A British Book Collector

Rare Books and Manuscripts in the R.E. Hart Collection, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery

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Edited by
Cynthia Johnston

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List of contributors

Cleo Cantone is an independent researcher of Islamic art history with a particular focus on mosque architecture in Africa.

Rebecca Darley is senior lecturer in medieval history, Birkbeck, University of London.

Cynthia Johnston is a lecturer in the history of the book and communication at the Institute of English Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London.

Francesca Manzari is a professor in the history of medieval art at Sapienza University of Rome.

Eric Marshall White is senior curator and Scheide librarian at Princeton University Library.

Scot McKendrick is head of Western heritage collections at the British Library.

David McKitterick is a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge and emeritus honorary professor of historical bibliography at Cambridge.

Nigel J. Morgan is emeritus honorary professor of the history of art, University of Cambridge.

Introduction. A British book collector: rare books and manuscripts in the R.E. Hart Collection, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery

Cynthia Johnston

This volume brings together new scholarly work on the manuscript and rare book collection of Robert Edward Hart (1878–1946), a ropemaker of Blackburn, Lancashire. The R.E. Hart Collection is held by the Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery (MAG) along with Hart's internationally important numismatic collection. Most of the chapters in this book were first presented as part of a conference on the Hart Collection held at Blackburn College from 9–10 November 2017, '"Something for my native town": recent discoveries and new directions in the R.E. Hart Collections', co-organised by the Institute of English Studies (IES), School of Advanced Study, University of London and the Blackburn MAG. The conference marked the opening of 'Level 2', a new study and resources centre in the museum, funded by Arts Council England. This new space was designed to enable better access to the museum's many collections. The museum holds the UK's first dedicated South Asian Gallery, containing exhibition spaces dedicated to social and natural history, Egyptology and Victorian fine art. The Thomas Boys Lewis Collection of Japanese Prints, one of the largest of its type in the UK, and the Arthur C. Bowdler Collection of coleoptera, with its thousands of examples from across the globe, demonstrate the depth and breadth of Blackburn's collections. Level 2 significantly expands the museum's public engagement capabilities; it provides space for object handling and opportunities for researchers to share their work with the community of Blackburn.

R.E. Hart bequeathed his collections of manuscripts and rare books to the Blackburn Free Library, Museum and Art Gallery upon his death in 1946. There are 21 medieval manuscripts, more than 50 incunabula and over 1,000 books from before 1801. During the postwar years, the collection rested safely in the vaults of the library, with its contents duly recorded, but it was not until 1962 that the Blackburn Library published an introduction to

the manuscripts and early printed books in the collection.[1] The importance of this material was first brought to attention in 1973 by Jonathan J.G. Alexander in preparation for a major exhibition at the Whitworth Art Gallery in Manchester. This exhibition, 'Medieval and Early Renaissance Treasures in the North West', co-curated by Alexander and Paul Crossley, was the first indication to an international audience of the richness of the collections in the North West held in both private and public hands.[2] In 1977, the medieval manuscripts in the Hart collection were catalogued by Neil Ker and appeared in the second volume of his monumental achievement, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*.[3] In the introduction to his chapter in this volume, Nigel J. Morgan describes how it was Ker's work which first brought him to the Blackburn Museum in 1979, and it was on Nigel Morgan's recommendation that I paid the first of what became many visits to the museum to study the Hart Collection in 2012. Since that visit, the academic partnership between the IES and the Blackburn MAG has brought further attention to the riches of the Hart Collection. There have been three exhibitions: in 2013 'Blackburn's Worthy Citizen' at Senate House Library, University of London, in 2015 'Cotton to Gold' at London's 2 Temple Place, and in 2020 'Holding the Vision' at the Blackburn MAG.[4] Three conferences have also taken place. The first two – 'The legacy of R.E. Hart' and 'Collectors, collecting and collections in Britain' – were held in 2013 and 2016 respectively at Senate House, and the third, which this publication celebrates, took place at Blackburn College in 2017.[5]

For some of the authors in this volume, this current work has allowed them the opportunity to revisit previous research on various parts of the collection. For others, their encounters with the Hart Collection have been relatively recent. Each chapter looks at the collection in a new light. The volume opens with **David McKitterick**'s examination of Robert Edward Hart's

1 See *Blackburn Public Libraries, Illuminated Manuscripts and Printed Books from the Hart Collection* (Blackburn: Blackburn Public Libraries, 1962).

2 See the exhibition catalogue: J.J.G. Alexander and P. Crossley, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Treasures in the North West* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1976).

3 See N. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, II (Abbottsford-Keele: Clarendon Press, 1977), pp. 91–113.

4 See exhibition catalogues: *Blackburn's Worthy Citizen: the Philanthropic Legacy of R.E. Hart*, eds C. Johnston and S. J. Biggs (London: Institute of English Studies, 2013), *Cotton to Gold; Extraordinary Collections of the Industrial North West*, C. Johnston and J. Hartnell (London: Two Temple Place, 2015), *Holding the Vision; Collecting the Art of the Book in the Industrial North West*, C. Johnston (Blackburn: Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, 2020).

5 See proceedings of the 2016 conference: *Collecting the Past: British Collectors and their Collections from the 18th to the 20th centuries*, eds T. Burrows and C. Johnston (Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2019).

aims and achievements as a collector and as a benefactor of his native town of Blackburn, as well as his alma mater, the University of Cambridge, and the Fitzwilliam Museum. McKitterick considers Hart in his contemporary context as a collector and queries Hart's motivations for his bequests. The idea of competition, not only between collectors, but between regions and towns and the rise of the free public library and regional museums contextualises Hart's formative experiences growing up in the region, as well as the collectors and collections that may have influenced his tastes and interests. **Nigel J. Morgan** returns to his work on the Blackburn Psalter, one of two 13th-century psalters in the Hart Collection for this volume.[6] Morgan focuses on the latter of these two, Hart MS 091.21001, an English psalter produced possibly in Oxford *c.*1270–80. The Blackburn Psalter is examined in the context of the William of Devon group of manuscripts associated with the Johannes Grusch workshop operating in Paris *c.*1240–65. Both the illuminated decoration and the text of the psalter are examined and special attention is given to the full-page miniatures, the psalm initials and the 'grotesques' in the borders. **Francesca Manzari**'s contribution sheds new light on illuminated book production in Rome during the Great Western Schism, emphasising the contacts with Florence which appear in illuminations made at the beginning of the fifteenth century. An example is the Blackburn Missal, Hart MS 20918, where Florentine traits can be recognised among the heterogeneous elements which form part of its decorative repertoire. **Scot McKendrick**'s chapter brings the focus on the medieval material in the Hart collection to a close with an in-depth analysis of one of the most remarkable illuminated manuscripts collected by Edward Hart, the Blackburn Hours, Hart MS 20884. McKendrick's detailed study provides insights into the illumination, makers and first owners of this book of hours, lavishly illustrated in southern Flanders *c.*1490. It reveals how the illuminator of the Blackburn Hours, the Master of Edward IV created such an original work and suggests for whom. Here McKendrick suggests a reappraisal of the manuscript; he identifies the range of artistic innovations within the book and seeks to explain these within the context of the output of the Master of Edward IV and contemporary manuscript patronage.

In his recent article on Hart's 1485 copy of the Gart der Gesundheit, Ed Potten suggested that Hart's pursuit of early printed material exemplifies the activities of collectors pursuing the idea of the museum typographicum.[7]

6 See N.J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts II, 1250–1285, Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, IV.2, (London: Harvey Miller, 1988), pp. 154–5, no. 160. The earlier psalter is the Peckover Psalter, Hart MS 091.21117, made most probably in Paris or eastern France *c.*1220–40.

7 See E. Potten, 'A mendicant pharmacopeia: Robert Edward Hart's copy of the 1485 *Gart der Gesundheit*, in 'Association, provenance and the book', *Poetica*, eds E. Potten and T. Takamiya, 89 and 90. See also Ed Potten's forthcoming article 'Collecting Caxton: Robert Edward Hart's English incunabula' for *The Book Collector*.

Hart's own notes on his collection of incunabula and early printed material support this conclusion. In this volume, **Eric Marshall White** analyses the three earliest typographic specimens preserved in the Hart collection within the historical contexts of fifteenth-century printing, their later utilisation as binding waste and antiquarian book collecting. These three single leaves represent the three earliest datable books printed with moveable types in Europe: the 'Gutenberg Bible', printed in Mainz at the expense of Johann Fust *c.*1455; the Latin Psalter published by Fust and Peter Schoeffer in Mainz on 14 August 1457, which bears the earliest of all dated colophons; and the Benedictine Psalter, completed by Fust and Schoeffer on 29 August 1459. White suggests that Hart's fragments of these otherwise unobtainable Mainz imprints complement Hart's outstanding collection of manuscripts and blockbooks and provide the earliest foundations for a well-selected museum typographicum of incunables.

In addition to western European material, Hart also collected examples of the concept of the book from other cultures. His collection includes five Assyrian clay tablets from *c.*2000 BCE, Egyptian papyri, a book of Sanskrit texts inscribed on long palm leaves and a Torah scroll. Hart was interested in Islamic texts, as well as early modern Persian poetry. **Cleo Cantone**'s chapter reflects on Hart's intentions with regard to the collection of this material, and puts his activity in this area into context comparable with other contemporary industrialist collectors of 'orientalist' material such as Chester Beatty. **Cynthia Johnston**'s chapter continues the contemporary contextualising of Hart's collecting practices by drawing the geographic focus more tightly. Blackburn Free Library and Museum was gifted another rare book collection, that of a Blackburn draper, James Dunn, in 1943, three years before Hart left his to the same institution. This chapter focuses on book collections created by R.E. Hart's contemporaries in Blackburn, Preston and Burnley. These collections are the James Dunn Collection at the Blackburn with Darwen Library and Information Centre, the John Henry Spencer Collections and the Private Press Collection held by Preston's Harris Museum, Library and Art Gallery and the Edwin James Hardcastle Collection of original art for book illustrations in Burnley's Towneley Hall MAG. **Rebecca Darley**'s chapter draws this volume to a close by gathering together themes from the proceedings as a whole and reflecting on her own research using Hart's numismatic collection also held by the Blackburn MAG. Purely in terms of the sum of their parts, Hart gathered material of staggering cultural, historical and monetary worth. Rebecca Darley takes this as a starting point to probe more deeply into other frameworks of value in which Hart's and other local collections exist today, and the kinds of value they might create. As this monograph demonstrates, their worth goes far beyond the sum of their parts to generate transformative networks of knowledge and identity.

When the contents of Robert Edward Hart's family home, Brooklands, were sold by auction in 1973, Edward Hart himself, as he was known, had been dead for 27 years. In the intervening time, Hart's youngest sister, Dora Isobel, had lived alone in the big house on West Park Road in Blackburn, across from what had been a Victorian triumph, the landscaped fantasy of Corporation Park. It seems that the arrangements of the house, since Edward's death in 1946, had been preserved in aspic. Among the tureens and silver sugar tongs, the cake stands and washbowls and pitchers, is one emphatically repeated piece of household furniture, the bookcase. Always made from mahogany, the bookcases appear in every possible space; the morning room, the lounge, the dining room and, of course, the library. It is in the description of the latter that Hart's practice as a book collector resonates. Apart from a grandfather clock, a mahogany armchair, a rectangular dining table and a mahogany 'stand chair' with a cane seat and footrest, the room is furnished solely with bookcases, most standing seven-feet tall with glazed doors and drawers below. It's a solitary space with its single armchair, not designed for company. While Hart's contemplative space illustrates the private world of the book collector, the chapters in this volume demonstrate the connectivity of collecting. The chronological sweep of Hart's collection and its cultural breadth reveal the connecting skein of book culture through millennia; through the rise and fall of empires and religions and technological revolutions. The practice of collecting connected Hart to others who shared his passionate interests, both those whose collecting linked them to international markets, and those whose focus was entirely local. While Hart's enjoyment of his collections was overwhelmingly private during his lifetime, his intention for the afterlife of the collections was for them to find new life in his own community of Blackburn. It is our intention with this volume to enrich that life, and to deepen the connections between the Hart Collection and the local community as well as an international audience.

Figure 7.1. Robert Edward Hart (1878–1946). Image courtesy of the Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

1. The loyalties of a collector

David McKitterick

What is it that drives people not just to collect, but also to decide where to place their collections after their deaths? Should they go to a museum? An existing one? A new foundation? In what town or city? To their family? Or should their collections be dispersed, perhaps at auction? Obviously, there are any number of possible answers, from named museums and libraries that perpetuate the memory of founders and foundation collections, such as the Burrell collection at Glasgow, or the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, or Mrs Rylands at Manchester, where the founders provided collections as well as money for building. At Ambleside, in 1909 Mary Louisa Armitt founded what is now the Armitt Museum and Library to focus on the life and work of the Lake District.

These might perhaps be described as the most expensive options, though foundation bequests rarely provide enough for a long-term endowment over several generations. Between that and the other extreme, dispersal by sale, one of the options is to leave collections, or parts of collections, to existing institutions. This can have a transformative effect, turning a relatively minor museum or library into a great one.

Some of the celebrated collections of the North West were formed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, most of them from wealth created in industry or trade. This was clearly reflected in the 2015 exhibition, 'Cotton to Gold: Extraordinary Collections of the Industrial North West', held at Two Temple Place in London, and in the earlier exhibition held at Manchester in 1976, 'Medieval and Early Renaissance Treasures in the North West'. But the story is more complicated than one of collecting and gift, varied according to individual tastes, commitment and loyalties. In this, Hart stands out as exceptional, and I propose to look a little at his background, a challenging task concerning one who went to such lengths to keep his life private.[1]

1 See most recently Cynthia Johnston, 'Spending a fortune. Robert Edward Hart, bibliophile and numismatist; an industrialist collector in Blackburn, Lancashire', in *Collecting the Past; British Collectors and their Collections from the 18th to the 20th Century*, eds Tony Burrows and Cynthia Johnston (Abingdon, 2019), pp. 98–112; *Cotton to Gold: Extraordinary Collections of the Industrial North West*, (London: Two Temple Place, 2015); *Medieval and Early Renaissance Treasures in the North West* (Manchester: Whitworth Art Gallery, 1976).

It is difficult to judge how final decisions are made: few collectors write about such matters in detail, so little more than the effects of their wills tends to exist. But apart from perpetuating their names (or not), and apart from wishes to keep collections together (or no, and thus to give another generation a chance to gather its own collections), there must also be the question of competition – not just between individuals but between institutions and, not least, between towns and cities or even countries.

I turn to this last point first. The standard account of museums in late nineteenth-century England is by Thomas Greenwood, born near Stockport in 1851, and whose career was partly in London, as a publisher of trade journals and technical books. In 1886 he published a book on *Free public libraries*.[2] This immediately became the essential work on the subject, and by 1894 it had reached its fifth edition. He followed this in 1888 with a similar book on *Museums and art galleries*.[3] Both came out at the time when local authorities across the country were coming to terms with the Museums Act of 1845 and with public libraries legislation of 1850 and subsequently. This allowed a local rate to be levied in order to support museums and free public libraries. Greenwood provided details of which local authorities had adopted the Public Libraries Act, and when. Manchester, for example, did so in 1852. A theme of competition runs throughout Greenwood's work: who adopted the Act, how soon, and how effectively? He distinguished between various kinds of museums and libraries: those run privately; those in the hands of groups of members (including the old circulating libraries, dependent on annual subscriptions); those owned and run by local authorities; those that were free; those requiring some payment. Although he wrote two separate books, one on libraries and the other on museums and art galleries, doing so because he was eager to promote the cause of free public libraries, the two activities were often in fact within the same building.

Hart was born in 1878, and thus was too young to appreciate Greenwood's books when they first appeared. But this was the world in which he grew up: a developing system of local authority libraries and museums, dependent partly on each other, partly (in the case of museums) on loans from the travelling exhibitions collection in London's South Kensington Museum.[4]

2 Thomas Greenwood, *Free public libraries; their organization, uses and management* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Company, 1886). For Greenwood see, e.g., the account by Alistair Black in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* and Grace Carlton, *Spade-work; the Story of Thomas Greenwood* (London: Hutchinson, 1949).

3 Thomas Greenwood, *Museums and art galleries* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Company, 1888).

4 These loans, each for a period of twelve months, were for many years an important feature of provincial museums. In 1895 the museum recorded loans to 49 museums including Blackburn, Bolton, Oldham, Preston, Stockport and Warrington: *Calendar, history and general summary of regulations of the Department of Science and Art. 1896* (London: HMSO, 1895), p. lxvi.

Although the London loans were to cease, the local structures described by Greenwood remained largely intact well into the twentieth century, and thus for most of Hart's lifetime.

Greenwood of course takes what might be called an institutional view, one that differs significantly from how individuals come to make their collections and arrange for their disposal. So it is important to look into the backgrounds of collectors. Hart was by all accounts a retiring person. The only real glimpse that remains of him as an active collector is the occasion of his visit to Maggs's bookshop in London, when he bought a group of illustrated fifteenth-century books printed from woodblocks. To buy not one but several was distinctly unusual. To buy them as he did, with cash taken out of the briefcase he carried, was memorable indeed, and the tale was recorded for posterity in Maurice Ettinghausen's autobiography.[5] Hart apparently explained that he preferred to pay in this way so that his banker would not know how much he was spending on books.

He never married, and lived for most of his life in the family house in Blackburn. Little seems to be known of his social life. I therefore turn to his early education. After prep school – not in the north, but in Hampshire, at a school recently founded as a feeder for the large public schools such as nearby Winchester and Marlborough, he went to Rugby. Here he was a contemporary of Ernest Simon, later Lord Simon of Wythenshawe, the Manchester industrialist, Liberal (and later Labour) politician and social reformer. The two had much in common: both were from Lancashire industrial backgrounds. More importantly, both men went up to Pembroke College, Cambridge, to read mechanical sciences: Hart in 1896, and Simon two years later, in 1898. After graduating, both men had to take senior responsibility quite quickly in their fathers' firms. They cannot have failed to know each other: coming from the same school, to the same college, and reading what was then a new and very small subject – mechanical sciences, later to develop into the much larger engineering tripos. In 1899, when Hart sat for the first part of the tripos, there were just seventeen candidates. But temperamentally he and Simon were different: the latter (who died in 1960) married and developed a keen sense of the need for social reform, especially in slum clearance while Hart had no such obvious driving ambitions. Simon became a leader in the twentieth-century development of Manchester and was prominent on the national political stage. Both were, however firmly local men, attached to the needs of their home regions in Manchester and Blackburn. In this respect, albeit in different ways and with widely diverging interests, both men were noticeably perceptive.

5 Maurice L. Ettinghausen, *Rare Books and Royal Collectors* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966), pp. 74–5.

In a consideration of the background to Hart as a collector, while hazarding a guess at possible formative influences, then two members of his college stand out. The older was Edward Granville Browne, Fellow of the College and perhaps the most respected scholar of Persia and its literature in the country. Born in 1862, and thus still in his thirties when Hart came up, Browne had been intended for a medical career but fought against his father's wishes and turned himself into a specialist on Middle Eastern literature. His book *A year among the Persians* (1893 and many later editions) was already a classic of its kind, perhaps even the first book anyone with an interest in the subject would consult. His four-volume *Literary history of Persia* appeared in 1902–24. Browne not only catalogued the Persian and Islamic manuscripts in the university library. He also formed a notable collection of his own, which he left to the university on his death in 1926. Was it, perhaps, partly in the work of Browne that Hart began to form his interest in the history of script more generally, from ancient Assyria and including later Persian manuscripts?

The second was Ellis Minns (1874–1953), who graduated in classics in 1897, was elected a Fellow of Pembroke in 1899, and served for many years as college librarian. A man of wide interests, his professional life was focused mostly on Slavonic archaeology. In 1906 he became the university's lecturer in palaeography, attached to the Board for History and Archaeology, and in 1925 he delivered the Sandars lectures in bibliography, taking as his subject the influence of materials and instruments upon writing. Then in 1927 he was elected Disney Professor of Archaeology. For many years he was closely associated with the Fitzwilliam Museum. The studies of both Browne and Minns overlap at several points with those of Hart.

Hart retained an attachment to his college. At the end of his life he bestowed on it the considerable sum of £10,000, part of which was used for college improvements, and part as a contribution to the cost of the college's war memorial. He also gave it a first edition copy of the *Faerie Queen* by Edmund Spenser, a former member of the college.

But a look beyond the college walls, at the wider university, leaves more questions. The annual report of the Fitzwilliam Museum for 1944–5 records his gift of no fewer than 55 eighteenth-century French illustrated books, mostly pocket-sized volumes containing the engravings fashionable at that time. They included a number of albums consisting solely of the engraved plates to the books – a common enough way of publishing in the eighteenth century. They greatly strengthened this element of the museum's holdings, and included some of the main illustrators of the day.[6]

What was it that attracted Hart to the Fitzwilliam? When he was an undergraduate, right at the end of the nineteenth century, it was a backwater.

6 *Cambridge University Reporter*, 8 May 1945, pp. 714, 717 (including a complete list).

The director was M.R. James, the great manuscript scholar; but James was preoccupied with writing the four-volume catalogue of the manuscripts in Trinity College, and he considered three days a week in the museum as the absolute maximum required for that aspect of his duties. Indeed, he thought the needs of the museum so light that he even abolished the position of assistant director.[7] There is no suggestion that an undergraduate reading engineering in the college just over the road might have been encouraged to look at the museum's fine collection of illuminated manuscripts. A much more fruitful resource would have been a book on *Illuminated manuscripts in classical and mediaeval times* by James's predecessor as director, J.H. Middleton, published by the University Press in 1892: Hart's own copy is still among his books at Blackburn.[8] This is now, unsurprisingly, seriously dated, but it is remarkable for not being devoted solely to illuminated manuscripts. It also included extensive notes on pigments, on paper and parchment, and it included transcripts of several detailed accounts of the making of English medieval manuscripts. As an introductory handbook it had many virtues. Middleton himself (who also wrote about antique engraved gems) explained what drew him to medieval illuminated manuscripts: 'The intense pleasure and refreshment that can be gained by the study of a fine mediaeval illuminated manuscript depend largely on the fact that the exquisite miniatures, borders and initial letters were the product of an age which in almost every respect differed widely from the unhappy, machine-driven nineteenth century in which we now live' (p. xiv). This Ruskinian view can be seen just as much at work in Hart, who also took up Ruskin's views on the importance of museums and, hence, encouraging public awareness of beauty and sharing the past with the present. His final guiding sentence was clear: 'A collector with some real knowledge and appreciation of what is artistically fine can perhaps lay out his money to greater advantage in the purchase of manuscripts than by buying works of art of any other class, either mediaeval or modern.'[9] Hart certainly took notice of the advice, and then extended his interests.

For anyone with the slightest interest in medieval manuscripts, the exhibition organised by the Burlington Fine Arts Club in London in 1908 was unavoidable.[10] Although Hart was by then deep in managing the affairs

7 R.W. Pfaff, *Montague Rhodes James*, (London: Scolar Press, 1980); Stella Panayotova, *I Turned it into a Palace; Sydney Cockerell and the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum, 2008), p. 45.

8 Hart MS 14664. I am grateful to Caroline Wilkinson for help here.

9 J. Henry Middleton, *Illuminated manuscripts in classical and mediaeval times, their art and their technique* (Cambridge: University Press, 1892), p. 264.

10 Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of illuminated manuscripts* (London: Burlington Fine Arts Club, 1908). The catalogue was published in both illustrated and unillustrated versions.

of a large international company, he would have found the trip to London thoroughly worthwhile. The exhibition was masterminded by Sydney Cockerell, appointed in that year as director of the Fitzwilliam Museum in succession to James. It was easily the largest and most ambitious exhibition of medieval illuminated manuscripts that had ever happened, but for Hart it might have been noticeable for one thing: there was nothing from institutions in the North West.

As for his buying, a little information on where he bought some of his medieval manuscripts can be gauged from the larger London dealers.[11] More can be discovered from the booksellers' codes inside some of his printed books. Just before World War One, Blackburn had two secondhand booksellers, John Cotteril in North Street, Market Place, and (since 1910) Joseph Baron in Northgate. Preston, with a smaller population, had the older firm of Halewood, founded in 1866.[12] Hart bought mostly from others. For his coins, the details come from his own notes on the identity labels. For his ancient near east and Islamic collections there is scant evidence, but it is worth noting that when shortly after 1930 Maggs Brothers issued a vast catalogue devoted to the history of writing from 2800BC to 1930 – a subject so close to Hart's own interest – they offered Babylonian clay tablets for about £21 each. There was a plentiful supply. Hart bought many of his reference books – particularly those on coins – from Seed and Gabbutt, the largest general bookseller in Blackburn, established in 1907 by David and John Gabbutt and a Miss Seed.[13]

In fact, it seems much more likely that Hart came into contact with the museum rather later in life. From 1908 James's successor as director, Sydney Cockerell, transformed the place ('I found it a pigsty and turned it into a palace'), not just in extending its buildings and reordering the galleries, but also in his aggressive (there is no other polite word for it) pursuit of benefactors, especially collectors who might be persuaded to give either individual items or whole collections to what he referred to as 'my' museum.[14] The Fitzwilliam has never had a more creative or successful director. As Hart developed his collections of printed books, medieval manuscripts, coins and

11 Hart's medieval manuscripts were mostly books of hours or biblical texts. For details, including the sources from which he obtained many of them, see N.R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British libraries* 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), pp. 91–112.

12 *The international directory of booksellers and bibliophile's manual*, ed. James Clegg (Rochdale: J. Clegg, 1914).

13 This information is in one of Hart's handlists in the Hart archive at the Museum. I am grateful to Cynthia Johnston for drawing this to my attention.

14 The standard life is Wilfrid Blunt, *Cockerell, A Life of Sir Sydney Carlyle Cockerell, Friend of Ruskin and William Morris and Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1965); see also, in particular, Panayotova, *I Turned it into a Palace; Sydney Cockerell and the Fitzwilliam Museum.*

Islamic art, Cockerell cannot have failed to have heard of him. It may be thanks to Cockerell's suggestion that he donated the aforementioned collection of French eighteenth-century books in 1944–5, when the museum's director was Cockerell's successor, Louis Clarke.

If Hart knew little about the contents of the museum when he was an undergraduate, he will have known still less about the university library. The great encourager of the young, Henry Bradshaw, had been dead since 1886. In his place the university librarian was Francis Jenkinson, who was active in acquiring early books and manuscripts, but who seems to have done little to encourage undergraduates to roam in buildings that were generally assumed to be for senior members of the university. Jenkinson died in office in 1923, and was succeeded by A.F. Scholfield, who was still librarian when in 1946 Hart bequeathed to the university library the group of extremely rare fifteenth-century books printed from woodblocks, together with a book printed by Caxton. If one is looking for an influence on Hart in making this gift, then the most likely candidate is Scholfield, a man whom he cannot have met until his middle life.

In other words, like so many undergraduates, he learned much more about the university and its collections after he graduated and left Cambridge, as he learned also about the books and other items he gathered together. It was, in sum, an adult world.

From this background, I now return to collections in the North West. The great exhibition held at the Whitworth Gallery in 1976 was entitled 'Medieval and Early Renaissance Treasures in the North West'. It was organised largely by C.R. Dodwell, who was then professor of history of art at Manchester, with the help of Jonathan Alexander and Paul Crossley, of the same department. It displayed not just illuminated manuscripts, but also paintings, engravings, stained glass, sculpture, enamels, metalwork, ivories (especially from the Mayer collection in Liverpool) and textiles: one obvious omission was any mention of coins. Many of the manuscripts were identified thanks to Neil Ker, who was at that time gathering materials for his immense survey of medieval manuscripts in the British Isles.[15] Loans came from private collections such as the Earl of Derby and (strictly speaking, stretching geography a little beyond the North West) Chatsworth. The lenders to which I wish to draw attention here are the institutional ones: the borough of Blackburn, the record offices for Cheshire and Lancashire, Liverpool city libraries, the borough of Macclesfield (another Derbyshire neighbour), Chetham's Library, the Rylands and the Whitworth in Manchester, the Harris Museum in Preston, Rochdale Art Gallery, the city art galleries and museum at Salford, and Stonyhurst College. Leaving aside the immense riches of the Rylands,

15 N.R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969–2002).

which place it in a class by itself, one can note that some of these institutions had owned their properties for many years. Chetham's Library, for example, had owned its thirteenth-century *Flores historiarum* written at St Albans and Winchester, since 1657. Stonyhurst had owned many of its books since the eighteenth century. Other exhibits came through nineteenth-century benefactors, such as the thirteenth-century Paris bible in the large and varied Joseph Mayer collection, given to Liverpool in 1867.[16] The Whitworth had received the important collection of early northern European prints of G.T. Clough in 1921.[17] Some, noticeably so in the case of Liverpool city libraries, were purchases bought as recently as the 1960s.

There was naturally an element of local politics here, to try and ensure that a sufficient number of collections was represented. It made the case well: that the North West was rich in such materials even if one discounted the Rylands.

Noticeably (and perhaps for reasons of space) it left out early printed books. Had the exhibition also included examples of these, it could have been several times larger. Then – again excluding the Rylands – it could, for example, have drawn on the rich collection of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century books bequeathed to Stonyhurst by Bishop Vertue in 1900 (mostly since sold at Sotheby's, in 2003).

Here this chapter touches on local interests which do not necessarily influence the sometimes rather specialist world of medieval manuscripts. Ever since the Public Libraries Act of 1850, and the beginning of the new public libraries, local authorities had been encouraged to collect early books: most obviously relating to local history, but also of a more general kind.[18]

Edward Edwards, vociferous, thoughtful, sometimes abrasive, and in charge of Manchester Public Library, published a widely read two volumes on the history of libraries, with recommendations for their modern management. After noting the need for clear aims in founding modern public libraries, he turned to local collections:

> This, I think, should be one of the first departments to receive attention, in the formation of our Libraries for the Public. Every thing that is procurable, whether printed or MS., that bears on the history and antiquities, the fauna and flora, the trade and politics, the worthies and notabilities, and, generally, on the local affairs of whatever kind, of the parish, town and county in which

16 *Joseph Mayer of Liverpool, 1803–1886*, eds Margaret Gibson and Susan M. Wright (London: Society of Antiquaries/National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, 1988).

17 David Morris, 'The Clough collection of prints at the Whitworth Institute', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 92: 167–85 (2016).

18 William H.K. Wright, 'Special collections of local books in provincial libraries', in *Transactions and proceedings of the first annual meeting of the Library Association of the United Kingdom,* eds H.R. Tedder and E.C. Thomas (1879), pp. 44–50.

the Library may be placed, and of the adjacent district, should be carefully collected.[19]

By gift, bequest and purchase, some of the larger libraries assembled select collections of other kinds of older books as a part of public education.[20] By the mid 1860s Manchester public library possessed not only a notable representation of local material, and an important collection of pamphlets (a genre which it made its own), but also about 40 sixteenth-century books. They included Bede (Strassburg, 1514), Galen (Venice, 1541), Thomas More (1557) and Chaucer (1561). The earliest book was the first edition of the Old Testament in Dutch (Delft, 1477). The library's copy of the second folio of Shakespeare (1632) had belonged to the Lancashire-born actor John Philip Kemble.[21] Edwards believed that, whereas in the past religious houses had provided the reassurance of long-term preservation, municipal libraries now offered secure repositories in which gifts could be cared for in perpetuity.[22] This did seem to be the case for many years as local authority libraries gained financial support and public trust.

Edwards was not an easy man, and fell out with many of his colleagues and seniors. But he was influential, and his books were much quoted especially during the second half of the nineteenth century, when the traditions of local library management were being established. Manchester Public Library was by no means the only example. At Warrington, where advantage was taken of the Museums Act (1845) to use local rates to establish a public library in 1848, an effort was made to build up early collections, including a small group of incunabula. At Wigan, on a far grander scale, the library committee chaired by the bibliophile and local landowner Lord Crawford, and under the direction of an exceptional librarian, H.T. Folkard, assembled not just early books, but many later ones as well, including some expensive illustrated ones.[23] It published special catalogues of some of its collections,

19 Edward Edwards, *Memoirs of libraries, including a handbook of library economy,* 2 vols (London: Trübner & Co, 1859) 2, p. 573. For Edwards, see W.A Munford, *Edward Edwards,1812–1886; Portrait of a Librarian* (London: The Library Association, 1963).

20 For a notable example, see H.T. Folkard, *Wigan free public library: its rise and progress: a list of some of its treasures: with an account of the celebration of the twenty-first anniversary of its opening* (Wigan, 1901).

21 Andrea Crestadoro, *Catalogue of the books in the Manchester Free Library, reference department* (Manchester: Manchester Public Libraries, 1864), pp. 637, 971. See also David McKitterick, *The Invention of Rare Books*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), pp. 314–15.

22 Edwards, *Memoirs* 2, p. 606. His hope that the role of a public library would include that of long-term repository has proved a vain one, many local authorities having neglected and then sold their rare book collections.

23 H.T.Folkard, *Wigan Free Public Library: its rise and progress, a list of some of its treasures, with an account of the celebration of the twenty-first anniversary of its opening* (Wigan,

most remarkably perhaps ones of the music library and of the specialist collection relating to mining and mineralogy. In the last few years, faced like most public bodies with an acute shortfall in its local budget, and unclear as to how such books could be made useful to people locally, Wigan has sold most of its early and rare books, including about 70 incunabula.

What might one discover from looking at the wider provision during Hart's lifetime for local museums and libraries in Lancashire? It is important to consider the two together for several reasons. One is administrative, in that the two kinds of collections tend to come under the same local authority management committees. For many years they tended to be in the same buildings, and thus also to share staff. Today, as local libraries face immense changes in what is expected of them, and as many changes due to a crisis in funding, the two kinds of collections sometimes seem to be more easily separated. The aims and purposes of museums are not necessarily the same as those for libraries, with their current emphasis on provision of computer resources as much as on books, with the continuing challenge of keeping book stocks up to date, and measurements of success according to the numbers of books borrowed. Most obviously, museums are not expected constantly to renew themselves with quantities of newly minted objects, though the most successful ones do demonstrate an alertness to potential new audiences, and keep abreast of developments in painting and other visual and tactile arts, in the challenges posed by a complex social world.

Bearing in mind that libraries and museums can be – and were for many years – one and the same, this chapter now looks at the foundation dates of museums and galleries in some of the major towns in the North West:

Manchester	1829	City Art Gallery. Whitworth 1889
Warrington	1848	
Salford	1849	Science Museum 1906
Liverpool	1860[24]	Walker 1873; Hornby 1906
Wigan	1878	Museum in central lib. Transf. to Haigh Hall 1950
Oldham	1883	
Bolton	1884	
Lancaster	1891	City Museum 1923
Preston	1893	
Blackburn	1894	
Bury	1901	

1901).

24 Edward Morris, *Victorian & Edwardian Paintings in the Walker Art Gallery and at Sudley House* (London: HMSO, 1996).

Burnley	1902	Towneley Hall
Blackpool	1911	Grundy Art Gallery(s)
Accrington	1921	Haworth Art Gallery(s)
Lytham St Annes	none	
Poulton le Fylde	none	

One thing is immediately clear: surges of interest have arisen in terms of founding museums. So one can note, in a chronological first group, not just very large cities, such as Manchester (first off the starting blocks, in 1829) and Liverpool (1853), but also smaller places like Warrington (1848) and Salford (1849). Then there is a substantial group in the last two decades or so of the nineteenth century: Wigan (1878), Oldham (1883), Bolton (1884), Lancaster (1891), Blackburn (1894) and Preston (1895).

Looking at libraries, a slightly different pattern can be discerned, largely dependent on the dates at which the various places agreed to adopt the public libraries legislation of 1850:[25]

Warrington	1848 (est. under the Museums Act)
Salford	1850 (est. under the Museums Act)
Manchester	1852
Liverpool	1852
Bolton	1853
Blackburn	1860
Rochdale	1872
Wigan	1876
Oldham	1885
Lancaster	1892

In other words, libraries tend to come before museums. This is not surprising, given that the 1850 Act was designed to raise money from the rates specifically for libraries, whereas so often museums depend for their foundation collections on local benefactors. This was spectacularly so in the case of the Harris at Preston, which began with a bequest of £105,000 to erect and furnish the building housing the library and museum.[26] In all this there

25 Details of the formation and early years of several of these libraries can be followed in Edward Edwards, *Free town libraries, their formation, management, and history; in Britain, France, Germany, & America* (London: Trübner & Co 1869).

26 John Convey, *The Harris Free Public Library and Museum, Preston, 1893–1993* (Preston: Lancashire County Books, 1993).

can be some confused overlap as to the relative purposes of a library and a museum. A library clearly has a lending department, a reference department, a newspaper room, sometimes a room set aside for ladies. These early libraries were all encouraged to build up collections relating to local history and other matters of local interest. But they did not necessarily include (for example) medieval manuscripts, or paintings, or coins, or for that matter stuffed birds – though at least one did so. These are generally assumed to be more properly the preserve of museums. So, for example, at Preston in 1883 Richard Newsham bequeathed his oil paintings, watercolours and other objects which were later to be housed in the Harris Museum, opened in 1893.

With respect to medieval manuscripts and early printed books, Blackburn is unusual. Hart left his collections specifically to the library. They were formally transferred to the museum only in 1974, though in fact the 1963 national survey of provincial museums and libraries, part of the Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries, chaired by the Earl of Rosse, had already allocated them to the museum.[27] The obvious comparator is the Hornby library at Liverpool (founded in 1906), with its collections of fine press books, manuscripts and early books. If – as no doubt he did – Hart looked at the nearer example of Preston, he would have seen that it housed just three early manuscripts, so, however crucial it was in other aspects of his thinking about local collections, Preston was of little relevance in that respect.

When in 1894 Thomas Greenwood came to write the fourth edition of his survey of public libraries, he opened the north of England section with a clear message: 'It is in the northern and midland counties that we have to look for the best development of the Public Library movement up to the present time' and 'It was in the north of England that the movement first entered the soil, and it is here that its roots have been most widely spread and the work has been carried on with the greatest vigour.'[28] During Hart's lifetime, public libraries were to become commonplace, and it is to this slightly earlier period that one should look to understand his way of thinking. In 1894, the date of Greenwood's words, he was sixteen. Blackburn library had been established only in 1860 – just eighteen years before his birth. This was a new world, gradually finding its feet, dependent partly on local support from the rates, but also increasingly on the gifts of various kinds from local benefactors. Many of these gifts were of a kind best described as miscellaneous, the kind of antiquarian detritus that can fill up space all too easily. But others were major gifts.

27 Standing Commission on Museums and Galleries, *Survey of Provincial Museums and Galleries* (the Rosse report), (London: HMSO, 1963).

28 Thomas Greenwood, *Public libraries*, 4th edn. (1891), p. 91.

Hart's decision to leave the bulk of his collection to his home town had plenty of precedents. He was generous to the institutions that had nurtured him either as an undergraduate or later in life as he was building up his knowledge. I have already mentioned the money and the copy of Edmund Spenser that he gave to his college; the 55 illustrated French books that he gave to the Fitzwilliam Museum; and the extraordinary group of fifteenth-century blockbooks that he bequeathed to the university library. These were not random gifts. They were clearly most carefully considered, chosen as appropriate additions to collections that were already notable in their own right. In 1946 Cambridge University Library had just one blockbook, an incomplete copy of the Apocalypse bought at the Syston Park sale in 1885. It was an obvious weakness in a collection that was extraordinarily strong in the earliest work from the printing presses of the lower Rhine valley and the Low Countries. The *History of Jason* that he gifted was one of the earliest books to come from Caxton's press at Westminster – another one not possessed by the library, which already had an exceptional collection from Caxton's presses.[29] Hart was not just adding to the library. He was strengthening it in highly appropriate ways. It is worth noting that this is also so in the Fitzwilliam Museum, where the founder's gifts and those of Frank McClean had included a wealth of illuminated manuscripts and had fortified the museum's holdings of early illustrated books.[30] However, this is not so evident in the kind of later books that Hart chose to give. Besides all his manuscripts (none went anywhere else), and besides the hundreds of other books, he still bequeathed almost 50 fifteenth-century printed books to his home town.

He could look also at other collectors living nearby such as Thomas Boys Lewis (1869–1942), a cottonmill owner in Blackburn, who collected Japanese prints, and had established the Lewis Textile Museum, incorporated since 2007 into the Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. There was also James Dunn, a local draper who had died in 1943, having given to the town his wide-ranging collection of books, prints and autographs, including several rare early English books and a fine group of French rococo work. The existence of his collection of French books already in Blackburn may

29 J.C.T. Oates, *A catalogue of the fifteenth-century printed books in the University Library, Cambridge* (Cambridge: University Press, 1954). Blockbooks: nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6. Caxton's *History of Jason*, Oates 4059, is the Harleian copy, later in Ham House, bound in Harleian red morocco. In 1931 the blockbooks had been offered in a special illustrated Maggs catalogue, *Six block-books, together with a complete set of block-printed court playing cards* (edn. limited to 30 copies).

30 M.R. James, *Descriptive catalogue of the McClean collection of manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge: University Press, 1912); O.M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the mediaeval ivories, enamels, jewellry, gems and miscellaneous objects bequeathed to the Museum by Frank McClean* (Cambridge: University Press, 1912); C.E. Sayle, *Catalogue of the early printed books bequeathed to the Museum by Frank McLean* (Cambridge: University Press, 1916).

perhaps have influenced Hart's decision to give his own French books to the Fitzwilliam.[31] Further back there was Edward Stocks Massey (1849–1909), a brewer in Burnley, who had helped to establish the Towneley Hall Museum. These men had made their money locally, and they returned it locally. But above all, perhaps, was the Harris building in nearby Preston which opened in 1893. Built in a Greek style on a huge scale, it outdid the neo-gothic public library and museum at Blackburn designed by Thomas Colcutt in 1872–4 (an architect probably best remembered as responsible for London's enormous Palace Theatre in Cambridge Circus, 1889). Gradually its collections grew: paintings by the Devis family from the eighteenth century, the collection of pottery and porcelain given by Cedric Houghton in 1910, a collection of coins and medals, and paintings from the lawyer Richard Newsham (bequeathed 1883) and from the Rev. John Haslam.

What about Blackburn Library itself? The decline of the cotton industry in Lancashire was disastrous for the local economy, leading to huge unemployment and also to a shortfall in funding among local authorities to maintain projects which they had sometimes started in a flood of optimism. Public libraries, dependent on the local rates, were to the fore among places facing cuts, with fewer new books, buildings that were becoming increasingly inadequate and staff under daily pressure. In 1936–7 the Library Association carried out an international survey of libraries.[32] It began with a dozen reports on Great Britain, breaking the country up by region. Those who compiled the separate reports worked to a schedule that was supposed to be common to all to allow a proper comparison between different parts of the country and different authorities. The Lancashire chapter was written by W. Pollitt, FSA, FLA. He visited no fewer than 61 libraries in the space of a month, so inevitably some of his judgements were made quickly, perhaps even hastily. His is the closest account there is on the state of the Lancashire libraries not just before World War Two, but also in the hardly less difficult circumstances afterwards. This was the position of the libraries at the time that Hart was deciding the fate of his own collection. The report spoke in fairly general terms, and had little either good or bad to say specifically of Blackburn. But he did mention that both Accrington and Blackburn had extensions to their buildings in mind. He had nothing to say about the kinds of special collections under discussion here, but he made a point of commenting on the space taken up by lending stock, of how inactive stock

31 Cynthia Johnston, 'The James Dunn collection, the Blackburn with Darwen Library and Information Service', in *Holding the Vision; Collecting the Art of the Book in the Industrial North West* (Blackburn: Museum and Art Gallery, 2020), pp. 24–6. See also Cynthia Johnston's chapter in this volume, 'Book collecting in context; Hart and his contemporaries'.

32 Lionel R. McColvin, *A survey of libraries: reports on a survey made by the Library Association during 1936–1937* (London: The Library Association, 1938).

was taking over buildings. This was in fact a countrywide challenge, as public libraries clogged up with stock bought over 70 or 80 years, giving no thought to stock control. The threats to space and thus to development were obvious enough. Moreover, unlike at Manchester, Wigan, Bury, Burnley and a few other places, there was no endowment at Blackburn.

Hart was committed to Blackburn. He was by no means unique in his wish to leave his collections to his home town, the same town that had brought him and his family considerable wealth through their manufacturing enterprises. But his gifts – of printed books, illuminated manuscripts, oriental manuscripts, examples of the earliest writings on clay tablets and coins – also presented a challenge. They had the capacity to be transformative. They joined a collection of paintings, and they could not all be so easily displayed. How were his collections to be made available, and used for people's benefit and enjoyment? So far, the Greek coins are the only objects in his collection to be systematically photographed and published in the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*.[33]

The world of the computer screen has brought a greatly increased public thirst to see originals, in three dimensions, in their various sizes, in their material properties. This can be observed readily enough in the numbers of people who go to special exhibitions. For Hart, that was assumed: he only knew his collections as artefacts. When he died there was no suggestion of the computer-based world of today, and therefore of the possibilities for exploiting and using these objects through shared computer cataloguing and through digitisation. It is a new kind of curiosity, with the potential to bring into use collections that may have been neglected thanks to public ignorance. Today, opportunities and needs become ever greater: opportunities for education, entertainment and leisure, well beyond the local environment. Such needs require local and national financial support. Responsibilities for bringing the past to the present are doubled. By entrusting his collections to Blackburn, Hart ensured that his manuscripts, early printed books, coins and other objects would be given a sure future, that people would be able to enjoy and learn from them. Beyond the duty of care that goes with that, come also opportunities. Now, as never before, the potential means exist to compare his collections with those of others, in this country and across the world. Libraries and museums, readers and users alike, have been enriched and given new senses of purpose since catalogues and digital images now provide extra means to explore contexts alongside all the complicated histories that each book or object represents.

33 Keith F. Sugden, *Sylloge nummorum Graecorum*. 8: The Hart Collection, Blackburn Museum (London: British Academy, 1989).

2. The Blackburn Psalter and the William of Devon group

Nigel J. Morgan

Astonishing news that a collection of great significance existed at Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery (MAG) first filtered through to those interested in illuminated manuscripts in the 1960s and early 1970s. Blackburn Public Library issued its first publication on the collection, *Illustrated Manuscripts and Early Printed Books from the Hart Collection,* in 1964, but the descriptions were short with few illustrations, and it had a limited circulation. A few years later several items in the Blackburn collection were listed in a catalogue accompanying the 1973 exhibition 'Medieval and Early Renaissance Treasures in the North West', held at Manchester's Whitworth Art Gallery. This reached a wider audience and was where I first saw them.[1] In 1974 the manuscripts and printed books were transferred from the public library to the MAG. When the complete collection was catalogued in detail in Neil Ker's 1977 publication, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*,[2] the Blackburn manuscript collection was finally presented to an international audience.

After consulting Ker, my first visit to the MAG was in April 1979 to look at one of the very finest illuminated manuscripts, a thirteenth-century Psalter Hart MS 091-21001, which has subsequently come to be known as the Blackburn Psalter.[3] It is in fact one of two illuminated thirteenth-century psalters in the collections, the other being Hart MS 091.21117 which is now known as the Peckover Psalter after its former owner, Algerina Peckover (1841–1927) of Peckover House, Wisbech, Cambridgeshire.[4] The Blackburn Psalter was made in England whereas the Peckover Psalter is French. I subsequently published an interpretative account of the Blackburn Psalter in 1988 which I have extended and updated for this chapter.[5]

1 *Medieval and Early Renaissance Treasures in the North West* (Manchester: Whitworth Art Gallery, 1973), nos. 9, 11, 16, 28, 46, 48, 54, 58, 61, 67, 77.

2 Neil R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, II* (Oxford: Abbotsford-Keele, 1977), pp. 91–113.

3 *Medieval and Early Renaissance Treasures in the North West*, p. 20, no. 16, pl. 5a; Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, II,* pp. 102–3.

4 Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, II*, pp. 111–12.

5 Nigel J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts II, 1250–1285, Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated*

Description of the Blackburn Psalter

This psalter was bequeathed to the Blackburn Public Library as part of a collection of 21 manuscripts from the great benefactor of the city, Robert Edward Hart. Edward Hart, as he preferred to be called, had collected medieval manuscripts, mainly illuminated, and early printed books in the interwar years of the 1920s and 30s. The psalter contains a nineteenth-century bookplate of Eugène Marcel, Havre de Grâce, 'Loviers il franc' with the number 17 written on it. Le Havre de Grâce was the name by which Le Havre in Normandy was formerly known, and Eugène Marcel was a notary whose name appears in documents of that city dating from the middle years of the nineteenth century.[6] The Latin text content of the psalter is: ff. 7r–12v Calendar; ff. 13r–128v Psalter lacking many leaves from psalm 104 onwards and ending imperfectly in psalm 131: 5 'tabernaculum deo Iacob'. In its original state it would almost certainly have also had the canticles and litany after the last psalm 150. The nineteenth-century red velvet binding may have been given to the manuscript when it came into Eugène Marcel's possession. There seems to be no evidence of ownership before his.

The calendar is preceded by twelve full-page illuminated pictures: Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation in the Temple, Entry into Jerusalem, Betrayal, Flagellation, Way of the Cross, Crucifixion, Resurrection with Christ stepping out of the Tomb, Ascension, Pentecost and Coronation of the Virgin. Such images of the Life of Christ, sometimes with select scenes from the Old Testament, precede many English twelfth- and thirteenth-century psalters functioning as picture-books about the most important scenes in the history of salvation. The set of pictures of the Life of Christ normally starts with the Annunciation, followed by the Visitation and Nativity, and it is most likely that the first page of images with the Annunciation on the recto and the Visitation on the verso is missing. The first gathering is of six folios, possibly eight originally, with the corresponding leaf to that of the Annunciation/Visitation following the twelfth image depicting the Coronation of the Virgin. This final leaf of a gathering of eight was either blank or possibly contained two additional pictures, which by comparison with contemporary English psalters, were perhaps of the Last Judgement, Christ in Majesty or Tree of Jesse.[7] After these full-page miniatures follows the calendar which lacks the illustrations of the zodiac and labours of the months usually present

in the British Isles, IV.2 (London: Harvey Miller, 1988), pp. 154–5, no. 160.

6 I am grateful to Peter Kidd for information on Eugène Marcel.

7 Compare English thirteenth-century psalters: Nigel J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts I, 1190–1250*, *Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, IV (London: Harvey Miller, 1982), no. 23 (Munich, Staatsbibl. Clm. 835) and Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts II, 1250–1285*, nos. 151 (London, BL Add. 50000), 165 (London, BL Add. 21926), 166 (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana lat. I.77), 167 (London, BL Add. 38116).

in calendars in contemporary thirteenth-century manuscripts.

Then follows the text of the psalms from psalm 1–131 v. 5, the last part of the text having been lost. Ten further pages containing illuminated historiated initials from which border bars extend, partly framing the text block, can be found with the liturgical divisions of the psalms as read in the Divine Office (readings from several psalms are at the centre of its prayers). In addition to these liturgical divisions are two historiated initials at the threefold division of the psalter into groups of 50 psalms: psalms 51 and 101. This originated in the early centuries of the middle ages to divide the text into three parts for devotional reading, but persisted into later centuries long after this practice had ceased, particularly in England.[8] The psalms of these liturgical divisions are psalms 1, 26, 38, 52, 68, 80, 97, 109 (in the Vulgate numeration), being in the case of the first seven the first psalm read at matins on Sunday and the subsequent six days of the week, and in the case of psalm 109 the first psalm at Sunday Vespers.[9] This liturgical marking of psalms does not necessarily mean that the book was made for a priest or member of the religious orders who were obliged to recite the Divine Office daily. Psalters were often made for men and women of the laity who read various psalms of their choice for devotional prayer: the text was still presented with its liturgical divisions, even though it is unlikely that such lay readers were committed to reading the Divine Office, though a minority of particularly pious laity might, of course, do so on occasions.

The subject matter of these historiated initials varies between psalters, but some usually contain scenes from the life of King David, the supposed author of the psalms.[10] In the Blackburn Psalter the imagery is: psalm 1, David harping, judgement of Solomon, f. 13r; psalm 26, Samuel anointing David as king, f. 32r; psalm 38, David pointing to his face or mouth, f. 45r; psalm 51,

8 The three-part division exists in many Anglo-Saxon psalters from the centuries before the Norman Conquest.

9 The text of the psalms used in medieval psalters is from the Latin Vulgate Bible which has a slightly different numeration of the psalms than in the King James Bible and most modern editions of the psalter and bible. The numbering of these liturgical division psalms in these bibles is 1, 26 (27), 38 (39), 51 (52), 52 (53), 68 (69), 80 (81), 97 (98), 101 (102), 109 (110), with the number in the King James Bible in brackets.

10 In view of the hundreds of thirteenth-century English, Flemish and French medieval illuminated psalters it is regrettable that only one study in German exists of the iconography of these psalm initials written over eighty years ago: Günther Haseloff, *Die Psalterillustration im 13. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Geschichte der Buchmalerei in England, Frankreich und den Niederlanden* (Kiel: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1938. That said, it is an excellent, well-researched book, although of course many other psalters have come to light in the past eighty years, including the Blackburn Psalter itself. Nigel J. Morgan, in 'Resistance to Paris in the iconography of 13th-century English, Netherlandish, north and east French psalters in the Bodleian Library', *Bodleian Library Record*, 21 (1): 62–74 (2008), deals with some of the problems of thirteenth-century psalter illustration.

the fool standing before David f. 56v; psalm 52, David harping before Saul, f. 57r; psalm 68, men in a boat above David in the water (misunderstanding of Jonah being thrown from a boat into the whale's mouth), f. 69r; psalm 80, David playing bells, f. 84r; psalm 97, three clerics singing at a lectern, f. 98r; psalm 101, David kneeling in prayer before an altar blessed by God above, f. 100r; psalm 109, the Holy Trinity as Christ seated beside God the Father with the Dove of the Holy Spirit between them, f. 110r.

The subjects of the historiated initials to the psalms in most cases illustrate the opening verse. Thus psalm 38 'I said: I will take heed of my ways that I sin not with my tongue' shows David pointing to his face or mouth;[11] psalm 51 'Why dost thou glory in malice, thou that art mighty in iniquity?' shows a fool standing before David which is probably an illuminator's error because it is the subject appropriate for psalm 52;[12] psalm 52 'The fool said in his heart: there is no God' shows David harping before King Saul who becomes his enemy, which is probably an illluminator's error because it is a subject appropriate for psalm 51;[13] psalm 68 'Save me O God, for the waters are coming even unto my soul' shows a boat with David in the water, probably a misunderstanding of Jonah being thrown to the whale which is often the subject of this initial in English art;[14] psalm 80 'Rejoice to God our helper, sing aloud to the God of Jacob' shows David making music playing the bells;[15] psalm 97, 'Sing ye to the Lord a new song ', has three men singing before a lectern;[16] psalm 101, 'Hear, O Lord, my prayer, and let my cry come

11 This is psalm 38's usual subject in Parisian psalm illustration. It became popular in England from *c.* 1250 onward. See Haseloff, *Psalterillustration*, pp. 24, 28, 31, 47, 49, 51, 57, 58, 63.

12 This subject of the fool for psalm 52, either alone or with David, is commonly found in both France and England. See Haseloff, *Psalterillustration*, pp. 24, 29, 32, 47, 49, 52, 57, 58, 63.

13 This subject of David harping before Saul is a most unusual subject in English and French psalter illustration. Isolated instances from thirteenth-century England can be found in psalms 26, 51 and 52. See Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts I, 1190–1250*, nos. 27 (Oxford, Bodl. liturg 407 – for psalm 52), 74 (New College 322 – for psalm 26) and Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts II, 1250–1285*, p. 128, no. 143 (Glazier 42 for psalm 51).

14 Although God above David in the water is the usual Parisian subject for psalm 68, frequently in English thirteenth-century psalters an image from the Jonah and the whale story is depicted. See Haseloff, *Psalterillustration*, pp. 11, 17, 25, 29, 32, 45, 47, 49, 52, 58, 64; and for English psalters Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts I, 1190–1250*, nos. 2, 25, 26, 27, 30, 35, 36, 38, 39, 47, 48, 62, 65, 66, 68, 69, 74 and Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts II, 1250–1285*, nos. 101, 102, 112, 114, 118, 120, 133, 135, 138, 139, 140, 142, 147, 149, 151, 165, 166, 168, 169, 181, 182.

15 The subject of David playing bells or some other musical instrument is the usual subject for psalm 80 in both France and England. See Haseloff, *Psalterillustration*, pp. 25, 29, 32, 47, 49, 52, 57, 58.

16 The subject of clerics, or sometimes monks, singing is the usual subject for psalm 97 in both England and France. See Haseloff, *Psalterillustration*, pp. 26, 29, 32, 47, 49, 52, 57, 58, 64.

to thee', shows David kneeling before an altar with the bust of God above';[17] psalm 109, 'The Lord said to my Lord, sit thou at my right hand', has God the Father sitting beside Christ with the Holy Spirit as a dove between them.[18] The subject in the historiated initials of two psalms are not directly related to the first verse. Psalm 1 has David as author of the psalms seated harping set above Solomon's judgement of the two mothers and the child (I Kings (III Kings in Vulgate) 3:16–28) (Figure 2.1).[19] The reason for depicting Solomon's wise judgement in justifying the good mother restoring to her the child, and condemning the wicked one is verse 5: 'Therefore the wicked shall not rise again in judgement, nor sinners in the council of the just'. Psalm 26 depicts the anointing of David as king (Figure 2.2). The reason for this is directly dependent on a title to this psalm found in the Vulgate Bible Book of Psalms, and this title is also found in some psalters, though not in the Blackburn Psalter: 'The psalm of David before he was anointed'.[20]

In addition to the foliage ornament surrounding the initials the border bars extending from them have animals and birds perched upon them, some fantastic such as dragons and hybrid creatures part-human/part-animal/part-bird. In the case of the latter, the human upper part of each figure usually has a distinctive pointed cap on its head, a hybrid which sometimes interacts with the real birds or animals. Among the birds, parrots, cranes and storks predominate. I will discuss the origins and parallels for this sort of

17 This psalm 101 in England and France shows either David or the psalter's owner at prayer. See Haseloff, *Psalterillustration*, pp. 12, 45, 47, 50, 52, 58, 64. On this imagery in England see Nigel J. Morgan, 'Patrons and their devotions in the historiated initials and full-page miniatures of 13th-century English psalters', in *The Illuminated Psalter. Studies in the Content, Purpose and Placement of its Images*, ed. Frank O. Büttner (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 309–22.

18 This subject of the Holy Trinity for psalm 109 is commonly found in both France and England. See Haseloff, *Psalterillustration*, pp. 12, 18, 26, 29, 32, 45, 47, 50, 52, 57, 64.

19 David harping in the psalm 1 initial is commonly found in both France and England. For Solomon's judgement in the psalm initials in England and France see Haseloff, *Psalterillustration*, pp. 16, 44, 63, and for English psalters see Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts I, 1190–1250*, nos. 24 (psalm 38), 25 (psalm 38), 26 (psalm 38), 27 (psalm 38), 28 (psalm 38), 35 (psalm 38), 36 (psalm 38), 37 (psalm 38), 51 (psalm 38), 65 (psalm 26), 68 (psalm 26), 74 (psalm 38), and Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts II, 1250–1285*, nos. 101 (psalm 38), 112 (psalm 1), 120 (psalm 38), 138 (psalm 1), 139 (psalm 1), 160 (psalm 1), 162 (psalm 1), 165 (psalm 1), 166 (psalm 1).

20 This subject of the anointing of David is frequently found for psalm 26 in thirteenth-century England, and occasionally in France. See Haseloff, *Psalterillustration*, pp. 10, 16, 24, 28, 31, 44, 47, 51, 58, 62, and for English psalters see Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts I, 1190–1250*, nos. 7 (psalm 26), 24 (psalm 26), 25 (psalm 26), 26 (psalm 26), 27 (psalm 26), 28 (psalm 26), 31 (psalm 26), 40 (psalm 26), 47 (psalm 26), 48 (psalm 26), 51 (psalm 26), 62 (psalm 26), 70 (psalm 26), and Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts II, 1250–1285*, nos. 101 (psalm 26), 111 (psalm 26), 133 (psalm 26), 138 (psalm 26), 142 (psalm 26), 160 (psalm 26), 163 (psalm 26), 164 (psalm 26), 165 (psalm 26), 167 (psalm 26).

Figure 2.1. Psalm 1, David harping and the judgement of Solomon, Hart MS 091.21001, the Blackburn Psalter, f. 13.r., Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

Figure 2.2. Psalm 26, The anointing of Solomon, Hart MS 091.21001, the Blackburn Psalter, f. 32.r. Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

border decoration later in this chapter as it is a highly significant indicator of the group of artists to which the Blackburn Psalter artist is related. Further decoration in the psalter of the other psalm and verse initials is in red penflourish around the plain blue capital letter, with penflourish extensions in red and blue. The line endings are similarly decorated.

The Bible of the William of Devon group

The Blackburn Psalter is close in figure style and ornamental decoration to several other illuminated manuscripts which form a group, probably dateable to the period *c.* 1260–80, called the William of Devon group after a bible scribe, London, British Library (BL) Royal 1 D.I.[21] This group includes another psalter with many figure illustrations, the Cuerden Psalter, New York, Morgan Library M. 756, a Book of Hours, London, BL Egerton 1151, and four other Bibles, Cambridge, Emmanuel College 116 (2.1.6), London, BL Royal 1 E.II, Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. D. 1.17 and Oxford, Corpus Christi College 1.[22] Two other manuscripts decorated by artists of the group are a Pseudo-Chrysostom on the Gospel of Matthew, Oxford, New College 306, and a tiny psalter, perhaps the smallest surviving illuminated book produced in thirteenth-century England, New York, Morgan Library M. 679.[23] Many years ago, before the discovery of the Blackburn Psalter, Robert Branner and Adelaide Bennett demonstrated that the leading artist or artists of the group came from the Johannes Grusch workshop operating in Paris *c.* 1240–65.[24]

21 Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts II, 1250–1285*, pp. 152–4, no. 159. At the end of the bible on f. 540v, William of Devon is named as scribe: '*Willelmus Devoniensis scripsit istum librum*'. The manuscript was recorded in 1542 in the Royal Collection of Henry VIII.

22 Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts II, 1250–1285*, pp. 152–62, nos. 159, 161–4 (for full descriptions with bibliography up to 1988); Bruce Watson, 'The place of the Cuerden Psalter in English illumination', *Gesta*, 9: 34–41 (1970); Claire Donovan, *The de Brailes Hours: Shaping the Book of Hours in Thirteenth-Century Oxford* (London, British Library,1991), pp. 186–8, for the Egerton 1151 Hours. The Cuerden Psalter, now in the Morgan Library in New York, came from Towneley Hall in Burnley, near Blackburn, although in the sixteenth century the book seems to have been in Staffordshire, not coming to Lancashire until the eighteenth century when it was in the collection of Peter Brooke of Astley. The Royal 1.E.II Bible only has one historiated illuminated initial with border extensions at the beginning of Genesis, while all the other books only have large red and blue penflourish initials. For Oxford Corpus 1 see a detailed account in Rodney M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College Oxford* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2011), p. 3, but only describing the iconography of a few historiated initials in the books of the bible. See also on this bible, Elżbieta Temple, 'Further additions to the Bible of William of Devon group', *Bodleian Library Record* 11 (1984), pp. 346–7, figs. 2, 3.

23 See on these Elżbieta Temple and Jonathan J.G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts College Libraries*, p. 23, no. 216 bis; Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts II, 1250–1285*, p. 153.

24 Adelaide Bennett, 'Additions to the William of Devon group', *Art Bulletin*, 54: 31–40 (1972). For the Johannes Grusch workshop see Robert Branner, 'The Johannes Grusch atelier and

It is beyond the scope of this chapter to attempt to divide the individual hands of the artists who worked on these ten manuscripts, but minor differences in facial types and use of colours and foliage forms suggest several were at work. Crucial to this division of hands is the issue of which artists might be French and which are English artists trained by them. Not only in figure style and ornament was there influence from France but also in the iconography of miniatures, historiated initials and marginalia of the borders. I will discuss this issue in some detail in relation to the historiated initials of the psalms. In this area iconographic change happens during the second half of the thirteenth century when English traditions of psalm initial illustration are often replaced by iconography derived from Parisian manuscripts.[25]

Full-page miniatures

The Cuerden Psalter is the only other member of the William of Devon group to compare with the Blackburn Psalter in having a series of large full-page miniatures of the life of Christ. It has six scenes to a page, however, resulting in more, but smaller, life of Christ scenes and three pages of figures of saints. Only the last page of the Cuerden Psalter is devoted to a single subject, the seated Virgin and Child with a kneeling lay man and woman, the psalter's owners, before her. It is significant that the Cuerden Psalter belonged to members of the laity, which was probably also the case with the Blackburn Psalter. The Egerton Hours was also owned by a lay woman who is shown kneeling before the Virgin and Child at the beginning of Matins of the Virgin. The Bible of William of Devon has one almost full-page miniature (f. 4v) facing the beginning of Genesis which contains the coronation of the Virgin, the crucifixion between seraphim in the manner of a rood cross, St Peter and St Paul flanking the seated Virgin and Child, and bottom centre St Martin giving his cloak to the beggar with a kneeling tonsured cleric below. This is a highly unusual, indeed somewhat inappropriate, frontispiece to Genesis, and more resembles a combination of the sort of pictures placed at the beginning of psalters. The crucifixion flanked by seraphim/cherubim was the form of Westminster Abbey's mid thirteenth-century rood cross before it was destroyed during the Reformation, a fact known from an early sixteenth-century drawing in Abbot Islip's funerary roll. This form of rood cross was probably common in thirteenth-century England.[26] The kneeling

the continental origins of the William of Devon painter', *Art Bulletin*, 54: 24–30 (1972), and Robert Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of St. Louis* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 82–6, 222–3, figs. 212–43.

25 See a general assessment of this in Morgan, 'Resistance to Paris' cited in n. 9.

26 Peter Brieger, 'England's contribution to the origin and development of the Triumphal Cross', *Mediaeval Studies*, 4: 85–96 (1942); Reiner Haussherr, 'Triumphkreuzgruppen der Stauferzeit', in *Die Zeit der Staufer, V, Vorträge und Forschungen* (Stuttgart:

cleric before St Martin is not in the habit of any particular religious order and the connection made long ago with the Benedictine priory of St Martin's Dover as the bible's owner is without foundation. The Egerton Hours has one historiated initial of the Betrayal for the Hours of the Passion.

Comparison of the iconography of the life of Christ scenes in the Blackburn Psalter pictures can therefore in most cases only be made with those in the Cuerden Psalter. In both psalters the Nativity includes the unusual figure of the handmaid standing behind the recumbent Virgin in identical pose, and the feature of the crib raised high on columns (Figures 2.3 and 2.4). The Adoration of the Magi is basically of the same grouping in both with the front magus pointing up at the star (Figures 2.4 and 2.5). For the Presentation in the Temple the Cuerden Psalter has in no way the same iconography as Blackburn. In the case of the Betrayal, the Egerton Hours and Cuerden Psalter generally have the same multifigure grouping as Blackburn with Peter cutting off the ear of the high priest's servant, but Judas approaches from the opposite side. For the Flagellation, similar poses for the three figures occur in Cuerden but Blackburn has the left-hand flagellant wearing a feathered cap and Cuerden has Christ with crossed legs (Figure 2.6). The Way of the Cross is treated rather differently in Cuerden, lacking Blackburn's distinctive motif of the rope around Christ's torso (Figure 2.6). The Crucifixion, as is to be expected from a subject commonly depicted in such a variety of ways, is represented differently from the Blackburn Psalter in the Bible of William of Devon and the Cuerden Psalter (Figure 2.7). The Resurrection with Christ stepping out of the Tomb is similar in Cuerden but with Christ in a different pose and lacking the cross staff he holds in Blackburn (Figures 2.7 and 2.8). The Ascension, Pentecost and Coronation of the Virgin scenes (with Christ blessing the already crowned Mary) are almost identical iconographically in Blackburn and Cuerden (Figures 2.9, 2.10 and 2.11) as is also the Coronation of the Virgin in the Bible of William of Devon. These comparisons of the life of Christ scenes with close similarities and a few differences are to be expected from a group of illuminators working together, possibly referring to a model book of iconographic subjects.

Psalm initials

In the third quarter of the thirteenth century the Parisian series of mainly David scenes for the psalms' historiated initials of the liturgical divisions strongly influences English illuminators of psalters and the book of the psalms in bibles. These psalm initials in the Bible of William of Devon group are substantially of the Parisian type. Most of the psalm initials in other

Württembergisches Landesmuseum, 1977, pp. 150–1, figs. 65–6, for the Islip roll and Westminster Abbey rood cross.

Figure 2.3. The Nativity, Hart MS 091.21001, f. 13.r, the Blackburn Psalter. Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

Figure 2.4. MS M.756, the Cuerden Psalter, f. 7r., The Morgan Library and Museum. Copyright and permission granted by The Morgan Library & Museum, New York.

Figure 2.5. The adoration of the Magi, Hart MS 091.21001, the Blackburn Psalter, f. 1.v. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

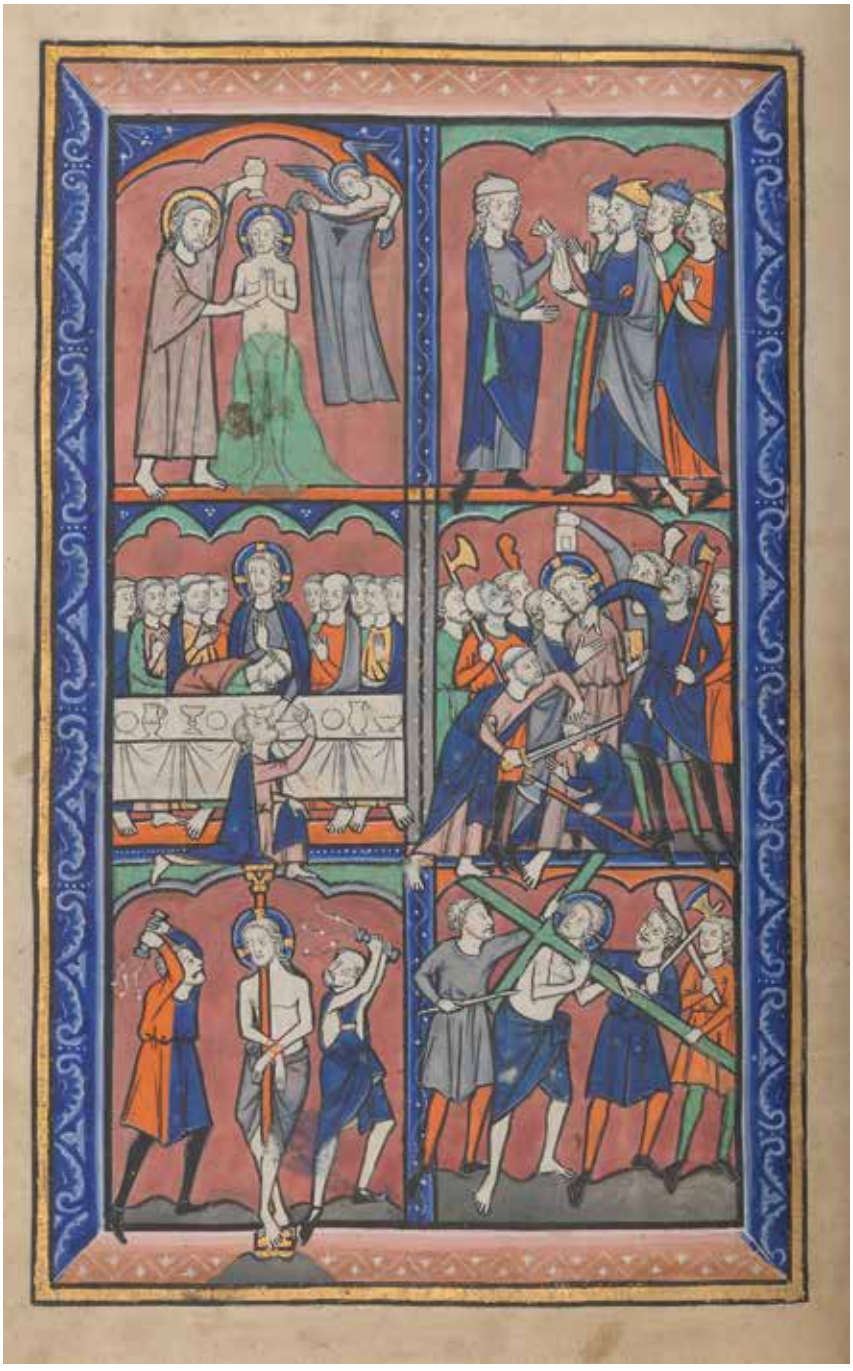

Figure 2.6. MS M.756, the Cuerden Psalter, f. 7 v., The Morgan Library and Museum. Copyright and permission granted by The Morgan Library & Museum, New York.

Figure 2.7. MS M.756, the Cuerden Psalter, f. 8 r., The Morgan Library and Museum. Copyright and permission granted by The Morgan Library & Museum, New York.

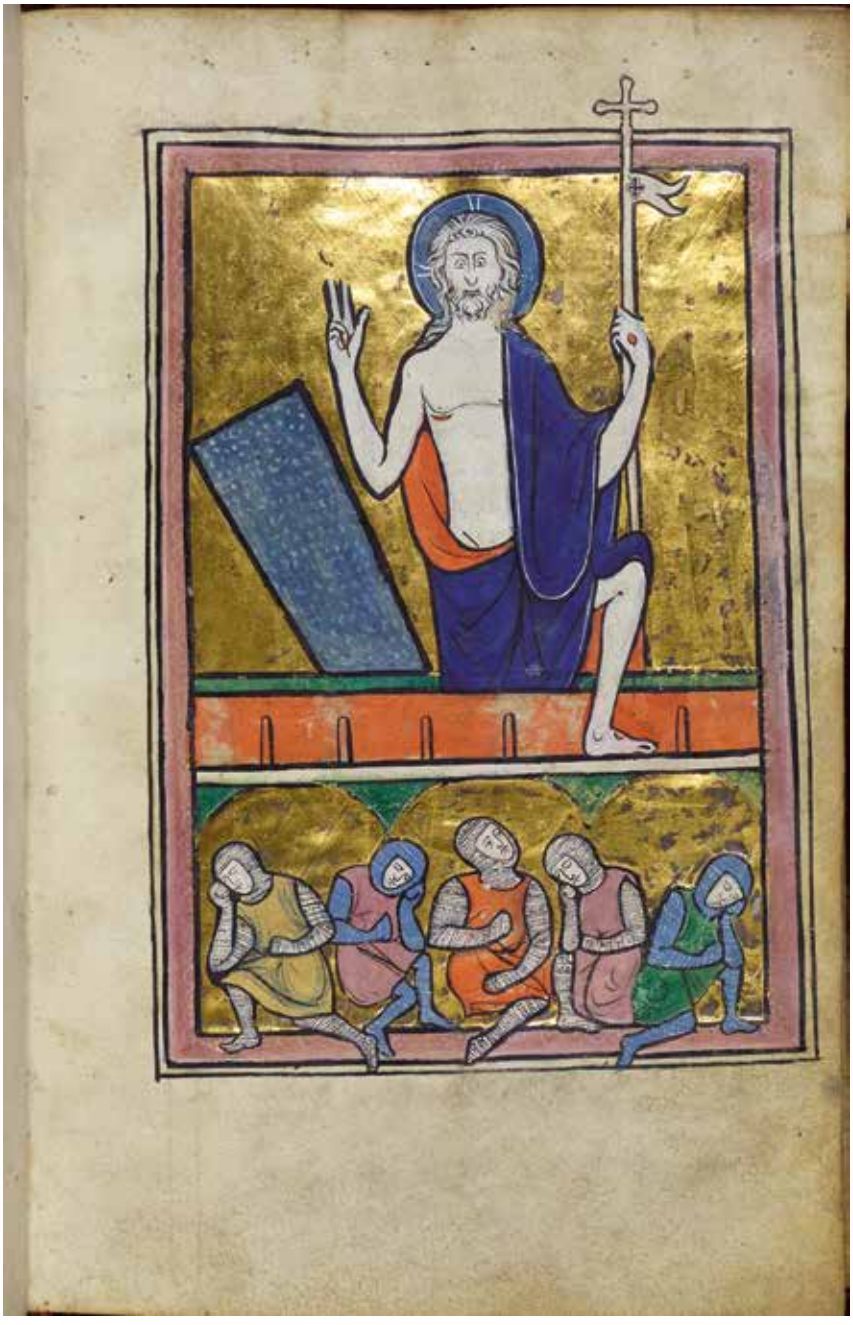

Figure 2.8. The Resurrection, Hart MS 091.21001, the Blackburn Psalter, f. 5 r., Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

Figure 2.9. MS M.756, the Cuerden Psalter, f. 8 v., The Morgan Library and Museum. Copyright and permission granted by The Morgan Library & Museum, New York.

Figure 2.10. The Ascension, Hart MS 091.21001, the Blackburn Psalter, f. 5 r., Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

Figure 2.11. Pentecost, Hart MS 091.21001, the Blackburn Psalter, f. 6 r., Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

members of this group of manuscripts have very similar iconography to the Blackburn Psalter, suggesting the group of artists was well acquainted with such historiated initials, having illuminated many bibles and psalters of this type. Individual artists may have had a memorised repertoire learned in their early years as apprentice illuminators.

The liturgical divisions of the psalms have historiated initials in the Bible of William of Devon, the Cuerden Psalter, Emmanuel 116 and Bodl. Auct. D.1.17 Bibles. Psalm 1 in these primarily has David as musician common to all. The Bible of William of Devon, the Bodleian and Corpus Bibles combine him harping with his conflict with Goliath, and the Cuerden Psalter, like Blackburn, has him harping combined with the judgement of Solomon (Figure 2.12). The Emmanuel Bible has David harping and playing a viol. For psalm 26 the Bible of William of Devon most unusually has the Baptism of Christ, and the Cuerden Psalter has a unique iconography of a priest and angel holding candles before David. It is unclear why these subjects are depicted and what they might mean. The Emmanuel Bible in the initial for psalm 26 combines David pointing to his eye with the anointing of David which is in the Blackburn Psalter, and the same two subjects are in the Bodleian Bible, whereas Corpus 1 has the anointing of David alone, as does Blackburn. Psalm 38 in all the manuscripts has David pointing to his mouth, either before God or with the Devil beside him. Psalm 51 in the Bible of William of Devon has Goliath, and in the Corpus Bible David holds the head of Goliath.[27] The Cuerden Psalter has Saul instructing Doeg to slay Ahimelech (Kings I (Samuel I), 22: 18), a subject for this psalm characteristic of English psalter illustration.[28] Psalm 52 in the Bible of William of Devon and Emmanuel Bible is illustrated by the fool before David (which is mistakenly used for psalm 51 in the Blackburn Psalter). The Cuerden Psalter contrasts the fool with two men kneeling before God, and the Emmanuel Bible in addition has the suicide of Saul, a subject characteristic of English psalter illustration for this psalm.[29] Psalm 68 in the William of Devon, Emmanuel, Bodleian and Corpus Bibles shows God above David in the water, and the Cuerden Psalter has David in the water but accompanied by two kneeling kings above. Psalm

27 For David and Goliath in the psalm 51 initial see Haseloff, *Psalterillustration*, pp. 10, 47.

28 For Saul instructing Doeg to slay Ahimelech in psalm 51 compare Morgan, *Early Gothic 1190–1250*, no. 40 (psalm 51); Morgan, *Early Gothic 1250–1285*, nos. 111 (psalm 51), 112 (psalm 51), 162 (psalm 51). The Blackburn Psalter has David harping before Saul, which was intended for psalm 51 but mistakenly placed in psalm 52's initial 52. For Saul instructing Doeg to slay Ahimelech see Haseloff, *Psalterillustration*, pp. 11, 13, 17, 45, 51, 55, 63.

29 For suicide of Saul cf. *Early Gothic 1190–1250*, nos. 34 (psalm 68), 51 (psalm 52), 65 (psalm 52), 66 (psalm 52), 68 (psalm 52), 70 (psalm 51); Morgan, *Early Gothic 1250–1285*, nos. 114 (psalm 51), 118 (psalm 52), 142 (psalm 52), 163 (psalm 52). See also Haseloff, *Psalterillustration*, pp. 51, 63.

Figure 2.12. Psalm 1, MS M.756, the Cuerden Psalter, f. 11 r., The Morgan Library and Museum. Copyright and permission granted by The Morgan Library & Museum, New York.

80 in all of them has David as musician, usually playing bells, and psalm 97 in all has clerics singing at a lectern. Psalm 101 in the Bible of William of Devon has David praying at an altar as does the Blackburn Psalter, and the Cuerden Psalter and the Corpus Bible have a kneeling man. Psalm 109 in all of them has the Trinity with the Father seated beside the Son and the Holy Ghost as a dove in between, but in Cuerden it is of the Gnadenstuhl type with God the Father holding the Son on the cross combined with the coronation of the Virgin. The iconography of these psalm initials, as to be expected for a group of artists comprising both Parisian and English illuminators, shows a predominantly Parisian type but with a few subjects of English origin.

Calendars and litanies

There is no clear evidence in the Blackburn Psalter's text either about where it was made or for whom it was made. The calendar includes a few saints which might suggest the south Midlands part of the diocese of Lincoln, all of whose names are highly graded in red: Oswald the Bishop (28 February), whose relics were in Worcester Cathedral;[30] Osyth of Aylesbury (3 June), whose cult is very local;[31] Frideswide (19 October), whose relics were in Oxford;[32] Hugh (17 November), whose relics were in Lincoln and whose feast was observed throughout the diocese.[33] Other saints suggest a more northern location in the Lincoln diocese, but they are not in red: John of Beverley (7 May), whose relics were at Beverley in the York diocese and possibly Wilfrid (24 April), whose relics were at Ripon.[34] On 24 April a later hand has erased the Wilfrid entry and written Ivo over it, whose relics were at Ramsey Abbey near Peterborough. Other saints of significance but probably not suggesting any definite location are: Radegund (12 February), Mildred (13 July), Dominic (5 August) and Francis (4 October), the latter two written in red.[35] Although Dominic and Francis are included there are no other mendicant characteristics of the calendar and they probably denote the patron of the manuscript's support for the two most popular orders of friars. In conclusion, the first four saints mentioned written in red might suggest the calendar gives some evidence to support that the book was made in Oxford which, with London, was the major illuminated book producing centre in thirteenth-century England. Further

30 See for notes and bibliography on his cult Nigel J. Morgan, *English Monastic Litanies of the Saints after 1100, III, Addenda, Commentary, Catalogue of Saints, Indexes* (London: Boydell for the Henry Bradshaw Society 123, 2018), p. 167.

31 Christopher Hohler, 'St Osyth and Aylesbury', *Records of Buckinghamshire*, 18: 61–72 (1966). See for notes and bibliography on her cult, Morgan, *Monastic Litanies III*, p. 169.

32 See for notes and bibliography on his cult Morgan, *Monastic Litanies III*, pp. 126–7.

33 Morgan, *Monastic Litanies III*, pp. 138–9.

34 Morgan, *Monastic Litanies III*, pp. 143–4, 197–8.

35 Morgan, *Monastic Litanies III*, pp. 101–2, 126, 159–60, 178–9.

evidence for location and date comes from the other illuminated manuscripts to whose figure style and border decoration repertoire this psalter is related, and these will now be considered.

The William of Devon group's two Psalters and its Book of Hours contain calendars which help to locate the region in which this group of artists might have been operating. A significant local saint in the Cuerden Psalter is the extremely rare Edburga of Bicester or Edburga of Pershore on 17 May.[36] There is a series of pictures of saints in the psalter's miniatures prefatory which include St Fremund, whose relics were at Dunstable, and possibly St Rumwold, whose relics were at Buckingham. The latter identification is uncertain but a youthful figure stands in a square chest-like structure on short legs (not a pulpit) preaching to a group of people.[37] This may refer to the supposed miracle that Rumwold when baptised as a child stood up in the font and preached a sermon to the surrounding people. This rare trio of saints points indisputably to the south Midlands part of the diocese of Lincoln close to Oxford, an area that has also been proposed for the Blackburn Psalter. The calendar of M. 679 Psalter has no clear grouping of local saints according to region containing those from the dioceses of Coventry and Lichfield, Lincoln, Salisbury and Winchester. The only ones supporting any Oxford region connection are Frideswide on 19 October and possibly Rumwold of Buckingham on 3 November. Remigius, written in the psalter's calendar on that day, certainly has no feast on 3 November, so this might be in error for Rumwold whose feast day it actually is. The Coventry and Lichfield diocese saints are Chad (2 March), whose relics were at Lichfield, Werburga (3 February), Transl. Werburga (21 June), her relics being at Chester in the northernmost part of the diocese.[38] This is a problem calendar from which it is difficult to make any conclusion regarding regional location. It may be derived from that of a Benedictine house, since the calendars of the Benedictines often contained saints of widespread location deriving from their close contacts with other houses of their religious order in all parts of England.

Fortunately, the calendar of the Book of Hours, Egerton 1151 is more helpful. It contains the following significant local saints: Frideswide (12 February), relics at Oxford; Oswald (28 February), relics at Worcester; Chad (2 March), relics at Lichfield; Transl. Wulfstan (7 June), relics at Worcester; Transl.

36 Morgan, *Monastic Litanies III*, pp. 105, 106.

37 For St Rumwold, sometimes in error called Rumbold, see: R.P. Hagerty, 'The Buckinghamshire saints reconsidered. 3: St Rumwold (Rumbold) of Buckingham', *Records of Buckinghamshire*, 30: 103–10 (1988). For St Fremund, Canon Wood, 'A forgotten saint', *The Antiquary*, 27: 202–7, 247–53 (1893). (Fremund) and Wiesje Emons-Nijenhuis, 'St Fremund, fact and fiction', *Revue Bénédictine*, 123: 99–126 (2013).

38 See for notes and bibliography on their cults Morgan, *Monastic Litanies III*, pp. 91–2, 197.

Milburga (25 June), relics at Much Wenlock; Transl. Egwin (10 September), relics at Evesham; Egwin (30 December), relics at Evesham.[39] This group of saints points to the West Midlands, in the dioceses of Coventry and Lichfield, Hereford or Worcester. The presence of Frideswide might be because the book was made in Oxford rather than, for example, Worcester. The presence of Victor (21 July) highly graded in red has suggested to some that this book was made for somebody connected with the Victorine house of Augustinian canons at Wigmore in Herefordshire. The Augustinians of the Victorine congregations followed the rule of the abbey of St Victor in Paris.[40] This possible affiliation of the patron is supported by the book having a text contents similar to the devotions recommended for the anchoresses in the *Ancrene Riwle* whose writing it has been suggested might have happened at Wigmore. The lady kneeling before the Virgin and Child at Matins of the Virgin may have been a laywoman who was patron of the Augustinian canons of Wigmore. Also, the litany of Egerton 1151 supports a West Midlands location and possibly somebody connected with the Victorine Augustinians of Wigmore.[41] It contains Victor high among the martyrs, the Parisian saint Marcellus among the confessors and Opportuna among the virgins, the latter two very rarely found in England. Also in the litany are Oswald of Worcester, Kenelm of Winchcombe, Chad of Lichfield and Frideswide of Oxford, supporting a West Midlands destination and a possible connection with Oxford.[42]

This long digression on the liturgical evidence from calendars and litanies suggests that this group of artists made psalters and books of hours for patrons in the West Midlands and southern part of the diocese of Lincoln. The only well-documented centre for producing illuminated books in thirteenth-century England in or proximate to these regions is Oxford, and the occurrence of the Oxford saint Frideswide in some of these manuscripts might suggest it is a sort of trademark supporting Oxford as the place where these books were made. Of course, artists and scribes could be itinerant, so other urban centres in these regions, such as Lichfield or Worcester, cannot be excluded as places where these books might have been made. However, illuminated book production at Oxford was well supported from *c.* 1200–*c.*1280, so it remains the most likely base for the William of Devon group of artists. The evidence for dating suggests it operated there during the two

39 Morgan, *Monastic Litanies III*, 91–2, 113, 126–7, 158–9, 167, 204–5.

40 David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses England and Wales* (London: Longman, 1971), p. 179.

41 Eric J. Dobson, *The Origins of Ancrene Wisse* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976). Subsequently Bella Millett suggested a Dominican authorship, but I feel Dobson's arguments for an Augustinian canon of Wigmore are more convincing: Bella Millett, 'The origins of Ancrene Wisse: new answers, new questions', *Medium Aevum*, 60: 206–28 (1991).

42 See for notes and bibliography on their cults Morgan, *Monastic Litanies III*, pp. 91–2, 126–7, 148, 167.

decades *c.* 1260–*c.* 1280, after the period *c.* 1230–*c.* 1270 when illuminator William de Brailes' and artists connected with him were active.[43] If, as argued, the William of Devon group scribes and artists were based in Oxford, their figure style and ornamental repertoire made a complete break from the de Brailes tradition.[44]

Border decoration

I now consider the aforementioned distinctive ornament of the borders with animals perched upon them, some fantastic such as dragons, birds and hybrid creatures part-human/part-animal. In the case of the latter, the human upper part of the figure has a distinctive pointed cap on its head, a hybrid which sometimes interacts in dialogue with the birds or animals. Among the birds, parrots, cranes and storks predominate. The origins and parallels for this sort of border decoration will be discussed later in this chapter as it is a highly significant indicator of the group of artists to which the Blackburn Psalter artist is related. It is likely that individual artists of the group had a personal 'signature' repertoire, and particular iconographies have to be defined rather than generalising as ornamental types.[45] In general, the literature on marginalia has not looked at the issue from the viewpoint of the creative choice of individual artists. Most discussions of the various iconographic themes of marginalia have covered a wide range of manuscripts from England, Flanders and France, dating from the long period *c.* 1250–1350 when this marginal imagery was most prevalent. Hardly any studies have concentrated on the particular vocabulary of a group of artists working on several manuscripts or within a single manuscript.[46] As the creative manipulation of these marginal images, rather than perpetuation of repetitive iconographic types, is the essential process to be observed, overall studies

43 For the Oxford manuscripts attributed to William de Brailes and his associates see Nigel J. Morgan, *Leaves from a Psalter by William de Brailes. Commentary*, (London: Folio Society, 2012).

44 The William of Devon group is also distinct in figure style and ornament from another group of illuminators working there *c.* 1260–70. On this group see Morgan *Early Gothic Manuscripts, II, 1250–1285*, nos. 140–8. On these see further n. 51.

45 I attempted to do this for the Rutland Psalter in an article which divided the hands of the illuminators thus revealing individual predilections for certain marginal motifs: Nigel Morgan, 'The artists of the Rutland Psalter', *British Library Journal*, 13: 159–85 (1987). For a facsimile of the Rutland Psalter see Eric G. Millar, *The Rutland Psalter* (Oxford: Roxburghe Club, 1937).

46 Exceptions are Lucy F. Sandler, 'A series of marginal illustrations in the Rutland Psalter', *Marsyas: Studies in the History of Art*, 8: 70–4 (1959) (repr. in Lucy F. Sandler, *Studies in Manuscript Illumination 1200–1400* (London: Pindar Press, 2008), pp. 1–11; Michael Camille, *Mirror in Parchment: the Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England* (London: Reaktion, 1998), pp. 232–75.

in time over manuscripts of diverse origins tend to obscure and regularise artistic intentions within the microcosm of a single manuscript or group of manuscripts by the same illuminators.

Occurring in the art of antiquity and occasionally in Romanesque sculpture and manuscript painting, as well as on painted wooden roofs dating from the thirteenth century's second quarter (such as those in Metz, Musée de la Cour d'Or),[47] the hybrid human-animal-bird-monster image was also noticeably revived in England and France in their sculptures and manuscripts dating from the second half of the thirteenth century. Examples are the Rouen cathedral north transept Portail des Libraires (*c.* 1280–90) and sculptures in Metz cathedral's north-west portal of Notre-Dame-la-Ronde (*c.* 1290). In England, such images can be found in manuscript painting in the Rutland Psalter (*c.* 1255–60) and the William of Devon group (*c.* 1260–80). From the closing decades of the thirteenth century they were increasingly depicted in the illuminated manuscripts of north-west France.[48] A psalter, perhaps made in Breslau *c.* 1265 by artists of Veneto-Bolognese, Thuringian and Silesian origin, reveals a parallel interest in such images in central European illuminated manuscripts during the same period.[49] These hybrid

47 Wilhelm Schmitz, 'Die bemalten romanischen Holzdecken im Museum zu Metz', *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst*, 10: 97–102 (1897); Nathalie Pascarel, 'Les plafonds peints au bestiaire du Musée de Metz', *Le Pays Lorrain*, 93: 301–8 (2012) (the panels have recently been set up in new display cases). See also Baltrušaitis, *Reveils et prodiges*, pp. 104, 106, fig. 22. The Metz ceiling is variously dated *c.* 1225 or as late as *c.* 1270. Almost contemporary with the wooden ceiling in Metz is the one in Peterborough Cathedral's nave, but although it has 'drollery' subjects such as an ape holding an owl riding backwards on a goat, there is only one hybrid with a human torso and animal lower part: Michael Bunker and Paul Binski, *Peterborough Cathedral 2001–2006 from Devastation to Restoration* (London: Paul Holberton, 2006), pp. 87, 97, 99, 115, 117.

48 For the Rouen portal see Louise Lefrançois-Pillion, *Les portails lateraux de la cathédrale de Rouen* (Paris: Picard, 1907), pp. 141–58, 188–219; Markus Schlicht, *La cathédrale de Rouen vers 1300: Portail des Libraires, Portail de la Calende, chapelle de la Vierge* (Rouen: Société des antiquaires de Normandie, 2005), pp. 203–13; Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: the Margins of Medieval Art* (London: Reaktion, 1992), pp. 85–93; Franck Thénard-Duvivier, 'Hybridation et métamorphoses au seuil des cathédrales', *Images re-vues*, 6 (2009), <https://journals.openedition.org/imagesrevues/686>; Franck Thénard-Duvivier, *Images sculptées au seuil des cathédrales. Les portails de Rouen, Lyon et Avignon (XIIIe–XIVe siècles)*, (Mont-Saint Aignan: Presses universitaires de Rouen et du Havre, 2012), pp. 42–6, 158–60, 234, 245–59. For the Metz Notre-Dame-la-Ronde portal 'bestiary reliefs' see Pierre-Édouard Wagner, *La cathédrale Saint-Etienne de Metz* (Ars-sur-Moselle: Serge Domini éditeur, 2015), pp. 98–102, and 'Les bestiaires du portail nord de la cathédrale de Metz', < https://www.yvesago.net/pourquoi/2012/05/les-bestiaires-du-portail-nord-de-la-cathedrale-de-metz>. See also for Rouen, Baltrušaitis, *Reveils et prodiges*, pp. 160–2, figs. 7–9.

49 Stella Panayotova, Nigel J. Morgan and Paola Ricciardi, *The Breslau Psalter. MS 36-1950 Cambridge, The Fitzwilliam Museum* (Luzern: Quaternio Verlag Luzern, 2018), pp. 269–74, on the marginalia which are mainly of Italian Bolognese origin. This development in north Italy and Silesia is somewhat separate from the Anglo-French development *c.* 1250–90, although the influence of Bolognese manuscripts on marginalia in those regions certainly

creatures come to be placed in the borders of illuminated manuscripts during the third quarter of the century in England, France, Bologna and Silesia, although most of the discussion of such imagery in the literature is based on examples from the final years of the thirteenth century and first half of the fourteenth.[50] Although the Rutland Psalter marginalia have quite often been discussed, the William of Devon group's alternative format and repertoire have been greatly neglected. The Rutland Psalter and the William of Devon group have widely diverse ways of presenting this imagery in their borders, and for the most part their repertoire is quite different. The Rutland Psalter's hybrids are mostly dragons with human heads, centaurs and creatures of the Marvels of the East. There are a few birds with animal or human heads on ff.41r, 44v, 45r, 56v, 576v, 62r, 86v, and 107r, but the artists are not particularly interested in birds in this book. It might be thought that the Parisian origin of some William of Devon group artists might explain this new repertoire of the marginalia, but this does not seem to be so. Only a few of the Johannes Grusch group manuscripts made in Paris *c.* 1250–65 have marginalia and these tend to be conventional hunting scenes with dogs chasing rabbits and birds, and only rarely are they human/animal hybrids.[51] It seems highly likely that it was the group's English artists who greatly increased the repertoire revealing their much greater interest in this aspect of their illumination. It is mostly in the Rutland Psalter that the marginal images are set freely in the bottom border as bas-de-page, not on a border bar. In the work of the William of Devon group they are standing or perched on border bars which act as a stage for an integrated group performance of their activities. Both ways of presenting marginalia continued in England to later in the thirteenth and to the first half of the fourteenth century.

If, as suggested above, the William of Devon group was working in Oxford, a different group of artists also worked there in the period *c.* 1250–70. They seem to have been followers of the illuminator, William de Brailes, who collaborated with artists embracing a similar style between the 1230s and 1250s. They worked on bibles and psalters and had a relatively minor interest

needs to be considered, regrettably the subject is beyond the scope of this chapter.

50 Paul Binski, in *Gothic Wonder. Art, Artifice and the Decorated Style 1290–1350* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2014), p. 294, points out the significance of the William of Devon group in the early appearance of marginalia.

51 In stating this I must admit that no extensive examination of the Johannes Grusch workshop's many manuscripts has been made to fully assess its repertoire of marginalia. See Branner, 'The Johannes Grusch atelier', figs. 3, 9, for an example in the Bible, Paris, BnF lat 15477, with hunting scenes, birds and hybrids, and for hybrids in the Missal, Rouen, Bibl. Mun.Y. 50. Branner's dating of the Rouen Missal 1235–45 seems rather too early and a date in the 1250s is probably more likely: Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris*, p. 92. The one Johannes Grusch Psalter, New York, Morgan Library M. 101 has no marginalia in any way related to the William of Devon group type.

in marginalia, but occasionally depicted human figures or animals perching on initials or border bars.[52] The William of Devon group marginalia are quite different, and in no way derived from those of this group of contemporaries in Oxford.

The hybrid animal/bird/human creatures in the borders of the Rutland Psalter and the William of Devon group could be described in general terms as 'archetypal' in antiquity in European art, particularly on the engraved gems often used for rings during the middle ages. Some also occur in Romanesque sculpture, and much more extensively on Gothic tile floors, painted ceilings and the borders of illuminated manuscripts from the thirteenth century onwards; and in early modern times most famously in the paintings of Hieronymus Bosch.[53] Some of these hybrid human-animal-bird creatures such as centaurs, chimaera, harpies, mermaids and sirens had been part of the repertoire of Greek sculpture and painting. In his condemnation of such creatures in Romanesque sculpture, St Bernard eloquently described them thus in his *c.* 1125 *Apologia* to William of St Thierry:

> But in cloisters, where the brothers are reading, what is the point of this ridiculous monstrosity, this shapely misshapenness, this misshapen shapeliness? What is the point of those unclean apes, fierce lions, monstrous centaurs, half-men, striped tigers, fighting soldiers and hunters blowing their

52 Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts II, 1250–1285*, pp. 124–39, nos. 140–51, figs. 200–44. The famous Oscott Psalter (British Library Add. MS 50000) may be a late member of this group.

53 Assuredly these 'hybrids' were used in sixteenth-century art even after Hieronymus Bosch, my final example. For hybrids in Romanesque sculpture see Victor-Henri Debidour, *Le bestiaire sculpté du moyen âge en France* (Paris: Arthaud, 1961), pp. 92–5, figs 109, 111–12, 323, and Jurgis Baltrušaitis, *Formations, déformations: la stylistique ornementale dans la sculpture romane* (Paris: Arthaud, 1986), pp. 189–98. For hybrids in Gothic art see Jurgis Baltrušaitis, *Reveils et prodiges: le gothique fantastique* (Paris: Armand Colin,1960), pp. 64–5, 104, 118, 160–1, 204–5, Lilian M. C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1966), pp. 111–28 (listing hundreds of hybrid types), Lucy F. Sandler, 'Reflections on the construction of hybrids in English Gothic marginal illustration', in *Art, the Ape of Nature: Studies in Honor of H.W. Janson*, ed. Moshe Barasch and Lucy F. Sandler (New York: Harry N. Abrahms, 1981), pp. 51–69 (repr. in Lucy F. Sandler, *Studies in Manuscript Illumination 1200–1400* (London, Pindar Press, 2008), pp. 12–32), Lucy F. Sandler, 'The study of marginal imagery: past, present and future', *Studies in Iconography*, 18: 1 –49 (1997); Ruth Mellinkoff, *Averting Demons: the Protective Power of Medieval Visual Motifs and Themes*, 2 vols., (Los Angeles, CA: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2004), particularly pp. 59–69 on hybrids. An interesting discussion focusing on English art *c.* 1250–1350 and questioning a whole range of issues concerning marginalia such as meaning, play, humour and counterculture can be found in Binski, *Gothic Wonder*, pp. 283–305. A classic discussion of this category of imagery in Romanesque art is Meyer Schapiro's 'On the aesthetic attitude in Romanesque art', in *Romanesque Art: Selected Papers*, (New York, George Braziller, 1977), pp. 1–27. See also the chapter on 'grylles gothiques' in Jurgis Baltrušaitis, *Le Moyen Âge fantastique. Antiquités et exotismes dans l'art gothique* (Paris: Flammarion, 1981), pp. 9–51. See further nn. 56, 57, 58 for hybrids on tile floors, and n. 60 for illuminated manuscripts.

> horns? In one place you see many bodies under a single head, in another several heads on a single body. Here on a quadruped we see the tail of a serpent. Over there on a fish we see the head of a quadruped. There we find a beast that is horse up front and goat behind, here another that is horned animal in front and horse behind. In short, so many and so marvellous are the various shapes surrounding us that it is more pleasant to read the marble than the books, and to spend the whole day marvelling over these things rather than meditating on the law of God. Good Lord! If we aren't embarrassed by the silliness of it all, shouldn't we at least be disgusted by the expense?[54]

In spite of his moral judgement this precisely observed description shows how attractive such images must have been to St Bernard's eyes, and assuredly they must have appealed much to contemporary viewers. Fortunately for the future development of such fascinating ornamentation, neither patrons nor artists took much note of his condemnation!

The hybrid forms of human heads or torsos set on animal, bird or even insect lower bodies derive from Graeco-Roman 'grylloi' in which composite human-animal-bird-insect forms are found. These fantastic forms were almost certainly transmitted to medieval artists through engraved Roman gems probably set in rings and often reused in goldsmiths' work crosses, reliquaries and shrines.[55] However, not all Graeco-Roman hybrids are composed of the newly invented forms of 'grylloi'. Some are well-established mythological creatures like centaurs, chimaera, harpies, hippocamps, sirens and mermaids. Recent studies on 'grylloi' emphasise their frequent apotropaic function in antiquity, averting the evil eye, and these gems set

54 In addition to Schapiro 'On the aesthetic attitude in Romanesque art' see Conrad Rudolph, 'Bernard of Clairvaux's Apologia as a description of Cluny, and the controversy over monastic art', *Gesta*, 27 (1/2): 125–32 (1988); see also Conrad Rudolph, *The 'Things of Greater Importance': Bernard of Clairvaux's Apologia and the Medieval Attitude toward Art* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990).

55 For examples of grylli on engraved antique gems see Adolf Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium* (Berlin: Spemann, 1896), pp. 146–7, nos. 3339–53, pp. 288–9, nos. 7811–26, pls. 27, 57; Adrien Blanchet, 'Recherches sur les "grylles". À propos d'une pierre gravée trouvé en Alsace', *Revue des études anciennes*, 23: 43–51 (1921) (with a useful listing of types of hybrid on Roman gems); Gisela M.A. Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems: Greek, Etruscan and Roman* (Rome: 'L'Erma' di Bretschneider, 1956), pp. 114–6, pl. LXIII; Tamás Gesztelyi, 'Zur Deutung der sogenannte Grylloi', *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis*, 28: 83–90 (1992); Lucas Herchenroeder, 'Plutarch's *Gryllus* and the so-called *Grylloi*', *American Journal of Philology*, 129: 347–79 (2008); Kenneth Lapatin, 'Grylloi', in *Gems of Heaven, Recent Research on Engraved Gemstones in Late Antiquity c. AD 200–600* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 2011), pp. 88–98; Carina Weiss, 'Non grylloi, baskania sunt. On the significance of the so-called grylloi/grilli or grylli in Greek and Roman glyptics', in *Engraved Gems from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. B.J.L. van den Bercken and V.C.P. Baan (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2017), pp. 145–53; Idit Sagiv, *Representations of Animals on Greek and Roman Engraved Gems: Meanings and Interpretations* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2018), pp. 126–45.

in rings may in most cases have been intended for that purpose.[56] Gothic interpretations of such antique 'grylloi' hybrids enjoyed an important revival in England and France, first in tile floors from the early years of the thirteenth century onwards, and in illuminated manuscripts and sculpture in the period from the 1250s onward in which a whole new range of fantastic types of hybrid were invented. Jurgis Baltrušaitis seems to have been the only person to note their occurrence during the first half of the thirteenth century in the tiles of Saint-Omer cathedral and other places in north-west France, such as Thérouanne.[57] Similar hybrids are on tile pavements in England from the second half of the thirteenth century and early fourteenth century found in Chertsey Abbey, Hailes Abbey, Lilleshall Abbey, Pipewell Abbey and Wenlock Priory.[58] A later example from the fourteenth century comes from Ulverscroft Priory (Leics.).[59] Given the extensive occurrence and public visibility of these grylli hybrids on tiled floors, it should be noted that, apart from Baltrušaitis and specialists on these floors, their extensive repertoire of grylli has been ignored. Another early occurrence of hybrids in England before they emerge in a major way in illuminated manuscripts can be discovered in the *c.* 1250 misericords of Exeter Cathedral.[60]

The most famous examples of the use of grylli in France and England in the period after 1280 are in the sculptured reliefs of the Rouen north transept Portail des Libraires in the 1280s; a Book of Hours of Thérouanne, BnF lat. 14284 (*c.* 1280–90); the Queen Mary Psalter (*c.* 1310–20); the Ormesby Psalter (the *c.* 1310–20 part); the so-called Hours of Marguerite de Beaujeu

56 The best recent account is Weiss, 'Non grylloi, baskania sunt'. See for medieval hybrids with possible atropaic intent Mellinkoff, *Averting Demons*, I, pp. 59–69; II, pls. I.1–I.57

57 Baltrušaitis, *Reveils et prodiges*, p. 118, fig. 8. See in more detail the hybrids in the tiles of Saint-Omer and other places in that region: Emmanuel H.J. Wallet, *Description du pavé de l'ancienne cathédrale de Saint-Omer* (Saint-Omer: Douai, 1847), pp. 54–68, pls. V, VI; Christopher Norton, 'Les carreaux de pavage en France au moyen âge', *Revue de* l'Art, 63: 60 –1, fig. 7 (1984); for an example of the same period from the collégiale of Saint-Quentin see Martine Carette and Didier Derœux, *Carreaux de pavement médiévaux de Flandre et d'Artois (XIIIe–XIVe siècles)* (Arras: Le Musée, 1985), pp. 25–7, pl. III, and pp. 70–1, pl. VI, where they are compared with those on the wooden roof in Metz, Musée, for which see n. 46; also Christopher Norton, *Carreaux de Pavement du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance. Collections du Musée Carnavalet* (Paris: Carnvalet, 1992), pp. 61, 125–7, figs. 42, 105.

58 Elizabeth S. Eames, *Catalogue of Medieval Lead-Glazed Earthenware Tiles in the Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities British Museum*, 2 vols. (London: British Museum Publications, 1980), design pls. 83, 103, 151–2, 863-81028-9, 1032–3, 1035–6, 1378–80, 1383–9, 1850, 1852–4.

59 John Cherry, 'The development of tile production in the North Midlands of England', in *Terres cuites architecturales au Moyen Âge*, ed. Didier Derœux (Arras: Commission départementale d'histoire et d'archéologie du Pas-de-Calais, 1986), pp. 228–9, fig. 3.

60 Marion Glasscoe and Michael Swanton, *Medieval Woodwork in Exeter Cathedral* (Exeter, Exeter Cathedral,1978), pp. 2022, nos. 4, 6, 7, 9, 17, 33, 41, 46, although some are antique types such as centaurs, mermaids and sirens.

(London, BL Add. 36684/New York, Morgan Library M.754 (*c.* 1318–20); Jean Pucelle's Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux (*c.* 1324–8); the Treatise of Walter of Milemete (*c.* 1326/27); and in forms very far from their antique origins in engraved gems in the Luttrell Psalter (*c.* 1330–40).[61] Most of the discussion in the literature has been on these later examples, not on the period up to *c.* 1280 with which this chapter is concerned.

The hybrid forms characteristic of the William of Devon group which occur in the Blackburn Psalter are:

1. Long-legged birds with human heads, often with pointed caps as on the Cuerden Psalter Beatus page, f. 11r, ff. 1r, 5r of the William of Devon Bible, Blackburn ff. 32r, 84r, 110 (Figures 2.12, 2.13 and 2.14).
2. animal bodies with clawed paws and human heads as on Cuerden Beatus f. 11r, William of Devon Bible ff. 1r, 5r, Blackburn ff. 13r, 45r, 57r, 84r (Figures 2.12, 2.13 and 2.14).
3. animal bodies with hooves and human torsos, a centaur type – sometimes playing musical instruments or hunting with bow and arrow – Egerton Hours f. 38r, Cuerden Beatus f. 11r, William Bible ff. 1r, 5r (Figures 2.12, 2.13 and 2.14).
4. animal lower parts surmounted by human heads with pointed caps as in Cuerden Beatus f. 11r, Egerton Hours f. 38r, William of Devon Bible f. 1r, Blackburn f. 110r (Figures 2.12 and 2.13).
5. bird bodies with human heads with feathered caps – Cuerden Beatus

61 On the Portail des Libraires see n. 47. On BnF lat. 14284 and the 'Hours of Marguerite de Beaujeu' see Alison Stones, *Gothic Manuscripts 1260–1320*, part I vol. 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 589–90, cats. III-129, III-130, and part I vol. 1, figs. 816–21, 824–6; Isabelle Engamarre, 'Les processes d'hybridation dans les marges à droleries des manuscrits gothiques', *Micrologus*, 9: 445–61 (2000); Jean Wirth, *Les marges à drôleries des manuscrits gothiques* (Geneva: Droz, 2008), pp. 12, 13, 14, 132, 139, 19, 197, 199, 274. Wirth pp. 58, 94–6, 112, 118, 121, 128, 141, 279, 344, specifically refers to the William of Devon group marginalia. On the Queen Mary Psalter see George Warner, *Queen Mary's Psalter: Miniatures and Drawings by an English Artist of the Fourteenth Century* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1912), pls. 175–81, 183, 185, 195, 198–9, 213–5. On the Ormesby Psalter see Frederica C.E. Law-Turner, *The Ormesby Psalter: Patrons and Artists in Medieval East Anglia* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2017). On the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux see *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, Queen of France* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1957) and for the full facsimile Barbara Drake Boehm, Abigail Quandt and William D. Wixom, *The Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, commentary and facsimile (Luzern: Faksimile, 1999). On the Treatise of Walter of Milemete see the facsimile, Montague R. James, *The Treatise of Walter of Milemete De nobilitatibus, sapientiis et prudentiis regum* (Oxford: Roxburghe Club, 1913); on the Luttrell Psalter see J. Backhouse, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London: British Library, 1989), Michael Camille, *Mirror in Parchment: the Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England* (London: Reaktion, 1998), and the facsimile, Michelle Brown, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London: Folio Society, 2006). Less famous manuscripts with hybrid marginalia from north-west France and Flanders in this period are discussed in Elizabeth Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts 1270–1310* (New York: Routledge, 2007).

f. 11r, William of Devon Bible f 5r, Blackburn ff. 13r, 110r (Figures 2.12 and 2.14).

Many of the birds are not hybrids, and are of both long- and short-legged species[62] as in Cuerden Beatus f. 11r, Egerton Hours f. 7r, William of Devon Bible f. 5r, Blackburn ff. 13r, 110r; green parrots with red beaks (resembling the African or Indian rose-ringed parakeet)[63] as in the Egerton Hours f. 50r (Figure 2.15), William of Devon Bible ff. 1r, 5r, Blackburn ff. 13r, 57r; peacocks – William of Devon Bible ff. 1r, 5r; cranes – William of Devon Bible, ff. 1r, 5r, Egerton Hours f. 7r. A further range of subjects are hunting scenes as in Cuerden Beatus f. 11r, Egerton Hours ff. 50r, 95v, William of Devon Bible ff. 1r, 5r; an ape playing a viol and a rabbit playing a shawm with a bell, both in the Egerton Hours f. 7r. The only examples of human parody/caricature are apes dressed as a bishop and a brown-habited cleric in the William of Devon Bible f. 5r, which indicates relatively little interest in this form of marginalia. The long-legged birds resembling cranes and storks are a common feature of Bolognese law books and bibles of the *c.* 1260–80 period and such books which would have been available in Oxford might be an inspiration for such birds, for which the William of Devon group have a distinct preference.[64]

The originality of these marginalia in the manuscripts of the William of Devon group has hardly been touched upon in the literature. Neither French manuscripts of the Johannes Grusch group nor any Oxford manuscripts of the same period have comparable repertoires gathered together on the borders of the Bible of William of Devon, the Cuerden Psalter, the Egerton Hours, the Blackburn Psalter, and the Emmanuel, Bodleian and Corpus Bibles. In contemporary English and French manuscripts dating from the third quarter of the thirteenth century only the artists of the Rutland Psalter have the same inventiveness but with a very different repertoire of figures, animals, birds and hybrids from the William of Devon group's.[65]

A controversial issue in art historical writing has been the purpose, 'intention' and possible meaning of this seemingly free expression of marginal 'grotesques' placed on the border bars or elsewhere in the borders or beside the initials in Gothic manuscripts.[66] To what extent is such imagery

62 For birds in the Bible of William of Devon see Brunsdon Yapp, *Birds in Medieval Manuscripts* (London: British Library, 1981), pp. 12, 43, 74, 76, 102, figs. 32, 47, and in the Bodl. Auct. D.1.17 Bible, Yapp, *Birds in Medieval Manuscripts*, p. 14, pl. 12B.

63 Although probably not found in Europe in the middle ages these birds could perhaps have been seen in Egypt during the time of the crusades. See on this type of parrot, Yapp, *Birds in Medieval Manuscripts*, p. 43.

64 Panayotova, Morgan and Ricciardi, *Breslau Psalter*, pp. 272–3, fig. 69, for these Bolognese long-legged birds which occur in the Breslau Psalter.

65 See Morgan, 'Rutland Psalter' for listing of the iconographic repertoire.

66 Camille, *Image on the Edge*, and Wirth, *Les marges*, are the best discussions.

a bearer of meaning or merely decorative ornament? Is it artistic expression freed from conventions of normal human behaviour in the manner of the carnival or 'upside-down world'? Some of it is clearly satirical parody similar to how animals or birds are used to satirise contemporary political figures in newspapers of today. Perhaps the circle of artists who decorated a particular manuscript or group of manuscripts read local personalities into the grotesques of their marginalia – for example, an ape dressed as a priest or bishop. Analogous to satire is of course humour and this has not been much discussed in studies of marginalia.[67] Simplistic as it might seem to say, men and women of the middle ages were not some sort of different species than human beings of our own time – they fantasised, laughed and cried in much the same way as we do. In the case of humour in the margins of the William of Devon group it would be a largely subjective judgement to define what is funny and why it is funny, and doubtless the response of a medieval viewer might well be different from ours today. Some of this marginal imagery is fantasy image play, as in the antics of the hybrids, while some of it may just be lighthearted decorative ornament using animals and birds. In placing birds in the margins particularly, some artists reveal their interest in careful naturalistic portrayal. Most famously this can be observed in the Alfonso Psalter and Bird Psalter in the 1280s and the Sherborne Missal of *c.* 1400.[68] Each manuscript necessitates an investigation of how marginalia are used and what type they are to discern the particular interests of the artists of that book.

67 On humour see Herman Braet, 'Entre folie et raison: les drôleries du MS B.N. FR. 25526', in *Risus mediaevalis: Laughter in Medieval Literature and* Art, ed. Herman Braet, Guido Latré and Werner Verbeke (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2003), pp. 43–74. Also see Gerhard Schmidt, '"Belehrender" und "befreiender" Humor: einer Versuch über die Funktionen des Komischen in der bildenden Kunst des Mittelalters', in *Worüber Lacht des Publikum im Theater. Festschrift zum 90. Geburtstag von Hans Kindermann*, ed. M. Dietrich (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag GmbH, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Verlage), 1984, pp. 9–39 (repr. in Gerhard Schmidt, *Malerei der Gotik. Fixpunkte und Ausblick, 2, Malerei der Gotik in Süd- und Westeuropa*, ed. Martin Roland (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 2005), pp. 3–28), and Karin Kröll, 'Die Komik des grotesken Körpers in der christlichen Bildkunst des Mittelalters', in *Mein ganzer Körper is Gesicht. Groteske Darstellungen in der europäischen Kunst und Literatur des Mittelalters*, ed. Karin Kröll and Hugo Steger (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach Verlag, 1994), pp. 11–105.

68 E.g. Pamela Tudor-Craig, 'Patronage, iconography and Franciscan thought in the Alphonso Psalter, BL Additional MS 24686', in *Tributes to Nigel Morgan. Contexts of Medieval Art: Images, Objects and Ideas*, ed. Julian M. Luxford and M.A. Michael (London/Turnhout: Harvey Millar, 2010), pp. 77–92, W. Brunsdon Yapp, 'The birds of the Sherborne Missal', *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*, 104: 5–15 (1982), G. Evelyn Hutchinson, 'Attitudes towards nature in medieval England: the Alphonso and Bird Psalters', Isis, 65: 4 –37 (1974), Janet Backhouse, *Medieval Birds in the Sherborne Missal* (London: British Library, 2001).

Figure 2.13. The Bible of William of Devon, British Library, Royal MS 1 D I, f. 1 r. © British Library.

Figure 2.14. The Bible of William of Devon, British Library, Royal MS 1 D I, f. 5 r. © British Library.

Figure 2.15. British Library, Egerton MS 1151, f. 50 r. © British Library.

Conclusion

The Blackburn Psalter is a highly significant addition to the William of Devon group which gives new information on interrelationships between the manuscripts and artists involved. In this short study I have raised a number of issues which require further in-depth investigation of all the group's manuscripts, above all how the labour was divided between the various artists. Robert Branner and Adelaide Bennett proved the origin in Paris of some of the artists involved, but when their articles were written in 1972 they were not yet aware of the important Blackburn Psalter first mentioned in the low-circulation *Illustrated Manuscripts and Early Printed Books from the Hart Collection*, published in 1964 by Blackburn Public Library.

3. Rome and Florence at the beginning of the fifteenth century: the different models in the illuminations of the Pancera Missal, Blackburn, and a new hypothesis on penflourishing in the Acciaiuoli Missal, Cambridge

Francesca Manzari

The intense artistic connections between Rome and Florence, as illustrated by illuminations and penwork ornaments produced in Rome during the papacy of Boniface IX (1389–1404), will be explored in this chapter. A new market for richly illuminated books flourished here during the Schism, starting with the pontificate of Urban VI (1378–1389), when the reestablished papal chancery attracted scribes and artists from central Italy. These copyists, illuminators and penwork artists were active both in the chancery and the book trade, producing manuscripts with strong central Italian traits, mostly connected with the Abruzzi and Umbria.[1]

At the turn of the century this style was greatly enriched by the introduction of other elements, taken from models brought in from different areas. In particular, the border foliage in Roman illuminated manuscripts assimilated motifs deriving from Florence. These components, absent in

1 Francesca Manzari, 'Libri liturgici miniati in Italia centromeridionale all'inizio del Quattrocento', in *Universitates e Baronie. Arte e architettura in Abruzzo e nel Regno al tempo dei Durazzo*, Atti del Convegno (Guardiagrele-Chieti, 9–11 Nov. 2006), eds P.F. Pistilli, F. Manzari and G. Curzi (Pescara: Zip, 2008), 1, pp. 109–36; Francesca Manzari, 'La ripresa della miniatura a Roma durante lo Scisma. Miniatori, copisti e calligrafi attivi tra fine Trecento e inizio Quattrocento', in *Il codice miniato in Europa. Libri per la chiesa, per la città, per la corte*, eds G. Mariani Canova and A. Perriccioli Saggese (Padova: Il Poligrafo, 2014), pp. 401–23; Francesca Manzari, 'Scribes, pen-flourishers and illuminators in papal charters from the Great Western Schism to the Age of the Councils (1378–1447)', in *Illuminierte Urkunden. Beiträge aus Diplomatik, Kunstgeschichte und Digital Humanities. Illuminated Charters. Essays from Diplomatic, Art History and Digital Humanities*, eds G. Bartz and M. Gneiss (Köln-Weimar: Böhlau, 2018), pp. 153–78; Francesca Manzari, 'Illumination in Rome and L'Aquila during the Schism and in Florence during the Council: artists and patrons of the Calderini Pontifical (Harvard, Houghton Library, Typ 1)', in *Beyond Words. The Symposium* (Boston and Harvard, 4–6 Nov. 2016), ed. J. Hamburger (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies), in press.

illuminated books dating from the time of Urban VI, can be observed in books right from the start of the fifteenth century, as the Blackburn Missal shows (Hart MS 20918).[2]

Among the individuals who must have been in continuous contact with Florence, I shall highlight the role of Angelo Acciaiuoli[3], advancing a new hypothesis on the first decorative stage of this cardinal's missal (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 30), and suggesting that its few penflourished initials are the work of artists active in Rome. I argue that the manuscript was written here and the pen-work was carried out here, before the liturgical book was taken to Florence. Only the illuminations in tempera were painted there, between 1402 and 1405, as indicated in well-known documents concerning payments to four Florentine artists.[4]

The Blackburn Missal

Illuminations produced in Rome during the Schism have received growing attention over the past decade and the Blackburn Missal is now correctly assigned to the owner of the arms which appear prominently on its major *incipit*-leaves (ff. 2r, 142v, 143r): cardinal Antonio Pancera (Figure 3.1)[5].

This manuscript had previously been identified as the Missal of Pedro Serra, an Aragonese prelate close to the Avignon curia, named cardinal in 1397 by the antipope Benedict XIII (1394–1423).[6] A few years ago Emma

2 The manuscript, hereafter referred to as the Blackburn Missal, formerly the property of Dukes of St Albans, was bought by Robert Edward Hart (1878–1946) from the bookseller William H. Robinson Ltd (Pall Mall, London). Hart bequeathed it to the Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery in 1946: Jonathan J.G. Alexander and Paul Crossley, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Treasures in the North West* (Manchester: Whitworth Art Gallery, 1976), p. 34; Francesca Manzari, 'Libri liturgici miniati per Bonifacio IX. Il codice Vat. lat. 3747 e la miniatura a Roma e nel Lazio all'epoca dello Scisma', in *Il Pontificale di Bonifacio IX*, commentary ed. A.M. Piazzoni (Modena-Città del Vaticano: Art Codex, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2007), pp. 49–116, pp. 79–84; Manzari, 'Libri liturgici miniati in Italia centromeridionale', pp. 129–32; 2014, 404–12; Francesca Manzari, 'XIV.2. Messale Pancera', in *I libri dei patriarchi. Un percorso nella cultura scritta del Friuli medievale*, extended edn. ed. Cesare Scalon ([sl] (Deputazione di Storia Patria per il Friuli, Istituto Pio Paschini per la Storia della Chiesa in Friuli, 2018), pp. 437–41: pp. 437–9.

3 Arnaldo D'Addario, 's.v. Acciaiuoli, Angelo', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana fondata da G. Treccani, 1960), 1, pp. 76–7.

4 Anna M. Bernacchioni, 'Riflessioni e proposte sulla committenza di Gherardo Starnina, pittore del guelfismo fiorentino', in *Intorno a Lorenzo Monaco. Nuovi studi sulla pittura tardogotica*, eds D. Parenti and A. Tartuferi (Livorno: Sillabe, 2007), pp. 44–55; Eowyn Kerr-Di Carlo, 'Making the Cardinal's Missal: looking anew at the circle of Lorenzo Monaco and the illuminators of Fizwilliam Ms. 30', in *Manuscripts in the Making. Art & Science. I*, eds S. Panayotova and P. Ricciardi (London-Turnhout: Harvey Miller, Brepols, 2017), pp. 87–95.

5 Manzari, 'La ripresa della miniatura a Roma', pp. 403–12.

6 Alexander and Crossley, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Treasures*, p. 34; Manzari, 'Libri

Figure 3.1. Incipit *leaf, Hart MS 20918, The Blackburn Missal, f. 2 r., Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.*

Condello discovered that Serra, who died in Genoa in 1404, was not connected to the Roman pope Boniface IX at all: the misconnection had been based on a mistake made by the sixteenth-century scholar Alfonso Chacòn (Ciaconius), who had misidentified the arms which appear in the Blackburn manuscript as belonging to this anti-cardinal.[7] Quite recently, however, I identified this coat-of-arms as Antonio Pancera's (1350?–1431), a prelate, from Friuli Venezia Giulia, who was close to Boniface IX, acting as his secretary. In September 1392 the Pancera family obtained permission to use the pope's coat-of-arms, the Tomacelli shield, in the upper portion of their arms, truncated with a star on blue ground in the lower part: this is the coat-of arms represented in the Blackburn Missal.[8] Antonio Pancera, who resided in Rome as a *familiaris* of Perrino Tomacelli even before the latter's election as Boniface IX in 1389, became patriarch of Aquileia in 1402, but he was only named cardinal in 1411 by the anti-pope John XXIII (1370–1419), some years after Boniface's death in 1404.[9] This makes dating the manuscript's illustrative programme quite difficult, as in all three cases the arms are completed by the overhanging red cardinal's hat (Figure 3.2).

The Blackburn Missal (Hart MS 20918)[10] was written in 1400 and illuminated in Rome by artists active in the context of Boniface's court, sometime between this date and 1411.[11] The text was written by Johannes Wilhelmi Ramoka de Berlandia, a scribe originally from Utrecht,[12] while he was in the abbey of Trisulti – close to Frosinone, south of Rome – and it was

liturgici miniati per Bonifacio IX', pp. 79–84; Manzari, 'Libri liturgici miniati in Italia centromeridionale', pp. 129–32.

7 Emma Condello and Maddalena Signorini, 'Minima trisultina, II. I codici originari', in *Sit liber gratus, quem servulus est operatus. Studi in onore di Alessandro Pratesi per il suo 90° compleanno*, eds P. Cherubini and G. Nicolaj (Città del Vaticano: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 2012), 2, pp. 761–98: pp. 765–77, 783–5.

8 Manzari, 'XIV.2. Messale Pancera', p. 404; Francesca Manzari, 'More on illumination at the time of the Great Schism: book patronage in the two Curias and a long-lasting stage of Gothic illumination in Rome', in *Vom Weichen über den Schönen Stil zur Ars Nova. Neue Beiträge zur europäischen Kunst zwischen 1350 und 1470*, eds J. Fajt and M. Hörsch (Wien-Köln-Weimar: Böhlau, 2018), pp. 129–46 (134).

9 Cesare Scalon, *s.v. Pancera, Antonio*, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana fondata da G. Treccani, 2014), 80, pp. 679–81.

10 The Missal – mm 210 x 145; ff. 296 – comprises one full-page illumination, followed by a large historiated initial at the incipit of *Te igitur* (ff. 142v–143r), 50 smaller historiated letters and 177 decorated ones. At least four leaves are missing: two preceding the text of the *Praeparatio ad missam* at the beginning of the manuscript, the first leaf of the calendar (containing Jan. and Feb.), and the beginning of the first Sun. in Advent at the book's *incipit*.

11 Manzari, 'La ripresa della miniatura a Roma', pp. 403–14; Manzari, 'More on illumination at the time of the Great Schism', pp. 134–6; Manzari, 'XIV.2. Messale Pancera', pp. 437–9.

12 Manzari, 'Libri liturgici miniati per Bonifacio IX', pp. 82–3; Condello and Signorini, 'Minima trisultina', pp. 765–77; Manzari, 'La ripresa della miniatura a Roma', p. 422.

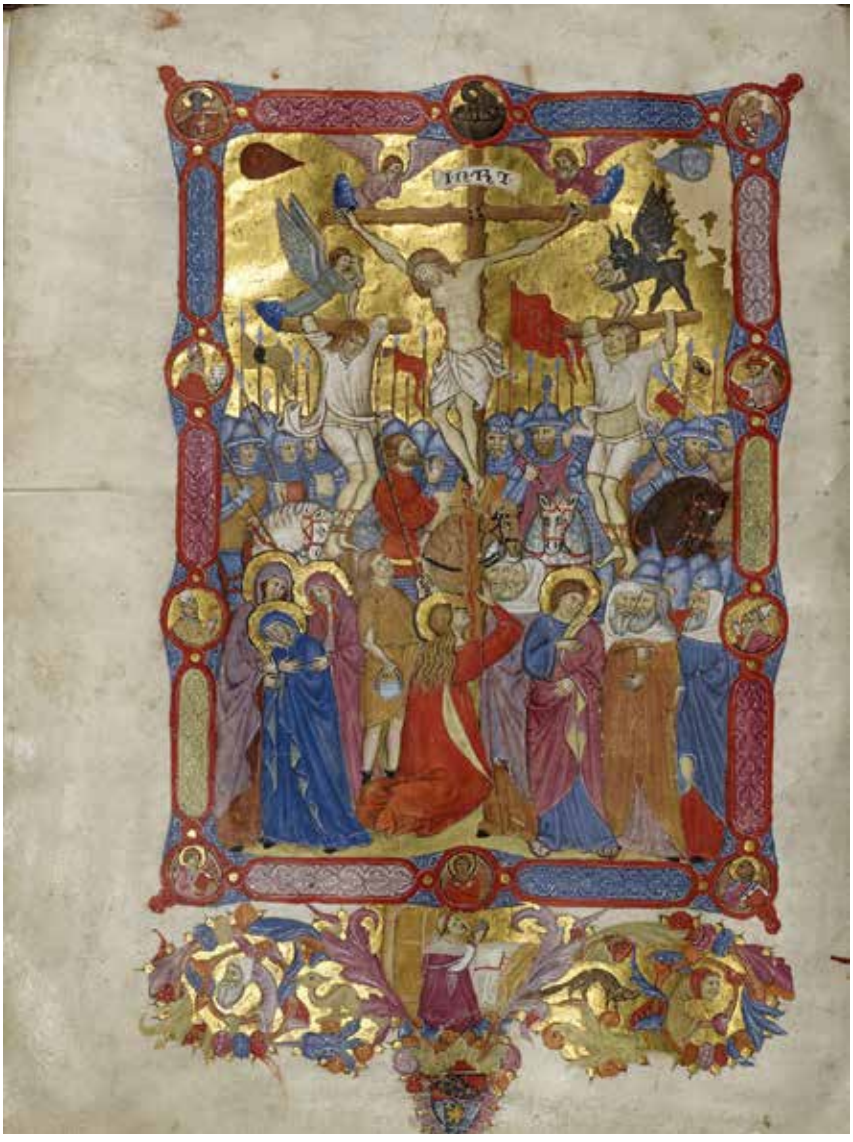

Figure 3.2. The Crucifixion with arms of the Pancera family in bas- de- page, Hart MS 20918, The Blackburn Missal, f. 142v., Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

completed on 24 July 1400.[13] Johannes was probably just spending the hot summer months there, because he is documented in Rome later, accepted as a scribe in the papal chancery in 1403.[14] This prelate from the Netherlands was already in Italy in 1392, when he wrote a manuscript containing Dante's *Divine Comedy* while he was chaplain to the lord of Pisa, Simone Gambacorta (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Conv. Soppr. 204, f. 92r).[15]

The illumination in the Blackburn Missal was either started immediately after the completion of the text in 1400 and made for a different patron, or Pancera had it illuminated in two stages, starting in the first years of the century and did not get the cardinal's hat added until after 1411, when he was created cardinal. It is however possible that Pancera was allowed to use red before then, when he was named Patriarch of Aquileia in 1402: nowadays patriarchs are allowed to employ the colour red used by cardinals, but it is extremely difficult to trace the origins of this tradition. Only scientific analyses of the Blackburn Missal's coats-of-arms would show if they have been repainted, indicating that the manuscript was originally made for an entirely different patron, or whether only the hats were added or altered, as seems particularly likely on the leaf depicting the deposition (Figure 3.3). Whatever the solution to this puzzle, it is quite plausible that the campaign of illumination was started in Rome shortly after the text was completed, as demonstrated by the close stylistic links with other manuscripts made for pope Boniface IX.[16]

The Pancera coat-of-arms appears on the three main surviving leaves (ff. 2r, 142v, 143r): at the beginning of the Blackburn Missal, on the leaf with the *Praeparatio ad missam*, and on the two leaves at the *incipit* of *Te igitur*, where the full-page Crucifixion and the Deposition, an interesting image, is conflated with the angels carrying the cross, and the open tomb. It cannot

13 The inscription on f. 297v is rather worn, but still largely legible: '*Explicit missale secundum consuetudinem romane ecclesiae scriptum per manus Johannis de berlandia presbyter uraieciensis dyocesis sub anno domini millesimo quatricentesimo indictione octava pontificatus sanctissimi in cristo patris et domini nostri domini bonifatii divina providentia pape noni anno undecimo die vero vicesima quarto mensis iulii in monasterio sancti bartholomei de trisulto ordinis cartusientium alatrine dyocesis*': Manzari, 'Libri liturgici miniati in Italia centromeridionale', p. 131.

14 François Avril, *Stephanus de Aquila*, in *Illuminare l'Abruzzo. Codici miniati tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, cat. (Chieti, Palazzo de' Mayo, 10 May–31 Aug. 2013), eds G. Curzi, F. Manzari, F. Tentarelli and A. Tomei (Pescara: Carsa, 2012), pp. 51–7 (53).

15 *Hoc scripsit presbiter Johannes quondam Wilhelmi de Berlandia capellanus magnifici et potentissimi domini Petri de Gambacurtis* (Firenze, Biblioteca Mediceo Laurenziana, Conventi Soppressi, 204, f. 92): Manzari, 'Libri liturgici miniati in Italia centromeridionale', p. 132.

16 Manzari, 'Libri liturgici miniati per Bonifacio IX', pp. 79–84; Manzari, 'La ripresa della miniatura a Roma', pp. 403–14; Manzari, 'More on illumination at the time of the Great Schism', pp. 134–6.

Figure 3.3. The Deposition with Pancera arms centre, Hart MS 20918, The Blackburn Missal, f. 143 r., Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

be discounted that a further coat-of-arms may have been present on the first leaf of the calendar, now lost, but which once bore January on the *recto* and February on the *verso*.[17]

The arms of Antonio Pancera not only appear on the Blackburn Missal, but are also in another one (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vatican, E.3, f. 1r). This lacks decoration, apart from the Pancera arms, alongside those of pope Boniface IX, on the lower margin of the *incipit*-leaf. In this case, the Pancera arms also bear the red hat, which either indicates that this prelate was already using the cardinal's colour before Boniface IX's death in 1404, and had therefore been named Patriarch of Aquileia in 1402, or that the *incipit*-leaf was illustrated in memory of Boniface IX, including the papal arms and the tiara as a posthumous homage. The Pancera coat-of-arms also appears on the fragments surviving from this prelate's tomb, once in St Peter's basilica but now taken apart and stored in the Vatican Grottoes.[18]

The patrons of the two richly illuminated missals here examined, Antonio Pancera and Angelo Acciaiuoli, are linked by a hitherto unnoticed element: they are the first two prelates displaying coats-of-arms which include the papal arms. This was a frequent feature of the Renaissance, when the popes allowed people particularly close to them to quarter their arms with the papal shield, as in the case of Julius II (1503–13) and the banker Agostini Chigi, who displayed the Chigi arms quartered with the Della Rovere in the decoration of his Roman villa.[19] The same occurs in the Blackburn Missal and in the reliquary with the head of Saint John the Baptist, still kept in the Roman church of San Silvestro *in capite*, commissioned by Angelo Acciaiuoli from a late-fourteenth century workshop probably active in Rome.[20] This exquisite micro-architecture, embellished by enamels with narrative scenes from the life of the Baptist, shows the Acciaiuoli shield truncated with the Tomacelli arms, similar to the Pancera coat-of-arms. The hat represented above the coat-of-arms is a mitre, presumably indicating a date before 1387, when the Florentine prelate was created cardinal of the title of San Lorenzo in Damaso. This date, however, is earlier than the beginning of the pontificate of Boniface IX, who became pope in 1389. The headpiece used above this coat-of-arms therefore represents an intriguing chronological puzzle, comparable but opposite to Antonio Pancera's Missal, where the cardinal's hat would

17 Manzari, 'XIV.2. Messale Pancera', p. 437.

18 Manzari, 'More on illumination at the time of the Great Schism', p. 134.

19 As can be seen in the painted decoration of the villa Farnesina in Rome: Manzari, 'La ripresa della miniatura a Roma', p. 45, n. 20.

20 Ilaria Toesca, *Il reliquiario della testa di San Giovanni Battista nella chiesa di San Silvestro in capite a Roma* ('Bollettino d'arte', s. IV, 46, 1961), pp. 307–14 (308); Serena Romano, *La peinture à Naples au début du XVe siècle: le temps de Ladislas*, in *L'Europe des Anjou. Aventure des Princes angevins du XIIIe au XVe siècle*, cat. (Fontevraud, 2001), ed. G.M. Le Goff (Paris: Somogy, 2001), pp. 135–41 (136).

indicate a date after Boniface's death. In both cases, it shows that Boniface IX was the first pope to introduce this practice among his *familiares*.[21]

The owner of the Blackburn Missal is represented at least twice in the manuscript, and possibly also in a third instance: on f. 24r, kneeling in the frame containing the *P* at the *incipit* of the Mass for Christmas (Figure 3.4); in prayer in front of an altar, in the lower margin of f. 142v, with his eyes looking up at the crucifixion; celebrating mass and elevating the host on f. 143r, under the deposition. In the first case he is dressed in blue, in the second in purple with ermine lining, and in the third he is wearing red liturgical vestments.

The patron of the Blackburn Missal relied entirely on the scribes and illuminators available in Rome in the context of Boniface's curia, but the manuscript's border foliage shows that the illuminators in this workshop were well aware of the so-called Santa Maria degli Angeli style, which originated in Florence in the last quarter of the fourteenth century,[22] and became fashionable in Rome exactly at the turn of the century.[23]

The Acciaiuoli Missal

The contacts between Rome and Florence must have been many at the beginning of the fifteenth century and one of the main agents of this interaction must have been Angelo Acciaioli (1349–1408), from the important Florentine family, which mainly resided in Rome during the pontificates of Urban VI, after 1387, and Boniface IX, after 1395. In 1387 he became cardinal priest of San Lorenzo in Damaso and Chancellor of the Holy See; in 1404 he become the archpriest of the Chapter of St Peter's and in 1405 the dean of the cardinals' college. Although he mainly lived in Rome, Angelo Acciaiuoli remained strongly linked with his hometown and from 1385 he was also the commendatory abbot of the Badia in Florence.[24]

This office is particularly relevant in connection with the illumination of his sumptuous missal (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 30), whose decoration in Florence (Figure 3.5), in the context of the Scuola di Santa

21 Manzari, 'Libri liturgici miniati per Bonifacio IX', pp. 87–8; Manzari, 'La ripresa della miniatura a Roma', p. 405.

22 For bibliography on this phase of illumination in Florence: Maria G. Ciardi Dupré Dal Poggetto, 'La miniatura in Italia centrale', in *La miniatura in Italia. Dal Tardogotico al Manierismo*, eds A. Putaturo Donati Murano, A. Perriccioli Saggese (Città del Vaticano-Napoli: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Edizioni scientifiche, 2009), pp. 298–304 (299–300); Ada Labriola, 'I libri miniati tra Trecento e Quattrocento: innovazione nella continuità', in *Bagliori dorati. Il Gotico Internazionale a Firenze. 1375–1440*, cat. (Firenze, Uffizi, 19 June–4 Nov. 2012), eds A. Natali, E. Neri Lusanna and A. Tartuferi (Firenze: Giunti, 2012), pp. 71–81.

23 Manzari, 'Libri liturgici miniati per Bonifacio IX', pp. 70–1.

24 D'Addario, 's.v. Acciaiuoli, Angelo', pp. 76–7.

Figure 3.4. The Nativity with possible patron portrait, Hart MS 20918, The Blackburn Missal, f. 24 r., Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

Figure 3.5. Pentecost, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 30, Missal for Angelo Acciaiuoli, 148r, © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Maria degli Angeli, has been the object of repeated and recent investigations. It can be related to documents recording payments to four illuminators – Bartolomeo di Fruosino, Bastiano di Nicolò di Monte, and the brothers Bartolomeo and Matteo di Filippo Torelli – between 1402 and 1405.[25] Notwithstanding the meticulous studies devoted to it, as an example of Florentine book production, both in recent diagnostic investigations and cataloguing projects at the Fitzwilliam Museum, and in new research on the Florentine production system, which have closely interrelated the Badia and Santa Maria degli Angeli monasteries with lay workshops, no one had ever suggested that the missal's text might have been written in Rome. I believe it is arguable that the Acciaiuoli Missal was actually written in the context of the curia, where its decorative campaign began with the penflourished initials. The manuscript was probably then sent to Florence, but only for the completion of its illustrative and decorative programme.[26]

The Acciaiuoli Missal is so richly illuminated that all the major *incipit* letters are painted in brush and tempera. There are only three large penflourished initials in the manuscript (ff. 102r, 105r, 108r) which have rarely been reproduced, given the vast number of other elegant painted illuminations within it.[27] The three letters, nonetheless, can definitely be identified as products of the penwork artists active in Rome during the Schism (Figures 3.6–3.7). These calligraphers, as I have recently argued, divided their time between the papal chancery, working as *grossatores* (scribes) for the papal charters, and the book market, which flourished in Rome after the popes came back from Avignon.[28]

25 The names of four artists paid to collaborate in illuminating the missal for cardinal Acciauoli were found in the Badia account books by Gaetano Milanesi, in 1878; the missal mentioned in the documents was identified as the manuscript in Cambridge by Miklos Boskovits in 1972, but the documents, then lost, were rediscovered by Anna Maria Bernacchioni in 2007: Bernacchioni, 'Riflessioni e proposte', pp. 44–55. For a resumé: Labriola, 'I libri miniati tra Trecento e Quattrocento', p. 76; Ada Labriola, 'Il Graduale-Antifonario della chiesa di Orbatello miniato da Bartolomeo di Fruosino', in *L'ospedale di Orbatello. Carità e arte a Firenze*, eds C. De Benedictis and C. Milloschi (Firenze: Polistampa, 2015), pp. 215–19 (216 –17).

26 Nothing in the documents contradicts this hypothesis. For a recent review of the documents in the context of the Badia in Florence see Kerr-Di Carlo, 'Making the Cardinal's Missal', pp. 88–94.

27 *A Catalogue of Western Book Illumination in the Fitzwilliam Museum and the Cambridge Colleges*, II.2. *Italy & the Iberian Peninsula*, eds N. Morgan, S. Panayotova and S. Reynolds (London-Turnhout: Harvey Miller, Brepols, 2011), pp. 52–6 (entry 226); *Colour: the Art and Science of Illuminated Manuscripts*, cat. (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 30 July–30 Dec. 2016), ed. S. Panayotova, with the assistance of D. Jackson and P. Ricciardi (London-Turnhout: Harvey Miller, Brepols, 2016), pp. 142–53 (entry 28) (146).

28 Manzari, 'Scribes, pen-flourishers and illuminators', pp. 153–78.

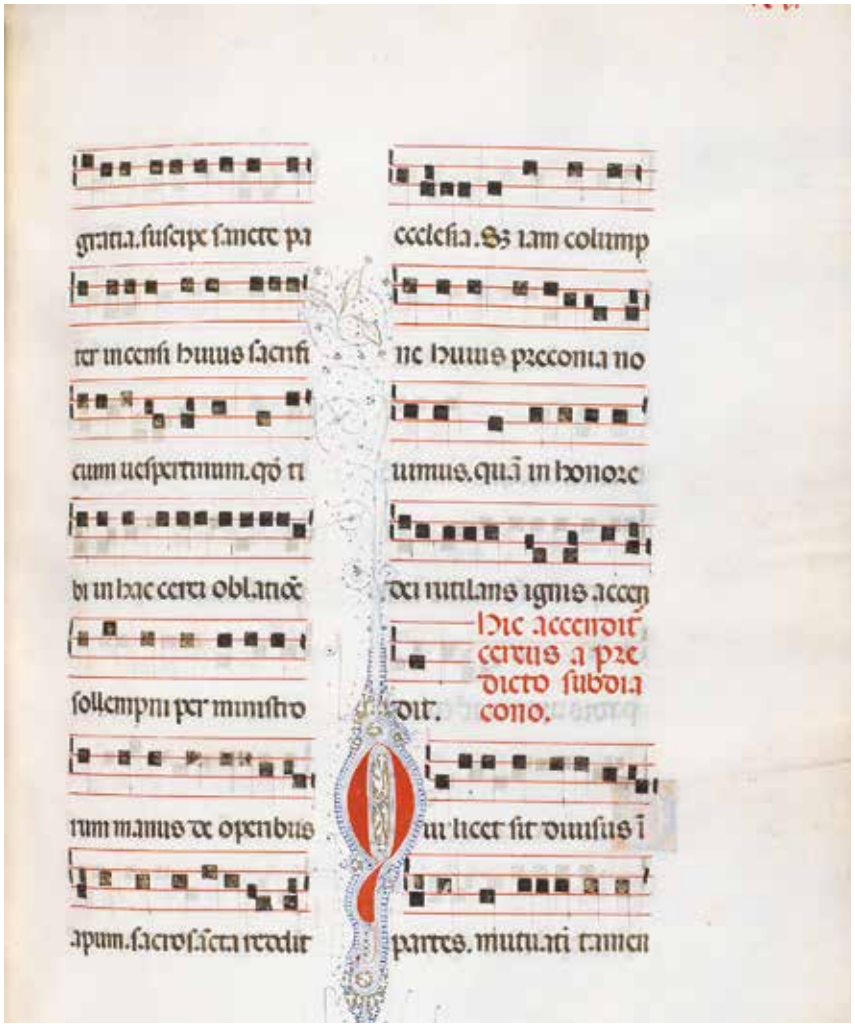

Figure 3.6. Penwork initial, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 30, Missal for Angelo Acciaiuoli, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, f. 105r, © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

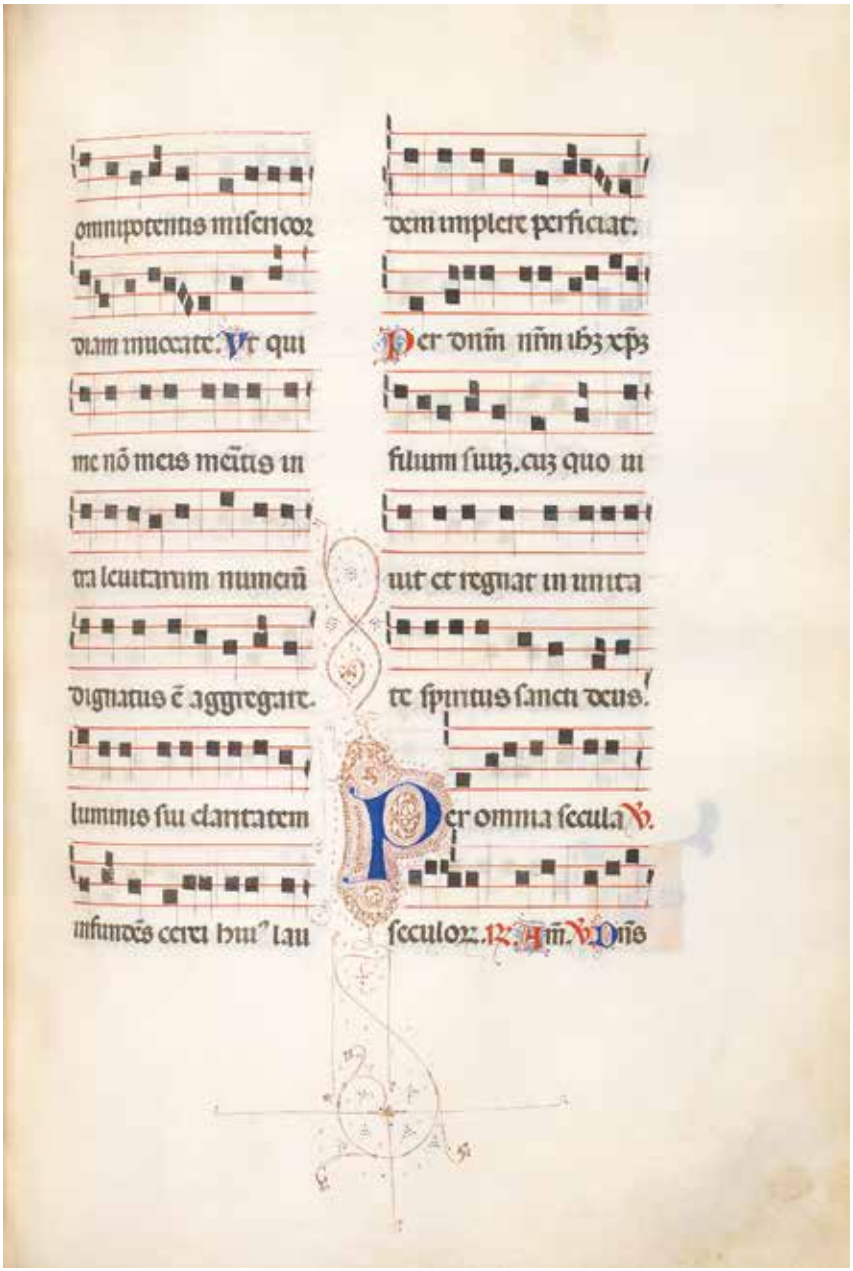

Figure 3.7. Penwork initial, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 30, Missal for Angelo Acciaiuoli, f. 102r, © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

This production of penwork has been for the most part assigned to the penflourisher Stephanus de Aquila, active in Rome in the papal chancery from 1381 to 1407 and working simultaneously as a scribe and penwork artist producing manuscripts; his style can be discerned, for example, in the signed letter in the *Liber cancelleriae apostolicae* (Paris, BnF, lat. 4169, f. 89r), dated 1380 (Figure 3.8).[29] The corpus of penwork which can be associated with his style, probably not carried out single-handedly but with the aid of assistants, has recently been enlarged with three new additions: a manuscript with the *Summa praedicatorum* by Johannes Gallensis in Berlin (Staatsbibliothek, Lat. fol. 253), a large initial *S* in a Lectionary in Washington DC (Ms. 42, fol. 61r) and a small Book of Hours (London, Maggs Bros.).[30] Although most of these manuscripts, including those first assigned to him by François Avril,[31] do range from the dates when Stephanus first started to be documented in Rome and run parallel to his work in the papal chancery – for which almost forty charters have been found, dating between 1380 and 1407[32] – it is quite possible that this style was a common language, shared by more than one individual in the thriving Roman book trade. Other artists probably employed this style, widely used in Rome in the context of the papal curia and perhaps also in the area of Lazio, as can be seen in a Lectionary kept in Subiaco (Biblioteca di Santa Scolastica, Ms. 1), possibly written there at the end of the fourteenth century[33] and displaying similar decorative motifs by a much weaker hand.[34] This is also suggested by a consideration of the splendid penflourished letters in a Gradual now in Barletta (Biblioteca Diocesana, Ms. D), extraordinarily similar to Stephanus's work, but signed by Nello de Perusio, who might be identified as another scribe in the Roman chancery,

29 Manzari, 'Scribes, pen-flourishers and illuminators', pp. 155–60.

30 Manzari, 'Illumination in Rome and L'Aquila during the Schism', in press.

31 The first *corpus*, comprising two signed manuscripts (Escorial, Biblioteca del Real Monasterio, h.IV.9 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 3189), three manuscripts in Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7982; lat. 8024; lat. 9681), the Missals in Blackburn and St Petersburg and the Houghton Pontifical were first assembled by François Avril in 1990: Avril, *Stephanus de Aquila*, pp. 51–7. For a recent updating of the *corpus*: Manzari, 'Scribes, pen-flourishers and illuminators', pp. 155–60; Francesca Manzari, 'Committenza libraria a Roma durante lo scisma: codici miniati per papi, cardinali, vescovi e laici (1380–1410)', in *La linea d'ombra. Roma 1378–1420*, eds W. Angelelli and S. Romano (Roma: Viella, 2019), pp. 89–114; Manzari, 'Illumination in Rome and L'Aquila during the Schism', in press. A new addition, recently discovered in Salamanca's university library, is discussed below.

32 Manzari, 'Scribes, pen-flourishers and illuminators', pp. 158–9, n. 27.

33 On the scriptorium in Subiaco see Gabriele P. Carosi, *I monasteri di Subiaco* (Subiaco: Monastero di Santa Scolastica, 1987), p. 113.

34 I would like to thank Monsieur Avril for bringing this manuscript to my attention. Upon direct examination, the penwork is clearly not by Stephanus or his colleagues, but it shows that a similar style was used in Subiaco.

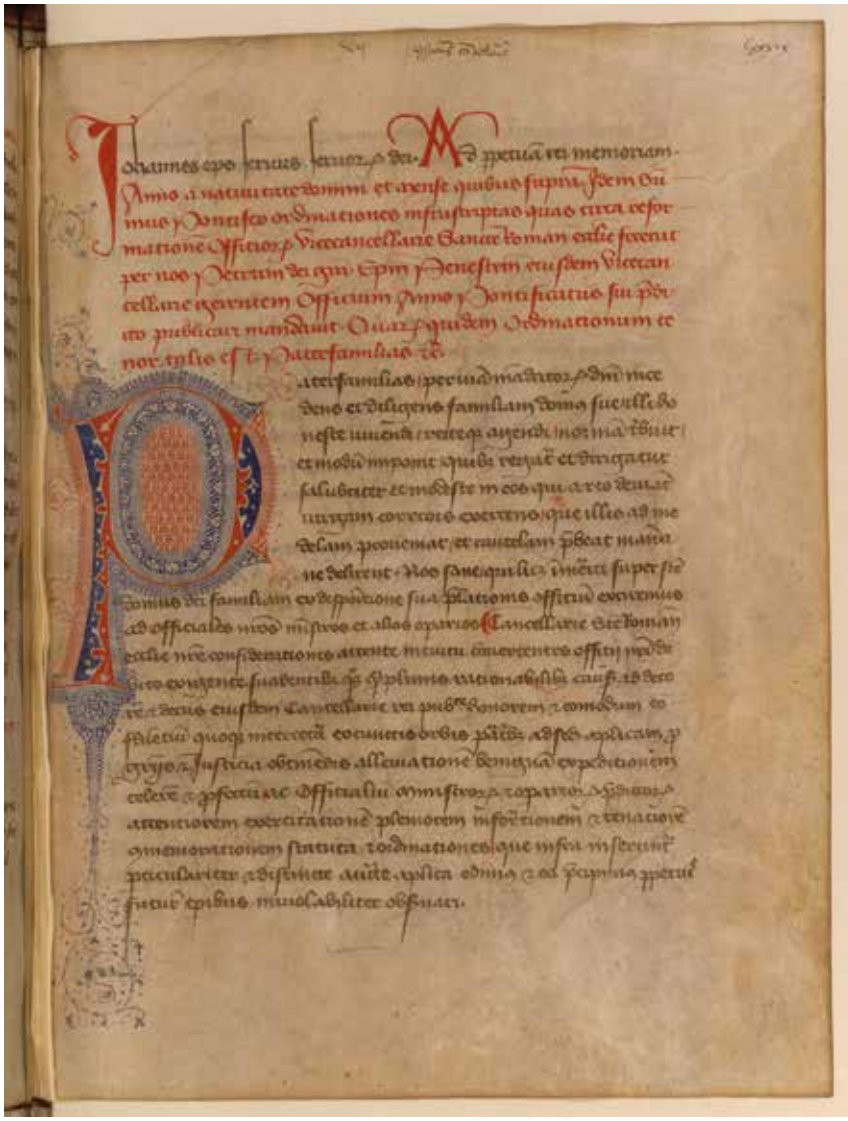

Figure 3.8. Penwork initial signed by Stephanus de Aquila, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 4169, Liber cancelleriae apostolicae*, f. 89r. © Bibliothèque nationale de France.*

perhaps trained by Stephanus or collaborating with him.[35] The long-lasting traits of this style can be traced in manuscripts produced in Rome as late as the 1420s, as shown by the missal made for cardinal Giordano Orsini (1360?–1438), archbishop of Naples since 1400, created cardinal in 1405 and one of the major book collectors of his time.[36] This manuscript (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Arch. Cap. S. Pietro B.82) was written in 1423 and decorated with penwork by Antonius de Ysimbardi de Mediolano, again possibly to be identified with an A de Mediolano mentioned in the papal registers in 1418.[37] Finally, a missal written in 1427 for another collaborator of the papal chancery, the scribe Johannes Montanus (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Arch. Cap. S. Pietro B.65), displays penflourished letters still deriving from Stefano's style.[38]

In this context really close similarities can be detected between the three letters in the Acciaiuoli Missal (Figure 3.9) and the Calderini Pontifical (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, Typ. 1), written in Rome at the end of the 1380s and possibly meant for Urban VI.[39] The penflourishings on ff. 4r and 5v are examples of this style, which is also found in the Blackburn Missal in the richer penwork on ff. 138v–139r (Figure 3.10).

The first stage of the Acciaiuoli Missal's decoration therefore shows that the manuscript was actually written in Rome, sometime between the

35 See Francesca Manzari, 'La miniatura abruzzese di epoca gotica e tardogotica', in *Illuminare l'Abruzzo. Codici miniati tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, cat. (Chieti, Palazzo de' Mayo, 10 May–31 Aug. 2013), eds G. Curzi, F. Manzari, F. Tentarelli and A. Tomei (Pescara, Carsa, 2012), pp. 58–88 (75); Manzari, 'Scribes, pen-flourishers and illuminators', p. 165. This style also reached the Marche, as a missal shows which was illuminated for Offida (close to Ascoli Piceno) in the early fifteenth century, see Francesca Manzari, 'Pittori e miniatori tardogotici tra Marche e Abruzzo: un messale miniato destinato ad Offida', in *Civiltà urbana e committenze artistiche al tempo del Maestro di Offida (secoli XIV–XV)*, eds S. Maddalo and I.L. Sanfilippo (Rome: Istituto Storico per il Medioevo, 2013), pp. 161–88. It must also have spread in the Abruzzi, as shown by the gradual from San Cesidio at Trasacco (Avezzano, Archivio Diocesano, n.n.), recently dated 1424 by Paolo De Simone, see *Illuminare l'Abruzzo. Codici miniati tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, cat. (Chieti, Palazzo de' Mayo, 10 May–31 Aug. 2013), eds G. Curzi, F. Manzari, F. Tentarelli and A. Tomei (Pescara: Carsa, 2012), pp. 229–30 (entry 36).

36 Christopher S. Celenza, 's.v. Orsini, Giordano', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana fondata da G. Treccani, 2013), 79, pp. 657–62.

37 Francesca Manzari, 'La tradizione tardogotica nella Roma di Martino V: nuovi contributi sul Breviario di Giordano Orsini (Arch. Cap. S. Pietro B.82) e sulla miniatura romana degli anni venti del Quattrocento', in *Manuscrits il·luminats: la Tardor de l'Edat Mitjana i les noves llums del Renaixement*. III cicle internacional de conferències de Història de l'Art (Lleida, Universitat, 17–18 Nov. 2014), ed. J. Planas (Lleida: Edicions de la Universitat de Lleida, 2017), pp. 27–43; Manzari, 'Scribes, pen-flourishers and illuminators', p. 165.

38 Manzari, 'More on illumination at the time of the Great Schism', pp. 136–8.

39 Manzari, 'Illumination in Rome and L'Aquila', in press. This manuscript bears red numbering in roman numerals very similar to that of the Acciaiuoli Missal.

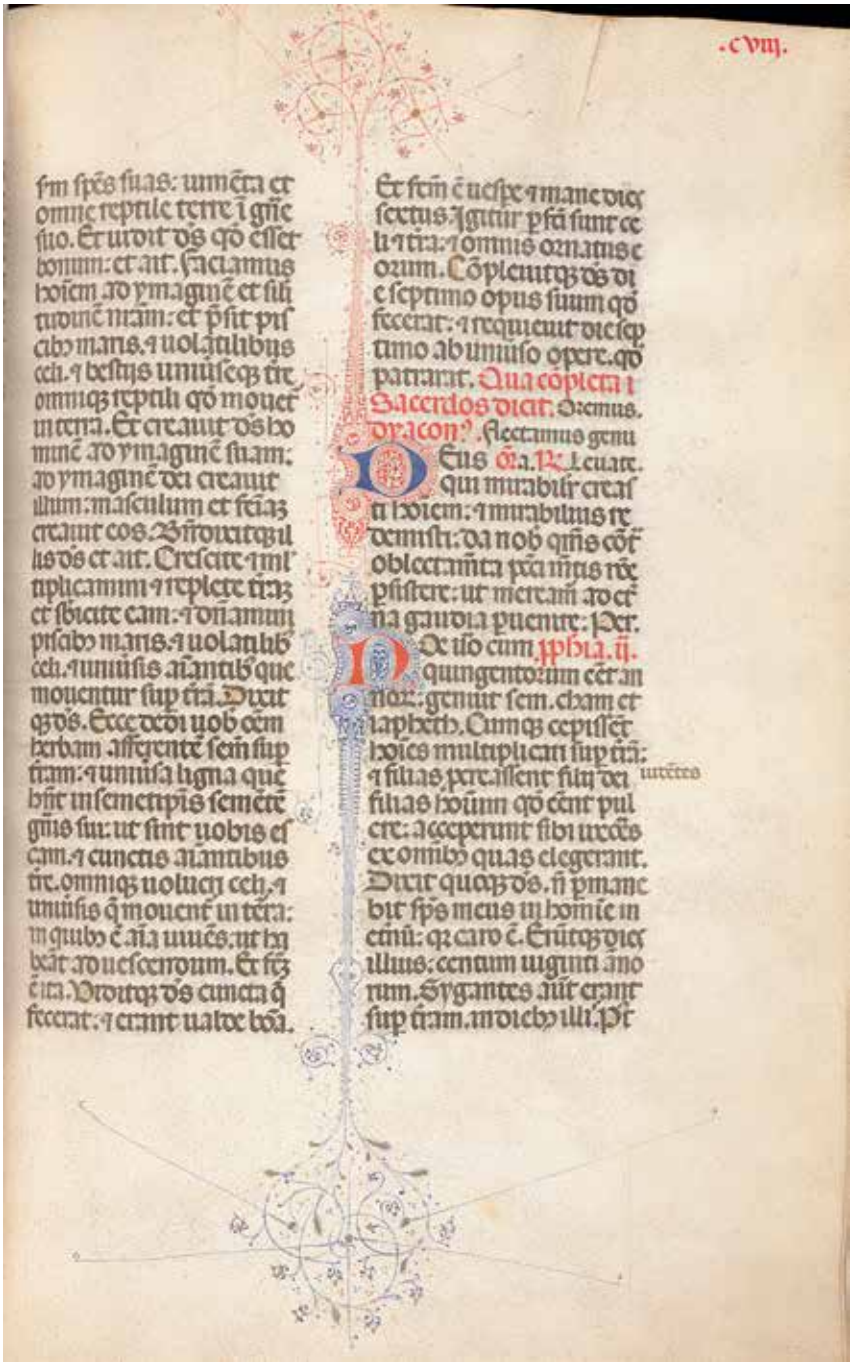

Figure 3.9. Penwork initial, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS. 30, Missal for Angelo Acciaiuoli, f. 108r. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

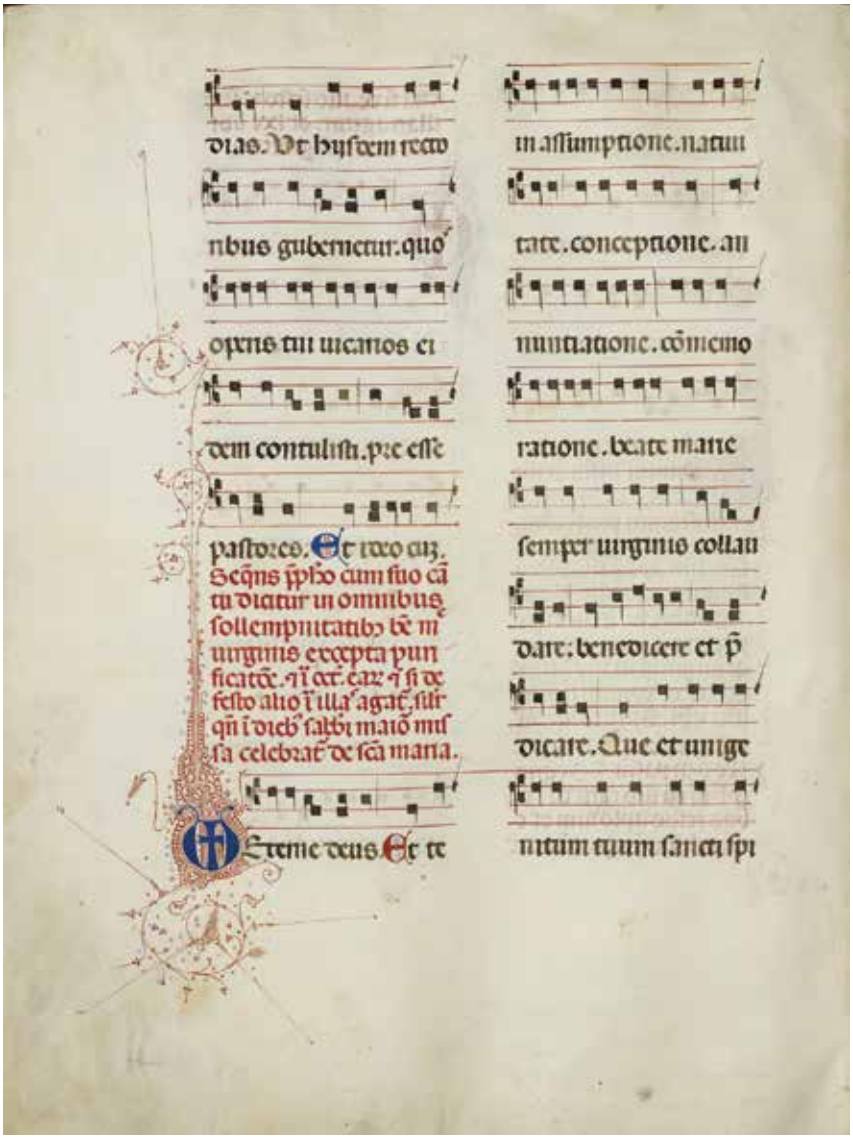

Figure 3.10. Penwork initial, Hart MS 20918, The Blackburn Missal, f. 138 v., Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

final years of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth, as surviving documents show that it was already being illuminated in Florence *c.* 1402. This perfectly fits in with the manuscript's textual contents, since the missal reflects a Roman textual exemplar: as Stella Panayotova has correctly pointed out, neither the calendar nor the sanctoral reflects traces of Florentine cults.[40] In this manuscript the text and illuminations highlight the importance of Saint Lawrence and Saint John the Baptist, two major cults in Rome. Furthermore, the three missing leaves – with the Nativity, the *Te igitur* and the Mass for Saint Peter and Paul (originally ff. 10, 118, 203) – presumably cut out because they were the most richly illuminated, suggest that the leaf with the mass for the two patron saints of Rome was among the book's most important.

Angelo Acciaiuoli must have had the missal written in Rome, in the context of the curia, at the turn of the century. He then sent it to Florence to have it illuminated, obviously perceiving the work of the Florentine artists to be more refined, and more desirable, for the completion of his missal (Figure 3.11).

Models employed by the Roman workshops

The Roman workshops themselves must have shared this view, because at precisely the same time they started to imitate the Florentine late-Gothic style, by introducing a new type of acanthus, characterised by soft and tubular leaves, fantastic birds, female and male heads in the scrolls, all copied from the illuminations by the Scuola degli Angeli. This can be remarked both in Boniface's *Praeparatio ad missam* (Vat. Lat. 3747), for example on f. 14r (Figure 3.12), and in the Blackburn Missal, in particular on the main illuminated leaves, such as f. 143r.

The interest of these Roman illuminators, working with tempera and brush, in Florentine illumination may have been aroused by their contacts with the penwork artists who began the decoration of Cardinal Acciaiuoli's Missal, before it was sent to Florence, or perhaps because they were aware of the patron's obvious preference for the Santa Maria degli Angeli style.

Contact between the Roman workshops and Florence must have been frequent in those years, and was also promoted by Boniface IX. Aside from the banker Giovanni di Bicci dei Medici (1360–1429), Cosimo Medici's father, who created the Medici fortune thanks to his privileged position first with Boniface IX and then with John XXIII,[41] another promoter must have

40 Panayotova, *Colour: the Art and Science of Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 142.

41 Arnold Esch, 'Bonifacio IX. papa in un tempo difficile', in *Il Pontificale di Bonifacio IX*, commentary ed. A.M. Piazzoni (Modena-Città del Vaticano: Art Codex, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2007), pp. 7–20 (17). On Boniface IX see Arnold Esch, 's.v. Bonifacio IX', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma, Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana fondata

Figure 3.11. The Trinity, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum., MS. 30, Missal for Angelo Acciaiuoli, f. 155r. © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

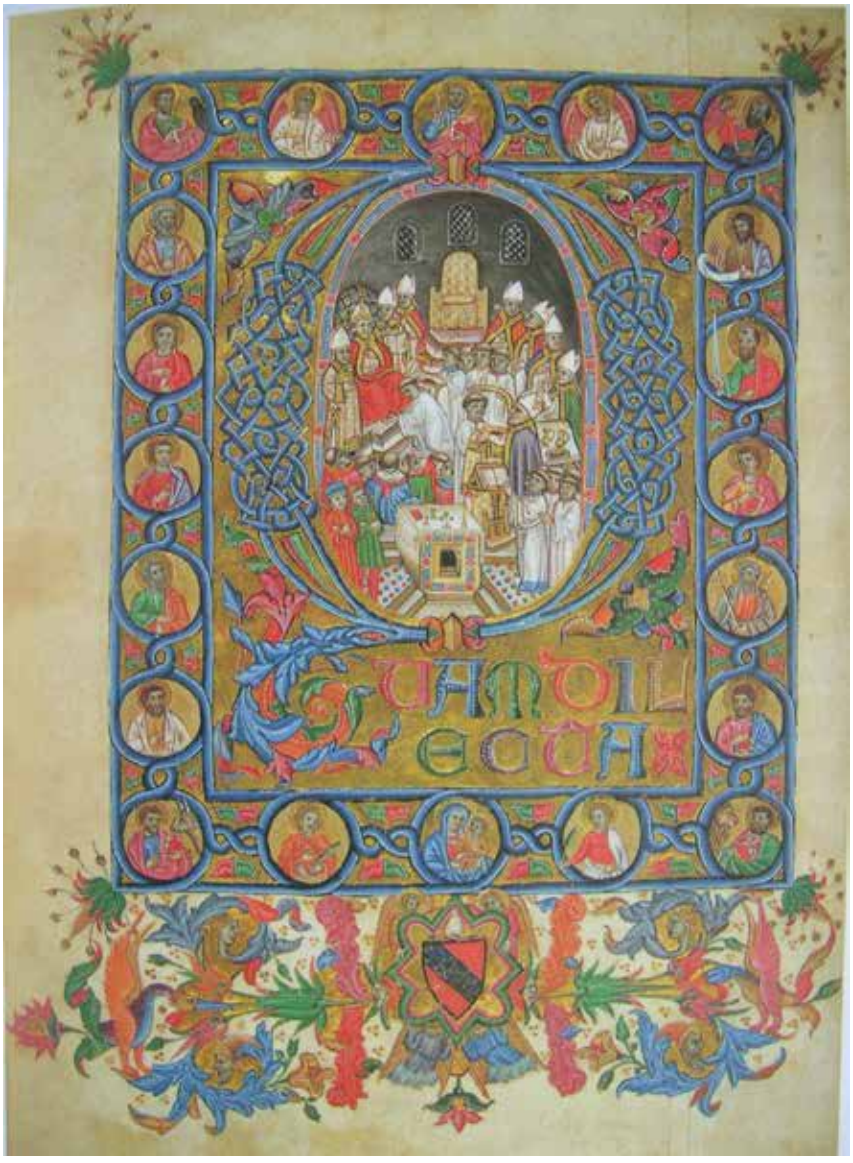

Figure 3.12. Pope donning the alba*, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3747,* Praeparatio ad missam *for Boniface IX, f. 14r. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.*

been Poggio Bracciolini, who came to Rome in 1403 to pursue a career in the curia, first as an *abbreviator*. Bracciolini later acted as a secretary to pope John XXIII at the Council of Pisa in 1410.[42] Another individual who might have fostered these relationships was the artist Lorenzo Monaco (1370–1423), who entered Santa Maria degli Angeli as a monk in 1390, training there as an illuminator, but establishing an independent workshop as early as 1396.[43] From this perspective, it is extremely interesting that Lorenzo himself was sent to Rome in 1402 to buy lapis lazuli for cardinal Acciaiuoli's Missal.[44] This shows that the art market in Rome was by then so important, that it was worthwhile to go there to acquire the most precious of all pigments, and emphasises how significantly the presence of the papal curia had revived the art and book trades in Rome after the long Avignon absence.

Both in the Blackburn Missal and in the *Praeparatio ad missam* for pope Boniface IX (Vat. Lat. 3747), the new type of acanthus and decorative border motifs introduced from Florentine models coexist with an earlier type of acanthus, which was imported to Rome from other areas in central Italy, and in particular from the Abruzzi. One example is the jagged leaves situated in the lower margin of f. 143r in the Blackburn Missal.

This type of foliage and border decoration can already be found in manuscripts illuminated in Rome in the 1380s and 1390s, like the Calderini Pontifical (Cambridge MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, Typ. 1), the Toledo leaf with the Resurrection, from a Sistine Chapel Psalter (Toledo, Archivo de la catedral, n.n.), a newly-discovered Book of Hours (London, Maggs Bros.), and also the surviving quire from a Santa Maria del Popolo Missal, now bound with the Migliorati Missal (Los Angeles, Getty Foundation, Ms. 34, ff. 262–7).[45] All these earlier manuscripts, datable in Urban's time, show no trace of the Florentine acanthus, which is also missing in a new addition to the corpus of manuscripts from this stage, attributed to the Master of the Calderini Pontifical. This is a manuscript with the Commentary by Nicolas Trevet to the Tragedies of Seneca, discovered by Jorge Jiménez López in Salamanca (Biblioteca General Historica de la Universidad de Salamanca, Ms. 2703). Its importance, among other reasons, is related to the fact that it entered the collections of its second owner, the Spanish prelate Diego de Anaya (1350–1437), before the latter became bishop

da G. Treccani, 1971), 12, pp. 170–83.

42 Esch, 'Bonifacio IX", p. 19.

43 Laurence B. Kanter, 'Lorenzo Monaco', in *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori italiani. Secoli IX–XVI*, ed. M. Bollati (Milano: Sylvestre Bonnard, 2004), pp. 399–401.

44 Kerr-Di Carlo, 'Making the Cardinal's Missal', p. 92.

45 Manzari, 'Libri liturgici miniati in Italia', pp. 132–3; Manzari, 'La ripresa della miniatura', pp. 403–4. For this group of illuminated manuscripts see Manzari, 'Illumination in Rome and L'Aquila during the Schism', in press.

of Tuy in 1385, thereby confirming the dating of the Master of the Calderini Pontifical's corpus to *ante* 1385.[46]

Furthermore, in this manuscript Jiménez López has discovered the third known signature of Stephanus de Aquila. The inscription, running along the inner rim of a penflourished letter *Q* (Ms. 2703, f. 103r), actually mentions two different penwork artists with the same name: a Stephanus G and a Stephanus M, both de Aquila.[47] This is extremely significant, as it shows how collaborative the work of these artists was and how difficult it is to identify a specific personality, even in the existence of a corpus linked to a name. Although Stephanus M must certainly be Stefano Masi, the penwork artist first discovered by Avril, as the many comparisons between the penwork initial in Salamanca and those in the Houghton Pontifical show, it is currently impossible to identify the second Stephanus, and to accurately divide work in the Salamanca Seneca among the two.[48]

The decorative repertory used in this and in all the manuscripts produced in the last decades of the century, entirely lacks Florentine types of leaves – they seem to have been introduced at the turn of the century. The later artists, collaborating in the workshops which produced manuscripts in the context of Boniface IX in the century's first decade, are actually of a lesser quality, if compared to production dating from the time of Urban VI. This can probably be explained by the economic crisis the new pope was forced to face after his election.[49] Nonetheless, the illuminations by Boniface's workshops also reveal a significantly eclectic taste, introducing all sorts of different stylistic elements into their work, taken from models ranging from Romanesque illumination and early-Gothic thirteenth-century works of art, in both illuminations and orfèvreries, to early and late-fourteenth century illumination.[50]

The most old-fashioned models observable in the manuscripts by Boniface's workshop are the hollow shaft initials, copied from Romanesque styles frequent in northern Italian illumination and still used in some areas in the thirteenth century. They are exemplified by the works of the Paduan artist known as the Master of the Gaibana Epistolary (Padova, Biblioteca

46 Jorge Jiménez López, *Creación y circulación del Comentario a las Tragedias de Séneca de Nicholas Trevet (Ms. 2703, BGH)* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, in press), p. 75.

47 Jiménez López, *Creación y circulación del Comentario a las Tragedias de Séneca*, in press, pp. 52, 68.

48 For a possible distinction, see: Jiménez López, *Creación y circulación del Comentario a las Tragedias de Séneca*, in press.

49 Esch, 'Bonifacio IX', p. 8.

50 Manzari, 'Libri liturgici miniati per Bonifacio IX', pp. 72–4.

Capitolare, Ms. E.2).[51] These much earlier models must have been readily available to the late-Gothic artists working in Rome. This type of initial can be seen both in the Blackburn Missal, in the letter which houses the Deposition, on f. 143r, and in the *Praeparatio ad missam*, in the historiated letter at the beginning of the book.[52]

The *incipit* and the *explicit* of the latter manuscript (Vat. lat. 3747, ff. 1v, 39v) are particularly striking and unusual, even if considered alongside the varied decorative layouts that appear in Roman manuscripts. They display rectangular frames in gold leaf, containing vast areas respectively in red and blue, filled with medallions with busts of saints. These give the two full-pages the appearance of two inner book-covers, imitating enamel and possibly echoing the manuscript's actual binding. The original cover is now lost and no comparable bindings by goldsmiths active in Rome in the late middle ages have survived, but a thirteenth-century reliquiary kept in the cathedral of Veroli (south of Rome, close to Frosinone and Trisulti) displays a similar sort of frame, with rows of medallions adorned with busts of saints.

The hybrid marginal figures frequently evident in the *Praeparatio* and in the Blackburn Missal (Figure 3.13) have been connected to early fourteenth-century illumination in Pisa, but are in fact characteristic of various other central Italian areas of production.[53] Decorative borders with grotesque figures, indebted to Bolognese illumination known as *primo stile*, spread throughout Italy in the second half of the thirteenth century and are at the roots of many of the decorations employed in the other central Italian areas. However, thirteenth-century illuminations seem to have been another of the old-fashioned sources for the border decorations employed by Boniface's workshops. The grotesque figures frequent in the margins of the manuscripts from this context are particularly reminiscent of the manuscripts illuminated in a style associated both with Rome and Campania at the end of the thirteenth century, for example in the Missal-Pontifical from Salerno (Cathedral, n.n.) or in the Livy manuscript owned by Petrarch (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 5690). As neither of these manuscripts could be viewed in Rome at the time, other work by these artists must have been accessible to the illuminators.[54]

51 Giovanni Valagussa, 'Miniatore di Giovanni da Gaibana', in *Dizionario biografico dei miniatori italiani. Secoli IX–XVI*, ed. M. Bollati (Milano: Sylvestre Bonnard, 2004), pp. 772–5.

52 Manzari, 'Libri liturgici miniati per Bonifacio IX', p. 72.

53 The presence of components from Tuscany was also noticed in Jonathan J.G. Alexander's *Praeparatio ad missam*: see his 'Pontifikale', in *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Liturgie und Andacht im Mittelalter*, cat. (Köln 1992), (Stuttgart-Zürich: Belser, 1992), pp. 230–3 (230); Manzari, 'Libri liturgici miniati per Bonifacio IX', p. 70.

54 Francesca Manzari, 'Presenze di miniatori e codici miniati nella Roma del Trecento', in *Il libro miniato a Roma nel Duecento. Riflessioni e proposte*, ed. S. Maddalo in collaboration

Figure 3.13. Hart MS 20918, The Blackburn Missal, f. 233 v., Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

The artists working for Boniface IX seem to have been extremely receptive to all types of models available in Rome at that time. In one case it has been possible to identify the actual book used as a model: the *Liber Regulae* of the Hospital (Rome, Archivio di Stato, Ms. 3193, f. 49r). The artists working on the Blackburn Missal definitely borrowed a decorative marginal figure from this earlier Gothic manuscript, produced in Avignon in the mid fourteenth century for the Roman Hospital of Santo Spirito in Saxia (Figure 3.14). This figure can be clearly identified in one of the borders of the Blackburn Missal, in the *drôlerie* with a bird biting the genitalia of a naked bearded man (f. 233v). Moreover, it is apparent that Boniface's workshops systematically used the manuscript made for the Roman Hospital as a model-book because another marginal motif in the *Liber Regulae*, a hybrid playing a trumpet whilst an imaginary bird holds its hat in its beak (Ms. 3193, f. 120r), is repeated in the margins of Boniface's *Praeparatio ad missam* (Vat. lat. 3147, f. 34r).[55] This conforms with what is known of Boniface IX's relations with the Hospital of Santo Spirito in Saxia, which was actually quite strong at the beginning of the fifteenth century since his mother, Gatrimola Filimarini, resided there.[56]

Another manuscript in which I have discovered precise models for illuminations produced by Boniface's workshops is the so-called Migliorati Missal (Los Angeles, Getty Museum, Ms. 34), made in Bologna in 1389 for Cardinal Cosimo de Migliorati, and later brought by him to Rome, when he was elected Pope Innocent VII (1404–6). Here the fragment from the Santa Maria del Popolo Missal, dating from *c.* 1390, was bound into it. The Migliorati Missal later passed into the hands of the antipope John XXIII Baldassarre Cossa (1410–19). He resided in Bologna in the second decade of the fifteenth century, and must have appreciated the Bolognese late-Gothic style of the Brussels Initials' Master, alias Giovanni da Fra Silvestro, since he reemployed the older manuscript and had the coat of arms repainted with his own family arms. [57]

The illuminations in the Migliorati Missal are exactly the same in Blackburn's, in particular in the calendar (Figure 3.15), where the artists replicate drawings taken from the illustrations for the labours of the months

with E. Ponzi (Roma: Istituto Storico per il Medioevo, 2016), 1, pp. 615–46 (617–24.

55 Francesca Manzari, 'I modelli del *Liber Regulae* e i suoi echi nella miniatura romana di epoca tardogotica', in *Vivere la misericordia nel Trecento. Le miniature del* Liber Regulae *dell'ospedale romano di Santo Spirito in Sassia*, ed. L. Leli (Roma: Roma Tre-CROMA, 2018), pp. 43–54 (49–51).

56 Esch, 'Bonifacio IX', p. 18.

57 Massimo Medica, 'Un précieux missel bolonais de l'époque du Grand Schisme', *Art de l'enluminure*, 41: 2–26 (2012); on this manuscript also see a forthcoming article by Bryan C Keene, Catherine M. Schmidt Patterson and Nancy Turner, 'Behind the shield: documenting interventions in a Bolognese Missal with scanning macro-XRF spectroscopy', *Getty Research Journal*, forthcoming.

Figure 3.14. Marginal figures (detail), Roma, Archivio di Stato, Reg. 3193, Liber Regulae *of the Hospital of Santo Spirito de Saxia, f. 49r, (Su concessione del Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività culturali).*

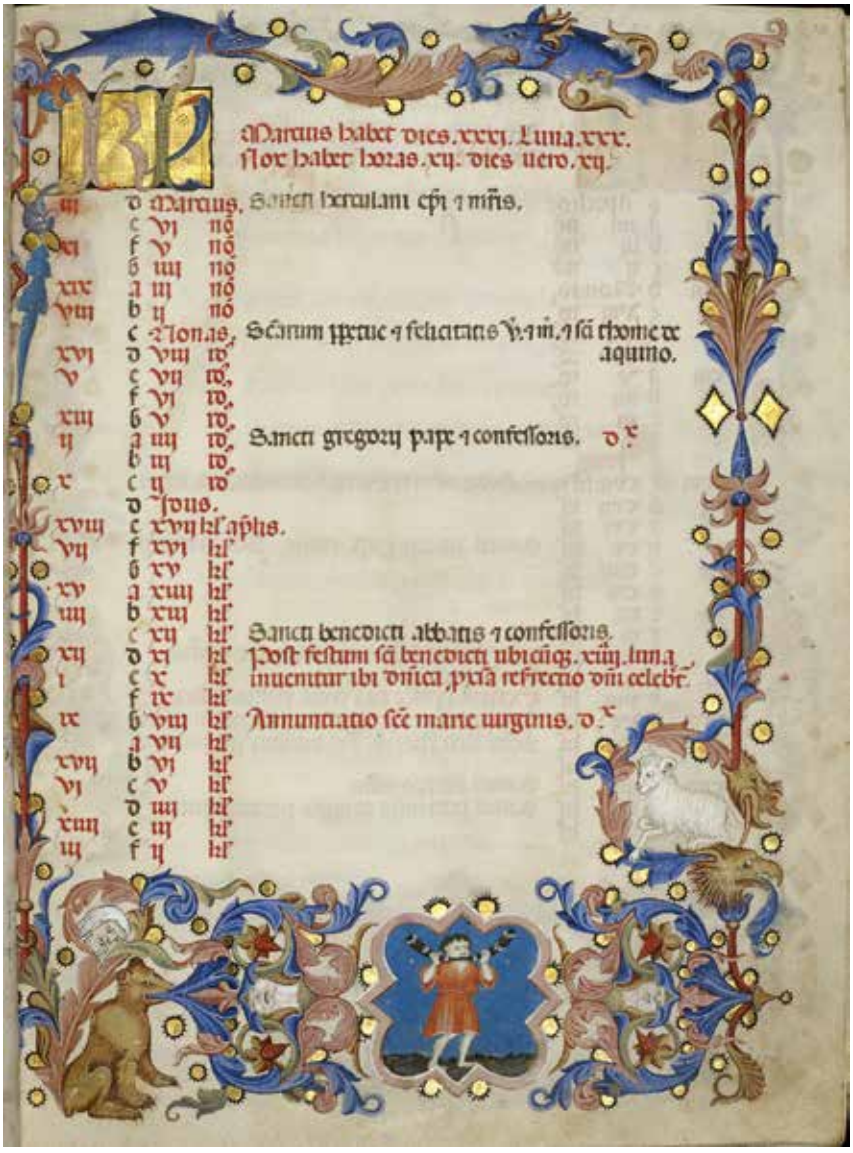

Figure 3.15. Month of March, Hart MS 20918, The Blackburn Missal, f. 10 r., Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

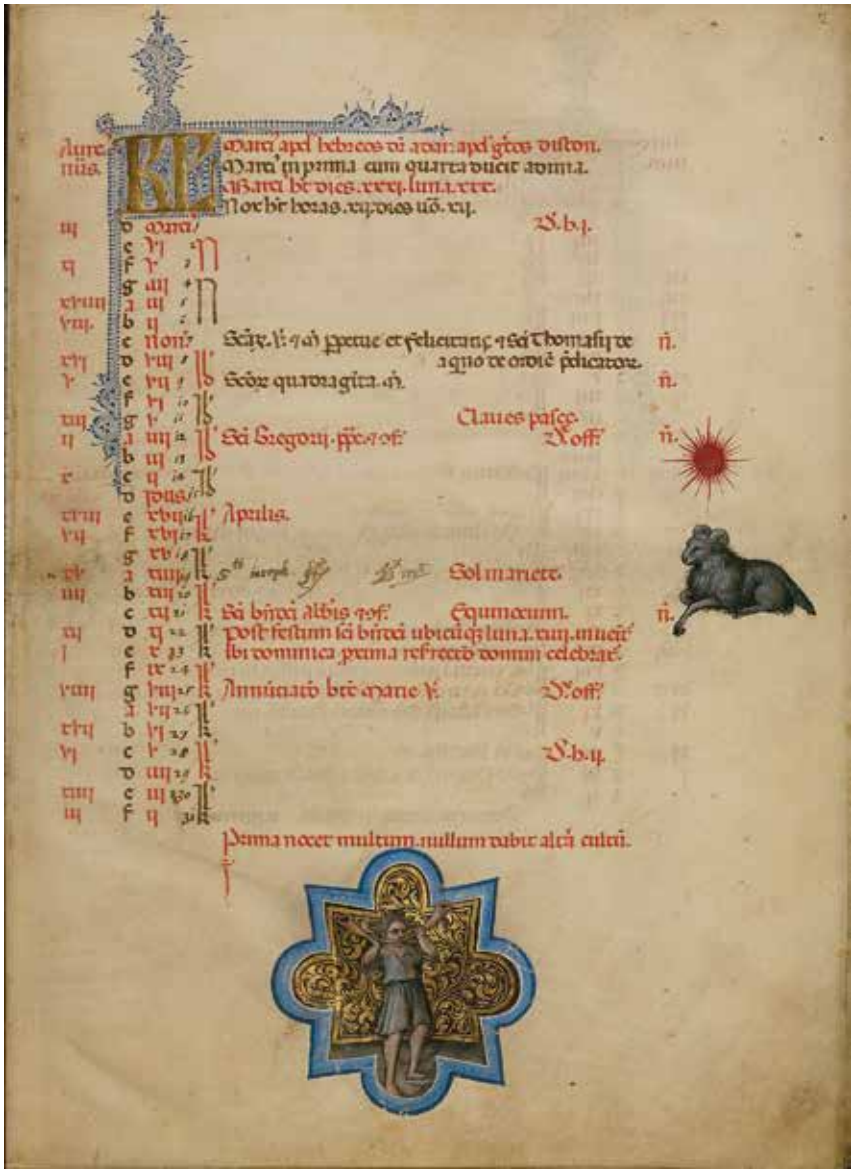

Figure 3.16. Month of March (detail) Los Angeles, Getty Foundation, MS. 34, Missal for Cosimo de' Migliorati, f. 2r, (Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program).

and the Migliorati Missal's zodiacal signs (Figure 3.16). Furthermore, the drawing of Christ in majesty among saints on the *incipit*-leaf alongside the first Sunday in Advent in the missal started for Boniface IX, now in St Petersbourg, copies the *incipit*-page of the Migliorati Missal exactly.[58] This shows that, just as in the case of the *Liber Regulae*, once a manuscript was copied into the model-books used by Boniface's workshop, its images were repeated in other books produced in the same context. Furthermore, this indicates that the Migliorati Missal was visible in Rome during the first years of the century, which is presumably when the illuminated campaign in the Blackburn Missal was carried out, and certainly after 1400, when the scribe completed the writing of the text in Trisulti.

This open attitude to different types of models, from diverse artistic traditions and times, is a phenomenon which is typical of illumination produced for the papal curia in the late middle ages, as the type of context generated by the papal entourage always provoked a very international artistic climate. This is what happened in Rome in the late thirteenth century and in Avignon throughout the first three quarters of the fourteenth century.[59]

The illuminators working for Boniface IX, however, show not only the ability to integrate styles from various geographical provenances, but also from different chronological time periods. This interest in all illuminated examples easily available perhaps indicates that the city still lacked recently illuminated manuscripts, inducing the artists into being more receptive to earlier work than they would in a place where there was an uninterrupted tradition.

The Blackburn Missal is among those manuscripts which display a greater variety of sources: its marginal repertory comprises central Italian and Florentine acanthus, but also *drôleries* from earlier manuscripts, including Romanesque illuminations, possibly made or imported in Rome before the popes' move to Avignon – these are still kept in the treasures and sacristies of the Roman basilicas. Moreover, studies devoted to the missal have revealed the use of models that can be accurately identified, like the Migliorati Missal

58 Francesca Manzari, 'The international context of Boniface IX's court and the marginal drawings in the Chantilly Codex (Bibliothèque du Château, Ms. 564)', *Recercare*, 22 (1–2): 11–33, 26–7 (2010); Manzari, 'La ripresa della miniatura', p. 422.

59 Francesca Manzari, *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei Papi. 1310–1410* (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2006); Francesca Manzari, 'Mobilité des artistes et migration des styles: les cours papales d'Avignon et de Rome durant le Grand Schisme', in *Les transferts artistiques dans l'Europe gothique (XIIe–XVIe siècles). Repenser la circulation des artistes, des œuvres, des thèmes et des savoir-faire*, eds J. Dubois, J.-M. Guillouët and B. Van den Bossche (Paris: Picard, 2014), pp. 289–302; Francesca Manzari, 'Nuovi materiali per la miniatura romana del Duecento. I libri liturgici dei canonici delle basiliche di Santa Maria Maggiore e di San Pietro', in *Il libro miniato a Roma nel Duecento. Riflessioni e proposte*, ed. S. Maddalo, in collaboration with E. Ponzi (Roma: Istituto Storico per il Medioevo, 2016), 1, pp. 251–88.

and the *Liber Regulae*, thereby demonstrating that these manuscripts were accessible to the illuminators working in the pope's context.

This chapter has furthermore emphasised how illuminations in manuscripts produced in Rome in the first decade of the fifteenth century started to introduce Florentine components into their marginal decorations, marking a change from the predominantly central Italian style imported in Rome by artists from the Abruzzi and Umbria in the last decades of the fourteenth century, and preceding by more than two decades the spreading of Florentine and Sienese elements in the 1420s.[60] It has highlighted Angelo Acciaiuoli's role in the spread of Florentine styles, underlining how the penwork in the Acciaiuoli Missal, never before connected with Rome, can be related to the penflourished decoration in the Blackburn Missal. In fact, an accurate examination of the Acciaiuoli Missal's penwork has shown that it was certainly written and decorated by a penwork artist working in Rome, and that it was only sent to Florence so that prominent illuminators of that city could apply the finishing decorative touches. Cardinal Acciaiuoli clearly valued them highly and his preference for the illuminations produced in his hometown may have been one of the links at the root of Florentine trends spreading through Roman book decoration in the early fifteenth century.

60 Manzari, 'La tradizione tardogotica nella Roma di Martino V', pp. 138–40.

4. Contextualising the art and innovations of the Master of Edward IV in the Blackburn Hours (Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart MS 20884)

Scot McKendrick

In 2003–4, Thomas Kren and I brought together for exhibition the works that we thought the most interesting and significant among those produced by south Netherlandish illuminators in the century after printing was introduced in Europe. The subject of this chapter was exhibited then in both Los Angeles and London and has its own entry roughly halfway through the published catalogue.[1]

The Blackburn Hours had featured in our earliest wish lists for the exhibition. A first-hand examination in 1998 confirmed its importance for our project as a book brimming with artistic innovation, and ripe for further study and appreciation. Only five earlier publications had featured the Blackburn manuscript. Of these, two were illustrated guides to the Hart collection published in 1964 and 1985 respectively; the third was an art exhibition catalogue with short entries typical of the 1970s, the fourth the union catalogue *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, also from the 1970s, and the fifth a major monograph on Flemish illumination published in 1997.[2] Each hinted at the importance of our book. In total, however, they dedicated

1 Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: the Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe* (Los Angeles, CA: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), pp. 342–3 no. 98.

2 Respectively *Illustrated Manuscripts and Early Printed Books from the Hart Collection* (Blackburn: Blackburn Public Libraries, 1964), no. 16; *The Hart Collection: Coins, Manuscripts, Printed Books* (Blackburn: Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, 1985), pl. 7; Jonathan Alexander and Paul Crossley, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Treasures in the North West* (Manchester: University of Manchester, 1976), pp. 30–1 no. 54, pl. 13; Neil R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969–92), 2, pp. 93–4; Bodo Brinkmann, *Die flämische Buchmalerei am Ende des Burgunderreichs: Der Meister des Dresdener Gebetbuchs und die Miniaturisten seiner Zeit* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), pp. 295, 297, 397. See also C.S. Bell, 'The Hart Book of Hours: a study of its iconography and relationship with fifteenth-century Flemish art' (unpublished BA Hons thesis, Manchester University, 1981).

relatively little text to it. Although some scholars have written further on the book since 2003,[3] my catalogue entry remains the most extended presentation of the book to date. This chapter aims to tease out more insights into the manuscript's illumination, makers and first owner. Further examination of the Blackburn Hours provides the opportunity to explore in more detail than has been undertaken to date the working methods and visual sources of the south Netherlandish illuminator, the Master of Edward IV. This reappraisal of the manuscript identifies the range of artistic innovations that the book contains and seeks to explain these within the context of the output of the Master of Edward IV and contemporary manuscript patronage.[4]

The texts

The texts within the Blackburn manuscript make up what was the most copied and collected book of the late middle ages, the book of hours. Founded on long-established structures for communal and personal Christian devotion, this book provided those who used it with the essential texts for daily and occasional prayer at set moments, or hours, of each day. Many such books of hours further enriched the personal devotions of late medieval men and women through their elaborate Christian imagery. These images focused in particular on the Virgin Mary and her son Jesus Christ, but also on precedents in Jewish scripture and the later witness of Christian apostles and saints. Lavish illumination added to the material worth and symbolic value of many such books, reflecting the wealth, taste and status of their owners. Books of hours also offered a locus for recording and celebrating familial,

3 Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, 'Marketing books for burghers: Jean Markant's activity in Tournai, Lille, and Bruges', in *Flemish Manuscript Painting in Context: Recent Research*, ed. Elizabeth Morrison and Thomas Kren (Los Angeles, CA: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006), pp. 135–48 (140–1); Lieve De Kesel, 'Heritage and innovation in Flemish illumination at the turn of the sixteenth century: framing the frames from Simon Marmion to Gerard David', in *Books in Transition at the Time of Philip the Fair: Manuscripts and Printed Books in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Century Low Countries*, ed. Hanno Wijsman (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 93–130 (122); Cynthia Johnston and Sarah J. Biggs, *Blackburn's 'Worthy Citizen': the Philanthropic Legacy of R.E. Hart* (London: Institute of English Studies, 2013), no. 9; Erin K. Donovan, 'A royal crusade history: the *Livre d'Eracles* and Edward IV's exile in Burgundy', *Electronic British Library Journal* (2014), art. 6 (6) https://www.bl.uk/eblj/2014articles/pdf/ebljarticle62014.pdf (accessed 6 Sept. 2019); Lynn F. Jacobs, *Thresholds and Boundaries: Liminalities in Netherlandish Art (1385–1530)* (New York: Routledge, 2018), p. 116, pl. VII.

4 For their assistance with what follows I am grateful to François Avril, Bodo Brinkmann, Aline Brodin, Lieve De Kesel, Kathleen Doyle, Mara Hofmann, Ann Kelders, Peter Kidd, Thom Kren, Beth Morrison, Suzanne Paul, Suzanne Reynolds, Scott Schwartz, the late Kay Sutton, Heribert Tenschert, Jan Van der Stock, Roger Wieck and Hanno Wijsman. I also wish to thank Cynthia Johnston for prompting me to return to this subject and Caroline Wilkinson and her predecessors at the Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery for being so welcoming and supportive over the past 20 years.

social and political allegiances.

Within that tradition the Blackburn Hours is in many respects typical of its kind. First and foremost, it contains a mostly conventional sequence of Latin texts.[5] A calendar highlighting particular holy days in the year is followed by short extracts from the four gospels and an account of the Passion according to the Gospel of St John. After that come two groups of hymns, prayers, versicles and responses arranged according to seven of the eight canonical hours of the day. The first of these is dedicated to the cross on which Christ was crucified and the second to the Holy Spirit, the third person of the Christian Trinity. Both texts appear in their most common, short form. The next text is the absolute core of any book of hours. Known as the Hours of the Virgin, or more correctly the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary, this text is the most extensive in the manuscript, occupying just under one third of its pages. Its devotions relate to all eight hours of the day and encompass a wider range of texts than the previous two hours, including psalms, lessons, canticles and capitula. Its texts conform to the most widely employed version, the use of Rome. Next is a selection of seven psalms and related texts on the subject of penitence. After that is the second longest text in the book, the Office of the Dead, which focuses on the rituals of a Christian funeral, structured according to three of the canonical hours. These further penitential texts are also devoted to the use of Rome. The ensuing prayers to the Trinity, Crucified Christ and Virgin include such popular texts as *Obsecro te*, *O intemerata* and the *Stabat mater*, but also a rare short prayer (*memoria*) on the Conception of the Virgin. Several conventional prayers to nine male and seven female saints conclude the volume. Of these saints William of Maleval is the least commonly commemorated in other Netherlandish books of hours.

The illumination

The placement and principal subjects of the accompanying miniatures in the Blackburn Hours are also for the most part conventional and in line with contemporary expectations of a book of significant status and expense. An Evangelist portrait heads each of the gospel extracts and is highlighted by an illuminated border in the outer margin. Whereas a border of gold acanthus accompanies the portrait of St John, illusionistic borders of strewn flowers embellish the portraits of the other three Evangelists. That for St Mark also includes a female hybrid. A *Man of Sorrows* illustrates the further extract from St John's Gospel relating to the Passion. With one important exception, each of the main texts that follow begin with an illuminated double-page opening. They comprise, on the left-hand side, a full-page miniature with

5 For details of them see Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts*, 2, pp. 93–4.

a four-sided border and, on the right, the beginning of the text headed by a large miniature and framed by a full border. Within south Netherlandish production this sequence of large images was reserved for the most lavish of books of hours. The full-page miniatures are predictable in subject and placement: the *Crucifixion* for the Hours of the Cross (Figure 4.12a), *Pentecost* for the Hours of the Holy Spirit (Figure 4.8a), the *Last Judgement* for the Penitential Psalms (Figure 4.13a) and the *Raising of Lazarus* for the Office of the Dead (Figure 4.4a). Almost certainly the Hours of the Virgin also began with a similar double-page opening. Its left-hand page with a full-page miniature is, however, no longer present, having at some point in the past been excised. I shall consider this feature later, as well as the subjects of the miniatures that head each of the other main texts. As it now appears, the Hours of the Virgin has a large miniature at the beginning of each of the eight canonical hours (Figures 4.5, 4.9 and 4.11). Like so many other such books from the southern Netherlands these miniatures illustrate the key episodes of the infancy of Christ, comprising the *Annunciation*, *Visitation*, *Nativity*, *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, *Adoration of the Kings*, *Presentation in the Temple*, *Massacre of the Innocents* and *Flight into Egypt*.[6] Most of the prayers at the end of volume have assigned to them a large miniature depicting the subject of the prayer, accompanied by a partial border. These include a relatively rare depiction of St William of Maleval (f. 190v).[7] Only one, a prayer relating to the Annunciation to the Virgin, begins with another illuminated double-page opening (Figures 4.14a and 14b). Within this opening the full-page miniature is a monumental, half-length Virgin and Child and the large facing miniature provides the volume with a second Annunciation.

6 This is the standard order for southern Netherlandish books of hours, as noted in Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, 'Le Cycle de l'Enfance des petites heures de la Vierge dans les livres d'heures des Pays-Bas méridionaux: un bilan intermédiaire', in *Manuscripten en Miniaturen: Studies aangeboden aan Anne S. Korteweg bij haar Afscheid van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, ed. Jos Biemans and others (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2007), pp. 355–65 (356–8).

7 Other relatively rare depictions of this saint include Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Ms. W.434, ff. 14v, 18v (Lilian M.C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, 3: *Belgium, 1250–1530* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), no. 291, fig. 544); Ballarat Fine Art Gallery, Victoria, Ms. Crouch 12 (Margaret M. Manion and Vera F. Vines, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in Australian Collections* (Melbourne/London/New York: Thames and Hudson, 1984), no. 61, pl. 34); Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, the Hague, Ms. 10 F 13, f. 16v (P.C. Boeren, 'Een getijdenboek van Willem Moreel (Museum Mermanno-Westreenianum, hs 10 F 13)', *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* (1979), 135–45, 147); and Sotheby's, London, 8 July 2014, lot 60. As in such contemporary paintings as Memling's Moreel and Crabbe triptychs, the depictions of St William in the manuscripts relate closely to the work's patron.

In terms of their artistic style, all these illuminations are attributable to an anonymous illuminator from Bruges, the Master of Edward IV.[8] First identified over one hundred years ago, this Master is named after his contribution to two volumes of a *Bible historiale* produced for Edward IV in 1479.[9] Within the large corpus of works that have been attributed to him and that encompass three decades from *c.* 1470–1500 the Blackburn miniatures, borders and initials are datable to the second half of the 1480s and early 1490s. The male costumes depicted in several of the manuscript's miniatures suggest a dating between the late 1480s and *c.* 1490.[10] Particularly noteworthy are three examples of fashionable aristocratic dress that include fur-lined and belted gowns with wide sleeves and wide lapels, as well as wide-crowned fur hats worn at an angle to reveal the caul underneath (ff. 82 [Figure 4.5], 193v, 197). Elsewhere two soldiers are shown wearing striped upper stocks or *boulevars* (ff. 86 [Figure 4.9], 194v). In addition, the overall approach to the decoration of the book is distinctively similar to other works by the illuminator that are securely datable to this period. These include three large volumes of a French translation of Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi* produced shortly after 1487 and a copy of Jean Mansel's *Vie de Jésus-Christ* from between 1486 and 1493.[11] As in these other manuscripts, the Master of Edward IV appears to have executed every element of the decoration. In the Blackburn Hours the pigments and type of modelling employed in all the illuminations are remarkably consistent. Many features of the border decoration, including figures, spill over into the miniature space and types of flowers found in the borders reappear in the initials. Such close integration of initials, borders and miniatures is divergent from not only the practice of other south Netherlandish artists responsible for the illumination of deluxe books in the 1480s, but also that of the Master of Edward IV in his earlier and later works. In each of these other works the illumination was the result of collaboration between several individual artists, often with highly variable artistic styles and levels of accomplishment.

8 On this illuminator see Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, pp. 295–305, 335–43; and Ilona Hans-Collas and Pascal Schandel, *Manuscrits enluminés des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux*, 1: *Manuscrits de Louis de Bruges* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2009), pp. 204–21.

9 British Library, London, Royal Mss. 18 D.ix, 18 D.x (Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, no. 83).

10 What follows is based on comparisons with dated examples cited in Anne van Buren, *Illuminating Fashion: Dress in the Art of Medieval France and the Netherlands, 1325–1515* (New York: Morgan Library and Museum, 2011), pp. 246–51.

11 Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, pp. 336–41, nos 96–7. For the dating of the Mansel volumes see Charles Samaran and Robert Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, 1: *Musée Condé et bibliothèques parisiennes* (Paris: CNRS, 1959), p. 189.

Together with its closest associates, the Blackburn Hours reflects a significant moment of change within the career of the Master of Edward IV. At this point he attracted the patronage of members of the elite of Hainault and adjacent parts of southern Flanders. Several manuscripts illuminated during this period by the Master of Edward IV, including the previously mentioned copy of Mansel's *Vie de Jésus-Christ*, bear the ownership marks of a member of one of the leading aristocratic families in the region, Baudouin II of Lannoy (d. 1501). The impressive set of volumes containing Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi* in French was made for another noble resident of that area, John II of Oettingen (d. 1514) who had married Isabelle de la Hamaide in 1482/3 and through her had come into possession of several territories there, including Condé.[12] When he produced these and other manuscripts, the Master of Edward IV appears to have been temporarily working away from his established base in Bruges. Based on the patronal and other evidence, one previous scholar has made a strong case for the illuminator having moved some 50 miles south to Lille.[13] The lack of a strong tradition of illuminating deluxe manuscripts on parchment there could explain the Master of Edward IV's distinctively independent approach to the decoration of his books during this phase of his career.

Closely related manuscripts

The Blackburn Hours aligns closely with the manuscripts that the Master of Edward IV illuminated during this period. Previous studies have drawn attention to the wide range of religious subjects that he illustrated then for Baudouin de Lannoy.[14] In a distinctive sequence of manuscripts of edifying texts of religious instruction the Master demonstrated both his individuality as a creative artist and his ability to balance style and content in attractive visualisations of often complex subjects treated in a text. On Lannoy's behalf he engaged with the works of such earlier theologians as Matthew of Krakow and Jean Gerson as well as more recent authors such as Jacob van Gruytrode and Thomas à Kempis. He also provided in 1492 the opening illustration

12 On John II see Hanno Wijsman, *Luxury Bound: Illustrated Manuscript Production and Noble and Princely Book Ownership in the Burgundian Netherlands (1400–1550)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 464–8.

13 Vanwijnsberghe, 'Marketing Books for Burghers', 141–4. I had suggested a location somewhere in Hainault in Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 296 n. 13.

14 Maurits Smeyers, *L'Art de la miniature flamande du VIIIe au XVIe siècle* (Tournai: La Renaissance du Livre, 1998), pp. 444–5; Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 335; Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, pp. 417–22; *Miniatures flamandes, 1404–1482*, ed. Bernard Bousmanne and Thierry Delcourt (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2011), 237.

to a French translation of a mystical work attributed to Jean d'Eeckoute (d. 1472), Treasurer of the Collegiate Church of St Peter at Lille,[15] the very same establishment which obtained a large *Crucifixion* by the Master of Edward IV for a missal now in Edinburgh.[16] Both the Eeckoute manuscript and a copy of the *De imitatione Christi*, also produced for Lannoy, were written by the same scribe as the Blackburn Hours.[17]

During this period the Master of Edward IV illuminated at least three other books of Christian devotion. In addition to the Blackburn Hours, he singlehandedly illuminated a psalter and two further books of hours, all of similarly modest proportions.[18] Because two of these volumes remain in private hands they are not well known, and because all three have suffered significant alterations over time they require careful interpretation. Close examination of these three books helps significantly in contextualising the Blackburn Hours.

Although illustrated by historiated initials rather than miniatures, the core of the psalter is closely related to the Blackburn book in its script, decorated initials and illuminated flower borders (Figure 4.1).[19] Particularly close is the illuminator's treatment of the flowers and insects depicted in the outer borders that mark six of the major divisions of the text. The figures in the two books also reveal detailed similarities, as seen when, for example, the physiognomy of David in the psalter is compared with that of St Mark in the Blackburn Hours (f. 20). Aspects of the costume of the figures depicted and of the treatment of the borders, as well as the lavish use of gold may point to a slightly later date of production for the psalter. Its adaptation in the sixteenth century for the Benedictine Abbey of St-Amand near Valenciennes suggests, however, that, like the Master's other manuscripts noted above, the psalter was made for, or at least acquired by, someone residing in either Hainault or southern Flanders.

15 Valenciennes, Médiathèque Simone Veil, Ms. 243, f. 4 (see Smeyers, *L'Art de la miniature*, p. 445 fig. 36). On Jean d'Eeckoute see Geneviève Hasenohr and Michel Zink, *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises. Le Moyen Âge* (Paris: Fayard, 1992), p. 768.

16 On this Edinburgh Missal see Vanwijnsberghe, 'Marketing Books for burghers', pp. 142–3, fig. 11.13.

17 Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, pp. 335–6.

18 The respective page sizes are: Blackburn Hours, 160 x 115mm; Psalter, 185 x 130mm; Jauche Hours, 180 x 120mm; Morgan Hours, 150 x 100mm.

19 Now in the collection of Scott Schwartz, New York; previously Sotheby's, London, 24 June 1986, lot 97. See Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, pp. 336, 343. I am grateful to Scott Schwartz for images of this manuscript. A second previously unknown and much larger psalter, illuminated by the Master of Edward IV in *c.* 1485, was acquired by British Library in March 2020 and is now Add. Ms. 89428. It will be the subject of a separate publication.

The first book of hours is even more closely related to the Blackburn Hours.[20] Written by the same scribe as the Blackburn Hours, this volume has its small initials and line-fillers decorated in the same style and pigments and set within an identical system of decorative hierarchy. The style of its borders suggests a slightly later date, in the early 1490s. Although now stripped of the openings of its major texts and retaining only sixteen small miniatures, the manuscript appears originally to have had a substantial programme of illustration.[21] Most notably the Master of Edward IV highlighted the beginning of each major text by means of illuminated double-page openings close in format and ambition to those that he employed in the Blackburn Hours. He marked, for example, the Office of the Dead with (on the left) a full-page *Raising of Lazarus* and (on the right) a large miniature depicting two Beguines washing a corpse in preparation for burial (Figure 4.2).[22] Like their Blackburn counterparts, the large miniatures have frames the form and modelling of which seem to imitate those of rope.[23] In this instance the large miniatures are further elaborated with open spandrels in the upper corners. Also, as in the Blackburn manuscript, the border decoration at the opening of the Office of the Dead incorporates long twisted yellow and white banderoles, the upper sides of which bear the inscription *Memento Mori*. Many of the other miniatures are closely related to those in Blackburn in artistic style, compositional patterns and iconography. As has been noted by one previous scholar, this book of hours originally included a depiction of a male member of the noble Jauche family of Hainault.[24] Still preserving a *livre de raison* of that family, the manuscript may have been made for André de Jauche, lord of Sassigny, a nephew of the same Baudouin de Lannoy for whom, as mentioned earlier, the Master of Edward IV illuminated several

20 For the parent manuscript see *Kataloge Antiquariat Heribert Tenschert: Leuchtendes Mittelalter*, n.f. 5 (Bibermühle: Heribert Tenschert, 2008), no. 18. I am most grateful to Mr Tenschert for facilitating a first-hand examination of this manuscript.

21 12 small miniatures now in the Musée Marmottan, Paris (M 6288–6299) preserve parts of separate infancy and Passion sequences, as well as illustrations for the gospel extracts and further suffrages.

22 The *Raising of Lazarus* is now Musée Marmottan, Paris, M 6282, reproduced in Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, fig. 42; the *Preparation for Burial* was in a Swiss private collection when reproduced in Bodo Brinkmann, *Offizium der Madonna: Der Codex Vat. Lat. 10293 und verwandte kleine Stundenbücher mit Architecturbordüren* (Stuttgart/Zurich: Belser, 1992), p. 31 fig. 2. In general see Christine Guidera, 'The role of the Beguines in caring for the ill, the dying and the dead', in *Death and Dying in the Middle Ages*, ed. Edelgard E. DuBruck and Barbara I. Gusick (New York, etc.: Peter Lang, 1999), pp. 51–72.

23 See the *Knight at Prayer*, now Musée Marmottan, Paris, M 6279; *Virgin of Humility*, now in a private collection, previously Christie's, London, 15 Nov. 2006, lot 4; collage of small miniatures, now Musée Marmottan, Paris, M 6288–6299; *Preparation for Burial* in a Swiss private collection. On this type of frame see De Kesel, 'Heritage and Innovation', p. 122.

24 Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, pp. 425–7, fig. 41.

other manuscripts during the same period.

The third book of devotion that merits further attention is the Morgan Library in New York's very fragmentary Book of Hours (Figure 4.3).[25] Although the evidence of these twelve leaves is slight, the one surviving historiated border suggests that the programme of illumination devised for the original manuscript was not only by the Master of Edward IV, but had important similarities to that of the Blackburn Hours. The illuminator's distinctive semi-grisaille treatment of the figures in the border of the Morgan leaf and the innovative manner of their incorporation in border decoration of placed flowers bear close comparison with the borders at the respective openings of the Hours of the Cross and Penitential Psalms in the Blackburn Hours (Figures 4.12a and b, 4.13a and b).[26] Indeed, it also seems likely that this surviving page originally formed part of an illuminated double-page opening and that, as in the Blackburn Hours, earlier episodes of the Passion were depicted in the border of the now missing left-hand page. The tight clustering of armed figures in the upper right-hand border of the Morgan leaf is particularly close to similar groups of soldiers in the Blackburn borders. In addition, a group of later illuminated borders removed from another book of hours and now divided between Cambridge and Oxford may provide insights into the range of imagery that the Morgan manuscript once included and that the Master of Edward IV developed for such devotional books.[27] Most notably one of these borders includes a reworking of the three men shown dicing at the opening of the Hours of the Cross in the Blackburn Hours.[28] In the Oxford leaf the *Crucifixion* is accompanied by scenes from the Legend of the True Cross, this time set in the border and focusing on the Queen of Sheba rather than the Emperor Heraclius.

25 Morgan Library and Museum, New York, Ms. M.517.

26 On this distinctive aspect of the Blackburn borders see Lynn F. Jacobs, 'Dissolving boundaries: the thresholds of Netherlandish triptychs and manuscript illumination', in *New Perspectives on Flemish Illumination*, ed. Lieve Watteeuw, Jan Van der Stock, Bernard Bousmanne and Dominique Vanwijnsberghe (Leuven: Peeters, 2018), pp. 143–59 (159 n.48).

27 A single leaf with the *Crucifixion* (Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 381, f. 160) imitates this style of border, but is by a different hand (see Rigmor Båtsvik, 'The Queen of Sheba in the Legend of the True Cross', *Bodleian Library Record*, 19 (2006), 229–38). Other borders, apparently from the same Ms. as the Bodleian leaf, with later modifications by Caleb Wing, are in Cambridge University Library, Ms. Add. 4109. Most notable are the historiated borders of ff. 11, 13–16, four of which (ff. 14+13 and ff. 15+16) formed illuminated double-page openings similar in character to those in the Blackburn Hours.

28 Cambridge University Library, Ms. Add. 4109, f. 11 (partly repainted by Caleb Wing). See Paul Binski and Patrick Zutshi, *Western Illuminated Manuscripts: a Catalogue of the Collection in Cambridge University Library* (Cambridge: University Press, 2011), pl. CXLIII.

Although the illumination in many other books of hours has been attributed to the Master of Edward IV, hardly any bear close comparison with the Blackburn Hours. Several include only small, discrete contributions assigned to him. Most such contributions were apparently undertaken as part of a loose collaboration with contemporary Netherlandish illuminators.[29] More unusually, one was the result of his miniatures having been used, together with those by another Netherlandish illuminator, the Master of the Dresden Prayerbook, to illustrate a book of hours written and otherwise illuminated by book producers in Valencia.[30] Other books of hours have illuminations that are insufficiently similar in style and execution to those in the Blackburn Hours to justify an attribution to the same artist. Three books previously assigned to the Master of Edward IV, now in Chicago, New York and Oxford, are attributable to a closely related, but distinct illuminator, the Master of the Soane Josephus.[31] Several others can, I think, be assigned to a miniaturist who employed some of the same compositional patterns as the Master of Edward IV, but differed from him in several respects, including figural style.[32] Given his contribution in 1484 to a North Netherlandish Book of Hours now in Princeton, this second artist appears to have been working independently from the Master of Edward IV by that date and undertaken a separate career in the north.[33] The Master of Edward IV himself appears to

29 Arundel Castle, Stafford Prayer Book (only two suffrage miniatures); Royal Library, Brussels, Ms. IV.1260, Brussels Da Costa Hours (only f. 116v: *Three Living and Three Dead*); Eton College, Ms. H.265 (only ff. 32, 33, 34, 35: Evangelist portraits); Sotheby's, London, 19 June 2001, lot 35, Hours of Joos van Wassenaer (only calendar miniatures). I am grateful to Emily Wingfield for drawing my attention to the Stafford Prayer Book. Her analysis of this volume will appear in *Books Beyond the Border: Scotland's Royal Women and European Literary Culture 1424–1587*. As noted in Kren and McKendrick, p. 347 n. 4, I do not agree with the attribution to the Master of Edward IV of any of the illumination in Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Vitrinas 12.

30 Sotheby's, London, 7 July 2015, lot 80, Hours of Doña Violante (five inserted miniatures).

31 University Library, Chicago, Ms. 347; Morgan Library and Museum, New York, Ms. W.31; Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Aubrey 31. The New York and Oxford manuscripts also have closely related borders and are of a similar small format. On the Master of the Soane Josephus see Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, pp. 292–4.

32 University Library, Edinburgh, Ms. 312 (partly retouched by Caleb Wing in the 19th century); University Library, Leeds, Brotherton Ms. 4 (later miniatures only); Free Library, Philadelphia, Lewis Ms. E 102; Princeton University Library, Cotsen MS 52225; Sotheby's, London, 17 June 2003, lot 30, Hours of Claude de Toulongeon, still owned by Heribert Tenschert. Also attributable to this illuminator is a detached (damaged) miniature of Pentecost (Rijksmuseum Twenthe, Enchende, inv. 4431). Other manuscripts with miniatures in closely related styles include Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, Ms. 128 G 31 (much damaged) and Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Douce 51. Another (Société archéologique de Namur, Namur, Ms. 4) has miniatures in a more distantly related style.

33 On the Princeton manuscript see Anne Margreet W. As-Vijvers and Anne S. Korteweg, *Splendour of the Burgundian Netherlands: Southern Netherlandish Illuminated Manuscripts in Dutch Collections* (Zwolle: WBOOKS, 2018), p. 253, fig. V.3.1; also Don C. Skemer,

have illuminated the miniatures in the so-called Calderon Hours, together with an assistant, and in another book of hours now in Philadelphia, but respectively before and after the artist's temporary sojourn away from Bruges.[34]

Visual sources

Within the Blackburn Hours the Master of Edward IV drew on compositions and figure groupings that he and his close associates had used and would continue to use in other manuscripts. Such models, however, served only as reference points employed by the illuminator to assemble his compositions in the Blackburn Hours. Some elements are repeated, but only within the context of significant changes or complete reworkings of a composition. Several miniatures appear therefore deceptively familiar to those acquainted with the works of the Master of Edward IV. The most striking example of this feature within the Blackburn Hours is the *Raising of Lazarus* (Figure 4.4a). Comparison of this miniature with others of the same subject attributed to the Master of Edward IV reveals not only the illuminator's dependence on a common model, but also his commitment to continuing artistic invention.[35] The principal scene in the foreground is the part most elaborated, with Lazarus's sister moved to the right-hand side and accommodated only beyond the miniature frame. Behind the main subject, the Blackburn miniature includes several elements that feature in the same positions in five of the seven other *Raising of Lazarus* versions associated with his name: the cluster of figures standing by a break in a wall in the right-hand middle ground; the buttressed church exterior behind them; the timber-framed building to the left; the wattle fence between the two buildings.[36] Such elements as

Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Princeton University Library, 2 vols (Princeton, MA: University Press, 2013), 2, pp. 141–5, pls 13–15.

34 See Christie's, London, 7 July 2010, lot 40, now in a European private collection, and Free Library, Philadelphia, Ms. Lewis E 108. On the latter see *Leaves of Gold: Manuscript Illumination from Philadelphia Collections*, ed. James R. Tanis (Philadelphia, PA: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2001), no. 35. Also by the Master of Edward IV are six detached miniatures, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Ms. W.443 A–F, on which see Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, 2, no. 282. A *Raising of Lazarus* (Sotheby's, London, 3 Dec. 2013, lot 26) was apparently produced for the same manuscript (untraced) as the Walters miniatures.

35 See University Library, Leeds, Brotherton Ms. 4, f. 13; Morgan Library and Museum, New York, Ms. M.894, f. 101; Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Douce 51, f. 175v; Musée Marmottan, Paris, M 6282; Free Library, Philadelphia, Ms. Lewis E 102, f. 91v; University Library, Princeton, Cotsen Ms. 52225, f. 183; Sotheby's, London, 3 Dec. 2013, lot 26. Versions by the Lille illuminator Jean Markant, who frequently employed models of the Master of Edward IV, include Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Ms. W.435, f. 128v and Morgan Library and Museum, New York, Ms. M.171, f. 225.

36 The background elements are significantly reworked in the Marmottan and Morgan

the church and timber-framed building appear independently within other subjects illustrated by the illuminator.[37] In the *Last Rites* opposite the *Raising of Lazarus* the Master of Edward IV also appears to have elaborated ready-made models. The curtained bed with a recumbent figure is a prominent feature of many of his works, including his name manuscript.[38] The empty stool in front of it also reappears elsewhere in his oeuvre.[39] Furthermore, many of the key elements of the Blackburn miniature recur together in another miniature of the *Last Rites* that he or a close follower produced slightly later to illustrate the *Ars moriendi*.[40] This second instance of the composition suggests that the Blackburn miniature either was based on or gave rise to a model treating the whole subject.[41] Other miniatures in the Blackburn Hours that embellish the illuminator's own models include the *Visitation*, *Nativity*, *Adoration* and *Flight into Egypt*.[42] Some of the figures depicted in the borders are based on models on which the illuminator drew in other manuscripts. The fashionably dressed young man in the border accompanying the *Presentation* (f. 82; Figure 4.5), for example, recurs in the miniatures of several other books.[43] The figure of Joseph set in the border beside the *Visitation* (f. 61v) reappears in reverse within a miniature of the *Nativity* in the Ludolph of Saxony manuscript produced during the same

versions. The positions of the two buildings and figures by the wall in the Oxford *Raising of Lazarus* are almost identical to those in the Blackburn miniature.

37 See Beinecke Library, New Haven, Ms. 639, f. 5. On this manuscript see Walter Cahn, 'Margaret of York's guide to the pilgrimage churches of Rome', in *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and The Visions of Tondal*, ed. Thomas Kren (Malibu, CA: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1992), pp. 89–98. The relevant miniature is fig. 45. For another example see Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms. fr. 6275, f. 13v.

38 For the name manuscript see British Library, London, Royal Ms. 18 D.x, f. 115v. Other examples include British Library, London, Royal Ms. 14 E.i, vol. 1 ff. 77, 177v, and Royal Ms. 20 C.iii, f. 15; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms. fr. 6275, ff. 13, 48v, and Ms. fr. 20096, f. 47; Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, Ms. 5206, f. 162.

39 Christie's, London, 7 July 2010, lot 40, Calderon Hours, f. 111v; Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, Ms. 5206, f. 162.

40 Bibliothèque municipale des Annonciades, Boulogne-sur-Mer, Ms. 97, f. 1. This manuscript has a later provenance at Arras, and may therefore date from the Master of Edward IV's period in the region.

41 This model, but without the stool, was later used by Jean Markant in Morgan Library and Museum, New York, Ms. M.171, f. 248.

42 Cf. the infancy sequence in Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, Ms. 5205, ff. 8v, 10v, 14. Cf. also the *Nativity* in Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms. fr. 20096, f. 65; *Adoration* in Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms. fr. 20096, f. 81v and Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Douce 51, f. 118v; *Flight into Egypt* in Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms. fr. 6275, f. 12v.

43 Cf. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, Ms. 5082, f. 295v; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms. fr. 359, f. 1; Ms. fr. 6275, f. 42; Ms. fr. 20096, ff. 1, 174v (also with older figure, as in the Blackburn Hours).

period.[44] The suffrage miniatures are presented in a similar format and mise-en-page to that employed by the Master of Edward IV in two pilgrimage guides at two different points in his career.[45] More specifically the *St Michael*, *St John the Baptist*, *St Christopher*, *St Anthony* and *St Anne* in the Blackburn Hours (ff. 187, 188, 189, 191v, 196, 198) were based on the same models as those employed for their counterparts in the Jauche Hours (Figures 4.6 and 4.7).[46] The depictions of the *Stabat Mater* in these two manuscripts are also very close in composition.[47]

A more surprising aspect of the Blackburn Hours is the Master of Edward IV's use of models created within the ambit of the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy and the so-called Ghent Associates. Repeatedly used in south Netherlandish manuscripts from the 1470s until the middle of the sixteenth century, these models have received significant scholarly attention.[48] Yet, none has attended to their use by the Master of Edward IV. In 2003 I noted the use of one of these patterns for the *Pentecost* in the Blackburn Hours (Figure 4.8a).[49] Of all the versions it is in fact one of the closest to the drawing of that subject still attributed to the Vienna Master.[50] In the Blackburn *Pentecost* the Master of Edward IV faithfully reflected the number and position of all the figures in the drawing, adding only one figure in the doorway to the left to make up the total of male apostles to twelve. In all the other versions different

44 Cf. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms. fr. 20096, f. 65.

45 See Cahn, 'Margaret of York's guide'.

46 See *Kataloge Antiquariat Heribert Tenschert: Leuchtendes Mittelalter*, neue Folge 5 (Bibermühle: Heribert Tenschert, 2008), no. 18, Jauche Hours, ff. 7, 7v, 10, 13v, 14v. On the reuse of the model for St John the Baptist by Jean Markant see Vanwijnsberghe, 'Marketing books for burghers', pp. 137, 141.

47 Cf. the Blackburn Hours, f. 176v and the Jauche Hours, f. 90v.

48 See Thomas Kren, 'The importance of patterns in the emergence of a new style of Flemish manuscript illumination after 1470', in *Manuscripts in Transition: Recycling Manuscripts, Texts and Images*, eds Brigitte Dekeyzer and Jan Van der Stock (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), pp. 357–77; and Joris C. Heyder, 'Kopie und Kennerschaft: Über eine künstlerische Praxis und ihre Bedeutung für die Erforschung der flämischen Buchmalerei', *Kunstgeschichte* (2013) urn:nbn:de:bvb:355-kuge-341-4 (accessed 22 Nov. 2019); Joris C. Heyder, 'Corporate design made in Ghent/Bruges? On the extensive reuse of patterns in late medieval Flemish illuminated manuscripts', in *The Use of Models in Medieval Book Painting*, ed. Monika E. Müller (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2014), pp. 167–201; Joris C. Heyder, 'Wiederholung und Differenz: Beobachtung zum liniengenauen Motivtransfer in der spätmittelalterlichen Buchmalerei', in *Nichts Neues schaffen: Perspectiven auf die treue Kopie 1300–1900*, eds Antonia Putzger, Marion Heisterberg and Susanne Müller-Bechtel (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), pp. 44–70 (50–67).

49 Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 296 n. 14.

50 For the drawing see Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, pp. 156–7 no. 26. Other illuminated copies, respectively by the Ghent Associates, Maximilian Master and Simon Bening, are Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, Ms. 78 B 12, f. 31v; Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Ms. Clm 28345, f. 88v; Waddesdon Manor, Ms. 26, f. 145v.

illuminators significantly increased the numbers in the principal space and adjusted their positions. The Master of Edward IV included the lamp hanging over the figures in the left-hand aisle, as featured in the drawing, but only in one other, much later version. When he introduced more raised hands among the apostles, he did so to enhance the drama and emotive effect of the descent of the Holy Spirit. Other detailed changes were driven by the narrower space in which he was working.

The *Pentecost* is, however, only one of three reworkings of such patterns in the Blackburn Hours. Equally dependent on them are the *Presentation in the Temple* (f. 82) and the *Massacre of the Innocents* (f. 86). In the *Presentation* (Figure 4.5) the Master of Edward IV made more significant changes to the pattern, most notably depicting the Virgin on her knees rather than standing before the altar as in the other versions.[51] He also moved Joseph from his position to the right of the female attendant with the tall candle to under the archway in the background of the scene. Each of these changes seem again driven by the artist's creative response to the different, in this case much shorter space available to him. In the Blackburn *Massacre of the Innocents* (Figure 4.9) the Master of Edward IV retained the overall shape and axes of the composition of the pattern, but replaced the details of the background with his own.[52] Thus, in the background to the right (Figure 4.10), he introduced a large rocky outcrop and to the left a group of armed men on horseback. He also added in the border a further embellishment of the narrative and setting. Each of these new elements continued to support the principal compositional lines of focus on the central armed figure.

Whereas the *Pentecost* might be explained as an isolated example of such dependence on patterns produced in a different artistic circle, the occurrence of two others suggests a more complex picture. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that the Master of Edward IV chose to use these two patterns for an infancy sequence which otherwise draws on his own models. Based on the evidence of other manuscripts from his circle, he had already developed his own versions of the *Presentation in the Temple* and *Massacre of the Innocents* and could therefore have employed these in the Blackburn Hours. He also used the *Pentecost* pattern of the Vienna Master in only one further

51 Other versions of the *Presentation* are Kolumba Museum, Cologne, Renate König Collection, Doña Isabel Hours, f. 146v; Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon, Ms. LA 210, f. 50v; Oberlin College, Ms. H.1; Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Douce 219, f. 152v; Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Ms. 1897, f. 98v; Waddesdon Manor, Ms. 26, f. 79v.

52 Other versions of the *Massacre of the Innocents* are Museum of Art, Cleveland, 1963-256, f. 146v; Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid, inv. 15503, f. 127v; Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, Ms. I.B.51, f. 144. To judge from a later copy in Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Ms. W.441, f. 62v, another version of the *Massacre* was included in a now untraced book of hours once in the Spitzer collection.

manuscript, the *Vie de Jésus-Christ* made for Baudouin de Lannoy, when he adhered less closely to his model than in the Blackburn Hours.[53] At present I can explain these particular features of the Blackburn Hours only in terms of an attempt by the illuminator to emulate the look, or what one scholar has called the corporate design, of contemporary deluxe books of hours.[54] His use of only three such patterns may reflect the fact that he could access only these few, perhaps because he was then working away from Bruges and was dependent on copies that he had previously made of selective examples. A detailed examination of the working methods of the Master of Edward IV would help clarify his particular motivations in the Blackburn Hours, but is beyond the scope of this chapter.[55]

Artistic innovation

So far, I have provided a general context for the Blackburn Hours and highlighted some of its visual sources. What of the artistic innovations mentioned in my title? For these it is necessary to turn to the Master of Edward IV's distinctive combination of conventional and more unusual imagery, as well as to his extension of the space dedicated to figurative illustration into the accompanying borders. Most noteworthy in both these respects are the five double-page spreads at the openings of the Hours of the Cross, the Hours of the Holy Spirit, the Penitential Psalms, the Office of the Dead and the prayer on the Annunciation. His spatial innovations are, however, a broader feature of the book that both distinguishes it from most of the other works attributed to the Master of Edward IV and builds on those produced by the leading exponents of the new style of Netherlandish illumination that had emerged in the 1470s.[56]

53 Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, Ms. 5206, f. 142. A closer version was later produced by Jean Markant (see Vanwijnsberghe, 'Marketing books for burghers', p. 141 fig. 11.11).

54 On this explanation of the patterns see Heyder, 'Corporate design'.

55 Such a study would need to consider instances of the Master of Edward's borrowings from the patterns of other illuminators. Miniatures of relevance include the *Visitation* in Baltimore now separated from its parent volume (Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Ms. W.444 C) which depends on the same pattern as miniatures of the same subject in the Cleveland Hours of Isabella of Castile and the untraced Spitzer Hours (for these two miniatures see Lieve De Kesel, *The Hours of Queen Isabella the Catholic: The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland/Ohio Leonard C. Hanna Jr. Fund 1963.256* (Munich: Faksimile Verlag, 2013), p. 78, fig. 60). Also of relevance is the *St Julian* in the Calderon Hours (Christie's, London, 7 July 201, lot 40) which depends on a model used in the Hours of Philip of Cleves and later additions to the Hague Hours of Philip the Good (for the latter two miniatures see G. I. Lieftinck, *Boekverluchters uit de Omgeving van Maria van Bourgondie, c. 1475–c. 1485* (Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1969), p. 11, figs 35–6).

56 On this aspect of Netherlandish illumination see James H. Marrow, *Pictorial Invention in Netherlandish Manuscripts Illumination of the Late Middle Ages: the Play of Illusion and Meaning* (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), pp. 14–17.

Within the Blackburn Hours the Master of Edward IV repeatedly employed borders to continue the subject of the adjacent miniature. The border that accompanies the Man of Sorrows, for example, includes the instruments of the Passion (f. 22). All but one of the seven partial borders that mark the Hours of the Virgin include figural elements closely related to the subject of the miniature that the borders accompany. Four borders incorporate these elements into their illusionistic flowers and acanthus (ff. 61v, 70v, 74v, 82 [Figure 4.5]). The two borders marking the beginnings of Vespers and Compline are completely dedicated to them and exclude any other elements (ff. 86 [Figure 4.9], 92). Only that for Sext is exclusively decorative, comprising gold acanthus and a butterfly (f. 78v). As for the opening of the Hours of the Virgin (f. 47; Figure 4.11), although the elements depicted in its full border are confined to strewn flowers and another fictive butterfly, the illumination of this page is complex in its illusionism. The miniature is presented as though seen through a three-dimensional frame, recessed behind the page. The decorative border is itself framed by a further three-dimensional frame and on two sides by an inner rope-pattern frame of the type that surrounds each of the miniatures. Thereafter within the volume, apart from those accompanying the other double-page openings, only the border beside the miniature showing St Anne flanked by Kings David and Solomon includes figural elements that relate to the miniature (f. 179; Figure 4.16). This feature serves to give significant prominence to this illustration. The decorative elements within the other borders were, however, executed with great skill in illusionism. Their creators successfully contrived, for example, to give the impression that insects had alighted on several pages of the manuscript, lured by its beautiful flowers.

The major illuminated openings

In the double-page spread that marks the opening of the Hours of the Cross (ff. 33v–34; Figures 4.12a and b), the miniature on the left-hand page has the Crucifixion as its subject. The upper part of the cross breaks out of the miniature space at the top of the page and thrusts the body of Christ towards the viewer. In counterpoint to this, the lower border scene in semi-grisaille of Christ carrying the Cross overlaps the frame and foreground of the miniature and spills out of the border space towards the viewer. Together with the upper border of strewn flowers, these features build up unsettling spatial uncertainties that work with the instability of many of the figures to enhance the impact of this central image of Christ's suffering and God's sacrifice on behalf of humankind.[57] Further complexities and subtleties of meaning and artistic achievement are revealed in the facing right-hand page. Here the

57 On these aspects see Jacobs, *Thresholds and Boundaries*, p. 116.

unusual miniature of the Emperor Heraclius attempting to return the cross to Jerusalem is distinguished from the facing full-colour *Crucifixion* by its execution in semi-grisaille. This two-page spread is unified by the similarity of the figural scenes in semi-grisaille that feature in the lower border of the two pages and the apparent continuity of space between the dicing scene and the Crucifixion. This effect is compounded by the inclusion of armed men from the procession preceding Christ carrying the cross in the left-hand margin of the right-hand page and by their rapt gaze upwards towards the cross on the opposite page.

When I wrote in 2003 on this opening to the Hours of the Cross, I interpreted *The Return of the Cross by Heraclius* as 'an inspirational image of salvation that offsets the pain and degradation inflicted by men on God, as seen in the marginal scene of men playing dice for Christ's robe and on the facing page'.[58] Further consideration of this scene suggests more complex layers of devotional, personal and political meaning. In the first place, it is important to note the particular point in the apocryphal story of the Recovery of the True Cross that the miniaturist has depicted. According to the Golden Legend (Book 5 in Caxton's translation), once he had secured the cross, the Emperor

> brought it again to Jerusalem. And as he descended from the Mount of Olives and would have entered by the gate by which our Saviour went to his passion, on horseback, adorned as a king, suddenly the stones of the gates descended and joined them together in the gate like a wall, and all the people was abashed. And then the angel of our Lord appeared upon the gate, holding the sign of the cross in his hand, and said: When the king of heaven went to his passion by this gate, he was not arrayed like a king, ne on horseback, but came humbly upon an ass, in showing the example of humility, which he left to them that honour him. And when this was said, he departed and vanished away.[59]

As remarked by a recent monograph on the Legend of the Cross, depictions of the legend are relatively rare in surviving early Netherlandish art.[60] A few oil paintings from the second half of the fifteenth century and early sixteenth century depict the same subject as the miniature. A panel now in Chicago does so as part of a longer sequence illustrating the legend;[61] two

58 Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 343.

59 *The Golden Legend; or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton*, ed. F.S. Ellis, 7 vols (London: Dent, 1900), 5, p. 128.

60 Barbara Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood: the Legend of the True Cross in Text and Image* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), p. 284.

61 *Northern European and Spanish Paintings before 1600 in the Art Institute of Chicago: a Catalogue of the Collection*, ed. Martha Wolff (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2008), pp. 271–6.

others in Bruges and in a private collection prominently juxtapose it with the subsequent episode in the story, and counterpart of our scene,[62] when

> the emperor took off his hosen and shoes himself, in weeping, and despoiled him of all his clothes in to his shirt, and took the cross of our Lord and bare it much humbly unto the gate. And anon the hardness of the stones felt the celestial commandment and removed anon, and opened and gave entry unto them that entered.[63]

The two scenes appear together in a print by Alart du Hameel and in a sequence of woodcuts used in the *Boec van den Houte*, printed by Jan Veldener at Culemborg in 1483.[64] They also feature as part of a longer narrative at the centre of one of two fifteenth-century Netherlandish tapestries of the *Exaltation of the Cross*.[65] One previous scholar has claimed that there was once an altarpiece at St Omer that featured the *Legend of the Cross*.[66]

Within south Netherlandish manuscripts the subject is relatively rare. When selected, the focus is primarily the emperor humbly entering Jerusalem on foot. A closely interrelated group of south Netherlandish manuscripts from the early sixteenth century focus exclusively on this subject in their respective illustrations to calendar entries for the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross in September.[67] Within two Netherlandish breviaries from the same period, the same subject features in the miniature illustrating the feast, on 14 September, in the Sanctoral.[68] Illustrations of the subject are also included in an early Prayer Book of the Emperor Charles V and a contemporary account of his

62 Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood*, pp. 280–1; and respectively Christie's, London, 7 Dec. 2007, lot 172, and Sotheby's, London, 6 Dec. 2018, lot 102.

63 *The Golden Legend*, 5, pp. 128–9.

64 On the print see *The Illustrated Bartsch*, 9: *the Early German Artists*, ed. Fritz Koreny and Jane C. Hutchison, 2 vols (New York: Abaris Books, 1981, 1991), 1, p. 339 3: 357; 2, pp. 241–2 0911:006. On the woodcuts see Barbara Baert, 'Het Boec van den Houte door Johan Veldener (Culemborg, 1483): een Iconografische Studie van de Kruislegende' (unpub. thesis, Leuven University, 1989). The print has been identified as a visual source for the *Crucifixion* triptych made for Philip I, Count of Hanau-Münzenberg (1449–1500), now in the Church of St Nicholas, Wörth am Main.

65 Eduardo Torra de Arana, Antero Hombría Tortajada and Tomás Domingo Pérez, *Los tapices de la Seo de Zaragoza* (Saragossa: La Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada, Aragon, 1985), pp. 79–89.

66 Baert, *A Heritage of Holy Wood*, p. 279, citing Jan Karel Steppe.

67 Museum Mayer van der Bergh, Antwerp, inv. 946, f. 5v; British Library, London, Add. Ms. 35313, f. 5v; Sir John Soane's Museum, London, Ms. 4, f. 6v; J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Ms. Ludwig IX 18, f. 5v; Morgan Library and Museum, New York, Ms. M.52, f. 6; Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, Ms. lat. I. 99, f. 10; Kerry Stokes Collection, Perth, Rothschild Prayer Book, f. 5v.

68 British Library, London, Add. Ms. 18851, f. 455; Morgan Library and Museum, New York, Ms. M.52, f. 501.

entry into Bruges in 1515.[69] This same scene predominates in contemporary French liturgical and devotional manuscripts.[70] It was repeatedly selected to illustrate the story in the *Légende Dorée*.[71] A much larger illumination, which marks the opening of a manuscript of William of Tyre's History of the Crusades produced in Bruges around 1480, foregrounds the emperor's approach on foot, only showing his earlier attempt far in the background and very much secondary to the main subject.[72] Only one other south Netherlandish manuscript known to me gives primacy to Heraclius being refused entry as the Blackburn illumination shows. Within a manuscript of Jean Mansel's *Fleur des Histoires* the scene of refused entry forms the subject of a large miniature, whereas Heraclius's humble entry on foot is illustrated on a much smaller scale within the opening initial of the text.[73] Relatively few other Netherlandish illuminators embellished this part of the text of a book of hours with scenes from the Legend of the True Cross.[74] To achieve his rather unusual subject, the Master of Edward IV appears to have drawn on the same model as his near contemporaries in other media, repeating several of the key elements, including the imperial heraldry. To make the miniature a more integrated part of the whole opening he reversed the composition so that untypically the narrative moved from right to left.

69 For the Prayer Book see Wilhelmina C. M. Wüstefeld and Erene R. Morcos, *Parchment and Gold: 25 Years of Dr. Jörn Günther Rare Books*, Catalogue 11 (Stalden: Dr Jörn Günther Rare Books, 2015), no. 58. For the Bruges entry see Marion Philipp, *Ehrenpforten fur Kaiser Karl V: Festdekorationen als Medien politischer Kommunikation* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2011), pp. 149–71, esp. 156; and Andrew Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges, c.1300–1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 65, 293.

70 See, e.g., Bibliothèque municipale, Besançon, Ms. 69, p. 766; Bibliothèque du Patrimoine, Clermont-Ferrand, Ms. 69, f. 549. The humble entry also features in a French Missal, Bibliothèque municipale, Lyon, Ms. 514, f. 273v, the Madrid Hours of the Emperor Charles V, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Ms. Vit. 24-3, p. 137, the Hearst Hours, f. 56 (Wüstefeld and Morcos, *Parchment and Gold*, no. 51) and a print used in the Rouen Hours printed at Paris for Antoine Vérard in 1489 (Pascale Charron, Marc-Édouard Gautier and Pierre-Gilles Girault, *Trésors enluminés des Musées de France: Pays de la Loire et Centre* (Angers: Musées d'Angers, 2013), no. 61). The Hearst and Vérard images are closely related to each other. A rare depiction of Heraclius on horseback before the gate at Jerusalem appears in another French Missal, Beinecke Library, New Haven, Ms. 425, f. 300v.

71 For an example attributed to Willem Vrelant see Morgan Library and Museum, New York, Ms. M.675, f. 77. For other French examples see Hilary E. Maddocks, 'The illuminated manuscripts of the Légende Dorée: Jean de Vignay's translation of Jacobus de Voragine's Legenda Aurea' (unpub. thesis, University of Melbourne, 1989), pp. 112, 130, 166, 202.

72 British Library, London, Royal Ms. 15 E. i, f. 16.

73 Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, Ms. 1560, f. 343v.

74 Rare exceptions include the Hours of Catherine of Cleves (John Plummer, *The Book of Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1964), nos. 79–87) and Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Douce 381, f. 160 (Båtsvik, 'The Queen of Sheba').

Given this broader context, it is worth reconsidering the intentions of those who produced the Blackburn opening. The miniaturist provided a vivid portrayal of the Crucifixion, of the physical sufferings of Christ and of the emotional sufferings of his closest companions at the event. He also foregrounded (literally) the violent and heartless actions of the men who led Christ to Calvary and even played dice to settle who should have his robe. To complement all that the miniaturist depicted an episode that starkly reminds the viewer of the need for humility in one's devotion to the Cross and in any aspiration to follow in Christ's footsteps. For he showed the emperor firmly blocked from entry into Jerusalem and reprimanded for imperial arrogance. Given the rarity of this subject, particularly within a manuscript context, this image of Heraclius must have been a deliberate choice and had particular meaning for those responsible for the production of the volume, especially its first owner.

In addition to its devotional meaning, it seems to me likely that the image evoked contemporary events and perhaps had a political meaning. Between 1482 and 1485, not long before the manuscript was produced, the cities of Flanders had been in rebellion against the Habsburg prince Maximilian of Austria (d. 1519). Following the death of his wife, Mary of Burgundy, in 1482 Maximilian had sought to exercise direct control over her northern territories. In opposition the Flemings aimed to promote the interests of Mary's infant son, Philip. Long excluded from his Flemish cities, Maximilian regained control of them. Yet settling with the rebels was difficult. Although Maximilian was not emperor during this period, he did rule jointly with his father the Emperor Frederick III from then until Frederick's death in 1493. In that context the choice to depict Heraclius being barred from Jerusalem is an interesting one. It seems unlikely that the Master of Edward IV could have made that choice without being aware of its resonance with respect to recent events. If he intended the image to reflect directly upon them, its meaning appears to have been finely balanced between recognising Maximilian's rights and cautioning against imperial arrogance.

As noted by Jonathan Alexander over forty years ago, another unusual image occurs at the opening of the Hours of the Holy Spirit (ff. 40v–41; Figure 4.8).[75] Here, opposite the image most commonly employed at this point in a book of hours, *Pentecost*, the miniaturist depicted a rarely illustrated episode from the book of Acts. To help the viewer identify the subject, he added a banderole bearing the Latin text of Acts 8:17: *Imponebant manus super illos et accipiebant spiritum sanctum*. The miniature is, therefore, a depiction of the Apostles Peter and John bringing the gift of the Holy Spirit to the Samaritans already baptised by Philip the Evangelist. For this subject the Master of Edward IV appears to have taken his inspiration from the illuminator Willem Vrelant. Three earlier

75 Alexander and Crossley, *Early Medieval and Renaissance Treasures*, p. 31.

manuscripts produced by Willem Vrelant and two close associates feature a miniature of this unusual subject, each drawing on the same visual model.[76] Within one of these miniatures Vrelant himself included on a banderole the very quotation from Acts that appears in the Blackburn Hours.[77] The Master of Edward IV rarely employed such banderoles within miniatures.[78] When he did so, it seems to have been as the result of his dependence on the work of earlier compositions by other artists.[79] The use of banderoles to record the words of figures depicted in a miniature did not align with the naturalistic approach of either the Master of Edward IV or most of his contemporaries working in the southern Netherlands. Within this opening in the Blackburn Hours, therefore, the Master of Edward IV reveals an innovative eclecticism in his visual sources, drawing on works of completely different artistic character. As noted earlier, the model he used for the *Pentecost* on the left-hand page was a composition of the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy. The resulting sequence of images is a fusion of the conservative and innovative trends in contemporary Netherlandish illumination.[80] The Master of Edward IV also adopted in this opening a different relationship between the subjects of the facing images than in the other double-page openings. Together with the traditional image of the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Virgin and Christ's Disciples, the miniature of Saints Peter and John in Samaria makes explicit the further bestowal of the Holy Spirit beyond the apostles. In this double-page opening, therefore, the two pages present a straightforward narrative in which the apostles, having received the Holy Spirit, proceed to inspire others to seek and receive that Spirit as part of their evangelism. However, the miniaturist's alteration of Vrelant's outdoor setting of the blessings by Saints Peter and John to an interior setting not only mirrors the interior of the *Pentecost* on the opposite page, but also suggests a link to contemporary church sacraments.[81]

76 Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Ms. W.196, f. 34v; J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, Ms. Ludwig IX 8, f. 30; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms. lat. 10548, f. 51. A version of this composition, but with exclusive emphasis on St Peter, features in the Hours of Catherine of Cleves (Morgan Library and Museum, New York, Ms. 917, p. 72). See Plummer, *The Book of Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, p. 41 no. 59, pl. 17.

77 Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 118. The inscription in the Hours of Catherine of Cleves mentions only St Peter.

78 He used them regularly in borders to bear the motto of Louis of Gruuthuse. See Hans-Collas and Schandel, *Manuscrits enluminés*, pls 134, 135, 138, 142–45, 147–49, 152–55.

79 For his reuse of compositions by Vrelant that included inscriptions see Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 340. See also my discussion later in this chapter concerning the Blackburn miniature of St Anne flanked by Kings David and Solomon (f. 179), pp. 117–19.

80 On these two trends see Kren and McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, pp. 81–2, 117, 121–2.

81 For a similar interior setting of this subject in a book of hours dated 1533 see Morgan Library and Museum, New York, Ms. M.491, f. 130.

The double-page opening to the Penitential Psalms (ff. 107v–108; Figures 4.13a and b) is innovative in its artistry rather than its iconography. Particularly skilful and arresting is the Master of Edward IV's *Last Judgement* on the left-hand page.[82] Here the illuminator exploited to the full both the joint space and individual structure of miniature and border. Within the miniature space he provided a clear focus on Christ in Majesty and those resurrected. Within the outer borders are the saints and angels accompanying Christ; within the lower border are those in Hell. The distinction between miniature and border is interrupted by various figures that straddle the two spaces. In the facing miniature, at the beginning of the Penitential Psalms, the Master of Edward IV turns David's prayerful gaze towards the figure of Christ within *The Last Judgement* and thereby makes explicit the anticipatory nature of David's penitence within a Christological context. The depiction of the young David slaying the giant Goliath in the lower border of the right-hand page also links the Old Testament figure's saving of the Israelites with Christ's saving role on the Day of Judgement. The rocky landscape in which this scene is set is continued in Hell within the lower border of the facing page. Once again the Master of Edward IV has achieved strong visual connections across a double-page opening.

The Office of the Dead has the most distinctive and intriguing of all the volume's double-page openings (ff. 125v–126; Figures 4.4a and b). In the miniature facing this opening the Master of Edward IV reinvigorated the subject that so often marked the beginning of this text, namely Christ raising Lazarus from the dead. Through his innovative artistry the resurrected Lazarus and his sister hover between and connect the viewer's space and that of the divine narrative. In the miniature opposite a man lies in bed holding a lit candle and receiving the extreme unction in the presence of various religious. His gaze seems directed in faithful expectation across the opening to Christ raising Lazarus from the death that the man himself now faces. Further vivid reminders of mortality in the border include gruesome skulls, a rigid corpse and *Memento mori* inscriptions. In addition to the pictorial elements noted earlier as recurring in other works by the Master of Edward IV, almost identical skulls feature in the borders accompanying the same text in the Calderon and Philadelphia Hours also illuminated by him.[83] Repeated

82 The Master of Edward IV produced two other miniatures of the *Last Judgement* (Morgan Library and Museum, New York, Ms. M.894, f. 216v; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms. fr. 6275, f. 41v). He also depicted Paradise in a similar way (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, Ms. 5206, f. 197). The Master of the Soane Josephus depicted the *Last Judgement* twice (University Library, Chicago, Ms. 347, f. 184v; Bodleian Library, Oxford, Ms. Aubrey 31, f. 124v). When depicting this subject an imitator of the Master of Edward IV closely emulated the integrated border and miniature spaces of the Blackburn Hours (University Library, Cambridge, Ms. Add. 4109, f. 14).

83 Calderon Hours, f. 136 (Christie's, London, 7 July 2010, lot 40); Free Library, Philadelphia,

Memento mori inscriptions are also included there. Further inscriptions, as well as a remarkably similar corpse, once formed prominent parts of the former opening of the Office of the Dead in the Jauche Hours.[84] Unique to the Blackburn Hours is the banderole inscribed with the French verses in the lower margin of the right-hand page:

Se bien te mire pou riras
Car tu ses tu pourira.
Raison enseigne que pou rie
La char qui doit estre pourie

French text in the banderole above the corpse is particularly noteworthy because it can be identified as a slightly revised version of a known literary text. Comprising a strong defence of women, the *Miroir des Dames* was written by Philippe Bouton (1419–1515), lord of Corberon, for Mary of Burgundy during her short reign between 1477 and 1482.[85] It is currently known from only two manuscripts.[86] In the final strophe of this work one reads:

Se bien nous mirons pou rirons
Congnoissans que nous pourrirons
…
Puisque rayson veult que pou rie
La char qui doit estre pourrie[87]

To my knowledge the Blackburn manuscript includes the only reuse of a recent literary text in a south Netherlandish book of hours.[88]

Ms. Lewis E 108, ff. 109v–110. For the Philadelphia opening see Tanis, *Leaves of Gold*, no. 35.

84 *Raising of Lazarus*, Musée Marmottan, Paris, M 6282; and *Preparation for Burial* in a Swiss private collection (Brinkmann, *Offizium der Madonna*, p. 31, fig. 2). The skulls, inscriptions and corpse reappear in the borders of a similar double-page opening to the Office of the Dead produced by an imitator (University Library, Cambridge, Ms. Add. 4109, ff. 15–16).

85 The text was edited in E. Beauvois, *Un agent politique de Charles-Quint: Le bourguignon Claude Bouton, seigneur de Corberon* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1882), part 2, pp. 3–30. For the dating and context see Olga Karaskova, 'Une princesse dans le miroir: Marie de Bourgogne est-elle la dédicataire du *Miroir des dames* de Philippe Bouton', in *Les femmes, la culture et les arts en Europe entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance*, eds Cynthia J. Brown and Anne-Marie Legaré (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), pp. 291–308.

86 Karaskova, 'Une princesse', p. 293; also Marguerite Debae, *La bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche: Essai de reconstitution d'après l'inventaire de 1523–24* (Leuven/Paris: Peeters, 1995), pp. 477–8 no. 342.

87 Beauvois, *Un agent politique*, part 2, p. 30.

88 A version of this border attributed to Jean Markant (Huntington Library, San Marino, Ms. 1149, f. 122) features a female corpse and a large banderole inscribed with a different and as yet unidentified French text on death.

What can one conclude from this new observation? First, the inclusion of this text must link the manuscript really closely to the circle of Philippe Bouton. So limited was the circulation of the *Miroir des Dames*, it seems unlikely that anyone else would have known these verses. Second, since other luxury manuscripts made for Philippe Bouton and his son Claude are in existence, it is plausible that one of them could have been the first owner.[89] Third, a means exists of clarifying not only the identity of the first owner of the Blackburn Hours, but also the motivations behind some of the distinctive choices made within its illustrative programme. At this stage it is worth noting that Philippe Bouton was a member of an old Burgundian noble family who loyally served successive dukes of Burgundy at and beyond court for many years.[90] His godfather was Duke Philip the Good himself, his uncle by marriage was Philip's chancellor, Nicolas Rolin, and his cousin was the court chronicler Olivier de la Marche. Like many Burgundian landholders, Philippe Bouton shifted his allegiance to the French king after the death of Mary of Burgundy in 1482, but returned to Burgundian service under Philip the Fair. Introduced to court service by Olivier de la Marche shortly before 1490, Philippe Bouton's son Claude rose to become counsellor and chamberlain of the Emperor Charles V, maître d'hôtel of the archduke Ferdinand and principal equerry of Mary of Hungary.[91] Any conclusions on the identity of the first owner of the Blackburn Hours should, however, be deferred until after I have reviewed in further aspects of the manuscript in this chapter.

The final double-page opening in the Blackburn Hours (ff. 180v–181; Figure 4.14a and b) is the least easily explained. Whereas the others highlight the beginnings of the principal texts of the book, this gives apparently disproportionate prominence to one of the sequence of prayers that form its final section. The prayer in question follows five others illustrated by miniatures of the Trinity, Mass of St Gregory, Lamentation, *Stabat Mater* and St Anne flanked by Kings David and Solomon. Immediately after it are sixteen prayers to male and female saints, each illustrated by a single miniature depicting the relevant saint. Focused on the Annunciation to the Virgin, the especially highlighted prayer is preceded by a miniature of the Virgin in half-length being crowned by two angels. Seated on a large cushion before her, the totally nude Christ Child reaches forward for his toes and

89 For manuscripts owned by them see Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, p. 520.

90 On Philippe Bouton see Arthur Piaget, '*Les Princes* de Georges Chastelain', *Romania*, 46: 161–206 (170–9) (1921); and Pierre Pailliot, *Histoire généalogique des comtes de Chamilly de la maison de Bouton au duché de Bourgongne au bailliage de Chalon issuë de celle de Jauche au duché de Brabant* (Dijon, 1671), pp. 286–304.

91 On Claude Bouton see Beauvois, *Un agent politique*.

raises his right leg. In doing so, he reveals his genitalia.[92] The Virgin, the Child and the angels all spill out of the miniature space into the border and towards the viewer. In the lower left-hand corner a fashionably dressed woman plays music on a keyboard instrument. Although the half-length format is unique within the surviving output of the Master of Edward IV, and suggests the influence of contemporary panel painters,[93] the forms of the Virgin and Child are recognisably the illuminator's own creations and comparable with, for example, those in the *Virgin of Humility* from the Jauche Hours (Figure 4.15).[94] Opposite and above the opening text of the prayer, the Master of Edward IV has included a second depiction of the Annunciation. (The first appears in the infancy sequence of the Hours of the Virgin [Figure 4.11].) I think this prayer must have had some particular relevance to the first intended owner of the Blackburn Hours. Like the display of Christ's genitalia, it reflects contemporary preoccupation with the Incarnation.[95] It might also allude to secular interest in ensuring through marriage a legitimate male heir.

In that context it is worth reflecting further on the text and miniature that precedes this final double-page opening (f. 179; Figure 4.16). Focused on the Conception of the Virgin, this prayer and its corresponding illustration have so far escaped consideration within the relevant literature. As far as I can determine, the text is very rare and the miniature one of the earliest depictions of the subject to have been produced after the Franciscan Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471–84) formally supported and propagated the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. The prayer addresses Mary as the virgin mother of God conceived without original sin.[96] At the centre of the miniature St Anne standing in a golden aureole raises her hands in prayer and offers up a version of words from the book of Ecclesiasticus (24: 23) inscribed on an accompanying banderole: *fructus meus fructus honoris et honestatis* (my fruit is the fruit of honour and riches). In St Anne's womb a tiny half-length female figure, nimbed and emerging from rays of the sun, recites from the same book (24: 31): *qui elucidant me vitam eternam habebunt* (they that explain me

92 On the meaning of such display see Leo Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion* (New York: Pantheon, 1983).

93 The motif of the Child grasping his toes recurs in panels of the Virgin and Child attributed to Hans Memling, Dirk Bouts, the Master of the Legend of St Lucy and Michel Sittow. In none of these panels does the action so explicitly reveal Christ's genitalia.

94 Christie's, London, 15 Nov. 2006, lot 4. A close version of the Blackburn *Virgin and Child*, replicating the distinctive pose of the Christ Child, is attributed to Jean Markant (Huntington Library, San Marino, Ms. 1149, f. 93v).

95 On the link between the two, emphasising the mortality of Christ and forming a 'pledge of God's humanation', see Steinberg, *The Sexuality of Christ*, pp. 12–13.

96 Another copy of the text appears in a Netherlandish book of hours from *c.* 1500 (Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Ms. W.178, f. 241). See Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, 2, no. 292.

shall have life everlasting). To the left a crowned figure identifiable as King Solomon holds a banderole bearing words from the Song of Solomon (6: 9): *progreditur quasi aurora consurgens* (she cometh forth as the morning rising). To the right King David bears his harp and another banderole inscribed with an extract from the psalms (9: 36): *queretur peccatum illius et non invenietur* (his sin shall be sought, and shall not be found). In the upper portion of the illuminated border to the right God the Father holds an orb in his left hand and reaches out with his right in blessing, offering further words from the Song of Solomon (4: 7): *tota pulcra es amica mea et macula non est in te* (thou art all fair, O my love, and there is not a spot in thee). Together these figural and textual elements make up a devotional image that overtly draws on and promotes the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.[97] The detail of the infant Virgin emerging above rays of the sun may also allude to the image of the Virgin in the Sun before which the faithful were required to say an indulgenced prayer attributed to Sixtus IV.[98] The overall iconography of St Anne flanked by Kings David and Solomon recurs in several manuscripts illuminated in the southern Netherlands in the early sixteenth century, including the Grimani Breviary, Mayer van den Bergh Breviary and New York Da Costa Hours.[99] Several key parts also feature in later paintings and other works of art from northern France and the southern Netherlands, some of which incorporate the image into more extensive pictorial sequences.[100]

97 On the significance of David and Solomon and the biblical quotations see Maurice Vloberg, 'The Immaculate Conception in art', in *The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception: History and Significance*, ed. Edward D. O'Connor (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1958), pp. 463–506 (466).

98 On the prayer and its associated imagery see Sixten Ringbom, '*Maria in sole* and the Virgin of the Rosary', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 25 (1962), 326–30; and Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'The Virgin in the Sun: music and image for a prayer attributed to Sixtus IV', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 124: 157–95 (185–9) (1999).

99 Heyder, 'Kopie und Kennerschaft', pp. 16–28. See also Bonnie J. Blackburn, 'Messages in miniature: pictorial programme and theological implications in the Alamire Choirbooks', in *The Burgundian-Habsburg Court Complex of Music Manuscripts (1500–1535) and the Workshop of Petrus Alamire*, eds Bruno Bouckaert and Eugeen Schreurs (Leuven: Alamire, 2003), pp. 161–84 (173–4, 182–3). Another miniature of this subject (Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Vitrinas 3, f. 267v), cited by neither Heyder nor Blackburn, derives from the same model as the *St Anne* in the Mayer van den Bergh Breviary. See Javier Docampo, 'La Iluminación de manuscritos durante el reinado de Isabel la Católica: nuevas consideraciones', in *La miniatura y el grabado de la Baja Edad Media en los archivos españoles*, ed. María del Carmen Lacarra Ducay (Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2012), pp. 225–74 (256–7, fig. 14). A more generic depiction, without inscriptions, features in the so-called Hours of Margaret of Austria (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Ms. 1862, f. 49v). See Debae, *La bibliothèque de Marguerite d'Autriche*, p. 524; and Georges Dogaer, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the 15th and 16th Centuries* (Amsterdam: B.M. Israël, 1987), p. 160 fig. 101.

100 For a panel illustrating the subject that forms part of a Netherlandish altarpiece made for the Brotherhood of St Anne at Frankfurt see Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn,

Among these a panel painting attributed to a Netherlandish artist active in Picardy during the early sixteenth century (Église St-Étienne, Beauvais) is particularly close in its imagery and inscriptions to those in the Blackburn Hours.[101] Many of the works reflect the cult of St Anne that burgeoned in the late fifteenth century.[102] They also draw on the devotional and liturgical texts and practices that developed during the same period in relation to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.[103] The only earlier illuminations of St Anne flanked by Kings David and Solomon that I have identified appear in a book of hours produced in Hainault and a fragmentary manuscript illuminated in western France, each of which appears to be datable to the 1460s.[104] The first marks the opening of the Hours of the Conception of the Virgin and the second that of a Mass for the Feast of the Conception. Neither includes the inscriptions that are a prominent part of the Blackburn miniature and of some later illuminations and paintings, all of which make explicit their immaculist perspective. The Blackburn miniature is, therefore, a most unusual work and the volume's first owner must have chosen its subject deliberately. St Anne is also the first female saint to feature in the suffrages, where she is shown teaching the Virgin to read (f. 179). Factors that informed these choices may have included the patron's particular devotion to the new doctrine, strong association with the Franciscans who were its principal proponents and preoccupation with female fecundity and family succession.[105]

The patron

The only further clues to the identity of the manuscript's first owner are later additions to the volume that relate to the Noyelles family. Recording the births and godparents of the two daughters of Eugène de Noyelles (d. 1685), Marquis

Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society (Athens, GA/London: University of Georgia Press, 1990), pp. 27–43, and fig. 18.

101 Described in A. Hurel, 'La Vierge et les palinods du moyen âge', *Annales archéologiques*, 22: 332–45 (344–5) (1862). I have not been able to consult Philippe Bonnet-Laborderie, 'Les peintures sur bois de l'église St- Étienne: Des primitifs beauvaisiens méconnus', in *Trésors méconnus du Beauvaisis*, 2 (*Bulletin du Groupe d'étude des monuments et oeuvres d'art du Beauvaisis*, 26: 20–37 (1986).

102 Ashley and Sheingorn, *Interpreting Cultural Symbols*, pp. 25–7.

103 On these practices see Blackburn, 'The Virgin in the Sun', pp. 178–89.

104 Free Library, Philadelphia, Ms. Lewis E 104, f. 167 and Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Ms. n.a. lat. 1140, f. 1. For the first see Heyder, 'Kopie under Kennerschaft', n. 55; for the second see Victor Leroquais, *Les Livres d'Heures: Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 3 vols (Paris: 1927), 2, pp. 288–9 and Vloberg, 'The Immaculate Conception', p. 466 and pl. V. François Avril attributes the other miniatures in the Paris manuscript to the Master of Adelaide of Savoy.

105 For similar motivations see Blackburn, 'Messages in miniature', pp. 182–3.

de Lisbourg, and his wife Louise de Noyelles (d. 1664), these contemporary inscriptions suggest that the manuscript was in their possession by 1647. By that date the Noyelles family was one of the most notable in Artois.[106] Many of its male and female members had held prominent roles in the household of the dukes of Burgundy and their Hapsburg successors in the Low Countries. Eugène himself succeeded his grandfather and uncle as governor of the royal castle of La Motte-au-Bois at Nieppe in southern Flanders.[107] Remarkably, several other members of the Noyelles family also recorded details of their families in other surviving books of hours. Of these books at least three were family heirlooms. Eugène's brother, Balthazar de Noyelles, provost of the Collegiate Church of Aire-sur-la-Lys, noted his possession of a book of hours made for a distant ancestor, Thiébaut de Luxembourg (d. 1477).[108] Several generations of Eugène de Noyelle's ancestors are recorded in a book of hours originally made for Gauvain Quiéret, whose daughter Marie married Eugène's paternal great-great grandfather.[109] An untraced book of hours includes further notes relating to Eugène de Noyelle's maternal ancestors, another branch of the Noyelles family, the seigneurs de Croix.[110] Louise de Noyelles's father and stepmother, Hugues de Noyelles (d. 1650), comte de Noyelles, and Marguerite de Bourgogne (d. 1666), had inscribed with the births of their children a calendar that originally must have prefaced a further book of hours.[111] In this broader context it seems probable that the first owner of the Blackburn Hours was, as with the other books of hours, an ancestor of Eugène and Louise de Noyelles. The location of the principal territories of Eugène de Noyelles in Artois and the manuscript's later presence at St Omer suggest that this ancestor was another client of the Master of Edward IV who resided in Hainault or southern Flanders.[112]

106 On the Noyelles family see Jacques S.F.J.L. de Herckenrode, *Nobiliaire des Pays-Bas et du comté de Bourgogne par M. de Vegiano, Sr de Hovel, et neuf de ses suppl*éments, 2 vols (Ghent: F. and E. Gyselynck, 1862–5), 2, pp. 1458–61; and Abbé Douay, *Histoire généalogique des branches de la maison de Béthune, existantes en Flandre et en Artois, connues pendant plusieurs siècles sous le nom de Desplanches* (Paris, 1783), pp. 82–5.

107 Antonius Sanderus, *Flandria illustrata*, 2 vols (Cologne, 1641–4), 2, p. 465.

108 Royal Library, Brussels, Ms. 9785. See Susie Nash, *Between France and Flanders: Manuscript Illumination in Amiens* (London: British Library, 1999), p. 280. Philippe II de Noyelles married Isabeau de Luxembourg, daughter of Etienne.

109 Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Ms. 108. See Nigel Morgan and Stella Panayotova, *A Catalogue of Western Book Illumination in the Fitzwilliam Museum and the Cambridge Colleges*, 1: *the Meuse Region, Southern Netherlands* (London/Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2009), 2, no. 200. On Quiéret see Hasenohr and Zink, *Dictionnaire*, p. 494.

110 Christie's, London, 2 July 1975, lot 243.

111 University Library, Edinburgh, Ms. 212. See Catherine R. Borland, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Mediaeval Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1916), pp. 315–16, 336–37.

112 The Blackburn Hours was purchased at St Omer in 1801. See Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts*, II, p. 94.

It is, therefore, worth considering further whether an earlier member of the Noyelles family could have been the intended first owner of the Blackburn Hours.[113] The unusual inclusion in the book's suffrages of St William of Maleval suggest that the owner's first name was Guillaume. The lavish illumination that is such a prominent feature of the volume would have entailed significant costs and required its patron to have been wealthy. The distinctive features of the illumination that I have highlighted above strongly point to someone who was familiar with Philippe Bouton, politically allied to Maximilian and looking forward to having a male heir *c.* 1490. Based on these criteria, one strong candidate is Ghislain de Noyelles, vicomte de Langle (d. 1516), sometimes called Guillaume or Ghislain Guillaume. Ghislain was the eldest of four brothers from whom the principal branches of the Noyelles family descended. His father, Philippe de Noyelles, was counsellor and chamberlain of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy (r. 1467–7); Ghislain's father-in-law, Jan van Lichtervelde, lord of Staden and Roosebeke, served successively as counsellor and chamberlain to Philip the Good, Charles the Bold and Maximilian I.[114] In their respective roles both must have known Philippe Bouton. Ghislain himself served as chamberlain to Maximilian and was governor of Aire-sur-la-Lys in Artois. His wife, Isabel van Lichtervelde, whom he had married in 1481, was heiress to her father's titles and fortune when he died in 1487. Their first surviving son, Ghislain II, was born several years after their marriage, *c.* 1490. Four generations later by direct descent came Louise de Noyelles, whose children were recorded in the Blackburn Hours.

The task of identifying the person for whom the Blackburn Hours was made might once have been easier than it now is. To judge from contemporary practice, there would almost certainly have been another double-opening at the beginning of the Hours of the Virgin. Indeed the manuscript still preserves evidence to confirm this. The stub of this missing leaf remains. A later inscription also gives the total number of miniatures as 45, one greater than the number remaining in the volume. One possibility is that this missing leaf once bore the image of the book's patron. Two other books of hours with illumination attributed to the Master of Edward IV once contained such portraits.[115] Of these the image of André de Jauche shown kneeling in prayer may offer the closer parallel. Depicted facing to the right on a left-hand page,

113 The significance of the later Noyelles ownership was noted in Vanwijnsberghe, 'Marketing books for burghers', p. 142.

114 See Ferdinand Van de Putte, 'Recherches sur les sires de Lichtervelde', *Annales de la Société de l'Émulation pour l'étude de l'histoire et des antiquités de la Flandre*, 4th series, 3: 41–114 (61–2, 102) (1879).

115 *Claude de Toulongeon at Prayer*, in the Hours of Claude de Toulongeon, f. 34v (Sotheby's, London, 17 June 2003, lot 30); and *Knight at Prayer* (now Musée Marmottan, Paris, M 6297) from the Hours of André de Jauche, reproduced in Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, fig. 41.

Jauche may originally have faced the opening of the Hours of the Virgin in his Book of Hours.[116] In the other portrait, Claude de Toulongeon also looks to the right. What he faced is, however, more difficult to determine. The current position of the leaf on which it is painted is clearly incorrect and the result of the book's rebinding in the early nineteenth century.

Conclusion

The Blackburn Hours is the book in which the Master of Edward IV produced some of his most innovative and consistently high-quality imagery. Within the corpus of manuscripts of devotional and edifying texts attributed to the illuminator it best exemplifies his individual approach to the illustration of frequently depicted subjects and exceptional ability to reimagine and refresh them. It also epitomises his imaginative approach to new or unusual subject matter. In this exceptional book the Master of Edward IV harnessed these artistic skills to support, deepen and energise the devotional life of the book's first owner. In his selection and combination of imagery he strove hard to respond to and reflect the individual requirements and interests of his client, introducing into his repertoire completely new artistic models and engaging imaginatively with otherwise unfamiliar subject matter. There remains much to learn about the working practices of south Netherlandish illuminators. The Master of Edward IV still awaits a separate study. This chapter has sought to advance awareness a little further on both counts. I would be pleased if it also encourages further pride in this remarkable volume, in Edward Hart who recognised its unique qualities and first brought it to Blackburn, and in the Hart collection within which the manuscript plays a worthy part in Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

116 Like the *Raising of Lazarus* (Musée Marmottan, Paris, M 6282) and *Preparation for Burial* (Swiss private collection), the *Knight at Prayer* (Musée Marmottan, Paris, M 6279) and *Virgin of Humility* (Christie's, London, 15 Nov. 2006, lot 4) appear to have formed a double-page opening.

Figure 4.1. Psalm 38, David and the Devil, Psalter, f. 52 v. Collection of Scott Schwartz, New York.

Figure 4.2. Office of the Dead, Preparation for Burial. Detached leaf, from the Jauche Hours. Private Collection.

Figure 4.3. Hours of the Cross, Scenes from the Passion. MS M.517, f. 12 r. The Morgan Library and Museum. Copyright and permission granted by The Morgan Library & Museum, New York.

Figure 4.4a. Office of the Dead, Raising of Lazarus, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart MS 20884, f. 125 v. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

Figure 4.4b. Office of the Dead, Last Rites. Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart MS 20884, f. 126 r. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

Figure 4.5. Hours of the Virgin, Presentation in the Temple, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart MS 20884, f. 82 r. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

Figure 4.6. Prayer to the Archangel Michael, St Michael fighting with the Devil. Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart MS 20884, f. 187 r. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

Figure 4.7. Prayer to the Archangel Michael, St Michael fighting with the Devil. Collection of Heribert Tenschert, Bibermühle, Switzerland.

Figure 4.8a. Hours of the Holy Spirit, Pentecost, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart MS 20884, f. 40 v. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

Figure 4.8b. Hours of the Holy Spirit, St Peter and St John bringing the Spirit to the Samarians, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart MS 20884, f. 41 r. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

Figure 4.9. Hours of the Virgin, Massacre of the Innocents. Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart MS 20884, f. 86 r. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

Figure 4.10. Hours of the Virgin, Massacre of the Innocents. *Cleveland Museum of Art, Acc. 1963.256, f. 146 v. Creative Commons permission.*

Figure 4.11. Hours of the Virgin, Annunciation. Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart MS 20884, f. 47 r. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

Figure 4.12a. Hours of the Cross, Crucifixion, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart MS 20884, f. 33 v. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

Figure 4.12b. Hours of the Cross, Heraclius with the Cross before Jerusalem, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart MS 20884, f. 34 r. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

Figure 4.13a. Penitential Psalms, Last Judgement, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart MS 20884, f. 107 v. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

Figure 4.13b. Penitential Psalms, David at Prayer, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart MS 20884, 108 r. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

Figure 4.14a. Prayer to the Virgin on the Annunciation, Virgin and Child, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart MS 20884, f. 180 v. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

Figure 4.14b. Prayer to the Virgin on the Annunciation, Annunciation, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart MS 20884, f. 181 r. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

Figure 4.15. Hours of the Virgin, Virgin of Humility. Detached leaf, from the Jauche Hours. Private collection.

Figure 4.16. Prayer on the Conception of the Virgin, St Anne with the infant Mary in her womb flanked by Kings David and Solomon. Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart MS 20884, f. 179 r. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

5. Fragments of early Mainz printing in the R.E. Hart Collection

Eric Marshall White

Long preserved in the Blackburn Museum's Robert Edward Hart Collection, three printed fragments from the formative years of European typography provide excellent teaching specimens and invite further study.[1] The single leaves represent the three earliest datable books printed with moveable types in Europe: the 'Gutenberg Bible', printed in Mainz at the expense of Johann Fust *c.*1455;[2] the Latin Psalter published by Fust and Peter Schoeffer in Mainz on 14 August 1457, which bears the earliest of all dated colophons;[3] and the no less magnificent Benedictine Psalter, completed by Fust and Schoeffer on 29 August 1459.[4] Hart's fragments of these otherwise unobtainable Mainz imprints complement his outstanding collection of manuscripts and blockbooks and provide the earliest foundations for a well-selected

1 The author wishes to thank Cynthia Johnston and Ed Potten for initiating this study and for providing basic facts about the Hart collection. Paul Needham kindly provided many helpful suggestions.

2 The literature on the 42-line Bible is vast, contradictory and endless; a recent guide to the main historical themes is Eric Marshall White, *Editio Princeps: a History of the Gutenberg Bible* (London and Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishing, 2017), which provides the history of every copy and fragment; also recommended, and much shorter, is Janet Ing, *Johann Gutenberg and his Bible. a Historical Study* (New York: the Typophiles, 1988). For all 15th-century editions discussed here, see the *Incunable Short-Title Catalogue* (London: the British Library, 1980–in progress), online at data.cerl.org/istc/ search (cited hereafter as 'ISTC'). More detailed descriptions of these editions are in the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1968–in progress); these and additional 'GW Manuskript' entries are online at www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/ (cited hereafter as 'GW'). The 42-line Bible is ISTC ib00526000 and GW 4201.

3 *Psalterium cum canticis*. [Mainz]: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 14 Aug. 1457. Royal folio, printed exclusively on vellum in issues of 175 leaves (for the archdiocese of Mainz) and 143 leaves (for other churches), each with the psalms in the liturgical order of the Mainz Breviary. Ten copies and several fragments survive, printed in black, red and blue, with musical staves and notation added in manuscript; see ISTC ip01036000; GW M36179; Irvine Masson, *The Mainz Psalters and Canon Missae 1457–1459* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1954).

4 *Psalterium Benedictinum cum canticis et hymnis*. [Mainz]: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 29 Aug. 1459; see ISTC ip01062000; GW M36286; Masson, *The Mainz Psalters.*

'typographic museum' of some four dozen incunables. They also call attention to the uniquely complicated histories of fifteenth-century printed books, highlighting the varied contingencies of use, potential destruction, survival, and rediscovery that set every copy apart from the rest of its supposedly identical counterparts.

The 'Noble Fragment' in Blackburn

The earliest printed leaf in the Hart collection comes from the Royal folio Latin bible known as the 'Gutenberg Bible' (or '42-line Bible'), the first substantial book printed in Europe. The limited knowledge that exists of the circumstances of its production is based on four contemporary documentary sources. According to the Cologne *Cronica* of 1499, Johannes Gutenberg printed a Latin bible with large Gothic letters in Mainz around the year 1450.[5] This was doubtless the project known as the 'work of the books' that was the subject of a lawsuit in Mainz in November 1456. It terminated a partnership between Gutenberg and Johann Fust, who had provided substantial financial backing for the development of the presses, metal types and inks, the necessary supplies of paper and vellum, and workers' wages. A terminus ante quem for the earliest printed bible is provided by the paper copy of the 42-line Bible now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which bears a Mainz rubricator's inscriptions dated 15 and 23 August 1456, when the work of adding the red and blue initials and headings in each volume was completed. A letter written by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini in March 1455 to a friend in Rome records that the printed Latin bibles, of which he had been shown multiple quires at the Imperial Diet at Frankfort the previous fall, were now completed and were selling quickly. Piccolomini's letter also alludes to the print run: many witnesses claimed that 158 copies had been printed, while others suggested the total was 180. As is known from the provenances of the surviving bibles, copies were distributed to churches, monasteries, universities, princes, and prelates throughout the far reaches of Germany, and surviving copies also went as far as Austria, Bohemia, the Netherlands, France, England and Spain.

The leaf of the 42-line Bible in Blackburn (Figure 5.1) is folio 146 from the second volume, bearing the text of all but the first seventeen verses of the book of Joel (chapters 1:18 to 3:21), the end of the leaf coinciding with the end of the book. The text calls for national penance in the face of plagues of locusts and drought and celebrates divine intervention as the reward for that penance. The leaf (39 × 28.6 cm), which has no watermark, is unusual in that one of the least common of all Gutenbergian letters, the capital Z

5 *Cronica van der hilliger stat van Coellen*. Cologne: Johann Koelhoff, 23 Aug. 1499, f. ccliiir; see ISTC ic00476000; GW 6688.

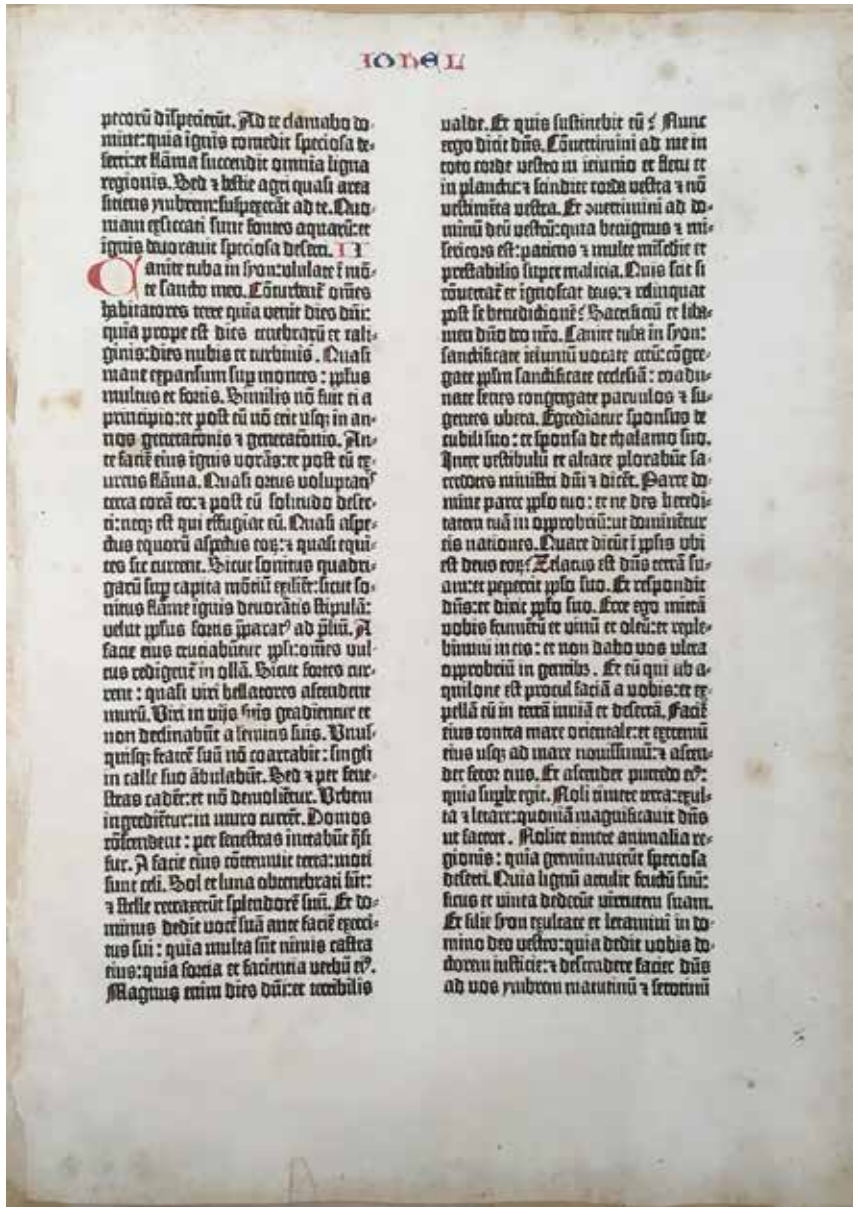

Figure 5.1. Biblia Latina *(the '42-line Bible' or 'Gutenberg Bible'), (Mainz: Johann Gutenberg for Johann Fust, c. 1455), Hart.19189, f. 146 r., Hart Collection, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. ©Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.*

(for Zelatus), is to be found in line 22 of the recto page's second column. A rubricator supplied the name of the book (IOHEL) in alternating red and blue Lombard capitals in the upper margins, a red initial C and a blue Q in the respective indented spaces for chapters 2 and 3, two-coloured chapter numbers in Roman numerals in the allotted line spaces, and red strokes across the capital letters of every sentence. In the final two lines of the verso (Figure 5.2), the rubricator neatly entered the words 'Explicit Iohel p[ro] ph[et]a. Incipit Amos p[ro]pheta', in close correspondence with the guidance provided by the printed *tabula rubricarum* that survives with the copies in Munich and Vienna. These necessary enhancements were the work of a skilled artisan, probably active in Mainz, who also rubricated the 42-line Bible formerly owned by the Augustinian friars of Colmar in Alsace, now in the John Rylands Library at the University of Manchester. The leaf itself is recognisable as one of several hundred of its kind, all derived from a single incomplete copy that was taken apart in 1921 and sold as individual leaves or small groups comprising whole books.[6]

The recorded history of this now-dispersed 42-line Bible goes back to 21 July 1789, the day on which the German poet Wilhelm Heinse wrote in his travel diary that he had visited the Electoral Court Library in Mannheim, founded in 1756 by Carl Theodor von Pfalz-Sulzbach (1724–99), Prince-Elector, Count Palatine and Duke of Bavaria and Sulzbach. Heinse mentioned two of the treasures that he saw there: 'Erste Mainzer Biebel. Und die von 1462 auf Pergament'.[7] These references to the 'first Mainz Bible' and a vellum copy of the edition of 1462 came from a highly reliable witness, as Heinse had served since 1786 as the keeper of the Archbishop's library in Mainz, the home of the 42-line Bible now in Aschaffenburg. After Carl Theodor's death in 1799 his books in Mannheim, including the 42-line Bible and hundreds of other incunables, were delivered to the Hofbibliothek of the Bavarian Court in Munich.[8] According to a thorough report by the librarian in Munich, in 1804 the Mannheim copy was already missing 53 leaves.[9]

6 A more detailed history of this copy can be found in White, *Editio princeps*, pp. 132–6.

7 Wilhelm Heinse, *Sämmtliche Werke. Band vii. Tagebücher von 1780 bis 1800*, ed. Carl Schüddekopf (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1909), p. 322.

8 At that time the covers on each volume still bore the gold-stamped alliance-armorial of Carl Theodor von Pfalz-Sulzbach and his first wife (who was also his first cousin), Maria Elisabeth Augusta von Pfalz-Sulzbach (1721–94). While virtually all subsequent accounts of the Bible followed the mistaken tradition of assigning its ownership to 'Maria Augusta von Sulzbach' alone, in fact the gilt armorial on the 42-line Bible and hundreds of other books indicated the ownership of Carl Theodor, whose long-estranged wife removed herself to her castle at Oggersheim Castle for the last 30 years or so of her life.

9 It is therefore plausible that the incomplete 42-line Bible was the undated, unlocalised folio Latin bible described as 'mutilata' in the Electoral Library's inventory of printed books in 1754. An alphabetical catalogue of the same library, compiled in 1757, records an early printed bible with Gothic letters, and a subject catalogue of the same year likewise lists

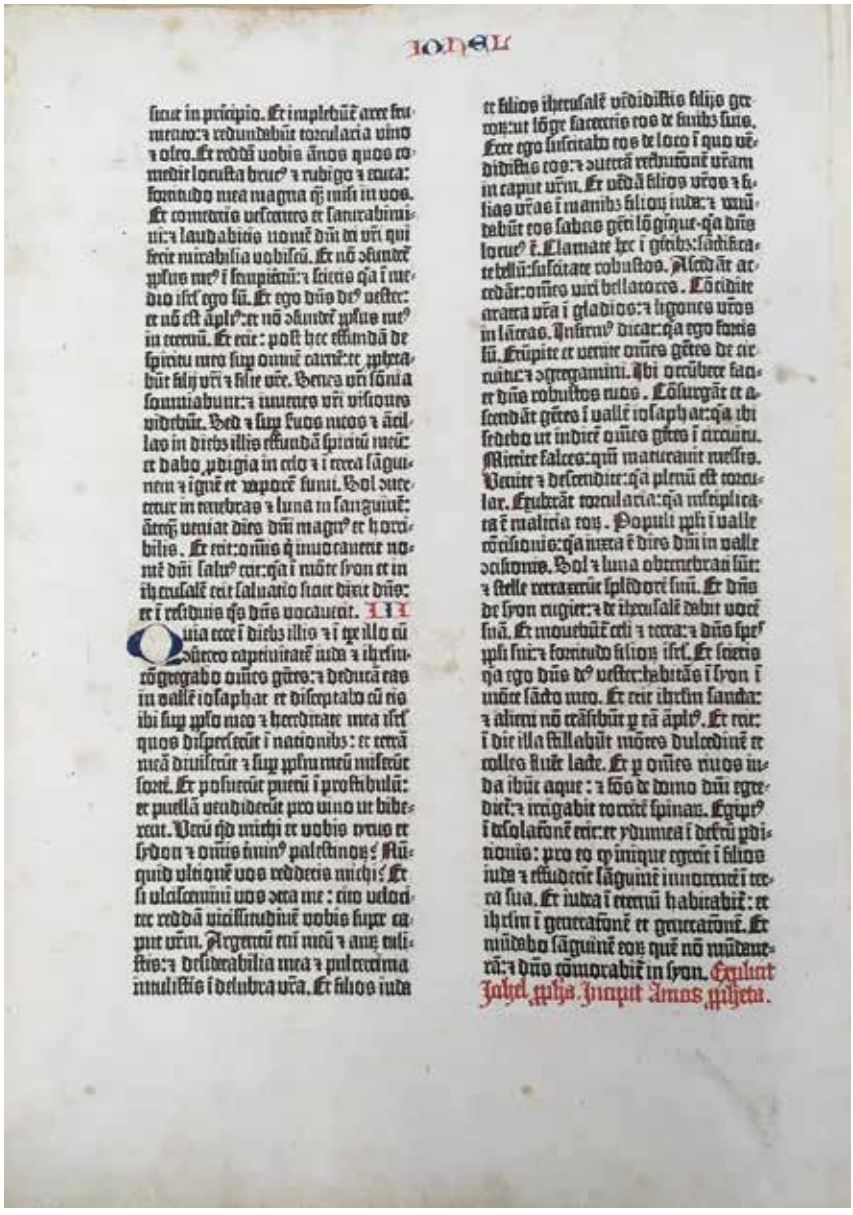

Figure 5.2. Biblia Latina *(the '42-line Bible' or 'Gutenberg Bible'),(Mainz: Johann Gutenberg for Johann Fust, c. 1455), Hart.19189, f. 146 v., Hart Collection, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. ©Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.*

The Mannheim copy did not remain long at the Hofbibliothek, which by 1804 owned two better-preserved copies of the 42-line Bible. On 23 August 1832 the court librarian, Philipp von Lichtenthaler, sold the Mannheim copy as a 'duplicate' for 350 florins to a young but distinguished visitor, the Hon. Robert Curzon (1810–73) of Parham in Sussex, who in 1870 became 14th Baron Zouche of Haryngworth. This colourful bibliophile, famous for gathering ancient manuscripts during his travels to Mount Athos and St Catherine's on Mount Sinai, left the Bible to his son, who died without issue; it descended in 1917 to a first cousin once removed, Baroness Mary Cecil Curzon, later Frankland (1875–1965), who made it and other books from Parham available for auction at Sotheby's in London on 9 November 1920.[10]

At the 1920 sale the 42-line Bible was purchased by the London bookseller Frank Sabin, who sold it to the Hungarian-born bookseller Gabriel Wells (1862–1946) of New York. Wells opted not to find out whether he could sell it in its incomplete state, deciding instead to break it into several short but complete biblical books and more than 400 single leaves. As the majority of the larger initials introducing books had been cut out, Wells arranged for many of these to be restored with convincing facsimiles painted on modern paper inserts with manuscript imitations of the missing text added where necessary. Nearly all of the leaves were bound into gilt dark blue morocco folders with a fluffy 'bibliographical essay', penned by Alfred Edward Newton, called *A Noble Fragment, Being a Leaf of the Gutenberg Bible*. Unfortunately, the calfskin bindings bearing the gilt armorial of Carl Theodor von Pfalz-Sulzbach, still present when the volumes were auctioned in 1920, have disappeared.

The 'Noble Fragments' sold quickly among private collectors, public libraries and colleges across the United States, while some, like the leaf in Blackburn, crossed the Atlantic again. As Gabriel Wells wrote in 1927: 'It was more than a witticism when the *New York Times* remarked that I was spreading the Gospel among the rich'.[11] Whenever possible, Wells sold entire biblical books as units. All but the penultimate leaf of Genesis (twenty-four

an ancient folio bible without place or date; see Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cbm Cat. 572a: *Catalogus Impressorum Librorum Bibliothecae* [...] *D. Caroli Theodori,* i, A-B. [Mannheim, 1757], fol. 87v; Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cbm Cat. 567: *Catalogus Bibliothecae Palatinae*, i. *Theologia*. [Mannheim, 1757], p. 8, no. 68; and Munich, Bavarian State Library, Cbm Cat. 561: *Catalogus in Folio*. [Mannheim, 1754], no. 29.

10 *Catalogue of a Selected Portion of the Celebrated Library at Parham, Pulborough, Sussex. The Property of the Right Hon. Baroness Zouche of Haryngworth, Including the First Issue of the Mazarin Bible, Rare and Important Incunabula* [etc.] (London: Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, 9 Nov. 1920), lot 70; Sotheby's did not mention that the Bible, which had remained virtually hidden from scholarly view (including De Ricci's 1911 census) since 1832, came from Mannheim or Munich.

11 Gabriel Wells, *These Three* (London: Morley and Mitchell Kennerley, Jr., 1932), pp. 56–7.

leaves) is at the University of Illinois; Joshua (thirteen leaves) was at the Otto Schäfer Library in Schweinfurt and Esther (eight leaves) was at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York until they each were sold in 2015; Daniel (twelve leaves) is at Harvard University; the Gospel of Matthew (seventeen leaves) is at Colgate University; the Gospel of John (fourteen leaves) is apparently in a private collection; Paul's Epistle to the Romans (eight leaves) was acquired by Steven Green for the Museum of the Bible in Washington, DC; and Apocalypse (eight leaves) is at Columbia University.

Although one may argue that even so incomplete a 42-line Bible as the Mannheim copy should not have been divided up, it is undeniable that the 'Noble Fragments' have made highly useful teaching tools in hundreds of classrooms that otherwise would have been unable to display any original printing by Gutenberg. They have also been displayed by libraries and museums as specimens of Europe's first printed book, serving as authentic symbols of the invention of printing with moveable types in the west. The cumulative impact on the countless people who have been allowed to see and even touch the scattered portions of this 42-line Bible therefore is arguably greater than that exerted by any other copy, displayed permanently under glass, or hidden in a vault, awaiting worthy dignitaries or qualified researchers. As of this writing, an unpublished census accounts for the locations of more than 400 leaves of the Mannheim copy; fewer than 140 leaves dispersed in the 1920s have yet to be traced.[12] The technology needed to reunite them online in a virtual reconstruction already exists.

Binding waste as historical evidence

Whereas the 42-line Bible leaf in the Hart collection became a 'Noble Fragment' only a century ago, its two Psalter fragments were cut from their books sometime during the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries by bookbinders whose only interest in them was in their value as sources of spare vellum to make bookbindings. This seemingly thoughtless practice, a continuation of medieval attitudes towards old books, only began to subside during the eighteenth century, in the wake of developing industrialised bookbinding processes. In the nineteenth century the discovery of such fragments in old bookbindings began to intersect with emerging antiquarian interest in early typographic specimens as historical curiosities in their own right. Whereas the majority of the discoverers of early Mainz printing used as binding waste considered the fragments to be worthy of preserving and describing, only a few pioneering bibliographers capitalised on their value as historical evidence.[13]

12 The census is a spreadsheet maintained jointly by the author and Paul Needham.

13 An excellent orientation to binding waste is Paul Needham, 'Fragments in books: Dutch

A brief orientation to binding waste may be useful. The vellum used as the substrate for handwritten or printed books is processed animal skin, usually calf or sheep. It is a highly durable substance, and pliable, and therefore it was considered ideal for several functions required for bookbinding. Perhaps most often old parchment was used as the exterior covering of the new book, either glued to a binding's boards as an outer protective layer, or by itself as a lighter 'limp' vellum wrapper. Inside books with wooden covers, parchment was often used for pastedowns, to protect the leaves of the book from the rough wood. Parchment or paper could be used for endleaves. Paper was ideal for making pasteboard, a kind of cardboard used inside a leather cover, and small strips of parchment are often found used as spine liners. Folded parchment strips also serve well for quire guards, reinforcing the stitching that runs up the middle of a gathering of leaves.

Understanding why important early printed books were dismantled for bindings depends upon the consideration of when and where this occurred. It may be presumed that no book in current use, or that retained potential value for future use, would be condemned to a binder's stock of waste material. Obviously, then, the earliest dates at which scraps from printed books began to be recycled into new bindings indicate the dates by which these books had fallen out of use. Whereas librarians of previous centuries usually had no problem leaving old books alone, there is always an element of chance regarding which books will be recycled, and when. But there was probably also a bit of selection: the books turned into binding waste were not simply unused; more often they were unwanted, or worse. Recycled fragments of discarded Latin bibles, Catholic liturgies and canon law are represented at disproportionately high rates among the bindings made in Protestant Germany and Henry VIII's England. Moreover, librarians and bookbinders had a reciprocal relationship: the custodians of books knew that anything no longer worthy of occupying space on bookshelves had a secondary value, and the binders knew that libraries were rich in material that was less expensive than freshly processed animal skin.

Deeper understanding of the phenomenon of early printed binding waste depends on datable, localised binding contexts: which books were recycled, where, and when. Unfortunately, these details have been recorded properly in only a small minority of cases. Over and over again, the excited discoverers of key fragments of Gutenbergian printing within later bindings have pulled them from their humble roosts and matted them neatly as typographic specimens while neglecting to preserve essential knowledge of their contexts. Moreover, even those binding contexts that have been

prototypography in the Van Ess Library', in *'So Precious a Foundation': the Library of Leander van Ess*, ed. Milton Gatch (New York: Union Theological Seminary and the Grolier Club, 1996), pp. 85–110.

recorded properly are only now beginning to be analysed systematically.[14] Taken cumulatively, these datable contexts provide valuable insights for the history of early printed books – some rather predictable, but others quite surprising – casting particularly interesting light on their use and survival.

In a recent study I analysed two classes of datable, localised binding waste made from early Mainz printing.[15] One class consisted of eleven contextualised fragments of the 42-line Bible, a large and expensive folio that was intended for enduring monastic and ecclesiastical use. The other class consisted of 32 contextualised fragments of the *Ars minor* of Donatus, the slender and inexpensive Latin grammar memorised by fifteenth-century German schoolboys, which were printed in numerous editions during the 1450s and 1460s with either the types of the 42-line Bible or of Gutenberg's D-K shop. Both classes of evidence pointed to the geographical distribution of early Mainz printing throughout the Rhine Valley, and eastward as far as Austria. The 42-line Bible's distribution also included outliers in England, Hungary and Scandinavia. Combined with the provenances of the surviving bound volumes, the evidence of its distribution to France remains minimal, and there is no evidence of early transport over the Alps to Italy.

The fates of the discarded 42-line Bibles and Donatus booklets diverge dramatically when the chronological evidence of their binding contexts is considered. Nine of the eleven bible fragments were recycled for the bindings of imprints dated between 1559 and 1668. The two outliers are a 1497 Venetian folio in Augsburg (in which the printed fragment was probably a much later reinforcement of the older binding), and a Mainz document dated 1712 – quite late, but still long before such fragments were identifiable as monuments of early printing. This evidence aligns perfectly with the fortunes of the 48 still-bound bibles, which exhibit a significant decline in their regular use during the sixteenth century and nearly complete neglect during the seventeenth century. In contrast, 28 of the 32 Donatus fragments were recycled to bind books dated between 1472 and 1508 – well within the lifetimes of those schoolboys – while the four outlier contexts dated from 1563, 1564, sometime in the sixteenth century and 1618, respectively. This is compelling evidence that whereas the 42-line Bibles, on average, were used for a century and a half before they were forgotten or discarded, the Donatus schoolbooks, on average, could only remain in use for about 40 years. Thus,

14 E.g., Lotte Hellinga, 'Fragments found in bindings: the complexity of evidence for the earliest Dutch typography', in Lotte Hellinga, *Incunabula in Transit: People and Trade* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 204–29, 467–75, surveys 46 binding contexts for 15th-century Dutch schoolbook fragments.

15 Eric Marshall White, 'Binding waste as book history: patterns of survival among the early Mainz *Donatus* editions', in *Printing R-Evolution and Society 1450–1500. Fifty Years that Changed Europe,* ed. Cristina Dondi. *Studi di storia* 13 (Venice: Edizioni Ca'Foscari, 2020), pp. 254–77 (also published online).

the history of binding waste is useful for tracking the relative ephemerality of different genres of books.

Psalterium cum Canticis. [Mainz]: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 1457 (f. 35)

The second-earliest of Hart's typographic specimens (Figure 5.3) comes from Europe's second major printed book, a magnificently printed Royal folio edition of the 150 Latin psalms, published in Mainz by Gutenberg's former colleagues, Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, on the Feast of the Assumption, 14 August 1457. This was the first European book to provide the names of its printers and date of production. Printed exclusively on vellum, the 1457 Psalter introduced two much larger square Gothic typefaces – the larger for the psalms, the smaller for the traditional antiphon texts that accompanied them – and large decorative initials printed in red and blue in perfect register. Spaces were left for musical notation to be added by hand. Ten more or less complete copies survive, along with binding fragments scattered among twenty libraries.

A key to understanding the fragment of the 1457 Psalter in the Hart collection is the fact that the edition was published in two forms intended for different ecclesiastical functions. The first, 'long' issue, comprising 175 leaves in 18 quires, was suitable for use in churches within the large archdiocese of Mainz. In the Psalter proper (the first 15 quires, or 143 leaves) the appropriate antiphons, responses and versicles for worship within the archdiocese were printed before each psalm, using the smaller psalter types. The three supplemental quires (32 leaves, ff. 144-175) provided the Vigils of the Dead and 81 hymns.

The second, 'universal' or 'short' issue of the 1457 Psalter was intended for sale more broadly, without restriction to the archdiocese of Mainz. Only the first 143 leaves were included, and there were blank spaces where the antiphons proper to Mainz would had been printed in the long issue, so that churches could supply their own customary antiphon texts in manuscript. How was this typographic variation achieved? During the 1457 Psalter's slow page-by-page printing, the sheets intended for the Mainz issue, with the antiphons, were printed first. Once the desired number of impressions of a particular sheet for this issue had been printed, the work paused; the typeset antiphons were removed and replaced with blank spacers that would not print, and then printing of the sheets for the universal issue resumed.

Another variable feature of the 1457 Psalter's production is that eight of the quires (1–5 and 13–15) were reprinted, fully or partially, reflecting a decision to expand the print run of the universal issue. The 120 reset pages left spaces for antiphons wherever necessary, and so a psalter from the

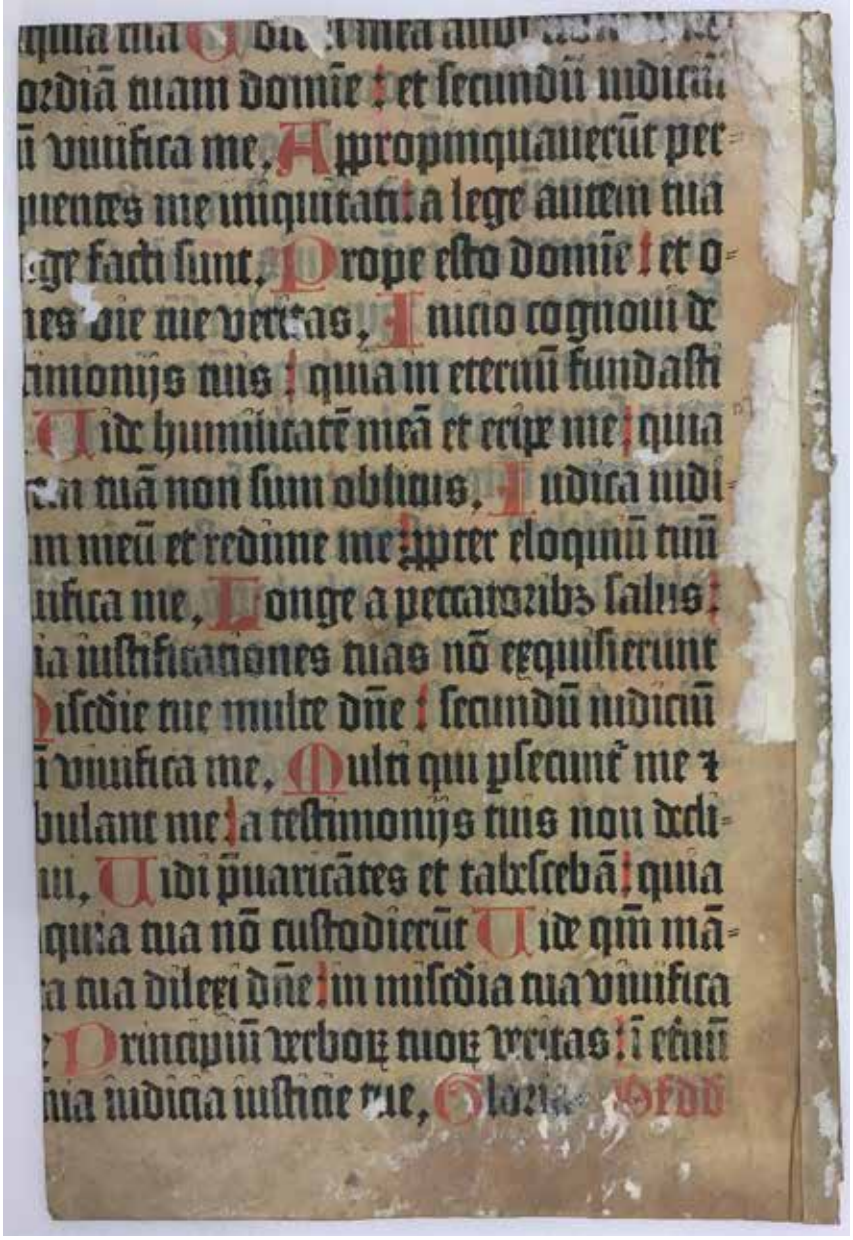

Figure 5.3. Psalterium cum Canticis *(Mainz: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 14 August 1457), Hart.19190, f. 35 r., Hart Collection, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. ©Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.*

universal issue might contain either the original setting of any given sheet, but in the second state with the antiphons removed, or its resetting, for which the antiphons were never part of the composition work.[16]

Numerous individual fragments of the 1457 Psalter survive as binding waste, and a high proportion of them can be gathered into groups that represent a few distinct copies. As the red-printing of the Psalter made rubrication unnecessary, the chief basis for differentiating these copies is the musical notation that was added by hand in the provided spaces. To date, as many as eight different copies represented by fragments have been identified on the basis of their musical notation and other small clues. One group, consisting of two leaves (ff. 42 and 59) at the Morgan Library and one (f. 51) in the Lilly Library at Indiana University, features a four-line musical staff with a single red clef line and short Hufnagelschrift ('horseshoe-nail script') notation. These three leaves, belonging to consecutive quires of the Psalter, probably came from the same series of document wrappers, as they each have short vertical slits cut in them at the same intervals.[17] Another partial bifolium (ff. 72·79) in Princeton University's Scheide Library, formerly owned by Heinrich Wieynck (1874–1931) of Dresden, was sold by Maggs Bros. to John H. Scheide in 1933. It has a similar style of notation, but the versos of these leaves bear red folio numbers that are not found in the Morgan or Indiana leaves. A leaf at the Newberry Library in Chicago (f. 122), used as a wrapper on a thick quarto, likewise is similar in its notation, but its staves consist of five lines, with one overscored in red. The Scheide and Newberry leaves are superficially similar to the Morgan and Lilly leaves, but they cannot all be forced into the same stylistic category. None of these fragment groups has particularly helpful early provenance, and none of them relates to the fragment in the Hart collection.

Three different copies, featuring different musical notation styles, are represented in an extensive survival of fragments used as wrappers for long runs of late-sixteenth and early seventeenth-century documents bound in Stockholm for the bailiffs of King Gustavus Adolphus (1594–1632). At least one of these decimated copies was probably owned by the Brigittines of Vadstena. These fragments are now divided between the Swedish Royal

16 Masson, *The Mainz Psalters*, pp. 13–14.

17 Morgan PML 21989a/b, sold by Quaritch to Pierpont Morgan in 1908, first emerged in 1839, when Friedrich Georg Hermann Culemann, a bibliophile in Hannover, bought the leaves from Hofrat Ludwig Bechstein in Meiningen; see Seymour De Ricci, *Catalogue raisonné des premières impressions de Mayence, 1445–1467. Veröffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft*, 8 (Mainz: Gutenberg-Gesellschaft, 1911), cat. 54, nos. 28–9. The Lilly Library leaf was part of the 'Gage-Toovey-Slade' album of early typographic specimens, which passed through several English private collections beginning in the 1860s; see De Ricci, *Mayence,* cat. 54, no. 38.

Library in Stockholm and the National Library of Finland in Helsinki.[18] A seventh fragment group is represented by a bifolium (ff. 126·133) with small Hufnagelschrift notation written on staves consisting of five black lines. It was auctioned in 2014 by the Reiss & Sohn firm in Taunus, Germany.[19] Unbeknownst to whoever now owns the fragment, it is identical with a bifolium last seen in 1846, which had served as the wrapper on an early eighteenth-century document discovered in Würzburg's university library.[20]

Another copy of the 1457 Psalter is represented by two leaves: the Hart fragment (f. 35) in Blackburn, and f. 37 in the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas, Austin. This copy is distinguished by a highly idiosyncratic feature added by a rubricator, who highlighted some of the colons with a bold vertical stroke of red, while other colons have been scraped away entirely. Unlike the Blackburn leaf, the Austin fragment features music: a single line of Hufnagelschrift notation, written with a very broad nib on a four-line staff divided by measure lines. In order to serve as the cover of an unidentified Chancery folio volume, the Austin leaf was trimmed down to 310 × 210 mm, so that the upper margin and about two centimeters of the printed text along the outer edge are missing. The typesetting, which includes the majestic two-colour initial D at the beginning of psalm 26 (for Monday matins), omits the text of the antiphon at the top of the recto page. This has been supplied in manuscript, with rubrication in red and blue. According to notes at the University of Texas, the leaf was one of a pair formerly in the possession of the eminent bookseller Jacques Rosenthal (1854–1937) of Munich. Rosenthal advertised two such leaves in his catalogues as early as 1906, and in July 1909 he showed 'deux feuillets mutilés' to the young bibliographer Seymour De Ricci, who recorded them in his still fundamental copy-census of early Mainz imprints in 1911.[21]

18 While 68 of the leaves are preserved in Stockholm, 22 leaves closely matching one of the Stockholm fragment groups were used for the bindings of Finnish territorial accounts. These were sent from Stockholm to Helsinki after the Treaty of Fredrikshamn in 1809, in which Sweden ceded the Grand Duchy of Finland to Russia; see Anna Wolodarski, 'The Vadstena Library. Making new discoveries', in: *The Birgittine Experience. Papers from the Birgitta Conference in Stockholm 2011*, eds Claes Gejrot, Mia Åkestam and Roger Andersson (Stockholm: KVHAA, The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities akademien, 2013), pp. 35–8, n. 28.

19 Reiss & Sohn, Auktion 168 (13–14 May 2014), lot 747.

20 Carl Becker, 'Neu aufgefundene Bruchstücke eines Exemplars des Psalteriums von 1457', in *Serapeum* 4, 1846, pp. 61–2.

21 De Ricci, *Mayence,* cat. 54, no. 23-24. Another style is represented by a particularly interesting bifolium (ff. 148·151) recently acquired for the Schøyen Collection, which was used as the wrapper for a civic account book inscribed 'Bürgermeister-Rechnung de anno 1693'; see De Ricci, *Mayence*, cat. 54, nos. 21–2, identical with no. 39. Whereas more than 50 of the surviving fragments of the 1457 Psalter stem from the book's first 15 quires (ff. 1–143), the Schøyen bifolium and another formerly in the Heinrich Klemm collection in

Like the fragment in Austin, the fragment of f. 35 in the Hart collection is nearly a full leaf, measuring 310 × 210 mm, containing the text of the lengthy psalm 118:137-160. It too was trimmed across the top margin and along the outer edge of the printed column, with the loss of the last two centimeters or so of text. The leaf served as one cover of a Chancery folio, perhaps the same one as the Austin fragment, but unfortunately the contents of that lost binding are unknown. Although to the naked eye it appears that the two-line blue initial C on the recto did not receive its accustomed printed decoration, minute traces of red ink show that it was once present, but has rubbed away. The Blackburn and Austin leaves were doubtless the 'deux feuillets mutilés' available for purchase in Jacques Rosenthal's shop in Munich in 1909. A reasonable guess is that the two fragments came out of Rosenthal's major acquisition of that year, a collection of 194 'duplicate' incunables from the Municipal Library in Trier, featuring books from local monasteries in a variety of early bindings.[22] At an unknown date before 1946, Hart bought his single leaf for £75.11.4 from the Maggs Brothers firm in London.

By the evidence of the related Austin fragment, which bears manuscript additions where the printed antiphon texts would have been, the matching leaf in Blackburn must have belonged to the Psalter's second, universal issue, intended for distribution beyond the archdiocese of Mainz. Its printed text, which includes the section of psalm 118 that starts with the large printed blue initial C (for 'Clamavi', beginning verse 135) on the recto has a blank space between the words 'corde' and 'exaudi', where a printed word was apparently intentionally scraped away. In the well-preserved copies of the 1457 Psalter at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and the John Rylands Library in Manchester, the word 'meo' is printed between 'corde' and 'exaudi'. Thus, the verse as printed in the 1457 Psalter begins: 'Clamavi in toto corde meo exaudi me domine.' This varies from the 42-line Bible (f. II:320r), which reads 'Clamavi in toto corde exaudi me domine'. The word 'meo' was seen by various early users as a textual error, for in other copies of the 1457 Psalter this passage has similarly been corrected: in the copy in the Bibliothèque Municipale in Angers, the word 'meo' was written over a vigorously erased space; and in the copy at the Universitäts-und-Landesbibliothek in Darmstadt, a longer space including

Dresden (ff. 149·150), not located since the 1880s, are the only fragments recorded from the 3 supplemental quires of the Mainz issue. There is a strong resemblance between the musical notation in the Schøyen bifolium and the 143-leaf Psalter now at the Scheide Library, formerly in the church of St. Viktor in Mainz, a book that should have contained the last 3 quires but already lacked them when discovered there in 1789. If these leaves do come from that copy, then of course they cannot bear witness to another lost copy.

22 Reiner Nolden, *Die Inkunabeln der Wissenschaftlichen Stadtbibliothek Trier*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015), pp. 1245–61.

the printed word 'exaudi' was deleted, and only the word 'exaudi' was written in again by hand. Unfortunately, in the Scheide Library copy at Princeton, f. 35 was mutilated at precisely this location.

The Blackburn leaf features a second manual correction four lines later, at verse 147, where the word sequence 'clamavi: et in verba tua' was printed in all copies. Again, this text departs from the 42-line Bible, which reads 'clamavi: in verba tua'.[23] In the Blackburn leaf, the word 'et' was deleted and the abbreviation for 'quia' was written in its place after the colon. This reading was common in manuscripts, and the same correction was made in the 1457 Psalters in Darmstadt, Manchester and Angers, each of which was likewise printed for universal use. The printed 'et' remains undisturbed in the Vienna, Paris and Princeton copies, all printed for Mainz use; this pattern may be a coincidence, perhaps not borne out by the copies in Dresden, London, Windsor and Berlin. Tracing the origins and fortunes of these textual variants is beyond the scope of this study, but it may suffice to note simply that the 42-line Bible was not the textual source of the 1457 Psalter.

The setting of text represented in the Blackburn leaf is that of the original printing of the Psalter's first five quires, not the reprinting that increased the print run of the universal issue. The main differences between this original setting of f. 35r and the subsequent reprint are the lack of commas in lines 3, 4, 5, and 14, and the abbreviation of the first word in the final line as 'veneru[n]t' (as opposed to 'vener[un]t'); similiarly, on f. 35v (Figure 5.4), 'sunt' appears in line 5 instead of 'su[n]t', while in the final line the word 'tue' is not omitted, and the red rubric 'Psalmus' is abbreviated.[24] To conclude, although the particular typesetting reflected in the Blackburn leaf can appear in copies of either the Mainz or the universal setting, the fact that the related Austin leaf reflects the removal of the antiphon text indicates that both leaves belonged to a psalter that was intended to be adapted in manuscript for use outside of the archdiocese of Mainz.

Psalterium Benedictinum cum canticis et hymnis [Mainz]: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 29 August 1459 (f. 14)

Hart's third notable typographical fragment (Figure 5.5) comes from the 1459 Psalter, a work that is often mistakenly dismissed as the 'second edition' of the 1457 Psalter. Although both of them were printed with the same Gothic types and ornamental initials, no one who has seen the two books side by side could fail to notice that they are fundamentally different publications:

23 The same reading (without 'et') is found in Johann Mentelin's Strasbourg edition of not after 1460 Mentelin (f. 212v), the 31-line Bible of not after 1461 (f. 441r), and the Fust and Schoeffer edition of 1462 (f. I:239v).

24 In the Vienna copy, the last line includes the word 'tue,' but continues 'Gloria patri &c', while omitting the red-printed 'Psalmus'.

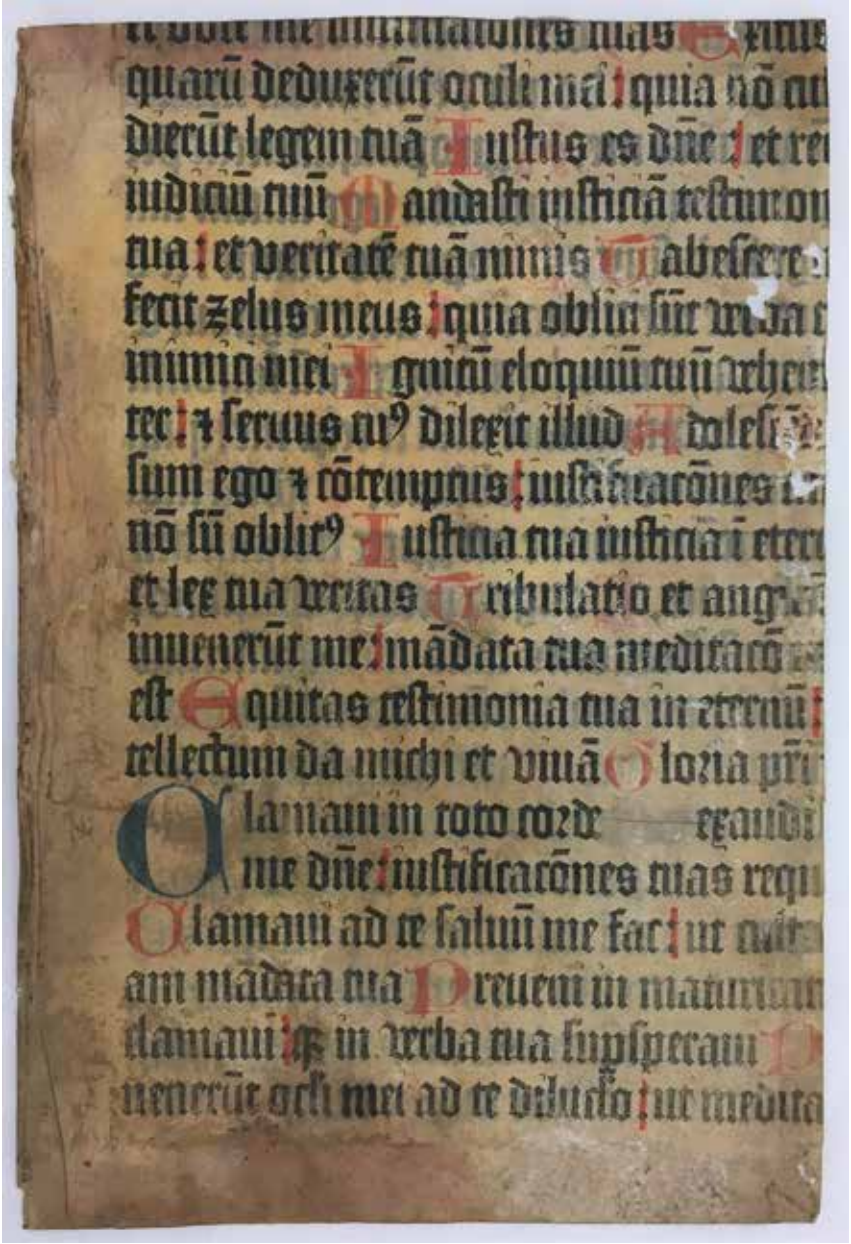

Figure 5.4. Psalterium cum Canticis *(Mainz: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 14 August 1457), Hart.19190, f. 35 v., Hart Collection, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.*

Figure 5.5. Psalterium Benedictinum cum canticis et hymnis *(Mainz: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 29 August 1459), Hart.19191, f. 14 r., Hart Collection, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.*

whereas the 1457 Psalter is a Royal folio, with leaves measuring roughly 40 × 30 cm, the 1459 Psalter was printed in the larger Imperial folio format, with taller and wider columns on leaves measuring up to 48 × 34 cm. Moreover, whereas the 1457 Psalter presents the 150 psalms in liturgical order, with provisions for the appropriate antiphons, the 1459 Psalter offers a different text, arranging the psalms with only a few exceptions in their biblical order, accompanied by canticles and liturgical readings appropriate to worship in Benedictine monasteries. The later book was commissioned from Fust and Schoeffer by the Benedictines of St James in Mainz specifically for use throughout their order, especially by monasteries affiliated with the ongoing liturgical reforms of the Bursfeld Union, centred in Germany and the Low Countries. Thirteen bound copies (including a composite of four partial copies) and numerous binding fragments survive, all printed on vellum.

The Blackburn leaf (f. 14), which measures 42 × 32 cm, survives virtually intact with remnants of margin all around and no loss of printed text. It was used as a wrapper on a slender Chancery folio book or document. Its only hand-produced feature is a rubricator's short red stroke on the 'u' of 'Iudica' (Figure 5.6), the first word of psalm 25, introduced by a printed two-line intial 'I' in line 9 of the verso. At least four different styles of handwork are represented within the corpus of fragments of the 1459 Benedictine Psalter that have been examined for this study. Whereas two of these groups feature rubrication of the first capital letter following a two-colour initial, as found in the Blackburn leaf, two groups have no such rubrication. Unfortunately, the Blackburn leaf has no musical notation to compare with that of the other fragments. Therefore, it will probably never be known whether it has siblings among the other survivors.

Some evidence for the period in which the Blackburn leaf was converted into binding waste can be surmised from the contexts in which other fragments of the 1459 Psalter were found. The Newberry Library in Chicago owns a copy of f. 14 (the same leaf that is represented in the Hart collection) that was discovered on a late sixteenth-century Sammelband of Strasbourg imprints, later owned by the Gräflich Schaffgotsche Bibliothek in Warmbrunn (Jelenia Góra), Poland; f. 20 now at the Universitätsbibliothek in Erlangen was found at Puckenhoffen, north of Nuremberg, on documents bound after 1567; and part of ff. 75·76 in an American private collection formerly served as a quarto wrapper on a 1666 manuscript of the Marburger Siechenbuch.[25] As with the binding fragments of the 42-line Bible, the binding contexts for fragments of

25 Chicago: Emil Starkenstein, 'Ein neuentdecktes Blatt des Psalters von 1459', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 14, 1939, pp. 118–20; Erlangen: Eugen Stollreither, 'Ein unbekanntes Blatt des Psalters von 1459 in der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 11, 1936, pp. 59–60; private collection: the leaf on the Marburger Siechenbuch was removed and sold by Christine Laist in 2015.

Figure 5.6. Psalterium Benedictinum cum canticis et hymnis *(Mainz: Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, 29 August 1459), Hart.19191, f. 14 v., Hart Collection, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.*

the early Mainz Psalters generally date to the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. That was doubtless the time frame in which both of the Hart collection's psalter fragments were used as vellum scraps for bookbindings.

Hart purchased his fragment of the 1459 Psalter from Maggs Brothers for £37.7.0 at an unknown date. The previous owner was probably Jacques Rosenthal, who exhibited a single leaf of the 1459 edition in his Munich shop in November 1925.[26] Rosenthal's leaf, otherwise untraced, was among the fragments of this book only rarely found on the market during the years of Hart's collecting activity.

Clearly, Hart's decision to acquire the three fragments under discussion was a wise and foresightful one. Together, they preserve specimens of three of the earliest typefaces used in Europe, and they represent the first three substantial books printed with moveable types in the west. Only five libraries worldwide – in Paris, Berlin, London, Manchester and Princeton – own integral bound copies of all three books, and hardly any other private libraries have ever included fragments from all three. Moreover, a particular virtue of binding fragments is their versatility as teaching tools, as they can be handled and shown (including on temporary display) more easily than the bulky, priceless bound copies. Although nothing can substitute for the study of complete copies of great books, a collection that has made room for such fragments is one that has pursued the most practical and the most noble of instincts.

26 *Kunst und Kunstmarkt* 35 (28 Nov. 1925), p. 574: Rosenthal's exhibition also included a single leaf of the 42-line Bible, probably the one now at Southern Methodist University's Bridwell Library in Dallas; see White, *Editio princeps*, pp. 274, 331.

6. Journey in the mind's eye: the virtue and value of virtual pilgrimage

Cleo Cantone

Personal pilgrimage, Hart's travel to the Holy Land

'I want to make the pilgrimage to Mecca.'
'But you can't because you're not a Muslim', I explained. My interlocutor looked surprised, almost incredulous. 'You might look the part because you have a beard but the Saudis will ask for proof, like a certificate stating you converted to Islam.' The conversation moved on. But thinking back on it, I found myself wondering why someone with no more than a rudimentary knowledge of Islam would voluntarily want to undertake such an arduous experience while I – as a convert Muslim with a certificate from Central Mosque to prove it – absolutely dread the prospect of embarking on this essential pillar, having a somewhat agoraphobic disposition and an antipathy towards the MacDonaldisation of Mecca. My friend's thoughts are echoed by *New York Times* journalist Maureen Dowd, who wanted to penetrate the Meccan *harām* or sanctuary of the Grand Mosque as part of her journey of discovery of Islam.[1] Coincidentally, at the time of writing, the kingdom of Saudi Arabia has decided to open its doors to tourism although the ban on non-Muslims in Mecca and Medina will be upheld.[2]

Up to the nineteenth century travelling 'as orientals' – for artists and travellers alike – became quite the fad, not least to 'pass' as locals and thereby gain access to places out of bounds to non-Muslims: the *harām* in Mecca and the harem being top of the list for any committed 'orientalist'.[3] *Looking*

1 'Pilgrim non grata in Mecca', 9 March 2010, <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/10/opinion/10dowd.html?register=email&auth=register-email> (accessed 13 Sept. 2019).

2 See Ahmed Al Omran, 'Saudi Arabia to issue tourist visas and reduce oil dependency', *Financial Times Weekend*, 28–29 Sept. 2019, p. 7.

3 Linguistically, *haram* and *harem* share the same root, حرم *haram*, meaning forbidden, prohibited; taboo, holy, sacred; wife, sanctuary, sacred precinct while حريم *harim* is the sacred, inviolable place, hence the place reserved for the female members of the family. Hans-Wehr and J. Milton Cowan, *Arabic-English Dictionary*, (Ithaca, NY: Spoken Languages Services, 1976). 'Orientalists' travelling to Mecca were exclusively male for it was not until 1933 that Lady Evelyn Cobbold 'became the first European woman' to perform the Hajj and even published an account of her experience, *Pilgrimage to Mecca* (London: Murray,

the part was what made the whole exotic experience worth the distance and discomforts of long-haul maritime travel, as described by Colonel James Capper during his service in the East India Company in 1793:

> In all Arabian and Turkish Countries, especially in those near the city of Mecca, to avoid the insults of the lower class of people, an European should allow his beard and whiskers to grow, and always wear an Eastern dress; […] it may be proper to remark that a Christian should not wear green clothes at any place in the Levant, for green is a colour deemed sacred to those who have made a pilgrimage to Mecca, and to the descendants of the Prophet.[4]

In 1853 when Richard Burton left London for Southampton to board the 'Bengal', he remarked that 'my Eastern dress was called into requisition before leaving town, and all my "impedimenta" were thought to look exceedingly Oriental'.[5] I have no doubt that my friend's motives were sincere and that he wasn't for a minute contemplating the degrees of disguise proffered by the likes of Burton – who incidentally sports a magnificent beard in Thomas Sheldon's portrait of him in Arab dress painted in 1853.[6] Robert Edward Hart (1878–1946) was not such a man: pious, hardworking and something of a recluse, his travels included a trip to South Africa, the Caribbean and the Mediterranean and one to the Holy Land, but certainly not the Middle East apart from a journey in the mind's eye.

Hart's trip to Palestine may therefore have reflected a combination of spiritual yearning and financial means. According to Hart's housekeeper Peggy Cook, both Robert and his sister Dora (b. 1881) used to go on holidays after their mother died in 1928.[7] Cook specifies that they went on P&O cruises 'all over the Mediterranean', Palestine and the Caribbean.[8]

1934) included in *Shaw and Other Matters: a Festschrift for Stanely Weintraub*, ed. Susan Rusinko (Selingsgrove: Susquehanna University Press and London: Associated University Presses, 1998), pp.110–11.

4 Quoted in C. Riding, 'Travellers and sitters: the Orientalist portrait', in *The Lure of the East – British Orientalist Painting*, exhibition catalogue, Tate Britain, 4 June–31 Aug. 2008, p. 201, n. 1.

5 Sir Richard Burton, *To the Holy Shrines*, extract from *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah*, 1855 (London: Penguin Books, 2007), p. 1.

6 In Riding, 'Travellers and sitters', fig. 36, p. 53.

7 See transcript of this interview, 'Edward Hart and the parlourmaid', given on 9 Dec. 1980 and held in Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, the original of which is held by the National Sound Archive.

8 From a cursory look at P&O passengers on board (1878–1960) there could be a match: Dora Hart (b. 1882) – Round Voyage (1938) and Robert Edward Hart (b. 1879) Cape, South Africa (1936) and Round Voyage (1938). We know he went to South Africa from oral and photographic evidence. The Round Voyage may have been to the Mediterranean or to Palestine although this could even have taken place in 1939 when a Robert Hart (b. 1879) went to Port Said, Egypt. http://search.findmypast.co.uk/results/world-records/passenger-lists-leaving-uk-1890-1960?firstname=robert%20edward&firstname_

Furthermore, as a member of the Church Mission to Jews for the Deanery,[9] as well as being 'officially connected with the Blackburn Auxiliary of the Church Missionary Society for 27 years until 1944',[10] the journey to Jerusalem would have combined a desire for his own spiritual fulfilment with missionary aspirations.[11] As a devout Christian, it was an imperative to visit the Holy Land – whether by religious injunction or spiritual longing. Jerusalem – the ultimate destination of the Christian pilgrim – continued to be extolled by writers from John Bunyan to William Blake.[12] But again, with no real evidence other than anecdotal that he undertook such a journey, one cannot ascertain whether this particular voyage was for tourism or pilgrimage. Being a bachelor, we assume Hart made the journey with a group of fellow travellers/pilgrims and would have been led by a guide to visit the sites associated with the life and death of Christ.[13]

In my research into the Hart collection of 'oriental' manuscripts, I posited the question: could his choice of three copies of al-Jazuli's *Dala'il al-Khairat*[14] have responded to his inability as a Christian to visit the holy cities of Islam? This may well turn out to be fanciful speculation, but owing to the dearth of first-hand information relating to Hart's personal life and collecting habits, I have allowed my imagination to play with the thought of virtual or non-locative pilgrimage based solely on Hart's early printed copies of Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* and the *Dala'il* manuscripts. Indeed, the little known of Hart's life reveals that, aside from his almost reclusive life style spent with his books and coins in his family home, he did travel outside the British Isles. As steam power revolutionised transport in the 1830s, sites of pilgrimage, such as Mecca and Jerusalem, became no longer solely spiritual but ever more accessible physical destinations.

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variants=true&lastname=hart&yearofbirth=1878&yearofbirth_offset=1&_page=1 (accessed 23 Sept. 2016).

9 G.C. Miller, *Blackburn Worthies of Yesterday: a Biographical Galaxy* (Blackburn: Blackburn Society of Antiquaries, 1959), p. 163.

10 Obituary, *Blackburn Times*, Sept. 1946.

11 Unlike Orthodox and Catholic Christians, Jews and Muslims, Protestants didn't have the same notion of pilgrimage. Somewhat more sinisterly, Protestantism was associated with the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) set up in 1865 whose goal was British colonisation of Palestine. See Nicholas Thormans, 'The Holy City', in *The Lure of the East* (London: Tate Britain, 2008), pp. 162–72.

12 The notion of space for pilgrims is geographical – in terms of proximity to the destination – and a source of holiness expressed as a longing for Mecca. See C. Bawa Yamba, *Permanent Pilgrims – the role of pilgrimage in the lives of west African Muslims in Sudan*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), pp. 6, 136.

13 In my eponymous display at the Blackburn Museum in 2017, I included a pressed-flower and postcard album – a typical memento that Victorian visitors would have purchased in the Holy Land. BB1286 'Jerusalem' album (51cm x 22cm).

14 Hart MSS 21173, 21174 and 21175.

Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*[15]

Skipping back in time to the era of exploration par excellence, the mid fifteenth century, a German nobleman and canon of Mainz Cathedral by the name of Bernhard von Breydenbach[16] undertook his pilgrimage to the Holy Land accompanied by two fellow noblemen – Graf Johann von Solms, lord of Mintzenberg and the knight Philip von Bicken – as well as the artist and printmaker, Erhard Reuwich. As Gerhard Weiss illustrates in his paper fittingly entitled 'The pilgrim as tourist', this was a coveted if expensive journey which many attempted – even those with lesser means would attach themselves to wealthier travellers offering their services as chaplains, cooks, guides, servants and so on.[17] Breydenbach, a minor nobleman, set out on his *Pilgerfahrt* from Oppenheim in 1483; his motivation for going on the pilgrimage was partly to atone for his misguided youth.[18] The journey consisted of several laps starting from Venice: pilgrims were discouraged from spending more than three days in each port – weather permitting. Here a group is also mentioned of about 25 pilgrims including brother Felix Fabri who was to write his own account of his journey under the title *Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti Peregrinationem* (and likewise Fabri mentions Breydenbach and his companions).[19] Breydenbach's work was originally written in Latin but German, Spanish, French, Italian, Czech and Dutch versions appeared in short succession and Reuwich may well have been behind the Dutch translation.

15 Hart possessed two copies of Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio*, an incomplete 1490 edition (Hart MS 13687, 120 leaves) and a 1486 edition (Hart MS 10440, for which he paid £75). According to Ed Potten, who studied these manuscripts closely, both are composed of one or more fragmentary copies as both contain facsimiles and, in the case of Hart MS 10440, had undergone washing 'within an inch of its life', personal email correspondence, 15 May 2017.

16 Variously known by a Latin name, Bernardus Bredenbachius, Bernhard von Breidenbach with many spelling variations including the one most commonly used in English, Breydenbach. See Pedro Tena, *Viaje de la Tierra Santa* (Zaragosa: Istitución El Católico, 2003), p. 5, n. 1.

17 G. Weiss, 'The pilgrim as tourist: travels to the Holy Land as reflected in the published accounts of German pilgrims between 1450 and 1550', in *The Medieval Mediterranean – Cross-Cultural Contacts*, eds Marilyn J. Chiat and Kathryn L. Reyerson (St Cloud, MN, 1988), p. 122.

18 See P. Tena, 'Presentación a modo de prólogo', in Bernardo de Breidenbach, *Viaje de la Tierra Santa* (2003), p. 5; E. White, 'Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam', in *The Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage* (2010), pp. 509–10.

19 Niccolò da Poggibonsi's *Libro d'Oltremare* (14th century) is credited with writing the first pilgrimage guidebook in the vernacular although its illustrated versions have been lost. See K. Blair Moore, 'The disappearance of an author and the emergence of a genre: Niccolò da Poggibonsi and pilgrimage guidebooks between manuscript and print', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 66 (2): 357–41 (summer 2013).

After the Holy Land, some proceeded to the monastery of St Catherine at Mount Sinai, while others went as far as Jaffa unless their journeys were curtailed by illness or even death.[20] In the early modern period, Jerusalem still 'lived on in the Utopian ideal of the heavenly, eschatological Jerusalem'.[21] For those fortunate enough to make the journey, sharing their experiences with those who could not (like cloistered nuns) was a means of making the pilgrimage spiritually and symbolically accessible: 'By hearing me remember this visit in detail, you may refer to this memory as if you were there, obtaining invaluable fruits from that pilgrimage'.[22] In addition to memories, the Italian nobleman Gabriele Capodilista who made the journey to the Holy Land in 1458, also offered his readers marks of indulgences – commonplace in contemporary pilgrims' books – as well as visual aids in the form of a fold-out map of the Holy Land and the Sinai Peninsula, while on the verso was an illustration of the Holy Sepulchre. Similarly, sister Felicitas Lieverin of Medlingen in the convent of Ulm who listened to Felix Fabri's account of his pilgrimage in 1492, claimed that nuns and secular women came especially to the convent from all over Swabia so that 'they could also make the journey spiritually'.[23]

Although there were precedents to pilgrimage accounts accompanied by fold-out maps, what makes Reuwich's fold-out illustrations of Venice and Jerusalem so remarkable is their sheer size and close observation of the topography and *loca sancta* (Figure 6.1). Reuwich drew seven panoramic views of the cities they visited on their way to the Holy Land: Venice, Parenzo (in present-day Croatia), Corfu, Modon (Messenia, in Greece), Candia (present-day Crete), Rhodes and Jerusalem and its environs. The Spanish edition of 1498 also includes a fold-out map of Rome although Breydenbach makes no mention of having stopped or even passed by the Italian capital.[24] Undoubtedly, the inclusion of these illustrated views showed

20 The count of Solms, who was also a canon of Mainz, resigned his position to marry but as Breydenbach relates, he died of dysentery in Alexandria in Nov. 1483 and was buried in the Coptic Church of St Michael.

21 Gerard A. Wiegers, 'Holy cities in the perspective of recent theoretical discussions', in *A la recherche des villes saintes*, Actes du Colloque Franco-Néerlandais 'Les Villes Saintes', ed. A. Boulluec (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004).

22 From Momogliano Lepschy, *Viaggio*, pp. 164–5, quoted in Pnina Arad, '"As if you were there': the cultural impact of two pilgrims' maps of the Holy Land', in *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem – Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity & the Middle Age* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), p. 307.

23 Quoted in Kathryn M. Rudy, 'A guide to mental pilgrimage: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 212', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 63: 494–515 (2000).

24 'Other additions are those in the Spanish edition (no. XII) by Martin de Ampies consisting of a description of Rome and a commentary on the Text'. See https://archive.org/stream/bernhardvonbreyd00davi/bernhardvonbreyd00davi_djvu.txt, n. 2, n.p. (accessed 16 Sept. 2019)

Figure 6.1. Fold-out map of Jerusalem and its environs. Bernhard von Breydenbach, Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam, *woodcuts after illustrations by Erhard Reuwich of Utrecht, printed by Peter Drach, Speier, Germany, 29th July, 1490, Hart MS 13687, f. CLXII. Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.*

not only astute commercial foresight in making this early modern printed book widely available, but also bought into a whole new way of appreciating travel literature by adding a visual accompaniment to the narrative thus guaranteeing the book's continuing popularity and success.

Reuwich further succeeded in subtly conveying a particular view of his panoramas by emphasising Christian holy sites but also by effectively Christianising other sites that had since been turned into Muslim places of worship, such as the Dome of Rock.[25] Indeed, in order to emphasise the distance and remoteness of Mecca, the artist depicts a city on the coast of the Red Sea (Mare Rubio) with the caption '*Mecha civitas ubi sepulultus e Machomet*' (Mecca, the city where Muhammed is buried) (Figure 6.2). The erroneous notion that Mecca rather than Medina was where the Prophet was buried, had been prevalent since the middle ages and clearly had not been updated in early modern literature. The confusion of the two shrines was commonplace in western medieval travel literature.[26] From Abraham Cresques's famed *Mapamundi* of 1375 to several other both Christian and Jewish medieval cartographers' descriptions of the known world up to and including Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio*, the Hajj was understood to be a pious visit to the Prophet's tomb, known as 'Arca de Mahoma'. At best, the representation of Mecca, like any other Muslim urban settlement, is invariably in the form of domed buildings which contrast with structures surmounted by crosses to indicate Christian edifices. On one early Christian map by Angelino Dulcent of 1339, one can clearly distinguish what should be the Ka'ba (coloured in black) but this in fact represents the Prophet's tomb, as described on an accompanying label: '*In ciuitate ista est archa legis machometi, qui permanent in aere per virtute calamita*'[27] (In this city is the coffin of Mohammed which is suspended in mid air by virtue of a magnet). To the right is an enthroned monarch sitting on a low cushion crowned by two thin columns supporting an asymmetrical arch: '*Iste saracenus adorat archam Maco*[*meti*]'.[28]

25 See C. Cantone, 'Robert E. Hart's oriental manuscripts: curating a collection-in-a-collection of Islamic art', MA dissertation, Warburg Institute, 2016, and E. White, 'Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam', in *The Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, pp. 509–10.

26 See S. Saenz-Lopez Pérez, 'La Peregrinación a la Meca en la Edad Media', in *Revista de poética medieval*, 19: 177–218 (2007) and Y.K. Fall, *L'Afrique à la naissance de la cartographie moderne, 14e–15e siècles*, pp. 214–5.

27 'In this city is the coffin of Mahomet, which is suspended in mid-air by virtue of a magnet'. This is the best I can make of this obscure text. Sandra Pérez, 2007: 183 identifies the calamita with black stone of the Ka'ba and this seems to be supported by Christian medieval legends bent on anti-Muslim propaganda, see John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York; Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2002). On western legends relating to magnetically suspended tombs see Michael Uebel, *Ecstatic Transformation*, p. 124.

28 See BNF 'L'architecture', <http:/lexpositions.bnf.fr/ciel/catalan/figures/t02110.htm>, cited

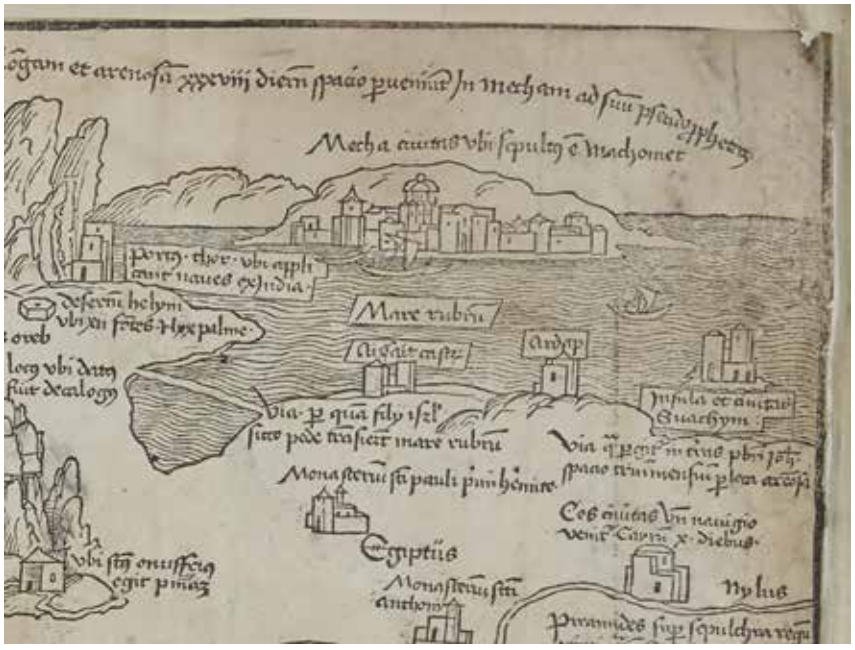


Figure 6.2. Detail from Jerusalem fold-out map. Bernhard von Breydenbach, Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam*, woodcuts after illustrations by Erhard Reuwich of Utrecht, printed by Peter Drach, Speier, Germany, 29th July, 1490, Hart MS 13687, f. CLXII. Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.*

These rather fabulous notions of Islam began to diminish as Europeans became increasingly familiar with the region and its Muslim inhabitants: this is evidenced by the frequent mention of pilgrims making the journey to Mecca from North Africa on Catalan maps.[29] Portolan charts (particularly of the Majorcan school) were undoubtedly helpful navigational aids, but as far as their 'image of the world' is concerned, they were still a far cry from the eye-witness accounts of the following centuries.[30] No wonder, then, that

in Pérez, 'La Peregrinación a la Meca', pp.182, 183, 186.

29 A. Scafi, 'Coping with Muslim Jerusalem between the middle ages and the Renaissance: Islam and the Holy City on Christian maps', in *Between Jerusalem and Europe*, eds R. Bartal and H. Vorholt, p. 272 (2015).

30 See the Catalan Atlas of Abraham Cresques of 1375 in the fifth panel of which are Mecca (ciutata de mecha) and Medina (almedīna) and a kneeling and bearded figure with a headscarf appears to be praying in Christian fashion with hands clasped. The partially visible and legible text reads: 'mecha – in esta ciutat es larcha de mahomet profeta de le sarrayns los quals venan açi de totes les regions en pelegrínació…' (Mecca, in this city is the tomb of Mohammed prophet of the Saracens who come here from all regions in pilgrimage). See illustration <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/35/1375_Atlas_Catalan_Abraham_Cresques.jpg> (accessed 26 May 2020).

the buildings depicting Mecca bear no resemblance to the building tradition of Arabia. The reason for this lacuna was partly due to the exclusion of non-Muslims from the two harāms, but, as one can infer from the accompanying labels, the greater the discovery of Muslim lands and the religion of Islam, the greater the fear of the perceived threat to Christianity. Thus the combination of the 'Christian-biased' view of Jerusalem with the equally biased understanding of Islam and its *loca sancta* provides what we could call the early modern ingredients and precursors of 'orientalism'.[31]

Conversely, since Christian pilgrims were mostly excluded from several holy sites in Jerusalem while under Muslim control, they resorted to obtaining spiritual benefits by other means, notably by a 'substituting vision'. In other words, they could contemplate an image of the view of the Holy City rather than the physical city itself. This was possible thanks to bird's-eye views of cities which by the 1480s had evolved methods and techniques that clearly distinguished them from more straightforward ground-level maps. As the prominent Jerusalem *qādi* Muir al-Din al-'Ulaymi observed in *c.*1495: 'Viewed from afar, [the city] is a marvel from the east by a person standing on the Mount of Olives'.[32] Reuwich's views from a similar vantage point present the onlooker with a Christian city dominated by Muslim monuments, the most important of which, the Dome of the Rock, is labelled 'Templum Solomonis' and is surmounted by a cross atop an onion dome[33] – a motif also found in mid fifteenth-century scenes of the Passion.[34] It seems to me that to depict a monument so charged with Muslim symbolism as the Dome of the Rock with a very eastern Christian architectural emblem is symptomatic of a form of artistic hyper-correction: all non-western Christian domes are Orthodox/eastern therefore they must be represented as onion-shaped.[35]

The content of *Peregrinatio* is divided into eighteen parts, including: a preface (omitted in the German version), the diary or journal of the pilgrimage; a 'Compendiosa Terrae Sanctae Descriptio' which is mainly taken

31 In this connection, a British Museum copy of the *Peregrinatio* was displayed in the exhibition at the same institution, 'Inspired by the East – how the Islamic world influenced western art', 10 Oct. 2019–26 Jan. 2020.

32 Quoted in E. Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book – Breydenbach's Peregrinatio from Venice to Jerusalem*, p. 165 (2014).

33 The iconographic origins of onion domes are unclear but according to Ross they go back to the Knights of the Templar. See Ross, *Picturing Experience*, p. 172.

34 See, e.g., Hans Memling's *Scenes from the Passion of Christ*, oil on panel (57 × 92 cm) – 1470–1, in the Galleria Sabauda, Turin.

35 By analogy, Piero del Masaccio and Ugo Comminelli's mid 15th-century compilation of Ptolemaus's *Cosmographia* with bird's-eye views of both Jerusalem and Damascus, illustrates the minarets capped by spires rather than domes, either in genuine error from not being an eye-witness or due to a deliberate 'cover-up' of an excess of infidel places of worship. See Ross, *Picturing Experience*, fig. 67, p. 120.

from Jacques de Vitry; 'De Moribus, Ritibus et Erroribus eorum qui Sanctam inhabitant Terram'; a section on the 'Moors', that is, Muslims, with a chapter on the birth and ancestry of Mohammed which is extracted from Vincent de Beauvais' *Speculum Historiae*; the laws contained in the Quran with Petrus Alphonsus's *Improbatio*; the manners and errors of the Saracens; an account of the origins of the Mahometan creed which is taken from Bartholomeus de Luca; an account of the pilgrimage to Mount Sinai; the journal detailing the journey from Jerusalem to Mount Sinai thence to Alexandria and the return to Venice. In addition to the panoramic views of cities, in Part CXX, are two woodcuts: one illustrating the dress of the Moors, and the other giving the first printed Arabic alphabet with Latin transliteration (Figure 6.3). The Spanish text above the first reads thus:

> [F.CXXr] *La forma siquier manera de los vestidos y hábitos que usan y costumbran levar y vestir los Sarracenos o Moros, assí hombres como mujeres, en Jerusalem y Tierra Sancta es como se demuestra por la figura siguiente.* And the text above the second reads thus: *Los Sarracenos siquier Moros usan la lengua arábica con su letra, la qual contiene XXXI letras según en el siguiente alphabet están figurados.*[36]

Hart's collection of 'oriental' manuscripts: al-Jazuli's Dala'il al-Khairat and an incomplete copy of the Quran – a tenuous 'oriental' connection

When I first saw Hart's 'oriental' manuscripts in the '*From Cotton to Gold*' exhibition in 2015, I asked myself: Islamic books in Blackburn? So I started to ask Islamic art colleagues if they had heard of the collection and none of them had. So why did Robert Edward Hart wish to diversify his western book collection with these 'oriental' elements? Would he have been able to distinguish his Quran from his *Guides to Goodness*? Although I cannot answer these questions, I wish to advance a theory. The clue comes in this statement from the bookseller Maurice L. Ettinghausen: 'Mr R.E. Hart, who had been in the habit of buying moderately priced but interesting old books containing woodcut illustrations'.[37]

Ettinghausen's *Memoirs of an Antiquarian Bookseller* provide this priceless if cryptic piece of information that aptly represents Hart's collecting propensities: 'moderately priced' and 'interesting'. He didn't need to have

36 'The even shape of clothes and habits that the Saracens or Moors wear and dress, men as well as women, in Jerusalem and the Holy Land, is as shown by the following figure.' […] 'The Saracens and even the Moors use the Arabic language with its letters, which contains XXXI letters according to the following alphabet as shown…'. See (ed) *Viaje de la Tierra Santa*, ed. P. Tena, p. 353.

37 *Blackburn's 'Worthy Citizen' – the Philanthropic Legacy of R.E. Hart*, eds C. Johnston and S. Biggs (London: Institute of English Studies, 2013), p. 1.

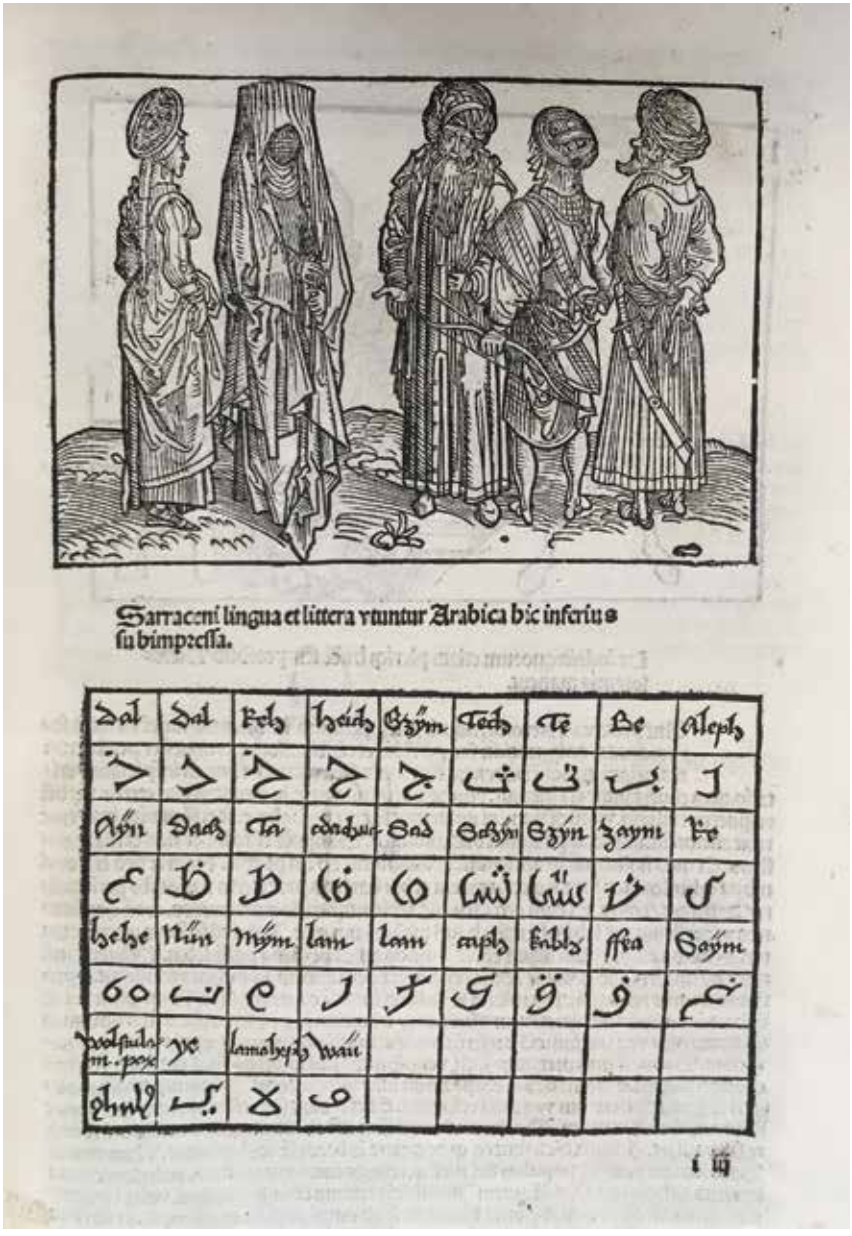


Figure 6.3. 'Sarraceni' *with the Arabic alphabet below,* 'lingua et littera utuntur Arabica hic inferius sub impressa'. *Bernhard von Breydenbach,* Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam, *woodcuts after illustrations by Erhard Reuwich of Utrecht, printed by Peter Drach, Speier, Germany, 29th July, 1490, MS Hart 13687, f. CXX. Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.*

any informed interest in a region and religion when abiding by the default position of general interest. The illustrations in the Islamic manuscripts would have been enough to charm him but what about the Quran? Apart from the illumination in his copy, it would have been the calligraphy that drew his eye. It's interesting that among Hart's reference books was an English translation of Blochet's *Musulman Painting 12th–15th century*, published in 1929 but there was no English translation of the Quran – why? Would he not be interested in reading the holy book of the fellow-monotheistic religion of Islam? And moreover the Quran is incomplete: significantly it lacks the opening *sura* Fatiha and has several blank pages apart from a green frame, as if the copyist had not completed his work.[38]

In a grand gesture of philanthropy, the heirless Hart bequeathed almost his entire collection to what is now the Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, formerly known as the Free Library and Museum in Blackburn. The building is an impressive Victorian structure that occupies a whole block on the intersection of Museum and Richmond Terrace. It was the 'selected design', created by Hoodzell & Colecut Architects, which was published in *The Building Reviews* in 1873.[39] The library and museum committee, of which Hart was later a member, decided Blackburn should be endowed with a free, purpose-built museum. In 1871, Sir Alfred Waterhouse, described as an 'eminent London architect' whose repertoire included the Natural History Museum in London and Manchester's Town Hall, won the competition to design the museum. The building – in the favoured neo-Gothic style, albeit far more reserved than its exuberant and monumental predecessors – was completed in 1874 (Figure 6.4). The main entrance as well as the windows and receding pointed-arch mouldings above the second-storey windows, all bear the Gothic-revival trademark. The sculpted panels added in the 1890s to the main facade and executed by C.W. Seale, are figures – mostly dressed in medieval garb – personifying Arte et Labore (Blackburn's motto) and recall those in the hexagonal panels on the lower register ,carved by Andrea Pisano on the Giotto campanile in Florence.[40]

The use of archaic devices like the pointed arch in Victorian architecture was partly the product of the hybrid Indo-Saracenic movement in British colonies of the sub-continent: Sir Swindon Jacob who was called in to advise the then viceroy of India on matters architectural, made no bones about his preference for pointed arches asserting, 'I should personally like to see buildings of a bold and plain character with oriental adaptation … call it

38 See S. Lawrence's 'Blackburn books and manuscripts final report', 1999, in the Hart archives.

39 See photo-lithograph printed by James Akerman, 51 Grays Inn Road, London WC1.

40 See L. Becherucci, *Andrea Pisano nel Campanile di Giotto* (Florence: Sadea, 1965).

Figure 6.4. Detail of frieze on façade of Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, 'The Arts' from the 'Arte et Labore' series, C. W. Seale, c. 1890, donated by Alderman James Thompson. Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

bastard or what you like'.[41] Just as the Gothic style was revived in Europe from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, so too in the colonies was the predilection for vaulted roofs and pointed arches the style of choice for public buildings due to its adaptability to the 'oriental' environment. John Ruskin, a passionate advocate of the Gothic style, however, opined that such elements as pointed arches could not be called Gothic, although a building lacking them was simply not Gothic enough. Underlying Ruskin's aesthetic discourses lay a darker layer of imperialist propaganda fuelled by contemporary ideas about British world domination: 'a sacred Circe, true Daughter of the sun, she must guide the human arts, and gather the divine knowledge, of distant nations, transformed from savageness to manhood, and redeemed from despairing into peace'.[42]

The connections between missionary activity and colonial expansion have been dealt with at length elsewhere,[43] but it is interesting to note that such missionary inclinations were very much alive in the Hart family. Hart's father's association with the Church Missions to the Jews, the fact that he was secretary for the Society for Promoting Christianity among the

41 J. Morris, *Stones of Empire – the Buildings of the Raj* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 80.

42 John Ruskin's 1870 Slade Lectures at Oxford, quoted in E. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), p. 125.

43 See S. Neil, *Colonialism and Christian Missions* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1966); *Converting Colonialism: Visions and Realities in Mission History, 1706–1914*, ed. Dana L. Robert (Grand Rapids, MI; Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2008); 'Stephen Johnston, the British Empire, colonialism, and missionary activity', in *Missionary Writing and Empire, 1800–1860 (Cambridge Studies in Nineteenth-Century Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 13–37. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511550324.002.

Jews, and not least was a supporter of the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Church Missionary Society, are indicators of Thomas Hart's moral sympathies. Edward Hart continued his father's legacy of supporting his local churches, including his commission of stained-glass windows for the Church of St Peter's in Salesbury, Lancashire, in memory of his mother, who died in 1928, and the windows in the Church of St Silas in Blackburn completed in 1950 after Hart's death in 1946. Indeed, Hart followed his father's example when he became treasurer of the Church Mission to the Jews.[44] But apart from this symbolic support for Christian missionary causes, there is absolutely no indication that Hart had any specific interest in eastern philosophies or religions and frustratingly little is known about his 'oriental' purchases in general.

Yet in spite and perhaps because of these associations, neither father nor son seemingly expressed any explicit feelings towards the 'Mohammedan' religion. As a late Victorian/early Edwardian philanthropist and collector of early printed books and manuscripts, R.E. Hart would have been influenced by contemporary taste. In a report on the Hart collection written in 1999, Lawrence notes: 'The collection is predominantly European. A handful of non-European manuscripts includes the oldest piece in the collection, a Sumerian clay tablet dating from 2051 BC. The small group of Arabic, Persian and Turkish manuscripts were perhaps purchased as examples of fine calligraphy and miniature painting from a different culture and tradition'.[45]

In the Blackburn Museum archives are some handwritten lists of Hart's purchases which unfortunately lack dates or places where the purchases were made but do include numerical values for the amounts paid. One such list includes clay tablets, papyri, Mss Latin, Greek, Oriental. Next to the latter two Hart has noted 'worth more'. The amount of 100 next to the entry 'Oriental' actually only refers to the copies of the *Dala'il* as stated on a separate list.[46] Hart's 'oriental' collection includes two copies of the *Khamsa* of Nizami, three copies of al-Jazuli's *Dala'il al-Khairat* (Hart entered these as 'Arabic copy Muhamedan[47] [sic.] prayer book', a copy of Sulaiman al-Ha'aruf Muhāzāda's *Min wadi' al-Dahr* (from the *Deposit of Time*), a dated copy 'mutilated and repaired' of Nizami's *Makhzan al-Asrār* (The Treasury

44 See C. Johnston, 'Introduction' in *Blackburn's Worthy Citizen: the Philanthropic Legacy of R.E. Hart*, p. 5.

45 S. Lawrence, 'Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery survey of books and manuscripts' (Exhibition Concepts Limited, 1999), p. 4.

46 The Quran appears on another of Hart's handwritten lists, however, he mistakenly notes 'IX. Arabic Koran Cufic'.

47 This appellation was certainly current at the time but is almost certainly informed by a reference book he possessed by Edgard Blochet, *Musulman Painting XIIth–XVIIth century* (London: Methuen, 1929).

of Mysteries, AH 1140-1202, AD 1731), leaves from a Persian Safavid *Shah Nama* (Book of Kings) and a Quran.[48]

Written as a pilgrim's companion for visits to Mecca and Medina, al-Jazuli's *Dala'il al-Khairat*[49] comprises a description of the garden of Paradise, blessings on the Prophet, Allah's most beautiful names, the names of the Prophet Muhammad, and a prayer for each day of the week. Although the text merely describes the location of the graves situated near the one of the Prophet, traditionally the *Dala'il* contains illustrations of the *harām* in Mecca and the Prophet's grave in Medina:

> The Prophet of Allah was buried in the alcove, Abu Bakr was buried behind the Messenger of Allah and 'Umar Ibn al-Khattab was buried at the feet of Abu Bakr. The eastern niche remained with an empty place for a grave and it is said, and Allah knows best, that 'Isa Ibn Maryam will be buried there. That is how it is reported from the Prophet of Allah.[50]

Bearing in mind the popularity of this text – copies of which were made from the Maghreb to Malaysia and from the period of al-Jazuli's life in the late fifteenth century to the eighteenth century – the quality of illustrations varies considerably. It is unclear whether al-Jazuli made the pilgrimage himself; indeed, he is said to have reached only as far as Tangier whereupon he returned to Fez where he wrote the *Dala'il* and where he later died in 1465. After becoming a pupil of sheikh Abu Abdullah Muhammad bin 'Abdullah or Amghar, al-Jazuli probably entered the Shadili Sufi order and spent some fourteen years in seclusion, effectively putting into practice the litanies he had composed in the *Dala'il*. He then established himself as a religious leader in the Moroccan coastal city of Safi until the governor expelled him

48 Sulaiman al-Ha'aruf Muhāzāda's *Min wadi' al-Dahr*, dated Ottoman Turkish Ms. to 1163 AH, 1750 AD, 31 folios (Hart MS 19224); the late 16th-century *Iskandar Nama* and *Laila wa Majnun*, 152 folios, by Nizami including an illustration of Majnun and his father and one of Prophet Muhammad's Ascension, possibly 16th century (Hart MS 19223) and leaves from the *Shah Nama*, late 16th century, 29 folios (Hart MS 19662); Nizami's *Makhzan al-Asrār* (Hart MS 19222); the Quran with missing chapters, possibly Ottoman, 17th century (Hart MS 19661). Hart compiled lists of manuscripts with the price he had paid for them but frustratingly they lacked place of purchase and were rarely dated. In one such list held in the Blackburn Museum archives, Hart notes his 'oriental' purchases under the language they were written in: 'Arabic – Koran Cufic' for which he allegedly paid £200. It is not a Kufic Quran and is incomplete, which suggests the seller may have overinflated the value of this item. In the green 'Numerical III' catalogue, under section 091 Manuscripts, the entry on this Quran notes it is defective, lacks the opening Surah, breaks off in the middle of the 79th chapter and is 'mutilated and stained'. Unfortunately, there is no information about who compiled these bound catalogues.

49 See <https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=2AtvBAAAQBAJ&pg=PA364&lpg=PA364&dq=Witkam>.

50 Imam Muhammad al-Jazuli, *Dalā'ilu'l-Khayrāti*, Arabic with English translation (2013), p. 24.

and the preacher went back to his native province of Sus. Here, however, he was poisoned to death while performing his morning prayer and buried in the same mosque he had founded in Afughal. His body was subsequently brought to Marrakesh by the Saadian sultans in 1523.[51]

Al-Jazuli's physical pilgrimage therefore amounted to a mystical experience, while his intention was doubtlessly genuine. Assuming that al-Jazuli met all the other criteria for making the pilgrimage, namely, to be a person of faith, to be of age, to be free, he may not have possessed the ability or *istita'a*, that is, sufficient means to complete the journey. Alternatively, the conditions under which he was travelling threatened his life – which, as someone who belonged to the Maliki school, may well have been the most plausible reason for interrupting his journey.[52] Although the illustrations are the main draw of the Jazuli manual, it appears that earlier copies were not illustrated at all.[53] Be that as it may, Hart's three copies of the *Dala'il* are representative of North Africa, Ottoman Turkey and Safavid Iran, making them all the more worthy of study both in a comparative capacity and as collector's items. Furthermore, they warrant further investigation particularly in their ability to act as virtual or non-locative pilgrimages to the holiest cities of Islam – Mecca and Medina – by virtue of their bird's-eye-view of the sacred precincts of their respective mosques.

The kinds of illustrations accompanying al-Jazuli's text vary from the extremely schematic to the highly detailed. The Chester Beatty Library (henceforth CBL) has an extraordinary collection of Islamic manuscripts, including an impressive selection of the *Dala'il* spanning all periods and regions of its production. CBL Ar 4223 is an example of a Maghrebi *Dala'il* dated to 1638–9 (AH 1048) featuring a geometric bi-folio frontispiece and schematic rendering of Mecca and Medina:[54] here, on the left is a rectangular enclosure with protruding *mihrab* inside which is the Prophet's minbar (labelled '*al-minbar ul-nabi*') and in an intersecting rectangle are the three tombs of the Prophet, Abu Bakr and 'Umar. On the facing folio is the Kaaba inside a circular ambulatory divided into four sections labelled with the four cardinal directions.

51 See A.G. Ellis edition of the *Dala'il*, <http://data.nur.nu/Kutub/Urdu/Jazuli_Dalail-al-Khayrat-urdu-eng.pdf > (accessed 22 Sept. 2019).

52 C. Bawa Yamba, *Permanent Pilgrims: the Role of Pilgrimage in the Lives of West African Muslims in Sudan* (London: University of Edinburgh Press for the International African Institute, 1995), p. 130.

53 See J. J. Witkam, 'The battle of images: Mekka vs Medina in the iconography of manuscripts of al-Jazuli's *Dala'il al-Khayrat*', <http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/reference/articles/Witkam-2007-battle-images-zw.pdf> (accessed 25 May 2020).

54 E. Wright, *Islam Faith Art Culture, Manuscripts of the Chester Beatty Library* (London: Scala Publishers Ltd, 2009), p. 165, fig. 121.

Figure 6.5. Illustrations from the Maghrebi Quran, Hart MS 21175, unfoliated. Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

Hart's copy of the Maghrebi *Dala'il* (Hart MS 21175) (Figure 6.5) similarly has a bi-folio with the Prophet's minbar on the left and the three tombs on the right. Framing the illustrations are floral motifs in green and crimson-coloured ink – not a common combination. Both illustrations are crowned by another frame enclosing a semi-circle – presumably representing a classical arch – within which are vegetal motifs in a lighter and darker shade of green against a crimson background, and on the right a touch of orange has been inserted with some of the background left white. The same colour scheme is used in the depictions of the minbar and tombs as well as the suspended lamp above the minbar. What makes this manuscript particularly interesting are the marginalia on the right: the letter 'ra' appears twice, below 'sad-mim', possibly the word 'samma' meaning to become deaf, to make up one's mind, determine/resolve, plan or design; below that 'lu'u' and below that is 'Allah'. On the left the words 'Allah' and what looks like 'Ahadiya' (unity, oneness) written just above the minbar in red with some blue additions. The material for these inscriptions looks like crayon and the handwriting appears almost childlike, indicating the manuscript was used as a teaching tool until fairly recent times.

The incipit of Hart's Maghrebi *Dala'il* (Figure 6.6) is written in a clear, elegant Maghrebi script in black ink with diacritics in crimson and additional

Figure 6.6. Detail of incipit for the Maghrebi Dala'il, Hart 21175, unfoliated. Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

diacritical marks, such as the 'shedda', in green ink. Some of the highlighted words, like 'al-hamdulillahi' and 'Muhammad', have been written entirely in crimson and green, respectively. Between the 'Basmallah' and the last three lines of text, is a cartouche framed in yellowish ink (replacing gold) within which, in a finer nib, are vegetal motifs. The cartouche itself is incomplete: on the left it has been torn out or damaged and is entirely white – with the exception of an addition to a word on line two which has been completed in black ink, while on the right a crimson background is foregrounded by calligraphy in the same yellow as the frame. The remaining corners are painted in green ink with white motifs and the cartouches in the margins are also drawn in imitation-gold ink.

Hart's two other copies of the *Dala'il* are an exquisite eighteenth-century Persian manuscript and an Ottoman Turkish copy, Hart MSS 21173 and 21174, respectively. In Green Numerical IV, catalogue entry 091, Hart MS 21173 is said to be written on vellum and is richly illuminated in gold, pink, blue and red. Dated to 1209 AH/1794 AD, the volume is beautifully bound in elaborate gilt leather and written in an elegant *naskh* script punctuated with gilt rosettes. The two opposite pages depict the Prophet's Mosque in Medina on the left and the Haram in Mecca with the Kaaba in its midst, on the right. Both illustrations are drawn in black ink and framed in gold; there

Figure 6.7. Detail of a folio illustrating inter-lineal translation in red ink with gilded rosette in the margin, Hart MS 21174, unfoliated. Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

is an attempt at perspective as if conveying a bird's eye view from a high point looking down into the respective courtyards of the mosques and to the hills beyond on the horizon. From the Prophet's tomb issues what looks like a golden cloud of smoke but is in fact a representation of the Prophetic light (Arabic, Nūr Muhammad) (Figure 6.7).

The paper used in Hart's third copy of the *Dala'il* MS 21173, typically for the period, is of European origin and of the laid type. It would be interesting to examine this further as I noted the presence of a watermark depicting a crown and what looks like a hunting horn instead of a mouth and two scrolls in the place of eyes as well as scrolls surrounding the 'face', below which are some barely decipherable letters: C & J HONIG. With the help of the Folger Shakespeare librarians, I have been able to identify this papermark which appears to be Dutch.[55]

Hart MS 21174 is written in elegant *naskh* script in Arabic in black ink with interlinear translation in Farsi in red ink copied in 1218 AH (1803 AD). The Arabic lines terminate with a golden circle, as is commonly used in Qurans usually in the form of rosettes, and some of the margins contain golden cartouches some featuring flowers with red stamen. Hart MS 21174 (Figure 6.8) features the Meccan *harām* on the left and the Medinan complex on the right: the labels in black ink demarcating the various *loca sancta* are written so as to be able to rotate the manuscript in one's hands and thus, in a sense, allow the reader to appreciate the diagram from all cardinal perspectives. This effectively turns these two-dimensional depictions of the holy sites into three-dimensional experiences in much the same way as a pilgrim performs the anti-clockwise circumambulation of the Kaaba.

The illustration on the left (Figure 6.9) consists of a rectangular courtyard of the 'flat-pack' variety, that is, arcades frame the space with seven minarets projecting out of their four corners and upper and left-hand facades, very similar to those in an earlier, seventeenth-century miniature called 'The Building of the Kaaba' from Mirkhawandi's *Rawdat as-Safa*.[56] The tradition

55 See the Met's example of the company's name: Metropolitan Museum of Art: <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll4/id/35734/> and for a strikingly similar watermark to the Hart Ms., Metropolitan Museum of Art: https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll4/id/35734/>. From the company's Dutch website, I have ascertained that the business ran from 1765 to 1836 under the auspices of the brothers Jan Jbz. Honig (1738–1806) and Cornelis Jbz. Honig (1745–1817). Given the dates of C.J., it seems somewhat unlikely that the Hart MS 21175 could be dated 1177 AH/1763AD which would have meant Cornelis was only 18. Only a more thorough codicological examination of the manuscript will show whether such a date is plausible. See <https://zaansepapiergeschiedenis.nl/historie/familiebedrijven/honig-zoonen-j/> (accessed 24 Oct. 2019. My thanks to Abbie Weinberg of the Folger Shakespeare Library for sourcing comparable examples of the Hart Ms. watermark.

56 BN, Paris, Sup. Persan 1567. Illustrated in S. Okasha, *The Muslim Painter and the Divine*, p. 84.

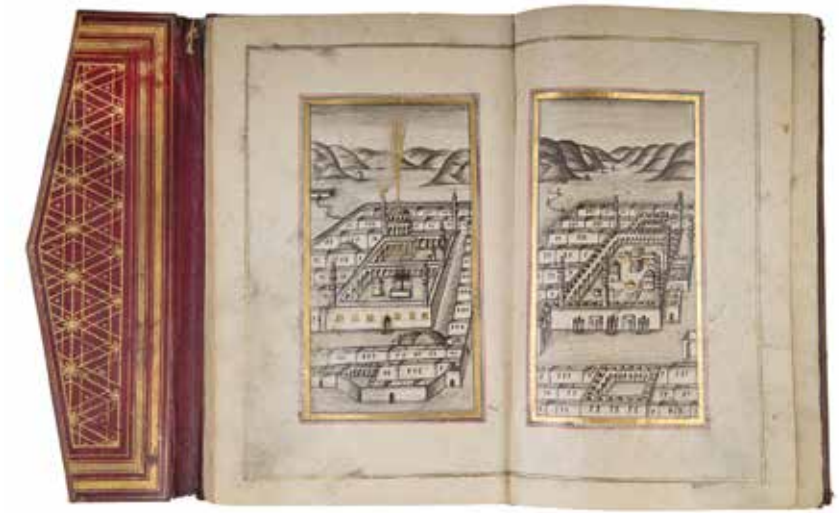


Figure 6.8. Bi-folio illustrating the Prophet's mosque in Medina on the left and the Meccan sanctuary on the right, Hart MS 21173, unfoliated. Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

Figure 6.9. Bi-folio illustrating the Harām in Mecca on the left and the tombs of the Prophet and the three Caliphs on the right, Hart MS 21174, unfoliated. Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery. © Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery.

of drawing similar maps of the harām of Mecca traces its roots to Arabic mapmaking and the aforementioned European portolan charts dating back to the thirteenth century in Italy and Catalonia. Such diagrams were principally designed to establish the *qibla* for the direction of prayer. A good example is a Tunisian manuscript kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, dated 958 AH (1551), showing the Kaaba at the centre: radiating around it are 32 partitions with the names of the most well-known cities of the Muslim world which in turn are contained inside 40 *mihrab*s.[57]

Another distinctive aspect of Hart MS 21173 is the greatly different approach to mapping Mecca and Medina: the drawing is executed in black ink with embellishments in gold and instead of the flat-black view described above. Here there is an attempt at perspective, undoubtedly as a result of contact with European perspective drawings of cities and views (Figure 6.7). In 1555 the German/Danish artist Melchior Lorich (1526/7–*c.* 1583) accompanied an embassy to the Sublime Porte – the court of Suleiman the Magnificent in Constantinople – remaining in the Ottoman capital for three years. It was during his stay in the Elci Hani caravanserai that Lorich produced engraved portraits of his fellow envoys as well as a view over the rooftops of the city[58] and his woodcuts of a Turkish town[59] Once he gained greater freedom, he ventured to depict other monuments as well as the 'customs and costumes' of the Turks. Upon his arrival in Vienna in 1560, Lorich produced several engravings of the monuments of Constantinople as well as a prospect of the city measuring an impressive 1145cm by 45cm and comprising 21 sheets stuck together and preserved in the Leiden University library.[60]

The reference to an 'attempt at perspective' is not entirely justified: it is indeed a curious fact that despite the origins of studies on optics that were developed in Europe as a result of medieval Arabic translation of ancient Greek texts, the Muslim world did not apply optical principles and perspective to the medium of representation.[61] In the Hart Turkish *Dala'il*

57 *Al-Sharfi al-Sifāqusī*, Ali ibn Muhammad, Portulan, Tunisia. BNF Manuscrits orientaux, arabe, 2278, f, 2v, in *L'art du livre arabe – du manuscrit au livre d'artiste*, eds A. Vernay-Nouri and M-G. Guesdon (Paris: BnF, 2001), p. 127.

58 See 'View over the rooftops of Constantinople', 1555–9, pen and ink, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen.

59 'Turkish Town', 1570. Woodcut on laid paper, 5 13/16 × 8 1/8 in, 14.8 × 20.6 cm in the National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.

60 <https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/1278255> (accessed 21 Oct. 2019).

61 See the article by Dominique Raynaud, 'Why did geometrical optics not lead to perspective in medieval Islam? Rationality and good reasons in the anthropology of mathematics', in M. Cherkaoui and P. Hamilton, *Raymond Boudon, a Life in Sociology*, vol. 1 (Oxford, Bardwell Press, 2009), pp. 243–66. See <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00479821> (accessed 21 Oct. 2019).

the views of Mecca and Medina are drawn in oblique perspective which may have been a deliberate device to avoid excessive realism, yet sometimes three-dimensionality of the Kaaba was plainly sought after. Not uncommonly, in the sixteenth century *Ka'ba, al-Darir, Siyar-i Nebi* (The Biography of the Prophet),[62] the Kaaba is shown as an elongated rectangular cuboid also in oblique perspective. The British Library's Timurid masterpiece, a fifteenth-century *Khamsa* of Nizami (Or 6810) includes a fabulous illustration of the Prophet's miraculous journey from Mecca to Jerusalem.[63] Here, the Prophet Muhammad is seen mounted on the mythical beast al-Buraq amidst swirling golden clouds, out of which angels peep, as he flies above the Kaaba in the Haram's oblique square enclosure. With one picture dated to 900/1494–5, such an imagined bird's-eye-view of a cityscape is uncommon in contemporary Islamic illustration. Hart's copy of Nizami's *Khamsa* (091 PER 19223) is a beautiful example of sixteenth-century Persian miniature illustration: in addition to an image of Majnun and his father, the manuscript also possesses a depiction of the Prophet Muhammad mounted on a salmon-coloured Buraq with a woman's head and fanciful leaflike tail. Here the mythical creature appears with no wings but surrounded by a golden cloud around which fly seven winged angels bearing golden gifts.[64]

The Prophet's miraculous night journey, known as the *'Isra wal-mi'raj'*, is referred to in the Quran and was said to have been made in a state of wakefulness rather than in a sleeping dream from 'the Sacred Mosque to the Farthest Mosque' (*sura* 17:1): invariably interpreted as the Kaaba in Mecca and the site of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem from where he made his ascent to heaven on his mythical mount, Buraq.[65] This theme became a favourite illustration in biographies of the Prophet, on the frontispiece of albums and volumes of poetry as well as in dream manuals and books on divination or *falnamah*. It also appears in the *Mekhzan al-asrar* (Treasury of Mysteries), the first poem in Nizami's *Khamza* which was composed between the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Such manuals were used to

62 Dated 1595–6, this is folio 151b of the Topkapi Palace Library copy. Vols. I, II and IV are kept in Istanbul (Hazine 1221–3), vol. III is in the New York Public Library, and most of vol. IV is in the Chester Beatty Library (CBL T 419).

63 See <https://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk/asian-and-african/2014/05/the-khamsah-of-nizami-a-timurid-masterpiece.html> (accessed 22 Oct. 2019).

64 Compare this illustration with BL Or 2265 for 195 r. with a veiled Prophet mounted on a wingless Buraq surrounded by a golden cloud and angles bearing gifts. Attributed to Sultan Muhammad and dated 1539–43. See <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=or_2265_fs001r> (accessed 29 Oct. 2019).

65 One of the two Khamsa mss., Hart MS 19223, contains an exquisite miniature depicting Muhammad's Ascension which I included in the redisplay of the 'oriental' ms. cabinet in Blackburn.

interpret 'mental images as signs for worldly actions'[66] therefore transporting the reader of the manual into an otherworldly realm.

Conclusion: the virtue and value of virtual pilgrimage

Research on private European collectors of Islamic manuscripts is still in its infancy.[67] Indeed, according to Hodgson, there were three categories of British collectors of 'oriental' manuscripts: the first comprised 'field orientalists' who acquired manuscripts in their thousands while on campaigns in South Asia, such as officers of the East India Company (EIC), military men, missionaries and traders. In the second category were 'metropolitan orientalists', largely formed by scholars who acquired manuscripts for their own research, and in the third group were 'elite collectors' who acquired later specimens of manuscripts to complement their collections of medieval and Renaissance illuminated manuscripts: 'During the nineteenth century there arose a cohort of collectors like Lindsay, whose interest in oriental manuscripts was neither inspired by first-hand experiences of the East, nor motivated by the imperatives of their official positions as functionaries of the EIC or the British Government.'[68]

Robert Edward Hart, therefore, would fit in to the third category for he specialised in western illuminated manuscripts, incunabula and rare first editions. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, Hart was interested in buying 'moderately priced', 'interesting' early books and manuscripts with good quality illustrations. He was clearly not an 'orientalist' scholar nor had he travelled to the Middle East. Someone like Sir Chester Beatty (1875–1968), however, was exactly what Hart was not: an immensely wealthy American-born mining tycoon whose collection centred primarily on South Asia and the Islamic world on the back of his commercial and financial exploits in the Middle East. Also, unlike Hart, Beatty 'recruited top talent' and consulted specialists when making his purchases, thus he was assured of the condition and authenticity of his purchases. This meant that he not only developed an 'eye' for high-quality material, but was in an educated position to bid for what

66 W.M.K. Shaw, *What is Islamic Art? Between Religion and Perception*, p. 190 (2019).

67 Conversely, according to Anthony Bale's blogpost about his research on the highlights of Topkapi Palace Museum Library, this lacuna is reflected in the paucity of mss. under the non-Islamic category ('Gayrı İslam') which were either looted during Ottoman occupation or donated as gifts to the sultans. Sultan Mehmet II, however, not only commissioned Greek mss. but was also a collector of Byzantine and Christian relics and antiques. The sultan may well also have rescued some Byzantine mss. during the sack of Constantinople. See Julian Raby, 'Mehmed the Conqueror's Greek scriptorium', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, n. 37, 15–34 (1983).

68 See J. Hodgson, '"Spoils of many a distant land": the earls of Crawford and the collecting of oriental manuscripts in the nineteenth century', in *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, pp. 16–17 (2020).

he regarded as a 'fair price'.[69] What both collectors had in common, however, was the donation of their collections to the public. If Hart's collection focused on the European west, Beatty's was much more East-looking: from Chinese and Japanese scrolls to jade books, Mesopotamian clay tablets and even Greek Biblical papyri. Given Hart's more modest budget, this meant he would have come across less lavish exemplars: one (incomplete) Quran as opposed to 260, three copies of the *Dala'il* as opposed to dozens. Again, unlike Hart, Beatty spent periods of time living in the Middle East (Cairo) and was 'first call' on the lists of dealers in London, Paris and New York when it came to Islamic art and rare books.

Beatty narrowed his focus on Islamic manuscripts in earnest from the 1920s, compiling one of the world's most significant collection of Qurans alone. By 1931 he was exhibiting his treasures in major exhibitions such as 'Art of India' at Burlington House in London which may well have been the time when Hart began purchasing his Islamic manuscripts or even prompted such a move. Furthermore, Hart may even have been to the exhibition at Burlington House. In the introduction to its catalogue, A.T. Wilson proclaims 'The amusement, contempt, or even repulsion which human observers, wedded to their own ways, are apt to feel for a different mode of life, changes on deeper acquaintance to a measure of sympathetic understanding. It is hoped that the present Exhibition … may help towards this end.'[70] Neither Hart nor Beatty could have had a 'repulsion' towards the objects or the people who produced them but members of the general public visiting the exhibition quite probably would have been less educated or simply less versed in things exotic.

Robert Edward Hart may thus appear as the 'introvert Orientalist', that is, one who did not faun upon the paraphernalia, the trappings of those who were infatuated by all things 'oriental'. Instead, this quiet 'Blackburnian' preferred to collect incunabula, manuscripts and early printed books, including a number of Islamic texts. By handling and appreciating various views of the pilgrimage sites of Jerusalem, Mecca and Medina, this armchair pseudo-orientalist grants us the opportunity to take similar non-locative travels to holy lands. Hart's possession of Islamic manuscripts – both secular and spiritual – bear testimony to his intellectual curiosity and quite possibly to a genuine curiosity to inspect by visual means the inner sanctuary of a taboo religion: a forbidden peep into a no-go area. Given the restrictions to non-Muslims, such a pilgrimage would have been as unthinkable in the middle

69 D. Mason, 'From personal collection to cultural portal: India, Ireland, and the Chester Beatty Library', in *India In Art in Ireland*, ed. Kathleen James-Chakraborty (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2016), pp. 14-51 (16).

70 A.T. Wilson, 'Introductory note', *International Exhibition of Persian Art* (London: Burlington House, 1931), p. xi.

ages as it is today but tucked away in his study, Hart could perform unlimited flights to far-flung lands; he could learn to speak Arabic, Persian and Turkish; he may even have imagined dressing in full 'oriental "impedimenta"' and he could have inhabited those holy places solely in his mind's eye.

7. Book collecting in context: Hart and his contemporaries

Cynthia Johnston

At the end of the funeral announcement for Mr James Dunn, a draper of Blackburn, is a list of the chief mourners and principal congregation members who attended his service on Tuesday 21 December 1943.[1] The mourners are the family: daughter and son-in-law, sisters and brothers-in-law, nephews and nieces. The congregation is made up of some professional colleagues such as Mr Walter Monk, also in the drapery business, as well as a representative of the Blackburn Museum and Library, which had recently received the donation of James Dunn's rare book collection.[2] At the end of the list of attendees is Edward Hart, Blackburn's leading bibliophile and numismatist. Beyond this record of Hart's attendance at Dunn's funeral, no further evidence has been discovered to document their association.

Hart and Dunn were almost a generation apart in terms of age with 21 years separating their births. When James Dunn died at the age of 75, Edward Hart himself had only three more years to live, but much more separated the two men than their generational experiences. Although Hart and James Dunn lived all their lives in family homes located less than half a mile apart towards the western perimeter of Blackburn town, they were separated by almost every class variable. Edward Hart had been privately educated at some of England's most exclusive schools, first Horace Hill prep school in Berkshire, followed by Rugby School in Warwickshire and then Pembroke College, Cambridge. James Dunn's educational history is not known, but it can be assumed he was educated in the town of his birth, Blackburn, and that his education prepared him for his predestined role as part of the Dunn family drapery business. Edward Hart's family played a prominent role in local politics; both Hart's great-grandfather, Thomas, and grandfather, another Thomas, were politically active as Liberal Conservatives, serving as town councillors and borough magistrates.[3] Edward Hart himself featured

1 'Funeral of Mr J. Dunn', *Northern Daily Telegraph*, 22 Dec. 1943.

2 I thank Philip Crompton, a community history volunteer with Blackburn and Darwen Library and Information Centre (LIC), for this identification of Walter Monk.

3 See J.G. Shaw 'History of Thomas Hart's rope works, Blackburn', (pamphlet) (Blackburn,

prominently in local philanthropic activity with a leading role in a wide range of educational and religious organisations.[4] James Dunn's obituary, published in the *Northern Daily Telegraph*, stated that 'Mr Dunn took no interest in public affairs, but he was a trustee of the old Montague Street Primitive Methodist Church'.[5] Edward Hart was a prominent member of the Church of Saint Silas, the high church Anglican community favoured by Blackburn's elite. [6] A business-based association between James Dunn and Edward Hart seems unlikely. Hart's ropemaking business, the Lambeth Ropery, largely supplied cotton mills with driving ropes, and Dunn's family firm, Matthew Dunn Drapers, while running both a wholesale and retail concern, seems to have concentrated on the wholesale side. Oilcloths, linoleums, general drapery, mattings, carpets and rugs were featured in advertisements which recommended Dunn's as the 'best and cheapest' draper in town. [7]

Yet, with regard to the donation of private rare book collections to the museums of the region, James Dunn's bequest of his collection exceeding 500 items to the Blackburn Museum and Library in 1943, just before his death, must have influenced Hart's own decision to leave his collection of manuscripts and rare books to the same institution. The museum's representative at Dunn's funeral, Mr J.W. Thomas, was standing in for the librarian of Blackburn Library, Mr James Hindle. Hindle seems to have been closely involved with Edward Hart's subsequent decision to donate his collection to the museum a few years later. A letter from the town clerk records that, after conversation with Mr Hindle, Hart had decided to leave his collections of coins and books to the Museum and Library, and that he had also left the clerk a cheque for £10,000 to be used for the proper storage and

1930), held by Blackburn and Darwen LIC. See also Cynthia Johnston in *Blackburn's 'Worthy Citizen': the Philanthropic Legacy of R.E. Hart*, eds Cynthia Johnston and Sarah J. Biggs (London: Institute of English Studies, 2013), pp. 1–7.

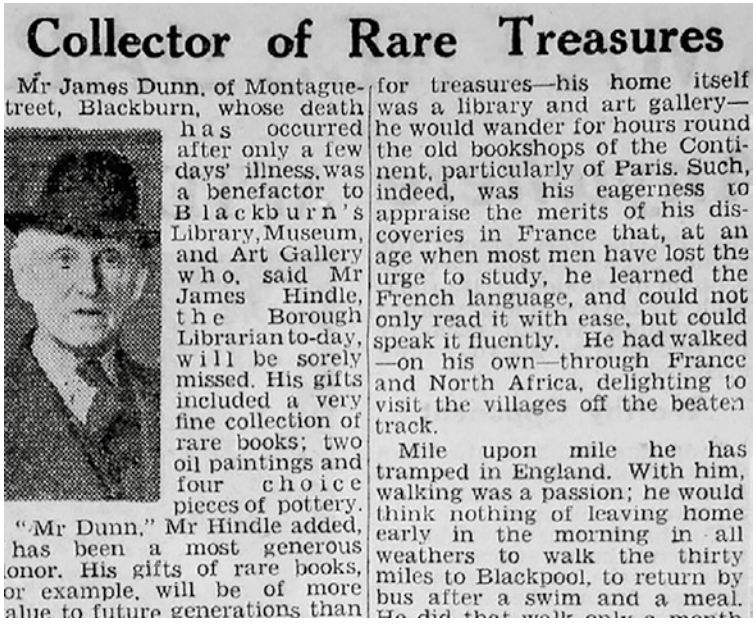
4 Robert Edward Hart was Blackburn Orphanage's treasurer from 1908 until his death, a public library committee member from 1927 and University of Manchester representative on the Blackburn High School for Girls' board of governors. He was treasurer also for the Church Missions to the Jews, and the Blackburn Guardian Society for the Protection of Trade from 1916, as well as chair of the Blackburn Chamber of Commerce for 1922–3. See Johnston and Biggs, *Blackburn's 'Worthy Citizen'*, p. 5.

5 'Mr James Dunn; collector of rare treasures', *Northern Daily Telegraph*, 16 Dec. 1943.

6 Hart had commissioned a large stained-glass window for the Church of Saint Silas, designed and executed by Whitefriars Glass Company in 1944, which was installed in the west end of the church in 1950. Hart had previously commissioned a triptych of stained-glass windows for the Church of Saint Peter in Salesbury to commemorate his mother and father after the death of the former in 1928. See Johnston and Biggs, Blackburn's 'Worthy Citizen', p. 4.

7 See advertisement for 'M. Dunn, (late Matthew Dunn), wholesale and retail draper' in the *Blackburn Standard*, 22 Feb. 1896. I thank Philip Crompton for identifying this notice which appeared after the death of Matthew Dunn on 10 Jan. 1896.

display of the collections.[8] While Edward Hart was building his collection of manuscripts and rare books in Blackburn from the turn of the century until his death, he was not alone in pursuing this passion in the town. Although James Dunn and Edward Hart were separated by age, education and religious beliefs, their pursuit of books must have brought them within the same orbits not only in Blackburn but further afield. Hart's presence at Dunn's funeral,



Collector of Rare Treasures

Mr James Dunn, of Montague-treet, Blackburn, whose death has occurred after only a few days' illness, was a benefactor to Blackburn's Library, Museum, and Art Gallery who, said Mr James Hindle, the Borough Librarian to-day, will be sorely missed. His gifts included a very fine collection of rare books; two oil paintings and four choice pieces of pottery.

"Mr Dunn," Mr Hindle added, has been a most generous onor. His gifts of rare books, or example, will be of more alue to future generations than

for treasures—his home itself was a library and art gallery—he would wander for hours round the old bookshops of the Continent, particularly of Paris. Such, indeed, was his eagerness to appraise the merits of his discoveries in France that, at an age when most men have lost the urge to study, he learned the French language, and could not only read it with ease, but could speak it fluently. He had walked —on his own—through France and North Africa, delighting to visit the villages off the beaten track.

Mile upon mile he has tramped in England. With him, walking was a passion; he would think nothing of leaving home early in the morning in all weathers to walk the thirty miles to Blackpool, to return by bus after a swim and a meal.

Figure 7.2. Obituary of James Dunn from the Northern Daily Telegraph*, Thursday 16th December, 1943. Image courtesy of the Blackburn with Darwen Library Information Service.*

noted by the reporter from the Daily Northern Telegraph, seems to register a personal acquaintance and mark of respect, perhaps from one collector to another. James Dunn's donation of his rare book collection to the Blackburn Museum and Library was surely noted by his fellow bibliophile.

The neighbouring towns of Preston and Burnley, similar to Blackburn in terms of rapid development through the nineteenth century, and concentration of industry on cotton manufacture, were also the recipients of major book collections. Preston's Harris Museum, Art Gallery and Library holds three important collections: the Shepherd Collection, donated to Preston in 1761 by Dr Richard Shepherd; the Spencer Collections left to

8 James Hindle's correspondence with the town clerk is held by Blackburn MAG in the Hart archive.

the Harris Library as a series of gifts before Spencer's death in 1952; and the Private Press Collection. The Shepherd Collection, which was created during the first half of the eighteenth century, is outside the chronological reach of this chapter but its presence should be registered in terms of the practice of donation within the context of Preston. Shepherd's collection is antiquarian, with an emphasis on the medical codex. Shepherd himself was a physician within the town, who also left a bequest with his collection to ensure its safekeeping. John Henry Spencer, whose engagement with books had led to his transformation from hosiery spinner to foreign language clerk at the cotton mill where he was employed, left three significant collections to the Harris Museum, Art Gallery and Library. They comprised chapbooks, children's literature and the material related to the Preston-born Catholic-mystic poet, Francis Thompson. As Shepherd's collection reflected his professional interest, Spencer's books follow his life experiences. Spencer's beginnings were clearly working class, with his entire family being employed in the mills in some capacity from 1891 where they appear in the census. Spencer's father is listed as a powerloom weaver, John Henry at 16, is listed as a hosiery knitter and his sister, Nelly, aged thirteen, is listed as a cotton weaver. It is Spencer's early engagement with books, as he documents in a series of autobiographical articles for the Preston Herald, that directs his collecting practice. The Harris also holds the Private Press Collection, sometimes referred to as the Pomfret Collection, which was created by generations of librarians from public funds. The main driver of this process was Joseph Pomfret, originally from Blackburn, who served as Preston's borough librarian from 1928–44. Burnley's Towneley Hall Museum and Art Gallery (MAG) purchased the Hardcastle Collection of original art for book illustration in 1927. Edwin James Hardcastle built his collection of over 500 artworks while he worked for the family business, the Crown Umbrella Company, based in Halifax.

This chapter will discuss these book collections, and their accumulation, with regard to content, the intent of the collector, and the dynamic of the bequest in the context of the cultural atmosphere of Blackburn, Preston and Burnley during the gestation of the collections through the first forty years of the twentieth century and their bequest at the end of the period. What can be discerned about the motivation for acquiring books from the collections themselves, and the contemporary evidence that survives from the lives of the collectors? What did these post-industrial collectors have in common with regard to education, professional lives and class identification?

The James Dunn Collection; Blackburn with Darwen Library and Information Centre

James Dunn's bequest of his collection of rare books to the Blackburn Library was the first major bequest of its type to this institution. The Blackburn Museum and Free Library opened on 11 June 1874; it was one of the first free public museums and galleries in the UK. As noted by David McKitterick in his chapter for this volume, Blackburn's first public library had opened even earlier in 1860, and was incorporated into this new project.[9] The ambitious expanse and Arts and Craft design of the Blackburn Museum marked a public commitment to art and culture in the centre of the town. It originally contained a lending library, a reference library and a separate reading room for women on the ground floor, and three galleries on the first floor for paintings and museum displays. The building was substantially enlarged in 1893–4. Many communities, most notably London, had not embarked on public library building campaigns until the years approaching Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1887.[10] While Manchester had forged ahead with the opening of the Manchester Public Library in 1852, and had followed with branch libraries in Hulme in 1866 and Ancoats in 1867, communities closer to Blackburn had taken longer to act on their enthusiasm for the Public Libraries Act: Wigan in 1878, Oldham in 1883, the Harris in Preston in 1893, and Blackburn's closest town, Darwen, opened its Carnegie Library in 1908. James Dunn was seventeen years old when the Blackburn Museum and Free Library was opened, and it is likely that he used its services throughout his life. The library was immensely successful, and it is remembered that during the lean years of the 1930s queues for the lending library stretched down the street. Whether or not James Dunn was a habitual user of the museum, library and art gallery, he cannot have been unaware of the presence of this central cultural service for the town.[11]

Dunn's origins as a collector are unrecorded but by the time he donated his collection to the town in 1943, he had accumulated more than 500 items. Unlike Hart, whose book collection was composed overwhelmingly of manuscripts and rare books although including cuneiform tablets and scrolls, Dunn acquired material of a wider bibliographic remit. Among Dunn's materials are historical documents, such as an account book for the Royal Wardrobe and Bed Chambers, dated 1682 during the reign of James II,

9 See David McKitterick's chapter, 'The loyalties of a collector', which opens this volume.

10 See Alistair Black, Simon Pepper and Kaye Bagshaw, *Books, Buildings and Social Engineering: Early Public Libraries in Britain from Past to Present* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 119–30.

11 The Blackburn Museum and Free Library were separated when more room was needed for the town's library service. The library underwent major refurbishment in 1959, but was moved in 1975 to new premises in the old Co-op building, while the museum and art gallery expanded to use the ground floor. This reorganisation resulted in the Dunn Collection being relocated to the new library premises, while the Hart Collection remained in the museum. This is still the housing arrangement for the Dunn and Hart collections.

original manuscripts of several novels by the nineteenth-century Methodist novelist, Silas Hocking, and a great variety of albums of eighteenth-century prints, mostly produced in Paris. [12]

Dunn seems particularly interested in examples of early eighteenth-century copper plate printing. These albums are of enormous size, with the prints most often pasted down on to white pages bound into the volume. The albums contain some of the best-known names of the period: Claude Gellée (le Lorrain), Charles-Dominique-Joseph Eisen, François Boucher, Hubert-François Gravelot and Jean-Michel Moreau among others.[13] There are also examples of work from outside France, including engravings by 'Captain' William Baillie, English prints of Italian artists including Francesco Bartolozzi (The Gardens, London, 1798) and Guiseppe Bossi's copperplate print series, *Leonardo da Vinci*, produced in Milan in 1811. There are coloured aquatints from Robert Boyer (*Illustrated Record of important events,* London 1817) and John Boydell's prints in lime, stipple and mezzotint, printed in London in 1769. Dunn also accumulated collections of original sketches attributed to a variety of artists including George Cattermole, William Collins, W.E. Frost, William Parrott, Richard Westall and Sir David Wilkie. It was indeed this last group of original works that greatly impressed the committee of the Blackburn Museum and Library in 1943 when Dunn arranged his bequest of the collection. The acquisitions committee noted that the 'beautifully bound volumes of original drawings' were among the finest items in the collection.[14]

Compared with James Dunn's preoccupations as a collector, Hart's attention seems to have been attracted (for his printed material at least) to the quality and completeness of the work, as well as its origin. Dunn is unconcerned with repairs and missing pages, and in his older printed material, there are some examples with cut-up additions from other copies assembled by unscrupulous booksellers to assemble a book more complete than not. His medieval material demonstrates this point. The 'Calendarium' is a portion of a fourteenth-century manuscript, probably part of a book of hours. Only March, April, May and June are present, and the folios have been

12 Dunn acquired three autograph Hocking manuscripts: *His Father* (1880), *Reedyford* (1880) and *Tregeagle's Head: a Romance of the Cornish Cliffs* (1886). Of the 'pulp Methodist' school, Hocking's greatest success was with his second novel, *Her Benny* (1879), written while he was still a practising Methodist minister. The book, which told the story of two children from the slums of Liverpool, became a sensation, with over a million copies sold. The Modern Records Centre at the University of Warwick holds the 'Papers of Reverend Silas Hocking (1850–1935) minister of the United Methodist Free Church and writer'.

13 Dunn's bequest of this 18th-century material to the Blackburn Library may have influenced Hart's decision to leave his 55 18th-century French illustrated books to the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1944. See David McKitterick's discussion of Hart's gift to the Fitzwilliam in this volume.

14 Northern Daily Telegraph, 16 Dec. 1943, 'Rare books for library'.

bound in the incorrect order.[15] Another portion of a codex identified as a book of hours (096.1), is a montage of perhaps fifteenth-century work comprising 46 manuscript leaves which have been pasted on to paper.[16] The integrity of the original is not paramount to Dunn, the interest of the object is impetus enough for acquisition. Yet this propensity resulted in some extraordinarily good buys. Dunn's copy of *A Ryght frutefull Epystle, deuysed by the moste excellent clerke Erasmus in laude and prayse of matrimony*, published in 1536, survives in only a handful of copies worldwide. Dunn himself was aware of only two other existing copies when he bought the book. When he took his Erasmus to the British Museum, it was confirmed that they did indeed hold a copy although theirs was not in quite such good condition as James Dunn's.[17]

While Dunn's Erasmus is a very rare book, it was sold in a peculiar leather pouch, which appears to have been constructed of nineteenth-century binding material. For James Dunn, this presentation increased the allure of the book, and he seems to have understood this construction as original to the book itself. This is known because of one of the most striking components of the Dunn collection. In the front of each book is a note written in pencil in Dunn's rounded hand. The note details what the book is, sometimes where it was bought, especially if this was abroad, but always why the book is important and why it deserves a place in his collection. When Dunn gave his collection to the Blackburn Library, James Hindle recognised the value of Dunn's notes; Hindle wrote that the collection 'will be of more value to future generations than to our own, and his own notes in the books are of real bibliopolical value'.[18] The example of the Erasmus is a case in point. Dunn describes this book as 'the rarest in the collection'.[19] This rarity had been confirmed by his visit to the British Museum which he describes in the note left in the front of the *Epystle*. The aforementioned book of hours, which has little value as an example of a medieval manuscript, delivers much bibliographical information with regard to the unscrupulous practices of some twentieth-century booksellers, and Dunn's personal note added to the book tells us much about his methods as a collector. Dunn observes that the medieval script in the manuscript inspired William Morris' design for the Kelmscott Press. There are no examples from Kelmscott in the collection, but

15 Catalogued as 'Calendar' (Dunn F.096.1 Calendar).

16 Catalogued as 'Horae (Book of Hours), (Dunn 096.1 Horae).

17 Dunn's copy is imperfect however, with 2 signatures wanting. According to James Dunn's note, the other copy was held by A.S.W Rosenbach in Philadelphia.

18 James Hindle quoted in the *Northern Daily Telegraph,* 16 Dec. 1943; obituary notice for James Dunn.

19 See Dunn's note in *A Ryght frutefull Epystle, deuysed by the moste excellent clerke Erasmus in laude and prayse of matrimony,* Desiderius Erasmus (London: Robert Redman, 1536); James Dunn Collection, Blackburn with Darwen LIC.

there are some from the private press movement, the Vale Press in particular.

Dunn is clearly fascinated by early printed material and the collection has some excellent further examples including Rembert Dodoens's *A Niewe Herbal*, published in 1578, The *Saint Albans Chronicle*, catalogued in the Dunn Collection as *The Cronicles of Englonde,* printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1515,[20] as well as the triumvirate of early Chaucer editions, all printed in London: the John Wight, printed by John Kingston in 1561; the William Thynne edition, printed by William Bonham in 1542; and the Adam Islip production, edited by Thomas Speght in 1598.

Dunn's perceived interest in printing and book design is clearly registered through his collection of contemporary private press productions. He has books produced by three presses: Nonesuch, Eragny and the Vale Press.[21] The Eragny book, *C'est d'Aucassin et de Nicolette* published in 1903, ties in neatly with Dunn's passion for France; Eragny being the press run by Lucien Pissarro, the son of the Impressionist painter, Camille Pissaro. However, it is the Vale Press productions, with their striking design, original fonts printed in red and black ink, and medievalist woodcut illustrations by Charles Ricketts that dominate this part of the collection. Dunn has eleven Vale Press books; nearly a quarter of the 46 books produced by Ricketts and his printers.[22]

Two other books in the collection also seem to indicate Dunn's interest in the processes of writing and printing: *The Universal Penman* by George Bickman the Elder (1743 edition) with 25 examples of scripts from contemporary London writing masters, and a collection of printers' ornaments from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which had been cut from other books and pasted into an album.[23] The presence of A.F. Johnson's *One Hundred title-pages 1500–1800* (London, 1928) seems to confirm Dunn's interest in printing technology and design.

Dunn's apparent fascination with writing, printing and with history is supported by his collection of historical papers. He assembled a group of printed documents with a chronological reach that seems to accord with his

20 This copy is imperfect; it wants the title page as well as folios 1–59 and the end folio (165).

21 From the Nonesuch Press, Dunn holds: *The Complete Works of William Wycherley* (1924), *The Writings of William Blake*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (1925), John Sparrow's edition of *Cowley's The Mistress and other Poems* (1926) and *The Temple* by George Herbert (1927).

22 The Vale Press books in the collection are: *Empedocles on Etna*, a dramatic poem (1898) by Matthew Arnold, *Spiritual Poems; Chiefly done out of Several Languages* by John Gray (1896), *Epicurus, Leontion and Ternissa* by Walter Savage Landor (1896), *The Poems and Songs of Sir John Suckling*, ed. John Gray (1896), *Ecclesiastes: or the preacher, and the Song of Solomon* (1902), *Sacred Poems*, by Henry Vaughan (1897), Shakespeare's *The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark* (1900), *Parables from the Gospels* (1903), *The Kingis Quair* by James I of Scotland, ed. Robert Steele (1903), *Mary Schweidler, the Amber Witch*, ed. William Meinhold (1903), *Danaë* by Thomas Sturge Moore (1903).

23 Printer's ornaments (Dunn F. 655.1 Printer's).

historical interests. The collection begins with the second volume of statutes 'made in the tyme of the most victoriouse reigne of Kyng Henrie the Eight', published by Thomas Bertheleti in London in 1551. This is in the original oak boards. Acts of Parliament printed by John Cawood 1554, 1555 and 1558 follow; bound as discrete volumes.[24] Dunn continues with Edward Husband's 1646 collection of 'all the publicke orders, ordnances and declarations" of both the Long Parliament and the Interregnum Parliament from 9 March 1642 through to December 1646. This is followed by *Laws and Statutes of Charles II*, published by J. Bill and C. Barker in London in 1662,[25] as well as a compendium of Commonwealth ordinances, acts and proclamations, published in London by William Du-Gard and Henry Hills in 1654.[26] There is one copy in manuscript, *The Proceedings and Minutes passed by the House of Commons after the flight from England to France of James II*, dated December 1688. And there are two volumes of the original letters and papers of Sir Robert Southwell *c.*1685–7.[27]

Dunn's other manuscript items are literary. Three autograph manuscripts from the Methodist writer Silas Hocking, all on octavo-sized notepaper, are tied together with string. Although Hocking's most famous novel, *Her Benny*, published in 1879, about two children from the Liverpool slums, and their salvation, was his most famous and bestselling work, the three manuscripts bought by Dunn were also well known: *His Father: a story for children of all ages,* published in 1880,[28] *Tregeagle's Head: a Romance of the Cornish Cliffs* (1890) and *Reedyford: or Creed and Character* (1880) were all bestsellers following soon after Hocking's phenomenal success with *Her Benny.* The Methodist core of these novels is echoed with another autograph holding which is the original manuscript for *The Angel of Temperance: a poem*, by John Critchley Prince.

Dunn's most significant autograph holdings, however, form part of the Dickens material in his acquisitions. Although Dunn's literary material is a minor part of his collection, with much more eighteenth-century literature than nineteenth, he does reveal a keen interest in the works of Charles Dickens and of his illustrators. There is only one complete novel; a first edition of *Oliver Twist*, with illustrations by George Cruikshank, and two examples of novels in monthly original parts: number 9 of *Little Dorrit* (August 1856)

24 Cawood was printer to Queen Mary from her accession in 1553. He continued in this role with Richard Jugge for Elizabeth I.

25 This is a single volume of the 21 Acts which were published separately.

26 *A Catalogue and collection of all those ordinances, proclamations, declarations, &c which have been printed and published since the Government was established in His Highness the Lord Protector* (William Du-Gard and Henry Hills, 1654) (Dunn F 942.064 England).

27 (Dunn F 929.2 Southwell).

28 The published title was *His Father; or a Mother's Legacy.*

and number 11 of *Bleak House* (January 1853). The last two numbers of *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club* are also in the collection. Dunn's particular interest in Dickens' illustrated work is demonstrated by the presence of a second edition of *Sketches by Boz*, illustrated by George Cruikshank, and two bound volumes of Dickens' periodical *Master Humphrey's Clock*, published in 1840, with illustrations by George Cattermole and Hablot Knight Browne. This copy also has 72 etchings by Thomas Sibson bound in as 'extra illustrations' (he had previously provided the 'extra illustrations' for the *Pickwick Papers*). There are also editions of *Sketches of Young Ladies* (1837 and 1843, the latter with a further 12 illustrations), and Sketches of Young Gentlemen and *Sketches of Young Couples* (1840), all published under the pseudonym 'Quiz', with illustrations by 'Phiz' (Hablot Knight Browne), though Dickens authored only the second and third.[29]

Dickens' illustrators are also represented by a collection of 150 coloured engravings after Rowlandson, Cruikshank and others (1809–26) from a variety of sources, and an album of original drawings and sketches by George Cattermole in watercolour, ink and pencil, a *Descriptive Catalogue of the works of George Cruikshank*, published in London in 1871, and a collection of pamphlets, illustrated by Cruikshank, put together by the satirist William Hone. Dunn's enthusiasm for Rowlandson is also evident in his 7th edition copy of William Combe's *Tour of Doctor Syntax* which has additional coloured plates by Rowlandson.

The Dickens item which most excited Dunn, however, was an album of correspondence between members of the Dickens family and the writer Percy Fitzgerald.[30] Most of it was between Fitzgerald and 'Charley' Dickens, Dickens' eldest son. Fitzgerald's writing career had been advanced by his many contributions to Dickens' various periodicals. Of the 32 letters between Fitzgerald and Charley Dickens in Dunn's volume, many consist of invitations to dine from the former and regrets from the latter. A furious letter from Charley objects to a letter that Fitzgerald had published from Charles Dickens' father, John, in which he confirms the use of his character as a model for the impecunious Mr Micawber in *David Copperfield*. Fitzgerald says he bought the letter in Birmingham. Charley accuses Fitzgerald of behaviour which might have been ignored had it come from a 'denizen of Grub Street who knew no better'. It is the relationship with the family that Charley feels has been violated by Percy's breach of trust. Fitzgerald's equally furious reply also survives in the volume. It states that his publication indicated nothing

29 Edward Caswall was the author of the first book in this series, *Sketches of Young Ladies* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1837).

30 I am grateful to Michael Slater for his observations on the Dickens material in the Dunn Collection which I follow closely here. His article on the Dunn Dickens Collection is forthcoming.

more than had already been noted publicly elsewhere.

Dickens scholar Michael Slater has noted other curiosities in the album, including a letter to Dickens senior from the poet 'Barry Cornwall' (Bryan Proctor). This is a rare survival as Dickens famously burnt all of his received correspondence, as well as a letter from Marie, the wife of Henry Dickens, to Percy Fitzgerald discussing her visits to explore a commission with the French sculptor Jules Dalou in London. It seems that Fitzgerald may have preserved the material in the album originally, but it is not known how it came to be in the bookseller's shop where James Dunn acquired it.

The book was sold to Dunn as containing an original and unknown plot written by Dickens himself on stationery from his home, Gad's Hill Place. In his prefatory notes to the volume, Dunn records this as his understanding, and he emphasises the literary importance of this find. However, in 1965, Blackburn's borough librarian wrote to the editors of the Pilgrim Edition of Dickens' correspondence, Madeleine House and Graham Storey, to verify the authenticity of the Dickens plot. The editors' reply indicates that the hand is not that of Charles Dickens.[31] The plot itself is interesting, nonetheless, with various Dickensian tropes. A lonely man on a visit to a cathedral town, falls ill and is nursed back to health by a woman, but loves her sister. Michael Slater has suggested that the story may be a survival from a plot writing competition, with a £100 prize, that Dickens initiated one weekend at Gad's Hill for his guests. Dickens wrote from Gad's Hill to the assistant editor of his weekly journal *All The Year Round* on 31 July 1868 to say he was 'very unwilling to abandon the Xmas No.' Yet he was struggling for ideas. His last resort, the letter says, was to offer '£100 reward at Gad's to any body who could suggest a notion to satisfy me. Charles Collins [his son-in-law, brother of Wilkie Collins] suggested one yesterday morning, in which there is something though not much. I will turn it over and over, and try a few more starts on my own account. Finally, I swear I will not give up until August is out! Vow registered.'[32] If the notepaper with the plot is indeed the idea that Dickens mulled over, it may be that Charles Collins was its author, and the recipient perhaps of £100.

In contrast to Hart, Dunn's purchases are broader in bibliographic type. While Hart seems to have pursued a rather linear book historical progression, with special interest in medieval and early printed material, Dunn seems to have followed his intellectual curiosity which was roused by a wide range of material. Dunn's description as a 'browser' of bookshops, particularly those in Paris, seems to contrast with Hart's consultation of catalogues, and plans of campaign for purchases, as documented by Hart's

31 This letter is included at the back of the Dunn album (Dunn 823.83 Dickens).

32 Charles Dickens, letter from Gad's Hill Place to William Henry Wills, 31 July 1868, in Nonesuch Dickens, v.12 (London: Nonesuch Press, 1937–8), pp. 660–1.

famous encounter with Maurice Ettinghausen in Maggs in the late 1930s.[33] The other difference in the collections is of course indicated by the depth of Dunn's and Hart's pockets. While Dunn had made a highly comfortable living from his draper's business, leaving more than £10,000 in his will, Hart left that amount for the care of his collections to the Blackburn Museum and Library alone. While it has been recently commented that many of Hart's purchases were in the 'middle range' for the prices of rare books during the 1920s through to the 40s, Hart was able to dig deep when he so desired.[34] His performance at Maggs, recorded by Ettinghausen, demonstrates his ability to spend the current equivalent of a quarter of a million pounds in a morning when he thought the occasion required it. Ed Potten has argued that Hart's apparent unconcern with marginal annotations and other marks of historical reading allowed him to purchase some items of high rarity and quality that would have commanded higher prices had they been 'clean'.[35] This was the contemporary preference in the market for rare books. Dunn was happy to compromise further with books which had been supplemented with pages from other imperfect copies. Dunn pursued his curiosity, and lived the life of an autodidactic bibliophile, much to the benefit of scholars today. Surely James Hindle was correct when he commented that, 'Though he shunned publicity and hid his light under a bushel he was one of the outstanding bibliophiles in this district.'[36]

John Henry Spencer and Richard Shepherd Collections at the Harris MAG, Preston

Autodidactism is the overriding theme of nearby Preston's preeminent book collector, John Henry Spencer. No evidence exists to confirm that Hart and/or Dunn were aware of the bibliophilic activities of Spencer, but it is doubtful that his collecting practices would have passed unnoted by other collectors living in such close proximity. With regard to focus, Spencer's interests were in stark contrast to those of Blackburn's collectors. The Spencer Collections, held by the Harris MAG and Library comprise three discrete rare book collections: one of just over 500 chapbooks from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries,[37] one of children's books and juvenile fiction

33 See Maurice Ettinghausen, *Rare Books and Royal Collectors: Memoirs of an Antiquarian Bookseller* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1966), pp. 74–5.

34 See Ed Potten, 'A mendicant pharmacopeia? Robert Edward Hart's copy of the 1485 Gart der Gesundheit', for 'Association, provenance and the book', eds E. Potten and T. Takamiya, *Poetica*, vols. 89 and 90, pp. 69–71.

35 Potten, 'A mendicant pharmacopeia?', pp. 69–71.

36 James Dunn obituary, *Northern Telegraph*, 1943.

37 Some of these are bound together; thus the total of 302 chapbooks appears in the Spencer Children's Collection database.

comprising nearly 5,000 volumes of diverse genres, and another devoted to the mystic-Catholic, Preston-born poet Francis Thompson (1859–1907), which includes 30 manuscript specimens, first editions as well as critical and biographical material.[38] Spencer also donated the Harkness Collection of 689 broadsides to the library in 1951. Produced between 1838 and 1875, and bound into six volumes, these focus on the work of the Preston printer, John Harkness of Church Street.[39]

Spencer published a series of autobiographical articles in the *Preston Herald* in the decade before his death, and from them one can learn much of his early life, and his lifelong passion for books and reading. As a model for his bequest, Spencer, as a member of several cultural committees of the town,[40] must have been well aware of the vast antiquarian collection held by the Harris, the Dr Richard Shepherd collection which was left to the 'Mayor and Aldermen of the Borough or Corporation' of Preston in 1761. Shepherd's gift predates the concept of public libraries by at least half a century; Preston's first lending library was not established until 1879. Shepherd left the sum of £40 to be spent on the fitting up of shelves for the books in 'some room belonging to the said Corporation'. The books are intended for use by the current mayor and aldermen, and those approved by the aldermen to have access to them. Shepherd's idea is municipal in concept:

> I direct that none of the Books so given nor any Book or Books to be hereafter purchased pursuant to this my last Will shall be lent or removed out of such Library But shall always remain to be there read and that one of the Keys of such Room shall be kept by the Mayor for the time being and the other by the Librarian and that the Mayor for the time being and all or any of the Aldermen or any person or persons they or any of them shall direct shall have Liberty from time to time to read or inspect All or any of the Books in such Library But not to carry out the Same or any of them.[41]

Shepherd bequest also leaves funds for the hire of a librarian, and one such was in place, William Bramwell, when The Shepherd Library came under the protection of the newly-established Harris Library in 1893. Shepherd

38 The Francis Thompson Collection also includes the works of Sir Francis Meynell. Meynell was the son of Thompson's patrons Wilfred and Alice Meynell, and a poet and printer who had set up the Pelican and, later, the Nonesuch Presses. Francis Meynell wrote the introduction to the catalogue of Spencer's Thompson collection which was donated to the Harris in 1950.

39 277 of the broadsides were printed by Harkness. See Michael Rowland, MA dissertation, University of Central Lancashire, Sept. 2007, http://clok.uclan.ac.uk/, pp. 68–102.

40 Spencer served as chair of the record and survey committee, as well as chair of the Preston Scientific Society's literary section from 1935–9. He was also a member of the Dickens Fellowship and the Lancashire Authors' Association. The Harris Library has a file of the Spencer articles for the Preston Herald.

41 Will of Richard Shepherd, 1777, Lancashire Archives, WCW496A/64.

also ensures that funds, from accruing interest on an established trust fund, shall allow the Mayor and Aldermen to expand the collection, 'enlarging and increasing the said Library'.[42]

Shepherd's collection is antiquarian, and certainly led by his own professional interest. He was a practising physician in the town, as well as serving as mayor twice, from 1747–8 and again from 1755–6. The letter of Shepherd's will regarding the care and expansion of the library continued into the nineteenth century. There are now more than 8,500 items in the Shepherd library at the Harris. The core of the collection, which it is presumed formed the original library created by Shepherd himself, comes from the eighteenth century, although there is some earlier material as well as much nineteenth century material added after Shepherd's lifetime. Comprehensive analysis of the Shepherd collection is beyond the remit of this chapter, but it is classically antiquarian in its empirical inclinations. Volumes devoted to Greek and Roman antiquities, geographical and astronomical studies confirm the antiquarian approach to collecting. Much of Shepherd's interest is directed towards medicine with treatises on a wide variety of practical subjects both contemporary, such as treatises on inoculation and smallpox published in London 1722,[43] and historical, for example William Kemp's *A brief treatise of the nature, causes, signes, preservation from, and cure of the pestilence*, published in London in 1665. While the medical material dominates with books on anatomy, the history of drugs, poisons, optics and chemistry, there is also much on English and religious history, with an emphasis on county history and topographical description. Furthermore, books written in a variety of languages, and dictionaries for their study – including Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German, French, Hindustani, Persian, Armenian, Sanskrit, Portuguese, Welsh and Anglo-Saxon – reveal another keen interest.

John Henry Spencer's interests as a collector share little with Shepherd and his legacy. Indeed, the historical interests of James Dunn have more in common with Shepherd than the latter's fellow Prestonian, Spencer, whose interest in history is firmly local, and whose intellectual and emotional engagement is with literature. Spencer's obituary in the *Preston Guardian*, on 16 December 1952, described a man who identified strongly with the aesthetic movement of the 1890s. His passion for the work of Henry James, George Gissing and Aubrey Beardsley, and the influence of *The Yellow Book* are mentioned as well as his later interest in Aldous Huxley, D.H. Lawrence and the Powys brothers. Although Spencer's Francis Thompson collection is an important literary resource – the only larger collection is held in the John J. Burn's Library in Boston College – his reading library of contemporary

42 Will of Richard Shepherd, 1777, Lancashire Archives, WCW496A/64.

43 Thomas Nettleton and Henry Newman, *Articles on inoculation and smallpox* (London: W & J Innys, 1722).

literature was not part of his collecting practice. Spencer was clearly interested in local printing, as evidenced by the Harkness broadsides, but no indication exists of the historical interest in printing which is so clear in the collections of Blackburn's Robert Edward Hart and James Dunn. Spencer seems a much more modern collector than either of these two men, recognising the historical interest surely in the broadsides and the chapbooks, as well as their attractive prices and what he may have perceived about their precarious survival, but his obsession with Thompson seems personal, and his collection of children's material seems linked to his childhood engagement with books, documented in his articles for the *Herald* in the 1940s.

Although Spencer is described as a modest man, uncomfortable in the

Figure 7.3. John Henry Spencer and his wife, Agnes, at the opening of an exhibition of the Francis Thompson Collection, 1950. Image courtesy of the Harris Museum, Art Gallery and Library, Preston.

limelight of praise for his generosity to the community, he was also able to forge important friendships with those who shared his literary enthusiasms.

When Spencer prepared his catalogue of the Francis Thompson material for donation to the Harris Library in 1950, it was Sir Francis Meynell, son of Thompson's patrons, Wilfred and Alice Meynell, and poet, printer and founder of the Nonesuch Press, who wrote the introduction to the catalogue. Like James Dunn, Spencer travelled far and wide in search of books, and adventure in general. Although none of the journeys that Spencer describes equal some of James Dunn's – in particular Dunn's trip to London during the Blitz to experience the bombing[44] – Spencer describes many of his literary pilgrimages in the *Herald* series, as well as some of the friendships he forged with London booksellers. In 'My friend the bookseller is dead' (*Preston Herald*, 6 November, 1942), Spencer laments the death of Noel Broadbent, bookseller of Peckham Rye.[45] In this description of his friend, Spencer draws a picture of a kindly mentor, who understood Spencer's bibliophilic passion, and subtly enhanced his taste and inclinations:

> It was not for nought that Augustine Birrell declared that some of the greatest benefactors of mankind were second hand booksellers, and I entirely concur in his opinion. But my book seller friend- N-B- stood in a class apart. He had a flair for the unexpected and the unusual and was full of the ripe wisdom pertaining to the older writers but he never neglected the moderns. He knew my whims and idiosyncrasies, many of them no doubt unreasonable and injudicious, and he revised them or better still, deployed them away to the surer and more abiding delights of the true bibliophile.[46]

Part of Spencer's usual agenda during his London jaunts were visits to Harold Munro's Poetry Bookshop, where he met Munro on one occasion, and attended poetry readings.[47] What distinguishes Spencer from his contemporaries, Hart and Dunn, is his interest in what is new. The chief attraction of the Poetry Bookshop is clearly the 'large table in the centre, for on it were always to be seen the very latest and newest books'.[48] Both Hart and Dunn engaged with the private press movement by purchase, at least,[49] but if they admired the aesthetic movement of the 1890s or the

44 See Dunn's obituary notice as before.

45 I am grateful to Laurence Worms, former president of the Antique Booksellers' Association, for the identification of Broadbent.

46 J.H. Spencer, 'My friend the bookseller is dead', *Preston Herald*, 6 Nov. 1942. It is not known when Spencer began his book-buying trips to London, but he places his first encounter with Noel Broadbent to just after World War One.

47 See J.H. Spencer, 'The poet and his bookshop', *Preston Herald*, 6 April 1944.

48 Spencer, 'The poet and his bookshop'.

49 In Hart's copy of the Kelmscott Chaucer, one of the 48 copies bound in white pigskin with silver clasps, there is an envelope addressed to Hart from Jane Morris which is reported to have thanked Hart for his custom and support, but this letter is now unaccounted for. A letter does survive in Blackburn MAG's Hart Archive from the American poet and

new poetry of the post-war years no trace remains in their collections of such interest. While Spencer's passion for poetry is clearly apparent in his Thompson collection, his interest in the new illustrative techniques which emerged from the aesthetic movement is evident in examples from the children's book collection. Fin de siècle painter, Frank Cayley Robinson's artwork in Spencer's copy of *The Bluebird*, by Symbolist playwright Maurice Maeterlinck, is a fine example of the type of work that appealed to Spencer. Arthur Rackham's pictures for *The Ingoldsby Legends*, published in 1907, and books illustrated by Kate Greenaway and Walter Crane in collaboration with the printer Edmund Evans, register Spencer's interest in new artistic and literary movements of the 1890s and the new century.

Spencer's children's book collection has a wide variety of genres including poetry, books of instruction, nursery rhymes, biographies, bibles and bible stories, travel, geography, science and natural history, periodicals and toy and novelty books with moveable parts, but it is the fiction that predominates. Although some 200 of the fiction titles were published before 1850, most of the material is from the 1850s through to 1913 comprising some 1,000 titles. There are just over 200 works of fiction post 1913, although nearly 50 of these are additions to the collection in the years following Spencer's death into the 1980s. Spencer's literary adventures in real life also mirror his favoured realm of literature. His series of articles for the *Herald* recount a pilgrimage to Dorchester. The title of the piece, 'I shook hands with Thomas Hardy' reveals the result of this holiday excursion.[50] This type of close encounter with his literary heroes is something that Spencer pursues relentlessly, as his articles indicate: 'I stood at Francis Thompson's grave'; 'I visited Cowper's house'; 'How I found Clifford's Inn and Samuel Butler's house'; 'The sage of Chelsea; a pilgrimage to 3 Cheyne Row'. It seems that the literary pilgrimage was another extension of his collecting experience, in that he collected these physical journeys and encounters, as he did his books.

The Harris Private Press Collection

The Private Press Collection at the Harris is associated with the work of Joseph Pomfret, (1878–1944), Preston librarian from 1928 until his death. Spencer and Pomfret were members of many of the same committees that served the library and the cultural life of Lancashire, including the Preston Historical Society and Lancashire Authors' Association. No record exists of their friendship, but they were certainly well known to one another and

letterpress printer, Loyd Haberly, who was sending Hart a copy of Haberly's new book, *The Copper Coloured Cupid*, published in 1931 by his own press, the Seven Acres, while he was resident in the UK.

50 Spencer, Preston Herald, 15 Aug. 1941.

moved in the same cultural circles of the town. Pomfret's contribution to that cultural life was considerable, but it is his association with the Private Press Collection that is one of his most enduring legacies. While no evidence exists that Pomfret was a private collector of books, his own description of the build of the Private Press Collection, that he referred to as the 'Reference Library', reveals his own intentions with regard to its creation.

The history of the press and printing in Preston is best addressed elsewhere, particularly in the work of Andrew Hobbs on Preston journalist, Anthony Hewitson.[51] Spencer's interest in the historic printing trade in the town is demonstrated by his collection of broadsides; the majority of which were printed in Preston by John Harkness, but Joseph Pomfret's interest is linked to the current state of the art and business of printing in the town. In an untitled talk in the Pomfret papers held by the Harris, probably dating from the 1930s, Pomfret describes his motivation for building the private press holdings in the library. He writes that Preston has not only a thriving printing trade which produces 'work in letterpress, black and white illustration and colour printing fit to compare with commercial printing anywhere in the country', but that the Harris Institute, with its bespoke printing shop, trains the printers of the future.[52] What Pomfret wished to create for the students of printing and design, as well as for those generally interested in books, was a record of historical printing practices and book design. What he wished to curate was a collection of 'specimen pages or books dating from Caxton [to] afford the craftsman a survey of the history and progress of typography and book production from the beginning of printing in England. They are much- nay, perhaps more- interesting to the book-lover.'[53] Although Pomfret acknowledges that the Harris collection is not as large or as complete as other such collections in the UK, he emphasises that the Harris collection 'is far richer than most town libraries of the same size'.[54] This pointed regionalism is something echoed in the collecting and donation practices of other bibliophiles in the area.

Pomfret's talk on the 'Reference Library' closes by listing some of the outstanding items in the collection. These include one leaf from Caxton's *The Chronicles of England,* an imperfect copy of Wynkyn de Worde's *Golden Legend* (London 1512), five incunables including the oldest book in the collection,

51 See Andrew Hobbs, 'The poet, the newspaper editor, and working-class local literary culture in Victorian Blackburn', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 2019, 168:93–116. Andrew Hobbs is currently preparing a scholarly edition of the diaries of Preston journalist Anthony Hewitson, held by Lancashire Archives, DP/512. This work-in-progress can be accessed via https://hewitsondiaries.wordpress.com/.

52 The Harris Institute was the Preston Institute for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge which was opened in 1849. A copy of Pomfret's undated address is held in the Harris Library.

53 Pomfret address as above.

54 Pomfret address as above.

The Constitutions of Pope Clement V, printed by Michael Wenssler at Basle on 2 May 1476, as well as sixteenth-century examples from the presses of John Rastell, Richard Pynson, Peter Treveris and Edward Whytechurch. There is somewhat of a caesura between examples from these early printers and the nineteenth- and twentieth-century work of the private press movement but Pomfret draws these two periods together with conviction in writing that while 'the virtues of modern presses are essentially to the "book-lover", they are of great use to the craftsman, by exhibiting new forms of type, new methods of page layout, illustration and general format which set a higher standard to be attained and encourage new ideas.'[55] Pomfret closes his talk by discussing the 50 modern presses whose work the reference library now possesses. It is an impressive list indeed including all the major players in the private press movement: Kelmscott, Gregynog, Golden Cockerel, Doves, Nonesuch, Shakespeare Head, Ashendene and some fascinating examples from lesser lights such as Beaumont, Argonaut, Halcyon and Pear Tree. The

Figure 7.4. Joseph Pomfret, Preston Borough Librarian from 1922–44. Image courtesy of the Harris Museum, Art Gallery and Library, Preston.

collection has been added to since Pomfret's time and now contains some 300 examples from the private press movement as well as reference material. An undated note from the library endowment committee, which also seems

55 Pomfret address as above.

to come from the 1930s, records a list of books which have been approved for purchase in order to enhance the library's offerings to students of science and technology, as well as the enhancement of holdings on fine arts, ceramics, textiles, furniture, modern fine press books and antiquities. Listed for purchase are some of Pomfret's suggestions. These include *The Iliad* from the Nonesuch Press (1931), the works of Spenser from the Shakespeare Head (1930), *The Psalter* from the Golden Cockerel Press, and the *Plays of Euripides* from the Gregynog (1931). Pomfret must have been persuasive, as all of these are now part of the collection, even though it seems that the price of the Gregynog volumes did raise an eyebrow or two with the minutes recording that the Euripides books cost £6.6s, 'each'.[56]

Edwin James Hardcastle Collection of Original Art for Book Illustrations

While Burnley's Towneley Hall Museum was not the recipient of the gift of a bibliophile, it did purchase an important collection of original art for book illustrations assembled by Edwin James Hardcastle. Hardcastle's family were from Halifax where they owned an umbrella manufacturing business, the Crown Umbrella Works. Edwin Hardcastle's lifespan, from 1876–1920, makes him a contemporary of Hart, Dunn and Pomfret, and the source of his income through manufacture places him in the same cultural context as the other collectors discussed in this chapter. But Hardcastle died young at the age of 44; it may have been his early death that prompted his widow, Louisa, to seek the sale of his collection of illustrations, which she sold to the Towneley Hall Museum in 1927 for the not inconsiderable sum of £350. Information regarding the life of James Hardcastle is scant but many of his interests were shared by the other collectors discussed above. Like Edward Hart, Hardcastle was an antiquary, and he is described as a leading member of the Halifax Antiquarian Society.[57] Hardcastle collected not only illustrations; he was also a philatelist. It is noted that his large collection was on display in Germany before the outbreak of war in 1914, and had to remain there until after the end of the conflict.[58] Like Spencer, Hardcastle was keen on local history, and also appears to have been consistently fascinated by art. Hardcastle researched the eighteenth-century Halifax portrait painters, John Horner and his son, Joshua, building a personal collection of their works, including sketch books from Italy, which he subsequently donated to the Bankfield Museum in Halifax. In 1915, Hardcastle had lent a selection of this material to the Bankfield as part of an exhibition of drawings and

56 Records of the Library Acquisition Committee held by the Harris Library.

57 See Edwin James Hardcastle obituary, *Halifax Courier*, 27 Nov. 1920.

58 Hardcastle obituary, *Halifax Courier*.

paintings from local collections. The reviewer for the *Halifax Courier* admired Hardcastle's eighteenth-century material, with its 'cool greys and browns of the early English style' in contrast to the 'noisy impressionist, not forgetting cubists and other "ists"' of the rest of the exhibition.[59] Hardcastle's practice of lending his material to museums, both nearby and abroad, which it is noted he funded 'at personal cost', perhaps resulted in the eventual sale of his collection of book illustrations to Towneley. The collection of illustrations had been previously exhibited at Towneley during Hardcastle's lifetime. He had also shown them at Bankfield and Belle Vue Museums in Halifax. While Hardcastle's death in mid-life did not afford him the opportunity to contemplate donating his collections to the museums of his local community, his programme of exhibitions demonstrates his wish to share his research, and his collections, particularly with the people of Halifax.

The Hardcastle Collection of Original Art for Book Illustrations comprises more than 500 original drawings. Although the collection does contain some earlier material such as work by the renowned eighteenth-century English wood engraver, Thomas Bewick, two drawings by William Blake and several illustrations by Dickens' illustrators George Cruikshank and 'Phiz' (Hablot Knight Browne), most of the drawings were by artists who were Hardcastle's contemporaries. The work that appealed to Hardcastle was innovative, and reflected the evolving trends and transformative shifts in printing technology that shaped what was possible in book illustration into the twentieth century. The influence of the Pre-Raphaelites in the work of Walter Crane and Kate Greenaway, the emerging world of twentieth-century advertising in the work of Cecil Aldin and John Hassall, and the romanticism of Harry Rountree and Arch Webb indicate the depth of the diversity in Hardcastle's collection.

The collections that have been the subject of this chapter, now held by museums and libraries in Blackburn, Preston and Burnley, are all reflective of the time and place of their creators' lives and their intellectual and aesthetic inclinations. The money they spent on their collections was made from industrialist concerns: Hart's ropes powered the cotton mills, Spencer spent 31 years of his life employed in the mills, ending his career as a white-collar office worker in charge of foreign language accounts, Pomfret was a public servant who strove to make the Preston Library available to the town's residents, most of whose employment was associated with the mills, while Dunn and Hardcastle, with drapery and umbrellas, sold goods obtainable from the profits of the local cotton industry. While Hart came from several generations of a financially successful family central to Blackburn's civic life, the others are outside the political and religious power bases. Both Dunn and Hardcastle were dissenters, seemingly uninterested in public affairs but

59 See *Halifax Courier* review, 'Bank Field exhibition: an interesting loan of pictures', 19 June 1915.

supportive of their church communities. Spencer came from a working-class background, with family members all employed by the mills, and Pomfret, who came from a farming community just outside of Blackburn, made a journey to borough librarian which differed greatly from that pursued by the rest of his family. While only Hart had the advantages of an elite education, there is evidence that all of these collectors pursued the excitement of travel opened up by the age of steam. Hart himself travelled to Europe, Canada and Palestine; Dunn made frequent journeys to London, Paris and North Africa; Spencer visited France and Germany and explored the UK in pursuit of his literary heroes, while Hardcastle's loan of his philatelic collection to an unidentified source in Germany, and his research on the Italian sketch books of the eighteenth-century portrait painter Joshua Horner, suggest that he had knowledge of European collecting networks. While the collections demonstrate the antiquarian influences of previous generations of collectors, and indeed Hart and Hardcastle were active members of their local Societies of Antiquaries, their collections reflect the possibilities of a new age, and the freedoms that could be enjoyed by some who had benefited from reforms in labour law and education, and perhaps especially from local provisions for museums, libraries and art galleries. Collecting was no longer the preserve of the elite, but possible for many. As John Henry Spencer wrote (of his experiences in the 1890s) in one of his reflective articles for the Preston Herald:

> …it was the beginning of an epoch which demanded that freedom should be given to the common man and opportunities for culture and social redemption. There was a search for a new mode of life, a feeling of expectancy, a toying with new ideas, and much of it was due to a determination to test new sensations.[60]

60 John Henry Spencer, 'The Green Carnation; an episode of the Nineties', *Preston Herald*, 7 May 1943.

8. The value of the past: heritage between local, global and national

Rebecca Darley

'Something for my Native Town', something from my native town[1]

A few years ago, a schoolchild won a competition to design the flag of my native land, the Black Country, a region of the Midlands roughly covering the boroughs of Dudley, Sandwell, Walsall and Wolverhampton.[2] It is the Black Country because of the coal smoke that once covered buildings, trees and people. The flag features three vertical bands of black (for coal), white in the shape of the Redhouse glass cone, and red (for fire), and three links of a chain crossing the field horizontally.[3] Chains, because ironworking was one

1 My thanks go to all the organisers, speakers and attendees of the conference from which this volume emerges, and at which I first presented research on R.E. Hart and his coin collection. Especial gratitude is due to Cynthia Johnston for introducing me to Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery (MAG) and its collections, and for many fruitful discussions about our work on it. The curatorial team and staff at Blackburn MAG have also been unfailingly welcoming and rewarding to work with, and Caroline Wilkinson, in particular, has facilitated access to the coin collection and associated documentation, and helped me to understand the collection in the context of Blackburn MAG's history. In 2017 a group of students from the University of Saskatchewan, led by Tracene Harvey, director of the University of Saskatchewan Museum of Antiquities, visited Blackburn MAG as part of a course on histories of collecting. Working with them sharpened my ideas about Hart's documentary record and I am grateful to Jackson Hase, whose work with the collection was fundamental in uncovering some of Hart's acquisitional habits, and who was my co-author on the 2019 article mentioned above. My colleagues in Birkbeck University of London's history, classics and archaeology department have further encouraged me to think about histories of collecting and the interfaces between the past, power and diverse stakeholders in heritage. Thanks in particular to Jen Baird, Lesley McFadyen and Kate Franklin. Finally, I am grateful to Jonathan Jarrett for a careful reading of this chapter in draft and for thinking about it with me.

2 Black Country History, http://blackcountryhistory.org (accessed 5 June 2020).

3 Black Country Living Museum, 'The Black Country Flag'. The flag has not been uncontroversial, with debates about the use of chains and the region's historical association with producing the metalwork that underpinned slave trading (see, e.g., M. Stallard, 'The Black Country flag row shows Britain is still blind to its colonial past', *The Guardian*, 12 July 2017, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/jul/21/black-country-flag-britain-colonial-past-slavery (accessed 5 June 2020). This chapter does not seek to diminish these significant concerns. The flag is used here as an illustration of the

of the major industries of the region: Black Country workers made the chain and anchor for the Titanic. Indeed, a replica of the anchor was led on a public procession through the streets of Dudley in 2010, before being installed as a permanent monument in Netherton.[4] The flag has gained semi-official status and now flies above some public monuments. The campaign for a flag was not part of a separatist or party-political movement; it was run in a spirit of good-humoured seriousness that characterises the place I still call home, and always will, even though I have lived there only sporadically since turning eighteen. I was brought up in Wolverhampton, and even without a flag, 'Black Country' was an identity, rooted in history and in place.

Of course, the coal, chains and fires were long past by the time I was growing up there in the 1990s and early 2000s. My father can just remember, from his early childhood, an eerie orange glow at night over parts of the Black Country where the furnaces never went cold, and the grinding poverty of industrial slums in which some of his friends lived – gradually cleared during the 1950s and early 1960s. Like Blackburn and the cities of the North West with which it shares much of its story, the industrial belt of the Midlands also fell on hard times in the mid twentieth century.[5] My own native town has seen some much-needed recovery in the last decade. Trendy apartments are beginning to colonise old factory buildings whose windows loomed like vacant eyes throughout my childhood.[6] The canals have been lovingly restored, in large part by the good efforts of the Canal and River Trust, and now provide miles of recreational pathways and a haven for wildlife. Nevertheless, the landscape of my childhood contained its fair share of derelict red-brick factory complexes and decaying patrician facades testifying to the pride and aspiration of richer days.

I eventually left my childhood town to study history, then archaeology and finally a PhD in Byzantine studies, specialising in the coinage of the Eastern Mediterranean and trade connections between the Mediterranean

articulation of regional identity. It is conspicuous, though, that press responses to the racist connotations of the flag have themselves been silent on the subject, or dismissive of the long-term violences of class and the unequal national distribution of wealth that have created the Black Country's regional identity. These intersect, today as in the past, with racial discrimination.

4 Staff reporter, 'Replica Titanic anchor pulled through the Black Country', *BBC Black Country*, 13 Aug. 2010, http://news.bbc.co.uk/local/blackcountry/hi/people_and_places/history/newsid_8908000/8908884.stm (accessed 5 June 2020).

5 Cynthia Johnston and Jack Hartnell, *Cotton to Gold: Extraordinary Collection of the Industrial North West* (London: Two Temple Place, 2015), pp. 12–13.

6 For perhaps the most iconic example see Megan Archer on the renovation of the Sunbeam factory site, 'Sunbeam factory transformation back on track in boost for Wolverhampton', *Express and Star*, https://www.expressandstar.com/news/property/2019/03/02/sunbeam-factory-transformation-back-on-track-in-boost-for-wolverhampton/ (accessed 5 June 2020).

and the western Indian Ocean. By 2015 I was living in London, that starry, semi-mythical metropolis of museums and galleries. I'd known Cynthia Johnston for several years and she invited me to the exhibition 'Cotton to Gold' at Two Temple Place. She had told me about the amazing collections of printed books and manuscripts at Blackburn when we were both finishing our doctoral studies, fiercely busy and with little time to think much about things beyond our own research specialism. I was now going mainly to support a friend. I had never been to Blackburn, and knew the name, I must confess, for the same reason that most people outside it have heard of Wolverhampton: it has a football team. Both Wolverhampton Wanderers and Blackburn Rovers were founder members of the 1888 Football League, their footballing past itself a testament to the cultural vibrancy of nineteenth-century industrial communities.[7]

Meeting Cynthia in the 'Cotton to Gold' exhibition, she introduced me to someone, saying, 'Rebecca can tell you more about these. She is a coins person!' The dread gripped me of being an 'expert' called upon to testify. What if I didn't know anything about whatever I was to be shown? What if I embarrassed myself and my friend? I turned around and saw the magnificent, clear perspex ~~display~~ case in which were displayed Robert Edward Hart's continuous series of Roman imperial coins, at least one for every emperor, down to the third century. I didn't know then that this was a feat only matched in the UK by the British Museum.[8] But I am a coins person (technically numismatist). I was captivated and I think (hope) managed to tell the enquirer at least a bit about some of the specimens.

In the years since, I have had frequent opportunities to visit Blackburn and work with its collections. I left London (though I still work there) and now live in Keighley, another post-industrial English town, once part of the same cotton-belt as Blackburn. The similarities between Blackburn and my native town seem clearer with each visit and working with researchers and curators to uncover the story of Blackburn's collections has inspired me to learn more about Wolverhampton as well. Like the new industrial towns and cities of the North West, which were barely villages in the late eighteenth century, Wolverhampton had no aristocratic lineages strongly associated with it. Thus, the names that marked the civic topography of my youth were the names of industrialist or entrepreneurial worthies of the eighteenth to twentieth centuries: the Mander Centre where I shopped on a Saturday afternoon; the magnificent, triangular Chubb building – once a locksmiths, then by the time I was growing up a struggling independent arts venue and cinema; and Bantock Park's playground and luxury family home transformed

7 W.J. Baker, 'The making of a working-class football culture in Victorian England', *Journal of Social History*, 13 (2): 241–51, (243).

8 Johnston and Hartnell, *Cotton to Gold*, p. 37.

into a small museum.

Wolverhampton has its art gallery, too, with a striking neo-classical facade. It opened in 1884, on land provided by the town council, and was constructed and paid for by a local building contractor, Philip Horsman. It would appear to have been part of the story of library and museum construction explored by David McKitterick in this volume, though with its own specific local flavour: in Wolverhampton the Central Library came into being as a later civic prestige project in 1902, and the art gallery seems to have occupied the symbolic space more usually taken up by a municipal museum.[9] Nevertheless, in addition to a core collection of nineteenth-century paintings and a new specialist interest in Pop art, it also holds and displays major collections of local crafts, including japanned ware and enamel work from nearby Bilston. I also vividly remember its rooms of 'curiosities', including a selection of steel traps that simultaneously horrified and fascinated my childish imagination, and a smattering of stuffed birds and animals. In this sense it familiarised me from an early age with the Europe-wide phenomenon of the 'city museum'.

Wolverhampton Art Gallery was part of the landscape of cultural heritage available to me, and that fostered a sense of the place in which I was living, and of wider worlds beyond. I am fond and proud of my native town. Growing up in Wolverhampton, though, it was never possible to shake a sense of being looked down on, if looked on at all, from outside. The city is rarely referred to in literature or on television and when it is the desired effect is almost always comedic.[10] With the possible exception of Wightwick Manor for Arts and Crafts enthusiasts, it was not clear why anyone would visit Wolverhampton for its cultural heritage.[11] Much work has since been done to develop and promote local heritage sites, including the Black Country Living Museum, the magnificent Art Deco enclosures of Dudley Zoo, and the Art Gallery's own targeted contemporary collections. However, as a child and adolescent, I don't think my feeling of being 'on the edge' of a cultural world was particularly singular.

This feeling emerged, I learned as I grew older and studied museums, heritage and eventually the Blackburn collections, from the complexities that have accrued to the idea of heritage, and particularly, from its earliest

9 Art UK, https://www.artuk.org/visit/venues/wolverhampton-art-gallery-3442.

10 My personal favourite of these references, collected over the years, comes from the magnificent first spin-off novel from the science fiction sitcom *Red Dwarf*. In ch. 1 of Grant & Naylor's (collective name of Rob Grant and Doug Naylor) *Infinity Welcomes Careful Drivers* (London: Penguin Books, 1989), the protagonist, Dave Lister, is described as waking up after an epic drunken night out in an 'armpit' of a world 'even more depressing than Wolverhampton', before embarking on a journey through space and time to become the last surviving member of the human race.

11 S. Ponder and A. Mander Lahr Coles, *Wightwick Manor: West Midlands* (London: National Trust, 1993).

manifestations, heritage as a civic project. This chapter will explore these questions in more detail later, but I flag up here the tentative encounter of my younger self with the issues of what heritage is, and who gets to decide? And who decides who gets what heritage? Like their exuberant but dishevelled nineteenth-century architecture, Wolverhampton and Blackburn share this problematic nexus of questions. Philanthropic donors to Blackburn's museum and associated collections were all posing their own answers to these questions, by deciding what to collect and to donate, and by choosing in many cases to give their best material to their native towns, rather than to London or Oxbridge institutions. Their ideas of what had value were often tightly framed by the conventions of the age. Their sense that the working men and women of the industrial north and Midlands should have access to such riches, should even possess them as an inherited patrimony, was by contrast subversive and even radical, no matter how properly mannered and dressed.

It was this aspect of R.E. Hart's coin collection that I set out to explore in a 2019 article that forms a cousin to this volume.[12] Co-written with a Canadian scholar who came to study Hart's collecting habits from his notes and purchase records, this study focused on Hart as an example of a wider nineteenth- and early twentieth-century type. We explored his method of selecting what kinds of coins to collect. In this he was quite traditional. His tastes followed the dominant scholarly trends of the day, centring the 'great' classical civilizations of Greece and Rome, and the coinage of Britain through time. This was at least in part because Hart engaged closely with current academic work, purchasing new books as they came out, and sorting and commenting on his collection in terms of new ideas and discoveries. He was a scholar, albeit not an author. We also looked at the ways in which Hart interacted with local, national and international networks of coin collecting and study. He bought coins on journeys abroad in his youth, and appears to have commissioned purchases from European auction houses later in life. The bulk of his purchases, though, came from a couple of significant London dealers and a wider range of sellers in the North West.

Then, as today, coin collecting overlapped closely with the study of coins most visibly by means of the learned societies. As our article explored, Hart was a lifelong member of the Royal Numismatic Society, along with dealers, other collectors, museum curators, and university-employed and independent scholars. He likely attended meetings fairly regularly in London and attended the International Numismatic Congress when it was held in London in 1935. From his annotated congress programme, we were able to

12 J. Hase and R. Darley, 'Collections to think with: collecting, scholarship and belonging in the R.E. Hart Collection (Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery)', *Journal of the History of Collections*, fhz022 (2019), <https://doi.org/10.1093/jhc/fhz022>.

reconstruct which papers he planned to attend, and which people he hoped to catch up with. Among his papers is also a letter from a Manchester-based collector, whom Hart met at the congress and kept in touch with subsequently, showing the interlocking networks by which collecting coins was not just about the acquisition of objects, but about personal exploration and community building. It seems clear from Hart's papers that these aspects of coin collecting were part of the answer to the question of what has value, and why.

Local, national, global: what matters, to whom and why?

'Heritage' is these days a matter of management achieved by governments, local communities and supra-national organisations tessellating and overlapping on a global scale.[13] Most national governments have a department or organisation in charge of heritage, whether it be the Indian Archaeological Survey, the UK Department for Media, Culture and Sport or the French Ministère de la Culture. Their diverse titles and precise remits testify to the difficulty the world has in defining exactly what heritage means. Heritage is also frequently the focus for smaller-scale local groups and community projects which use voluntary contributions alongside funding competed for at national and international levels. Supra-national heritage organisations provide an additional level of global coverage, including the European Commission for Culture and, most prominently, UNESCO's World Heritage division. Many organisations therefore exist to 'look after' heritage.

Heritage nonetheless remains conceptually elusive. It is based on ideas of inheritance, which originally dealt with land, property and perhaps intangibles like titles, passed through families.[15] As nations emerged in Europe from roughly the sixteenth century, the idea was broadened. The 'family' became the population of the nation (though initially often only its elite members), and the inheritance became the objects which gave that community a sense of its (usually important) place in the world. This might include material showing where ideas or images came from, or objects which 'proved' important events in the community's story of its own past.[16]

The concept of heritage has evolved with the nation-state. Heritage has undergone its own processes of democratisation as people have argued that

13 O. Löfgren and E. Klekot, 'Culture and Hhritage', *Ethnologie française*, 42: 391–4 (391).

14 A handful of medieval examples might include the Duncarron Medieval Village, the building of the Crusader Castle of Guedelon, and the construction of a medieval monastery based on the 9th-century St Gallen plan.

15 S. Weigel, 'Inheritance law, heritage, heredity: European perspectives', *Law and Literature*, 20: 279–87, https://doi.org/10.1525/lal.2008.20.2.279.

16 S. Thurley, *Men from the Ministry: the History of Heritage* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013).

everyone should have a voice in the national story, leading first to movements to provide public access to material and then to collections and exhibitions of the heritage of marginal or regional groups.[17] In 2015, for example, the Volkskundemuseum in Vienna curated an exhibition on Gastarbeiter, while in 2015–16 the People's History Museum, London, dedicated an exhibition to the Disability Discrimination Act, and the National Museum of Ireland examined the experiences of migrant women. Simultaneously, heritage has also been involved in processes of globalisation, in which national heritage has been sidelined in favour of 'world heritage' or universal themes as a critique of and proposed alternative to the nation.[18] Exhibitions like the South Asian collections and gallery of Blackburn MAG, which connects local South Asian communities in Blackburn with South Asian material culture, draw together these separate threads of democratisation, globalisation and localisation.

Inevitably, these developments have brought challenges along with benefits. When heritage is the combined stuff of all human experience, everything becomes heritage, but no society has the capacity to preserve everything. As David McKitterick's chapter in this volume points out, after only a few decades many regional museums and libraries in the UK were struggling with pressure on space, with no clear way to distinguish between 'antiquarian detritus' and material of 'genuine importance'. As early as 1856 Nathaniel Hawthorne lamented of the British Museum, and objects of no lesser reputation than the Parthenon Marbles, that '[i]t quite crushes a person to see so much at once … I do not see how future ages are to stagger onward under all this dead weight, with the additions that will continually be made to it'.[19] It is vital to make choices about what gets saved, who decides and how, and where that heritage is then presented.

A fairly recent and sensational archaeological discovery in the UK provides an illustrative case of the contentious and productive possibilities of heritage to explore, consolidate and disrupt assumed solutions to these problems. It also illustrates an issue of deep relevance to Blackburn and its collections: the role of the nation in current heritage discourse and policy. The Staffordshire

17 K. Buckley and S. Sullivan, 'Issues in values-based management for indigenous cultural heritage in Australia', *APT Bulletin*, 45: 35–42; M. Tervonen, 'Going from house to house: exploring Roma encounters in rural Finland through oral history and written reminiscences', *Oral History*, 44: 91–9.

18 C. Forrest, 'Cultural heritage as the common heritage of humankind: a critical re-evaluation', *The Comparative and International Law Journal of Southern Africa*, 40: 124–51; S. MacDonald, 'Museum Europe: negotiating heritage', *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures*, 17: 47–65.

19 N. Hawthorne, in *The English Note-books (continued)* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Pub., 2009), entry for 27 March.

Hoard was unearthed in 2009 by a metal detectorist near Hammerwich.[20] Archaeological excavation uncovered thousands of objects and fragments, mainly of gold. The objects were made and deposited probably in the seventh or eighth centuries in the political entity known as the Kingdom of Mercia. This is a period and political structure about which few texts survive, and reconstructions from archaeological material are debated among scholars, but it has not historically been a period or region fundamental to national or local stories of identity.[21]

The Staffordshire Hoard was rapidly identified as being treasure and of 'national importance'. This determination is made on the basis of the three 'Waverley Criteria', determined in 1950, which require a heritage item to be of outstanding significance 'nationally, aesthetically or for scholarship'. The determination is made by a council of eight experts chosen by the culture, media and sport minister. The guidelines constitute an overlapping accretion of subjectivities, some acknowledged and some not, which nevertheless fail to define in any meaningful way the 'life of the nation' or importance thereto that is meant to guide all decisionmaking.[22]

Often, for something of such great value as the Staffordshire Hoard, a declaration of 'treasure' status would mean it being purchased and accessioned by the British Museum.[23] Instead, a wave of popular sentiment closely connected to deeply felt regionalism, determined that the hoard should remain in the region where it was discovered (however that was to be defined). A large fundraising campaign, organised by Birmingham MAG and The Potteries MAG in Stoke-on-Trent, secured private donations in addition to grants, towards the purchase and local display of the hoard. Its display is now permanently divided between these two museums, with significant semi-permanent loans to Tamworth Castle Museum and Lichfield Cathedral as part of a new heritage tour, the Mercian Trail. At the heart of this initiative was the claim of all of these institutions to regional prominence in the modern Midlands (the heartland of medieval Mercia) or political significance within

20 D. Symons, *The Staffordshire Hoard* (Birmingham: Birmingham Museums Trust, 2014).

21 On Mercia see *Mercia: an Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe, Studies in the Early History of Europe*, eds M.P. Brown and C.A. Farr (London: Continuum Studies in Medieval History, 2001); M. Capper, *Mercia: the Shaping of Power in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) (forthcoming); on regional identities and reactions to the Staffordshire Hoard see, M. Capper and M. Scully, 'Ancient objects with modern meanings: museums, volunteers, and the Anglo-Saxon "Staffordshire Hoard" as a marker of twenty-first century regional identity', *Ethnic and Racial Studies, the Impact of Diasporas: Markers of Identity*, 39 (2): 181–203.

22 Department for Culture, Media and Sport, UK government, *Export Controls on Objects of Cultural Interest* (London: Houses of Parliament, 2015), pp. 5–7.

23 T.D. Kendrick, E. Kitzinger and D. Allen, 'The Sutton Hoo finds', *British Museum Quarterly*, 13, ii–136 (111).

the historic kingdom of Mercia.

Throughout the debates around the hoard's fate – substantially conducted online as part of the popular fundraising campaign – a noticeable theme was the instability of the expression of a sense of 'local' identity. It was contested and could not be associated with any pre-existing regional identity. Claims were made on behalf of modern counties and cities, of ancient political structures, and other communal identities such as the Black Country, which are themselves fuzzy geographically and politically, rooted in the industrial economies of particular towns and cities.[24] More often, however, people expressed feelings of identity and cultural ownership, supported by huge demonstrations of public support and interest when parts of the hoard went on early display in Birmingham and Stoke, even as uncleaned fragments with necessarily limited historical context. Reference was made to the Kingdom of Mercia as a basis for local pride (usually disregarding the fact that this kingdom had varied in size and at times included areas as far south as London, Kent, Sussex and Surrey), and expressions were often local in the sense of being anti-London, as these comments made during a BBC debate about the hoard's location testify. They include one from Stockport whose hostility to the capital would seem to express a northern solidarity rather than anything specific to the Midlands or Mercia:[25]

> If it is St Edwin's treasure and was stolen in battle, then it should return to Northumbria. York Minster would be suitable. Failing that then BMAG [Birmingham MAG] is central. London and the Vatican should be told to keep their thieving paws off it. (Ian)[26]

> Too many things go to London where the rest of the UK can't see their own history. (James Halligan, Stockport)

> As the hoard was buried in the Midlands, and, as the man who buried it is dead, of course it should stay here, but, WHO do we have to pay. It belongs in, & to, the MIDLANDS, we should NOT HAVE TO PAY for something that obviously BELONGS HERE. It is NOTHING to do with LONDON. (Cynthia Howells, Stourbridge)

These members of the public expressed strong but usually non-specific

24 M. Pearson, Introduction, *The Black Country in the Great War* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2014).

25 Staffordshire Hoard Conservation Team, *Staffordshire Hoard Research Blog*, http://www.staffordshirehoard.org.uk/blog/research, (accessed 27 Feb. 2018).

26 For apparent response to the rather far-fetched suggestion that the Vatican might try to make a claim see *Sunday Mercury*, 'Staffordshire Hoard is wanted by the Pope and the Vatican', Birmingham Live, 20 Dec. 2009, http://www.birminghammail.co.uk/news/local-news/staffordshire-hoard-is-wanted-by-the-pope-and-the-vatican-244629 (accessed 27 Feb. 2018).

ideas of exploitation and a sense of losing out to the capital financially and culturally. And so the campaign brought together Birmingham, Lichfield, Stoke and Tamworth – places otherwise divided by historic industry, size, demographics, and various other local identity markers like culinary habits, accents and football rivalries – even as 'keep it local' campaign members disparaged other members of the regional bloc and their claims on the hoard (also from the BBC debate referred to above):

> As this find was found near Lichfield then some of it must be shown at the city's St Marys Heritage Centre, with some of the artifacts to be shown at Tamworth Castle as the main seat of the Mercian Kings. NOT London, NOT Birmingham, NOT Stoke on Trent as they were never the principal seats of the Kings of Mercia. (Albert Hopkins, Shirley)

> Am I missing something? This was found in Brownhills not Tamworth! There is too much to put in one place, split it between Brum [Birmingham] (regional centre), Walsall (nearest town to the find) and Staffordshire (Old Mercian centres of Lichfield and Tamworth). Stoke has no reason to be involved. (Stuart)

A significant feature of this composite locality, which invoked identities mostly incomprehensible in a seventh-century context, was its relationship to a global stage. Commentators used the hoard to celebrate the high standards of workmanship attained by distant 'Midlands ancestors' and to highlight the bringing of materials from far-flung places like Sri Lanka (a source of garnets). In discussing the Staffordshire Hoard, the local has been situated in the sphere of the global or supra-national to give it meaning and significance. Within the official presentation of the hoard, this sense is elegantly illustrated by a map in the permanent 'Hoard Gallery' at Birmingham MAG, which shows the Kingdom of Mercia at around the time of the hoard's likely deposition. Around it are shown the other major civilizations, flourishing simultaneously, including the Guptas of India, the Tang of China and the Maya civilisation of Central America.

Nevertheless, while the emphasis on global comparators and contemporaries in the hoard exhibitions evokes a local-to-global significance that resonates with expressions of regional pride in the debates around its location, the more negative feelings the hoard mustered have effectively been edited out. The Staffordshire Hoard has been informatively and excitingly displayed in its multiple locations, with innovative exhibition sections on the process of curatorial work, and the ways in which textual sources can be linked to archaeology. The exhibitions have not, however, chosen to discuss the issues of regionalism and resentment towards the centre which the hoard and its housing raised, nor to probe why ideas like 'the kingdom of Mercia' – generally not well-understood or much known about in popular

culture – meant so much to people living in central England. It is creative and expressive heritage management, but the place of the nation between the local and the global remains an unexpressed tension, a discussion not had.

In this respect, the Staffordshire Hoard is not unusual. It is striking that in British conversations about heritage today the nation is often absent or silent. In popular and scholarly presentations of heritage it has become fashionable to exclude the nation, with a pattern of linking local heritage directly to global-level stories, and arguing for importance to an unspecified or universal 'humanity'. This is not invalid, and there are reasons for it. Studies of nationbuilding have shown discomfortingly how museology and the culture industry have used the past to create streamlined and often repressive narratives of national identity. These in turn have delegitimised the nation as an actor in heritage.[27] It is the role of the state, national representatives have argued, at least in the UK, to support culture and protect heritage, not to decide what these things are, as if the two processes can be separated out. The UK Department of Culture, Media and Sport's 'Heritage Statement 2017' (p. 6), for example, records that '[t]he UK government is responsible for heritage in England', while emphasising that this responsibility is delegated through a range of other organisations, private and public. The statement is replete with reference to objects and collections of 'importance' or 'significance' without suggesting how this might be determined or by whom.

The British state may not want to define what heritage is, but economic pressures at the national level often express themselves in a reduction in heritage budgets, with real impact on what is, and is not, preserved to become 'heritage'. The nation-state remains the controller of most political and financial resource for heritage, or in choosing not to be condemns local caretakers of heritage to a bitter and often arbitrary battle for unstable revenue streams.[28] The impact of recent cuts on UK museums, for example, has been mapped by the Museums Association, which has tracked museum closures as well as compiling survey documents detailing annual reduction in the provision of support for heritage.

One alternative to this situation, already tried and rejected, is the centrality of the national narrative in heritage, or 'telling the story of the nation'. Arguably, unitary national narratives have little place or credibility left in European heritage management, and rightly so. Most people would not agree with Tristram Hunt that it is time for the disparate communities of central England to 'find their inner Anglo-Saxon', at least not as this has traditionally been meant in invocations of the Anglo-Saxons, connected with

27 D. Boswell and J. Evans, *Representing the Nation: a Reader: Histories, Heritage and Museums* (London: Routledge, 1999).

28 K. Newman and P. Tourle, 'Coalition cuts 2: museums', *History Workshop Journal*: 296–301 (2012).

national myths of identity now discredited scientifically and historically.[29] Another alternative, however, is to be more open about the function of heritage as enabling other things – identity, education, protest, construction of communities, broadening of horizons, raising of ambitions, seeding of ideas.

Blackburn: local, national and international audiences

The pages of this volume, like the galleries of Blackburn MAG and the wings of the beetle casings it houses, shimmer with shifting, iridescent, unstable ideas of worth and value. What, after all, is worth what to whom, and why? There is one coin in the Blackburn collection that would probably rank among the most expensive in the world if it ever came legally to the open market. It is one of only two examples in the world of a specific gold type of Augustus Caesar.[30] In addition to the Hart Collection of several thousand Greek, Roman, Byzantine and British coins, the museum houses an incredible range of modern, machine-made coins associated with the period of global decolonisation in the 1950s and 1960s, and a nationally significant collection of coins of the Sasanian Empire of Persia (*c.* 4th–7th centuries AD). Nevertheless, when an exhibition of treasures of the North West was put together in 1976, despite the iconic association of coins with heaving pirate treasure chests, numismatic material was not included.[31] This is perhaps because coins, in general, are not unique. In fact, a unique co[illegible] was probably quite ~~an~~ unsuccessful ~~coin~~ in terms of monetary effectiveness. Therefore, coins tend to elude the art historical definition of 'treasures' as singular examples of human artistry.[33] The Blackburn Hours, the Peckover

29 'Those Black Country industrialists, Staffordshire landowners, Sutton Coldfield professionals and Birmingham business people need to find their inner Anglo-Saxon'. So Tristram Hunt wrote in *The Guardian* on 9 Nov. 2009 in an article about a campaign to raise the funds needed to keep the Staffordshire Hoard in central England. On the discrediting of a 'shared' genetic ancestry see: T.H. Saey, 'Brits may lack Anglo-Saxon ancestry', *Science News*, 186: 13–13, or D. Sayer, 'Why the idea that the English have a common Anglo-Saxon origin is a myth', *The Conversation*, 15 Dec. 2017, http://theconversation.com/why-the-idea-that-the-english-have-a-common-anglo-saxon-origin-is-a-myth-88272 (accessed 8 Jan. 2018). On the historical mythologising of a shared national Anglo-Saxon identity see S. Foot, 'The historiography of the Anglo-Saxon "Nation-State"', in *Power and the Nation in European History*, ed. Len Scales and Oliver Zimmer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 125–42.

30 R. Abdy and N. Harling, 'Two important new Roman coins', *Numismatic Chronicle*, 165: 175–8.

31 See McKitterick in this volume.

32 For ways of approaching coins as historical sources see P. Grierson, *Numismatics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975) or C.J. Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins* (London: Routledge, 1995).

33 On art and representation on coins see R. Darley, 'Money, art, and representation: the

and Blackburn Psalters and the Pancera Missal are treasures of Blackburn's collection and stand out as internationally significant finds, yet the reasons why such items are so unique can be obscure to the uninitiated, and hinge on complex and specific scholarly debates.[34] The value of a copy of the Qur'an and pilgrimage texts to the holy sites of Islam transcend for believers any questions about material luxury or method of production.[35]

For myself, the value of Blackburn's coin collection lies less in its gold and silver than its bits of paper. Coin collections in museums are the bread-and-butter of numismatic work. They are, however, also extremely difficult sources to work with. Coins excavated from archaeological sites provide significant additional data: what they were found with, the date of associated material, where they were discovered in relation to the site as a whole. Not so, museum collections. Many coins in museums come with no contextual data at all, except perhaps the date when the museum acquired them. The fullness of the records that Hart donated with his coins – his purchasing notes, his own original tickets, his annotated numismatic library – hold a key to unlocking new possibilities in the use of museum collections across the UK. By building up an understanding of how Hart collected, of what he liked to buy, and how his interests developed over time, it is possible to understand better how his and other collections record the past when their coins were created and used. For example, did collectors in the nineteenth century, when many UK public collections were created, prefer certain types of coin, certain regional coinages or specific metals?

As a numismatist, when I tell colleagues about the documentary riches of Blackburn I feel the excitement that permeates the pages of this volume, as manuscripts, icons and incunabula in the Blackburn collection are compared to examples whose catalogue identifiers form a who's-who of cultural celebrity: the Getty, the Fitzwilliam, the Bodleian, the Louvre and so on. These names function as a proxy for prestige, respect and things worthy of attention. I hope that for Blackburnians, seeing their native town listed in such company fills them with the same warm, subversive pride that Midlanders felt when the Staffordshire Hoard made national and international news. These are places worth coming to see. These are communities worthy of inheriting such precious treasures. External recognition, though, is only one index of

powerful and pragmatic faces of medieval coinage', in *A Cultural History of Money in the Medieval Age*, ed. R. Naismith (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), pp. 99–124. On exhibiting coins and the relationship to art historical display see R. Darley and D. Reynolds, 'Exhibiting coins as economic artefacts. Curating historical interpretation in faith and fortune: visualizing the divine on Byzantine and early Islamic coinage (Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham, Nov. 2013–Jan. 2015)', *Journal of Art Historiography*, 13: 1–23.

34 See the chapters by Manzari, McKendrick and Morgan in this volume for wonderful explanations of these intricacies.

35 See Cantone in this volume.

value.

In pursuing Hart's answer to who decides what heritage is, and who gets to own it, local communities and curators have worked together, and created networks of support reaching out to national funding bodies and international research communities, to create among other things a new South Asian gallery, a secure, comfortable study space, and a diverse annual calendar of cultural events. The gift that Hart and others made is working through these initiatives not to lay to rest the questions posed by heritage, but to activate them and allow numerous different people and groups to try out their own answers. The value of the collections does not lie primarily in their monetary value, any more than community ownership of them is widely conceived of primarily as a legal matter. As Hartnell points out, its power is in a sense of moral ownership that galvanises and constitutes the community.[36] In one of the formative ideas of heritage, that of inheritance, it is the moral right to inherit that historically has constituted in many societies a claim for inclusion, agency and cross-generational participation in interacting with communal resources. Collective inheritance, however, is poorly defined and protected in western legal traditions, in which individual rights have traditionally been more clearly delineated and violently defended.[37] When, in 1971, the enamels and icons in Blackburn's municipal collection were to be auctioned off, there was public outrage and although the icons were saved through private purchase and re-donation to the local community, the enamels were sold off for £3471.[38] Though it hardly seems worth it now, in the 1970s it represented a considerable sum. Wigan museums have gradually sold off their manuscript collection due to lack of funds and increasing confusion about what value they might have for the public.

None of these likely represented easy choices, and this is not a venue for judging those facing the sharp end of the wedge of necessity. Should Hart have been spending so much money on collectables as the family business was running out of money? Should Wigan or Blackburn councils have privileged manuscripts or enamels over services for vulnerable people? Should that have been the choice before them? If everything is heritage and everything has value, then hard choices must be made. However, everyone connected with this volume and with Blackburn MAG, believes that collections of irreplaceable objects, of unique historical significance, gifted to communities, as well as value have power and relevance. Neither is the choice for institutions in the North West between keeping these objects or others. It is not a case of deciding between memorialising elite versus folk culture. It is a choice for many institutions between saving nothing or something,

36 Hartnell and Johnston, *Cotton to Gold*, pp. 21–2.

37 E.M. Yates, 'On the ownership of land', *GeoJournal*, 26 (3): 265–75.

38 Hartnell and Johnston, *Cotton to Gold*, p. 21.

between making those materials available to a wider public or locking their doors, and hoping for a change in national policy.

The vulnerability of these collections is greater than many in the metropole because, in evaluating who gets to have what heritage, the enormous capacities of industrialist collectors and their loyalty to their native towns are often forgotten. Policy by default assumes that collections of sufficient uniqueness to matter to the 'life of the nation' will be housed in the capital or in Oxbridge, not in communities now fallen on hard times. Times were also hard when these collections were donated, however. Hart, like many of the philanthropic donors of his generation, was also involved in work with schools, orphanages and educational initiatives for working people. Their commitment in giving their collections to their home towns was precisely to the ideal that such treasures might enhance, enliven and improve the frequently difficult lives of their communities, even if they had no greater monopoly on understanding that process than do heritage policymakers today.

If one is, for a moment, tempted to confuse being unable to define exactly what makes heritage valuable with it having no value, though, one might stop to wonder why, at the same time as Britain is witnessing such challenging times for its regional museums, communities throughout the decolonising world are mobilising to reclaim objects from the UK associated with their heritage as a critical step towards empowering and rebuilding identities. Commentators in India advocating the return of objects such as the third-century BC Buddhist marbles from Amaravati, for example, have identified diverse benefits including local and national community building, increased tourist revenues, support for advanced historical research in India, improved diplomatic relations, more sensitive contextualisation of objects, and some restitution to regions irreparably harmed by colonialism.[39] Britain's former industrial heartlands, and the nation as a whole, stands to gain no less from recognition and support for its regional collections.[40]

The Friends and visitors of the present, curators, volunteers and visiting researchers connected with Blackburn and other regional collections across the North West and the UK more widely may not see value in precisely the same things, or in the same way as the benefactors and donors of the past. The patriarchal impulses of early donors might now be subject to critique

39 E.g. P.V. Daniel, 'Give our gods back!', *Rediff* (17 July 2018), https://www.rediff.com/news/special/give-us-our-gods-back/20180711.htm (accessed 5 June 2020); R. Sharma, 'Forget the Kohinoor, could we have the Amaravati Stupa sculptures back please?', *scroll.in* (1 May 2016), https://scroll.in/article/807101/forget-the-kohinoor-could-we-have-the-amaravati-stupa-sculptures-back-please (accessed 5 June 2020).

40 Claims for restitution, of course, apply equally to Britain's regional and metropolitan collections. This chapter's aim is not to assert the moral rights of current possessors over decolonising states in these instances.

from a number of directions. The colonial implications of some philanthropic bequests have been indicated in the chapters in this volume and elsewhere, but the pressing issue at stake for most regional museums is not restitution requests, but resources to display and conserve their collections.[41] A scholar's excitement at a rare mint-mark or an unusual penflourish may not move a visitor who comes to be astonished at the workmanship of a cotton loom or drawn in by the shades of a Turner watercolour. But all believe firmly that the past has a role to play in the present.

For me, this is not because the past is a happy place or one that ought to be idealised. It is not motivated by the nostalgia of the Arts and Crafts movement for something made soulful by being non-industrial. The past was not fair or righteous, any more than the present. However, the past is infinitely giving. Its traces are an imperfect record of all of the experience of every person who has ever lived. That is why the things matter, and the capacity to continue studying them. What they can tell us changes with the questions we have: coins have served as proof of historical figures and events.[42] They have provided evidence for high politics, economic change, migration and movement, and mining and metallurgy. More recently they have provided insights into the networks of manufacturers and artisans who designed and made them, and into friendships and networks that linked people across space and social class because of an interest in them. The textile working equipment at Blackburn MAG was donated by Thomas Boys Lewis to testify to the wealth textiles had created, but can now reveal the working conditions of the men, women and children who generated, but did not enjoy that wealth.[43] Without the objects themselves, new questions have nowhere to go, and nothing to suggest them. We are collectively diminished by silencing the chorus of experience that speaks to us from what other hands have made in other times. Objects also have the power to rally difference, to speak to interests that may meet and connect without being the same. For this reason, it is in the national interest to support, protect and cherish the treasures of museums like Blackburn. It is of global relevance that they be known, published and explored. And it belongs to the people of Blackburn, like the objects themselves, to find in them curiosity, solidarity and possibility.

41 E.g. Johnston and Hartnell, *Cotton to Gold*, pp. 57–9.

42 J. Cribb, 'The President's Address: money as metaphor 2', *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 166: 493–517 (2006) explores the early development in using coins as evidence for historical events and processes. The article is also a wonderful introduction to numismatic theory and developments over time in the use of numismatic evidence.

43 Johnston and Hartnell, *Cotton to Gold*, pp. 16–17.