's 'Tribulations of St. Anthony': Its Iconography and Influence on German Art," *Print Quarterly*, I (1984), 221–27.

76. B. Wilkinson, *The Later Middle Ages in England, 1216–1485* (New York, 1969), 349–68.

77. For an illustration of this miniature, see R. Marks and N. Morgan, *The Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting, 1200–1500* (New York, 1981), 102.

78. Thomas, *The Golden Age*, 115.

79. D. Enright-Clark Shoukri, *T. Chaundler, Liber Apologeticus de Omni Statu Humanae Naturae: A Defense of Human Nature in Every State* (London, 1974), 1, 16, and 25.

80. Jan van Eyck, *Madonna with Chancellor Nicolas Rolin* (Virgin of Autun), ca. 1435, Paris, Musée du Louvre.

81. Although Margaret Condon has made a careful search through the books of payment of the Treasurer of the Chamber (London, PRO, E. 101/415/2 and BL, Add. MS 59899), no reference was found to the illuminating or binding of these books. See Public Record Office Class List, *Exchequer: Treasury of the Receipt: Indentures Connected with the Foundation of Henry VII's Chantry and Almshouses at Westminster, E. 33* (London, 1996).

82. Illustrations of chemise bindings in a number of other devotional texts also suggest the selection of a chemise covering at the time of the books' first binding. Such texts include the Bedford Hours, described above, or the pink brocade chemise binding illustrated in a book of hours once belonging to an unidentified French lady (London, BL, Harley MS 2969, fol. 91, ca. 1435). See Backhouse, *Books of Hours*, 65, fig. 61.

83. *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg, 1300–1550*, exh. cat., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1986), 229. See also E. Diehl, *Bookbinding: Its Background and Technique* (New York, 1946), 176; Küp, "Girdle Book," 417–84; H. Schreiber, "Vom Buchbeutel und seinen Verwandten," *Sankt Wiborada, ein Jahrbuch für Bücherfreunde*, 7 (1940), 13–28.

84. The first German edition of Geoffroy Boussard, *De comtinentia sacerdotum...*(Nuremberg, 1510) contains a woodcut illustration of the Virgin and Child with Saint Anne. The Virgin holds a small chemise binding by its tail flap. A book of hours, Bruges, ca. 1540, also depicts the Virgin with a chemise binding: in the James A. de Rothschild Collection, Waddesdon Manor, Buckinghamshire, MS 26, fol. 15. For an illustration, see L.M.F. Delaissé, *The James A. De Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Illuminated Manuscripts* (Fribourg, Switzerland, 1977), fig. 24.

85. H.A. Klein, *Graphic Worlds of Peter Bruegel the Elder* (New York, 1963), 146–47.

86. N. Levarie, *The Art and History of Books* (New York, 1968), 198.

87. See A. Hobson, *Humanists and Bookbinders: The Origins and Diffusion of the Humanistic Bookbinding, 1459–1559* (Cambridge,

1989), 172–76.

88. J. Bialostocki, *The Message of Images: Studies in the History of Art* (Vienna, 1988), 44 and 45.

89. D. Starkey, *Henry VIII: A European Court in England* (London, 1991), 155–59.

90. *Cranmer, Primate of All England: Catalogue of a Quincentenary Exhibition, 27 October 1989–21 January 1990*, London, British Library (London, 1989), 19.

91. The latest surviving tawed chemise binding covering an Exchequer book was bound ca. 1516 (see Appendix II, no. 24).

92. M.M. Condon, "Ruling Elites in the Reign of Henry VII," in *Patronage, Pedigree and Power in Later Medieval England*, ed. C. Ross (Gloucester, 1979), 112 and 130–32.

93. See A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London, 1989), 18 and 230–31.

94. T. Powell, *The Repertorie of Records* (London, 1631), 93.

95. For a description of this binding, see Storm van Leeuwen, "Well-Shirted," 294, no. 7.

96. John Foxe (1516–1587), *Actes and Monuments* (London, 1576), 1257. The expulsion scene occurs in the upper part of the woodcut and depicts leading papal dignitaries and servants carrying sacred church objects to a waiting ship. The action is described in three framed insets. The first two, placed adjacent to the waiting ship, proclaim: "The Ship of the Romish Church" and "Ship over your trinkets & be packing you papists." The third inset, placed below the line of heavily laden servants and priests, declares: "The Papists packing away their paltry." The second half of the woodcut illustrates "The Temple well purged."

97. K. Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago, 1989), fig. 2.2.

98. Barber, *Textile and Embroidered Bindings*, pls. 21 and 27.

99. Miner, *The History of Bookbinding*, 51.

100. Storm van Leeuwen, "Well-Shirted," 282.

101. These small chemise bindings have been described incorrectly by Colin Eisler as "book bags," in his *The Prayer Book of Michelino da Besozzo* (New York, 1981), 9–27, fols. 30 and 89. For other examples of Italian representations of saints with chemise and girdle bindings, see the late fifteenth-century Sforza Hours (London, BL, Add. MS 34294, fols. 202v and 207v); for illustrations, see M. Evans, *The Sforza Hours* (London, 1992), figs. 57 and 62. The mid-fifteenth-century Neapolitan master Colantonio painted a number of saints with girdle books; see G. Kaftal, *Saints in Italian Art: Iconography of the Saints in Central and Southern Italian Schools of Painting* (Florence, 1965), figs. 893, 910, and 1316. An altarpiece of ca. 1485 by Ambrogio Bergognone, in the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan, shows Saints Liberata and Lominosa holding small chemise bindings by their tail flaps. For an illustration, see G. Kaftal, *Saints in Italian Art: Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North West Italy* (Florence, 1985), fig. 355.

102. For illustrations of the paintings by Carpaccio cited, see J. Lauts, *Carpaccio: Paintings and Drawings, Complete Edition* (New York, 1960), pls. 100, 102, 104, 105, and 130.

103. P. Murray and L. Murray, *The Art of the Renaissance* (London, 1963), 175.

104. Eisler, *Prayer Book*, 11; Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 54.

105. Colantonio, *Saint Jerome in His Study*, (Naples, Museo di Capodimonte). P. Jolly, "Jan van Eyck and St. Jerome: A Study of Eyckian Influence on Colantonio and Antonello da Messina in Quattrocento Naples," Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1976, 76–77.

106. M. Baxandall, "Bartholomaeus Facius on Painting," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 27 (1964), 96 and 102–103. See also Jolly, "Jan van Eyck," 100–104.

107. Jolly, "Jan van Eyck," 100–104. For illustrations of the chemise bindings in Colantonio's painting *Saint Jerome in His Study* and in *Jeremiah* by the Master of the Aix Annunciation, see F. Sricchia Santoro, *Antonello e l'Europa* (Milan, 1986), figs. 5 and 6. The chemise binding in the painting *Jeremiah* is discussed in Petersen, *Bucheinbände*, 198. (Thanks to Ursula Wille for her help with the translation.)

108. M. Chamberlin-Hellman, "Niccolò di Ser Sozzo Tegliacci and an Annunciation in the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine, New York," unpublished major research paper, Dept. of Art History, Columbia University, 1970. (I am grateful to Cynthia Yoder of the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine for her help in obtaining this reference and for permission to photograph the painting. I am also indebted to Maria Chamberlin-Hellman for discussing her work on this painting.)

109. G. Kaftal, *Saints in Italian Art: Iconography of the Saints in the Paintings of North East Italy* (Florence, 1978), fig. 616.

110. An early thirteenth-century altar canopy (Milan, St. Ambrogio) portrays Saints Peter and Paul with their hands draped as they receive the keys of the Church and a book from the figure of the enthroned Christ. The Milanese monumental relief is identical to a late tenth-century English ivory book cover (Paris, BNF, Noailles Collection, Gospels, ms. làt. 323). For the Milanese altar canopy see: G. Kreytenberg, "Image and Frame: Remarks on Orcagna's Pala Strozzi," *Burlington Magazine*, 134, 1075 (October 1992), 638, fig. 6. For the late tenth-century English ivory book cover, see J. Beckwith, *Ivory Carvings in Early Medieval England* (London, 1972), 46, 122. The practice of covering the hands in this way can also be observed in Italian art throughout the fourteenth century. An example is the panel painting of Saints Catherine and Bartholomew (London, National Gallery), ascribed to Allegretto Nuzi (active 1345–1374). Here Saint Bartholomew holds a book through his mantle.

111. Botticelli's *The Virgin Teaching the Child to Read (Madonna del Libro)*, ca. 1480 (Milan, Museo Poldi Pezzoli), shows a book supported by a cushion with corner tassel and draped cloth. In Botticelli's *Annunciation* (early 1490s; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art), the Virgin reads from a lectern draped in cloth.

112. Storm van Leeuwen, "Well-Shirted," 285.

113. See Appendixes I and II and notes 28 and 38 above.

Appendix I

Textile Chemise Bindings

Note: The following parchment manuscripts, except for number 5, are bound in wooden boards.

1. London, Public Record Office (PRO), Exchequer: Treasury of the Receipt, E. 33/1, Foundation Indentures of Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, 1504. Contemporary English binding, bound to the same pattern as its counterpart now in the British Library (Harley MS 1498); see fig. 7.[1] Indentured boards 393 x 267 mm. Indentured, gilt, and gauffered textblock (now disturbed). Remains of endbands, secondary sewing worked through spine of damask primary covering. Secondary chemise of crimson velvet lined with damask, edged with gold and crimson thread, and three of four crimson silk corner tassels. Flaps at head extend 100 mm, upper cover fore-edge 131 mm, and tail 354 mm, with very narrow lower cover fore-edge flap. Silk damask pockets, stitched to chemise around the edges of the boards and adhered in place. Pastedowns cut back to reveal pockets. All furniture silver gilt with four enameled bosses on each cover, decorated with the King's devices, plus larger Royal Arms center boss. Two gold and crimson brocade upper cover fastening straps, with rose and angel clasps, plus crimson cord clasp pulls. Strap plates attached to outer surface of chemise. Brocade fastening straps project through embroidered slits in upper cover fore-edge flap. Lower cover side pins. Pair of silver-wound cords (of uncertain function), held in place by the strap plates, lie on outside surface of upper cover fore-edge flap. Cords for five pendant seals side stabbed through spine of textblock.

2. PRO, Exchequer: E. 33/2, Foundation Indentures to Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, 1504. Contemporary English binding, bound with pendant seals and covered in the same fashion, using the same materials as E. 33/1 (no. 1 above), with the following exceptions: Boards 395 x 281 mm. Chemise flaps extend: head 95 mm, upper cover fore-edge 95 mm, and tail 305 mm, with very narrow lower cover fore-edge flap. Chemise and lining edged with green and gold thread, one of four green silk corner tassels. Engraved silver-gilt fore-edge clasps: upper cover fore-edge hinge, decorated hasp, and lower cover catch plate. Fastenings attached to outer surface of chemise, with hasps projecting through embroidered slits in the upper cover fore-edge flap.[2]

Note: The contemporary cuir-cisclé boxes, made to house the above two manuscripts, are also preserved in the PRO (E. 33/28 & 29 Boxes).[3] Both manuscripts and boxes were formerly kept at the Chapter House, Westminster Abbey. After being damaged during the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century,[4] both volumes were subsequently repaired, resewn, and placed back into their original boards and coverings during 1847–1848. This work was carried out by the repair staff at Carlton Ride (a department of the PRO) under the direction of Assistant Keeper Henry Cole.[5]

3. London, St. Paul's Cathedral Library, Deed Relating to the Obits and Services in Henry the Seventh's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, 1504. Contemporary English binding. All the features of this binding are the same as E. 33/2. Only three of the seals and skippets survive.[6]

Note: The velvet-and-silk brocade used to cover this set of four chemise bindings, including the British Library copy, was probably woven in Italy and may have been purchased from the same Italian merchants (Antonio Corsi of Florence and the Buonvisi, Lorenzo and Ieronimo of Lucca) who supplied Henry VII with a lavish set of vestments, which later, in 1509, he bequeathed to Westminster Abbey.[7]

4. Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, collection of J. Paul Getty, Jr., K.B.E., Psalter of Anne Boleyn, second quarter of the sixteenth century. Contemporary English(?) binding. Secondary(?) velvet(?) chemise with lining and short flaps all round.[8]

5. PRO, Exchequer: Treasury of the Receipt, E. 36/277, Establishment of the Poor Knights at Windsor (Indenture between Queen Elizabeth I and the Dean and Canons of St. George's Chapel, Windsor), ca. 1559. Contemporary English binding bound in pasteboards, with both textblock and boards cut with indentured top. Primary chemise of crimson velvet, red silk lining. Large tawed pockets stained red on flesh side, stitched to the chemise around the edges of the boards. Wide flaps all around. Chemise and lining edged with red silk thread, plus four red silk and silver thread corner tassels. Red silk ties stitched to the fore-edges of both pockets.[9]

6. Princeton, Princeton University Libraries, Robert Garrett Collection, MS 141, John Matham, Various Works, English, late fifteenth century(?). Contemporary English(?) binding. Embroidered secondary(?) velvet chemise, with silk flaps at head, upper cover fore-edge, and tail.[10]

Appendix II

Alum-Tawed Chemise Bindings

Note: The following parchment manuscripts are bound in wooden boards.

1. Oxford, Corpus Christi College Library, MS D. 209, Augustine, *Soliloquia*, Fountains Abbey, ca. 1120. Contemporary English binding. Tawed primary covering with turn-ins and spine tabs over boards 226 x 153 mm. Heavy secondary tawed sealskin(?) chemise retaining hair on outer surface, edged with finer unhaired tawed skin. Head flap extends 18 mm, tail 28 mm; long upper cover fore-edge flap. Tawed pockets stitched to the chemise around edges of the boards. Four metal bosses mounted on upper board, two on the lower board, close to the spine edge (perhaps an arrangement to allow the fore-flap to fit snugly over the front of the book). Fifteenth-century(?) strap plate, lower cover side pin, with remains of leather fastening strap attached to boards beneath chemise and tacketed to inside of fore-edge flap. (The fastening strap on this binding must have been replaced many times, judging from the number of tacket holes left in the fore-edge flap adjacent to the present fastening strap.) Title label written on parchment(?) stitched to lower cover tail flap.[11]

2. Troyes, Bibl. mun., ms. 40 (7), Augustine, *Against Julian*, Clairvaux Abbey, ca. 1150. Contemporary French binding. Textblock sewn on five split tawed thongs. Tawed primary covering with turn-ins and spine tabs with tawed skin lining. Spine tab edging worked with thread stitching and strips of tawed skin. Tawed secondary goatskin(?) chemise retaining hair on outer surface. Tawed pockets (approximately 8 mm wide) stitched to chemise around edges of the boards. Evidence of head, tail, and upper cover fore-edge flaps. Remains of two double-thickness tawed upper cover fastening straps fitted beneath chemise and projecting through slits in the fore-edge of the upper cover pocket. Evidence of upper cover metal center boss and corner pieces.[12]

3. Nottingham, Hallward Library, Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library, MS 31, Peter Lombard, *Sententiae*, Lincoln Cathedral, ca. 1166. Contemporary English binding. Tawed primary covering with turn-ins and vestigial spine tabs. Heavy tawed secondary chemise of sealskin(?) retaining hair on outer surface. Tawed pockets stitched to chemise around edges of the boards. Evidence of flaps at head, tail, and upper cover fore-edge. Remains of two tawed sealskin(?) upper cover fastening straps (also retaining hair) fitted beneath chemise and projecting through slits in the fore-edge flap. Evidence of lower cover side pins. All metal furniture, comprising large corner bosses with edge guards, center plates, and upper cover chaining-clip, may date to the first quarter of the fifteenth century, when the library was remodeled and the books chained to lecterns.[13] (The flaps of the chemise may have been cut away at this time.)

4. Troyes, Bibl. mun., ms. 40 (2), Augustine, *Works*, Clairvaux Abbey, twelfth century. Contemporary French binding. Textblock sewn on four wide double thongs, head and tail edges chamfered to accommodate endbands. Very thin tawed(?) primary covering with turn-ins and spine tabs lined with tawed skin and edged with stitching. Tawed(?) secondary chemise retaining hair on outer surface. Tawed pockets (approximately 8 mm wide) stitched to chemise around edges of the boards. Head and tail flaps extend 5–8 mm. Evidence of upper cover fore-edge flap. Remains of two double-thickness tawed upper cover fastening straps fitted beneath chemise. Evidence of five metal bosses on each cover, with lower metal cover side pins.[14]

5. Dijon, Bibl. mun., ms. 29, Isaiah and Daniel glossed. Written in Paris, last quarter of the twelfth century, illuminated and bound in Cîteaux Abbey, early thirteenth century. French binding, early thirteenth century. Textblock sewn on three(?) double thongs. Endbands worked in plain thread, with core resting on chamfered head and tail edges of textblock, secondary chevron sewing of red and plain thread. Tawed(?) primary covering with turn-ins. Tawed secondary chemise. Head, upper cover fore-edge, and tail flaps extend 5–8 mm. Two tawed fastening straps covered with thinner red-stained tawed skin(?) with metal clasps. Straps project through slits in the upper cover fore-edge flap and remain on the outer surface of the flap. Lower cover metal side pins. Title of book written in ink on tail flap.[15]

6. Shrewsbury School Library, MS 1, *Sapientia atque Ecclesiasticus, cum glossa*, first quarter thirteenth century. Contemporary English binding. Textblock sewn on three double thongs. Boards 250 x 170 mm. Endbands worked in plain thread. Tawed primary covering with turn-ins and vestigial spine tabs, comprising three layers of tawed skin. Contemporary(?) bookmark attached to head spine tab. Tawed secondary chemise with tawed pockets stitched to chemise around edges of the boards. Flaps at head, tail, and lower cover fore-edge extend 15–20 mm. Upper cover fore-edge flap now reduced to stub. Leather fastening strap projecting through slit in upper cover fore-edge flap. Evidence of lower cover side pin and contemporary(?) lower cover label and chaining-clip, with slit made in tail flap to accommodate chain. Remains of later(?) chaining-clip on upper cover.16

7. San Marino, Huntington Library, HM 19915, Augustine, *Pomerius*. English, twelfth or thirteenth century. Contemporary English binding. Textblock sewn onto four sewing supports. Lower board missing. Tawed primary covering with turn-ins retaining semicircular spine tabs lined with tawed skin stained pink and edged with blue and white thread. Heavy tawed secondary chemise edged with finer tawed skin. Tawed pocket stitched to chemise around edge of the upper board. Lower board pocket missing. Flaps at head, tail, and lower cover fore-edge extend 10 mm. Remains of upper cover fore-edge flap extends 75 mm. Contemporary(?) bookmark of tawed skin stitched to the inside of the chemise at the head of the spine. Leather fastening strap with thin outer lining of tawed skin stained red fitted beneath chemise and tacketed to inside of fore-edge flap. Evidence of lower cover side pin. Three of four upper cover fluted metal bosses characteristic of the Cistercian abbey of St. Mary at Holme Cultram, Cumberland.[17] Evidence of label on lower cover.

8. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 366, Ormesby Psalter, mid-fourteenth century. Contemporary(?) English binding. Red leather primary covering with turn-ins. Tawed secondary chemise with head, upper cover fore-edge, and tail flaps. Chemise possibly attached to binding when it entered Norwich Cathedral Priory, ca. 1325.[18]

9. Exeter Cathedral Library, MS D & C 3505, *Legenda de sanctis de usu ecclesiae exoniensis*, mid-fourteenth century. Contemporary(?) English binding. Textblock 365 x 230 mm. Tawed primary covering with turn-ins. Heavy tawed secondary chemise. Tawed pockets stitched to chemise around edges of the boards. Head flap extends 70 mm, upper cover fore-edge 50 mm, and tail 160 mm. Two leather fastening straps with metal clasps project through slits in the upper cover fore-edge flap and remain on the outer surface of the

flap. Evidence of lower cover metal side pins.[19]

10. PRO, Exchequer: King's Remembrancer, Miscellaneous Books, E. 164/5, *Testa de Nevill* or *Liber Feodorum*, I, early fourteenth century. Textblock and pastedowns removed from medieval binding and rebound, 1912.[20] Remains of fourteenth-century(?) English binding now E. 166/3. *Old covers:*[21] Evidence of six slit twisted tawed sewing supports. Thin red-stained tawed primary covering with turn-ins. Spine turn-ins cut away to accommodate endbands of primary and secondary sewing worked through spine of covering material. Heavy tawed secondary chemise with thin tawed lining. Tawed pockets, stained red on flesh side, stitched to chemise around edges of the boards (now loose). Large flaps at head, tail, and upper cover fore-edge, narrow lower cover fore-edge flap. Remains of green silk edging to chemise and lining. Remains of two leather fastening straps attached underneath chemise, with strap plates riveted to outer surface. Lower cover metal catch plates and side pins.

11. PRO, E. 164/6, *Testa de Nevill* or *Liber Feodorum*, II, early fourteenth century. Textblock and pastedowns removed from medieval binding and rebound, 1911.[22] Remains of fourteenth-century(?) English binding, now E. 166/1/1.[23] *Old covers:* Evidence of six slit twisted tawed sewing supports, with different lacing patterns on each board. Dark brown leather primary covering with turn-ins. Heavy tawed secondary chemise, with wide tawed pockets stitched to the chemise around edges of the boards. Ragged flaps at head, tail, and upper cover fore-edge, very narrow lower cover fore-edge flap. Wide tawed strap nailed to inside of both boards at tail, now split (with evidence of being used as carrying strap).[24] Strap plates hold remains of two leather fastening straps, which projected through slits in upper cover fore-edge flap. Lower cover metal catch plates.

12. PRO, Exchequer: Augmentation Office, Miscellaneous Books, E. 315/58, Cartularies of the Family of Beauchamp, middle to late fourteenth century. Contemporary(?) English binding. Textblock sewn on six tawed supports. Very thin tawed primary covering with turn-ins. Spine turn-ins cut away to accommodate endbands of primary and secondary sewing worked through spine of covering material. Heavy tawed secondary chemise edged with finer tawed skin. Tawed pockets stitched to chemise along the fore-edges of the boards; other strips of tawed skin at head and tail stitched to pockets and chemise. Large flaps at head, tail, and upper cover fore-edge, small lower cover fore-edge flap. Two leather fastening straps, projecting through slits in upper cover fore-edge flap, tacketed to inside of flap. Engraved clasps, one retaining tawed clasp pull. Lower cover metal side pins.[25]

13. PRO, E. 164/20. Cartulary of Godstow Abbey, ca. 1404. Textblock removed from binding and rebound in 1911.[26] Remains of early fifteenth-century(?) English binding, now E. 166/1/2. *Old covers:* Evidence of seven double sewing supports. Tawed primary covering with turn-ins. Spine turn-ins cut away to accommodate endbands of primary and secondary sewing worked through spine of covering material. Heavy tawed secondary chemise. Wide tawed pockets stitched to chemise around edges of the boards. Remnants of large flaps at head, tail, and upper cover fore-edge, with very narrow lower cover fore-edge flap. Evidence of upper cover fastenings, plus two leather straps. Lower cover metal side pins.

14. New Haven, Yale University, Law School Library, Law MS G, R 29/32, *Liber assisarum*, Year Books of Edward III and Henry IV. Early fifteenth-century(?) English binding. Tawed primary covering with turn-ins. Heavy tawed secondary chemise. Tawed pockets stitched to chemise around edges of the boards. Flaps at head, tail, and upper cover fore-edge, narrow lower cover fore-edge flap.[27]

15. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 155, Scientific Works by Roger Bacon, etc.; early fifteenth century. Contemporary(?) English binding. Tawed primary covering with turn-ins and secondary

(later?) tawed chemise. Tawed pockets stitched to chemise around edges of the boards. Flaps at head, tail, and upper cover fore-edge. Two metal upper cover fore-edge clasps fitted beneath chemise.[28]

16. PRO, E. 315/386, Rental of the Manor of Dungemarsh Belonging to Battle Abbey, first quarter of fifteenth century. Contemporary(?) English binding. Repaired in twentieth century(?). Textblock sewn on four double tawed supports. Tawed primary covering with turn-ins. Heavy secondary tawed chemise, with tawed pockets stitched to chemise around edges of the boards (pastedowns now lifted, previously adhered over pockets). Large flaps at head, tail, and upper cover fore-edge. Twentieth-century fastenings.

17. PRO, E 164/7, A Book of Fifteenths and Tenths, second quarter of fifteenth century. Contemporary(?) English binding. Textblock resewn in nineteenth century onto six double-cord supports, laced into medieval boards. Tawed primary covering with turn-ins and secondary chemise. Remains of tawed pockets stitched to the chemise around edges of the boards. Evidence of head, tail, and upper cover fore-edge flaps. Two metal fore-edge clasps.

18. PRO, E. 164/2, *Liber Rubeus* (Red Book of the Exchequer), thirteenth century (Elizabethan entries, on blank endleaves; last entries, eighteenth century). Textblock and pastedowns removed from medieval binding and rebound, ca. 1819.[29] Remains of fifteenth-century(?) English binding, now E. 166/2/1. *Old covers:* Remnants of six slit and twisted tawed sewing supports. Board lacing canals earth-filled. Thin red-stained tawed primary covering with turn-ins. Spine turn-ins cut away to accommodate endbands, with evidence of secondary sewing worked through spine of covering material. Tongue corners cut on the boards. Heavy tawed secondary chemise, also stained red on both flesh and hair sides. Red tawed pockets stained on flesh side, stitched to chemise around edges of the boards (now loose). Large flaps all around. Five bosses on each cover. Remains of two leather fastening straps fitted beneath chemise. Both straps once tacketed to inside of upper cover fore-edge flap. Evidence of lower cover metal side pins.[30]

19. PRO, E. 164/10, Transcripts of Statutes, Edward III to Henry VI, fifteenth century. Contemporary(?) English binding. Textblock sewn on five double supports. Tawed primary covering with turn-ins. Spine turn-ins cut away to accommodate endbands of primary and secondary sewing with back bead worked through spine of covering material. Heavy tawed secondary chemise, with thin tawed lining, edged with green thread. Two green silk corner tassels attached to head flap; evidence of corner tassels on tail flap. Tawed pockets stitched to chemise around edges of the boards. Large flaps at head, tail, and upper cover fore-edge. Very narrow lower cover fore-edge flap. Five metal bosses on each cover. Two red leather fastening straps (now shortened) retain metal clasps with engraved letter *M*. Both straps tacketed to inside of upper cover fore-edge flap. Evidence of lower cover metal side pins.[31]

20. PRO, E. 164/13, Transcripts of Taxation of Pope Nicholas, fifteenth century. Contemporary(?) English binding. Textblock sewn on six slit and twisted tawed supports. Tawed primary covering with turn-ins. Heavy tawed secondary chemise, with flaps at head, tail, and upper cover fore-edge. Tawed pockets stitched to chemise around edges of the boards. Two metal fore-edge fastenings.

21. PRO, E. 164/9, Transcripts of Statutes, late thirteenth to early sixteenth century. Fifteenth-century(?) English binding. Textblock sewn on six sewing supports. Red-stained tawed primary covering with turn-ins. Spine turn-ins cut away to accommodate endbands worked with secondary chevron sewing and back bead through spine of covering material. Heavy tawed secondary chemise with thin tawed lining, both stained green and edged with green thread. Tawed pockets, also stained green, stitched to the chemise around edges of the boards. Large flaps at head, tail, and upper cover fore-edge. Leather fastening strap, fitted beneath chemise(?). Clasp

braided with letter *M*, with tawed clasp pull. Upper cover fore-edge flap and fastening strap punctured by two small holes (suggesting tacket). Lower cover side pin.[32]

22. PRO, E. 164/22, Cartulary of Warwick College, first quarter of fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Textblock removed from medieval binding and rebound in 1911.[33] Remains of late fifteenth-century(?) English binding, now E. 166/1/3. *Old covers*: Evidence of five double tawed sewing supports. Tawed primary covering with turn-ins. Spine turn-ins cut away to accommodate endbands worked with primary and secondary compound sewing through spine of covering material. Tongue corners cut on the boards. Heavy tawed secondary chemise. Remnants of tawed pockets, stitched to chemise around edges of the boards. Remains of flaps at head, tail, and upper cover fore-edge. Very narrow lower cover fore-edge flap. One of two upper cover leather fastening straps remain, fitted beneath primary covering. Evidence of lower cover metal side pins.

23. PRO, E. 164/4, Book of Knights' Fees, ca. 1501. Contemporary(?) English binding. Repaired in mid-twentieth century(?). Tawed primary covering with turn-ins. Spine turn-ins cut away to accommodate endbands worked through spine of covering material. Heavy tawed secondary chemise with thin tawed lining, both stained red. Remains of tawed pockets stitched to chemise around edges of the boards. Large flaps at the head, tail, and upper cover fore-edge; very narrow lower cover fore-edge flap. Twentieth-century fastenings.

24. PRO, E. 164/11, Transcripts of Statutes, Edward IV to Henry VIII, late fifteenth century to 1516. English binding ca. 1516, much repaired in twentieth century. Textblock sewn on six sewing supports. Tawed primary covering with turn-ins. Heavy secondary tawed chemise and thin tawed lining, edged with finer tawed skin. Tawed pockets, stained red, stitched to chemise around edges of the boards. Large flaps at head, tail, and upper cover fore-edge; very narrow lower cover fore-edge flap.[34]

Notes to Appendices

1. Storm van Leeuwen, "Well-Shirted," 293–94, fig. 5.

2. Public Record Office, *Museum Catalogue* (London, 1974), 24.

3. Public Record Office, *Catalogue of Manuscripts and Other Objects in the Museum of the Public Record Office* (London, 1948), 88. The box for E. 33/1 is reproduced in Hobson, *English Binding Before 1500*, pl. 14a.

4. Public Record Office, *Annual Report for the Year 1847*, by Frederick Devon, Assistant Keeper at the Chapter House, (PRO 4/3, 197–98).

5. Public Record Office, *9th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (London, 1848), 22.

6. W. Sparrow-Simpson, *St. Paul's Cathedral Library: A Catalogue* (London, 1893), 66–67.

7. L. Monnas, "New Documents for the Vestments of Henry VII at Stonyhurst College," *Burlington Magazine*, 131, 1034 (May 1989) 345–49.

8. For an illustration of this binding, see British Library, *Cranmer*, 19.

9. Public Record Office, *Catalogue of Manuscripts and Other Objects*, (1948), 11.

10. For a reproduction of this binding, see J. Kleinberg Shalleck, "Identifying and Classifying Fine Bindings," in *A Miscellany for Bibliophiles*, ed. G. Fletcher (New York, 1979), 152.

11. I am grateful to David Cooper, Librarian of Corpus Christi College, Oxford for supplying detailed information on this binding, which has greatly assisted my own observations.

12. This description and the descriptions in Appendix II, nos. 4 and

5, are taken from notes by Abigail Quandt on bindings displayed in the exhibition *Saint Bernard et le Monde Cistercien*, Dec. 1990–Feb. 1991, Paris, Conciergerie. These bindings are also described in the exhibition catalogue: *Saint Bernard et le Monde Cistercien*, ed. L. Pressouyre and T.N. Kinder (Paris, 1990), 208, 230, and 231, figs. 90 and 93.

13. R.M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library* (Cambridge, 1989), xvii, 23, fig. 2. This binding is cited but not described in Pollard, "Twelfth-Century Bindings," 13.

14. See note 12 above.

15. Ibid.

16. For a brief description of this binding, see N.R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, IV (Oxford, 1969–1992), 289. The binding is cited but not described in J. Oldham, *Shrewsbury School Library Bindings* (Oxford, 1943), 37.

17. C. Dutschke, *Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library* (San Marino, 1989), 604. For a comparison of this type of boss, see A. de la Mare, *Catalogue of the Collection of Medieval Manuscripts Bequeathed to the Bodleian Library Oxford by James P. R. Lyell* (Oxford, 1971), 3, pl. 27. Here a single center boss, like those found on the binding covering the Huntington manuscript, is attached to the upper cover of a late twelfth-century binding from the Cistercian abbey of St. Mary at Holme Cultram, Cumberland. There are also four larger corner bosses on this binding secured to the upper cover through pieces of tawed skin retaining hair. It is likely that the pieces of tawed skin caught underneath these bosses are the remains of a heavy secondary chemise. This is further supporter by knife cuts to the primary tawed covering round each boss and the removal of all metal furniture from the lower cover.

18. The flaps of the chemise covering were not mentioned in F. Madan, *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, IV (Oxford, 1897), 607.

19. This description has relied heavily on the work of Polly Bayntun-Coward, a former student at Exeter University, and Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts*, II, 810.

20. Repair Register, Public Record Office, PRO 12/2; *73rd Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records* (London, 1912), 9 and *74th Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records* (London, 1913), 10.

21. Both *Testa de Nevill* or *Liber Feodorum*, I & II (PRO, E. 164/5 and 6) were first bound by John de Lumpuce in 1301 at a cost of ten shillings. See *Issues of the Exchequer Henry III–Henry VI*, ed. F. Devon (London 1837), 115.

22. See note 20 above.

23. See note 21 above.

24. See Hallam, "Nine Centuries," 32.

25. This manuscript is described in Public Record Office, *8th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (London, 1847), 147 as retaining its well-preserved original binding. However, there is no mention of the chemise covering.

26. See note 20 above.

27. An illustration showing the inside of the lower cover with primary cover turn-ins, chemise pocket, head, fore-edge, and tail flaps, can be found in Shailor, *The Medieval Book*, fig. 56. See also Marston, "Speculum Humanae Salvationis," 127. Baker, *English Legal Manuscripts in the United States of America*, I (London, 1985), 73, mentions the flaps on this chemise binding.

28. The binding is cited in Pollard, "Twelfth-Century Bindings," 14.

29. The materials and style of the present binding covering the Red Book of the Exchequer strongly suggest that the book was rebound at the same time as other Exchequer books recorded as being rebound in 1819. See E. Hallam, *Domesday Book: Through Nine Centuries* (London, 1986), 151.

30. While it is known that William Baron was paid five shillings for repairing the Red Book of the Exchequer in 1370, the exact nature of these repairs have not been ascertained. *Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham, 44 Edward III,* ed. F. Devon (London, 1835), 388.

31. This binding is briefly described in Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts,* I, 190.

32. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts,* I, 190 describes the green tawed chemise covering of this book as a "jacket."

33. See note 20 above.

34. The chemise here has been described as a "jacket." See Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts,* I, 190–91.

PHOTOGRAPHS: fig. 1, Exeter, Exeter Cathedral Library; figs. 7, 9, 15, London, BL; figs. 2a, 2b, 3, 6, 12, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; figs. 4, 5, London, PRO; figs. 8, 10, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library; fig. 11, Oxford, Bodleian Library; fig. 13, Cambridge, Trinity College; figs. 14, 18, London, National Gallery; fig. 16, Washington D.C., Folger Shakespeare Library; fig. 17, London, Courtauld Institute Galleries; figs. 19a, 19b, New York, Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine.

What Goes Around: Borders and Frames in French Manuscripts

Myra D. Orth

This discussion of the margins of French and Flemish fifteenth- and French sixteenth-century manuscripts investigates their variety and critical opinions of them, concentrating on form and structure rather than iconography. The idea of the margins as regions of artistic freedom can be seen to extend well past the Gothic into the Renaissance. The second part of the article examines the significance of mid-sixteenth-century French manuscript frames.

Note: See color plate section for color plates 1–2.

This meditation on what goes around manuscript miniatures was prompted by the ongoing debates about the margins of medieval manuscripts and my own research on very different mid-sixteenth-century French Renaissance examples.[1] The first part of this paper is concerned with an overview of the design of the borders and frames surrounding manuscript pages in the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries in France and the Netherlands. It will have little to say about the central miniatures or the iconographic relationship between them and the margins. Instead, the discussion will attempt to shift attention completely from the center of the manuscript page to its edges and will invite consideration of the differing criteria used by historians of the medieval and Renaissance periods when discussing *trompe l'oeil* borders or framing structures. Thanks to Lilian Randall's splendid catalogue descriptions, it has been possible to concentrate on examples from the Walters.[2] All too frequently art historians and book designers simply ignore the decorative systems of the book page and both discuss and reproduce the miniatures in isolation. The second part of this paper presents a case study that shows how the scrutiny of mid-sixteenth-century French Renaissance manuscript frames can lead to a better understanding of a larger artistic milieu.

The impulse to surround the main picture with visual commentary, to enhance, to personalize, and even to protect, is hardly unique to book art, but often the illuminated book is the only place where the whole decorative context is preserved—covers, framings, and all. Armorial book bindings (proudly displayed flat) were not only decorative but protective; they were very much the opening part of the program.[3] Inside the manuscript, the enclosing function of the frame or border served as a visual barrier between the fingers holding the book open by the edges of the vellum folio and the miniature (fig. 1); the simple tactile intimacy that the reader achieves with the object is particularly significant in the case of a book of hours because it is a personal prayer book, as opposed to a manuscript propped up on a bookstand to be read out loud.[4]

During the fifteenth century in Flanders and France (and elsewhere in Europe), the painted page developed an exceptionally daring and assertive artistic presence that combined text, illustration, and marginal decoration in an infinite number of permutations, provoking diverse interpretations among art historians. To explore these manuscript pages, however briefly, helps to emphasize the essential difference between the artists' use of manuscript margins in thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and the approach of the fifteenth century toward the same enclosing space. The rich and playful medieval world Lilian Randall opened for us in her *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* does not disappear, nor does the impulse to elaborate the edges of the manuscript page, but form, content, and format are drastically altered. Meyer Schapiro, in a brief review of Dr. Randall's book, argued that in the realm of medieval margins, "...it would help the search for meanings if one recognized that we are not limited to the alternatives: symbolic or decorative."[5] Elsewhere, in his essay titled "Style," he characterized margins and frames as "regions of freedom," where figures are both more free and more naturalistic.[6] It is in his third sense, one that incorporates artistic license and stylistic daring, that I propose to consider borders and frames.

Fig. 1. Master of Jean de Mauléon, Adoration of the Magi in an Italianate tabernacle frame, facing a border of strewn flowers. Hours for the use of Rome, ca. 1525. New York, private collection, fols. 57v–58.

Fig. 2. Ghent-Bruges Master, Saint Luke Writing, surrounded by a jeweled border. Book of hours, ca. 1490. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.427, fol. 41.

The best-known analysis of fifteenth-century Flemish page design is Otto Pächt's study of late fifteenth-century Flemish manuscripts painted by artists in the circle of the Master of Mary of Burgundy. His critique hinged on the presumption that artists understood that the manuscript page was inherently two-dimensional and that by not maintaining its flatness they "fatally" transgressed this rule. Pächt's was a kind of perspectival conspiracy theory. He recognized both the innovative *trompe l'oeil* borders in the Hours of Engelbert of Nassau and the two remarkable (and exceptional) pages in Mary's own hours as innovative accomplishments; nevertheless, in his view, by complicating the representation of spatial depth on the page, the artists broke down the "aesthetic equilibrium of Gothic book decoration" and caused "the days of book-painting [to be] numbered." Elsewhere in the essay, Pächt evaluated the results positively by crediting the Master of Mary of Burgundy with giving manuscript illumination a "new lease on life" through the use of single-point perspective.[7] The scene in Mary's Vienna Hours showing her reading forms the enclosing border of the folio and isolates, as through a window, the more distant scene of the worship of the Virgin and Child in a church. Beyond questions of spatial representation, we might also ask whether the pious lady reading her prayers is the border or the main event—but such questions will take us too far afield. The levels of illusionism created by the *trompe l'oeil* borders on the pages of the Hours of Engelbert

of Nassau were analyzed at length by Pächt and, somewhat differently, by Jonathan Alexander. Basically, the borders, with their large-scale, closely observed objects are on one spatial plane closest to the reader; the text copied on blank vellum mediates between the *realia* and the more distant and smaller-scale scene of the miniature.[8] An example of a Flemish *trompe l'oeil* border in the Walters collection, where Saint Luke is surrounded by jewels and flowers, will stand for this style (fig. 2). For Pächt such painted folios set up an insoluble conflict between the "book page as a primarily planimetric organism and its treatment as an opening into a recession of depth."[9] Related to Pächt's study of spatial manipulation on the manuscript page is Panofsky's unforgettable statement that "it [manuscript painting] had already begun to commit suicide by converting itself into painting. Even without Gutenberg, it would have died of an overdose of perspective."[10] The breaking of what Panofsky termed the "purpose of surface decoration [of the page]" had indeed been accomplished, but I have long had difficulty believing that the principle of *flatter is better* was relevant to book art at the time or even that the transgression of this principle was the agent of its later demise. Recently, in a study of Flemish *trompe l'oeil* borders, Tom and Heidi Kaufmann have fruitfully reconsidered Pächt's analysis at some length.[11] In any case, the artists' enthusiastic experiments with the uses of illusionism and shifting levels of meaning through the representation of space were crucial to the change in page

decoration of the second half of the fifteenth century. These pages were indeed regions of artistic freedom. But it was the competition from monumental painting, as well as the status of the artist, much more than the invention of printing or practice of perspective, that contributed to the demise of manuscript illumination.[12]

A very differently based critique appears in the writings of Michael Camille, who terms the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries "The End of the Edge." For him the *edge* vanishes when it becomes a field for realistic, or *trompe l'oeil*, painting.[13] Such a border deadens the imagination and "banishes the gamboling fictions." Furthermore, applying Marxist methodology, he equates the representation of real objects in the margins (jewels, shells, flowers) with "commodification," or putting a price on precious things in a rising market economy.[14] Thus, for Camille, these margins mark the separation of high and low art by abolishing what he conceives of as the socially marginal figures playing on the edge of Gothic manuscripts.

As an example, he cites the often-illustrated Hours of Catherine of Cleves, a splendid example of Dutch illumination of the 1440s and, indeed, a prime example in the development of manuscript page design unknown to Pächt. The miniature of the Adoration of the Magi is surrounded by a border depicting a red-beaded rosary with a cross and, we presume, Catherine's monogram on the little blue drawstring purse. It is as though she had just laid the rosary down on the page while praying.[15] In contrast to Camille, we might consider Mary Carruthers's more constructive analysis of this very same manuscript, and by implication many others (see fig. 2), as reflecting medieval memory systems, which depended on visual cues. Thus the design of the page—exactly what we are concerned with here— prompts the workings of memory in storing text and meaning. The text does not float free; it is anchored by its decoration. Let me quote briefly from her *Book of Memory*:

> As metaphorical tropes, these same classes of image [that is, jewels, coins, fruit, flowers, etc.] figure persistently in the pedagogy of invention and memory, those two processes for which books are the sources and cues....Trained memory is a storehouse, a treasure-chest, a vessel, into which the jewels, coins, fruits, and flowers of texts are placed....Coins and other treasure are perhaps the most common of memory tropes: they also have a complementary association (as do gold, pearls, and rubies) with the Biblical "treasures" of the Kingdom of Heaven.[16]

Thus what Camille conceives as gratuitous glitter and illusionistic overkill becomes intellectually functional, inspiring and anchoring thought rather than suppressing it. Almost all of the elaborate borders

Fig. 3. Master of Claude de France, Candelabra, putti, and grotesque border surrounding arms of François d'Angoulême, Louise de Savoie, and Marguerite d'Alençon. B. Latini, *Trésor*, ca. 1515. Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 19088, fol. 1.

presented here decorate prayer books made for the personal use of a wealthy elite, for whom these manuscripts were an exceptional treasure. Here again, remember the intimacy of holding a book and touching the margins. The bright, new illusionistic margins are a continuation of the fascination with the margin— but not the marginal. I would interpret them not as subverting, as Camille does, but rather serving to surround the main picture with often fanciful visual commentary, to enhance (and even compete with them) by attention-getting contrast.

The sixteenth century in France and Flanders was a period of assimilation and elaboration of the ornamental styles ultimately derived from Roman antiquity but more immediately gleaned second-hand from Italian art. The interest in the *realia* of nature and spatial illusionism on the page gradually succumbed to a taste for classical motifs. Unlike Italian illuminators, those in France rarely used these motifs illusionistically.[17] An elaborate frame in a French manuscript decorated just before 1515 deploys *rinceaux* on a candelabra structure and punctuates them with *grotteschi* and putti (fig. 3).[18] Ernst Gombrich, in his book *The Sense of Order*, says comparatively little about page design, but his chapter entitled "The Edge of Chaos" is admirable for its treatment of Renaissance ornament. He makes a general comment that I think we must take seriously—that most inventions involving

Fig. 4. Master of Jean Rolin II, Annunciation, with narrative border roundels of the life of the Virgin. Hours for the use of Paris, ca. 1450. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.251, fol. 26.

Fig. 5. Loire artist, Bathsheba Bathing, bordered with compartmented narrative scenes of David. Hours for the use of Angers, ca. 1480. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.245, fol. 31.

either medieval drolleries or antique *grotteschi* should be seen as creations in their own right, as artists' flourishes, and that between formal analysis and iconography there is the problem of interpreting these more abstract borders on their own terms. Here again is the issue of artistic license in the margins.[19]

On a practical note, we must not forget that several different artists usually shared the creation of a manuscript page, with the intervention of the minia-turist coming last in the work-plan. Unlike a picture we take to the framer, in manuscript production the picture came after the frame or border, and some-times quite long after, with the result that in more routine manuscripts it frequently seems as though the painting were hung on the wrong style wallpaper. An unfinished mid-fifteenth-century French book of hours in the Morgan Library demonstrates the process of manuscript production.[20] The text is fully copied and the page decoration is, for the most part, sketched in. One of the blank frames contains a note to the miniaturist to depict the three kings; some vine-leaf borders are lightly drawn in, with only the burnished gold dots completed; elsewhere colored leaves have not yet been shaded; some borders are finished, but the figural motifs within them were left for the main miniaturist to complete after the minia-ture was finished. This typical example of complicated fifteenth-century collaboration remains relevant to the later case history in which we will raise questions of attribution. Although one could pose the same ques-

tions for many of the other examples illustrated here, such queries would extend beyond the limited scope of this paper.

Examples of frames and borders

Let us define general terms and test some ideas by looking at a variety of typical borders and frames from the later years of the fifteenth century and from the first third of the sixteenth, mainly in France, keeping in mind that within any one manuscript several decorative systems can often be found.

The narrative, or historiated, border

The *two-dimensional* type includes separate narrative scenes integrated into decorative *rinceau* borders, where the vellum provides a neutral ground for the sprays of foliate tendrils with small gilded leaves. This system developed in the fourteenth century and was particularly popular during the earlier part of the French fifteenth century in the art of the Bedford Master but was often imitated by later artists, as in a mid-fifteenth-century Annunciation surrounded with scenes of the life of the Virgin (fig. 4).[21]

The *three-dimensional* narrative border includes scenes that fill the margin on two or three sides. In the example illustrated, the events of the life of David

Fig. 6. Loire or Poitou artist, Annunciation to the Shepherds. Hours for the use of Rome, ca. 1460. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.223, fol. 58v.

Fig. 7. Circle of Master François, Death pursuing a man on a dock, with an abstract floral border of composite beasts. Hours for the use of Bourges, ca. 1475–80. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.214, fol. 91.

surrounding the miniature of Bathsheba Bathing are isolated into boxlike compartments (fig. 5).[22] Similar arrangements are sometimes surrounded by Gothic tracery, as described below under *architectural frames*. In almost all cases, the auxiliary events are in a different scale and each is clearly set in a different space.

In the Hours of Etienne Chevalier, painted sometime between 1453 and 1461, the artist Jean Fouquet used the whole visual field of the vellum page without recourse to the framing barriers of architectural scaffolding.[23] While the Boucicault and the Bedford Masters had previously integrated the marginal and the central on the page, only Fouquet managed to incorporate several events so gracefully into such naturalistic space. He loaded the simple rectangle of the pages with all the spatial tricks at his command. The anonymous, probably Poitevin, artist of another Walters book of hours echoes one of Fouquet's innovative compositions in the Annunciation to the Shepherds (fig. 6).[24]

The decorative border

An *abstract floral border* of acanthus scrolls completely covers the gold ground of the margin in a book of hours by an artist in the circle of Master François, datable to about 1475–1480 (fig. 7). A composite beast familiar from Gothic marginalia inhabits the foliage on the side and a crippled merman with a crutch and a jar seems to comment on the fate of the man being pushed into the water by Death.[25] The main decorative structures of borders such as this one have their origins in natural forms, which are depicted as essentially flat and geometrically arranged.

Fig. 8. Circle of Jean Poyet, Death riding a bull, with a border of inscribed scrolls. Hours for the use of Rome, ca. 1500. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.430, fol. 114.

These borders are extremely numerous well into the early sixteenth century, but the drolleries that inhabit them rarely have, as here, any relationship to the miniature.

A more distinctive type of decorative border, the *trompe l'oeil*, depicts objects in three dimensions, as we have seen in a Flemish example (fig. 2). These were less numerous in France, but they do appear: for example in the inscribed scrolls in a book of hours from the Jean Poyet workshop, circa 1500. The mottoes refer to the book's unknown owner, probably a woman (fig. 8).[26] However, the fashion for *trompe l'oeil* fruit-and-flower borders prospered in the French six-
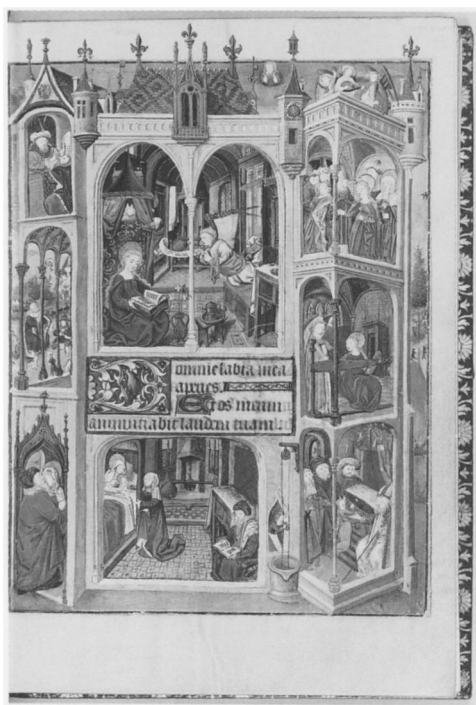
Fig. 9. Parisian or Netherlandish artist, Annunciation, in an architectural frame enclosing episodes of the life of Joachim, Anna, and the Virgin. Book of hours, ca. 1460–1470. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.275, fol. 13.

Fig. 10. Master of Jean de Mauléon, Bathsheba Bathing, enclosed by an Italianate tabernacle frame. Hours for the use of Toulouse, ca. 1524. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.449, fol. 76.

teenth century, where the natural motifs were commonly paired with Italianate architectural frames on the facing folio. The various artists of the 1520s Hours Workshop used this system almost exclusively. In a book of hours by the Master of Jean de Mauléon (fig. 1), the flowers are strewn on the ground of the border; in other manuscripts, flowering branches define the horizontals and verticals of the borders, as they do in the border facing the Getty Epistles Master's Saint Paul (pl. 1). In their remarkable depiction of botanical specimens, this group of French illuminators followed the slightly earlier example of Bourdichon and the Master of Claude de France, themselves inspired by flower borders of Flemish manuscripts.[27]

The architectural frame

Manuscript pages often echo the architectural settings or architecturally framed altarpieces that typify the taste for complexity and richness of the late medieval period in the north. Many a panel painting, now simply framed and hung on a smoothly painted neutral museum wall, was once part of an intensely complicated multimedia altarpiece, whose sculpted and gilded architecture formed a "devotional machine," complete with moving parts that allowed shifting views and

meanings. Of course, a book has moving parts too—the pages—but here we are concerned with one view. The miniature of the Annunciation from an unfinished Walters hours of about 1460–1470 is enclosed in a framing structure of exceptionally complicated architectural and narrative ambitions (fig. 9).[28] But the landscape behind the walls, as well as the roof and gables whose finials protrude into the upper vellum of the folio, make it clear that this building is more like a devotional doll's house than an altarpiece.

In the late fifteenth century and almost universally in the early sixteenth, the *Italianate tabernacle frame*, or the simplified molded frame, sets the miniature apart from any context and isolates it on the page. In the Getty *Epistles of Saint Paul*, of about 1530, Saint Paul is set within a structure that closely resembles an Italian carved wood frame (pl. 1). The more fanciful architectural confection of about 1524 from the Walters Hours of Jean de Mauléon surrounds a seductive Bathsheba (fig. 10).[29] The architectural frames of the 1520s Hours Workshop are "uninhabited," but in this same period it is common to find putti scrambling along the cornices and columns, like the little bungee jumpers oblivious to the Death of the Virgin miniature (fig. 11).[30] In a sense the putti are the playful *à l'antique* descendants of the more various denizens of Gothic margins.

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Fig. 11. Parisian artist, Death of the Virgin, in an Italianate tabernacle frame with putti. Hours of François I de Dinteville, 1525. London, BL, Add. MS 18854, fol. 78v.

Fig. 12. 1520s Hours Workshop, Seraph with sealed Book of Revelations; scene of the Presentation in the Temple. Hours of Jean Lallemant the Younger, ca. 1520. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.446, fol. 35v.

We have already seen that frames and borders assumed such decorative importance that they often eclipsed the main event they enclosed; or, sometimes, as in the case of Fouquet, the main event gobbled up the margin without transition. In a particularly interesting case of the manuscripts made for Jean Lallemant the Younger of Bourges in the first third of the sixteenth century, the main subject is reduced to tiny size and completely dominated by unbordered miniatures involving complex Lallemant heraldry and the two Saints John. In this Walters book of hours, the miniature seems at first glance to be only a seraph hovering in front of a heraldic striped curtain decorated with knots, holding the sealed book of Saint John the Evangelist's Revelations. However in a tiny burst of light we see the expected subject, the Presentation in the Temple (fig. 12).[31] In another miniature in the same manuscript, the main event, the Penitence of David, glows brightly behind the torn curtain of letters through which we also see the hair shirt of Saint John the Baptist laid flat against a neutral background (fig. 13).[32] In a Lallemant Hours now in the Hague, the foreground of each miniature shows Saint John the Baptist within a unified scene of architecture and landscape, holding, or in some cases just near, the sealed book, as he observes the religious event in the distance—in this case the Visitation (pl. 2).[33] Thus, in these remarkable and rare cases, the miniature becomes the border for the main subject. Remember that this had already been done, although with a clearly demarcated spatial separation, by the Master of Mary of Burgundy in the Vienna miniature, a similarity I take as coincidental.

Strapwork frames in mid-sixteenth-century France

Now I would like to effect a brusque transition from the period 1480–1530 to the 1540s and 1550s and to French manuscripts that are, with one notable exception, still in their country of origin. In my research on manuscripts of this period, I found that only by paying particular attention to the frames could I locate and date with more precision both whole manuscripts and individual miniatures. In addition, the ways in which the manuscript frames participated in the general stylistic trends of the period—while the miniatures
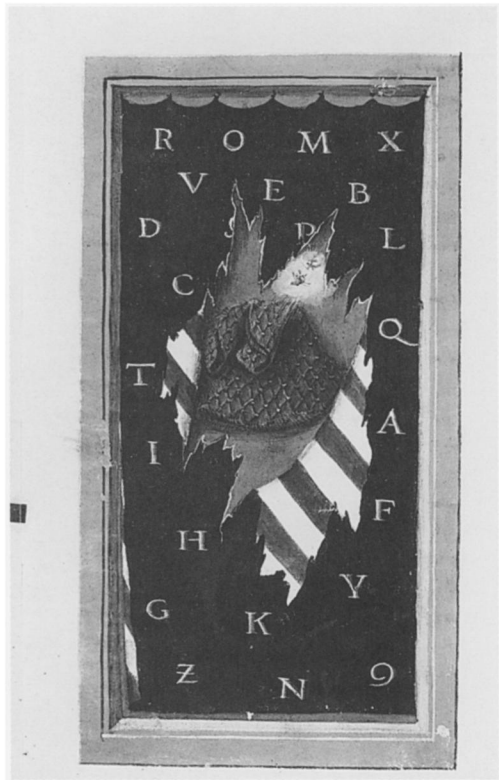
Fig. 13. 1520s Hours Workshop, Torn lettered tapestry, hairshirt, and scene of the Penitent David. Hours of Jean Lallemant the Younger, ca. 1520. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.446, fol. 52v.

Fig. 14. Giulio Clovio, Adoration of the Magi; Meeting between Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, framed by *ignudi* and strapwork. Hours of Alessandro Farnese, 1546. New York, Morgan Library, MS M.69, fols. 38v–39.

Fig. 15. Getty Epistles Master, Gethsemane, with strapwork frame. Hours of Claude de Guise, before 1550. Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, ms. 654, fol. 91v.

they enclosed often did not—opened new possibilities in the interpretation of artistic collaboration.[34]

When the classical high Renaissance in Italy gave way to *maniera*, the hidden, the grotesque, the secret, and the marginal all returned to favor—if, in fact, they had ever left. As rhetorical theory that derived from authors of classical antiquity such as Quintilian demonstrated, richness, variety, and complexity were desirable qualities, ones which post-classical Italian art used to full extent in manuscripts, as well as fresco decoration. John Shearman, in his handbook *Mannerism*, is among the few constructive critics, felicitously calling *maniera* the "stylish style."[35] We should not forget that classical art never reached France until Poussin, in the following century. In monumental fresco painting and stucco decoration, the borders devised in the 1530s by the Florentine mannerist Giovanni Battista Rosso for the Gallery of Francis I at Fontainebleau are astounding; there, the marginal seriously competes with the central subject.[36] Without wishing to suggest that Rosso was inspired by anything other than his Italian training, I often idly wonder whether French onlookers would have drawn parallels based on their experience of illuminated manuscripts. A contemporary account by a Lyonnais antiquarian

anxious to flatter the taste of Francis I praised Rosso's gallery by concentrating his attention on the eternal freshness of the fruit and flowers in the stucco strapwork frames.[37] Whether these remarks were straightforward or not, their author demonstrated that these marginal details were attended to by the spectator. The graphic arts communicated this rich, often irrational, and spatially perverse decorative style to artists in all media, employing Rosso's and Primaticcio's motifs but ignoring their complex symbolism. The care taken to delineate the framings makes evident the interest in them (fig. 18).[38]

Just as the preceding generations had used Gothic altarpieces and then Italian tabernacle frames, so artists in the 1540s and onwards looked to Italian

Fig. 16. Master of the Grisailles of the Hours of Henri II, Elijah Giving the Cloak to Elisha; strapwork frame with putti. Hours of François II de Dinteville, ca. 1552–1554. Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 10558, fol. 44.

Fig. 17. Master of Henri II, King Louis the Debonnaire; strapwork frame with putti. Jean Du Tillet, *Grand Recueil des rois de France*, ca. 1554–1566. Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 2848, fol. 39.

mannerism for inspiration. I am sure they were also decisively influenced by Italian manuscript decoration of the 1540s, although I have not yet been able to trace the exact path this could have taken to the artists. Certainly there were plenty of influential French patrons in Rome at that time. Giulio Clovio finished Alessandro Farnese's book of hours now in the Morgan Library in Rome in 1546.[39] In the second edition of the *Lives of the Artists*, Vasari's praise went beyond superlatives, situating the manuscript perfectly within the *maniera* aesthetic. Vasari called attention to, in his words, its most exotic, varied, and bizarre ornamentation, as well as the inventiveness of the attitudes and postures of the nudes in the friezes. To Vasari it was the great diversity of "things" that gave such immense beauty to the book.[40] Painted almost to the edge of the vellum, Clovio's pages intertwine bodies and fictive sculpture in complex profusion (fig. 14), echoing what Michelangelo had done much earlier on the Sistine Ceiling—hence Vasari's nickname for Clovio, "the little Michelangelo." However, as we have seen, covering the manuscript page completely has a long history.

The illuminators of the mid-sixteenth century in France were no match for Clovio, yet their ambitions and their patrons were no less important. The way

they used the frames is analogous to that in earlier Renaissance manuscripts (pl. 1). Each frame has a three-dimensional existence on the page, and only rarely is there any relationship of the decoration to the content of the miniature. The overall impression conveyed by the frames is of heavy and crisply carved, painted, and gilded wood or metal, upon and through which wind narrow colored strips of fabric supporting bunches of naturally colored garden vegetables (fig. 15). This frame dates to just before 1550 and is found in a section added to the Hours of Claude de Guise.[41] The characteristic strapwork weaving in and out lends considerable spatial autonomy to the frame. Some of the figures and masks, such as the lions and goat here, are rendered as though they were carved as part of the frame. Elsewhere little winged putti painted in flesh tones (figs. 16 and 17) lounge on the edges of the frames.

The frames in the Dinteville Hours are daring and heavily figured: that is, the angels who should be structural appear in movement (fig. 16).[42] Indeed the framings of the Dinteville Hours convinced me that the frames and miniatures of the kings in the grandiose *Recueil des Roys de France*, presented to Charles IX by its author, Jean du Tillet, in 1566, were in fact painted ten or more years earlier.[43] Figure 17 depicts a standing king, Louis the Debonnaire, from the group

Fig. 18. Jean Mignon after Luca Penni, The Preaching of John the Baptist; strapwork frame with putti. Etching, ca. 1547. Paris, BNF, Cabinet des Estampes.

Fig. 19. Master of the Hours of Claude Gouffier, Raising of Lazarus; strapwork heraldic and emblematic frame with terms. Hours of Claude Gouffier, ca. 1555. New York, Morgan Library, MS M.538, fol. 79.

of twenty-nine in that manuscript. If anything, the *Recueil* frames are even more elaborate than those in the Dinteville or Montmorency Hours.[44] Among the almost fifty frames of this type in seven manuscripts dateable to between 1547 and circa 1554, there is not one complete duplication, while absolutely identical motifs occur time and time again. This pair of frames (figs. 16 and 17) is as close to duplication as can be found.

The structure of the frames in the Dinteville Hours seems to be the work of an artist different from the miniaturist, someone well-versed in the architectonic spatial illusionism necessary to render the endlessly inventive recombinations of structural elements. One folio (fol. 50) contains only a gilded frame, empty in the middle and devoid of figural decoration, indicating the distinct probability of at least two artists at work, following practices established many years before. The documented presence of Fontainebleau artists in Paris in the early 1550s has led me to suggest that the Florentine artist Lucca Penni, or one of the Parisian graphic artists allied with him in the 1550s (René Boyvin or Jean Mignon), was responsible for the extremely accomplished designs of the frames, rather than supposing that the manuscript artists merely utilized easily available prints, which they never literally copy. The frames could have been designed by Penni and subsequently gilded by a professional *enlumineur*, while the figural elements (angels, putti) were painted by the miniaturist. This sequence roughly parallels the example of the unfinished Morgan manuscript mentioned earlier in this essay.

Although scholars question whether Penni was a practicing graphic artist, they are unanimous in affirming that he designed the frames surrounding the prints that were made after his drawings. Certainly, as a Florentine who had worked at Fontainebleau and then settled in Paris, he was well-versed in *maniera* decoration. Contacts between miniaturists and Penni seem further supported by Suzanne Boorsch's hypothesis that Penni's etching of the Preaching of Saint John the Baptist (fig. 18) reproduces a painting commissioned for the family chapel of the same Jean Du Tillet[45] who was the author and doubtless the project director of the *Recueil des Roys de France*. The Preaching, etched by Jean Mignon after Penni and usually dated circa 1547—although this is disputed—is framed in precisely the style we are concerned with, although the chapel painting (now lost, but datable to between 1541 and 1555) was framed by columns and an architrave.[46] The actual figural decoration of putti, terms, and angels on the frames of the *Receuil* and the Dinteville Hours is, however, significantly different from Penni's in both placement and style, reinforcing our contention that the miniaturist supplied these figures.

In the *Recueil*, the overlapping layers of paint in the miniatures make it certain that the stages of work were virtually simultaneous. Sometimes the flat black backgrounds are painted around all the gilded decoration and vegetables; in other instances, the roots,

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Fig. 20. Master of the Psalter of Claude Gouffier, Annunciation to the Shepherds; heraldic strapwork frame with piping shepherds, ca. 1555, detached folio (formerly part of the Hours of Claude Gouffier). Paris, Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Masson 165.

tendrils, and fringes of the frames are painted over the black. The close collaboration suggested by the frames of the miniatures leads then to the hypothesis that work on the *Recueil* and the Dinteville Hours was carried out in Paris and before Penni's death in 1556.

The one manuscript of this larger group of mid-century manuscripts in an American collection is the Hours of Claude Gouffier in the Morgan Library.[47] Stylistically it is different from those manuscripts just mentioned, but it rivals them in splendor. The most noteworthy miniaturist is named after the Gouffier Hours. Surrounding all of this artist's miniatures are distinctive and assertively armorial gold framings, which are generous and large in scale, with imaginatively manipulated heavy strapwork volutes and a variety of term figures (Gouffier's emblem), whose scrolls spell out Gouffier's *devise* (fig. 19). The frames are sculpturally less complex but no less assertive than those in the hours just mentioned, and, like them, the style of the frame is linked with the work of a particular miniaturist. However, in the case of the Master of the Gouffier Hours, the creator of frame and miniature could well be the same artist.

In the Gouffier Hours and elsewhere there is another artist who clearly created his own less adept adaptations of the frame designs associated with the more talented illuminators (fig. 20).[48] This artist is

named after the Gouffier Psalter, a manuscript in the Arsenal Library.[49] He was employed frequently by Gouffier, Montmorency, and others. The motifs are familiar, but the framing, figures (in this case shepherds), and strapwork are thinned out, and the complexities are flattened and simplified; stylistically these frames are unmistakable and accompany every miniature by this artist. Thus, when several artists worked in the same manuscript, they did not simply paint their miniatures into a uniform set of frames provided by another artist.[50] In a practice that seems at the very least unusual, each artist appears to have provided his own frame; only in the case of those frames surrounding the miniatures of the Getty Epistles Master and the Master of Henri II do I believe that independent designers were employed.

At the beginning, I called this paper a "meditation" on what goes around manuscript miniatures. Therefore I shall offer just a few remarks by way of conclusion. The margin, which both Meyer Schapiro and Ernst Gombrich referred to as a region of freedom for the artist, allows flights of fancy, and even irrelevancy, with a stylistic daring often lacking in the main miniatures. This continues to hold true even into the Renaissance period. We should more freely appreciate these marginal decorations on their own artistic terms without necessarily trying to devise precise iconographic parallels. If form follows function (and I do not think it necessarily does), then these edges also serve to announce the main event visually, yet distance and distract the spectator at the same time. They make the text and images memorable by their often daring celebration of the purely visual. Vasari seems to have gotten it right in praising the diversity of "things" that gives such immense beauty to Clovio's manuscript and by extension to so many others.

Boston, Massachusetts

Notes

1. I have retained the discursive tone and order of the original talk presented in honor of Lilian Randall at the Walters Art Gallery in February 1995, but have drastically changed (and reduced) the illustrations, using Walters examples where possible.

2. L.M.C. Randall et al., *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, I, France, 875–1420* and *II, France, 1420–1540* (2 parts), (Baltimore and London, 1989–1992).

3. For example, see illustrations in Randall, *Walters*, II, 2, 396–98.

4. On reading and praying, see P. Sanger, "Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages," *Scrittura e civilità*, 9 (1985), 239–69. Fig. 1 is an hours for the use of Rome (New York,

private collection), ca. 1525, whose artist is called Master of Jean de Mauléon, after Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.449; see M. Orth, "French Renaissance Manuscripts: the 1520s Hours Workshop and the Master of the Getty Epistles," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, 16 (1988), 33–60 (46); J. Plummer, with assistance of G. Clark, *The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts 1420–1530* (New York and London, 1982), 103, no. 131.

5. M. Schapiro, "Marginal images and dröleries," in *Late Antique, Early Christian, and Medieval Art* (New York, 1979), 196–98 (198, reviewing L.M.C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* [Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966]).

6. M. Schapiro, *Theory and Philosophy of Art: Style, Artists, and Society* (New York, 1994), 62.

7. O. Pächt, *The Master of Mary of Burgundy* (London, 1948), 19 and 26. The ideas are reiterated in his *Book Illumination in the Middle Ages: an Introduction*, trans. K. Davenport (London, 1986), 200–202. See also J.J.G. Alexander, *The Master of Mary of Burgundy. A Book of Hours for Engelbert of Nassau* [Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 219/20] (New York, 1972). For Mary's hours (Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 1857) fol. 14v (Mary at Prayer), see the full facsimile edition: F. Unterkircher and A. de Schryver, *Gebetbuch Karls des Kühnen vel potius, Stundenbuch der Maria von Burgund* Codices selecti XIV (Graz, 1969); or, more accessibly, E. Inglis (commentary), *The Hours of Mary of Burgundy: Codex Vindobonensis 1857, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek* (London, 1995). For a discussion of the complex issues of attribution, see A. Van Buren, "The Master of Mary of Burgundy and his Colleagues: the State of Research and Questions of Method," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 38 (1975), 286–309.

8. See Pächt, *Master*, 24–25 and Alexander, *Master*, 15–17. The scene of Mary reading is illustrated in Pächt, *Master*, fig. 12 and discussed 26–28; see also Inglis, *Hours*, 21–22 and 27–30. For the borders in the Hours of Englebert of Nassau, see Alexander, *Master*, esp. nos. 28, 35, 68, 72, 73, 79, 80, and 101.

9. Pächt, *Master*, 25. For MS W.427, a Ghent-Bruges book of hours, see Lilian M.C. Randall et al., *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, III, Belgium, 1250–1530* (forthcoming), no. 290. I am indebted to Dr. Randall for bringing this manuscript to my attention.

10. E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Character* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 28.

11. T. and H. Kaufmann, "The Sanctification of Nature: Observations on the Origins of *Trompe l'Oeil* in Netherlandish Book Painting of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, 19 (1991), 43–64 (48–51, citing S. Ringbom's often-ignored criticism in *Icon to Narrative* [Åbo, 1965], 198–99, which refutes Pächt's view that an artist was aware of the conflict between the concept of a book page as a flat surface and the play of space). See also Van Buren, "The Master," 288. Rather than term Pächt's outlook "Post-Cézanne" (Ringbom) or "Post-Cubist" (Van Buren), I would suggest something more in line with twentieth-century book-design: for example, "Post-Bruce Rogers." My own views were expressed in an unpublished paper, "Attitudes towards Space in Sixteenth-century French Graphics before the School of Fontainebleau," 1973, written in the context of my academic work for the Institute of Fine Arts, New York.

12. Cf. J.J.G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work* (New Haven and London, 1992), 149.

13. M. Camille, *Image on the Edge. The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 153 (chapter title).

14. Ibid., 157.

15. New York, Morgan Library, MSS M.917 and M.237. See J. Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (New York, 1966), no. 116. For the Master of Catherine of Cleves, see *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*, exh. cat., Utrecht, Rijksmuseum het Catharijneconvent, and New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (Stuttgart and Zurich, 18989; and New York, 1990), 152–57. Cf. also Kaufmann, "The Sanctification," 48 and fig. 7.

16. M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory. A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), 246.

17. For an Italian example, see the frames and borders in Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.755, a late fifteenth-century *Trionfi* of Petrarch written by Bartolomeo Sanvito and illuminated by Paduan and Florentine artists, described in D. Miner, "Since De Ricci—Western Illuminated Manuscripts Acquired since 1934. Part II," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 31–32 (1968–69), 41–123 (99–115, esp. fol. 23, the Triumph of Chastity, fig. 46). I am grateful to Elizabeth Burin for proposing this example.

18. For a clarification of these general and often confusing terms in relation to Renaissance decorative arts, see the relevant chapters in A. Gruber, ed., *History of the Decorative Arts. The Renaissance and Mannerism* (New York and London, 1993). The frontispiece to Brunetto Latini, *Trésor*, (Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 19088), dating before 1515, was pointed out to me as a work of the Master of Claude de France by François Avril, whom I thank. The artist was following a fashion much used by Bourdichon (see below, note 27).

19. E. Gombrich, *The Sense of Order: a Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art* (Oxford, 1984), 251.

20. MS M.358. See Plummer, *Last Flowering*, 28–29, no. 39. The unfinished parts constitute most of the second half of the book: see color plate 39 for unfinished figures in the borders. See also Randall, *Walters*, II, 1, 137, no. 128 (W.275), and fig. 230. For an account of the general process, see C. De Hamel, *Medieval Craftsmen. Scribes and Illuminators* (Toronto and Buffalo, 1992), esp. 48–65.

21. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.251, hours for the use of Paris, attributed to the Master of Jean Rolin II, ca. 1450. See Randall, *Walters*, II, 1, 128–32, no. 127. On the Bedford Master, see C. Sterling, *La peinture médiévale à Paris 1300–1500*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1987–1991), I, 419–49. Also J. Backhouse, *Medieval Manuscripts in the British Library. The Bedford Hours* (London, 1990).

22. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.245, hours for the use of Angers, ca. 1480. See Randall, *Walters*, II, 1, 321–28, no. 168, esp. 324, describing the David and Goliath in the lower border and the Death of Uriah in Battle in the side border.

23. C. Schaefer, *The Hours of Etienne Chevalier. Jean Fouquet* (New York, 1971), esp. pls. 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 28, 31, 32, 33, 44, and 45. See also N. Reynaud in F. Avril and N. Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France, 1440–1520* (Paris, 1993), 133–36.

24. MS W.223, hours for the use of Rome, Tours, or Poitiers, ca. 1460. See Randall, *Walters*, II, 1, 212–16, no. 143, esp. 215, noting the influence of Fouquet.

25. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.214, hours for the use of Bourges. See Randall, *Walters*, II, 1, 275–82, no. 158, esp. 281 for comments on this border and miniature. On Master François, see N. Reynaud in Avril and Reynaud, *Les manuscrits*, 45–52.

26. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.430, hours for the use of Rome. See Randall, *Walters*, II, 2, 440–48, no. 192, esp. 443. On Poyet, see F. Avril in Avril and Reynaud, *Les manuscrits*, 306–318.

27. On the 1520s Hours Workshop, see above, note 4. For the Getty Epistles Master, see Orth, "French Renaissance," 48. For Bourdichon, see Plummer, *Last Flowering*, no. 107 (M.732) and Reynaud in Avril and Reynaud, *Les manuscrits*, 293–305. For the Master of Claude de France, see Plummer, 99–101, nos. 127 and 128; and Reynaud, 319–23.

28. MS W.275, hours for the use of Rome, ca. 1460. See Randall, *Walters*, II, 1, 132–39, no. 128, esp. 137 on this miniature, the artist

(Netherlandish?), and the iconography of the frame. This kind of structural frame was pioneered by the Boucicault Master: see Sterling, *La peinture médiévale*, I, figs. 278–79 (Hours called of Joseph Bonaparte, 1417–1419) and by the Bedford Master: see Backhouse, *Medieval Manuscripts*, pls. 12 and 47 (Bedford Hours, 1430).

29. MS W.449, Hours of Jean de Mauléon for the use of Toulouse. See Randall, *Walters*, II, 2, 526–35, no. 209, figs. 373–78, and frontispiece to II, 1. Also see Orth, "French Renaissance," 46 and Plummer, *Last Flowering*, 102–103, no. 130.

30. London, BL, Add. MS 18854, Hours of François I de Dinteville, dated 1525. The artist (one of several in the manuscript) remains unidentified.

31. MS W.446, hours for the use of Rome. See Randall, *Walters*, II, 2, 540–49, no. 211. Also see M. Orth, "Two Books of Hours for Jean Lallemant le jeune," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 38 (1980), 70–92.

32. The Lallemant Hours in the Rosenwald Collection of the Library of Congress uses this second design for its initials. For Rosenwald MS 53 (formerly 11/12), see S. Schutzner, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscript Books in the Library of Congress: a Descriptive Catalog* (Washington, D.C., 1989), 324–29; also Orth, "Two Books of Hours."

33. Royal Library, 74.G.38, hours for the use of Rome, by an artist of the 1520s Hours Workshop, dating in the 1530s. All the miniatures are reproduced in P. Gauchry, "Le livre d'heures de Jehan Lallemant le jeune," *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires du Centre*, 33 (1911), 313–62.

34. For this considerable group of manuscripts, see T. Crépin-Leblond, with intro. by M. Orth, *Livres d'heures royaux. La peinture de manuscrits à la cour de France au temps de Henri II*, exh. cat., Écouen, Musée national de la Renaissance, (Écouen and Paris, 1993).

35. J. Shearman, *Mannerism* (Harmondsworth and Baltimore, 1967), 23.

36. Illustrated in full in *Revue de l'Art*, 16–17 (1972), 45–96.

37. Guillaume Du Choul's dedication to his manuscript *Traité des thermes et gymnases* (Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 1314), fol. 1: "...Et si la painture est belle la decoration du stuc n'est pas moindre pour les fruictz qui sont plus plaisans que les naturelz qui se despouillent de leurs fleurs & en changeant leur couleur ilz senuiellissent & laissent leur beaulte. Et ceulx de la guallerie [gallerie] monstrent une primeuere perpetuelle & les fleurs immortelles de sorte que ceulx qui s'en approchent cuydans recepuoir l'odeur suaue des fleurs & des fruictz recoipuent la senteur par grand risée."

38. See "Francis I and the School of Fontainebleau," in *The French Renaissance in Prints from the Bibliothèque nationale de France*, exh. cat., Los Angeles, UCLA at the Armand Hammer Museum; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (Los Angeles, 1994), part III, 227–94, esp. nos. 40, 41, 56, 58, 59, 61 (and see note 45 below), 62, 68, and (in part IV, School of Paris) 87. For an account of strapwork decoration and the Fontainebleau style in the decorative arts, see Gruber, ed., *History of Decorative Arts*, 355–59.

39. MS M.69. See W. Voekle in *The Painted Page*, 246–48, no. 132.

40. G. Vasari, *Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari*, ed. Milanese, VII (1906), 563: "...per tutte le storie la più strana e bella varietà di bizzarri ornamenti e diversi atti e positure d'ignudi, maschi e femine, studiati e ben ricerchi in tutte le parti, e poste con proposito attorno in detti fregi per arricchirne quell'opera: la quale diversità di cose spargono per tutta quell'opera tanta bellezza, che ella pare cosa divina e non umana..."

41. Paris, Bibl. de l' Arsenal, ms. 654. See Crépin-Leblond, *Livres d'heures royaux*, 42, no. 10. On the frames in general, see Orth in *Livres d'heures royaux*, 14–15; on the artist of the miniature, the Getty

Epistles Master, see ibid., 8–9.

42. For the so-called [François II de] Dinteville Hours (Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 10558), see Crépin-Leblond, *Livres d'heures royaux*, 48–49, no. 15 (and figs. 9 and 10). On the artists, the Master of Henri II and the Master of the Grisailles of the Hours of Henri II, see also Orth, *Livres d'heures royaux*, 10–11.

43. Du Tillet, *Recueil* (Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 2848), see Crépin-Leblond, *Livres d'heures royaux*, 50–51, no. 16. An article by E.A.R. Brown and M. Orth, "Jean Du Tillet et les illustrations *Grand Recueil des Roys*," *Revue de l'Art*, 15 (1997), in press, will propose this dating and study the manuscript in more detail.

44. Space prohibits including the Montmorency and Henri II Hours here although they are very important examples: see Crépin-Leblond, *Livres d'heures royaux*: Montmorency Hours (1549–ca. 1552), 57–58, no. 23; Hours of Henri II (1547–49), 33–35, no. 4; see also *Creating French Culture. Treasures from the Bibliothèque nationale de France*, ed. P. Gifford and M.-H. Tesnière, exh. cat., Washington, D.C., Library of Congress (New Haven and London, 1995), 207–209, no. 80, and illus. 130.

45. S. Boorsch in *French Renaissance in Prints*, 278–79, no. 61. I am grateful to her and to S. Béguin for discussing the Penni attribution with E. Brown and myself. This is also discussed in our article, "Jean Du Tillet."

46. C. Grodecki, "Luca Penni et le milieu parisien: à propos de son inventaire après décès," in *"Il se rendit en Italie": études offertes à André Chastel* (Rome, 1987), 259–77 (264 n. 35).

47. MS M.538, see Crépin-Leblond, *Livres d'heures royaux*, 46-47, no. 14; Crépin-Leblond, *Les trésors du Grand Ecuyer: Claude Gouffier, collectionneur et mécène de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1994), 108–114.

48. The Adoration of the Shepherds was originally part of the Gouffier Hours in the Morgan Library (MS M.538); it is now Masson 165, Paris, Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts. See Crépin-Leblond, *Livres d'heures royaux*, 46, no. 14, and fig. 8; also Crépin-Leblond, *Les trésors du Grand Ecuyer*, 108–114. On this miniature, see also E. Brugerolles, *Le dessin en France au XVI*ᵉ* siècle. Dessins et miniatures des collections de l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts* (Paris, 1994), 32–34, no. 13—but there, the attributions are confused.

49. Paris, Bibl. de l' Arsenal, 5095. Crépin-Leblond, *Livres d'heures royaux*, 41, no. 9.

50. This variety is particularly evident in the Montmorency Hours: see Crépin-Leblond, *Livres d'heures royaux*, 57–58, no. 23.

PHOTOGRAPHS: fig. 1, London, Courtauld Institute of Art; figs. 2, 4–8, 9, 10, 12, 13, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; figs. 3, 15–18, Paris, BNF; pl. 1, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum; fig. 11, London, BL; pl. 2, The Hague, Royal Library; figs. 14, 19, New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library; fig. 20, Paris, Ecole national supérieure des Beaux-Arts.

The Star of David and Jewish Culture in Prague around 1600, Reflected in Drawings of Roelandt Savery and Paulus van Vianen

Joaneath Spicer

The motif of the hexagram, under the guise of the Star of David, underwent the decisive steps in its evolution into a recognized emblem of Jewishness around 1600 in Prague. This article sheds light on this evolution as well as other aspects of life in this community by examining drawings of Prague Jews made in 1604–1607 by Roelandt Savery and Paulus van Vianen. Although a few of these drawings have been prominently published in the literature of art history since the early 1900s, they have not been discussed in the context of Judaica.

It appears to have been in the Jewish community in Prague at the time of the Emperor Rudolf II that the motif of the hexagram, under the guise of the Star of David, underwent the decisive steps in its evolution into a recognized emblem of Jewishness. Light is shed on this remarkable evolution as well as on other aspects of life in this community by five and possibly a sixth extant drawings (figs. 2–7) of Prague Jews made in 1604–1607 by Roelandt Savery, court painter to the Emperor, and three further, unpublished drawings (figs. 11–13) by the court silversmith Paulus van Vianen. Although a few of these drawings have been prominently published in the literature of art history since the early 1900s, they have not been discussed in the context of Judaica, indeed with one exception they were not recognized as representing Jews. The drawings are briefly catalogued in Appendix I.

Background

The years of Rudolf II's reign as Holy Roman Emperor, 1576–1612, were ones of economic prosperity and cultural flowering for the Jewish community in his capital city Prague.[1] The enclosed and crowded ghetto neighboring the Old City on the bank of the Ultava, visible in the lower left of the *Panorama of Prague* (fig. 1),[2] drawn in 1608/1609 by Roelandt Savery, probably had at this time around three thousand plus inhabitants[3] and was in consequence one of the larger and more stable Jewish communities in Christendom. The most recent expulsion of the Jews had been ordered by Emperor Ferdinand in 1557 but was not consistently enforced. The decree was canceled by Emperor Maximilian (reigned 1564–1576). His son Rudolf II strengthened the community's rights with a new Charter in 1577[4] and expanded its economic possibilities through privileges awarded to Jewish craftsmen and merchants,[5] especially the money lender and merchant Mordechai Meysl (1528–1601).[6]

Representative of the intellectual and spiritual life of the community[7] are the important tradition of the printing of Hebrew texts beginning in 1512, the publications on history (1592) and astronomy (1612) of David Gans,[8] and the spiritual presence of the famous mystic Judah Loew ben Bezalel, better known as the Great Rabbi Loew, acknowledged even by the Emperor, who summoned him to a private interview in 1592.[9] 1592 was also the year of a two-month visit to Prague by the English traveler Fynes Moryson,[10] who later wrote a lively description of the Jewish "Citty"—which implies a relatively open environment. Circumstances deteriorated after the death of Meysl in 1601; in the following year an unsuccessful effort was made by the council of the Old City to persuade the Emperor to order a new expulsion of the Jews from the city.[11]

Roelandt Savery and Paulus van Vianen

Roelandt Savery (1576–1639)[12] was born in Flanders but trained in the Protestant Flemish émigré community of Amsterdam before coming to Prague in 1603 as a court painter. There he executed landscapes, flower pieces, and animal and peasant subjects for the Emperor and his court. After Rudolf's death in 1612, Savery returned to the Netherlands. He used drawings
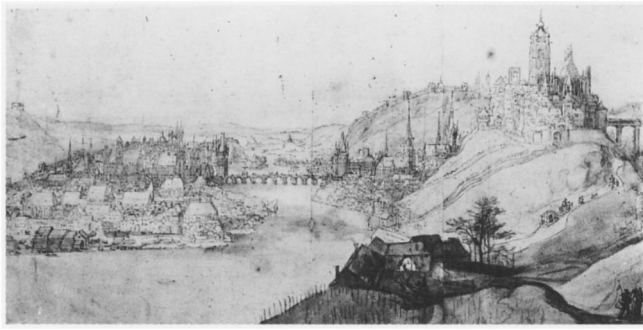
Fig. 1. Roelandt Savery, *Panorama of Prague*, ca. 1608/1609. USA, private collection.

Fig. 2. Roelandt Savery, *Jews Praying in the Altneuschul(?)*, ca. 1604. Amsterdam, P. en N. de Boer Foundation (Appendix I, no. 1).

primarily to develop material for his paintings. Savery's most famous drawings are the eighty-some extant studies of Bohemian peasants (fig. 8) and others—such as Hungarian soldiers (fig. 9) or Jews—observed in the public spaces of Prague. Many have been lost. The studies were sketched with chalk, graphite, or lead point and later, in the studio, worked up in brown ink, a few with watercolor as well. Color notations were jotted down as the sketch was made and later rewritten in ink. The studies have an ethnographic character in their concern with accuracy of costume, underlined by the indications of colors and the frequent addition of the term *naer het leven* (from life).

Through an analysis of the evolution of Savery's drawing style as well as that of his handwriting and even spelling, the drawings now identified as of Jews can be placed in the years 1604–1607, that of *Jews Praying in the Altneuschul(?)* and *Three Jews* (figs. 2 and 4) being probably the earliest and *Two Scholars (Rabbis?)* and *Two Jews* (figs. 3 and 6), the latest.

Paulus van Vianen[13] was born about 1570 in Utrecht. He was active as a silversmith at the courts at Munich and Salzburg before going to Prague in 1603. There he was employed by the Emperor until his death in 1613. Besides his better known mythological, biblical, and nature drawings related to his exquisite works in silver, he also made sketches of peasants and soldiers, a few of which found their way into his silver reliefs. While Van Vianen does not appear to have made specific use of studies of Jews on the sheets published here (figs. 11–13), a silver footed dish dated 1612 bearing in relief Susanna and the Elders[14] shows familiarity with contemporary Jewish costume. Van Vianen and Savery sketched landscape motifs together around Prague in 1604, but it is not clear whether their drawings in the Jewish "Citty" were also made together. However, seen within Van Vianen's own stylistic evolution, these drawings must date from about 1604/1607.

In 1592 Moryson records having the opportunity for "free speech with the Jewes and to enter their Synogoges at the tyme of divine service,"[15] and the drawings by Savery and Van Vianen make it clear that this was still possible more than a decade later. However, the archbishop's synod in Prague in September 1605,[16] concerned with reducing "the occasions for the spiritual damage which usually arises from excessive contact and commerce of the faithful with Jews," forbade Christians to enter synagogues or engage in all but the most limited commercial contacts. Since, on a stylistic basis, *Two Scholars* cannot have been drawn much before 1607, such prohibitions must not have been enforced. Nevertheless, in the atmosphere created after 1605 by the prohibitions, Savery might have been less inclined to include Jews in a painting representing contemporary life. Indeed, only one figure identifiable as a Jew can be found in Savery's paintings—a merchant or tradesman conversing in the foreground of *Peasant Festival*[17] (fig. 10), datable to 1604.

No depictions of contemporary Jews by other court artists are known.

It is curious that these drawings have never been absorbed into the literature of Judaica, especially as Savery's figure-costume studies as a whole, including those now identifiable as of Jews, were initially published and illustrated (from 1907) as drawings made about 1553/1565 by the great Flemish artist Pieter

Fig. 3. Roelandt Savery, *Two Scholars (Rabbis?)*, ca. 1607, Frankfurt-am-Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut (Appendix I, no. 2).

Fig. 4. Roelandt Savery, *Three Jews*, ca. 1604. Göttingen, Kunstsammlungen der Universität (Appendix I, no. 3).

Fig. 5. Roelandt Savery, *Three Jews in Conversation*, ca. 1605/1606. Netherlands, private collection (Appendix I, no. 4).

Fig. 6. Roelandt Savery, *Two Jews*, ca. 1607. Frankfurt-am-Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut (Appendix I, no. 5).

Fig. 7. Roelandt Savery, *Bohemian Peasant and Jewish(?) Tradesman*, ca. 1605/1606. Location unknown (Appendix I, no. 6).

Fig. 8. Roelandt Savery, *Bohemian Peasant Seated*, ca. 1607. Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.
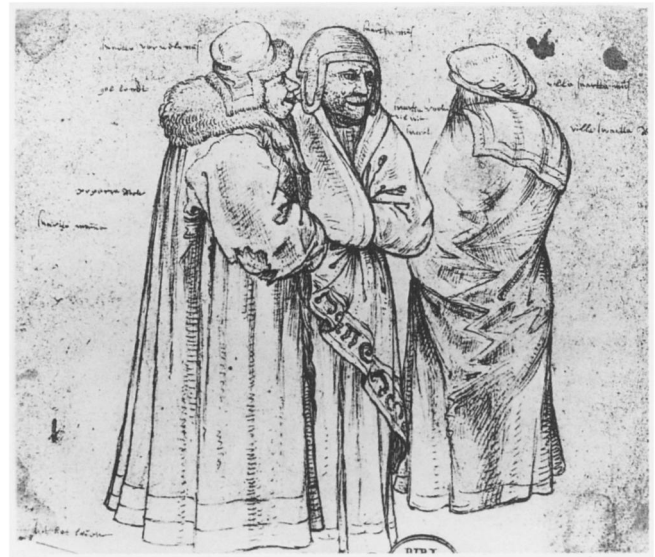
Fig. 9. Roelandt Savery, *Two Studies of a Hungarian Officer*, ca. 1604/1605. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett.

Bruegel[18] (ca. 1527–1569) in Antwerp and Brussels. Given the expulsion of most Jews from the Netherlands by 1550, the drawings would then have been important "documents" of a remaining community.[19] However, publications in 1969–1970 by the present writer and Frans van Leeuwen established the author as Savery.[20] At that time, I proposed that one previously unknown drawing of Jews (fig. 2) was actually made in the Altneuschul of Prague.[21]

In Prague, Jewish life and devotion were illustrated through simple woodcuts in Hebrew texts printed during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries,[22] of which that from *Shoshanat Haamakim* (Prague, 1617; fig. 14) is representative. However, with the exception of a few crudely scrawled caricatures, Savery's and Van Vianen's drawings are the earliest depictions of Jews in Prague done *from life*, direct recordings of personal observations. In fact there appear to be no earlier such drawings of Jews extant anywhere.[23] Drawings in Hebrew manuscripts of whatever geographic origin are illustrations of given texts and therefore composed for that purpose. Surely some drawings of Jews from life were made before 1600, for example in preparation for the engraved costume studies made in Italy by Bertelli discussed below; they are just lost.

Rembrandt van Rijn's well-known drawings, paintings, and etchings of the Amsterdam Jewish community[24] date from at least a quarter century later and are very different. For Rembrandt, his Jewish neighbors were first of all the Bible and ancient history come to life. His etching dated 1648, which appears to represent Jews in a synagogue (fig. 15), in contrast with Savery's drawings in a synagogue, is an imaginative reconstruction. Though the contemporary costumes reflect the arrival of a growing Ashkenazi community in Amsterdam, the great stone walls of the synagogue are a romantic evocation of a heroic past, since there was no stone synagogue in Amsterdam by the 1640s.

The Altneuschul

Savery's drawings made in a synagogue, *Jews Praying in the Altneuschul(?)* and *Two Scholars (Rabbis?)*, stand historically between, on the one hand, Albrecht Altdorfer's two famous 1519 etchings of the thirteenth-century synagogue in Regensburg,[25] careful records made after the decision to expel the Jews from the city and prior to the leveling of the synagogue, and, on the other, the romanticism of Rembrandt's etching.

Savery never includes a complete setting for his costume studies, and there is insufficient information to identify the location of *Two Scholars (Rabbis?)*. However, the few details visible in *Jews Praying* point to the thirteenth-century Altneuschul (fig. 16),[26] the gabled hall topped by a thin spire in the left foreground of Savery's *Panorama*. This was the main synagogue of Prague and the one that Moryson's description indicates he visited.[27] While we lack evidence as to the contemporary appearance of the other synagogues

Fig. 10. Roelandt Savery, *Peasant Festival*, ca. 1604. England, private collection.

(the Pinkas Schul, Klausen, High, and those built by Meysl and the Wechsler family), the scene corresponds with the view and angle of vision of a visitor just entering the single door to the Altneuschul, as in the modern photograph. The carving on the arm-rest in Savery's rendering appears to be from the mid-sixteenth century, though the present unadorned seating is from the nineteenth century. The synagogue is double-naved with the *bimah* (the central, raised enclosure for the reading of the Torah) surrounded by seating. Candle holders like that in the drawing are to be seen today. The prayer book with clasps held by the standing man extends beyond the wooden shelf; therefore these are the seats around the bimah and not those lining the exterior walls. The iron grill, presumably there in Savery's day, may have been left out as extraneous (as was such detail in the artist's other costume studies).

If *Two Scholars (Rabbis?)* was drawn in the Altneuschul, it is possible that the old man facing us is the Great Rabbi Loew (Judah Loew ben Bezalel,[28] 1512 or ca. 1525–1609),[29] a major figure in the history of Jewish mysticism. As there are no actual portraits of Rabbi Loew (or any contemporary Prague Jews) available for comparison, this tentative proposal is based on other factors. Having served as Chief Rabbi of Greater Poland,[30] Rabbi Loew was named Chief Rabbi of Prague in 1597(?)[31] and was associated with the Altneuschul.[32] It is not obvious that the scholars or rabbis are in the Altneuschul, but it is reasonable to suppose that Savery returned there, and that Savery, from his court connections, knew of Rabbi Loew, who, years earlier, had been honored by an unprecedented interview with the Emperor himself. While our present information on the number or identity of other rabbis who taught at the Altneuschul[33] (or other synagogues) in these years is incomplete, there appears to be no other of the right age. In addition, the figure wears the conical fur hat of the Polish Ashkenazi.

Some if not all the Jews in Van Vianen's sketches were observed in a synagogue or school, as can be affirmed from the prayer shawls (see below), books carried or consulted, and the indications of furniture.

The costumes

These drawings, a few woodcuts in the 1617 *Shoshanat Haamakim*, and Moryson's comments are about the only sources for the costumes worn by Prague Jews at this period.[34] Evidence provided by these sources is not entirely consistent, but the accuracy of Savery's other costume studies, for which alternate sources exist, suggests that his intention was to record what he saw.

The prayer shawls, or *talliths*,[35] worn by the three adults in *Jews Praying* are the only representations of these shawls from this period. No actual prayer shawls of this period have been preserved and there is little in the way of contemporary documentation. Besides the detail provided in the drawing, Savery added color notations (in Dutch and English in Appendix I) at the sides. For instance, the penned notation to the side of the crown, or *atara*, of the shawl pulled over the beret of the standing man at left reads, "with black and white blossoms," while the notations next to the main portion are "red silk" and "white silk." Red here is unexpected, but not without precedent.[36] Figures in each of Van Vianen's drawings wear prayer shawls, while Moryson observed that, "The whole congregation did singe altogether each man having imbrodred [embroidered] linnen cast about his shoulders with knotted fringes to the nomber of the Commandements...."[37]

The traditional synagogue cloak, or *sarbel*, is worn by several figures (*Jews Praying, Two Scholars (Rabbis?)*, and *Three Jews in Conversation* [fig. 5]). That in *Two Scholars* is described as purple, in *Three Jews* as black. From some a rather puzzling strip of cloth hangs down. A similar strip falls from the shoulder of figures in a woodcut of *Jews Disputing* (fig. 17) in A. Margaritha, *Der Ganz Jüdisch Glaub* (Augsburg, 1530), in one case falling forward. Its significance is not obvious.[38]

The man in the cloak bordered by what is meant to represent a Hebrew inscription (fig. 4) is presumably a rabbi. The presence of such an inscription is intriguing. While comparable instances are found in Catholic art, as on garments worn by Jewish priests or the female personification of Synagoga (when contrasted with Ecclesia), apparently no independent reference to such usage in contemporary Jewish sources has come to light, and the most recent study on this lettering does not address the possibility that it might simply reflect actual usage.[39] One might argue that Savery was conditioned by art to see such inscriptions; however, as a Protestant he was most likely not very familiar with more typically Catholic imagery. I must assume that Savery recorded what he saw as best he could.

Short jackets are worn with the traditional girdle on top,[40] either a sash or a belt, from which may hang a purse or, in one case (fig. 6), a knife. In contrast, Bohemian peasants (fig. 8) generally wore their jackets unbelted.

Fig. 11. Paulus van Vianen, *Seven Sketches of Jews*, ca. 1604/1607. Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University (Appendix I, no. 7).

Fig. 12. Paulus van Vianen, *Five Sketches of Jews in a Synagogue*, ca. 1604/1607. Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University (Appendix I, no. 8).

A majority of the Jews depicted here wear the flat Jewish beret (*barrette, schabbes deckel*—originally a hat worn on the Sabbath),[41] which could be black as in Savery's drawing, though it could be yellow as in Savery's painting *Peasant Festival* (fig. 10). On the other hand, Moryson recounts on the basis of his 1592 sojourn that "the lawe byndes the men to weare red hatts or bonetts,"[42] though given the similarity of this passage to a previous one on Italy, the reference, written up years later, could possibly be confused. The beret is worn by a *Jewish Merchant of Padua* (fig. 18) in Pietro Bertelli's costume book *Diversarum nationum habitus (Padua 1592)* and by Jews in the illustration to *Shoshanat Haamakim*. Those worn by Van Vianen's figures are drawn somewhat more broadly. Several figures wear fur hats, conical or with ear flaps, usually associated with Polish and Russian Jews.[43] Two figures wear a skull cap with ear flaps like that carried by the Jewish Merchant of Padua.

There are no extant studies by Savery of the costume of Jewish women, as there are of Bohemian peasant women. One of Van Vianen's sketches (fig. 13) includes a woman. Since the men are all identifiable by their costumes as Jews, we may assume that she is as well. The artists had few opportunities to observe Jewish women, who were not allowed into the main hall of the synagogue. Their occupations would have taken them less often into the market and other public places than either Jewish men or Bohemian peasant women, who were there to sell their produce.

The Star or Shield of David

A hexagram, or six-pointed star, is worn as a badge on the shoulder of the seated scholar or rabbi in *Two Scholars (Rabbis?)*. Its overlapping triangles[44] are tentatively drawn but the intent is clear. As noted above, the evidence suggests that Savery recorded costume details as he saw them, whether he understood them or not. The use at this period in Prague (or any place) of a hexagram, which in this context is unmistakably the Star or Shield of David (*Magen David*), as a badge to distinguish Jew from Christian, was previously

Fig. 13. Paulus van Vianen, *Seven Sketches of Jews, including One Woman* (verso of fig. 12), ca. 1604/1607. Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University (Appendix I, no. 9).

Fig. 14. *Jews in a Synagogue*, woodcut from *Shoshanat haamakim* (Prague, 1617). [From A. Rubens, *A History of Jewish Costume* (London, 1971), fig. 216.]

unsuspected. Indeed, though there is general agreement in the literature that the hexagram had come of age as a Jewish insignia in Prague by the 1640s, the material pertinent to this development has not been systematically assessed.[45] As far as I am aware, no subsequent use of the hexagram as a segregating badge has been documented before the twentieth century. The infamous use in our century of the Star as an imposed badge appears to be an appropriation of those worn voluntarily and with pride at meetings of the Zionist movement in Central Europe beginning in the 1890s.

The imposition on Jews of distinguishing badges[46] by Christian authorities took on a formal character after the Lateran Council of 1215. The badges were various in shape, but the most common was a yellow wheel. It was usually displayed on the breast or shoulder, sometimes on the back, as in a woodcut of 1530, *Jews Disputing* (fig. 17), or an engraving by M. Merian depicting the 1614 plundering of the Frankfurt ghetto (fig. 19). In the lands of the Bohemian crown, the yellow wheel was imposed by a 1551 decree of

Ferdinand I.[47] It is not clear whether this was still in effect in Prague at the end of the century, only that some sort of badge or mark, besides distinctive clothing, was in force.[48] This is demonstrated by the privilege (among others) granted by Rudolf in 1599 to the brothers Samuel and Jakob Basaue (Bassewi) to go where they pleased throughout the empire "one judische Zaichen" (without Jewish marks),[49] while in 1592 Moryson noted that at Prague Jewish men "are known by apparant markes in their hatts."[50] The left figure in *Two Scholars (Rabbis?)* is the only person in these drawings clearly wearing a badge. One of Van Vianen's men (fig. 11) wears something in the same place on his synagogue cloak, but it is not clear. This apparent absence may be a question of the angle at which figures were viewed; however, the regulation may not have been strictly enforced, and it was possible in Prague, as elsewhere, for Jews to get dispensations from such distinctions by paying a fee.[51]

While the choice of the hexagram for the badge in Prague must stem from local identification, there are scattered references to a six-pointed star (not necessarily a hexagram) serving this purpose in Verona and Portugal in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[52]

Before laying out the various identified appearances of the hexagram in the imagery of the Prague
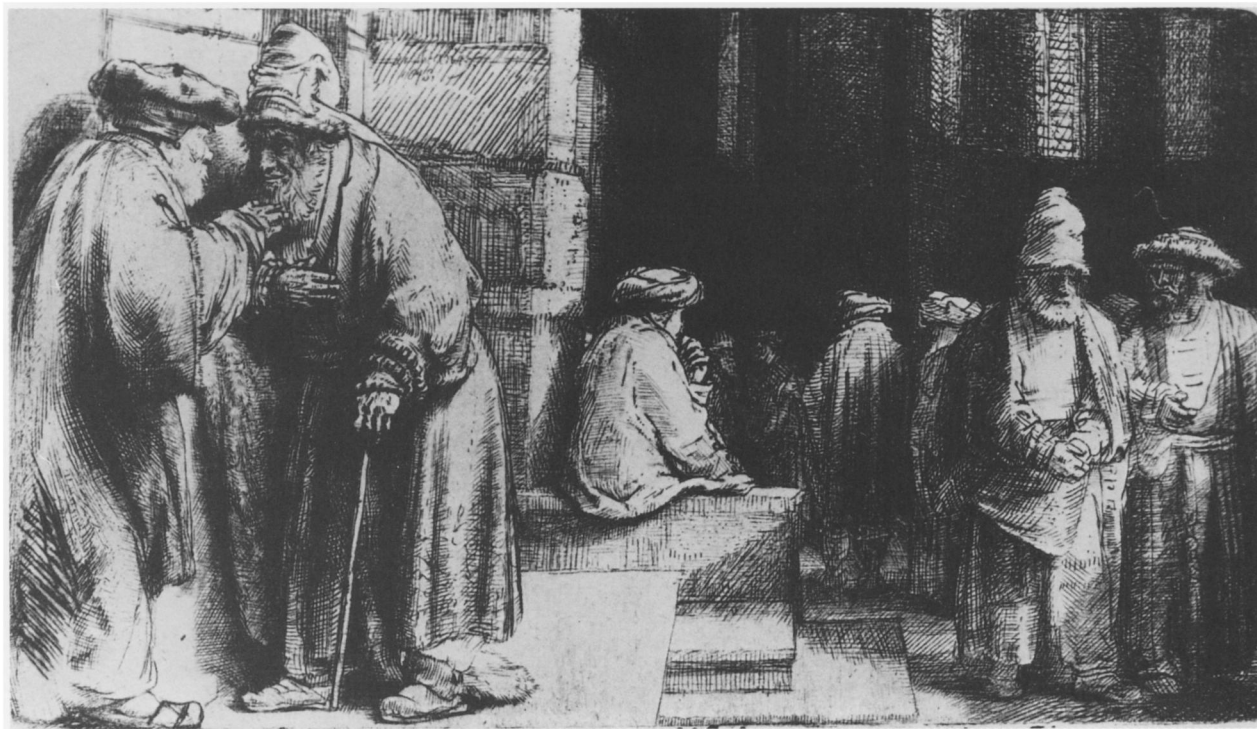
Fig. 15. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Jews in a Synagogue*, etching, 1648.

Jewish community, a few words need to be said about the hexagram, the Shield of David (*Magen David*, the Hebrew "magen" translating literally as "shield"), and Judaism. While it would be inappropriate to rehearse here the early (and disputed) evolution of their relationship, let it suffice to note that by the mid-fourteenth century—the date of the earliest extant uses of the hexagram in Prague—the operative images on the legendary Seal of Solomon and Shield of David, which were believed to be apotropaic, to possess magical properties capable of warding off evil spirits by drawing down divine protection, were often thought of as consisting of a hexagram (therefore the Star of David), less often a pentagram, or five-pointed star. The pentagram was more often associated with Solomon, while the hexagram was more often associated with the shield King David was said to have carried into battle. The latter was alternately thought of as bearing the image of a menorah fashioned from the text of Psalm 67 or one of the secret names of God. On balance, however, I think we may say that while the menorah might have been considered more holy, the hexagram was perceived as the more potent sign, eventually becoming synonymous with the Shield.[53] By extension, the hexagram—as a flexible magic talisman against evil spirits whose shape has suggested to many a mysterious diagram of the cosmic harmony of opposites—entered into the vocabulary of the occult sciences and mystical speculations of Christian and Islamic as well as Jewish writers, the latter primarily via the "white" magic of the "practical Cabala."[54] While all looked to the wisdom of Solomon, it was more often Jews who looked to the prowess of King David. The hexagram is also found in places where it could be construed as ornamental as opposed to magical.[55] Nevertheless, it is hard to separate the two, given that normally in examining objects from the distant past one cannot be sure why a motif was considered satisfying—perhaps because of a sense of residual protective power.

The hexagram appears ocassionally in late medieval or Renaissance Jewish imagery; for example, Jews chose it for personal seals[56] (as did Christians). Very occasionally it appears in Christian images in apparent reference to Judaism, for example on the banner carried by Synagoga juxtaposed to Ecclesia in an illustration from a Catalan *Brevari d'amour* of about 1400 in the British Library.[57] However, it is also found in contemporary Islamic imagery, for example on coins,[58] in combination with inscriptions of blessing or invocations of divine protection, as for example on a Persian, late twelfth-century pen box in the Walters Art Gallery (inv. no. 54.450; fig. 20),[59] or as a primary motif on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Turkish talismanic shirts.[60] In late medieval Christian imagery it is found not only on personal seals but on church

architecture, as on the facade of Santa Croce in Florence (begun 1294) or the monumental tabernacle (ca. 1350) by Andrea Orcagna in Orsanmichele, Florence.[61] Hexagrams are encountered among the geometric (talismanic?) shapes of Mudéjar origin covering the throne of a Catalan *Enthroned Madonna and Child* of about 1350 (Walters Art Gallery, inv. no. 37.468; fig. 21).

The hexagrams appearing in a Jewish context in Prague that can be dated with confidence before Savery's drawing could be construed as essentially ornamental and without meaningful association, as has been proposed,[62] in the sense that at present it is not possible to document that they are not ornamental in purpose. However, the hexagram worn as a badge in Savery's drawing is, as an imposed, segregating insignia, neither casual nor ornamental. Its function is to identify the individual as a Jew. Regardless of who chose it, it must have been thought of as comprehensible and representative. This appearance of the hexagram as well as that on an amulet presented to Rudolf II to be discussed below—two instances which cannot be construed as ornamental and with which previous essayists were unfamiliar—cast the earlier examples in a new light. Our examination of these examples will begin with the earliest and most important.

The most important, potent, and influential appearance of the hexagram in Prague before 1600 is also that which is probably the archetype or point of reference for later examples. This is the one outlined in gold, surrounding a pointed hat, on the dark red banner or flag of the Jewish community displayed in the Altneuschul (fig. 22). In 1357 the Emperor Charles IV granted to the Jews of Prague the privilege of displaying their own banner.[63] Due to its condition, this banner was apparently replaced in the early eighteenth century, but there is every reason to think that the original design was respected. No contemporary documentation has come to light as to what if anything was on this fourteenth-century banner, though one must assume that it was not left blank, but bore some motif, especially at a time when Jews were permitted few public expressions of community pride. In 1527 the newly elected King of Bohemia, Ferdinand I, entered Prague and was greeted by a large number of Jews carrying "a beautiful flag," implying that something was on it.[64] In 1598 Mordechai Meysl was granted the privilege by the Emperor of displaying in the synagogue he had recently built "the flag of King David," similar to that still visible in their "ancient house of worship,"[65] which is to say the Altneuschul. Meysl's banner or, more likely, a subsequent replacement of

Fig. 16. Altneuschul, interior seen from the entrance. [From M. Vilímková, *Die Prager Judenstadt* (Prague, 1990), fig. 84.]

1716,[66] now hangs in the State Jewish Museum in Prague;[67] it also bears a hexagram (again surrounding a pointed hat). We may assume that the fourteenth-century banner upon which it was based also bore an emblem associated with King David and that this was a hexagram.

On the two banners, the hexagram is combined with a pointed hat very similar to one of the variations of the widely depicted *Jüdenhut* (Jew's hat) typically worn by male Jews in the later Middle Ages—a brimmed, pointed or peaked hat or cap of varying proportions, sometimes with a ball at the point—as for example those worn by two Jews to the left and right of a *Calvary* of circa 1430 by an unidentified Netherlandish metal smith (Walters Art Gallery, inv. no. 53.52; fig. 23). It is found as well in depictions of Jewish life in Hebrew manuscripts[68] and on thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Jewish seals[69] and subsequently

Fig. 17. *Jews Disputing*, woodcut in A. Margaritha, *Der Ganz Jüdisch Glaub* (Augsburg, 1530). [From A. Rubens, *Jewish Iconography, Supplement* (London, 1982), no. 228.]

a sign of Jewishness spread to Vienna and gradually further afield. When it first appeared on the Prague seal, with or without the hat, has not been established.

The hexagrams in Prague most open to characterization as ornamental are the two finials in the metal grill over the entrances to the *bimah* in the Altneuschul (fig. 14; to the left of the pillar). This metal work is generally described as of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century.[75] The finials are assumed to be part of the original design, though portions of the metal work are known to have been replaced in the eighteenth century.[76] This may be compared to a later insignia (fig. 27) of the Jewish butcher's guild from 1620, which I take to combine the Bohemian lion (the Lion of Judah neatly subsumed within it) crowned (for the capital city Prague), the butcher's ax, and the Shield of David. There are interpretive documents for neither. Nevertheless the context of each suggests a function: in the first case as protective and in the second and much later case—after the function of the hexagram as an insignia was established—as an assertion (and

on coats of arms of Jewish families.[70] While it cannot be proved beyond doubt that the present central motif of the community banner or flag is the same as on the original one from the fourteenth century, the combination would be entirely reasonable—a representative, easily comprehensible motif from real life subsumed in a sign from the realm of spiritual realities signifying divine protection against evil, which, though appropriated by many, had special resonance for Jews through King David. This combines what appear to be the two most common motifs on Jewish seals at that period. This assumption as to the character of the fourteenth-century banner is supported, as Scholem suggests,[71] by the fact that the flag or banner of the Jewish community in Budapest, at least in 1475, bore a Jew's hat combined with a pentagram or five-pointed star (called "Dauid Wappen"—David's coat of arms—in the German description).

More often the hat on the Prague banners has been explained in the literature as a "Swedish cap" or even "helmet" added to the hexagram only in 1648, in recognition of Jewish contributions to the defense of Prague against the Swedes.[72] Since upon examination the evidence for this assertion evaporates, the possibility, raised by Scholem,[73] is great that this Prague tradition evolved to explain a motif that, in later centuries, was no longer recognized. The same motif of a Shield of David encompassing a Jew's hat also appears by the mid-1640s on the official seal of the Jewish community.[74] It is from this seal that the hexagram as

Fig. 18. *Jewish Merchant of Padua*, engraving from Pietro Bertelli, *Diversarum nationum habitus* (Padua, 1592). [From A. Rubens, *Jewish Iconography*, rev. ed. (London, 1981), no. 1685.]

Fig. 19. Matheus Merian, *Plundering of the Frankfurt Ghetto in 1614*, engraving in J. Gottfried, *Historische Chronica* (Frankfurt, 1642). [From A. Rubens, *Jewish Iconography, Supplement* (London, 1982), no. 1302.]

assurance) of Jewishness in the butchering of meat, where it clearly mattered.

The title page of *Seder Tefillot* (fig. 24), a prayer book published in 1512 in Prague,[77] the first book printed in Hebrew in Central Europe, is formed on a hexagram. Inscribed[78] above the surrounding shields are the names of the publication's backers, among whom two Levites, to whose family's traditional vocation of priestly assistance the pitchers (one draped with a fringed *tallith*) allude. The heraldic lions may allude to that of Judah as well as Bohemia, and the crowns, to Prague as capital of Bohemia and the legal status of Jews as servants of the crown, and possibly also to King David. Although no specific interpretation of the whole has, as far as I know, been proposed,[79] and while one might argue that significance beyond the ornamental is unproven, the pattern of usage suggests otherwise. That the Star or Shield of David was then perceived in Prague as a vehicle, especially efficacious for Jews, for invoking divine protection would suggest that perception operating here in the case of a new, pious enterprise. The hexagram appears twice more on the title pages of Hebrew texts published in Prague in the following years: paired with the arms of Prague on shields (1529) and paired with a pitcher on shields (1540). This is paralleled by the use in the later sixteenth century of the hexagram, again in connection with a *magen*, as a printer's mark by the Italian Jewish publishing family Foà.[80]

Though the hexagram on the grave stone in the Prague Jewish Cemetery of David Gans,[81] who died in 1613, has been cited as the first such usage in modern

times,[82] recently one has been noted on that of Menachem, son of Mosche, dated 1529 (fig. 25).[83] It is important to emphasize that the use of any motif at all on these grave stones is the exception. Most bear only text; however, the few that do bear motifs, such as the goose found on Gans's stone (the name means goose in German) or the raised hands of the priest, are allusive in obvious ways. This would suggest that the hexagrams on the grave stones are also allusive.

In the case of David Gans's 1613 gravestone, the Star may be confidently assumed to refer to his work in Hebrew on cosmology entitled *Magen David*,[84] which, like his 1592 historical chronicle *Zemah David* (Offspring of David), plays off his own name and reminds the reader of shared ties with the great king. The only version of this later treatise printed during his lifetime was a brief publisher's prospectus that came out under this title in 1612[85]—announcing a treatise which, due to Gans's death in 1613, was actually published only many years later.[86] In the preface, Gans justifies the title *Magen David* on three levels:[87] (1) that King David's shield was supposed to have been emblazoned with a hexagram, which is composed of triangles, a basic figure of geometry indispensable for astronomy; (2) that *Magen* can also be seen as derived from a Hebrew root meaning *to transmit* and he is modestly transmitting earlier observations; and (3) that the Shield protects the author in opposing those who think of astronomy as a useless pastime. This constitutes, as far as I know, the only articulated, explicit explanation for the use of the hexagram as the *Magen David* at this formative period in Prague.[88]

As a last example of the role played by the Shield of David in Prague around 1600, we may consider the

Fig. 20. Pen box, bronze and silver inlay, Persian, late 12th century. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, inv. no. 54.450.

Fig. 21. Catalan artist, circle of Arnau Bassa, *Enthroned Madonna and Child*, center panel of a triptych, ca. 1350. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, inv. no. 37.468.

imagery on an extraordinary amulet (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. XII 383;[89] verso, fig. 26), which has only recently been described in the literature of art and is not yet integrated into that on the Shield of David. It is inscribed on the recto with the name of the Emperor Rudolf II and was most likely a gift to him from the Jewish community in Prague.[90] It bears no date,[91] but might be assigned to the years 1592/1600, when the community's relations with the court were good, or to about 1606 or later, when Rudolf's powers were on the wane and he had most need of protection from his enemies (and the community had a greater concern for the consequences of a change of government). The amulet is in the form of a *choschen*, or breastplate of the high priest, itself a fascinating compliment to Rudolf as Holy Roman Emperor. Within an encircling frame of gold, enamel, and twelve gemstones are the twelve signs of the zodiac, the names of the twelve sons of Jacob and of the twelve angels.[92]

At the center, engraved into an onyx, is Rudolf's name, a menorah, and the Habsburg crest surrounded by a prayer in Hebrew calling on divine grace and support for Rudolf, to "grant him grace and power

over all living things and dominion over the peoples under his rule through the holy angels...." This prayer conforms in an intriguing way to allegorical celebrations of Rudolf as *Dominus mundi*[93] so favored by the Emperor and elaborated most particularly in poems by Giovanni Baptista Fonteo and Gregorio Comanini on Arcimboldo's series of the *Seasons* and the related portrait of *Rudolf as Vertumnus* of about 1591.[94] The inclusion of the emperor's horoscope prompts a comparison with the suite of allegorical miniatures,[95] probably datable to the 1590s, by Georg Hoefnagel, the great court miniaturist and iconographer (or *hieroglyphicus*, as he styled himself), including "The Horoscope of Rudolf II" with its cabalistic allusions. The imagery on the verso of the amulet, which makes it so puzzling, may have been added later by a Christian engraver.[96] On the outside of the hinged cover to the opening, a square encloses a hexagram, which encloses a pentagram. Some of the Latin and Hebrew characters have been read as *DIES* and *IESUS*, while the rest are unexplained. There are Greek crosses(?) in the corners of the square. The back opens to reveal, on the inside of the hinged cover, the unexpected but unmistakable image of the Christ of the Last Judgment in enamel.[97] Whatever was contained inside (a piece paper inscribed with one of the names of God?) can be only the subject of speculation. It has
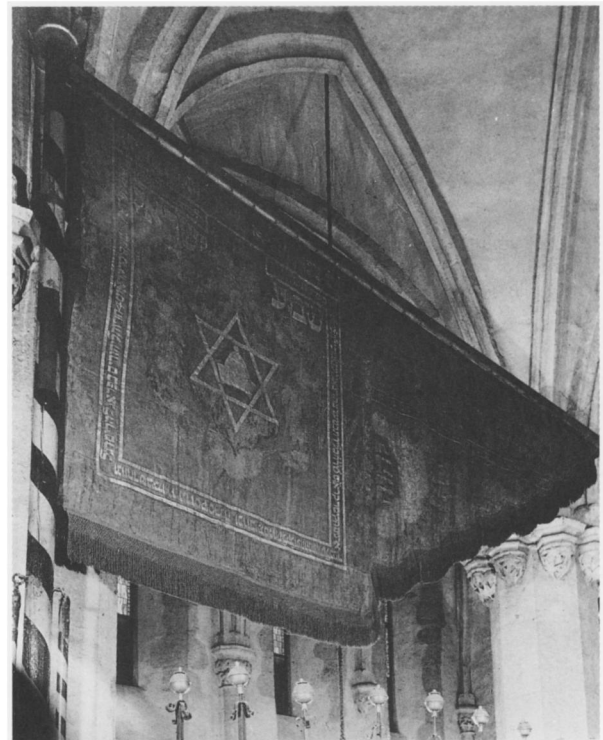

Fig. 22. Banner of the Jewish community, displayed in the Altneuschul, 18th-century(?) replacement for a 14th-century original. [From M. Vilímková, *Die prager Judenstadt* (Prague, 1990), fig. 19.]

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Fig. 23. *Calvary*, copper gilt, ca. 1425. Baltimore, Walters Art
Gallery, inv. no. 53.52.

Fig. 24. Printer's mark on *Seder tefillot* (Prague 1512). [From A. Yaari,
Hebrew Printers' Marks (Jerusalem, 1943), fig. 7.]

been pointed out that the style of engraving, certainly
of the Hebrew letters, is different on the verso. It is
plausible that the amulet was presented to Rudolf with
a plain, hinged back. If this is so and if we may assume
that the amulet never left the imperial collections,
then it must be supposed that Rudolf, well known for
his fascination with the occult[98] and magic (his
interest in Jewish mysticism culminating in his 1592
invitation of Rabbi Loew to a discussion of spiritual
matters), directed the "reprogramming" of the amulet.

Given the pattern established in the present
study, the compounding of the pentagram and hexa-
gram behind a menorah can be read as a powerful
acknowledgment of their peculiar association with
Jewish magic. Perhaps for safety's sake,[99] the amulet
was then Christianized by giving over the innermost
image to the Christ of the Last Judgment, who exercises
the ultimate power to grant eternal life. The further
interpretation of the efficacy of the hexagram within
the realm of the "practical" Cabala is for another
study by a different student.

While Savery's drawing underlines the function in
Prague circa 1600 of the hexagram as a Jewish
insignia, this amulet underlines the perception there
of its protective potency and magical potential. In
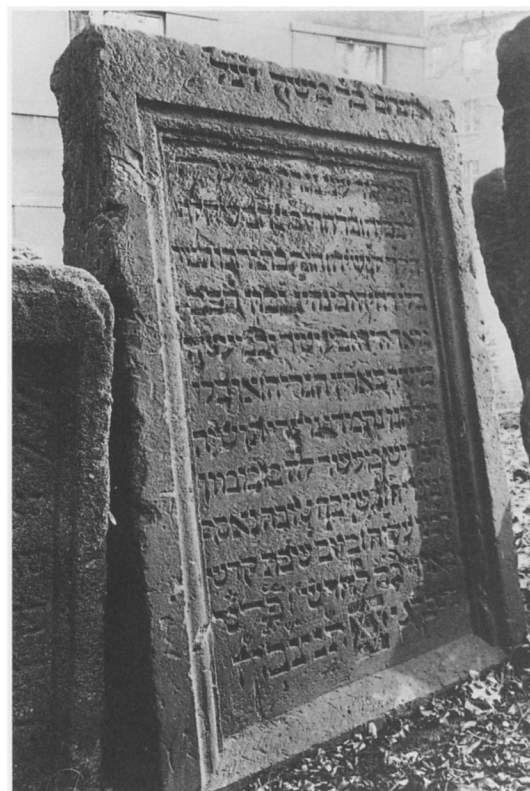sum, the pattern suggests that long before we have

Fig. 25. Gravestone of Menachem, son of Mosche (died 1529) in
the Jewish Cemetery, Prague. [From M. Vilímková, *Die prager Juden-
stadt* (Prague, 1990), fig. 122.]

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Fig. 26. Amulet in the form of a *choschen*, verso, Prague, late 1590s(?). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Fig. 27. Sign of the Prague Jewish Butchers' Guild, 1620. Prague, Museum of the Capital City Prague.

evidence of the use of the hexagram or Shield of David on the official seal of the Prague Jewish community, it was perceived in Prague as not only a vehicle for drawing down divine protection but as peculiarly Jewish. Indeed, it does not appear to have found a place in Christian ornament and symbolism in Prague. Given the inclusion of the *Judenhut* on the seventeenth-century community seal long after it would have been forgotten as an article of clothing, it was surely the great authority of the fourteenth-century banner, the single emblem proudly encompassing the whole community, that engendered the other instances described here. That the hexagram, whether under the guise of the Shield of David or the Seal of Solomon, was seen as a potent motif outside Judaism in the late Middle Ages apparently did not limit the growing resonance and promise that Jews in Prague may have felt in their banner and the imagery engendered by it.

Walters Art Gallery
Baltimore, Maryland

Appendix I: The Drawings

A. Drawings by Roelandt Savery

Basic bibliographic references are cited once in full and the history of the attribution is given in parentheses. The color notations are given in Dutch with translations for each figure from left to right, left side of the figure first. The symbol < means that the word is cut off. Variations in spelling at this period are common.

1. *Jews Praying in the Altneuschul(?)* (fig. 2)
Brown ink over pencil (graphite?); 170 x 146 mm. Amsterdam, P. en N. de Boer Foundation.
LITERATURE: J. Spicer, "The Naer het Leven Drawings: by Pieter Bruegel or Roelandt Savery?" *Master Drawings*, 8/1 (1970), 26, illus. (Savery); Spicer, "The Drawings of Roelandt Savery 1576–1639," Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1979, C160; *Prag um 1600*, exh. cat., Essen, Villa Hügel (Frehen, 1989), 241.
INSCRIPTIONS:
(standing left) *swart ende wit geblomt*—with black and white blossoms (in pencil)
swart ende wit geblout—with black and white blossoms (rewritten in ink)
rot saÿ—red silk
(seated man)
swart—black (on hat)
(child)
say [?]—silk
(standing right)
verwelle swarrtt< mùs—filthy black hat
rot saÿ—red silk
witte sa<—white silk
swar rock—black coat

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2. *Two Scholars (Rabbis?)* (fig. 3)
Brown ink over pencil (graphite?); 197 x 155 mm. Frankfurt-am-Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, inv. 765.
LITERATURE: R. van Bastelaer and H. de Loo, *Pieter Bruegel l'Ancien* (Brussels, 1905–1907), 73, illus. (Bruegel); K. Tolnay, *Die Zeichnungen Pieter Bruegels* (Munich, 1925), 76, illus.; L. Munz, *Bruegel, the Drawings* (London, 1961), 110, ill.; Spicer 1970, 3–30 (whole group as Savery); Hans van Leeuwen, "Iets over het handschrift van de 'naer het leven' tekenaar," *Oud Holland,* 85 (1970), 25–32 (group as Savery); Spicer 1979, C224.
INSCRIPTIONS: (left)
swardtte mùs—black hat
gris bondt—gray fur
rode strepen—red stripes
witte doeck—white scarf or shawl
pùrperre rock—purple coat
(right)
rosse grisse mù<—pinkish gray hat
nar hedt leùen—after [the] life

3. *Three Jews* (fig. 4)
Brown ink over black chalk; 158 x 188 mm. Göttingen, Kunstsamm-lungen der Universität.
LITERATURE: Tolnay 1925, A32, illus. (Bruegel?); Munz 1961, A38, illus. ("Three Men in Conversation"; Bruegel, copy after); Spicer 1970 (Savery); Van Leeuwen 1970 (Savery); Spicer 1979, C195 (Savery, "Three Jews").
INSCRIPTIONS: (left)
swartte verwele mùs—black filthy hat
gel bondt—yellow fur
prperre [sic] Rock—purple coat
swartte moùùe—black sleeve(s)
(middle)
swartte mùs—black hat
swartte rock—black coat
vil wit—dirty white
swart—black
(right)
ville swartte mùs—dirty black hat
ville swartte Rock—dirty black coat
nart het leùen—from life

4. *Three Jews in Conversation* (fig. 5)
Brown ink over pencil (graphite?); 165 x 185 mm. Netherlands, private collection.
LITERATURE: Bastelaer and De Loo 1907, 78 (Bruegel); Tolnay 1925, 59; Munz 1961, 109 ("Three Burghers"); Spicer 1970 (group as Savery); Van Leeuwen 1970 (group as Savery); Spicer 1979, C194 ("Three Jews").
INSCRIPTIONS: (left)
swartte mùs—black hat
swartte verwele borden—black filthy border stripes
swarttes Rock—black coat
swartte moùùe—black sleeve(s)
(middle)
graùùe Rock—gray coat
omberre koùsen—brown hose
swartte mùs—black hat
swartte Rock—black coat
(right)
swartte mùs—black hat
groen—green
swartte lerre broeck—black leather pants
nart het leùen—from life

5. *Two Jews* (fig. 6)
Brown ink over black chalk or graphite; 195 x 147 mm. Frankfurt-am-Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, inv. 764.
LITERATURE: Bastelaer and De Loo 1907, 49 (Bruegel); Tolnay 1925, 77; Munz 1961, 108 ("The 'Horse-Trader'"); Spicer 1970 (group as Savery); Van Leeuwen 1970 (group as Savery); Spicer 1979, C209 ("Two Peasants").
INSCRIPTIONS: (left)
swardtt mùs—black hat
(right)
groenne bant—green scarf
swardtte tas—black purse
swardtte mùs—black hat
as graùùe rock—ash gray coat
swardtte broeck—black pants
nar hedt leùen—from life

6. *Bohemian Peasant and Jewish(?) Tradesman* (fig. 7)
Brown ink over black chalk; 168 x 158 mm. Location unknown (formerly Vaduz, the Prince of Liechtenstein).
LITERATURE: Tolnay 1952, 87 (Bruegel); Munz 1961, 93 ("Young...and Older Peasant"); Spicer 1970 (group as Savery); Van Leeuwen 1970 (group as Savery); Spicer 1979, C188 ("Peasant and Jew?").
INSCRIPTIONS: (left)
swartte broeck—black pants
swartte lerssen—black leather (boots)
swartte mùs—black hat
groen—green
omberre rock—brown coat
(right)
swartte—black
swartte tas—black purse
swartte mùs—black hat
groen—green
omberre Rock—brown coat
nart hett leùen—after life

B. Drawings by Paulus van Vianen

7. *Seven Sketches of Jews* (fig. 11)
Pale brown wash over graphite; 255 x 175 mm. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., inv. 1983.139 recto [verso is of animals], Marian H. Phinney Fund.
LITERATURE: unpublished.

8. *Five Sketches of Jews in the Synagogue* (fig. 12)
9. *Seven Sketches of Jews including One Woman* (fig. 13)
Pale brown wash over graphite; 257 x 170 mm. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., inv. 1983.140 recto and verso, Marian H. Phinney Fund.
LITERATURE: unpublished.
The figure sketched three times on 1983.140 recto is traced through in reverse on the verso. Both sheets belonged to Martin Reinecke, Darmstadt and were purchased at Sotheby's, London, 1.XII.1983, lot 247 (3), "manner of Paulus van Vianen." The current, justified attribution to Van Vianen himself is due to Julian Stock and William Robinson. Only the third drawing in the lot, a hesitant work in brown ink, was published by T. Gerszi, *Paulus van Vianen Handzeich-nungen* (Hanau, 1982), K5, as a copy after the artist.

Appendix II: Fynes Moryson on the Jewish "Citty at Prage"

The lively pages on the Jewish "Citty" of Prague, which the Englishman Fynes Moryson (1566–1630) included in the descriptions of his travels (1591–1595 and 1596–1597), are based upon his notes made during a two-month stay in Prague in the late spring of 1592. This is also the year in which David Gans's historical work *Zemach David* appeared, Mordechai Meysl completed his synagogue and as well received important economic and legal privileges from the Emperor, and Rabbi Loew was invited for an interview with the Emperor—thus a year that must be considered not only one of the high points in the history of the ghetto but one about which most is known (and perhaps worthy of its own study). Moryson's descriptions have been drawn upon by scholars writing on this community with puzzling rarity (e.g., Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, XIV [Philadelphia, 1969], 229), though Moryson's other descriptions of Prague are commonly adduced by scholars working on Rudolf's court. The following excerpted passages are only those pertaining to the Prague Jewish community and do not include those on Jews in general, those in other countries, or on other aspects of Prague. They are given here more extensively than needed for this essay in order to alert others to their interest and to prompt a proper commentary.

Moryson published *An Itinerary* (London, 1617; reprint Amsterdam, 1971) in which there is only the brief mention of "a little City of the Jewes, compassed with wals" (p. 29). He then prepared a second, differently organized volume—including extensive passages on Jewish culture—which he was not able to get published. Major sections of this manuscript (Oxford, Corpus Christi College Library) have been made accessible in C. Hughes, ed., *Shakespeare's Europe. Unpublished Chapters of Fines Moryson's Itinerary*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1967), from which the following is taken.

The third Booke, Chapter ii. "Of Bohemia touching Religion"

Hughes, 275: "And as the Jewes have a peculyar Citty at Prage, so they had freedome throughout all the kingdome."

The fifth Booke, Chapter vi. "A generall and brife discourse of the Jewes and Greekes"

Hughes, 487–88: "At Prage under the Emperour of Germany they are allowed a litle Citty to dwell in, with gates whereof they keepe the keyes, and walled rounde about for theire safety. The Emperour also allowes them to dwell in two Cittyes of Silesia, and divers villages of Moravia, being Provinces of the kingdome of Bohemia."

Hughes, 488: "But in Bohemia and Germany [as opposed to Poland], the Jewes under the Emperour, lived in great oppression and basely contemned by the people being Christians."

Hughes, 489–91: "When I passed through Bohemia I founde at Prage the foresayd litle Citty inclosed, and having gates to be shutt up, allowed to the Jewes for habitation, where free liberty of all Religions being permitted, I had opportunity (without Communicating with them so much as in the least outward reverence of standing bareheaded) not only to beholde the divers Ceremonyes, of the Hussites, the Lutherans, the Papists, and the singular Jesuites, but also to have free speech with the Jewes, and to enter their Synogoges at the tyme of divine service. Some 500 Jewes dwelt in this litle Citty, that Number being often increased or deminish[ed] as they have occasion to passe from one Citty to another for traffique. The lawe byndes the men to wear red hatts or bonetts, and the wemen a garment of the same Coller, neere blood, to witnesse

their guiltinesse of Christs blood, but with mony they gett some dispensation from this lawe, yet so as the men are knowne by apparant markes in their hatts, and the wemen by their lynnen and handes dyed (after the manner in Turky) with a Coller like saffron. Thus in all places the Jewes long servitude and wonderful scattering is exposed to all Christians for a fearefull spectikle, and to themselves for a dayly remembrance of Gods Curse layd upon them. At Prage they have the privilege of Cittizens, but they buye it and continue it with great payments of mony, aswell imposed on them by the Pope, as by free guift of large sommes to the Emperour, and firnishing him with mony upon all occasions. Besydes they live in exceeding contempt, hearing nothinge but reproches from the people, and used by them more like doggs then men, which for gayne they beare, though they might goe into Italy where they live in better fashion, and where the Devill himselfe bringing stoore of mony may be welcome and reverenced.

At Prage many Familyes of Jewes lived packed together in one litle house, which makes not only their howses but their streetes to be very filthy, and theire Citty to be like a Dunghill. Also they feede continually upon Onyons and Garlike, so as he had neede first to breake his fast, and have some good Oder in his hand, who will enter their Citty or have Conference with any of them. They eate not the hinder partes of any beast in Remembrance of Jacobs lamed thigh, so as at home and in their Jornyes they kill and dresse their owne meate. In this their Citty they have Authority yearely to chuse foure Judges among themselves, to rule them and Judge causes betweene them, but in Cases betweene a Jewe and Christian they are determined by the Christian magistrate. The Authority of the cheefe Rabby or Priest is very great among them. They punish Adultry by standing up to the Chinn in water a whole day. Theft with restitution and recompense of dommages, but Murther was unhard of among themselves. They had no slaves bought with mony or so borne, but after the manner of Christians the poore served the rich for yearely wages. Only the richer sort made wills or testiments in writting, others made verball testaments, and if any dyed without them, their male Chilldren devided theire goodes, and were bound to provide for their sisters, which were allowed no dowryes. They tooke such oppressive usury, as it seemed wonderfull the magistrate would suffer them so to devoure Christians; upon a pawne of gold or silver they tooke a fourth part, and upon a pawne of Apparrell or stuffe they tooke halfe the principall for use, and never lent without pawnes, Yea wheras the lawe of Germany allowes but fyve in the hundreth for a yeare, many Christians were so wicked as to extort the former use in the name of Jewes, agreeing with a poore Jewe to bring them the pawnes and the mony when it was repayd, and the giveing the Jewe some part of the use, did retayne the rest for themselves. At my being at Prage the Jewes had no Maryages, abstaining from them for seven weekes in which they Celebrated the memorye of a great Rabby dead of old, and after abstayning from them for another feast in memory of the lawe given to Moses. But the Jewes and Christians related to me that the Bryde amongh them used to sett in the Synogog under a rich cloth of State, and to give her Fayth to her husband in the hands of the Rabby, confirming it by taking a Ringe, and to spende the rest of the day in feasting and daunsing, with the doores open for all Jewes or Christians that would enter, permitting imbraces but no kisses whyle they daunsed. They admitted divorce for Barrennes, and many like causes, even the smalest where both partyes consented. The Virgins maryed at 11 or 12 yeares and the young men at 15 or 16 yeares age to avoyde fornication, and if they had no Children the first or second yeare, there was no love but continuall reproches betweene themselves and their Parents."

Hughes, 492–494: [Touching Funeralls] "At Prage the Jewes washed the dead body, and wrapt it in linnen, and buryed it the same day before the sunne sett, calling the people to the Funerall by the voyce of a Cryer passing through all the streetes. The body being brought to the grave, the boyes did reade songes written upon the

wall of the Churchyeard, bewayling the mortall condition of men, and confessing death to be the most iust punishment of sinne, which ended the body was putt in the grave without any further Ceremony but only the laying of a greene Sodd under the head. Then they retorned to the sayd wall reading another song, praying God for Abrahams Isackes and Jacobs sake, not to permitt the divill to kill men, and recommendinge to those Patriarkes in vehement wordes the afflicted State of their Posterity.

Touching Religion I observed that at Prage, aswell at the doores of theire private houses as of theire Synagoges, they had a prayes clossed up within the Posts or walles, that God would protect their going out and comming in, which places of the Posts or walls they kissed so oft as they entred or went forth. Also the Jewes did weare about them the tenn Commandments written in a long shred of parchment, which they wore aboute theire heades stiched up upon the insyde of the Crownes of theire hatts, and also foulded about their left armes. In the Porch of the Synogoge before they entred, they sayd some prayers, and also washed their hands, having basons of water and towells layde there for that purpose, which was their inward and outwarde preperation before they entred. The Synagoges had no bells, but the people were called together by the voyce of a Cryer passing through all the streetes. Each synogoge had some 20 or 30 Rabbyes, with some 400 Dollers allowed to each of them for yearely stipend, but of these one was supreme, who having a greater stipend, had care of educating their Children, and of preaching, which he did with his head covered, sometymes in the language of the Germans, sometymes in the Hebrewe toung. The whole Congregation did singe altogether, each man having imbrodred linnen cast about his shoulders with knotted fringes to the nomber of the Commandements (which I take to be their Philacteryes), so as the Rabby could not be knowne from the rest, but by his standing at the Alter. Their singing was in a hollow tone, very lowe at the first, but rysing by degrees, and sometymes stretched to flatt roring, and the people in singing answered the Rabby, and some tymes bowed their heades lowe, shaking their hinder partes, with many ridiculous tones and gestures. Their divine service (save that they dispise the newe testament) is not unlike ours, for it consists of Psalmes, and two lessons, one out of the lawe, the second out of the Prophetts (which last a boye reades, they lesse esteeming them then the lawe). In the midst of the Synogog they had a litle rounde building open in the uper parte where the lawe was layd up, which was foulded like a Rowle betweene two Joillers of silver. And this lawe was in the morning opened and lifted up to be shewed to the people, all men first offering mony to the Treasurye, with great emulation to have the honour to shewe it by giving most. And while it was shewed all the people often turned their bodyes rounde, with divers mad gestures, and at last fell to weeping and flatt roring, yet so as it appeared an outwarde Ceremony rather then inwarde passion or devotion. In prayers they never kneeled but only bended forward, and never putt off their hatts in there devotions or in entring or going out of the Synogoge. Upon the Saboth day being Satterday, divine service continued from morning to night, but divers companyes went out to eate or sleepe or refresh themselves at their pleasure, and in shorte space retorned agayne. But that day no Jewe dressed any meate, nor bought or souled, nor would Receave any mony though it were a desperate debt, nor yet pay any mony for any gayne. They had lampes burning by day in the Synogoge, to the honour of God only, and these were very fewe. The wemen came not into the Synogoge among men, but under the same Roof had their owne Synogoge and a doore to enter it, having windows or narrowe Cleftes in the wall to heare the men singing, but themselves only did reade or mumble with a lowe voyce, and were otherwise silent."

Hughes, 494–95: "At Prage they Circumcised their Children upon the eighth day, and this Circumcision they use to the dead as to the living, but thincke it not necessary to Salvation, (as at their first comming out of Egipt they were not Circumcised in the wildernes for forty yeares), the Covenant standing firme without the seale therof when it cannot be had. My selfe did see the Ceremonyes

therof in this manner when the Chylde came neere to the Synagog, they raysed a clamour in the Hebrewe tounge; Blessed is he had commeth in the name of the lord. At the dore, the wemen not permited to enter, delivered the Childe to the Father, who caryed it to the Alter, and then was a generall offering made with great emulation who shoulde carry the box of powder, who the Salt, who the knife, as in England wee offer who shall have the Brides gloves. Then the Chyldes linnen Clothes being opened, the Rabby cutt off his prepuce, and (with leave be it related for clearing of the Ceremony) did with his mouth sucke the blood of his privy part, and after drawing and spitting out of much blood, sprinckled a red powder upon the wounde. The prepuce he had at the first cutting cast into a guilt sylver bowle full of wyne, wherof the Rabby the Father and the Godfather did drincke, sprinckling some drops into the Chyldes mouth. Then the prepuce or foreskinne was taken out, and putt into a box of salt to be buryed after in the Churchyearde. The Father helde the Chylde all this tyme in his Armes, and together with the God Father testifyed that it was the seede of Abraham, and so gave the name to it. This donne the Father carying the Chylde backe to the doore of the Synagog, there delivered it to the Nurse and wemen expecting it. The daughters without using any Ceremony insteede of Circumcision, have names given them by their parents at dinner or supper upon the eighth day among frends called to the Feast, after singing of a Psalme."

Notes

1. The literature on the Prague ghetto at this period is diverse. Within a wider context see M. Vilímková, *Die prager Judenstadt* (Prague, 1990) and W. Brosche, "Das Ghetto von Prag," in *Die Juden in den böhemischen Ländern*, ed. F. Seibt (Munich, 1983). An excellent overview of the larger issues is found in J. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism* (Oxford, 1985) and J. Israel, "Central European Jewry during the Thirty Years' War," *Central European History*, 16/1 (1983), 3–30. Also S.W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, XIV (Philadelphia, 1969), 156–71 and J. Edwards, *The Jews in Christian Europe 1400–1700* (London, 1988).

The only extended study of the Prague Jewish community at this period remains *The Prague Ghetto in the Renaissance Period*, ed. O. Muneles, State Jewish Museum (Prague, 1965); it is thoughtful but general and rarely documented. Other general essays: V. Sadek, "Die prager Judenstadt zur Zeit der rudolfinischen Renaissance," in *Prag um 1600*, exh. cat., Essen, Villa Hügel (Frehen, 1988), also entries; H.J. Kieval, "Autonomy and Interdependence: The Historical Legacy of Czech Jewry," in *The Precious Legacy*, exh. cat., Prague, State Jewish Museum (Prague, 1983); A. Pařík, "The Ghetto of Prague" and H.J. Kieval, "The Lands Between: The Jews of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia to 1918," in *Where Cultures Meet. The*

Story of the Jews of Czechoslovakia, ed. N. Berger, The Nahun Goldmann Museum of the Jewish Diaspora (Tel Aviv, 1990); "Prague," *Encyclopedia Judaica*, XIII (1971), cols. 964–77. The pages on Savery's drawings made in the Prague ghetto in J. Spicer (Durham), "The Drawings of Roelandt Savery 1576–1639," Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1979, 206–208 are limited to a brief discussion of costume.

Of the older literature, G. Bondy and F. Dworsky, eds., *Zur Geschichte der Juden in Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien von 906 bis 1620* (Prague, 1906) is indispensable as a listing and summary of documents and earlier sources. W.W. Tomek, *Dějepis Města Prahy* (Prague, 1856–1901) and J.M. *Schottky, Prag, wie es war und wie es ist*, I (Prague, 1831) are both on occasion cited as sources; the narrative of the first is, however, largely undocumented and I have not been able to consult the second. Much of the potentially relevant archival material has been destroyed.

See also H. Lieben, "Der hebräische Buchdruck in Prag im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Die Juden in Prag*, ed. Samuel Steinherz (Prague, 1927); A. Stein, *Die Geschichte der Juden in Böhmen* (Brno, 1904); "Prague," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, X (New York, 1905), 153–64; S. Hermann, J. Teige, and Z. Winter, *Das prager Ghetto* (Prague, 1903); H. Gold, *Die Juden und Judengemeinden Mährens in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Brno, 1929).

2. Spicer, "The Drawings of Roelandt Savery," cat. no. 95.

3. Israel, *Mercantilism*, 40 (no source). Other estimates: Kieval, "Autonomy and Interdependence," in *Precious Legacy*, 76, "about 6,000" (no source) revised to "over 3,000" in "The Lands Between," in *Where Cultures Meet*, 27 (no source); Brosche, "Das Ghetto," 117, "10,000–15,000" (source cited as "Pribram", perhaps A.F. Pribam, *Urkunden und Akten zur Geschichte der Juden in Wien* [Vienna, 1918]).

The only contemporary testimony known to me has not been brought into this discussion. Fynes Moryson, an English traveler who passed two months in Prague in 1592 and devoted pages of his description (Appendix II) to the Jewish community in Prague states that 500 Jews lived there. Most likely that represents male heads of household or families in the ghetto, especially given that a 1595 census (Bondy and Dworsky, eds., *Zur Geschichte der Juden*, no. 943, a 1598 report referring to a census taken in 1595) of houses in the ghetto counted 150. Since multiple families often lived in one house (due to restrictions on Jews buying or inhabiting houses outside the ghetto), this would support the estimate of 3,000 inhabitants. The first official census of Prague Jews in 1638 arrived at 7,815, by which time there had been three decades of prosperity and an expansion of the ghetto (F. Friedmann, "Pražsti židé, Studie statistická," *Zidovskky kalendář na rok 5690* [1929/30]). Vilímková, *Prager Judenstadt*, 28 does not offer an estimate of the population but cites the 1595 census of houses and figures on the extremely high cost of buying even a room.

4. Bondy and Dworsky, eds., *Zur Geschichte der Juden*, no. 766.

5. For example Bondy and Dworsky, eds., *Zur Geschichte der Juden*, nos. 837 (1586) and 886 (1593 request by Christian craftsmen for protection from new competition from the Jews).

6. See Israel, "Central European Jewry," 40; Bondy and Dworsky, eds., *Zur Geschichte der Juden*, nos. 884 (1592), 894 (1593), and 929; *Encyclopedia Judaica*, XI (1971–1972), cols. 1262–63. For example in 1591 Meysl was granted the privilege of building his own synagogue (Bondy and Dworsky, eds., *Zur Geschichte der Juden*, no. 874).

7. For this environment see Vilímková, *Prager Judenstadt*, 81–95; R.J.W. Evans, *Rudolf II and his World, A Study in Intellectual History 1576–1612* (Oxford, 1973), 236–42; Lieben, "Der hebräische Buchdruck," in *Die Juden in Prag*; O. Muneles and V. Sadek, "The Prague Jewish Community in the Sixteenth Century—Spiritual Life," in Muneles, ed., *Prague Ghetto*; O. Muneles, *Bibliographical Survey of Jewish Prague* (Prague, 1952).

8. See A. Neher, *David Gans (1541–1613)* (Paris, 1974); Israel, *European Jewry*, 74–75.

9. Bondy and Dworsky, eds., *Zur Geschichte der Juden*, nos. 1339 and 1340; F. Thieberger, *The Great Rabbi Loew of Prague* (London, 1955), 38–40.

10. See Appendix II.

11. Bondy and Dworsky, eds., *Zur Geschichte der Juden*, no. 979.

12. For Savery see Spicer, "The Drawings of Roelandt Savery;" entries in *Prag um 1600* (Spicer); and T. Kaufmann, *The School of Prague* (Chicago, 1988). *Roelant Savery (1576–1639) in seiner Zeit*, exh. cat., Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum (Cologne, 1985) and K.J. Müllenmeister, *Roelant Savery, Die Gemälde* (Freren, 1988). The present writer is preparing a new monograph on the artist.

13. For Van Vianen as a draftsman, see T. Gerszi, *Paulus van Vianen, die Handzeichnungen* (Hanau, 1982); entries in *Prag um 1600*; and J. Spicer, *"Adam and Eve after the Fall* by Paulus van Vianen and the Interrelationship of the Arts," in *Prag um 1600, Beiträge zur Kunst und Kultur am Hofe Rudolfs*, ed. E. Fučíková (Freren, 1988), II, 272–83.

14. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. J.R. ter Molen, *Van Vianen, een utrechtse familie van zilversmeden* (Leiden, 1984), no. 117; *De utrechtse edelsmeden Van Vianen*, exh. cat., Utrecht, Centraal Museum (Utrecht, 1984), no. 29, illus.

15. Appendix II: Hughes, 489.

16. Bondy and Dworsky, eds., *Zur Geschichte der Juden*, no. 1009; English translation from the Latin taken from J. Israel, *Empires and Entrepots: the Dutch, the Spanish Monarchy and the Jews, 1585–1713* (London, 1990), 167.

17. English private collection; *Prag um 1600*, no. 142 (Spicer).

18. As in R. van Bastelaer and H. de Loo, *Pieter Bruegel l'Ancien* (Brussels, 1905–1907); C. de Tolnay, *Die Zeichnungen Pieter Bruegels* (Zurich, 1952); or L. Münz, *Bruegel, the Drawings* (London, 1961).

19. On the other hand, Bruegel did include a Jew in a group of disputing scholars in his 1560 allegory of *Temperantia* (drawing in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam for the engraving; see *Pieter Bruegel d. Ä. als Zeichner*, exh. cat., Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett [Berlin, 1975], no. 74). His *Four Men in Conversation*, a pen sketch in the Louvre (Münz, *Bruegel, the Drawings*, no. 89) is surely meant to evoke Jews, though its execution does not suggest a study from life.

20. My paper for the Prague 1969 conference on the art at the court of Rudolf II resulted in, "The Naer het Leven Drawings: by Pieter Bruegel or Roelandt Savery?" *Master Drawings*, 8/1 (1970), 3–30. It was further developed in Spicer, "The Drawings of Roelandt Savery." See also H. van Leeuwen, "Iets over het handschrift van de 'naer het leven' tekenaar," *Oud Holland*, 85 (1970), 25–32.

21. Spicer, "Naer het Leven Drawings." The same drawing was again catalogued by the present writer in *Prag um 1600*, no. 241.

22. For instance the illustrations in *Seder semirot u birkat ha-mason* (Prague, 1514), "the first illustrated Hebrew book of Jewish customs" (A. Rubens, *Jewish Iconography* [London, 1981], XII, no. 234; Supplement [London, 1982], 28, illus.); Vilímková, *Prager Judenstadt*, fig. 144).

23. There are a few crude sixteenth-century caricatures illustrated by Muneles, ed., *Prague Ghetto*, fig. 21: "The Prague Jew, Mates, at the city court, drawing from the town-hall manual (Archive of the Capital City of Prague, manuscript no. 1232, f. 83–84)." A drawing labeled "Dutch School Second Half of the 16th Century, A Group of Jews outside a building" in the Bernard Houthakker sale (Sotheby's, Amsterdam, 17 November 1975, lot 15) does not appear to be from life.

24. See for example S.W. Morgenstein and R.E. Levine, *The Jews in the Age of Rembrandt*, exh. cat., Washington, Judaic Museum, Jewish Community Center of Greater Washington (Washington, D.C., 1981); F. Landsberger, *Rembrandt, the Jews and the Bible* (Philadelphia, 1946); M. Gans, *Memorbook: History of Dutch Jewry from the Renaissance to 1940* (Baarn, 1971); R. Wischnitzer, "Rembrandt's So-Called Synagogue," *From Dura to Rembrandt* (Vienna, 1990); J. Duynstee, "Symbol van Het Oude Mokum: heden en verleden van de Portugees-Israelietische Synagoge," *Tableau*, 14/1 (1991).

25. F. Winzinger, *Albrecht Altdorfer Graphik* (Munich, 1963), nos. 173–74.

26. For the Altneuschul, see A. Pařík, *The Prague Synagogues in Paintings, Engravings and Old Photographs*, State Jewish Museum, (Prague, 1986), n.p.; C.H. Krinsky, *Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History, Meaning* (New York, 1985) esp. 169–75; Z. Münzer, "Die Altneusynagoge in Prag," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für die Geschichte der Juden in der CSR*, 4 (Prague, 1932), 63–105; M. Vilímková, "Seven Hundred Years of the Old-New Synagogue," *Judaica Bohemia*, 5/1 (1969), 72–83.

27. Appendix II. A passage in Moryson (Book V, chap. vi; Hughes p. 494) exactly describes the Altneuschul: "The wemen came not into the Synogoge among men, but under the same Roof had their owne Synogoge and a doore to enter it, having windowes or narrowe Cleftes in the wall to heare the men singing...."

28. Works specifically on Rabbi Loew consulted: "Judah Loew ben Bezalel," *Encyclopedia Judaica*, X (1971–1972), cols. 374–79; Thieberger, *Rabbi Loew*, T. Dreyfus, *Dieu parle aux hommes; la révélation selon le Mahral de Prague* (Paris, 1969); V. Sadek, "Rabbi Loew— sa vie, héritage pédagogique et sa légende," *Judaica Bohemia*, 15/1 (1979), 27–41; V. Sadek, "Social Aspects in the Work of Prague Rabbi Löw (Maharal, 1512–1609)," *Judaica Bohemia*, 29 (1983), 3–21; O. Muneles and V. Sadek, "Prague Jewish Community— Spiritual Life"; and "Golem," *Encyclopedia Judaica*, VII (1970–1971), cols. 753–56.

29. On the birthdate see Thieberger, *Rabbi Loew*, 12.

30. It has been suggested that Rabbi Loew actually came from Poland and had served there in a rabbinical capacity even earlier in his life. Thieberger, *Rabbi Loew*, 8–9 and 36–38.

31. *Encyclopedia Judaica*, X (1971–1972), col. 375. Thieberger, *Rabbi Loew* says (pp. 12 and 42 without citing sources) that Rabbi Loew returned to Prague by the spring of 1597 to "take over the duties of Chief Rabbi." He also cites (p. 42) the inscription on Rabbi Loew's tombstone that "for ten years Liwa stood at the head of all the Rabbis of Bohemia and Prague." However in 1604 the community requested a deputy, Ephraim Luntschitz (p. 43; see Bondy and Dworsky, eds., *Zur Geschichte der Juden*, no. 995, which records Rudolf's confirmation in 1604 of the election by the elders of one Efraim as chief rabbi). Sadek, "Rabbi Loew," 31 implies that Rabbi Loew became chief rabbi after 1601 (in reference to Bondy and Dworsky, eds., *Zur Geschichte der Juden*, no. 967, testament of M. Meysl of which Rabbi Loew was an executor) and that his successor Ephriam Luntschitz was called from Poland in 1614.

32. O. Muneles, "Die Rabbiner der Altneuschul," *Judaica Bohemia*, 5/2 (1969), 92–107; Kieval, "Autonomy and Interdependence," in *Precious Legacy*, 51. He was also associated with the yeshiva he organized in the Klausen synagogue built by Mordechai Meysl in the 1560s.

33. Muneles, "Die Rabbiner," 101 (Rabbi Chaim died in 1606 but his birthdate is not recorded).

34. A. Rubens, *A History of Jewish Costume* (London, 1967; rev. ed. 1971). See also the compilation by the same author, *A Jewish Iconography* (London, 1981) and *Supplement* (London, 1982); "Dress," *Encyclopedia Judaica*, VI (1971) cols. 212-23; T. and M. Met-

zger, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages: Illuminated Hebrew Manuscripts of the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries* (New York, 1982); B. Blumenkranz, *Le Juif médiéval au miroir de l'art chrétien* (Paris, 1966).

35. Rubens, *Jewish Costume*, 2, 26, fig. 20; Metzger, *Jewish Life*, 149–50; Vilímková, *Prager Judenstadt*, fig. 32

36. Metzger, *Jewish Life*, 150 notes the muted shades of the stripes on modern and medieval prayer shawls (depicted in manuscripts), ending with the assertion: "The red stripes that appear in the Leipzig *Mahzor* [Universitätsbibl., MS V. 1102/I-II] can only be due to an unexplained fantasy of the painter." The evidence of Savery's drawing suggests that the red stripes probably reflected actual usage.

37. Appendix II: Hughes, 493.

38. Compare Rubens, *Jewish Costume*, fig. 153 (1703). Is this related to the false sleeves hanging from the behind the sleeve opening of the synagogue cloaks worn in a 1692 illustration of a synagogue interior (Rubens, *Jewish Costume*, fig. 177)?

39. Ruth Mellinkoff devotes a chapter to "Hebrew and Pseudo-Hebrew Lettering" in Catholic late medieval art in *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1993), 97–108, but the issue of whether Christian representations of Jews with Hebrew lettering along the edge of their garments—as in *Christ Among the Doctors*, ca. 1490/1505, by the Housebook Master (Mainz, Mittelrheinisches Landesmuseum; her fig. III.33)—might reflect actual usage by contemporary Jews is left unaddressed. The subject is notably absent from Rubens, *Jewish Costume*.

40. Rubens, *Jewish Costume*, 17 and 91.

41. Rubens, *Jewish Costume*, 120, figs. 175, 177, 178, and 180.

42. Appendix II: Hughes, 489.

43. Rubens, *Jewish Costume*, 5 and 128.

44. Savery drew one triangle and then a second one over it.

45. Though the hexagram as a sign or symbol, Jewish or otherwise, has been variously addressed, there is no thorough scholarly study in any language on its "incubation" as a Jewish insignia. In consequence, commentary on the bibliography is appropriate. The *locus classicus* of studies on the Star of David remains Gershom Scholem's "The Star of David: History of a Symbol," in *The Messianic Idea in Judaism* (New York, 1971), 257–81, of which previous versions appeared first in English (in *Commentary*, 8 [1941]) and subsequently in Hebrew and German. Scholem was primarily concerned with clarifying past, often extremely speculative scholarship and propounding two related propositions: (1) that the hexagram or Shield of David, in contrast to the menorah, has a short history as a Jewish symbol, only gaining widespread acceptance in the nineteenth century; (2) that since in the Middle Ages and Renaissance the hexagram appears in Christian and Islamic as well as Jewish decorative or magical formulations, it cannot have been construed as Jewish, a status it only began to achieve in the seventeenth century, first in Prague and spreading from there. While the intellectual momentum of Scholem's argument is persuasive, an examination of an expanded body of material makes clear the possibility for some revision of the second thesis.

See also Scholem's "Magen David," in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, XI (1971), cols. 687–97, with bibliography; more recently H.E. Hohertz, "History of a Symbol: The Hexagram," in *The Numismatist*, (Apr. 1977), 693–704. In a wider context E.L. Ehrlich, *Die Kultsymbolik und im Nachbiblischen Judentum* (Stuttgart, 1959); J. Trachtenberg, Jewish Magic and Superstition (New York, 1975); D.J. de Solla Price, "The [hexagram, pentagram] and other Geometric and Scientific Talismans and Symbols," in *Changing Perspectives and the History of Science*, ed. R. McTeich and R. Young (London, 1973). A. Eder, *The Star of David, an Ancient Symbol of Integration* (Jerusalem, 1987) is

essentially interpretive rather than historical.

Recent publications for the general reader include W. Gunther Plaut's *The Magen David: How the six-pointed star became an emblem for the Jewish people* (Washington, D.C., 1991). Its lively discussions of issues and illustrations (e.g., an American sheriff's badge) may be thought provoking but are sometimes not well researched. Gerbern S. Oegema, author of *De Davidsteer, de geschiedenis van een symbol* (Baarn, 1992), is apparently unfamiliar with much of the material pertaining to Prague contained in the present article. Oegema had previously contributed short essays, including "Denn König David hatte einen Schild...: Das Hexagramm als magisches Schutzsymbol und als 'Stein der Weisen'" and "Von Prag aus in die ganze Welt, Kaiser Karl IV. schenkte der Judenschaft eine Fahne mit goldenem Stern," to *Der Davidstern. Zeichen der Schmach, Symbol der Hoffnung*, ed. W. Stegemann and S.J. Eichmann (Dorsten, 1991), a work aimed at a general audience and which focuses on the era under National Socialism.

Of earlier literature see M. Güdemann, "Der 'Magen David' oder Davidsschild," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 24 (1916), 134–39; H. Lewy, "The Origins and Significance of the *Magen David*: A Comparative Study in the Ancient Religions of Jerusalem and Mecca," *Archiv orientální*, 18 (1950), 330–65; P.I. Diamont, "The Origin of the Shield of David as a Symbol of Jewry" (in Hebrew, not read), *Reshummoth*, 5 (1953), 93–103; and further citations in Plaut, *The Magen David*; L.A. Mayer, *Bibliography of Jewish Art* (Jerusalem, 1967); and Oegema, *De Davidsteer*.

46. Consulted on the badge in general: G. Kisch, "The Yellow Badge in History," *Historia Judaica*, 4 (Oct. 1942), 95–144; "Badge, Jewish," *Encyclopedia Judaica*, IV (1971–1972), cols. 62–73; I. Lichtenstadter, "The Distinctive Dress of Non-Muslims in Islamic Countries," *Historia Judaica*, 5/1 (Apr. 1943), esp. 35–50; F. Singermann, *Die Kennzeichnung der Juden im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1935); also on the Middle Ages, B. Deneke, "Die Kennzeichnung von Juden, Form und Funktion," *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1993), 240–52. For the medieval and Renaissance period, see also Baron, *History of the Jews*, XI, 96–106 and E.M. Zafran, "The Iconography of Anti-Semitism," Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1973.

47. Bondy and Dworsky, eds., *Zur Geschichte der Juden*, nos. 556–65.

48. Thieberger, *Rabbi Loew*, 3, in a summary of Rudolf's acts in regard to the Jews during the 1580s, says that Rudolf "renewed the edict that the Jews had to wear on their attire the yellow badge of identification." Thieberger's text is not footnoted and I have not been able to verify this renewal.

49. Bondy and Dworsky, eds., *Zur Geschichte der Juden*, no. 948.

50. Appendix II: Hughes, 490.

51. The only specific testimony on the possibility for this in Prague is found in Moryson, for which see Appendix II: Hughes, 489–90.

52. See Rubens, *Jewish Costume*, 114 (red star imposed on Jews of Verona in 1480); Baron, *History of the Jews*, XI, 100 n. 29; and M. Kayserling, *Geschichte der Juden in Portugal* (Leipzig, 1867), 22 (with archival source) for the decree of Alfonso IV assigning to the Jews the mark of "a six-cornered yellow star worn on the hat or overcoat." A star with six points made of three crossing lines appears on the coat of Isaac Abrabanel (Rubens, *Jewish Costume*, fig. 144) and on the hat of a second Jew in the altarpiece of ca. 1471–1481 devoted to Saint Vincent, patron of Lisbon in the cathedral of that city, by Nuno Gonçalves (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon). For the altarpiece, see most recently J.A. Levenson, ed., *Circa 1492, Art in the Age of Exploration*, exh. cat., Washington, National Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C., 1991), no. 19, with bibliography.

53. That therefore the menorah should become the *emblem* of Israel

while David's shield should offer its protection (and therefore rallying power) to the people through the *flag* seems a natural consequence.

54. See for example, S.L. Macgregor Mathers, ed., *The Key of Solomon the King* (Clavicula Solomonis) (London, 1889), kindly brought to my attention by Corinne Mandel.

55. For example Scholem, "Star of David," 273–77.

56. See D.M. Friedenberg, *Medieval Jewish Seals from Europe* (Detroit, 1987), for example nos. 17, 106, 125 and p. 308 (on lack of literature for Bohemia); *Monumenta Judaica*, exh. cat., Cologne, Stadtmuseum (Cologne, 1964), nos. B 153, 166; also D 7; Hohertz, "The Hexagram."

57. London, BL, Yates Thompson MS 31, fol. 8r, illustrated in P.T. Ricketts, "The Hispanic Tradition of the *Brevari d'Amour*," in *Hispanic Studies in Honour of Joseph Manson*, ed. D.M. Atkinson and A.H. Clarke (Oxford, 1972). For other Hispanic references see note 52. Ruth Mellinkoff very kindly brought this reference to my attention. The appearance of a hexagram in a window in the Master of the View of St. Gudule's *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, ca. 1490 (Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor schone Kunsten) certainly suggests an allusion to the temple as Jewish.

A striking but unusual example of a shield with a hexagram seemingly representing the arms of Christ is found at the foot of the cross in a Westphalian school painting of the *Deposition* dated 1515 (Christie's, London, 20 April 1993, lot 305, illus.). There is a similar one in Albrecht Altdorfer's *Christ on the Cross with the Virgin and Saint John* (Kassel, Gemäldegalerie) of ca. 1515 (Franz Winzinger, *Albrecht Altdorfer, Die Gemälde* [Munich, 1975], no. 28, illus.). This is puzzling. The atmosphere in Regensburg where Altdorfer worked was anti-Semitic—it was in 1519 that Altdorfer himself would be involved in the decision to raze the synagogue—and it seems unlikely that the unidentified donors shown kneeling beneath the cross would identify themselves with a celebration of Christ's Jewish heritage. The cartouche, located off-center toward the male donor, has been interpreted as an element of the family arms of the donor, for which see A. Schneckenburger-Broschek, *Die altdeutsche Malerei, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kassel* (Kassel, 1982), nos. 31 and 32, with comments on the contemporary use in Germany of the hexagram on Christian arms.

58. See especially Hohertz, "The Hexagram."

59. Compare the "Seal of Solomon or Star of David inscribed in the Hand of Fatima" decorating a fourteenth-century salt vessel made by Muslim craftsmen in Spain, illustrated in V.B. Mann et al., *Convivencia, Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*, exh. cat., New York, Jewish Museum (New York, 1992), no. 75.

60. *Circa 1492*, no. 91 (ca. 1458, bearing as well inscriptions praising Mehmed II's Solomonic justice), and J.M. Rogers and R. M. Ward, *Süleyman the Magnificent*, exh. cat., London, British Museum (London, 1988), no. 111 (made in 1564 for Sehzade Selim, joint ruler with Süleyman (= Solomon, who is named in the dedicatory inscription). In my files there is a photocopy of an unidentified newspaper article illustrated by a photo of the Aga Kahn wearing a robe covered with hexagrams.

61. For the Christian use of the hexagram on seals, see Friedenberg, *Jewish Seals*, under no. 125. For its use in churches, see the examples illustrated in Plaut, *Magen David*, 13–24 and Scholem, "Magen David." The pattern points to the possibility that better documentation would reveal a protective function.

Plaut (in his chapter "A Universal Sign") offers a thought-provoking array of examples of the hexagram that do not invoke Jewishness, most interesting being twentieth-century secular examples such as the American sheriff's badge. However, I wonder if further examination of their origins might not uncover a pattern

of faith in the protective properties of the shape, primarily in reference to Solomon's seal. Plaut justly cites (p. 22) as unrelated to Judaism a "one-penny coin which featured a six-pointed star" issued in 1916 for British West Africa (though he undercuts his point by confusingly captioning the illustration as "The Magen David on the one-penny coin..."). What he does not tell us about its meaning is supplied by Hohertz "The Hexagram," 700, who cites a Royal Mint coinage order which explicitly refers to it as the Seal of Solomon.

62. Scholem, "Star of David," 273–77 describes the appearances of the hexagram in Prague from the fourteenth-century banner up through adoption for the community's seal in the seventeenth century under the heading of "ornamental."

63. The original privilege was destroyed in an eighteenth-century fire and is only described in old registers of the documents (Scholem, "Star of David," 275). Though the year 1354 is usually cited, Scholem points out that the actual inscription on the flag gives the date as 1357. Pařík (*Prague Synagogues*, n.p.) gives the year as 1358 but does not elaborate.

For Charles IV's generally not very supportive relations with the Jews, see W. Eckert, "Die Juden im Zeitalter Karls IV," in *Kaiser Karl IV*, ed. F. Seibt (Munich, 1979), 123–30; W. Hanisch, "Die Luxemburger und die Juden," in *Die Juden in den böhmischen Ländern*, Collegium Carolinum (Munich, 1983), 27–36; Vilímková, *Prager Judenstadt*, 18.

64. A description given in quotation marks of the greeting offered to Ferdinand on 5 February 1527 by the Jews "mit einem grossen schönen Fahnen" is cited under Bondy and Dworsky, eds., *Zur Geschichte der Juden*, no. 375 with reference to J. Schottky, *Prag* (Prague, 1831) and W.W. Tomek, *Děpis města Prahy*, XI (Prague, 1855–1901), 37; while I have not been able to consult Schottky, Tomek cites no source. Scholem, "Star of David," 275 insists that "this flag contained a large Shield of David—not however, as some books would have it, together with a pentagram or witch's foot," but offers no evidence or source. A. Kanof, *Jewish Ceremonial Art and Religious Observance* (New York, 1979), 59, probably following Scholem, states that there was a large Shield of David on this flag, but again cites no source.

65. Bondy and Dworsky, eds., *Zur Geschichte der Juden*, no. 929 (25 Feb. 1598), the English paraphrase of the Czech quoted from Israel, *Empires*, 165. Plaut's unsupported (and surely erroneous) assertion (*Magen David*, 53) that this flag was a gift to Meysl and the Jewish community from the emperor must be derived from this privilege.

66. Pařík, *Prague Synagogues*, n.p. states, "The banner preserved in the synagogue was given to the Jews of Prague by Charles IV in 1358. Its present-day appearance dates from 1716 when it was restored." This restoration or replacement was in connection with preparations for the procession of the Jewish community in honor of the birth of the heir to the imperial throne, Prince Leopold. In fact, the earliest representation of the community's flag known to me is in a 1716 engraving by J. Hiller (Vilímková, *Prager Judenstadt*, fig. 23) after a drawing by J.G. Hartmann of this procession; in this 1716 engraving the banner carried in procession can be seen to bear a hexagram. It is seen again in an engraving of another such procession in 1741 (Vilímková, *Prager Judenstadt*, fig. 24). Here the flag has one tail, as today, but in the 1716 engraving it is shown with two. Is it possible that the older flag or banner had two tails and that it was only after the 1716 procession that the flag was replaced (and altered)?

67. Inv. 60 714, illustrated by J. Janáček, "The Prague Jewish Community before the Thirty Years' War," in Muneles, ed., *Prague Ghetto*, his fig. 26 (misleadingly labeled "Banner of the Prague Jewish Community presented by Mordecai Meisl"). Vilímková (*Prager Judenstadt*) compounds the confusion by labeling her fig. 19

(the flag always displayed in the Altneuschul, which is, or replaces, the fourteenth-century flag) as the "flag of the Prague Jewish community, donated by Mordechai Meisl."

68. Rubens, *Jewish Costume*, 106. In some parts of Europe, Jewish males were required to wear it. While the Jew's hat was adapted for various symbolically representative uses by Jews, in Christian art its appearance could sometimes have denigrating associations attached to it (see Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, "Headgear," 57–94). Nevertheless, just because a figure in a late medieval biblical scene is depicted wearing a Jew's hat and therefore identified as a Jew, it does not necessarily follow that he is being denigrated. See also A. Weber, "Die Entwicklung des Judenbildes im 13. Jahrhundert und sein Platz in der Lettner- und Tympanonskulptur," *Städel-Jahrbuch*, n.s. 14 (1993), 35–54 and Stegemann and Eichmann, eds., *Der Davidstern*, 44–55.

69. Friedenberg, *Jewish Seals*, for example nos. 150 and 151.

70. Rubens, *Jewish Costume*, fig. 130.

71. Scholem, "Star of David," 276; Plaut, *Magen David*, 54 and 72 (with sources); A. Scheiber, *Jewish Inscriptions in Hungary from the 3rd Century to 1686* (Budapest, 1983), 182–84.

72. The hat has been described as a Swedish hat or even a helmet (for example, J. Lion, *The Prague Ghetto* [London, 1959], 32–6; Israel in "Jewry," 27 and *Mercantilism*, 104: helmet; Scholem, "Star of David," 277, cited judiciously only as a "tradition of Prague Jewry") and said to have been awarded by the Emperor Ferdinand III in 1648 as reward for Jewish participation in the defense of Prague during an attack on the city by the Swedes in that year. According to Kieval ("Autonomy and Interdependence," 75 in *Precious Legacy,*) "in recognition of their bravery, the Emperor presented the Jewish community with a special flag. Its design, a Swedish cap in the middle of the Star of David, became the official emblem of the Prague Jewish community. The flag hangs to this day in the Altneuschul."

The only source cited for this repeated assertion is K. Spiegel, "Die Prager Juden zur Zeit des dreissig-jährigen Krieges," in Steinherz, ed., *Die Juden in Prag*, esp. 124 and 137 who, in turn, claims as documentation (179 n. 2) "Ein Privileg, welches sich in den Händen der Gemeinde befunden haben muss, ist wohl einem der grossen Brände zum Opfer gefallen." This is not exactly hard evidence. Other evidence cited is no more secure. Spiegel goes on to cite two documents stamped with the seal of Jewish community, both seals having as the chief motif a hexagram. The seal illustrated by Spiegel (179) clearly incorporates a cap like that on the present banners. This document is dated 1644, but Spiegel (181), struggling to explain this awkward date, suggests that possibly the document was "nach 1648 hergestellt." The other seal based on a hexagram illustrated (178), described as from 1645 (though the only date visible in the photograph is 1642), incorporates at the center an indistinct, imperfectly printed shape, which is, in fact, not inconsistent with the peak of a hat. After then acknowledging that the identification of more clearly datable, clearly legible seals is necessary to clarify the use of the seal incorporating the hat, she goes on to admit, "Würden sich mehrere Siegel mit dem Schwedenhut vor 1648 finden, dann dürfte der Ursprung des Hutes im Davidsstern der Prager Gemeinde nicht in der bisher üblichen Weise erklärt werden."

In sum, no usable evidence (other than tradition) supporting the contention that the hat was added to the hexagram in 1648 has been put forward. Further, the banner depicted in the engraving by V. Kandler of ca. 1840 illustrated by Kieval (her fig. 16) as the "Interior of the Altneuschul with the banner presented to the Jewish community by Emperor Ferdinand III in 1648" clearly bears a pentagram with no cap inside! However, another engraving said to be by the same artist of virtually the same scene illustrated by Pařík, *Prague Synagogues*, here includes a hexagram with something

inside. What at first appears to be yet another variation, the tiny but brilliantly clear hexagram seen on the flag in still another illustration of the Altneuschul used by Pařík, a photograph labeled "J. Eckert: Bimah in the centre of the main nave, about 1900" is less disconcerting when one realizes that it is not angled as is the flag and was obviously drawn *onto* the original photograph over the actual design whose outlines are obscured by shadow.

Finally, what is Swedish about the hat? The contemporary print depicting the 1648 attack by the Swedish illustrated by Kieval (30–31), ascribed to the Czech artist Karl Skreta, shows great numbers of attackers but none wears such a hat or cap. It is certainly not a helmet.

73. Scholem, "Star of David," 276; Plaut, *Magen David*, 54.

74. Scholem, "Star of David," 277 (no sources) states that "probably in keeping with its use on the flag, it must have early been appropriated for the community seal. In 1627 Emperor Ferdinand II confirmed this old seal on which the six consonants of the Hebrew word magen david are inscribed between the angles of the two triangles." This is potentially important, but I cannot confirm this with the resources available to me. Perhaps it is part of the renewed constitution (*Verneuerte Landesordnung*) decreed by Ferdinand in 1627 for which (according to R.J.W. Evans, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1550–1700* [Oxford, 1979], 198), see H. Jirecek, ed., *Constitutiones regni Bohemiae anno 1627 reformatae* (Prague, 1888). Spiegel, in "Die Prager Juden," discusses decrees of these years but does not mention this, even in connection with her argument concerning the alleged addition of the Swedish hat in 1648 to the community's seal. Scholem, in the same passage quoted above (277), also refers to the use of the hexagram in Prague in the first decades of the century "on the seals of Jewish organizations and individuals" but cites no examples. Since the chronology he proposed for other identifiable examples is not always tenable, it cannot be assumed on his testimony alone that it is correct here.

75. See Münzer, "Altneusynagoge," 71; Krinsky, *Synagogues*, 173; Scholem, "Star of David," 277. (Scholem, in an enumeration of early seventeenth-century uses, cites this grill along with the tower on the Jewish town hall. This dating of the tower is also not tenable: it is part of a much later Baroque reconstruction).

76. Vilímková, *Prager Judenstadt*, 80.

77. Lieben, "Der hebräische Buchdruck," esp. 91. Also A. Yaari, *Hebrew Printers' Marks from the Beginning of Hebrew Printing to the End of the 19th Century* (Jerusalem, 1943; rept. 1971).

78. The text given by Muneles and Sadek, "Prague Jewish Community—Spiritual Life," 68 was confirmed for me by Arthur Leslie.

79. For example Scholem, "Star of David," simply describes the ensemble, remarking only on the Levite association with the water pitcher. Yaari, *Printers' Marks*, no. 8 does not elaborate. A hexagram is set off against a pitcher on shields as part of the decoration of the title page of Jakob b. Aser, *Tur'orah chaim* (Prague, 1540; Lieben fig. 8).

80. Plaut, *Magen David*, 66–68.

81. Vilímková, *Prager Judenstadt*, fig. 132.

82. For example Scholem, "Star of David," 276 or Neher, *David Gans*, 133.

83. Vilímková, *Prager Judenstadt*, fig. 122.

84. Neher, *David Gans*, 110–39.

85. The only extant copy is in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (Neher, *David Gans*, 110).

86. By 1596 Gans had completed a manuscript which Neher characterizes as an old-fashioned compendium based on Ptolemy and written in a scholastic mode, of which the only identified copy is in Hamburg. It is dated 1596 by the scribe, who notes that in a yet-

to-be copied section the author explains the title *Magen David*. By 1600, however, Gans had become acquainted with Tycho Brahe and eventually Johannes Kepler and in consequence wrote a new treatise on astronomy (of which the best manuscript copy is said to be in the Library of the Jewish Community in Geneva) that attempted to come to terms with contemporary discoveries. In 1612, shortly before the death of Gans in 1613, was published a brief text of less than twenty pages also entitled *Magen David*, which is essentially a prospectus for a publication of the second treatise finished just before Gans's death. Perhaps because of his death, publication had to wait until 1743 when it appeared with the puzzling title *Nehmad venaim* (Delightful and Pleasant), for which no explanation was offered and which may not have been Gans's choice (Neher, *David Gans*, 114–18 and 140–41).

87. Neher, *David Gans*, 116, 130–33, and 141.

88. Scholem, in another context ("Star of David," 270), refers to the publication ca. 1580 in Prague of a booklet entitled *The Golden Menorah* in which the potent image on David's shield is described as a Psalm written to form the outline of a menorah.

89. For more extensive, but somewhat differing descriptions see *Prag um 1600*, no. 505 (J. Doleželová); A. Swersky, "The Choschen Presented by the Jews of Prague to Kaiser Rudolph II," *Jewelry Studies* 4 (1990), 33–36. The preface to Swersky's article states that she was actually the author of the earlier catalogue entry, though no note is made of the substantive differences in the two descriptions.

On amulets see for example L. Hansmann and L. Kriss-Rettenbeck, *Amulett und Talisman* (Munich, 1971).

90. Swersky ("The Choschen," 33) states that the *choschen* was "part of the private collection of Kaiser Rudolf II." While it is entirely possible that it was, the author puts forward no evidence to support such an assertion. As she acknowledges (34), it is not identifiable in Habsburg inventories before 1750.

91. As Swersky notes (ibid., 34), works for the court did not require a hallmark.

92. *Prag um 1600*, pl. 70, in color.

93. My thanks to Arthur Leslie for prompting this connection.

94. T. Kaufmann, "Arcimboldo's Imperial Allegories," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 39 (1976), 275–96 and the same author in *The School of Prague, Painting at the Court of Rudolf II* (Chicago, 1988) under Arcimboldo.

95. Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. Min. 31, fols 1–3; for which see Kaufmann, *School of Prague*, nos. 9.15–7.

96. See Swersky, "The Choschen," no. 4, for this assessment.

97. This utterly conventional image of the seated Christ of the Last Judgment is correctly identified in *Prag um 1600*, but then inexplicably—and ludicrously—identified by Swersky in "The Choschen" (w34) as "the Kaiser standing on a rainbow surmounting the royal crest. He is flanked by an olive branch and a sword and carries the royal orb in his left hand while his right hand is raised in blessing."

98. See Evans, *Rudolf II*, 196–242.

99. Exactly how the perceived numinous quality of an image on an amulet was thought to be brought to bear on human affairs is queried in David Freedberg, *The Power of Images* (Chicago, 1989); the author is however almost entirely concerned with figurative imagery.

PHOTOGRAPHS: provided by the owners; figs. 11–13, courtesy Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Marian H. Phinney Fund; figs. 20, 21, 23, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery.

Facsimiles as Originals: an Unknown Illuminated Manuscript by Henry Shaw

Sandra Hindman

This article introduces the reader to the nineteenth-century interest in medieval manuscript illumination. In the 1830s illuminator-antiquarian Henry Shaw published a book of medieval ornament drawn from manuscripts in the British Library and other English collections. The Art Institute of Chicago possesses Shaw's deluxe, hand-painted manuscript version of the book. Examination of the hand-made and the printed copy of Shaw's Illuminated Ornaments *opens out to discussion of the larger issues of the function of modern copies of medieval illumination in the nineteenth century and further suggests the impact of new reproductive technology on attitudes toward the medieval book.*

In 1919 the Art Institute of Chicago purchased an extraordinary work, a version of Henry Shaw's first printed book on manuscripts, *Illuminated Ornaments Selected from Manuscripts of the Middle Ages* (London, William Pickering, 1830–1833), drawn and painted entirely by hand (figs. 1 and 2). The published edition is considered a landmark in the history of color facsimiles in England, because it introduced a fashion for deluxe reproductions of illuminated manuscripts and set a high standard for their illustration and description.[1] However, the Chicago manuscript has altogether escaped notice, since it was not recorded by De Ricci in his *Census* and apparently does not appear in the sales of the extensive collection of its previous owner, the bibliophile Sir Thomas Brooke.[2] In the present essay I will outline Shaw's career as an illuminator, a career less well known than his career as an antiquarian, discuss the contribution of the printed version of *Illuminated Ornaments*, and present a summary description of the manuscript. I am most pleased to include this essay in a volume dedicated to Lilian M.C. Randall, whose broad interests as a medievalist led her long ago to explore the nineteenth century's interest in the arts, including those of the Middle Ages, for example in her foundational publication, the diary of the collector-dealer George Lucas.[3]

I. Background: Henry Shaw's career

Born in London, Henry Shaw (1800–1873) exercised a long career as an architectural draftsman, an engraver, an antiquary, and an illuminator.[4] He participated in the publication of at least nineteen works, mostly for William Pickering of the Chiswick Press between 1823 and 1866.[5] He apparently began his career in association with John Britton, for whom he supplied the drawings for the *Cathedral Antiquities of England* (London, 1813–1842). He then published his first independent work in 1823, *A Series of Details of Gothic Architecture*. Architecture, furniture, tile pavements, metalwork, stained glass, heraldry, and costume captured his attention, and he completed the preparatory drawings for publications on all these subjects. While he contributed the drawings or engraved the plates himself, he often collaborated with others who wrote the commentaries, such as Sir Samuel Rush Meyrich (e.g., on furniture), John Gough Nichols, and Thomas Moule (e.g., on architecture). In 1833 he was elected a member of the Society of Antiquaries.

Two publications on illuminated manuscripts stand out among his activities. Near the beginning of his career, in 1833, the first, *Illuminated Ornaments*, incorporates a historical commentary by Sir Frederic Madden (1801–1873), Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum (from 1837; Assistant Keeper from 1828).[6] More than thirty years later, in 1866, Shaw returned to the subject of illuminated manuscripts in the second publication, *A Handbook of the Art of Illumination as practised during the Middle Ages*. Whereas the former work focuses mainly on the ornamental and decorative features of manuscripts, the latter brings to bear Shaw's extensive experience as a copyist and contemporary illuminator. Composed of sixteen plates from the ninth to the sixteenth centuries, his *Handbook* includes "a description of the metals,
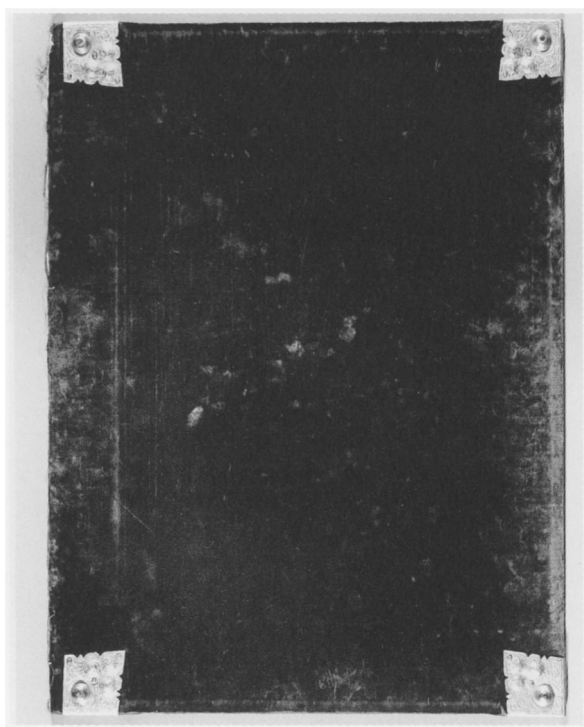
Fig. 1. Cover. Henry Shaw, *Illuminated Ornaments from Manuscripts of the Middle Ages.* Chicago, Art Institute, acc. no. 19.791.
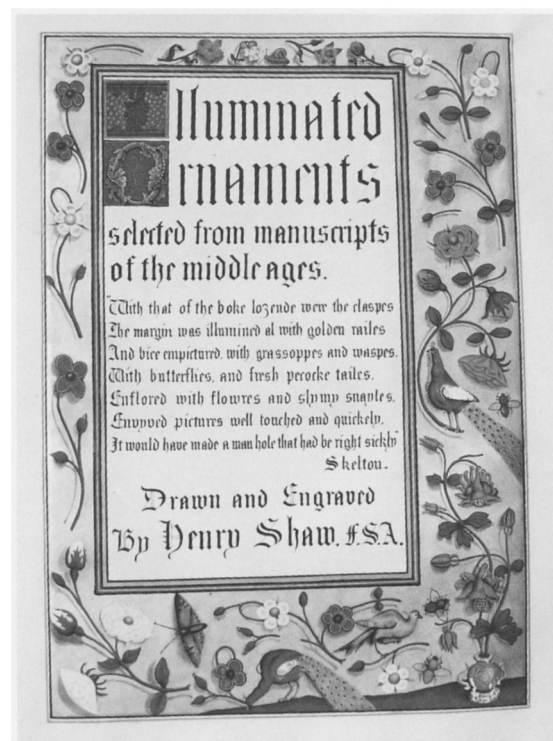

Fig. 2. Title page. Henry Shaw, *Illuminated Ornaments from Manuscripts of the Middle Ages.* Chicago, Art Institute, acc. no. 19.791.

pigments, and processes employed by the artists at different periods." For this latter work, he composed his own commentary.

As an antiquarian-illuminator, Shaw became one of the most skillful and prolific copyists of his generation. Rowan Watson has recently called attention to unpublished material concerning Shaw's activity as a copyist, noting that he was employed by John Ruskin, among others, to make copies of works in the British Museum and that he himself hired assistants to help him undertake these copies.[7] As an entrepreneur who set out to establish a market for his copies, Shaw was remarkably successful. A telling sequence of events in the 1850s and 1860s documents the interrelationship between his activities as a copyist and an engraver, the status of the market, and the needs of the newly opened South Kensington Museum.

In 1855 the South Kensington Museum had declared its intention to begin to acquire illuminations as part of its teaching mission to make artifacts available to students as models for design.[8] Acquisitions of single leaves and cuttings by the museum can be traced from that year, under the direction of the first curator, J.C. Robinson.[9]

Evidently already well aware of the South Kensington Museum's holdings in the field of manuscript illumination, Shaw wrote to the museum's librarian in 1864, urging that the museum round out its collection by the purchase of facsimiles because the range of illumination available for students was far too narrow:

> ...the specimens at present in the collection have been taken from one class of manuscripts, large choral books...examples of Italian and German art of the 15th and 16th centuries.... Would it not be advisable to supply...your deficiencies by carefully executed fac-similes of a page or two of the most choice manuscripts.... These fac-similes would have an advantage...over the originals from their freshness and completeness deteriorated from constant use, exposure or ill treatment.[10]

However, the South Kensington Museum does not seem to have responded immediately to Shaw's recommendation.

Two years later, in 1866, Shaw mounted an exhibition of eighty-nine examples of his copies (he called them "illuminated drawings") at an art gallery located at 196 Piccadilly. In the catalogue he wrote to accompany the exhibition, he again underscored the pedagogical value his copies might have, using language similar to that he had used in his 1864 letter:

> ...for the purposes of instruction, these copies may, in many cases, be considered more satisfactory than the original drawings.
>
> The best preserved volumes have almost invariably suffered, to some extent, from frequent use, while many, especially those of an early date,

show evidences of extensive deterioration, both from use and abuse.[11]

Later in the year, on 6 June 1866, Shaw's "illuminated drawings" were sold by Christie's, which used the same brochure he wrote for his exhibition as the sale catalogue (Christie's reset the title page and added a few items at the end).[12] Perhaps Shaw intended his group of illuminated leaves, accompanied by a title page, "Choice Leaves from rare Illuminated Manuscripts," to serve as a model for a third book of illuminated manuscripts that was never published.[13]

By this time, the South Kensington Museum must have taken very seriously Shaw's comments, for they purchased almost his entire collection of illuminated drawings at the 1866 sale (only thirteen items went to other buyers, who included Sotheran and Whitehead; and Whitehead's purchases later entered the Museum).[14] The fact that they paid an extraordinary sum for these items calls into question modern attitudes toward the difference between facsimiles and originals. For example, in 1866, the same year as the Shaw sale, the museum acquired a portfolio of medieval illumination including a miniature now attributed to Domenico Morone (twelve items altogether) for £15, whereas it paid £42 for three of Shaw's originals after borders attributed to Apollonius Bonfratelli.[15] In 1860 the museum had paid £12 for a large original work, an altar card attributed to Clovio.[16] Although Shaw included some examples of ornament, such as frames and decorated initials, in his set of "illuminated drawings," especially from the early centuries before about 1200, many full-page illuminations are also included (from a Turonian Bible, the Harley Gospels, the Epistre of Richard II, the Bedford Psalter, the Prayerbook of Henry VI, the *Roman de la rose*, etc.), thus distinguishing this set from his earlier efforts.

II. The published editions of *Illuminated Ornaments*

Released in sets of five illustrations at a time over a twelve-month period, three separate editions of *Illuminated Ornaments* were advertised by the publisher, William Pickering, for the printer, Charles Whittingham, of the Chiswick Press.[17] Sets of uncolored woodblock prints cost 3s 6d, colored prints 7s 6d, and Imperial Quarto copies that promised to be richer in color, opacity, and quality of the gold were 15s.[18] Nordenfalk has suggested that stencils were used for coloring all but the Imperial Quarto imprints, but

Beckwith notes that certain individualistic features of many of the copies suggest instead that they may all have been done by hand.[19] Approximately two hundred to three hundred copies of all three editions are thought to have been published. Exactly contemporaneous with the deluxe, prohibitively expensive, and physically unwieldy portfolios produced by Comte Auguste Bastard d'Estang in Paris and funded by the French state,[20] *Illuminated Ornaments* offered a compact handbook on illuminated manuscripts that the public at large could afford.

Shaw, probably closely guided by Madden, selected fifty-nine examples of ornament for *Illuminated Ornaments*, beginning with a rare fragmentary Greek Gospel book and extending to the seventeenth century with cuttings from the Barberini Choir Book. Most of the examples illustrate manuscripts in the British Museum, but at least five private collections are also represented (Ottley, Braybrooke, Douce, Pickering, and Thomas Willement). What is unusual for the time is the focus on ornament. Madden excuses this move on partially practical grounds. He explains that the high cost of hand-coloring and the difficulty in rendering faithfully the originals (citing the unsuccessful efforts by Abbé Rive) led them instead to trace the history of the "humbler branch of art," which readers might nevertheless admire (pp. 1–2). It is also worth pointing out that Madden and Shaw display a precocious interest in illuminated incunables, including examples from Fust and Schoefer of Mainz and Nicolas Jensen of Venice, which has gone unnoticed.

The complexity of the paleographic description Madden provided testifies to the high level of his scholarship. For example, he provides codicological information far in advance of his time, when he notes with some consistency whether the manuscript is fragmentary, incomplete at beginning and end. He also usually provides citations of previous publications, noting the particular purpose the manuscript serves in the earlier study. He offers much information on provenance, especially of English families, describing the arms and heraldry, and tracing previous ownership. Finally, he includes some physical descriptions, giving the size of the volume and the place of illustrations within it.

In keeping with the Vasarian paradigm, characteristic of the beginning of the nineteenth century (and most evident in the Celotti sale), Madden and Shaw preferred high Renaissance examples. The model they outline for the history of the development of illumination typifies the state of
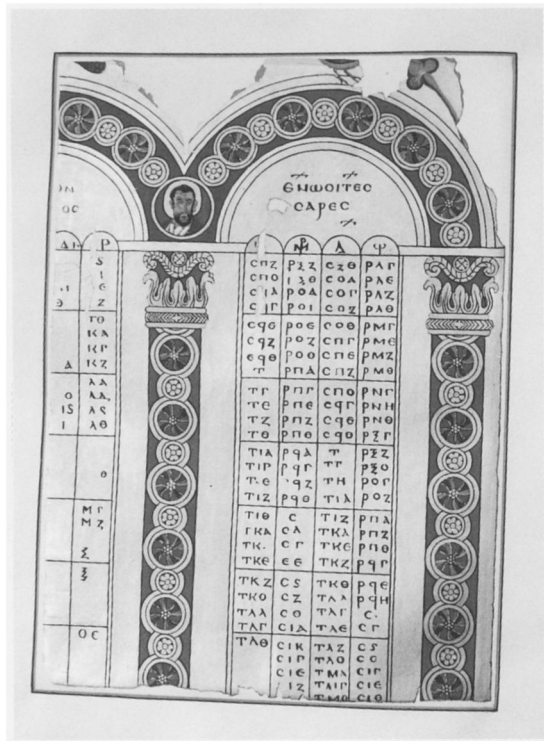
Fig. 3. Copy from a Gospel Book. Henry Shaw, *Illuminated Ornaments from Manuscripts of the Middle Ages.* Chicago, Art Institute, acc. no. 19.791, fol. 7.
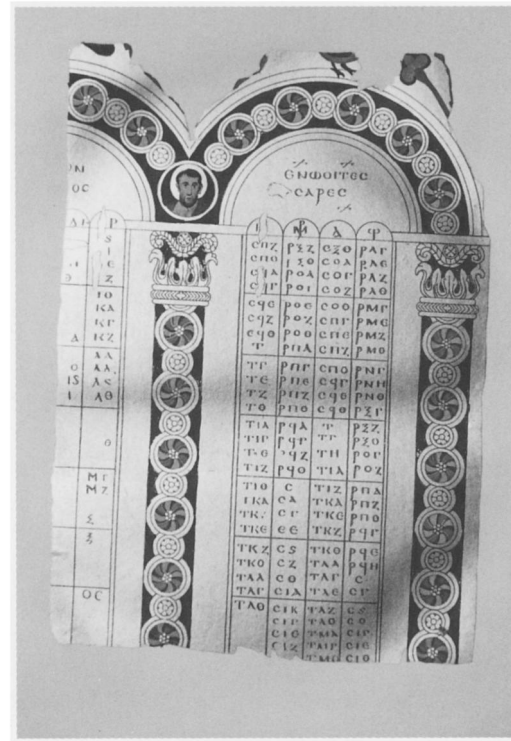

Fig. 4. Copy from a Gospel Book. Henry Shaw, *Illuminated Ornaments from Manuscripts of the Middle Ages* (London, William Pickering, 1830–1833), pl. III. Chicago, Art Institute.

manuscript studies in England in the first third of the nineteenth century. They cite the great skill of Carolingian scribes and decorators well-versed in the forms of antiquity, praise the invention of historiated initials, wonder at the intricacy of Irish and Hiberno-Saxon examples, and comment on the monumentality of twelfth-century Romanesque books. They exhibit a nationalistic streak in lamenting the absence of examples from Great Britain from the earlier discussions by d'Agincourt and Dibdin. They echo most antiquarians before John Ruskin in their depreciation of Gothic art, which was rescued by artists of the fifteenth century who "made rapid strides toward the perfection [found]...in the subsequent age" (p. 13). For Madden and Shaw, the art of illumination "received new life in Italy" through the agency of Cimabue and Giotto, who contributed to the "improvement of taste" (p. 12). But it was the six-teenth century that witnessed the final "triumph of art" under Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Giulio Romano, and Giulio Clovio, when "miniature painting attained a new degree of lustre and dignity from its being practised by artists who were also renowned for works executed on a grander scale" (p. 15).

III. Description of the Chicago manuscript

The manuscript version of *Illuminated Ornaments* is a large folio volume comprising two parchment flyleaves, plus 125 parchment leaves, of which 63 display illuminations that are seamlessly set into the larger sheets.[21] The illuminations are the same size as those in the printed version, and both printed and manuscript facsimiles are identical in scale to the originals (unless otherwise noted by Madden) and were probably traced. The manuscript is still preserved in its original binding by Hayday—in good condition despite the split spine—of thick red velvet over a thin wood backing, the upper and lower covers decorated with brass (or gilded?) Celtic-style incised corner guards. Five sets of evenly spaced split cords on the spine are purely decorative. The edges are gauffered and gilt.

Although described in a late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century hand on the front pastedown as *The Original 63 Drawings by Henry Shaw in Gold Silver and Colours from which Pickering published the work "Illuminated Ornaments of Middle Ages," 1833*, the manuscript, in fact, differs from the published work in a number of interesting ways that reflect on Shaw's interests and abilities as an illuminator and that show that the

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Fig. 5. Copy from a Latin breviary. Henry Shaw, *Illuminated Ornaments from Manuscripts of the Middle Ages* (London, William Pickering, 1830–1833), pl. XLVI. Chicago, Art Institute.
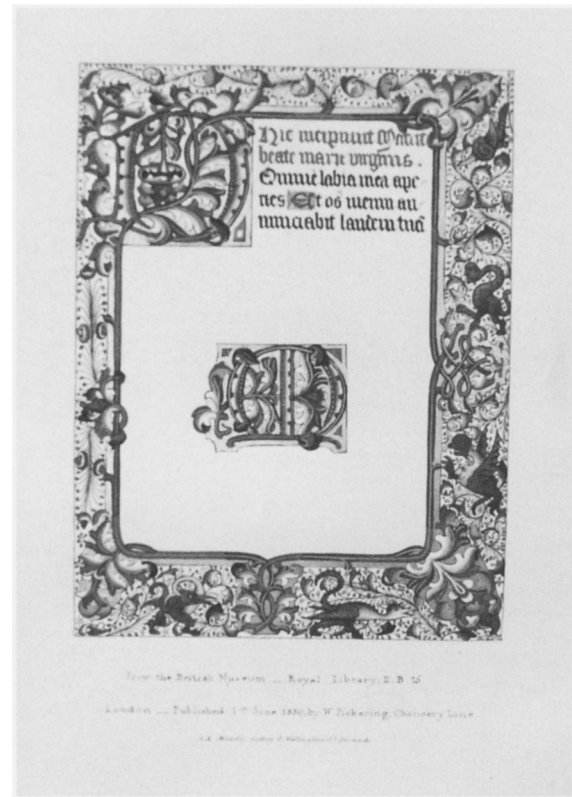

Fig. 6. Ornament based on Latin breviary. Henry Shaw, *Illuminated Ornaments from Manuscripts of the Middle Ages.* Chicago, Art Institute, acc. no. 19.791, fol. 97.

manuscript cannot be a preparatory maquette for the edition. It must instead be a lavish one-of-a-kind gift book made by Shaw for one of his friends or associates.

Differences between the printed version and the manuscript include many details that, when the manuscript is consulted, lead us, first, to appreciate Shaw's skill and interests as an illuminator and, second, to understand somewhat better the aims of the printed edition. For example, comparison between the manuscript copies of the Greek Gospel leaves and the plates in the printed edition (pls. I–IV, fols. 5–11; from London, BL, Add. MS 5111) reveals that the irregular shape of the pages was regularized in the printed copy, the imperfections (mostly holes) in the sheets were colored in with gold, and the text was "completed" (figs. 3 and 4). In short, the printed facsimiles were perfected, eliminating those signs of "extensive deterioration," in line with Shaw's comments to the librarian of the South Kensington Museum about the advantages of facsimiles over originals.

In several instances, Shaw omitted the text altogether, or included only a fragment of it, whereas the entire text was usually reproduced in the printed version (e.g., pl. XVII, fol. 37, of a Romanesque Bible, London, BL, Harley MS 2803; and pl. XLVI, fol. 97, from a Latin breviary, London, BL, Royal MS 2 B.XV; figs. 5 and 6). In this respect Shaw resembles other nineteenth-century copyists, like William Charles Wing,[22] whose skills as illuminators went beyond their abilities as calligraphers capable of accurately reproducing historic handwritings.

Shaw's attention to detail in the manuscript confirms his considerable skill as an illuminator. For example, in the fragments reproduced from two royal charters, he imitated the toolwork in the backgrounds of the miniatures (pl. XXV, fol. 53, from London, BL, Royal MS 20 D.X). In the white-vine borders of two miniatures, he carefully added vine-like sprays around the initials, omitted in the printed copy (pl. XXXV, fol. 73, from London, BL, Harley MSS 3109 and 4902).

Unlike Bastard d'Estang and to a much greater extent than John Obadiah Westwood,[23] Shaw was evidently attracted to the aesthetic of the collage, of which important examples put together from high Renaissance cuttings had been sold in the Celotti sale

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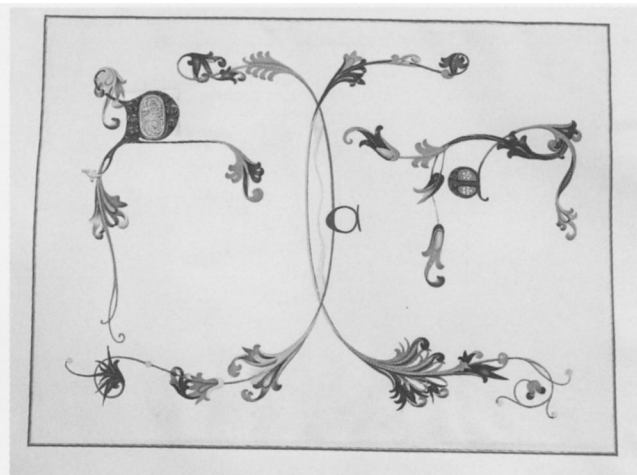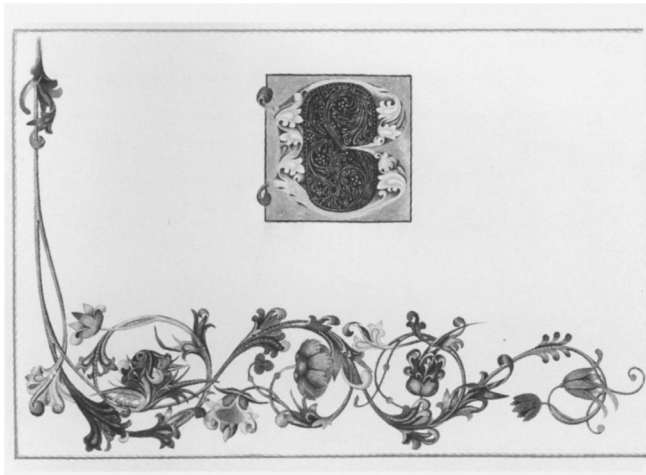
Figs. 7 and 8. Ornaments based on a 1465 edition of Gratian's *Decretals*. Henry Shaw, *Illuminated Ornaments from Manuscripts of the Middle Ages*. Chicago, Art Institute, acc. no. 19.791, fols. 77 and 79.
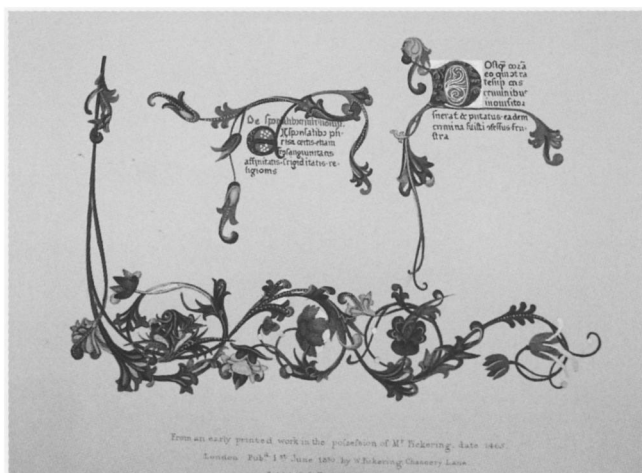

Fig. 9. Copy from a 1465 edition of Gratian's *Decretals*. Henry Shaw, *Illuminated Ornaments from Manuscripts of the Middle Ages* (London, William Pickering, 1830–1833), pl. XXXVII. Chicago, Art Institute.

only a few years before *Illuminated Ornaments* was published.[24] In eliminating the text in the copy of the Breviary discussed above, for example, Shaw composed a sort of collage in which an artfully arranged pattern of borders and initials occupies the text block. Ornament from an illuminated copy of Gratian's *Decretals* published by Fust and Schoefer forms a similar overall decorative pattern, executed to scale over two pages in the manuscript and reduced and combined on one page in the printed version (pl. XXXVII, fols. 77, 79, from the 1465 copy then in the collection of Pickering; figs. 7, 8, and 9). Madden attentively specifies in his accompanying notice (no. XXIII) that the scale has been changed: "In the original, the scroll and letters here copied are of a size a third larger."

The aesthetic of the collage, which fabricates a new, independent work of art out of discrete miniatures and bits of ornament, manifests a radically different attitude than we now have toward the historical integrity of the original. It is tempting to understand the manipulation of an object or objects that the collage achieves as a procedure fostered by new technologies. In chromolithography the object was dissected for printing from multiple stones or plates inked with different colors, then reassembled when printed on the surface of the page. Even facsimile printing itself opened up the possibilities of rearrangement and adjustment. Whatever the underlying reasons, the popularity of the collage persisted through the nineteenth century.

Two illuminated sheets not included in the printed version appear at the end of the manuscript volume (figs. 10 and 11). One is apparently a colored engraving probably of German origin and the other a page of initials quite like those from the Choir Book of Louis XII and Anne of Brittany (fols. 123 and 125).[25] Perhaps it was thought that the former was unnecessary in a book on ornament and the latter superfluous when other pages also grouped together sets of initials (e.g., pls. XXVII, XXVIII, XXXIX, and XL; fols. 57, 59, 83, and 85).

One other tantalizingly enigmatic aspect of the Chicago manuscript remains the moment of its acquisition by the Art Institute of Chicago. Purchased with funds from the Ida Noyes Bequest, Shaw's manuscript entered the museum at exactly the same time as a group of other neo-Gothic works in various media. Also in 1919, the museum acquired William Morris's so-called Pomona Tapestry; its accession

Fig. 10. Copy from a colored engraving. Henry Shaw, *Illuminated Ornaments from Manuscripts of the Middle Ages*. Chicago, Art Institute, acc. no. 19.791, fol. 123.
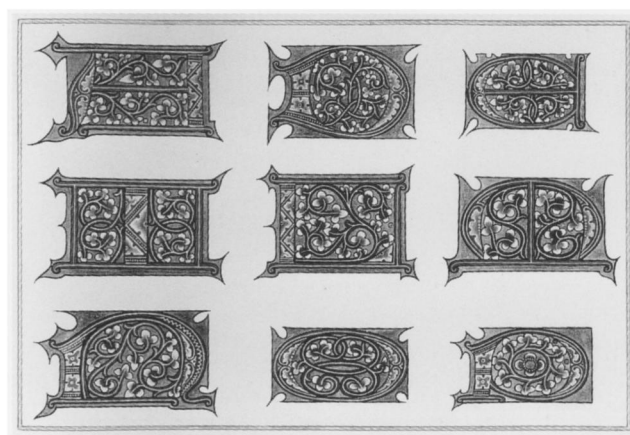

Fig. 11. Initials. Henry Shaw, *Illuminated Ornaments from Manuscripts of the Middle Ages*. Chicago, Art Institute, acc. no. 19.791, fol. 125.

number (1919.792) indicates that it was the very next purchase after Shaw's manuscript. One year later the institute acquired an important album of Rowlandson's drawings for the *Microcosm of London* (London, R. Ackermann [1808 and 1810]); one of the albums bears Augustus Welby Pugin's bookplate (Deering Coll. 40.1059/1-2-3). And in the same year, it acquired an important sketchbook of studies by Sir Edward Burne-Jones for *The Mirror of Venus* and other works (acc. nos. 1920.1133–1171).

Further unravelling of the turn-of-the-century interest in medieval and neo-Gothic works in Chicago will provide a better historical context for the appreciation of Shaw and his contemporaries in the United States and a fuller understanding of what medievalism meant at the American frontier. In the meantime, however, Shaw emerges as one of the most accomplished illuminators of his day, who can be better appreciated through his sixty-three "illuminated drawings" in the Chicago manuscript (the discovery of which expands his oeuvre by more than fifty percent). His long career, including his fruitful collaboration with Sir Frederic Madden, helped to enhance significantly the scholarly appreciation of manuscript illumination in the nineteenth century.

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Notes

1. C. Nordenfalk, *Color of the Middle Ages: A Survey of Book Illumination based on Color Facsimiles of Medieval Manuscripts*, exh. cat., Pittsburgh, University Art Gallery (Pittsburgh, 1976) 20–22; the best study of Shaw and his contemporaries remains A.N.L. Munby, *Connoisseurs and Medieval Miniatures, 1750–1850* (Oxford, 1972), esp. 140–41.

2. On Brooke as a collector, see M.B. Parkes, *The Medieval Manuscripts of Keble College, Oxford* (London, 1979), xii–xiii; Seymour de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts 1530–1930* (Cambridge, 1930); and Sir Thomas Brooke (Bart), *A Catalogue of Manuscripts and Printed Books collected by Thomas Brooke and Preserved at Armitage Bridge House, near Huddersfield*, 2 vols. (privately printed, London, 1891).

3. *The Diary of George A. Lucas: An American Art Agent in Paris, 1857–1909*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1979).

4. On Shaw, see S. Redgrave, *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School* (Amsterdam, 1970), 390; *Dictionary of National Biography*, XVII (1885–1900, reprint, London, 1963), 1374–75; W.T. Lowndes, *The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature* (London, 1875), revised ed. by Henry G. Bohn, III, 2371–72; his obituary in *The Art Journal*, 35 (1873), 231; and R. McLean, "Henry Shaw's coloured books and Chiswick Press colour printing," in *Victorian Book Design and Colour Printing*, 2nd. ed. (London, 1972), 65–71.

5. On the Chiswick Press, G. Wakeman and G.D.R. Bridson, *A Guide to Nineteenth-Century Colour Printers* (Loughborogh, Leicestershire, 1975), 22; and G. Keynes, *William Pickering, Publisher* (London, 1924), 29, 32, 77.

6. On Madden, see especially R.W. and G.P. Akerman, *Sir Frederic Madden: A Biographical Sketch and Bibliography* (New York and London, 1979).

7. R. Watson, *Vandals and Enthusiasts: Views of Illumination in the Nineteenth Century*, exh. materials, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, (n.p., 1995), 10–13. I am grateful to Rowan Watson for his assistance with the present study.

8. Watson, *Vandals*, 32.

9. Ibid., 32–33.

10. Henry Shaw to J.H. Pollen, 22 December 1864, quoted by Watson, 1995, *Vandals*, 34.

11. Henry Shaw, *A Catalogue of Illuminated Drawings* (London, 1866). (See the annotated copy in the National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum.)

12. *A Catalogue of Illuminated Drawings by Henry Shaw, F.S.A., Author of "Illuminated Ornaments..."*, London, Christie, Manson and Woods, 6 June 1866. (See the copy annotated with prices realized and buyers located in the National Art Library, the Victoria and Albert Museum.)

13. This is the suggestion of McLean, *Victorian Book Design*, 68 and 70.

14. See London, Christie's, 6 June 1866. (See the annotated copy in the National Art Library of the Victoria and Albert Museum, which notes the correspondence between the lots and the museum accession numbers.)

15. See Watson, *Vandals*, 36; acc. nos. 4916, 4917, 4918.1–9, and 4924 (the Boone Portfolio) and London, Christie's, 6 June 1866, lot 76–78; now acc. nos. 5924–26.

16. Watson, *Vandals*, 32; acc. no. 2958.

17. See Wakeman and Bridson, *A Guide to Colour Printers* (1975); Keynes, *William Pickering, Publisher*; the clearest account of the editions is Nordenfalk, *Color of the Middle Ages*, 20–21.

18. These are the prices given by McLean, *Victorian Book Design*, 65, subsequently quoted by Nordenfalk and Beckwith; they differ from those given in 1875 by Lowndes-Bohn in *The Bibliographer's Manual*, 2371.

19. Nordenfalk, *Color of the Middle Ages*, 20–21; A.H.R.H. Beckwith, *Victorian Bibliomania: The Illuminated Book in 19th-Century Britain*, exh. cat., Providence, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design (Providence, 1987), 30.

20. See the forthcoming article by J. Bouquillard, "Les Peintures et Ornements des Manuscrits du Comte de Bastard. Histoire d'une entreprise de reproductions lithographiques d'enluminures sous la Monarchie de Juillet," in *Bulletin de Bibliophile* and J. Bouquillard, "Le comte Auguste de Bastard (1792–1883), archéologue et imprimeur lithographe," thesis, Paris, École des Chartes, 1995. I thank André Jammes for calling these works to my attention.

21. I thank Sam Carini, Department of Prints and Drawings, Art Institute of Chicago, for his help with my study of the Shaw manuscript.

22. See J. Backhouse, "A Victorian Connoisseur and his Manuscripts: the Tale of Mr. Jarman and Mr. Wing," *British Library Quarterly*, 32 (1968), 76–92.

23. On Westwood, see Nordenfalk, *Color of the Middle Ages*, 22; Beckwith, *Victorian Bibliomania*, nos. 5, 15, 16, 17, 20, 47, and 49; and Munby, *Connoisseurs*, 143–45.

24. London, Christie's, 26 May 1825, *A Catalogue of a Highly Valuable and Extremely Curious collection of Illumined Miniature Paintings...Abate Celotti*, esp. lots 86 and 87; see S. Hindman and M. Heinlen, "A Connoisseur's Montage: The *Four Evangelists* Attributed to Giulio Clovio," *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies*, 17/2 (1991), 154–78, for a study of two such collages. See also the article by Roger Wieck in this volume.

25 See S. de Ricci with W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, I (New York, 1935), 1068 for a partial list of fragments.

PHOTOGRAPHS: Art Institute of Chicago.

Folia Fugitiva: The Pursuit of the Illuminated Manuscript Leaf

Roger S. Wieck

The creating and collecting of single leaves from medieval and Renaissance illuminated manuscripts are activities that art historians approach with some ambivalence. This attitude, however, denies the history of this phenomenon, especially the social and art-historical contexts in which it occurred. This paper aims to shed light upon these enterprises as activities within the Gothic Revival, to put forth a theory behind the Victorian mania for manuscript destruction, and to survey the phenomenon's aftermath in twentieth-century America.

When helping to prepare the exhibition, and its accompanying catalogue, of the Breslauer collection of single leaves for the Pierpont Morgan Library, an apprehension persistently nagged me. How could the Morgan Library present an exhibition of such material without seeming to encourage the breaking apart of manuscripts? Quite frankly, I was also concerned about receiving bad press, from reviewers as well as colleagues. To address these concerns I wrote a short history on the collecting of single leaves that forms my contribution to the catalogue's introduction.[1] This article is a continuation and refinement of my research on the phenomenon of the creating and collecting of the illuminated single leaf.[2]

The late Middle Ages and Renaissance

In one, perhaps narrow, way the collecting of single illuminated manuscript leaves can be traced back at least to the fifteenth century. It was common practice for Flemish illuminators at that time to execute miniatures on single leaves for insertion into books of hours. Painted on the versos with no text on the rectos, these single leaves were a clever marketing technique. They could be inserted into a book of hours, augmenting the text without disturbing it. The system allowed patrons, encouraged them really, to include as many pictures as they could afford. The production of such single miniatures was voluminous, judging from the numbers found in the manuscripts themselves and from the fact that their production caused friction between rival centers of production. For example, in a dispute in 1426 between the Bruges guild of painters and that of book makers, the painters complained that images made in Utrecht and elsewhere were sold both in books and by themselves, a practice that was putting them out of work. In 1463 Ghent decreed that single miniatures could not be brought into the city except during fairs.[3]

While most of these single pictures seem to have been produced to be interleaved into books of hours, some also made their way onto people's walls, as devotional images and aids for meditation and prayer. They can be spotted, attached to the walls of chapels or middle-class houses, in some fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century paintings and miniatures. Carefully tacked to the wall behind the sitter in Petrus Christus's *Portrait of a Young Man* in London's National Gallery is a single leaf with a miniature of Christ's face and a prayer that has been so meticulously painted it can easily be read.[4] The words belong to the "Salve sancta facies" (Hail, holy face), a prayer to the face of Christ imprinted miraculously onto Veronica's veil. Especially popular in late medieval Flanders, the prayer was always accompanied by a picture because indulgences could be gained by reciting it, but only while looking at an image of Christ's face. Another single leaf with a miniature of Veronica's veil appears in a *trompe-l'oeil* border, amidst a collection of strewn pilgrimage badges and other religious metal tokens, in the great late Flemish book of hours in Naples called (after the many flowers in its borders) La Flora (fig. 1).[5] In the La Flora Hours, each of the rooms in which the evangelists John, Luke, and Matthew work has a single text leaf framed and hanging on the wall.[6] Text leaves attached to boards, most probably contain-

Fig. 1. Mocking of Christ, with *trompe-l'oeil* border. Naples, Bibl. Nazionale, ms. I.B.51, fol. 38. [From R. De Maio, *Il Codice Flora* (Naples, 1992), 131.]

ing prayers, are often depicted hanging in chapels.[7]

Albrecht Dürer documented his purchase of a single illuminated leaf while traveling in the Netherlands. He recorded in his diary entry of 21 May 1521 that he bought a miniature of Christ as Savior from the illuminator Susanna Horenbout, daughter of the artist Gerard Horenbout, adding, "It is a miracle that a woman should do so well."[8]

Another documented, though unusual, instance of early single-leaf collecting involves a theft. Bona of Savoy, widow of Duke Galeazzo Maria Sforza of Milan, commissioned a book of hours about 1490 from the artist Giovanni Pietro Birago. While part of the manuscript was finished and delivered to its patron, a major section was stolen from Birago by a certain Fra Gian Jacopo. Although the artist sought compensation and the thief was imprisoned, the purloined leaves were never returned. To date, three of the pilfered leaves from Bona's hours have come to light. Bona's book was the object of a theft because it contained valuable pictures. The secular, aristocratic subject matter of the twelve calendar illustrations would have

been especially attractive to a Renaissance audience. These full-page pictures, when framed, could take on the appearance of small panel paintings or, when glazed, of painted enamels.[9]

There also exist a small but interesting number of early sixteenth-century Flemish paintings on vellum glued to wood that were probably produced as single leaves to be mounted in this manner and that were never intended to be inserted into books. Such seems to be the case with a Penitent Saint Jerome in a Landscape and an Adoration of the Magi, both attributed to Simon Bening and both in the Louvre. There are mentions of such pieces in contemporaneous inventories, where they are described as *illuminé* or *de illuminure* on wood.[10] A striking Rest on the Flight into Egypt in the Breslauer collection, interestingly enough again attributed to Bening, is, like the two works in the Louvre, also glued to wood. It is quite possibly one of those early single leaves created as a devotional image and never meant to be part of a codex.[11]

Early collecting

The real beginning of the history of the collecting of single leaves, however, begins in the late eighteenth century, and I will turn to that precise moment shortly. Before then, however, there were people interested in illumination, and sometimes that interest took the form of the single leaf. We know, for example, that the Hours of Etienne Chevalier, illuminated by Jean Fouquet, was dismembered in the early eighteenth century.[12] Leaves from this famous manuscript were sometimes glued to wood or given decorative mats. Textual incipits occurring at the bottom of the pages were left alone, but those words that formed the body of the text—and thus got in the way of the surrounding picture—underwent further alteration. These incipits were covered over by fifteenth-century motifs snipped from decorative borders or by eighteenth-century religious or secular vignettes.[13] Probably in the eighteenth century, too, the Walters Art Gallery's great Conradin Bible was victimized, losing a group of its illuminations in unknown circumstances; fortunately, a number of these were later acquired by the Gallery in 1953 and 1981 (fig. 2).[14] Even earlier, some time before 1700, the Hours of Louis XII by Jean Bourdichon, of which four leaves are in the Breslauer collection, was also broken up.[15] Some time in the seventeenth century, too, a fifteenth-century Parisian book of hours that was recently sold at Sotheby's was reillustrated with a collection of eleven sixteenth-

Fig. 2. Elisha Receiving Elijah's Mantle. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.152b.

Fig. 3. Saint Christopher Receiving Instruction, as formerly mounted in an album. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.360A, fol. 83.

century cuttings from choir books. This was apparently done to "gothicize" a manuscript fragment that had, even earlier, lost its original miniatures.[16] The circumstances surrounding these early dismemberments, however, remain shadowy to us, and it is difficult to learn more from them.

We have a bit more information concerning the breaking up of a manuscript, part of which is today in the Morgan Library. A Hungarian fourteenth-century *legendarium*, a picture book of the lives of Christ and the saints, the manuscript was originally

commissioned by Robert Charles of Anjou, King of Hungary.[17] The book became the possession of Giovanni Battista Saluzzo (1579–1642), the Genoese ambassador to France, who also served King Sigismund III of Poland. It might have been Sigismund who gave the manuscript to Saluzzo. In any case, Saluzzo took twenty-six leaves from the *legendarium*, cut up the quadripartite miniatures, and assembled them into an album as a gift to a relative of his, Angelo Saluzzo. The album's title page reads (in Italian), "The lives of Jesus Christ and of other saints expressed in descriptive pictures, and with their own titles. Iohannes Baptista Salutius to Angelo Salutius. Rome, 9 March, the year of Our Lord, 1630." Giovanni had each of the miniatures outfitted into a paper passepartout with a Latin inscription below and an Italian one above (fig. 3).[18]

Grangerization

The insertion of miniatures into an album calls to mind the related practice of *grangerization*. Named for the activity popularized by James Granger in 1769, grangeritis is the custom of adding extra illustrations to a book, usually those cut from other books. These ancillary pictures were often engravings or title pages, but illuminations also appear. William Blades, in his *Enemies of Books*, first published in London in 1880, discusses in nine chapters such bibliographic adversaries as fire, water, gas and heat, dust and neglect, ignorance, bookworms and other vermin, binders, and collectors. Speaking of the last in his final chapter, Blades writes, "After all, two-legged depredators, who ought to know better, have, perhaps, done as much real damage in libraries as any other enemy. I do not refer to thieves, who, if they injure the owners, do no harm to the books themselves by merely transferring them from one set of bookshelves to another." Blades, for example, deplores the practices of John Bagford, a founder of the Antiquarian Society, who in the early eighteenth century went about England, from library to library, tearing away title pages from rare books for the purpose of illustrating a history of printing that he contemplated writing, although he got no further than the pictures. These torn pages he assembled into over a hundred folio volumes, today in the British Library. Holbrook Jackson estimated that Bagford mutilated some 25,000 volumes. Writing about Bagford, Jackson noted how odd is the purpose that destroys its subject in order to make its history.[19] Jackson, quoting Andrew Lang, divides grangerizers

Fig. 4. William de Brailes, Scenes from the Infancy of Christ. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.913.

Fig. 5. Sacrifice of Isaac and other vignettes. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.914.

into three categories: the antiquarian ghoul who steals title pages and colophons, the aesthetic ghoul who cuts out illumination, and the petty, trivial, or idiotic ghoul who sponges fly-leaves and covers in order to crib their book-plates.

Another first-rank grangerizer was Alexander Hendraw Sutherland, who extended six volumes of English history into sixty-one volumes by inlaying 19,224 illustrations. Sutherland began the task in 1795 and, unfinished at his death in 1820, the cutting and pasting was continued by his widow, who presented the collection to the Bodleian Library in 1837. The monstrosity contains no fewer than 743 portraits of Charles I alone! Among the more recent practitioners was John M. Wing, who in 1913 began to place on deposit his library of grangerized volumes at Chicago's Newberry Library. Legend has it that he had offered his collection to the University of Chicago, with funds to endow a chair in extra-illustration, but the university declined the gift. The trustees of the Newberry were more understanding and Wing was given an office. During this time, however, he was persuaded to change his mind about endowing a chair—the convincing argument was that no one else could continue his work in his own inimitable way.

In his *Enemies of Books*, Blades tells us of early nineteenth-century choir boys at Lincoln Cathedral who would put on their robes in the library. To amuse

themselves while waiting to enter choir, these proto-grangerites would use their pen knives to excise illuminated initials, which they would then take into choir and pass around.[20] It is perhaps no slight irony that Blades himself was grangerized. Three copies of his *Enemies* at the Philadelphia Free Library are extra-illustrated with manuscript leaves singed by fire, foxed by damp, and gnawed by rats, all inserted at the appropriate places in Blades's text.[21]

Perhaps more appropriately, nineteenth-century books on illumination were subject to grangerization. The Morgan Library owns two cuttings that owe their survival—if one chooses to see it thus—to the practice. The first volume of Thomas F. Dibdin's *Bibliographical Decameron* contains a long discourse on illumination that runs over two hundred pages.[22] Inserted within the pages of a copy of a first edition (1817) was a single leaf from the prefatory cycle of an English psalter by the important thirteenth-century illuminator, William de Brailes (fig. 4). The manuscript from which this leaf comes was the first to bear De Brailes's signature.[23] The same extra-illustrated Dibdin housed a second illumination, a fragment from a thirteenth-century English missal, now also at the Morgan Library (fig. 5).[24] A copy of Sir Frederic Madden and Henry Shaw's *Illuminated Ornaments Selected from Manuscripts and Early Printed Books* (London, 1833), recently sold as part of the Alan Thomas *Nachlass*, had
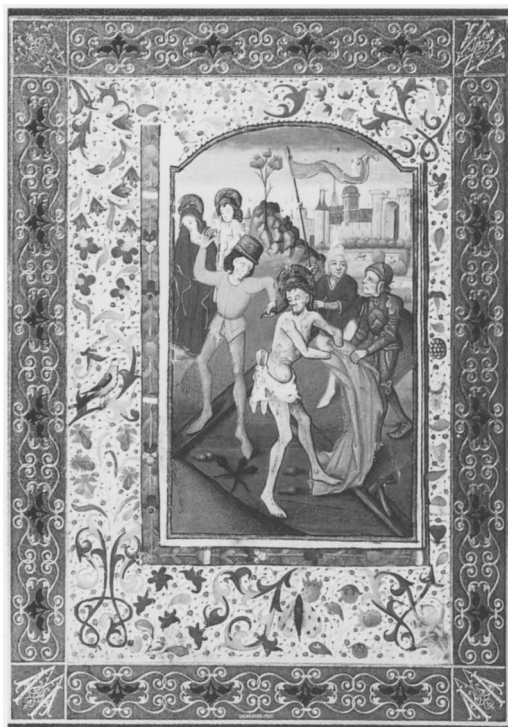
Fig. 6. Disrobing of Christ. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.781b.

Fig. 7. The Earthquake. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.828v.

been extra-illustrated with 120 manuscript fragments.[25]

Miniatures incorporated into two deluxe reference books at the Walters Art Gallery can also be viewed within the context of grangerization. In 1899 George A. Lucas, Henry Walters's agent, bought two pairs of French miniatures specifically for use in decorative bindings. The following year the binder Charles Meunier affixed the two early fifteenth-century minia-tures, the Virgin at the Loom and the Pentecost, to the inside covers of O.A. Bierstadt's *Library of Robert Hoe* (New York, 1895) and the two later fifteenth-century miniatures, Christ before Caiaphas and the Disrobing of Christ (fig. 6), inside the covers of the Grolier Club's *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Illuminated and Painted Manuscripts* (New York, 1892). Lucas paid 320 French francs for the miniatures and an additional 750 francs for the bindings of the two volumes, relatively high costs when, as Lilian Randall has observed, the price for a decent hotel room in Paris was five to ten francs.[26]

The French Revolution

Leaving aside the odd early collector and the practice of grangerization, the true beginning of the pursuit of *folia fugitiva* can be pinpointed to the time of the French Revolution, the ramifications of which were as great for the appreciation of medieval art as they were for politics. In the ensuing dissolution of monasteries, manuscripts that did not find their way to the local municipal library began to flood the book market; medieval manuscripts were often sold by weight.

The dealer Peter Birmann (1758–1844) special-ized in medieval miniatures and, beginning in 1795, assembled some 475 of them into an album that he sold to Daniel Burckhardt-Wildt (1759–1819), a minor artist and manufacturer of silk ribbon in Basel. As revealed by the contents of his album, Burckhardt-Wildt had amazingly catholic taste for a time in which much illumination was considered the product of crude and unlettered artists.[27] At the heart of Burckhardt-Wildt's album was a series of thirty-seven cuttings containing nearly eighty miniatures from a rare thirteenth-century Apocalypse.[28] The Morgan Library owns four of these miniatures.[29] In 1993 the Walters Art Gallery was able to acquire a cutting from the Apocalypse, filling in what had been a gap in the manuscript collection for this genre of book (fig. 7).[30] Burckhardt-Wildt's album remained the property of his descendants until 1983, when its contents were removed and sold piece by piece in an auction whose appropriate code word was "scissors." The high prices achieved at this sale, by the Apocalypse miniatures in particular, are a part of the twentieth-century history of *folia fugitiva*.[31]

Birmann was not the only dealer to take advan-tage of troubled times. Indeed, it is a certain Luigi Celotti (ca. 1768–ca. 1846) who can be called the

Fig. 8. George Cruikshank, "Seizing the Italian Relics," hand colored print from W. Combe, *The Life of Napoleon, a Hudibrastic Poem in Fifteen Cantos, by Doctor Syntax, embellished with Thirty Engravings by G. Cruikshank* (London, 1815).

father of the single leaf. In February of 1798, Napoleon's troops took Rome and looted the Sistine Chapel, carrying off a large number of liturgical service books—missals, graduals, antiphonaries (fig. 8).[32] Celotti, an abbot turned art dealer, acquired from these soldiers a large number of manuscripts. These he dismembered and profitably sold as fragments at a landmark sale, at Christie's in London on 26 May 1825, the first ever devoted entirely to single leaves.[33] One of the reasons Celotti cut the pictures and ornament out of the codices was economic, to avoid the British import tariffs on bound volumes. But another reason was aesthetic, as revealed by the fact that Celotti sometimes arranged bits and pieces from the manuscripts into clever montages; this made the fragments look more like whole pictures, while also concealing their bookish origins. The largest series Celotti assembled was a set of nineteen montages (lots 57–75) from the decorative elements from a missal made for Pope Clement VII. To date, about nine of these collages have surfaced, of which the Victoria and Albert's Saints Cosmas and Damian is typical (fig. 9).[34] The leaf is actually a composite of five separate pieces: two side borders, a top and bottom piece, and a miniature in the center. All of the nineteen montages were framed (as were a number of lots in the sale), but only the Saints Cosmas and Damian and a second montage also in the Victoria and Albert retain their original frames. As can be seen, Celotti added more manuscript cuttings behind glass inserts.

William Young Ottley (1771–1836), art historian, collector of single leaves, and later first keeper of the Department of Prints at the British Museum, was hired by Celotti to catalogue the sale's ninety-seven lots. "These specimens are," Ottley writes in the cata-

Fig. 9. Vincent Raymond, Saints Cosmas and Damian, arranged and framed by Luigi Celotti. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, E.4577-1910.
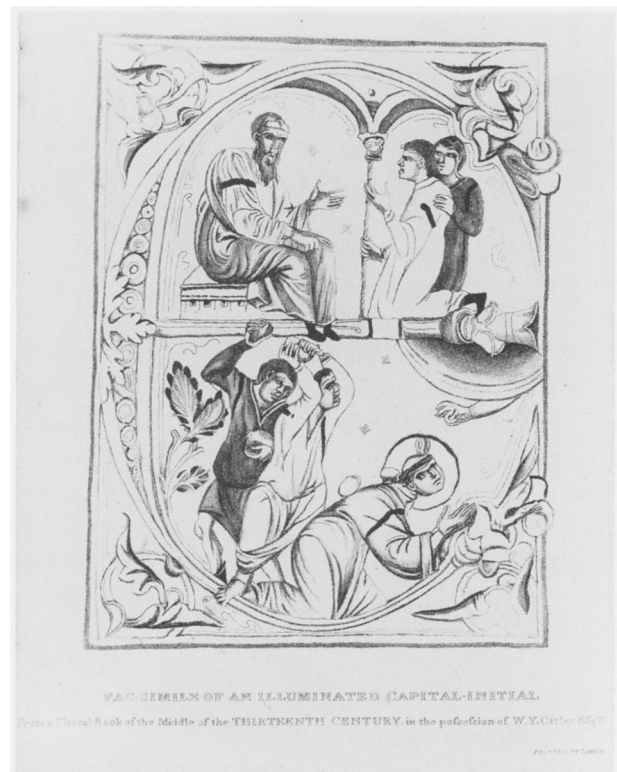

Fig. 10. Lapidation of Saint Stephen, reproduction of a manuscript illumination from T.F. Dibdin, *Bibliographical Decameron* (London, 1817).
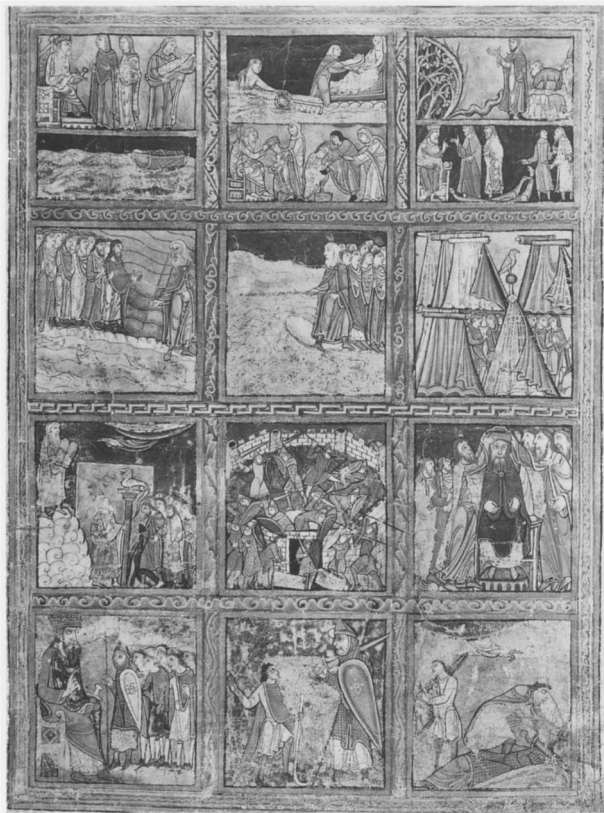
Fig. 11. Old Testament Scenes. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.724.

Fig. 12. Attributed to Giulio Clovio, Four Evangelists. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.270.

logue's introduction, "in many cases, found in a more perfect state of preservation than the frescoes and other large works of painting remaining to us of the same periods." Ottley romantically calls the fragments "monuments of a lost Art." His own curiosity about medieval art was wide-ranging enough for him to think of studying illumination for depictions of costumes that might be useful in dating blockbooks. If Celotti is the Father of single leaf collecting, Ottley is its Holy Ghost. He was busy acquiring cuttings years before the Celotti sale and, one might suspect, perhaps encouraged the Italian abbot's endeavor into the English market. Ottley's collection is mentioned, for example, and selections of it reproduced by Dibdin in his *Bibliographical Decameron* (fig. 10). Speaking of choir books, Dibdin writes, "My friend Mr. Ottley absolutely revels in the possession of the most splendid ancient fragments of books of this description, obtained by him, in Italy, from monasteries or private individuals." Dibdin waxes poetic, "Choral, or Church-Service Books are the very seed-plot, or nursery ground, of such whimsical decorations. In these books, Giotto, Cimabue, and a hundred other graphic constellations of various degrees of magnitude and lustre, diffused their grateful light." Dibdin

further observed, "There is no doubt that the Popes and Cardinals of the time procured the most distinguished artists to decorate their Missals or Books of Church Servitude."[35] Ottley organized the Celotti cuttings for the 1825 sale by papal provenance so, for example, potential purchasers could choose a cutting from a manuscript that once belonged to Innocent VIII, Leo X, Clement VII (both as cardinal and pope), Pauls III and IV, Piuses IV and V, Gregory XIII, Urban VIII, Alexander VII, and Innocent XI.[36] Ottley himself bought heavily at the Celotti sale, and his own leaves and cuttings were sold in 244 lots in 1838, a sale that further served to heighten interest in the collecting of single leaves.[37] Ottley's mature scholarly interest is evident in his sale, for many of his observations were incorporated into descriptions that are of a much more art-historical nature than those he had provided for Celotti thirteen years prior. For example, Ottley owned four leaves from the Eadwine Psalter illustrating, in numerous small compartments, scenes from the Old Testament (fig. 11). He correctly localized the folios to England and recognized their early style—he seems to have thought they dated prior to the Norman Conquest in 1066 (the leaves are now dated to about a hundred years later). Appreciation of
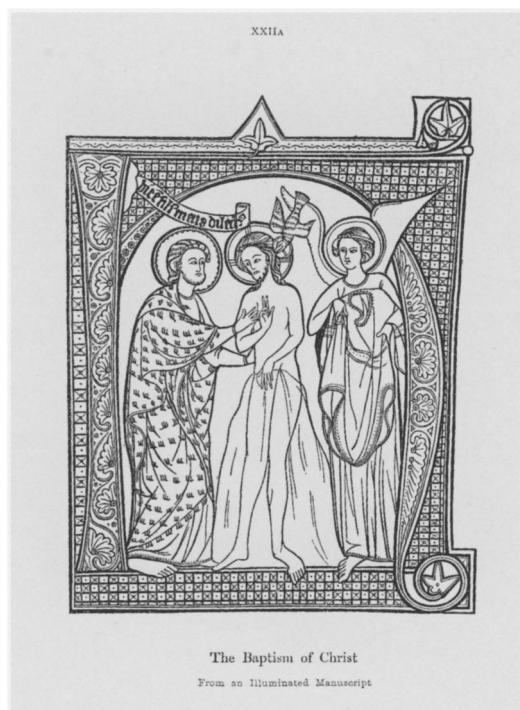
Fig. 13. Baptism of Christ, reproduction of a manuscript illumination from J. Ruskin, *Giotto and his Works in Padua* (London, 1906).

Fig. 14. Baptism of Christ. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.761, fol. 29v (detail).

Romanesque illumination was not a given in the early years of the nineteenth century, but the fact that these leaves were thought to be English probably helped make them desirable.[38] Ottley also owned two montages, which he bought at the Celotti sale, that he attributed to Giulio Clovio; one of these is now in the Morgan Library (fig. 12). Later scholars considered Ottley's attribution optimistic, but more recently Sandra Hindman has championed his original opinion.[39]

The cutting up of manuscripts, so prevalent at this time and of which Ottley was a prime culprit, was not, however, universally appreciated. Dr. Gustav Friedrich Waagen (1794–1868), director of the Royal Gallery in Berlin and author of *Works of Art and Artists in England* (London, 1838) and *Treasures of Art in Great Britain* (London, 1854), both in three volumes, wrote the following after having leafed through Ottley's portfolios containing some one thousand miniatures: "By being thus detached from the documents to which they originally belonged, they are unfortunately deprived of the principal means of ascertaining the place and time of their origin."[40] Any art historian who has ever worked with single leaves knows exactly whereof he speaks.

Another early collector of single leaves was James Dennistoun of Dennistoun (1803–1855). This Scottish antiquary went abroad in 1825 and 1826 and, begin-

ning in 1836, stayed in Italy for twelve years collecting material—including single leaves—for a projected study on the history of medieval Italian art. Typical of the nineteenth-century man of means turning to the relatively virgin field of art history, Dennistoun amassed examples of the very art he was studying. Although his study on Italian medieval art was never completed, Dennistoun did publish the three-volume *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, Illustrating the Arms, Arts & Literature of Italy, 1440–1630* in 1851. While most of his collection was sold at auction after his death in 1855, Dennistoun's album of miniatures passed to his granddaughter, who sold it to Kenneth Clark in 1930. For the Clark sale in 1984, the album was broken up, and the miniatures sold.[41]

Ruskin and the Gothic Revival

Throughout the course of the nineteenth century the appreciation and creation of single leaves grew and increased as an integral part of the Gothic Revival. "Set some papers in order and cut some leaves from large missal; took me till 12 o'clock," wrote John Ruskin (1819–1900) in a diary entry of 30 December 1853. Two days later, on 1 January, his entry reads, "Put two pages of missal in frame," and on 3 January, "Cut missal up in evening—hard work."[42] Ruskin,

Fig. 15. Scenes from the life of Christ, etc., montage of manuscript illuminations. Isle of Wight, Bembridge School.

author, critic, social theorist, and the first professor of art in England, was himself the owner of nearly one hundred medieval manuscripts, a large number of which he cut up.[43] Even the manuscript Ruskin regarded as his greatest treasure, the thirteenth-century Saint Louis Psalter, did not escape the knife; a visitor to his rooms at Oxford in the 1850s found the book in pieces. In 1861 Ruskin sent three leaves to his American friend Charles Eliot Norton.[44] Ruskin also cut out parts from another of his treasures, the Walters Art Gallery's beautiful multi-volume antiphonary originally made for the Convent of Beaupré in Flanders. Leaves or historiated initials from the set can now be found in the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, and the Bibliothèque royale in Brussels.[45] It is clear that Ruskin admired the Beaupré Antiphonary: engravings of it are to be found in his *Address on Decorative Colour, Modern Painters, Pleasures of England,* and *Giotto and his Works in Padua* (figs. 13 and 14).[46]

Ruskin's attitude toward his books—both manuscript and printed—was one of practicality. Books were meant to be read. Margins were but a field to receive notes and textual criticism, and Ruskin annotated his printed books as well as his manuscripts. Boning up on his Greek in the 1870s, Ruskin added to the margins of a Greek psalter and a Greek lectionary his comments on the calligraphy, the complexities of translation, and his personal reactions to the texts.

And if any book was too tall to fit its shelf, Ruskin did not hesitate to take a saw and cut off the head and tail. Ruskin wrote to Sir Charles Newton, who was then abroad, in 1854: "But if you come across any very interesting MS—interesting I mean in art, for I dont care about old texts—and can secure it for me, I will instantly reimburse you to the extent of 50 pounds, only I should expect a great deal for that price out of those old convent lumber-rooms."[47] To Ruskin, the manuscripts he collected were a means toward an end. In the 1870s, with the aim of improving the penmanship of his countrymen, he donated manuscripts, leaves, and facsimiles to the Ruskin Drawing School he had established at Oxford, to the teacher training school for women at Whitelands, and to the working men's museum he built near Sheffield. "There are literally thousands of manuscripts in the libraries of England," Ruskin wrote, "of which a few leaves, dispersed among parish schools, would do more to educate the children of the poor than all the catechisms that ever tortured them."[48] On the other side of the coin is Ruskin's concern for the proper treatment of manuscripts. After visiting the Duke of Hamilton's library in 1854, he wrote that he "had a grand field-day," but added that he was "not unmixed with some vexation at seeing such beautiful MSS. squeezed together on the shelves as if there were no room for them in the palace." He continues, "But, the Duke has a good deal of regard for them nevertheless, and they
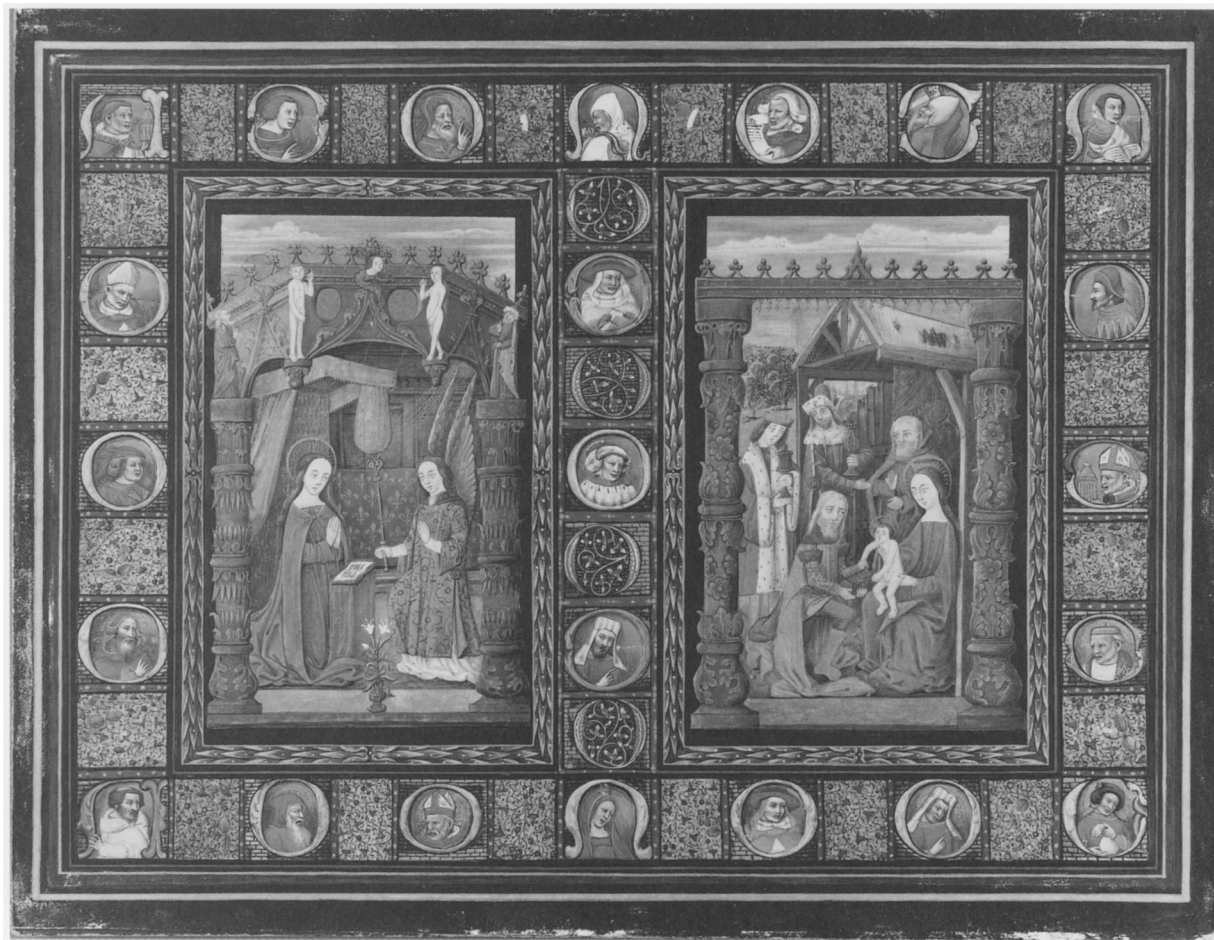
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Fig. 16. Annunciation and Adoration of the Magi, montage of manuscript illuminations. Akron, Ohio, Bruce Ferrini.

might be worse off—poor things, I suppose very few MSS. are petted like mine."[49]

One of Ruskin's creations, and a key to both his taste and his facility with the scissors, is a montage today in the Ruskin Galleries of the Bembridge School on the Isle of Wight (fig. 15). The montage consists of twenty miniatures excised from a French book of hours surrounding a centrally placed miniature from another manuscript. The foliate background consists of border strips cut from Italian manuscripts. Curiously, Ruskin arranged the series of miniatures in a rather helter-skelter way, mixing scenes from the Infancy of Christ with episodes from his Passion. A sense of symmetry seems to have guided Ruskin's disposition of miniatures, for he put all four pictures with a cross in the second row from the top.

Many such Victorian assemblages must have been created in the nineteenth century, judging just by those that surface in the trade. A rather elaborate one belongs to the dealer Bruce Ferrini (fig. 16).[50] It con-

sists of two miniatures from a late fifteenth-century book of hours that are framed, somewhat like a pair of Victorian family photographs. The surrounding border is made up of squares of ivy vines cut from yet another French manuscript (of about 1400) that alternate with initials containing heads from a four-teenth-century Italian manuscript painted by Niccolò da Bologna. These interesting heads come from a multi-volume set of the *Decretals,* of which the Morgan Library happens to own a volume. A typical page from the Morgan volume shows the appearance of the manuscript before it fell victim to the scissors (fig. 17). Like the raisins in raisin bread, the fruit of this manuscript, Niccolò's delightful heads, were, in their original context, surrounded by a great deal of boring text. The pretty pictures were hidden among the multiple leaves, and dismembering a manuscript was seen in the nineteenth century as an activity analogous to releasing an innocent victim from its prison—a book.

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Fig. 17. Niccolò da Bologna, Bust of a University Professor. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.747, fol. 35.

How-to books and the cult of the alphabet

Appreciation of illumination by the masses in the nineteenth century came about less from contact with the original than from exposure to reproduction. Publishers achieved this popularization through industrial breakthroughs. This was manifest early in the century via the perfection of the wood engraving (for reproduction in fine black lines), followed by the technique of chromolithography (for images in multiple colors).

These industrial innovations, however, do not in and of themselves explain why people in the nineteenth century tended to cut up manuscripts. I would theorize that one of the reasons for this prevalent practice was the way in which illumination was seen in the nineteenth century—seen both literally and philosophically. Consider, for example, W.R. Tymms and M.D. Wyatt's 1860 London publication, *The Art of Illuminating as Practised in Europe From the Earliest Times, Illustrated by Borders, Initial Letters, and Alphabets*. The key part of the title is its second half: the one hundred
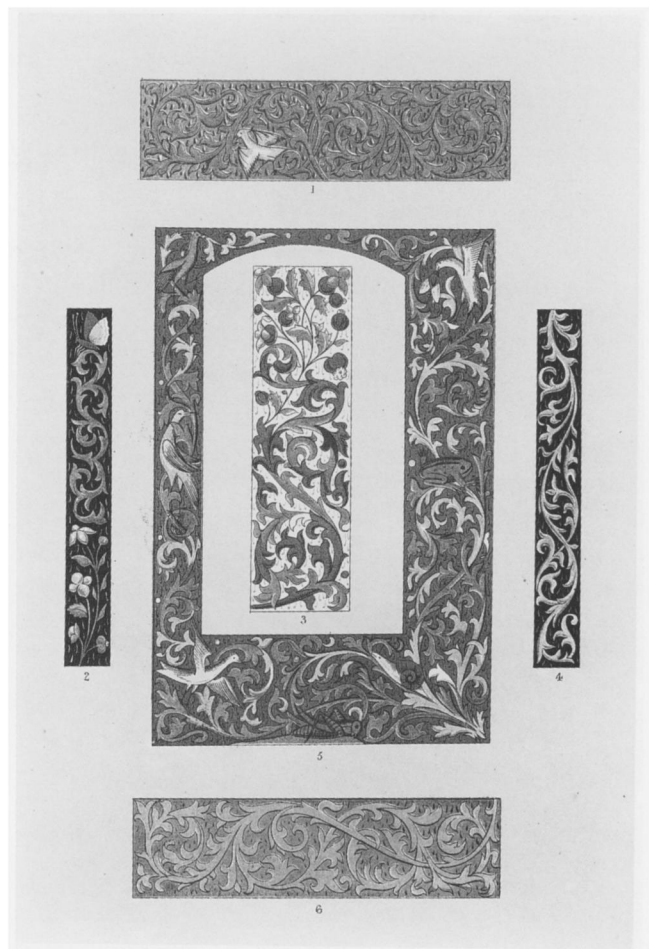

Fig. 18. "Borders from the 'Hours of the Virgin, Harl. 2,936',", reproduction of manuscript illuminations from W.R. Tymms and M.D. Wyatt, *The Art of Illuminating* (London, 1860), pl. 84.

chromolithographic plates lavishly illustrate only borders, initials, and alphabets. This book, which contains a hefty ninety-six pages of text on the history of illumination and how to do it, does not reproduce a single complete miniature (fig. 18).[51]

Another means by which we can see how the nineteenth century "saw" illumination is through the many hands-on how-to books published then. The cut-and-paste vision found in the Tymms and Wyatt book is very much that encountered in these manuals. Consider W.J. Loftie's *Lessons in the Art of Illuminating..., with Practical Instructions, and a Sketch of the History of the Art* (London, [after 1874]). Although Loftie reproduces an occasional full medieval page, most of his plates are of initials, borders, and text samples arranged like cut-outs on the page (fig. 19). Another example of cut-and-paste mentality evidenced in how-to books is J.J. Laing's *Companion to "Manual of Illumination," Containing Borders, Capitals, Texts, and Detail Finishings, Etc.* (London, n.d.). A typical plate in

Fig. 19. "Page and initials (Low Countries, 15th Century). Border from MS. in British Museum," reproduction of manuscript illuminations from W.J. Loftie, *Lessons in the Art of Illuminating* (London, [after 1874]), pl. VI.
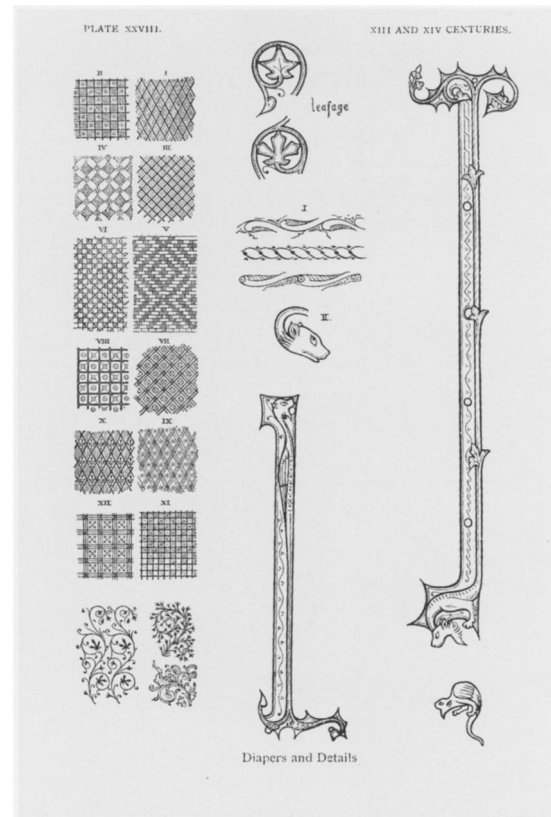

Fig. 20. "Diapers and Details, XIII and XIV Centuries," reproduction of manuscript illuminations from J.J. Laing's *Companion to "Manual of Illumination"* (London, n.d.), pl. XXVIII.

Laing is his number XXVIII, reproducing various diapered backgrounds, leaves, line fillers, and decorative bars (fig. 20). In all the plates, only two complete miniatures are reproduced. Laing's *Manual of Illumination* was number fifteen and his *Companion to "Manual of Illumination"* number sixteen in a list of forty-five "hand-books on art" published by Winsor and Newton in London. A list of these titles reads like a primer on Victorian aesthetics, of which the appreciation of illumination was just one aspect.[52] In the back pages of many of these manuals can be found advertisements for paints, brushes, and easels. Whole kits could be bought, such as the one in the Walters Art Gallery, that contained all the necessary materials for, as it was called then, "missal painting" (figs. 21 and 22).

Many of these how-to books also catered to what might be called the nineteenth-century cult of the alphabet.[53] There were whole publications devoted to reproducing alphabets, such as those by F.G. Delamotte published by E. and F.N. Spon of London: *Ornamental Alphabets, Ancient and Mediaeval...; Examples of Modern Alphabets, Plain and Ornamental...;* and *Mediaeval Alphabets and Initials for Illuminators.*

The twenty-one plates in this volume range from the ninth to the sixteenth century (fig. 23).

A famous victim of the Victorian pursuit for initials was a late fourteenth-century English missal that belonged in the early nineteenth century to the collector Philip Augustus Hanrott. Apparently his children (Mary, Philip junior, and Ellen) were permitted to spend their rainy afternoons cutting up the missal and assembling the over two thousand little bits into a series of scrapbooks. One of the things the children liked to do was to spell out the names of their family members (little Ellen seems to have been given the left-overs by her two siblings because she had to use paragraph markers instead of E's to spell her name). Margaret Rickert spent some five years reconstructing this missal from the mess made of it by Philip Hanrott's offspring.[54] The scraps were subsequently taken from their albums and rearranged, as best as possible, to their original configurations.[55]

That the vision of the people who bought, read, and learned from these how-to and alphabet books was affected by these publications is evident in the illumination they produced. For example, a certain

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Fig. 21. "Polished Mahogany Boxes, Fitted with Moist Colours and Materials, for Illumination and Missal Painting...," advertisement from P. Whithard, *Illuminating and Missal Painting on Paper and Vellum* (London, 1909).

Fig. 22. Paint box, from the London firm of George Rowneg & Comp. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 66.2.

Marguerite Meinhard living in France in the late nineteenth century copied some initials from a thirteenth-century manuscript (fig. 24).[56] When she had finished, she signed and dated (1895) her creation on the back, and stuck it into the front of her copy of Alphonse Labitte's *Les manuscrits et l'art de les orner: Ouvrage historique et pratique illustré de 300 reproductions de miniatures, bordures, et lettres ornées* (Paris, 1893). One cannot but be struck by the resemblance of the cut-and-paste presentation of Meinhard's initials—she literally cut them from her worksheet and pasted them to a gold-covered mount—to initials reproduced within the book she owned (fig. 25).

I think that one can quite easily make the case that, taught by histories of illumination and instructed by how-to manuals that presented manuscript painting as a series of dissected borders, cut initials, and separate alphabets, it was only natural that people in the nineteenth century when confronted with the real thing (a complete medieval codex) felt compelled to cut it up. They thus transformed the original art into the art they were used to seeing.

Furthermore, English enthusiasts of the Gothic Revival of the first part of the nineteenth century had to be careful about just how enthusiastic they were about religious art painted before the Reformation.

Pugin converted to Roman Catholicism at the age of twenty-three, but others were wary of being suspected of Roman sympathies. The cutting up of illuminated manuscripts, nearly all of which, of course, were produced before Henry VIII established the Church of England, could have been, subconsciously, a way of appreciating English Gothic art without being called a papist. Like butterfly collecting, in which the thing one admires is killed in the process of appreciation, the book, to be appreciated, was better taken apart.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the huge demand for "liberated" illuminations made their faking a lucrative enterprise. The so-called Spanish Forger, working around this time and into the early twentieth century in Paris, supplied this hungry market with a prodigious number of single leaves with apparent factory-like efficiency; 194 examples of his single leaves have surfaced to date.[57]

The twentieth century in America

Our own century has witnessed a continued interest in the single illuminated leaf. What follows is a very brief summary of activities by a few of the major American figures.[58]

Fig. 23. "14th Century," reproduction of an alphabet from F.G. Delamotte *Ornamental Alphabets, Ancient and Mediaeval* (London, 1861), pl. 5.
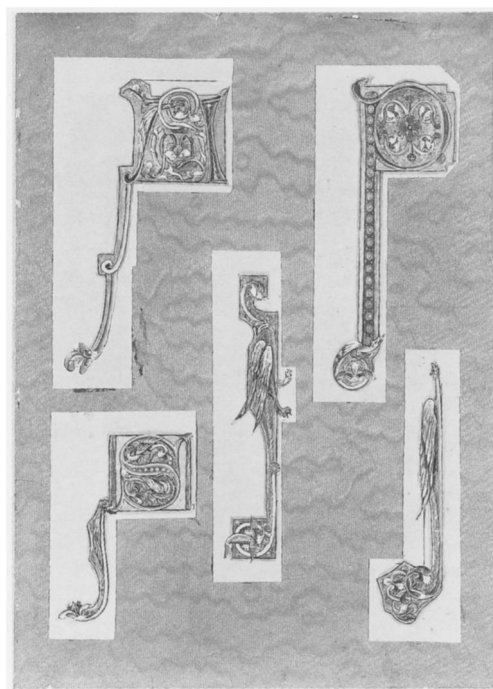

Fig. 24. Marguerite Meinhard, "Lettres d'un manuscrit du XIIIᵉ Siècle." New York, private collection.

It is safe to say that John Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913) was more interested in the complete codex than the single leaf. Morgan, of course, could afford whole books. But when a first-rate leaf came along, he did not hesitate to acquire it. Undoubtedly the greatest single leaf Morgan ever bought is the one he acquired in 1912: the great folio from the Winchester Bible, the most ambitious and finest of all English Romanesque Bibles.[59] While two other frontispieces survive in the Bible today as unpainted drawings, the Morgan leaf, remarkably, is the only one that was completed. For reasons unknown, the leaf—which has been called one of the finest English paintings of the twelfth century—did not enter, or did not remain, inside the book.

Like many collectors of single leaves, Morgan often veered toward Italy. In 1907 he bought the montage I discussed earlier with four miniatures attributed to Giulio Clovio (fig. 12). This purchase complimented the Farnese Hours, Clovio's undisputed masterpiece, which Morgan had bought four years earlier in 1903.[60] Demonstrating a catholic taste within the same year, Morgan also bought in 1907 a large early fourteenth-century leaf of the Last Judgment.[61] The most striking Italian single leaves in the Library, however, are a series of twenty-two that Morgan bought in 1909 and 1910 plus a twenty-third cutting bought by his son in
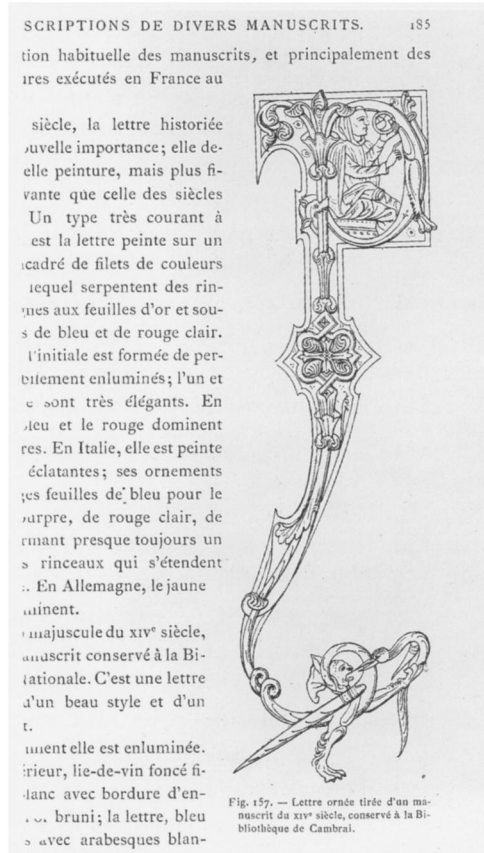

Fig. 25. "Lettre ornée…," reproduction of a manuscript illumination from A. Labitte, *Les manuscrits et l'art de les orner* (Paris, 1893), fig. 157.

Fig. 26. Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci, Trinity. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.653.2.

Fig. 27. Simon Marmion, Virgins Entering Paradise. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, MS 80.

1927 (fig. 26). Painted by Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci in the late 1390s at the Florentine Monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli for the Monastery of San Michele a Murano, these fragments form the largest group of fragments of what was once one of the most glorious set of choir books of medieval Italy.[62] The large historiated initials, the size of small panel paintings, were specifically praised by Vasari. Some of the Morgan leaves reveal a change in attitudes toward the knifing of a manuscript. At first, it seems, the vandal cut out only the large historiated initial, disregarding foliate tendrils and, of course, the text itself. Later, while he or another still had access to the choir books themselves, some entire leaves were excised and the historiated initials reinserted into their holes (the sliced edges are visible in fig. 26).

It is fair to say that Henry Walters (1848–1931) was, like Morgan, more interested in the whole book than in single leaves. Considering his catholic collecting tastes, however, it was inevitable that some should have attracted themselves to him. Walters's acquisitions, as might be expected, included some Italian cuttings: a Saint Lawrence by Silvestro dei Gherarducci and two historiated initials with busts of King David by Girolamo Dai Libri.[63] Walters's interest in Islamic art included manuscripts, an area Morgan shied away
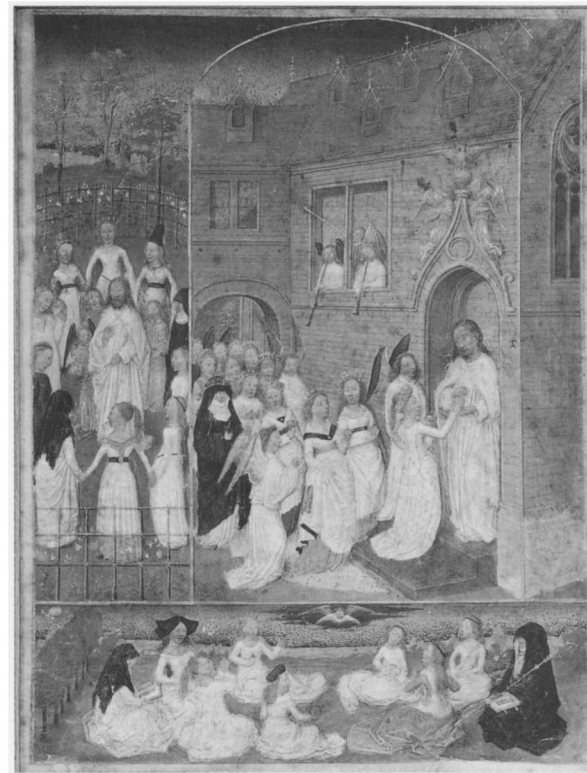
from, and these included many a single leaf (but the collecting of Asian leaves is beyond the scope of this paper). An overview of Walters's single leaves, however, does not reveal a set pattern. On the other hand, his taste for the exquisitely finished object—be it a book, Oriental vase, porcelain, or painting—led upon occasion, ironically enough, to the creation of single leaves on the part of dealers who sold to him. Before Walters owned them, the great English fourteenth-century Butler Hours (MS W.105) and the late fifteenth-century French *Proverbes en rimes* (MS W.313) both had damaged leaves. Léon Gruel, the Paris book dealer and binder who supplied Walters with some 210 manuscripts, removed the offending folios before rebinding them for the refined American's taste.[64]

The first Assistant Director of the Morgan Library and later founder of the Department of Printing and Graphic Arts of Harvard University's Houghton Library was the collector Philip Hofer (1898–1984).[65] He assembled a small but fine selection of single leaves and cuttings. These, in his later years, he enjoyed giving to relatives and favored friends.[66] He was not even opposed to creating an occasional single leaf. As a gift to Alan Valentine in 1959, Hofer extracted six leaves from an incomplete Flemish book of hours he had bought in the 1930s. Hofer's parent

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Fig. 28. Cristoforo Cortese, Saint Stephen. Philadelphia, Free Library, MS Lewis 25:18.

manuscript is now at Harvard; the six leaves became the property of the Morgan as a gift of Mrs. Valentine in 1974.[67]

Robert Lehman (1892–1969), famous for the wing at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York that bears his name and houses his fine collection of Italian panels, also amassed over two hundred miniatures. Some of these entered the public collection and will be published shortly.[68] Lehman's eagle eye spotted some outstanding single leaves, including what is surely his most important, the Ascension from the Hours of Etienne Chevalier.[69] But significant, too, are the self-portrait by Simon Bening and a miniature of Virgins Entering Paradise by Simon Marmion (fig. 27).[70] Recent scholarship has offered a tantalizing possible connection between this latter leaf and a documented, but otherwise lost, breviary made for the dukes of Burgundy. If correct, this theory makes this single miniature the linchpin for the artist's entire oeuvre.[71]

John Frederick Lewis (1860–1932) was a Philadelphia lawyer specializing in admiralty law and shipping. He was also keenly interested in the cultural life of his native city and was president of three of its institutions, Philadelphia's Academy of Music, the Academy of Fine Arts, and the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, as well as being a trustee of the

Free Library.[72] Lewis had an interest in engravings, early printing, and mankind's oldest "books," cuneiform tablets, of which he collected some 2,800 examples. From cuneiform tablets Lewis branched out to medieval manuscripts, which he started collecting in 1907. Having amassed some two hundred codices, Lewis started on single leaves and cuttings, for which, via his earlier penchant for engravings, he had a natural bent. He amassed some three thousand cuttings.[73] He then went on to Near Eastern manuscripts, including 1,200 single miniatures. Part of the reason behind his collecting single leaves, according to his son, was money: single leaves were cheaper. When he died, Lewis's widow followed his wishes and gave the collection of illuminated manuscripts and cuttings to Philadelphia's Free Library.

With no published catalogue, Lewis's large collection of leaves remains a largely unexplored storehouse. Some of its treasures, however, are beginning to leak out. In 1988 the Metropolitan Museum borrowed a number of small, but extremely high-quality snippets by Girolamo da Cremona for their exhibition, *Painting in Renaissance Siena*.[74] Not surprising considering their richness, the Lewis holdings yielded a pair of sisters to an item in the Breslauer collection.[75] The collection is ripe for research. It contains, for example, a large group of cuttings by the Venetian artist Cristoforo Cortese and his circle that help reveal the prolific nature of this fascinating but at times uneven painter (fig. 28).[76]

Another personality, too often ignored in the world of single leaves—and who perhaps represents a uniquely American approach to the field—is Otto F. Ege (1888–1951). Born in Reading, Pennsylvania, Ege went to Philadelphia's School of Industrial Arts and then studied art education at New York University. From 1920 till his death in 1951, Ege spent his career heading the Department of Teacher Training at the Cleveland Institute of Art. As an art educator, designer, and author of nearly forty articles, Ege had a special interest in the art of the book.[77] Unable to afford complete manuscripts and printed books, Ege collected damaged and partial codices and single leaves.[78] He did this collecting through the mail as well as in European bookshops visited while chaperoning students on trips abroad. "For more than twenty-five years, I have been one of those 'strange, eccentric, book-tearers'," Ege wrote in the article, "I Am a Biblioclast," which appeared in the March 1938 issue of *Avocations: A Magazine of Hobbies and Leisure.* He includes in this piece what could be called his five com-

mandments for an honest book breaker: (1) Never take apart a museum piece or unique copy; (2) Make leaves available to schools, libraries, and individuals; (3) Circulate exhibitions supplemented with lectures and slides to foster an interest in fine books; (4) Offer inspiration through leaves to modern calligraphers and private presses; and (5) Build up a personal collection to illustrate the history of the book from its very beginnings. To fulfill some of these directives Ege assembled and sold portfolios from his leaves and printed sheets. The set "Original Leaves from Famous Bibles: Nine Centuries, 1121–1935 A.D." included four manuscript leaves and "Original Leaves from Famous Books: Eight Centuries, 1240–1923 A.D." included three. Two more sets, solely of manuscripts, appeared shortly after Ege's death: "Fifty Original Leaves from Medieval Manuscripts" and "Fifteen Original Oriental Manuscript Leaves of Six Centuries" (fig. 29).[79] The leaves were matted for proper handling, and each was accompanied by a descriptive label. The sets were Ege's idea of educating an American public that would otherwise not have access to samples of the world's great books and manuscripts.

Mention should also be made of Mortimer Brandt (1905–1993). A paintings dealer on 57th Street in New York from the 1930s to the 1960s, Brandt had assembled a collection of twenty-nine illuminations. Brandt set his collection out on a road tour of the United States that started in Jacksonville, Florida, in 1964, and ended in 1986 at Williams College in Massachusetts. This twenty-two-year tour (whose length tells us something of the durability of the illuminated leaf) included seventeen stops in all.[80] The collection was catalogued by Harry Bober, professor at New York University's Institute of Fine Arts and himself a collector of medieval art, including single leaves.[81] The catalogue's pink front cover was sometimes stamped with the particular venue and its dates. In 1988 Brandt placed the collection on deposit at the Walters Art Gallery (he had retired to Baltimore), where Lilian Randall and I hoped it would remain permanently, but he sold the collection and the leaves were dispersed.[82] Like Ege, Mortimer Brandt obviously thought that sharing his collection in this kind of grass-roots way could bring an important medium to an American public—especially in the South and Middle West—that had no exposure to it. Shortly before he died Mr. Brandt wrote to me, "I am very proud that as an art dealer I never succumbed to constant offers for leaves on the tours. It was my private collection."
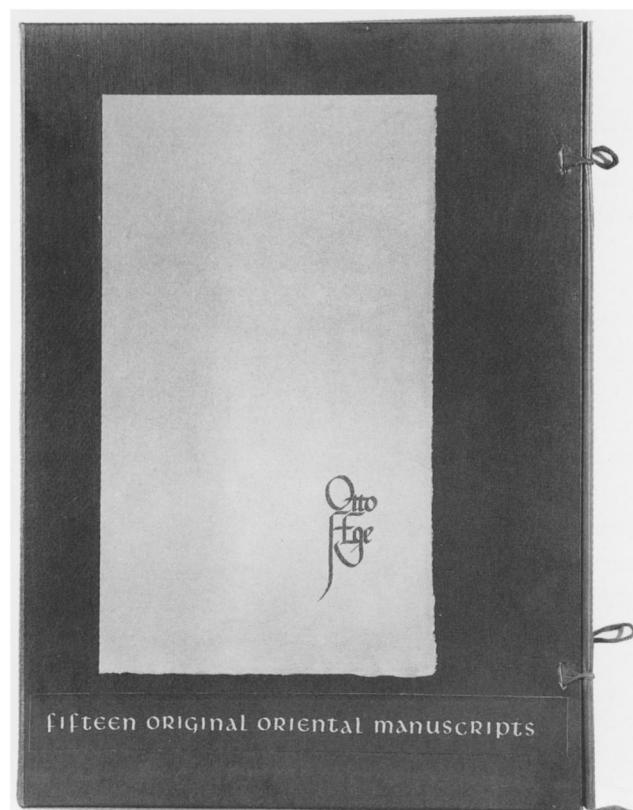

Fig. 29. Front cover of Otto Ege's portfolio, "Fifteen Original Oriental Manuscript Leaves of Six Centuries." New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.1070.

This division between dealing and collecting is one that Bernard Breslauer touches on in the essay he contributed to the Pierpont Morgan Library exhibition catalogue of his collection: "Once a dealer decides to form a personal collection, he must dig an unbridgeable moat between it and his stock-in-trade, which no temptation, no favorable offer for this or that single item must ever violate."[83] Like many a collector of single leaves, Mr. Breslauer seems to have started almost by accident. The first leaf he bought to keep, in 1967, was a large choir book sheet illuminated by Niccolò da Bologna; he purchased it to fill a blank space on his London dining room wall. In this manner, Breslauer is linked in part to the romantic tastes and collecting habits of the nineteenth century, when medieval art was sometimes acquired with an eye toward interior decoration. Linking him also with the past is his predilection for exquisite Italian illumination (which comprises nearly half of the collection), a taste whose roots can be traced to the first sale of single leaves, the Celotti auction of 1825, which was entirely of Italian cuttings offered to English collectors.[84]

As we approach the 200th anniversary of the looting of the Sistine Chapel, it is perhaps time to dismantle the present smug attitude with which we art historians have viewed the practices of the past. While 1798 marks the birth of the single leaf phenomenon, it did not spring fully grown from the head of the French Revolution. Following the end of Middle Ages and of the quotidian use of illuminated manuscripts, following the decline and collapse of Latin as a living language, following the great sea changes of the Reformation, there was a time, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when medieval codices, lucky to survive at all, were of course cut up. The textual value of books of hours and liturgical service books was nonexistent then. What worth they retained was in their art. Did Celotti destroy manuscripts or did he save at least parts of them from the bonfire? Was he a thief or a clever entrepreneur? Were Ruskin and Ege crazy, naive, or enlightened? The answers to some of these questions will depend upon who is asking and when.

Pierpont Morgan Library
New York

Notes

1. W.M. Voelkle and R.S. Wieck, assisted by M.F.P. Saffiotti, *The Bernard H. Breslauer Collection of Manuscript Illuminations* (New York, 1992); the exhibition was presented at the Morgan Library from 9 December 1992 to 4 April 1993. There is little published on the phenomenon. Particularly useful are A.N.L. Munby, *Connoisseurs and Medieval Miniatures, 1750–1850* (Oxford, 1972); A.H.R.H. Beckwith, *Victorian Bibliomania: The Illuminated Book in 19th-Century Britain*, exh. cat., Providence, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design (Providence, 1987); and S. Hindman and M. Heinlen, "A Connoisseur's Montage: The *Four Evangelists* Attributed to Giulio Clovio," *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies*, 17 (1991), 154–78 and 181–82 (this article, much more than its modest title might suggest, offers a concise but highly informative history of the origins of single leaf collecting). Rowan Watson, after the closing of his Victoria and Albert Museum exhibition, "Vandals and Enthusiasts: Views of Illumination in the Nineteenth Century" (31 January–30 April 1995), issued a desk-top publication of his labels and wall texts. Christopher de Hamel's talk at the University of Virginia, "Cutting Up Manuscripts for Pleasure and Profit," was the 1995 Sol M. Malkin Lecture in Bibliography; its printed appearance in *The Rare Book School 1995 Yearbook*, edited by T. Belanger (Charlottesville, 1996), came to my attention only after this article was completed.

2. Single leaves can be defined as individual pages that have been excised from manuscripts, usually for their illumination. As it is used, however, the term also includes parts of pages: miniatures, borders, individual initials, and even scraps and snippets. *Folia fugitiva* (which I, subsequently vetoed by my Morgan Library colleagues, proposed as the title for the Breslauer exhibition) expresses some of the modern ambivalence to these objects; it is certainly preferable to the brutal *membra disjecta*. While the history of manuscript collecting is related to the history of single leaf collecting, they are really different stories.

3. J.D. Fahrquhar, "Identity in an Anonymous Age: Bruges Manuscript Illuminators and Their Signs," *Viator*, 11 (1980), 371–84.

4. See M. Davies, *National Gallery: Catalogue of Early Netherlandish School* (London, 1968), 33–34, acc. no. 2593 and; for a recent discussion, H. van Os et al., *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe, 1300–1500* (Princeton, 1994), 42–43, 82, fig. 9. The painting is reproduced as the frontispiece to the introduction in Voelkle and Wieck, *Breslauer Collection*.

5. Naples, Bibl. Nazionale, ms. I.B.51; all of the manuscript's miniatures are reproduced in color in R. De Maio, *Il Codice Flora: Una pinacoteca miniata nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli* (Naples, 1992).

6. Naples, Bibl. Nazionale, ms. I.B.51, fols. 15, 17v, and 19; see De Maio, *Il Codice Flora*, illus. pp. 67, 69, and 71.

7. Two good examples can be found in a Flemish manuscript of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* of about 1470 in Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 911, fols. 86v and 221; see M.P.J. Martens, *Lodewijk van Gruuthuse: Mecenas en europees Diplomat, ca. 1427–1492* (Bruges, 1992), illus. pp. 123 and 124.

8. E. Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton, 1943), I, 209.

9. M.L. Evans and B. Brinkmann, *The Sforza Hours: Add. MS. 34294 of the British Library* (Lucerne, 1995) 485–96 and Voelkle and Wieck, *Breslauer Collection*, 216–17, no. 86.

10. C. Scailliérez, "Entre enluminure et peinture: à propos d'un *Paysage avec Saint Jérôme Pénitent* de l'école Ganto-Brugeoise récemment acquis par le Louvre," *Revue du Louvre*, 42 (1992), 16–31.

11. Voelkle and Wieck, *Breslauer Collection*, 104–105, no. 27, illus.

12. F. Avril and N. Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France, 1440–1520*, exh. cat., Paris, BNF (Paris, 1993), 133–36, no. 68, illus.

13. See plates 1, 14–16, 19, 20, 29–38, 40–42, 44, and 45 in C. Schaeffer, *The Hours of Etienne Chevalier: Jean Fouquet* (New York, 1971).

14. See R.W. Corrie, "The Conradin Bible: Since 'Since de Ricci'," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 40 (1982), 13–24 and R.W. Corrie, "The Conradin Bible, MS. 152, the Walters Art Gallery: Manuscript Illumination in a Thirteenth-Century Italian Atelier," Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1986, 37–48.

15. Voelkle and Wieck, *Breslauer Collection*, 76–81, nos. 8–11, illus. Henry Noel Humphreys and Owen Jones, in their *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages; An Account of the Development and Progress of the Art of Illumination, as a Distinct Branch of Pictorial Ornamentation, from the IVth. to the XVIIth. Centuries* (London, 1849), 108–109 discuss and illustrate the British Library's portion of this manuscript (then called the Hours of Henry VII). Humphreys mentions its mutilated condition and says that "the borders were probably cut out as a pretty trifle for some female friend, to line a workbox, or make thread-papers with." The statement clues us in to the fact that illumination, in the nineteenth century, was sometimes pressed into rather pedestrian employment.

16. London, Sotheby's, 5 December 1995, lot 43, illus.

17. The *legendarium* is divided into two major sections housed by the Biblioteca Apostolica in Vatican City, ms. lat. 8541, and the Morgan Library, MS M.360; a facsimile was authored by F. Levárdy, *Magyar Anjou Legendárium* (Budapest, 1973). For recent bibliography, see *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: Liturgie und Andacht im Mittelalter*, exh. cat., Cologne, Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum (Stuttgart, 1992), 234–37, no. 48, illus. An occasional single leaf from the manuscript appears on the art market. See for example R.S. Wieck, *European Illuminated Manuscripts* (Turin, 1985), 18–19, no. 18, illus. p. 40 for a leaf with four scenes from the life of Saint Francis of Assisi, which was recently given to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (acc. no. 1994.516); and G. Török,

"Neue Folii aus dem 'Ungarischen Anjou-Legendarium'," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 55 (1992), 565–77.

18. After the album entered the Morgan Library, its miniatures were removed and reassembled in their original quadripartite arrangements.

19. H. Jackson, *The Anatomy of Bibliomania* (New York, 1981), 574. Jackson discusses Bagford in his section, "Of Biblioclasts or Book Destroyers." His chapter XXVIII is "Of Grangeritis," 576–82.

20. The Lincoln choirs books are not the only famous church manuscripts to have been attacked with knives. See C. Donovan, *The Winchester Bible* (Toronto, 1993), figs. 24 and 50 for illustrations of an initial that was cut from that famous Bible but later sewn back. During the second half of the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth century, the monumental six-volume Dutch Bible known as the Zwolle Bible was kept in that monastery's chapterhouse where tourists would leave their names in the book or take leaves or initials as souvenirs; see H.L.M. Defoer et al., *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*, exh. cat., Utrecht, Rijksmuseum het Catharijneconvent, and New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (Stuttgart and Zurich, 1989; and New York, 1990) 245–47, no. 84. Of the Bible's original 125 historiated or decorated initials, 73 remain; fugitive fragments occasionally surface on the art market, such as London, Sotheby's 21 June 1994, lot 35.

21. It was Lilian Randall who pointed these out to Judith Oliver who pointed them out to me. The shelf numbers for the three volumes at the Free Library are AL 025.8/B56, AL 025.8/B561, and AL 025.8/B562. Inserted in the second volume is a nineteenth-century description that tells us, "From the library of Frederick Hendriks, whose intimacy with the subject has enabled him to embellish the work in a most elaborate & highly instructive manner. There are 10 specimens from illuminated medieval MSS, on vellum.... The autograph letters include one written by F.W. Fairholt in reference to the fire at Sotheby's in July, 1865, accompanied by a fragment of an illuminated MS burnt on that occasion; another is from J.O. Halliwell enclosing a cutting from a book, in which he incidently remarks that he has cut up 500 books for literary purposes.... Altogether, the illustrating has been done in a way that bespeaks a past master of the art, with a rich store of treasures at hand, ready for the embellishment of any of his favorite subjects."

22. T.F. Dibdin, *The Bibliographical Decameron; or, Ten Days Pleasant Discourse upon Illuminated Manuscripts, and Subjects Connected with early Engraving, Typography, and Bibliography* (London, 1817).

23. Seven leaves from the prefatory cycle survive, six in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 330, and one in the Morgan Library, MS M.913; see N. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts I, 1190–1250*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, IV, ed. J.J.G. Alexander (London, 1982), 118–19, no. 72, illus. 236–38 and L.M.C. Randall, "En Route to Salvation with William de Brailes," in *Medieval Codicology, Iconography, Literature, and Translation: Studies for Keith Val Sinclair*, ed. P.R. Monks and D.D.R. Owen (Leiden, 1994), 85 n. 10.

24. MS M.914; see F.B. Adams, Jr., comp., *Thirteenth Report to the Fellows of the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1963 & 1964* (New York, 1964), 13.

25. See London, Sotheby's, 21–22 June 1993, lots 29 and 30 for two historiated initials extracted from the copy of *Illuminated Ornaments*, and lot 397 for the deflowered book itself.

26. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MSS W.795a&b and W.781a&b; see L.M.C. Randall et al., *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, I, France, 875–1430* (Baltimore and London, 1989), 276–77, no. 98, fig. 187 and *II, France, 1430–1540* (Baltimore and London, 1992), 264–66, no. 155, fig. 272.

27. See Christopher de Hamel's introduction to the Burckhardt-Wildt sale catalogue, London, Sotheby's, 25 April 1983.

28. See P.M. de Winter, "Visions of the Apocalypse in Medieval England and France," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 70 (1983), 396–417.

29. MSS M.1043.1–2 and M.1071.1–2; see C. Ryskamp, ed., *Twentieth Report to the Fellows of the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1981–1983* (New York, 1984), 21-22 and C. Ryskamp, ed., *Twenty-First Report...*, *1984–1986* (New York, 1989), 23–24.

30. See E. Burin, "And the Sun Became Black: A Newly Acquired Manuscript Fragment," *Walters Art Gallery Bulletin*, 47/4 (April 1994), 4–5, figs. 1, 2.

31. The Morgan miniatures sold for £7,700, £9,900, £13,200, and £16,500, respectively.

32. Gary Tynski, curator of prints in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections at Montreal's McGill University Library, kindly brought the Cruikshank image, from the riches of their Napoleon Collection, to my attention.

33. *A Catalogue of a highly valuable and extremely curious Collection of illumined Miniature Paintings, of the greatest Beauty, and of exquisite Finishing, Taken from the Choral Books of the Papal Chapel in the Vatican, during the French Revolution; and subsequently collected and brought to this Country by the Abate Celotti. The above Collection is highly Important for the Illustration of the Art of Painting in Italy during the fifteenth and following centuries; exhibiting, besides many fine productions of the Miniaturists, whose names have not been preserved by any Biographer, presumed specimens of the early masters, Francesco Squarcione and Giovanni Bellini; and undoubted chef d'oeuvres of Girolamo de' Libri, and his disciple Giulio Clovio, who brought the Art to the highest perfection, as also by some other great Painters who lived after Clovio's time. The whole are described in a Catalogue, drawn in Chronological series by a gentleman well conversant in the History of early Italian Art.*

34. See Voelkle and Wieck, *Breslauer Collection*, 224–27, no. 90, illus., for the *Birth of John the Baptist* and a list of the known whereabouts of the other montages.

35. See Dibdin, *The Bibliographical Decameron*, I, cxi–cxiii.

36. As indicated by the claims in the catalogue, as well as the evidence offered by cuttings that have surfaced, Celotti clearly made careful notes on the particular papal provenance for each of the manuscripts he cut up.

37. London, Sotheby's, 11 May 1838. The title page of the catalogue reproduces the long first paragraph that Ottley wrote for the Celotti sale; it ends with the romantic phrase, "monuments of a lost Art." My fig. 13 reproducing Dibdin's reproduction of Ottley's historiated initial of the Lapidation of Saint Stephen is probably one of the five initials that formed lot one in the Ottley sale.

38. The Morgan Library owns two of Ottley's four leaves, MSS M.521 and M.724. One is in the British Library, Add. MS 37472(1); and one in the Victoria and Albert Museum, MS 661. See *English Romanesque Art, 1066–1200*, exh. cat., London, Hayward Gallery (London, 1984), 110–112, nos. 47–50, illus. On the manuscript (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.17.1) whence these leaves came, see M. Gibson et al., eds., *The Eadwine Psalter: Text, Image, and Monastic Culture in Twelfth-Century Canterbury* (London, 1992).

39. The second of these montages is in the Chicago Art Institute, acc. no. 1982.438; see Hindman and Heinlen, "A Connoisseur's Montage."

40. G.F. Waagen, *Works of Art and Artists in England* (London, 1838), II, 128–29. Waagen could not but admire Ottley's collection, especially the works of Don Silvestro dei Gherarducci. He singles out his Death of the Virgin today in the British Library, Add. MS 37,955A; see L.B. Kanter et al., *Painting and Illumination in Early Renaissance Florence, 1300–1450*, exh. cat., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1994), 148–50, no. 16g, illus.

41. London, Sotheby's, 3 July 1984. The Breslauer collection (nos. 67–69), for example, contains three cuttings from the Clark sale that Dennistoun had originally purchased directly from the Charterhouse of Lucca in 1838.

42. J. Evans and J.H. Whitehouse, eds., *The Diaries of John Ruskin, 1848–1873* (Oxford, 1958), 486–88.

43. See J.S. Dearden, "John Ruskin, the Collector, with a Catalogue of the Illuminated and Other Manuscripts formerly in his Collection," *The Library*, 21 (1966), 124–54 and A.H.R. Hauck, "John Ruskin's Uses of Illuminated Manuscripts and their Impact on his Theories of Art and Society," Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1983.

44. See Dearden, "John Ruskin," 134–35, no. 16. The psalter is now in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 300; see F. Wormald and P.M. Giles, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Additional Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Acquired between 1895 and 1979 (Excluding the McClean Collection)* (Cambridge, 1982), 280–84, pls. 21 and 22.

45. The Walters shelf numbers are MSS W.759–762; see L.M.C. Randall et al., *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, III, Belgium, 1250–1530* (Baltimore, forthcoming), no. 219. Some of the Baltimore leaves, by the way, bear evidence of another kind of Victorian(?) mutilation, the removal of offending images. At the bottom of a number of folios are ghostly remnants of figures that have been scratched off the vellum surface. Scatological humor, a staple in medieval marginalia and apparently enjoyed by the thirteenth-century nuns who originally used this manuscript, was apparently not suitable for the eyes of our great-grandparents.

46. After leaving Ruskin's hands the antiphonary continued to be highly regarded and brought high prices in auction sales in both 1921 and 1932; see G. Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste: The Rise and Fall of the Objets d'Art Market since 1750* (New York, 1963), 470 and 471. The set was later purchased by the omnivorous William Randolph Hearst, from whom Dorothy Miner acquired it for the Walters Art Gallery.

47. Dearden, "John Ruskin," 125–26.

48. Hauck, "John Ruskin's Uses," 248.

49. Hauck, "John Ruskin's Uses," 214.

50. Ferrini's montage was sold in London, Sotheby's, 2 December 1986, lot 13, illus.; the Akron, Ohio, dealer subsequently included it in his Catalogue 2, 1989, 134–37, no. 30, illus. Two composite sheets, which were sold in London, Sotheby's, 22 June 1982, lot 23, illus., are now in the Florida collection of Lawrence J. Schoenberg; one of these was included in the exhibition, *Bibliotheca Schoenbergiensa*, presented at the University of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia, 1 November 1995–4 January 1996 (for which a published catalogue is expected). Another montage was offered for sale a few years ago by the Parisian firm, Les Enluminures, Catalogue 1, 1992, 32–33, no. 12, illus.

51. I slant my evidence somewhat. The publication by Humphreys and Jones, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages* did consist mostly of reproductions of full pages from manuscripts but it, too, contained many initials and fragments. J.O. Westwood, *Palaeographia Sacra Pictoria: The Art of Illuminated Manuscripts, Illustrated Sacred Writings; being a Series of Illustrations of the Ancient Versions of the Bible copied from Illuminated Manuscripts executed between the Fourth and Sixteenth Centuries* (London, 1843–1845) mixes illustrations of complete pages with many fragments.

52. Other Winsor and Newton manuals, for example, include landscape and marine painting, the anatomy of the horse, flower painting, china decoration, the art of painting on glass for magic lanterns, interior decoration for dwelling houses, and fruit and still life painting.

53. J. Oliver, "Medieval Alphabet Soup: Reconstruction of a Mosan Psalter-Hours in Philadelphia and Oxford and the Cult of St. Catherine," *Gesta*, 24 (1985), 129–40.

54. M. Rickert, *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal: An English Manuscript of the late XIV Century in the British Museum (Additional 29704-5, 44892)* (Chicago, 1952). More recently, see R. Marks and N. Morgan, *The Golden Age of English Manuscript Painting, 1200–1500* (New York, 1981), 90–93, pls. 26 and 27.

55. It is particularly sad that this manuscript was scrapped, as it seems to be the only surviving (if one could call it that) missal for English Carmelite use; it was made for the Whitefriars of London. Art-historically it is an important work, with at least six artists responsible for the illumination. The best of these, trained in the Low Countries, helped introduce a new style of illumination into England. What I call the cult of the alphabet is still very much alive today, and it still affects our view of illumination. A recent advertisement from Belser Verlag, the German publisher specializing in books on illumination, offered "Beautiful Initials from Luxury Manuscripts" (fig. 30). The ad copy goes on to say that these initials would make perfect gifts for birthdays. A collector to whom I once gave a tour of the Breslauer exhibition told me that he had been the underbidder for the initial *S* with Michael Weighing a Soul (Voelkle and Wieck, *Breslauer Collection* , no. 49); he confessed that he wanted it for his wife whose name began with that letter.

Fig. 30. "Beautiful Initials from Luxury Manuscripts," advertisement, Munich, Belser Verlag.

56. The Meinhard sheet, in a New York private collection, is inscribed on the back: "Lettres d'un manuscrit du XIIIᵉ Siècle conservé à la Bibliothèque de St. Mihiel, Meuse, copiées en 1895 par moi, Marguerite Meinhard, à remettre à Madame Lubin."

57. See W. Voelkle, assisted by R.S. Wieck, *The Spanish Forger* (New York, 1978). The Walters Art Gallery owns four single leaves: Bearing of the Cross (MS W.726; Voelkle and Wieck, *Spanish Forger*, no. L7, fig. 143); Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl (W.727; ibid., no. L8, fig. 144); Portrait of Agnes Sorel (W.816a); and Portrait of Jeanne d'Evreux (W.816b). The Walters also owns a fifteenth-century book of hours to which the Forger added three miniatures (W.815, formerly in a private California collection; Voelkle and Wieck, ibid., no. M4, figs. 133–135). Since the appearance of the catalogue, the number of the Spanish Forger's identified single leaves has nearly doubled.

58. The observant reader will note some glaring omissions in my survey. Lessing J. Rosenwald (1891–1979) collected over fifty leaves, which he gave to the National Gallery of Art in Washington; see C. Ferguson et al., *Medieval & Renaissance Miniatures from the National Gallery of Art* (Washington, 1975). Charles S. Ricketts (1866–1931), as Sandra Hindman pointed out to me, amassed some two thousand single leaves.

59. See *English Romanesque Art*, 122, no. 65, illus. p. 57 (and on the catalogue's front cover) and Donovan, *Winchester Bible*.

60. MS M.69; see *The Painted Page: Italian Renaissance Book Illumination, 1450–1550*, exh. cat., ed. J.J.G. Alexander, London, Royal Academy of Arts, and New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (Munich, 1994), 246–48, no. 132, illus.

61. MS M.273; see M. Harrsen and G.K. Boyce, *Italian Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, 1953), 10, no. 15, pl. 15; the leaf is reproduced in color in R.S. Wieck and L.P. Castle, *Paths to Grace: A Selection of Medieval Illuminated Manuscript Leaves and Devotional Objects*, exh. cat., Beaumont, Tex., Art Museum of Southeast Texas (Beaumont, 1991), 14, no. 1, illus.

62. MSS M.478.1–18 and M.653.1–5; see Kanter, *Early Renaissance Florence*, 155–76, nos. 17a–g, illus.

63. For the Gherarducci (MS W.416), see Kanter, *Early Renaissance Florence*, 144–46, no. 16e, illus. The Dai Libris are W.413a & b.

64. See E. Burin, "Of Pigs and Parchment: Reassembling Dismembered Manuscripts," *Walters Art Gallery Bulletin*, 49/1 (Jan. 1996), 4–5. For the Butler Hours, see R.S. Wieck et al., *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, exh. cat., Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery (New York, 1988), 222, no. 112, pl. 13, fig. 95. For the *Proverbes*, see Randall, *Walters*, II, 366–75, no. 176, figs. 307 and 308.

65. While at Harvard, Hofer used his collections in teaching; Lilian Randall once revealed to me that his enthusiastic tutoring helped inspire her to enter the field of manuscript illumination.

66. An ex-Hofer historiated initial by Matteo da Milano, for example, recently appeared on the art market; see Ferrini's Catalogue 3, 1995, no. 46, illus. This cutting has an unbroken provenance from Ottley to today.

67. The Harvard parent codex is MS Typ 253; see R.S. Wieck, *Late Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts, 1350–1525, in the Houghton Library* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 48–49, no. 23, illus. The six Morgan leaves are MS M.959; see C. Ryskamp, ed., *Seventeenth Report to the Fellows of the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1972–1974* (New York, 1976), 41–42.

68. S. Hindman and M. Levi d'Ancona, *The Robert Lehman Collection of Illuminated Manuscript Leaves*, is in press. In the meantime see the catalogue, *The Lehman Collection*, New York (n.p., n.d.), that accompanied the exhibition of selections from the collection, including many illuminations, at the Cincinnati Art Museum in 1959.

69. Schaeffer, *Hours of Etienne Chevalier*, pl. 23.

70. Reproduced in *Lehman Collection*, figs. 343 and 340, respectively.

71. See S. Hindman, "Two Leaves from an Unknown Breviary: The Case for Simon Marmion," in *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and The Visions of Tondal*, ed. T. Kren (Malibu, 1992), 223–32. Lehman once owned a second Marmion leaf from the same breviary, which Hindman also discusses and illustrates. If Hindman is right, these two leaves become the only art that can be securely linked to Marmion's name via documents. A third Marmion leaf, of a battle and probably from a manuscript of the *Fleur des histoires*, is also ex-Lehman; it is reproduced by D. Thoss, *Das Epos des Burgunderreiches: Girart de Roussillon* (Graz, 1989), fig. 44 (as "Sotheby, London, 27-4-1937, lot 289").

72. See E. Shaffer, "John Frederick Lewis, 1860–1932," *Manuscripts*, 14 (1963), 42–46.

73. Morgan Library curator Meta Harrsen helped catalogue the collection; see her brief overview, "Mediaeval and Renaissance Miniatures in the John Frederick Lewis Collection in Philadelphia," *Scriptorium*, 14 (1960), 75–79. In a project funded by the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, I shot slides of the entire collection of single leaves in the summer of 1995. A set of these slides is available for study at the Free Library and a second set at the Morgan Library; a set of ciba-chrome prints is available at the Getty Center in Santa Monica.

74. K. Christiansen et al., *Painting in Renaissance Siena, 1420–1500*, exh. cat., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1988), 288–89, nos. 54a–c, illus., which are Lewis 27:29, 27:28, and 27:27, respectively.

75. A fourteenth-century historiated initial of John the Baptist Preaching (Voelkle and Wieck, *Breslauer Collection*, 174–75, no. 65) has two Philadelphia sisters in Lewis 74:2 and 74:3.

76. Miniatures by or close to Cortese at the Free Library include MSS Lewis 25:13, 25:14, 25:18 (fig. 35), 25:21, 25:27, 25:28, 26:32, 26:33, 27:6, 27:9, 27:10, 27:26, 45:11, 45:12, 68:12, 68:17, and 68:18.

77. The Class of 1907 of the Reading High School presented a "microfilm memorial" of Ege's achievement to the Reading Public Library in 1952. This document includes Ege's biography, examples of his graphic designs (including Christmas cards), bibliography, reproductions of some of his articles, and a selection of his leaves.

78. A partial listing of Ege's codices appears in S. de Ricci, with assistance of W.J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1935–1940), II, 1937–48.

79. Elizabeth Ege Freudenheim gave the Morgan Library its set of Oriental leaves in 1985 in memory of her father (MS M.1030); the following year she gave a set to the Walters Art Gallery (MS W.814).

80. The tour of Brandt's single leaves included the Cummer Gallery of Art in Jacksonville, Florida, in 1964; the J.B. Speed Art Museum in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1965; the Brooks Memorial Art Gallery in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1966; Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in 1966; the Wichita Art Museum in Wichita, Kansas, in 1968; the New York State University Art Gallery in Binghamton, New York, in 1969; the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute in Williamstown, Massachusetts, in 1970; the Georgia Museum of Art at the University of Georgia, in Athens, in 1970; the University of Kentucky in Lexington, Owensboro, the Ashland Community College, Morehead State University, and the Market House Gallery in Paducah, all in 1971 as part of the Kentucky tour of the collection sponsored by that state's Arts Commission; the Clark Art Institute again in 1974; Williams College in Williamstown, Massachusetts, in 1979; the Memorial Art Gallery in Rochester, New York, from 1982–1984; and, finally, Williams College again from 1984–1986.

81. H. Bober, *The Mortimer Brandt Collection of Medieval Manuscript Illuminations*, exh. cat. (Hatfield, 1966). Bober formed a distinguished collection of about fifty leaves of high quality. He owned, for example, at least three leaves from a book of hours that was sold in New York, Christie's, 21 October 1977, lot 103, illus., and was bought by H.P. Kraus, for whom Bober consulted and from whom he acquired leaves.

82. Breslauer, for example, bought item one in the Brandt catalogue, a thirteenth-century German Last Judgment; see Voelkle and Wieck, Breslauer Collection, 116–17, no. 33, illus.

83. Before becoming a collector of single leaves Breslauer, wearing his dealer's hat, sold two items that in later years he regretted: in 1992 he was able to re-acquire a coveted twelfth-century French missal leaf and a moving Betrayal by Simon Bening; see Voelkle and Wieck, *Breslauer Collection*, 70–71, 100–101, nos. 3 and 22, illus.

84. If Breslauer's toes touch, in a way, the nineteenth century, his head is very much in the twentieth, for, once he formed the idea of actually collecting illuminations, he did so with geography, chronology, and quality in mind.

Eleanor Patterson Spencer as Educator and Scholar

Claire Richter Sherman

This essay discusses Eleanor Patterson Spencer (1895–1992) as an educator and scholar whose career as an American art historian reflects the development of the field, specifically opportunities for women of her generation. Topics considered are Spencer's education, achievements at Goucher College, contributions to Baltimore's art institutions, and retirement years in Paris, where she researched and wrote her most substantive works on illuminated manuscripts and created lasting ties of friendship and collaboration among several generations of scholars.

Prefatory note[1]

This study originated with an invitation from Lilian Randall to address a meeting of members of Octavo Plus, the Visiting Committee of the Walters's Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books. The occasion in March 1994 marked an exhibition held at the Walters from January 18 to April 10 of that year entitled *A Bouquet of French Manuscripts: An Exhibition Remembering Eleanor Spencer.*[2] The centerpiece of the exhibition was a manuscript of a book of hours finished in Paris around 1470 by a miniaturist identified as Maître François.[3] The work of this master and his shop was the subject of Eleanor Spencer's doctoral dissertation, suggested to her by Sir Sydney C. Cockerell. Sir Sydney, bibliophile, manuscript scholar, and director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, bought this book at auction and presented it to Eleanor Spencer in 1959.[4] She then gave the manuscript (MS W.800) to the Walters in honor of her lifelong friend and the gallery's first librarian and keeper of manuscripts, Dorothy Eugenia Miner.[5] I am greatly pleased to join in honoring Lilian Randall who, with great devotion and distinction, has carried on the tradition of generous, impeccable, and illuminating scholarship of manuscripts inaugurated at the Walters by Dorothy Miner and associated also with their friend Eleanor Spencer.

Introduction

My evaluation of Eleanor Patterson Spencer (1895–1992) as educator and scholar must acknowledge her powerful influence as a friend whom I met in Paris in 1968, six years after her retirement, when she was seventy-three. Despite the difference in our ages, she encouraged me and others of my generation to call her by her first name. Eleanor was a person of great dignity. Usually dressed in sweaters, tweeds, and sensible shoes, she spoke in the distinctive, authoritative tones of the upper-class New England Yankee. Yet her radiant smile, infectious laugh, and straightforward manner made everyone, irrespective of age and station, feel immediately at home. In those years, Eleanor graciously welcomed scholars and friends, old and new, to her charming, ground-floor studio apartment on the rue Fustel de Coulanges. Furnished by the previous owner, the decor was strikingly modern, with white Scandinavian furniture and a contrasting black alcove that served as Eleanor's bedroom. A small terrace in the back was bounded by an ivy-covered wall and graced with carefully tended plants (fig. 1). Eleanor made her home a meeting place for medievalists and manuscript specialists from many countries. Believing strongly that scholarship depends on sharing information, she took pleasure in introducing people of similar research interests to one another. Certainly, I owe many scholarly connections in the field of illuminated manuscripts, both in Europe and the United States, to Eleanor's introductions. For new arrivals in Paris, a telephone call to Eleanor provided not only a warm welcome but also the latest and most authoritative news about who was in town and what was happening.

Fig. 1. Eleanor Patterson Spencer in her garden, Paris, rue Fustel de Coulanges, 1967.

During the next fifteen years, between my visits to Paris, Eleanor and I exchanged frequent letters and inaugurated a mutual clipping service encompassing both art and politics. Rereading these letters reminded me both of Eleanor's lively interest in world affairs and her generosity and kindness. Although the terms *mentor* and *network* became fashionable only later, Eleanor performed these functions for me. She offered encouragement to write, read drafts of manuscripts, mentioned publishing opportunities, and contacted scholars who could advance such efforts. She found time to support grant applications, order and post hard-to-get photographs, and find a suitable hotel in her neighborhood. Eleanor did these good deeds cheerfully, as part of the natural order of civility governing scholarly and personal relationships. From Eleanor's letters, I know that many others benefited from her social and intellectual generosity.

Education at Smith College

In pursuing a career in art history, Eleanor Spencer was following a path taken by American middle- and upper-class women of her generation. During the nineteenth century, the connection between female amateur practice and women's broader role as guardians of culture encouraged their engagement with art. Vassar, Wellesley, and Smith, the first women's colleges, founded between 1865 and 1875, featured separate schools of art for teaching painting and drawing. The women's colleges built upon the guardian-of-culture and female amateur traditions to emphasize in the curriculum, first, the study of painting and design and, later, academic programs in art history.[6] Smith and Wellesley followed the example of Vassar in founding art museums intended for study purposes.[7]

Eleanor Spencer graduated from the Mary Burnham school before entering Smith, both located in her home town of Northampton, Massachusetts. Named for its founder, Sophia Smith, Smith was the first college for women to be established by a woman. Yet, in a recurring pattern of American women's philanthropy, the shaping of the college was left to men. As Helen Horowitz has pointed out, the educational model for Smith was the male bastion of nearby Amherst College.[8] Smith's social ideals and architecture were, however, based on gender stereotypes of women's proper social roles and functions. Accordingly Smith's first president, L. Clarke Seelye (1873–1910), an Amherst professor, "announced at the beginning of the college that the arts were to be given a more important place than was usual in the colleges for men."[9] Two years after its founding, lectures in sculpture and painting were given at Smith by J. Wells Champney, a practicing artist. The college catalogue for 1877 states that both art and music were required subjects. A separate school of art, directed by Professor John H. Niemeyer of the Yale School of Art, was established in 1880.[10] This arrangement continued until 1902, when an academic department incorporating practical instruction in art was founded. The emphasis at Smith on merging the study of art with the liberal arts curriculum had a lasting influence on Eleanor Spencer's life.

From the beginning, the main building, College Hall, set aside space for a gallery for prints and photographs. President Seelye first bought plaster casts of classical and Renaissance art for study purposes. Soon, aided by Champney, he acquired original works by contemporary American artists. The Smith College

Fig. 2. Alfred Vance Churchill, ca. 1910.

Fig. 3. Eleanor Patterson Spencer, *Smith College Yearbook*, 1917.

Art Gallery was founded in 1881, secured by a gift from a local business man, Winthrop Hillyer. The gallery, later museum, developed under the guidance of later presidents supported by instructors such as the well-known landscape painter Dwight Tryon.[11]

By the time Eleanor Spencer entered Smith as an undergraduate in 1913, the college had shown considerable innovation in its curriculum and could point to the pioneering achievements of its alumnae.[12] As noted above, ten years earlier the separate art school was abolished. This action was a response to the sensitivity of the women's colleges that their connections with the female amateur tradition some-how diminished the academic respectability of their institutions. It also typified the general movement in the United States toward greater academic rigor in the teaching of art history.[13]

A leading influence on Eleanor's career was Alfred Vance Churchill (1864–1949), appointed in 1905 as head of the Smith art department and first professor of art history (fig. 2). Professor Churchill developed the curriculum and, beginning in 1914, as first director of the Smith College Museum expanded its collections to include European and Mexican art. Particularly noteworthy were his acquisitions in nineteenth-century French painting.[14]

During her years at Smith (fig. 3), Eleanor took part in extracurricular activities related to her varied intellectual interests. She was editor-in-chief of the school newspaper, the *Smith College Weekly*, art contributor to her class yearbook, member of the Alpha Society, a literary group, and chair of the costume committee of the Senior Dramatics Society. In a similar fashion, Eleanor's undergraduate art studies were combined with other liberal arts subjects. Her transcript shows many courses in English and Latin literature, including one intended for Latin teachers. Art courses stressed appreciation and practical instruction in painting and drawing. In fact, the only undergraduate instruction Eleanor had in the art of a specific period was a course in her senior year on modern painting taught by Professor Churchill. Yet the precedent of faculty teaching with original art objects nearby in the Hillyer Gallery (fig. 4) was important for Eleanor's future career. Following her graduation in 1917, Eleanor remained at Smith for two more years. In 1919 she received a master's degree in art history, one of fifteen women to receive a graduate degree in this field from the college

Fig. 4. Beulah Strong, Dwight W. Tryon, and Alfred Vance Churchill in Hillyer Gallery, Smith College, 1910.

between 1893 and 1934. In those years, she took art history courses in such specialized subjects as Greek and Italian sculpture.[15] She continued working in modern painting with Professor Churchill and produced a master's thesis on "Jean François Millet: His Relation to the Art of the Nineteenth Century." Her interest in the subject may have arisen from Churchill's own painting and firsthand knowledge of the Barbizon school.

The 1920s: early teaching career and doctoral training

Teaching was, of course, one of the few socially acceptable professions open to women.[16] After working at the Parrish Art Museum in Southampton, Long Island, Eleanor's first teaching position, from 1919 to 1920, was at Mount Holyoke. Affiliation with a woman's college was then, and for a long time, the only teaching opportunity available for female graduates. Before taking up her second position at

Pine Manor College in Wellesley, Massachusetts, Eleanor spent a year in Paris at the Sorbonne. Her study of medieval architecture with the great scholar Emile Mâle may have awakened her interest in that period. Perhaps this trip also marked the beginning of her love for the city in which she was to spend the last part of her life.

During her six years at Pine Manor (1921–1927), Eleanor effectively created the art department there. She was very proud of this achievement, which she counted as her outstanding accomplishment as an educator.[17] Important features of her teaching were preparing students to enjoy works of art on their foreign travels and to study original works in exhibitions and private and public collections in the Boston area. Eleanor used slides in her lectures and expected her students to study photographs of the works discussed.

While Eleanor was embarking on her teaching career, the discipline of art history was changing. The 1920s marked further professionalization of the field. During this decade, the doctorate replaced the master's degree as the terminal degree necessary for

advanced teaching and research. The women's colleges, so influential in the formative period of American art history, lost ground to the all-male or male-dominated research institutions that offered advanced graduate instruction. Most of them (but not Princeton) opened their doors to women candidates. Harvard offered instruction through Radcliffe College, which administered graduate degrees for women. Eleanor belonged to the first group of American women doctorates in art history.[18] Although, like their archaeologist sisters, these women had the same credentials as their male colleagues, their career opportunities were limited to teaching at the women's colleges or to working in museums.[19]

Eleanor was not only a pioneer in seeking the doctorate, she was also adventurous in her chosen field of medieval art history and her dissertation topic.[20] She studied at Harvard for two years with famous scholars in medieval studies: Arthur Kingsley Porter and Adolf Goldschmidt.[21] Eleanor's introduction to manuscript studies may have come from a seminar with Professor Goldschmidt on medieval painting. During the 1920s manuscript studies as an art historical field was just developing in American academic circles.[22] The study of illuminated manuscripts demands knowledge of various disciplines, including paleography, textual criticism, religion, and history. A scholar of manuscript illumination must also have a very keen eye to distinguish styles and evidence of related production among ateliers, and a sensitivity to the structure of the book and its cultural context. Above all, prolonged exposure to the manuscripts themselves is a prerequisite of such scholarship. Eleanor certainly undertook a very difficult subject in her dissertation on a fifteenth-century French illuminator, "Maître François and His Atelier." The decentralization of manuscript production in France during this period made the problems of localization and attribution very complex. To accomplish her research Eleanor was awarded the Paul Sachs Fellowship—the first woman to receive this honor—for two years, 1928 to 1930. While working in Paris at the Bibliothèque nationale, Eleanor met Dorothy Miner, who became her lifelong friend and colleague.

The Goucher years

Eleanor's contacts with Baltimore and the Walters Art Gallery came about as the result of her appointment, in 1930, as an associate professor in the art department of Goucher College, with which she was associated until her retirement in 1962. Founded in 1888, the college had an art department started by Hans Froelicher, a professor of German, who in 1896 gave the first course in art criticism.[23] Eleanor quickly made her mark as an educator, doubling the number of art courses from four to eight in 1931 and introducing a major in fine arts two years later. She became a full professor and chair of the department in 1936. During her tenure, the art department became the third largest on campus, and almost every student took at least one course with her.[24] Eleanor also introduced the use of slides in her lectures and built up a remarkable collection for the department. Eleanor was extremely influential as a teacher. Her enthusiasm for, and knowledge of, the subject inspired a lifelong love and devotion among her students. Official recognition of her great contributions to the college came in 1967, when she received the honorary degree of doctor of letters. Shortly before her death on 19 November 1992, a gallery in the Goucher College Meyerhoff Arts Center was named for her and a fund for scholarships that enables art students to travel for study purposes was established by a group of devoted alumnae.[25] A hallmark of her teaching, already noted at Pine Manor, was her insistence on exposing the students to original works of art in local collections, public and private. She enlisted the cooperation of the Baltimore Museum and the Walters Art Gallery in opening their collections to Goucher students. Eleanor also organized art exhibitions, presented in the college library, of loans from various institutions. On the occasion of the Maryland Tercentenary in 1934, she arranged "a two-day Institute of the Arts of Early Maryland." The program not only included lectures on the history of the arts and crafts in the state but also visits to historic architecture and private and public collections of maps, printing, and theater programs.[26]

When Eleanor joined the Goucher faculty, the college was located in downtown Baltimore. As a member of the faculty committee when the decision was made to move to its present location, Eleanor was involved in the planning and design of the new campus.[27] Eleanor was very proud of the campus's innovative radiating plan, which had the advantage of allowing for expansion.[28] Every aspect of construction, including landscape and interior design, was subject to her review.[29] Eleanor's interest in architecture, second only to her study of illuminated manuscripts, found expression also in her teaching. One of her

most popular courses was "Houses and Housing," her strategy for "teaching architecture to young women."[30] Eleanor's expertise in the field led to her active role in the Society of Architectural Historians, which she served as secretary (1953) and member of the governing board (1954–1957). Her love of the subject and the city which she claimed as her own culminated in a volume coauthored with Richard Howland.[31] The contribution of *The Architecture of Baltimore*, which for the first time surveyed the city's architectural heritage from the colonial period to 1920, was recognized in the introduction by the prominent architectural historian, Henry-Russell Hitchcock. While the book served as a catalogue for a temporary exhibition at the Peale Museum, the material gathered became part of the permanent collection of the museum's archives. Eleanor later served as a trustee of the museum.

Eleanor thus worked extensively on behalf of Baltimore's art institutions. In this role, she joined a group of extremely capable women employed in city museums.[32] Best known is Adelyn Dohme Breeskin (1896–1986) who began her career at the Baltimore Museum of Art in 1930, advanced to acting director in 1942 and to director from 1947 to 1962.[33] Breeskin appointed Gertrude Rosenthal (1903–1989), whom Eleanor Spencer first hired as a lecturer and art librarian at Goucher, research director (1945) and then chief curator (1948). In that position Rosenthal organized a series of landmark exhibitions.[34] Also at the Baltimore Museum, from 1943 to 1954, Belle Boas (1884–1953), former art teacher of Dorothy Miner, headed the department of art education, a field that deeply interested Eleanor Spencer.[35] Eleanor herself served as a trustee of the Baltimore Museum and considered the institution a vital resource in making the city a center for the study of art. She fostered the collaboration of the city's academic institutions with the museum and gave her Goucher course on prints in the print department there.[36]

Of particular interest is Eleanor's relationship to the Walters Art Gallery. She had lived in Baltimore for four years when the Walters opened to the public. Two of its original curators were women: the two Dorothys, Hill and Miner. In January 1935, as a member of a committee headed by Professor George Boas of Johns Hopkins, Eleanor suggested that the Walters provide the focus of an educational program for the city of Baltimore.[37] In time Eleanor became a trustee of the Walters. Mutual devotion to "manuscript sleuthing" fostered the collaboration and friendship between Eleanor and Dorothy Miner.[38] For Eleanor the Walters served as a center for her

Fig 5. Saint Anne, the Virgin and Child, and Anne, Duchess of Bedford. Bedford Hours. London, BL, MS Add. 18850, fol. 257v.

continued exploration of her chosen field of fifteenth-century manuscripts in the years when academic and family obligations prevented her from traveling to European libraries. During her retirement, her lively letters kept Dorothy Miner abreast of European news and developments relating to medieval manuscripts.

In the 1930s, Eleanor combined intense involvement with Baltimore art institutions, teaching, and the care of her parents with activism in combatting the Great Depression and the rise of Nazism. She was a member of "a Works Projects Administration committee helping artists and architects who could no longer sell their works."[39] The committee approved projects submitted by the artists. Eleanor was also sensitive to the plight of Jewish art historians, like Gertrude Rosenthal, who had to flee Germany. In 1936 to 1937 Eleanor invited Jakob Rosenberg, later a professor at Harvard, former curator of prints at the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin, to give a course on his special field, Dutch painting of the seventeenth century.

The pressure of academic and community commitments contributed to limiting Eleanor's publications during the 1930s and 1940s to short articles. Among them are several pieces on illuminated

Fig. 6. Annunciation. Bedford Hours. London, BL, MS Add. 18850, fol. 32r.

Fig. 7. Dom Louis de Busco in Prayer Presented to the Virgin and Child by St. Mary Magdalen. Psalter. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.286, fol. 11r.

manuscripts, including her first publication (in French), which appeared in 1931. The subject is an unpublished French fifteenth-century book of hours in the Ruskin Museum in Sheffield, England, called to her attention by Sir Sydney Cockerell.[40] With a firm grasp of historical context and knowledge of related works, she attributes the manuscript to the famous master, Jean Fouquet. Typical of the broad range of her interests is an article on an eighteenth-century Maryland printer's widow, published in a charming, and now rare, volume produced by a group of women printers, illustrators, and authors.[41]

Retirement and scholarship

Eleanor had to postpone opportunities for extensive research and publication until her retirement. Like other women's colleges, Goucher did not have the resources to support the level of faculty research available in graduate institutions. So it is not surprising that after the death of her parents, Eleanor decided to retire to Paris, the logical center for research on French manuscripts, with easy access to many European libraries. She received first a

Fulbright scholarship and later an American Council of Learned Societies award to research the field that she had so long cultivated: fifteenth-century manuscripts. The 1960s and 1970s marked the heyday of her scholarly research and writing. Eleanor was open to new approaches to her subject, such as that of codicology, the study of manuscript books as integrated physical objects. In particular, she enjoyed her associations with Gilbert Ouy and his Paris-based research group, as well as with the Belgian scholar L.M.J. Delaissé and his school.[42]

Eleanor's writings of this period show the results of stimulating personal contacts and opportunities for extensive library and museum research. Following her retirement, two articles on a manuscript recently acquired by the Bibliothèque royale in Brussels, *L'horloge de sapience*, shows not only an excitement in identifying the miniaturists, but also in decoding the unusual iconographic program and its rich theological and political content.[43] Her articles on the Bedford Master published in the *Burlington Magazine* further exemplify her approach. Studies of the Bedford Hours (London, BL, Add. MS 18850) and the Salisbury Breviary (Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 17294), manuscripts dating from the 1420s, are models of

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Fig. 8. King David in Prayer. Psalter. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.286, fol. 21r.

Fig. 9. Annunciation. Book of hours. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.252, fol. 30r.

precision in their clear writing, organization, and exposition.[44] Detective work of a high order takes place in unraveling the questions of patronage and dating and in identifying the styles of the Bedford Master, his associates, and assistants. Knowledge of iconography, heraldry, historical events, manuscript production, and church ritual buttress the main arguments founded on a technical and aesthetic appreciation of the colors, materials, and design of all the pictorial and decorative elements. Her analyses of two key full-page signature miniatures by the head master in the Bedford Hours—Saint Anne with the Virgin and Child and the Duchess of Bedford (fig. 5) and the Annunciation (fig. 6)—synthesize all aspects of her knowledge of the manuscript.

Eleanor impressively applies her research of the rituals and personalities of the Carthusian order to her study of a French late fifteenth-century Walters manuscript (W.286) for a volume honoring Dorothy Miner. "Dom Louis de Busco's Psalter" opens with a lucid account of the patron's career. Eleanor discovers that the surprising presence in the first miniature of Petrarch's prayer to the Magdalen in French relates to her role as Dom Louis's patron saint (fig.7).[45] She acknowledges the help of Lilian Randall in identifying the distinctive gloss to the psalms, first seen in the text below King David in Prayer (fig. 8). "Composed in 1463 by the Spanish Dominican Juan Torquemada," she states that the gloss is identical to that of a psalter text printed in incunables of 1470 and 1489.[46] Eleanor's profound knowledge of the textual structure of the book and contemporary French manuscript painting informs her sophisticated discussion of the scribes and the illuminators involved in the production of the book: Maître François and his atelier. Eleanor ably relates phases of the master's career to two other manuscripts in the Walters (W.252 and W.214). For example, using the Virgin's canopy as a key motif, she establishes the Annunciation scene in the former manuscript (fig. 9), which she dates about 1470, as a model for the first miniature in Dom Louis's psalter (fig. 7). By a convincing series of comparisons to other manuscripts, she attributes the illuminations in Dom Louis's psalter to Maître François's chief associate and successor, whose career she successfully charts and dates. Eleanor made all these complex connections seem easy—a hallmark of sophisticated scholarship.

Eleanor was tremendously pleased by her publication of a manuscript in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle that she had first seen during her dissertation research.[47] When she resumed her study

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Fig. 10. Margaret of Burgundy(?) in Prayer. Sobieski Hours. Windsor Castle, Royal Library, fol. 162v.

Fig. 11. Pilgrims Visiting Mont-Saint-Michel. Sobieski Hours. Windsor Castle, Royal Library, fol. 204v.

of the Bedford Master, she asked permission to publish an article on the Sobieski Hours. The Queen's librarian, Sir Robin Mackworth-Young, suggested that she publish a book that he might present to the Roxburghe Club, a select group of bibliophiles. A rule of the club calls for a member to see a book through the press and present it to his fellow members. Eleanor was extremely pleased that she was "the only American woman ever invited to write the text for a book of the Roxburghe Club."[48] This elegant publication is a worthy climax to Eleanor's scholarly career.

Her treatment of the complex history of the Sobieski Hours, dating from about 1420 to 1425, again shows Eleanor's powers of scholarly detection. She attributes the planning of the entire work to the Bedford Master himself, assisted by two illuminators known as the Fastolf Master and the Master of the Munich Golden Legend. The entries for various illuminations testify to her profound knowledge of the relationship among liturgy, devotional practices, and iconography, as well as to a very keen eye for style and techniques.

Eleanor believes that the original owner was probably Margaret of Burgundy (fig. 10), sister of Anne, Duchess of Bedford (fig. 5). Certainly a similarity between the two miniatures indicates a "family" resemblance. While fully exploring the religious and textual contexts, including a poem in honor of Saint Margaret, Eleanor takes care not to stretch the somewhat tenuous threads of the historical evidence too far in favor of Margaret of Burgundy. She recognizes that the identification of the childless princess with this patron is strengthened by a possible appeal to Saint Margaret, patron saint of expectant mothers. Eleanor also observes that the presence of three women, identifiable as the mother and two sisters of Margaret, makes such an identification possible.[49]

Eleanor's flair for writing also makes a scene come alive. She eloquently describes the landscape in the page devoted to Saint Michael in the Sobieski Hours (fig. 11). She begins her description of the Mont-Saint-Michel landscape this way:

> As we approach, we look down upon a group of the pilgrims, the *Michelets*, with whom Chaucer

would have felt at home. The party has stopped for drinks at an inn on the mainland and the serving maid has come out to collect the last cup and watch them depart. The tide is out, leaving rivulets in the sand. Something is wrong with the cart but no one has noticed the devil who is poking a stick into it—no one, that is, except St. Michael who swoops down to help his pilgrims. One of the ships offshore is in trouble too but the Saint himself drives off the two devils who are breaking the mast and tearing the sail. Inside the walls of the Mount all is quiet; only four people and a little dog are on their way up to the shrine.[50]

This eloquent account is supplemented by Eleanor's knowledge of both the architecture of Mont-Saint-Michel and contemporary historical events to permit accurate dating of the miniature between 1417 and 1421, when the old Romanesque nave of the chapel collapsed.[51]

Eleanor's contribution to the history of the fifteenth-century book was recognized at a 1977 symposium held in connection with the exhibition and publication of *Pen to Press*, which deals with the transition from manuscript culture to the printed book.[52] The session entitled "Pictorial Interchange: Manuscripts and Printed Books" was dedicated to her. Eleanor contributed a paper on "Antoine Vérard and His Painted Vellum Incunables."

Conclusion

One perspective from which to examine Eleanor's career is to view her professional training and experience as representative of American women art historians of her generation. She attended female institutions and taught at them for her whole professional life. Indeed, her choice of art history as a field was one fostered by the acceptance at the women's colleges of education in art as a suitable subject for females. Eleanor's training at Smith formed her lifelong approach to art education as a humanistic discipline and to formal principles of design, style, and techniques as fundamental tools for understanding artistic production. As noted above, the rapid professionalization of art history in the 1920s witnessed the domination of art history by research universities controlled by men. An orientation favoring a "scientific, objective" stance appears motivated, perhaps unconsciously, by an attempt to erase associations with the female amateur strain in art history identified with art appreciation. Certainly Eleanor's experience at Harvard, via the

mediation of Radcliffe, exemplified such a trend. In a letter she expressed her dissatisfaction with her Harvard professors because of their insensitivity to art works as objects no different from literary texts.[53]

Eleanor was certainly a pioneer as one of the first group of American women—and men—to receive the doctorate in art history. Although she was a very successful teacher and administrator and had students who later received advanced degrees in art history, she had no graduate students who would in their written scholarship carry on her teachings and found distinctive schools of research or institutes. Nor did she receive the various types of support available to her (largely male) colleagues at research institutions. The field and topic of her doctoral dissertation were innovative and adventurous. Like other female scholars, she turned to new fields of research still free of masculine domination. Typical also of professional women of her generation, she remained single and undertook the care and support of her family. Only after her parents' death and her retirement was she free to concentrate on her research. To begin at the age of sixty-seven a major work of scholarly synthesis is not an easy task. Although she did not produce her long awaited survey of French fifteenth-century manuscript illumination, her work laid the foundation for subsequent scholars' research. The generous gift of her papers to the Department of Western Manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale de France assures future generations access to her life's work.

Eleanor's career has broader dimensions. Her contributions to Baltimore art institutions fall outside the boundaries of narrow professional criteria of achievement. Her commitment to the excellence of architectural design of the new Goucher campus is just one example of her effort to make art an effective force in community life. Her vision of Baltimore as a city that would use art to educate its citizens in humanistic values underlay her untiring work on municipal commissions and for the cultural institutions of her adopted city. Her devotion to the Walters Art Gallery continued throughout her life, as she saw the potentials of the gallery as an essential laboratory for research and education.

With a rare vision of using her retirement to fulfill long deferred opportunities, she enjoyed Paris as the ideal location for combining the active with the contemplative life. Fulbright and American Council of Learned Societies awards brought recognition not only of her scholarly abilities, but also of the legitimate commitment of older scholars to research and publication. Always looking outward, she found

renewed scope as an educator in acting as a mentor to younger scholars. In short, Eleanor's most distinctive and lasting influence as educator and scholar is inseparable from her embodiment of the ideals to which she committed her personal and professional life.

Washington, D.C.

Notes

1. I wish to thank the following archivists for their help in securing photographs, transcripts, and other unpublished college materials: Jane Knowles, Radcliffe College; Sydney Roby, Goucher College; and Margery Sly, Smith College.

2. E. Burin, "A Bouquet of French Manuscripts: Remembering Eleanor Spencer," *Walters Art Gallery Bulletin*, (January 1994), 4–5.

3. Ibid., 4.

4. In Wilfrid Blunt's biography (*Cockerell* [New York, 1965], 357), Sir Sydney's diary entry for Christmas 1959 mentions Eleanor Spencer among the friends gathered at his house in Kew for a lunch party.

5. For MS W.800, see L.M.C. Randall et al., *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, II, France, 1420–1540* (Baltimore an London, 1992), 266–70, no. 156. For a fifteenth-century processional (MS W.801) also donated by Eleanor Spencer, see ibid., 199–201, no. 140. In a separate gift of 1973, she gave fifteen leaves from various fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscripts (MS W.785 a–l).

See also C.R. Sherman, "Dorothy Eugenia Miner (1904–1973): The Varied Career of a Medievalist: Scholar and Keeper of Manuscripts, Librarian and Editor at the Walters Art Gallery," in *Women as Interpreters of the Visual Arts, 1820–1979*, ed. C.R. Sherman with A.M. Holcomb (Westport, Conn., 1981), 377–409.

6. Sherman, *Women as Interpreters*, 16–20.

7. For accounts of the galleries and early art departments of several women's colleges, see P. Askew, "The Department of Art at Vassar: 1865–1931," in *The Early Years of Art History in the United States*, ed. C.H. Smyth and P.M. Lukehart (Princeton, 1993), 57–63; and in the same volume, P.W. Lehmann, "The Study of Art at Smith College," 65–67; and C.R. Sherman, "The Departments of Art, Wellesley College, and the History of Art and Classical Archaeology, Bryn Mawr College, 1875–1914," 151–59.

8. H.L. Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (Boston, 1984), 69–73.

9. H.N. Gardiner and W.A. Neilson, "Smith College: The First Seventy-Five Years," 136, unpublished manuscript, William Alan Neilson Papers, Smith College Archives.

10. "A four-year course was planned in drawing, painting, sculpture, and etching, with lectures on the history of art and on Anatomy, Perspective, and Composition." Ibid., 136.

11. From 1881 until 1923, Tryon was an instructor of drawing and painting, first in the separate art school and later in the academic department. Tryon also served as President Seelye's "chief adviser in purchases for the gallery, and through him came a collection of Oriental art from Mr. Freer of Detroit." At the end of his career Tryon gave considerable funds "for the erection of the Tryon Gallery" and an endowment for the art department. Ibid., 137–38. For further details about the Smith College Museum of Art, see C.

Chetham, *Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Paintings from the Collection of the Smith College Museum of Art*, exh. cat., (Northampton, Mass., 1970), [1–9].

12. The first course in Greek archaeology was given at Smith in 1900 by Harriet Boyd (later Hawes), a member of the class of 1892. Boyd became the first woman ever to lead and publish the results of an archaeological expedition, her discovery of the Bronze Age site of Gournia in Crete between 1901 and 1904. See M. Allsebrook, *Born to Rebel: The Life of Harriet Boyd Hawes* (Oxford, 1992).

13. Sherman, *Women as Interpreters*, 44. The founding of the College Art Association of America in 1913 also marked a significant step in the professionalization of art history. By 1917 the membership of this organization, which strongly emphasized art education, was almost fifty percent female, a reflection of the important role of the women's colleges in the early stages of the development of American art history.

14. Gardiner and Neilson, "Smith College," 138.

15. Eleanor studied with Clarence Kennedy, a scholar of Renaissance sculpture, who brought new distinction to the department. Professor Kennedy's exceptional talent as a photographer of sculpture and architecture led to the improvement of the teaching collections. See Lehmann, "Smith College," 66.

16. As a graduate student, Eleanor was listed in the Smith catalogue for 1917–1918 as a "Demonstrator in Art," perhaps the equivalent of a teaching fellow.

17. In a series of four courses, she created a sequence that surveyed Western art from Egypt to the Renaissance and then concentrated on the history of painting from the seventeenth century to the present day. The latter course emphasized "the rise of the different schools of painting, as an expression of the changing ideals and social conditions of the various periods." *Pine Manor College* (Wellesley, Mass.), 1925–1926, 31–32.

18. Between 1925 and 1932, Radcliffe produced twelve doctorates in the field (exclusive of archaeology and anthropology) as compared to fifteen at Harvard. See P. Hiss and R. Fansler, *Research in Fine Arts in the Colleges and Universities of the United States* (New York, 1934), 186–87 and 194.

19. Sherman, *Women as Interpreters*, 45.

20. In 1925 she took two courses at the Harvard Summer School in architectural history with Kenneth Conant and George Edgell.

21. See L. Seidel, "Arthur Kingsley Porter: Life, Legend, and Legacy," in *Early Years of Art History*, 97–110; for accounts of the Fine Arts Department at Harvard in the same volume, see E.M.M. Warburg, "An Undergraduate's Experience of Fine Arts at Harvard University in the 1920s," 43–46; A. Mongan, "Harvard and the Fogg," 47–50; J. Coolidge, "The Harvard Fine Arts Department," 51–53; and S.G. Kantor, "The Beginnings of Art History at Harvard and the 'Fogg Method'," 161–74.

22. The impetus was the opening to the public of two great private collections of manuscripts: in New York, the Pierpont Morgan Library in 1924 and in Baltimore, the holdings of William and Henry Walters ten years later. Charles Rufus Morey of Princeton, who gave the first course in illuminated manuscripts in 1913, was followed at Columbia by Meyer Schapiro and at Harvard by Professors Goldschmidt and Porter. Sherman, *Women As Interpreters*, 67.

23. Goucher had a separate art school, which, like those at Smith and Wellesley, was abandoned in 1902 to 1903. See A.H. Knipp and T.P. Thomas, *The History of Goucher College* (Baltimore, 1938), 65.

24. R. Dorsey, "Eleanor Patterson Spencer, Professor Emerita," *Goucher Quarterly*, 66/2 (Winter 1988), 15.

25. See P.M. Sekler, "A Tribute to Eleanor Patterson Spencer,

Delivered on the Occasion of the Dedication of the Eleanor Spencer Critique Gallery, Goucher College" (Towson, Md., 2 March 1991); "Eleanor Spencer Fund, Goucher College," brochure, n.d.; K.H. Harrop, "Eleanor Patterson Spencer, A Professor Who Inspired Devotion and a Passion for Art," *Goucher Quarterly,* 72/2 (Spring 1993), 9–10.

26. Knipp and Thomas, *Goucher College,* 357–58.

27. The New York architects Moore and Hutchins were chosen as the result of a competition sponsored by the American Institute of Architects. E. Stevens, "Eleanor Spencer's Second Career," *Baltimore Sun,* 13 July 1980, D3.

28. Ibid., D3.

29. Dorsey, "Eleanor Patterson Spencer," 15.

30. E. Stevens, "Miss Spencer, In Winning Goucher Is Won By City," *Baltimore Sun,* 4 June 1962, 30–31.

31. *The Architecture of Baltimore: A Pictorial History* (Baltimore, 1953); the editor's preface, v–vii, by the Peale Museum's director, W.H. Hunter, Jr., describes the project's history.

32. A trend setter in this regard was Florence Levy (1870–1947), who served on a part-time basis from 1922 to 1926 as the first director of the Baltimore Museum. See K.R. Greenfield, *The Museum: Its First Half Century,* Baltimore Museum of Art, Annual I (Baltimore, 1966), 8; Sherman, *Women As Interpreters,* 52, 53, 80, and 450; K. Taylor, "Pioneering Efforts of Early Museum Women," in *Gender Perspectives: Essays on Women in Museums,* ed. J.R. Glaser and A.A. Zenetou (Washington, D.C. 1994), 18.

33. Breeskin's most outstanding contribution as director was the acquisition of the famous collection of modern art assembled by Baltimore residents, Dr. Claribel and Etta Cone. For the role of Breeskin, and that of Gertrude Rosenthal as chief curator in achieving this coup, see the introduction by Arnold Lehman, the museum's director, in B. Richardson, *Dr. Claribel and Miss Etta: The Cone Collection of the Baltimore Museum of Art* (Baltimore, [ca. 1985]), 14–18. As a curator and scholar, Breeskin pioneered research on the graphic art of Mary Cassatt, beginning with an exhibition in the mid-1930s. She took special pride in overseeing the growth of the museum's print collection. For an overview of Breeskin's career, including her work in Washington museums after her retirement, see B. Forgey, "Appreciation: The Art of Adelyn Breeskin," *Washington Post,* 27 July 1986, G1 and G10.

34. See Greenfield, *The Museum,* 70; Sherman, *Women As Interpreters,* 79 and 453.

35. Greenfield, *The Museum,* 71–73; Sherman, *Women As Interpreters,* 381.

36. Greenfield, *The Museum,* 74.

37. Typescript of Eleanor Spencer's preliminary analysis of the program, Archives of Goucher College. The first part of the report features a research institute modeled on the recently established Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

38. For the term, see D. Miner, "Manuscript Sleuthing," *Walters Art Gallery Bulletin,* 3/2 (Nov. 1950), n.p.

39. Stevens, "Eleanor Spencer's Second Career," D3.

40. "Les heures de Diane de Croy attribuées à Jean Foucquet," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* (June 1931), 329–39.

41. "The Printer's Relict: An Example to Her Sex" in *Bookmaking on the Distaff Side* (Baltimore, 1937), [1–8]. A different press printed each signature; Eleanor's essay was done by the Amphora Press. For a bibliography of her writings, compiled by P.M. Sekler et al., see *A Tribute to Eleanor Patterson Spencer,* 15–17.

42. See L.M.J. Delaissé, "Towards a History of the Medieval Book,"

Codicologica, 1 (1976), 75–83; and R.H. Rouse and M.A. Rouse, "Codicology, Western European," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages,* ed. J. R. Strayer (New York, 1983), III, 475–78.

43. "L'horloge de sapience of Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. IV.111," *Scriptorium,* 17/2 (1963), 277–99; "Gerson, Ciboule and the Bedford Master's Shop (Bruxelles, Bibl. Royale, Ms. IV.111, Part II)," *Scriptorium,* 19/1 (1965), 104–108. In his monograph (*The Brussels Horloge de Sapience* [Leiden, 1990], vii), P.R. Monks not only refers repeatedly to Eleanor's work on the manuscript, but also thanks her for her hospitality during his visit to Paris in 1982.

44. "The Master of the Duke of Bedford: The Bedford Hours," *Burlington Magazine* 107 (October 1965), 495–502; "The Master of the Duke of Bedford: The Salisbury Breviary," *Burlington Magazine,* 108 (June 1966), 607–12.

45. "Dom Louis de Busco's Psalter," in *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner,* ed. U.E. McCracken, L.M.C. Randall, and Richard M. Randall, Jr. (Baltimore, 1974), 229.

46. Ibid., 229 and n. 7.

47. *The Sobieski Hours* (London, 1977); Stevens, "Eleanor Spencer's Second Career," D3.

48. The book was printed in an edition of 500 copies by Will Carter at the Rampant Lions Press in Cambridge, England. Stevens, "Eleanor Spencer's Second Career," D3.

49. Spencer, *Sobieski Hours,* 3–4.

50. Ibid., 37–38.

51. Ibid., 38.

52. S. Hindman and J.D. Farquhar, *Pen to Press: Illustrated Manuscripts and Printed Books in the First Century of Printing,* exh. cat., College Park, University of Maryland Art Deparment Gallery, Sept. 15–Oct. 23, 1977 , (College Park, Md., 1977). Another paper on the same topic was read at a colloquium at the Warburg Institute in March, 1982 and published in *Manuscripts in the Fifty Years After the Invention of Printing,* ed. J.B. Trapp (London, 1982), 62–65.

53. Letter to the author, 8 January 1978.

PHOTOGRAPHS: fig. 1, Patricia May Sekler; figs. 2–4, Smith College Archives; figs. 5 , 6, London, BL; figs. 7–9, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; figs. 10, 11, © Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

The Hospitaller Master in Paris and Acre:
Some Reconsiderations in Light of New Evidence

Jaroslav Folda

Pl. 1. Saint Martin blessing three cripples. *Libellus* of Saint Martin, Paris, ca. 1276–1280. Paris, BNF, ms. lat. 5334, fol. 1r.

Pl. 2. *Genesis*: Creation and the Seventh Day. Selections from the Bible in Old French, Acre, ca. 1280. Paris, BNF, ms. nouv. aqu. fr. 1404, fol. 2r.

Pl. 3. Zeuxis prepares an image of Helen for the Crotonian temple of Juno. Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and *De inventione*, Acre, 1282. Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 433 (590), fol. 45v.

Pl. 4. Bohemund sails west; Bohemund with King Philippe I and his daughters. Book 11, William of Tyre, *History of Outremer*, Acre, ca. 1286. Paris, BNF, ms. fr. 9084, fol. 125v.
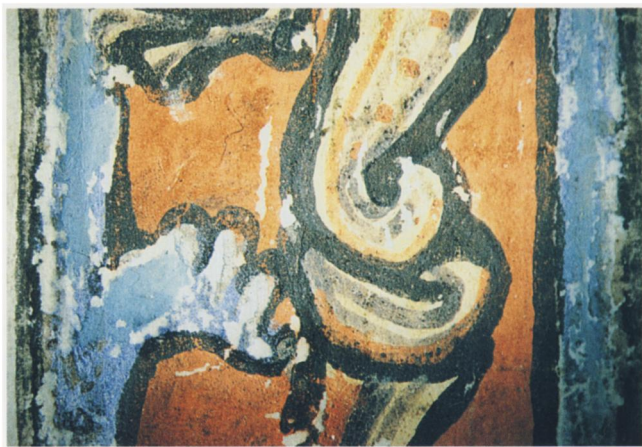

Pl. 5. The haute cour of the Latin Kingdom meets in Jerusalem. Jean d'Ibelin, *Livre des assises*, Acre, ca. 1290. Venice, Bibl. Marciana, ms. fr. app. 20 (=265), fol. 1r.

Mixing Styles on the Pilgrimage Roads:
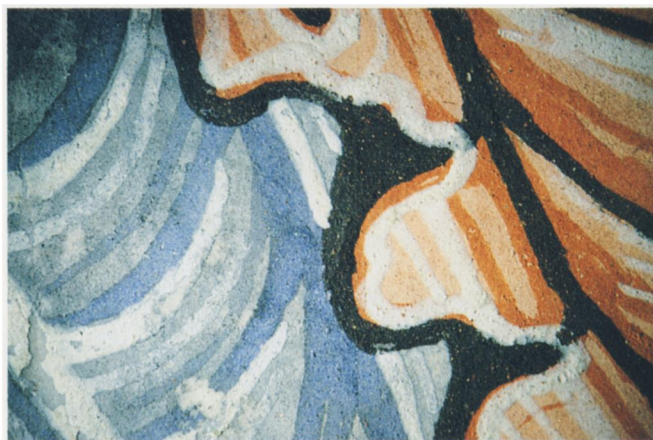# A Romanesque Manuscript in the Walters Art Gallery

Elizabeth Burin

Pl. 1. Detail of initial in figure 4. Gospel Book. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.17, fol. 8v.

Pl. 2. Detail of angel's wings in figure 1. Gospel Book. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.17, fol. 8v.

Pl. 3. Detail of drapery in figure 1. Gospel Book. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W.17, fol. 8v.

Art and Experience in Dutch Manuscript Illumination around 1400: Transcending the Boundaries

James H. Marrow

Pl.1. Christ appears to the Apostles with Old Testament prefigurations and prophets. Golden *Biblia pauperum*. London, BL, Kings MS 5, fol. 24 (in original, folded format).

Pl. 2. Judas receives the thirty pieces of silver with Old Testament prefigurations and prophets. Golden *Biblia pauperum.* London, BL, Kings MS 5, fol. 11.

What Goes Around: Borders and Frames in French Manuscripts

Myra D. Orth

Pl. 1. Master of the Getty Epistles, Saint Paul, in an Italianate tabernacle frame facing a border of fruit on leafy stems. *Epistles of Saint Paul* with the *Prefaces of Saint Jerome*, ca. 1530. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS Ludwig I 15; 83.MA.64, fols. 7v–8.

Pl. 2. 1520s Hours Workshop, Saint John the Baptist contemplating a distant scene of the Visitation, ca. 1530. The Hague, Royal Library, ms 74 G 38, fol. 26v.