CARING FOR
THE LIVING AND THE DEAD

A Study on the Use of Book of Hours 74 G 35
(The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek)

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Introduction

'Bestseller' is a modern term that refers to books that have been sold in very high quantities. Although the term is generally applied to modern books, it does also occur in the field of medieval studies. In 1974, L.M.J. Delaissé was to first to apply the term to Books of Hours. According to him, 'Books of Hours were the late medieval bestseller'.[1] Since Delaissé, this quote has often been used in publications to demonstrate their importance in late medieval western Europe. According to R. Wieck, for instance, the Book of Hours was number one for almost 250 years, from the late thirteenth to the early sixteenth century.[2] Indeed, Books of Hours must have been treasured possessions in every relatively wealthy late medieval household, because they have come down to us in respectable numbers. For example, forty-five percent of all illuminated books in the collection of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague consists of Books of Hours.[3]

One reason for their popularity is their use by lay people who desired to imitate the clergy in its close relationship with God.[4] Another is the emergence and popularity of the cult of the Virgin Mary.[5] The latter is strongly emphasised in Books of Hours, for its most important component is the Hours of the Virgin, also called the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary.[6] The Hours are divided into a series of prayers, psalms, canticles, *capitula*, and Biblical readings, and are supposed to be recited at specific times of the day, namely at Matins and Lauds (daybreak), Prime (06:00h), Terce (09:00h), Sext (noon), None (15:00h), Vespers (sunset), and Compline (evening). The clergy structured its days according to these times, but lay people were not obliged to follow them as strictly.[7]

Alongside the Hours of the Virgin, a varying number of prayers and other elements is included in the Book of Hours. These generally encompass a calendar, the four Gospel lessons, the Hours of the Cross and the Hours of the Holy Spirit, the 'Obsecro te' and the 'O intemerata', the Penitential Psalms and the Litany, the Office of the Dead, and finally a number of Suffrages. Often, the hours and prayers are decorated with penwork, border decoration, or miniatures.

Books of Hours were very precious objects, not only as material objects, but as devotional instruments as well. They contain numerous prayers, which in itself suggest that their owners used them to read these prayers, either in silence or aloud, either privately or in public, for example during Mass. However, their *actual* use is harder to

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[1] L.M.J. Delaissé, 'The Importance of Books of Hours for the History of the Medieval Book', in: *Gatherings in the honor of Dorothy Miner* (1974), p. 203.

[2] R. Wieck, *Time Sanctified. The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (1988), p. 27.

[3] Koninklijke Bibliotheek <https://www.kb.nl/themas/middeleeuwen/hoogtepunten-uit-middeleeuwse-handschriften> (16 January 2018).

[4] Wieck 1988 (note 2), p. 27.

[5] Ibid., p. 27.

[6] Ibid., p. 28.

[7] Ibid., p. 28.

grasp, as an object's intended use does not rule out the possibility of other uses.[8] According to Paul Saenger, 'Books of Hours, even in Catholic countries, are among the least understood of the written artefacts of the Middle Ages. In particular, little consideration has been given to how these books were actually read and used in daily life.'[9]

This study will demonstrate that the use of Books of Hours extended beyond the reading of the standard offices and prayers, even beyond the contemplation of the life and death of Christ, Mary, and numerous saints. To that end, it is necessary to study the Book of Hours as a material object, not merely as a carrier of splendid art or texts. In the past, the material object that a Book of Hours is, has not always received the attention it deserves, as an overview of the current state of research will demonstrate. As this study focusses on North-Netherlandish Books of Hours, the following paragraphs principally concentrate on the historiography of North-Netherlandish manuscripts.

State of Research

Nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

Despite their (art) historical interest, the study of Books of Hours started relatively late.[10] In the second half of the nineteenth century, art history in North-Western Europe changed its status from a branch of history to an individual academic discipline. Scholars and students in France, Germany and The Netherlands mainly focussed on classical art and the renaissance, particularly Renaissance painting.[11] However, in the 1890s various scholars turned their attention to the study of medieval art. These studies primarily encompassed medieval sculptures and manuscripts.[12] In Germany, Wilhelm Vöge and Adolph Goldschmidt were the first to conduct research on this period. Vöge's study on medieval sculpture, *Die Anfänge des monumentalen Stiles im Mittelalter* (1894), was highly influential both in- and outside Germany. He also frequently published books and articles on manuscript painting. The same applies to Goldschmidt, who published an article on the Utrecht Psalter (1892) and multiple volumes on German miniature painting (1928). In France, Emile Mâle decided early on in his study that he wanted to focus on medieval art.[13] His *L'art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France* (1898) is a major work that concentrates on the iconography of medieval art in France. At the beginning of

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[8] Lecture by Dr. A.J.M. Irving given in Utrecht for the course Material Culture (01-12-2017).

[9] P. Saenger, 'Books of Hours and the reading habits of the later middle ages', in: *Scrittura e Civiltà* 9 (1985), p. 239.

[10] S. Hindman, 'Books of Hours: State of the Research. In Memory of L.M.J. Delaissé', in: J.F. Hamburger and A.S. Korteweg, *Tributes in honor of James Marrow. Studies in Painting and Manuscript Illumination of the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (2006), p. 6. This study probably started late because Books of Hours have been in private hands for a long time.

[11] K. Brush, *The Shaping of Art History. Wilhelm Vöge, Adolph Goldschmidt, and the Study of Medieval Art* (1996), p. 22.

[12] Ibid., p. 10.

[13] A. Vaucez et al, *Émile Mâle (1862-1954). La construction de l'oeuvre: Rome et l'Italie* (2005), p. 28.

the twentieth century, Victor Leroquais published a monograph on Books of Hours, *Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale* (1927).[14]

In The Netherlands, the interest in medieval art history, and more specifically in miniature studies, was roused by Willem Vogelsang. He was the first professor in art history in The Netherlands (1907), and also the first to publish a dissertation on Dutch miniatures (1899).[15] The material he collected from various libraries was badly documented and hardly described in catalogues or other publications. Understandably, Vogelsang's dissertation is far from complete. The task of completion was taken up fifteen years later by Alexander Willem Byvanck and Godefridus Hoogewerff. In the period 1922-1925, they published a three-volume series on *Noord-Nederlandse miniaturen in handschriften der 14e, 15e en 16e eeuwen*.[16] These volumes include all (at that time) known North-Netherlandish illuminated manuscripts, which are arranged chronologically and described on the basis of style and iconography. Byvanck's and Hoogewerff's immense undertaking resulted in a reference work that laid the basis for the study of North-Netherlandish illuminated manuscripts and, hence, for the study of North-Netherlandish Books of Hours.

Later twentieth and early twenty-first centuries: Books of Hours

After a relatively quiet period, due to the Second World War and its aftermath, the 1960s demonstrated an increase in the study of (North-Netherlandish) Books of Hours. Earlier, scholars mostly focussed on the influence of well-esteemed, foreign manuscript illumination, but this changed when in 1966 the two parts of the Book of Hours of Catherine of Cleves were published. The publication caused great scholarly interest and numerous academic writings on North-Netherlandish miniature painting, calendars and litanies, and the innovativeness of North-Netherlandish artists.[17]

Typical for this period is the focus on illumination in Books of Hours, also mainly on its style and iconography. Scholars who had been educated in the early twentieth century, such as Hoogewerff, simply viewed Books of Hours as carriers of works of arts. For them, the esthetical value of these artworks was highly important, resulting in publications riddled with highly subjective value judgments. Hoogewerff, for instance, described the illumination in some early Dutch Books of Hours as being 'rough', 'rudimentary', and even 'not very successful'.[18] In the same period, Hoogewerff's old

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[14] His volumes were translated in English and published in 1913: Religious Art of the 13th Century in France. A Study in Medieval Iconography and the Sources of Inspirations (1913).

[15] R.W. Scheller, 'From Meerman to Marrow: Two Hundred Years of Miniature Studies', in: Koert van der Horst and Johann Christian Klamt (red.), *Masters and miniatures: proceedings of the congress on medieval manuscript illumination in the Northern Netherlands (Utrecht, 10-13 December 1989)* (1991), p. 8.

[16] Research started in 1915.

[17] J.H. Marrow, 'Dutch Manuscript Illumination before the Master of Catherine of Cleves. The Master of the Morgan Infancy Cycle', in*: Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 19 (1968), pp. 52-53; Scheller 1991 (note 15), pp. 12-13.

[18] G.J. Hoogewerff, 'Enkele verluchte getijdenboeken tussen 1375 en 1425 in de Nederlanden ontstaan', in: Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, Nieuwe Reeks. Deel 26 (1963), p. 80, p. 86.

fashioned way of 'studying' Books of Hours and their illumination gave way to more objective, academic methods. A new generation of scholars, educated in a period in which art history was firmly settled as an academic discipline, discarded the esthetical study of manuscript illumination, whilst still focussing on art history's most important pillars: style and iconography. Leading scholar in this field is James Marrow, who has specialised in Dutch manuscript painting from the 1960s onwards. For decades, he has studied Dutch manuscripts, especially Books of Hours, of which he has collected invaluable data.[19]

L.M.J. Delaissé, who described the Book of Hours as the bestseller of the late Middle Ages, approached medieval manuscripts in a different manner. Instead of focussing on the illumination alone, Delaissé aimed to study the medieval book as an object. Although Delaissé did conduct research on illuminated manuscripts and published on Dutch manuscript illumination, he was not officially trained as an art historian. He is probably best known for a method which he called the 'archaeology of the medieval book', or codicology.[20] As he saw it, the medieval book as an object can only be properly studied when scholars examine the layout of the pages, the order of textual elements, the composition of the quires, and the 'hierarchy' in the decoration programme.[21] These perspectives raised and answered new questions considering phases of production and the cohesion of material, texts, and decoration.

Later twentieth and early twenty-first centuries: Penwork

Codicology broadened scholarly views on the medieval book. In the study of Dutch manuscripts, the 1970s and 1980s saw the rise of studies on penwork and border decoration. These types of decoration had not been ignored in earlier decades. Byvanck already observed different styles and types of penwork and border decoration, and was able to connect some of them to specific regions or towns on the basis of ownership inscriptions and other notes in manuscripts.[22] Apart from occasional references to styles of penwork and border decoration, these types of decoration where not studied methodically or on a large scale until the 1970s and 80s, when palaeographer and codicologist J.P. Gumbert and his students commenced their studies. Gumbert's students aimed to conduct research on penwork and border decoration in manuscripts from Delft and the province of North-Holland.[23]

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[19] H. Defoer et al., *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting* (1989); an even more extensive publication on Dutch manuscript painting by Marrow is forthcoming since the 1980s.

[20] Dictionary of art historians <https://dictionaryofarthistorians.org/delaissel.htm> (18-01-2018).

[21] Delaissé 1974 (note 1), pp. 212-215.

[22] A.W. Byvanck, *La miniature dans les Pays-Bas septentrionaux* (1937), pp. 71-76. For example, he attributed border decoration in manuscript 21696 (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I) to the Delft convent of St Agnes on the basis of a text banderol in one of its margins (f. 117r). The text reads: '*iste liber scriptus et illuminatus est in monasterio Vallis Josaphat*'.

[23] A.S. Korteweg, 'Delftse, Noordhollandse en Groningse randjes. Een bijdrage tot een atlas van randversiering in Noordnederlandse verluchte handschriften der vijftiende eeuw', in: P.A. Tichelaar et al, *Bundel samengesteld door medewerkers van dr. C. Reedijk ter gelegenheid van zijn aftreden als bibliothecaris van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek te 's-Gravenhage*, pp. 238-241.

The students' studies resulted in the analysis of different groups of penwork and border decoration, such as the 'schulpgroep' and the 'kriezelgroep'.[24] The penwork was divided into groups on the basis of stylistic elements, such as human-like masks or eggplant-shaped flowers.[25] Their findings formed the basis for an atlas of penwork and border decoration in the Northern Netherlands. In 1992, an exhibition in Museum Meermanno on Dutch penwork and border decoration resulted in a reference work by A. Korteweg and others, in which North-Netherlandish penwork and border decoration are regionally ordered and provided with their own terminology. Since then, the study of penwork and border decoration has been adopted in numerous publications. However, the 1992 reference work has not been followed up by a revised edition, meaning that for over twenty years, new ideas, views and discoveries have not systematically found their way into the study of North-Netherlandish penwork and border decoration.

Later twentieth and early twenty-first centuries: Patronage and Use

R. Wieck's *Time Sanctified* encompassed a new trend in the study of Books of Hours. He not only describes the textual and pictorial contents of Books of Hours, but also their relevance in social history. For instance, Wieck discusses how medieval people prayed, how miniatures are evidence for medieval daily life, and why the popularity of the Office of the Death reflects medieval fear for diseases and death.[26] His book demonstrates the growing scholarly interest in the world beyond the manuscript. Books were no longer seen as mere carriers of images and texts, nor were they only considered to be isolated objects. Instead, scholars turned their attention from the book to the medieval world, thereby using the book as evidence for medieval personal or religious feelings and lives. Here, the question of how Books of Hours were used precisely comes in place as well.

Manuscript's owners and their (reading) habits continued to fascinate scholars. In recent years, the 'interaction' between owner and manuscript has received attention. In 2012, Virginia Reinburg published on archiving prayers in French Books of Hours. Not only does she discuss the practice of adding personalised prayers, she also comments on family notes or ownership inscriptions.[27] K. Rudy has recently written several books and articles that focus on medieval book owners. For the reason that Books of Hours have survived in great numbers, they are highly represented in these publications. In *Dirty Books: Quantifying Patterns of Use in Medieval Manuscripts using a Densitometer*, Rudy analyses the wear in manuscripts by using a device that measures the density of dirt or grime on the pages. She reconstructs what parts of the manuscripts have been touched most. The dirtier the pages, the more popular these pages must have been. A major flaw in this particular research is the age of the dirt. With current techniques, it is not possible to discern between old, 'original' dirt, and modern dirt. Imprints on the manuscript may very well not belong to original owners. Rudy's research demonstrates the interest in the use of Books of Hours.

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[24] Ibid., p. 238.
[25] Ibid., pp. 241-243.
[26] Wieck 1988 (note 2), pp. 37-38.
[27] V. Reinburg, *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer 1400-1600* (2012).

Amongst Rudy's most recent publications is a book on customised manuscripts; *Piety in Pieces: How Medieval Readers Customized their Manuscripts*.[28] She discusses different types of alterations made by manuscripts' early owners. As discussed earlier, most Books of Hours contain a more or less standard set of texts.[29] Although important, these texts did not have a very personal appeal to the owner. The Suffrages are different, because the patron could choose which saints he or she wanted to include. There was room for personal preference. For that reason, the Suffrages may hold clues to who the original owner of the Book of Hours was. In most cases, it is only possible to reconstruct the owner's gender or given name, but in some cases, the Suffrages affirm or suggest a particular patronage.

In *Piety in Pieces*, Rudy demonstrates that medieval manuscripts were not static objects. In fact, they were often altered in various ways. Owners could correct the texts, make notes in the margins, or scribble information between the lines. They could augment the existing decoration, or decide to insert new or additional miniatures. Perhaps they felt the need to add more personal prayers. They could even consider to rebind the manuscript in a new cover, if the old cover had become to worn or too small. Medieval books lived: they grew or shrunk, and changed their appearances to suit their current owner. As Rudy demonstrates, the question of how (medieval) book owners used their manuscripts can at least in some part be answered by analysing a manuscript's alterations.

Rudy's latest publication, *Rubrics, Images, and Indulgences*, also focusses on the reader's role in the use of manuscripts, but even more strongly on the influence of religious sentiments on the contents of medieval prayerbooks and Books of Hours. Here, the book is no longer viewed purely as an individual object, but as part of an entire society. Again, the 'interaction' between book and book owner plays a major role. Rudy's studies on the materiality and the afterlife of the medieval book are described as contributions to 'the field of materiality of Medieval manuscripts which currently emerges as highly important intersection of art history, codicology, cultural studies and history of devotion'.[30]

Aim

In the past, Books of Hours have been studied in various manners. First, they were above all viewed as carriers of texts or images. At some point, scholars started to value the book itself and the context it provides for its texts and images. This interest in the book shifted towards a much broader context, in which the medieval book (of Hours) provided evidence for social structures and events in late medieval society. Especially in

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[28] K. Rudy, *Piety in Pieces: How Medieval Readers Customized their Manuscripts* (2016).
[29] The Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of the Cross, the Hours of the Holy Spirit, the Penitential Psalms and Litany, the Suffrages, and popular prayers such as *O intemerata* and *Obsecro te*.
[30] Quote by H. Lähneman, Chair of Medieval German Literature and Linguistics in Oxford. Open Book Publishers <https://www.openbookpublishers.com/product/477/piety-in-pieces--how-medieval-readers-customized-their-manuscripts> (26-01-2018).

the study of Books of Hours, art historical research on masters, workshops, and iconography and style remained important. Nevertheless, the broader interest in context, both within and outside the medieval book, led to studies concerning patrons, reading practices, and use.

How Books of Hours were used precisely, cannot be formulated in a uniform answer that applies to all Books of Hours. Use depends on users. The problem is that every user, every book owner, could have used his or her Book of Hours in a different way, depending for instance on social class, gender, nationality, or even devoutness. Rudy's recent studies demonstrate that for individual Books of Hours, the owners' preferences can be reconstructed on the basis of alterations. Thus, how Books of Hours were used depended on their owners, and practices of use would therefore have varied from book to book.

Although this thesis aims to research how medieval owners used their Books of Hours, it lies far beyond its scope to conduct research on all surviving Books of Hours. For that reason, this study will focus on the augmented manuscript 74 G 35 (Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, Appendix I). This Book of Hours (Delft, ca. 1440-1450) has in its past been altered and augmented to fit the preferences of its early owners. Apart from the standard set of texts, the Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of the Cross, the Penitential Psalms and Litany, the Suffrages, and the Office of the Dead, it includes a number of additions: Latin *kriezel* border prayers, the prayer *salve sancta facies* and a Vera Icon miniature, a miniature of St Jerome, pilgrim badges, astronomical and astrological features and notes, and a family record.

The alterations made to Ms. 74 G 35 enable the study of the 'interaction' between owners and book. One of its alterations, the ownership inscriptions, clarify that the book once belonged to the noble families Van Matenesse and Van Duvenvoorde.[31] Its earliest note is dated 1484, and was thus written at least three decades after its completion. The families Van Matenesse and Van Duvenvoorde can be regarded as the manuscript's earliest owners, although its original patron is not mentioned in the family records.

Could the additions to the original manuscript have been made by a member or members of the Van Matenesse and Van Duvenvoorde families? What is the nature of these augmented parts and what did they mean to the manuscript's owner(s)? As Rudy has demonstrated in *Piety in Pieces*, answering these kinds of questions could clarify how this manuscript's early owners used and perceived their Book of Hours. Therefore, this research will revolve around the following question: 'What do the additions that have been made to Ms. 74 G 35 tell about its owners, and of their use of this manuscript?'

Rudy's quantitative approach in *Piety in Pieces* has prevented an in-depth analysis of particular manuscripts, which may have led to more specific clues concerning use, ownership, and patronage. In turn, these clues contribute to a more nuanced picture of

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[31] In this thesis, the families' names have been modernised on the basis of their occurrences in the family record. The family name 'Van Matenesse' is spelled as 'Van Matenes' (f. 168r-v) and 'Van Matenesse' (f. 168v). The family name 'Van Duvenvoorde' is spelled as 'Van Duvenvoirde' (f. 169r), 'Van Duvenvoirdt' (f. 169r), and 'Van Duvenvoerde' (f. 170v). As the 'oi' combination reads 'oo' (see also 'Voirburch'; 'Voorburg'), it was decided to modernise 'Van Duvenvoi/erde' to 'Van Duvenvoorde'.

the use of Books of Hours. For that reason, this thesis will aim at a detailed study of all of Ms. 74 G 35's (added) components, thereby adding to Rudy's – and other scholars' – more general remarks on this particular Book of Hours. Furthermore, the influence of the Van Matenesse and Van Duvenvoorde families on the contents of Ms. 74 G 35 has not been studied before, even though they owned the manuscript for at least a century. Thus, this study does not only contribute to a 'neglected subject'[32], but to an upcoming field of research at the crossroads of art history, codicology, and social history as well.

Apart from its relevance in the study of Books of Hours, this thesis thus also contributes to a relatively new trend in the Humanities; interdisciplinarity. The topic has been subject to debates for a number of years now. From interdisciplinarity sprang terms such as transdisciplinarity and multidisciplinarity, all with their own advantages and disadvantages.[33] The study of the medieval book is probably best served by a form of interdisciplinarity, in which the focus does not solely lie on one discipline. After all, the production of these books often required craftsmen from various disciplines as well. This thesis will contribute to recent academic developments by transcending the boundaries of the discipline of art history.

Methodology and structure

An interdisciplinary approach asks for the appliance of several research methods. Codicology lies at the basis of this study, because the quire structure of Ms. 74 G 35 has demonstrated or emphasised that some of its components are not part of its original structure (Appendix II). This notion is strengthened by the style and iconography of miniatures and border decoration. These art historical methods are implemented in order to determine the possible locations and dates of the two added miniatures, and even one of the lost pilgrim badges.

The added texts require a palaeographical transcription and English translation, before they can be compared to similar texts in order to determine their nature. In the following chapters, the influence of the members of the Van Matenesse and Van Duvenvoorde families will be explored, and for that purpose, archival research into their members' lives is required. Finally, literary research provides the necessary context in the following chapters.

In its first, original phase, Ms. 74 G 35 was produced in Delft, as is demonstrated by the full-page miniatures by the Masters of the Delft Grisailles and the Delft border decorations. Chapter I provides a brief overview of Delft's role in North-Netherlandish manuscript production, Delft illuminators, and Delft styles of penwork and border decoration. In this manner, chapter I forms an indispensable basis for further discussions on the style of miniatures and border decoration.

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[32] Quote by Professor L. Nees, University of Delaware. Open Book Publishers <https://www.openbookpublishers.com/product/477/piety-in-pieces--how-medieval-readers-customized-their-manuscripts> (26-01-2018).
[33] D. Alvargonzáles, 'Multidisciplinarity, Interdisciplinarity, Transdisciplinarity, and the Sciences', in: *International Studies in the Philosophy of Science* 25:4 (2011), p. 388.

Chapter II analyses the manuscript's original contents. Which texts and decorations are part of the original production process? Who could have been responsible for its production, or who could have been the patron of this Book of Hours? This chapter examines these questions, supplemented with a brief analysis of the manuscript's altered components and the arguments speaking for their later addition or removal.

Where chapters I and II provide the reader with the necessary contextual framework, chapters III and IV focus on an in-depth study of the manuscript's altered components. The decorated parts – miniatures and texts adorned with border decoration or penwork – are grouped in chapter III. They include the Latin *kriezel* border prayers, the *salva sancta facies* and Vera Icon miniature, and the miniature depicting St Jerome. Why were these prayers and miniatures added? How could they have been used? And who could have been responsible for their addition? For the reason that the decorations are quite precisely datable, it is also easier to determine who may have been the owner at the time the decorated components were added to the manuscript. As it appears, it is possible that all three additions were made by the same person. This is why they are included in chapter III together.

Chapter IV, on the other hand, includes those parts that are not decorated and which are, therefore, somewhat harder to date and, in turn, to contribute to a plausible owner. This certainly applies to the lost pilgrim badges, which are hardly datable due to their faint imprints. It may well be that they were collected by several owners. One of the manuscript's owners appeared to be interested in astronomy and astrology, based on the addition of a lunar table with zodiac signs and astronomical and astrological notes in the calendar. What do they tell about the manuscript's use? Are they not curious additions to a book of private devotion? Finally, chapter IV concludes with the family record that has enabled to explore Ms. 74 G 35's ownership and the influence of the Van Matenesse and Van Duvenvoorde families, which, as is discussed in chapter II, may have started at the manuscript's birth.

I. Delft manuscript production

Delft has been an important player in Ms. 74 G 35's life. How great this role was, will be clarified in the following chapters, but in order to do so, it is necessary to first briefly examine Delft's role in late medieval book production. The first paragraph will therefore focus on Delft in the late Middle Ages, especially on the importance of religious orders. Further, it will be clarified why relatively little is known of Medieval Delft, its inhabitants, and of the craftsmen or -women who worked in the book production industry. In this period, Delft was home to scribes, book decorators and illuminators, who all worked in different styles which, at the same time, can be attributed to Delft on the basis of circumstantial evidence, iconography, and style. The second paragraph will discuss the types of penwork flourishing and border decoration characteristic of Delft. Penwork flourishing and border decoration have played an important role in the localisation of Delft manuscripts and miniatures. The last paragraph examines the anonymous illuminators that are associated with Delft, including the Masters of the Delft Grisailles, who were responsible for the grisaille miniatures in Ms. 74 G 35.

1.1. Delft in the late Middle Ages

In the fifteenth century, Delft was one of the largest cities of Holland. Due to the presence of important trading routes, Delft's economy flourished. In the period of 1400 to 1500, its number of inhabitants doubled from around 6000 to approximately 11000 people.[34] The proximity of the comital court in The Hague, which at that time was still a small town, and the larger city of Leiden increased commerce.[35] For one, Delft was the most important exporter of beer and cheese in Holland.[36]

The beginning of the fifteenth century saw an increase in religious orders. Although the Modern Devotion, a religious reform movement initially fuelled by Geert Grote, started in the IJssel region, it soon found its way to Delft.[37] Around 1400, Delft Brothers of the Common Life founded the convent *Sint Hiëronymusdal* inside the city walls.[38] Other convents, such as St Agatha and St Barbara, followed. Not long after, the brothers and sisters of the Delft convents adopted either the Rule of St Francis or the much stricter Rule of St Augustine. The latter allowed them to establish a new, important congregation in addition to the Congregations of Windesheim and Utrecht, named the Congregation of Sion.[39]

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[34] W.C.M. Wüstefeld, 'Delftse handschriftenproduktie en de boeken van de familie Van Assendelft', in: *Delfia Batavorum* 2 (1992), p. 11; G. Verhoeven, *De derde stad van Holland. Geschiedenis van Delft tot 1795* (2015), p. 157.

[35] Verhoeven 2015 (note 34), p. 97.

[36] Ibid., p. 98.

[37] R. van Dijk, *Twaalf kapittels over ontstaan, bloei en doorwerking van de Moderne Devotie* (2012), p. 156.

[38] Verhoeven 2015 (note 34), p. 114.

[39] Ibid., p. 115.

The numerous convents in Delft did not only increase the demand for books, they provided in them as well. The convents of St Agnes and St Ursula were home to female scribes and decorators, and the brothers of *Hiëronymusdal* served both their own congregation and the town by fulfilling their roles as scribes and teachers.[40] Besides scribes and decorators, manuscript illuminators practiced their craft as well, either in religious or lay 'workshops'. The presence of wealthy patrons in Delft and nearby The Hague meant that there were enough customers to commission or buy (decorated) manuscripts. For Delft, the fifteenth century in general was a period of steady economic, cultural, and religious growth.[41]

On 3 May 1536 a devastating fire raged through Delft (fig. 1). It probably started on a farmyard, but the strong wind rapidly spread the flames through the city. As most of Delft's structures were made of wood, a large part of the city soon caught flame. Two third of the town was ruined, and allegedly numerous people were left dead or injured.[42] Amongst the destroyed buildings was the town hall, in which the city's archives were kept. Only the stone, thirteenth-century tower survived the fire, but the rest of the building, including the archives, was lost.[43]

The loss of the city's archives from before 1536 has had a great impact on scholarly knowledge of Delft's administration, accounts, and other aspects concerning the city's inhabitants and their daily business.[44] For one, hardly anything is known of the Delft decorators and illuminators that must have worked in town. As a thriving fifteenth-century city, Delft had its own book production industry, but due to the lack of archival sources scholars are forced to attribute manuscripts to Delft on the basis of circumstantial evidence, such as the presence of Delft saints in the calendars of Books of Hours, colophons, notes, specific texts and prayers, or penwork flourishing and border decoration.

1.2. Delft manuscript production: decoration

Penwork flourishing and border decoration are types of decoration that structure the texts in a medieval book. Penwork usually involves thin lines in red and blue ink, although some elements that are considered penwork, are actually executed in paint.[45] Border decoration is always executed in paint, and is often further adorned with gold paint or burnished gold. Both penwork and border decoration always sprout from an initial. An elaborately decorated initial often flourishes into equally elaborate penwork flourishing or border decoration, whereas a simple initial is usually only decorated with a few lines and dots. Together with initials, penwork and border decoration clarify the

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[40] Wüstefeld 1992 (note 34), p. 11, Verhoeven 2015 (note 34), p. 114.
[41] Verhoeven 2015 (note 34), p. 161.
[42] Ibid., pp. 187-189.
[43] Ibid., p. 90.
[44] Wüstefeld 1992 (note 34), p. 10.
[45] A.S. Korteweg et al., Kriezels, Aubergines en takkenbossen. Randversiering in Noordnederlandse handschriften uit de vijftiende eeuw (1992), p. 11.

text's hierarchy.[46] They navigate the reader through the otherwise uniform manuscript, warning for upcoming important texts, and making it easier to quickly look up certain passages.

In 1923, A.W. Byvanck already knew that Delft was home to very specific types of penwork flourishing and border decoration.[47] In some of the Delft manuscripts, notes clarify that the books were copied and decorated in the Delft convent of St Agnes.[48] It is at times still debated whether the word 'illuminatus', found in a Book of Hours decorated by the nuns of St Agnes, refers to the execution of penwork flourishing, or to the execution of the miniatures. Nowadays, the term 'illuminatus' or illuminated usually refers to the latter, but Lydia Wierda argues that in the fifteenth century, 'illuminare' did not necessarily involve the production of miniatures.[49] Instead, the term appears to have been applicable to decorated initials and penwork flourishing, as becomes apparent from a Book of Hours partly produced in the convent Thabor, and partly in Zwolle. The colophon clearly states that the manuscript was written and illuminated in Thabor by a certain brother Petrus. Another brother completed the manuscript with painted illumination in Zwolle. Petrus' work only included the written text and the decorated initials, which are nevertheless referred to as illuminations. Thus, the term 'illuminatus' does not imply that the nuns of St Agnes in Delft produced miniatures themselves, although it cannot be excluded that they did.

Thanks to the notes in some of the Delft manuscripts, other manuscripts with similar penwork or border decoration could be attributed to the same convent or at least to the town of Delft. Over the years, the knowledge of Delft penwork and border decoration has grown considerably. The workgroups of J.P. Gumbert and the Alexander Willem Byvanck Genootschap have played important roles in the study of North Netherlandish penwork and border decoration as a whole, and of Delft penwork and border decoration in particular. In *Kriezels, aubergines en takkenbossen*, four different types of Delft penwork flourishing and border decoration are being distinguished: the *schulp* border, the *blok* border, the coloured border, and the *kriezel* border.[50]

1.2.1. Delft penwork: schulp *and* blok *borders*

Schulp and *blok* borders are two types of Delft penwork flourishing. Thus, these types are both usually fashioned in hues of red and blue ink, although green ink is sometimes

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[46] Ibid., pp. 11-12.

[47] A.W. Byvanck, 'Noord-Nederlandse miniaturen V: een schilderschool te Delft', in: *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek: derde serie van het Bulletin van den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond* 3 (1923), pp. 188-189.

[48] The notes are written in two Books of Hours (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Ms. 21696 and Kraków, Muzeum Naradowe w Krakowie, Ms. C2 946), and one missal (Dublin, Trinity College, Ms. 81).They were written by nuns of the convent of St Agnes in Delft, who stated that the manuscripts mentioned above were 'scriptus et illuminatus', 'scriptus et perfectus', and 'factum […] in monasterio regularissarum sanctae Agnetis in valle Josaphat'. See: Defoer 1989 (note 19), pp. 189-190.

[49] L. Wierda, 'Een oetmoedich boeck: het ideale boek bij de Moderne Devoten', in: K. Veelenturf (ed.), *Geen povere schoonheid* (2000), pp. 165-166.

[50] Korteweg 1992 (note 45), pp. 56-58.

applied as well. The *schulp* border has been attributed to Delft on the basis of a missal (Dublin, Trinity College, Ms. 81) that was written and completed in the convent of St Agnes. *Schulp* borders consist of veined leaves that are arranged around one, two, or multiple sides of the text. The foliage is lobed and often adorned with small dots and spirals. The border is further decorated with golden or coloured hearts, *radishes* – dots with a short 'tail' – and flowers (fig. 2).

Schulp borders were probably already in existence in around 1440-1445. Penwork flourishes and border decoration were both regularly applied in a single manuscript. The *schulp* border in particular often appears in manuscripts that are also decorated with the Delft coloured border, which will be discussed below. The latest known examples of *schulp* borders are found in two manuscripts dating from 1463 and 1465.[51] According to K. Broekhuijsen-Kruijer, the *schulp* border will probably gradually have given way to a more symmetrical form of penwork flourishing, the *blok* border.[52]

Blok borders fully enclose the text, therefore they were given the name '*blok*' (block). *Blok* borders are localised on the basis of a manuscript (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 128 D 28) that was copied in the convent of St Ursula in Delft.[53] These borders have probably evolved from the *schulp* borders, because they are basically constructed with the same type of lobed leaves as the *schulp* borders, and are decorated with the same types of spirals and flowers as well. *Blok* borders are much more symmetrical than *schulp* borders, which gives them a cleaner, more tranquil look.

Blok borders first appear in the second half of the fifteenth century (fig. 3). The oldest known manuscript decorated with *blok* borders (KB 128 D 28) dates from 1476.[54] They are more frequently found in manuscripts produced in the 1480s, such as a Book of Hours dated 1483 (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Cgm. 137). Thus, Delft penwork flourishing seems to have evolved gradually in the fifteenth century from *schulp* to *blok* border, which enables an approximate dating of manuscripts without colophon, but with the same types of penwork.

1.2.2. Delft border decoration: coloured and kriezel *borders*

As mentioned, the Delft *schulp* border is often found in manuscripts that are decorated with coloured borders as well. The coloured border is the earliest type of Delft border decoration.[55] In its simplest form, it consists of delicate black tendrils, green foliage and orange, radish-like dots. More elaborately coloured borders are added with brightly coloured flowers, acanthus leaves and golden dots, trefoils, and hearts (fig. 4). Especially the combination of green and orange foliage is generally reserved for Delft border decoration.

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[51] These two manuscripts are Kraków, Muzeum Naradowe w Krakowie, Ms. C2 946, and London, British Library, Ms. Add. 20034.
[52] Korteweg 1992 (note 45), p. 61.
[53] Ibid., p. 58.
[54] Ibid., pp. 61-66.
[55] Ibid., p. 56.

Coloured borders date back to the first half of the fifteenth century. The oldest known manuscript decorated with coloured borders is a bible that was bought by St Bavo cathedral in Haarlem in 1435 (Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent, Ms. BMH 92 H 2). The coloured style continued to be in use up until the 1460s, when it, together with the *schulp* decoration, gradually gave way to a new type of border decoration.

This newer type goes by the name *kriezel* border.[56] *Kriezel* borders are decorated with acanthus leaves, flowers, golden dots and trefoils, and the actual *kriezel* lines (fig. 5). There are no manuscripts decorated with *kriezel* borders that can be located by colophons or notes. Nevertheless, the *kriezel* style is attributed to Delft on the basis of its connection to the Delft *blok* border. *Blok* borders do occur in locatable manuscripts, and as *blok* and *kriezel* borders often occur in the same manuscripts, it is assumed that *kriezel* borders were created in Delft as well. The *blok* borders' dating suggests that the *kriezel* borders were produced in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.[57]

In all Delft types of penwork flourishing and border decoration, marginal (half-length) figures and animals carrying text scrolls are very characteristic. These scrolls may refer to the main text, as is the case in this thesis' subject, Ms. 74 G 35. In this manuscript, the Hours of the Virgin are decorated with an elaborate version of the coloured style. At the top of the page, a golden bird carries a text scroll with the words 'Ave Maria' in its beak. In other cases, the scrolls may refer to the decorators themselves.[58] A thorough study of all Delft marginal figures and text scrolls is desirable, as it may clarify their function, use, and the nature of their makers.[59]

1.3. Delft manuscript production: Masters and miniatures

The loss of source material dating from before 1536 also influenced modern scholarly knowledge of Delft illuminators. Nowadays, scholars attribute around eight anonymous masters to Delft on the basis of contextual evidence, iconography, and stylistic features both in miniatures, as in penwork flourishing and border decoration. The masters associated with Delft are the Master of the Morgan Infancy Cycle (ca. 1415-1425), the Masters of the Delft grisailles (ca. 1440-1450), the Masters of the Delft Half-Length Figures (ca. 1450-1480), the Master of Yolande de Lalaing (ca. 1470-1476), the Master of Herman Droem (1475-1485), the Monkey Master (ca. 1480), the Assumption Master (ca. 1480-1485), and the Master of the Adair Hours (Adair Master, 1485-1490).[60]

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[56] *Kriezel* is a contraction of the Dutch words 'griezelig' (spooky, scary), and 'kriebelig' (scratchy); Ibid., p. 60.

[57] Ibid., p. 61.

[58] The nuns of St Agnes wrote the name of their convent in a text scroll. See: note 47.

[59] The idea of studying all Delft text scrolls was brought up during a meeting with Anne Korteweg in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, where we studied Delft penwork flourishing and border decoration.

[60] Wüstefeld 1992 (note 34), p. 32.

1.3.1. The Master of the Morgan Infancy Cycle (ca. 1415-1425)

James Marrow positions the Master of the Morgan Infancy Cycle, named after the depiction of Jesus's infancy in a Book of Hours in New York (Morgan Library, Ms. 866), at the beginning of 'a fresh artistic tradition', by which he refers to Dutch manuscript illumination in the first decades of the fifteenth century (fig. 6).[61] In this period, manuscript production was a growing industry in cities such as Utrecht, Nijmegen, Delft, and The Hague.[62] The Master of the Morgan Infancy Cycle and his team probably lived and worked in Delft. Their miniatures are often found in manuscripts that include Delft prayers and saints, which at least suggests a strong connection to this specific town.[63]

The Master of the Morgan Infancy Cycle stands at the beginning of a century of flourishing book production and illumination in Delft. According to Marrow, his compositional and iconographic inventiveness started the development of an artistic tradition.[64] His influence was at least felt at a local level, as his compositions appear to have been a source of inspiration for the Masters of the Delft Grisailles (figs. 6-7).[65]

1.3.2. The Masters of the Delft Grisailles (ca. 1440-1450)

The Masters of the Delft Grisailles produced semi-monochrome miniatures in grey (*gris*), which they executed in silverpoint and gouache (fig. 7). The white of the parchment forms the highlights, whereas depths and shadows are built up by shades of grey. Some grisailles have touches of a coloured wash, gold paint or even burnished gold. These partly coloured monochromes should actually be named 'semi-grisailles', but in practice, they are mostly simply referred to as grisailles.[66]

Although similar in technique, the Delft grisailles have little to do with the fourteenth-century French grisailles created by Jean Pucelle for high-born ladies such as queen Jeanne d'Evreux, or with the fifteenth-century grisailles that were in fashion at the Burgundian court.[67] Contrary to the French and Burgundian grisailles, their patronage is mainly unknown. Based on their quality and serial production, which will be briefly discussed in chapter II, it is safe to assume that the Delft grisailles were not created for members of the French and Burgundian royalty and nobility.[68] Rather, they

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[61] J.H. Marrow, 'Dutch Manuscript Illumination before the Master of Catherine of Cleves. The Master of the Morgan Infancy Cycle', in*: Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 19 (1968), p. 51.

[62] Defoer 1989 (note 19), p. 57.

[63] Ibid., p. 57.

[64] Marrow 1968 (note 61), p. 53.

[65] Defoer 1989 (note 19), p. 57.

[66] This is also the case with the Delft grisailles. They are always referred to as grisailles, although some of them are (partially) coloured.

[67] P. Charron, 'Color, Grisaille and Pictorial Tecniques in Works by Jean Pucelle', in: K. Pyun and A.D. Russakoff (ed.), *Jean Pucelle. Innovation and Collaboration in Manuscript Painting* (2013), p. 91. The Hours of the Burgundian duke Philip the Good are kept in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, Ms. 76 F 2.

[68] M. Renger has written about the 'serial' production of the Delft grisailles, see: M. Osterstrom Renger, 'The Netherlandish Grisaille Miniatures: Some Unexplored Aspects', in: *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* vol. XIV (1984), pp. 145-173.

were ordered or purchased by members from the (lower) aristocracy and urban elite. As most of the manuscripts are written in Middle Dutch, they must have predominantly been destined for North-Netherlandish customers.

The Delft grisailles have survived in seventeen manuscripts, in which they were bound in as single leaves (Appendix II).[69] On the basis of an eastern table in manuscript currently kept in Copenhagen (Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Ms. GKS 3445 8°) and the inscriptions in the calendar of another Book of Hours (University Library, Leiden, Ms. BPL 224), this group can be dated around 1440-1450.[70] By whom they were produced remains unclear. Because of the lack of archival evidence, scholars in the past have debated the Delft grisailles' place of origin. Byvanck attributed the grisailles to Delft on the basis of a text scroll in the margin of one of the grisaille manuscripts (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Ms. 21696). In it, the nuns of St Agnes claim their participation in the manuscript's production.[71] The large quantity of Delft grisaille manuscripts decorated with Delft penwork or border decoration has made most scholars support Byvanck's views.

However, in 1979 C.A. Chavannes-Mazel discarded Delft as the Delft grisailles' place of origin. Instead, she hinted at a production of grisailles in a convent near Leiden.[72] Some twenty years later, P. Obbema argued that the Delft grisailles were actually created in the convent Lopsen in Leiden.[73] He did so on the basis of the Leiden manuscript BPL 224, which originally belonged to Elisabeth van Zaers.[74] Elisabeth was a nun in Mariënpoel in Oegstgeest. Obbema argued that Elisabeth copied the book herself, and because her Book of Hours contains five grisailles of which the dimensions correspond to those of the manuscript's page lay-out, Obbema was convinced that Elisabeth must have had contact with the grisaille 'workshop' in order to communicate her wishes and her book's dimensions.[75]

As Canonesses Regular, the nuns of Mariënpoel were not allowed to leave the convent.[76] If Elisabeth or another representative of Mariënpoel commissioned grisailles for Ms. BPL 224, Obbema argues, the grisaille 'workshop' must have been close by.[77] For

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[69] The grisailles kept in Amsterdam and Mettingen are fragments and are therefore separated from their manuscripts and original contexts.

[70] I. Schüler, *Der Meister der Liebensgärten. Ein Beitrag zur Früholländischen Malerei* (1935), p. 27.

[71] See: note 48.

[72] C.A. Chavannes-Mazel, 'Delftse handschriften en boekverluchting', in: I. Spaander and R.A. Leeuw (ed.), *De stad Delft. Cultuur en maatschappij tot 1572* (1979), p. 136.

[73] P. Obbema, 'Het Leids getijdenboek in een nieuw perspectief', in: P. Obbema, *De middeleeuwen in handen. Over de boekcultuur in de late middeleeuwen* (1996a), pp. 176-192.

[74] On f. 5v, a note reads: '*int iaer van xxv dede ic zaers professi*' (in the year [14]25 I, Zaers, professed). Other notes, such as 'int iaer van xxxix sterf mijn suster Zibilla' (f. 6r: In the year [14]39, my sister Zibilla passed away), and grammatical clues in the texts, make Obbema attribute this book to a woman. See also: Obbema 1996a (note 72), pp. 181-183. Based on genealogical data, this woman can only be Elisabeth van Zaers. Elisabeth or Lijsbeth was the daughter of Willem van Zaers and Johanna van Heemskerck. See also: W.P. Bouman, *Het Henegouws-Hollands riddermatig middels geslacht De Sars/Van Zaers. Behorend bij het getijdenboek van Elyzabeth van Zaers* (1992), pp. 47-50.

[75] Obbema 1996a (note 73), p. 189.

[76] Medieval Memoria Online <https://memodatabase.hum.uu.nl/memo-is/detail/index?detailId=372&detailType=Monastery> (01-02-2018).

[77] Obbema 1996a (note 73), p. 189.

that reason, Obbema searches for a place in the proximity of Mariënpoel that was capable of producing grisailles. He claimed Lopsen to be the place where the Delft grisailles were actually produced, because it was close to Oegstgeest and home to several illuminators.[78] However, there is no evidence in the Lopsen accounts that Lopsen illuminators made grisaille miniatures, nor is there any evidence in Elisabeth's manuscript that she copied it herself. If she did not, there would have been no need for a grisaille 'workshop' in the proximity of Mariënpoel. Obbema further ignores other convents in the region that could have been able to produce grisailles, as much as he ignores the possibility of lay craftsmen producing the Delft grisailles.

Thus, Obbema's Lopsen and, subsequently, Leiden theory does not hold. The Delft grisailles have a much stronger connection to the city of Delft, due to the large number of grisaille manuscripts that are decorated with Delft penwork flourishing or border decoration.[79] For now, there is no reason to doubt Byvanck's and later scholars' attribution of the North-Netherlandish grisailles to Delft, but it is very well possible that the production of Delft grisailles was not reserved for only one Delft master and his team. The Delft grisailles in Ms. 74 G 35 were probably created by one person, as will be further discussed in chapter II.

1.3.3. The Masters of the Delft Half-Length Figures (ca. 1450-1480)

The Masters of the Delft Half-Length Figures are a group of individual craftsmen or -women that are named after the half-length marginal figures accompanying their miniatures. These figures mostly represent angels, prophets, and saints, and are often surrounded by the Delft *kriezel* border or *blok* border. In most cases, the border decoration and miniatures were executed by the same master. It is unclear how many Masters of the Delft Half-Length Figures were active in the period 1450-1480. The differences in their oeuvre indicate that these masters did not work in one team or 'workshop'.

The work of an early Master of the Delft Half-Length Figures, dated around 1450, is featured in a Book of Hours currently kept in Oxford (Keble College, Ms. 77). His miniatures are decorated with a version of the Delft coloured style, the earliest type of Delft border decoration. This master used abstract, tile-like backgrounds and quite simple figures with 'bushy' hair, a hairstyle that is also characteristic of the figures of the

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[78] P. Obbema, 'Een atelier in de archieven: het klooster Lopsen', in: *De middeleeuwen in handen. Over de boekcultuur in de late middeleeuwen* (1996b), p. 45.

[79] Six of seventeen manuscripts have distinct Delft penwork flourishing or border decorations; three manuscripts have South-Holland penwork flourishing or border decoration closely related to Delft; three manuscripts have South-Holland penwork flourishing or border decorations that are not specifically linked to a certain town; one manuscript has North-Holland border decorations, specifically Haarlem; one manuscript has border decorations from Naples (and a calender for Roman use); the grisailles from Amsterdam and Mettingen are fragments without penwork flourishing or border decoration; one manuscript has Utrecht border decorations (and Utrecht historiated initials); one manuscript was adapted to the use of Hildesheim, penwork flourishing or border decoration are unknown to me.

Masters of the Delft Grisailles (fig. 8).[80] His scenes are brightly coloured in blue, orange, red, green and yellow. In *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*, the Keble College master is described as 'the more articulate of the Masters of the Delft Half-Length Figures'.[81]

Another Master of the Delft Half-Length Figures is known as the Master of Beatrijs van Assendelft's *Vita Christi*.[82] This *Vita Christi* manuscript (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. (James) 25) was made for Beatrijs van Assendelft, daughter of a noble family and nun in the Haarlem convent St Mary in Zijl.[83] Her copy of the *Vita* is decorated with the Delft *kriezel* and *blok* borders, as well as a number of full-page miniatures. The Master of Beatrijs van Assendelft is considered to be the most skilled craftsmen of the Masters of the Delft Half-Length Figures.[84] A feature that frequently occurs in his work, as well as in that of the other masters of this group, is an architectural canopy. This canopy often consists of three (semi-)arches, gablets and pinnacles, and may rest on slender columns. Sometimes, the canopy itself is provided with a dome roof. The canopy is not reserved for indoor scenes, as is clarified by two canopied outdoor scenes, the Nativity and the Arrest of Christ, by Masters of the Delft Half-Length Figures (figs. 9 and 10).[85]

The canopies do provide roof-like structures for interiors, which were frequently depicted by the Masters of the Delft Half-Length Figures. Tiled floors in alternating colours, such as yellow and green or yellow and orange, and arched windows characterise these master's interiors. The interiors never seem to be full of detail, they rather serve their purpose – indicating the indoors – in a moderate manner. The same may apply to their figures. Defoer et al. even describe the work of one of the latest masters (ca. 1480) as 'not being of great sophistication'.[86]

Notwithstanding, the Masters of the Delft Half-Length Figures have produced miniatures and marginal figures for around three decades. Their work must have been appreciated, and, consequently, there must have been a considerable market for it. The patronage of Beatrijs van Assendelft or her family at least indicates that the Holland elite was a customer of the Masters of the Delft Half-Length Figures.

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[80] The 'bushy hairstyle' also occurs in the work of Jan van Eyck (especially his angels), and that of the Master of Catherine of Cleves.

[81] Defoer 1989 (note 19), p. 194.

[82] Henceforth, this master will be named the Master of Beatrijs van Assendelt.

[83] Wüstefeld 1992 (note 34), p. 18 and p. 20; N. Morgan and S. Panayotova, *Illuminated Manuscripts in Cambridge. Part One, Volume One: The Frankish Kingdoms, the Low Countries, Germany* (2009), pp. 76-79.

[84] Defoer 1989 (note 19), p. 196.

[85] The whereabouts of this miniature are unknown. It was sold as lot 11 at Christies on 15 July 2015 in the auction Valuable Books and Manuscripts Including Cartography.

[86] Defoer 1989 (note 19), p. 197.

1.3.4. The Master of Yolande de Lalaing (ca. 1470-1476) and the Master of Herman Droem (1475-1485)

The Master of Yolande de Lalaing started his career in Utrecht, where he may have been tutored by the Master of Gijsbrecht van Brederode.[87] He was named after one of his patrons, Yolande de Lalaing, but he did not work exclusively for her. Later in his career, he participated with the Master of Herman Droem to complete the seven-volume bible of the Utrecht Canon and Dean Herman Droem.[88] The Master of Yolande de Lalaing only created two historiated initials and two decorated pages in the first volume. His borders are full of acanthus leaves, human figures, animals, and small narrative scenes (fig. 11). The Master of Herman Droem decorated the rest of the bible in a similar manner.

The bible of Herman Droem also includes penwork initials, combined with penwork flourishing in the 'aubergine' style.[89] Aubergine penwork occurs in multiple manuscripts that were decorated in the south of Holland, possibly in Delft.[90] It is therefore suggested that the Master of Yolande de Lalaing and the Master of Herman Droem moved their businesses to Delft, perhaps as a result of Utrecht unrest around 1470.[91] For the reason that the aubergine penwork cannot be exclusively attributed to Delft, their presence in town might be questioned, but the same penwork does suggest a connection between their work and the southern part of Holland in general. After 1470, the Master of Herman Droem did indeed work for South-Holland patrons, such as noblewoman Alijd van Kijfhoek (ca. 1470-1530) from The Hague.[92]

1.3.5. The Monkey Master (ca. 1480), the Assumption Master (ca. 1480-1485), and the Adair Master (1485-1490)

The previously discussed Master of Herman Droem, and the Monkey Master, the Assumption Master, and the Adair Master have all cooperated in one or multiple projects.[93] The Monkey Master, named after his marginal monkey drolleries, has at least twice collaborated with the Assumption Master. A Book of Hours now kept in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (The Hague, Ms. 135 K 40) is a result of their joint effort. The Monkey Master is primarily known for his border decoration, which is brightly coloured and filled with acanthus leaves, fruits, flowers, monkeys, and other animals. In the case of KB 135 K 40, he created three full-page miniatures as well. The other miniatures by the Assumption Master are characterised by bright blue skies, figures with high foreheads and clothing in the colours red, blue, pale green, orange, and mauve (fig. 12).

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[87] Ibid., p. 218.

[88] Ibid., p. 219.

[89] The aubergine style is named after eggplant-shaped elements. See: Korteweg 1992 (note 45), pp. 69-70.

[90] Ibid, p. 70; G. Gerritsen-Geywitz, *Het Utrechtse draakje en zijn entourage. Vijftien penwerkstijlen in Utrechtse handschriften en gedrukte boeken uit de tweede helft van de vijftiende eeuw* (2017), pp. 58-59, pp. 77-82.

[91] Wüstefeld 1992 (note 34), p. 13.

[92] Wüstefeld 1992 (note 34), p. 22.

[93] Ibid., p. 32.

Their miniatures and border decorations reoccur in a Book of Hours sold at Les Enluminures, on which they must have worked jointly as well.[94]

Together with the Assumption Master, the Adair Master illuminated the breviary of Beatrijs van Assendelft (Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent, Ms. OKM h3), which was probably ordered as a gift for Beatrijs when she entered the convent St Mary in Zijl.[95] His work is detailed, has depth, and shows Flemish influences. In some cases, his miniatures are enclosed by variants of the so-called Ghent-Bruges strewn borders, which were imitated by Northern-Netherlandish illuminators in the late fifteenth century. The Adair Book of Hours, named after one of its owners who also gave the Adair Master his surrogate name, demonstrates the use of such borders (fig. 13).

The Monkey Master, the Assumption Master, and the Adair Master are part of the last generation of important Delft manuscript illuminators. In the last quarter of the fifteenth century, Delft slowly took over Utrecht's leading position in book production. At the end of the century, the import of Flemish, Utrecht, and other miniatures resulted in a less specific Delft style, which will be explored in more detail in the upcoming chapters. But first, it is necessary to travel back in time to the period of around 1440-1450, when the subject of this thesis, Ms. 75 G 35, was originally produced.
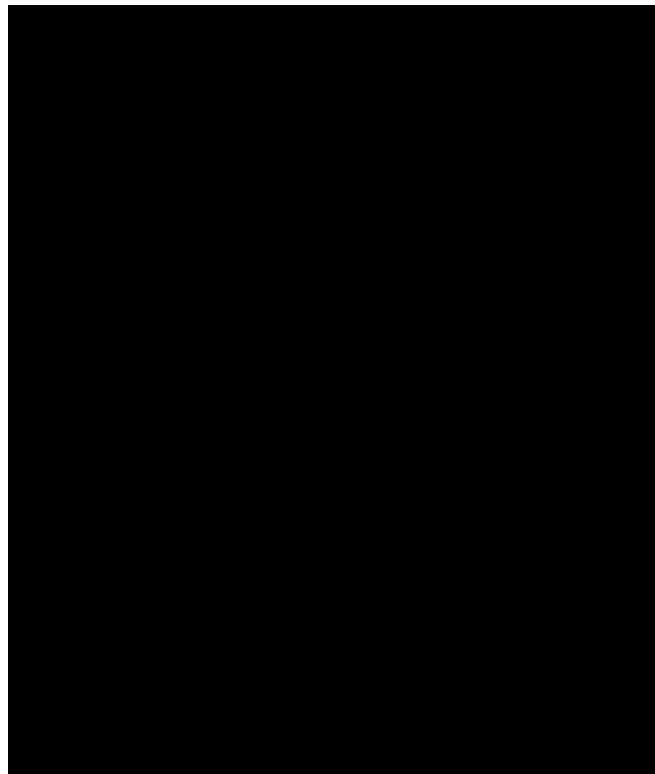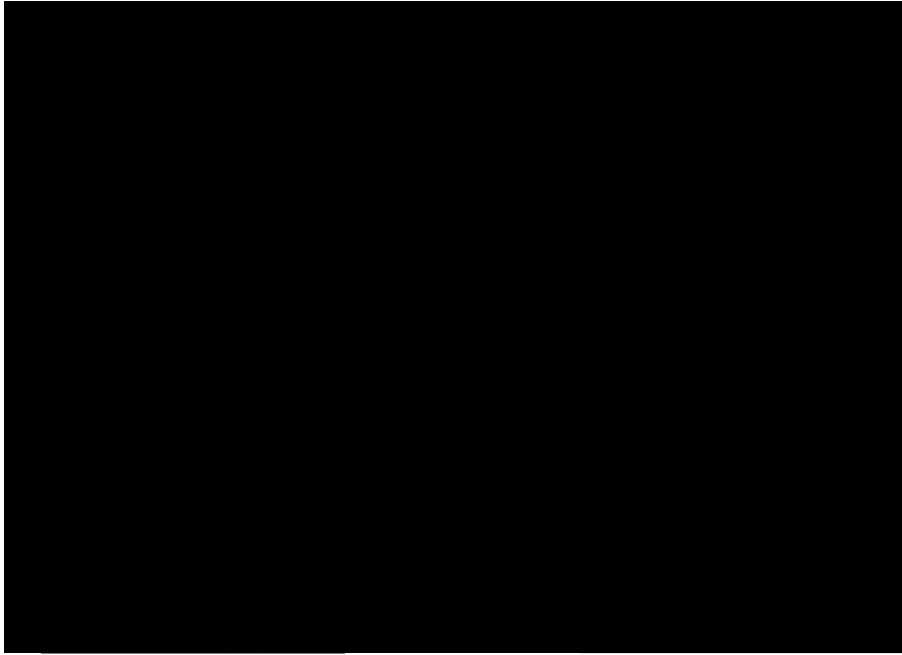

Fig. 1: *Delft on fire*, Northern Netherlands, ca. 1536-1599, engraving, 120 x 98 mm., Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-78.519.

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[94] Les Enluminures, Paris/New York/Chicago 2018, ref. no. BOH 141: Les Enluminures <http://www.medievalbooksofhours.com/inventory/boh_141> (22-02-2018).
[95] Wüstefeld 1992 (note 34), p. 20.

takkenbossen.

Fig. 3: *Blok* border.
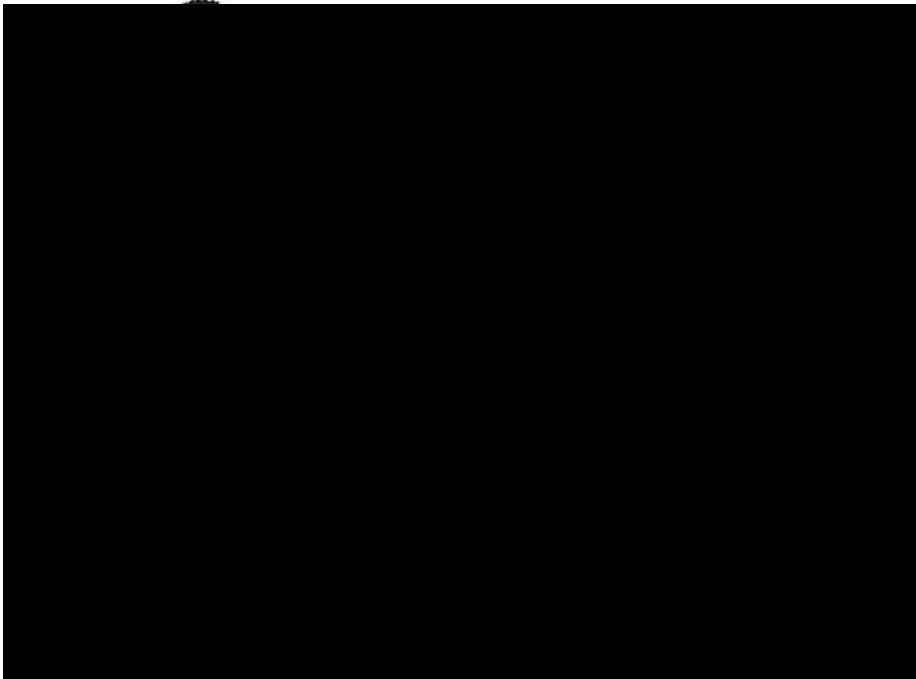Drawing in *Kriezels,
aubergines en
takkenbossen.*

Fig. 4: Coloured
border. Drawing in
*Kriezels, aubergines en
takkenbossen.*

Fig. 5: *Kriezel* border.
Drawing in *Kriezels,
aubergines en
takkenbossen.*

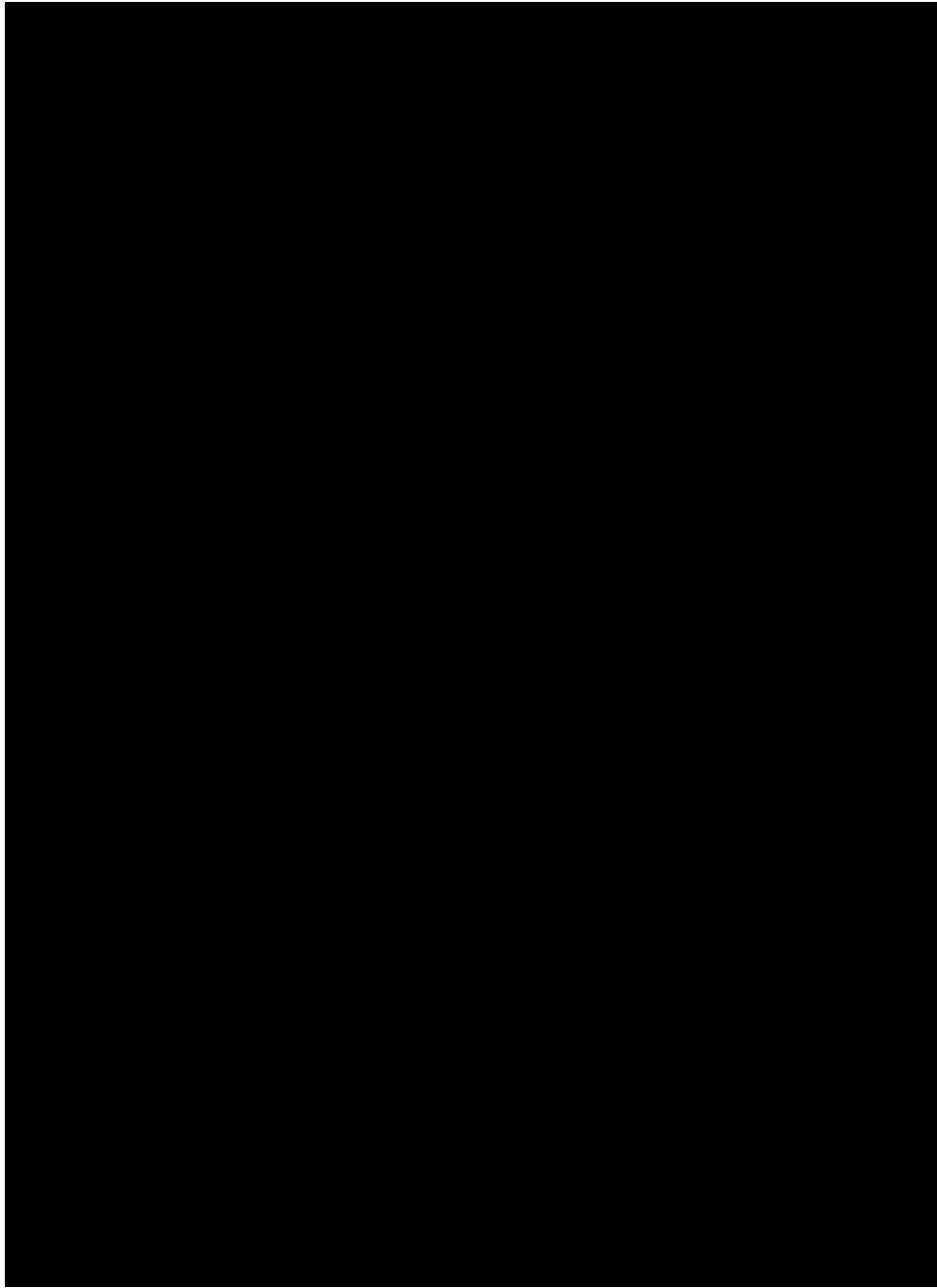Fig. 6: The Master of the Morgan Infancy Cycle, *the Adoration of the Magi*, Delft, ca. 1420, London, British Library, Ms. Add. 50.005, f. 45v.
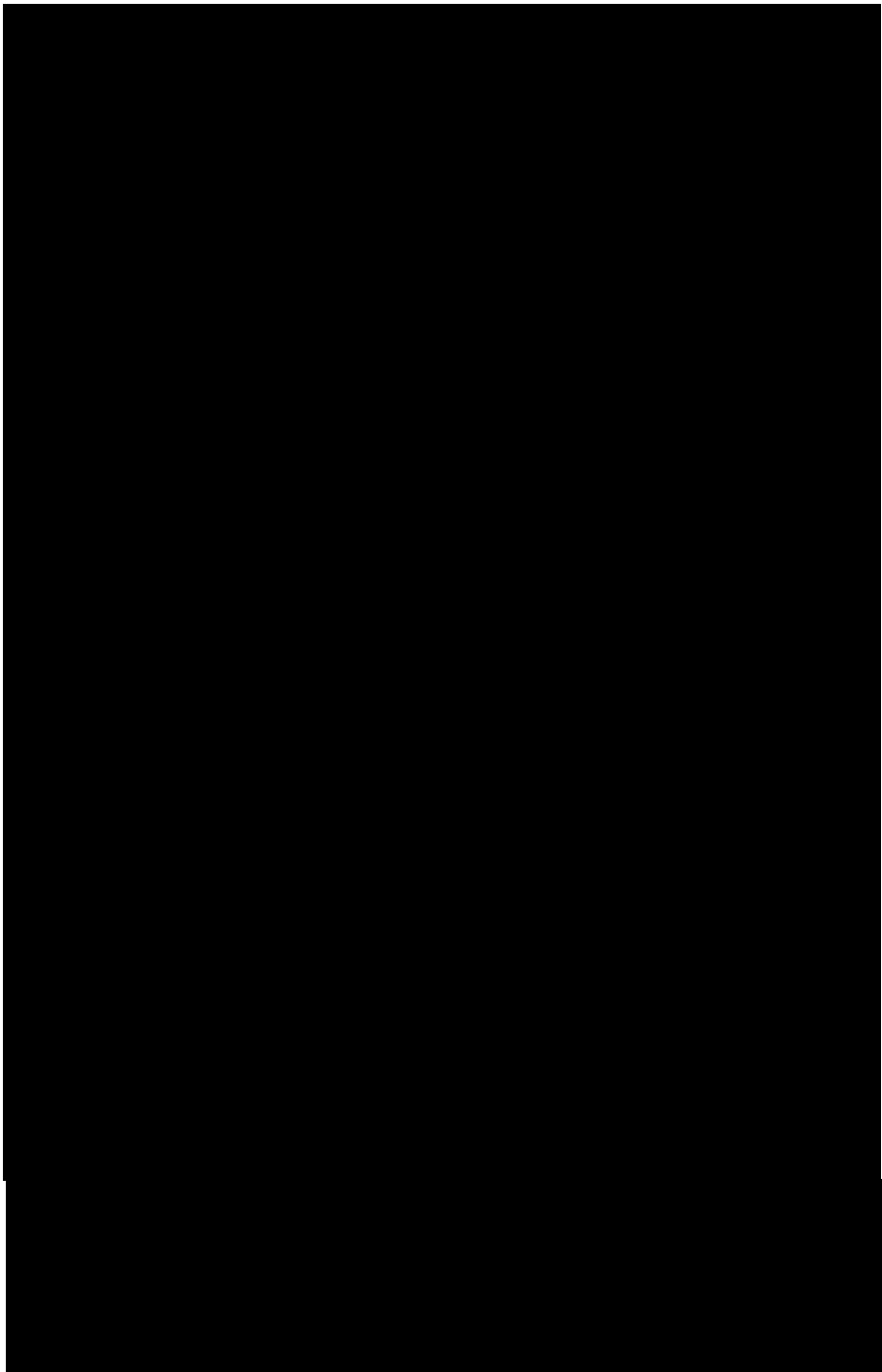
Fig. 7: The Masters of the Delft Grisailles, *the Adoration of the Magi*, Delft, ca. 1440-1450, Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, Ms. I 83, f. 8v.
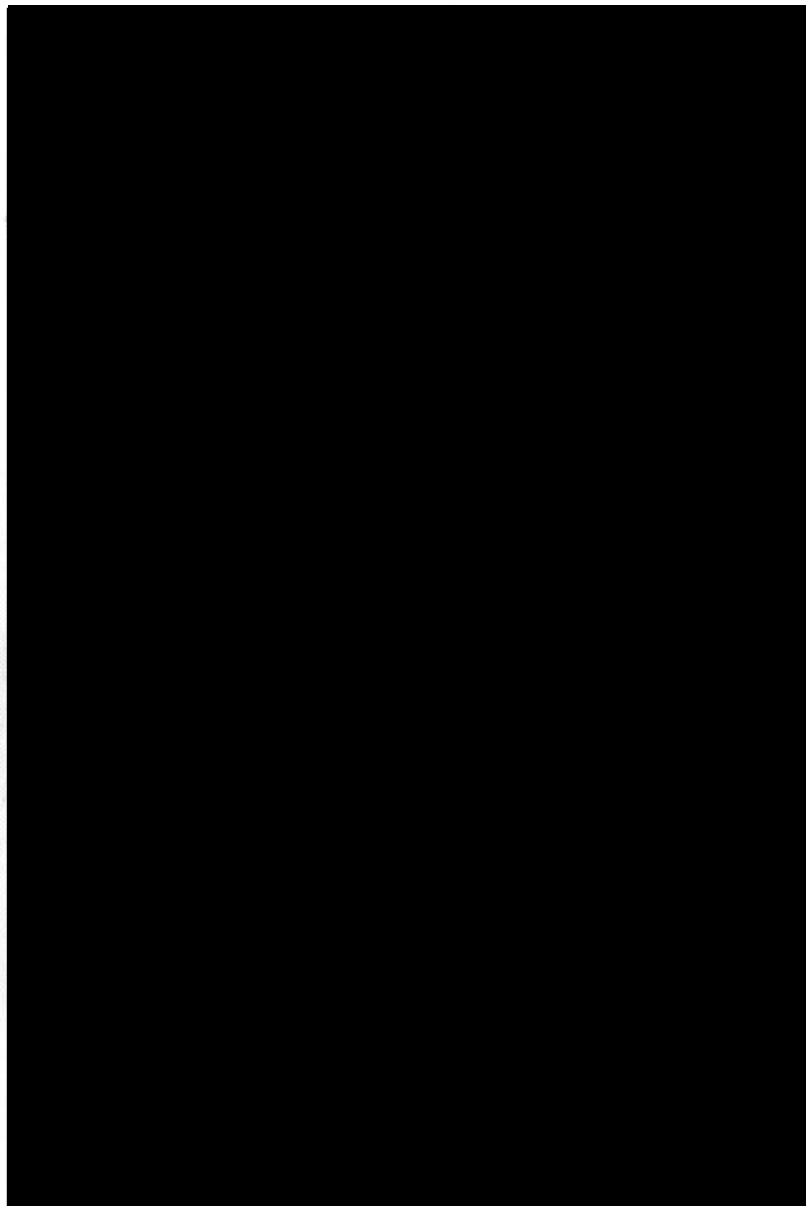
Fig. 8: The Masters of the Delft Half-Length Figures, *the Annunciation*, Delft, ca. 1450, Oxford, Keble College, Ms. 77, f. 26v.
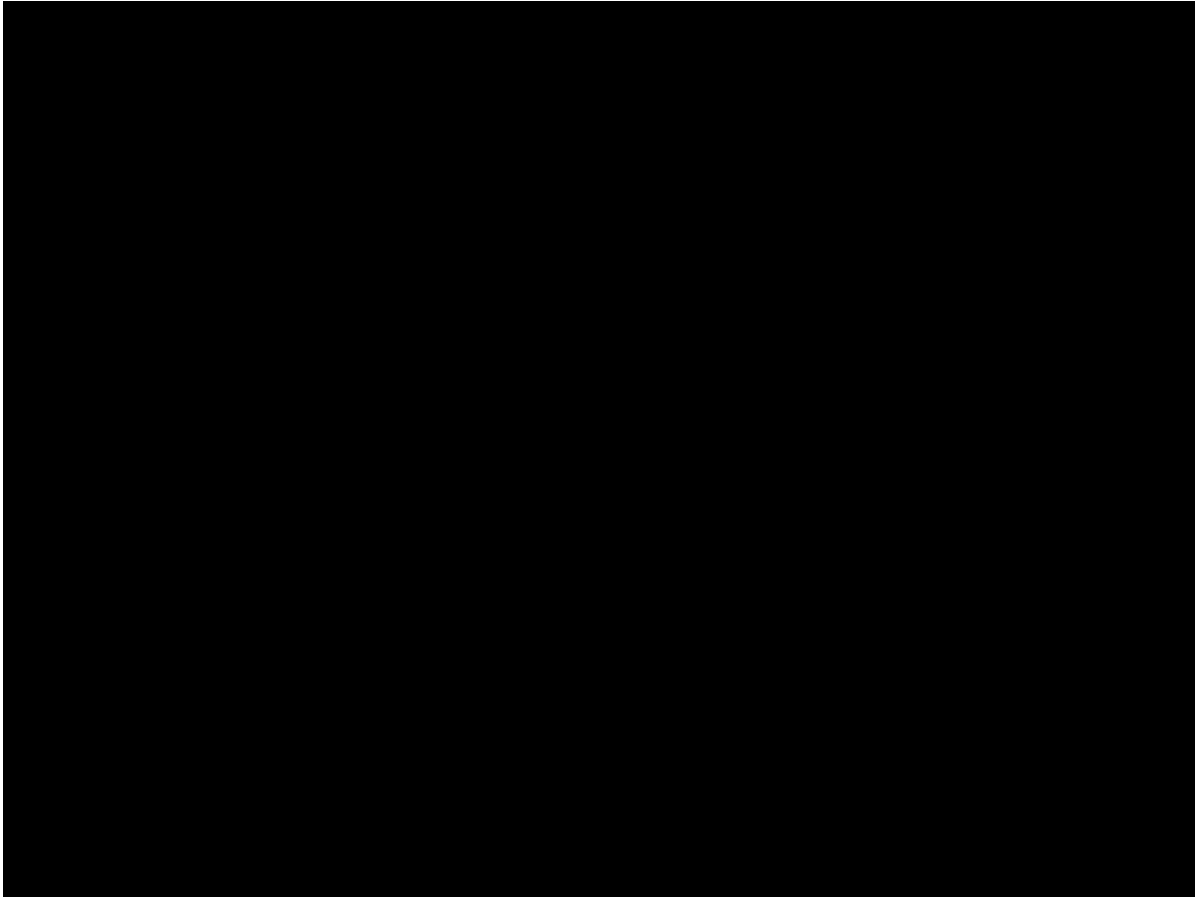
Fig. 9: The Masters of the Delft Half-Length Figures, *the Nativity*, Delft, ca. 1470, sold at Christie's on 15 July 2015, lot 11.

Fig. 10: The Masters of the Delft Half-Length Figures, *the Arrest of Christ*, Delft, ca. 1460-80, The Hague, Koninklijke Biblioheek, Ms. 131 G 8, f. 14v.
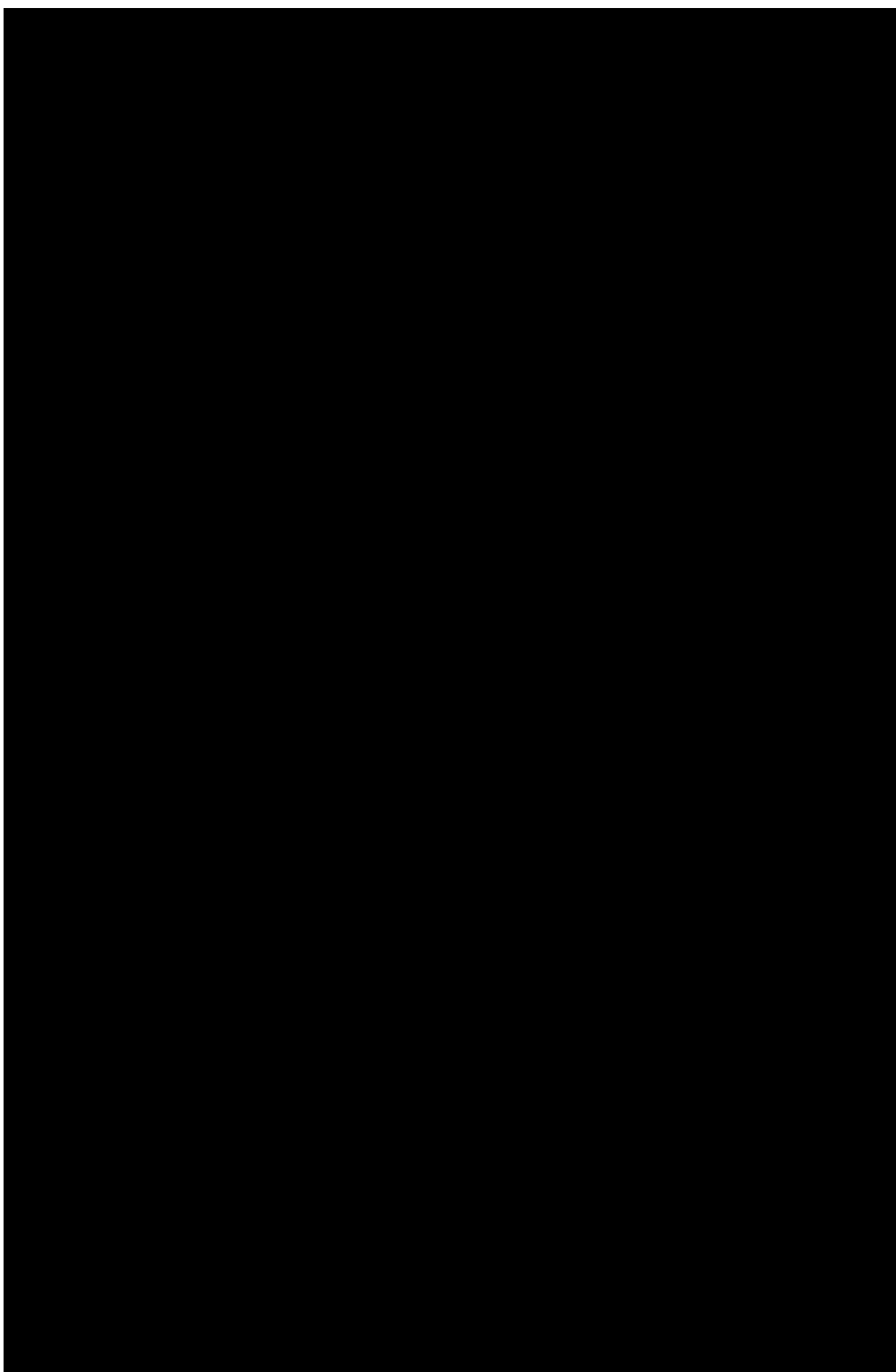
Fig. 12: The Assumption Master, *David at prayer*, Delft?, ca. 1460-1480, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 135 K 40, f. 78v.

Fig. 13: The Adair Master, *Crucifixion*, Delft, ca. 1480-1500, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. BPH 131, f. 46r.

II. The Production, Patronage, and Early Life of Ms. 74 G 35

Before additions could be made to Ms. 74 G 35, the manuscript obviously had to be produced first. Consequently, before anything can be said of the manuscript's augmented parts, it is necessary to first study its original state. Therefore, this chapter will primarily focus on the original production, including the texts and decoration, and the manuscript's place of production. The family records on the 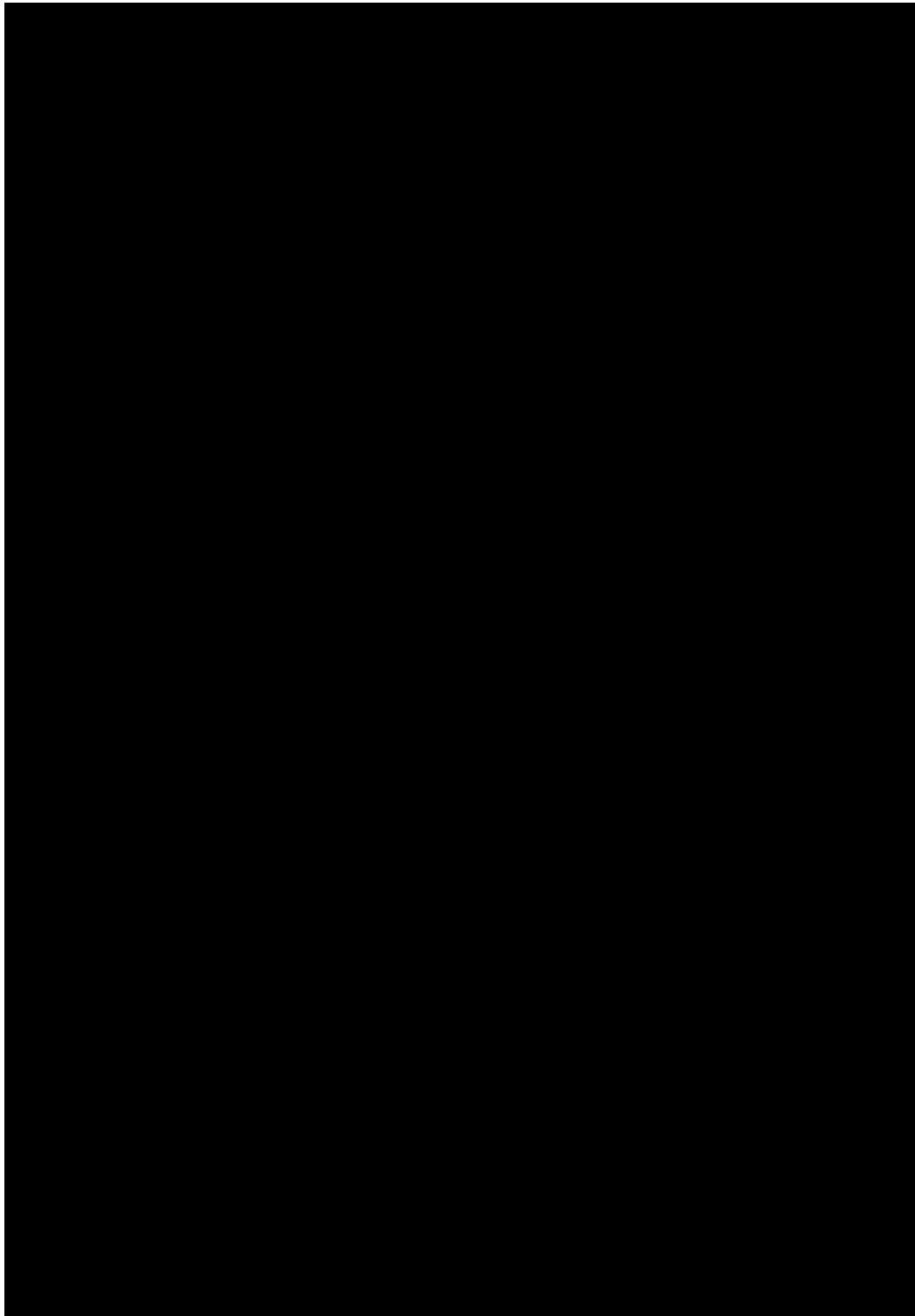last folios demonstrate that the manuscript belonged to the Van Matenesse family in the late fifteenth century, but they do not reveal its first owner. The second and third paragraphs search for clues considering the first owner's identity, both in the manuscript itself, as in the Van Matenesse family history. Ms. 74 G 35's early life, in which several parts have been added to the original manuscript, will be briefly discussed in the final paragraph. Thus, this chapter provides an overview of the manuscript's original contents, production, and possible patronage, creating a stepping stone towards the following chapters.

2.1. Original production and patronage

2.1.1. Original texts and decoration in Manuscript 74 G 35

As with most Books of Hours, Ms. 74 G 35 was originally built up of a set of standard texts. Right after its first completion, it contained a calendar, the Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of the Cross, the Penitential Psalms and Litany, the Suffrages, the Office of the Dead and Gospel Lessons. These texts are all written in Latin by one scribe or by scribes whose styles of writing were very similar. Whoever copied this Book of Hours did so on good-quality parchment, filling the sheets with seventeen lines per page. The texts are written in a neat and regular *littera hybrida* and are adorned with alternating red and blue initials throughout, and more elaborate initials of burnished gold and brightly coloured paint at the start of each new text.[96]

  The texts in Ms. 74 G 35 are mostly copied on quires of four bifolios, or eight folios. Quires of this composition were very common in the Middle Ages.[97] In the original lay-out of Ms. 74 G 35, the quires on which the Suffrages are copied form an exception, as they are built up of only two bifolios. Their small size may result from the great number of inserted Delft grisailles. If the Suffrages were copied on a four-bifolio quire, just like the rest of the standard texts, this quire would have turned out to be unusually large, consisting of eight folios plus another eight folios of inserted Delft grisailles. Apparently, it was decided that a substantially larger quire would either disturb the manuscript's quire structure, or hinder the binding process. The scribe(s) clearly considered the best options, and carefully planned the execution of Ms. 74 G 35.

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[96] Medieval Manuscripts in Dutch Collections
<http://mmdc.nl/static/site/research_and_education/palaeography/palaeography_scripts/1158/Littera_hybrida.html> (30-01-2018).

[97] R. Clemens and T. Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (2007), p. 14.

An analysis of border decoration in Ms. 74 G 35 demonstrates that the calendar, the Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of the Cross, the Penitential Psalms and Litany, the Suffrages, and the Office of the Dead are all part of the same, initial campaign. These texts are decorated with a type of Delft border decoration known as the Delft coloured style.[98] The beginning of each text is adorned with very elaborate borders consisting of thin black tendrils, green and orange foliage, larger blue and orange leaves, pink and blue flowers, and golden dots and trefoils (figs. 14-15). Every subsequent hour or prayer is adorned with a more moderate form of the Delft coloured style (fig. 16).

The Delft coloured style border decoration was executed by one decorator, who was perhaps assisted by pupils or co-workers who worked in a similar fashion. Delft penwork flourishing and border decoration is often associated with Delft convents such as St Agnes. The sisters of St Agnes are known to have written and decorated several manuscripts.[99] The decorator of Ms. 74 G 35 has left no clues, which eliminates the possibility of making claims considering the decorator's identity. On the other hand, it is clear that he, she, or they received the yet unbound quires, which were subsequently decorated somewhere in Delft, probably in a relatively short period of time.[100]

The next stages in the production of Ms. 74 G 35 probably included the insertion of the Delft grisailles and the binding of the quires. The Delft grisailles were inserted as single leaves, and because their borders are not adorned by the decorator, it is very well possible that they were only added whilst the manuscript was bound. Otherwise, the decorator could have applied his border decoration to the grisailles as well.[101] Although the Delft grisailles were inserted as single leaves, they are generally considered to be part of the initial campaign. The Delft grisaille miniatures were definitely not inserted randomly, as they all relate closely to their accompanying texts. This is not surprising considering the standard texts such as the Hours of the Virgin and the Hours of the Cross, because standard texts like these were mostly decorated with standard iconographic themes. Yet the Delft grisailles inserted in the Suffrages must have been bought to match the prayers to the individual saints.

The Delft grisailles were probably not commissioned specifically for this manuscript, as their dimensions do not correspond to the dimensions of the page lay-out (fig. 17). Supposedly, Delft grisailles were produced for the market and bought by whoever was interested, as evidence for commissioned grisailles can only be found in one manuscript.[102] In an article published in 1984, Marta Osterstrom Renger describes the stages by which the Delft grisailles were produced.[103] She distinguishes four steps, which include the transfer of a model composition to parchment by tracing or pouncing, the application of gold leaf or gold paint, the drawing of the outlines of figures with pen

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[98] Korteweg 1992 (note 45), pp. 56-57, and numbers 25, 26, 27 on pp. 62-63.

[99] See: chapter I.

[100] Nothing points to large delays in the process, which would for example show in differences in the style of border decoration.

[101] Another reason for the undecorated borders may be that the patron did not want decorated grisailles.

[102] Leiden, University Library, Ms. BPL 224. See also: Obbema 1996a (note 73), pp. 176-192.

[103] Osterstrom Renger 1984 (note 68), pp. 155-156.

and ink or silverpoint, and finally the addition of grey and black washes in order to create shadows.[104]

The use of models by the Masters of the Delft Grisailles has resulted in a range of similar compositions. Thus, the compositions of the largest part of the grisailles in Ms. 74 G 35 can also be found in other grisaille manuscripts (figs. 18-21). In most cases, the model version is slightly adapted in different manuscripts. Quality and colours often differ as well, suggesting that the entire corpus of Delft grisailles was not (re)produced by a single master. So far, no one has been able to distinguish individual hands.[105] In Ms. 74 G 35, all grisailles are similar in dimensions, technique, colours, and overall appearance. For that reason, it is likely that the miniatures in this manuscript were produced by one person, probably by someone who worked and lived in Delft. Because the manuscript's border decoration and miniatures are both associated with Delft, Ms. 74 G 35 in all likelihood started its life in Delft.

2.1.2. Patronage: clues in Ms. 74 G 35

Ms. 74 G 35's earliest owners are known due to ownership inscriptions on the last folios (fig. 22; Appendix III). Unfortunately, these notes in themselves make no statements as to who the first owner or patron of this manuscript was. The first note mentions the date 1484, the year in which Philips van Matenesse (ca. 1451-1533) and Maria van den Woude (?-1488) married. It cannot be excluded that this note was added later, as there is no clear break between this note and the following notes that lead to a memorandum on the death of Philips' son Jacob (†11-04-1515).

Up until Jacob's death, the same person (hand A) seems to have regularly made notes on the most important events in his family.[106] The first four notes appear to have been written continuously, perhaps because they were written at the same time. Hand A also noted Maria van den Woude's death in 1488, but in this case his script is slightly larger, and there is more spacing between the lines. The note on Maria's death is separated by the next memorandum – on Jacob's marriage in 1511 – by a blank line. Hand A could have belonged to Jacob van Matenesse, because it is striking that there is a change in hands after his death in 1515. By no means would it be strange that earlier owners did not make familial notes themselves, as the practice of record keeping

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[104] Ibid., pp. 155-156.

[105] G.K. Fiero, who has studied the corpus of Delft grisailles, has made an attempt, but had to conclude that it is very difficult to discern different hands. The use of models practically excludes the study of iconographic trademarks. See also: G.K. Fiero, *Devotional Illumination in Early Netherlandish Manuscripts: A Study of the grisaille Miniatures in Thirteen Related Fifteenth Century Dutch Books of Hours* (1970).

[106] These events include the marriage of Philips to Maria Jacobs van den Woude (1484), the birth of their son Jacob (1485), the birth of their daughter Maria (1487), the birth of their daughter Margriet (1488), the death of Maria van den Woude (1488), the marriage of Jacob van Matenesse to Anna van Almonde (1511), and the birth and death of Jacob's daughter Maria (1512).

generally emerged in the late fifteenth, but more commonly in the beginning of the sixteenth century.[107] This theory will be discussed in more detail in chapter IV.

If Jacob was responsible for the first series of notes, he could have marked his parents' wedding day, the birthdates of himself and his sisters, his mother's date of death, and the date of his own marriage in order to create family history, one which could be passed on to later generations.[108] According to G. Hasenohr, devotional books such as Books of Hours were considered reminders of deceased family members who previously used them.[109] For that reason, it seems probable that Jacob was not the first Van Matenesse who owned Ms. 74 G 35. His father Philips, on the other hand, cannot have been the manuscript's first owner, as Philips was probably not yet born when the manuscript was created. Although the ownership inscriptions make no mention of the manuscript's first owner, it may be possible to reconstruct his or her gender, social status, and preferences on the basis of the manuscript's further contents.

The Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of the Cross, and the Office of the Dead are quite standard texts that in themselves do not reveal an awful lot of the manuscript's first owner. The calendar may be a different story, as it sometimes includes feast days of saints that were venerated regionally or even locally. The names of the most important saints and feast days are often written in red ink.[110] For example, Books of Hours that were created for Delft patrons often include St Hippolytus and St Ursula, patrons saints of Delft's most important churches, in the calendar.[111] Thus, in an ideal situation, the calendar may reveal the first owner's place of residence.[112]

The calendar in Ms. 74 G 35 includes a number of 'standard' saints in red that can unfortunately not be attributed to a specific region or town: St Pontian, St Agnes, St Matthew, St Pancras, St Servas, St Boniface, St Odulph, Sts Peter and Paul, St Lebuinus, St Martin, St Lawrence, St Bartholomew, St Willibrord, St Catherine, St Andrew, St Nicholas, St Thomas, St Stephan, and St John the Evangelist. Some saints in this list do at least clarify that the first owner lived in the diocese of Utrecht, as a combination of seven saints included in the calendar is unique to this diocese: Pontian, Pancras, Boniface, Odulph, Martin, Willibrord, and Lebuinus.[113] As the diocese of Utrecht was quite large, covering the northern part of the Low Countries, the first owner could in theory have

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[107] K.M. Ashley, 'Creating Family Identity in Books of Hours', in: *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32:1 (2002), p. 147.

[108] Ashley 2002 (note 107), p. 148.

[109] Hasenohr writes: 'il [le livre] est le dépositaire du souvenir du disparu dont au cours de colloquies intimes, il a suscité et recueilli les réflexions, les larmes ou les joies. […] Dans les grandes familles, il deviant le symbole tangible et inalienable de la lignée […]', in: G. Hasenohr, 'L'essor des bibliothèques privées aux XIVe et XVe siècles', in: A. Vernet (ed.), *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises: Les bibliothèques médiévales du Vie siècle à 1530* (1989), pp. 229-230.

[110] In luxurious manuscripts, saint's names can even be executed in burnished gold.

[111] Wüstefeld 1992 (note 34), p. 10.

[112] E.A. Overgaauw, 'Saints in medieval calendars from the diocese of Utrecht as clues for the localization of manuscripts', in: *Codices Manuscripti. Zeitschrift für Handschriftenkunde begründet und herausgegeben von Otto Mazal und Eva Irblich* 16:11 (1992), p. 81.

[113] A.S. Korteweg, 'Books of Hours from the Northern Netherlands Reconsidered: The Uses of Utrecht and Windesheim and Geert Grote's Role as a Translator', in: S. Hindman and J. Marrow, *Books of Hours reconsidered* (2013), p. 238; Overgaauw 1992 (note 112), pp. 84-85.

lived anywhere in the diocese.[114] Yet, the fact that the manuscript is decorated with Delft border decoration and grisaille miniatures that are associated with Delft, combined with the late fifteenth-century ownership by the Van Matenesse family of Voorburg, suggests that the first owner resided in the County of Holland, probably in the proximity of the aforementioned town of Delft and the *ambachtsheerlijkheid* Voorburg.

In Ms. 74 G 35, the saints in the Suffrages are less 'standard' than those in the calendar. The Suffrages often include prayers to saints that had a special devotional meaning to a manuscript's first owner or patron.[115] He (or she) could, for example, include a saint after who he was named. Male patrons often had a multitude of male saints in their Suffrages, whereas female patrons often included a larger number of female saints. The Suffrages could be as substantial as in the Book of Hours of king Charles V of France, including one hundred and fifteen prayers to saints, but it was usually a lot smaller with around five to twenty prayers.[116] The Suffrages in Ms. 74 G 35 include twelve prayers, arranged according to their saint's place in the celestial hierarchy.[117] The first prayer is dedicated to the Trinity, the second to the Virgin Mary, the third to Michael the Archangel, and the fourth to twelfth to male and female martyrs and confessors. The male martyrs and confessors are in the majority: six prayers are dedicated to men, as opposed to three prayers to women. This majority of prayers dedicated to male saints strongly suggests a male patronage.[118] The choice of saints may hold some clues regarding his social status.

The first male saint is St Paul. Usually, the prayer to St Paul is preceded by a prayer to St Peter, the first pope.[119] This is not the case in Ms. 74 G 35, which indicates that the first owner had a greater affiliation with Paul.[120] St Paul is depicted standing (fig. 23). He holds the sword by which he was decapitated in his right hand.[121] Paul is one of the few saints that is not only recognisable by his attribute, but also by his facial features. From the tenth century onwards, he is depicted with a long, pointed beard and (partly) bald head.[122] Due to his attribute, the sword, Paul is in the later Middle Ages

[114] Overgaauw 1992 (note 112), p. 81.

[115] A. Bennett, 'Commemoration of Saints in Suffrages: From Public Liturgy to Private Devotion', in: C. Hourihane, *Objects, Images, and the Word. Art in the Service of the Liturgy* (2003), pp. 70-71.

[116] Wieck 1988 (note 2), p. 111.

[117] Ibid., p. 111.

[118] A male patronage could also explain why the manuscript was written in Latin. In the fifteenth century, the Middle Dutch translation by Geert Grote was widespread in the Northern Netherlands. It allowed lay people to understand the devotional texts they read. In religious houses, Latin Books of Hours were often (semi) obligatory. Young sons from well-to-do families could be educated in Latin, but few girls were taught the language. See: T. de Hemptinne, 'Reading, Writing, and Devotional Practices: Lay and Religious Women and the Written Word in the Low Countries (1350-1550)', in: T. de Hemptinne and M.E. Góngora, *The Voice of Silence: Women's Literacy in a Men's Church* (2004), pp. 113-114.

[119] Wieck 1988 (note 2), p. 111.

[120] The manuscript's quire structure clearly shows that no prayers and/or miniatures are missing. Thus, St Peter has never been included.

[121] J.B. Metzler, 'Paulus, Apostel, I. Leben', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (1999), Vol 6, cols. 1818-1819. Via *Brepolis Medieval Encyclopaedias - Lexikon des Mittelalters Online.*

[122] S.R. Cartwright, *A Companion to Saint Paul in the Middle Ages* (2013), p. 396.

associated with knights, crusaders, and the militant church, a theme that further continues in the prayer to and depiction of St George.[123]

St George was a popular saint throughout the Middle Ages.[124] In Ms. 74 G 35 he is depicted as a knight in armour, carrying a sword and lance (fig. 24). He has conquered the dragon that threatened the city of Sylene, and has thereby saved the king's daughter.[125] Although St George was martyred, his martyrdom is not often depicted in art. Instead, his image is that of a victorious knight, which makes him the ideal patron saint of knights, archers, and other warriors. For that reason, George is also associated with the Knights Templar, crusades, and chivalric orders. In the later Middle Ages, George is part of a group of saints known as the Fourteen Holy Helpers.[126] Saints in this group are venerated for their abilities to cure human and animal diseases, such as the devastating bubonic plague.[127]

The Suffrages continue with St Sebastian, who is also associated with chivalry, archers, and crusades, and who furthermore offered protection against the plague (fig. 25).[128] St Christopher is next as one of the Fourteen Holy Helpers and patron saint of pilgrims and travellers.[129] His image and prayer are followed up by a miniature depicting St Jerome. This miniature was not part of the original production process, as will be further discussed in paragraph 3.3. Thus, St Christopher was originally succeeded by a prayer to St Erasmus (Elmo) of Formia, also one of the Holy Helpers. His legendary martyrdom – his intestines were supposedly wound around a windlass – made him the perfect saint to invoke when suffering abdominal pains.[130] St Anthony of Padua is the last male saint in the Suffrages. He, too, was invoked to protect against the plague, and further against dermatological problems.[131]

The last three prayers are dedicated to the female martyrs and virgins Catherine of Alexandria, Barbara of Nicomedia, and Ursula and her 11.000 virgins. Catherine and Barbara were both venerated as Holy Helpers, as they protected against respectively a sudden death, headaches and dyspnoea, and fever and a sudden death. St Catherine, the most popular female saint in the Middle Ages, is the patron saint of philosophers, students, armourers, potters and others. She was further often called upon by young girls who were ready for marriage.[132] St Barbara, also a very popular and widely venerated virgin, is the patron saint of builders and stonemasons, and is further

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[123] Ibid., p. 423.

[124] Wieck 1988 (note 2), p. 116.

[125] Ibid., p. 116.

[126] J.B. Metzler, 'Georg, hl., II. Kultverbreitung', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (1999), Vol 4, col. 1274. Via *Brepolis Medieval Encyclopaedias - Lexikon des Mittelalters Online.*

[127] E. Wimmer, 'Nothelfer', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (1999), Vol. 6, cols. 1283-1285. Via *Brepolis Medieval Encyclopaedias - Lexikon des Mittelalters Online.*

[128] S. van der Linden, *De heiligen* (1999), pp. 793-794.

[129] J. Szövérffy, 'Christophorus., hl., I. Legende und Kult', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 2 (1999), cols. 1938-1940. Via *Brepolis Medieval Encyclopaedias - Lexikon des Mittelalters Online.*

[130] Linden 1999 (note 128), p. 264.

[131] Ibid, p. 79.

[132] J. Dubois, 'Katharina, hl. (v. Alexandrien)', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (1999), Vol. 5, cols. 1068-1069. Via *Brepolis Medieval Encyclopaedias - Lexikon des Mittelalters Online*; Wieck 1988 (note 2), pp. 120-121.

associated with soldiers, gunners and artillery.[133] St Ursula's cult started at Cologne, where she reportedly found her death. In the later Middle Ages, she was a popular female martyr and patron of a large number of convents and churches, such as the New Church in Delft.[134]

Thus, the Suffrages in Ms. 74 G 35 appear to revolve around two main themes: warfare and diseases. Perhaps the patron was specifically afraid of the plague and abdominal diseases or a sudden death, although it must be emphasised that the Fourteen Holy Helpers were very popular in general from the fourteenth century onwards.[135] Therefore, it is not surprising that they have found their way into the Suffrages of Ms. 74 G 35. However, the presence of St George and St Sebastian in particular could suggest a knightly patron, or perhaps a patron with ties to the urban city guards (*schutterij*).[136] Although St George and St Sebastian may point to a nobleman's patronage, there do not appear to be more clues in the original contents of Ms. 74 G 35 that confirm this theory.

2.1.3. Patronage: clues in family history

As V. Reinsburg mentions in her article 'Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer', Books of Hours were expensive possessions that were often proudly handed down within families.[137] Many a time, they were part of inheritances left to children or grandchildren. If treated with care, Books of Hours could be owned by the same family for generations. For that reason, it is worthwhile to explore the Van Matenesse family's history. Although Ms. 74 G 35 in itself does not appear to provide any solid clues for the identity of the manuscript's patron, its contents do support some general assumptions. First, there is a certain connection between the patron, or at least the buyer, and the city of Delft. Second, there is the high probability of a male patron, and third, the patron may have had an interest in warfare, as suggested by the presence of prayers and miniatures to St George and St Sebastian.

Ms. 74 G 35 was produced in Delft and found its way to the noble family Van Matenesse. Presuming Philips van Matenesse was around thirty-three years old when he married Maria van den Woude in 1484, the date of the first ownership inscription, he could have already owned Ms. 74 G 35 for a number of years. Because Books of Hours where cherished and prized possessions that often remained in the same family, it is justifiable to examine the possibility of Philips inheriting Ms. 74 G 35 from his father Jan (Johan) van Matenesse (ca. 1408-1467). To that end, Jan's life and social status will be studied in closer detail.

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[133] Linden 1999 (note 128), p. 111; Wieck 1988 (note 2), p. 121.

[134] Linden 1999 (note 128), p. 876.

[135] Wimmer 1999 (note 127), cols. 1283-1285. Via *Brepolis Medieval Encyclopaedias - Lexikon des Mittelalters Online.*

[136] Due to the way he was martyred, St Sebastian was the patron saint of the city guards (*schutterijen*).

[137] Reinburg 2012 (note 27), p. 226.

Jan van Matenesse, son of Wouter van Matenesse (1381-1409) and Machteld van de Werve (?-1423), was the only son born from his father's second marriage. Due to his father's first marriage to Elisabeth van der Horst, he had three older siblings. Adriaan, his oldest brother, had already married Aleid van der Spangen in 1405. Jan's father contracted his marriage to his mother, Machteld van de Werve, two years later in 1407. Jan grew up without his father, who died only two years after his marriage to Machteld on April 18th 1409.[138] On this sorrowful event, his eldest brother Adriaan was bequeathed the family's castle *Huis te Riviere* in Schiedam. Jan himself inherited the *Wassenaarse tiende*, rights on taxes in Wassenaar, and perhaps some allodial goods worth one hundred Flemish pounds per year.[139]

In 1415, his mother Machteld inherited her family's own estate *Huis de Werve* and another house or keep, both in Voorburg, upon the death of her brother Jan.[140] Other possessions that were kept in *rechten lien*, such as the keep *Ter Loo*, reverted to the count of Holland.[141] At that point, the estate *De Werve* and the other, unnamed house or keep included respectively twelve and sixty *morgen lants*.[142] After the death of his mother in 1423, Jan inherited these two estates in Voorburg, including the aforementioned seventy-two *morgen lants*. Being Wouter's youngest son, but the oldest in his father's second marriage, Jan would start a new branch of the Van Matenesse family in Voorburg.

Jan's family belonged to the nobility – his father Wouter was knighted in 1393.[143] If and when Jan was knighted himself is unclear, but an archival source dating from 1458 clarifies that he did belong to the *Ridderscip*.[144] In 1468, a definition of the term *Ridderscip* was given by the attorney general of Holland, Willem van Zwieten: '[...] *Ridderscip waren waelgeboren luyden van edelen oirspronck nedergecomen ende die hem ridderlick hielden zonder ambocht off alinge neringe te doen.*'[145] As part of the *Ridderscip*, Jan must have lived a knightly life, otherwise he would not have been considered to be part of this social group. Apart from a noble lineage and the ability to employ labourers, members of the *Ridderscip* had to comply with several other conditions. In order to uphold a knightly way of living, Jan must therefore also have owned a defendable castle

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[138] A. Janse, *Ridderschap in Holland. Portret van een adellijke elite in de late middeleeuwen* (2009²), p. 196.

[139] Ibid., p. 196.

[140] *[...] bij dode Jans vanden Werve hoirs broeders [...]* (at the dead of her brother Jan vanden Werve). NA, GvH, inv. nr. 230, f. 129v.

[141] Ter Loo was a feudal estate that could only be inherited by the eldest son (*in rechten lien*). After Jan's death, there were no sons left. As a woman, Machteld could not claim Ter Loo. See: Janse 2009 (note 138), p. 205 and p. 208.

[142] NA, GvH, 230, f. 129v. Twelve *morgen* equals 10,2ha, sixty *morgen* equals 50ha. See also: Middelnederlands Woordenboek <http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=MNW&id=30860&lemma=morgen> (08-02-2018).

[143] Janse 2009 (note 138), p. 445.

[144] '*Jans van Matenesse wonende tot Voirburch [...] als een edelman ende vander Ridderscip*', in: NA, HdW, inv. nr. 2.

[145] Loosely translated this sentence reads: 'to the *Ridderscip* belonged those who are of noble blood, and who are able to uphold a knightly way of living without (manual) labour'. NA, HvH, inv. nr. 471, f. 141v. See also: Janse 2009 (note 138), p. 73.

(which he did – *De Werve*), land, horses, dogs, and birds of prey.[146] As a member of the *Ridderscip*, Jan was not obliged to pay taxes, a right that was confirmed in the archival source of 1458.[147]

Despite his status, it seems Jan was in financial need after the death of his parents. He may have needed money to restore *De Werve*, which was partially broken down by his grandfather Hubert in 1392.[148] Given the fact that he married the wealthy but not-noble Margriet Pertant, he probably did not have sufficient financial needs himself. Margriet was a daughter of Bartholomeus Pertant, steward of North-Holland. For her, being a patrician's daughter, marrying a nobleman must have increased her family's status. At the same time, the marriage provided Jan with the funds he needed, which made up for marrying an unequal partner.[149] The marriage took place in 1447. In most cases, the festivities were held at the bride's paternal home. It is very well possible that Jan travelled to Delft to marry his fiancée, because Margriet's father owned several Delft houses, and resided in town as well.[150] Upon her marriage, Bartholomeus Pertant gifted Margriet a '*huys ende hofstede binnen onse stede van Delff […] mit allen den huysen ende woningen dair toe behoerende*'.[151] The Delft properties therefore came under control of the Van Matenesse family, at least for as long as Jan or male heirs bore by Margriet lived.[152]

Thus, it is clear that Jan van Matenesse belonged to the Holland noble class. His male family members were nobles and knights, which means that he himself was at least part of the *Ridderscip*. His marriage to the wealthy Margriet Pertant probably enabled him to maintain and perhaps even to upgrade his inheritance, castle *De Werve* and another unnamed house in Voorburg.[153] Also thanks to his marriage, Jan's branch of the Van Matenesse family came in the possession of several houses and a *hofstede* in Delft. Jan, his wife, and his parents-in-law were thus strongly connected to Delft. As argued

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[146] Janse 2009 (note 138), p. 80.
[147] In this document, it is stated that Jan's neighbours from Voorburg wanted him to pay taxes, but according to the Holland court, as a member of the *Ridderscip*, Jan was in his right. NA, HdW, inv. nr. 2.
[148] Hubert was granted permission to use stones from *De Werve* for the upgrading of *Ter Loo*, where he and his family probably lived. NA, GvH, inv. nr. 228, f. 35.
[149] Janse 2009 (note 138), pp. 173-174.
[150] Ibid., p. 197.
[151] NA, GvH, inv. nr. 716, c. Noord-Holland, f. 6r. 'A house and homestead in Delft […] including all its houses and livings.' Bartholomeus Pertant further gifted his daughter and son-in-law rights of taxes in the *ambacht* Bleiswijk worth one hundred Flemish pounds per year. Bartholomeus was himself appointed bailiff earlier, a function Jan would take over as part of his tenancy contracted with count Philip the Good (NA, Graven van Holland, 716, f. 5v). In 1448 and 1454, his rights are described as follows: *[…] ambocht ende heerlicheyt van Blyswyck mitden bailiuscip, scoutambocht, heerftschot, meyenscot, turfmate, gruyterosmolen, erfhuyr, visscherien, ende tienden mit anders allen zynen toebehoren […]*. See also: Simon van Leeuwen, *Handvesten ende privilegien van den lande van Rijnland, met den gevolge van dien. Begrijpende niet alleen de handvesten ende privilegien van het heemraadschap ende waterschap van Rijnland, maar ook allerhande privilegien, vonnissen, brieven, appoinctementen, accorden, etc. soo de bysondere steden en dorpen onder Rijnland, als het landschap ende steden van Holland in 't gemeen aangaande* (1667), p. 87.
[152] NA, GvH, 716, f. 6r.
[153] *Huis de Werve* was a small castle. A somewhat later dated archival source (1467) mentions the presence of a moat and a *cingulen*, a defensive wall, which means that *De Werve* was a defendable castle: NA, GvH, inv. nr. 717, c. Noord-Holland, f. 32v. The moat and wall are not mentioned in the sources concerning Margriet's share (*lijftocht*) in the *De Werve* estate. Jan could well have updated the castle after his marriage to Margriet.

above, Ms. 74 G 35 was most likely produced in Delft between 1440-1450. Could Jan have commissioned the manuscript in Delft, for example during a stay at his Delft *hofstede*? Although it is impossible to answer this question with certainty, Jan's connection to Delft, the date of his marriage, and his social status all strikingly fit into Ms. 74 G 35's contents and history of production. Notwithstanding these parallels, Jan's patronage for now cannot be more than a plausible scenario.

2.2. The early life of Ms. 74 G 35

In the years or decades after its production, Ms. 74 G 35 must have developed into a more substantial manuscript. Its original contents as discussed above – the calendar, Hours of the Virgin, Hours of the Cross, Penitential Psalms and Litany, Suffrages, Office of the Dead and the Gospel Lessons – are uniformly decorated with the Delft coloured style and Delft grisaille miniatures. This decoration scheme was abandoned in other parts that, as this paragraph will argue, were added after the completion of the initial manuscript.

After the Office of the Dead and the Gospel Lessons, Ms. 74 G 35 continues with a number of prayers on folios 143r-160r, including a prayer to the *Arma Christi*, the prayer *Adoro te*, the prayer *Anima Christi*, the Seven Words of the Cross, a prayer to the sacrament, prayers to be recited before and after the Eucharist, a prayer for the elevation of the host, a prayer by Ambrose, a prayer to be recited after the elevation of the host, and finally the prayer *O intemerata*. These prayers are written in a slightly different hand, suggesting a change in scribes. Furthermore, the prayers are not decorated with coloured border decoration, but with a divergent style of decoration that includes pale green stems ending in pale blue and pink flowers, acanthus leaves in pale green, light blue, and pale orange, finished with golden dots and heart-shaped leaves. The voids are filled with black, scratchy lines, which characterises this type of decoration as a Delft *kriezel* border (fig. 26).

As discussed in chapter I, *kriezel* borders gradually evolved from coloured borders in the 1460s and were firmly settled in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, at least ten years after the completion of Ms. 74 G 35.[154] This date is confirmed by the prayer *Anima Christi*, which carries an indulgence granted by Pope Sixtus IV. The rubric preceding the prayer clearly states that Sixtus IV was the present Pope at the time the prayer was added to Ms. 74 G 35: '*Sanctissimus dominus noster pape modernus Sixtus quartus […]*'. The later addition of the *kriezel* prayers is again confirmed by Ms. 74 G 35's quire structure. The prayers start on a new quire, while the previous quire ends with an entire blank folio (Appendix II). In the original manuscript, blank leaves between texts are rare. From the Hours of the Virgin onwards, the texts are written continuously, surpassing the quires' boundaries. The blank page in front of the prayers on folios 143r-

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[154] If Ms. 74 G 35 was created around 1450, the presence of a very early *kriezel* border would still mean a gap of ten years.

160r, in combination with the dated indulgence and the *kriezel* border decoration, confirms that these prayers were added after the completion of the initial manuscript.

The *kriezel* border prayers on folios 143r-160r are followed by another prayer and a full-page miniature on folios 161v-163v. The prayer is directed to the Face of Christ, the *Salve sancta facies*. It is decorated with yet another style of border decoration. This time, the Delft coloured style returns, albeit in a different form than before (fig. 27). Earlier, the coloured border decoration sprang from golden or coloured bars in the margins, and contained the typical green and orange leaves, alternated with brightly coloured flowers, gold-paint oak leaves, and gilded trefoils, dots and heart-shaped leaves. The coloured style on folio 162r is not as playful. It also features green and orange leaves, but is at the same time more symmetrical. Rigid acanthus leaves in blue and purple are drawn in the upper and lower margins.

The prayer *Salva sancta facies* is written on the same quire as the prayers on folios 143r-160r, thus it must have also been added after the completion of the original manuscript. Yet, its border decoration diverges from the *kriezel* style of the preceding prayers. Apparently, the *Salva sancta facies*' border decoration was executed by a different decorator, perhaps by someone who still worked in the Delft coloured style instead of the *kriezel* style, or by someone who later imitated the coloured style. The question whether the prayer or its decoration were added some time after the prayers on folios 143r-160r, or whether they were inserted at the same time, is hard to answer. Because of the differences in border decorations, it can be suggested that the prayers on folios 143r-160r together are part of one campaign, and the *Salva sancta facies* and its corresponding full-page miniature, depicting the Vera Icon, of another. The *Salva sancta facies* and its miniature were probably added in one go, as its text starts on a recto, which suggests that the scribe considered the presence of a miniature on the opposite page. Given its colourful appearance, its divergent frame, the presence of a strewn border, and the facial features of Christ, this miniature was most likely created by a different master than one of the Masters of the Delft Grisailles. The possible answers to the questions 'when?' and 'by whom?' will be examined in chapter III.

Another miniature that diverges from the original manuscript's uniform decoration scheme, is a miniature depicting St Jerome in his study (fig. 28). Although painted in a similar technique, the St Jerome miniature differs from the Delft grisailles in several ways. First, the grisaille technique is different, as the miniaturist did not use grey wash to build up shades and shadows, as is common in Delft grisailles, but rather used a crosshatching technique. Second, the miniature's frame is of a different shape, as all Delft grisailles have rectangular frames. Finally, the overall appearance of the Jerome grisaille, its colour, detail and composition, clarifies that this grisaille was not made by the same person or persons who created the series of Delft grisailles.

Furthermore, the miniature is included in the Suffrages, but without the presence of a corresponding prayer. The miniature is immediately followed by a Delft grisaille depicting St Erasmus of Formia. There is a possibility that the prayer to saint Jerome was removed at a certain point. However, when analysing the Suffrages' quire structure, it becomes apparent that there is no evidence pointing to that direction (Appendix II).

None of the folios in this quire show signs of cutting. For that reason, it must be concluded that the Jerome grisaille was inserted without the presence of a prayer to saint Jerome. This is unusual, because the other miniatures in the Suffrages are all paired with prayers. It can therefore be concluded that the Jerome miniature was inserted after the completion of the initial manuscript.

Ms. 74 G 35 includes or included a few other elements that are quite difficult to date, because they are either undecorated, or no longer present in the manuscript itself. Nevertheless, their nature and their position suggest that they were added at a later stage. For one, they include two prayers to the Virgin Mary and the ownership inscriptions, which were both written on a two-bifolio quire. This small quire is inserted after the quire that includes the *Salva sancta facies* and the Vera Icon miniature. As discussed earlier, the ownership inscriptions were started somewhere between 1484 and 1512, which roughly dates the added quire. The prayers to the Virgin Mary could, of course, have been written earlier, but the lack of decoration makes them hard to date.[155] At least, it is safe to assume that the prayers to the Virgin and the ownership inscriptions were both added after the completion of the initial manuscript.

A second element that is hard to date, but that was probably added at a later stage, is an astrological table in front of the calendar (f. IIv). It was also inserted on a two-bifolio quire, and is preceded on its recto-side by two circular figures or diagrams (figs. 29-30). Unfortunately, contrary to some other manuscripts, the astronomical table and diagrams in Ms. 75 G 35 are not dated, but their presence on a two-bifolio quire, an odd number given Ms. 74 G 35's average of four bifolios per quire, suggests that the table and unfinished diagrams were inserted at a later stage. They could have been inserted by the same person who added astronomical notes to the calendar. Again, these notes are hard to date, but given their diverging palaeographical features, divergent colour, and awkward positioning, they were clearly not originally part of the calendar's contents.

The same applies to the pilgrim badges that were once sewn onto folios Vv and 13v. Unfortunately, they have been removed, and their imprints are not very clear (fig. 31). For that reason, they cannot be dated. Furthermore, it is very well possible that one or multiple of Ms. 74 G 35's earliest owners collected the badges over a period of several years. Collecting pilgrim badges in Books of Hours is a practice that is most common in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, due to the emergence of a new punching technique that resulted in very thin silver, copper, lead, or tin badges.[156] These thin badges could be sewn into manuscripts without damaging the pages. Before and around 1450, pilgrim badges hardly occurred in manuscripts.[157]

Thus, after its original production, Ms. 74 G 35 further developed into a more substantial Book of Hours. Studying its initial production process alone does not do this

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[155] A trained palaeographer could perhaps date the writing, but as an art historian this skill lies beyond my abilities.

[156] H. van Asperen, *Pelgrimstekens op perkament. Originele en nageschilderde bedevaartssouvenirs in religieuze boeken (ca. 1450-1530)* (2009), p. 92.

[157] Ibid., p. 92.

manuscript justice. Therefore, the following chapters will focus on the additions made to Ms. 74 G 35, and will try to answer when, by whom, and why these parts were added, thereby providing a picture of this manuscript's use and its meaning to its earliest owners.
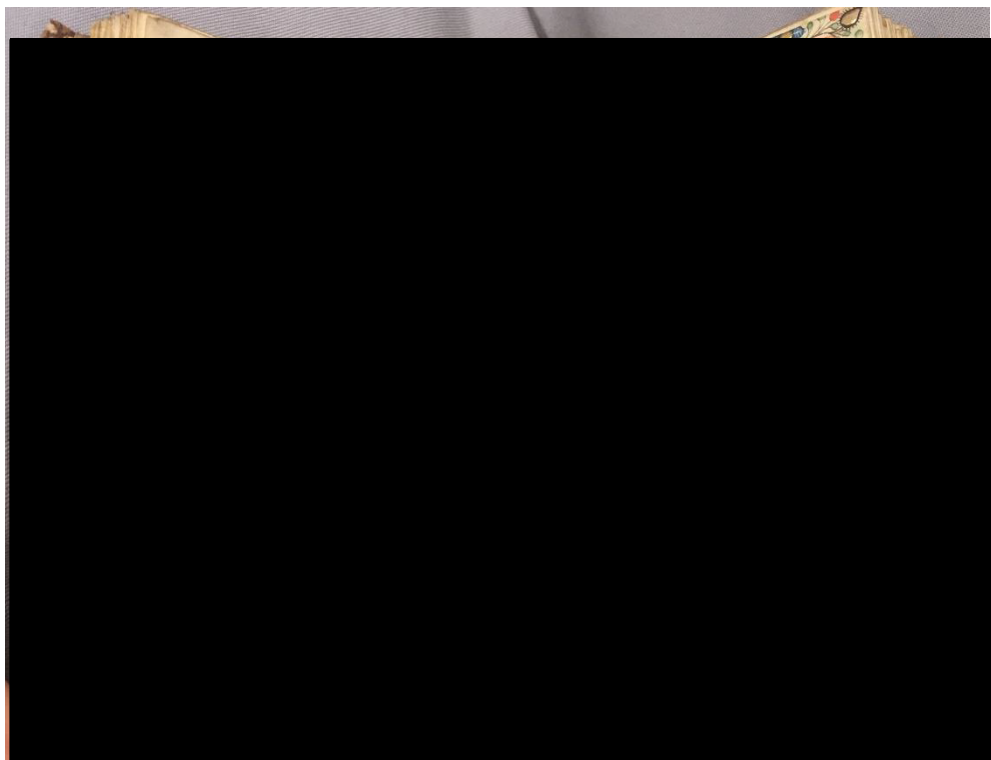

Fig. 14: *Coloured border decoration at the opening of the Hours of the Virgin*, Delft, ca. 1440-1450, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, ff. 14v-15r.
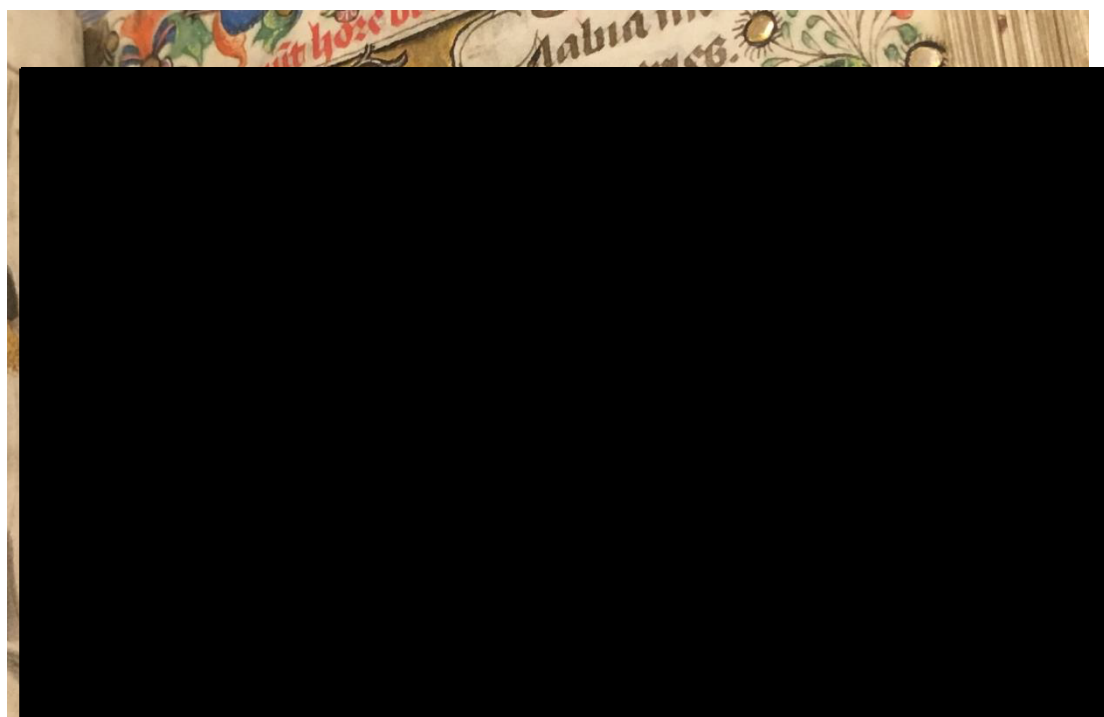

Fig. 15: *Detail of decorated initial and coloured border decoration at the opening of the Hours of the Virgin*, Delft, ca. 1440-1450, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, f. 15r.
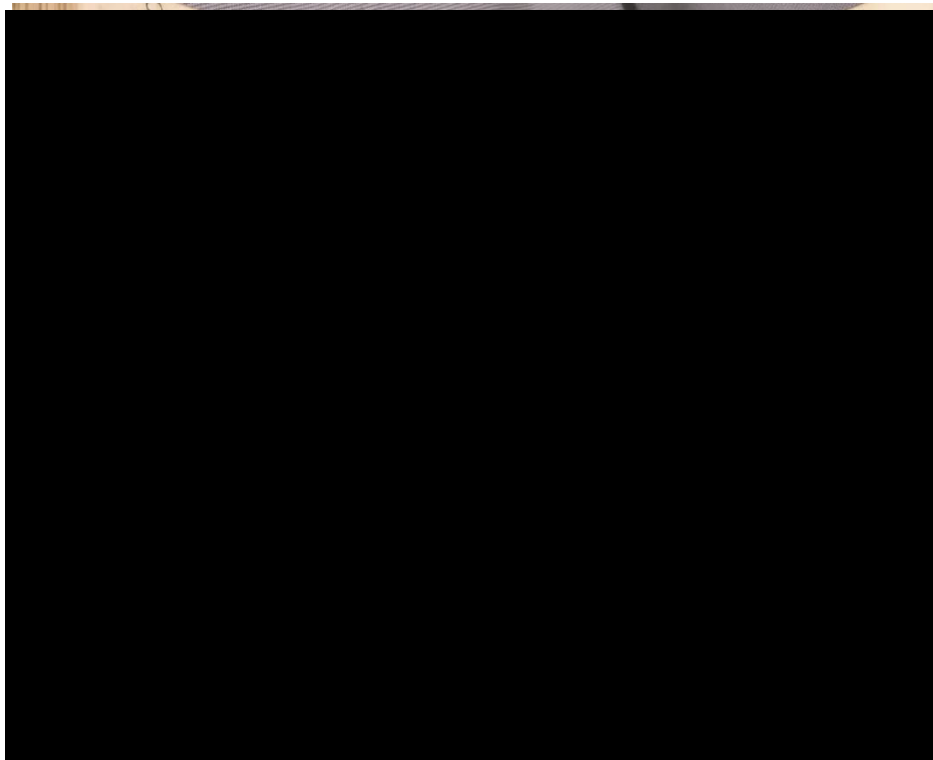
Fig. 16: *Decorated initial and coloured border*, Delft, ca. 1440-1450, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, ff. 37v-38r.
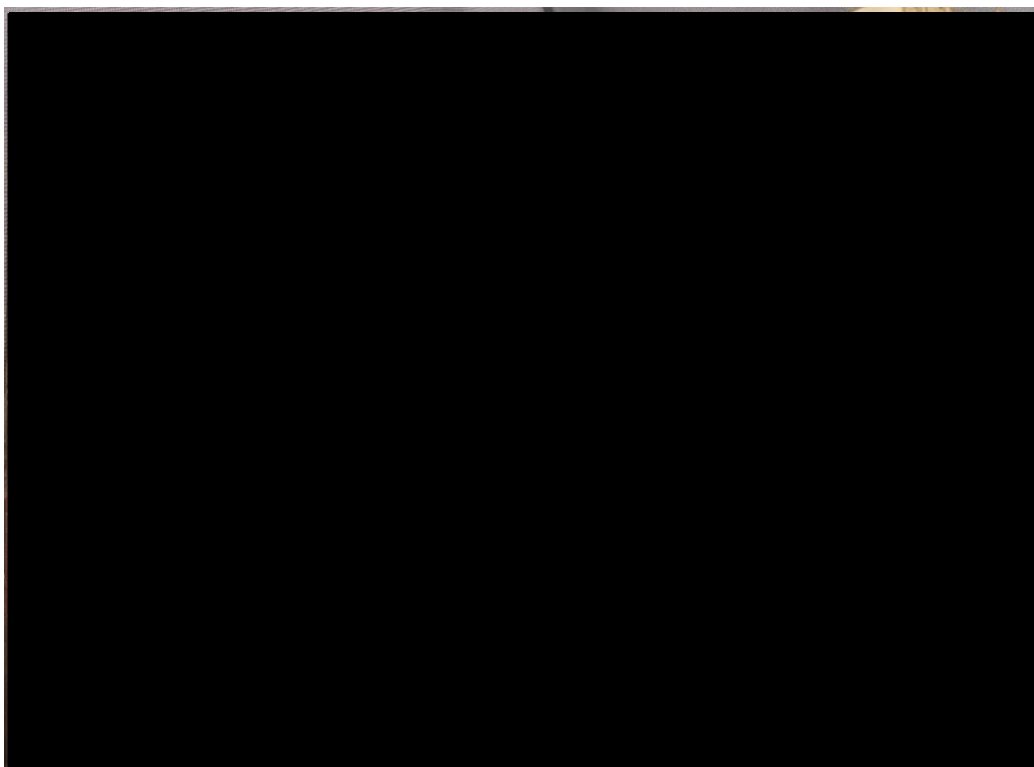

Fig. 17: *Opening of the Hours of the Cross*, Delft, ca. 1440-1450, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, ff. 53v-54r.

Fig. 18: Masters of the Delft Grisailles, *Annunciation*, Delft, ca. 1440-1450, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, f. 14v.

Fig. 19: Masters of the Delft Grisailles, *Annunciation*, Delft, ca. 1440-1450, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 248, f. 74v.

Fig. 20: Masters of the Delft Grisailles, *Annunciation*, Delft, ca. 1440-1450, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 500, f. 13v.

Fig. 21: Masters of the Delft Grisailles, *Annunciation*, Delft, ca. 1440-1450, Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent, Ms. BMH h55, f. 13v.
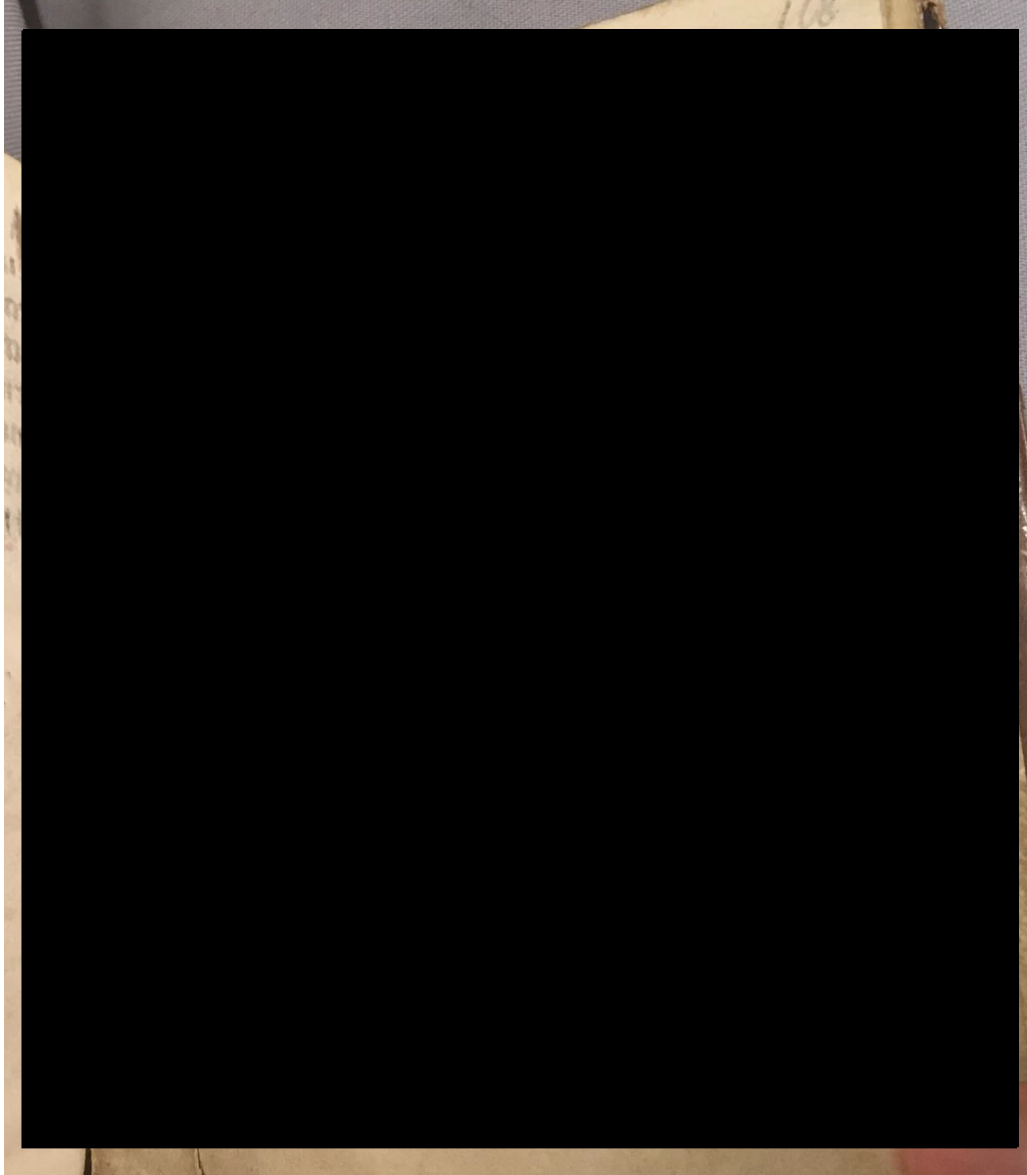
Fig. 22: *Notes by the Van Matenesse family*, Delft, ca. 1440-1450, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, f. 168r.

Fig. 23: Masters of the Delft Grisailles, *St Paul*, Delft, ca. 1440-1450, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, f. 85v.

Fig. 24: Masters of the Delft Grisailles, *St George*, Delft, ca. 1440-1450, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, f. 87v.

Fig. 25: Masters of the Delft Grisailles, *St Sebastian*, Delft, ca. 1440-1450, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, f. 89v.

Fig. 26: *Kriezel* border, Delft, ca. 1440-1450, The Hague,
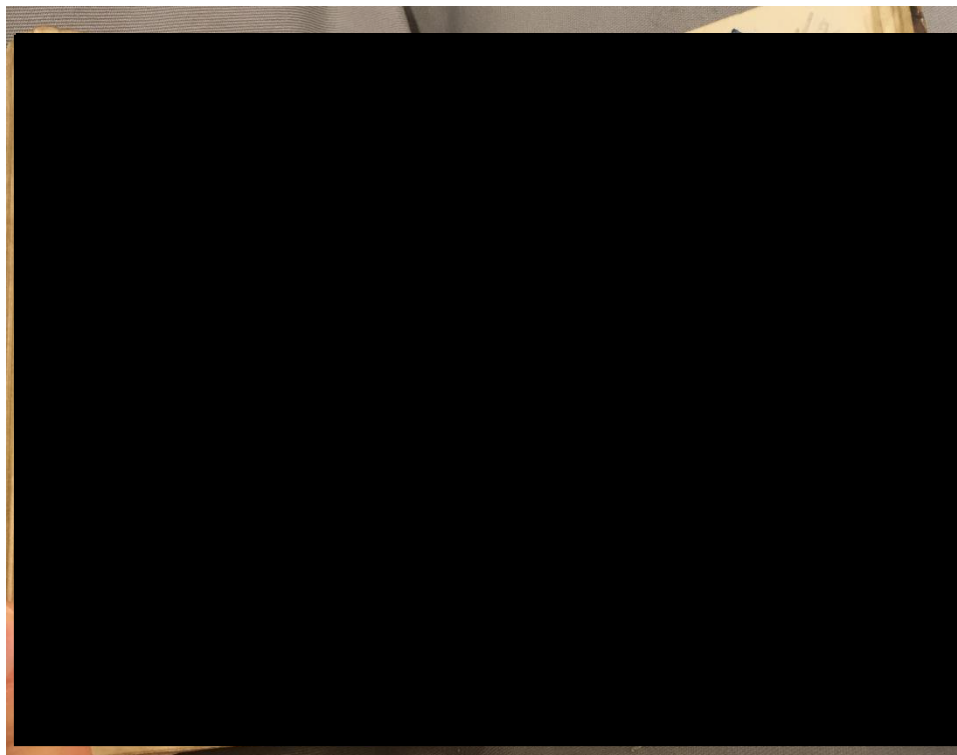Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, f. 148r.

Fig. 27: *Vera Icon* and *coloured* border, Delft, ca. 1440-1450, The Hague,
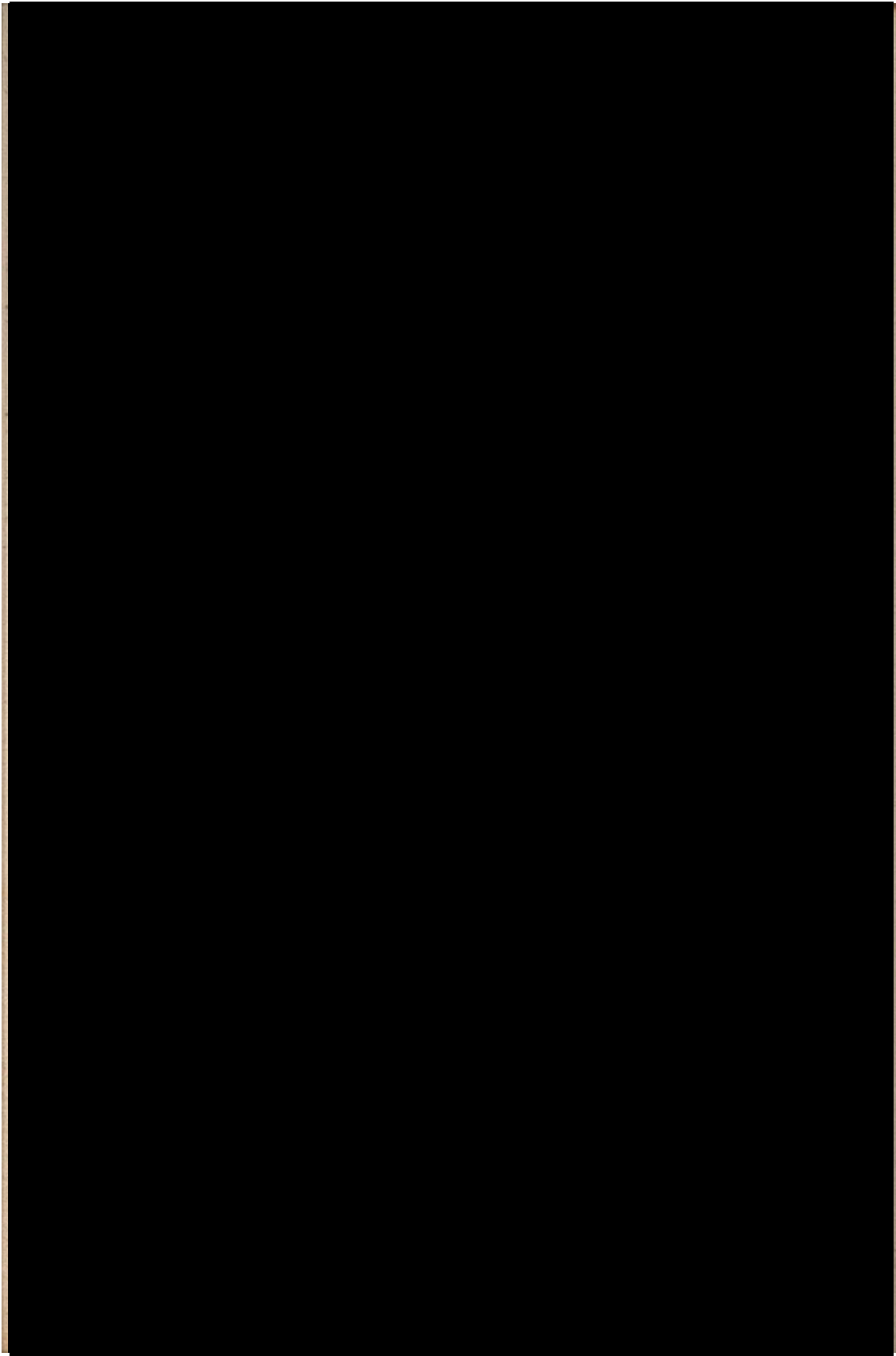Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, ff. 161v-162r.

Fig. 28: *St Jerome*, Delft, ca. 1460-70?, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, f. 93v.

Fig. 29: *Diagrams*, Delft, ca. 1450-90? The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, f. IIr.

Fig. 30: *Astrological table*, Delft, ca. 1450-90?, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, f. IIv.
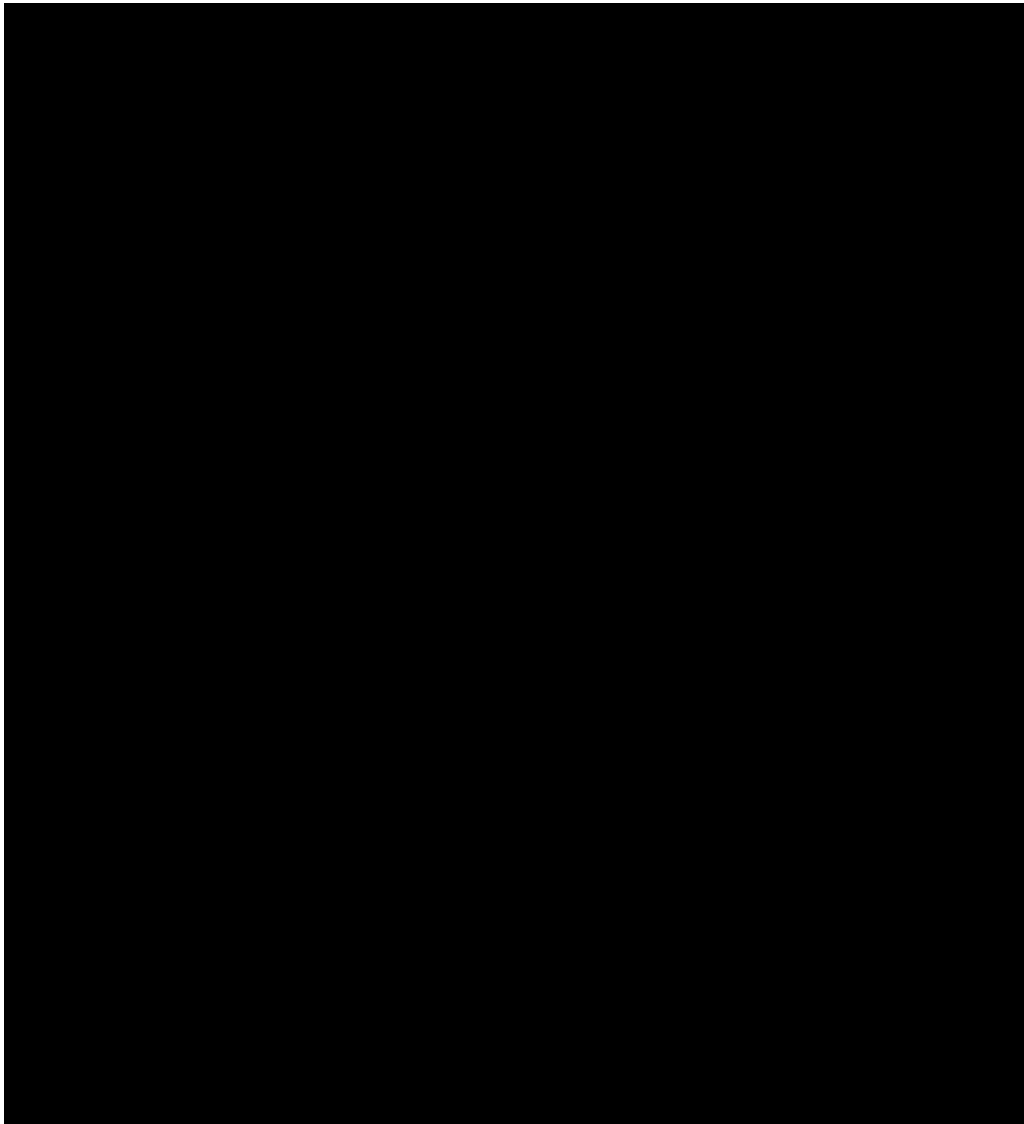
Fig. 31: *Imprint of a lost pilgrim badge*, Delft, ca. 1450-90?, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, f. Vv.

III. Piety and Devotion in Ms. 74 G 35

According to Wieck, 'the goal of prayer was salvation. It was this that gave the Book of Hours its ultimate, lifesaving significance.'[158] Books of Hours were mostly owned and used by lay people, who to some extent sought to imitate religious life. The relationship with God, Mary, and the saints was extremely important. By praying and contemplating their lives, medieval men and women sought salvation, both for themselves and for their deceased loved ones. After all, in the medieval world heaven, hell and purgatory were nothing less than reality.

This chapter explores three added parts that strongly revolve around piety and devotion. The first part exists of a number of prayers adorned with Delft *kriezel* border decoration. As will be clarified in paragraph 3.1, these *kriezel* borders aim at salvation. The second part also comprises a prayer, this time accompanied by a full-page miniature depicting the Vera Icon. Both prayer and image were strong devotional tools. The third addition is a full-page miniature of St Jerome in his study. This miniature in particular may clarify the personal preferences and interests of Ms. 74 G 35's owner.

The previous chapter explored the possible patronage of Jan van Matenesse. Jan's son Philips appears to have had a much stronger connection to Ms. 74 G 35, as he is the first to be mentioned in the ownership inscriptions. Philips probably did not write the notes himself. Nevertheless, it is probable that Ms. 74 G 35 was in his possession. As mentioned, Books of Hours were considered to be reminders of (deceased) family members who previously used them.[159] Even if Philips' son Jacob, instead of Philips himself, initiated the ownership inscriptions, it is very well possible that he included his father's wedding day and the birthdates of his children in order to honour Ms. 74 G 35's previous owner. Again, there is no absolute certainty that Philips van Matenesse owned Ms. 74 G 35. On the other hand, it can neither be excluded that Philips did *not* own the manuscript. For that reason, this chapter will still explore the possibility of Philips' input in the addition of the prayers and images discussed below, starting with the *kriezel* border prayers.

3.1. The *Kriezel* border prayers on folios 143r-160r

As mentioned in chapter II, the *kriezel* border prayers in Ms. 74 G 35 can be dated quite precisely on the basis of an underlined text preceding the *Anima Christi* (f. 145v). This text reads: *Sanctissimus dominus noster papa modernus Sixtus quartus conposuit quarta et quintam predictorum suffragiorum ora[...]. Et cum hoc omnes indulgencies hoc legentibus per antea concessas duplicavit Summa ergo indulgenciarum prefatarum continet annorum milia XLVI ac XII dierumque XL*. The phrase 'noster papa modernus Sixtus quartus', meaning 'our current Pope Sixtus IV', indicates that this rubric was

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[158] Wieck 1988 (note 2), p. 44.
[159] Hasenohr 1989 (note 109), pp. 229-230.

written during Sixtus' pontificate. Thus, the *kriezel* border prayers must have been written, and probably also have been added, somewhere between 1471 and 1484. This date coincides with the emergence of Delft *kriezel* borders in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

If Ms. 74 G 35 belonged to the Van Matenesse family before the addition of the ownership inscriptions, which is a plausible scenario, the *kriezel* border prayers were probably added by Philips van Matenesse. Philips inherited his father's castle *De Werve* in 1467. An archival source dated 1467 clarifies that at that time, Philips was planning to travel to Paris for his studies.[160] As he did not know when he would be back in Holland, he and his grandfather Bartholomeus Pertant appeared before the Holland court to claim his rights to castle *De Werve*, its lands, and another unnamed house in Voorburg.[161] Being the oldest and only son, Philips presumably inherited Jan's other properties as well, perhaps including Ms. 74 G 35.[162]

In 1474, Philips had returned to Holland, for on the 27th of April he ceremonially pledged his loyalty to the count.[163] If he indeed inherited Ms. 74 G 35 from his father, he probably decided to augment it with a number of prayers after his return from Paris. His study at the university of Paris must have resulted in a thorough knowledge of the Latin language.[164] This might explain why the added *kriezel* border prayers were written in Latin instead of Middle Dutch. Especially in the late fifteenth century, vernacular texts and prayers were very common in Books of Hours. If Philips was responsible for the addition of the *kriezel* border prayers, he might not have felt the need to include vernacular texts to his otherwise Latin Book of Hours. Perhaps in this case he even preferred Latin, the language of the church and universities, over his mother tongue.[165]

The *kriezel* border prayers reveal the owner's preferences for indulgences, and even shed light on the way Ms. 74 G 35 may have been used. The following paragraphs examine these prayers in five thematic groups. The first group discusses two prayers that were included in the Mass of St Gregory the Great, followed by the prayers *Anima Christi* and *Dulcissime domine Ihesu Christe* in the second group. Third, the prayer *Seven*

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[160] NA, GvH, inv. nr. 717, f. 32v.

[161] Philips' inheritance *De Werve* and the unnamed house in Voorburg still included twelve and sixty *morgen lants*.

[162] Philips' sister Margriet is supposed to have been a nun in the Benedictine convent Rijnsburg. See: W. van Gouthoeven, *D' oude Chronijcke ende historien van Holland (met West-Vriesland) van Zeeland ende van Utrecht* I (1620), p. 185. In Rijnsburg, one Elisabeth van Matenesse was the abbess from 1460-1494. According to a charter dated 1494, she was related to Adriaen van der Does – her nephew. Elisabeth may have been a daughter of the Schiedam Van Matenesse family, although Wouter van Matenesse of Schiedam (1435-1486) had no legitimate daughters named Elisabeth. For as far as I am aware, the name Elisabeth did not occur in the Voorburg Van Matenesse family. See: M. Hüffer, *Bronnen voor de geschiedenis der abdij Rijnsburg* I (1951), p. 421; Janse 2009 (note 138), p. 452.

[163] NA, GvH, inv. nr. 717, f. 32v (margin).

[164] Latin generally was the language of instruction. See: Antonio García y García, 'The Faculties of Law', in: H. De Ridder-Symoens (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe. Universities in the Middle Ages* (1992), p. 392.

[165] Philips studied canon law in Paris (see paragraph 3.3.3), and it has been documented that he entered religious life after the death of his wife: '*Jarichtijt ouders van broeder Philips van Matenes onse medebroeder ende priester ende Marie wilen eer sijn echte wijff ende Jacob van Wouden dochter, besloten onder die weldaden des selve broeder* Philips'; '[…] brother Philips van Matenes, our fellow brother and priest, and his late wife Marie, daughter of Jacob van den Wouden […]'. See: EL, HW, inv. nr. 1243, f. 15v.

Last Words of Christ will be examined. The fourth group studies a number of prayers that were supposed the be read during Mass, especially during the Eucharist. Lastly, the prayer *O Intemerata* will be addressed.

3.1.1. The Mass of St Gregory the Great

The *kriezel* border prayers commence with a rubric on folio 143r, which states that 'whoever voices the following prayer kneeling in front of the *Arma Christi* will be granted an indulgence of 20.014 years and 24 days [...]'.[166] Indulgences reduce the amount of time spent in purgatory. The idea of purgatory, a temporary hell, was authorised in a papal bull in 1336.[167] In order to be able to enter heaven, one first had to serve a sentence in purgatory. The idea was, that the fires of purgatory cleansed the souls of everyone who had not committed a mortal sin. Depending on the nature of their sins, Christians would have to spend a period of several days to years or even millennia in purgatory, before being able to enter eternal life in heaven.

Indulgences could shorten the time in purgatory. They were authorised by the pope and his bishops, and could ask for possessions or actions in return for a spiritual reward. Especially the indulgences that required the payment of substantial sums of money fuelled the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century.[168] However, indulgences did not always revolve around money. Reading an indulgenced prayer did not cost anything, but still rewarded the votary with a reduced sentence. This made indulgenced prayers extremely popular in the late Middle Ages, even more so because the years of indulgence increased over time. For example, the prayer that was to be recited in front of an image of the *Arma Christi*, the Instruments of the Passion, is first documented to have carried an indulgence of forty days.[169] In Ms. 74 G 35, the prayer already bears more than a staggering twenty thousand years of indulgence. Nevertheless, due to papal approval, the authority of this prayer was hardly ever questioned.[170]

This indulgenced prayer is best known as the Verses of St Gregory, or the *Adoro te in cruce pendentem* (*Adoro te*).[171] Originally, the *Adoro te* included five verses, but in the fifteenth century it developed into a seven-, nine- or eleven-verse prayer.[172] In Ms. 74 G 35, it consists of seven verses that each start with 'I adore you, Lord Jesus Christ'.

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[166] '[...] as confirmed by pope Callistus III in the year of Our Lord 1456 in the second year of his pontificate, as one can read in his register on the 213th folio of his second book.'

[167] K. Rudy, *Rubrics, Images and Indulgences in Late Medieval Netherlandish Manuscripts* (2017), p. 32.

[168] D. Bagchi, 'Luther's Ninety-Five Theses and the Contemporary Criticism of Indulgences', in: R.N. Swanson, *Promissory Notes on the Treasury of Merits: Indulgences in Late Medieval Europe* (2006), pp. 343-346.

[169] This indulgence occurs in a manuscript written in 1320 by the Cistercian monk John of St Trond; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Ms. 4459-70, f. 150r. The Instruments of the Passion most commonly include the cross, the crown of thorns, the column, the whip, the sponge, the lance, the nails, a hammer, a ladder, dice, Judas' pieces of silver, and the veil of Veronica.

[170] Rudy 2017 (note 167), p. 107.

[171] The *Adoro te* was also sung as a hymn during Mass. G.J.C., Snoek, De eucharistie- en reliekverering in de Middeleeuwen. De middeleeuwse eucharistiedevotie en reliekverering in onderlinge samenhang (1989), p. 53.

[172] Rudy 2017 (note 167), pp. 108-109.

Together, the seven verses commemorate the suffering and death of Christ on the cross. The rubric in Ms. 74 G 35 does not directly refer to St Gregory the Great, as is the case in many other Books of Hours, but the mention of the *Arma Christi* indicates that the manuscript's owner was familiar with Gregory's popular legend.

This legend is included in Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend* (ca. 1260). Supposedly, during a mass led by Gregory the Great a miracle occurred. During the Eucharist, the woman that had baked the bread laughed in disbelief. She could not grasp how the bread she baked herself was turned into the flesh of Christ. Gregory promptly kneeled down to pray, after which the bread turned into a human finger. Seeing this, the woman regained her faith and accepted the Host, that had turned back into bread again.[173] In the late Middle Ages, the legend changed in such a way that it turned into a vision of St Gregory seeing Christ on the altar as Man of Sorrows, often surrounded by the instruments of his passion (fig. 32).[174] This theme became increasingly popular in prayers and images, largely due to the indulgences they carried.[175]

Although Ms. 74 G 35 currently does not include an image of Christ as Man of Sorrows, nor an image of the instruments of the passion, it cannot be excluded that the manuscript's owner did not follow the directions given in the rubric. Between folio 143v and 144r, a leaf appears to have been cut out. Presumably, the *Adoro te* was preceded by a miniature depicting the Mass of St Gregory. After all, the rubric only promises an indulgence of twenty thousand years if the *Adoro te* is said while kneeling and looking at an image of the *Arma Christi*.

In the text, the Latin word *dixerit*, a form of the verb *dicere* – to say – is used. Apparently, simply reading the prayer in silence was not enough; it had to be read aloud. Textual clues like these reveal how Ms. 74 G 35 in theory could have been used. One could imagine a scenario in which the owner kneels with the manuscript in his hands, proclaiming the words of the *Adoro te* whilst gazing at a miniature of the *Arma Christi*. Unfortunately, whether this scenario took place or not is a question that cannot be answered, but if the owner wanted to shorten his time in purgatory, he would have had to follow the rubric's instructions.

3.1.2. The Anima Christi and Dulcissime domine Ihesu Christe

As mentioned before, the prayer *Anima Christi* is preceded by an underlined text that promises an indulgence for whoever reads it. Supposedly, the indulgence was granted or confirmed by pope Sixtus IV during his pontificate from 1471 to 1484. In Ms. 74 G 35, the prayer *Anima Christi* officially begins at folio 146 recto. The letter 'A' of *Anima* is a coloured initial, which suggests that the prayer was important, but not as important as

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[173] Jacobus de Voragine, William Granger Ryan (trans.), and Eamon Duffy (intro.), *The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints* (2012), pp. 179-180.

[174] F. Lewis, 'Rewarding Devotion: Indulgences and the Promotion of Images', in: D. Wood (ed.), *Studies in Church History. The Church and the Arts* (1995), p. 184.

[175] Rudy 2017 (note 167), p. 107.

the much lengthier *Dulcissime domine* that starts on the same folio with a decorated initial.[176] The *kriezel* border decoration springs from this burnished letter 'D'.

According to K. Rudy, the *Anima Christi* was 'a brief and popular prayer that served as a *lorica* – a piece of armour – to protect its bearer'.[177] Its underlined introduction instructs the votary to read the prayer (aloud), as the word '*legentibus*', a form of the verb '*legere*' indicates. The prayer is centred on Christ, starting with invocations of Christ's soul, body, blood, water, and passion.[178] By reading the *Anima Christi*, the votary asks to be purified, and furthermore for guidance in his hour of death. Similar pledges can be found in the *Dulcissime domine*.

Other than the *Anima Christi*, praying the *Dulcissime domine* did not grant any indulgences. This could explain why its pages are much cleaner than those of the *Anima Christi*, or those of the previously discussed *Adoro te*. Rudy has analysed the density of grime on the pages of Books of Hours, amongst which Ms. 74 G 35, and prayer books by measuring the degree of darkness with a densitometer.[179] The outcomes of her research have to be treated with care, as her analysis does not take the manuscripts' long history of use into account. Grime and dirt naturally are not bound to one period of time, they accumulate over the ages. Nevertheless, her densitometer study does clarify which offices and prayers in Ms. 74 G 35 were popular during its lifetime of use, and which were not. The *Dulcissime domine* indeed appears to have been touched less by the manuscript's owners, which may be the result of the lack of indulgences.[180]

3.1.3. The Seven Last Words of Christ

In Ms. 74 G 35, the prayer *Seven Last Words of Christ* is attributed to the venerable Bede. Its rubric does not grant any indulgences or other rewards, but in other manuscripts the rubric preceding the *Seven Words* promises a vision of the Virgin Mary, and protection from the devil and from death without confession.[181] Due to its protective nature, the prayer is quite common in Books of Hours, and is sometimes decorated with a miniature depicting the Crucifixion or the Resurrection.[182] This is not the case in Ms. 74 G 35, although the *kriezel* border springing from its decorated opening initial does suggest that the prayer was deemed important.

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[176] Coloured, decorated, and historiated initials indicate the text's importance. See: J.A.A.M. Biemans, 'Boekschilderkunst in de ruimte. Functie, plaats en vorm van initialen en miniaturen in laatmiddeleeuwse handschriften', in: *De Boekenwereld* 34:1 (2018), p. 8.

[177] Rudy 2017 (note 167), p. 45.

[178] '*Anima Christi sanctifica me; corpus Christi salva me; sa[n]guis Christi mebria me; Aqua lateris Christi lava me; passio Christi conforta me*'; 'Soul of Christ, sanctify me; body of Christ, save me; blood of Christ, inebriate me; water from the side of Christ, wash me; passion of Christ, strengthen me'.

[179] K. Rudy, 'Dirty Books: Quantifying Patterns of Use in Medieval Manuscripts Using a Densitometer', in: *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 2:1-2 (2010), pp. 6-7.

[180] Ibid., p. 9.

[181] For example, these promises can be found in a Book of Hours produced in Bruges (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.202), f. 145v: The Walters Art Museum <http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W202/description.html> (17-03-2018).

[182] Wieck 1988 (note 2), p. 108.

The *Seven Words* remembers the last sayings of Jesus on the cross. The seven sayings in Ms. 74 G 35 are: 'Father, forgive those who crucified me', 'Today, you will be with me in paradise', 'Woman, behold your son. Son, behold your mother', 'My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?', 'I thirst', 'Father, into your hands I commend my spirit', and finally 'It is completed'.[183] With these sayings, the votary commemorated the passion and death of Christ, which in the late Middle Ages became popular subjects of devotion, as will be discussed in the following paragraph.

In some cases, rubrics preceding the *Seven Words* give instructions on how to pray. For example, the rubric in another Book of Hours (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.202) clearly instructs the votary to faithfully recite the prayer on his or her knees. Unfortunately, the rubric in Ms. 74 G 35 does not provide such directions. Did the manuscript's owner kneel down while praying the *Seven Words*? Did he recite it, or was he satisfied with simply reading the words to himself? What he actually did is impossible to reconstruct. Where he might have prayed seems even harder to establish, at least in this case. The prayers that will be discussed in the following paragraph are different, as they were meant to be read or recited especially in church or in a private chapel.

3.1.4. Prayers at Mass

A large number of the *kriezel* border prayers revolve around Mass. Folios 152r-157v contain eight short prayers that were supposed to be read or recited during Mass, or more specifically during the rites revolving around the Eucharist. During the Last Supper, Christ blessed the bread and the wine, and passed them onto the apostles with the words 'This is my body given for you; do this in remembrance of me. This cup is the new covenant in my blood, which is poured out for you'.[184] Since the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, the change of bread and wine into Christ's flesh and blood is known as the transubstantiation, and the accompanying rite during Mass as the Eucharist. The transubstantiation doctrine caused numerous miracles involving the Host, which was considered to be (the body of) Christ himself.[185]

During the Fourth Lateran Council, it was also decided that devotees were only allowed to receive communion once a year at Easter. Since then, the most important part of Mass became the elevation – *elevatio* – of the Host. Because of the relic-like qualities of the consecrated Host, merely setting eyes on it was enough to provide spiritual strength, purification, and even absolution.[186] The popularity of Eucharistic devotion

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[183] Folios 150r-151v: '*Pater ignoste crucifigentibus me*', '*Hodie mecum eris in paradiso*', '*Mulier ecce filius tuus. Ecce mater tua*', '*Hely, Hely, lamazabatham*', '*Sicio*', '*Pater in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum*', and '*Consummatum est*'.

[184] Matthew 26:26-28; Mark 14:22-24; Luke 22:19-20.

[185] I.C. Levy, 'The Eucharist and Canon Law in the High Middle Ages', in: I.C. Levy, G. Macy and K. van Ausdall (eds.), *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages* (2012), pp. 426-427; Snoek 1989 (note 171), p. 46.

[186] K. van Ausdall, 'Art and the Eucharist in the Late Middle Ages', in: I.C. Levy, G. Macy and K. van Ausdall (eds.), *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages* (2012), p. 579; J. van Herwaarden, 'Geloof en samenleving: eucharistische devotie en de verering voor het Lijden van Jezus', in: P. van de Laar, P.J. Margry,

was strengthened by the liturgical feast *Corpus Christi*, which was promulgated by pope John XXII in 1317. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the contemplation of the passion and death of Christ whilst devoutly beholding the Host became increasingly important, as this practice enlarged the chance of a place in heaven.[187]

Subsequently, some prayers that were designed to be read during the elevation of the Host carried indulgences, as is the case in Ms. 74 G 35. The prayers on folios 152r-157v start with a short *salutatio* – a greeting – to Christ, after which they address the actual Eucharistic rites. For instance, folio 153r commences with a prayer that is to be read – *legenda* – before communion. The following prayer should be spoken – *dicenda* – after communion. At this stage in Mass, Ms. 74 G 35's owner could choose to read a prayer to the Virgin Mary as well.

The last three prayers of Mass revolve around the elevation of the Host. On folio 156r, a rubric states that 'whoever reads the following prayer during the elevation of the body of Christ, will receive an indulgence of thirty days'. The indulgenced prayer is followed by an Ambrosian prayer to the body of Christ. On folio 157r, a lengthier rubric exclaims that 'On request of king Philip of France, anyone who reads this prayer when our lord is lifted during Mass before *Agnus Dei* is said, will receive two thousand years indulgence from Pope Boniface VI'. This rubric is regularly included in Books of Hours, although the indulgence is sometimes attributed to other popes.[188]

The inclusion of eight prayers in Ms 74 G 35 that were supposed to be read or spoken during Mass suggest that the owner ideally took his Book of Hours with him to church, or perhaps to a private chapel. Again, the rubrics preceding the prayers provide more detailed clues to the possible use of Ms. 74 G 35. Reading or proclaiming prayers whilst the Host was lifted by the priest, granted the owner days and even millennia of indulgence. Given this substantial reward, it seems likely that the owner took notice of the rubric's instructions, although it is impossible to reconstruct to what extent he followed them.

3.1.5. O intemerata

The *kriezel* border prayers conclude with the prayer *O intemerata* – O immaculate Virgin. In the fifteenth century, the cult of the Virgin Mary was wide-spread and immensely popular. As the mother of Christ, Mary was in the position to intercede on the behalf of mortal devotees. Mary was a motherly figure, a holy helper who was at the same time still approachable. In Rudy's words, 'she was a projection of all that was good, beautiful, and compassionate'.[189] For one, Marian devotion resulted in the most defining prayers of Books of Hours: the Hours of the Virgin.

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and C. Santing (eds.), *Een profane pelgrimage naar de middeleeuwen. Opstellen van prof. dr. Jan van Herwaarden over geloof en samenleving in de laatmiddeleeuwse Nederlanden* (2005), pp. 24-25.

[187] Ibid., pp. 25-26.

[188] Rudy 2017 (note 167), p. 25.

[189] Ibid., p. 142.

Books of Hours generally commence with the Hours of the Virgin. Owners could choose to include other Marian prayers as well, of which the *Obsecro te* and the *O intemerata* were the most common.[190] Neither of these two prayers were originally incorporated in Ms. 74 G 35, but the manuscript's later owner chose to include the *O intemerata* after the prayers that were supposed to be read or recited during Mass.

The *O intemerata* is a plea to the Virgin Mary and St John the Evangelist. The prayer asks Mary and John to intercede on the sinner's behalf, because they can obtain anything they ask from God. For that reason, Mary and John are literally referred to as 'guardians and intercessors' – *custodes et intercessores*. Helped by their pleas, the votary would be able to enter heaven immediately, which, of course, would be far better than being cleansed in purgatory first. Perhaps the strong belief in Mary's and John's intercessory powers made an indulgence unnecessary, which would explain why the prayer *O intemerata* does not often carry one.[191]

In Ms. 74 G 35, the rubric preceding the prayer does not promise an indulgence either, nor does it provide directions as to how to read or recite *O intemerata*. For that reason, it is impossible to state whether the owner(s) read this prayer, how often they read it, and how they read it. As the number of indulgenced prayers indicate, the owner took care to reduce his sentence in purgatory. Of course, he was not the only one to do so, as the immense popularity of indulgenced prayers in general indicates. Some indulgenced prayers were even more popular than others. The following paragraphs will study another added prayer, the *Salve sancta facies*, and its accompanying miniature.

3.2. The Holy Face of Christ in prayer and image

As discussed in chapter II, the added prayers in Ms. 74 G 35 appear to be written, or at least decorated, by different craftsmen. The prayers discussed in paragraph 3.1 are adorned with Delft *kriezel* borders. The border decoration of the prayer starting on folio 161v, the *Salve sancta facies*, was not executed in the *kriezel* style, but in a form of the Delft coloured borders (fig. 27). For that reason, the *Salve sancta facies* and its accompanying miniature, depicting the Vera Icon, are not discussed as part of the *kriezel* border prayers. The following paragraphs will examine the possible reasons for adding this particular prayer and miniature, the Vera Icon's potential place and date of production, and, finally, by whom this part could have been added.

3.2.1. The powers of the Salva sancte facies and the Vera Icon

Christ's Ascension in both body and soul meant that he left very few primary and secondary relics. Most of the relics that were available, such as the crown of thorns, were made by humans. The Veil of Veronica, however, is a so-called *acheiropoieton* – an

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image that is not created by human hands.[192] According to the legend, Saint Veronica wiped Christ's face with her veil when he was on his way to Calvary. His visage was miraculously imprinted on the cloth, creating both an important relic and a portrait of Christ.[193] The Veil became known as the Vera Icon, the True Icon of Jesus.[194] It was kept in Rome from the twelfth until the sixteenth century.[195]

In 1216, pope Innocent III (c. 1160-1216) composed a prayer on the Vera Icon. Reciting this prayer granted votaries ten days' worth of indulgence. More than a hundred years later, pope John XXII (1244-1334) created the prayer *Salva sancta facies*.[196] Whoever recited this prayer in front of the Vera Icon received an indulgence of ten thousand days. The increase of indulgences resulted in the emergence of a popular cult. The Vera Icon in Rome attracted numerous pilgrims, and became the most important relic in the city. Consequently, copies of the true portrait of Christ, which were considered as efficacious as the real Vera Icon, were distributed widely in all sorts of media. Pilgrims wore badges on their hats, or bought parchment, paper, or even leather Veronicas. The distribution of the Vera Icon imagery was not reserved for Rome. Throughout Western Europe, the true Face of Christ was depicted in miniatures, panel paintings, engravings, and other media such as papier-mâché.[197]

Not only did Veronicas provide a true portrait of Christ, they also to some extent *became* Christ.[198] For that reason, they were considered to have an amulet-like power. When included in prayer books or Books of Hours, the prayer and image protected the manuscript and its owner.[199] Its protective powers explain why Vera Icon miniatures are often heavily rubbed. Votaries would presumably have touched or kissed the Face of Christ while praying the *Salva sancta facies*. Some devotees might have taken the images' powers to another level. Rudy argues that the paint of Vera Icon miniatures was sometimes scraped off in order to be ingested. As Veronicas embodied Christ, ingesting their material would provide protection and healing.[200] Whether this was a common practice, if a practice at all, is uncertain. For one, the Vera Icon in Ms. 74 G 35 does not appear to have been scraped and eaten, nor to have been touched frequently.

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[192] B. Baert, 'The Gendered Visage. Facets of the Vera Icon', in: *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor de Schone Kunsten* (2000), p. 11.

[193] Rudy 2017 (note 167), p. 60.

[194] 'Veronica' is a contraction of Vera Icon.

[195] The veil of Veronica may have been destroyed or stolen during the Sack of Rome in 1527, although St Peter's basilica still owns a cloth associated with Veronica. See: J.O. Hand, '*Salve sancta facies*: Some Thoughts on the Iconography of the *Head of Christ* by Petrus Christus', in: *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 27 (1992), p. 10.

[196] Rudy 2017 (note 167), p. 61.

[197] J. Koldeweij, 'Lijfelijke en geestelijke pelgrimage: materiële 'souvenirs' van spirituele pelgrimage', in: K. Veelenturf (ed.), *Geen povere schoonheid. Laat-middeleeuwse kunst in verband met de Moderne Devotie* (2000), pp. 237-239. Museum Catharijneconvent in Utrecht possesses a fifteenth-century papier-mâché Vera Icon (ABM v279).

[198] N. Morgan argues that Veronicas transformed into a vision of Christ/God. See: N. Morgan, 'The Holy Face as Icon and Vision in Fourteenth-Century England', in: P.A. Patton and J.K. Golden (eds.), *Tributes to Adelaide Bennett Hagens. Manuscripts, Iconography, and the Late Medieval Viewer* (2017), p. 163.

[199] Asperen 2009 (note 156), p. 174.

[200] K. Rudy, 'Eating the Face of Christ: Philip the Good and his physical relationship with Veronicas', in: A. Murphy et al (eds.), *Veronica, Saint Veronica and vera icona in Medieval Texts and Art* (forthcoming), p. 9.

The indulgenced *Salva sancta facies* must have been a well-known prayer. Rudy suggests that oral culture contributed to its great popularity.[201] At some point, most people would have been aware of the protective powers and large indulgences resting on the prayer-image combination. This would explain why the rubric in Ms. 74 G 35 makes no mention of indulgences: there was no need to explain the Vera Icon's power. Instead, the rubric simply states '*Ad veronicam faciem salvatoris*', after which the prayer commences with the well-known words '*Salve sancta facies nostri salvatoris*'. These words would have been strengthened by the full-page Vera Icon. As this miniature stylistically diverges from the original Delft grisailles, it is worthwhile to examine its possible place and date of production on the basis of its iconography and style.

3.2.2. The Vera Icon in Ms. 74 G 35

The miniature on folio 161v shows the head of Christ against a blue background (fig. 33). Christ is depicted with weeping brown eyes and droplets of blood on his brow. He wears a split beard without moustache, and brown, curly hair. In the background, saint Veronica and her veil, of which the latter completely fills the frame, are faintly visible. The presence of St Veronica indicates that this miniature depicts the Vera Icon, the true image of Christ. However, most Vera Icons show a stern, emotionless Saviour, whereas the Vera Icon in Ms 74 G 35 depicts Christ's suffering.

Due to the depiction of Christ's tears and blood, the miniature appears to be a mix of several iconographic types: the Vera Icon, *Salvator Coronatus* or *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, and the *Ecce Homo*.[202] Apart from providing the Vera Icon's amulet-like powers, the miniature also invites the devotee to emphatically meditate on Christ's suffering. Weeping Christ-imagery was used particularly in private devotion.[203] The imitation of Christ had always been important, but reached new heights during the Modern Devotion movement. Thomas à Kempis' popular devotional text *De Imitatione Christi* (ca. 1418-1427) arose from this movement. The text recommends devotees to contemplate the life and passion of Christ by (mentally) sharing his torments.[204] Thus, images of the suffering Christ are sometimes described as the 'Thomas à Kempis-type'.[205]

Portraits of the weeping Christ appear to originate in the Southern Netherlands. Several iconographic types, amongst which are the *Ecce Homo*, the *Man of Sorrows*, and the *Salvator Coronatus*, depict Christ's suffering. Painter Dirk Bouts (ca. 1410-1475), who worked in Louvain, and his workshop produced several portraits of Christ,

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[201] Rudy 2017 (note 167), p. 63.

[202] C. Stroo et al., *Flemish Primitives III. The Hieronymus Bosch, Albrecht Bouts, Gerard David, Colijn de Coter, and Goossen van der Weyden Groups* (2001), p. 233.

[203] M. Smeyers (ed.), *Dirk Bouts (ca. 1410-1475). Een Vlaams primitief te Leuven* (1998), p. 566.

[204] V. Henderiks, *Blut und Tränen. Albrecht Bouts und das Antlitz der Passion* (2016), p. 27.

[205] Smeyers 1998 (note 203), p. 400. In the late Middle Ages, numerous texts encouraged meditation on, and the visualisation of the Passion, such as Ludolfus of Saxony's *Vita Christi* and Heinrich van Suso's *Hundred Articles of the Passion*. See: M. Kirkland-Ives, 'The Suffering Christ and Visual Mnemonics in Netherlandish Devotions', in: J.R. Decker and M. Kirkland-Ives, *Death, Torture and the Broken Body in European Art, 1300-1650* (2015), pp. 38-40.

especially of the type *Salvator Coronatus* (figs. 34-35).[206] His son Albrecht (1451/55-1549) continued his work, and added other compositions to his repertoire.[207] One of these compositions shows Christ's head in a tondo (figs. 36-37). The isolated head reminds of the Vera Icon iconography, although St Veronica herself is not present.

In the tondo, Christ's melancholic expression and weeping eyes are similar to those in Ms 74 G 35. The split beard without moustache, curly hair, and long nose are alike as well. Nevertheless, Ms 74 G 35's miniature is not an exact copy of Bouts' tondo, as the crown of thorns and St Veronica are absent. Numerous copies of Bouts' portraits of Christ circulated, which may be the result of an efficient serial production.[208] It is possible that the person who created Ms 74 G 35's Vera Icon was influenced by one of these copies. This may indicate that he worked in the Southern Netherlands, although portraits of the suffering Christ were also produced by North-Netherlandish masters.[209]

Generally, Ms 74 G 35's Vera Icon is thought to have been produced in the Southern Netherlands.[210] This attribution has probably been based on the miniature's border decoration. The Vera Icon is surrounded by borders in the so-called Ghent-Bruges style. They are adorned with pansies, roses, and columbines. In the upper right corner, a Cabbage White butterfly is on its way to a flower. This type of border decoration, where realistic flowers appear to have been scattered randomly, is also known as a 'strewn-flower border'. An important characteristic of this style are the painted shadows that create a trompe l'oeil effect.

Strewn borders were introduced around 1475 in the Southern Netherlands.[211] Despite their official name, Ghent-Bruges borders were not only created in Ghent and Bruges. On the contrary, the illusionistic strewn borders were rapidly adopted in other Southern Netherlandish centres. Especially strewn borders with yellow or ochre backgrounds became very popular, and from the 1480s onwards, they were imitated throughout Europe.[212] By the end of the fifteenth century, they appeared in North-Netherlandish manuscripts as well.[213]

For that reason, the Veronica's strewn border in Ms. 74 G 35 does not necessarily point to a production in the Southern Netherlands. According to Korteweg, the border is not typically Flemish.[214] Its light brown background diverges from the yellow or ochre backgrounds frequently found in South-Netherlandish strewn-borders, although in an early sixteenth-century Flemish Book of Hours (The Hague, Museum Meermanno, Ms. MMW 10 E 3), a brown background does occur in combination with painted pilgrim badges instead of flowers (fig. 38).

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[206] Stroo 2001 (note 202), p. 233.

[207] Henderiks 2016 (note 204), p. 32.

[208] Stroo 2001 (note 202), p. 233.

[209] An example is Jan Mostaert's *Christ Crowned with Thorns* (ca. 1510, The National Gallery, London).

[210] For example, the miniature has been attributed to the Southern Netherlands on the website Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts, and in K. Rudy's *Rubrics, Images and Indulgences*, p. 65.

[211] M. Smeyers, *Vlaamse miniaturen van de 8ste tot het midden van de 16de eeuw* (1998), p. 419.

[212] A.W. As-Vijvers and A. Korteweg, *Splendour of the Burgundian Netherlands* (2018), p. 287.

[213] T. Kren and S. McKendrick (eds.), *Illuminating the Renaissance. The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* (2003), p. 313.

[214] E-mailcontact with Anne Korteweg on 14 February 2018.

Full-page miniatures depicting the Vera Icon appear to have been more common in the Southern Netherlands, although they also emerged in the Northern Netherlands around 1450.[215] The miniature's dark blue background appears to be of South-Netherlandish influence as well. For example, dark blue backgrounds occur in full-page *Salvator Mundi* miniatures, which in the Southern Netherlands often illustrate the *Salve sancta facies* prayer.[216] Given their small, almond-shaped eyes, curved eyebrows, and small mouths, these *Salvator Mundi's* seem to have been based on prototypes by Jan van Eyck and Petrus Christus (figs. 39-42). The Vera Icon in Ms. 74 G 35 demonstrates little to no Eyckian influences. Christ's portrait lacks the refined and realistic appearance of late fifteenth-century South-Netherlandish miniatures. This could be the result of a production in the Northern Netherlands.

Christ's face in Ms. 74 G 35 is characterised by a long nose, lowered eyes, a high forehead, and a ruddy beard. His hair is 'highlighted' with streaks of red paint. Some of these features also appear in the work of the Northern-Netherlandish Adair Master. As discussed in chapter I, the Adair Master was part of the last generation of important Delft manuscript illuminators. In one of his works, a Book of Hours currently kept in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (The Hague, KB, Ms. BPH 131), Christ's hair is 'highlighted' in red in a similar manner (fig. 43). The facial features of St James the Great remind of Christ's lowered eyes and relatively long nose (fig. 44). However, the great differences in style, especially visible in the Breviary of Beatrijs van Assendelft (fig. 45), exclude the Adair Master's own hand in the creation of the Vera Icon miniature.

The Adair Master's work demonstrates South-Netherlandish influences, as becomes apparent from his use of strewn borders. In the past, his work has even been attributed to the Southern Netherlands, which is a clear example of scholarly difficulties stemming from the interaction between northern and southern Masters.[217] In the second half of the fifteenth century, large parts of the Northern Netherlands were included in the Duchy of Burgundy, which made travelling and trade easier. Illuminators crossed the current Dutch-Belgium border in both ways, as did their work. As a result, southern styles and influences are found in North-Netherlandish manuscripts, and vice versa. As As-Vijvers mentions, 'the interaction between the Southern and Northern Netherlands was so strong that today we can no longer pinpoint with certainty the region of origin of many of the manuscripts that were produced in the diffuse area of interaction between the Northern and Southern Netherlands'.[218]

In the case of Ms. 74 G 35's Vera Icon, southern influences are clearly visible in the weeping head and strewn borders, but it cannot be excluded that the miniature was produced in the Southern Netherlands, or in the Northern Netherlands by southern masters, or even by northern masters that were influenced by their southern colleagues. An even more thorough stylistic and iconographic research lies beyond the scope of this thesis, but would be desirable in order to clarify this miniature's exact place of

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[215] Rudy 2017 (note 167), p. 65.
[216] As-Vijvers and Korteweg 2018 (note 212), p. 247.
[217] Defoer 1989 (note 19), p. 283.
[218] As-Vijvers and Korteweg 2018 (note 212), p. 253.

production. At least, the presence of strewn borders gives a certain indication of its date. As these borders were introduced in the Southern Netherlands around 1475, the Vera Icon has to be dated in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. In reality, most Books of Hours decorated with strewn borders, especially those that were produced in the Northern Netherlands, are dated around 1480-1490 or later. This date may shed light on the Vera Icon's patron, as will be discussed in the following paragraph.

3.2.3. The prayer, the image, and the owner

The *kriezel* border prayers were written between 1471 and 1484. Similarly, the *Salve sancta facies* and the Vera Icon, part of the same *kriezel* quire, were probably created in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. If they were produced at the same time as the *kriezel* border prayers, they would have to be dated around 1475-1484, given the emergence of strewn borders. This date would coincide with the transition from coloured borders to *kriezel* borders. *Kriezel* borders emerged around 1475, and for several years they must have existed alongside the long-established coloured borders. The presence of both *kriezel* and coloured borders in one quire might suggest that the entire quire was inserted at a time when coloured borders were not yet outdated, and when *kriezel* and strewn borders were perhaps just in fashion.

Thus, the same as the *kriezel* border prayers, the *Salve sancta facies* and the Vera Icon could have been added to Ms. 74 G 35 by Philips van Matenesse, assuming the manuscript was at that time already in the Van Matenesse family's possession. For a large part, the *Salve sancta facies* and the Vera Icon serve the same purpose as many of the *kriezel* border prayers. The indulgences granted by several popes, meant that praying the *Salve sancta facies* shortened the time in purgatory. For Ms. 74 G 35's owner, this must have been an important reason to include both prayer and image. As many other devotees, he used his Book of Hours to gain salvation, as well as to strengthen his bond with Christ with help of intermediaries. In that respect, the *kriezel* border prayers, the *Salve sancta facies* and the Vera Icon, popular as they were, do not reveal much about the owner's identity. For a second added miniature, depicting St Jerome in his study, this might be a different matter.

3.3. St Jerome, an example for the learned

The full-page miniature depicting St Jerome in his study is executed in a grisaille technique (fig. 28). Its style, however, diverges greatly from the Delft grisaille miniatures in Ms. 74 G 35. In chapter II, the miniature's divergent style and awkward placement in the Suffrages – without a prayer – has already been discussed. Now, it is time to examine the miniature's possible place and date of production in order to establish its potential patron. Thereafter, St Jerome's status and importance in the Middle Ages will be discussed. How Jerome was perceived, may reveal why Ms. 74 G 35's owner decided to add the miniature to his Book of Hours. As will become clear, the Jerome miniature

appears to fit seamlessly into the life and interests of one possible patron, Philips van Matenesse.

3.3.1. The Jerome miniature in Ms. 74 G 35

The Jerome miniature depicts the saint seated on a throne-like chair, dressed in cardinal's vestments.[219] A lectern is fixed to his armrest, which enables Jerome to read the pages of the book on display. The saint, however, is not depicted reading, instead he appears to stare into the distance. A small lion standing on its hind legs asks for his attention. In its oldest form, the lion-legend survives in the ninth-century text *Plerosque nimirum*, which discusses the appearance of an injured lion in Jerome's monastery.[220] Jerome rids the lion of the thorns embedded in its paw. The lion is so grateful that he remains with Jerome and his brothers as a tame, domesticated animal. In (Medieval) art, the lion is Jerome's companion, or his 'attribute'.

In the miniature, Jerome is seated indoors in a room that represents Jerome's study. The interior is not very detailed, it includes nothing more than a tiled floor and two arched windows. The miniature's frame is composed of two slender columns and an architectural canopy, which consists of three arches, gablets, trefoil-shapes, and a church-like construction directly above the saint. This canopy closely resembles the frames used by the Masters of the Delft Half-Length Figures.

As discussed in chapter I, the Masters of the Delft Half-Length Figures created miniatures and border decorations in the period between approximately 1450-1480. It is unclear whether they worked in an organised group, or if they all individually created miniatures in a certain, popular style. Their works are most often found in Delft manuscripts decorated with coloured style borders or *kriezel* borders. Especially the later Masters of the Delft Half-Length Figures added architectural canopies to their scenes. One master's work (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 131 G 8) to a great extent resembles the St Jerome miniature in Ms. 74 G 35. The craftsman decorated a Delft Book of Hours with eleven full-page miniatures and *kriezel* borders displaying the characteristic half-length figures. All miniatures, even the outdoor scenes, are roofed with canopies that consist of the same type of gablets, trefoil-shapes, and other architectural forms as the canopy above St Jerome's head (fig. 46).

Apart from the strikingly similar canopies, the master of Ms. 131 G 8 also seems to have depicted similar tiled floors and arched windows. Both in Ms. 131 G 8 and in Ms. 74 G 35, the tiles and arched windows are not quite drawn according to the principles of mathematic perspective. In the Jerome miniature, perspective appears to have been applied only to a certain degree, as especially the right window is not in line with the

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[219] Historically, St Jerome was no cardinal. In the ninth century, he was called a cardinal priest, a term that existed since the sixth century. However, 'cardinal' simply meant 'important' (from the Latin *cardo*, hinge). Only in the eleventh century did the word cardinal come to mean an ecclesiastical leader, a senator of the church. After 1350, the cardinal's robe and hat became Jerome's common attires in imagery. See: E. Rice, *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance* (1985), pp. 36-37.

[220] Rice 1985 (note 219), pp. 37-38.

floor. In Ms. 131 G 8's *Christ before Pilate*, the left window and the doorway on the right are drawn in strange angles as well (fig. 47). According to Defoer et al., this master's work 'is not a product of great sophistication'.[221] One could imagine the same being said of the Jerome miniature.

The similarities in the miniatures' frames and interiors suggest a certain relation between the Jerome miniature and the miniatures in Ms. 131 G 8. Given the slight differences in facial features, they might not have been created by the same person, but they could very well originate from the same milieu. The Masters of the Delft Half-Length Figures appear to have worked in Delft their entire careers, as most of their miniatures and border decorations appear in Delft manuscripts. Ms. 74 G 35's original contents were made in Delft, probably for someone who lived in the proximity of the city. If the manuscript remained in the same family, which is plausible, it is very well possible that a later owner bought the Jerome miniature, or had it made, in the same town.

The Master of the Delft Half-Length Figures responsible for Ms. 131 G 8 was active around 1480, when the manuscript's decoration is thought to have been created.[222] Assuming the Jerome miniature was produced in the same environment, it could have been created around 1480 as well. The earliest Masters of the Delft Half-Length Figures, those operating around 1450, did not roof their miniatures with architectural canopies. In turn, most canopied miniatures are surrounded by Delft *kriezel* borders, which emerged around 1475. Although the Jerome miniature is not adorned with any type of border decoration, its canopy suggests a production date roughly between 1470-1480.

As discussed earlier, Ms. 74 G 35's owner added the *kriezel* border prayers somewhere between 1471-1484. The prayer *Salve sancta facies* and the Vera Icon, both part of the *kriezel* quire, could have been added around the same time as well. Given the Jerome miniature's approximate date of production, as well as its localisation – Delft, just like the *kriezel* border prayers and the *Salve sancta facies* – it seems plausible that it was added simultaneously with the *kriezel* border prayers, the *Salve sancta facies* and the Vera Icon.[223] Yet, whether the Jerome miniature was added at the same time or not, its approximate date of production would suggest that it was added by the same owner. As discussed earlier, it is plausible that Philips van Matenesse owned the manuscript before his son Jacob did. If so, he would probably have been the person who chose to incorporate a miniature of St Jerome. But why St Jerome? What could St Jerome have meant to Philips, or to the owner in general? In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to examine St Jerome's status and importance in the Middle Ages.

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[221] Defoer 1989 (note 19), p. 197.

[222] Ibid., p. 197.

[223] After all, inserting additions would have required the manuscript to be unbound, and, afterwards, to be rebound in a new cover that offered enough space for the augmented manuscript. It would seem unlikely that the manuscript was unbound and bound again multiple times in the period between circa 1470 and 1485, although it cannot be excluded.

3.3.2. St Jerome: from hermit to monastic scholar

St Jerome (c. 347-420) was born as Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus, a son of Christian parents. He spent his younger years in Stridon, an obscure place in the north-western Balkans.[224] As most young men of some social standing, he received a primary education at home. He studied grammar in Aquileia, after which he continued his studies in Rome, where he refined his knowledge of grammar and rhetoric, thus enabling a successful career in the Roman administration.[225] However, Jerome was not interested in a worldly career. Instead, he started to take an interest in Christian ascetism during a stay in Trier, an interest that would shape and dominate the rest of his life.

In the 370s, Jerome travelled to Antioch, where for a number of years he remained in the household of a priest called Evagrius. During his stay, he briefly remoted himself to the desert hinterlands to live as a hermit, committing himself to a life without worldly pleasures.[226] In 381, he travelled to Constantinople, after which he spent several years in Rome where he kept close contact with wealthy, aristocratic women such as Paula and her daughters Blesilla and Eustochium. Apart from being his disciple, Paula also was his financial supporter, together they established the first Christian monasteries in Bethlehem.[227] Here, he tutored students of Latin grammar, preached, controlled the monastery's hospice, and wrote and translated numerous letters, biography's, and biblical commentaries.

When still in Rome, Jerome was asked to start a revision of the Latin Gospels based on Greek texts by Pope Damasus.[228] He continued his biblical translations in Bethlehem, where in the 390s he began a translation of the Old Testament from Hebrew to Latin, one of his most distinguished achievements.[229] Jerome's translations of the Old Testament and the Gospels were to become the framework of the Latin Vulgate Bible, the Bible version that was in use throughout the Middle Ages.[230]

In the Middle Ages, knowledge of Jerome's life was based on a few biographies dating from the eighth to the thirteenth centuries, such as Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*. In these biographies, Jerome was lauded as a saint, 'doctor' or scholar, and defender of the church.[231] The miracle of the lion was assigned to him, although the event never occurred during Jerome's actual life. His supposed supernatural abilities rapidly increased during the fourteenth century, when three new, albeit forged, letters emerged. These letters were purportedly written by Eusebius of Cremona, Augustine,

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[224] The exact location of Stridon is yet unknown. See: Franjo Šanjek, 'A la recherche de Stridon, lieu de naissance de saint Jerôme', in: *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastiqu*e 100:1 (2005), pp. 146-151 ; M.H. Williams, *The Monk and the Book. Jerome and the Making of Christian Scholarship* (2006), pp. 15-16.

[225] Williams 2006 (note 224), p. 17.

[226] In his later life, Jerome would fully convert to an ascetic life. See: Rice 1985 (note 219), pp. 7-8.

[227] Ibid., p. 14.

[228] The death of Pope Damasus in 384 forced Jerome to leave Rome. See: Rice 1985 (note 219), p. 12.

[229] Ibid., p. 15.

[230] F. Brunhölzl, 'Bibelübersetzungen, I. Lateinische Bibelübersetzungen', in: Lexikon des Mittelalters, vol. 2, cols 88-93. Via *Brepolis Medieval Encyclopaedias - Lexikon des Mittelalters Online.*

[231] Rice 1985 (note 219), p. 32.

and Cyril of Jerusalem. In reality, the letters appear to have been forged by a single fourteenth-century author, who may have belonged to the Dominican Order in Rome.[232]

The letters give more information about Jerome's miracles, his holy death, and his miracle-working relics. His remains were now thought to have been carried from Bethlehem to Rome and reburied in the Santa Maria Maggiore, a story later confirmed by an indulgence granted to pilgrims who visited Jerome's grave. The indulgence itself was affirmed by Pope Pius II in 1459 and 1464.[233] Despite the *translatio* of his entire body, in the late Middle Ages numerous relics of St Jerome were kept in churches and convents throughout western Europe. The miracle stories and the spread of relics fuelled Jerome's popularity as a saint with supernatural powers, but that was not all he was revered for.

St Jerome was, and still is, considered to be one of four Church Fathers. In the late Middle Ages, his oeuvre, especially his translations of and commentaries on biblical texts, provided him with the title *doctor gloriosus*. He was considered to be a scholar who 'had no equal in either the liberal arts or the sacred sciences'.[234] As he combined his scholarly work with asceticism and a monastic life, he became an example for religious orders such as the Hieronymites. In the Northern Netherlands, St Jerome was amongst others devoted to the Latin school at Deventer, which was run by the Brethren of the Common Life, and convent *Sint Hiëronymusdal* in Delft. The Van Matenesse family does not appear to have had a special connection to this convent, nor can the Jerome miniature be attributed to *Hiëronymusdal*, although it is probable that its inhabitants did occupy themselves with manuscript production.[235] There is no evident link between the miniature and the convent that carried Jerome's name.

The image of Jerome as the wisest scholar, the man with an unhuman intelligence, led to a new iconography in late medieval art. The theme of St Jerome in his study originates in northern Italy, its oldest representation dates to 1360 (fig. 48). Jerome's popularity as a Church Father and scholar resulted in the rapid adaptation of the theme north of the Alps. Its iconography followed a long tradition of author portraits, and was therefore not entirely new or inventive.[236] Still, the depiction of the lion-legend in combination with the representation of Jerome in his study did lead to new imagery.

Already in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, the image of St Jerome and the lion was painted by the predecessor of the Masters of the Delft Grisailles, the Master of the Morgan Infancy Cycle (fig. 49). Jerome is seated on a throne-like chair, and although the abstract background does not represent an interior, the book on the chair's seat does suggest that Jerome sits in his study. He carefully removes the thorn from the lion's bleeding paw. This act in the lion-legend is not always represented in the Jerome-in-study theme. Around 1435, Jan van Eyck or one of his followers depicted St Jerome

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[232] Ibid., p. 63.
[233] Ibid., p. 64.
[234] Ibid., p. 50.
[235] See paragraph 3.3.3 on Philip's religious life, and note 161 for that of his sister Margriet.
[236] Rice 1985 (note 219), p. 106.

reading at his desk (fig. 50). The saint is clothed in the red vestments of a cardinal, and the small, tame lion lies at his feet. Apparently, the thorn has already been removed.

Another South-Netherlandish example of the theme shows similarities with the Jerome miniature in Ms 74 G 35, for example in its composition (fig. 51). In both miniatures, the saint is seated in a chair with a bookstand to his side, and the lion standing on its hind legs. The most striking similarity is found in the sculpted lions on the back of Jerome's chair. They appear to emphasise Jerome's bond with the lion, his legendary companion. In other aspects, the miniatures diverge. For instance, the differences in interiors, Jerome's attention for the lion, and the draping of his vestments clearly demonstrate that the South-Netherlandish miniature was created by another master.

The iconographic theme of St Jerome in his study was most popular in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. After 1530, it became increasingly rare.[237] Due to Jerome's legendary status as the first monk, and his extensive theological knowledge, he was especially, but not exclusively, venerated by the clergy, who admired his scholarly and ascetic way of life.[238] In Books of Hours, Jerome imagery was often accompanied by a prayer. In most prayers, the votary asked for the same virtues Jerome was supposed to have possessed, among which were humility, patience, strong faith, and a thorough understanding of Christian doctrine.[239]

3.3.3. Jerome: a scholarly example?

Since St Jerome was not as widely venerated for his curing or protective abilities as, for example, the Holy Helpers, it is much more likely that Ms. 74 G 35's owner chose to incorporate the Jerome miniature for other reasons. Images depicting St Jerome in his study especially remind of Jerome's scholarly and theologian achievements. As the owner specifically chose to include the Jerome-in-study miniature, he could probably relate to this scholarly theme. Whoever this owner was, Philips or someone else, he could well have had an interest in knowledge and learning. He might have been interested in Jerome's monastic life as well.

It is striking that Philips van Matenesse appeared to have had an interest both in studying and in religious life. As discussed above, Philips was about to go to Paris for his studies when his father Jan van Matenesse died (†1467), leaving him and his grandfather Bartholomeus Pertant in charge of his inherited estate. After claiming his rights at the Holland court, Philips travelled to France in order to commence his study in Paris. Indeed, his name has been documented in the Parisian cartularies. He was at least

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[237] Ibid., p. 106.

[238] A. Strümpell, 'Hieronymus im Gehäuse', in: Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft 2 (1925-1926), p. 201.

[239] Rice 1985 (note 219), p. 81.

present at university in the years 1469-1470, when his name was registered in the faculty of law.[240]

In Paris, students in the faculty of law could only attend classes on canon law, as the teaching of civil law was prohibited since 1219.[241] As a nobleman, Philip would not have been obliged to obtain a master's degree in the faculty of the arts first. Instead, he could skip this four to five-year course, and commence his more specialised and more esteemed law studies straight away. This privilege probably did not only result from his social status, but also from the quality of his primary education at home. As most young noblemen, Philip was presumably tutored by a private teacher, and would at least have been skilled in reading and writing, the same as he would have had a basic knowledge of Latin.[242] As R.C. Schwinges formulates, 'he was already 'someone' before he ever crossed the university threshold [...] the typical and fitting place for him was not the faculty of the arts, or the socially related environment of the students of medicine or theology, but the higher faculty or university of lawyers'.[243]

Still, most students of canon law belonged to the clergy, around seventy percent, whereas around fifteen percent was made up of laymen.[244] Graduate canon law students mostly started a career in church by taking up offices that could be as prestigious as the pontificate. Others obtained administrative posts in religious orders, or a similar post in the secular world. It is unclear whether Philip obtained a law degree or not, and what he did with his scholarly knowledge after he returned to Holland. As the eldest and only son, he had to marry a suitable wife, and father children in order to ensure his family line. A career in church was out of his reach, at least in his younger years. But when his wife Maria died in 1488, he may have felt an urge to put his studies into practice again.

Around the year 1492, Philips entered the monastery *Mariënhaven* in Warmond. The convent was founded by Maria's great-grandfather in 1412. After his death in 1533, Philips was commemorated by the *Mariënhaven* monks as a fellow brother and a priest. He was buried in the Warmond convent.[245] Before he entered religious life for good, Philips might have pilgrimaged to Rome. According to Gouthoeven, he was ordained there, an interesting suggestion that would require further (archival) research.[246] What is certain, is that at the time of his death, he had definitely left his life as a lay nobleman behind him.

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[240] H. Denifle et al. (eds.), *Auctarium chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis. Sub auspiciis Consilii Generalis Facultatum Parisiensium* (1964), col. 451, col. 467 and col. 469.

[241] Pope Honorius III prohibited the teaching of civil law. See: García y García 1992 (note 164), p. 389.

[242] In law classes, the language of instruction generally was Latin, as were most texts. García y García 1992 (note 164), p. 392.

[243] In this case, 'him' refers to young men of noble birth in general. R.C. Schwinges, 'Student Education, Student Life', in: H. De Ridder-Symoens (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe. Universities in the Middle Ages* (1992), p. 198.

[244] García y García 1992 (note 164), pp. 402-403.

[245] EL, HW, inv. nr. 1243, f. 15v; W.A. Gevers Deynoot, 'Genealogie Van den Woude, de Heren van Warmond', in: *De Nederlandsche Leeuw. Maandblad van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Genootschap voor Geslacht- en Wapenkunde* 81:3 (1964), col. 94.

[246] Gouthoeven 1620 (note 162), p. 185.

Philips' interest in scholarly matters and religious life might be reflected in the added St Jerome miniature, although this connection cannot be concluded with certainty. Still, it seems to be too coincidental that Philips' life and his reconstructed interests, comply to the meaning of the Jerome-in-study miniature. If Ms. 74 G 35 belonged to the Van Matenesse family before Jacob's time, the addition of the Jerome miniature was most certainly Philips' responsibility. If not, it is still safe to conclude that the owner valued personal devotion, which he achieved by adding prayers and images that meant something to him. In most cases, this 'something' has to do with salvation. Indulgences and pleas for interference are numerous in the *kriezel* border prayers and the *Salve sancta facies*. Perhaps the owner also asked St Jerome for help, to whom he – a scholar, a (later) monk? – could relate. The two added miniatures demonstrate that devotion did not only work through written texts, but also through images. This is certainly true for the pilgrim badges that were once sewn onto the manuscript's pages. They will be discussed in the following chapter.
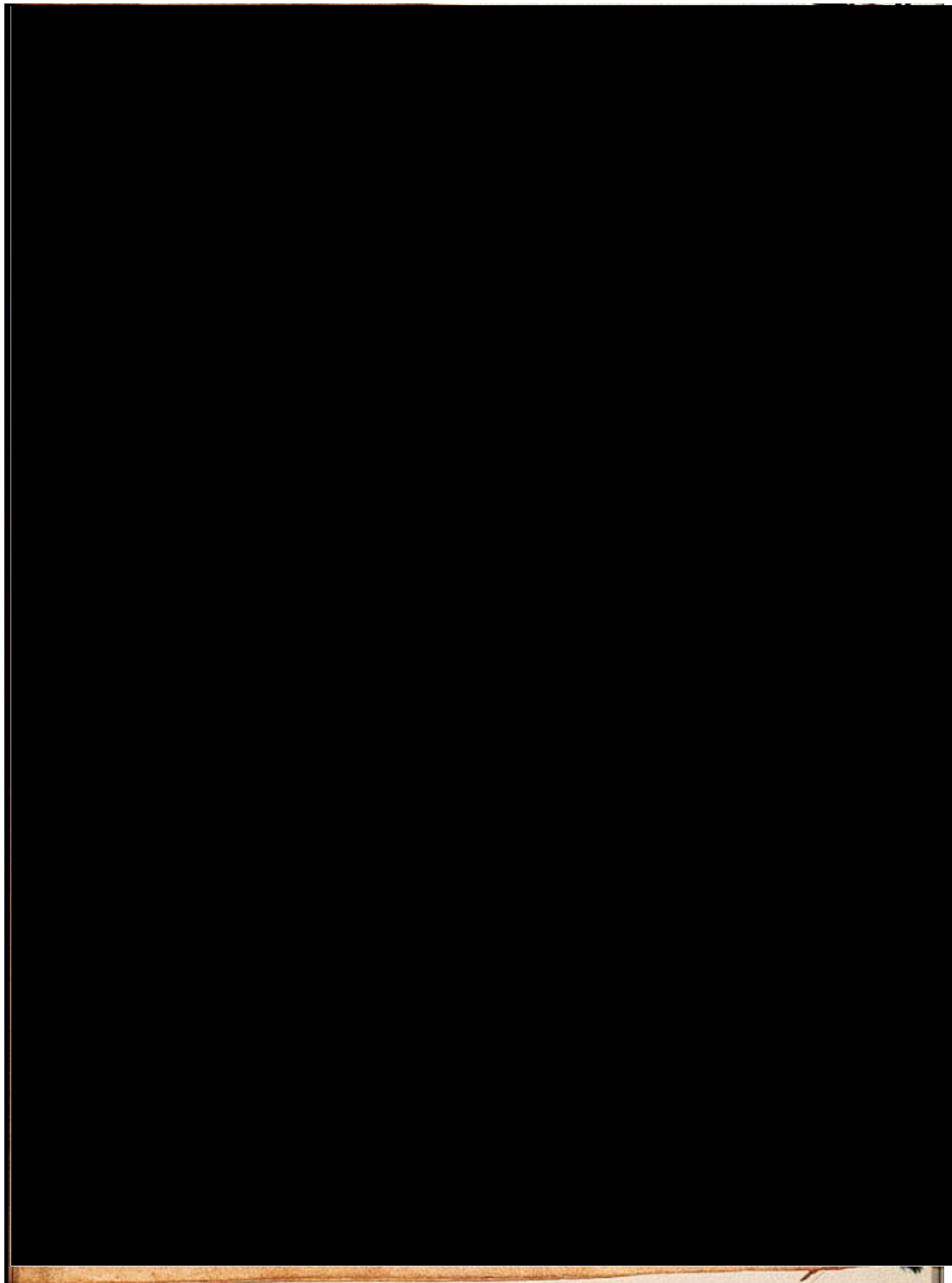
Fig. 32: *Mass of St Gregory*, Holland (miniatures), ca. 1470-1490, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 131 G 5, f. 97v.
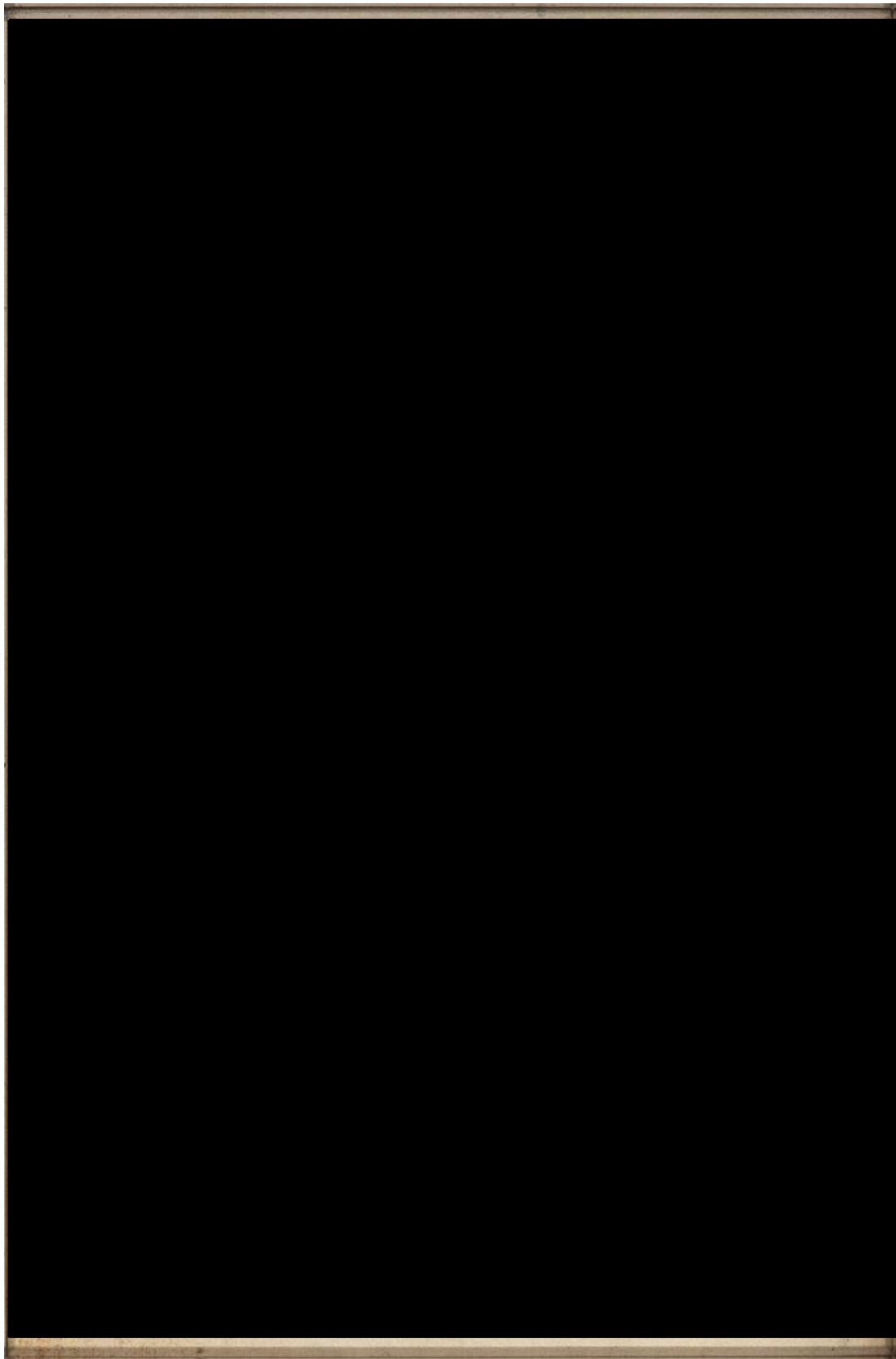
Fig. 33: *Vera Icon*, Delft, ca. 1440-1450, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, ff. 161v-162r.
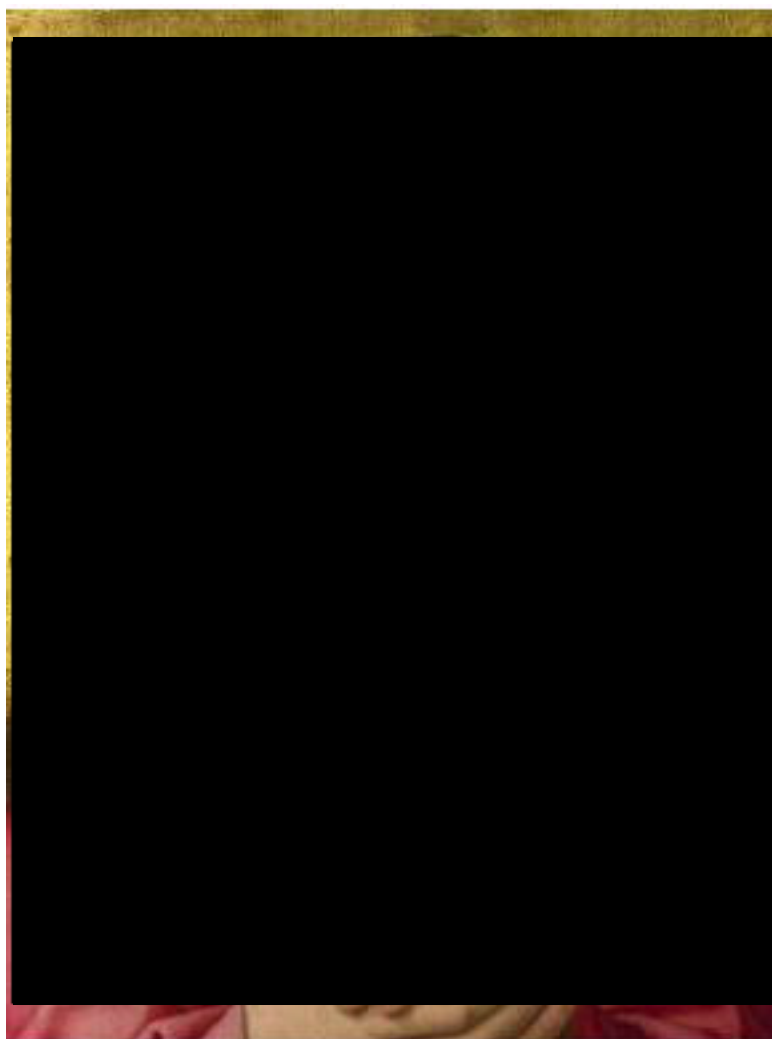
Fig. 34: Workshop of Dirk Bouts, *Salvator Coronatus*, Louvain, ca. 1470-75, oil on oak, 36.8 x 27.8 cm., London, The National Gallery, cat. nr. NG712. This painting is part of the diptych *Christ and the Virgin*.

Fig. 35: Workshop of Dirk Bouts, *detail of Salvator Coronatus*, Louvain, ca. 1470-75, oil on oak, 36.8 x 27.8 cm., London, The National Gallery, cat. nr. NG712.
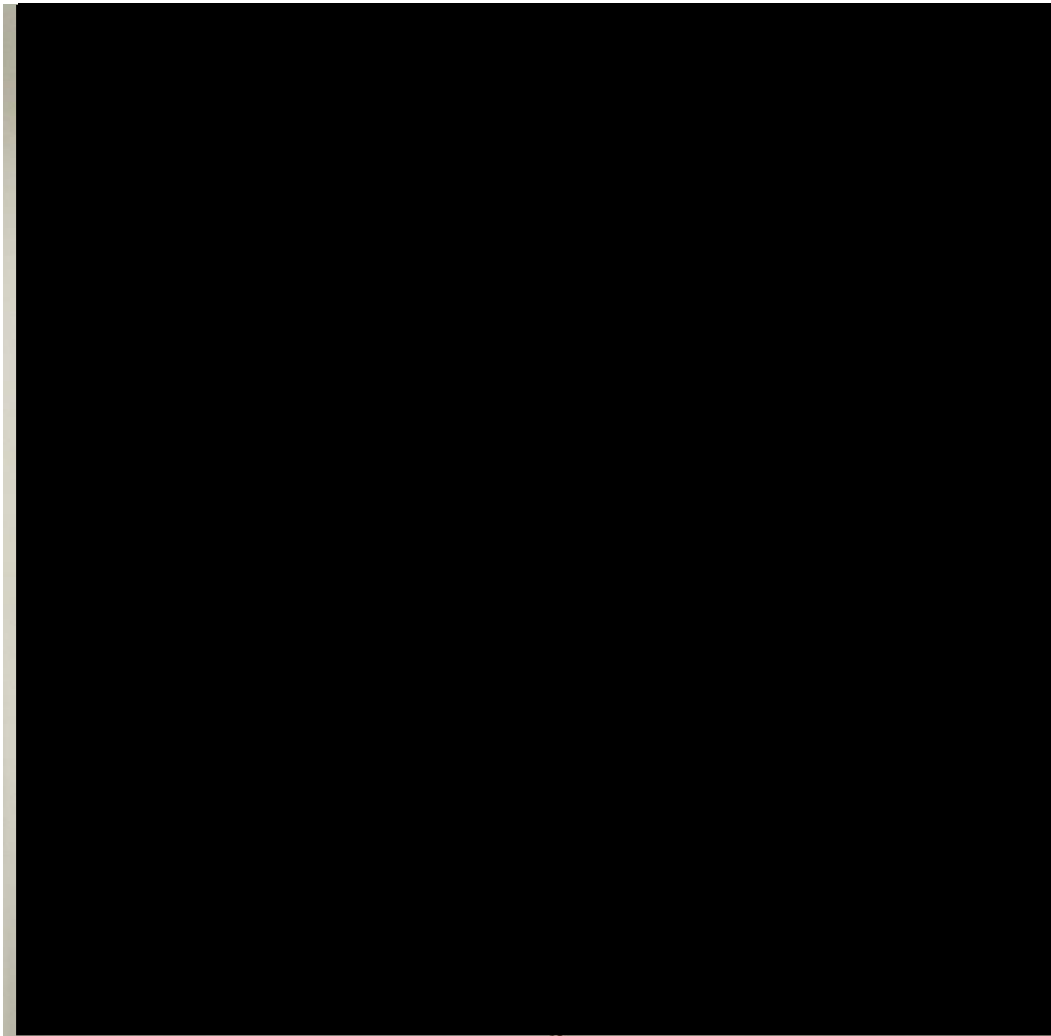
Fig. 36: Workshop of Albrecht Bouts, *Salvator Coronatus*, Louvain, ca. 1510, oil on oak, 31.1 x 28.8 cm., Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, cat. nr. 553.
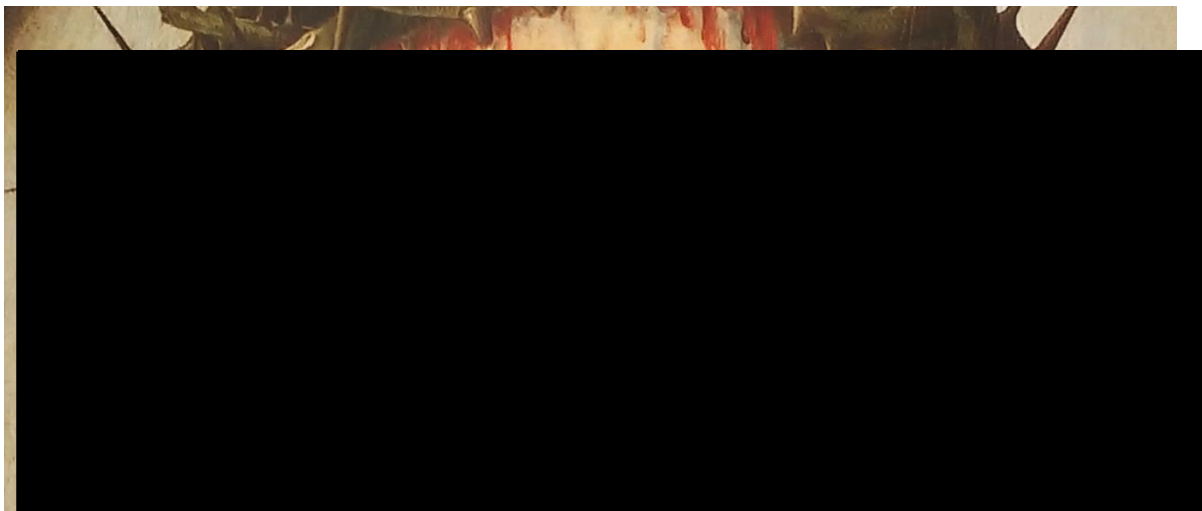
Fig. 37: Workshop of Albrecht Bouts, *detail of Salvator Coronatus*, Louvain, ca. 1510, oil on oak, 31.1 x 28.8 cm., Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, cat. nr. 553.
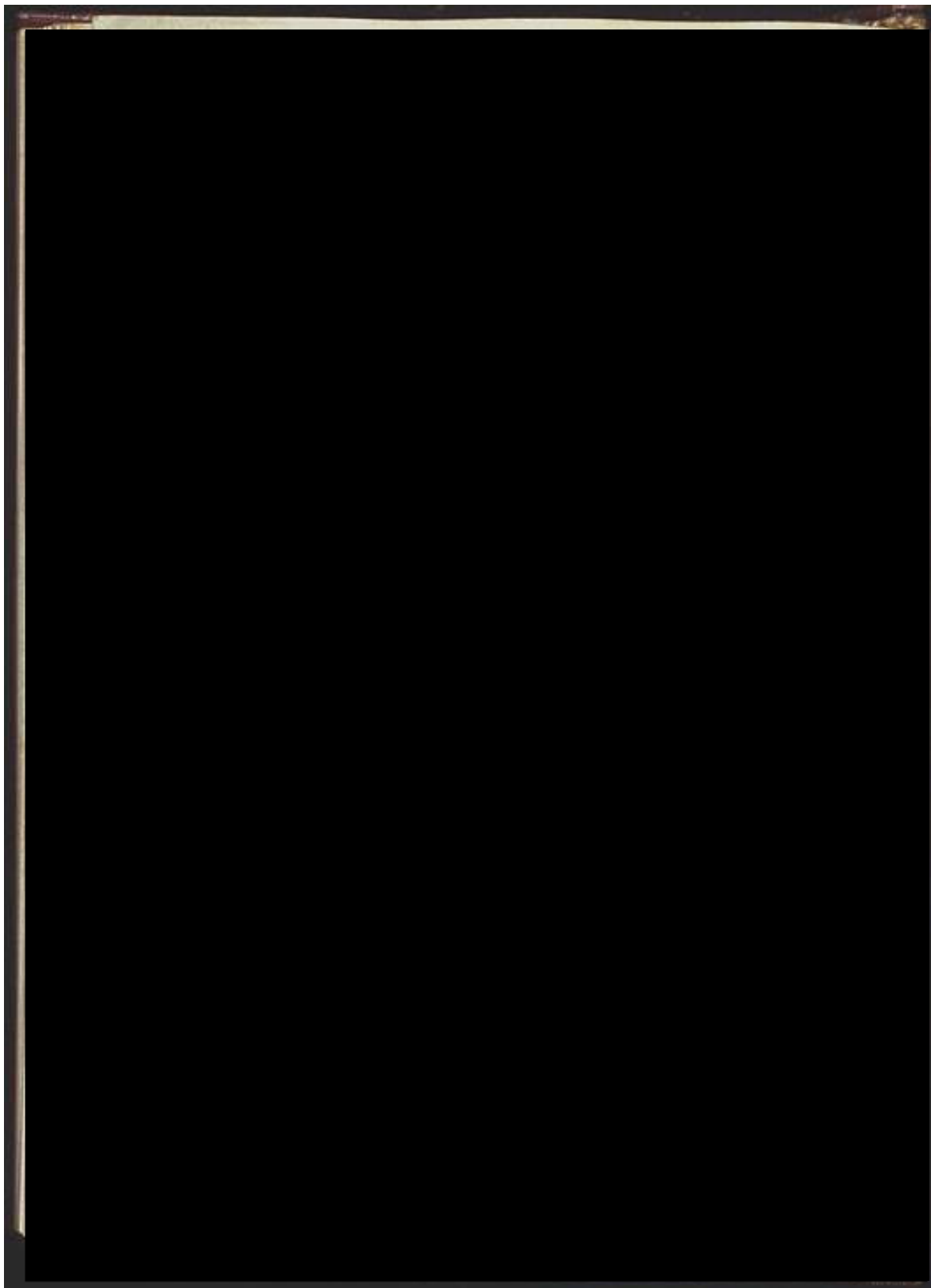
Fig. 38: *Nativity and border with painted pilgrim badges*, Southern Netherlands, ca. 1500-1525, The Hague, Museum Meermanno, Ms. 10 E 3, f. 90v.
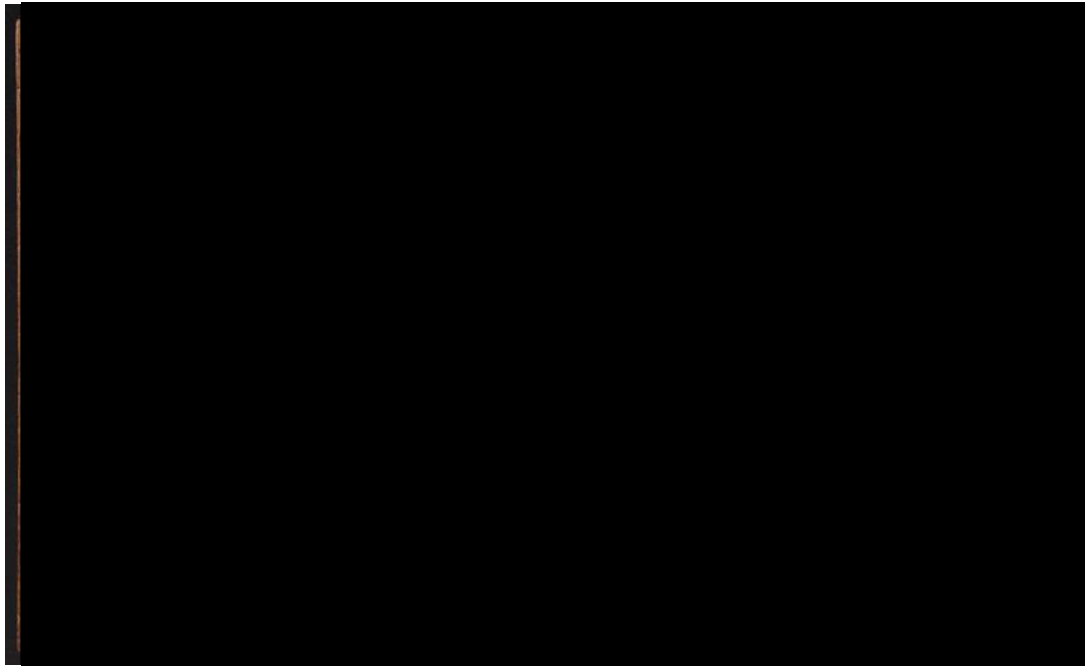
Fig. 39: Follower Jan van Eyck, *Vera Icon*,
Southern Netherlands, 15th century,
München, Alte Pinakothek, WAF 251.

Fig. 40: Petrus Christus, *Vera Icon*,
Southern Netherlands, ca. 1444, New York,
Metropolitan Museum of Art, 60.71.1.
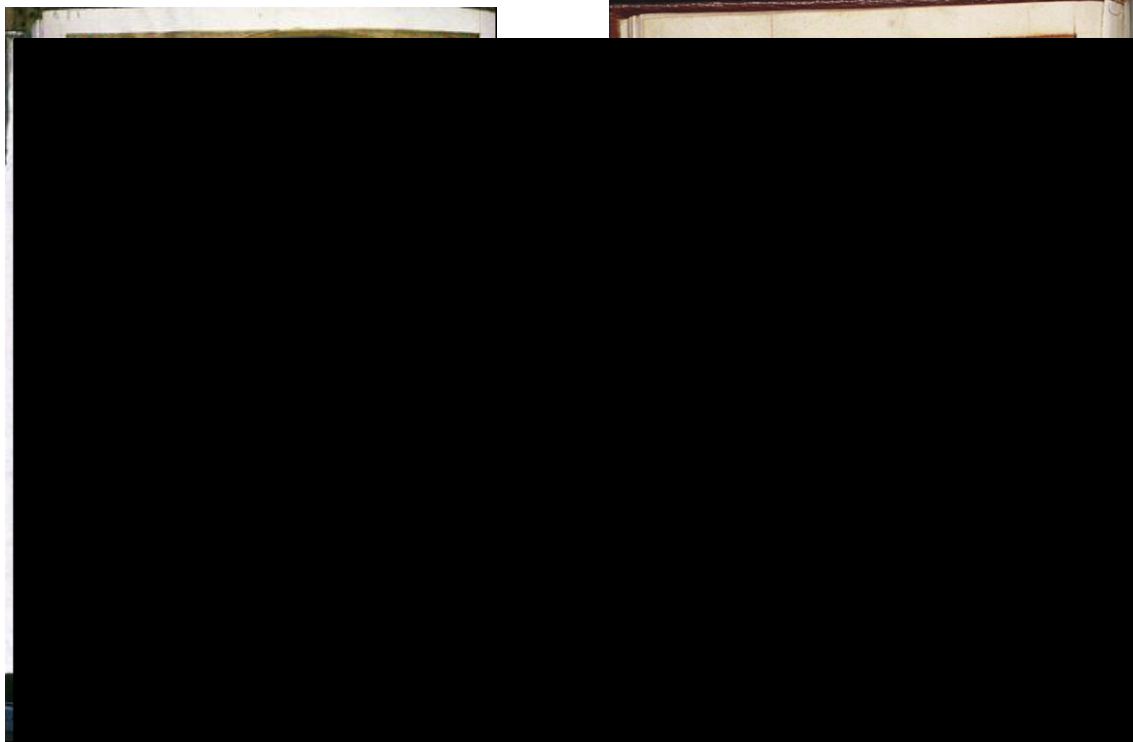
Fig. 41: *Salvator Mundi*, Southern
Netherlands, after 1488, Oxford,
Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 311, f. 122r.

Fig. 42: Follower of Simon Bening, *Salvator
Mundi*, Southern Netherlands, ca. 1500-1525,
The Hague, Museum Meermanno, Ms. 10 E 3, f.
14v.
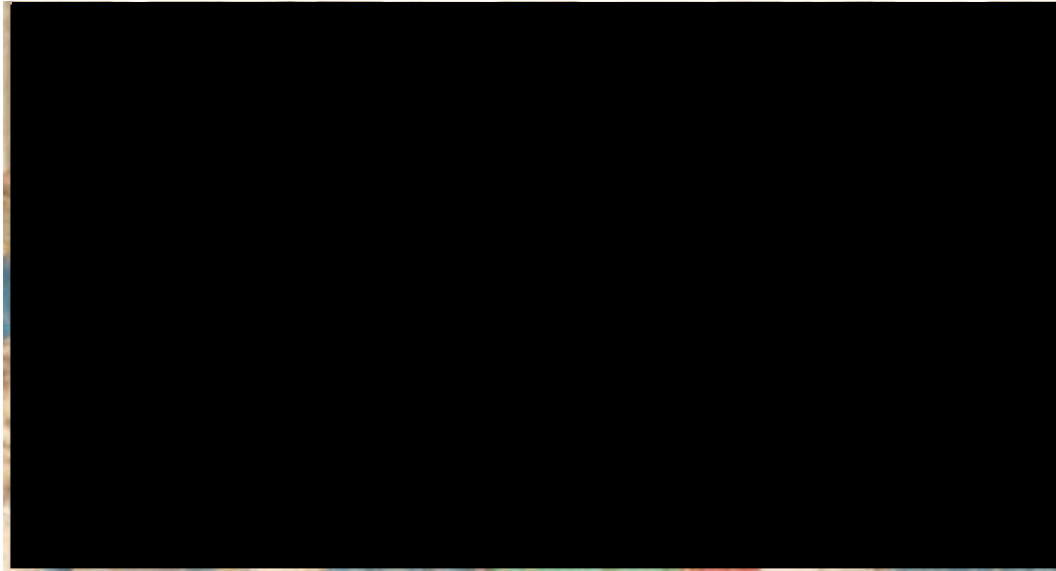
Fig. 43: Adair Master, *detail of the Raising of Lazarus*, South-Holland (Delft), ca. 1475-1500, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. BPH 131, f. 72v.

Fig. 44: Adair Master, *detail of Saint James the Great*, South-Holland (Delft), ca. 1475-1500, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. BPH 131, f. 125v.
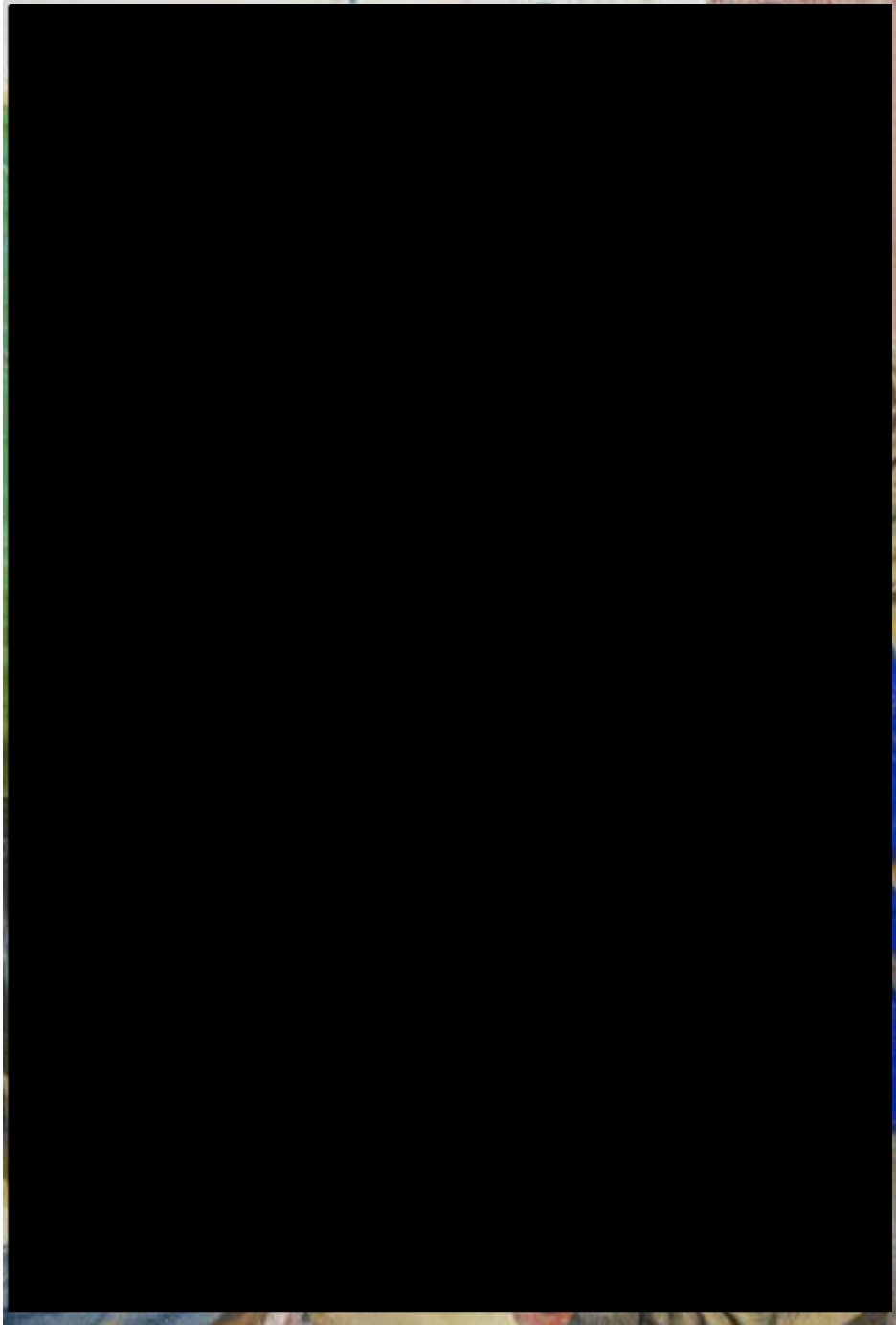
Fig. 45: Adair Master, *detail of the Three Temptations of Christ*, Delft, 1485, Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent, OKM h3, f. 46v.
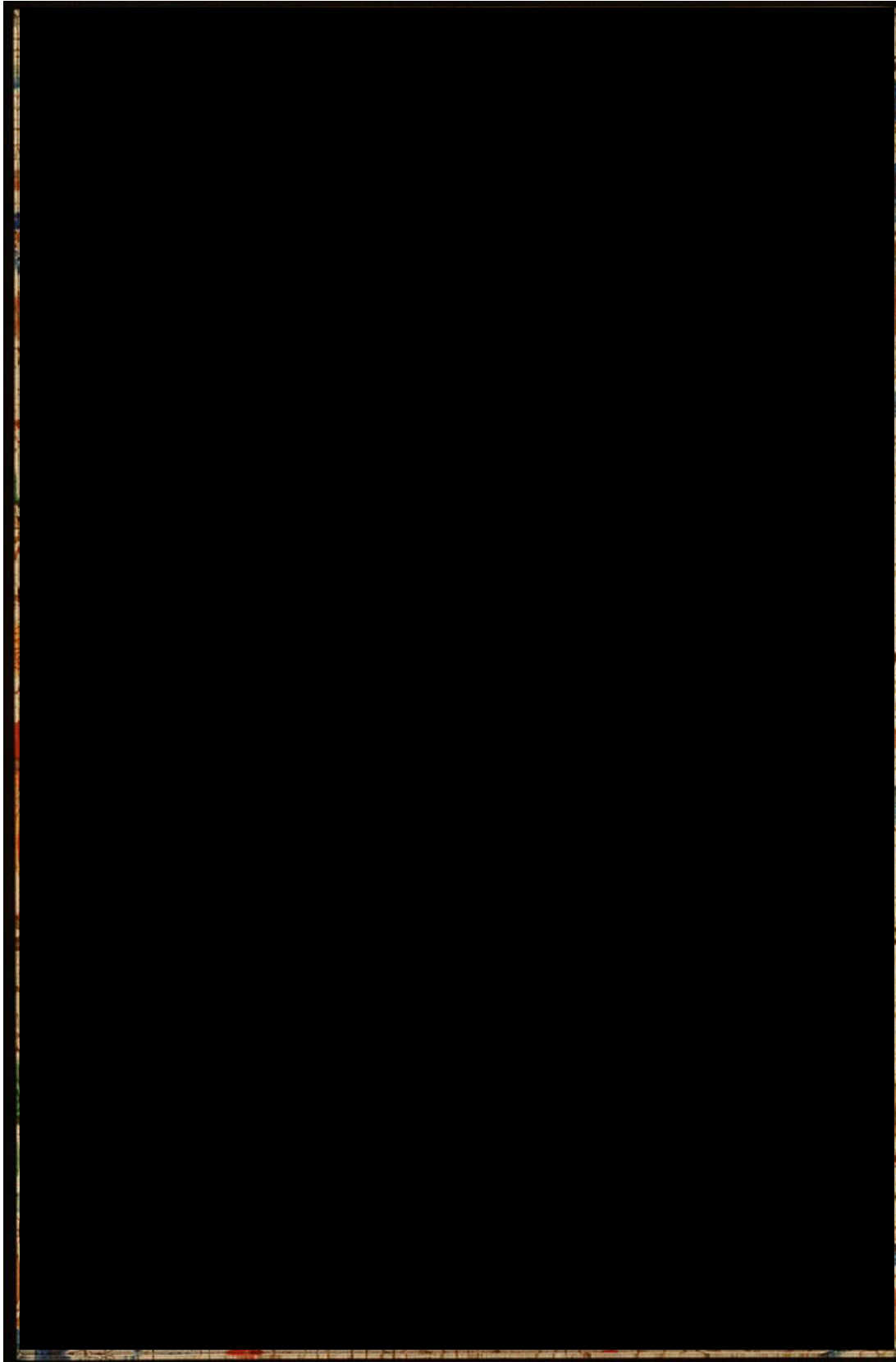
Fig. 46: The Masters of the Delft Half-Length Figures, *the Arrest of Christ*, Delft, ca. 1480, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 131 G 8, f. 14v.
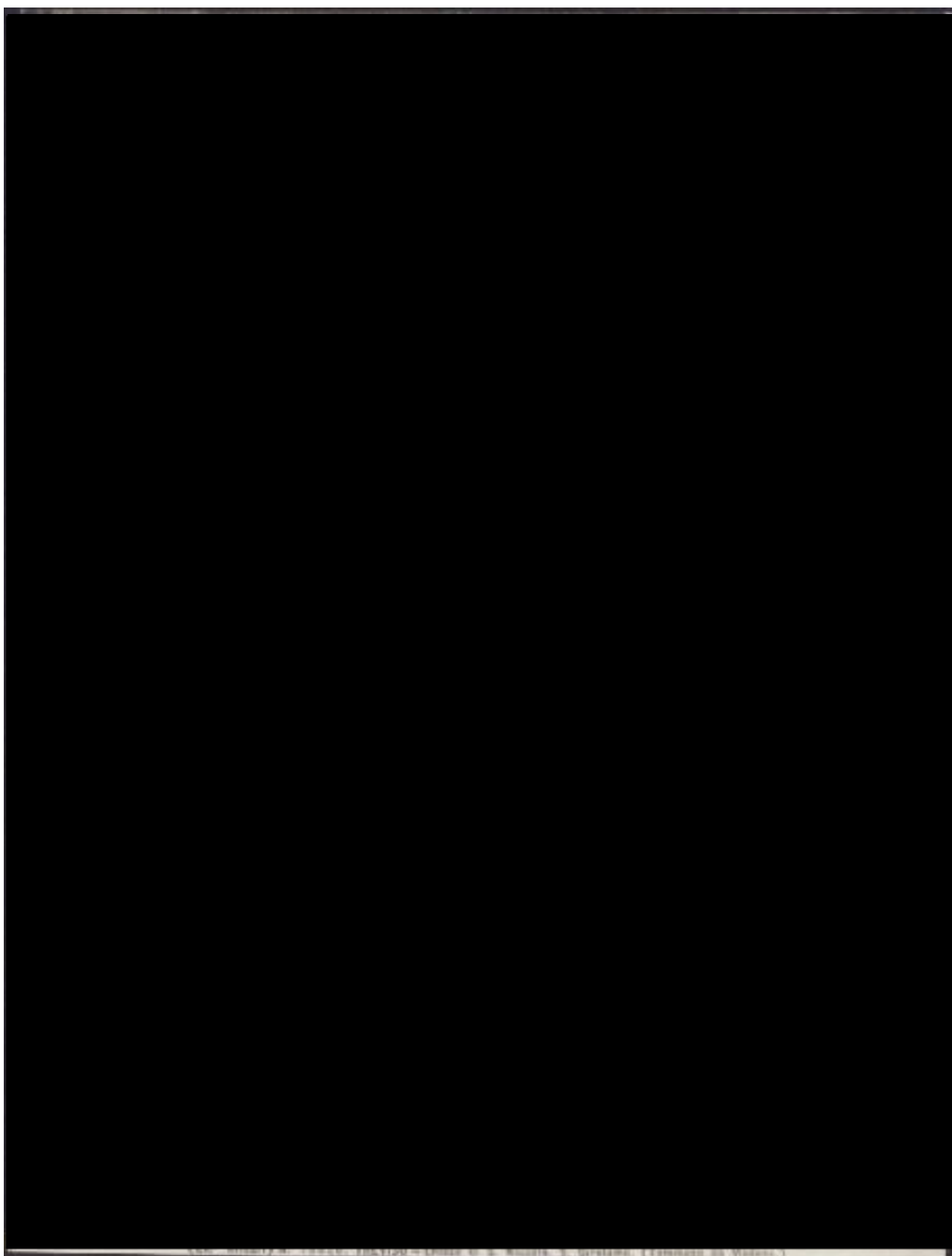
Fig. 48: Tommaso da Modena, *St Jerome in his study*, ca. 1360, fresco, Treviso, S. Nicolò church.
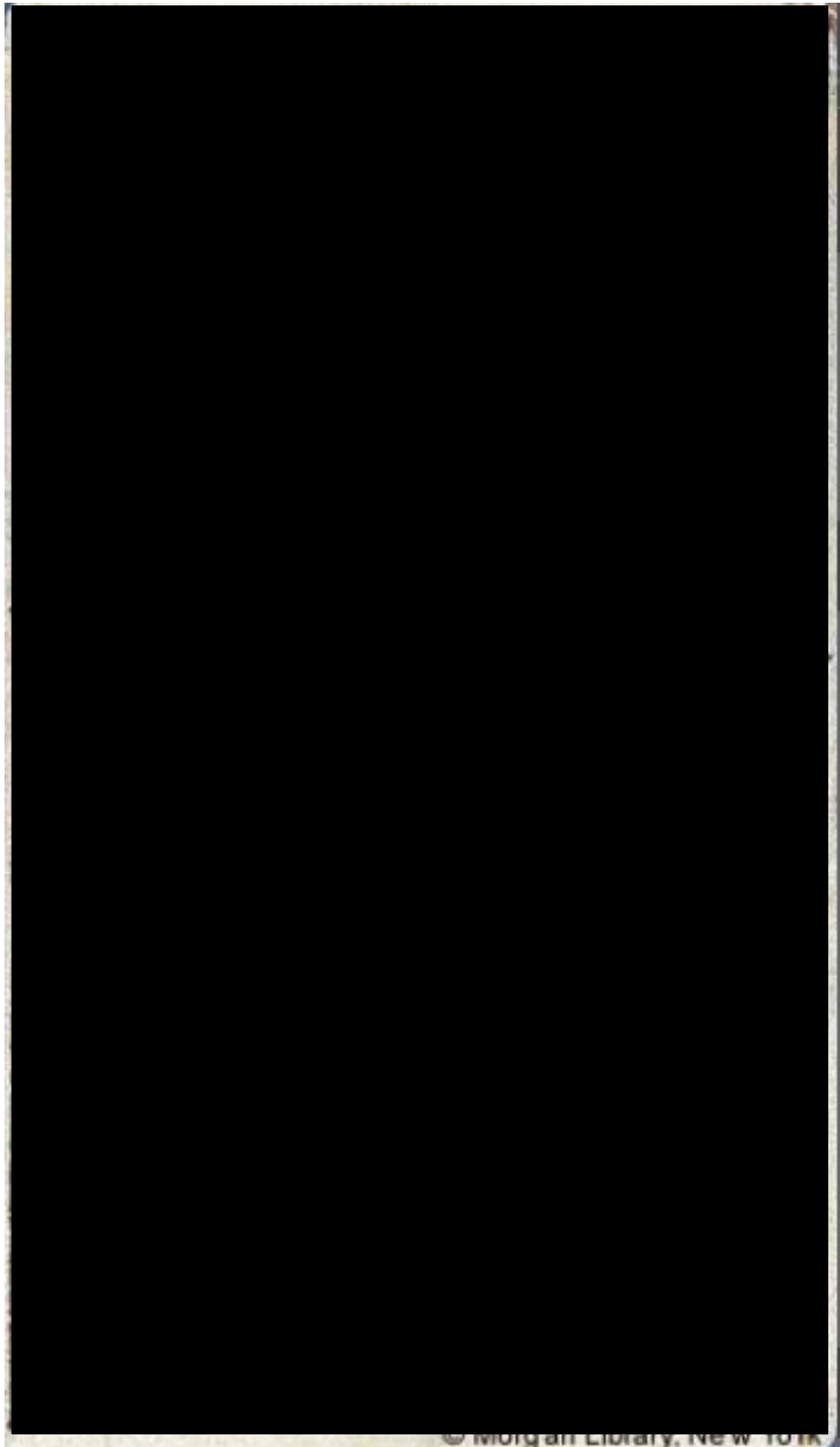
Fig. 49: Master of the Morgan Infancy Cycle, *St Jerome in his study, removing the lion's thorn*, Delft, ca. 1415-1420, New York, Morgan Library, Ms M.866, f. 144v.

Fig. 50: Jan van Eyck or follower, *St Jerome in his study*, Flanders, ca. 1435, oil on linen paper on oak panel, 20.6 x 13.3 cm., Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts, cat. nr. 25.4.
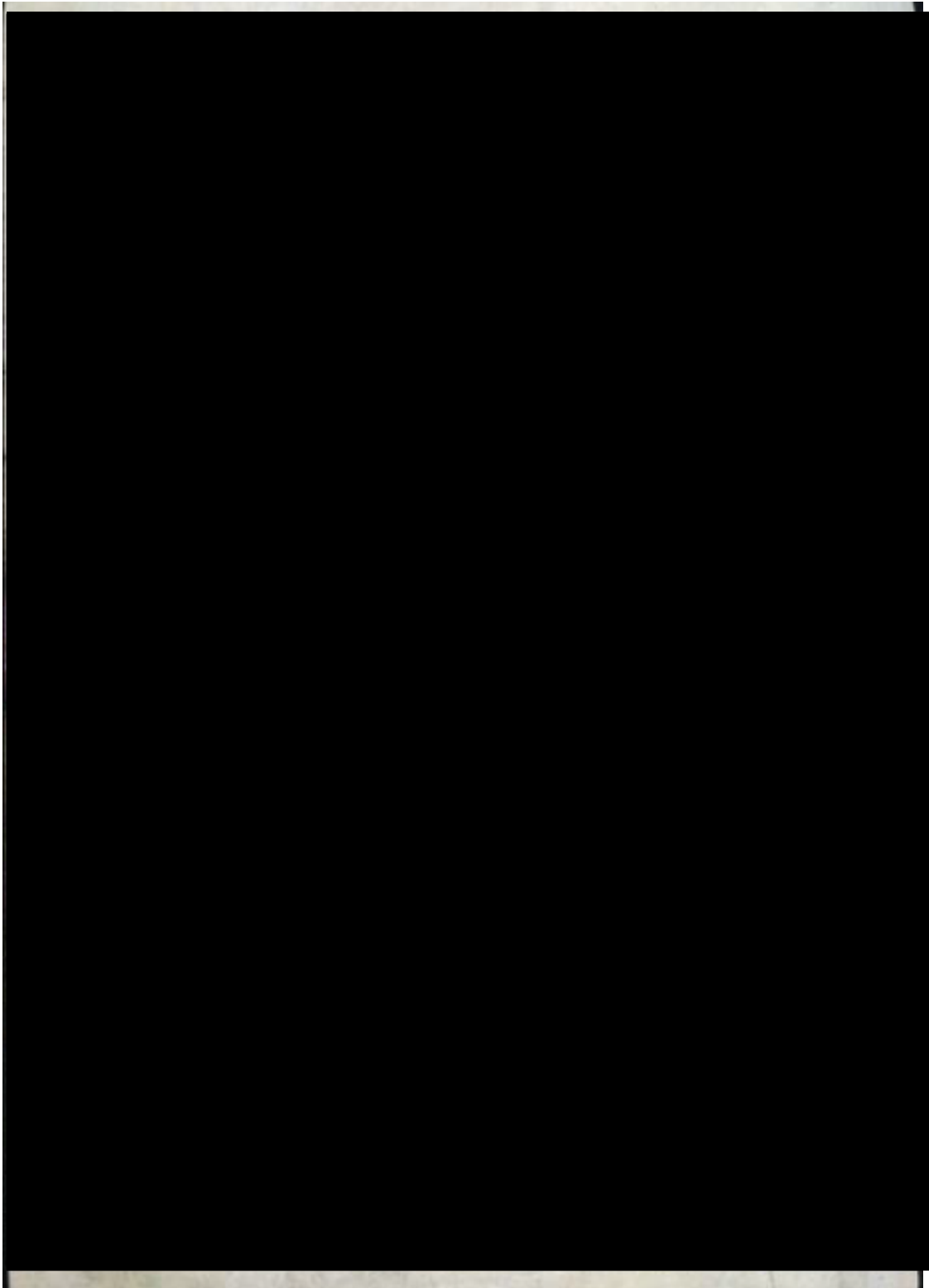
Fig. 51: *St Jerome in his Study*, Bruges, ca. 1460, Rio de Janeiro, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms 50.1.001, f. 186v.

IV. Protection, Practice, and Remembrance in Ms. 74 G 35

'Books of Hours reflect at the same time lay religious piety and the pride, or possibly conspicuous acquisitiveness, of ownership'.[247] Previous chapters strongly revolved around this reflection of lay religious piety in Ms. 74 G 35, thus around its (added) prayers and (indulgenced) miniatures. However, as indicated by Wieck's quote, pride of ownership also played a major role in its contents. This chapter further explores the additions made by the manuscript's owners, which were added not only for strictly devotional, but also for practical and other reasons. First, the now-lost pilgrim badges, commemorative as well as devotional tools, will be examined. A more practical use of the manuscript will be discussed secondly in the paragraphs concerning astronomical and astrological figures and notes in the calendar. Finally, devotion returns in the form of two Marian prayers, the *Ave Maria Sanctissima* and the *Ave Maria*. These prayer precede the family record on the manuscript's last folios.

The previous chapter explored the role of Philips van Matenesse in the addition of prayers and images. The mention of pope Sixtus IV and different types of decoration enabled an approximate dating of these additions. This chapter, however, deals with additions that are either lost or undecorated. Thus, in this case, dating will prove to be more difficult. Nevertheless, this chapter will examine the possible influences of members of the Van Matenesse and Van Duvenvoorde families. After all, there is no question that at least certain members of these families compiled and used the manuscript according to their own preferences and needs.

4.1. Pilgrim badges in Ms. 74 G 35

Faint traces on folios Vv and 13v reveal that once, Ms. 74 G 35 contained more than parchment texts and images. At least sixteen pilgrim badges were sewn onto these folios, most of them circular in shape. As their imprints are very light, they might not long have been part of the manuscript. But why where they added in the first place? The following paragraphs examine pilgrimage in medieval society, the fifteenth-century phenomenon of storing pilgrim badges in manuscripts, and the now lost badges in Ms. 74 G 35.

4.1.1. Pilgrimage in the late Middle Ages

Biblical places, places where saints lived or were buried, places where miracles occurred: these were the places where devotees could come into close contact with God. Early Christians already travelled to Jerusalem in imitation of Christ's life, passion and

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[247] Wieck 1988 (note 2), p. 34.

death. Devotees worshipped the places where Christ's feet once stood.[248] As Christ's death on the cross enabled salvation, Christian life basically was a pilgrimage towards heaven. Or, as Van Herwaarden explains: 'Life on earth represented a *peregrinatio*, a journey in which people travelled towards their true destination which was reunion with God'.[249] Notwithstanding Christ's sacrifice, it was believed that the smallest of sins would send one straight into purgatory. For that reason, devotional practices such as praying, giving alms, and pilgrimaging were necessary in order to reduce the sentence in purgatory, either for oneself or a deceased loved one. Ultimately, the earthly Jerusalem represented the heavenly city, the much-desired final destination.[250]

In Europe, the lack of sites where Christ had physically been present was compensated by the presence of numerous relics and other miraculous objects. In the west, the most important place of pilgrimage was Rome, where the apostles Peter and Paul were buried, and where important relics such as the Vera Icon were kept.[251] During the course of the Middle Ages, Rome came to represent the earthly Jerusalem, thus indirectly the heavenly Jerusalem as well.[252] Another great centre of pilgrimage was, and still is, Santiago de Compostela, where according to the legend the remains of St James the Great are buried.[253] Furthermore, there were plenty of pilgrimage sites dedicated to the remains of local or regional saints, or to other miracle-working objects. In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the number of small, local sites steadily increased.[254]

The popularity of such pilgrimage sites largely depended on the presence and status of miraculous objects. These objects could be primary relics, such as bones or teeth of saints, secondary relics that physically contacted or belonged to the saint, or tertiary relics that had merely touched primary or secondary relics.[255] As relics were thought to possess intercessory, protective, and curing abilities, the churches or monasteries that owned important relics attracted numerous pilgrims. However, pilgrim sites did not only emerge in places where the remains of saints were present.

Apart from relics, other objects could be considered to be miracle workers as well. In the late Middle Ages, the growing popularity of Marian devotion saw an increase of miraculous statues of the Virgin.[256] These statues were no primary, secondary or tertiary relics. Nevertheless, they were credited with supernatural powers. In Delft, a

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[248] Thus formulated by Paulinus of Nola (ca. 354-431): '*[…] introivimus in tabernacula eius et adoravimus ubi steterunt pedes eius*', and translated in English: '[…] We have entered his (Christ's) tabernacle and have worshipped the places where his feet stood'. G. de Hartel (ed.), *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. Paulinus of Nola, epistulae* 29 (1894), p. 402. Accessible online via Early Medieval Monasticism <http://earlymedievalmonasticism.org/Corpus-Scriptorum-Ecclesiasticorum-Latinorum.html> (10-04-2018).

[249] J. van Herwaarden, *Between Saint James and Erasmus. Studies in Late-Medieval Religious Life: Devotion and Pilgrimage in The Netherlands* (2003), p. 125.

[250] D.J. Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome in the Middle Ages. Continuity and Change* (1998), p. 2.

[251] Asperen 2009 (note 156), p. 56.

[252] Birch 1998 (note 250), p. 199.

[253] D. Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage* (2002), pp. 12-13.

[254] Asperen 2009 (note 156), p. 61.

[255] J.M.H. Smith, 'Portable Christianity: Relics in the medieval West (c. 700-1200)', in: R. Johnston (ed.), *Proceedings of the British Academy. Vol. 181: 2010-2011 lectures* (2012), pp. 149-151.

[256] Asperen 2009 (note 156), p. 58.

sedes sapientiae statue known as Mary of Jesse healed the blind Machteld from The Hague.[257] This miracle, which occurred in 1327, increased the number of pilgrims that travelled to Delft. Each year on the Sunday following the feast of St Odulphus, Mary of Jesse was carried through the streets. In 1398, pope Boniface IX even granted an indulgence of two years and eighty days to devotees who participated in this *ommeganck*.[258]

Apart from a supernatural Marian statue, Delft also was the proud owner of a miraculous crucifix, which was said to grow real, human hair. This holy cross 'mitten hair' supposedly worked sixty-two miracles in the period between 1412 and 1572.[259] Most miracles revolved around curing fever and other diseases. The Delft holy cross was also carried through the city during the Mary of Jesse procession, but attracted visitors all year round. Almost a quarter of the people that were healed by the crucifix lived more than a day's travel from Delft. Nevertheless, miraculous statues and relics were not reserved for Delft. For instance, the church of St Jacob in The Hague might have possessed a piece of wood from the cross, Leiden owned a petrified loaf, and the Haarlem Carmelite convent housed another miraculous statue of the Virgin Mary.[260]

The curing abilities of amongst others statues, crosses, and relics provided devotees with a strong motif to depart on pilgrimage. Often, people travelled to a pilgrimage site in the hopes of returning home without disease or disability. In other cases, people pilgrimaged because they vowed to do so, for example in return for the safe delivery of a child, or the recovery of oneself or a loved one. If, after vowing, the devotee's wish was granted, he or she was obliged to deliver on his or her promises. Dispensation could be granted by the church, for instance when a pilgrim-to-be had fallen ill (again), was too old, or too preoccupied with services, childbirth or other.[261] Only the undelivered vows of pilgrimage to the most important sites, such as Rome, Compostela or Jerusalem, concerned the pope, and are therefore well documented. Much less is known of breaking vows of pilgrimage to regional or local sites.

In any case, vows made a pilgrimage obligatory, as did imposed penance. Religious and secular leaders could sent criminal offenders on a penitential pilgrimage.[262] The sentence could be imposed for crimes such as poaching, moral offenses, and even murder. As pilgrimage redeemed sins, penitence was a strong motif for voluntary travels as well. In the later Middle Ages, redemption through pilgrimage itself was added with an increasing number of indulgences to be gained at sites. Not only could pilgrims earn indulgences along the way, they could also choose to stay comfortably at home and buy a pilgrimage, so to speak, through payment of indulgences. At some point, almost all pilgrimage sites greatly depended on indulgences, not only

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[257] A. van Peer, *Maria van Jesse: historische schets van 'Delffs ommeganck'* (1954), p.13; G. Verhoeven, *Devotie en negotie. Delft als bedevaartplaats in de late middeleeuwen* (dissertation 1992), p. 39.

[258] The Delft *ommeganck* was frequently visited by members of the elite, such as the wife of Albrecht van Holland, Margaretha. See: Verhoeven 1992 (note 257), p. 40.

[259] Ibid., p. 57.

[260] Meertens Instituut, Nederlandse Bedevaartbank <http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/bedevaart> (12-04-2018).

[261] Webb 2002 (note 253), p. 57.

[262] J. Sumption, *Pilgrimage. An Image of Mediaeval Religion* (1975), p. 99; Webb 2002 (note 253), p. 50.

financially, but also for a steady stream of visitors.[263] For example, the two-year-and-eighty-days indulgence that could be earned during the Mary of Jesse procession would have been an extra motif for a pilgrimage to Delft.

Thus, miracles, vows, redemption and salvation were all strong motives to set out on a pilgrimage. Devotion, or an urge to come in personal contact with God, played a role as well. Still, contact with God or the saints was not reserved for pilgrims alone, nor were miracles and salvation. People who were not able to travel could devote themselves to a mental pilgrimage. Nuns or monks, enclosed in their monasteries, or others that were bound to their hometowns could 'pilgrimage' to Rome or Jerusalem by imitating the journey at home.[264] Prayer and contemplation were the most important elements of spiritual pilgrimage, as much as they were important aspects of Christian life and devotion in general. Praying to an image of the Vera Icon, for example, imitated prayer to the actual relic in Rome and granted years' indulgences as well.[265]

For people who did pilgrimage physically, devotional objects such as Veronicas were available as pilgrimage 'souvenirs'. In many pilgrimage sites, such 'souvenirs' were sold in large numbers, frequently causing disputes over the rights in the trade.[266] Pilgrim badges in particular were extremely popular. These badges were usually made of (silver- or gold-plated) tin, lead, or copper, and depicted all kinds of devotional images. Probably the best known symbol of pilgrimage today is the scallop shell, which was already worn as a badge by medieval pilgrims. Attached to clothing or hats, badges indicated the traveller as a pilgrim.[267] Once home, the pilgrim could hold on to his badges, as reminders or devotional tools, or gift them to family and friends. Most pilgrim badges that have been found during archaeological excavations in the Low Countries were lost or disposed in harbour towns and trading centres, which clarifies the notion that not all badges were brought back by individual pilgrims.[268] Rather, there must have been a lively trade in religious badges, which in turn suggests that not everyone who owned pilgrim 'souvenirs' travelled to pilgrim sites themselves.

4.1.2. Pilgrim badges in manuscripts

A great number of pilgrim badges unearthed during archaeological excavations has been found in cesspits and river mud.[269] Whether they were thrown away or lost is unclear, and their sites reveal little of their actual use. Some pilgrim badges, however, are

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[263] Sumption 1975 (note 262), p. 291.
[264] Koldeweij 2000 (note 197), p. 223.
[265] Ibid., pp. 241-242.
[266] Webb 2002 (note 253), p. 35.
[267] These badges made travellers recognisable as pilgrims, which granted them some privileges such as free lodgings in monasteries. See: A.M. Koldeweij, 'Lifting the Veil on Pilgrim Badges', in: J. Stopford (ed.), *Pilgrimage Explored* (1999), p. 161.
[268] Herwaarden 2003 (note 249), p. 176.
[269] Asperen 2009 (note 156), p. 73. Apart from religious badges, secular badges have been found in abundance as well. A large part of these secular badges depict erotic imagery. See: H.J.E. van Beuningen and A.M. Koldeweij (eds.), *Heilig en Profaan.* Vols. 1-3 (1993-2012).

preserved in one of their possible late-medieval contexts: devotional books. The practice of storing pilgrim badges in manuscripts started around 1450, when the punching technique emerged in the production of metal pilgrimage 'souvenirs'. This technique resulted in very thin and lightweight badges that could easily be attached to parchment pages without damaging the material. Most punched badges were pasted or sewn onto blank folios, but they, or their traces, can also be found on the margins of written pages or even on the borders of full-page miniatures.

Van Asperen's extensive study demonstrates that punched pilgrim badges were principally sewn or pasted in devotional manuscripts by French, Burgundian and North-Netherlandish book owners.[270] A well-known example of manuscript-badge storage is the D'Oiselet Hours (The Hague, KB, Ms. 77 L 60). This Book of Hours still includes a collection of twenty-three silver and gold-plated pilgrim badges that were probably collected by Claude de la Chambre (fig. 52).[271] He may have travelled to local pilgrim sites himself, where he may, amongst others, have collected badges depicting the name saints of his children Antoine and Katherine. Claude's still existing collection is exceptional, as most pilgrim badges that were once sewn onto parchment have been removed due to changes in ownership and religious environment.[272] Nevertheless, in its own time, the D'Oiselet Hours was not unique. Decorated borders depicting painted pilgrim badges demonstrate that storing badges in manuscripts was a relatively common practice in the second half of the fifteenth century (fig. 38).[273]

Book owners did not solely store pilgrim badges in their valuable manuscripts because they liked the images. If the badges were acquired through pilgrimage, they represented the completed journey, and acted as a reminder of the hardships endured on the road. In some cases, badges were attached to texts and images revolving around pilgrimage, thus symbolising the fictional travels.[274] Hence, badges could also function as a visual aid. Some manuscript owners attached specific badges to the margins of devotional texts, for instance a saint's badge to that saint's suffrage, or a Marian badge to the Hours of the Virgin. The visual aspect supported the owner's devotional practices, as well as it emphasised the text's importance. Furthermore, badges could function as text markers, basically in the same manner as a modern bookmark.[275]

Despite these rather worldly functionalities, pilgrim badges were not merely visually appealing or practical items. On the contrary, pilgrim badges, especially those

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[270] Asperen 2009 (note 156), pp. 108-110.

[271] As-Vijvers and Korteweg 2018 (note 211), pp. 304-305; H. van Asperen, 'Gebed, geboorte en bedevaart. Genealogie en pelgrimstekens in het getijdenboek D'Oiselet (Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms 77 L 60)', in: *Desipientia, zin & waan* 11:2 (2004), p. 39.

[272] Asperen 2009 (note 156), p. 98.

[273] Painted pilgrim badges mostly occur in South-Netherlandish manuscripts. See: A.M. Koldeweij, 'In middeleeuwse handschriften geschilderde pelgrimstekens: een voorbeeld uit de Noordelijke Nederlanden', in: *Millennium* 6:1 (1992), pp. 100-101.

[274] Ibid., p. 141; A.M. Koldeweij, 'Een vrome verzameling van een welgestelde reiziger: een Vlaams getijdenboek met 23 genaaide zilveren pelgrimstekens', in: P. Bange (ed.), *Geloof, moraal en intellect in de Middeleeuwen (voordrachten gehouden tijdens het symposium t.g.v. het tienjarig bestaan van het Nijmeegs Centrum voor Middeleeuwse Studies, 10 en 11 december 1993)* (1995), p. 25.

[275] Asperen 2009 (note 156), p. 126, p. 128.

kept in manuscripts, were considered to be devotional objects with relic-like qualities.[276] Not only did they represent the saint they depicted, they also carried some of the saint's sacredness. Badges that had actually touched relics or a miraculous statue became relics themselves, harbouring the saint's protective, intercessory and curing abilities. As a result, these badges were cherished as talismans, and saved in an appropriate context, for instance in a Book of Hours. Or, as Van Asperen explains, 'both Books of Hours and pilgrim badges are material expressions of devotion […] both objects reflect the functions of prayer and (spiritual) pilgrimage'.[277]

4.1.3. Pilgrim badges in Ms. 74 G 35

In Ms. 74 G 35, several pilgrim badges were attached to folios Vv and 13v. They were removed at some point, leaving only faint imprints and sewing holes (fig. 53). The imprints reveal that at least ten badges were sewn onto folio Vv. Most of these badges were round, the most common shape of badges stored in manuscripts.[278] At least six round badges were sewn onto folio 13v. As the imprints on both folios are faint, it is probable that they were removed after a relatively short period of time, perhaps because they did not fit a later owner's personal or religious preferences.

Unfortunately, the very faint traces make it almost impossible to reconstruct the manuscript's lost badges. Viewing the folios under ultra-violet light did not produce any solid clues, nor did editing photographs of the pages in an image editing programme (figs. 54-55). According to Van Asperen, it is often impossible to identify pilgrim badges in manuscripts on the basis of imprints alone, especially when these imprints are as faint as those in Ms. 74 G 35.[279] Reconstruction of lost badges is even more difficult for the reason that the punched, lightweight badges that were kept in manuscripts are hardly ever found during archaeological excavations. Thus, the lack of original references complicates the identification of lost badges on the basis of their imprints.

In Ms. 74 G 35, only the shapes of the lost badges can be determined with certainty. As mentioned, most of these badges were round, apart from one badge that was attached to folio Vv. This badge was rectangular in shape, with a rounded top (fig. 56). This shape and the badge's dimensions are most often found in pilgrim 'souvenirs' from Geraardsbergen in modern-day Belgium. The faint imprints appear to match a badge in the Van Beuningen collection (fig. 57). This badge depicts St Adrian (4th century), the soldier-saint of Nicomedia. According to the legend, Adrian, the commander of the guard, converted to Christianity after seeing the strength and faith of Christian martyrs. Not long after, he was martyred himself. His legs were crushed on an

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[276] A.M. Koldeweij and M. de Kroon, 'Vereeuwigd in tin en lood. Ontstaanswonderen op pelgrimstekens', in: C. Caspers, P. Nissen and P. Raedts, *Heiligen en hun wonderen. Uit de marge van ons erfgoed, van de late middeleeuwen tot heden* (2007), p. 13.
[277] Asperen 2009 (note 156), p. 71.
[278] E-mail contact with Hanneke van Asperen (17-04-2018).
[279] Ibid. (17-04-2018).

anvil, and his head was struck of by a sword.[280] Therefore, sword, hammer and anvil are Adrian's regular attributes.[281]

In 1175, the Benedictine Abbey of Geraardsbergen came to possess St Adrian's relics. His remains were transferred to a new shrine in 1423, an event that appears to have increased the popularity of Geraardsbergen as a pilgrimage site. Furthermore, badges dating after 1425 depict St Adrian in armour, promoting a new iconography that found its way to other media as well, as is exemplified by the opening miniature of *The Legend of St Adrian* (figs. 58-59).[282] This manuscript was ordered between 1461 and 1483 by king Louis XI of France and his wife queen Charlotte of Savoy. They are both depicted kneeling in front of St Adrian's shrine.

Apart from the kings and queens of France and the dukes of Burgundy, the relics of St Adrian were visited and worshipped by members of the higher and lower social classes.[283] Nobleman Claude de la Chambre, one of the owners of the D'Oiselet Hours, probably paid a visit to Adrian's remains as well. One of the silver badges in the manuscript originates in Geraardsbergen. The high number of surviving Adrian badges suggests that Geraardsbergen was an extremely popular pilgrimage site. Whoever visited the site could benefit from Adrian's protective powers against the plague. Furthermore, his knightly appearance would have especially made him an appealing saint to noblemen.

When considering the shape and dimensions of the imprint in Ms. 74 G 35, it is very well possible that it was caused by a Geraardsbergen badge.[284] This suspicion may be confirmed by an added note in the calendar, recording the feast day of St Adrian on the 8th of September.[285] When the badge was acquired and sewn onto the folio can hardly be reconstructed. Badges in general are difficult to date, even though the punched pilgrim 'souvenirs' were only produced from around 1450 onwards. The lost badge in Ms. 74 G 35 could therefore have been added by several persons. One plausible scenario is that the badge was collected by Philips van Matenesse, who could have visited Geraardsbergen on his way to Paris, or when he returned to Holland. According to Van Gouthoeven, Philips travelled to Rome when he was in his early forties. Geraardsbergen is not exactly on the route of Voorburg to Rome, but Philips may well have bought some of the other, now lost pilgrim badges during his travels. Naturally, it is possible that the pilgrim badges were collected by one or several other of the manuscript's owners.

The badges in Ms. 74 G 35 were sewn onto blank pages. Therefore, they were probably not meant to function as visual aids or text markers. Whoever attached the badges to the manuscript's folios presumably stored them because they reminded him of

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[280] De Voragine, Granger Ryan, and Duffy 2012 (note 173), pp. 546-550.

[281] M. de Kroon, 'Medieval Pilgrim Badges and their Iconographic Aspects', in: S. Blick and R. Tekippe (eds.), *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles* (2005), p. 398.

[282] The lion at Adrian's feet represents his courage. It is depicted on the Van Beuningen badge as well. See: Kroon 2005 (note 281), p. 398.

[283] Stichting middeleeuwse religieuze en profane insignes <http://www.medievalbadges.org/mb_toon_insigne_UK.php?insigne=24> (23-04-2018).

[284] Some caution is still preferable, for not all rectangular badges originated in Geraardsbergen.

[285] Clearly, one of the owners felt particularly drawn to St Adrian. His name was added in a brownish coloured ink, as opposed to the black ink of the original calendar queries.

a completed pilgrimage, and, above all, because they offered strength and protection. As well as the addition of prayers and miniatures, the addition of pilgrim badges clarifies that this Book of Hours was a personalised devotional tool, containing the personal preferences of its owners. The later removal of the badges demonstrates that the manuscript was not only augmented to fit a new owner's wishes, but that its contents were also reconsidered and even removed as it was passed down to new generations. The diversity in personal and devotional preferences obstructs a uniform description of the badges' use. Nevertheless, Van Asperen explains that 'badges always correspond to the principal function of Books of Hours, which was to aid the owners during their life on earth and in heaven'.[286]

4.2. Astronomical features in Ms. 74 G 35

Apart from providing spiritual exercises, the Book of Hours could serve rather practical purposes as well. Ms. 74 G 35 opens with some features that could be described as 'astronomical'. One of its owners inserted a two-bifolium quire containing circular figures or diagrams and a table. Furthermore, the same owner may have added several notes in the calendar. Both the figures and the notes relate to astronomy and astrology, and may at first appear to be out of place in a devotional manuscript. However, without knowledge of the positions of the planets, it would have been impossible to work with the concept of time. Saint's feast days and moveable feasts such as Easter were determined on the basis of astronomical calculations. The following paragraphs discuss and examine the discipline that calculates the dates of such feasts, known as computus, the astronomical or astrological lunar table, and the added notes in the calendar.

4.2.1. Computus: a concise overview

In previous paragraphs and chapters, several Christian feast days, such as name days of saints, have been referred to. Most of these festivities were celebrated on fixed dates, but the most important feast of all, Easter, was and is dependent on changeable, astronomical elements. Ever since the First Council of Nicaea in 325, Easter is celebrated on the first Sunday that follows the first full moon that follows the spring equinox. The latter was fixed on the 21st of March during the same council. In order to calculate the Easter date, the solar year (spring equinox) and lunar month (paschal full moon) had to be taken into consideration.[287] According to the Julian calendar, which was common in western Europe until 1582, Easter could fall on Sundays in the period of 22 March until

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[286] Asperen 2009 (note 156), p. 152.

[287] H. Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung des Deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (1892), p. 144. Available online via: Internet Archive <https://archive.org/stream/H.GrotefendZeitrechnungDesDeutschenMittelaltersUndDerNeuzeit/grotefendzeit rechnung#page/n153/mode/2up/search/Oster>.

25 April. The mathematical calculation required to determine the date of Easter in a given year is known as computus.[288]

As a discipline, computus was strongly indebted to astronomy, as computists worked with the positions of sun and moon. In Antiquity, it was concluded – wrongly, as would become clear in later centuries – that solar years and lunar months were connected through a nineteen-year cycle, which was later applied to the Julian calendar.[289] It was thought that nineteen solar years were exactly equal to 235 lunar months; when a nineteen-year cycle was complete, full moon would again fall on exactly the same date as in the previous first year of the cycle. Thus, if in the first nineteen-year cycle a full moon would occur on, for example, 25 March, it would again occur on 25 March in the second nineteen-year cycle. In reality, the nineteen-year solar cycle was around one-and-a-half hours longer than the lunar cycle. This may not appear to be a substantial amount of time, but after around 200 years the difference would mount up to one and a half day.[290]

In the early Middle Ages, the difference between the solar and lunar cycles was not yet that significant, but as time passed, it was noticed that the liturgical calendar did no longer coincide with the astronomical calendar. For one, the monk and scholar Bede (672/73-735) discussed the necessity of leap years.[291] His works on computus would form the foundation on which many later scholars would build their own ideas on the discipline. One of these later scholars was Johannes de Sacrobosco (ca. 1195-1256), the author of *De Anni Ratione*.[292] In his work, Sacrobosco also concludes that the Julian calendar no longer coincided with the astronomical reality. He proposed a leap year every 288 years, but did not comment on the consequently erroneous calculation of the Easter date. Critique on the Easter dates, and thus on the Church Fathers, was outed later in the thirteenth century by Campanus of Novara (ca. 1220-1296). He disputed the long-used nineteen-year cycle, instead promoting a thirty-year cycle on the basis of Arabic calculations.[293]

Campanus' contemporary Robert Grosseteste (ca. 1175-1253), who promoted similar ideas, greatly influenced monk and scholar Roger Bacon (ca. 1210/15-1292/94). Bacon was the first to publicly announce the astronomical and mathematical mistakes made during the First Council of Nicaea, and to critique the church of his own day for not adjusting the liturgical calendar. His critical attitude saw him imprisoned, and his proposal for a calendrical reform was dismissed. More than a hundred years later, persistent critiques on the erroneous Easter date calculation led to a decree by antipope John XXIII (r. 1410-1415) which ordered an adjustment of the liturgical calendar: the

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[288] 'Computus' is derived from the Latin verb 'computare', to calculate.

[289] This nineteen-year cycle is known as the Metonic cycle. See: M. Gumbert-Hepp, *Computus Magistri Jacobi. Een schoolbook voor tijdrekenkunde uit 1436* (1987), p. 14; C. Philipp and E. Nothaft, *Dating the Passion. The Life of Jesus and the Emergence of Scientific Chronology (200-1600)* (2012), p. 58.

[290] Gumbert-Hepp 1987 (note 289), p. 14.

[291] S.C. McCluskey, *Astronomies and Cultures in Early Medieval Europe* (1998), p. 95.

[292] Another influential work of Sacrobosco is *De Sphaera*, on the celestial spheres – or planets. See: McCluskey 1998 (note 291), p. 195.

[293] Gumbert-Hepp 1987 (note 289), p. 17.

spring equinox would no longer be fixed to 21 March, but would be set on the astronomically correct date of the year 1412, 12 March.[294] Although he decree was never issued, it does demonstrate the general awareness of faults in the Julian calendar, not only amongst scholars, but also amongst the most influential members of the church.

During the course of the fifteenth century, this awareness for one led to the composition of a new type of calendar, in which both the liturgical *terminus paschalis* (21 March) and the astronomical *aequinoctium vernum* (12 March) were recorded.[295] An actual calendrical reform was issued by pope Gregory XIII (r. 1572-1585) in 1582. The change from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar meant that ten entire days were skipped in order to align the liturgical calendar with the astronomical reality. Thus, Thursday 4 October was followed by Friday 15 October. The Gregorian calendar was not adopted throughout Europe immediately. The county of Holland did imply the Gregorian calendar – 14 December 1582 was followed by 25 December 1582 – but some other parts of the Low Countries only changed their calendars around 1700.[296] As will be clarified in the following paragraphs, the calendar in Ms. 74 G 35 and its added notes were created before pope Gregory's calendrical reform. But first, the nature and possible functions of the added astronomical table will be examined.

4.2.2. An astronomical and astrological table: determining the lunar positions

The calendar in Ms. 74 G 35 is preceded by an astronomical or astrological table on folio IIv (fig. 60). The table is written in black and red, and consists of nineteen columns and twenty-eight rows. The top row includes the Golden Numbers (aureus numerus), numbers that indicate the sequence number of a year in the nineteen-year cycle or Metonic cycle.[297] The column on the left has the signs of the zodiac, starting with Aries (vernal equinox) and ending with Pisces. As the red lines behind the zodiac signs demonstrate, every sign applies to at least two rows of letters, which are known as *litterae signorum*.[298] In order for it to be perfectly clear how many rows belong to each sign, roman numerals were written in between the lines. For example, Aries (II) goes with the first two rows, whereas Cancer (III) applies to the seventh, eighth, and ninth rows.

This table with Golden Numbers and zodiac signs is one of many tables principally found in liturgical, devotional, astronomical and medical manuscripts. As

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[294] Ibid., p. 21.

[295] The calendar with a clear distinction between liturgical and astronomical use was produced by scholar and priest Johannes de Gamundia (ca. 1380-1442). He also included lunar tables and other features. See: Gumbert-Hepp 1987 (note 289), p. 23.

[296] Grotefend 1892 (note 259), p. 133; A. Ziggelaar, 'The Papal Bull of 1582 Promulgating a Reform of the Calendar', in: G.V. Coyne, M.A. Hoskin, and O. Pedersen (eds.), *Gregorian Reform of the Calendar* (1983), pp. 201-239.

[297] The Golden Number of a given year (Julian calendar) is calculated thus: divide given year by 19 (1500/19 = 78.95), multiply the number *before* the decimal point by 19 (78*19 = 1482), subtract this number from the given year (1500-1482 = 18), add 1 (18+1 = 19). The Golden Number of 1500 is 19.

[298] E-mailcontact with Marco Mostert and Richard Mostert (02-05-2018).

calculating the Easter date required thorough knowledge of the positions of the planets, such tables provided an aid for dealing with complicated matter.[299] Astronomical tables come in different shapes and sizes, varying from complete Easter tables to tables that provide the positions of the sun, moon, and other planets. However, the table in Ms. 74 G 35 does not provide its user with the Easter date in a given year. Rather, it offers a tool to determine the position of the moon in relation to the signs of the zodiac. In other words, the *litterae signorum* indicate the position of the moon in the zodiac in a particular year, which can be found through the Golden Numbers.[300]

A similar lunar table is included in a French astronomical manuscript of circa 1400 (fig. 61, Les Enluminures, TM 240).[301] This manuscript includes several tables and diagrams, principally for calculating the date of Easter in the period 1400-1440. Apart from the table that determines the position of the moon, it contains diagrams for the calculation of moveable feasts. Similar diagrams may have originally been planned for Ms. 74 G 35 as well. On folio IIr, two circular features are drawn. They have not been completed, otherwise they would have included numbers, letters, or drawings of the planets or signs of the zodiac. It is not clear why they were not completed. Unfortunately, in their current unfinished state they do not reveal anything on what they were supposed to look like or how they were supposed to be used.

A second similar lunar table is included in a North-Netherlandish Book of Hours of circa 1500 (fig. 62, New York, Morgan Library, Ms. G.5). It is simply described as a 'table of Golden Numbers', without further reference to its function. The table in Ms. G.5 has an additional description of the signs of the zodiac. This description may have been present in Ms. 74 G 35 as well, for the folio appears to have been cut at the sides.[302] In the Ms. G.5 table, the signs of the zodiac are categorised in three groups, 'bonum', 'malum', and 'indifferens'. These categories indicate which periods were either good, bad, or 'neutral' for phlebotomy.[303] Phlebotomy or bloodletting was a common practice and, as this example demonstrates, its theory was not only found in medical treatises.[304] The manuscript's patron and earliest owners are unknown, but the Hours of the Virgin are compiled for the use of Windesheim.[305] Hence, the owner may have been part of the clergy.

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[299] J. Chabás and B.R. Goldstein (eds.), *The Astronomical Tables of Giovanni Bianchini* (2009), p. 2, p. 4.

[300] Unfortunately, I could not retrieve how the table functions exactly, because the meaning of the *litterae signorum* is not quite clear to me.

[301] Despite several attempts to contact Les Enluminures, I was not able to retrieve the exact date of the sale in which TM 240 was included. The manuscript's description is accessible via <http://www.textmanuscripts.com/tm-assets/tm-descriptions/tm0240-description.pdf>.

[302] The lower diagram on folio IIr has clearly been cut at the bottom. The folio may have been cut at the sides as well.

[303] J.W. Clark, *The Observances in Use at the Augustinian Priory of S. Giles and S. Andrew at Barnwell, Cambridgeshire* (1897), p. 70.

[304] L.R. Mooney, 'Diet and Bloodletting: A Monthly Regimen', in: L.M. Matheson (ed.), *Popular and Practical Science of Medieval England* (1994), pp. 245-246; E. Huizinga, *Tussen autoriteit en empirie. De Middelnederlandse chirurgieën in de veertiende en vijftiende eeuw en hun maatschappelijke context* (2003), p. 202.

[305] The Morgan Library <http://corsair.themorgan.org/msdescr/BBG0005a.pdf> (27-05-2018).

Ms. BPH 139 (Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague) holds a third example of a similar lunar table. Unfortunately, there again is no explanation given to the use of the table. The Book of Hours, created in Holland around 1470-1480, includes a number of astrological tables and figures, some of which are further explained. They include, amongst others, a table that indicates when it is the right time to perform certain activities[306], a circular feature that lists the influence of the planets on the days of the week, a table of metals corresponding to the days of the week, and a circular feature that enables to predict whether a sick person will live or die. Again, these features revolve around the influence of the planets and stars on (daily) life on earth, including healthiness and illness. Unfortunately, it is not clear by whom the manuscript was ordered or owned, thus it cannot be clarified in which environment the diagrams and tables were used.

This is different for Ms. BPH 145 (Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague), a Book of Hours created in Holland for a Delft patron. It includes several astrological features, amongst which are diagrams for finding the dominical letters and Golden Numbers, a table for determining the influence of the zodiac signs on the days of the week, and a table for determining the position of the moon in the zodiac. The latter table is similar to the one in Ms. 74 G 35 and, given the other tables and figures, did not solely serve religious purposes. Yet, the manuscript was in the possession of *suster* Emylia Veijnen shortly after it was created.[307] This indicates that astrological diagrams and tables were not only, as one would perhaps expect, used by lay people, but that they existed and were used in a religious environment as well. This hypothesis will be further explored in the light of Philips' religious career in the following paragraphs.

The examples of the tables in Mss. G.5, BPH 139 and BPH 145 demonstrate that the lunar table in Ms. 74 G 35 most likely did not serve a computus function. Instead, it appears to be closely linked to medicine, in particular to phlebotomy. Yet, it has to be remarked that the table may have served more than one function. According to the computus text book of Magister Jacobus (1436), the position of the moon and the lunar cycle are used to find the dates of moveable feasts, such as Easter and Pentecost, and further to establish the period between Christmas and Quadragesima (Lent).[308] Hence, the table in Ms. 74 G 35 may have had several uses. Was it added as a medical aid, a computus tool, or both? This question will probably remain unanswered, even more so because the table could have fulfilled different functions for different owners.

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[306] This table has a list of activities that corresponds to a list of zodiac signs. For each activity, it is indicated when it was the right time to perform them. The activities include *te striden*, *testament te maken*, *kinderen te spenen*, *disputieren*, *tot heeren gaan*, *grote heren sien*, *perden doen tellen*, *beesten voeder geven*, *ter molen te gaen*, *copen ende vercopen*, and many more.

[307] The manuscript is dated 1475-1500: the ownership inscription by Emylia (f. 2r) is dated to the 15th century.

[308] The text book was written in the Diocese of Utrecht by a certain Jacobus van Kampen for his students, probably students that aspired a clerical career. See: Gumbert-Hepp 1987 (note 289), p. 59.

4.2.3. Notes in the calendar: the movements of sun and moon

The calendar in Ms. 74 G 35 is decorated with the same Delft coloured style as the rest of the initial manuscript. Thus, in its original form, it must at least have come into existence in the 1440s-1450s.[309] As discussed in previous chapters, the calendar was made for the use of the Diocese of Utrecht. Apart from the typical Utrecht saints, no local saints have been included. The calendar is quite standard: each month is indicated in red, followed by the number of solar and lunar days (fig. 63). The enlarged 'KL' at the beginning of each month stands for 'Kalends', the first day of the month.[310] The first column contains the Golden Numbers, the second column includes the Dominical Letters.[311] These letters indicate the days of the week, starting with Sunday (A). Together, both columns could be used to determine the Sunday before Easter.[312] So far, the calendar in Ms. 74 G 35 is what one would expect of a medieval calendar. However, one of the manuscript's owners has added several notes concerning the planets and the zodiac, the *dies caniculares*, and the Easter date.[313]

Throughout the year, the owner has recorded astronomical events. He started in February by noting the position of the sun in the zodiac. On the 15th of February, the sun entered Pisces (*sol in pisces*), then moved on to Aries (*sol in Ariete*) on the 18th of March, to Taurus (*sol in tauro*) on the 17th of April, and so on (Appendix IV).[314] Furthermore, he made notes on the beginning of spring (*ver oritur*), summer (*estas oritur*), autumn (*autumpnus oritur*), and winter (*hyemale oritur*).[315] In July, the words *dies caniculares* refer to the hottest period of the year, when the Dog Star Sirius rises simultaneously with the sun.[316] These notes result from the astrological belief that planets and stars influenced life on earth. For example, when the sun entered a particular sign of the zodiac, this sign would have the strongest influence on earth.[317] This influence resonated in daily life, as it was believed that certain activities could best be, or best not be, practiced when the sun (or moon) was in a particular sign.[318] The influence of the stars on earth was felt as well. The simultaneous rise of Sirius and the sun was thought to

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[309] There is no evidence that the calendar had already been in use in an earlier manuscript, it appears to have been made specifically for Ms. 74 G 35.

[310] A. Cappelli, *Dizionario di Abbreviature Latini ed Itialiani* (1912), 'KA', accessed online via <http://www.hist.msu.ru/Departments/Medieval/Cappelli/>.

[311] A. Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (1982), p. 277; Wieck 1988 (note 2), p. 45.

[312] Furthermore, the column containing the Golden Numbers indicates the occurrence of the new moon.

[313] It is not quite clear whether the owner wrote the notes himself, or if he had them written by someone else. Notwithstanding, he himself must have taken the initiative to add extra information to the calendar.

[314] Similar references to the position of the sun in the signs of the zodiac have been included in the calendar of the previously discussed Ms. BPH 139. Other than the references in Ms. 74 G 35, they appear to be original.

[315] According to Magister Jacobus, the four seasons start and end as follows: Spring begins at cathedra Petri (22 February) and ends at Urban (25 May); Summer begins at Urban and ends at Symphorian (22 August); Autumn begins at Symphorian and ends at Clement (23 November); Winter begins at Clement and ends at cathedra Petri. See: Gumbert-Hepp 1987 (note 289), p. 109.

[316] Ibid., p. 117. Sirius is part of the constellation Canis Major, therefore it is also known as the Dog Star.

[317] S. Page, *Astrology in Medieval Manuscripts* (2002), pp. 28-29; J. Chabás and B.R. Goldstein, *A Survey of European Astronomical Tables in the Late Middle Ages* (2012), p. 205.

[318] See: note 306.

directly cause the summer heat. During this period, which lasted from July until August or September, it was best not to use laxative medicines or to open the veins.[319]

Strongly related to the changing of the seasons are the solstices and equinoxes, most of which the owner of Ms. 74 G 35 has also recorded. In the calendar month June, '*solsticium*' is written in red on the feast day of St Barnabas (11 June). The winter solstice has been neatly recorded on the 12th of December. Apparently, the owner was not interested in the autumnal equinox, as there is no mention of the event in September. He did note '*equinoctium*' on the 12th of March, thus recording the vernal equinox that heralds Easter. However, the date differs from the liturgical date of the vernal equinox, the 21st of March. This suggests that the owner was familiar with the fifteenth-century calendars that recorded both the astronomical and the liturgical dates of the equinox, the paschal full moon, and Easter.[320] Clearly, these notes were made in a time when astronomical and liturgical time did not correspond, thus before the Gregorian calendar reform of 1582. The owner's awareness of the faults in the Julian calendar may have led him to create his own Easter 'calculator' with Golden Numbers.

At the bottom of the calendar month March, the owner wrote, or had written for him, the following line: '*Propriam legeram dominicalis post aureum numeri cum rubeo scriptum de signat diem pasche*' (fig. 64). This line explains that the Golden Numbers written in red indicate the paschal full moon, and that Easter falls on the following Sunday. Indeed, the Golden Numbers are included in the column that contains the feast days of the saints. The numbers were first written in brown ink, as is demonstrated by the numbers nineteen and eight on folio 4v (fig. 65). Apparently, they were highlighted in red at a later stage, at which point the last two numbers on the verso side were forgotten. This could indicate that the owner did not apply the rubrication himself, otherwise he would probably have noticed and rectified his mistake. Once the owner knew the Golden Number of his year, he could simply look up the date of the paschal full moon. Thus, the Golden Numbers in red allowed the owner to quickly and easily establish the Easter date (Appendix V).

An Easter table or 'calculator' fits in the context of a devotional manuscript, but especially the astrological notes appear to be somewhat out of place. Yet, this discipline, which was to some extent interchangeable with astronomy, was anything but alien to most medieval men and women. Especially in the later Middle Ages, astronomy and astrology were integrated in society. By the end of the fifteenth century, detailed (printed) calendars, astronomical tables, and 'guidebooks' made the practice of both disciplines easier and more accessible.[321] Although the disciplines and their practitioners did not remain without critique, they increasingly gained in popularity, up to the point that images of signs of the zodiac and references to astrological theory were

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[319] In Ms. 74 G 35, the *dies caniculares* end in September. Apart from bloodletting, purging was a common medical practice. Apparently, medieval men and women frequently suffered from constipation. See: P. Murray Jones, *Medieval Medicine in Illuminated Manuscripts* (1998[2]), p. 100.

[320] The first calendar of this type was produced by Johannes de Gamundia (ca. 1380-1442). See paragraph 4.2.1.

[321] H.M. Carey, 'Astrology in the Middle Ages', in: *History Compass* 8 (2010), p. 894.

included in devotional manuscripts such as Books of Hours.[322] A late fifteenth-century Middle Dutch poem (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. Germ. Quart. 557) illustrates this interaction between astronomy-astrology and theology. The author compares the rise of the sun in Capricorn (21 December) with the emergence of the light of Christ during Christmas. He concludes: '*Dit groetkijn uter astronomie, ghevoeghet mitter theologye, is u ghedicht van groeter mynnen*'.[323]

4.2.4. Astronomy, astrology, and the owner of Ms. 74 G 35

Still, astronomical and astrological knowledge would not have been available to everyone, in the first place because one had to be able to read in order to decipher tables and figures. Who could have been responsible for the additions of the lunar table and the notes in the calendar? It is possible that Philips, who had at least received a decent education at home and spent some years at the university in Paris, may have felt the need to make some adjustments to the calendar of Ms. 74 G 35. Calculating the Easter date principally was the task of the clergy.[324] If Philips was indeed, as Gouthoeven mentions, ordained as priest in the early 1490s, he may have needed the Easter 'calculator' to support his clerical studies and practices.

However, this explanation excludes the astrological notes and table which appear to be medical aids. Some clergymen had knowledge of medicine as well, especially of such common practices such as phlebotomy. The fact that the notes were recorded in Latin does suggest a certain degree of education. *Doctores medicinae* held academic degrees in medicine, which they obtained after years of study. *Doctores* mostly read and wrote in Latin, but often occupied themselves with much more complex matters than phlebotomy.[325] In the fifteenth century, bloodletting was principally executed by barber surgeons, who were not educated at university. Instead, barbers were mostly illiterate and learned their trade by practice. Thus, it is highly unlikely that a barber would have been able to decipher and use the table and Latin notes in Ms. 74 G 35.[326]

For the reason that the table and notes only refer to very basic medical practices it also seems illogical that they aided an academic *doctor medicinae*. He would have needed, and would have had access to more complex theoretical information. On the other hand, the Latin notes do indicate a well-educated user. How and for what reason Ms. 74 G 35's owner obtained his basic medical knowledge is hard to reconstruct. As mentioned, some (learned) clergymen would have had an idea of basic medical

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[322] Page 2002 (note 317), p. 45.

[323] A.M.J. van Buuren, ''Die scutter heeft dat licht den buc gegeven'. Astronomie en theologie', in: *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 88 (1995), p. 46, p. 49.

[324] Gumbert-Hepp 1987 (note 289), p. 24.

[325] The *doctores medicinae* principally wrote medical treatises and theories themselves, taught medicine at university, and performed complex surgeries. See: E. Huizinga, *Een nuttelike practijke van cirurgien. Geneeskunde en astrologie in het Middelnederlandse handschrift Wenen, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 2818* (1997), p. 234.

[326] Subsequently, it is even less likely that a barber would have been able to afford an illuminated manuscript. Ibid., p. 249.

practices. Especially in convents it would have been normal to have at least one inhabitant who would have known how and when to let blood or purge the body.[327] Could the well-educated Philips have used the table and notes in Ms. 74 G 35 in a religious environment?

Philips' role in the addition of the table and notes cannot be stated with certainty. It cannot be excluded that an owner from an earlier or later generation had a hand in the astronomical augmentation of the manuscript. At least, the examples given of Books of Hours including astrological or astronomical features and notes indicate that the presence of such features in a devotional book is not as curious as one would tend to think. A quote by H. Bober best explains this conclusion: 'However extraordinary the presence of such an illustration [a zodiac man] in a manuscript Book of Hours might seem, it is not an entirely capricious intrusion but a logically related aspect of calendrical data which had already been used so often in the ecclesiastical *computus*. [...] For everyday knowledge concerning the most common operation [phlebotomy], tables of reference were needed and the incorporation of such data in the ecclesiastical *computus* was a practical necessity.'[328]

Thus, similar to the dates of the saints' feast days the exact dates of solstices, hot summer days, and the changes of the seasons would have been recorded for practical, partly medical reasons. The calendar in a Book of Hours would have always been at hand, guiding its owner through the liturgical and astronomical year. This notion coincides with the idea of the Book of Hours as a utilitarian object, which was used in a number of practical ways. The following paragraphs focus on the alterations that conclude Ms. 74 G 35: two Marian prayers and the family records. These alterations, too, are subject to the manuscript's utilitarian function.

4.3. Marian prayers and a family record in Ms. 74 G 35

The penultimate quire in Ms. 74 G 35 carries two short prayers to the Virgin Mary, the *Ave Sanctissima Maria* (f. 166v) and the *Ave Maria* (f. 167r). These prayers were written in a different hand than the one that was responsible for the preceding *kriezel*-border prayers.[329] They might even have been written by the manuscript's owner, as they were noted on the same quire as the ownership inscriptions starting on folio 168r. As discussed earlier, these notes record family history, starting with the marriage of Philips van Matenesse. For what reasons could these written records have been initiated, and what do they reveal about the manuscript's later use? Before these questions will be discussed, the nature and function of the Marian prayers will be examined.

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[327] Ibid., p. 187.

[328] H. Bober, 'The Zodiacal Miniature of the Très Riches Heures of the Duke the Berry: Its Sources and Meaning', in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 11 (1948), p. 7, p. 10.

[329] The person who wrote the Marian prayers used a different letter 's' and considerably less abbreviations.

4.3.1. Ave Sanctissima Maria *and* Ave Maria

The first Marian prayer, the *Ave Sanctissima Maria*, lauds the Virgin as the mother of God, the queen of heaven, the gateway to paradise, the mistress of the world, being uniquely pure.[330] The text further refers to her Immaculate Conception (*concepta sine peccato*) of the Christ-child. The prayer was very popular in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century prayer-books and Books of Hours, for the reason that it carried large indulgences.[331] These indulgences were supposedly granted by pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471-1484), who was also said to be the prayer's author, although his actual role in the composition and promotion of the prayer is uncertain. At least, it was generally accepted that whoever devoutly read the prayer before an image of the *Maria in Sole* was granted an indulgence of eleven-thousand years.[332] By the end of the fifteenth-century, musical settings appeared, turning the prayer into a motet. Whether its singers gained indulgences too remains uncertain.[333]

Maria in Sole imagery depicts the Virgin, often carrying the Christ-child, in rays of sunlight or in the sun itself (figs. 66-67). The theme derives from the book Revelation: '[…] a woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars'.[334] The verse heralds the return of the Virgin and her son at the end of time. Due to the large indulgence, the theme was frequently depicted. However, in Ms. 74 G 35, the *Ave Sanctissima Maria* is not combined with an image, nor is there any evidence that points to the removal of a (full-page) miniature. Still, below the text there is more than enough space for a small narrative scene. A small single-leaf miniature or printed image may have been pasted onto the folio, but there are no clear traces of glue. Sewing holes are not present either. Therefore, it is perhaps safest to conclude that the *Ave Sanctissime Maria* in Ms. 74 G 35 was not accompanied by a miniature.[335]

The second added Marian prayer is *Ave Maria* (Hail Mary), which still is a very popular prayer today. Its opening words are retrieved from the Gospel of St Luke: 'And the angel, being come in, said to her: *Hail [Mary], full of grace, the Lord is with thee.*'[336] The cult of the Virgin flourished between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. The popularity of her cult resulted in devotional contemplations or meditations on her life, described, for example, in the text *The Seven Joys of the Virgin*.[337] The emergence of the lay devotion of the rosary in the late fifteenth century contributed to the popularity of

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[330] *Ave sanctissima mater dei, regina celi, porta paradisi, domina mundi, tu es virgo singularis pura* […].

[331] S. Ringbom, '*Maria in Sole* and the Virgin of the Rosary', in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 25:3/4 (1962), p. 326; B.J. Blackburn, 'The Virgin in the Sun: Music and Image for a Prayer Attributed to Sixtus IV', in: *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 124:2 (1999), p. 158.

[332] L. Gelfland and S. Blick, *Push Me, Pull You: Imaginative, Emotional, Physical, and Spatial Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art. Vol. 1* (2011), p. 209.

[333] B.J. Blackburn, 'For Whom do the Singers Sing?', in: *Early Music* 25:4 (1997), p. 595.

[334] Revelation 11:19-12:2.

[335] Perhaps the owner owned a *Maria in Sole* in another type of medium, such as panel painting.

[336] Luke 1:28.

[337] M.J. Mills, 'Stephen of Sawley's Meditations on Our Lady's Joys and the Medieval History of the Rosary', in: *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 50:4 (2015), p. 425.

the prayer *Ave Maria*, which was to be recited alternately with a *Pater Noster*.[338] Furthermore, in 1479 pope Sixtus IV conceded an indulgence of five years for praying fifty *Ave Marias*, a complete rosary.[339]

The *Ave Maria* in Ms. 74 G 35 is an extended version, so to speak, of the prayer standardised in 1525.[340] It includes an extra line on Mary's mother, St Anne: '*[...] et benedicta sit mater tua sancta Anna [...]*'. According to a papal bull of 1500, pope Alexander VI (r. 1492-1503) granted an indulgence of ten-thousand years for deadly sins, and twenty-thousand for venial sins, to whoever recited this version of the *Ave* in front of an image of Mary and St Anne.[341] A similar promise is found in a rubric preceding the exact same version of the *Ave Maria* in a French Book of Hours (New York, Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.258). Unfortunately, there is no rubric preceding of the prayer in Ms. 74 G 35, nor is there any trace of an image depicting Mary and St Anne. Again, as with the *Ave Sanctissima Maria*, if there ever was such an image it left no clear traces.

Both the *Ave Sanctissima Maria* and the extended *Ave Maria* were meant for private devotion. Clearly, the prayer, written in first person singular, was meant to be recited by an individual devotee. Sentences such as '*ora pro me Ihesum filium tuum et libera me ab omni malo*' indicate that Mary played a vital role in the relationship between mortals and God. As the mother of Christ, she could interfere on the sinner's behalf. It was for a good reason that she was addressed by the title '*porta paradisi*', the gateway to paradise. By praying the *Aves*, Ms. 74 G 35's owner pleaded for salvation of all evil. By reciting the *Ave Maria* fifty times, he could furthermore reduce his sentence in purgatory by seven years. If he possessed images of *Maria in Sole*, and Mary and St Anne, his reward would have been even more substantial. Unfortunately, it cannot be reconstructed whether he used the prayers to gain indulgences, but it is likely that he was aware of the promises made by popes Sixtus IV and Alexander VI.

Marian devotion reached new heights, and was further stimulated by the introduction of prayers such as the *Ave Sanctissima Maria* and the *Ave Maria*, especially because of the large indulgences granted to devotees who recited them. Generally, these prayers are found in devotional manuscripts of the late fifteenth, or the beginning of the sixteenth century. This date would certainly fit the Marian prayers in Ms. 74 G 35, considering their presence on a quire with, most likely, early sixteenth-century and later ownership inscriptions. The following paragraph will examine these inscriptions in closer detail, and will argue that the first records, perhaps even including the *Aves*, were

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[338] A. Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages* (1997), pp. 2-3, pp. 136-137.

[339] Ringbom 1962 (note 331), p. 329.

[340] The standardised prayer goes as follows: *Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum: Benedicta tu in mulieribus, et Benedictus fructus ventris tui, Ihesus. Sancta Maria, mater Dei, Ora pro nobis peccatoribus.* See: J. Hatter, 'Reflecting on the Rosary: Marian Devotions in Early Sixteenth Century Motets', in: T. Schmidt-Beste, *On the Relationship of Imitation and Text Treatment? The Motet around 1500* (2012), p. 515.

[341] *Alexander Papa sextus concessit decem milia annorum pro mortalibus Et viginti pro venialibus dicenti hanc sequentem Oracionem trina vice coram imagine beatissime virginis Marie & Anne Matris eius*. A copy of the papal bull is supposedly kept in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. B.J. Blackburn mentions the shelf mark Ms. Auct. VII, but this number appears to be non-existing. See: Blackburn 1999 (note 331), note 22.

drafted by Jacob van Matenesse, the only son of law student, (possible) pilgrim and later monk Philips.

4.3.2. Marriages, births, and deaths: a sixteenth-century family record

In previous chapters, some of the family records in Ms. 74 G 35 have already briefly been discussed, especially in relation to the information they give of the manuscript's early owners. Family records in manuscripts were a relatively common phenomenon in late fifteenth-, and sixteenth-century western Europe.[342] In France, personal family records are studied as part of the 'genre' *livre de raison*.[343] *Livres de raison* principally record patrimonial property and household accounts, but important events in the family are often noted as well. Reinburg employs the term *livre de raison* to refer to genealogical records in (French) Books of Hours. She considers these family records to be 'a modified version of the genre'.[344] Property and accounts were generally not recorded in Books of Hours. Instead, the – in most cases – *pater familias* confined himself to documenting births, baptisms, marriages and deaths.

The practice of recording family events in Books of Hours appears to have been less common in England, Germany, and the Low Countries.[345] The family record in Ms. 74 G 35 is a North-Netherlandish example of Reinburg's *livres de raison*. Similar to the family records in French Books of Hours, they include short notes on marriages, births, and deaths (Appendix III). The first seven notes, which were all written by the same person (hand A), describe events that occurred over a period of nearly thirty years (figs. 68-69). As discussed in previous chapters, the first record notes the marriage between Philips van Matenesse and Maria Jacobs van den Woude. Although family records that begin with a marriage were often started by the groom, it seems unlikely that Philips drafted the first seven notes.[346] Assuming the manuscript was already in his possession, he does not appear to have kept it with him until his death in 1533, as the course of the family records reveals.

In 1515, Philips' only son Jacob suddenly died.[347] His death is recorded by hand B, thus by another person than the one that drafted the first seven records. Philips outlived

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[342] Ashley 2002 (note 107), p. 146.

[343] N. Lemaître, 'Les Livres de Raison en France (fin XIII-XIX siècles)', in: *Testo e Senso* 7 (2006), p. 5. Available online via Testo e Senso <http://testoesenso.it/issue/view/10> (27-04-2018).

[344] V. Reinburg, 'An Archive of Prayer: The Book of Hours in Manuscript and Print', in: C.P. Hourihane (ed.), *Manuscripta Illuminata: Approaches to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts* (2014), p. 228.

[345] Lemaître 2006 (note 343), p. 2. There appear to be little to no publications on the phenomenon of (North-) Netherlandish family records in lay devotional manuscripts. It would be interesting to study these Netherlandish records, the people who kept them, and their social background, in order to compare them to their French counterparts. The ownership inscriptions in Ms. 74 G 35 fit Reinburg's definition of *Livre de raison*, but because she applies this term to family notes in French Books of Hours, it will not be applied to the family record in Ms. 74 G 35. Instead, the notes will be referred to as '(family) records'.

[346] Reinburg 2014 (note 344), p. 229.

[347] Jacob was only thirty years old. In April 1514, almost precisely one year before his death, Jacob is mentioned in a notarial document stating that he was allowed to lease land to Cornelis Simonsz. and Andries Hendriksz. NA, GvH, inv. nr. 724, f. 55v-56r.

his son by nearly twenty years. If, up until then, Philips kept the family records, he would have been able to note his son's death. As he did not, it is much more likely that Jacob recorded his family's history until his sudden death in 1515. He may have officially inherited the manuscript as part of the *De Werve* estate in 1504, after which he may have added the notes on his parents' wedding and the birth of their children. As time passed, he probably added records on his own marriage and the birth of his daughter, causing some discrepancies in the layout of the first seven records (Appendix III). After Jacob's death, it is likely that the manuscript's new owner recorded his passing, the birth of his son Joost, and Joost's death.[348]

As a result of baby Joost's early death the Voorburg Van Matenesse lineage ended. Ms. 74 G 35 came into the hands of the Van Duvenvoorde family through Jacob's sister Maria as part of the *De Werve* estate. The deaths of Jacob and baby Joost may have been recorded by her or her husband Jan van Duvenvoorde, although their authorship cannot be stated with certainty. The following notes record the birth of their grandchildren Jan (1559) and Maria (1565), and the deaths of their son Jan (d. 1573), his first wife Margarita van Liere (d. 1556), and his second wife Magdalena van Foreest (d. 1586).[349] The records indicate that the manuscript was passed on to the son or daughter that inherited the *De Werve* estate (Appendices III and VII). Thus, after the death of the last Jan van Duvenvoorde (d. 1580), the manuscript was probably inherited by his sister Maria and her husband Joriaen van Lennep, who acquired *De Werve* due to Jan's early death. Their son Warner loaned and later sold the estate to Nicolaas Verlon in order to pay his debts.[350] It is uncertain if the manuscript was included in the sale.

The family notes illustrate the manuscript's sixteenth-century history. The question remains for what reason the record was started in the first place. Furthermore, why were such apparently worldly events noted in a devotional Book of Hours? The records in French Books of Hours, the *livres de raison* which have been studied on a larger scale, generally came into existence in the rising bourgeoisie class.[351] The wealth and growing status of urban upper classes for one allowed its members to buy expensive goods, including manuscripts. As Reinburg explains, 'the emergence of the family-owned Book of Hours is in part an effect of expanding literacy and book ownership'.[352] Books of Hours including family records were thus often considered to be family heirlooms, and were passed down as such to children or grandchildren. A feeling of family pride and identity must have played a certain role in the documentation of family events.

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[348] Joost was born on the very same day Jacob died, a very peculiar coincidence. He passed away two weeks after his birth.

[349] These notes on folios 169r-v (hands C, D, and E) were written *after* the records on folios 170r-v (hand F). On folios 170r-v, Jan van Duvenvoorde (Maria x Jan) himself describes the birth of his two children Jan and Maria. See: Appendix VI.

[350] H.S. van Lennep, *Oudste takken van de familie Van Lennep* (2017), p. 43. Available online via Stichting Van Lennep <http://vanlennep.nl/wp-content/uploads/genealogie-oudste-generaties.pdf>.

[351] Here, the family record in Ms. 74 G 35 diverges from its French counterparts, as the manuscript was owned by the noble family Van Matenesse at the time the records were added. The family does not appear to have wanted to document a rise in status. After all, the Van Matenesse family's titles and rights had been passed on from father (or mother) to son for generations.

[352] Reinburg 2014 (note 344), p. 226.

Similarly, the idea of family pride or identity could have urged Jacob – assuming he was indeed responsible – to start his family documentation. Another possible motivation that Reinburg does not discuss is commemoration. As in all ages, medieval men and women cared for their dead. The idea of an afterlife, especially of an afterlife in purgatory, greatly influenced the lives of the living.[353] A good life with as few sins as possible shortened the time in purgatory. Good deeds, such as almsgiving or the foundation of a church or monastery accelerated the onward journey to heaven even more. After death, loved ones could help the deceased by praying for his or her soul or by founding and attending masses. The commemoration of the dead was as much part of daily life as death itself. Objects that were used during, or as an aid to the commemoration of the dead are known as memoria.[354] They include tomb monuments, floor slabs, devotional portraits of the deceased, and commemorative texts, such as necrologies and registers of gifts and foundations.[355] A Book of Hours containing added notes on its deceased owners is counted amongst memoria as well.[356]

The family record in Ms. 74 G 35 includes several notes on deceased family members. Maria, Philips' wife, died in 1488, Jacob's daughter Margriet passed away in 1512, and Jacob himself succumbed in 1515. These records only document their deaths, there are no instructions for prayers, as one would expect in commemorative notes.[357] This changes with the record on the death of Margarita van Liere in 1556, which ends with the devout recommendation *wiens ziel dat God genadich sijn moet*. By reading the note, one would express the wish of God having mercy on Margarita's soul. Similar phrases were included in the records on Jan van Duvenvoorde's death and the passing of Magdaleen van Foreest. Their family members aimed to commemorate the deceased and to commend their souls to God.

Taking care of the souls of the dead and the living is one of the principal functions of the Book of Hours. By reciting the Hours and prayers, the living owner would take care of his or her own soul. On the other hand, reciting the Office of the Dead would benefit the souls of the deceased, who were being cleansed of their sins in purgatory. The Office of the Dead is but one element of the extensive cult of commemoration in the Middle Ages, but demonstrates the need for private prayer benefitting the souls of deceased loved ones. Notes on deceased family members are therefore well at home in a Book of Hours, in which beneficiary prayers were already at hand.

Yet, the family record in Ms. 74 G 35 includes too many records on the living to purely function as a memorial text in its strictest definition: an object that is used to commemorate the dead. Instead, the more neutral term 'remembrance' probably best covers the record's function. In other Books of Hours, added family notes are often

[353] Medieval Memoria Online <https://memo.hum.uu.nl/database/pages/commemoration.html> (30-05-2018).
[354] This definition of 'memoria' is retrieved from: T. van Bueren and H. Wüstefeld, *Leven na de dood. Gedenken in de late Middeleeuwen* (1999), p. 12.
[355] Medieval Memoria Online <https://memo.hum.uu.nl/database/pages/texts.html> (30-05-2018).
[356] Bueren and Wüstefeld 1999 (note 354), p. 203, cat. no. 68.
[357] Ibid., p. 12.

scribbled in the calendar.[358] This indicates that the manuscripts' users required yearly reminders of important events, such as births and deaths, the same as people do today. For example, it must have been for this reason that sister Elisabeth van Zaers noted the exact date she received the habit. In the calendar of her Book of Hours (BPL 224, University Library, Leiden) she wrote: *Int iaer van XXV dede ic Zaers professie*. Every year on the 19th of May she was reminded of this important event in her life. Such notes acted as a remembrance, both to the current user and to later generations.

Although Ms. 74 G 35's records were not added to the calendar, perhaps for the practical reason that it was already quite filled, they must have similarly reminded the manuscript's users of life changing events. Especially in a time when birth, marriage and death certificates were not yet in use, documenting such events in a single list would keep important information within reach. A cherished heirloom such as a Book of Hours would have been highly suitable for documenting family history. As the records in Ms. 74 G 35 demonstrate, the manuscript was indeed passed onto sons, daughters, or sisters. In particular, it was part of the *De Werve* inheritance, keeping the manuscript in the possession of the castle's inhabitants, who would in turn have remembered and commemorated their predecessors. Thus, although the records could have been started for own use, they were principally meant for the progeny.[359] In the end, the goal of remembrance has been achieved, as the records still keep the members of the Van Matenesse and Van Duvenvoorde families alive centuries later.

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[358] Ms. 79 K 6 (Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague) offers an example of a Holland Book of Hours with family records added to the calendar and, as in Ms. 74 G 35, to the last quire. The notes in the calendar are dated 1487-1550, the notes on the last folios 1559-1579. Thus, the dates coincide with those in Ms. 74 G 35's record. According to Reinburg, most family records in French Books of Hours were started in the late fifteenth century as well. See: Reinburg 2012 (note 27), p. 63.

[359] E-mailcontact with Truus van Bueren (30-05-2018).
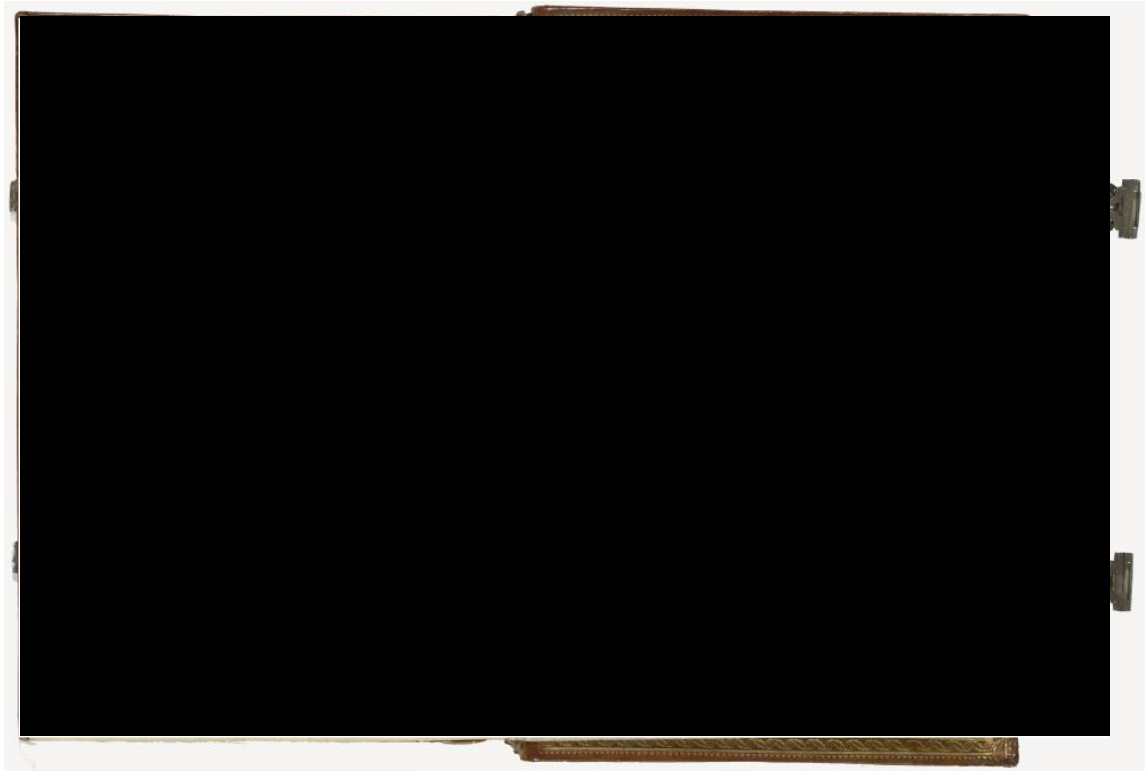
Fig. 52: *Silver and gold plated pilgrim badges*, Bruges (manuscript), ca. 1440-1460, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 77 L 60, f. 98r.
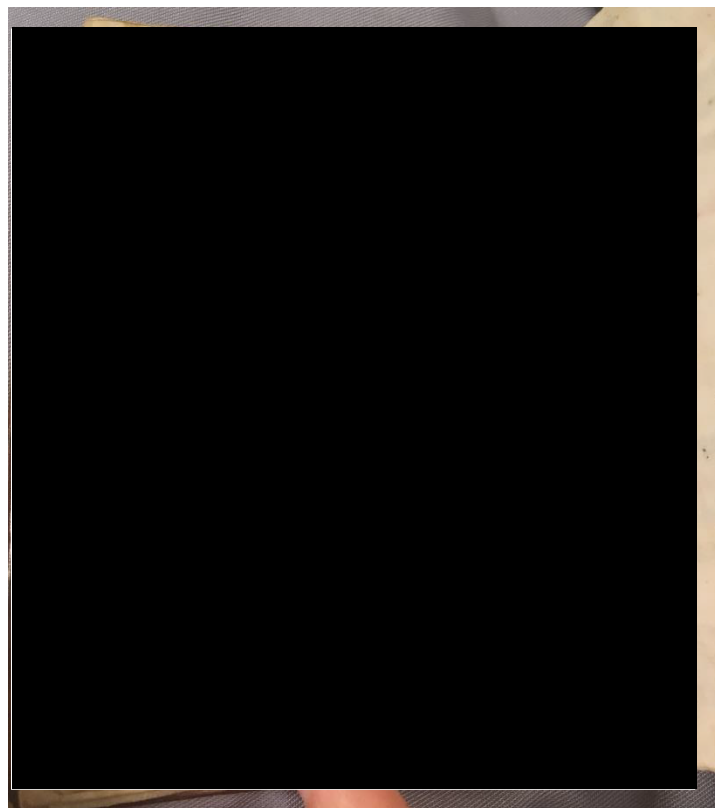
Fig. 53: *Traces of pilgrim badges*, Delft, ca. 1440-1450, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, f. Vv.

Fig. 54: *Traces of pilgrim badges after editing*, Delft, ca. 1440-1450, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, f. Vv.
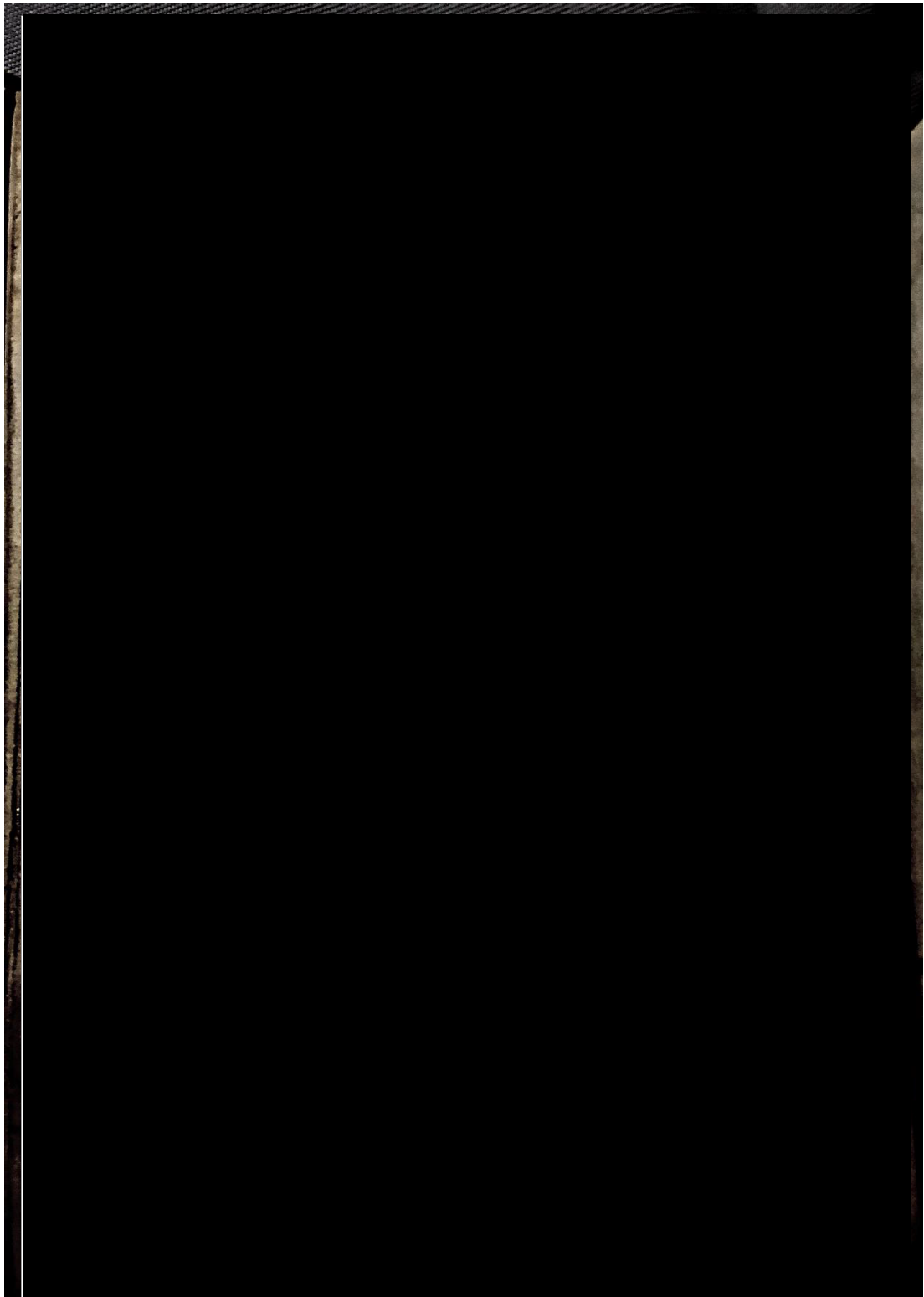
Fig. 55: *Traces of pilgrim badges after editing*, Delft, ca. 1440-1450, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, f. 13v.

Fig. 56: *Stylised imprint of Geraardsbergen (?) badge*, Delft, ca. 1440-1450, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, f. Vv.
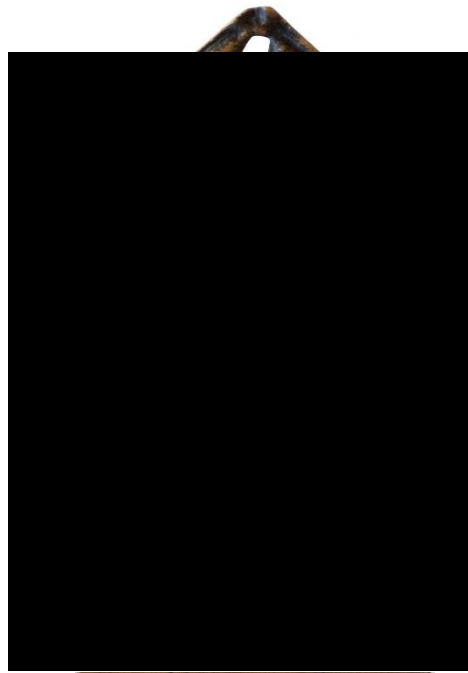
Fig. 57: *St Adrian punched badge*, Geraardsbergen, fifteenth century (?), Rotterdam, Collection family Van Beuningen.
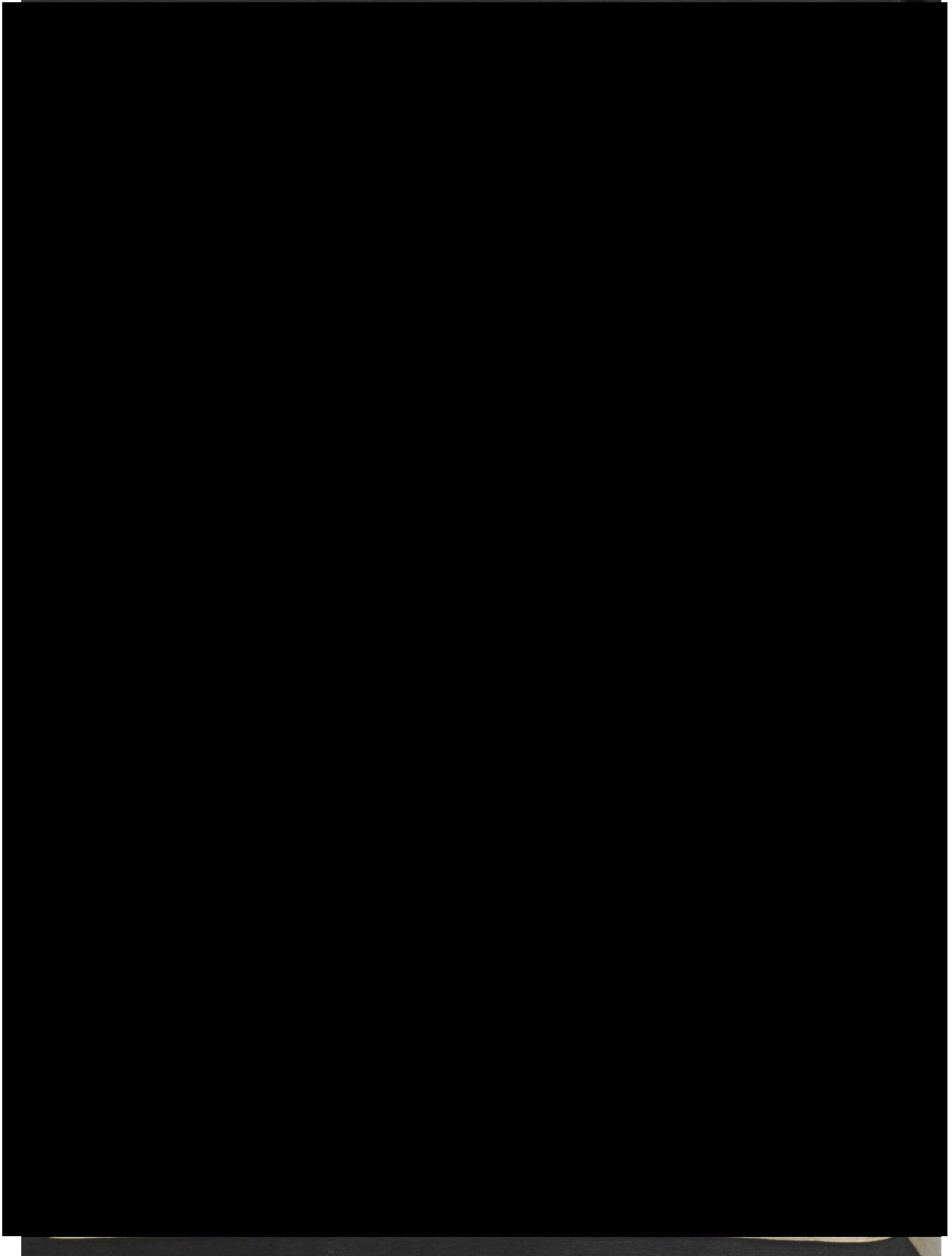
Fig. 58: Master of Mary of Burgundy, *donors kneeling in front of St Adrian shrine*, Gent, 1461-1483, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. Cod. Ser. N. 2619, f. 3v.
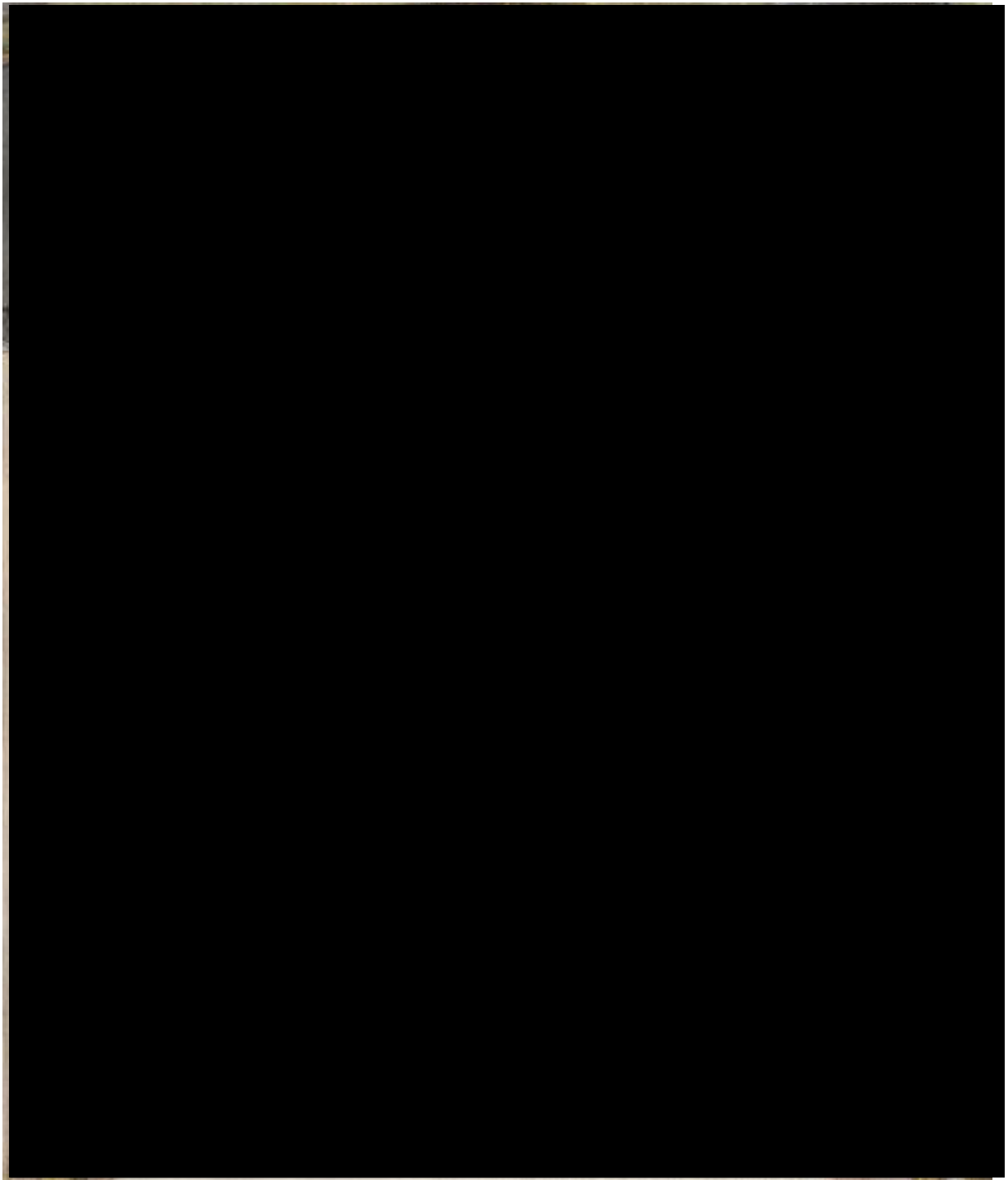
Fig. 59: Master of Mary of Burgundy, *donors kneeling in front of St Adrian shrine (detail)*, Gent, 1461-1483, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. Cod. Ser. N. 2619, f. 3v.
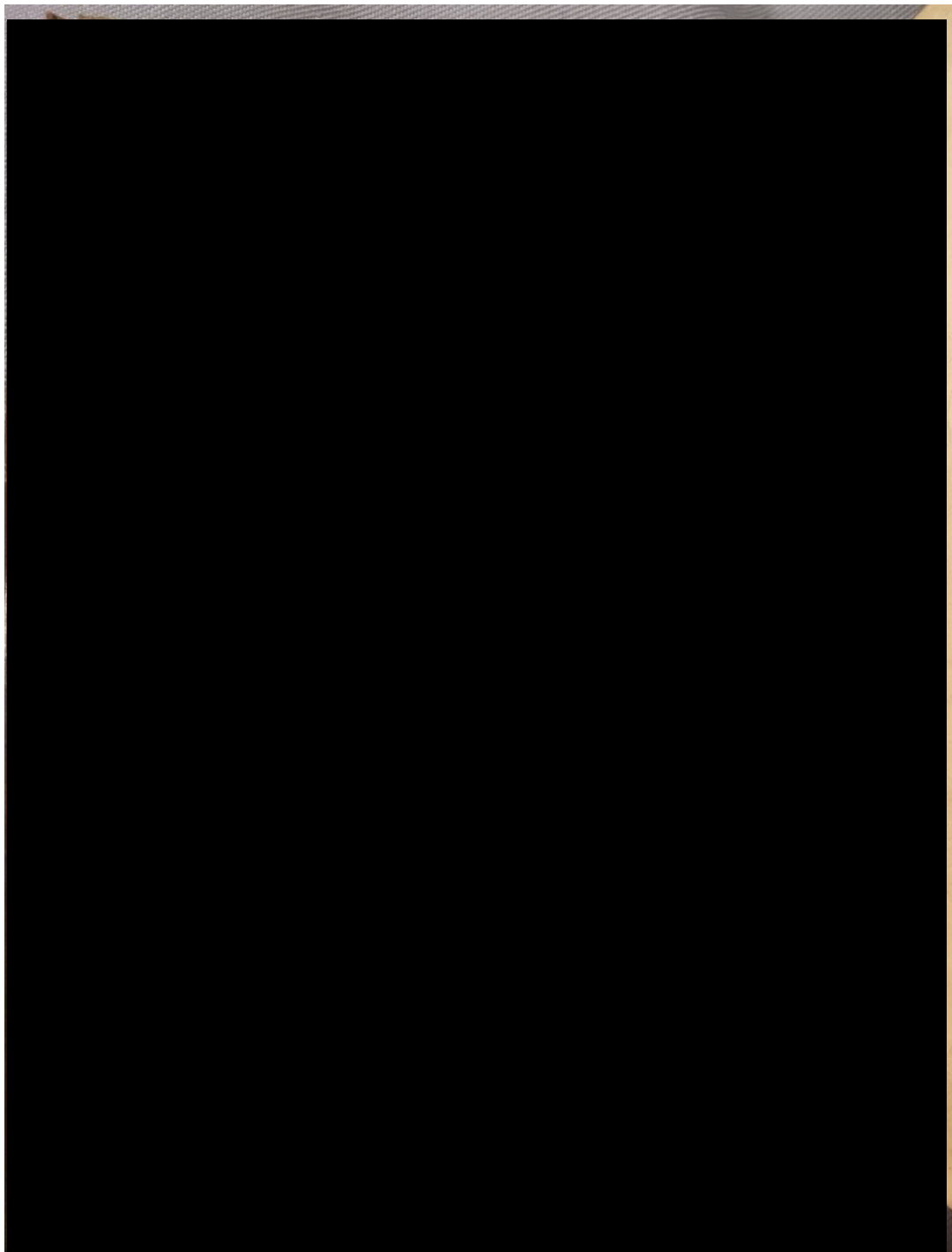
Fig. 60: *Table with Golden Numbers, signs of the zodiac, and* litterae signorum, Delft, ca. 1440-1450, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, f. IIv.

Fig. 61: *Table with Golden Numbers, signs of the zodiac, and* litterae signorum, Auxerre (?), ca. 1400-1440, sold at Les Enluminures, lot TM 240, f. 2v.
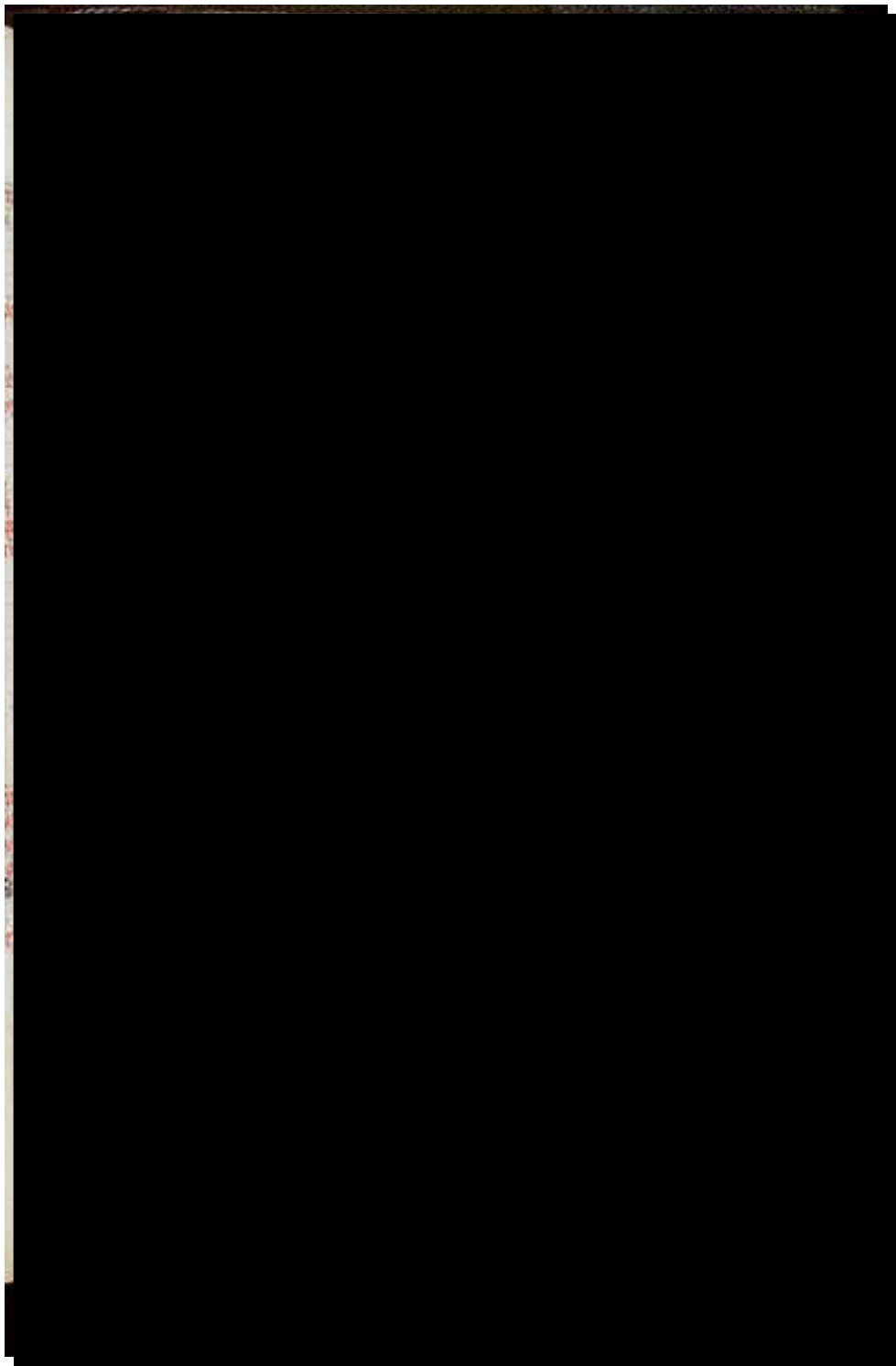
Fig. 62: *Table with Golden Numbers, signs of the zodiac, and* litterae signorum, Diocese of Utrecht, ca. 1500, New York, Morgan Library, Ms. G.5, f. 11r.
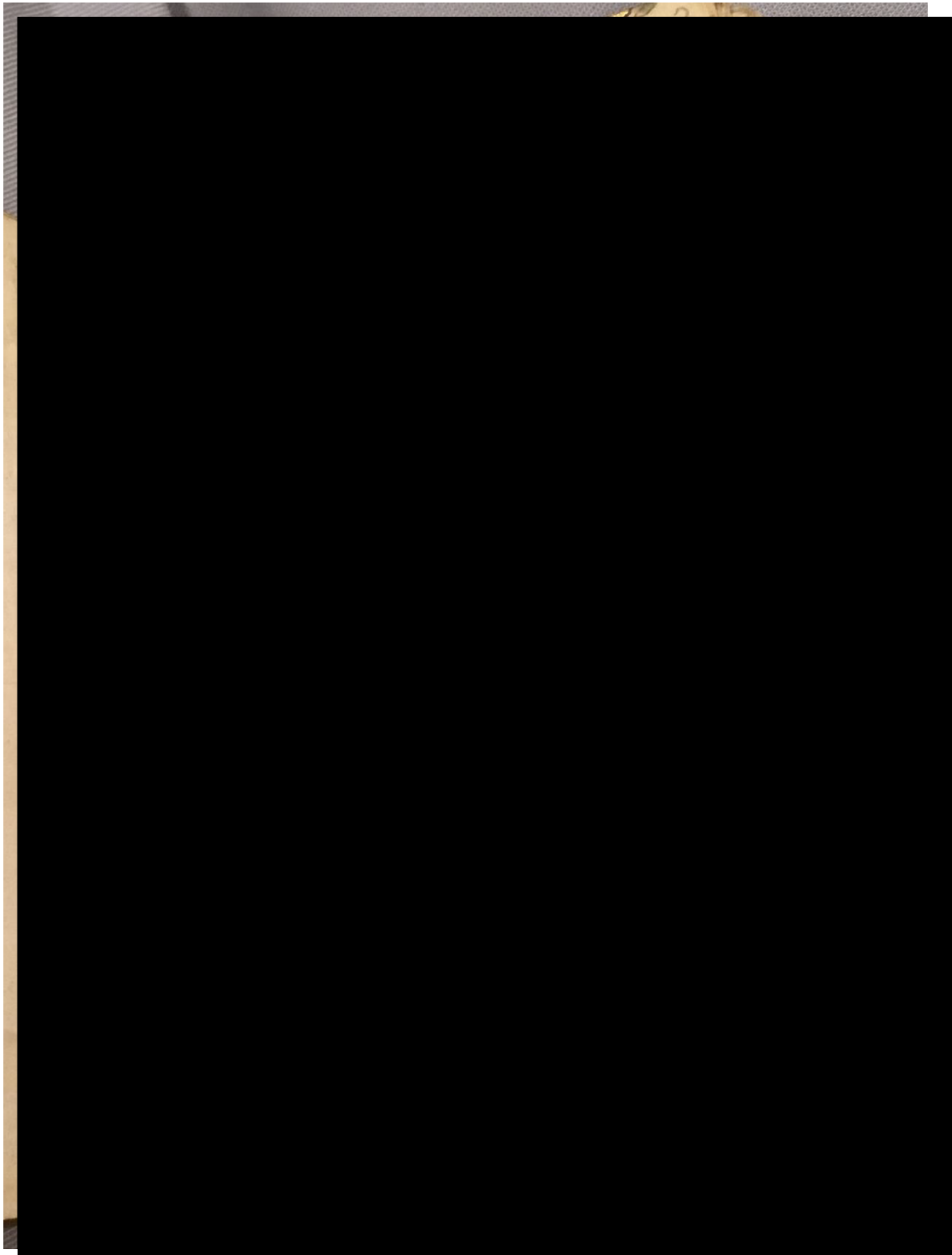
Fig. 63: *Calendar month January*, Delft, ca. 1440-1450, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, f. 1r.
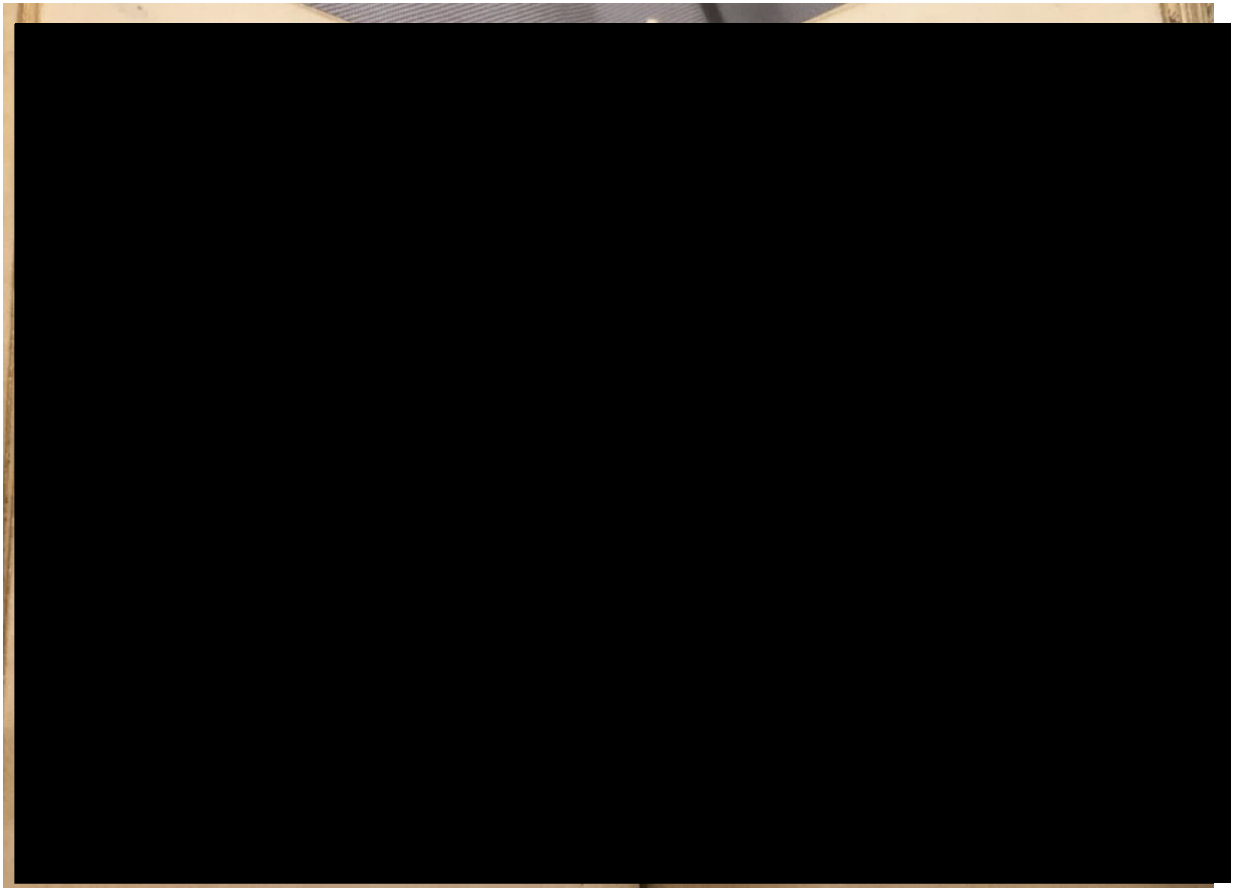
Fig. 64: *Easter 'calculator': Golden Numbers in red*, Delft, ca. 1440-1450, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, f. 3v-4r.
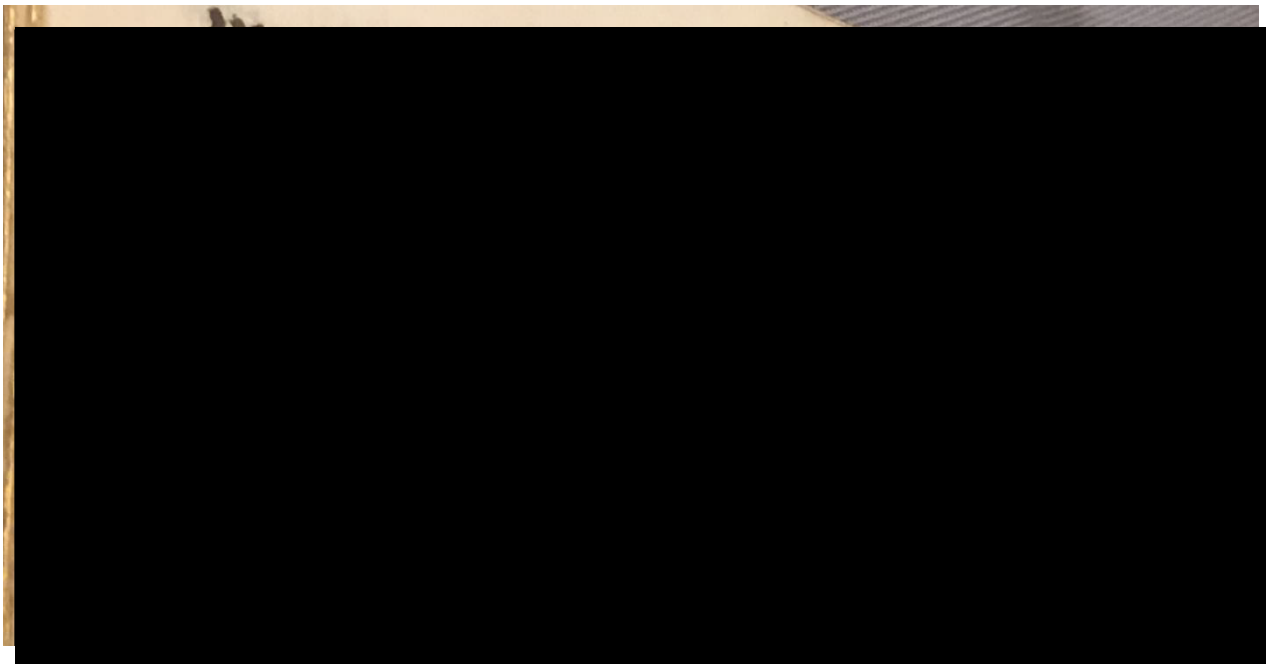
Fig. 65: *'Sol in tauro' and Golden Numbers 19 and 8 in brown ink*, Delft, ca. 1440-1450, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, f. 4v.
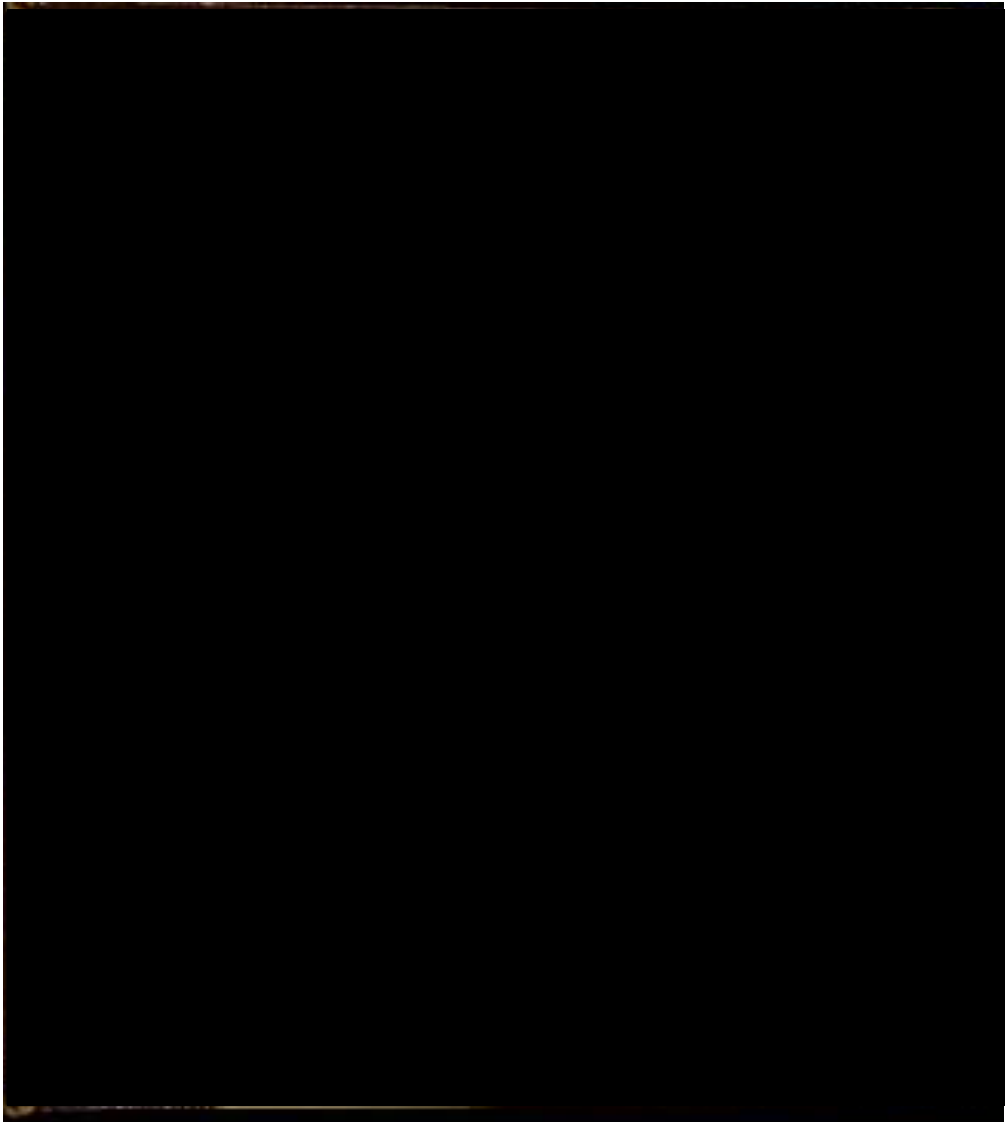
Fig. 66: *Virgin in the Sun (Maria in Sole)*, Holland (?), ca. 1475, Chicago, The University of Chicago Library, Ms. 347, f. 119v.

Fig. 67: Hieronymus Bosch, *St John the Evangelist on Patmos,* Maria in Sole *in the upper left corner*, ca. 1489-1499, oil on panel, 63 x 43.3 cm., Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, 1647A.
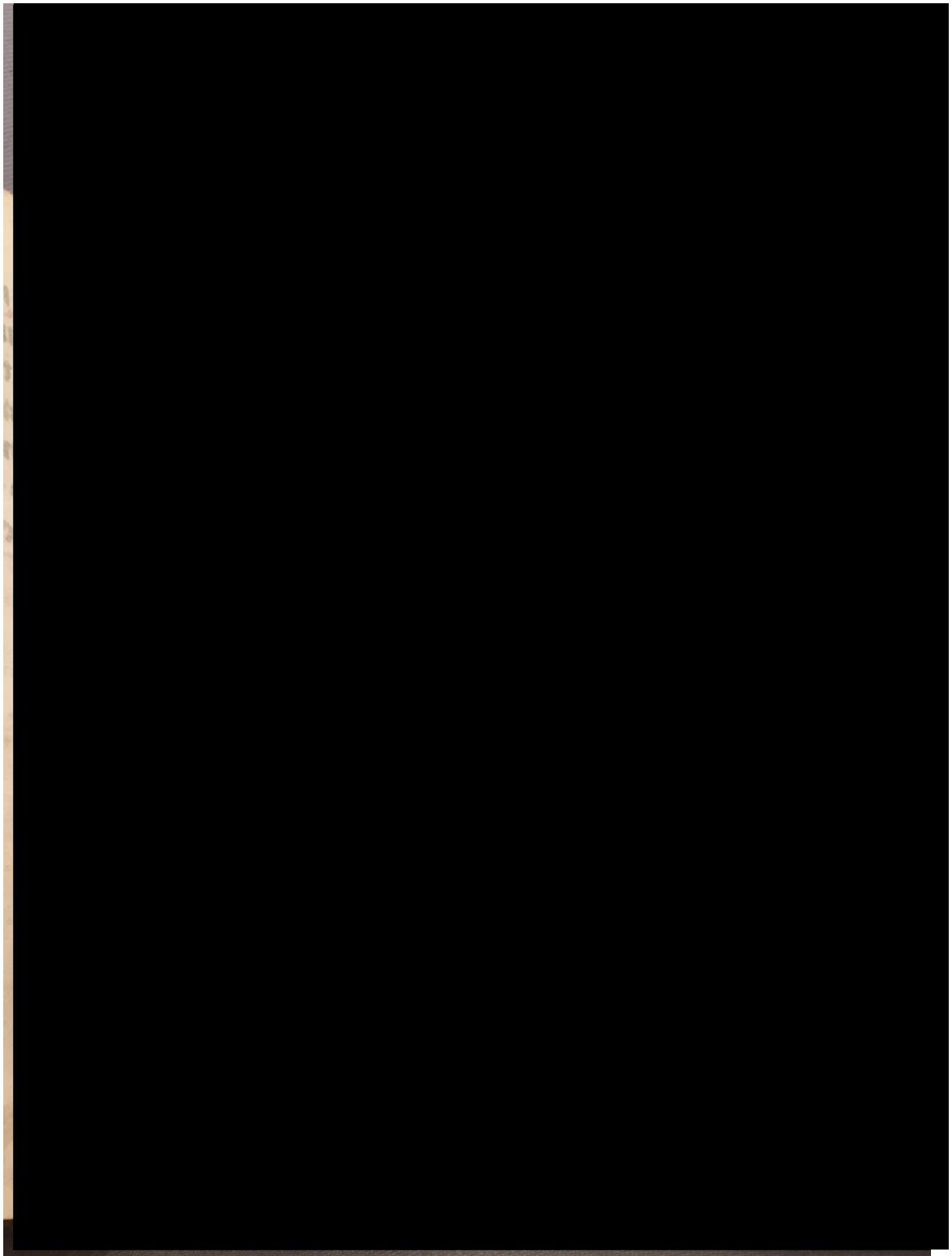
Fig. 68: *Family record*, Delft, ca. 1440-1450, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, f. 168r.
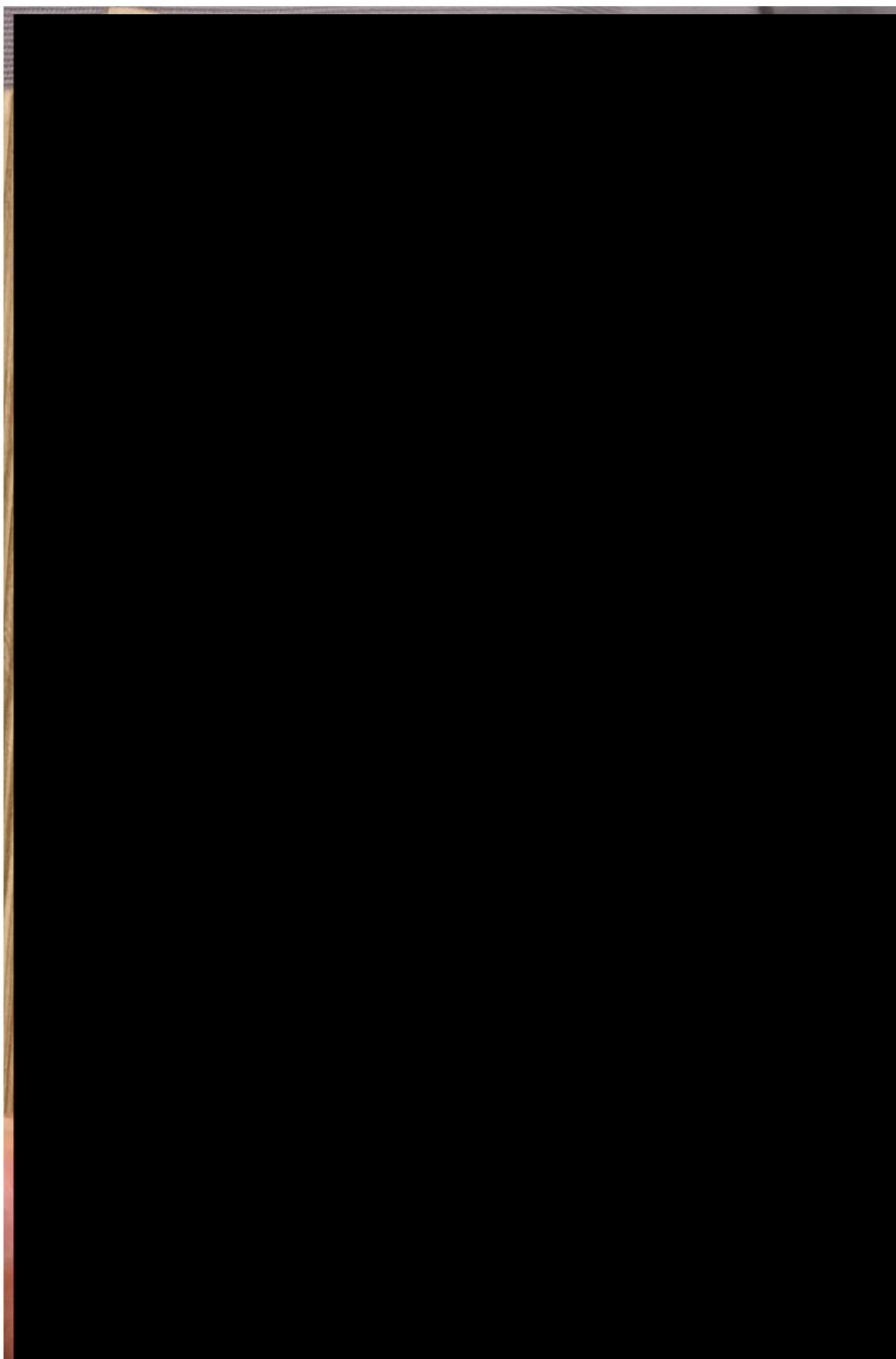
Fig. 69: *Family record*, Delft, ca. 1440-1450, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, f. 168v.

V. Conclusion

This thesis aimed to contribute to the study of the use of Books of Hours by examining the augmented manuscript 74 G 35 (Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague). In recent years, the role of the patron and first owners has become an important and popular subject of manuscript studies. The major influence of owners on their Books of Hours has become evident in studies by, amongst others, K. Rudy. Studies such as her *Piety in Pieces* demonstrate that Books of Hours, or medieval manuscripts in general, were not static objects. On the contrary, later owners often altered the original manuscript by adding texts, images, and objects. These alterations shed light on the principal functions of Books of Hours and the personal preferences of their owners. However, Rudy's quantitative approach has prevented an in-depth analysis of particular manuscripts, which may lead to more specific clues concerning use, ownership, and patronage. In turn, these clues contribute to a more nuanced picture of the use of specific Books of Hours.

Thus, this thesis focussed on one particular Book of Hours, Ms. 74 G 35. This manuscript was altered by its earliest owners, of whom at least some were members of the Van Matenesse and Van Duvenvoorde families. The influence of these families on Ms. 74 G 35 had not been examined before, nor had the manuscript been studied in all its (added) components. Hence, this thesis revolved around the question what the additions made to Ms. 74 G 35 tell about its owners, and of their use of this manuscript. The fact that the manuscript's sixteenth-century owners are known by name has not only enabled a study of use, but also an exploration of the role of the Van Matenesse family in the manuscript's original production. In this manner, this thesis has provided a thorough analysis of the manuscript's altered contents and their possible relation to individual members of the Van Matenesse and Van Duvenvoorde families.

This thorough analysis has asked for an interdisciplinary approach. The manuscript's altered components include texts, images, and objects. The Latin texts – prayers and astronomical and astrological notes – principally required a transcription and translation, before they could be identified. In some cases, comparative research clarified the nature of some texts that, for example, lack a reference to an indulgence in Ms. 74 G 35, but proved to have carried one in other manuscripts. The images asked for a comparative approach as well, especially considering the questions of date and location. In the paragraphs addressing the added miniatures, style and, to a certain degree, iconography have been important research methods. Where possible, they enabled the identification of the lost pilgrim badges as well.

Without textual research, it would not have been possible to contextualise the added components. On a smaller scale, the same applies to the codicological analysis of Ms. 74 G 35. The visualisation and understanding of the manuscript's quire structures has given insight in those parts that were added, as well as in those components that were removed. The families that were responsible for at least some of these alterations could not have been integrated in this study without archival research. The original

documentation of especially the Van Matenesse family has enabled an exploration of its members' lives and a reconstruction of how they could have obtained Ms. 74 G 35. Information of their lives has been woven through this thesis' chapters in order to reconstruct the possibilities of the manuscript's earliest history of use.

In its initial form, Ms. 74 G 35 was created in Delft in the period between 1440 and 1450. Single-leaf miniatures by the Masters of the Delft Grisailles and Delft coloured borders adorn the offices and hours. Although the original manuscript holds little clues to the identity of the first owner, it is possible that it came into the possession of the Van Matenesse family at this very early stage of its life. As discussed in chapter III, in 1447 Jan van Matenesse married Margriet Pertant, the daughter of the steward Bartholomeus Pertant. By doing so, Jan could add a Delft *Hofstede* and several houses to his estate. The date of his marriage and his subsequent connection to Delft coincide with the date and location of Ms. 74 G 35's production. Notwithstanding, the lack of complementary evidence prevents any solid conclusions on Jan van Matenesse's ownership.

Chapter III explored Philips van Matenesse's influence on Ms. 74 G 35. Philips is the first to be mentioned in the family record, but, as has been explained in chapter IV, he probably was not responsible for the notes on his marriage and the birth of his two children. However, as the family record may very well commemorate the manuscript's previous owner, Philips' ownership has been considered likely. If the manuscript was in Philips' possession, he was probably responsible for its first alterations. During the pontificate of Sixtus IV (1471-1484) several Latin prayers were added. These prayers, recognisable by their *kriezel* border decoration, include a number of indulgences. Thus, reading or reciting these prayers decreased the time one would have to spend in purgatory. Most prayers are addressed to, or commemorate Christ, focussing especially on his passion and death. Accumulated dirt on the pages may indicate that subsequent owners were most interested in the soul-saving, indulgenced prayers.

The indulgenced *kriezel* prayers include instructions in the form of rubrics, shedding light on the way these prayers were supposed to be read or recited. For instance, if the owner wanted to earn the indulgence of the *Adoro te*, he was assumed to recite the prayer whilst kneeling in front of an image of the *Arma Christi*. The cut-out folio preceding the prayer may very well have carried a miniature depicting the *Arma*. Other prayers granted indulgences when read during Mass. The instructions given in the prayers' rubrics shed light on the manuscript's context of use, and contribute to the greater picture of the use of Books of Hours.

The plausibility of Philips' ownership has justified an exploration of his life, including his studies, marriage, and religious career. The reasons for the addition of Latin prayers and especially the St Jerome miniature may well be explained by Philips' personal life and interests. Other than the lost *Arma Christi* miniature and the image of the Vera Icon, the Jerome miniature does not carry any indulgences in relation to a specific prayer. Instead, it was probably added because the owner could relate to the saint and his life, making him a strong advocate. St Jerome was mostly revered as one of the four Church fathers, above all, he was considered to be one of the wisest scholars

and one of the first monks. Philips' university studies and his interest in religious life could explain the addition of the Jerome miniature.

Chapter IV examined the lost or undecorated alterations that are subsequently harder to date. The now lost pilgrim badges were probably collected during pilgrimage, although it cannot be stated with certainty that the manuscript owner(s) bought the badges at pilgrimage sites or was (were) given the badges by someone else. The date and location of the badges is even harder to reconstruct, for the reason that they hardly left any traces. Punched badges only occurred after 1450, which at least provides a *terminus post quem*. The shape and size of one of the badges may indicate that it originated in the pilgrimage site of Geraardsbergen, where St Adrian was venerated. This hypothesis is strengthened by the later addition of St Adrian's name in the calendar. One of the owners felt connected to the widely venerated saint, but due to the lack of datable evidence, it cannot be reconstructed who this person was. It is possible that the badges were collected by several owners.

At a certain point, the collection of pilgrim badges was deliberately removed. Again, when this happened and by whom is uncertain. Nevertheless, their removal demonstrates a change in use: the badges somehow lost their significance in the context of Ms. 74 G 35, and were therefore no longer used in prayer or commemoration. Other personal preferences or a different religious sentiment may have been reasons for their removal. The lost pilgrim badges demonstrate that the manuscript's function and use do not only speak from its original or altered contents. The parts that have been removed are just as much part of the manuscript's life as the contents that are still present, a fact that appears to have been overlooked in Rudy's *Piety in Pieces*.

A study of the added notes in the calendar and the table preceding it, has led to interesting results. The table allows its user to establish the position of the moon in a zodiac sign in a particular year. Lunar positions were indispensable when calculating the date of Easter or other moveable feasts. The table may have served a computus purpose, but could have been used in other ways as well. In a similar lunar table in Ms. G.5, the signs of the zodiac were identified as being 'bonum, 'malum' or 'indifferens'. These adjectives refer to bloodletting, one of the most common medical practices in the fifteenth century. Although these words are not or no longer present in the table in Ms. 74 G 35, it could well be that the manuscript was, amongst others, used for the practice of basic medicine, perhaps because its owner was in need of medical assistance.

The same applies to the notes concerning the entrance of the sun in particular zodiac signs. These astrological notes must have been used by an owner who was familiar with the Latin language. Furthermore, this owner must have been interested in basic medical knowledge. Philips has been put forward as a plausible candidate, as he knew Latin and could have gained his knowledge at university. Moreover, he was ordained as a priest and he entered religious life at an older age. In this function, he might have also needed the practical Easter 'calculator' that was added to the calendar. The presence of astrological features in a book of private devotion is related to calendrical data in use of the liturgical year. After all, it was thought that the planets and stars, which were as much part of God's creation as the earth itself, influenced life on our

planet. As a utilitarian object, the Book of Hours would have provided the owner with instant knowledge on physical and spiritual welfare, which he may have put into practice in a monastic environment.

Chapter IV concluded with the added Marian prayers and the family record. The prayers ask for Mary's interference on the devotee's behalf. The *Ave Maria* was extended with a line on Mary's mother St Anne. Pope Alexander VI (r. 1492-1503) granted an indulgence of ten- to twenty-thousand years to whoever recited this version of the prayer in front of an image of Mary and St Anne. If the Marian prayers in Ms. 74 G 35 were ever paired with images, they left no traces. Still, the indulgence must have been widely known. As it was issued in 1500, the Marian prayers were likely added after the turn of the century. This date would coincide with the dates of the family record on the same quire.

In several chapters, the identity of the author of the first seven records has been mentioned and explored. Although the names of Philips van Matenesse and his wife Maria van den Woude have been recorded first, neither of them appear to have been responsible for the first notes. Instead, their son Jacob most likely started the family record. He may have inherited the manuscript along with his father's other possessions in 1504. It could well be that he recorded the most important events in his parents' lives shortly after, as the first notes appear to have been written in one go. In this case, the note on his own marriage must have followed later, at least after 21 October 1511.

Jacob's death in 1515 was recorded by someone else, perhaps by his sister Maria or her husband Jan van Duvenvoorde. The Van Duvenvoordes owned the manuscript throughout the sixteenth century. All this time, the manuscript appears to have been connected to castle *De Werve*: sons or daughters that inherited the castle, also inherited Ms. 74 G 35. The whereabouts of the manuscript in the late sixteenth century are unknown. The youngest note commemorates the death of Magdalena van Foreest in 1586. At this time, Ms. 74 G 35 may have been owned by Jan van Duvenvoorde's sister Maria and her husband Joriaen van Lennep, as they had inherited *De Werve* after Jan's early death.

The family record in Ms. 74 G 35 demonstrates the need for remembrance, both for the living and the dead. For the living, the records were practical reminders for important, yearly events, such as the birth dates of their children. For the dead, the notes guaranteed their commemoration, and of their souls being taken care of by the ones that stayed behind. In this manner, the records must have fulfilled an important role in the family's memory, and a part of the Van Matenesse and Van Duvenvoorde families' history has been documented for later generations. Subsequently, their presence in Ms. 74 G 35 has enabled the exploration of the families' influence on the content of the manuscript. Thus, as does their cherished Book of Hours, their memory still lives on.

To conclude, the use of Book of Hours 74 G 35 greatly depended on its individual owners. Nevertheless, it is clear that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, its use strongly revolved around the (spiritual) care for the living and the dead. The manuscript was above all a utilitarian object, as well as a cherished family heirloom. Its caring function has taken different shapes depending on its various owners, which has resulted

in a Book of Hours that includes a diversity of (indulgenced) prayers to take care of the souls of the living and the dead, astrological notes and figures to take care of the living, and records to remember several generations of Van Matenesses and Van Duvenvoordes, *wiens ziel dat God genadich sijn moet*.

Ms. 74 G 35's story is not yet completed: after the sixteenth century, the manuscript was inherited, given to, or bought by others, who must have used the manuscript differently as times and religious sentiments changed. Currently, the manuscript is kept in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek's depot as cultural heritage, an object of historical value. Its principal use of (spiritual) caring has ceased to exist. Instead, anno 2018, its function has changed from a utilitarian devotional object to an object of study. Only time will tell how its use will change in the future.

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Abbreviations

EL   Erfgoed Leiden en omstreken, Leiden
NA   Nationaal Archief, The Hague
GvH   Graven van Holland, NA, index 3.01.01
HvH   Hof van Holland, NA, index 3.03.01.01
HdW Huis de Werve, NA, index 3.19.58
HW   Huis Warmond, EL, index 503

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Medieval Memoria Online <https://memo.hum.uu.nl/>.

Meertens Instituut, Nederlandse Bedevaartbank <http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/bedevaart> .

Middelnederlands Woordenboek <http://gtb.inl.nl/>.

Stichting middeleeuwse religieuze en profane insignes
<http://www.medievalbadges.org>.

The Walters Art Museum <http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/ >.

Other

E-mailcontact with Anne Korteweg (14-02-2018).

E-mailcontact with Hanneke van Asperen (17-04-2018).

E-mailcontact with Marco Mostert and Richard Mostert (02-05-2018).

E-mailcontact with Truus van Bueren (30-05-2018).

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The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35
Book of hours, in Latin
Delft, ca. 1440-1450
Illuminator: Masters of the Delft Grisailles

Parchment, fol. VI + 174, 115 x 85 (77 x 55) mm, 1 column, 17 lines, littera hybrida.
Binding: 18th century brown leather, gold tooled

USE
Utrecht calendar, feasts in red include Poncian, Pancratius, Servatius, Bonifatius, Odulphus, Lebuinus, Martinus, Lambrecht, Willibrord

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DECORATION
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PROVENANCE
Families Van Matenesse and Van Duvenvoorde (15th-16th centuries), acquired in 1809 from the collection of Jacob Visser (no. 131) by the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague
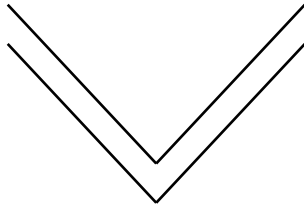
f. N-III:
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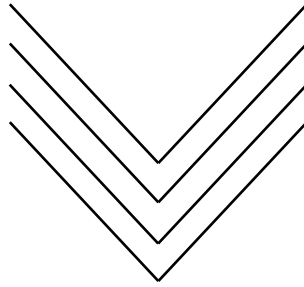
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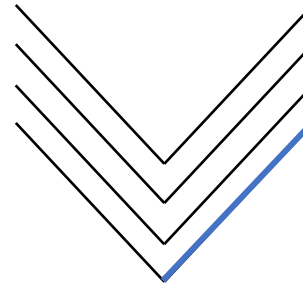
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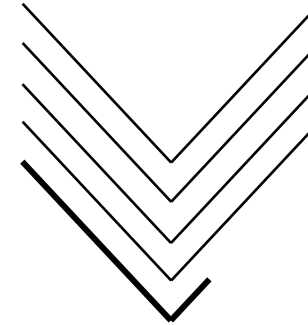
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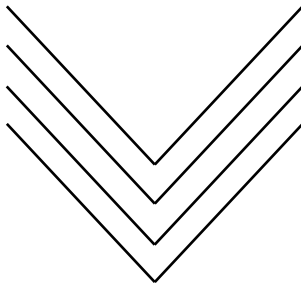
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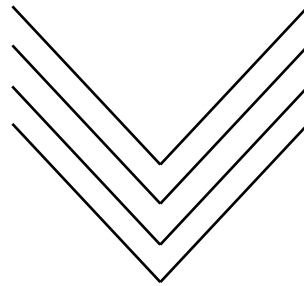
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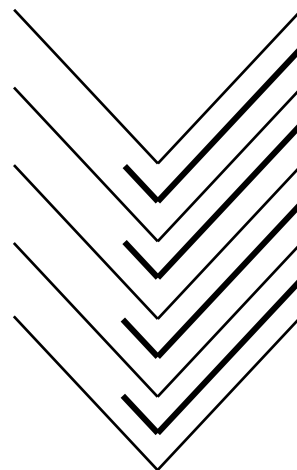Hours of the Virgin
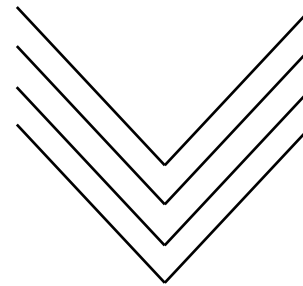
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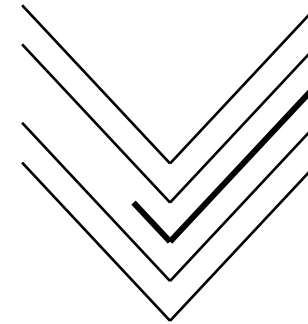
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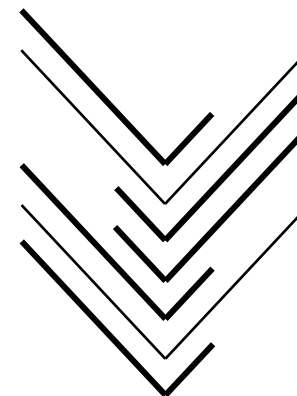Hours of the Cross

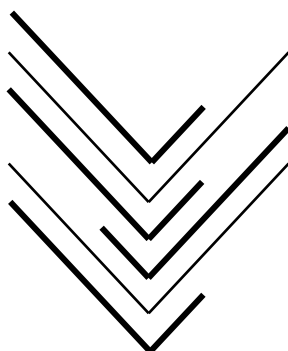**Appendix II: Quire structure**
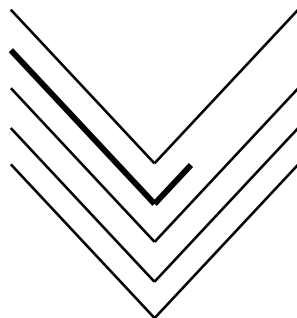
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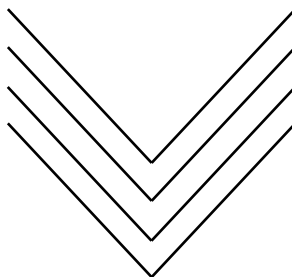
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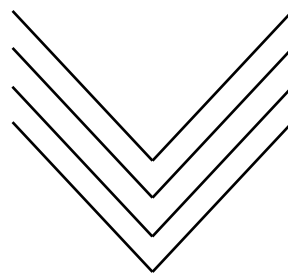Litany

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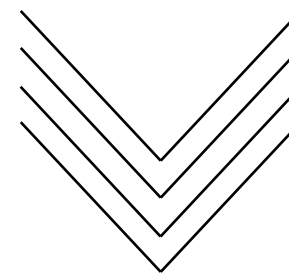Litany, Suffrages
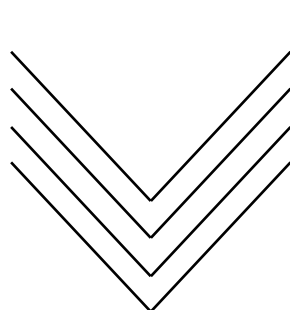
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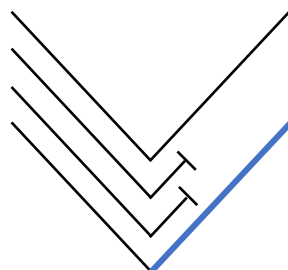
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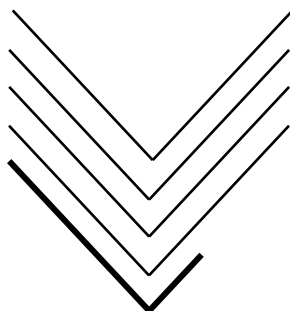
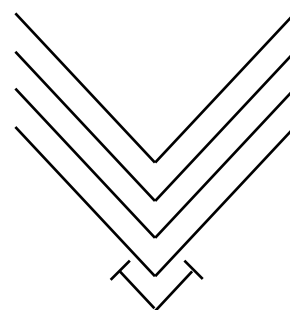f. 104-112:
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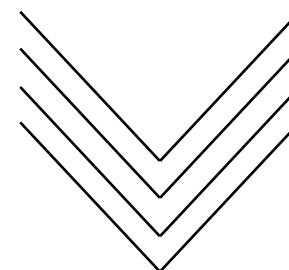
Appendix II: Quire structure
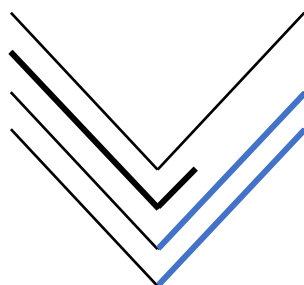
f. 129-136:
Office of the Dead,
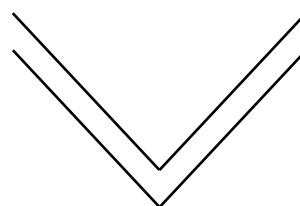Lectiones

f. 137-142:
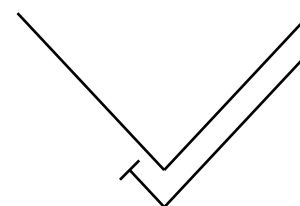Lectiones

f. 143-150:
Prayers

f. 151-158:
Prayers

f. 159-165:
Prayers

f. 166-169:
Prayers to the Virgin,
ownership
inscriptions

f. 170-172:
Ownership
inscriptions

Black line: added miniature
Blue line: blank page
Broken line: leaf missing

Appendix II: Quire structure

Hand A (Jacob van Matenesse?)

(f. 168r)
Item int jaer ons Heren XIIII^c LXXXIIII
den XVII^ten dach in octobri ende was
zonnendach doen trouwede Phillips
van Matenes joncfrou Maria Jacops
dochter van wou
Item int jaer XIIII^c LXXXV up sinte Maria
Magdalenen dach ende was vrijdach
des middaechs tusschen XII ende een uren
wort geboren Jacop haren beider zoen
Int jaer XIIII^c LXXXVII den XXV^ten dach
van februario ende was zonnendach
des smorgens tuscchen twie ende drie
uren wort geboren Maria haer beider
dochter
Int jaer XIIII^c LXXXVIII den zesten dach
van maert ende was donresdach des
avonts tuschen VII ende VIII uren
wort geboren Margriet haer beider
dochter

(f. 168v)
Item joncfrou Maria Phillips wijf
voornoempt sterf int jaer XIIII^c LXXXVIII
den XXX^ten dach in maert

Int jaer XV^c ende XI op die elff duysent
maechden dach ende was dinxdaghes
trouwede Jacob van Matenes joncfrou
Anna meester Jacobs dochter van Almonde

Int jaer ons heren XV^c ende XII opten XIX^sten
dach van julio ende was manendach des
avonts twischen X ende XI uren worde
geboren Maria haerer beyder dochter ende
sterf den XXII^sten dach van augusto inden
zelve jaire

Hand B (Maria/Jan van Duvenvoorde?)

Int jaer ons heren XV^c ende XV den
XI dach van Aprille ende was den
lesten heyligen dach van paeschen

starf Jacob van Matenesse des
achternoens omtrent drie uren
upten selfden dach verlostede sijn

(f. 169r)
weduwe van enen jongen zone tuschen
VIII ende IX uren ende wert genaemt
Joest zoe die vader dat begeert ende
ghelooft hadde welke zoen
leefde omtrent XIIII dagen

Hand C

Anno XV^c LVI den ~~vierthiensten~~ XXIIII^{en}
januarii up een vridach omtrent
te twee uren nae midach starf
joncfrou Margarita van Liere
wiens ziel dat God genadich sijn
moet amen

Hand D

Ende was die selve huisvrouwe
Jans van Duvenvoirde des heeren
van Warmonts zone ende sterff
van kinde begraven tot Voirburch
Is dselve Johan van Duvenvoirdt
kersmisse anno 1557 getrout aen
joff. Magdaleen van Foreest wed.
Johans van Ruven tot Haerlem

Hand E (Maria van Duvenvoorde/Joriaen van Lennep?)

(f. 169v)
Ende is Johan van Duvenvoirdt
voorscreven gesturven den sevende
octobris anno XV^c LXXIII wiens
ziel God genadich sij

Anno XV^c LXXXVI den XV meij
sterf joff. Magdaleen van
Foreest Johans van Duvenvoirts
weduwe God heb die ziele

Hand F (Jan van Duvenvoorde*)

(*f. 170r*)
Des saterdach den XII^en augusti
int jaer XV^c LIX verlossende
mijn huijsfrou van eenen
jongen zone ~~tuschen~~
omtrent een quartier
over vier uren ende waert
ghenaemt Jan ende worden
gekerstent den XVe der
selfder maent

Die peters sijen gheweest
mijn broeder die heer van
Warmondt mijn swaeger
Jan van Doernick ende mijn
huijsfrouwen suster
Cornelia van Foreest

Hand G

Ende is gestorven den   julii anno 1580**

Hand F (Jan van Duvenvoorde)

(*f. 170v*)
Int jaer XV^c LXV den VII
novembris || verlostede
mijn huijsfrou van eene
jongen dochter tusschen
twee uren nae middage
ende waert genaemt Maria
ende werden gekerstent
den VIII dach ~~des~~
peeters sijen gheweest
~~die vrouw van updam~~ mijn
suster Marie van Duven-
voerde die vrouw van
Updam mr. Joest van
Hoycquesloet schout
van Thooren
|| des woensdach up sincte
Wilboorts dach

* Jan van Duvenvoorde x Maria van Matenesse
** This record refers to Jan van Duvenvoorde (Jan van Duvenvoorde x Magdalena van Foreest). Jan died during the battle at the Hardenbergerheide. See Appendix VI.

Month	Date	Event
Januarius		
Februarius		
	15	Sol in Pisces
Martius	12	Equinoctium
	18	Sol in Ariete
	-	Propriam legeram […]
Aprilis		
	17	Sol in Tauro
Maius	18	Sol in Geminos
	26	Estas oritur
Junius	11	Solsticium
	17	Sol in Cancro
Julius	14	Dies caniculares
	18	Sol in Leo[ne]
Augustus	18	Sol in Virgine
	23	Autumpnus oritur
September	4	Dies caniculares finitur
	8	Adriani martyris
	17	Sol in Libro
October		
	18	Sol in Scorpio
November	17	Sol in Sagittario
	24	Hyemale oritur
December	12	Solsticium
	17	Sol in Capricorno

Appendix V: Easter 'calculator' converted to table

GOLDEN NUMBER	PASCHAL FULL MOON	EASTER
1	5 April	9 April
2	25 March	26 March
3	13 April	16 April
4	2 April	9 April
5	22 March	26 March
6	10 April	16 April
7	30 March	2 April
8	18 April	23 April
9	7 April	9 April
10	27 March	2 April
11	15 April	16 April
12	4 April	9 April
13	24 March	26 March
14	12 April	16 April
15	1 April	2 April
16	21 March	26 March
17	9 April	16 April
18	29 March	2 April
19	17 April	23 April

Appendix VI: Concise biographies of Ms. 74 G 35's owners

JAN (JOHAN) VAN MATENESSE* (1407/09-1467): Oldest son of knight Wouter van Matenesse and his second wife, Machteld Hubrechts van den Werve. Jan inherited his mother's estate castle *De Werve* and another unnamed house in Voorburg. He married Margriet Pertant, daughter of North-Holland steward Bartholomeus Pertant, in 1447. Bartholomeus gifted Jan and Margriet a house and homestead in Delft. Children: Philips, won by Margriet Pertant, and Margriet, won by Willemijn van Alkemade.

PHILIPS VAN MATENESSE (ca. 1451-1533): Oldest son of Jan van Matenesse, member of the Holland *Ridderscip*. Philips inherited his father's estate in 1467. He studied canon law in Paris in the years 1469-1470, after which he returned to Holland. In 1484, he married Maria Jacobs van den Woude. After Maria's death (1488), he may have travelled to Rome. In 1492, he entered the Cistercian monastery *Mariënhaven* in Warmond. He was buried in the convent. Children: Jacob, Maria, and Margriet.

JACOB VAN MATENESSE (1485-1515): Oldest son of Philips van Matenesse. Jacob inherited his father's estate in 1504, when he was almost twenty years old. His grandfather Jacob van den Woude (d. 1503) had already gifted him his *Naaldwijkse lenen* and other possessions in the 1490s. In 1511, Jacob married Anna Jacobs van Almonde. He died at an early age – he was thirty – in 1515. Like his mother and grandfather, Jacob was buried in the Van den Woude family grave (*fondatoersgraft*) in the parish church in Warmond. Children: Maria and Joost, both died within two months.

MARIA VAN MATENESSE* (1487-1558): Oldest daughter of Philips van Matenesse. Maria married lord and master Jan van Duvenvoorde (d. 1543), councillor in The Hague, in 1504. She inherited castle *De Werve* from her brother Jacob, and the castle and *ambacht* Warmond, Alkemade etc. after the death of her aunt Jacoba van den Woude in 1526. Maria was buried in the parish church in Warmond. Children: Maria, Arent (died young), Anne, Jan/Jacob (lord of Warmond), Margriet, Ghijsberte, Arent (died young), Jenne, Jacob (childless), Adriana, Jan/Johan (*De Werve*), Maria, Anna, Jacoba.

JAN (JOHAN) VAN DUVENVOORDE (ca. 1518-1573): Fifth son of Maria van Matenesse. He inherited his mother's estate *De Werve* in Voorburg and her land and properties in Warmond, Alkemade etc. He married Margarita van Liere (d. 1556), and Magdalena van Foreest (d. 1586), widow of Johan van Ruyven. Jan was mayor of Haarlem in 1565-1566. After the Spanish siege of Haarlem (1572-1573), he was allegedly captured and imprisoned. He died in captivity. Children: Jan/Johan and Maria.

JAN (JOHAN) VAN DUVENVOORDE (1559-1580): Oldest son of Jan van Duvenvoorde. Jan inherited his father's estate *De Werve* in Voorburg and his land and properties in Warmond, Alkemade etc. Jan found his death during the Battle at the Hardenbergerheide. According to Hooft, who describes him as a '*schoon edelman en van moedige jeugd*', Jan died of thirst. He never married. Children: none.

* The persons marked with an asterisk are not included in the family record in Ms. 74 G 35. Their ownership is uncertain. After the last Jan van Duvenvoorde, the manuscript may have passed onto Jan's sister Maria and her husband Joriaen van Lennep. At least, several persons who knew Jan, Margarita and Magdalena well, made notes on their deaths (thus, *after* 1586). Their son Warner sold castle *De Werve* in order to pay his debts. The castle was sold to Nicolaas Verlon (NA, HdW, inv. nr. 3.1 documents the sale of *De Werve* to François Halewijn by Verlon in 1641). At this occasion, Ms. 74 G 35 may have been sold as well.
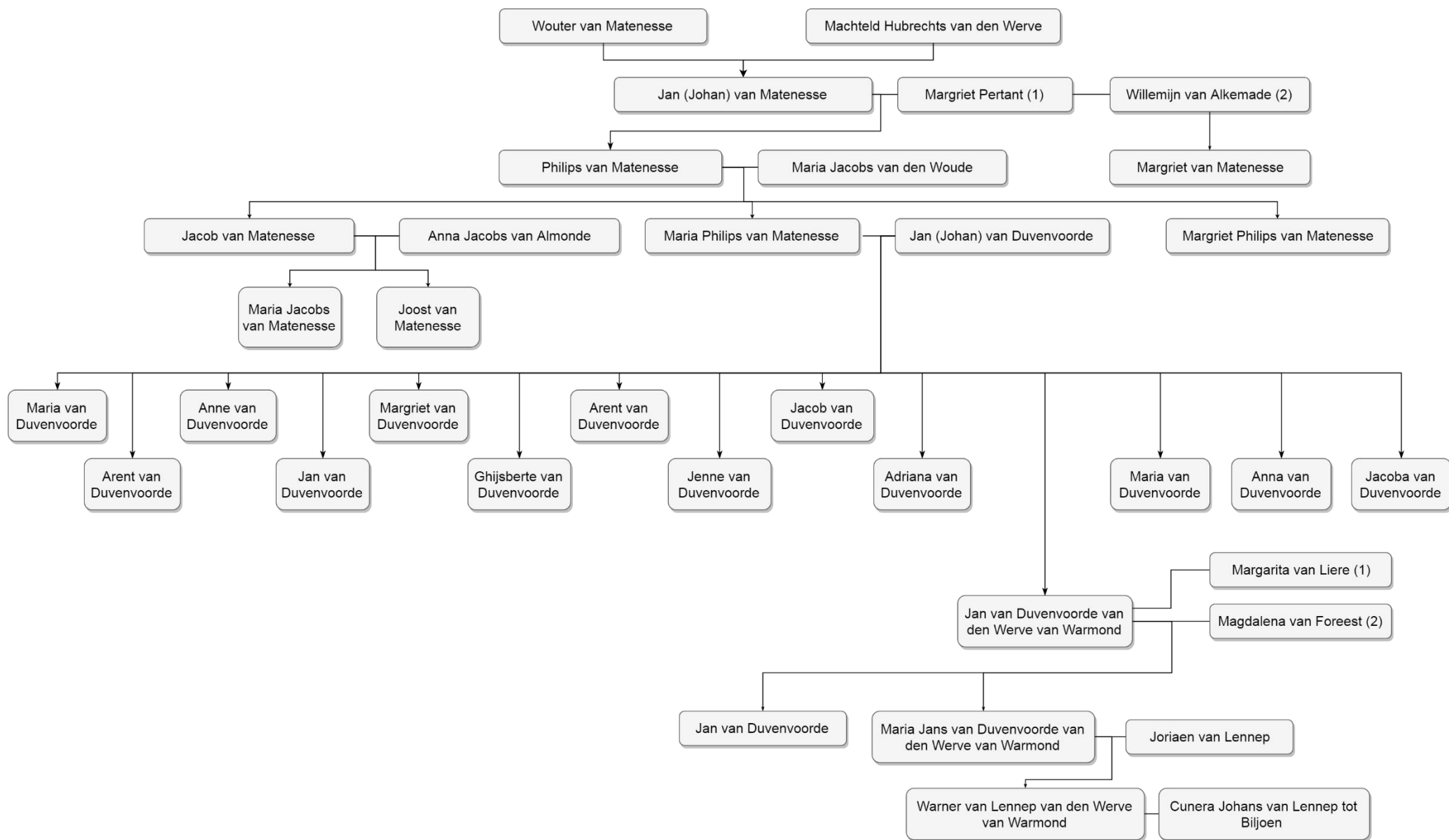
Appendix VII: Hereditary transmission of *De Werve*