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Smith MS 36: A Study in Fifteenth Century Manuscript Illumination

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Page from Book of Hours, Syracuse University, Bird Library, Smith MS 36, f.88r.

THE COURIER

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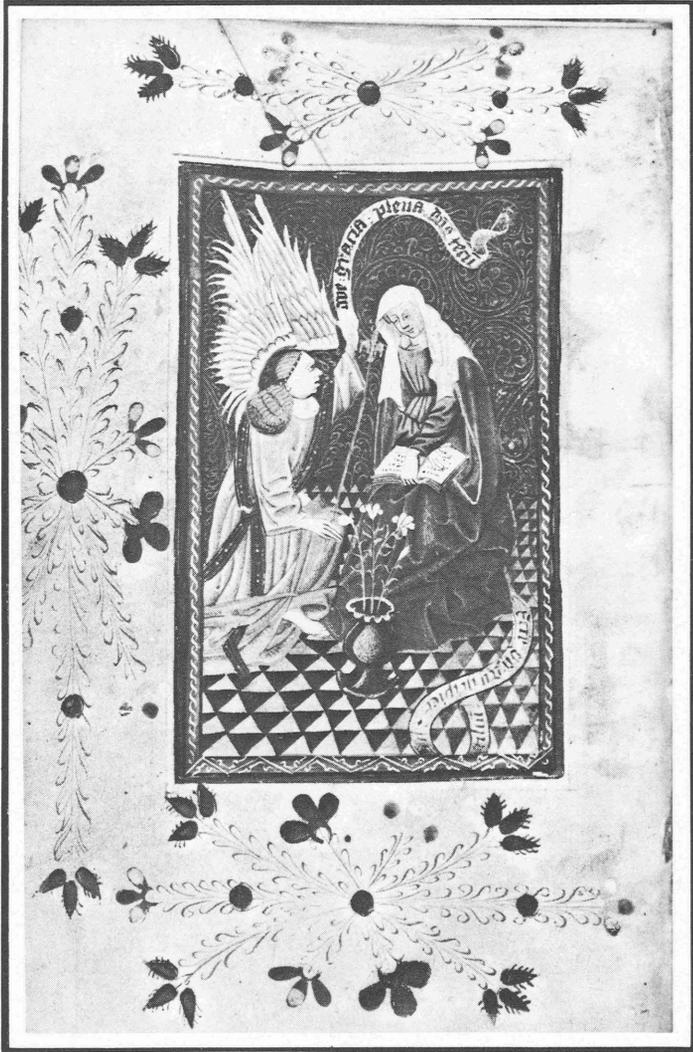


Fig. 1: *Annunciation. Book of Hours*
Syracuse, Syracuse University, Bird Library, Smith MS 36, f. 87v.

Smith MS 36: A Study in
Fifteenth Century
Manuscript Illumination

by Gloria K. Fiero

The Book of Hours, a devotional manuscript whose increasing popularity in the late Middle Ages reflected the sentiments of lay piety in an age of church corruption and decline, was the most immediate guide to private worship available to the layman. This non-liturgical manuscript combined the Little Office of the Virgin with the Psalms, the Office of the Dead, and numerous other prayers.¹ Many fourteenth and fifteenth century Books of Hours commissioned by wealthy patrons were lavishly ornamented with intricate pictorial and decorative illumination. Inventories of the French and Burgundian nobility, in which religious texts are listed along with jewels and other precious belongings and bequeathed as family heirlooms, indicate that such manuscripts were held in the highest esteem. Among these are the well-known Hours prepared for the Duc de Berry whose illustrations are frequently reproduced on calendars and Christmas cards.

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¹The history and organization of the Book of Hours is well described by Victor Leroquais, *Les Livres d'Heures: Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Mâcon: Protat frères, impr., 1927) and by Henri Leclerc, "Livre d'Heures," in J. Cabrol and H. Leclerc, eds., *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et le Liturgie* (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1930), IX, part 2.

Less elaborately decorated Books of Hours, those commissioned by members of the lower clergy or by middle class patrons and often written in the vernacular,² are frequently ignored; yet they contribute important information to the study of book illumination and production. As the demand for books of this kind grew, it became imperative to divide the manufacture of a manuscript among a variety of specialists, each of whom might undertake a different aspect of its production.³ In the North Netherlands, it was not unusual to prepare the miniatures for such standard texts as Books of Hours on separate folios, which might then be inserted into the independently prepared texts.⁴ Recently one such illustrated manuscript came to the attention of medievalists and bibliophiles.⁵

A Book of Hours written in Dutch was donated to the Syracuse Public Library by J. William Smith in 1908, but received little publicity until 1974, when it was included in an exhibition of medieval art at the Everson Museum, entitled "Medieval Art in Upstate New York." Briefly described in the catalog of that exhibition,⁶ and now on loan to the George Arents Research Library at Syracuse University, this manuscript, coded Smith 36, bears close consideration for two reasons. First, the style of the *historieur*, the artist who painted the miniatures, can be detected in at least three additional Books of Hours, thus permitting an all too rare reconstruction of the activity of a single artist, as well as a stylistic grouping that provides a basis of conjecture concerning the date and origin of the Smith miniatures. Secondly, and perhaps more intriguing, the appearance of unique compositional variations in some of the Smith miniatures suggests the artist's familiarity with an important group of grisaille miniatures that appears repeatedly in North Netherlandish book production of the fifteenth century.

²The differences between manuscripts prepared for aristocratic patrons and those commissioned by non-aristocrats is the subject of my forthcoming article in *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, "Courtier and Commoner: Two Styles of Fifteenth Century Manuscript Illumination."

³For instance, the artist responsible for the initials and borders of the manuscript was known as the *enlumineur*, while the artist who painted the miniatures (*histoires*) was called the *historieur*. See David Diringer, *The Illuminated Book, Its History and Production* (London: Faber & Faber, 1958), p. 439 and Cornelius Johannes de Wit, "Het Atelier der Utrechtsche Miniaturen en een Kapittel uit Geschiedenis van het Karthuizerklooster Nieuw-Licht," *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek*, VIII (1929), 270.

⁴On the history of this practice and the regulations prohibiting the importation of North Netherlandish folios with miniatures by cities in the South Netherlands, see J. Weale, "Documents Inédits sur les Enlumineurs de Bruges," *Le Beffroi*, IV (1872-1873), 238-239 and L. M. J. Delaissé, *A Century of Dutch Manuscript Illumination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), pp. 70-72.

⁵Meredith Lillich of the Department of Fine Arts, Syracuse University, included this manuscript in her paper, "Medieval Art is Alive and Well in Upstate New York: Exhibition and Symposium in Syracuse, New York, Spring 1974," given at the Ninth Conference of Medieval Studies at the Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, May 1974.

⁶*Medieval Art in Upstate New York*, Meredith Lillich, ed. (Syracuse: Everson Museum of Art, 1974), #73, pp. 104-106.



Fig. 2: *Annunciation. Book of Hours*
Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, MS Goll. O.v.I.3, f. 30v.

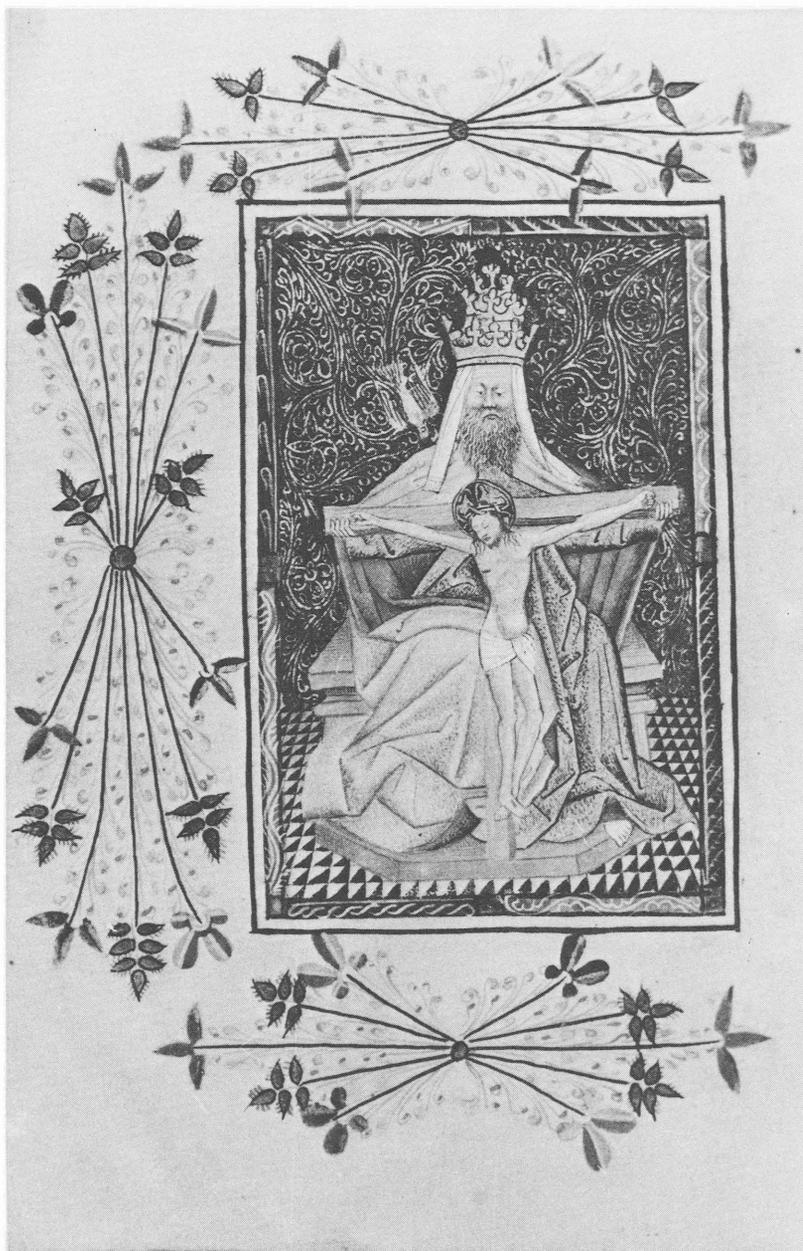


Fig. 3: *Trinity*. *Book of Hours*
Cracow, Muzeum Czartoryskich, MS 3024, f. 64v.



Fig. 4: *Trinity. Book of Hours*
The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 74H31, f. 46v.



Fig. 5: *Trinity. Book of Hours*
Leyden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS B.P.L. 224, f. 13v.

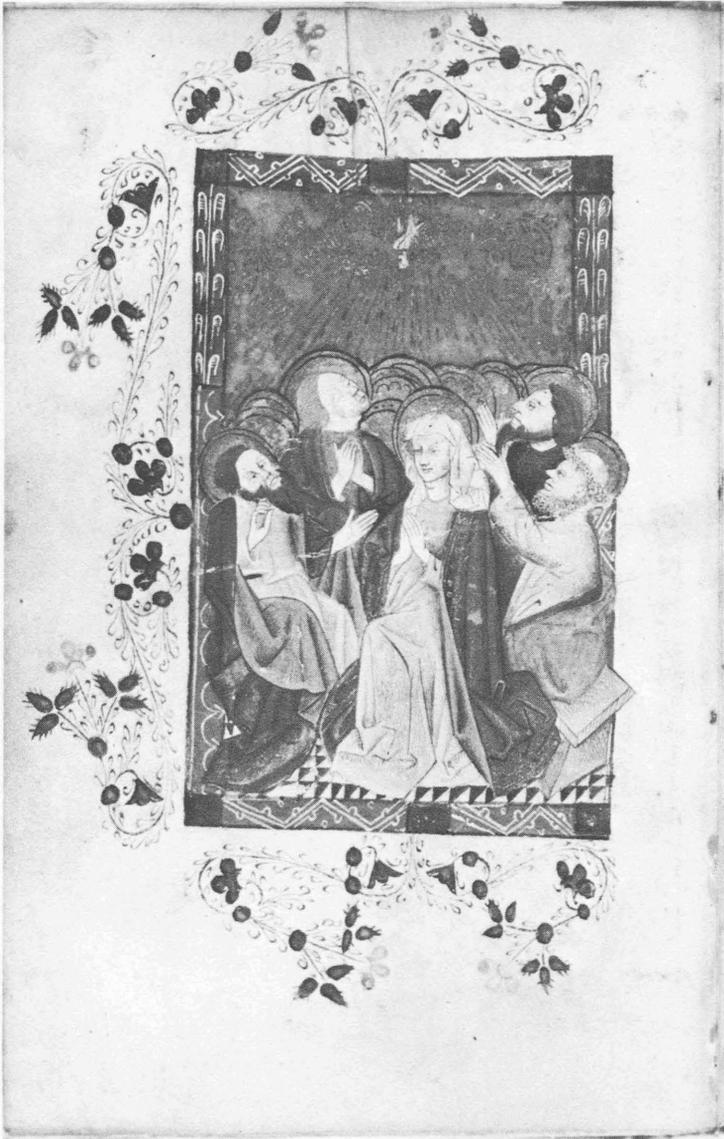


Fig. 6: *Pentecost. Book of Hours*
Syracuse, Syracuse University, Bird Library, Smith MS 36, f. 57v.

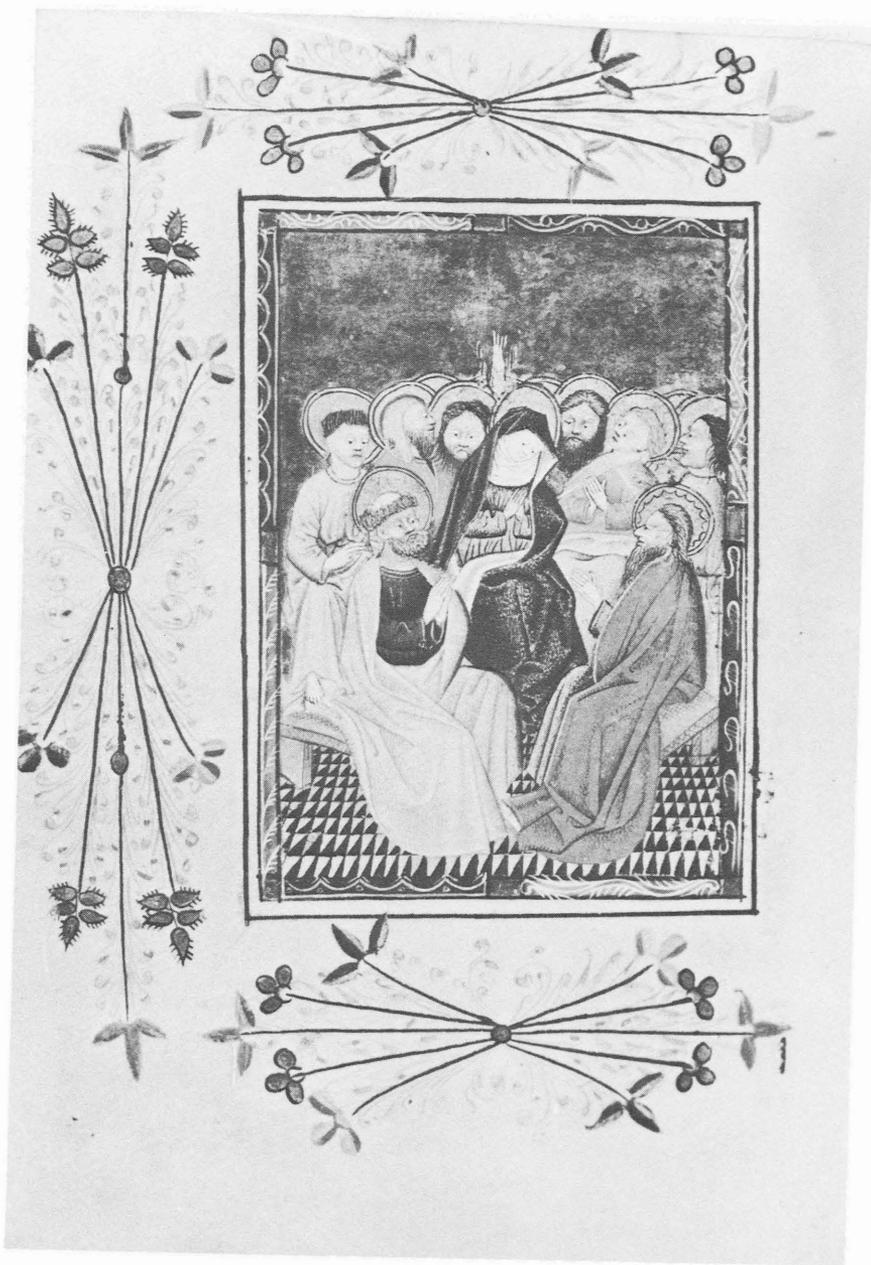


Fig. 7: *Pentecost. Book of Hours*
Cracow, Muzeum Czartoryskich, MS 3024, f. 89v.



Fig. 8. *Pentecost. Book of Hours*
Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 21696, F. 79v.



Fig. 9: *Last Judgment. Book of Hours*
Syracuse, Syracuse University, Bird Library, Smith MS 36, f. 126v.



Fig. 10: *Last Judgment. Book of Hours*
Cracow, Muzeum Czartoryskich, MS 3024, f. 120v.



Fig. 11: *Last Judgment. Book of Hours*
Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, MS Goll. O.v.I.3, f. 77v.

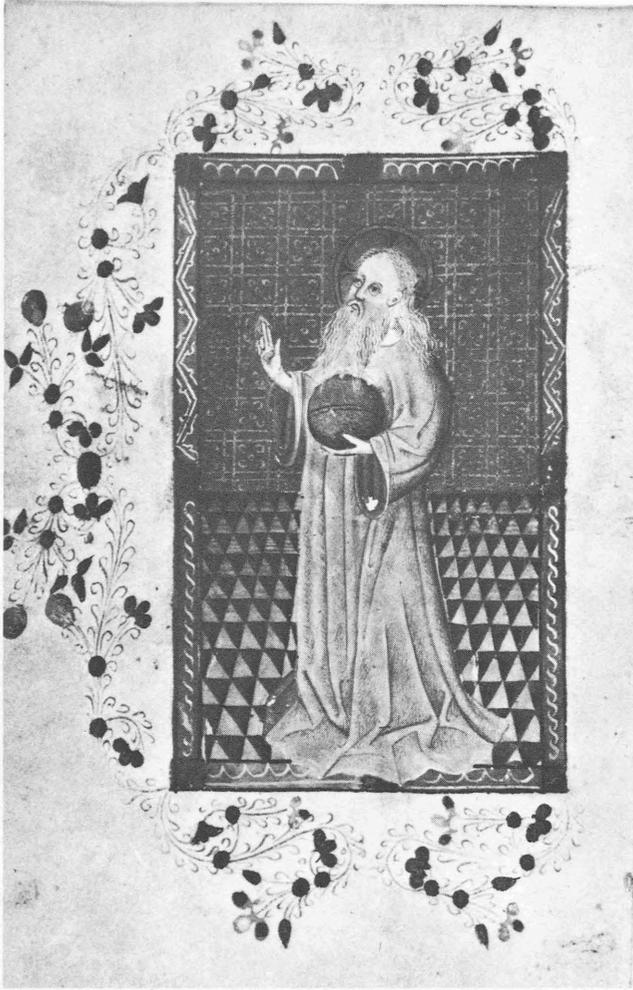


Fig. 12: *God the Father. Book of Hours*
Syracuse, Syracuse University, Bird Library, Smith MS 36, f. 13v.



Fig. 13: *God the Father. Book of Hours*
The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 74H31, f. 114v.



Fig. 14: *St. Anthony. Book of Hours*
Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 21696, f. 129v.

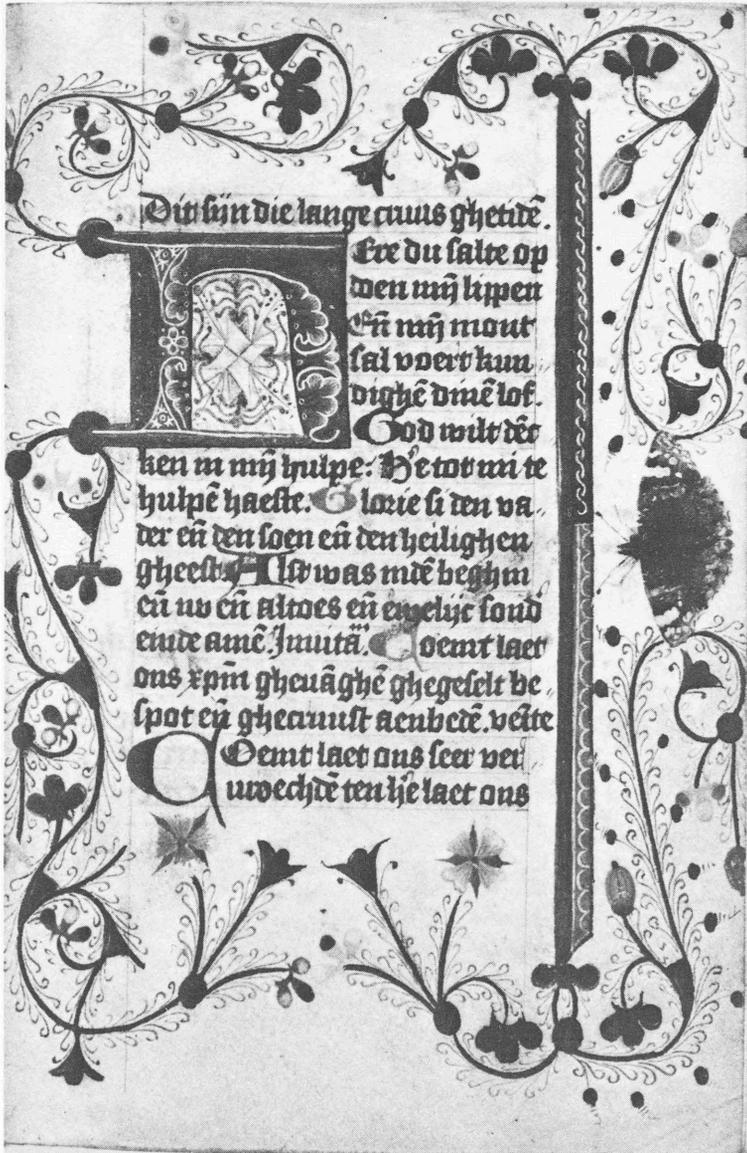


Fig. 15: Marginal decoration with butterfly. Book of Hours
 Syracuse, Syracuse University, Bird Library, Smith MS 36, f. 58r.

Smith 36 consists of 213 vellum leaves, whose text is embellished with numerous ornamented initials and marginal decoration. The composition of the manuscript conforms with the style and method of early fifteenth century Utrecht Book manufacture,⁷ while the calendar, in which are included the names of the favorite saints of the diocese of Utrecht, confirms that the manuscript was written for use in that area. Five miniatures illustrate the text: God the Father, f. 13v (fig. 12); the Pentecost, f. 57v (fig. 6); the Annunciation, f. 87v (fig. 1); the Last Judgment, f. 126v (fig. 9); and the Crucifixion, f. 145v.⁸ The miniatures, which were prepared on folios different from those that received the text and subsequently inserted into the manuscript, will constitute the main subject of inquiry below.

The five full page miniatures in Smith 36 are competently executed, but are by no means comparable to the more technically sophisticated examples of Dutch book illumination provided by, for instance, the Master of Catherine of Cleves. Despite his technical proficiency and his attempts at physical realism, the Smith hand reveals a tendency toward stylization and a basically primitive approach to space. His figures are somewhat stiff and schematically drawn, although frequently quite expressive. Facial features are highly abbreviated with dots often serving as pupils of the eyes; some of the faces even border on the grotesque (fig. 1). On the other hand, the figures, generously swathed in heavy robes, reveal the solidity of three dimensional forms and convey a tactile presence sought after by Dutch artists from almost the beginning of the fifteenth century.⁹ Drapery is articulated by angular folds and delicately shaded with stippling or hatching (fig. 13). A preference for mauves and olive greens sobers the otherwise unrestrained delight in bright colors. The Smith artist fills the picture plane with the figures, thus intensifying the dramatic action and reducing the need for any elaborate setting. Indeed the backgrounds of these miniatures are devoid of any but the most schematic landscapes (figs. 9, 13) or decorative designs consisting of diapered or arabesque patterns (figs. 1, 12). This two dimensional setting is complemented in three of the miniatures (figs. 1, 6, 12) by floors whose contrasting yellow and black triangular tiles diminish in size toward the horizon line, thus conveying the illusion of spatial recession and providing a shallow “stage” for the figures.¹⁰

⁷Alexander Willem Byvanck, *La Miniature dans les Pays-Bas Septentrionaux* (Paris: Editions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1937), Chaps. VII and XIII and Godefridus Joannes Hoogewerff, *De Noordnederlandsche Schilderkunst* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1936-1947), Vols. I and II.

⁸Probably as a result of misbinding, these miniatures are matched incorrectly with the text. At present the order is: Pentecost/Office of the Cross, Last Judgment/Office of the Holy Ghost and Crucifixion/Psalms. The order should be: Crucifixion/Office of the Cross, Pentecost/Office of the Holy Ghost and Last Judgment/Psalms; Sheila Edmunds in *Medieval Art in Upstate New York*, pp. 105-106.

⁹Delaisé, pp. 54-61.

¹⁰Although floors with rectangular tiles are common in fifteenth century Dutch miniatures, the triangular tiles appear rarely. Two examples may be cited: The Book of Hours of Catherine of Cleves, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 917, p. 149 and a Missal, Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 402, f. 7.

The decorative frames which surround the miniatures are a hallmark of the Smith hand. These consist of red and blue segments interrupted by gold rectangles at the corners and mid-frame points. The individual segments of the frame are overlaid with a variety of geometric and floral designs. In some instances, the figures or their drapery overlap the frame causing tension between the decorative and illusionistic aspects of the folio (figs. 6, 12).

Like other artisans of his day, the Smith hand was responsible for producing and perhaps disseminating the standard illustrations for Books of Hours. The subject matter he depicted was clearly dictated by convention,¹¹ and as suggested above, his style was far from original. Even so, his presence may be detected in at least three other Books of Hours: MS 3024 in the Museum Czartoryskich in Cracow, Poland; MS 74H31 in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in the Hague; and in an unnumbered manuscript in the private collection of Jonkvrouwe M. de Wykerslooth in the Netherlands.¹² All three prayer books are of a size and composition comparable with Smith 36;¹³ all are written in Dutch and have calendars that designate them for use in the diocese of Utrecht. Five full-page miniatures illustrate the Hague Hours, while the Wykerslooth and Cracow manuscripts include six miniatures each; all of the miniatures in these manuscripts were prepared on separate folios and inserted within the gatherings of the independently prepared texts.¹⁴

¹¹One of two cycles, the Infancy of Christ or the Passion of Christ, was used to illustrate the major divisions of the Office of the Virgin, and since Mary predominated in the Infancy cycle, scenes from this cycle were favored in late medieval Books of Hours.

¹²Numbers 65, 68 and 69 respectively in A.W. Byvanck and G.J. Hoogewerff, *La Miniature Hollandaise et les Manuscrits Illustrés du XIVe au XVIIe Siècles aux Pays-Bas Septentrionaux* (La Haye: Martinus Nijhoff, 1926), Vol. 1, pp. 31-33. Photographs from the Wykerslooth manuscript were not available. Mrs. G. Piket of the Department of Manuscripts at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, the Hague, has informed me that her attempts to reach the Wykerslooth family in various cities throughout the Netherlands have proved futile (letter, June 5, 1975). Only ff. 48v, 49 and 91v appear in Byvanck and Hoogewerff, Vol. II, Pl. 228, fig. 63. Evidence of the Smith hand may be found also in the full page Crucifixion miniature in a Latin Missal, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 76E2, f. 101v illustrated in Byvanck and Hoogewerff, Vol. II, Pl. 172, and in some of the miniatures in the Missal cited in n. 10.

¹³Smith 36: 136x93mm. Cracow: 162x116mm; Hague: 159x118mm; Wykerslooth: 183x121mm.

¹⁴The Cracow manuscript includes the Annunciation, f. 21v, the Trinity, f. 64v, the Pentecost, f. 89v, the Last Judgment, f. 120v, the Crucifixion, f. 141v and the Mass for the Dead, f. 151v; the Hague manuscript includes the Annunciation, f. 13v, the Trinity, f. 46v, the Crucifixion, f. 68v, God the Father, f. 114v and the Last Judgment, f. 139v; the Wykerslooth manuscript includes the Annunciation, f. 13v, the Mass of St. Gregory, f. 48v, the Crucifixion, f. 69v, the Pentecost, f. 91v, the Last Judgment, f. 117v and Souls in God's Bosom, f. 138v. Byvanck and Hoogewerff confirm that the miniatures in the Wykerslooth manuscript have been inserted into the text, Vol. I, p. 32. Letters from the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (June 5, 1975) and the Museum Narodowe (June 20, 1975) confirm that the miniatures in the Hague and Cracow manuscripts respectively were painted on separate leaves which were subsequently added to the manuscripts.

In all but one of these miniatures, the crisp and schematic style of the Smith hand is unmistakable.¹⁵ Details of execution, such as the treatment of the drapery and the abbreviated and schematic rendering of the face, hair, hands and feet are identical with those of the Smith miniatures. The yellow and black triangular tiles reappear frequently (figs. 3, 4, 7) and backgrounds with arabesque patterns are reminiscent of the Smith miniatures (cf. figs. 1 and 3). Characteristic also of these folios is the segmented frame with geometric and floral ornamentation typical of the Smith miniatures. A limited and distinct vocabulary of motifs, executed in white over the rose and blue segments of the frame, repeats itself on a variety of folios (cf. figs. 3, 6 and 12).

As with the illumination of the miniatures, the task of decorating the margins of manuscripts was often divided among a number of different artisans. There can be no thorough consideration of the marginal ornamentation or the division of hands without a careful study of both the folios with text and the folios with miniatures in all four manuscripts. Though such a study has not yet been undertaken, some tentative observations may be made concerning the marginal ornamentation of these four manuscripts.

In Smith 36, the marginal ornamentation of folios with miniatures extends to the folios with script, suggesting that one individual was responsible for integrating the inserted folios with the separately produced folios of text. The margins of the Cracow and Hague miniatures are ornamented with heavy rinceaux that are identical with those in the Smith manuscript (figs. 6, 10, 15). A noteworthy feature of the marginal decoration that appears frequently in these three manuscripts is the bundle of branches bound centrally with a gold device (figs. 1, 3, 4, 7).¹⁶ Some of the borders of the Hague and Wykerslooth miniatures conform to the more traditional Utrecht marginal ornamentation consisting of a dense network of rinceaux interspersed with "prickly pears" (fig. 13) and large acanthus leaves.¹⁷ It is certain that many different hands worked on the marginal ornamentation of these manuscripts, for despite the repetition of a favorite device like the bundle of branches, we see differences of style from manuscript to manuscript and sometimes within the same manuscript.

¹⁵F. 141 in the Cracow manuscript.

¹⁶Compare the identical style of decoration in the margins of a Dutch Book of Hours, Leyden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Letterkunde 289.

¹⁷Compare f. 101v of the Latin Missal mentioned in n. 12. On Utrecht borders, see J.H.A. Engelbregt, "Een Getijdenboek in de Universiteitsbibliotheek te Utrecht," *Simiolus*, 2 (1966-1967), 65-68 and Alois Bömer, "Ein Gotisches Prachtmissale Utrechtscher Herkunft in der Universitäts-Bibliothek Munster," *Mittelalterliche Handschriften Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstage von Hermann Degering* (Leipzig: Verlag Karl W. Hiersemann, 1926), pp. 29-41.

More naturalistic than anything painted by the Smith hand are the butterfly (fig. 15) and the goldfinch (f. 165v) in the margins of Smith 36. These magnificent additions, which have so much in common with the *trompe l'oeil* marginalia in the Book of Hours of Catherine of Cleves,¹⁸ are absent from the Hague and Cracow Hours. In the Wykerslooth folios with miniatures, however, the Smith hand seems to be responsible for marginal animals, grotesques and angels (f. 91v), which bear the stamp of his energetic style.¹⁹

In their monumental catalog of Dutch miniatures, the noted art historians, Alexander Willem Byvanck and Godefridus Hoogewerff assigned a date of circa 1450 for the Hague and Wykerslooth manuscripts (offering no distinction between the date of the miniatures and that of the manuscript), and a fixed date of 1448 (on the basis of evidence provided in the calendar) for the Cracow Book of Hours.²⁰ The similarities between these manuscripts and Smith 36 suggest that the latter is the product of the same time period, that is, of the late 1440's.

By comparison with the finest products of fifteenth century book illumination, the Smith Hours might seem rather ordinary. Its importance in Netherlandish book illumination is enlarged, however, by the appearance of unique compositions that bring the Smith hand into relationship with an important group of grisaille miniatures circulating in the Netherlands between 1440 and 1470. These miniatures, which may be referred to as the "Grisaille Group," are found in at least fourteen Books of Hours and probably were derived from a model book,²¹ the origins of which are still open to speculation. Apart from the beauty of its miniatures, which are executed in tones of gray highlighted with colored wash, the importance of the Grisaille Group is enhanced by its association with the work of the Master of Catherine of Cleves, as is evidenced by the fact that miniatures from both the Cleves and Grisaille sources appear in a Dutch Book of Hours in the University Library in Leyden (B.P.L. 224).²² Like the miniatures in Smith

¹⁸E.g., pp. 244, 266 and 268.

¹⁹In the Wykerslooth manuscript, the borders of the folios with script differ radically from those with miniatures. According to Byvanck and Hoogewerff, the manuscript was written in Amsterdam, Vol. I, p. 33.

²⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

²¹See my unpublished dissertation, "Devotional Illumination in Early Netherlandish Manuscripts: A Study of the Grisaille Miniatures in Thirteen Related Fifteenth Century Dutch Books of Hours," Tallahassee: Florida State University, 1970. Since completion of the dissertation, another Book of Hours belonging to the Grisaille Group has come to my attention: Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, MS I, 83.

²²A. W. Byvanck, "Noord-Nederlandsche Miniaturen, III. Het Horarium der Universiteitsbibliotheek te Leiden," *Bulletin van den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundig Bond*, series 2, XIII (1920), 227-239 and Gerhardus Knüttel, "De Miniaturen in het Leiden Getijdenboek" (Univ. Bibl. B.P.L. 224), *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek*, I (1921), 4-15.

36, all of those in the fourteen manuscripts of the Grisaille Group were prepared on single folios and added to the manuscripts.²³ All the manuscripts are Books of Hours written in Dutch or Latin with Dutch prayers.

Sheila Edmunds, in her description for the Everson Museum catalog, commented on the treatment of the Virgin in the Annunciation miniature in Smith 36.²⁴ Mary is gripping the top of the manuscript that rests on her lap with her left hand, while her right hand, crossed beneath the left, pauses on the verso folio (fig. 1). This version of the figure appears in no less than ten other Annunciation miniatures in the manuscripts of the Grisaille Group (fig. 2). Professor Edmunds suggested that the Smith hand might have provided the prototype for the grisaille Annunciations. The Smith Annunciation is the only known example of such a composition executed in color rather than in grisaille or in pen and ink.²⁵ More probably the reverse is true: the grisaille composition (or possibly the Grisaille Group model book) was the source for the Smith Annunciation. Mary's gesture is identical with the grisaille examples and, with minor variations, so is the entire composition, including the shape of the vase of lilies, the disposition and gesture of the Angel, and so on. The details of execution, such as the treatment of the hair and folds of the robe, duplicate those of the Grisaille Group Annunciation.

The Smith Annunciation betrays a conscious simplification of the far more detailed and sensitive renderings of the subject in the best of the Grisaille Group miniatures, those, for example, in the Leyden and Warsaw Books of Hours (fig. 2). Mary's throne and the Trinity in the upper left hand corner have been omitted by the Smith hand, and only the rudiments of the original composition have been preserved.²⁶ Although much of the intensity of the composition survives in the Smith version, the drawing has become gross, its nuances lost beneath the painted surface. Subtleties of proportion and expression, such as are found in the angel's head and neck, have been distorted in the Smith rendering. The Smith Annunciation captures the spirit of the original composition, but fails to preserve its technical finesse.

²³The miniatures in the Leyden Book of Hours have been divided among five hands (A, B, C, D and E) by Byvanck (see n. 22). The grisaille miniatures of Hand A were prepared in conformity with the majority of the miniatures in the Grisaille Group (averaging 95 x 65mm.); those of hand C and D are larger in format (approximately 110 x 70mm.) and were executed on folios that were prepared (the guide-lines are still visible) to receive the handwritten text. This evidence may be taken to indicate that the miniatures of Hands C and D were prepared along with the text or in the same studio as that in which the manuscript was copied. It does not explain, however, the origin of the Hand A miniatures, nor confirm that the Grisaille Group model book originated in Utrecht.

²⁴*Medieval Art in Upstate New York*, p. 106.

²⁵A pen and ink version of the Grisaille Group Annunciation is found in a New Testament from Utrecht (1461), Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 12001,02.

²⁶The Smith Annunciation may have been copied from less complex versions of the subject. See Fiero, "Devotional Illumination . . .," p. 96, n. 5.

The model book for the Grisaille Group was probably conceived in the late 1430's.²⁷ Since the Smith hand appears in manuscripts of a decade later, it is most likely that the grisaille Annunciation or the model book of which it was a part provided a source of compositions for the Smith hand. Although it is not always the case that the more complex and technically superior example provides the model for the less refined one, there is further evidence to suggest the precedence of the Grisaille Group. Grisaille Group compositions appear not only in Smith 36, but in the Cracow, Hague and Wykerslooth manuscripts as well. Four instances of the dependence of the Smith hand on Grisaille Group miniatures may be cited briefly:

(1) The miniatures of the Trinity in the Cracow manuscript (fig. 3) and in the Hague manuscript (fig. 4) repeat details of the Grisaille Group Trinity (fig. 5), specifically the triple tiara with antependium,²⁸ the schematic rendering of facial features, and the complex articulation of generous folds of drapery that spread before the throne of God the Father in a manner reminiscent of a painted version of the subject by the Master of Flémalle (Leningrad Trinity). Especially similar to the Grisaille Group Trinity is the manner in which the robes fall into angular folds whose ends hook over, forming "pothooks" characteristic of woodcuts produced between 1430 and 1440.²⁹

(2) The Smith hand probably depended on a Grisaille Group model for the Pentecost miniatures in the Smith, Cracow and Wykerslooth manuscripts. The Smith version (fig. 6) departs from the others (fig. 7) in the foreground disposition of Mary and in the reduction of the number of fully visible apostles. In the Smith Pentecost, the disposition of Mary (facing left rather than right, as in the other examples of the composition) is probably a reversal that resulted from the copying process.³⁰ Oddly however, the surrounding figures are not reversed; the Smith hand has taken the liberty of exchanging the identities of the two foreground apostles, SS. Paul and Peter, but he does so by simply interchanging hair styles. The manner in which the Smith hand

²⁷This hypothesis rests on evidence that the Leyden Book of Hours was begun in 1439 (Byvanck, "Noord-Nederlandsche Miniaturen, III. . .," p. 227) and also on stylistic analogies between Grisaille Group compositions and the paintings of the Master Francke that I hope to make the subject of a forthcoming article.

²⁸On the iconography of the Grisaille Group Trinity and other major compositions, see Fiero, "Devotional Illumination. . .," Chap. IV.

²⁹Arthur M. Hind, *An Introduction to a History of Woodcut, with a Detailed Survey of Work Done in the Fifteenth Century* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1963), Vol. I, p. 96. On the relationship between the Grisaille Group and xylography, see Fiero, "Devotional Illumination. . .," Chap. VIII.

³⁰A similar reversal is seen in the Annunciation miniature in the Grisaille Group Book of Hours in the Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 74G35, f. 74v. On tracing processes, see Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, *Gutenberg and the Master of the Playing Cards* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), pp. 65-71.

operated reflects the flexible and yet functional aspects of the model, which must have been invaluable in workshops where miniatures were “mass produced.”

(3) The Last Judgment is a composition that underwent very little change from late medieval times through the fifteenth century. *The Book of Revelation* provided the basis for the iconography of the Judgment, in which Christ, flanked by the Virgin and John the Baptist, is seated on a rainbow with a second rainbow or sphere as a footrest. A sword, symbolizing the punishment of the damned, and a branch of lilies, symbolizing the innocence of the elect, project from his head. From the four examples of the Last Judgment that appear in the Smith (fig. 9), Cracow (fig. 10), Hague and Wykerslooth manuscripts, the figures of the Virgin and St. John are omitted, as they are in the Grisaille Group Judgments. Closest to the Grisaille Group composition (fig. 11) is the Smith Last Judgment, in which Christ is depicted frontally with his left arm upraised at a dramatic angle. The rainbow on which Christ sits is distinct from the horizon line of the composition, and the female soul at the bottom left of the Smith miniature is obviously patterned on the suppliant in the grisaille version.

(4) The most sensitively painted miniature in Smith 36 is probably that of God the Father (fig. 12). The standing figure, shown making the benediction, fills practically the entire space allotted for the miniature. The Smith hand has rendered the facial features and hair with unusual delicacy and has exercised great care and restraint in the application of the mauve tones of the robe. A similar though less careful rendering of God the Father appears in the Hague Book of Hours (fig. 13). Distinctive to both miniatures are the massive robes articulated by “pothooks,” which in the case of the Smith miniature spill over the frame. By comparison with the attenuated and delicate saints images that illustrate the Book of Hours of Catherine of Cleves,³¹ these figures are monumental. Once again, the counterpart of the God the Father miniatures is found among the saints folios of the Grisaille Group (fig. 14).³² The indebtedness of the Smith hand to a grisaille model is seen in the sculptural treatment of the figure and in details of execution, such as the angular rocks that constitute the shallow landscape in the Hague miniature.

On the basis of this brief examination, it would be difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Smith hand had come into contact with at least some of the Grisaille Group miniatures, if not with the model book itself. He seems to have borrowed compositions casually, even arbitrarily, perhaps simply to complement and enrich his otherwise unimaginative style. The superiority of

³¹John Plummer, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (New York: George Brazillier, 1966), plates 105, 106, 111.

³²At least two dozen saints are represented among the fourteen Grisaille Group manuscripts. All are monumentally conceived and are reminiscent of the sculptured saints that adorned the choir screens and facades of late medieval cathedrals.

the Annunciation and God the Father miniatures in Smith 36 suggest that under the influence of his model, the Smith hand developed a bolder conception of the traditional subject matter and a more expressive language of form.³³

The appearance of the Smith hand in three other Dutch Books of Hours and his dependence on the Grisaille Group have substantiated a date of between 1440 and 1450 for the miniatures of Smith 36. Might this evidence also make it possible to clarify the place of origin of the Smith miniatures and possibly of the manuscript itself?

According to Byvanck and Hoogewerff, the miniatures in the Hague and Wykerslooth manuscripts originated in the Carthusian monastery in Nieuwlicht near Utrecht.³⁴ A close relationship existed between this Carthusian scriptorium and an Augustinian house in Utrecht affiliated with the Brethren of the Common Life; manuscripts prepared in the Augustinian scriptorium may have been decorated by the Carthusians,³⁵ who had made outstanding contributions in the field of book illumination with the large

³³The Grisaille Group compositions seem to be closely associated with fifteenth century graphic reproduction. Miniatures from the Passion cycle were the models for a series of engravings by the Master of the Garden of Love, one of the first masters of engraving in the fifteenth century. Max Lehrs, *Geschichte und Kritischer Katalog des Deutschen Niederländischen und Französischen Kupferstichs im XV. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Gesellschaft für Vervielfältigende Kunst, 1908), Vol. I, pp. 305-326.

³⁴Byvanck and Hoogewerff, I, p. 33. In his recent book, *Die Utrechter Kartäuser und ihre Bücher* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), J. P. Gumbert takes issue with the theory that the Carthusians of Nieuwlicht contributed to Dutch book decoration; I have not yet seen Gumbert's book and am grateful to Sandra Hindman and Phil Webber for bringing it to my attention.

³⁵"Tout indique que des rapports directs s'étaient établis entre les chartreux et les chanoines réguliers d'Utrecht en vue de la formation des bibliothèques, et il n'est pas improbable que ces relations constantes aient revêtu, dans certaines circonstances, le caractère d'une coopération technique. Quoi qu'il en soit, les deux couvents ont suivi, pendant quelque temps, un style d'enluminure commun." *Ibid.*, I, p. XXI. The Augustinian house was dedicated to the Holy Virgin and the Twelve Apostles and probably belonged to the Utrecht Congregation of the Brethren and Sisters of the Common Life. The association between the Augustinians and the *devotio moderna* is significant: in the late fourteenth century, when the devotional movement that led to the formation of houses of laymen and women was underway, widespread criticism of lay religious houses forced many members to take vows and live under an established rule. The Augustinian rule was chosen, and the Augustinian Canons Regular of the Congregation of Windesheim, the first of many congregations in the North Netherlands, was founded in 1386. See Albert Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance: A History of the "Devotio Moderna,"* 2nd ed. (Hamden, Conn: Archon Books, 1965); for a more recent assessment of the movement, which, however, gives almost no consideration to the activity of the Brethren in manuscript production, see R.R. Post, *The Modern Devotion: Confrontation with Reformation and Humanism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968). For the relationship between Dutch manuscripts and the *devotio moderna*, see Delaissé, pp. 8-12, 95-96 and between the Grisaille Group and the *devotio moderna*, see Fiero, "Devotional Illumination. . .," Chaps. IX and X.

Dutch Bibles of the early fifteenth century. A close comparison of the text of Smith 36 with the Hague prayerbook might confirm that the former is one more example of the cooperative effort in book manufacture described by Byvanck and Hoogewerff, that while the text of Smith 36 was copied in the Augustinian house, its decorative portions including its miniatures were added in the Carthusian house.

If the Grisaille Group miniatures were in use among the Carthusians of Nieuwlicht, then this house might have provided the point of contact between these miniatures and the efforts of the Smith hand. Indeed, this seems to have been the case. The Leyden Book of Hours in which, it will be recalled, some of the finest of the Grisaille Group miniatures appear, was prepared for the Augustinian priest, Kaetzaert van Zaers, but recorded in the calendar is the death of Henri van der Laen, a monk from the Carthusian monastery at Nieuwlicht.³⁶ Whether the Grisaille Group miniatures were produced in either house or by an independent layman who provided them for use by the Carthusians,³⁷ it is certain that it was within this milieu that they were circulated among artists like the Smith hand.

Smith MS 36 may be viewed as a representative example of North Netherlandish manuscript production in the decade just prior to the perfecting of the printing press. It is no coincidence that the manual reproduction of manuscripts in Northern Europe reached its peak at the same time that the technology of moveable type was invented. By the mid-fifteenth century, a large audience consisting of both clergy and laymen expressed the need for a variety of devotional manuscripts. The demand was so great that new methods had to be devised for the manufacture and illustration of favorite texts. The use of a model for the copying or tracing of images facilitated the mass production of Books of Hours like Smith MS 36. Very shortly, the models that served for manuscript illumination would be transposed to copper plates and wood blocks, and the reproduction of imagery would become a mere mechanical act.

³⁶Byvanck, "La Miniature. . .," p. 71; see also Chap. VI.

³⁷De Wit discusses the possibility that laymen as well as monks were responsible for manuscript illumination at the Carthusian house at Nieuwlicht, pp. 264-271.