

Flemish Manuscript Painting in Context

Recent Research

Edited by Elizabeth Morrison and Thomas Kren

Based on symposia held at
the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles
(September 5–6, 2003), and at
the Courtauld Institute of Art, London
(February 21, 2004, under the
sponsorship of the Courtauld Institute
and the Royal Academy of Arts),
with an additional essay by Margaret Scott

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This publication is based on selected papers presented at two symposia, one at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (September 5–6, 2003), the other at the Courtauld Institute of Art, London (February 21, 2004, under the sponsorship of the Courtauld Institute and the Royal Academy of Arts), and a lecture by Margaret Scott presented at the Getty Museum August 7, 2003. These events were held in conjunction with the exhibition *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, held at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, from June 17 to September 7, 2003, and at The Royal Academy of Arts, London, from November 25, 2003, to February 22, 2004.

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Front cover

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

Back cover

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

Frontispiece

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

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

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

Dominique Vanwijnsberghe

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

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

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

The "Le Sauvage" Hours

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

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

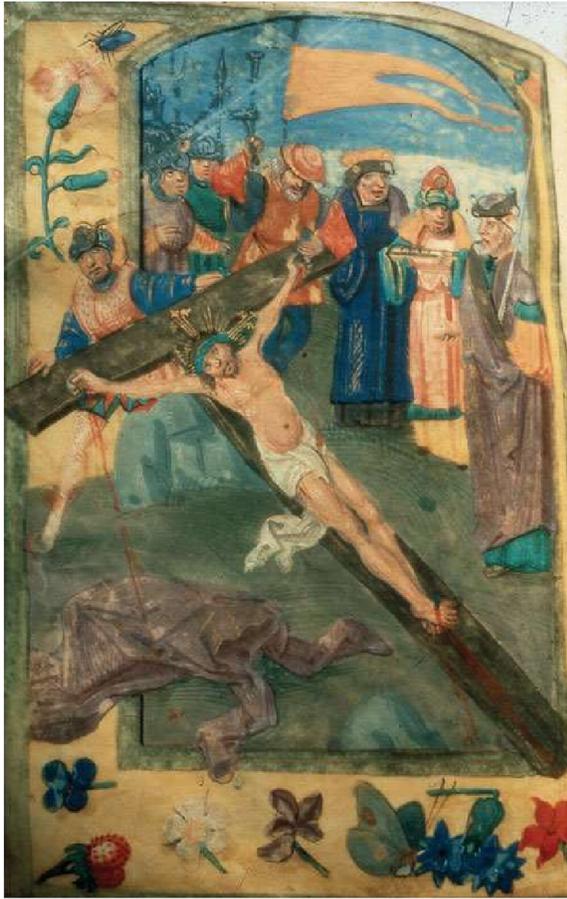


Figure 11.1
Jean Markant. *Christ Nailed to the Cross*, in the Le Sauvage Hours. Whereabouts unknown.



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

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

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



The Markant Group

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

One of the most striking examples is the *Mass of Saint Gregory* (figs. 11.3, 11.4), found in five manuscripts.⁶ Very characteristic is the arrangement of the altar and its ornaments, with the missal on a lectern directed not to the priest but to the reader and placed at right angles to the front part of the altar; the flagellation column with the knotted rope; and the Man of Sorrows emerging from the tomb. The miniatures of David in prayer (figs. 11.5, 11.6) in seven of the books of hours⁷ are derived from a common model, as are those of the *Annunciation*⁸ and *Saint John the Baptist*.⁹

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

Figure 11.3

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

Figure 11.4

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



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



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

column of the falling idols in the *Flight into Egypt* of the Huntington (fig. 11.8) and Baltimore Hours. A comparison with the Madrid *Presentation* (fig. 11.9) shows how the model could be used and reinterpreted. In the Brussels Hours, the pedestal was omitted, so that the slab of the altar and the column appear to float in the air. The green cloth behind the high priest, with its typical square pattern of folds underlined in gold, appears in the *Annunciation* of the Huntington Hours (fol. 31v). The concave moldings of the arches and openings of these miniatures are also found in, among others, the Madrid hours (figs. 11.7, 11.9).

An Illuminator in Tournai and Lille

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

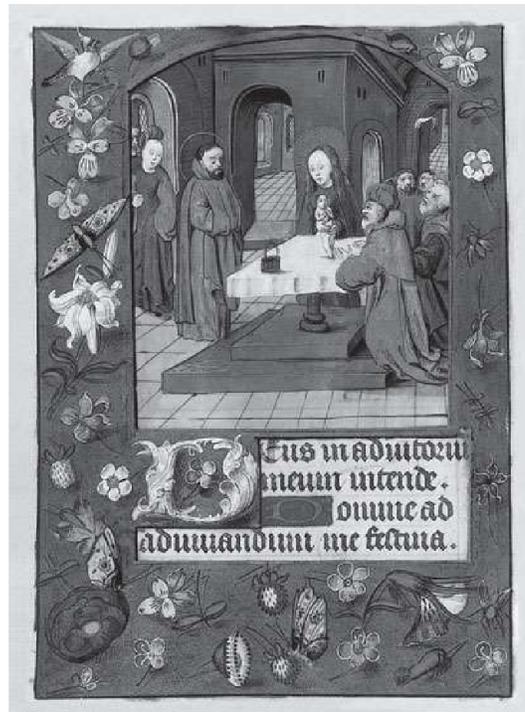
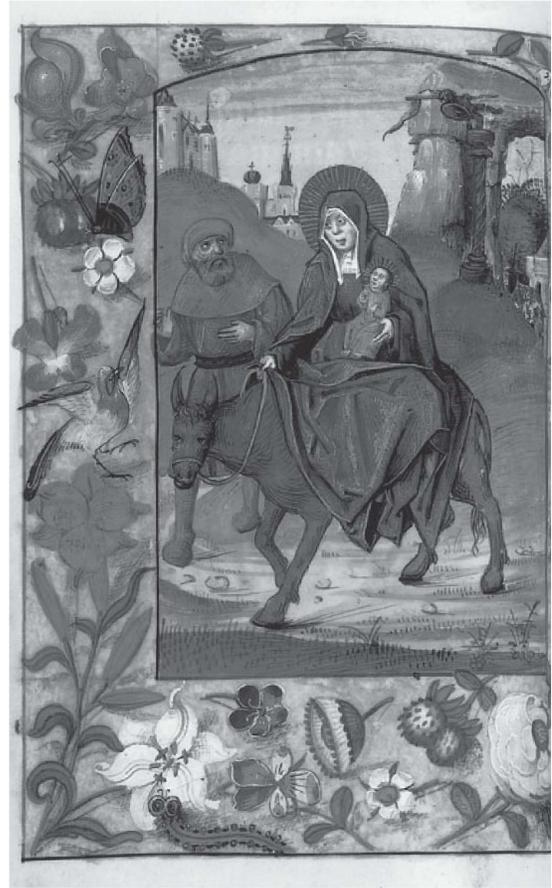


Figure 11.7
Jean Markant. *Presentation*, in a book of hours. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. II 7605, fol. 69v.

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

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

No traces of Markant had previously been found in records from Lille,¹¹ although he was known to have worked in the neighboring towns of Tournai and Bruges. In 1489 he was mentioned as an apprentice of Jean César,¹² probably the most important Tournaisian illuminator of the last quarter of the fifteenth century, who trained no fewer than five pupils.¹³ César's style has not been identified yet, but a manuscript illuminated by Arnould le Peletier, another of his apprentices,¹⁴ still exists: a remarkable *Vie du Christ-Vengeance de Notre-Seigneur* painted in 1496.¹⁵ My hope is that the study of the sources for both Markant and Le Peletier may eventually permit us to identify the most prolific Tournaisian workshop of its time.

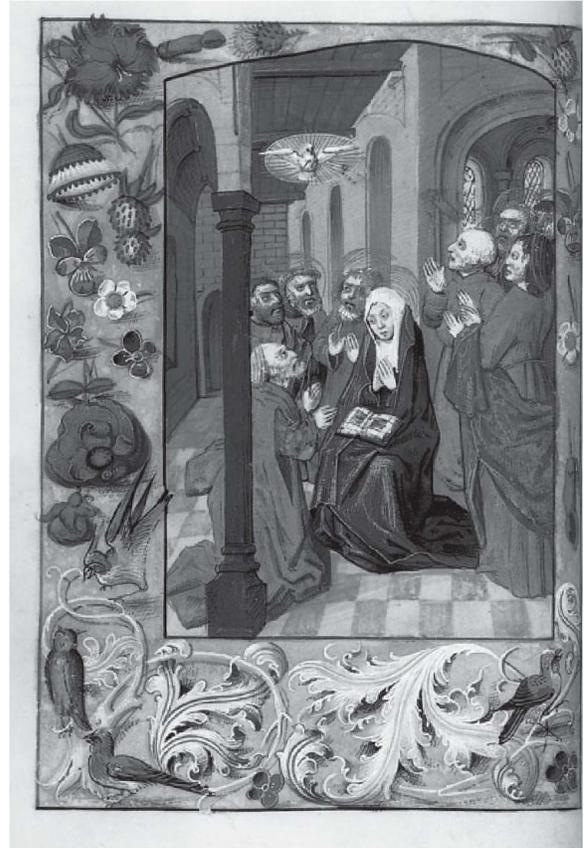
Thanks to the colophon in the *Le Sauvage Hours*, we can suggest that by 1503 Markant had settled in Lille. He appears to have been resident there, since he worked for citizens or institutions in Lille during the first three decades of the sixteenth century. Among his patrons were persons connected to the local Franciscan community;¹⁶ Marie Mussart, from a well-known Lille family;¹⁷ Jeanne Martinache, prioress of the hospital at Seclin, south of Lille;¹⁸ and Laurence Baillet, widow of François Van Hoyqueslot, a native of The Hague, who became a citizen of Lille in 1532.¹⁹ From 1522 to 1531 Markant was paid for calligraphic work for the city council in Lille.²⁰ In 1532–34 he was still at work for the hospital of Saint Julian in Lille, from which he received payments for calligraphy and illuminations.²¹ This is the last known record of his activity. He may also have trained illuminators, such as the somewhat crude painter of a book of hours made for a nun at the Hospice Comtesse,²² who was clearly one of his followers.

Markant and the Master of Edward IV

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

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

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



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

The Master of Edward IV in Lille?

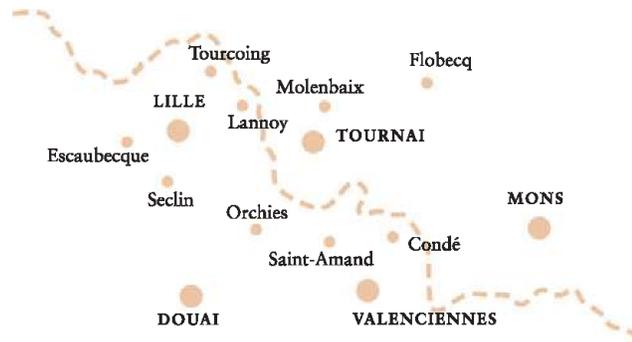
This brings us to a hypothesis put forward by Brinkmann in his monograph on the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book.³¹ Could it be that, just like the Dresden Master, the Master of Edward IV was compelled to leave Bruges when supporters of the Hapsburgs — or at least artists who had worked for the court — encountered political difficulties in Flemish Flanders?³²

As Brinkmann and McKendrick have noted, the 1480s saw new developments in the style and clientele of the Edward Master.³³ In just this period, he worked extensively for patrons from northern France and Hainaut, most prominent among them Baudouin II of Lannoy and John II of Oettingen. Baudouin had several possessions in the Tournai-Lille region (fig. 11.12): he was lord of Molenbaix and Tourcoing and governor of the bailiwick of Lille, Douai,

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

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

Figure 11.12
Map of the Tournai-Lille region.



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

Viewed together, this evidence points to a sojourn of the Master of Edward IV in the southern part of Flanders, and Lille appears to be the most likely center where he would have resided. Lille was at that time a Flemish city, with privileged political and economic ties to the other towns of the county of Flanders.⁴⁰ Numerous expatriates from Lille are mentioned in the Bruges *poorterboeken* (lists of new citizens).⁴¹ The Lille scribe Quentin Poulet, the future librarian of King Henry VII, is a good case in point. When he enrolled as an apprentice in the Confraternity of Saint John the Evangelist in Bruges in 1477,⁴² Poulet could count on fellow citizens and most probably relatives who had settled in the city earlier: a Haquinet Poulet from Lille had become a burgher in 1467,⁴³ a Matheus and an Andries Poulet, respectively, in 1469⁴⁴ and 1470.⁴⁵ Moreover, unlike other Flemish cities, Lille chose to remain faithful to the Hapsburgs and was therefore a safe haven for their supporters.⁴⁶

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

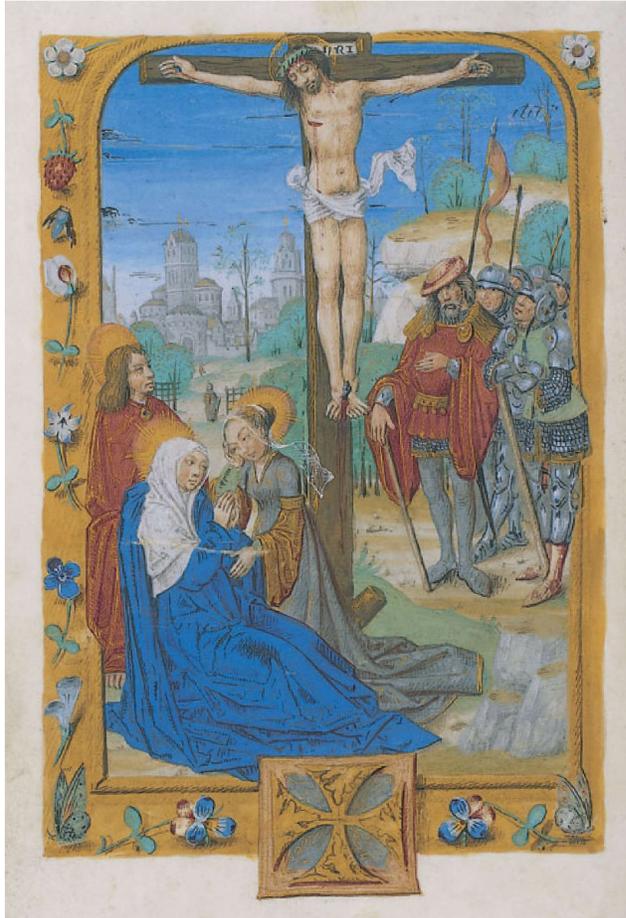


Figure II.13
Master of Edward IV. *Crucifixion*,
in a missal for the use of Saint Peter in
Lille. Edinburgh, University Library,
Ms. D. b. III. ii, fol. 104v.

or Bruges, did not submit to any regulation until 1510, which enabled them to work without constraints.⁵¹

Whether or not the Master of Edward IV moved from Bruges to Lille, he would not have been the first to do so. A hitherto unremarked document indicates that at least one other major illuminator who worked for the dukes of Burgundy—one of the most prolific of his day—resided in Lille in 1483 and 1484. The city accounts of Valenciennes mention a life rent of 7 pounds paid “A Lois Liedet, enlumineur demourant a Lille, a se vie et de Huchon son frere.”⁵² Loyset Liédet disappeared from the accounts of the Confraternity of Saint John in Bruges after 1479,⁵³ not, as has been stated time and again, because he had died,⁵⁴ but rather because he chose to settle in Lille—possibly, considering contemporary political events in Flanders, in the interest of self-preservation.

This document sheds interesting light on Huchon Liédet, who is also mentioned in the accounts of the Bruges Confraternity from 1477 to 1484.⁵⁵ He was not, as McKendrick recently suggested,⁵⁶ the son of Loyset, but his brother. It is unclear whether, by 1484, Huchon had accompanied Loyset to Lille or whether he was still working in Bruges. Whatever the case may be, the brothers no doubt served as important conduits between the two Flemish cities, fostering contacts and bringing some of the artistic know-how of Bruges to

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

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

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

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



Another Market

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

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

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

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

Notes

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1. A first biographical sketch was published in: Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, “*De fin or et d’azur*”: *Les commanditaires de livres et le métier de l’enluminure à Tournai à la fin du Moyen Âge (XIV^e-XV^e siècles)* (Louvain: Pecters, 2001), 301–2. A provisional handlist of works attributed to Jean Markant includes: (1) Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W. 435 (see fig. 11.6); (2) Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. II 7605 (see fig. 11.7); (3) Lille, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. A 91 (Hours of Jeanne Martinache); (4) location unknown, Sotheby’s, December 1, 1987, lot 58 (Hours of Marie Mussart; see fig. 11.3); (5) London, British Library, Harley Ms. 2923; (6) Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Res. 191 (the so-called Hours of the Queen of Sweden; see fig. 11.9); (7) New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M. 171; (8) New York, Columbia University, Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, Western Ms. I; (9) San Marino, Huntington Library, Ms. 1149 (Hours of Laurence Baillet; see figs. 11.8, 11.11); (10) location unknown, Le Sauvage Hours (see figs. 11.1, 11.2, 11.4, 11.5).
2. In 1991 the book was owned by a Dutch collector. It was presented by B. Van Dyck, acting as an intermediary, to the city council of Grammont (Geraardsbergen). See: A[ilbert] S[chreuer], “Koopt Geraardsbergen 16de-eeuwse manuscript?” *Het Volk*, March 1, 1991. The negotiations ultimately failed, and since

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

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

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

5. See handlist, note 1.

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

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

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

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

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

11. Markant is not mentioned in Gil’s lists (Gil, “Le métier de relieur à Lille”).

12. See Vanwijnsberghe, “*De fin or et d’azur*,” 279–80.

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

14. Vanwijnsberghe, “*De fin or et d’azur*,” 297–98.

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

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

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

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

19. San Marino, Huntington Library, Ms.

1149. On François Van Hoyqueslot and Laurence Baillet, see Denis du Péage, *Recueil de généalogies lilloises*, vol. 4, 1615.

20. “A Johannes Markant pour avoir grossé et escript en deux grandes peaux de vellin les ordonnances des cas privilegiez dont eschevins congnoissent . . . IIII livres,” “Au dit Marliere qu’il a payé a Johannes Markant pour son sallaire d’avoir grossé les deux tableaux des ordonnances des services des curez de ceste ville de Lille . . . LIII sous” (Lille, Archives municipales, Registres aux comptes de l’échevinage, no. 16257 [1522], fol. 81v); “Au dit Marliere qu’il a payé a Johannes Marquand escripvent pour son sallaire d’avoir grossé en deux peaux de vellin les ordonnances et reformacions des praticiens mises en ung tableau en le halle . . . LX sous” (ibid., no. 16258, fol. 94); “A Johannes Marquand escripvent que accordé lui a esté par eschevins pour son sallaire d’avoir fait et escript toutes les lettres de l’ABC d’or floretees d’azur mises aux layes de la nouvelle tresorerie . . . LXVI sous” (ibid., no. 16265, fol. 95v). Published by Alexandre de La Fons-Mélicocq, “Les tablettes de cire, les jetons, les poinçons, les marques, les enseignes et les mesures des échevins et des corps de métiers de la ville de Lille, aux XIV^e, XV^e et XVI^e siècles,” *Bulletin du Comité de la Langue, de l’Histoire et des Arts de la France*, vol. 3, 1855–1856 (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1857), 637. With special thanks to Pascal Schandel, who generously shared his original transcriptions.
21. Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, Archives hospitalières, XVIII E 28, fol. 73v. Published by Alexandre de La Fons-Mélicocq, “Orfèvres, brodeurs, architectes, tailleurs d’images, peintres, enlumineurs, etc., des XIV^e et XV^e siècles, qui ont orné et décoré les

- chapelles des hospices de Lille," *Revue universelle des Arts* 13 (1861): 58.
22. Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. B. 13. 11. See Alain Arnould, in *Splendours of Flanders: Late Medieval Art in Cambridge Collections*, exh. cat. (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 1993), no. 24, 82–83; Vanwijnsberghe, "De fin or et d'azur," 19, nn. 120, 121, fig. 122.
23. Louis Gilliodts-Van Severen, "L'oeuvre de Jean Brito, prototypographe brugeois," *Annales de la Société d'Émulation de Bruges* 47 (1897): 284.
24. Gilliodts-Van Severen, "L'oeuvre de Jean Brito."
25. See Pascale Charron, "Les peintres, peintres verriers et enlumineurs lillois au début du XVI^e siècle d'après les statuts inédits de leur corporation," *Revue du Nord* 82 (2000: no. 37), 731–33, 738.
26. Lilian M. C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. 3, *Belgium, 1250–1530* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press in association with the Walters Art Gallery, 1997), 447–55; Bodo Brinkmann, *Die flämische Buchmalerei am Ende des Burgunderreichs: Der Meister des Dresdener Gebetbuchs und die Miniaturisten seiner Zeit* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), vol. 1, 374, 397; and Roger S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York: George Braziller in association with the Walters Art Gallery, 1988), 132, 217.
27. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, 453.
28. Blackburn, Museum and Art Gallery, Ms. Hart 20884. See Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), no. 98, 342–43.
29. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, no. 26, 156–57.
30. Fols. 166 and 188, respectively, in Master of Edward IV, the Blackburn Hours (see fig. 11.10); see notes 6 and 9 above.
31. Brinkmann, *Flämische Buchmalerei*, 371, 374.
32. The death of Charles the Bold at Nancy on January 5, 1477, plunged the Low Countries into a time of turmoil. The power struggle among the cities of Flanders, backed by Louis XI and Maximilian of Austria, started soon after the latter's marriage to Mary of Burgundy (April 21, 1477). The conflict was sparked by Flanders's refusal to recognize the Hapsburg as regent of the Low Countries after Mary's death on March 27, 1482; it culminated in 1488, when the citizens of Bruges held Maximilian prisoner within their walls, with disastrous and bloody consequences. On this episode, see Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, vol. 3 (Brussels: H. Lamertin, 1907), 3–55.
33. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 295–96, esp. n. 13.
34. Hanno Wijnsman, "Gebonden weelde: Productie van geïllustreerde handschriften en adellijk boekenbezit in de Bourgondische Nederlanden (1400–1550)" (Ph.D. diss., Universiteit Leiden, 2003), 292.
35. See Claudine Lemaire, "Les manuscrits de Jean II, comte d'Oettingen ou la fin d'une légende," in *Miscellanea Martin Wittek: Album de codicologie et de paléographie offert à Martin Wittek*, ed. Anny Raman and Eugène Manning (Louvain: Peeters, 1993), 243–53.
36. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 20096–97 (in two parts) and New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M. 894 (three parts of a *Vita Christi* by Ludolph of Saxony); Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Ms. fr. 76 (Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Livre des Fais du grant Alexandre*); Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Ms. 11073 (Xenophon, *Cyropédie*).
37. New York, Collection Scott C. Schwartz, Ms. 24 (*olim*, London, Sotheby's, June 24, 1986, lot 97).
38. Eugène de Noyelles was probably related to Jean de Noyelles (d. 1580), lord of Marles and Rossignol, a member of a prominent Artois family. On Jean, see: Charles Piot, "Noyelles (Jean de)," in *Biographie nationale*, vol. 15 (Brussels: Bruylant, 1899), cols. 946–47.
39. Edinburgh, University Library, Ms. D. b. 111. See Catherine R. Borland, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Mediaeval Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 1916), no. 52, 94–96.
40. On the history of Lille in the late Middle Ages, see *Histoire de Lille*, vol. 1, *Des origines à l'avènement de Charles Quint*, ed. Louis Trenard and Guy Fourquin (Lille: Giard, 1969), 219–464.
41. Published by Remi A. Parmentier, *Indices op de Brugsche poorterboeken* (Bruges: Brouwer, 1938); Alfred Jamees, *Brugse poorters opgetekend uit de stadsrekeningen*, 4 vols. (Handzame: Familia et Patria, 1974–90).
42. William H. J. Weale, "Documents inédits sur les enlumineurs de Bruges," *Le Beffroi: Arts, héraldique, archéologie* 4 (1872–73): 297.
43. Parmentier, *Indices*, 652–53; Jamees, *Brugse poorters*, vol. 2.1, 335.
44. Jamees, *Brugse poorters*, vol. 2.1, 344.
45. Parmentier, *Indices*, 652–53; Jamees, *Brugse poorters*, vol. 2.1, 348.
46. Before the coming of the Hapsburgs, the city had submitted to the rule of the dukes of Burgundy. See Trenard and Fourquin, *Histoire de Lille*, 222–23, 265–66.
47. Vanwijnsberghe, "De fin or et d'azur," 114–29.
48. We see the same phenomenon later in Tournai, among the tapestry weavers. In 1492 many withdrew to Amiens, where they were welcomed with open arms. The magistrate enacted regulations intended to assure tapestry workers a monopoly in their trade. The text explains that they fled "a cause de ce qu'ilz ne poient bonnement gagner les vie d'eulx, leurs femmes et enfants, de leurdit mestier"—terms strangely similar to those of the ordinances of 1480. For an edition of the text, see Alexandre Pinchart, *Histoire générale de la tapisserie*, vol. 3, *Pays-Bas* (Paris, 1884), 78. It must be noted that contemporary political conditions were hardly favorable to Tournai. See Gabriel Wymans, "Le déclin de Tournai au XV^e siècle," *Anciens pays et assemblées d'États* 22 (1961): 113–34.
49. Anne-Marie Legaré, "The Master of Antoine Rolin: A Hainaut Illuminator Working in the Orbit of Simon Marmion," in *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and the "Visions of Tondal"*, ed. Thomas Kren (Malibu, Calif.: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1992), 209–22.
50. The production of paper manuscripts with wash drawings has been studied by Pascale Charron and Pascal Schandel; see Pascale Charron, *Le Maître du Champion des dames* (Paris: CTHS, 2004); Pascal Schandel, "Le Maître de Wavrin et les miniaturistes lillois à l'époque de Philippe le Bon et de Charles le Téméraire" (Ph.D. diss., Université de Strasbourg, 1997). For a few examples of illuminated manuscripts on parchment, see Marc Gil, "Deux nouveaux manuscrits exécutés pour Jean, bâtard de Wavrin, chevalier et écrivain bourguignon, et la question de l'enluminure sur parchemin à Lille dans la seconde moitié du XV^e siècle," *Le Musée Condé* 58 (November 2001): 35–45.
51. Charron, "Peintres, peintres verriers et enlumineurs lillois."
52. Valenciennes, Archives municipales, Comptes de la ville, CC 747, fol. 57v. I would like to thank most warmly my friend Ludovic Nys for drawing my attention to this exceptional document, just a by-product of his tireless explorations in the Valenciennes archives.
53. For the last mention in 1479, see Weale, "Documents inédits," 301.

54. Alexandre Pinchart seems to have been the first to propose this idea, cautiously, in “Miniaturistes, enlumineurs et calligraphes employés par Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire et leurs oeuvres,” *Bulletin des Commissions royales d’art et d’archéologie* 4 (1865): 481. Since then, most authors have treated the hypothesis as an established fact.
55. Weale, “Documents inédits,” 292 (1477), 297 (1478), 299 (1479), 302 (1480), 306 (1482), 308 (1483), 310 (1484).
56. Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, 230.
57. See Hanno Wijsman, “William Lord Hastings, *Les faits de Jacques de Lalaing* et le Maître aux inscriptions blanches: À propos du manuscrit français 16830 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France,” in “*Als ich can*”: *Liber Amicorum in Memory of Professor Dr. Maurits Smeyers*, ed. Bert Cardon, Jan Van der Stock, and Dominique Vanwijnsberghe (Louvain: Peeters, 2002), 1651–55. This continuity between the production of Loyset Liédet and the followers of the Master of Edward IV can perhaps be explained in part by a shared artistic base, in this case Bruges. It is interesting to note that the Master of Edward IV and a colleague completed a *Speculum humanae salvationis* that had been begun near the middle of the century by Jean le Tavernier (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. fr. 6275), a task that, for the “livres non parfaits” of the ducal library, usually fell to Liédet.
58. Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Ms. 4. I would like to thank Jeffrey Hamburger for sending me slides of this manuscript.
59. Tournai, Bibliothèque de la Cathédrale, Ms. A 19; reproduced in Vanwijnsberghe, “*De fin or et d’azur*,” 428, fig. 119 (erroneously referred to as Ms. A 20).
60. Philadelphia, Free Library, John Frederick Lewis Collection, Ms. 108; reproduced in James R. Tanis and Jennifer A. Thompson, eds., *Leaves of Gold: Manuscript Illumination from Philadelphia Collections*, exh. cat. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2001), 111–12, no. 35.
61. Another Lille group can be reconstructed around the Claremont Hours (Claremont, Calif., School of Theology, Ms. I [hours for Tournai use with original binding by Robiers Plourins]). It includes Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 540 (hours for Amiens use, only the pasted miniatures on fols. 33, 56, 56v, 74v, 106, 106v, 110v, 130v are by the Claremont Master); Brighton, Jubilee Library, inv. no. R61718 (hours for Tournai use, kindly brought to my attention by Jim Marrow); Fécamp, Musée Benedictine, without shelfmark; Lille, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 705 (missal for the use of the Abbey of Loos); Trogen, Kantonsbibliothek, Cod. Membr. 264 (hours for Tournai use, with thanks to Susan Marti for providing me with digital photographs); New York, Grolier Club, Ms. 9 (hours for Tournai use, with thanks to Jim Marrow for providing me with slides). This last book has the Claremont borders, which are characteristic of other Lille hours produced for the Hospice Comtesse: Lille, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 96 and Ms. 111 (original Plourins binding). Other Lille manuscripts with an original Plourins binding include two books of hours for Tournai use: Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, Mss. 185, 189 (owned in the sixteenth century by a certain Louise Baillet “demourant au marchié de poisson a Lille”), as well as two hours illuminated around 1890 by the so-called Spanish forger (*Les Enluminures, Catalogue 9: Books of Hours*, no. 11, 66–69; *Livres anciens, manuscrits et livres d’heures*, sale, Drouot Richelieu, Paris, February 27, 2003, lot 347).
62. See note 20.
63. In the Baltimore Hours, for example, only six out of the twelve full-page miniatures are inserted. See Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, 447.
64. Vertical concentration, an economic concept, occurs when a company is responsible for most of the stages of production along with distribution. This corresponds more or less with L. M. J. Delaissé’s concept of “atelier” or “officine.”
65. See note 25.
66. On the role of the Bruges librarians, see Maurits Smeyers and Bert Cardon, “Merktkens in de Brugse miniatuurkunst,” in *Merken opmerken: Typologie en methode*, ed. Christine Van Vlierden et Maurits Smeyers (Louvain: Peeters, 1990), 45–70. On book production in Paris, see Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: H. Müller, 2000).
67. See note 25.