Books of Hours collected by Elizabeth Seymour Percy, 1st Duchess of Northumberland (1716-1776): An examination of three unpublished late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century illuminated Books of Hours at Alnwick Castle

Thesis

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Volume 1 of 2

TEXT
ABSTRACT

This thesis introduces Elizabeth Seymour Percy, 1st Duchess of Northumberland (1716-1776) who is known to have collected the Books of Hours now held at Alnwick Castle. Three of her unpublished Books of Hours are examined more closely, Duke of Northumberland (DNP) MSS 483, 484 and 485, here named The Van Zonnevelt Hours, The Golden Bathsheba Hours and The Goesin Hours respectively. My research has endeavoured to establish, as far as possible, where, when and by whom each manuscript was produced and to whom they belonged. The Van Zonnevelt Hours was produced in the Northern Netherlands in two distinct artistic phases, while the other two were produced in the Southern Netherlands although DNP MS 484, The Golden Bathsheba Hours, contains a monotone miniature of a naked Bathsheba in the French tradition. All were produced in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries. A fourth Book of Hours from the collection at Alnwick, DNP MS 482, The Hours of Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier; and DNP MS 483, The Van Zonnevelt Hours, contain added inscriptions, which between them contribute new information on the Dutch Revolt from either side of the religious divide. All four manuscripts have either a binding or cover of red velvet and all four manuscripts have similar library labels that are not those of Alnwick, raising the question of whether some or all of the books were together before they entered the Alnwick collection.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks to the Duke of Northumberland and the archives at Alnwick Castle for allowing me access to the Books of Hours in the Alnwick collection and for granting permission to reproduce photographs of them, although the copyright remains with Alnwick. This thesis has only been possible because of the work of others and the guidance of my supervisors Susie West, Kim Woods and Andrew Murray. My thanks also to the helpful advice from Scot McKendrick and Alixe Bovey.

Publications, databases and miniatures published online form a solid foundation on which to build my own investigations. I also wish to give special thanks to all the librarians who helped locate relevant manuscripts and documents. Also to those who gave their time and shared their knowledge and enthusiasm for the research that went into this thesis.

Archives

Christopher Hunwick, archivist to the Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

This thesis consists of two volumes.

**VOLUME 1 TEXT**

Abstract

Acknowledgements

Family Tree 1

Family Tree 2

Family Tree 3

Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION .................................................. 12

1.1 Summary .......................................................................... 12

1.2 Books of Hours ................................................................ 13

1.3 Production ........................................................................ 15

1.4 Patronage ......................................................................... 19

1.5 Provenance ....................................................................... 20

1.6 Methodology .................................................................... 20

1.7 Geography ......................................................................... 25

1.8 Primary Sources ............................................................. 25

1.9 Spelling and Dates ........................................................... 26

1.10 Terminology .................................................................... 27

1.11 Structure of Thesis .......................................................... 27
Chapter 2 : ELIZABETH SEYMOUR PERCY, 1ST DUCHESS OF NORTHUMBERLAND (1716 TO 1776) AND HER COLLECTION OF BOOKS OF HOURS ................................. 29

2.1 Introduction ..................................................................... 29

2.2 A Biographical Introduction to Elizabeth Seymour Percy ................................................................................................................................. 29

2.3 The First Duchess, An Eighteenth-Century Collector of Books of Hours................................................................................................................. 32

2.4 The Books of Hours at Alnwick Castle ......................... 35

2.5 Books of Hours on the Musaeum List ............................. 37

2.6 The Alnwick Books of Hours Collected after 1770....... 46

2.7 Conclusion ....................................................................... 54

Chapter 3 : DNP MS 483 , THE VAN ZONNEVELT HOURS 55

3.1 Introduction ..................................................................... 55

3.2 Books of Hours from the Northern Netherlands and Comparative Manuscripts ................................................................. 56

3.3 Locating the manuscript. ................................................... 58

3.4 The Calendar and Litany .................................................... 59

3.5 Locating the Script ............................................................. 62

3.6 The First Artistic Phase ..................................................... 65
3.7 First Phase Historiated Initial: The *zonnetje* or shining sun motif.................................................................66

3.8 First Phase borders..........................................................................................67

3.9 The Second Artistic Phase .............................................................................69

3.10 The Masters of Hugo Jansz van Woerden and the Masters of the Suffrages..........................................................70

3.11 A Case for Cornelis Engebrechtsz (1460/62 to 1527) ...73

3.12 Second Phase Borders .............................................................................75

3.13 The question of Manuscript Production in Leiden ......76

3.14 The Patrons ..............................................................................................79

3.15 Patron of the First Artistic Phase: The prayer of a cloistered sister ........................................................................79

3.16 The Patrons of the Second Artistic Phase .................82

3.17 *Patrons Kneeling Before an Altar*: a portrait miniature.85

3.18 The Origins of the Red Velvet cover .................................................91

3.19 Conclusion..................................................................................................94

Chapter 4 : DNP 484, *THE GOLDEN BATHSHEBA HOURS* 95

4.1 Introduction ..............................................................................................95

4.2 The Calendar..............................................................................................97
4.3 The Illusionistic Flower Borders: What do these reveal about date and location? .......................................................... 99

4.4 Characteristic Features of the Miniatures and their Affinity to the Work of Dieric Bouts and The Master of the First Prayerbook of Maximilian..............................................................99

4.5 The Crucifixion Miniature ............................................. 102

4.6 The Bathsheba Miniature.................................................. 103

4.7 Development of the Naked Bathsheba Miniature.............. 105

4.8 Patrons of DNP MS 484 The Golden Bathsheba Hours 110

4.9 Conclusion ..................................................................... 115

Chapter 5 : DNP MS 485 THE GOESIN HOURS ............... 117

5.1 Introduction ...................................................................... 117

5.2 Production Issues for DNP MS 485, The Goesin Hours 119

5.3 The Miniatures in The Goesin Hours and their Counterparts in the Comparative Manuscripts. ......................... 120

5.4 The Hand of Gerard Horenbout ...................................... 124

5.5 The Horenbout Workshop and the Hand of Susanna Horenbout ................................................................. 125

5.6 The Calendar...................................................................... 127

5.7 Text Pages and Pen-Decorated borders ......................... 128

5.8 Bathsheba in The Goesin Hours ...................................... 129
5.9 The Influence of the Patron within *The Goesin Hours*. 130

5.10 The Goesin Hours as a Primer ............................................. 133

5.11 Did *The Goesin Hours* have a Female Patron ............. 133

5.12 The Significance of the Red Velvet Binding and the Two Brass Clasps............................................................................. 134

5.13 Dutch Language and Northern Pen-Decorated Borders ............................................................................................................. 135

5.14 Conclusion................................................................................ 136

Chapter 6: THE ALNWICK HOURS IN THE SIXTEENTH AND EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES THROUGH TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. ............................................. 138

6.1 Introduction ........................................................................ 138

6.2 The Signatures Dated 1555 in The Charlotte Hours..... 139

6.3 Line of Descent Leading to the 1555 Signing of *The Charlotte Hours* ............................................................................................................. 142

6.4 The Inscriptions in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* .......... 144

6.5 Shelf Marks and Book Dealer Descriptions .............. 148

6.6 The Mérode Libraries ............................................................ 151

6.7 Conclusion............................................................................. 156

Chapter 7: CONCLUSIONS.......................................................... 157

7.1 Recapitulation of Purpose and Findings...................... 157
7.2 Relationship with Previous Research ............................ 161
7.3 Limitations of Research................................................. 161
7.4 Implications of my Findings............................................. 161
7.5 Recommendation for Further Research......................... 162
7.6 Contribution to Research.............................................. 162

BIBLIOGRAPHY ..................................................................... 164

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS CONSULTED .............................. 164

PRIMARY SOURCES: ONLINE DATABASES ..................... 169

PRIMARY SOURCES: PRINTED .......................................... 169

UNPUBLISHED SOURCES ................................................ 170

SECONDARY SOURCES .................................................... 171

APPENDICES ...................................................................... 183

APPENDIX 1 Description, DNP MS 483, *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* ................................................................. 183

APPENDIX 2 DNP MS 484, *The Golden Bathsheba Hours* 190

APPENDIX 3 Description, DNP MS 485, *The Goesin Hours* ............................................................................. 194

APPENDIX 4 Transcription of added Inscriptions, DNP MS 483, *The van Zonnevelt Hours* ................................. 200
Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Summary

This thesis investigates the Books of Hours collected by Elizabeth Seymour Percy, 1st Duchess of Northumberland (1716 to 1776), held at Alnwick Castle, in particular the four manuscripts with red velvet covers; DNP MSS 482, 483, 484 and 485. Of the three unpublished manuscripts, MSS 483, 484 and 485, that are examined more closely, one was produced in the Northern Netherlands, one in the Southern Netherlands and one mainly in the Southern Netherlands but contains one miniature that was produced in France, all between 1470 and 1525. Between them these Books of Hours contain miniatures that are artistically diverse, with a challenging mix of the formulaic combined with some superb, original and occasionally unique, variations. These particular Books of Hours were originally selected from the collection at Alnwick Castle in response to a request from Pieter Blom, [retired] archivist for Veere, regarding the provenance of DNP MS 482, The Hours of Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier (The Charlotte Hours). The similarities between the four manuscripts’ red velvet bindings/covers, library labels and book dealer descriptions raise the question of whether these Books of Hours were together before they entered the Alnwick archives. I therefore decided to follow the lives of the manuscripts from their production through to their final destination at Alnwick Castle, as exampled by Christopher de Hamel in Meetings with Remarkable Manuscripts.¹

The three manuscripts that will be examined more closely here, DNP MSS 483, 484 and 485, which I have named The Van Zonnevelt Hours, The Golden Bathsheba Hours and The Goesin Hours respectively, have no literature attached to them beyond their less than fifty word descriptions in Western Illuminated Manuscripts.² DNP MS 482, The Charlotte Hours, has been described by Janet Backhouse and features in Illuminating the Renaissance.³ The Charlotte Hours was also the subject of my MA dissertation, so this manuscript is excluded here except for Chapter


² Western Illuminated Manuscripts is the Alnwick archive’s working document taken from valuations compiled by Christopher de Hamel, a copy of which was kindly given to me by Alnwick archivist Chris Hunwick. This document lists information on use, number of leaves, dimensions, number of miniatures, binding and approximate date and location. It mentions some names but for The Charlotte Hours, for example, it says ‘aristocratic autographs added’ but not what they are. For The Van Zonnevelt Hours there is no mention of the added inscriptions.

During the mid-sixteenth century, a mysterious drawing and a number of signatures and inscriptions were added to the manuscript. Some of the inscriptions have been deliberately washed out. Significantly, several of the signatures and inscriptions that remain legible are dated 1555. This is the year Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, abdicated as ruler of the Netherlands, handing over power to his son Philip II of Spain.

Drawing on her own writings, this thesis first discusses the 1st Duchess of Northumberland as a collector and introduces the Books of Hours she collected, before going on to case studies of the three unpublished manuscripts with red velvet covers. For each of these manuscripts, the available evidence for production, patronage, and provenance is discussed. Each of the case study chapters is supported by a descriptive Appendix.

The manuscript studies approach taken in this thesis goes beyond the understanding of codicology to include, for example, archival documents, pilgrim badges, panel paintings and gravestones, as well as medieval Dutch history and languages. An interdisciplinary method is increasingly utilised by those who research these manuscripts because it augments understanding and insight into the patron’s world and the meaning of the art. Unlike the majority of altarpieces or panels of the Northern and Southern Netherlands, many of which have been destroyed or are in museums, bound Books of Hours present a collection of miniatures still within their original context. Borders, historiated initials and written content, including added inscriptions, all represent an integral part of the context. This means that Books of Hours can act as their own primary sources, which is especially useful when researching one, or in this case three, for the first time.

### 1.2 Books of Hours

Books of Hours, also known by their Latin name *horae*, the French *heures* or the Dutch *getijdenboeken*, were the most popular books during Medieval times. The number of Hours produced rose towards the end of the fifteenth century and into the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

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5 Appendix 1-3

6 See de Hamel, 2018.

7 James H. Marrow (ed.), 1990, *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*, exh. cat. (New York: George Braziller), p. 5. Note: Many panels and altarpieces were destroyed or displaced during the *beeldstorm* (Dutch equivalent of the Iconoclasm) and the two World Wars.
century, when increasing wealth among the gentry and printing made them more widely available. Duffy estimates that ‘almost 800 manuscript Books of Hours’ made for the English market survive. Books of Hours were the layman’s version of the liturgical hours of the day, used for private devotion by both women and men. By the end of the fifteenth century they were produced with a more or less standard format, which usually comprised a Calendar, Gospel Lessons, Hours of the Virgin - the most important of the Hours, the (Short) Hours of the Cross, the Penitential Psalms and Litany and the Office of the Dead, although other texts and prayers could be included. Even after the introduction of printing, the most luxurious manuscripts were still handwritten on vellum, usually in Latin, and the major offices were ‘bookmarked’ with painted miniatures. The number of miniatures in each manuscript ranged from just a few to a ‘more or less complete compendium of medieval Christian iconography’. Miniatures could be bought as single items at markets but the most illustrious Books of Hours were bespoke items, commissioned by, or for, a specific patron. This draws attention to secular issues of status and wealth, with patrons sometimes visible within their manuscripts.

This thesis will not discuss the genre of Books of Hours in depth because it is already very well established in the literature. Christopher de Hamel, in ‘Books for Everybody’ describes who and what Books of Hours were intended for, together with content and layout, offering examples of miniatures from both French and Southern Netherlandish workshops. Eamon Duffy’s

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9 Duffy 2017, p.4


12 Duffy, 2017, p. 4.


Marking the Hours focuses on prayer and the English market but much of what he writes about the content and meditative purpose of Books of Hours in his first chapter can be generalised to the Southern Netherlands and France. Another important source is Roger S. Wieck’s *Time Sanctified, The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, published in New York, but published in Great Britain as *The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, which is the version referenced in this thesis. In this book, the social history and organisation of the prayers and offices in Books of Hours are discussed together with the most commonly found miniatures. Another book by Wieck, *Painted Prayers, The Book of Hours in Medieval Renaissance Art*, discusses the various Hours and Offices, giving the most important lines by which to identify texts written in Latin. Between them these volumes provide a comprehensive guide for those researching Books of Hours, from France or the Southern Netherlands.

Books of Hours produced in the Northern Netherlands are artistically different from those produced in the Southern Netherlands and are usually written in Dutch, based on the translation by the fourteenth century cleric Geerte Grote. Northern manuscripts often have no miniatures at all with the Hours ‘bookmarked’ by borders of pen decoration, which, as Anne Korteweg and her team have identified, because of their different styles can be dated and categorised by the region in which they were produced. Miniatures too differ by region. The most useful source to begin identifying miniatures from the Northern Netherlands is James Marrow’s *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*, although other writers, such as Klara H. Broekhuijsen investigate individual artists. Few miniaturists from the Northern Netherlands are known by name, although the authors of *Lucas van Leyden en de Renaissance*, a catalogue that accompanied an exhibition of the same name that included some miniatures, have made some tentative suggestions.

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Between them these volumes draw attention to the importance of the texts and hand painted images. Duffy covers painted historiated initials and borders as well as printed Books of Hours, which generally get less attention. Sometimes publications specialise in borders, such as *Remaking the Margin* and Celia Fisher’s publications on flowers found in Books of Hours, which can help with location and dating specific manuscripts.22

In relation to *The Van Zonnevelt Hours, The Golden Bathsheba Hours* and *The Goesin Hours*, this thesis seeks to answer questions of production, patronage and provenance for each of the manuscripts.

### 1.3 Production

Production seeks to answer, as far as possible, the question of where, when and by whom manuscripts were produced. Miniatures in Books of Hours follow a general format, but they are personal objects made for private devotion, including within the home, and some miniatures have unusual, occasionally unique variations. The question is why. Are these differences simply because of where and when they were made, because of the different artists involved, and/or because the patrons wanted to put their own ‘stamp’ on their books.

Within the field of illuminated manuscript studies, the question of attribution is based initially on comparative studies, identifying the main characteristics of a particular artist and searching for other miniatures with similar characteristics. *Illuminating the Renaissance* is properly recognised as the ‘bible’ for those researching manuscripts from the Southern Netherlands and was written to accompany the 2003 exhibition of the same name. ‘Illuminating the Renaissance’ was the first exhibition to bring together a whole range of manuscripts painted by illuminators from the Southern Netherlands, dating from 1470 to 1560, including several examples, like *The Charlotte Hours*, that had not previously been seen in public.23 The catalogue provides descriptions of the 171 manuscripts included in the exhibition and an overview of the illuminators and examples of their work taken over a working lifetime.

Miniaturists often remain anonymous but are sometimes given an identifier, such as The Master of the Dresden Prayer Book, who is thought to have operated in Bruges, but is named after a book in Dresden. Examples from the Northern Netherlands include The Masters of the Haarlem Bible because the manuscripts of these artists are associated with or contain codicological evidence

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linking them to Haarlem. Sometimes Masters can be identified. For example The Master of James the IV of Scotland is widely thought to be Gerard Horenbout of Ghent. However, even when the identifier or name is singular, it is understood among scholars that the name generally applies to a workshop where several hands work to a set style. It should also be acknowledged that some illuminators were women. Some female names appear in guild registers, while some women were apprenticed to leading illuminators or learned the art in religious communities. Some were family members of Master painters such as Susanna Horenbout, daughter of Gerard.

By the end of the fifteenth and into the early sixteenth century a significant number of artists’ workshops in the Southern Netherlands and France were secular rather than monastic establishments, with many names appearing in guild lists. Some illuminators have more documentation attached to them. This is especially so if they worked for the Burgundian-Hapsburg Court or French Royalty. It is known, for example that Gerard Horenbout was made court artist by Margaret of Austria from whom she commissioned sixteen miniatures for British Library, Add. Ms 34294, known as The Sforza Hours. The French illuminator, Jean Bourdichon is documented as working for four successive French Kings. For another French miniaturist Jean Poyet, no biographical evidence is known. Nevertheless, Wieck identifies several manuscripts that have been attributed to him. In the luxury manuscript market of the Southern Netherlands a number of


27 Reynolds, 2003, p. 22


29 Campbell and Foister, 1986; Mark Evans, 1992, The Sforza Hours (London: The British Library)


artists collaborated on a number of books, speeding up production time, while less expensive manuscripts were the work of a single artist.33

The situation for production in the Northern Netherlands is less certain. Several essays in *Masters and Miniatures: a collection of essays from a 1989 conference of Northern Medieval Manuscripts* are useful to understanding Northern manuscripts.34 Of particular interest to this thesis is ‘Panel Painting and Book Illumination in a monastic Workshop ca. 1440-85: Evidence from the Accounts of Lopsen near Leiden’ by Pieter F. J. Obbema.35 This essay results from Pieter Obbema’s transcription of the accounts at Lopsen, a monastery just outside Leiden, which produced illuminated manuscripts. Another important source concerning primary evidence for the commissioning of manuscripts in the Northern Netherlands can be found in the church records of the *Sint Bavokerk* (The Church of Saint Bavo) in Haarlem, transcribed by W.C.M. Wüstefeld.36 Further evidence, derived from archival sources, show that women as well as men, copied and perhaps decorated manuscripts from within their convents.37 Sometimes Books of Hours can be grouped by writing style.38 Margriet Hülsmann’s research shows that manuscripts can sometimes be shown to have been written in a specific monastery or convent.39

Identifying an artist offers a starting point for dating and locating a manuscript but the style of borders also plays an important role. *The Charlotte Hours* 1474-1478, includes some borders with Illusionistic flowers scattered on golden yellow grounds, which are said to be the

33 De Hamel, 2018, p. 542.


earliest securely dateable borders of their kind. By the early sixteenth century these type of borders appeared in most Books of Hours that were made in Bruges or Ghent, thus providing parameters for both locating and dating.

Locating can often be refined by red letter days in the calendar, which can help identify an area or even sometimes a specific church where the manuscript was used, for example Saint Bavo, the patron saint of the main church in Haarlem, is often written in red for manuscripts produced in Haarlem, in the Northern Netherlands. It should also be remembered that patrons may have ordered their manuscripts to be written in one area and then commissioned miniatures from a workshop in a different area. Another problem apparent in some Books of Hours is that the manuscript may have been started by one artist and completed by another, perhaps in a different time or place. Some Books of Hours from the Northern Netherlands with pen-decorated borders, have had miniatures inserted into them at a later date. Prayers for particular popes provide parameters for dating a manuscript, as can identifiable coat-of-arms and inscriptions. A few Books of Hours have pilgrim badges pasted or sewn into them. It is therefore important to note all relevant clues, including the use, language and any unusual prayers, in order to build the production criteria for any given manuscript.

40 Backhouse, 2003a, p. 88.
A few miniaturists were also panel painters, for example Gerard Horenbout, but the relationship between oil painting on panel and illumination manifests itself in many miniatures. Panel paintings by Hugo van de Goes and Joos van Ghent are acknowledged sources for illuminators of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, introducing a new way of handling light, space, colour and texture into illuminations. The representation of figures and landscapes became more naturalistic. Woodcuts and engravings were also a source of inspiration.

Sometimes the bindings of manuscripts can help locate their place of production. Manuscripts from the Northern Netherlands are usually bound in calf and can be stamped with motifs that are specific to a particular location. Hanno Wijsman finds that Books of Hours from the Southern Netherlands are most often bound in red velvet and also provides lists of books owned by fifteenth and sixteenth century Dutch noblemen, including Wolfert van Borisole and Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier. Christopher de Hamel notes that The Spinola Hours was rebound in the same red leather and matching pastedowns as two other manuscripts, which identifies its later owner. Library labels and shelf marks can perform a similar function. De Hamel notes the collation of the Spinola Hours, which also helps marry the manuscript with its fellows.

1.4 Patronage

The word 'patronage' encompasses the concept of both ownership and the commissioning of a manuscript. The word 'patron' in relation to illuminated Books of Hours is usually taken to be the first owner of any given manuscript who may or may not be the person who commissioned the

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51 De Hamel, 2018, pp. 551-552.


53 I do not have the experience to collate manuscripts, which is a limiting factor in my analysis. Also the Alnwick Books of Hours are tightly bound and in near pristine condition so I did not want to do anything that might damage them.
book. This can be rather a simplistic view because patterns of patronage can be more complex with an individual manuscript bearing evidence of more than one commission, with its corresponding implications for more than one patron.54

The patron may be identified by arms, mottoes, emblems and initials, which are the most overt signs of ownership. *The Charlotte Hours* contains examples of all of these modes of self-identification, which Janet Backhouse identified as those of Wolfert VI van Borsele, Lord of Veere and his second wife Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier.55 Internal evidence, such as choice and order of texts, historiated initials and decorative letters, may give clues as to the identity of the patron. Sometimes arms may be presented in less obvious ways than simply including them in the borders, for example the arms of a member of the Briçonnet family, included in a capital C in Haarlem, Teylers Museum, MS 78, *The Briçonnet Hours*.56 New York, The Morgan Library, MS M.50, *The Prayers of Anne of Brittany* has a pattern made up of the letters ANNE in the borders, while an image of her son kneeling in prayer, identifies the pair as Anne of Brittany and Charles Orland.57 However, for the vast majority of Books of Hours the patron remains unknown.58

Added names or inscriptions may identify later owners so offering clues as to whom they may have inherited their Books of Hours from.59 Laws in the Northern Netherlands determined that patriarchal inheritance was not necessarily the case in the late fifteenth century, as is often assumed, and women are usually known by their birth name, not their married name.60

54 E.g. Marrow, 1990.

55 Backhouse, 2002a, p. 71.

56 Wieck, 2000, p. 22.

57 Wieck, 2000, p. 25.


59 Ibid. p. 305.

1.5 Provenance

Provenance here deals with the transmission of the Hours, their onward histories from the first owners. This includes the change of status from being active as religious objects to being objects to record family history, to joining the book trade and art market as collector's objects. In general, the patrons and successive owners of Books of Hours are largely unknown but those Books of Hours that do have inscriptions are often used as reference points for dating manuscripts. Both Backhouse and Kren have listed the signatures written into The Charlotte Hours but the significance of the sixteenth-century signatories has not previously been noted.

1.6 Methodology

The underlying methodology for this thesis can be found in Igor Kopytoff’s essay ‘The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process’. Kopytoff defines an object that can be the subject of cultural biography as one that is both culturally significant and also holds economic value. Having identified a suitable object, the object’s changing status, in both cultural and monetary terms can then be followed over time. In this thesis, ‘the cultural artefacts’ in question are the Books of Hours collected by Elizabeth Seymour, 1st Duchess of Northumberland (1716 to 1776), held at Alnwick Castle, Northumberland. Whenever possible, especially for the Books of Hours examined in more detail in chapters 3-5, an object biography, both cultural and economic, is followed in terms of the well established approaches to manuscript studies of production, patronage

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62 E.g. Utrecht, Catharijneconvent Museum StCC h 1, known as The Van Adrichem Hours

New York, Morgan Library, M. 1031, known as The Assendelft Hours; Draiflessen Collection Mettingen, Liberna MS 1.


64 Kopytoff, 1999, p. 64


and provenance, from the time the manuscripts were produced until the First Duchess acquired them.67

Books of Hours are complex items making them eminently suited to this kind of biographical approach. At any one time, different aspects of a particular Book of Hours, the text, miniatures or added ephemera or inscriptions for example, may have taken cultural or economic precedence, which may have been regarded differently by different people.68 However, Books of Hours must first be defined so an historical bibliographical approach must also be incorporated. This is the established method of investigating Books of Hours, establishing, as far as possible, their production, patronage and provenance, both at a collective level and an individual level. The collective level draws on the research of many scholars pertaining to Books of Hours while the individual level researches any archival, visual or other evidence that pertains directly to an individual book, its patrons or its provenance.

Many hundreds of Books of Hours have survived, providing a large data set against which to evaluate research into texts and comparative analysis of artists, which helps establish place and time of production. Difficulties can arise about who commissioned individual books of Hours, or who their subsequent owners were and their monetary worth at any given time, because, beyond general terms, this information is not always available or has been elided from individual books.69 However, for several of the Alnwick Books of Hours, especially those examined in more depth (chapters 3-5), which were all made in the Southern or Northern Netherlands, sufficient, although not all, of this primary evidence has survived. Some of it directly in the form of archive documents including wills and inventories of the original patrons and those hand written by the first Duchess in the eighteenth century, or, indirectly, in the form of artefacts, such as portraits or gravestones for example (see section on Primary Sources), which makes a cultural biographical approach both interesting and worthwhile. An exponent of this kind of methodology is Christopher de Hamel in *Meetings with Remarkable Manuscripts*, where he not only describes some of the richest manuscripts known, but follows each of their individual biographical journeys from production to, what is invariably a major museum or library, or in terms of object biography, an esteemed ‘cultural institution’.70

67 This study is confined to the Alnwick Hours collected by the First Duchess that have remained at Alnwick Castle since her death in 1776 and inherited by the successive Dukes of Northumberland. Six of her Books of Hours were sold at auction in 1948, but in order to maintain the framework of this investigation these, for the most part, have not been followed up.

68 Kopytoff, 1999, p. 64.

69 Duffy, 2017, p. 24

70 de Hamel, 2018, p. 319.
In order to establish criteria for the changing cultural and economic values of the Alnwick Books of Hours it is necessary to draw on historical biography through the work of several scholars, each of whom tend to specialise in specific areas of research into Books of Hours. The majority of Books of Hours are written in Latin, the language of the clergy, and it is probably wrong to assume that every patron could read their books in the conventional sense. However, these manuscripts mostly contained a set compendium of Hours, which were ‘bookmarked’ by miniatures with iconography that would have paralleled that seen in medieval churches. The miniatures do not illustrate the text but were ‘an instantly recognisable symbol of recollectedness, interiority and prayer’, providing people with a focus for their own private contemplation.

Books of Hours produced in the Northern Netherlands were mostly written in the vernacular and reflect a more ‘urban bourgeois culture’ than their counterparts produced in France or for the Burgundian court. It has been suggested that because, people from the North could read the vernacular, Northern Books of Hours have less miniatures, or none at all. As Anne Korteweg and James Marrow have demonstrated, Books of Hours produced in the Northern Netherlands have their own visual aesthetic, which can be grouped according to the region in which they were produced, which helps in dating them. Korteweg and her team of researchers investigated pen decorated borders and historiated initials, while Marrow is more interested in miniatures as well as historiated initials. By means of comparative analysis and codicological evidence, Marrow was instrumental in organising miniatures by artist and into regional and broadly dated groups.

Whether Books of Hours were produced in the Northern or Southern Netherlands, any variations in texts or innovative miniatures are highly interesting to modern scholars because variations can sometimes provide clues as to when, where, and perhaps for whom a Books of Hours might have been made.

Eamon Duffy, who considers the purpose and content of Books of Hours, points out that patrons of hand written and hand painted Books of Hours, which almost all of the Alnwick Hours are, must have been members of the wealthy elite because the books themselves were enormously

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72 Duffy, 2017, p. 4.
73 Duffy, 2017, p. 3.
74 Marrow, 1990, p.5.
76 Korteweg, 1992; Marrow, 1990.
expensive to produce. These patrons often personalised their books with coats of arms, mottoes etc. and sometimes included portraits of themselves within the miniatures or borders, demonstrating the cultural esteem in which these books were held. The patrons, or subsequent owners, may have inserted inscriptions that can reveal something of the provenance of a book. Sometimes, usually at a later date, books were used to declare oaths, indicating a change in purpose and cultural value of a manuscript.

Special prayers or ephemera may have been added to the manuscripts, enriching their cultural significance and providing information on the status of original patrons or subsequent owners. Kathryn Rudy in particular researches special prayers and rubrics, which were written or painted into manuscripts and may reveal something about which sector of society the patron belonged. Rudy is also interested in pilgrim badges that were painted or printed onto parchment or paper and then stuck or stitched into Books of Hours. This has implications for understanding the way patrons expressed their religious devotion, whether, for example, they undertook pilgrimages to specific sites where they might collect a badge as a token of that pilgrimage, or whether they went on virtual pilgrimages within the confines of a convent. In both these cases Indulgences would be accrued by the pilgrims, which meant, within the terms of medieval belief, they would spend a shorter time in purgatory.

In order to apply this methodology specifically to the Alnwick Books of Hours collected by the First Duchess, each of their individual identities must first be established, describing the size, binding, number of miniatures etc. This is done in the descriptive format used by most

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77 Duffy, 2017, p. 4.
78 Duffy, 2017, p. 34.
80 Duffy, 2017, p. 44.
81 Duffy, 2017, Chapter 2.
84 Kathryn M. Rudy, 2011b, Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent (Turnhout: Brepols)
scholars such as Christopher de Hamel, who valued the Alnwick Hours, Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick in *Illuminating the Renaissance*, which documents Books of Hours produced in the Southern Netherlands, and James Marrow, who specialises in Books of Hours with miniatures from the Northern Netherlands.\(^{85}\) Both these latter sources are well illustrated, which is important, especially when researching books for the first time, although miniatures in particular, are increasingly being put online by major libraries and museums.\(^{86}\) The text of each manuscript has to be established because it may reveal something of the original patrons and the purpose of any given Book of Hours. Roger S. Wieck, in particular, offers information on the content of Books of Hours and how to identify the various texts.\(^{87}\) Knud Ottosen provides information on versions of the Office of the Dead, which can reveal where the manuscript, or perhaps the patrons came from. Library labels can sometimes reveal where a manuscript was housed, or whether any books may have come from the same library. To adapt this information specifically to the Alnwick Hours archives relevant to the patrons, for example those in Alkmaar and Veere, which relate to the patrons of *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* and *The Charlotte Hours* respectively, have to be identified to see what they reveal about the patrons and their descendants. This includes any secondary material that may have been derived from original documents.

Evidence for identifying patrons and understanding the events behind added signatures and inscriptions, has to be drawn from historical accounts such as those pertaining to the Dutch Revolt as well as those records more intimately associated with the families involved. This includes family trees and/or original archival sources, which can all offer evidence of a book’s biographical journey and changing cultural significance. Hand written and hand painted Books of Hours were originally highly expensive and culturally valuable items. This changed over time. Inscriptions in several of the Hours testify to their changing cultural value, while documents hand written by the First Duchess, such as records of sales and prices written inside the books themselves, and an

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\(^{85}\) De Hamel notes for Alnwick Castle Archive.


inventory of those books acquired by 1770. Together these testify to the changing monetary value of her Books of Hours and how she herself valued them.88

It has not been possible to follow the complete biographical journeys, either culturally or economically, for any of the Alnwick Books of Hours, but for some of them their cultural biography has proved to be surprising comprehensive.

1.7 Geography

It is important to understand the geographical terms used in this thesis. The terms Northern and Southern Netherlands have been adopted by art historians to differentiate between styles of art by geographical area, although in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries both the Northern and Southern Netherlands were part of Burgundian Hapsburg territories (Map 1). Here ‘Northern Netherlands’ refers to all those areas that today make up the eleven provinces of the modern Netherlands, including the North Holland towns of Alkmaar, Amsterdam, Haarlem and Utrecht, and the South Holland town of Leiden (Map 3). The word Holland is often taken by English speakers to mean the whole of The Netherlands, but this is incorrect. North and South Holland are in fact provinces. The province of Zeeland, including the island of Walcheren where the patrons of The Charlotte Hours resided, is also, geographically, part of the Northern Netherlands although the patrons aligned themselves with the Burgundian court. The term ‘Southern Netherlands’ refers to the area that is modern day Belgium, including the towns of Bruges, Brussels, Ghent and Mechelen (Malines).

For chapter 6, the chapter concerned with the Dutch Revolt, following the literature, the more collective term ‘Low Countries’, has been used because people from both the Northern and Southern Netherlands were involved.89

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88 Documents handwritten by Elizabeth Seymour Percy, 1st Duchess of Northumberland:-

DNP 121/1-121/59, Diaries of First Duchess 1753-1775

DNP 123, Accounts of First Duchess

DNP MS 125 Manuscripts and Illuminated Missals, (The List), in Museum Catalogue: Antiquities, Historical Curiosity's, Miscellaneous Ditto, Manuscripts, Japan, Porcelain, Glass etc., ff. 85v-86v

DNP MS 21/163, List of Bookdeals, Bookbinders and Stationers

Sotheby’s Auction Catalogue Tuesday 21st December 1948 also online at: Schoenberg Database of Manuscripts (upenn.edu)

1.8 Primary Sources

In order to establish criteria of production, when, where and by whom the manuscripts were produced, comparative studies with other Books of Hours have been undertaken. These manuscripts are recorded in the bibliography under the List of Manuscripts Consulted. Each one is introduced, with reasons for selecting them, in the relevant parts of this thesis.

*The Van Zonnevelt Hours* is inscribed with the name Willemijne van Zonnevelt of Alkmaar. Alkmaar is a town in the Northern Netherlands about 50 kilometres (31 miles) north of Amsterdam. While Willemijne (1499/1500 to 1567) could not have been the first patron of the manuscript, both she and her family are well documented in the *Regionaal Archief* (Regional Archive), Alkmaar and the *Noord-Hollands Archief*, (North Holland Archive) Haarlem, in The Netherlands. Willemijne’s parents Pieter Claesz Paling and Josina van Foreest founded an alms house in Alkmaar, which is still operational today (fig. 1.2).⁹⁰ As a result of this foundation all relevant documentation has been preserved, including the wills and inventories of Willemijne and her parents, either the originals or authentic copies.

This thesis not only looks at the original patrons but seeks to understand the provenance of the manuscripts and how they were brought into the collection of the Duke of Northumberland. The possible answer lies in the handwritten accounts, inventory and diaries of Elizabeth Seymour Percy, 1st Duchess of Northumberland.⁹¹ These documents, preserved at the Alnwick Archive, hold information on where, when and how much the First Duchess, as she is referred to at Alnwick, paid for her books and, by inference, why she collected Books of Hours, although frustratingly none of these sources are complete.

The incoming accounts of P. F. Goesin, book dealer of Ghent, show that he was buying in old manuscripts, including Books of Hours.⁹² The 1734 published library Catalogue of Jean Philip, Comtee de Mérode, whose family were descendants of both Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier and

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⁹¹ DNP MS 121/1 - 121/59: First Duchess of Northumberland's Diaries, 1752-1775.

⁹² Universiteitsbibliotheek, Gent, HS 13437, Handboek van Pieter Frans III de Goesin, drukker en boekhandelaar te Gent, betreffende de inkomende goederen, 1753-1785.
Willemijne van Zonnevelt, permit a discussion on line of descent as well as selling, trading and buying Books of Hours in the eighteenth century (Family Trees 1, and 3).93

1.9 **Spelling and Dates**

The name Willemijne van Zonnevelt is today usually written Wilhelmina van Sonnevelt, but as will be explained in chapter 3, the Zonnevelt spelling appears to be what Willemijne herself used, or at least her notary did. The Z spelling has been maintained in honour of this and to differentiate her from her daughters, who spelled their names Sonnevelt.

The spelling of Borsele follows that found in the printed version of the *Cartularium van de heren van Véere* (Cartularium of the Lords of Veere) although it is sometimes spelled Borssele or Borselen.

Depending on the source and the language that it is written in, names can vary and look very different depending on whether they are written in English, Dutch or French, which can lead to confusion. Where this occurs, alternative versions are given.

To avoid confusion between the Julian and Gregorian calendars, dates will follow those given in original documents or sources.

1.10 **Terminology**

Technical terms to describe Books of Hours have been taken from Michelle Brown’s *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts: A Guide to Technical Terms*.94 The difference between ‘pen-decorated borders’ and ‘pen-flourished letters’ can cause confusion. Following James Marrow, and Anne Korteweg pen-decorated borders usually have patterns made of fine pen-drawn lines, often in different colours and often geometric. Pen-flourished capitals, usually single-line capitals, are those that have been decorated with pen-lines of a different colour to the capital.

When describing motifs found in pen-decorated borders, Anne Korteweg and her team formulated their own descriptive terms. Transliterations of these terms are provided but translating and finding English equivalents is not always easy, or even possible. Therefore, to avoid misunderstanding and errors in classification, the original Dutch terms have been maintained, with transliterations in brackets.


1.11 Structure of Thesis

Following the Introduction, chapter 2 will discuss Elizabeth Seymour Percy, 1st Duchess of Northumberland as a collector of Books of Hours and provide a brief introduction to the 19 books still in the collection at Alnwick.

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 investigate three unpublished manuscripts in terms of production and patronage. Chapter 3 looks at DNP MS, 483 The Van Zonnevelt Hours, which has miniatures inserted into an earlier unfinished artistic phase. This means that production issues have to be looked at for two different times and locations, with its associated problems of identifying the patrons.

Chapter 4 discusses DNP MS 484, The Golden Bathsheba Hours. It has proved difficult to find comparative miniatures for the majority of the miniatures in this book, which seemed to come from two different artistic traditions. There are no overt arms and no inscriptions in this book so information on the patrons must be derived from other internal evidence.

Chapter 5 discusses DNP MS 485, The Goesin Hours. Finding comparative manuscripts for this manuscript proved much easier but there are no overt indications of patronage, although internal clues make it possible to suggest who the patron may have been.

Chapter 6 discusses the added inscriptions in DNP MS 482, The Charlotte Hours, and The Van Zonnevelt Hours, relating them to the Dutch Revolt and, through the construction of family trees, the possible provenance of the manuscripts. Each of the four Books of Hours with red velvet bindings/covers has library labels pasted to the outside and book dealer description on the inside. These are investigated to see if they provide clues as to where and when the First Duchess might have acquired them.

Chapter 7 is the Conclusion/
Chapter 2: ELIZABETH SEYMOUR PERCY, 1ST DUCHESS OF NORTHAMBERLAND (1716 TO 1776) AND HER COLLECTION OF BOOKS OF HOURS

2.1 Introduction
Based largely on her own writings, this chapter introduces a biographical account of Elizabeth Seymour Percy, 1st Duchess of Northumberland, a mid eighteenth-century collector of Books of Hours. Twenty-five Books of Hours from her collection have been recorded at Alnwick. Six were sold in 1948, leaving nineteen still in the archives at Alnwick Castle, Northumberland. By examining the handwritten documents of the First Duchess, as Elizabeth Seymour is referred to at Alnwick, the individual Books of Hours are introduced. Information about the manuscripts, such as the price the First Duchess paid for them, when and where she bought them and what she thought of them will be included with the descriptions of the individual manuscripts whenever this information is available. Only four of the manuscripts in the Alnwick collection have received scholarly attention, but several of the rest, all of which will be introduced here, deserve more recognition.

2.2 A Biographical Introduction to Elizabeth Seymour Percy
Elizabeth Seymour Percy, 1st Duchess of Northumberland (1716 to 1776) and suo jure Baroness Percy was the daughter of Algernon Seymour (1684 to 1750), 7th Duke of Somerset, and Frances Thynne (1699 to 1754) (fig. 2.1). Her father held a number of military positions, was active in parliament and a justice of the peace for Northumberland. Her Mother was a poet, literary patron

95 Biographical information on First Duchess from Elizabeth Seymour Percy, 2011, The diaries of a Duchess: Extracts from the Diaries of the First Duchess of Northumberland 1716-1776, Ed. James Greig (New York: George H Doran), pp. iii-xvii,

Note: This will henceforth this publication will be referenced as DDP – Duchess Diaries Published.

The original handwritten diaries will be referenced DDH – Duchess Diaries Handwritten, together with their date and archive numbers.

The transcribed searchable digital version of the handwritten diaries, which contains some information not included in the published version, kindly supplied by Chris Hunwick, Archivist at Alnwick, will be referenced DDD – Duchess Diaries Digital.


and letter writer. Both parents held positions at court. Elizabeth is said to have had a happy childhood and grew up with a keen interest in society, art and collecting as well as writing diaries. He was from a less illustrious background than her but had come into a number of inheritances, was interested in architecture and adept at managing their estates, increasing the family fortunes. In 1744 Elizabeth’s brother, George Seymour (1725 to 1744), died unmarried so, on the death of her father in 1750, Elizabeth inherited the Alnwick estate (fig. 2.2). In 1766, courtesy of the King George III, Elizabeth Seymour and Hugh Smithson became the 1st Duke and Duchess of Northumberland.

When the First Duchess inherited Alnwick Castle it was virtually uninhabitable. In line with eighteenth-century sensibilities for country estates, the gardens were laid out in the Picturesque style, while the castle was renovated in the First Duchess’s favoured ‘Medieval Gothic’. Louis Dutens (1730 to 1812), who tutored the couple’s youngest son Algernon, wrote that it was the Duchess who insisted on Alnwick being ornamented in the Gothic style even though, as was traditional at the time, it was Hugh who is recorded as organising the work and paying the bills. Eighteenth-century Gothic, or Gothic Revival, was a somewhat romanticised version of the late medieval style, which the First Duchess wanted at Alnwick to honour her Percy ancestors, whose history can be traced back to the Norman Conquest and who were made Earls of Northumberland in 1377. The Percy’s had been at their most powerful throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, which, interestingly, mirrors the production dates of the First

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97 Biographical information on Frances Thynne: [Accessed: 02.07.2021].


101 DDP, 2011, p. v

102 DDP, 2011, p. vii


Duchess’s Books of Hours, several of which have depictions of Gothic architecture and flowers in their borders.

Just seventy years after renovations at Alnwick were completed the Gothic interior was stripped out. However, some original plans and drawings survive, including those for the library. A nineteenth-century pencil, pen and wash drawing of the library, which is coloured pale green and straw with some blue, shows the library’s Gothic features (fig. 2.3). One source of inspiration was Horace Walpole’s house at Strawberry Hill, also designed in the new Gothic aesthetic and which the First Duchess had seen before the Alnwick library was built. A drawing of the Strawberry Hill library, which the First Duchess described as a ‘very well proportion’d room with a very pretty painted Ceiling in the Gothic Taste’, shows that although it was not the same as the one at Alnwick, both are in the Gothic perpendicular style (fig. 2.4). The Strawberry Hill bookcases, doors and windows all have Gothic arches, but only the doors and windows at Alnwick do. Both libraries have crenellated parapets, but Alnwick’s appear to have been much more ornamental than those at Strawberry Hill. On 17 June 1762 the First Duchess toured Strawberry Hill and declared that she ‘never saw anything half so pretty’. Strawberry Hill has been restored and is open to the public. This permits the modern viewer to gain some sense of what both libraries must have originally looked like (figs. 2.5a-c).

The First Duchess was disparaged by her paternal grandfather Charles Seymour, 6th Duke of Somerset (1662 to 1748), for what he thought of as her pretensions to learning, while some regarded her as a Bluestocking. The handwritten diaries of the First Duchess for the years 1752 to 1775 are preserved in the archives at Alnwick Castle. Reading through them, the First Duchess comes across as a forthright and independent woman. She describes her visits to the most eminent people of the day, naming all those she met, enthusing over their dress, gardens, homes.

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108 DDD, DNP 121/10, 1762-1763, p. 452
111 DDH, DNP 121/1-121/59, 1752-1775.
and collections, approving or otherwise, sometimes in uncompromising tones. For example, she described the then newly built Radcliffe Library at Oxford as ‘a most expensive, heavy clumsy pile of a building’.\textsuperscript{112}

Among the many celebrities that the First Duchess visited was Mrs Vesey, who reputedly held the first of the Bluestocking meetings, and Margaret Cavendish Harley Bentinck, the Duchess of Portland, who was probably the most renowned female collector of her day, especially of porcelain.\textsuperscript{113} Bluestockings were women who formed literary societies and enjoyed intellectual conversations rather than playing at cards.\textsuperscript{114} However, the First Duchess’s accounts record her numerous, albeit modest, losses as she continued to play various card games.\textsuperscript{115} While she took delight in viewing collections of all kinds and appears knowledgeable, or at least highly interested in art and architecture, her diaries contain little evidence that the First Duchess was literary minded. However, Missals, as Books of Hours were misnamed in the eighteenth century, are singled out for mention several times.\textsuperscript{116} There is also a handwritten inventory of manuscripts that includes Books of Hours, which according to tipped in notes, was written by the First Duchess in about 1770, while her diaries and accounts reveal she continued to collect Books of Hours after this date.

On Saturday 1 August 1761 the First Duchess wrote that she was favoured with a request to become a Lady of the Bedchamber to Queen Charlotte, consort to King George III of England.\textsuperscript{117} At court the duchess was known as Lady Betty Percy and appears to have formed a close relationship with the Queen who in 1766 gave the First Duchess a pastel by Francis Cotes of herself cradling her fourth child, the baby Princess Charlotte.\textsuperscript{118} By 1770 the relationship had

\textsuperscript{112} DDD, DNP 121/1, p. 3, 18 September 1752.

\textsuperscript{113} DDD, DNP 121/3, p. 172, Visited Mrs Vesey 11 April 1760.


\textsuperscript{115} Accounts DNP, 121/49 1773, DDD, pp. 1571-1585.


\textsuperscript{117} DDD, DNP MS 125/1, p. 220.

cooled and on 4 February of that year, signing herself Elizabeth Northumberland, the duchess wrote a letter of resignation to the Queen, citing her increasing ill health.\textsuperscript{119}

Although the First Duchess often mentions her ailing health in her diaries, it did not prevent her from travelling, which she appears to have greatly enjoyed. In March 1770, the month after she resigned from the Queen’s service, the First Duchess set off for Venice and during the remaining six years of her life, toured Paris, Belgium, The Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany and France, buying all kinds of curiosities, including Books of Hours.

\section*{2.3 The First Duchess, An Eighteenth-Century Collector of Books of Hours}

The eighteenth century is recognised as an 'era of book collecting' but the majority of book collectors were men, some of them accruing vast libraries.\textsuperscript{120} This makes the First Duchess a rare eighteenth-century female book collector. She records purchasing several Books of Hours but rarely describes them, only the price she paid for them. She also records that her husband Hugh visited book shops, so the pair probably filled the library shelves between them.\textsuperscript{121} However, it was the First Duchess who collected Books of Hours, which was highly unusual during the 1760s and 1770s.

Outside royalty, the Duchess of Portland, who the First Duchess records visiting several times, seems to be the only eighteenth-century female book collector mentioned in any of the published sources and then only in passing because, what is now British Library (BL), Add MS 18850, known as \textit{The Bedford Hours}, one of the finest Books of Hours ever made, was included in the Catalogue of the Portland Museum.\textsuperscript{122} On Thursday 29 May 1760, the First Duchess visited Bulstrode, the Portland residence and was taken on a tour round the house.\textsuperscript{123} The First Duchess notes the art, but does not mention any books at all. Perhaps she was not shown the books.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[119] DDD, MS 121/31a, pp. 1098-1099.
\item[121] e.g. DDD, MS 121/6, DNP p. 332
\end{footnotes}
Both King George III and Queen Charlotte collected books and had libraries of their own.¹²⁴ The Queen is known to have loved contemporary novels and employed Jean André DeLuc specifically to read to her, reportedly for several hours a day.¹²⁵ Queen Charlotte’s library was put up for sale in 1819.¹²⁶ Some 1600 books are listed but there do not seem to be any Books of Hours among their titles. This may be because sometimes, as when the James West library was auctioned by Langford’s in 1773, Books of Hours, were classed as curiosities and listed separately from printed books.¹²⁷

Horace Walpole (1717 to 1797) and William Hunter (1718 to 1783), contemporaries of the First Duchess, were both eminent eighteenth-century book collectors. When the contents of Strawberry Hill were sold in 1842 hundreds of books were listed over the first six days in the catalogue of sale, but only five Books of Hours are included.¹²⁸ A sixth Book of Hours is listed on the fifteenth day of sale and is singled out for special mention with its importance capitalised:

A MAGNIFICENT MISSAL, perfectly unique and most beautifully illuminated, it is enriched with splendid miniatures, by RAFFAELLE AND HIS SCHOLARS, set in fine gold and enamelled, adorned with rubies and turquoises, the sides are formed of 2 matchless cornelians, with an intaglio of the Crucifixion on one side and a Scripture History on the other, the clasp is a large garnet.¹²⁹


¹²⁹ Robins, 1842, p. 156, p. 182.

Note: the entry continues:

This precious volume was executed expressly for Claude, Queen of France, wife of Francis I, and is supposed to have afterwards belonged to the father of Thuanus. - Vide Vol. I, page 42, of the French Edition.

It was purchased by Horace Walpole from the Collection of Dr. Mead, 1755.
The First Duchess saw this manuscript displayed among what she describes as the ‘Pictures and Curiosities’ in ‘Walpole’s chapel’ at Strawberry Hill when she visited in June 1762, describing it as a ‘Missal with Cornelian & other precious stones’. The Duchess recognised it as a Book of Hours but seems most attracted by the jewelled cover. Whether this inspired her to acquire Books of Hours, or whether she had already started her collection can only be speculated, but it certainly includes some high quality examples, even if they do not have jewelled bindings.

William Hunter, like Horace Walpole, was another book collector with whom the First Duchess may have been acquainted. Hunter was physician to Queen Charlotte, specialising in obstetrics. The First Duchess mentions being present at the birth of the future George IV and was also invited to see the Queen’s sixth child Augusta Sophia shortly after she was born. William Hunter's collection of books and manuscripts are now kept at Glasgow University. The William Hunter Collection shows he focused, like most eighteenth-century bibliophiles, on collecting printed books, including some from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Again, only six Books of Hours are included in the catalogue. In contrast, the First Duchess collected twenty-two, perhaps twenty-five, illuminated Books of Hours, twelve of which are recorded in her handwritten Musaeum List where she refers to them as Missals.

Interest in Books of Hours was unusual in the 1760s and 1770s when the First Duchess was purchasing them. The demand for printed books far outstripped the market for hand produced illuminated manuscripts. Even forty years later in 1805, when the William Lambard library was...
put up for sale, a fourteenth-century illuminated manuscript, now BL Add. MS 32097, failed to attract any bidders.\textsuperscript{135} It was not until the mid nineteenth century that there was any real appreciation of medieval illuminated manuscripts. The twenty five Books of Hours collected by the First Duchess is remarkable, even in comparison with Library collections, for example the Getty library has about ‘30 manuscript Books of Hours’.\textsuperscript{136} This makes the private collection of the First Duchess’s eighteenth-century collection of Books of Hours exceptional.

2.4 The Books of Hours at Alnwick Castle

Books of hours. A collection of 22 books of hours, all handsomely illuminated, collected principally upon the Continent. 4 volumes, 4to, bound in velvet; 7 volumes, 4to, bound in calf; 5 volumes, small 4to, one of which is bound in velvet with silver-gilt clasps and bosses, and the others in calf; 4 volumes, small 8vo, bound in calf; 2 volumes, 12 mo, bound in calf.\textsuperscript{137}

These notes were written by Mr. J. E. Martin, librarian of the Temple, and appeared in an 1872 inventory of the Duke of Northumberland’s manuscripts. In 1948 there were actually twenty-five Books of Hours in the Northumberland collection but on Tuesday 21 December 1948 six were sold at Sotheby’s.\textsuperscript{138} The remaining nineteen manuscripts are still held in the archives at Alnwick Castle.

Some of the twenty-two Books of Hours’ noted by Martin are easily identified. The ‘4 volumes … bound in velvet’ must be Duke of Northumberland Percy (DNP) MSS 482, 483, 484 and 485, which are all bound, or covered, in red velvet and are among the most beautifully illuminated Books of Hours in the Alnwick collection (figs. 2.6a-d). The only other manuscript bound ‘in velvet’, also red, is DNP MS 499, which as Martin described, has ‘silver-gilt clasps and bosses’. The clasps are wonderfully distinctive, being shaped in the form of a capital A (figs. 2.7, 2.8). Of these five manuscripts, only DNP MS 482, known as The Hours of Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier, and DNP MS 499, known as the Prayers of Anthoine de Berghes, have previously

\textsuperscript{135} Hunt, 2006, pp. 452-453.


\textsuperscript{138} Information a photographs of relevant pages emailed to me by Christopher Hunwick. (Email 30.04.2021).
been described and exhibited.\textsuperscript{139} The other three, which will be discussed in chapters 3, 4 and 5, are DNP MSS 483, 484 and 485, here named \textit{The Van Zonnevelt Hours}, \textit{The Golden Bathsheba Hours} and \textit{The Goesin Hours} respectively.\textsuperscript{140}

The Alnwick Books of Hours were collected by Elizabeth Seymour Percy, 1st Duchess of Northumberland. Evidence for this assertion is contained within her diaries of 1752 to 1775, her accounts, which record her personal purchases, a list of book dealers and a two-page inventory \textit{Manuscripts and Missals} in the \textit{Musaeum Catalogue}, Volume 6, all of which were handwritten by the First Duchess. In her diaries the First Duchess records many of the private art collections she visited, describing the paintings she saw, naming the artists and enthusing over the best of them.\textsuperscript{141} This may explain the Duchess's interest in illuminated Books of Hours, each of which contains a miniature art collection in its own right.

While the diaries sometimes reveal where she bought her Books of Hours, it is her personal accounts, the \textit{Musaeum List} and the inscriptions she wrote inside her manuscripts that reveal how much the First Duchess paid for her Books of Hours. It is this that helps identify them in the modern inventory.\textsuperscript{142} Details of where, when and from whom she purchased these books are rare. The Duchess also wrote a list titled \textit{Booksellers Book Dealers Stationers} but does not differentiate them or specify which books she bought from whom.\textsuperscript{143} This list is not exhaustive

\textsuperscript{139} For DNP MS 482 see: Janet Backhouse, 2002a, ‘The Hours of Charlotte de Bourbon at Alnwick Castle’ in Bert Cardon (ed.) \textit{Als Ich Can} (Leuven: Peeters), pp. 70-90; Kren and McKendrick, 2003, pp. 199-202, 308;

Janice Lynda Harthoorn 2010, ‘To what extent and to what ends does the \textit{Burial Scene} in the illuminated manuscript known as \textit{The Hours of Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier} depict buildings, people and objects known to the patron? A new interpretation’ (unpublished master’s thesis, Open University).


\textsuperscript{140} See Appendices 1-3

\textsuperscript{141} DNP MS 125 Manuscrits and Illuminated Missals, in \textit{Museum Catalogue: Antiquities, Historical Curiosity's, Miscellaneous Ditto, Manuscripts, Japan, Porcelain, Glass etc.,} ff. 85v-86v, known as The List.

\textsuperscript{142} The ‘modern inventory’ is Western Illuminated Manuscript, what the archive term a ‘working document’. An updated copy of the Modern Inventory, as it will henceforth be referenced, was emailed to me by Christopher Hunwick, (email 26.04.2021.). The manuscript descriptions are taken from a document prepared by Christopher de Hamel for valuation purposes. To this information such as notes inscribed or tipped into the books and essays written about particular Books of Hours has been added by the archive.

\textsuperscript{143} DNP MS 21/163.
because other names occur within her texts and an envelope addressed to P. E. Goesin, Bookdealer of Ghent, was left between the leaves of DNP MS 485.

The *Musaeum* List contains the only comments regarding what the First Duchess thought of her Books of Hours, otherwise she is silent on the matter. The sparsity of comment may be because Books of Hours are essentially Catholic books although, with regard to panel paintings she viewed in churches and private collections, it is apparent that the Duchess must have recognised the biblical and apocryphal stories the miniatures depict.\(^{144}\) The First Duchess came from a Protestant family, although her husband’s parents were Catholic. In her diaries she writes that she ‘is no friend …. of the Romish Church’ but she nevertheless appreciated the spectacle of a Catholic Passion parade she witnessed.\(^{145}\) On several occasions, including Saturday 11 October 1766 the First Duchess visited an Abbess in Antwerp, taking a gift of embroidery threads.\(^{146}\) The First Duchess identifies the Abbess as ‘Mrs Blount, Abbess of the Ursulines, and sister to the Duchess of Norfolk’.\(^{147}\) The Duchess of Norfolk was Mary Blount, died 1773, one of three daughters of Edward Blount, and the wife of Edward Howard ninth Duke of Norfolk. As children, the three Blount sisters had grown up on the Continent as part of an exiled Catholic family.\(^{148}\) The Abbess, who the First Duchess calls Mrs Blount rather than Miss, perhaps in deference to her age, broke her thigh in an accident as a child and was consequently very lame, but nevertheless cheerful and polite, while her embroidery, the First Duchess writes, ‘exceeds anything I ever saw’.\(^{149}\) Catholicism had been suppressed in England, although not entirely eradicated, since the times of King Henry VIII (1491 to 1547) but there is nothing in the Duchess’s diaries that supports anything other than a tolerance of all religions. She went to church on Sundays but also visited a ‘Jews Synagogue’ in Amsterdam to hear three Polish brothers singing.\(^{150}\)

\(^{144}\) E.g. DDH, DNP NS 121/23A, 1768, p.18.

\(^{145}\) DND MS 121 23A, DDH 1768, p. 5.

\(^{146}\) DDD, MS 121/24 Wed.17 May 1768, p. 883.

\(^{147}\) DDD, MS 121/17/18/19, p. 701.


\(^{149}\) DDD, MS 121/18/18/19 1766, p. 701.

\(^{150}\) DDD, MS 121/18/18/19 1766, p. 736.
2.5 Books of Hours on the Musaeum List

There are twenty-seven items recorded in the Musaeum List of Manuscripts and Missals, handwritten by the First Duchess (fig. 2.8).\textsuperscript{151} Twelve are described as ‘missal’ or Book of Hours. It can be difficult to identify individual Books of Hours in any of Duchess’s sources, for example in her diary of 1766 the First Duchess records that on December 17, when she was in Amsterdam, among numerous other items, she bought ‘Missals’ but she does not specify how many, and she does not identify them in any way.\textsuperscript{152} However, it is possible to identify most of the Books of Hours on the Musaeum List with their current Alnwick archive numbers.

What follows is information gleaned from the Musaeum List, other writings of the First Duchess and the modern Western Inventory. The latter, a working document, has been compiled from descriptions made by Christopher de Hamel for valuation purposes, to which some observations by Chris Hunwick, archivist at Alnwick, and my own research notes have been added. Only one of the Books of Hours from the twelve in the Musaeum List, item number 4, has any literature attached to it. Item number 7, which can be identified as DNP MS 485, will feature in Chapter 5 of this thesis. The remaining Books of Hours have not yet been fully described but are introduced below. The numbers are those the First Duchess assigned to them in the Musaeum List:

1 Illuminated Missal Latin bound in Back Gold Fillets \[3=3=0\]

This Book of Hours has been identified as DNP MS 495 on the basis that it has the price 3 - 3 - 0, or 3 guineas, written on the flyleaf. This is a format common to several of the Books of Hours in the Alnwick collection and means that the First Duchess paid £3. 3s. 0d. for the manuscript.\textsuperscript{153} DNP MS 495 is use of Rome and has 86 leaves written on vellum. It measures 7½” (190mm) x 5¾” (146 mm) and contains 7 large miniatures and 30 small miniatures and has borders throughout. The manuscript is bound in eighteenth-century brown morocco and was produced in France during the early sixteenth century.

It is not known whether the First Duchess also bought the book in France, but she does name two French booksellers from whom she may have purchased this or other of the Books of Hours in her collection. The two Parisian booksellers the First Duchess notes are ‘M. Guy & Veuve [Widow] Du Chesne au Temple du Gout [Goût]’ and ‘Mons[sieur] D’Essain’ on the ‘Quay des Augustines’ (fig. 2.9).\textsuperscript{154} M. Guy and Veuve DuChesne were publishers. Veuve Duchesne is more

\textsuperscript{151} DNP MS 125 Manuscripts and Illuminated Missals, (The List), ff. 85v-86v.

\textsuperscript{152} DDD, MS 125/15 1766, p. 630.

\textsuperscript{153} Note: This is pounds, shillings and pence Sterling, pre 1971.

\textsuperscript{154} DNP, MS 121/153 Section A, Du Chesne also no. 8 on DNP, MS 121/63, List of Booksellers Bookbinders and Stationers, p. 130.
widely documented because she also published prints, which the First Duchess collected as well as books.\footnote{155}{Veuve Duchesne mentioned at: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG147094 [Accessed 11.12.2021].} Mons[ieur] D’Essain was most likely Jean Baptist Dessain (1730 to 1782) who purchased books on behalf of William Hunter when the libraries of the Duc de la Vallière (1767) and Louis Jean Gaignat (1769) were put up for sale.\footnote{156}{Manuscript correspondence (“Dessain-Hunter correspondence”) relating to Dessain’s purchases for Hunter at these sales preserved in University of Glasgow Library (MS Gen. 36). Available online: <https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/incunabula/provenancesbooksellers/#d> [Accessed 13.07.21].} A trade card of Dessain, confirming the address given by the First Duchess, survives in the Waddeston Hall collection (fig. 2.10).\footnote{157}{Image of Trade Card Dessain, <http://waddesdon.org.uk/the-collection/item/?id=13904##&gid=1&pid=1> [Accessed 06.09.2021].} Whether any of the Alnwick Books of Hours came from these sources is not recorded at Alnwick, but it is interesting to note that the sales took place before 1770, when the Musaeum List is said to have been written.\footnote{158}{Chris Hunwick, [Email 08.09.2021].}

2Ditto [Illuminated Missal] in Greek which belonged to the Abbess of St John the Baptist at Antwerp it is a little damaged but every leaf is illuminated it is in German\footnote{159}{Viewed March and September 2012.}

This manuscript has been identified as DNP MS 490 because on the inside cover there is a handwritten inscription in Latin (fig. 2.11).\footnote{160}{Information Christopher Hunwick.} The inscription has been crossed out, but it is still legible and confirms that the book once belonged to the Abbess of Saint John:

\begin{quote}
In Perillusteis et \\
Imparialis Abbatin Str \\
Joannis Bapti in Porret
\end{quote}

It is assumed that the Abbess of Saint John’s, referred to in the crossed-out inscription, is the Abbess the First Duchess identifies as Mrs Blount, whom she visited twice in 1766, but it is not clear that this is so and the Duchess does not record when or from whom she bought the...
However, 2-15-0, written top right of the fly leaf, records the price she paid for it and also confirms that MS 490 is number 2 in the *Musaeum* List (fig. 2.12).

The manuscript measures 7½” (190mm) x 5½” (140mm), with 118 leaves on vellum and is thought to have been produced in the mid sixteenth century. There are 4 full-page miniatures and many small miniatures in the borders (fig. 2.13). As the First Duchess notes, it is the richly decorated borders, which occur on every page, that make this book so attractive. Some borders have illusionistic flowers on a gold ground, other borders are divided into sections, each one with a small picture or narrative, and some borders have unusual decorative patterns (fig. 2.14). The manuscript is difficult to handle because the colour extends almost to the edge of the page, but it is marvellous to look at, albeit a little faded now and has, what looks like, water damage in places. Christopher de Hamel describes the book as being bound in ‘old black moroco’. David Pearson, in a personal communication, suggests the binding is seventeenth century. The margins round the borders of the folios are unusually narrow so perhaps the leaves were trimmed to mitigate the water damage when the book was rebound. This was likely done by the book’s early seventeenth-century owners, members of the Lochin family of ‘la Chateaux Flemalle’ who, between the years 1602 and 1614, used several otherwise blank pages to inscribe their names into the manuscript (fig. 2.15).

The first Duchess writes that the book is written in German. A typewritten note accompanying the book records that DNP MS 490 contains ‘Prayers for Holy Week in Dutch, Netherlands’. Confusion over the language may come from the book being written in the dialect of Cologne, which is a form of Low German that has many similarities to Dutch. This supposition is supported by the fact that the book was produced for the archdiocese of Cologne in the mid sixteenth century. A tipped in note states that the *Musaeum* List was written in about 1770. This and a similar note in DNP MS 486, (No. 16 on the List) is the basis for the assertion that all the Books of Hours recorded in the *Musaeum* List were collected by the First Duchess before 1770.

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161 DDD, MS 121/17/18/19, 1766 pp. 700, 755.
162 Viewed March and September 2012.
163 Alnwick, Modern Inventory.
164 David Pearson Email to Susie West, forwarded [Email 10.09.2021].
165 Alnwick, Modern Inventory.
This Book of Hours has been identified as DNP MS 492. It was written for use of Sarum, so made for the English market. The book measures 7" (178 mm) x 5" (127 mm) with 192 leaves of vellum. There are 10 full-page miniatures and 24 small miniatures. The frontispiece miniature, folio 2v, shows a woman in prayer with the word ‘MAR/GARITA’ in the borders either side of her. The First Duchess would have been pleased to think that this referred to Margaret Queen of Scotland because her ancestor, Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland escorted the then Princess Margaret to Scotland where, in 1503, she married James IV of Scotland, stopping en route at Alnwick Castle where she was magnificently entertained. However, in her essay ‘A Further Illuminated Devotional Book for the Use of Lady Margaret Beaufort’, Janet Backhouse points out that the frontispiece miniature in fact represents Margaret Beaufort at Prayer, identifiable by the arms in her skirts and those on the shields in the lower borders, the mother of King Henry VII of England. Moreover, this miniature rightly belongs to a completely different manuscript, now BL Additional MS 33772, which came from the library of Thomas Grenville (1755 to 1864). BL Add. MS 33772 was written and illuminated in central Italy in the 1490s.

According to Backhouse, the remaining miniatures in DNP MS 492 are in the Netherlandish style of the Master of the Prayer Books of c. 1500. This artist is thought to have worked in Bruges from the late fifteenth through to the early sixteenth century. A corpus of work by the Master of the Prayer Books of c. 1500 has been identified but remains to be more fully studied.

DNP MS 492 is of high quality and was probably made for someone specific, unfortunately they are not identifiable. The arms in the main body of the book have been tampered with and added to at a later date. They include those of Sir Robert Cotton (1571 to 1631), whose manuscript collection became one of the three foundation collections for the British Library. Cotton is well known for ‘inserting … cuttings from illuminated manuscripts into volumes from his own

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167 Backhouse, 2002b, p. 222.

168 Backhouse, 2002b, p. 226.

library’, meaning that DNP MS 492 was once part of the Robert Cotton library before it found its way to Alnwick.\textsuperscript{170}

\textit{6a Ditto [very fine] Missal illuminated with much Gold it formally belonged to Marie D’Croville AD.1620}

Marie de Croville’s name and the date 1620 has been inscribed into DNP MS 497. This Book of Hours is use of Rouen and measures 6½” (165mm) x 5¾” (146mm) with 118 leaves of vellum. It has 8 large miniatures and was produced in Rouen c. 1470 to 1480. The book was rebound in the early seventeenth-century brown morocco, which is profusely gilt.

\textit{7A very fine Missal bound in Crimson Velvet 11:2:6}

This description must refer to DNP MS 485, here named The Goesin Hours, because it has the price 11-2-6 written inside. It is also recorded in Martin’s 1872 inventory as one of the Books of Hours bound in velvet. It is the only red velvet Hours to appear in the Musaeum List, implying that it was bought before 1770, while the other three must have been acquired between 1770 and 1776, when the First Duchess died. The First Duchess describes this Book of Hours as ‘very fine’. As her diaries make clear in relation to other objects, ‘very fine’ is the First Duchess’s way of declaring something is of a high standard and that she appreciates its quality. For example, on 29 May 1760 when the First Duchess went to dine at the Duchess of Portland’s house she saw some ‘very fine’ paintings. Among them was ‘The Famous Holy Family by Raphael’.\textsuperscript{171} The Goesin Hours is indeed very fine and will be described in chapter 5.

Tipped into The Goesin Hours is an envelope with the name and address of one P.F. de Goesin, boekhandelaar (bookdealer), Ghent, after whom the book is named (fig. 2.16). The Goesin in question was Pieter Frans III de Goesin from a renowned family of book dealers, whose incoming account book for the years 1753 to 1785 survives in the University Library of Ghent.\textsuperscript{172} The account book is difficult to follow because entries are entered under individual clients rather than in date order. Some entries are written in French, while others are in Dutch/Flemish. Goesin’s business seems to have been mostly in paper and printed books but he was also buying in second hand manuscripts. During the 1750s Goesin was buying from a Sr Moris of Brussels, but in the 1760s and 1770s it was Moretus and a Mr Bourgois of Luxembourg. Moretus may have been a

\textsuperscript{170} Backhouse, 2002b, p. 226.

\textsuperscript{171} DNP MS 121/4, DDD, 1760, p. 180.

\textsuperscript{172} Gent Universiteitsbibliotheek: Gent, HS 13437, Handboek van Pieter Frans III de Goesin, drukker en boekhandelaar te Gent, betreffende de inkomende goederen, 1753-1785.
descendent of the Moretus family to which Jan Moretus (1543 to 1601), printer of Antwerp belonged.

Goesin’s accounts reveal that from 1753, the earliest that the book preserves, Goesin was buying in small quantities of manuscripts. Histoires (Histories), commanded the highest prices. At £21 this was nearly twice the price of antiphonals, breviaries and missalen, that is missals or Books of Hours. Goesin did not buy in many Books of Hours during the 1750s but the number increased slightly during the 1760s and 1770s. The accounts do not record the quality and quantity of miniatures in any of the Books of Hours he dealt in, and they are not reflected in the prices Goesin paid for them. Prices were strictly according to whether the manuscripts were in albis (unbound), gebonden (bound) or mit sloten (with clasps), for which he usually paid £7.14, £11.00 or £12.14 respectively (figs. 2.17a-b).

The Goesin Hours has its original, or very early red velvet binding and two brass clasps. Goesin’s accounts rarely mention the colour of the binding but they do specify clasps. The first mention of Books of Hours with clasps comes on 23 Jan 1765, when three were purchased. On 23 July 1766 another four were purchased. These are described as 4 missale Fol: quarto gebonden mit sloten 2 sloten, (4 missals folios in quarto bound with clasps 2 clasps). What this means is unclear, two of the Books of Hours may have had only one clasp, as some Hours do, but at least two of them appear to have had two clasps as does The Goesin Hours. The manuscript might also be described as being in quarto, which appears to be the eighteenth century way, or at least Goesin’s way, of describing the size of manuscripts. The entries of 1765 and 1766 are the only Books of Hours with clasps that appear in Goesin’s incoming accounts before 1770, by which time The Goesin Hours was already at Alnwick, although the book dealer continued to buy in Books of Hours throughout the 1770's. Of course, just because the Goesin envelope was found inside the book, it cannot be said with certainty that this is where the manuscript was purchased, only that Goesin was dealing in Books of Hours with clasps and that the First Duchess appears to have been corresponding with the him.

The diaries of the the First Duchess show that she was in Ghent, or Ghendt as she sometimes spells it, on several occasions - Friday 10 October 1766, 30 May 1767, Saturday 28 October 1768 and Saturday 2 December 1769 - giving her several opportunities to purchase books from Goesin before 1770 but she does not record doing so. However, this is not confirmation that she did not buy books while in Ghent as the First Duchess was quite inconsistent with what she chose to record in her diaries. Goesin’s outgoing accounts for the years 1760 to 1776 do not survive, otherwise it may have been possible to confirm, or otherwise, whether the First Duchess

173 DDD, MSS 121/5a, 1761-1765, p. 284; 121/16, p. 679; 121 17/18/19, p. 697; 121/25, p. 933.
did buy *The Goesin Hours* from Pieter Frans III de Goesin of Ghent, either directly, or indirectly through a third person acting as her agent

8a Ditto [very fine Missal] in Trolis in a Case bought in Dublin\(^{174}\)

The Duchess states that this book is in a case. The only Book of Hours in her collection that fits this description is DNP MS 501, which is stamped in gold with a Crucifixion scene and patterning. The name *Jacoba van der Spangen Alias Voerhaud* is stamped in gold on the front cover and, on the back, *Anno 1590*, when the book was rebound (fig. 2.18). The Jacoba in question is most likely Jacobmina van Spangen, born 11 April 1532 in Bergen-op-Zoom and died 21 September 1594 in Antwerp. On 16 December 1553 she married Arnoud van Cruijningen, Heer van [Lord of] Voorhoute who died 3 November 1561.\(^ {175}\) Voorhoute is probably an alternative spelling of Voerhoud.

MS 501 measures 5¼” (133mm) x 3½” (89mm) and has 236 leaves of vellum. It has 6 large miniatures and 48 small miniatures and was produced in the Southern Netherlands c. 1520 so must have belonged to someone else, possibly her mother, before it came into Jacoba’s possession.

The First Duchess states that this Book of Hours was bought in Dublin. The manuscript has a dealer’s description on the flyleaf, written in French and cost £9. 9s (fig. 2.19). Written on the back inside cover is 83 *L* over 6 *g*. This may be what the Dublin dealer paid for the book. The 6 *g* may stand for 6 guineas or £6. 6s, since in the eighteenth century this was roughly equivalent to 83 *livres*, or it may have been some other kind of dealer’s code.\(^ {176}\)

The First Duchess records she bought MS 501 in Dublin, but whether she purchased the manuscript when she visited Dublin in Autumn 1763 or when she returned in Spring 1764 is not clear because the Duchess does not mention any purchases in her diaries during these visits.\(^ {177}\) However, in her handwritten *Booksellers Bookbinders and Stationers*, listed at number 21 is one

\(^{174}\) Viewed March and September 2012.


\(^{177}\) DNP MS 121/3, DDD, pp. 268-270, DNP MS121/5a, DDD, p. 272.
‘Fawkener [of] Dublin’. This may be George Faulkner (c. 1703 to 30 August 1775), a printer and bookseller in Dublin, who was also well known in London.

13 **A Missal with 7 Miniatures & Ground matted Gold 1:2:0**

Besides DNP MS 495 (No. 1 on the *Musaeum* List) there is only one other Book of Hours with 7 miniatures now held at Alnwick, DNP MS 498A, but while it does have 7 miniatures the ‘Ground matted Gold’ description does not seem to fit. However, three of the Books sold in 1948 are described in Sotheby’s catalogue of Tuesday 21 December as having 7 miniatures. It is difficult to know which of these three the Duchess is describing but perhaps the most likely candidate is Lot 415. Six of the miniatures in this Book of Hours are described as being on ‘diapered grounds’. The word comes from the ‘French *diapré* (‘variegated’), a diaper pattern is a repetitive geometric pattern’. Lot 415 in the Sotheby’s catalogue is dated to the first half of the fifteenth century and is use of Paris, probably produced in the neighbourhood of Paris. French Books of Hours dating from the early fifteenth century often feature miniatures with a diapered background pattern, which often includes gold, for example Getty Museum, Ms 22; 86. M.L.517, *The Visitation*, folio 48r (fig. 2.20). This miniature was painted by the Boucicaut Master in Paris c. 1415 to 1420. The background is a diaper pattern that includes gold. Perhaps something like

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178 DNP MS 121/63.
this is what the First Duchess means by ‘Ground matted Gold’. Unfortunately there is no record at Alnwick that would identify its former archive number though the manuscripts sold in 1948.

14  A Printed Book (above 200 years old) on vellum & Initials illuminated  6:6

There is only one printed Book of Hours in the Alnwick collection and that is DNP MS 504. The book is bound in dark leather with gilt tooling and includes the name ‘Claude Du Chastel’ (fig.2.21). This may be Claude de Chastel (c. 1520 to 1583), son of Anthoine Sevières de Chastel, Seigneur de Bearetrait and Sevières (Saugues).

The book is printed on vellum and written in French and measures 9” (229mm) x 5½” (140mm). The name ‘Jehan Poitevin’ is printed in large capitals on the title page (fig. 2.22). Jehan Gillemer of Poitevin was an illuminator, active in the Poitiers region during the 1460s and 1470s. In 1472 he was arrested and charged with treason. His subsequent torture and interrogation evinced a picture of an itinerant illuminator who ran a workshop of seven. He gives a clear idea of his responsibilities and provides a list of scribes and patrons. Jehan was evidently released at some point and went on to produce printed Books of Hours in Paris. Several examples from around 1500 survive with his name in. One example was auctioned by Christie’s in April 2021. The title page has the same printed framed rectangle enclosing the same image and shield that occur in DNP MS 504, although the borders are different. Printed underneath the central block is the name Jehan Poitevin, which appears in both books in the same distinctive lettering (fig. 2.23). The Christie’s book is dated 1498. Another Book of Hours sold by Christie’s in July 2000, also by Jehan Poitevin, is dated 4 February 1501/2. Both books sold at Christie’s were printed in Paris, so it seems

184  Alnwick, Modern Inventory.


187  Ibid. pp. 41-42.

188  Ibid. p. 42.


logical to assume the Alnwick one was too. DNP MS 504 contains an Almanac for the years 1503 to 1520 and is therefore likely to date from about 1503 (fig. 2.24).

The book has sixteen miniatures with hand coloured initials and line extenders (figs. 2.25, 2.26). The miniatures are formed of large block prints while the borders are made up of a series of small blocks. A nineteenth-century pencil inscription identifies it as No. 14 in the Musaeum List and the price of 6-6 is written into it.

16 An ancient Missal initial letters illuminated Arms of England and France quarterly with portcullis on binding it probably belonged to...

This description must refer to DNP MS 486, which has a binding panel-stamped with the Royal Arms, just as the First Duchess describes (fig. 2.27). It is Use of Sarum and measures 7½” (190mm) x 5¼” (133mm) with about 46 small miniatures. Sadly, all the full-page miniatures have been removed because these might have helped identify the fifteenth-century patron, although the arms on the binding appear to be those of Henry VIII of England. The manuscript was made in Bruges c. 1450 and is bound in sixteenth-century English calf.

24 Heures in a marbled sheepskin binding 14 miniatures 1-1-0

This description does not fit any of the Books of Hours remaining at Alnwick. DNP MS 505, has the word Heures on the spine of the binding but it only has 3 miniatures and is bound in green morocco. The First Duchess’s description is a closer fit to Lot 417 in the Sotheby’s 1948 catalogue although it is described as having 15 miniatures, not 14 as the Duchess records. This book was made during the mid fifteenth century in North West France. The binding on Lot 417 is described as ‘mottled calf’, which might equate with what the First Duchess describes as ‘marbled sheepskin’.

25 A small missal bound in red beautiful Camayeux in the Kalindar 3-6-0

The flyleaf of DNP MS 502 is inscribed 3-6-0. There is also a tipped in nineteenth-century note identifying it as No. 25 in the Musaeum List. This book is indeed small, measuring only 5½” (140mm) x 3½” (89mm). It has 29 small miniatures and the calendar images are set in ovals the shape of cameo jewellery, which it what distinguishes it from the other Books of Hours in the Alnwick collection. The binding of DNP MS 502 is seventeenth-century red morocco. The

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191 Information Chris Hunwick, 29 March 2012, when I was shown the book.

192 Sothebys Catalogue 21 December 1948, Lot 417 [Copy at Alnwick].

193 Manuscript viewed March 2012.
book is Use of Rome and was probably made in Angers in the Loire Valley during the late fifteenth
century.

27  **Illuminated missal lettered on the back Praeces Pia 2-2-0**

This description probably refers to DNP MS 493, which has the words *Praeces Pia* embossed on
the spine binding. There is a book dealer’s description, written in French on the front flyleaf, and
30-0 written on the back flyleaf. The manuscript measures 8\(\frac{1}{4}\)” (210mm) x 5” (127) and has 12
full-page miniatures and 44 small miniatures. It is use of Rome and was made in the Loire Valley c.
1490. The book is bound in eighteenth-century red morocco gilt.

2.6 The Alnwick Books of Hours Collected after 1770

DNP MS 482  **The Hours of Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier**

As previously noted, DNP MS 482 is one of the four red velvet Hours of the 1872 inventory. The
manuscript was described by Janet Backhouse in her 2002 essay ‘The Hours of Charlotte de
Bourbon at Alnwick Castle’ and was included in the exhibition *Illuminating the Renaissance* in
2003.\(^{194}\) *The Charlotte Hours* is also the subject of my MA dissertation where it is argued that *The
Burial Scene*, folio 27r, is a representation of the monastery that once stood at Vrouwenpolder, and
where surviving documents reveal that the patrons commissioned manuscripts to be written,
illuminated and bound (fig. 2.28).\(^{195}\)

The manuscript contains numerous examples of the arms, mottos and emblems of Wolfert
VI van Borsele, Lord of Veere (c. 1430 to 1487) and his second wife Charlotte de Bourbon
Montpensier (c. 1443 to 1478) and has been dated 1474 to 1748 (fig.29).\(^{196}\) The book is bound in
red velvet over wooden boards. It is Use of Rome, measures 8\(\frac{3}{4}\)” (215mm) x 6\(\frac{3}{4}\)” (155mm) and
contains 200 leaves of vellum.

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\(^{194}\) Janet Backhouse, 2002a, Kren and McKendrick, 2003, pp. Note: The folios have been numbered since
2003 and correspond to those given in Backhouse 2002a.

\(^{195}\) HvV, 2750 182, (Original copy of the accounts of Vrouwenpolder, transcribed by W. De Vreese, 1962,
‘Het Scriptorium van “den regulieren in Onser Vrouwen Polder” op Walcheren 1933’, in *Over handschriften
DBNL, N.d., *Over handschriften en handschriftenkunde* online at:<http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/vree007over01_01/vree007over01_01_0012.php>.

The Charlotte Hours has shelf marks on its covers and written on the fly leaf is the price 16 gui[neas] (£16. 16s).\textsuperscript{197} There are two book dealer descriptions tipped inside.

In addition the Charlotte Hours contains several inscriptions that date from 1555. These inscriptions will be discussed in chapter 6.

The Charlotte Hours is one of the most beautifully painted Books of Hours that came into the possession of the First Duchess and deserves a monograph in its own right. In the light of this it is important to note that there is an archive of material on the patrons held in the Zeeuws Archief (Archives of Zeeland) and the ZB Bibliotheek van Zeeland (Library of Zeeland), both in Middelburg NL. In addition two books have been published since the 2002 Backhouse and 2003 Kren descriptions, which contain important information on the patrons.\textsuperscript{198} Details of Wolfert’s library are also included in Hanno Wijsman’s Luxury Bound.\textsuperscript{199}

DNP MS 483  The Van Zonnevelt Hours

The Van Zonnevelt Hours was produced in the Northern Netherlands and contains 5 miniatures. This manuscript is the subject of chapter 3.

DNP MS 484  The Golden Bathsheba Hours

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\textsuperscript{197}  It has been argued that ‘gui’ refers to guilders and not guineas - the end of the word is missing as the page has been trimmed. 16 guilders would normally be recorded as 16 fl. The First Duchess normally recorded guinea as number but on Tuesday 21 November 1769, when in Amsterdam, the First Duchess recorded guineas as ‘Gui s’ - see DDD MS 121/25, p. 926. The Duchess was viewing the collection a Mr Bischopps and the entry makes plain that the Duchess liked to know the price equivalents in sterling whenever it was given in florins [guilders]. According to the First Duchess's 1766 notes on currency values 16 Guilders would be about £1. 9s – See Duchess Diaries p. 627 transcript version, DMP MS 121/15 1766 handwritten version. Online eighteenth century currency converter calculates this as 16 guilders equal to £1. 8s. 10d, which is about the same: The Marteau Early 18th-Century Currency Converter: Money, Prices Wages, Currencies, Exchange Rates, 17th Century, 18th Century, Baroque, Enlightenment. <http://www.pierremarteau.com/currency/converter.html> [Accessed 07.05.2020].


The Golden Bathsheba Hours contains a spectacular monochrome miniature of a naked Bathsheba in the French style, but otherwise appears to have been produced in the Southern Netherlands. This manuscript is the subject of chapter 4.

DNP MS 487

This Book of Hours is use of Amiens with 167 leaves measuring 7¾” (197mm) x 5½” (140mm). It has 12 calendar miniatures, 29 full-page miniatures and borders throughout. It was produced in Amiens c. 1500. The book is contemporary blind-stamped calf that has been rebacked. The First Duchess has inscribed the book as being bought at Mr Theobald’s sale for £4. 6s. 6d. but there is no mention of a Mr Theobald in her diaries so it is not clear whether Theobald was a collector, whose books were being sold, or the auctioneer.

The fly leaf of MS 487 is inscribed:

Ce livre vient du Monseigneur De Brias, Archiepiscopus de Cambrai, dont ie en a fait present a une de ses Niepse Chanoinesse du noble et illustre Chapitre de Waudreui a Mons 1_83.

Chris Hunwick says the date looks like 1883 but de Brias was Archbishop of Cambrai from 1675 until his death in 1694 so concludes the date is likely 1683. De Brias, or Jacques-Théodore de Bryas (1630 to 1694) became bishop of Saint-Omer in 1671 before he was elected archbishop of Cambrai in 1672 (fig. 2.30). Evidently de Brias was presented with the book by one of the nuns from the Convent of Saint Waudru in Mons. However, online documents that survive from the convent do not record any events in 1683.

DNP MS 498 The Lady Margaret Beaufort Hours

This Book of Hours is use of Sarum, contains 233 leaves and measures 9” (229 mm) x 6” (160 mm). It contains a calendar with signs of the zodiac, 13 large miniatures and 50 small miniatures, which are in the style of the Parisian illuminator, known as Master of the ‘Chronique scandaleuse’, who was active from 1493 through to about 1510 and whose patrons included

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200 Chris Hunwick [Email 12.09.2021].

201 Information on de Brias: <https://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bbrias.html>[Accessed 11.05.2022].

202 Information on the convent of Sainte-Wadru does not mention the presentation or any significant events of 1683: <http://ducassedemons.info/pedagogie/Chapitre_de_Sainte-Waudru_Mons.pdf> [Accessed 08.08.2021].
Margaret of Austria. The manuscript is bound in late seventeenth-century English red morocco profusely gilt. In her essay *The Lady Margaret Beaufort Hours at Alnwick Castle*, Janet Backhouse describes the manuscript and identifies the patron as Margaret Beaufort, mother of King Henry VII of England on the basis of the arms in the opening miniature, which shows a royal lady at prayer. Backhouse then goes on to identify several more armorial and symbolic references to Margaret Beaufort and her family, which occur throughout the book.

For many years this Book of Hours was thought to have been made for Margaret Queen of Scots who, as already mentioned, was important to the Percy family. However, there is evidence that Margaret Beaufort was also important to the First Duchess who listed the portraits hanging in her dressing room at Alnwick. One she describes as ‘Margt Ds Richmond mother to Henry 7’, otherwise known as Lady Margaret Beaufort, Duchess of Richmond, mother of King Henry VII of England (fig. 2.31). The dressing room collection is interesting because it includes portraits of several woman, including Elizabeth I and Oliver Cromwell’s mother, Elizabeth Steward. Other portraits are members of the Seymour family such as Edward VI, son of Henry VIII and Jane Seymour, who was the sister of Edward Seymour from whom the First Duchess, Elizabeth Seymour, was descended. Perhaps Margaret Beaufort was included in this group of portraits because she was a strong and important woman in her own right, or perhaps, more likely, because the First Duchess wanted to display, or at least be reminded of, her family connections with royalty.

*The Lady Margaret Beaufort Hours* was purchased by the First Duchess in March 1773 from the estate of James West, a well known manuscript and book collector, who died in 1772. On folio 13 of *The Lady Margaret Beaufort Hours* James West notes that he acquired the manuscript in Scotland 1735. In the Langford’s sale catalogue the manuscript is listed under museum curiosities rather than books and was sold to the First Duchess for £32. 11s. In her

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205 Portrait currently hangs in the Oak Passage, Syon House. - Information Chris Hunwick [Email, 12.08.2021].

206 Backhouse, 2000, p. 347.

207 Ibid.

accounts, the First Duchess records that on 5 March 1773 she paid £34. 15s for a Missal (fig. 2.32).209 This would be about the time of the West sale of curiosities.210 Perhaps the sum includes auction costs or an additional item.

The Duchess also records that on 28 March she bought ’2 pictures Henry 7 family West’s sale £4. 4s’.211 One of these might be the portrait of Margaret Beaufort recorded as hanging in the First Duchess’s dressing room although this information has not previously been noted and is not included with the Alnwick description of the portrait.212 It remains a possibility though that the First Duchess purchased both DNP MS 498, The Lady Margaret Beaufort Hours, and the portrait of Margaret Beaufort from the James West Sale and that they may perhaps have been together since they were in Royal possession.

DNP MS 498A

This Book of Hours is use of Paris and has 172 leaves of vellum. It measures just 3¼” (95mm) x 2½” (64mm) and has 7 large miniatures. It was produced in Northern France c. 1470 but is bound in eighteenth-century olive morocco.

DNP MS 498A is one of four Books of Hours in the Alnwick collection that have eighteenth-century bindings. The others three being DNP MSS 492 and 493, which are both bound in red morocco gilt, and 495, which is bound in brown morocco. In Booksellers Bookbinders Stationers, the First Duchess includes someone named Hall [of] London. This may be Joseph Hall (d. 1780), who was a bookbinder and stationer on the Strand.213 The First Duchess does not specify the Strand as she does for the bookseller and printer Elmsley (see below) but nevertheless Joseph Hall may or may not have provided one or other of her manuscripts with its eighteenth-century binding.

DNP MS 498A is use of Paris, but is not on the Musaeum List so must have been purchased after 1770. The First Duchess does not note whether she bought the manuscript in Paris but she does note a Parisian Bookseller she visited after 1770. On Saturday 14 April 1771, when

209 Accounts DNP MS 49 1773, DDD, p. 1583.
211 Accounts DNP MS 49 1773; DDD, p. 1585.
212 Chris Hunwick, [Email 12.08.2021].
she was in Paris, she writes ‘I went to Lacombe the Bookseller.’ Whether she bought DNP MS 498A there, or any other manuscripts, she does not record. However, Jacques Lacombe (1724-1811) was a bookseller, journalist and man of letters who, in 1771, lived on the Rue Christine, near the Rue Dauphine.

DNP MS 499  Prayer Book of Antoine de Berghes

DNP MS 499, The Prayer Book of Antoine de Berghes was exhibited in 2003 and is catalogue number 168 in Illuminating the Renaissance. The manuscript also features in Jan IV van Bergen 1528-1567, in particular the essays by Hanno Wijsman and Jan Peeters. The Prayer Book of Antoine de Berghes has 116 folios that measure 6¾” (158mm) x 4¾” (112mm). This is the book with a binding of red velvet over boards and pierced silver-gilt corner pieces with clasps, which are in the shape of an A, recorded in the inventory of 1782. The majority of the miniatures are in the style of the circle of Master of Charles V, several of which depict Antoine at prayer.

The manuscript opens with a depiction of Antoine de Berghes (1500 to 1541) with his arms and motto (fig. 2.33). In The Netherlands Antoine de Berghes is known as Antoon van Bergen, or Antoon Glymes-Bergen, markies van Bergen op Zoom (Marquis/Lord of Bergen op Zoom), where his residence now functions as a museum and events venue (fig. 2.34). The opening portrait miniature is in the secular style of the artist Jan Gossart (1478 to 1532), who painted a portrait of Antoon’s sister, Anna van Bergen (1526 to 1530) (figs. 2.35, 2.36). Both the miniature and Gossart’s panel portrait show a half length sitter at a three-quarters angle facing in the same direction. The figures of Antoine and Anna are both set against a similar coloured background and

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214  DDH, MS 121/28  p. 30, DDD, p. 980.
216  Manuscript viewed August 2011 and September 2012.
are shown wearing luxurious clothes. Both have hands drawn in the characteristic Gossart style and both are wearing rings on their left forefingers and the first and third fingers of their right hands. Anna holds a piece of paper while Antoine holds a book with a red cover, which may represent his own prayer book. The similarity between the miniature and panel has led to the question of whether Antoine commissioned the miniature after he had seen his sister’s portrait or whether there was a now lost Gossart portrait of Antoine that was copied into his prayer book.\textsuperscript{221} It is interesting to note that Anna van Bergen married Adolf of Burgundy, Lord of Veere, (1489 to 1540), grandson of Wolfert VI van Borsele and Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier, patrons of DNP MS 482, \textit{The Hours of Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier}.

The \textit{Prayer Book of Antoine de Berghes} has 24 calendar pages with scenes of the agricultural year, zodiacal signs. There are a further 24 miniatures, which may have been painted in Antwerp, and decorated borders, which occur throughout the book.\textsuperscript{222} Antoine married Jacqueline de Croÿ in 1521, whose arms also appear in the manuscript (fig.2.37). Antoine’s arms do not have the symbol of the order of the Golden Fleece, which he received in 1531, so the manuscript must have been produced between the years 1521 and 1531.\textsuperscript{223}

According to Hanno Wijsman, Antoine’s eldest son Jan IV van Bergen (1528 to 1567) may well have inherited his father’s prayer book.\textsuperscript{224} In 1568 an inventory was taken, which records that in the chapel at his residence in Bergen-op-Zoom there were four books, two with black velvet covers, one with a green velvet cover and one with a red velvet cover.\textsuperscript{225} There was also a small volume bound in black leather with four silver hearts and four silver bosses.\textsuperscript{226} The four larger books are likely to have been liturgical works.\textsuperscript{227} The book with the red velvet cover is unlikely to be Antoine’s prayer book because the silver gilt bosses are not mentioned, while those on the small black leather book are. However, Jan IV owned other properties where he might have kept the book.

\textsuperscript{221} Kren and McKendrick 2003, p. 502.
\textsuperscript{222} Alnwick Modern Inventory DNP MS 499 entry.
\textsuperscript{223} Kren and McKendrick 2003, p. 502.
\textsuperscript{224} Wijsman, 2020, pp. 370-417.
\textsuperscript{225} Wijsman, 2020, p. 394.
\textsuperscript{226} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{227} Ibid.
In 1567 Jan IV died in Spain while trying to deliver a petition to the King of Spain on behalf of rebellious Netherlandish nobles and was posthumously accused of treason with his goods confiscated.\(^{228}\) One of the books known to have belonged to the Lords of Bergen-op-zoom is today in the Escorial in Madrid, alongside other books that belonged to the Hapsburg Kings of Spain so it is assumed that confiscations took place at other properties owned by Jan IV.\(^{229}\)

There is a book dealer’s description on the flyleaf of the Alnwick manuscript (fig. 2.38). It is written in French in eighteenth-century handwriting so it seems unlikely that Antoine’s prayer book went to Spain. Perhaps it remained in the Low Countries or France, eventually ending up at Alnwick.

**DNP MS 500**

MS 500 is a fragment of a Book of Hours with 18 leaves and measures 6⅝” (171mm) x 4¼” (108mm). It was made in France during the mid fifteenth century. Spurious miniatures have been added and the manuscript is bound in seventeenth-century red morocco gilt. The book is entitled ‘Prayers for Holy Week’. The pastedown bears the inscription ‘E. Northumberland, the gift of Mr Graham’. E. Northumberland is Elizabeth Northumberland, the First Duchess. Mr Graham features in her diaries on a number of occasions. It is not recorded when he presented the gift but on the evening of Sunday 4 November 1763, along with a large gathering of people, he attended supper with the First Duchess.\(^{230}\) The following day, Monday 5 November, the Duchess notes that it was her birthday, so it would seem an appropriate occasion for Mr Graham to present his gift. Graham [of ] Alnwick is listed in *Booksellers Bookbinders Stationers* so Mr Graham may have dealt in manuscripts.

**DNP MS 505**

This Book of Hours is use of Rome and measures 3¾” (95mm) x 2½” (64mm). It is described as very imperfect and only 3 miniatures remain. The manuscript was produced in the Loire Valley or South West France c. 1480. It is bound in nineteenth-century green morocco. The book is labelled ‘Heures’ and the First Duchess has written ‘Bought at London 1-0-0’ on the flyleaf.

In *Booksellers Bookbinders Stationers*, the First Duchess lists several people with addresses in London. Dunoyer [of] Lisle Street, Dodsley [of] Pallmall, Elmsley [of] the Strand,
Halbouche [of] London, Hall [of] London, who as already mentioned was a bookbinder, and

Peter Dunoyer is recorded as being a bookseller and was a Huguenot employed by the
Montagu family.²³¹

James Dodsley (1724 to 1797) was taken into partnership with his brother Robert, trading
under the name R. & J. Dodsley in Pall Mall.²³² In 1779 James succeeded his brother but later gave
up the shop to deal wholesale in his own publications.

Peter Elmsley or Elmsly (1736 to 1802) worked as a bookseller in a long established book
shop on the Strand.²³³ Elmsley, together with others, formed a literary club of booksellers who
produced many important works, including Samuel Johnson’s Lives of the Poets. Elmsley was
friends with John Wilkes (1725 to 1797) and directed the sale of his library. Many of the leading
book collectors were on friendly terms with him.

John Rivington (1720 to 1792) was the eldest son of Charles Rivington (1688 to 1742) of
Saint Paul’s Churchyard, who sold and later published books. John became known as the ‘great
Church of England publisher of his day’.²³⁴

From which of these sellers the First Duchess purchased DNP MS 505 she fails to record.
None of them are listed specifically as purveyors of manuscripts, although John Elmsley did
auction at least one library, but this was after the First Duchess had died. Perhaps, like Peter Frans
Goesin, the bookdealer of Ghent, they sold mainly printed books and stationery, while also running
a sideline in old manuscripts.

All nine of these books must have been purchased or gifted after 1770, as they do not
appear on the Musaeum List. Between her accounts and diaries, the First Duchess records the
purchase of at least seven Books of Hours after 1770. On Saturday 15 June 1771 when the First

²³¹ Tessa Violet Murdoch, Huguenot artists designers and craftsmen in Great Britain and Ireland, 1680-
1760, p. 93, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/30695656.pdf> [Accessed 13.08.21].

²³³ <https://prabook.com/web/james.dodsley/2186020> [Accessed 11.05.2022]
(London: Smith, Elder & Co.) pp. 165, 166.
²³⁴ Henry Richard Tedder, ‘Rivington, Charles’, in Dictionary of National Biography, 1885-1900, Volume 48,
Online at: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dictionary_of_National_Biography,_1885-
1900/Rivington,_Charles> [Accessed 11.05.2022].
Duchess was in Brussels, she writes ‘I had a Visit in the morning from Lord Chetwynd & after he was gone I bought many prints & 3 fine Missals.’ This purchase will be revisited in chapter 6.

In her accounts of 1773 the First Duchess writes that on 15 January she bought ‘1 No of Antique fm Missals [for] 10s. 6d’. How many Books of Hours this refers to is unclear but seems to imply there was more than one manuscript and, if fm means family, they came from the same source. On 28 February she bought a ‘Frame of head with a Missal £1. 1s’. This could possibly refer to DNP 499, *The Prayers of Antoine de Berghes*, as this book opens with a portrait. It also contains coats-of-arms, so the price seems quite cheap compared with those the First Duchess paid for other Books of Hours that include arms. Perhaps these manuscripts were sold for comparatively little because the seller had difficulty finding a buyer at a time when Books of Hours were not usually sought after.

### 2.7 Conclusion

In 1750 Elizabeth Seymour Percy, 1st Duchess of Northumberland inherited the Northumberland Estate and set about renovating Alnwick Castle in her favoured Gothic style. She was a forthright and independent woman with a keen interest in society and collecting, particularly art. The diaries, accounts and inventories, all written in her own hand, reveal that the First Duchess also collected Books of Hours. Her writings record that she bought her manuscripts from auctions and booksellers wherever she travelled, sometimes recording how much she paid for them and providing brief descriptions. However, the First Duchess was by no means consistent in what she recorded and although what information she gives has been carefully collated here, it has proved difficult to come to definite conclusions about where and when the First Duchess acquired individual items in her collection.

Nineteen of her Books of Hours remain in the archives at Alnwick and are introduced in this chapter, both those the First Duchess collected before 1770, recorded in her *Musaeum* List, and those she collected between 1770 and 1776, the year of her death.

The collection is remarkable on a number of counts, not least because it was assembled by a woman in the late eighteenth century, a time when women are not recorded as collectors of books, and some fifty years before Books of Hours gained in popularity. The Books of Hours themselves are also remarkable both for their diversity, each of them being different, and for the quality of their miniatures. All of them were produced in the late fifteen or early sixteenth century,

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235 DDD, MS 121/33/34/35, p. 1227.

236 Accounts 1773, DNP 121/49, DDD p. 1574.

237 Accounts, DNP 121/49, DDD, p. 1582.
either in France, the Northern Netherlands or the Southern Netherlands. It seems that the First Duchess probably appreciated both the quality of the miniature art collections that her Books of Hours contain and the Gothic nature of the artwork.

Only four of the nineteen Books of Hours at Alnwick have attracted the attention of scholars but the remaining fifteen are all different, each interesting in their own way. For most Books of Hours the patron is unknown but the Alnwick collection is unusual in that ten of them have either coats-of-arms, added inscriptions or names on their bindings or inscriptions by their original or subsequent owners. My research has shown several of the named individuals can be attached to archival sources, some of them quite extensive, which require further investigation.
Chapter 3 : DNP MS 483, THE VAN ZONNEVELT HOURS

3.1 Introduction

DNP MS 483, one of the four red velvet Hours mentioned by Martin in his 1872 inventory, is here called The Van Zonnevelt Hours because the name Willemijne van Zonnevelt has been inscribed on the back flyleaf, folio 191v (fig. 3.1):

Dit boeck behoort thoe / Willemijne van Zonnevelt / Tot alcmaer

This book belongs to Willemijne van Zonnevelt of Alkmaar

Alkmaar is a town 36km north of Haarlem in the Northern Netherlands and Willemijne (1499/1500 to 1567) is well documented in the archives there. Although Willemijne was not the initial patron, her inscription of ownership provides a location in the Northern Netherlands. The manuscript contains some 2,000 words of dated inscriptions relating to family history and provenance. The earliest dated inscription was inscribed when Willemijne was about 6 years old. Written in an adult hand at the top of the back pastedown and numbered folio 192v, the entry refers to the death of a male child. Unfortunately, the name of the child has been erased but the date 22 August 1506 is clearly legible and implies that the manuscript was complete and in use by this date (figs. 3.2a-b).

The Van Zonnevelt Hours has a cover of red velvet, beneath which is its original binding of brown calf over boards (figs. 3.3, 3.4). Small holes indicate the book once had two clasps. The book measures 8½ x 6" (22 x 15cm) and contains 191 folios that have been gauffered and stamped (fig. 3.5). The manuscript is written in Middeleeuwse Nederlands (Medieval Dutch). The use of Utrecht calendar is written to 17 lines and has alternating red and violet pen-flourishing decorating the Golden Numbers, while the first letter for each of the Saints is stroked in red (fig. 3.6). Folios 14r-135v are written to 15 lines. In this section, which consists of the Hours of the Virgin, folios 13r-69v, and the Hours of the Cross, folios 71r-81v, many of the single-line capitals have alternating red and violet pen-flourishing. The remainder of the manuscript is written to 16 lines. However, for the Office of the Dead, folios 88r-135v, and a selection of prayers that includes a special prayer for a cloistered sister, folios 136r-162v, single-line capitals are stroked in red. Towards the end of the

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238 Willemijne and the Z spelling of Zonnevelt, will be discussed in section 3.64. Today Willemijne is usually known as Wilhelmina van Sonnevelt or Wilhelmina Paling van Sonnevelt but here the manuscript spelling will be maintained.

239 See Appendix 4 for a full transcription of the inscriptions.

240 Sometimes spelled gauffered (gold edges).
manuscript the Penitential Psalms folios 164r-176r, and the Litany folios 176v-190v, also have red and violet pen-flourishing.

This chapter explores the question of where, when and by whom The Van Zonnevelt Hours was produced and, as will be explained, it is apparent that The Van Zonnevelt Hours has been painted in two distinct styles and in two separate programmes of work. The first artistic phase, consisting of a 7-line historiated initial, folio 164r, and three painted borders, folios 151r, 156v, 164r, can be attributed to The Masters of the Haarlem Bible, active c. 1445 to 1475 in Haarlem, North Holland (figs. 3.7-3.9).241 The second artistic phase consists of five inserted miniatures – The Annunciation of the Virgin, folio 13v, The Crucifixion, folio 70v, Raising of Lazarus, folio 82v, Patrons Kneeling Before an Altar, folio 136v, and Uriah, folio 163v – plus three historiated initials, folios 14v, 71v and 83v, (figs. 3.10-3.14). The remaining borders, which mark the divisions of the Hours were also added. This second phase can be attributed to The Masters of Hugo Jansz van Woerden, active c. 1480 to 1500, and The Masters of the Suffrages, active c. 1490 to 1525, in Leiden, South Holland. Two mass-produced, hand-painted pilgrim badges have been attached to folio 69v at the end of the Hours of the Virgin (fig. 3.15).

The first patron of The Van Zonnevelt Hours was probably a cloistered sister. The second patrons may have been Pieter Claesz Paling of Alkmaar (died. c. 1543) and his wife Josina van Foreest of Haarlem (died February 1541). The manuscript came into the possession of their daughter Willemijne van Zonnevelt, who, between the years 1553 and 1567, gave it to her granddaughter Joanna Sterck (b. 1551, Antwerp, d. c. 1618, Brussels).242 Elizabeth Seymour Percy, 1st Duchess of Northumberland, purchased the manuscript sometime between 1770 and 1776 and it has remained in the possession of the Dukes of Northumberland ever since.

The following section explores the regional identity of the manuscript, by setting The Van Zonnevelt Hours within the wider field of Books of Hours produced in the Northern Netherlands, which can vary visually from province to province and over time.

3.2 Books of Hours from the Northern Netherlands and Comparative Manuscripts

Books of Hours produced in the Northern Netherlands are artistically different from those produced in the Southern Netherlands and are usually written, like The Van Zonnevelt Hours, in Middeleeuwse Nederlands (Medieval Dutch), rather than Latin, which is more commonly found in


242 DNP MS 484 The van Zonnevelt Hours, folio 191v, see also Chapter 6, footnote 42.
Books of Hours from France or the Southern Netherlands. This is because in the 1380’s Geerte Groote (1340 to 1384) produced a Dutch language version of the Hours, which quickly became the popular choice for Books of Hours in the Northern Netherlands, thus laying the foundations of the so called Devotio Moderna, or Modern Devotion. Geerte Groote, a well-educated man, was born into a wealthy mercantile family but he gave up his home for the use as a hospice for poor women and encouraged a life of devout reading and simplicity. This prompted a change in devotional life, which is reflected in the artistic content of Books of Hours from the Northern Netherlands, many of which, unlike their counterparts from France or the Southern Netherlands, contain no miniatures at all and those that do have relatively few. In Books of Hours from the Northern Netherlands the Hours are often ‘bookmarked’ with pen-decorated borders rather than miniatures. However, The Van Zonnevelt Hours has five inserted miniatures and has painted, rather than pen-decorated, borders.

Thanks to work begun by A W Byvanck and G J Hoogewerff in the 1920s through to the 1950s and continued more recently by James H Marrow and Anne Korteweg, every illuminated manuscript held in Dutch public collections and produced in the Northern Netherlands has been documented, ordered into artistic groups and localised by means of visual similarity and codicological evidence. The results, including images, descriptions and bibliographies, have been made available online in a readily searchable database, available in Dutch and English. Of the 1900 manuscripts recorded by researchers some 700 are Books of Hours and of these about 450 contain miniatures and/or historiated initials. Pen-decoration, a feature unique to Northern manuscripts, is found in most of these manuscripts but for some 4 to 5% pen-decoration is absent. The Van Zonnevelt Hours falls into this smaller group.

Each of the documented Books of Hours is different. While The Van Zonnevelt Hours is different again, it does bear similarities with a few other manuscripts. In addition to Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek, Ms. 187 C 1-3, a three-volume Bible known collectively as The Haarlem Bible, after which the Masters of the Haarlem Bible are named, I have identified the following five Books

243 Anne Korteweg, 2013, ‘Books of Hours from the Northern Netherlands Reconsidered: The uses of Windshiem and Geert Groote’s Role as a Translator’ in Books of Hours Reconsidered, eds. Sandra Hindman, and James Marrow, Harvey miller (Belgium: Brepols,), p. 235.

244 Jan van Engen (Trans.), 1988, Devotio Moderna Basic Writings, (New York: Paulist Press), pp. 36-37.


of Hours that are important to help answer the question of where, when and by whom *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* was produced.247

Utrecht, Catharijneconvent Museum StCC h 1, known as *The Van Adrichem Hours*, was chosen because its painted borders are comparable to that on folio 156v in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*.248 New York, Morgan Library, M. 1031, known as *The Assendelft Hours*, has comparable historiated initials, painted borders and pen-flourished single-line capitals.249 These manuscripts have both been identified as having been painted by the Masters of The Haarlem Bible. In addition, University of Oxford, Bodleian Library (OBL) MS Broxbourne 89.8, a Psalter/Book of Hours written in Latin, has no miniatures but does have a decorated initial and aspects of the script that are comparable to *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*.250

The remaining manuscripts were chosen because they help identify the artists of the second phase of production. Draiflessen Collection (Liberna), Mettingen MS 1 has borders that are similar to the second phase borders in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*.251 Figures painted into the borders of Mettingen Ms 1 are stylistically similar to figures in *The Van Zonnevelt* miniatures. *The Crucifixion*, folio 70v, in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* is compositionally important because the cross, unusually, is drawn at an oblique angle to the picture plane. *The Crucifixion* in The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek (KB), 76 G 13, folio 105v, also has a cross drawn at an oblique angle and

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247 Haarlem Stadsbibliotheek, Ms. 187 C, volumes 1-3.

Marrow, James H, ed. 1990, p. 15.


248 Viewed at Catharijneconvent museum on 8 August 2012.


250 Online, ‘Digital Bodleian’ Broxbourne 89.8 <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/Discover/Search/#/?p=c+2,t+Broxbourne%2089.8,rssrs+0,rsp+r+10,f a+,so+ox%3Asort%5Easc,scids+,pid+def06221-216d-4f06-a5ce-e412be30f2ca,vi+> [Accessed 14.05.2020].

251 Draiflessen Collection (Liberna), Mettingen MS 1, viewed at Mettingen , June 2013. Note: In Marrow 1990 this manuscript is listed as ‘Private Collection, Ms 1’, pp 295-296. In Korteweg, 2013b the manuscript is catalogue number 004 and listed as Liberna Collection MS 1, p116. By June 2013 the Draiflessen Collection had passed into public ownership and the manuscript was available for public viewing at the newly opened archives and is now known as Mettingen MS 1.
was painted by the Masters of the Suffrages.\textsuperscript{252} The miniatures in Mettingen Ms 1 and KB, 76 G 13, folio 105\textsuperscript{v} were painted by the artists known as The Masters of Hugo Jansz van Woerden.

The Van Adrichem Hours, Assebdelft Hours and Mettingen Ms 1 all contain arms and/or inscriptions that help identify their owners. All three manuscripts have their original bindings and a full calendar, which can help localise the place of production.\textsuperscript{253}

### 3.3 Locating the manuscript.

Locating where a particular Book of Hours was produced or where it was intended to be used is not straightforward. However, careful scrutiny of a manuscript’s internal evidence such as binding, the language it is written in, arms and/or inscriptions, the calendar, litany, the script, special prayers, miniatures or border decoration may reveal information as to where and when, even who commissioned a particular book and by which artist/s it was produced.

As Prosper Verheyden has shown, books produced in the Northern Netherlands often have bindings stamped with motifs that can localise them.\textsuperscript{254} Beneath its red velvet cover The Van Zonnevelt Hours retains its original calf binding. This has been blind tooled with a lozenge pattern at the centre and a triple border of vertical and horizontal lines. Unfortunately, there are no stamped motifs so the manuscript cannot be localised by its binding. Red velvet bindings are more usually found on Books of Hours from the Southern Netherlands. This is certainly true of all the Southern Books of Hours in the Alnwick collection that are still in their original bindings. The Van Zonnevelt cover was probably added later than the initial production but before the clasps were removed because holes have been cut and bound to allow the clasps to pass through the velvet – the holes left by the removed clasps can clearly be seen in the calf binding. Several small paper labels have been attached to the cover. There is a rectangular one centre-top of the front cover with traces of writing that has become abraded over time and is now unreadable. Two more squarish labels have been added to the spine, one between the first and second chord, where a large letter L can be seen, and another between the second and third chords, which may once have read M 4. These letters and numbers refer to the book cases and the shelf number on which The Van Zonnevelt Hours was once

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\textsuperscript{253} For Assendelft Hours see Marrow, 1990, pp. 236-237.

For Mettingen Ms 1 see Anne Korteweg, 2013, in Iris Mendrup, Monika Kordhanke and Thera Folmer-von-Oven, eds. The Beauty of Precision, (Draffelissen Collection), Cat. No. 04, 213, pp. 116-117

For van Adrichem Hours see W. C. M. Wüstefeld, 1993, Middeleeuwse Boeken van Het Catharijneconvent, (Zwolle, Waanders and Utrecht, Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent), pp. 150-151.

kept. The ends of the leaves have been gauffered and stamped with a diamond pattern and flower motif. In the seventeenth century books were stored flat rather than upright. This may mean that the manuscript was kept with the gauffered side facing out so it could be admired.

Written on the pastedown inside the front cover is an eighteenth century book dealer description, which together with the library labels, will be returned to in chapter 6. Also on the inside cover is the label of the Duke of Northumberland.

### 3.4 The Calendar and Litany

Locating a manuscript can often be narrowed down by the celebrated Saint Days, which are usually written in red in the calendar. The celebrated saints can vary from one location to another and may point to a particular town or even to the religious establishment where the book was used. However, it should be remembered that patrons may have ordered their manuscripts to be written in a different area to the one in which they lived and that miniatures may have come from a workshop in a different location still.

*The Van Zonnevelt Hours* has a full calendar - that is a saint allocated for every day of the year - with feast days marked in red. These include the seven saint days exclusive to the Utrecht calendar - Pontian (14 January), Pancras (12 May), Odulph (12 June), the Translation of Saint Martin (4 July), Willibrord (7 November) and Lebinus (12 November and 25 June). However, the red-letter days are not helpful in localising the manuscript further. For example, Saint Bavo (1 October) is not rubricated. Saint Bavo is the patron saint of the Church of Saint Bavo in Haarlem and is often rubricated in manuscripts associated with the town. This includes *The Assendelft Hours*, although this manuscript also has a red Saint Cyriacus, patron saint of Hoorn, West Friesland. Saint Cyriacus may be rubricated because the patrons had connections with Hoorn, although members of the Assendelft family are recorded as living in Haarlem. In 1485, either Claes Willemsz or Jacob van Assendelft owned a house on the Smedestraat. In 1486 Willemijne’s van Zonnevelt's mother, Josina van Foreest, is also recorded as living on the Smedestraat in Haarlem.

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256 Pearson, 2019, p. 154.

257 Korteweg, 2013, p. 238.


259 Nieuwstraten, 1979, p. 67-68, Footnote 27.

If Willemijne inherited the book from her maternal family it is surprising that Saints Jerome and Bavo are not rubricated in the calendar, as they are in Wein, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (WONB) Hs 2734, which is signed by the illuminator Spierinck and dated 1486. Spierinck signed and dated several other Books of Hours between the years 1468 and 1519, which are all thought to have been made in Haarlem or perhaps Beverwijk, just north of Haarlem, where in the years 1511 and 1515 a Sybrant Spierinck is recorded as prior of the Canons Regular of Sion. The records of the Church of Saint Bavo in Haarlem document a book that was bound in 1487, which is thought to refer to the binding of Hs 2734. This Book of Hours also contains an inscription of ownership:

Dit boek hoort Joest Willems d. van Foreest ......[rasuur]

This book belongs to Josina Willems d[oughter] van Foreest ...... [erased]

Joest or, in its full form, Josina van Foreest was the mother of Willemijne van Zonnevelt. Since The Van Zonnevelt Hours calendar has no rubricated days that can be associated specifically with Haarlem, the manuscript may have originally been commissioned by or for someone who came from outside the town but who wished to have their manuscript decorated Haarlem.

Variations among the black-letter days and the underlining of six black-letter days with red ink might support an alternative location. There are two black-letter days that differ from the general Utrecht calendar. Julian martyr (7 January), which replaces the more usual Isadore bishop, and Tecla Virgin (17 November) has been written into an otherwise unspecified day. Tecla Virgin also occurs on 23 September, the Saint's designated day. Perhaps the alternative entries were of special significance to the patron or they may represent an unidentified regional variation or one associated with a specific place of worship. The six black-letter days underlined with red ink are:

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263 Otto Pächt, and Ulrike Jenni,1975, Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkubein der Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, III: Holländische Schule, (Wien), p.100,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Manuscript version</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23 February</td>
<td>Vigilia votualt</td>
<td>Vigil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 April</td>
<td>Ambrosius bispoc</td>
<td>Ambrose, bishop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 July</td>
<td>Margareet ionf.</td>
<td>Margaret, virgin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 July</td>
<td>Der apostolen scheiden</td>
<td>Divided Apostles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 October</td>
<td>Lucas evangelist</td>
<td>Luke, evangelist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 October</td>
<td>xi\textsuperscript{th} maechden</td>
<td>[Ursula and the] Eleven hundred virgin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The solution to localising these days may lie in a 1524 letter from the town council of Hoorn in West Friesland complaining that the town celebrated too many saint days and requesting that seventeen feast days be dropped from the calendar, arguing that it was unfair on the poor of the town who were forbidden to work on these days.\textsuperscript{264} The local priest protested because it would mean a substantial loss of revenue for the church but the complaint was upheld by the powers in Utrecht and a list of feast days to be dropped were suggested. All seventeen saint days are black letter days in \textit{The Van Zonnevelt Hours} but five of the six days underlined in red appear on the list, the exception being 23 February. It may be that \textit{The Van Zonnevelt Hours} general use of Utrecht calendar was modified for someone who lived in West Friesland, which in the fifteenth century included Kennemerland, the 'region of Enkhuizen and Hoorn to Alkmaar'.\textsuperscript{265} Saint Cyrias, patron saint of Hoorn is included in the Litany and Saint Laurence also appears in the Litany. Saint Laurence is the name of the main church in Alkmaar. This is significant because Willemijne van Zonnevelt lived in Alkmaar, her father was a citizen of the town and both were buried in the Church of Saint Laurence.\textsuperscript{266} In the Litany Saint Ambrose is highlighted with arrows, the only saint treated in this way (fig. 3.17). Perhaps Saint Ambrose was special to the patron or denotes a specific but as yet unidentified church or cloister. The evidence from the calendar and the litany contributes to the geographical association of the known owner with Alkmaar, and possibly the original, unknown, patron.

3.5 Locating the Script
The script in \textit{The Van Zonnevelt Hours} falls into at least three discreet groups. Because of the way work from the second artistic phase sometimes finishes off first phase folios, it can be concluded

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\textsuperscript{264} F. Verhoeven, 1993 Feestdagen in de late Middeleeuwen, Utrechtse en Delftse kalenders', \textit{Holland} 25, pp. 159-160.

\textsuperscript{265} Korteweg, 2013, p. 240.

\textsuperscript{266} Note: The gravestone of Willemijne and Andries is in the church of Saint Laurence in Alkmaar. Vis, 2013, p. 89.
that all the text was completed before work on either artistic phase began, but where was the manuscript written?

Based on the few surviving Books of Hours with inscriptions of ownership Anne Korteweg concludes that often patrons had their Books of Hours written close to home and then sent them to a larger centre to be illuminated.267 One such example may be The Van Adrichem Hours. Wüstefeld declares that this manuscript has an established North Holland provenance, evidenced by the binding, decoration and inscriptions of ownership.268 The manuscript was bought by the Catharijneconvent Museum from a descendent of the Van Adrichem family of Haarlem.269 Land registry documents record that during the fifteenth century members of the Van Adrichem family lived in Haarlem, again on the Smedestraat.270 Alternatively, Hülsmann argues that the pen-decoration is in the style of the monastery of Sint-Paulusconvent (Saint Paul’s), Amsterdam.271 On the basis of its calendar, Hülsmann suggests that this manuscript was probably written at the Monastery of Sint-Pietersdal (Saint Peter’s) in the town of Hoorn, West Friesland. The monastery was founded by members from Saint Paul’s in Amsterdam, who probably took their style of pen-decoration with them. The manuscript would then have been sent to Haarlem, where its miniatures and borders were painted by the Masters of the Haarlem Bible. This raises the question of whether The Van Zonnevelt Hours contains any evidence of where it was written.

There is a clear division of script within The Van Zonnevelt Hours. After the calendar, folios 14 to 135, the Hours of the Virgin, the Hours of the Cross and the Hours of the Dead, are ruled to 15 lines, while folios 137 to 190, the Seven Psalms, various prayers and the Litany, are ruled to 16 lines. The script in the 16-line section, although in the same style, is generally neater

267  Korteweg, 2006, p. 308.
269  Wüstefeld, 1993, p. 150.


and more even than the 15-line section. Despite this there is evidence that the manuscript was planned as a whole. On folio 135v, the final folio to be ruled to 15 lines, written in red on an otherwise blank page is *Hier beghint die seven psalm* (Here begins the Seven Psalms). It is the only such instruction in the manuscript and occurs exactly where the change in ruling occurs for, after the miniature on folio 136v, which is a later insertion, the Seven Psalms begin on folio 137r ruled to 16 lines, as is the remainder of the manuscript. The three painted borders by the Masters of the Haarlem Bible, discussed below, all appear in the 16-line section.

There are also two different types of vertical baguettes within the manuscript. The 15-line section has only narrow baguettes in vertical lines of red and gold, on the left side of the text. This type of baguette continues into the 16-line section but in this section a second type occurs. This wider baguette is divided horizontally into sections of gold, pink and blue, the latter two decorated with white heightening. This is a feature of many Haarlem manuscripts, including both *The Assendelft* and *Van Adrichem Hours*. An example in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* can be seen on folio 151r, where it occurs on either side of the text and in conjunction with a painted border (fig. 3.7). The 5-line blue capital, with pink and white infill on the same folio, is one of only two in this style and both are found in the second section of the manuscript in conjunction with the Haarlem borders.

Folios 136-164, which includes the Confitor, Stabat Mater Doloroso and other prayers, may have come from another source. The opening 5-line capital on folio 164v is painted in a different style to other large capitals in the manuscript. It is gold, outlined in blue and pink with white heightening and a further black outline (fig. 3.16). In the prayer section some single-line capitals are stroked with red, while others are devoid of any decoration at all but there are no single-line capitals with red or violet pen-flourishing, which otherwise occur throughout the rest of the text, including the calendar. The tactile qualities of folios 136-164 feel different in that they are of an inconsistent thickness, some being very thick, which means that the parchment has not been finished to the same high quality as the rest of the manuscript. Folios 136-164 form a collection of prayers and may once have been a prayer book, which was then added to the Book of Hours.

Except for folios 136 to 164, gold single-line capitals with alternating red and violet pen flourishing, which are associated with many Haarlem Books of Hours, feature throughout *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*, including the calendar. Pen-flourishing is most readily seen in the Litany (fig. 3.17a). Every line opens with a painted gold capital with red and violet pen-flourishing, which alternates every two capitals and extends into the borders. This pen-flourishing includes motifs that can be found in some pen-decorated patterns.

Patterns of pen-decoration vary from region to region. In *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* the most easily identified motif is a variation of the *fonteinen* (fountains) motif that extend out into the margins (fig. 3.17b). *Parelrand* (beaded edge) and *doorntjes* (thorns) can be seen round the individual letters of the *Van Zonnevelt* litany (fig. 3.17c-d). All these forms have been identified as
originating in Haarlem.\textsuperscript{272} This leads to the conclusion that \textit{The Van Zonnevelt Hours} was written and, in its first phase, decorated in Haarlem, but it may be possible to be even more specific.

While much work has been carried out on localising manuscripts by region, Margriet Hülsmann argues that different pen-decoration can be associated with different religious houses.\textsuperscript{273} It is not possible to state whether it was common practice for Books of Hours to be produced in religious houses in the Northern Netherlands because so few manuscripts of any kind have codicological evidence that identifies where they were made, but what little evidence there is seems to suggest that at least some Books of Hours were written in religious houses, and some of them by women. It is known, for example, that Agnes Willemsdochter wrote a Psalter for the Convent of Mary Magdalena in Haarlem and at least two tertiary convents in Haarlem have been associated with red and violet pen-flourishing. Wüstefeld speculates that the Masters of the Haarlem Bible might have had a special connection with the Convent of Saint Margaret.\textsuperscript{274} Truss van Beuren points out that a \textit{Memorieboek} may have been made for the Convent of Saint Michael.\textsuperscript{275} Whether these books were made for the convents, or actually produced by the convents is not clear. Based on original correspondence, it is known that Saint Michael's was founded for women of noble birth and daughters of the wealthy elite, whose donations and legacies provided for the nuns' upkeep and the maintenance of the convent.\textsuperscript{276} In addition the nun's supported themselves through various handicrafts and, more significantly, by copying books. Whether they also pen-flourished Books of Hours or even painted them is worthy of consideration, but at present there is insufficient evidence to conclude that they did.

There is a further point worth noting in conjunction with Saint Michael's, which, given that the first artistic phase of \textit{The Van Zonnevelt Hours} is unfinished, may be relevant. Documents reveal that one Geertruid Jansdochter provided funds for Saint Michael's, but in 1477 she left and founded another cloister in The Hague.\textsuperscript{277} The year 1477 is significant because it coincides with the close of The Masters of the Haarlem Bible's known oeuvre and may also explain why the \textit{The Van Zonnevelt Hours} remains unfinished. Perhaps Geertruid Jansdochter played an important or even a leading role in the Master of the Haarlem Bible’s workshop. In any event, based on the red and

\textsuperscript{272} Hülsmann, and Nieuwstraten, 1992, pp. 87-88.

\textsuperscript{273} Hülsmann, 2007, pp. 153-180. Note: The Dutch words \textit{klooster} and \textit{convent} tend to be regional rather than differentiate between monastery (male) and convent (female) as it does in English. The English meaning is used here.

\textsuperscript{274} Wüstefeld in Marrow 1990, p. 237.

\textsuperscript{275} Nieuwstraten, 1979, p. 75.


\textsuperscript{277} F. Allan, 1973, p. 478.
violet pen-flourishing, it seems that The Van Zonnevelt Hours was written in Haarlem, possibly at
the Convent of Saint Margaret or Saint Michael, or, given the clear division in the script, perhaps
the work was shared between the two Franciscan convents.

Whether the painting of borders and miniatures was also in the hands of religious houses
is unclear due to lack of written evidence. However, the accounts of the church of Saint Bavo in
Haarlem imply that church wardens were responsible for commissioning aspects of production on
behalf of their parishioners. At least some manuscripts, including a Book of Hours, were
commissioned through the church and a few individuals are named in connection with their
production. In 1460 Riick, son of Jan the fransienmaker (parchment maker), received several
payments. In 1440 the monks of Sinte Anthonijs boemgaert (Saint Anthony’s Orchard) were paid
for bookbinding, while in 1453 the Regeliers (Brothers of the Common Life) are mentioned in
connection with writing and binding. After 1474 book binding seems to move from the monasteries
to a named book binder. From 1474 until 1522 Cornelis die boeckebinder (Cornelis the
bookbinder) is regularly named in the accounts, which may be indicative of a move to artisan
bookbinding. In 1461 Jan Pietersz, the only artist mentioned in the accounts, was paid for
verlichten (illuminating). There is insufficient information to say whether Jan Pietersz ran a
workshop or, like the artist Geerten tot Sint Jans, was a lay member of a religious order.

3.6 The First Artistic Phase

Within the field of illuminated manuscripts, the question of attribution is usually based on
comparative studies, identifying the main characteristics of a particular artist and searching for
other miniatures, or in this case borders, with similar characteristics. Within this it has to be
understood that artists often remain anonymous but are sometimes given an identifier, such as The
Master of the Haarlem Bible. Even then it is generally understood that a singular name applies to a
workshop where several hands work to a set style. Identifying an artist can help provide parameters
for dating as well as locating a manuscript.

In its first, unfinished, phase The Van Zonnevelt Hours consists of one seven-line
historiated initial with a painted border, folio 164r, and two further painted borders, folios 151’ and
156’, which, by comparative analysis, can be attributed to the Masters of the Haarlem Bible (figs.
3.7-3.9). The Masters are so named because of the artwork in Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek, Ms. 187


279 It is recorded that Cornelis died in 1525, Wüstefeld, 1993, p. 109.

280 Karel Van Mander on Geertgen tot St Jans in the digital biblotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren
(DBNL)
at: https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/mand001schi01_01/mand001schi01_01_0187.php> [Accessed 11.01.22]
C, a three-volume Bible known collectively as The Haarlem Bible. The Bible shows traces that it was once chained but it is not known for which monastery or religious establishment it was commissioned. In 1623 The Haarlem Bible is documented as being at the Commandery of St John in the North Holland town of Haarlem and since 1625 it has been held at the Stadsbibliotheek (City Library) in Haarlem. There are at least twenty-five known manuscripts by the Masters of the Haarlem Bible and several contain codicological evidence that links them with Haarlem, where the artists were active from about 1445 to around 1475.

### 3.7 First Phase Historiated Initial: The zonnetje or shining sun motif

On folio 164' of *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* there is a seven-lined historiated initial of a design that can be found in several other manuscripts by the Masters of the Haarlem Bible, including OBL, MS Broxbourne 89.8, folio 92' and Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek (KB, The Hague), hs 133 M 1 fol. 28'. Of interest here is not the decoration inside the capital, but the pattern of white heightening on the blue background that makes up the corpus of the capital. Included in the pattern is the zonnetje (shining sun) motif, which comprises an acute angle or segment with radiating lines (fig. 3.18b). This motif can be seen in many historiated initials painted by The Masters of the Haarlem Bible including those in *The Assendelft Hours*.

The shining sun motif can be traced back to the Haarlem Bible, for example in the historiated initial of *Saint Veronica and the Veil*, folio 80' of volume 1 (figs. 3.18a-c). The same motif can also be found within the historiated initial of *The Scholar*, folio 194', of *The Assendelft Hours* (figs. 3.18d-e). In the *Haarlem Bible* initial the white heightening is on pink, whereas in *The Assendelft Hours* and *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* it is white on blue. The shining sun motif is repeated four times in all three examples although it is in different positions within the different patterns of white heightening (figs. 3.18f-g). *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* has some heightening in black, which folio 194' *The Assendelft Hours* lacks, but similar black lines can be seen in the

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281 Haarlem Stadsbibliotheek, Ms. 187 C, volumes 1-3.

282 Wüstefeld in Marrow 1990, p. 235.

283 Wüstefeld in Marrow 1990, p. 234.

284 Korteweg, 2006, p. 309.


historiated initial of The Nativity on folio 27v. The Haarlem Bible initial has similar lines but in dark pink. The Haarlem Bible initial is framed in blue with white heightening, whereas the Assendelft and Zonnevelt initials are framed with gold. Despite these differences in colour, there are clear similarities between the shining sun motifs in all three manuscripts. Therefore, because the historiated initials in the Haarlem Bible and The Assendelft Hours are the work of the Masters of the Haarlem Bible, and the shining sun motif occurs in other manuscripts identified as being by the Masters of the Haarlem Bible, it can be concluded that the decorated initial on folio 164r of The Van Zonnevelt Hours was also painted by the Masters of the Haarlem Bible.

3.8 First Phase borders
The Van Zonnevelt Hours has painted borders, rather than pen-decorated ones. Two distinctive groups of painted borders have been identified as originating in Haarlem. The first style to emerge is known as the takkenbossen (bunches of twigs) group. The takkenbossen group evolved from relatively simple but distinctive ink-sprays with flowers and petals to more complex designs incorporating multi-coloured acanthus leaves, birds, figures and sprays of flowers. A further characteristic of the later more varied style are little golden circles, outlined in black with tiny black lines radiating from them, which are dispersed, some singly and some in groups, throughout the design. The later more varied acanthus group is known collectively as Haarlems acanthus (Haarlem acanthus), but both styles appeared in combination over a long period of time.

The painted border on folio 151r consists of blue, red and green acanthus leaves with some gold. It also has little golden circles, outlined in black with tiny black lines radiating from them dispersed among the acanthus. This border is unfinished, with spaces in the middle of the top, lower and right borders, and thus provides an interesting insight into how the borders were produced (fig. 3.19). Folio 55r of another Haarlem Book of Hours held at Delft, Prinsenhof Museum has a similar border, but where there are spaces in the Zonnevelt version, there are sprays of takkenbossen in the upper and lower borders and a figure in the mid-right border in the Prinsenhof book (fig. 3.20). From this it might be concluded that one artist painted the acanthus

287 Online: <ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/2/76938> [Accessed 09.04.2020].
288 Hülsmann and Nieuwstraten, 1992, p. 94.
289 Wüstefeld in Marrow 1990, p. 233.
290 Wüstefeld in Marrow 1990, p. 237.
291 Hülsmann and Nieuwstraten, 1992, p. 94.
leaves while a second provided the takkenbossen and figures, or the birds and flowers as seen in other examples of Haarlem acanthus borders.

The border on folio 156v is an example of a Haarlem acanthus border incorporating takkenbossen (fig. 3.21). The acanthus leaves in shades of pink, peach, blue, black, green, brown, yellow-ochre and gold flow into sprays of takkenbossen with flowers. Again, dispersed among the acanthus leaves are little golden circles with black radiating lines. There is also a bird with black and white striped wings among the leaves in the mid-left border. The border on folio 156v closely resembles borders found throughout The Van Adrichem Hours. Comparing the border on folio 156v in The Van Zonnevelt Hours with the border on, for example, folio 13v in The Van Adrichem Hours, it can be seen that both borders are very similar in design, particularly in the way the acanthus leaves converge in the top and bottom corners (fig. 3.22). The left side border in both manuscripts contain similar elements but The Van Zonnevelt Hours folios at 211 x 145 mm are larger than the 172 x 122 mm of The Van Adrichem Hours, which gives The Van Zonnevelt Hours version a more fluid and less crowded look. The top and lower borders of the two manuscripts differ in that The Van Zonnevelt Hours does not have the acanthus leaf motifs that can be seen to the right in The Van Adrichem Hours. Instead, in The Van Zonnevelt Hours, there are sprays of takkenbossen with flowers. The borders in both manuscripts include gold acanthus leaves outlined in black but in The Van Adrichem Hours these leaves resemble a splayed hand whereas on folio 156v in The Van Zonnevelt Hours the gold acanthus leaves have a trifoliate form. However, the 'splayed hand' type of gold acanthus can be found in The Van Zonnevelt Hours on folio 151v.

The borders in both manuscripts employ shades of pinks, blues, greens and yellow but the acanthus leaves on folio 156v of The Van Zonnevelt Hours have contrasting shades of dark pink with peach, rather than the pink and vibrant orange, which can be seen in The Van Adrichem Hours. The pink and peach combination gives The Van Zonnevelt Hours an altogether softer look, while the zinging clash of orange and pink in The Van Adrichem Hours is arresting rather than harmonious, but no less pleasing. It is therefore likely that the border on folio 156v in The Van Zonnevelt Hours and those in The Van Adrichem Hours were painted in the same workshop and within a similar period of time, but possibly not at exactly the same time because the orange colour is absent from The Van Zonnevelt Hours. This may have been the choice of the artist or patron or it may be indicative of a change in supply of pigments at some point between the dates when the two manuscripts were produced.

The birds that can be seen in the borders on folios 156v and 164v in The Van Zonnevelt Hours are partially outlined in black with further black lines to indicate feathers while the bird on folio 164v has black hatching on its tail. A similar drawing technique is used for the birds on folio

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13th of the *Van Adrichem Hours* but the *Zonnevelt* birds are more sophisticated, suggesting either a different hand or a more mature one. If, on the by no means certain assumption, all the birds were painted by the same artist, the more mature style in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* might suggest it was painted after *The Van Adrichem Hours*. The flowers in the top border of folio 107v in *The Van Adrichem Hours* are stylised whereas the flowers among the takkenbossen sprays on folio 156v in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* are naturalistic. This may also be indicative that *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* is the later of the two manuscripts as influences from the South became more apparent.

The border on folio 164r is different in style to the two borders so far discussed and is made up of a pattern of intertwining green stems with acanthus leaves and a variety of quite large flowers (fig. 3.23). There are a group of manuscripts by the Masters of the Haarlem Bible with a design known as the 'green stem' pattern, for example Amsterdam University Library, MS I, G 53, and Utrecht Catharijneconvent Museum, BMHh 51, but the *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* design is more fluid and far less geometric.293 The large flowers in the borders of folio 164 of *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* are more reminiscent of the large flowers found in the borders of OBL, MS Broxbourne 89.8, which is also by the Masters of the Haarlem Bible (fig. 3.24). It would therefore seem that folio 164r with its acanthus leaves, little golden circles with tiny radiating lines, bird and large flowers is yet another variation of a Haarlem acanthus border.

Since the historiated initial on folio 164r and the borders on folios 151v, 156v and 164r all appear to have been painted by the Masters of the Haarlem Bible, who are generally thought to have worked in Haarlem, it can be suggested that the first artistic phase of *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* was painted in Haarlem.

*The Van Assendelft Hours* has been dated 1445 to 1460. MS Broxbourne 89.8 has been dated 1465 to 1470. *The Van Adrichem Hours* has been dated 1460 to 1475 by Wüstefeld and 1465 to 1475 by Hülsmann.294 Therefore the date of the first artistic phase of *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* probably also falls within the parameters of 1465 to 1475 but possibly more towards the end of The Masters of the Haarlem Bible’s known oeuvre, at around 1470 to 1475. The first phase of decoration remains unfinished, perhaps from lack of money to meet the expense of such decoration or the death of the patron, or even the closure of the workshop.

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293 Note: Examples of green stem borders by the Master of the Haarlem Bible - Amsterdam University Library I G 53 has a green-stem border and an historiated initial similar to that on folio 164r in *The van Zonnevelt Hours*. Seen 07.08.2012; Utrecht . Catharijneconvent Museum, BMHh 51 This book has examples of green-stem borders and a large Capital H with a sonnetje design. Seen 08.08.2012.

3.9 The Second Artistic Phase

The first artistic phase of The Van Zonnevelt Hours is unfinished and it would be some twenty years before the second phase was undertaken and five miniatures were inserted into the manuscript. Three historiated initials and the remaining borders were also painted into the book during this second phase. By careful comparative analysis, it will be shown that the miniatures and historiated initials of this later phase are comparable to those by the miniaturists known as The Masters of Hugo Jansz (Janszoon) van Woerden and The Masters of the Suffrages. The work of these artists can be found together in at least twenty-five Books of Hours and their work was often added to manuscripts that had been made at an earlier date when pen-decorated borders were more customary. The addition of miniatures typically occurred towards the end of the fifteenth century, when the demand for Books of Hours with images increased alongside the rise in wealth among merchants. The Masters of Hugo Janszoon van Woerden and the Masters of the Suffrages are presumed to have worked in the town of Leiden in South Holland.

The Masters of Hugo Jansz van Woerden are so named because of stylistic similarities between the miniaturists' work and woodblock prints by Hugo Janszoon van Woerden the printer, who is recorded as living in Leiden and whose first dated work was published in Leiden on 10 December 1494. Some twenty Books of Hours have now been identified as belonging to the group by the Masters of Hugo Janszoon van Woerden. Several of these manuscripts can be dated to the 1480's. This predates Hugo Jansz the printer's known oeuvre. However, even though the miniatures appear to predate the prints, somewhat confusingly, the name Masters of Hugo Jansz van Woerden persists.

The Masters of the Suffrages are named after the artists who painted the illuminations for the Suffrages in a Book of Hours, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. S.n. 13 236, otherwise illuminated by Spierinck, who may be synonymous with Sybrant Spierinck, prior of the monastery at Beverwijk in North Holland.

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295 See Appendix 1.


298 Korteweg in Marrow, 1990, p. 289; For examples of printed miniatures by Hugo Jansz van Woerden see Vogelaar, 211, pp. 349-350.

299 Spierinck of Haarlem/Beverwijk should not be confused with Nicholas Spierinc, working in the Southern Netherlands - see van der Hoek, 1991, p. 275.
The Masters of the Suffrages were active from the 1490s until about 1525 and are usually associated with Leiden, South Holland. The production dates of the Masters of Hugo Jansz van Woerden and the Masters of the Suffrages overlap from between 1490 and 1500, which suggests the second artistic phase of The Van Zonnevelt Hours may also fall into this time-frame and so was completed a few years prior to the earliest inscribed date of 1506.

3.10 The Masters of Hugo Jansz van Woerden and the Masters of the Suffrages

This section aims to demonstrate The Van Zonnevelt Hours’ association with both The Masters of Hugo Jansz van Woerden and The Masters of the Suffrages, An attempt to distinguish between the two Masters will also be made.

Careful examination reveals that the miniatures in The Van Zonnevelt Hours are by at least two different hands. This is especially apparent in the modelling of faces and fabrics, although the compositional style and continuity of design features suggest that all five miniatures were planned to present a coherent whole. In three of the miniatures, The Annunciation, folio 13’, The Crucifixion, folio 70’ and Raising of Lazarus, folio 82’, facial features are created by outlining the three-quarter face in light brown (fig. 3.25 and 3.27a-c). Eyebrows are rounded with the line of one brow continued down to outline the nose. The lower face is flushed with red, accentuating the cheekbones, but otherwise skin tones are left neutral. In contrast, the faces of the male patron in Patrons Kneeling before an Altar, folio 136’, and the man with the ermine collar in Uriah, folio 163’, are built up in layers with grey and darker tones over a base flesh colour (figs. 3.26 and 3.27d-e). The fabrics in these two miniatures are rendered more tubular with less triangular folds than the other three three miniatures. Uriah, named along the hem of his red garment, and the male patron and the priest in Patrons Kneeling before an Altar are painted in profile with rather pointed noses. A face in profile with a pointed nose is also characteristic of the way Mary Magdalene is portrayed in both The Crucifixion and Lazarus. It would seem then that although there are two different styles of painting faces - one outlining the features in brown and the other building up layers of paint - all the artists involved were referencing the same patterns for drawing their faces, especially those in profile.

There are also compositional features common to both miniatures. Both have a building and wall separating the foreground figures from the background landscape, with architectural features highlighted in pale blue and pink. In each miniature, immediately in front of the tower, two figures are depicted conversing with one another. Although their clothes are painted in different colours they have clearly been drawn to the same design. The large clouds in both miniatures are schematic, with white pen-drawn outlines in-filled with thin white paint. From this is can be suggested that there were at least two artists at work, using two different modelling techniques and slightly different colour palettes, but they were painting in a similar compositional style. Given the
overall continuity of design features, the two artists would seem to have been working at the same time and probably in the same workshop.

Of the five Van Zonnevelt miniatures The Crucifixion is the most interesting because of its unusual composition. Remarkably, the Cross is shown at an oblique angle to the picture plane (fig. 3.28). In addition, the figures beneath are depicted so far to the fore of the picture that they are cropped from the knees down. This has the effect of elevating Christ and emphasising his place within the scene. Of all the documented manuscripts on the Koninklijke Bibliotheek website, it would seem there is only one other miniature of a crucifixion that depicts the cross at an angle in this way, KB, 76 G 13, folio 105v, (fig. 3.29). This Crucifixion, is very similar to that in The Van Zonnevelt Hours, although the cross is not depicted at quite such a marked angle and the figures beneath are not set as far forward within the pictorial space, which makes this Crucifixion compositionally less remarkable than The Van Zonnevelt version. As in The Van Zonnevelt Hours, the clouds in KB, 76 G 13 are schematic, with white pen-drawn outlines in-filled with thin white paint. To the right of the cross in KB, 76 G 13 two figures can once again be seen conversing with each other. This time the man facing the viewer is dressed in a long gown rather than coat and hose, but the man with his back to the viewer has a two-layered cloak with decorated hems, a portion of which is thrown back over his shoulder, just as can be seen in both Lazarus and Uriah in The Van Zonnevelt Hours, right down to the placement of the folds in the fabric.

The miniatures in Mettingen Ms 1 are compositionally and artistically different to those in The Van Zonnevelt Hours. However, there are similarities between some of the border figures in Mettingen Ms 1 and figures in the Zonnevelt miniatures. The body of Christ in The Van Zonnevelt Hours Crucifixion is rounded with a distinctive way of highlighting the breast and stomach, emphasised by darker encircling areas (fig. 3.30). This modelling technique can also be seen in the Zonnevelt historiated initial of The Virgin and Child, folio14r, where the baby's body is similarly rounded and highlighted (fig. 3.31). Although this method of modelling is not apparent in the Mettingen Ms 1 Crucifixion, folio 53v, which is compositionally different - with three crosses and a more defined background landscape - (fig. 3.32), it can be found in some border figures in Mettingen Ms 1, for example, in the rounded breasts and belly of the mermaid depicted in the lower border on folio 18v and Saint Michael in the lower border, folio14r (figs. 3.33, 3.34).

This suggests that the artist responsible for the figures, including the mermaid and Saint Michael, in the borders of Mettingen Ms 1 was also responsible for the Crucifixion miniature and

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300 My thanks to James Marrow for bringing this to my attention.
the Virgin en Sole in The Van Zonnevelt Hours and that this artist belonged to the workshop of the Masters of Hugo Jansz van Woerden.301

Mettingen Ms 1 has been dated 1480 to 1485 and the most likely date for The Van Zonnevelt Hours would seem to be 1490 to 1500, and no later than 1506, the date of the earliest inscription. Perhaps the artist who painted the borders in Mettingen Ms 1 was a younger or less experienced artist, who then went on to paint The Annunciation and Crucifixion miniatures, as well as the Madonna and Child historiated initial, in The Van Zonnevelt Hours.

The panel painting Calvary, painted c. 1524 by Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen (c. 1475 to 1533) and held at Gent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, also depicts a Crucifixion with Christ on the Cross at an oblique angle (fig. 3.35).302 Compositionally Jacob Cornelisz's panel has some similarities with the Zonnevelt miniature, the most striking and unusual being the oblique angle of the cross. In both images Mary Magdalene is shown kneeling at the foot of the cross, clasping it with her hands. The background landscapes have a similar compositional shape although in the miniature it is much simplified. Christ's body hangs lower on the cross in the panel and his muscles are more elongated. Also, costumes are more elaborate, the sky gets lighter towards the horizon and the clouds are not schematic as they are in the Zonnevelt miniature. Nevertheless, the two Crucifixions look as if they may have been derived from the same source or possibly one was a source for the other.

In the light of the fact that Willemijnne van Zonnevelt came from Alkmaar it is interesting to note that Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen, who is known to have had an atelier on the Kalverstraat in Amsterdam, also had connections with Alkmaar.303 Between 1517 and 1518 he painted The Last Ordeal on the wooden vault in the north transept of the church of Saint Laurence in Alkmaar (fig. 3.36). The artist known as the Master of Alkmaar also painted elements of the Saint Laurence ceiling. The Master of Alkmaar, who is known for his seven piece altarpiece Seven Works of Charity 1504, commissioned for the church of Saint Laurence but now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, can probably be identified with the artist Cornelis Buys I (fig. 3.37). In any event Cornelis Buys I, who from 1490 to 1524 lived in Alkmaar, is thought to be the brother of

301 James Marrow confirmed my identification of the Masters of Hugo Jansz van Woerden as the artist of The Crucifixion, subject to the fact that, with the permission of Alnwick archive, he has only viewed a photographic copy (the only miniature he viewed). [Email: September 2012].


Jacob Cornelisz van Oostsanen. It is not known where Cornelisz van Oostsanen trained but his early compositional style and facial types point to Haarlem and the artist Geertgen tot Sint Jans.

3.11 A Case for Cornelis Engebrechtsz (1460/62 to 1527)

A selection of miniatures by the Masters of Hugo van Woerden and the Masters of the Suffrages were included in the 2011 exhibition ‘Lucas van Leyden en de Renaissance’. It was noticed by the curators of this exhibition that miniatures by one of Suffrages Masters have a lot in common with panels by Cornelis Engebrechtsz. Cornelis Engebrechtsz appears in numerous Leiden documents from 1487 through to his death in 1527. Between them they show that he was a prominent and wealthy man who owned houses in Leiden. Two of his three sons, Cornelis Cornelisz (c. 1493 to 1546) and Lucas Cornelisz (c. 1495 to before June 1552) were also panel painters. Cornelis Engebrechtsz is also thought to have trained the artist Lucas van Leyden.

The earliest documented panel painting by Cornelis Engebrechtsz is Leiden, Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, Lamentation Triptych c. 1508 (fig. 3.38). Karel van Mander stated that the Lamentation Triptych was by Engebrechtsz and that it stood in the convent Mariënpoel in Leiden. It is therefore thought that the patron depicted on the right wing, is Jacob Martensz Scout, a canon regular, who arrived at the convent in 1508. Interestingly, he had come from the Augustinian monastery at Heiloo. Heiloo is a small town just outside Alkmaar, where Willemijne van Zonnevelt’s father, Pieter Claesz Paling, owned land.

The 1508 date for the Lamentation Triptych is close to 1506, the year of the earliest dated inscription in The Van Zonnevelt Hours, making it valid to compare Engebrechtsz’s triptych with the manuscript miniatures. The Lamentation Triptych has compositional elements that have already been noted in Raising of Lazarus and Uriah. To the right of the centre panel, two men can

304 Meuwissen, 2014, p. 94.


309 Kok, 2014, p. 31.

310 Information Archivist Alkmaar.

be seen conversing, the one facing the viewer has his arm outstretched like his counterpart in *Raising of Lazarus*.

Engebrechtsz's drawing technique in the *Lamentation Triptych* is clearly visible, especially through the white robe of Jacob Martensz (fig. 3.39a). This technique is like the shading technique in the *Zonnevelt* miniature *Raising of Lazarus*, which is particularly visible in Christ's pale blue robe and in the garments of the woman in orange, probably Mary Magdalene (figs. 3.39b). As in the white robe of Jacob Martensz, Christ's robes and the woman's dress are outlined in long sweeping lines of a darker colour. The folds tend towards tubular with lines of parallel hatching and stronger cross-hatching in the recesses. The folds also have curved hatching over them. The sleeves of Christ's robe, though less voluminous, are shaped at the inner elbow with folds arranged in a semi-circle, just as they are in the white robes of Jacob Martensz in the panel's right wing. The colours of Mary Magdalene's hat in *Lazarus* in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* are an interesting blend of orange, turquoise and yellow, while Christ's robes are shades of blue with some lilac and grey (fig. 3.39c). These are typical of Cornelis Engebrechtsz's colour palette.313

In Leiden, Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, c. 1510 - another documented work by Cornelis Engebrechtsz - Mary Magdalene is depicted in a more Mannerist pose of the artist's later style, but she has the familiar profile face with a pointed nose and is wearing a hat of a similar design to Mary Magdalene in the *Lazarus* miniature (fig. 3.40). The sleeves of her clothes are a blend of orange and turquoise that are reminiscent of Mary Magdalene's hat in both the Zonnevelt *Lazarus* and *Crucifixion* miniatures. On the right side of *Christ Carrying the Cross*, the Virgin swoons behind Mary Magdalene, with the apostle Saint John behind her (fig. 3.40a). Mary Magdalene is depicted with the familiar pointed nose and hat. This time the blended colours seen in the *Zonnevelt Lazarus* can be seen in the sleeves of Mary Magdalene's robe. The face of Saint John is constructed in a similar manner to Saint John in the Zonnevelt *Lazarus*, albeit in mirror-image (fig. 3.40b). Both have similarly shaped round faces with a tilted head, although the *Lazarus* Saint John has a more joyful expression with open, rather than downcast eyes. Both have short blond hair that curls round the face in a similar pattern, arched eyebrows and eyes that have an arched line above and dark shading below forming a distinctive socket shape. Both have rounded cheeks, similar noses and mouths that have a red line between the lips, red dots in the corners and a line under the lower lip.

The parallels between Cornelis Engebrechtsz's panels and the miniature of *Lazarus* in respect of composition, drawing and colour techniques are such that it makes it viable to ask

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312 For more detailed description of shading in Triptych see Kok, 214, p. 39-41.

whether this miniature, or others in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*, could have been painted by Cornelis Engebrechtsz. Further research is required to give a more definitive answer.

### 3.12 Second Phase Borders

The painted borders of the second artistic phase in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* consist of blue and yellow acanthus leaves entwined with naturalistic flowers that have green stems and leaves, with the occasional bird, butterfly or snail. The neutral background has tiny dots and small gold circles outlined in brown. The important text pages that bookmark the individual Hours, are similarly decorated in the upper and lower borders. Comparable borders can be found in Mettingen Ms 1. The flowers in the borders of Mettingen Ms 1, which also occur on the major text pages, are in different combinations and more flowers are usually included because the borders in Mettingen Ms 1 are wider and narrower than those in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*, but the similarities between the two are still striking. For example the pattern of heartsease in the upper border and the guelder roses in the lower border of folio 55r in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* are comparable with the heartsease in the upper border of Mettingen Ms 1 folio 28r and the guelder roses in lower borders of 67r in Mettingen Ms 1, while the flowers in the upper border of 67r are akin to the upper border of folio 26r in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* (figs. 3.41-3.44). The borders cannot be said to be identical but they are alike enough to say they probably derive from the same patterns and produced in the same artistic workshop tradition. Some text borders in both manuscripts have entwined flowers with no acanthus leaves, for example the heartsease in the upper borders of Mettingen Ms 1 folio 51r, and Mettingen 1 folio 28r, while others include acanthus leaves. However, there are some differences between the borders in the two manuscripts. Besides the colour of the stems, the main difference is that in Mettingen Ms 1 the acanthus leaves are blue and red and somewhat narrower, and as such are an example of the so-called 'blue acanthus rinceaux' pattern, typical of many manuscripts attributed to the Masters of Hugo Janszoon van Woerden. The acanthus leaves in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* may be blue and yellow, rather than blue and red, and somewhat broader in an effort to match the earlier Haarlem borders. However, Den Haag, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum (MMW) hs 10 F 5, folio 40r, *The Last Ordeal*, also has borders of blue and yellow acanthus leaves in the broader style and incorporate naturalistic flowers like those in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*, although the stems are red (fig. 3.45). The only miniature in MMW hs 10 F 5, is thought to straddle the transition from the Masters of Hugo Jansz van Woerden to the stylistically similar, but younger group of artists referred to as the Masters of the

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Suffrages. On the evidence accrued from *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*, the same might be said of this manuscript.

There are few fixed points to positively date these manuscripts but Mettingen Ms 1 contains an indulgence from Sixtus IV, who reigned from 1471 to 1484 and the manuscript has been dated 1480 to 85. MMW hs 10, F 5, folio 40*, has been dated to 1480 to 1500. Therefore, the second artistic phase in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*, because its borders share similarities with both books, must also fall within these parameters. That the first artistic phase dates from about 1470 to 1475 and the second from about 1485, but perhaps more likely 1490 to 1500, supports the theory that the two artistic phases represent two different commissions by two different patrons, at least a generation apart. This idea is supported by the idea that first artistic phase was undertaken in Haarlem, North Holland, but the second phase painters are thought to have worked in Leiden, a town in the province of South Holland.

3.13 The question of Manuscript Production in Leiden

It is generally thought that by the end of the fifteenth century Leiden had superseded Haarlem as the centre of illuminated book production. There is circumstantial evidence that the Masters of the Suffrages can be localised to Leiden and documentary evidence that Cornelis Engebrechtsz lived in the town. However, the question of whether the Masters of Hugo Jansz van Woerden can be localised to Leiden is based largely on evidence contained within Mettingen Ms 1.

Mettingen Ms 1 has been dated to 1480 to 1485 and has the so-called ‘spikey’ script and long thin blue acanthus borders associated with Leiden. The miniatures have been attributed to the Masters of Hugo Jansz van Woerden. The somewhat inconclusive evidence for the manuscript’s production in Leiden appears on folio 26* where an angel is depicted holding a shield with crossed keys, which has been identified as the arms of Leiden and been taken to imply that the manuscript was produced in Leiden (fig. 3.46). Inscribed on the frontispiece of Mettingen Ms 1 is a list of names presumably added by successive generations of owners. The inscription at the top of the page is clearly legible (fig. 3.47):

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317 Korteweg, 211, p.116; James Marrow's notes on Mettingen Ms 1.
318 KB website: <http://manuscripts.kb.nl/show/manuscript/10+F+5>[Accessed 13.04.20].
319 Korteweg, 1990 and Marrow, Golden Age, p. 233.
This book belongs to the widow of the late Master [as in profession] Jacob Pynss

The widow of Jacob Pynss could not have been the first owner because the manuscript is dated 1480 to 1485 and Jacob Pynss (or Pijnssen) died in 1518 after only one year of marriage to 'Lady Gerritje van Boschysen', the widow in question. Gerritje was the daughter of Geertruide Dirk van Heenvliet who in 1495 married Claes Corf, also known as Nicolaas van Boschuyssen, who was a tax collector and a citizen of Alkmaar. Jacob Pijnssen was the son of Willem Aelbrechtsz Pijnssen and Hadewij Hensdriksdt van de Burgh. Gerritje’s family came from Alkmaar but where Jacob Pijnssen or his family came from or what connection they had with Leiden is uncertain. It therefore seems more pertinent to focus on what is known of the artists.

The evidence that the Masters of the Suffrages worked in Leiden, though still circumstantial, is probably more secure. A missal, Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal MS 160, known as the Abcoude Missal, is thought to have been made in the monastery of Hieronymusdel, otherwise known as Lopsen, just outside Leiden. In 1488/89 Jan Vos, a scribe at Lopsen, wrote a diurnal for his brother Jacob Willem van Vos, Canon priest of Saint Pancras church in Leiden. In 1495 Jan Vos also wrote a missal. This missal is believed to be the Abcoude Missal and it is thought that Jan’s missal, like his diurnal, was produced for his brother Jacob Willem van Vos. This is because the Abcouder Missal has an inscription inside that says it was made in 1496, shortly before the death of Jacob Willem, and that he left his missal to Lopsen’s sister convent, Abcoude in Leiden. It is therefore thought that the Abcouder Missal, which has South Holland pen-decoration and miniatures by one of the Masters of The Suffrages, was produced at Lopsen.

That illuminated manuscripts were produced in Leiden is confirmed by surviving accounts from the monastery at Lopsen, where money was raised by writing Books of Hours, especially when printing began to take hold. Although incomplete the accounts, transcribed by

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326 Ibid.
Jeremy Bangs, show that the monastery supplied parchment and scribes wrote manuscripts, while the decoration and illustration could have been executed by one of the painters also mentioned in the accounts', named as Tymannus and Tricus, or their assistants.328 Brother Tymannus, or Tyman, is recorded as having a pupil named Huge Jacobz de schilder, who briefly rented a house belonging to the monastery. Jacobz de schilder may be synonymous with the artist Huygh Jacobsz (c. 1450 to 1535).329 The son of Huygh Jacobsz is known as Lucas van Leiden (1480-1550), who became a pupil of Cornelis Engebrechtsz.330 Both Tymannus and Tricus disappear from the records in 1482 so it seems unlikely they can be synonymous the Masters of Hugo Jansz van Woerden but the possibility that their pupil Huygh Jacobsz can remains.

That the artist Cornelis Engebrechtsz (1460/62 to 1527) lived in Leiden is well recorded. He is first mentioned in 1487, by which time he was already married, and by 1497/98 he owned two houses in the town and lived there for the rest of his life.331 There are four documented works by Cornelis Engebrechtsz, including The Lamentation and Crucifixion triptychs already discussed. Jeremy Bangs has suggested that Cornelis Engebrechtsz may be synonymous with ‘Cornelio pictori’ (Cornelis the painter), who received a payment in 1482 from the monastery at Lopsen.332 Whether this identification is correct or not, it remains that Cornelis Engebrechtsz was more than 40 years old before his first documented work was painted. Therefore, it is perfectly possible that he was painting miniatures for The Van Zonnevelt Hours with someone from the workshop of the Masters of Hugo Jansz van Woerden before this time.

It would seem then that the first phase of The Van Zonnevelt Hours was produced in Haarlem around 1465 to 1475, which can perhaps be narrowed to 1470 to 1475, by the Masters of the Haarlem Bible. The second artistic phase was likely painted in Leiden by the Masters of Hugo Jansz van Woerden and the Masters of the Suffrages. Since the manuscript contains miniatures in the style of both artistic workshops and the blue and yellow acanthus borders are close in style to those in MMW hs 10, then the most likely date is for the additions is 1490 to 1500, which, when

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331 Kok, 2014, p. 15.

332 Ibid.
Patronage is considered may well be narrowed to 1492 to 1500, but no later than 1506, the date of the earliest inscription.

The question of why there was an apparent shift in the production of *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* from North to South Holland remains unclear but my research mirrors the findings of Anne Korteweg in relation to other illuminated Books of Hours produced in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. The answer, in part, may lie with the historical background of the time. From about 1488 through to at least 1492 there were a series of uprisings known as *Het Kaas en Broodspel* (The Cheese and Bread Game). People, it would seem, were protesting against yet more taxes for the ongoing civil wars. The main targets of their aggression were tax collectors and the wealthy elite and in April 1491 the house of Claes Corf, father of Gerritje van Boschysen - of the inscription in Mettingen Ms 1 - was vandalised and his servant killed. Alkmaar was not safe and by 1492 neither was Haarlem. Leiden however, kept its city gates closed against the rebels, so it is possible that the wealthy elite, perhaps including the patrons of *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*, sought sanctuary in Leiden. Where the wealthy went, artists would seek patronage, or possibly follow, and a new artistic centre became established.

### 3.14 The Patrons

The question of patronage in relation to *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* is no simple matter. As already discussed, the manuscript has two distinct artistic phases of production, the first dating from c. 1470 to 1475. The prayer of a *clusenaerster*, folio 145r, written in the female form, dates from this first artistic phase and implies that the manuscript’s first patron was most likely a cloistered sister. The calendar contains no supporting evidence that her cloister was in Haarlem, but the feast days underlined in red and saints included in the litany suggest she may possibly have come from the Kennemeland region in the Northern Netherlands, encompassing Egmond, Heiloo and Alkmaar, all locales that can be associated with Willemijne van Zonnevelt, after whom the book is named, and/or her father Pieter Claesz[oon] Paling.

The second artistic phase dates from around 1490 to 1506. This implies that there were at least two different patrons, at least a generation apart. The patron of the second artistic phase cannot be determined with certainty. However, *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* holds important primary evidence in the form of inscriptions, printed pilgrim badges, the miniature of *Patrons Kneeling Before an Altar*, folio 136v, the calendar and the litany. Using this information, together with

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333 Marrow, 1990, chapters IX and XII.


335 Scheurkogel, 1979, p. 190.
documents held in the Archives at Alkmaar and Haarlem, panel portraits by Maarten van Heemskerck and a brass gravestone in the church of Saint Laurence, it is possible to posit the theory that the patrons of the second artistic phase in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* were Willemijne’s parents, Pieter Claesz Paling of Alkmaar and Josina van Foreest, who came from Haarlem.

3.15 Patron of the First Artistic Phase: The prayer of a cloistered sister

*The Van Zonnevelt Hours* was written and received its first phase of decoration around 1470 to 1475 in Harlem. A special prayer written during this phase, folio 145r, is written in black with an introduction that is underlined in red (fig. 3.48). It would seem that *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* was originally made for a woman who lived in a cloister. The lines underlined in red read:

**Lines Underlined in red:**

Het was een clusenaer/
ster en[de] hadde grote/
begheerte in een iaer/
der gracien te trekken te romen. /
ende verdienen die gracie. Des ope[n]/
baerde haer die enghel gods en[de]/
seide haer dat si bliven soude inder/ clusen
en[de] lesen dit navolghende/ ghebet. en[de]
also dicke als sijt lase/
verdiende si xxx dusent iaer ofla/
tes. Doe dit voer den paeus qua[m]
gaf hi haer toe noc xxx dusent al/
le den ghenen diet lesen inde[n] staet/
der gracien.

**Translation:**

There was a cloistered sister who had a great desire to travel to Rome in a year of Grace [Golden Year] to earn Grace/Salvation. But the angel of the Lord came to her and told her to stay in her cloister and recite the following prayer. After she had done so many times, she earned 30,000 years of indulgences. When the Pope heard of this, he added a further 30,000 indulgences to whoever recites this [prayer] in a State of Grace.336

Similar texts can be found in other books, including the prayer book, Brussels Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS II 3688, which has a calendar from Liége and was produced after 1514, and a Book of Hours, Leiden University Library, LTK 297 with prayers dated 1426 (fig. 3.49).337 Both these manuscripts have rubrics that begin *Het was een clusenaerster*. Perhaps *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* was written and received its first phase of decoration around 1470 to 1475 in Harlem. A special prayer written during this phase, folio 145r, is written in black with an introduction that is underlined in red (fig. 3.48). It would seem that *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* was originally made for a woman who lived in a cloister. The lines underlined in red read:


The cloistered sisters of all three manuscripts wish to go on pilgrimage to Rome during a Golden Year, referred to in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* and the Leiden manuscript as a Year of Grace. These were special years, held every twenty-five years, when the Pope granted extra indulgencies, which, it was believed, would shorten time people would spend in purgatory. There was a Golden Year in 1475, which would fit with the 1470 to 1475 date of production for the first artistic phase of *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*.338

The word *clusenaerster* is written in the female form. In 2011 Kathryn Rudy described the writer of the Brussels book as a recluse, perhaps of the Franscican order.339 The root word *clusen* means cloistered although the Medieval Dutch dictionary gives the meaning of *clusenaerster* as recluse. By 2017 Rudy had modified her translation to ‘cloistered sister’ but whatever the status of the *clusenaerster*, the prayer is of special significance because it is a prayer to take a virtual pilgrimage to Rome.340 In the Brussels prayer the writer makes it clear that she would like to go on pilgrimage to Rome in a Golden Year but, at God’s request, she has been forbidden to leave her cloister.341 By reciting the prayers that follow the rubric for the number of days it would take for her to make the journey to Rome, she can earn 30,000 indulgences. This is the same number of indulgences as pilgrims undertaking the actual journey would earn in a Golden Year.342 All three versions state that the Pope came to hear of the sisters’ prayers and granted them a further 30,000 indulgencies. Whether the Pope actually did get to hear of the women’s prayers is questionable, but this seems to have been a universally accepted 'truth'.

The *clusenaerster* of *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* may have inscribed her name in the manuscript, most likely the inscription on folio 191v that has been erased. However, it can still be seen that there were originally three words and that the third may be *boek* (book) and could conceivably read ... [erased name] *onse boek* (our book), but the name of the first patron remains

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340 Rudy, 2017, p. 44.

341 Rudy, 2011, p. 124.

342 Rudy, 2017, p. 44.
a matter of conjecture. However, it is possible to narrow down where the *clusenaerster* might have come from.

While the pen-flourishing and three painted borders show that the first phase of production of *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* took place in Haarlem, the calendar contains little supporting evidence that the manuscript was produced for someone who lived in the town.

The litany though, contains some potentially useful clues to regionally specific patronage. Saint Adalbert and Saint Tecla are listed on folios 180r and 180v respectively. Saint Adalbert is the patron saint of Egmond Abbey. The story goes that Adalbert was a Christian missionary, born into the Northumbrian royal family. Around 690 he went to West Frisia with Willibrord, an Anglo-Saxon bishop. Saint Willibrord is also listed in the litany, folio 179v. Adalbert became archdeacon of the newly formed see of Utrecht and died at Egmond in about 740. Egmond Abbey was founded c. 920 to 925 by Dirk I, Count of Holland at the site of a covent that, according to tradition, had been in use since the time of Adlabert and Willibrord. Around 950 the wooden church was replaced with a stone one, paid for by Dirk II, Count of Holland and his wife Hildegard, to house the relics of Saint Adalbert. In about 975 the new church was consecrated and Benedictine monks from Ghent came to Egmond. The nuns were transferred to a new convent, Bennebroek Abbey, with their abbess, the Count’s daughter, Erlinde.

The story of Dirk II and Hildegard’s patronage is recorded in a manuscript held in the Hague, Koningen Bibliotheek known as the *Egmond Gospels*, c. 900. Dirk commissioned miniatures for the book, including one depicting him and his wife placing the manuscript on the altar (fig. 3.50). Dirk presented the Gospels to Egmond Abbey, probably to mark the consecration of the new church, where the book remained until the sixteenth century Iconoclasm.

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343 Note: The parchment has been scraped so the name does not reveal itself under ultra-violet light.


According to a plaque at the Abbey, both Dirk II and Hildegard are buried at Egmond Abbey. Their descendants succeeded them as Counts of Frisia. When Dirk IV died childless, his younger brother Floris I succeeded him. Floris married Gertrude of Saxony. Gertrude does not appear on the grave list, perhaps because she outlived her husband and remarried, but Othilde of Saxony does, which may be of significance regarding The Van Zonnevelt Hours. If either of these two women were patrons of Egmond Abbey, or the sister convent, Bennebroek Abbey, it might explain the one anomaly in The van Zonnevelt calendar, Sinte Tecla (Saint Tecla, sometimes Techla) on 17 November because Saint Tecla was celebrated on November 17 in the town of Merseberg in Saxony.

### 3.16 The Patrons of the Second Artistic Phase

As outlined in the introduction to this chapter, Willemijne van Zonnevelt could not have commissioned either artistic phase in The Van Zonnevelt Hours but there is circumstantial evidence, outlined below, that the second phase may have been commissioned by her parents Pieter Claesz Paling, and Josina van Foreest, who were married in 1492. It is also possible of course that the couple commissioned the manuscript for their daughter Willemijne van Zonnevelt, born in 1499/1500.

That Willemijne was the [only surviving] child of Josina van Foreest, and Pieter Claesz Paling, is evidenced by the will that Josina and Pieter had drawn up on 5 October 1540. Josina died a few months later, on 28 February 1541 in Alkmaar. There is some uncertainty about when and where Pieter died, hitherto assumed to have been in Alkmaar:

Pieter and Josina's magnificent brass gravestone, with its Renaissance-style representation of the couple, can still be seen in the Grote Sint Laurenskerk (Great Church of Saint Laurence), on the Koorstraat in Alkmaar (figs. 3.51-3.52). The stone was designed by Maarten van Heemskerck and commissioned by Willemijne and her husband Andries van Oudshoorn, also known as van Sonnevelt. The gravestone includes the coats-of-arms of Pieter and Josina. At the top left are the three crosses of Pieter Claesz Paling, while top right are the arms of Josina van Foreest, which in colour would be a red zig-zag band on a silver field (figs. 3.53a-b). This is confirmed by the names of the couple engraved in capitals around the borders:

HIER LEYT BEGR GHERUST PIETER CLAESSEOEI PALINCK GODS RIDDER
DIE GHERVST IS DE XXI DACH MEERT ANO MCCCCC EN XLVI EN JOSINA

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349 Inventaris van het archief van Het provenhuis Paling en Van Foreest, nr 2. Will drawn up on 5 October 1540 when Josina was already sick. According to her gravestone, she died on 28 February 1541.

350 Note: There are two churches of Saint Laurence in Alkmaar.
Here lies dead and buried Pieter Claeszoon Palinck God's knight [of Jerusalem] died on 21 March in the year 1500 and 46 and Josina van Foreest, Willem's daughter, his housewife who died on 28 February in 1500 and 41.

An inscription on folio 2r of *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*, written by Godevart Sterck, Willemijne’s son-in-law, is at variance with this in regard to the date of Pieter’s death (fig. 3.54):

...... Peeter Claes Palinck / Ridder van Jerusalem zijnouden grooten vadere /die inden 
dienst Co. Mat. in Hispanien gestorven in de stadt /van Valencien in den jaere lxij

...... Pieter Claesz. Paling, Knight of Jerusalem our [son’s] great grandfather who died 
in the service of His Majesty the King in Spain in the town of Valenciennes in the year 1563.

Both the grave inscription 1546 date and the 1563 date regarding Pieter’s death must be errors. The manuscript extract is part of a longer entry that records the baptism of Cornelia van Sonnevelt [daughter of Willemijne] and Godevart Sterck's first son who, the inscription states, was born on 5 February 1545. Perhaps the lx has been reversed and the lxij date should read xlizij - 1543. This a more likely date since, according to another inscription on folio 1r, Cornelia and Godevart were married in 1543 and she died ten years later having had two more sons as well as a daughter (fig. 3.55). The full inscription on folio 2r states that Pieter Claesz Paling could not attend his first great grandson's baptism in 1545 because by then he was already dead so a 1543 date for Pieter's death would make sense. The gravestone may record the year of internment or a memorial of his death or, since the engraver had an inconsistent way of recording dates, this too may be an error.

What is more important with regard to the patronage of *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*, is the information on pilgrimage that the gravestone also includes. Directly above the engraved couple is the cross of Jerusalem encircled by a pair of palm leaves. As the gravestone inscription states, this means that Pieter was a Knight of Jerusalem and that he went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. That Pieter was a Knight of Jerusalem is collaborated by Josina and Pieter's will of 1541 and the inscription written into *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*, folio 2r. 352

The gravestone borders also include representations of other pilgrim badges. Next to Pieter, in the centre border, is the wheel of Saint Catherine of Alexandria (fig. 3.53c). This was the

351 For full inscription see Appendix 4.

badge associated with the monastery of Saint Catherine in Sinai.\textsuperscript{353} According to Jan van Herwaarden this site was often visited in conjunction with a trip to Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{354} On the opposite side of the border is a badge with Christ's face on Saint Veronica's sudarium (fig. 3.53d). This references the story of Veronica wiping the sweat and blood from Christ's face at Calvary when His visage became imprinted on the cloth she had used. The motif is known as the \textit{Veil of Saint Veronica} or the \textit{Vera Icon} and the pilgrim badge is associated with Saint Peter's Church in RoCe.\textsuperscript{355} It is not known whether Pieter and Josina both went on pilgrimage to Rome but it has been suggested that she may well have accompanied Pieter because the \textit{Vera Icon} has been engraved on her side of the stone.\textsuperscript{356} If Pieter Claesz Paling and/or Josina van Foreest once owned \textit{The Van Zonnevelt Hours} then the manuscript may hold evidence that Josina did indeed accompany her husband to Rome.

Pilgrimage was popular in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Each destination had a different emblem associated with it and pilgrims would often purchase badges as a memento of their trip. The most durable, and therefore the ones that have survived in greatest numbers, were moulded from thin metal. Much rarer finds are those badges painted on cloth, parchment or paper. Badges of whatever kind were sometimes sewn, pinned or pasted into prayer books or Book of Hours.\textsuperscript{357} On folio 69\textsuperscript{f} of \textit{The Van Zonnevelt Hours} two mass-produced, hand painted prints of the \textit{Vera Icon} have been sewn into the manuscript, although holes show they may once have been pinned (fig. 3.56).\textsuperscript{358} \textit{The Van Zonnevelt} badges do not show Veronica holding her sudarium, as some examples of the \textit{Vera Icon} do, only the supposed imprint of Christ's face, one with a blue halo and one with red. The colours are divided into sections by three broad gold lines,

\textsuperscript{353} Vis, 2013, p. 89.

\textsuperscript{354} van Herwaarden, p. 50.

\textsuperscript{355} Vis, 2013, p. 89.

\textsuperscript{356} Vis, 2013, p. 89.


\textsuperscript{358} A representation of a pinned \textit{Vera Icon} badge has been painted into the border of Oxford Bodleian Library, ms. Douce 311, fol.21v. Online: https://iiif.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/iiif/viewer/47679d8a-69ba-4a1f-ae94-888d61cdec5b?r=0&m=0&s=0&cv=10&r=0&xywh=-1129%2C-151%2C6360%2C3004 [Accessed 22.05.2020].
perhaps signifying the Trinity. Painted in gold above Christ's face the *Van Zonnevelt* badges include a schematic papal tiara and the cross-keys of Saint Pieter, the first pope of Rome.

*The Van Adrichem Hours* also has a hand painted *Vera Icon* sewn into it, although it is not the same as those in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*.\(^{359}\) Perhaps the most famous examples of painted *Vera icons* are the six that have been pasted into Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Ms. 1105-37, known as *The Prayer Book of Philip the Bold*, but none of these are quite like the design of those in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*.\(^{360}\) More similar is the *Vera Icon* that has been sewn onto the flyleaf of a French prayer book Paris, Bibliothèque de L'Arsenal, Ms 1176 res, A v-Br (fig. 3.57).\(^{361}\) This *Vera Icon* is painted on parchment, has a divided halo, a schematic papal tiara and the crossed keys of Saint Pieter.

That the *Van Zonnevelt* badges were mass produced can be seen by the fact that they have not been cut quite square and paint from the edges of other badges can be seen above and below. A line has also been drawn between the two badges but remains uncut. This suggests that two people went on pilgrimage together and the badges were purchased as a pair. This may mean that Pieter and Josina both went on pilgrimage to Rome.

The presence of the *Vera Icons* in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* is not definitive proof that Pieter Claesz Paling and his wife Josina van Foreest once owned the manuscript but, as evidenced by the gravestone, at least one of them went to Rome and it is therefore feasible that the badges were purchased as a tangible reminder of that pilgrimage and were then pinned (later sewn) into the manuscript and the end of the Hours of the Virgin.

If the badges were indeed purchased by Pieter and Josina, then this gives rise to another question. Could the couple depicted in the miniature *Patrons Kneeling before an Altar*, folio 136', be representations of Josina and Pieter who were married in 1492, which importantly is within the time-frame for the manuscript's 1480 to 1506 second artistic phase of production.\(^{362}\)

### 3.17 Patrons Kneeling Before an Altar: a portrait miniature

*Patrons Kneeling before an Altar* depicts a young couple kneeling in prayer before an altar, on top of which stands a carved altarpiece with the Virgin and Child at the centre and female saints either

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359 Wüstefeld, 1992, p. 5.

360 Rudy, 2015, p. 183, images reproduced pp. 184 and 185.

361 Rudy, 2015, p. 76, fig. 59.

362 van der Hoek, 1988, p. 171.
side (fig. 3.58). In front of the altarpiece is a covered chalice and two white candles, with wax dripping from the flames.

Placed on the altar there is a book with a brown cover, somewhat like the cover The Van Zonnevelt Hours was originally bound in. Around the altar is a red damask cloth with the words AVE REGINA CELORAVM MARIA REG written in gold capitals. This is a Marian antiphon traditionally recited or sung after the canonical hours from the Feast of the Presentation [2 February] through to Wednesday of Holy Week. The young couple kneeling before the altar, in particular the young man, are very carefully modelled, much more carefully than other figures that feature in the miniatures of The Van Zonnevelt Hours. This suggests they are intended to be representations of the patrons. To a late fifteenth century viewer the couple would have been recognised as pious but wealthy, especially the man in his black velvet, an expensive cloth at the time.

The Assendelft Hours, like The Van Zonnevelt Hours, includes a miniature with the patrons represented within the miniature, folio 193v, rather than kneeling in the borders, which is highly unusual in Books of Hours from the Northern Netherlands (fig. 3.59). In the Assendelft miniature the patrons’ faces are little more than line drawings. The Assendelft arms in the borders would have been enough to identify them, so a likeness was not necessary. There are no coats-of-arms in The Van Zonnevelt Hours. Perhaps this is the reason the patrons of this manuscript appear as if they may have been painted from life.

Several portraits of Josina and Pieter have survived including c. 1600 to 1625 copies of Maarten van Heemskerck’s matching pair of portraits (figs. 3.60 and 3.61). The originals were painted around 1540 to 1541 but disappeared after they were auctioned in 1922. That the portraits are a pair can be seen by the matching tablecloth and by the fact that the couple are facing each other. Pieter is depicted with his coat-of-arms and a palm leaf, which, as already identified on the gravestone, signifies his pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

The panel portrait of Josina depicts a much older woman than the one portrayed in Patrons Kneeling before an Altar, but the way both women hold their mouth and the similarly rounded chin means that it is conceivable that the panel represents an older version of the same woman. Josina in Heemskerck’s panel, indicated by the Van Foreest Arms, is depicted fingering her rosary, which was customary when reciting the Hail Mary. The patrons’ interest in Marian worship


is also indicated in two miniatures from *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*. In *Patrons Kneeling Before an Altar* there are the words from the Marian antiphon and also the representation of a carved altarpiece that has the Madonna and Child at its centre (fig. 3.62). The second miniature with a Marian reference is *The Annunciation of the Virgin*, folio 13v (fig. 3.63). This miniature has been inserted before the opening of the Hours of the Virgin. The Virgin, who sits at her *prië dieu* is shown so surprised that her vase of lilies has toppled over. Behind the Archangel Gabriel, dressed in yellow and green, is a bed with red covers and drapes. Written diagonally across the bed in gold letters are the words, *Ave Gracia pleâ ons*, which translates as Hail [Mary?], full of Grace, the Lord is with us (fig. 3.63).365

The black fur mantle Pieter is depicted wearing in the panel portrait is very similar to the one the male patron is wearing in the manuscript miniature (figs. 3.64a and 3.64c). Although painted by different artists, the male figure in both the panel and the miniature has straight, brown hair with a short fringe and is cut shorter at the sides and shaped to collar length at the back. Both faces have a somewhat square jawline with a prominent rounded chin and are devoid of facial hair. Both are characterised by well-defined brow ridges, a pointed nose and a mouth that turns down at the corners. Heemskerck's panel shows Pieter to have a cleft-chin, but this cannot be seen on the miniature because the man in shown in profile.

It could be argued that the hair and clothes were simply the fashion of the time. However, a group portrait of the patrons on the closed shutter of the *Saint Laurence Altarpiece* now in Linköping Cathedral, Sweden, was commissioned for the Church of Saint Laurence in Alkmaar, (fig. 3.65).366 The group portrait of the commissioners includes Pieter Claesz Paling.367 Documentation for *The Saint Laurence Altarpiece* survives so it is known that between 1538 and 1542 Marteen van Heemskerk was commissioned to paint it by named prominent citizens of Alkmaar, who contributed towards the cost.368 There was also one large anonymous donation. J Bruyn argues that Pieter Claesz Paling, whose family had already had their portraits painted by Heemskerck, was wealthy enough to afford this donation and that his representation is included in the group, top row, third from the right (fig. 3.64e-f). 369 This time Pieter is shown facing left, rather

368 Harrison, Jr., 1979, p. 102.
than right or in profile but the same characteristic haircut and clothes are present albeit in an older man, now with furrowed brow, the corners of his mouth turned even more downwards and whose jaw line, while still with the same underlying shape, is more jowly. It is interesting to note that the donors included in the altarpiece of Saint Laurence have different hairstyles and facial hair and have been identified not just by documentation but by other portraits of them, each with their own individual defining characteristics.370

Josina van Foreest Willemsdochter, as her name implies, was the daughter of Willem van Foreest. The Foreest family are an old noble family whose history is well known. The Foreests of Haarlem, into which Josina was born around 1470, were the junior branch of the family.371 Willem Dirkz van Foreest was an illegitimate son of Dirk van Foreest and his mistress Bely Duer, Claesz dochter.372 In 1475 Willem is recorded as ‘poirter binnen der stade van Haerlem’ (citizen in the town of Haarlem).373 In 1482 Willem was living on the Smedestraat, a property his wife Geertruid and daughter Josina continued to hold after his death in 1486. Josina continued to live in Haarlem until her marriage to Pieter in 1492, after which she went to live and later died in Alkmaar.

As already noted the Smedestraat in Haarlem is where branches of the Van Adrichem and Assendelft families are also recorded as owning property. (Members of these families were the patrons of the two comparative Haarlem-phase Books of Hours). The Van Assendelt family were a noble family, while the Van Adrichems came from the lower nobility and were therefore of a similar social status to Josina's family.374

Before 1518 Pieter Claesz Paling, sometimes spelled Palinck, was known simply as Pieter Claesz[oon].375 That Pieter is referred to as son of Claes (an abbreviated form of Nicolas), is

370 Harrison, Jr., 1979, p. 100.

Nothing more is known of Bely Duer but is interesting to note that both Bely and Duer are old spellings of Scottish family names but Duer is of German origin - Bely: <https://www.houseofnames.com/bely-family-crest>, Duer: <https://www.houseofnames.com/duer-family-crest> [Accessed 07.11.2021].

373 Hoek, van der, 1988, p. 171.
374 Nierop, van, 1993, p. 42 and 44.
375 Information summed up in: Jeuren Vis, Provenhuis, Huizen en Hofjes in Alkmaar, (Alkmaar: Alkmaarse Historische Publicaties, 2013) p.88-91 Note: Nobility in the Northern Netherlands is divided into two groups, classed as higher and lower nobility.
indicative that he was probably not of noble birth. However, he did come from a family that was considered important, or at least wealthy enough for noble families to marry their daughters into. Pieter Claesz was the son of Claes Pietersz whose uncle Claes Jacobsz married Lijsbeth Gerritsdr (Elizabeth Gerrit's daughter). The Gerrit is question was Gerrit Willemsz of the van Egmond van de Nijenburg family, Willem being an illegitimate son of Willem IV Count of Egmont. The family connections were not lost over the generations because in 1511 Pieter Paling's cousin Soutgen married Jan Jansz van Egmond van de Nijenburg, and it is through this family’s archive and that of the still extant provenhuis (almshouse) in Alkmaar, founded by Pieter and Josina, that the provenance of the Van Heemskerck portraits can be traced. The almshouse was founded in 1508. Precisely what prompted the couple to found the almshouse is unknown, but it can be said to follow the example of Geert Grote and may perhaps have something to do with the manuscript’s inscription of 1506, which is about the death of a male child. The shield with three hearts, 2 and 1, bottom right of the gravestone may have something to do with some site of pilgrimage but there appears to be no pilgrim badge with three hearts included in any of the databases or literature on pilgrim badges. The only clue is that C. W. Bruinvis (Cornelis Willem Bruinwis 1819 to 1922) wrote that the hearts stand for V[an] d[ee] Meer. Bruinvis may well be correct. A 1477 printed copy of the Delfske Bijbel (Delft Bible), held at New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, ChL 1630, part 1, has the printers trade mark stamped into it (fig. 3.66). Stamped in red are two shields hanging on a branch, one of which has three hearts, 2 and 1. The printers were Jacob Jacobson van der Meer and Mauricius Yemantzoon van Middelborch. What Pieter or Josina had to do with Jacob Jacobson van der Meer, or perhaps another member of the Van de Meer family, remains to be investigated.

Pieter Claesz Paling is recorded in Alkmaar's town registers as kerkmeester (church warden) in 1483, 1493, 1494, 1510, 1513 and 1514 and schepen (sheriff) in 1501 and 1513.

376 Vis, 2013, p. 88.
377 Alkmaar Archief, NL-AmrRAA-79.006, Archives of van Egmond and van de Nijenburg family.
378 Alkmaar Archief, NL-AmrRAA-79.006, Archives of van Egmond and van de Nijenburg family.
382 Bruinvis, 1859, p. 56
was made burgemeester (Mayor) of Alkmaar from 1516 to 1533 and thesaurier (treasurer) in 1534.383 Documents kept at Haarlem archives show that in 1511 Pieter became rentmeester (steward) for the Abbey of Egmont, covering the surrounding area of Kennermeland.384 Nothing was hitherto known of Pieter Paling’s occupation from 1534 until his death.385 This gap can now be filled by the inscription on folio 2v of The Van Zonnevelt Hours, which states that he was in the employ of the Spanish King [Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor] during these years. This may be the origin of the jaggery saltire (saw-toothed cross) of Saint Andrew’s cross, bottom left on Pieter and Josina’s gravestone because it was a symbol used by the Hapburg Kings of Spain (fig. 3.53e). Pieter is documented as one of the wealthiest citizens of Alkmaar.386 He was certainly wealthy enough to pay for the miniatures in The Van Zonnevelt Hours, which are some of the highest quality to be found in manuscripts produced in the Northern Netherlands.

Taking the evidence of the pilgrim badges and Patrons Kneeling before an Altar together, it seems likely that The Van Zonnevelt Hours once belonged to either Josina van Foreest or Pieter Claesz Paling before passing it on to their daughter Willemijne.

If Pieter and Josina did commission the second artistic phase in The Van Zonnevelt Hours, then the question is from where did they acquire it? Neither could have commissioned the first phase, dating from 1470 to 1475, because neither was a cloistered sister, as the special prayer suggests, and both would have been too young at the time it was commissioned. If it was given to them by a family member, rather than purchased second-hand from a religious establishment for example, who are the likely candidates? The Van Foreest coat-of-arms have been painted into the borders of WONB Hs 2734, folios 68v and 95v, the Book of Hours inscribed with Josina’s name.387 In this respect, it is puzzling that The Van Zonnevelt Hours contains no arms because if the book had ever belonged to Josina, or another member of the Van Foreest family, then it might be

383 Vis, 2013, p. 89.


387 van der Hoek, 1988, p.170.

Pächt and Jenni, 1975, p. 100.
expected to include arms, although it also has to be noted that the first phase of decoration is unfinished and there are gaps in the border on folio 151r that might have been intended for arms.

Josina’s mother was Gertruid [no paternal name] and her paternal grandmother Bely Duer Claesdr (Claes [Nicolas] daughter) was the mistress of Josina’s paternal grandfather. It is not known where either Gertruid or Bely Duer came from. The Van Zonnevelt Hours is unlikely to have been commissioned for Josina’s mother Gertruid because she was already married by the early 1470s and was not widowed until 1486, when she might possibly have gone to a convent. 1486 was too late for the first phase of production. Bely Duer Claesdr remains a contender because as the mother of illegitimate children, she may well have entered a convent in her later years.

Josina van Foreest married Pieter Claesz Paling in 1492. At that time Pieter’s family may not have had a coat-of-arms although he had certainly acquired one by 1530 when the painting of *Adam and Eve*, held at Hatfield House in Hertfordshire, was completed. This painting includes the arms of Willemijne, with her father’s arms, and those of her husband Andries Willemsz van Outshoorn, later known as Van Sonnevelt. Andries came from Amsterdam, so it is unlikely that the manuscript was inherited from his family, but it is the surnames he adopted that are of interest here. The name Van Outshoorn came not from his father Willem Andriesz, but from his mother Elizabeth Jansdr van Outshoorn. The Van Outshoorn family were an established noble family, with a background that was ‘more or less aristocratic’. The name *Sonnevelt* belonged to another noble family. In 1529 Andries purchased a property named *Sonnevelt* in Valkenburg, South Holland. It was this that enabled him to use the name Van Sonnevelt.

Perhaps Pieter Claesz adopted a similar strategy so that he could use the name Paling. Alternatively, his wealth and occupation could have afforded him enough status to claim or purchase a coat-of-arms, which he may have adopted at the same time as he began using the Paling name.

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388 van der Hoek, 1988, p. 171.
389 van der Hoek, 1988, p. 171.
390 Harrison, J. C., 1979 ‘Maerten van Heemskerck and Alkmaar. A painting reattributed and a relationship clarified between the painter and his patrons,’ in Kennemer Contouren. Uit de geschiedenis van Alkmaar en omgeving (Zutphen), [Copy held at Regional Archief, Alkmaar, inv. no. 98.270].
393 Vis, 2013, p. 91; Wortel, 1969, p. 3.
If The Van Zonnevelt Hours once belonged to Pieter or his family, the lack of arms is not a problem because the family appear not to have had one when the manuscript was produced. Therefore, if Josina and Pieter did commission the second phase miniatures in The Van Zonnevelt Hours and the book once belonged to a family member then, on the evidence of the calendar and litany, the cloistered sister of the first artistic phase was probably a relative of Pieter Claesz Paling. It is not known who Pieter’s mother was but there is one small clue in the archives of Egmond Abbey where Pieter is described as the reentmester and neef of the Abbott, Meynardt Man. The word neef can mean cousin or nephew. If Pieter was a nephew of the Abbott, then perhaps this was on his mother’s side and she was the Abbott’s sister. This information also means that the saints in the calendar and litany connecting the book to Egmond Abbey and the Kennemerland region hold true. There is one further possible candidate from whom Pieter might have inherited The Van Zonnevelt Hours. In his will Pieter states that his [unnamed] niece lived in the Clarrisenklooster (convent of the Poor Clares) in Alkmaar, but unless she was very elderly by 1540 she is unlikely to have been the patron of the first artistic phase. It is also possible that first patron was a female relative from an earlier generation, about whom nothing, other than she was cloistered, is known.

### 3.18 The Origins of the Red Velvet cover

When The Van Zonnevelt Hours was first produced it was given a brown calf binding but at some point the manuscript acquired a red-velvet cover to go over it. There is circumstantial evidence to suggest that Willemijne van Zonnevelt may have provided this cover. On folio 191v of The Van Zonnevelt Hours there are two legible inscriptions, which reveal that The van Zonnevelt Hours once belonged to Willemijne van Zonnevelt of Alkmaar and that during her lifetime she gave the manuscript to her granddaughter Joanna Sterck, who was the daughter of Cornelia van Zonnevelt (figs. 3.67).

The relationship between the three women is confirmed in the will of Willemijne, where she is named as Guilhelmijne van Outshoorn, the wife of Andries van Outshoorn Willemsz, whom she had married in Alkmaar on 19 January 1516 (figs. 3.68a-b). The will is dated 7 December 1564, an authenticated copy of which survives in the archives at Alkmaar and states that a third of Guilhelmijne's personal belongings are to go to:

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394 North Holland Archive, Haarlem, 356 Abdij van Egmond, nr. 1420.


396 Alkmaar, Archief van het Provenhuis Paling en van Foreest, Inv. no.5, Copy by the secretary of Alkmaar 18.08.1612. NOTE: Spellings follow those given in the documents.
Johanna Starcx die dochter van vrouwe Cornelia van Sonnevelt, sij huijsvrouwe van Heer Govaerdt Stark, Ridder ende Amptman van Antwerpen

Johanna Starcx the daughter of lady Cornelia van Sonnevelt, the wife of lord Govaerdt Stark, Knight and Amptman of Antwerp.

Besides the inscriptions of ownership, *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* contains a family history of some 2000 words written into the calendar. The first entry, in the top right margin of January, reads (Fig 3.55):

> Ao 1553 op den iiijen / dach January naeden stil / doen was van Brabant / is overleden Vrauwe /Cornelia van Sonne / veldt inde stadt van / Antwerpen huysvrauwe / des Amptmans der / selver Sterck\(^{399}\) Heer / Godevart Sterck /des Ridders etc. Zij achterlatende drie / zonen ende een dochter / leevende die hij hadde / getraut inde stadt / van Alckmaer in / Hollandt opden v\(^{en}\) / dach Augusty inden / Jaere van xliij.

On the 4th day of January 1553 Lady Cornelia van Sonnevelt died in Brabant in the town of Antwerp. [She was the] wife of the Amptman of the same town, Lord Godevart Sterck, Ridder etc.\(^{401}\) She left three sons and a daughter living. She had married in the town of Alkmaar in Holland on the 5th day of August in the year 1543.\(^{402}\)

This inscription, written by Godevart Sterck, connects his wife Cornelia van Sonnevelt with Alkmaar and confirms that it is he and Cornelia who are mentioned in the will. This determines beyond doubt that Guilhelmine van Outshoorn of the will is one and the same as Willemijne van Zonnevelt, mother of Cornelia van Sonnevelt and grandmother to Joanna Sterck as inscribed at the back of *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*. But why the difference in spelling? Why Willemijne van Zonnevelt with a Z, when her daughter is Cornelia van Sonnevelt with an S? The

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397 Transcribed with the help of Paul Harthoorn.

398 Note: both sources use the word *Amptman* (town official).

399 Should probably read ’der selver stadt’, meaning the same town i.e. Antwerp.

400 DNP MS 483, *The van Zonnevelt Hours*, folio 1.

401 An *Amptman* is a town official/representative. The word has been retained because the same word is used in both the will and the inscription.

402 Author's translation.
letter Z in Dutch spelling first appeared in a 1573 in a thesaurus by Christophe Plantijn, which is some 6 years after Willemijne's death. 403

The capitals letters D, W and T correspond with handwriting dating from about 1540, so the inscription looks to have been written in Willemijne's lifetime, either by Willemijne herself, or by her notary.404 There is an inventory of a house on the Langestraat in Alkmaar, now a toy shop, but which once belonged to her father Pieter Claesz Paling. The inventory is dated 17 May 1576 and the notary’s writing is of a slightly later style, but it is interesting to note that he distinguishes the generations in precisely the same way as the manuscript inscriptions.405 Willemijne’s name is spelled Wilhemina van Zonnevelt, while her son Willem and daughter Josijna have their names spelled Van Sonnevelt (figs. 3.69a-c). It is quite clear that the Z and S are formed differently. This still does not offer an explanation as to why Willemijne’s name is spelled with a Z and the younger generation with an S, but it does offer firm evidence that this was the case and thus validates the inscription in The Van Zonnevelt Hours.

As already stated, at some point The Van Zonnevelt Hours was provided with a red velvet cover. It is somewhat worn and faded now but the velvet cover was made to fit over the original brown calf skin. Holes had to be cut to allow the clasps [no longer present] to pass through. To secure the holes, metallic silver thread was couched round the edges, the remains of which can still be seen round the top front hole.406

An extant portrait of Willemijne, which may have been the one itemised in the inventory of 1576, was painted by Maarten van Heemskerck c. 1545 to 1550 (figs. 3.70a-b). That Heemskerck’s portrait is of Willemijne is denoted by the coat-of-arms painted on the left of her


405 The inventory is in an unsorted and unscanned bundle of papers: See Alkmaar Archief, f0169 Inventaris van het archief van het Provenhuis Paling en Van Foreest te Alkmaar, 1443-2000,

842 Verzameling archiefstukken opgemaakt ten behoeye van de leden van de familie van Oudshoorn van Sonneveld. 16de eeuw.

https://www.regionaalarchiefalkmaar.nl/collections/archieven/archieven-2/details/NL-AmrRAA-10.6.4.041 {Accessed 03.05.2022}

portrait. The three gold horns on a red field are the arms of her husband Andries Willemsz van Outshoorn, whom Heemskerck also painted (fig. 3.71).\textsuperscript{407}

The portrait of Willemijne shows her wearing a red dress that, importantly, appears to be made from red velvet that is of a similar colour to the red velvet cover made for \textit{The Van Zonnevelt Hours}. Careful observation of the portrait reveals that the edging of her gathered sleeves have been couched in a similar embroidery technique to the clasp holes of \textit{The Van Zonnevelt Hours}, only this time the couching is shown with gold metallic thread instead of silver.\textsuperscript{408} Willemijne’s parents died in the 1540s, so it is a likely time for Willemijne to have inherited the manuscript and for the red velvet cover to have been added. 1543 is the year Willemijne’s daughter Cornelia married Godevart Sterck of Antwerp, inscription folio 1’r. Maybe it was through contact with Godevart that Willemijne learned that Books of Hours from the Southern Netherlands, like those in the collection of the First Duchess still in their original bindings, were often bound in red, which persuaded Willemijne to provide \textit{The Van Zonnevelt Hours} with a red velvet cover over its original calf binding. Willemijne must have gifted the manuscript to her granddaughter Joanna Sterck sometime after 1553, the year of her daughter Cornelia's death, but before her own death in 1567, when Joanna was between two and sixteen years old. At some point after this her father Godevart Sterck added some 2000 words of inscriptions. These will be discussed in chapter 6 because their content intersects with the history behind the 1555 inscriptions added to \textit{The Charlotte Hours}.

3.19 Conclusion

The question of where, when, by whom and for whom \textit{The Van Zonnevelt Hours} was produced is not straightforward but a fairly comprehensive answer has been arrived at. \textit{The Van Zonnevelt Hours} was written in Haarlem, North Holland. At least two scribes were involved, one writing to 15 lines and the other to 16 lines. The prayers between folios 137’r and 167’r may have come from a different source because single-line capitals are penned in black and stroked in red and the parchment feels different. The rest of the text has single-line gold capitals, pen-flourished in alternating red and violet ink, which is found in other Books of Hours produced in Haarlem, particularly those associated with the convents of Saint Margaret and Saint Michael. One seven-line capital and two five-line capitals are comparable to manuscripts produced by the Masters of the Haarlem Bible who, on codicological evidence, can be placed in Haarlem in the province of North Holland. Three borders were painted by the Masters of the Haarlem Bible between 1465 and 1475, or even 1470 to 1475. This section remains unfinished.

At some point between 1490 and 1506 five miniatures, three historiated initials and the remaining painted borders were added. By comparative analysis it would seem that the work of this

\textsuperscript{407} Harrison, 1979, p. 94.

\textsuperscript{408} Harrison, 1979, p. 95. Portrait viewed at Alkmaar Museum and detail noted.
second artistic phase was carried out by the Masters of Hugo Jansz van Woerden and the Masters of the Suffrages who were located in Leiden, South Holland.

A special prayer suggests that the first patron was a cloistered sister who wished to go on pilgrimage to Rome. Internal evidence of *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*, including the miniature *Patrons Kneeling Before an Altar* and two hand painted pilgrim badges to together with archival and other evidence suggests the patrons of the second artistic phase were Josina van Foreest and Pieter Claesz Paling, the parents of Willemijne van Zonnevelt whose inscription of ownership is written into the book and who is well documented in the archives at Alkmaar, where she lived. Willemijne passed *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* on to her granddaughter Joanna Sterck of Antwerp, who died in Brussels around 1618. The evidence of the library labels and book dealer description will be investigated in chapter 6 to consider how *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* might have made its way from Brussels to Alnwick, where it has been since at least 1776.
Chapter 4: DNP 484, THE GOLDEN BATHSHEBA HOURS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses DNP 484, The Golden Bathsheba Hours, another of the four red velvet Hours recorded by Martin in his 1872 inventory and not previously described. The Golden Bathsheba Hours is so named in honour of the monochrome miniature of a naked Bathsheba, painted in the French tradition, folio 20r (fig. 4.1). As with Chapter Three, issues of production, patronage and provenance will be discussed. The problems presented within this manuscript centre on, firstly, the question of how the evidence of the calendar can be used to localise the place and date of production. A comparative approach suggests that the calendar is derived from a printed Paris calendar of 1490, but showing characteristic Southern Netherlandish spelling and an emphasis on feast days found in Bruges calendars. Secondly, the presence of distinctive naturalistic flowers on golden yellow grounds in the borders can be compared to dated manuscript borders from c. 1500. Artistic production of the miniatures is distinctive, in that all but two of the miniatures appear to derive from one workshop. The exceptions are The Crucifixion, which, with its illusionistic flower borders, still appears to be Southern Netherlandish in origin, but the greater exception is Bathsheba with its black and gold borders, which is comparable to miniatures produced in France. A possible link to the workshop of Dieric Bouts and his successors is investigated, which might further support the Southern Netherlands as the region of production for the main group of miniatures. Comparative analysis is also employed to consider stylistic links to the workshop of The Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian. This chapter also offers a major discussion of Bathsheba, setting the imagery of this miniature into existing literature on the naked Bathsheba and exploring the relationship of the composition to other known sources. There are no obvious arms or inscriptions in The Golden Bathsheba Hours that might directly identify the patrons. Internal evidence in the form of images and texts suggest that one of the patrons may be an unidentified member of the Burgundian-Hapsburg family, while one may have come from France, reflecting the duality that is apparent when investigating the circumstances of production.

The Golden Bathsheba Hours appears to be still in its original binding of red velvet over wooden boards and measures 8in. (20.4cm) x 6in. (15cm) with 163 folios, (fig. 4.2). Small holes indicate that the manuscript once had two clasps. The vellum from which the manuscript is made has been finished to such a fine quality that it is almost translucent. The book opens with a full, triple-graded calendar, written in French (fig. 4.3). The rest of the text is in Latin, with some written to 16 lines and some to 17 lines.\footnote{See Appendix 2} After the calendar come the four Evangelists, Saint John, Saint Luke, Saint Matthew and Saint Mark, folios 13r, 16r, 18r and 21v respectively (figs. 4.4-4.7). These are followed by the Obsecro te and O intemerata, folios 23v to 29v, which have no miniatures. The Hours of the Cross has just one miniature, The Crucifixion, folio 31v as does the
Hours of the Holy Spirit, which opens with *Pentecost*, folio 38\(^v\), (figs. 4.8-4.9). The Hours of the Virgin has one miniature for each of the individual Hours, *Annunciation* folio 45\(^v\), *Visitation* folio 58\(^v\), *Nativity* folio 73\(^v\), *Annunciation of the Shepherds*, folio 83\(^r\), *Adoration of the Magi*, folio 85\(^r\), *Presentation at the Temple* folio 90\(^r\), *Flight into Egypt* folio 94\(^r\), and *The Coronation of the Virgin* folio 104\(^r\) (figs. 4.10-17). A Benediction to the Virgin Mary opens with *Joachim and Anne*, folio 111\(^r\), (fig. 4.18), followed by the Penitential Psalms, which opens with *Bathsheba* folio 120\(^r\), (fig.4.19). The Litany comes before *Raising of Lazarus* folio 144\(^r\), which opens the Office of the Dead (fig. 4.20). Finally, some Readings are interspersed with miniatures of *Job the Blessed, Job Visited by Satan, Job on the Dungheap* and *Job Redeemed*, folios 161\(^v\), 163\(^r\), 165\(^r\) and 168\(^r\), respectively, (figs. 4.21-4.24).

The miniatures in *The Golden Bathsheba Hours* appear to derive from several different artistic sources but apart from *Bathsheba*, it has proved difficult to find published miniatures that are directly comparable. Panel paintings by Dieric Bouts have provided elements for comparison but as Bouts died in 1475, this is at odds with the suggested date for the 1490 calendar. It is unlikely that the calendar was added after the manuscript was completed because some of the flowers in the illusionistic borders are only found in Books of Hours that date from 1500 onwards, for example British Library, Add. Ms 35313, known as *The London Rothschild Hours*.

There may be two centres of production. Borders with illusionistic flowers on a golden yellow ground are typically produced in Bruges or Ghent in the Southern Netherlands.\(^{410}\) However, the composition of the miniature of *Bathsheba*, where Bathsheba stands provocatively naked in a pool, while King David looks on from a nearby unglazed window in a barrel-roofed building, is a form more usually found in Books of Hours by French Miniaturists from the late fifteenth into the first quarter of the sixteenth century. These miniaturists include Jean Bourdichon, the Master of Morgan 85 - who has been identified with Jean Pinchore who trained under Bourdichon - and Jean Poyet, who both worked at some point in Tours, although Pinchore later moved to Paris.\(^{411}\) The four miniatures from the story of Job are also more typically found in manuscripts produced in France. However, unlike *Bathsheba*, their artistic execution corresponds with other miniatures in *The Golden Bathsheba Hours*, which have possible comparative connections with the workshop of The Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian, thought to have been based in Bruges.

\(^{410}\) See Appendix 2

Since the calendar and illusionistic flower borders provide some parameters for dating and locating the manuscript’s production, these will be examined first. The different artistic hands within The Golden Bathsheba Hours will then be discussed to see what conclusions can be drawn as to which workshop or workshops might be responsible for painting the miniatures. Finally the miniature of Bathsheba will be discussed before going on to consider what the internal evidence of The Golden Bathsheba Hours reveals about the identity of the patrons.

4.2 The Calendar

The Golden Bathsheba Hours contains a full calendar, written in French in three colours; gold, red and blue, which were the most expensive colours available in the early sixteenth century and known as triple grading (fig. 4.6). Triple-grading was used to denote a hierarchy of saints, which can sometimes help localise manuscripts. The Golden Bathsheba calendar is an example of false triple-grading, whereby gold denotes the most important feast days with the rest written in a pattern of alternating red and blue, which Roger S. Wieck describes as ‘highly attractive but liturgically useless’. However, a careful examination of the calendar yields some clues as to when and where it may have been written.

Comparing The Golden Bathsheba Hours calendar with those in the collection published online by the Center for Håndskriftstudier i Danmark (CHD – Centre for the Study of Manuscripts in Denmark) reveals it has a very high concordance with a calendar in a Books of Hours printed in Paris on 20 August 1490 by Pierre la Rouge for Antoine Vérard, for use outside Paris. Both are full calendars, although April in the Golden Bathsheba Hours has only 29 days instead of 30. In the 1490 calendar Saint Peter, 29 April, which is a celebrated feast day in France, appears to have been omitted in the Golden Bathsheba Hours, probably in error because April ends with Saint Eutrope in both versions. Saints Arcesine and Medard, 6 and 8 June respectively in the 1490 calendar, are reversed in the Golden Bathsheba Hours calendar. Saints Marcel and Anne, 26 and 28 July, are similarly reversed. These differences would appear to be scribal errors although Anne is marked in gold in the Golden Bathsheba Hours but not in the 1490 calendar. Otherwise there are only two changes to the saint days. 3 January is ‘Geneviefue’, in the printed calendar, a saint celebrated in Paris, but ‘Oct’s’ iehan’ (Octave of Saint John) in The Golden Bathsheba Hours, which is a more

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universally celebrated feast day. 20 December is Saint Tecla in the 1490 calendar but ‘Vigile’ in The Golden Bathsheba Hours.

Under the CHD online section headed 'Composite Paris Calendar 1330-1530', it is pointed out that between 1450 and 1490 local variants and repeated errors make it possible to localise French calendars with some degree of accuracy. After 1490 printed calendars became so widespread across both France and the Southern Netherlands that it is not possible to locate the place of production with any degree of reliability. Nevertheless, there is a high level of concordance between the 1490 calendar and the calendar in The Golden Bathsheba Hours.

There is an almost perfect match between the 1490 calendar and the Golden Bathsheba Hours if the saints are compared on a day by day basis. However, there are some important differences in the spelling and celebrated feast days, which may indicate where the Golden Bathsheba Hours was intended to be used. The 1490 calendar spelling of lepiphanie, ciprian and simon has become lepyphanie, cyprian and symon (6 January, 26 September and 28 October) in the Golden Bathsheba Hours. The 'y' spelling is more common in the Southern Netherlands, which might indicate that the Golden Bathsheba calendar was written in the Southern Netherlands.

The 1490 calendar is printed in black and red, with the most important feast days in red, while in The Golden Bathsheba Hours, the most important feast days are written in gold. 22 January, Saint Vincent; 25 January, Conversion of Saint Paul; 14 September, Holy Cross Day and 29 December, Saint Thomas, are not red-letter days in the 1490 calendar but they are all marked in gold in the Golden Bathsheba Hours. Since the spelling indicates a Southern Netherlandish origin, the Golden Bathsheba calendar was compared with those under the CHD link to 'Flemish Calendars'. This reveals that calendars from Bruges and Ghent have the most concordance for the major feast days with the Golden Bathsheba calendar, although the black-letter days do not necessarily correspond. The celebrated feast days are rubricated in all three calendars from Bruges and the one from Ghent. 25 June, Saint Eloy, the patron saint of Bruges, is marked in gold in The Golden Bathsheba Hours and red in all three Bruges calendars but not the one from Ghent. 11 June, Saint Barnabas, is marked in the 1490 and the Golden Bathsheba Hours calendars and in all three calendars from Bruges, but not the one from Ghent. Since the major feast days in the calendars from Bruges have a greater concordance than the one from Ghent, it would appear that the Golden Bathsheba Hours calendar was adapted from the printed French calendar of 1490, by a scribe from the Southern Netherlands, using local spelling for a client who either lived in Bruges or wished to use their Book of Hours in Bruges. Apart from the universally celebrated saint days and those particular to Bruges there is little concordance between The Golden Bathsheba Hours and

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414 For the calendars from Bruges and Ghent see http://manuscripts.org.uk/chd.dk/cals/index.html under the section marked Flemish Calendars [Accessed 07.04.2022].
calendars for Bruges. Therefore, on the evidence of the spelling and calendars for Bruges it would seem that \textit{The Golden Bathsheba} calendar was based on the printed calendar of 1490 indicating that the manuscript was produced after 1490.

There remains the anomaly of 26 July, Saint Anne, which is written in gold in \textit{The Golden Bathsheba Hours}. This is not a celebrated feast day in any of the comparative calendars. Saint Anne may have been special to the patron in some way. This will be explored further when patronage is considered.

4.3 The Illusionistic Flower Borders: What do these reveal about date and location?
The calendar provides a date after 1490 but could have been added some years after the manuscript was completed. However, based on the evidence of the illusionistic flower borders on golden yellow grounds, it would seem that this is not the case. The borders closely match the different painting styles of the miniatures. This implies that the miniatures and borders were probably produced by the same artists and at the same time as each other. British Library, Add. MS 35313, known as the London Rothschild Hours, dated c. 1500, contains some unusual flowers in its illusionistic borders that are comparable to those in \textit{The Golden Bathsheba Hours}. British Library, Add. Ms 35214, known as \textit{The Bourdichon Hours}, dated 1510-1520, is in a different artistic style but also includes some unusual flowers, which can be found in \textit{The Golden Bathsheba Hours}.

Eight miniatures in \textit{The Golden Bathsheba Hours} have borders with illusionistic flowers on golden yellow grounds.\footnote{See Appendix 2} The naturalistic flowers, which are drawn in sprays, include leaves and sometimes seed pods and fruit, making them easily identifiable. Celia Fisher points out that some flowers, including betony and hempnettle, did not occur in illusionistic flower borders on golden yellow grounds until c. 1500 and gives as examples British Library, Add. MS 35313, \textit{The London Rothschild Hours}, and British Library, Add. MS 35214, \textit{The Bourdichon Hours}. In \textit{The London Rothschild Hours} a small spray of hempnettle can be seen in the top right border of David Praying folio 135', (fig. 4.25).\footnote{Illustrated: Celia Fisher, 2004, \textit{Flowers in Medieval Manuscripts} (London: British Library) p. 41.} In \textit{The Golden Bathsheba Hours} hempnettle, with white flowers, occurs in the borders of Joachim and Anne, folio 111' and a text page, folio 162', (fig. 4.26a-b). In \textit{The Bourdichon Hours} betony can be seen on folio 47', (fig. 4.27a).\footnote{Illustrated: Celia Fisher, 2007, \textit{The Medieval Flower Book} (London: British Library), p. 25.} In \textit{The Golden Bathsheba Hours} betony, with pink petals, can be seen in the right hand border of The Crucifixion, folio 31', (fig. 4.27b). \textit{The Golden Bathsheba Hours} may have been painted within the same dating
parameters as the comparative examples making 1500 to 1520 a likely date of production for the manuscript.

4.4 Characteristic Features of the Miniatures and their Affinity to the Work of Dieric Bouts and The Master of the First Prayerbook of Maximilian.

With the exception of The Crucifixion folio 31r, and Bathsheba 120r, the main body of miniatures in The Golden Bathsheba Hours are painted in a distinctive and highly effective compositional style. The minimum number of characters are deployed to make the narrative legible. Figures, painted in strong colours, are placed towards the foreground and occupy a large proportion of the pictorial space. Backgrounds, whether landscapes or buildings are predominantly in subdued tones of grey-yellow and pale grey-green, although outdoor scenes include blue skies. The miniatures vary in artistic accomplishment, from The Nativity folio 73r, which is poorly drawn and very thinly painted, to the more accomplished such as The Crowning of the Virgin folio 104r, or Job the Blessed folio, 161v. This may indicate that more than one hand was at work but all the miniaturists appear to have been working in the same workshop style. For example, the distinctive use of red lines to delineate drapery of pink cloth can be traced across the miniatures, from St John folio 13v, to Flight into Egypt folio 94r, Coronation of the Virgin folio 104r, Joachim and Anne folio 111r, the Raising of Lazarus folio 144r, and Job the Blessed folio 161v, (figs. 4.28a-4.28f). Job in the latter wears a fur lined gown like that seen in Saint Mark, folio 21r and Saint Luke, folio 16r. The same hand appears to have drawn the red hat on St Mark’s head, and constructed the red-draped bed in Saint Mark and the Annunciation of the Virgin, folios 21r and 45r (figs. 4.29a-4.29c). Eight of the nine representations of the Virgin Mary show the same hairstyle and closely related construction of the face, with a high forehead, short nose and rosebud lips on an oval face (figs. 4.30a- 4.30h). There may more than one hand within this group but they are working in the same workshop tradition.

The style of Saint Mark's clothing and facial features, together with the composition and colouring of the setting, recall the artistic style of Dieric Bouts. Saint Mark wears a red ‘upturned flowerpot’ hat, the only one of its kind across The Golden Bathsheba miniatures, but it features several times in Bouts’s paintings, including The Holy Sacrament altarpiece at Saint Peter’s church in Louvain, with its central panel, The Last Supper (fig. 4.31). Two figures seated at the table in The Last Supper and a third standing by the dresser, thought by some to be a self-portrait of Bouts himself, are all depicted wearing a red ‘upturned flowerpot’ hat. It can also be seen that folds in the fabric, delineated with darker lines, are constructed in a similar fashion to the folds in Saint Mark’s garment and other figures in miniatures of The Golden Bathsheba Hours. The construction of the wooden stool or bench seat in The Holy Sacrament is very similar to the stool on which Saint Mark is sitting (here the cross-pieces are tenoned into the end board) but is identical in its drawn

418 Catheline Périer-D'Ieteren, 2006, Dieric Bouts (Brussels: Mercatorfonds), p. 36.
form and its type of carpentry to the stool at which Mary kneels in the *Annunciation of the Virgin* (figs. 4.32a-4.32c). Of course, carpentry is a shared regional tradition and other sources could have provided this link. However, it remains that Dieric Bouts and his workshop are documented as having produced *The Holy Sacrament* altarpiece (1464 to 1468), which was commissioned for Saint Peter’s church in Louvain, where it has remained, almost continuously to this day, and would certainly have been available for an early sixteenth century artist to view there.419 *The Holy Sacrament* offers further sources that may be the model for aspects of *The Golden Bathsheba* miniatures. The construction of face, hair and drapery of the figure dressed in white, seated next to Christ, and the angel in the side panel *Elijah in the Desert*, have their near counterparts in *The Golden Bathsheba Hours*; in the angel in *Saint Matthew* folio 18,45 *Annunciation to the Virgin* folio 45 and the Angel Gabriel in *Annunciation of the Shepherds* folio 83 (figs. 4.33a-d).

The problem is that *The Holy Sacrament* is at least one generation earlier than the date of the manuscript as suggested by the calendar and illusionistic borders. Dieric Bouts died in 1475. His legacy lived on through his sons, Dieric the younger (c. 1448 to 1491) and Albert (1451/55 to 1549), and his grandson Jan Bouts (d. 1551), who also ran workshops.420 It seems likely therefore that whoever painted the miniatures in *The Golden Bathsheba Hours* was familiar with the work of Dieric Bouts and may even have received training within one of the Bouts’ workshops although there is no evidence to suggest these workshops produced miniatures for manuscripts or trained illuminators. However, it is acknowledged that illuminators, such as The Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian and The Master of James IV of Scotland drew inspiration from the work of Dieric Bouts.421 For example, it has been pointed out that *The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus*, folio 53v, in London, British Library, Add. Ms 54782, known as the *London Hastings Hours*, is derived from Dieric Bouts’s altarpiece *The Martyrdom of Saint Erasmus*, the central panel of the *Triptych of Saint Erasmus* (c. 1450 to 1460) (figs. 4.34 and 4.35).422 This altarpiece was also made for Saint Peter’s church in Louvain, where, along with *The Holy Sacrament* altarpiece, it can be seen to this day.423

There are also possible connections between miniatures in *The London Hastings Hours*, and miniatures in *The Golden Bathsheba Hours*. The lion in *Saint Mark*, the cow in *Saint Luke* and

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419 Details of documentation can be found in Périer-D'Ieteren, 2006, pp. 34 and 45.


the donkey in *Flight into Egypt*, folios 21r, 16r and 94r in *The Golden Bathsheba Hours* share characteristically shaped faces and detailing of the lower legs, whether terminating in hooves or paws (figs. 4.36a-c). These characteristics can also be seen in the animals in *The London Hastings Hours*, for example the cow and donkey in *The Nativity* folio 106v, and the lion and donkey in *Saint Jerome* folio 278v (figs. 4.36d-e). *The London Hastings Hours* was illuminated by the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian.424

The idea of an artistic connection with the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian, can be followed up through another manuscript in the Alnwick collection, DNP 482 *The Hours of Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier*.425 The inserted *Lamentation* folio 146v, in *The Charlotte Hours* has some features in common with miniatures in *The Golden Bathsheba Hours* (fig. 4.37). The treatment of the musculature of the body and the facial features of the dead Christ in the *Lamentation* miniature are close to those in *Raising of Lazarus* folio 144v, and *Job on the Dungheap* folio 165v in *The Golden Bathsheba Hours* (figs. 4.38 – 4.39). *The Lamentation* inserted into *The Charlotte Hours*, c. 1478, is thought to have been painted in ‘a style associated’ with the workshop of Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian.426

A final connection between the main group of Bathsheba Hours miniatures and the workshop of Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian comes with the consideration of three of the Job miniatures. *Job the Blessed* folio 161v is the first of four miniatures that illustrate the story of Job but only *Job on the Dungheap* folio 165r and *Job Redeemed* folio 168r appear to have been painted by the same artist as *Job the Blessed*. The face of Job has a soft, round shape with a beard rendered in soft curls. The softer style of Job's face in *Job the Blessed* and other similar male faces in the *Golden Bathsheba Hours*, for example *Presentation at the Temple* folio 90r and *Coronation of the Virgin* folio 104r, gives them a youthful appearance that is similar to *Saint Louis* folio 169r, another miniature inserted into *The Charlotte Hours* (figs. 4.41 and 4.42a-d). Although created several years apart, *Saint Louis* c. 1474 to 1478 and *Job the Blessed* 1500 to 1515, the two faces have several features in common. They are both shaded in grey with pale highlights around the eyes and along the nose, both have a darker line dividing the lower from the upper lip with a darker line under the lower lip. Curly hair is rendered in wispy strokes, although *Saint Louis* appears to have more colours defining his hair, and narrow sloping shoulders. (Narrow sloping shoulders are also a feature of Job in *Job on the Dungheap*). Scot McKendrick attributes *Saint

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426 Backhouse 2002a, p. 82.
Louis to the workshop of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian. 427 Backhouse points out that the large number and varied style of miniatures attributed to the Maximilian Master is 'overdue for reassessment'. 428 In such a reassessment The Golden Bathsheba Hours may well have an important contribution to make, with its coherent group of miniatures and dating evidence based on the calendar.

4.5 The Crucifixion Miniature

The Crucifixion folio 31v, is interesting because it does not conform to the compositional or drawing style of the main body of miniatures (fig. 4.43). The anguished faces of Saint John and the Virgin have very dark outlines on the far side, not generally seen in other miniatures in The Golden Bathsheba Hours. Another interesting feature of the Crucifixion miniature is the colours and composition of the background landscape and shape of the foreground path, which is comparable to the landscapes seen in The Visitation folio 27v, and The Three Living and the Three Dead folio 146v, from DNP MS 485, The Goesin Hours (figs. 4.44-4.45). The Visitation folio 61v, from British Library Add MS 34294, known as The Sforza Hours, commissioned by Margaret of Austria from Gerard Horenbout also has a similar background landscape and path (fig. 4.46). 429 In Chapter 5 it will be argued that the miniatures in The Goesin Hours were produced in the workshop of The Master of James IV of Scotland, generally thought to be Gerard Horenbout of Ghent. The Presentation folio 48v, in The Goesin Hours includes a small scene in the border with an archer and swordsman like the aforementioned miniatures with comparative backgrounds. Looking carefully at the archer it can be seen that he was originally intended to have a skirted costume like the swordsman because the white outlines are still visible, so the figures must have been drawn over the landscape background. This may mean that one artist painted the background while another painted the narrative. Although the composition and colouring of the background is similar to the Horenbout miniatures, the drawing style of the Crucifixion miniature in The Golden Bathsheba Hours seems different. The faces of the figures in the Crucifixion have strong dark outlines with expressions of anguish, and their clothes drape in more tubular folds than are generally seen in the miniatures in The Goesin Hours. This may mean that yet another artists was involved, perhaps one that trained in the Horenbout workshop. Alternatively it may be further evidence that the

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Maximilian Master and Gerard Horenbout were using the same pattern books, a practice that was widespread over a long period of time.430

4.6 The Bathsheba Miniature

This is the first time Bathsheba in *The Golden Bathsheba Hours* is being explored within the corpus of Bathsheba miniatures. The miniature of Bathsheba, folio 120r, is unusual because Bathsheba's pale skin and golden hair are set against a monochrome background (fig. 4.1). The effect is enhanced by the miniature’s remarkable black and gold borders, also found with reverse emphasis on the verso. Two more black and gold text pages can be found on folios 127r and 127v Together with Bathsheba, the black and gold borders ‘bookend’ the Penitential Psalms and appear to have been painted on a single leaf that may have been a special commission.

This section discusses the composition of the miniature and compares it to a related group with similar characteristics. A basic *terminus post quem* can be suggested through the presence of the handmaidens, which are said to have first appeared as part of the iconography of this scene c. 1490. The literature on Bathsheba miniatures suggests that the bathing scene is less often depicted in manuscripts produced in the Southern Netherlands, and the comparative examples discussed here are all from French workshops. Bathsheba in the *Golden Bathsheba Hours* and its black and gold borders may therefore have been commissioned from an illuminator working in France.

The literature on Bathsheba miniatures is dominated by Thomas Kren, Clare Costley and Mónica Ann Walker Vadilo who have all researched Bathsheba miniatures.431 In *The Golden Bathsheba Hours* Bathsheba stands naked in a naturalistic garden pool. Vadilo makes reference to naked Bathsheba's but refers the reader to the work of Kren and Costley.432 However, neither Kren nor Costley include the Golden Bathsheba example in their publications but Roger S. Wieck, in particular, is interested in the corpus of miniatures of the naked Bathsheba that date from the last quarter of the fifteenth century when they first came to prominence and has written extensively on the subject.433

430 Kren and McKendrick, 2003, pp. 5-6.


432 Vadillo, 2013, pp. 11, 12.

Miniatures selected to accompany the Penitential Psalms are usually associated with the story of David and Bathsheba as told in the Second book of Samuel, chapters 11 to 12. The Biblical story relates how David observed Bathsheba bathing and went on to have an adulterous affair with her, sending her husband Uriah off to war, where he was killed. As a result of her adultery with King David, Bathsheba becomes pregnant but when their son dies, David seeks forgiveness for his sins. It is this part of the story that is most commonly portrayed in Books of Hours, particularly in the Southern Netherlands, where a penitent David kneels in prayer to God depicted in the Heavens above. This is a compositional type echoed in *Job Redeemed* in *The Golden Bathsheba Hours* folio 168r, and can be seen in *David at Prayer* in the *London Rothschild Hours* folio 135v. However, in France from the 1480s onwards, there is a distinct shift in the choice of scene for images associated with the Penitential Psalms in Books of Hours, with the emphasis shifting from King David kneeling in repentance, to those that call attention to David’s sin, portraying the moment when the King first caught sight of Uriah’s wife, Bathsheba.

It is this part of the story that Bathsheba, the miniature for the Penitential Psalms in *The Golden Bathsheba Hours*, depicts. The Biblical account says:

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\text{And it came to pass on an eveningtide, that David arose from off his bed, and walked upon the roof of the king's house: and from the roof he saw a woman washing herself; and the woman was very beautiful to look upon.}\]

As Sara Koenig, who writes about Bathsheba in terms of religious texts, observes, there is no mention in the Biblical version as to whether Bathsheba was clothed or not, or whether she was perhaps modestly washing herself under some kind of loose garment. There is no mention either in the Biblical version of David’s courtiers or Bathsheba’s handmaidens that can be seen in the miniature of Bathsheba in *The Golden Bathsheba Hours*.

In the foreground of *The Golden Bathsheba Hours* miniature Bathsheba stands naked in a naturalistic garden pool cut into the turf with small clumps of vegetation scattered about. Her flesh shines luminous against the shades of grey that form the landscape and background buildings.

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436 2 Samuel 11 v.2.

tones of grey may reference the evening light of the narrative. Bathsheba's yellow hair, highlighted with gold, flows down to her thighs where it dips seductively into the water. Round her neck is a golden chain with a circular pendant. Though barely legible the pendant appears to have a head depicted on it. This could be a reminder of Bathsheba's husband Uriah or, more likely, pre-figure her adultery with David as circular coins or tokens often show the head of the king. The middle ground is occupied by the building on the left, where David and his courtiers stand and, to the right, the two handmaidens in the garden. David views Bathsheba from a nearby unglazed window in a ground floor room with a barrel-vaulted ceiling. He leans on his right arm and is turned towards Bathsheba, his gaze purposefully focused on her, which, with her head slightly tilted and her eyes turned to meet his, Bathsheba appears to be aware of. Bathsheba's two handmaidens have the same golden hair and facial type as Bathsheba, with only one visible as a three-quarter length figure, modestly dressed with her arms crossed as she waits. The background of the scene is closed off by another building with facades that are decorated with oval plaques and a scrolling acanthus border, with realistic roofs and chimneys.

The iconography of the naked Bathsheba in The Golden Bathsheba Hours differs significantly from the Biblical story in number of important ways, which appears to have developed over time, gaining the additions of the courtiers and handmaidens and changes in the position of David within the miniature. This will be explored through comparative miniatures.

4.7 Development of the Naked Bathsheba Miniature

Bathsheba’s pose in The Golden Bathsheba miniature belongs to a subset of naked Bathshebas, which Kren defines as having ‘a gentle twist of her torso… revealing her full anatomy’ to the viewer’s gaze as well as that of King David (fig. 4.47). Depictions of this form of a provocatively naked Bathsheba gained in popularity in the late fifteenth century, particularly among the Valois Kings of France, who by the late fifteenth century had moved their court away from Paris to Tours, where the art of miniaturists from Tours gained favour because of their originality and innovations developed from Italian and Southern Netherlandish traditions.

The earliest version of the twisted torso form of the naked Bathsheba is thought to have been produced by the French miniaturist Jean Fouquet of Tours (c. 1420 to c. 1480), who was likely inspired by ancient statues he saw on a visit to Italy. Fouquet’s Bathsheba is now only known through an ‘imperfect copy’ in a Book of Hours dated 1460 to 1470 held at Saint

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440 Kren, 2018, p. 29.
In this miniature Bathsheba turns her head to acknowledge King David, who enters through an open doorway, but her body is largely turned away from him although it is exposed to the viewer’s gaze. The pool in which she stands is round and seemingly dug into the ground just as the pool in *The Golden Bathsheba Hours* is, suggesting the artist of the *Bathsheba in The Golden Bathsheba Hours* may have been acquainted with Fouquet’s version, either the original or through a copy.

Following Fouquet, Bathsheba’s pose was further eroticised by the French miniaturists Jean Colombe (act. Paris c. 1490 to 1510) and Jean Bourdichon (c. 1475 to 1521), but it is Bourdichon’s *Bathsheba* that is most comparable to the Golden Hours *Bathsheba*, posing Bathsheba’s body so that it was exposed to King David as well as the viewer. Jean Bourdichon, like Jean Fouquet was a native of Tours. Bourdichon, court painter to four successive French Kings including Louis XII, produced one of the most provocative versions of a naked Bathsheba, now a loose leaf held in Los Angeles, Getty Museum, Ms 79, (fig. 4.49). This miniature originally opened the Penitential Psalms in *The Hours of Louis XII*, produced 1498 to 1499. *Bathsheba in The Golden Bathsheba Hours* has some features in common with Bourdichon’s *Bathsheba*. In both miniatures Bathsheba takes up a large proportion of the foreground, with her body turned towards the right, catching the King’s eye, but displayed for the viewer. Bathsheba in both miniatures shares similar characteristics, with high and widely spaced breasts and sloping shoulders. The left hand of Bourdichon’s Bathsheba trails in the water away from her body, leaving her pubis displayed for the viewer, while her head is turned to her left. In *The Golden Bathsheba Hours*, Bathsheba’s left hand modestly covers her pubis and her head is turned to the right so that she can eye both the viewer and King David. In both miniatures, Bathsheba stands in a pool where the water is denoted by grey speckled lines, although they were originally silver in Bourdichon’s

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442 Kren, 2018, p. 29.


Bourdichon’s pool is more ornamental with water spouting from a fountain. In Bourdichon’s miniature King David is depicted looking out of an unglazed window, in a building some distance away from Bathsheba, divided from the object of his gaze by the formal gardens laid out between them. There are no courtiers or handmaidens in Bourdichon’s version.

The handmaidens, derived from an apocryphal version of the story, were first depicted in Chantilly, Musée Condé Ms 82, known as The Heures Séguier folio 84r, produced c. 1490 to 1495 and illuminated by the Master of Anne of Brittany (fig. 4.50). Although this miniature introduces the handmaidens, King David has no courtiers and he is not positioned in the way shown in The Golden Bathsheba Hours. However, In the Bathsheba miniature in London, BL, Kings 7, folio 54r, produced c. 1500. King David, leans on his right elbow, is placed within a barrel-roofed building with two courtiers behind him (fig. 4.51). The iconography of King David in this miniature is closer to the Golden Bathsheba but in Kings 7 Bathsheba has no handmaidens and her pool is ornamental. The garden remains in formal rows but has acquired more naturalistic vegetation. The majority of the miniatures in Kings 7, including David and Bathsheba, are painted in the style of Robinet Testard, recorded as working in Tours from 1480 until 1503, with several of his miniatures mirroring the compositions of Jean Poyet. Two large miniatures and the small miniatures in Kings 7 were painted by Jean Pichore (active 1490 to 1521 in Paris), who ‘possessed models of several manuscripts’ by Jean Poyet. It is interesting that both illuminators of Kings 7 knew the work of Jean Poyet, who like Fouquet and Bourdichon are known to have been active in Tours.

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446 Thomas Kren, 2005, p. 44.
450 Ibid.
Morgan Library, M 356, a Book of Hours known as The Hours of Claude Molé, dated c. 1500 to 1505 also includes a naked Bathsheba miniature folio 30v, (fig. 4.52). The artist of this manuscript is known as The Master of Petrarch’s Triumphs (active c. 1490 to 1510 in Paris), whose style is related ‘in a general way’ to Jean Bourdichon and Jean Poyet. Again King David is shown leaning on his right elbow as he ogles Bathsheba from an unglazed window set in an Italianate structure with a barrel-roof. This miniature includes side-scenes of David and Bathsheba in bed and the slaying of Uriah. However, it is the barrel-roofed building and the background buildings with their multi-storeys and illusionistic friezes that share some characteristics with the Golden Bathsheba background buildings. In both miniatures these buildings stretch across the background, which limits the view beyond and establishes three distinct pictorial spaces with Bathsheba in the foreground, David in the middle ground and buildings at the back as can be seen in the Golden Bathsheba. This division of pictorial space, utilised by The Master of Petrarch’s Triumphs, is a feature of Jean Poyet’s ‘mature style’.

The Bathsheba miniature in Morgan Library, MS M.85, folio 72v, produced in Paris c. 1510 to 1520, is compositionally close to that in The Golden Bathsheba Hours, (fig. 4.53). Both MS M.85 and The Golden Bathsheba miniatures show King David leaning on his right elbow with his left arm out over the sill. Behind him stand two courtiers, one behind the other, just as they are in The Golden Bathsheba Hours, although they take up more of the pictorial space and are dressed differently. David in The Golden Bathsheba Hours is the only one of the comparative miniatures where he is shown in court, rather than Royal costume. Similar costumes with an ‘enlarged barret hat’ and a wide black collar that extends down the opening of the gown, appear in The Author Presents His Work to Philip the Handsome, the frontispiece of Paris, BnF, MD fr. 2868, Mémoires by Olivier de la Marche, produced in 1494 or 1495 in Ghent or Bruges, (fig. 4.54). This implies that David, his kingship denoted by a crown, is otherwise dressed in the style of a Burgundian Courtier of the mid 1490s, which would appear to support the notion that the patron, or one of the patrons, of The Golden Bathsheba Hours had connections with the Burgundian Court. Returning to


454 Wieck, 2000, p. 33.


Bathsheba in MS M.85, David and his courtiers are set within a barrel-roofed building that has illusionistic carved roundels, rather than illusionistic carved friezes.

Bathsheba in both M.85 and *The Golden Bathsheba Hours* is accompanied by two handmaidens who stand behind eyeing each other and, like Bathsheba, seem aware that they are being observed. However, in M.85 the handmaidens do not directly meet the gaze of their admirers as they do in *The Golden Bathsheba Hours* where one handmaiden’s glance meets the other, who in turn meets the eyes of the most visible of the King’s courtiers.

The pools in Morgan M.85 and *The Golden Bathsheba Hours* are different but both Bathsheba’s are depicted thigh-deep in water, and both cover their pubis with their left hand. However, the upper right arm of the Morgan Bathsheba is absent and looks anatomically incorrect, while the right arm of the Golden Bathsheba shows the elbow joint and a partially hidden upper arm. The Morgan Bathsheba has flat closed fingers, while those of the Golden Bathsheba are elegantly defined. The drawing style in the Golden version is much looser than the M.85 and the facial types are also different, so it seems unlikely that the two miniatures are by the same artist. The artist of Morgan M.85, who John Plummer named The Master of Morgan 85, has now been identified as Jean Pichore.457 One characteristic of Pichore that is apparent in *The Golden Bathsheba Hours* is the way his foreground plants are drawn in black ink over the ground colour.458 Jean Pichore is thought to have originated in Tours and worked with Jean Bourdichon but was later active in Paris.459 As already remarked, Jean Pichore had copies of Jean Poyet’s miniatures in his possession and Poyet’s closest follower, known as the Pseudo Poyet, went to work with Pichore in Paris after 1503 when Poyet is thought to have died and his workshop closed.460

Another Book of Hours with miniatures by Jean Pichore, is The Morgan, MS M.813. This manuscript contains miniatures that demonstrate the artist was familiar with Poyet’s miniatures in Haarlem, Teylers Museum, MS 78, known as the *The Briçonnet Hours* and dated, 1483 to 1491.461 Although in a different drawing style, Pichore’s *Saint Mark*, in M.813, folio 27v, has a similar composition and colouring to *Saint Mark*, folio 11v, in *The Briçonnet Hours*, (figs. 4.55- 4.56).


Saint Mark in both miniatures holds an inkpot and pencase in his left hand. In the miniatures of Saint John folio 13r, and Saint Matthew folio 18v, in the Golden Bathsheba Hours, Saint John has a similar inkpot and pen-case lying on the ground beside him, and Saint Matthew is being handed an inkpot and pencase by his angel, (figs. 4.57-5.58 and details 4.59a-d). It might therefore be suggested that the artist of Saint John and Saint Matthew in The Golden Bathsheba Hours also knew either Pinchore’s work or Poyet’s Briçonnet Hours but as the comparison between Pinchore’s Bathsheba in Morgan MS.85 and the Golden Bathsheba shows, this does not seem likely. Therefore, could Jean Poyet be the artist of the Golden Bathsheba?

Over his career Poyet displayed a range of changing styles, but characteristic of Poyet’s mature style is a clear set of spacial progressions of fore, middle and background spaces and contraposto figures, with quick brushstrokes visible in his work. These are all attributes that can seen in Bathsheba in the Golden Bathsheba Hours. It is therefore useful to ask if Jean Poyet could also have painted this miniature? Several problems arise when attempting to answer this question. All the comparative miniatures are in colour, whereas the Golden Bathsheba is in a monochrome. Some of the miniatures in The Morgan, MS M.50, known as The Prayer Book of Anne de Bretagne, which was commissioned by Anne of Brittany for her son, and dated 1492 to 1495, were illuminated by Jean Poyet. This manuscript contains several miniatures in monochrome, although none in greyscale like the Golden Bathsheba. Folio 31r in The Prayer Book of Anne de Bretagne depicts The Dauphin, Charles-Orland, at Prayer dressed in white against a monochrome background in shades of golden brown (fig. 4.61. All the miniatures in The Prayer Book of Anne de Bretagne have borders with the letters of ANNE’s name either is a diamond grid, as seen here, or in a chequered grid. From this it can be said that Poyet sometimes painted in monochrome and sometimes included letters in a grid pattern in the borders.

Another problem with suggesting that Poyet painted Bathsheba is the probable date of The Golden Bathsheba Hours, which, on the evidence of the calendar and flower borders, is c. 1500 to 1520. Poyet, who is thought to have died in 1503, may have painted Bathsheba in the last years of his life but there is also the problem that several works have been attributed to Poyet that post-date 1503, a problem that remains unresolved in part because there is no known documented biographical evidence for the artist. Therefore, it cannot be said with any certainty that

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Bathsheba in The Golden Bathsheba Hours was painted by Jean Poyet of Tours, but aspects of his compositional and drawing style suggest that he might have done.

Although many hundreds of Bathsheba miniatures are known, on the evidence of the dating of the manuscripts cited it would seem that the iconography of the naked Bathsheba, as seen in The Golden Bathsheba Hours, accreted over time but all the elements appear to have their roots in Tours.

4.8 Patrons of DNP MS 484 The Golden Bathsheba Hours

There are no obvious coats-of-arms or inscriptions of ownership that might directly identify the patrons of DNP MSS 484. However, an examination of the internal evidence contained within the miniatures, borders, large capitals, calendar, litany and texts enables some conclusions to be drawn and indicate that they were of high status and probably had connections with the Burgundy/Hapsburg court.

Although there is not an overt coat-of-arms in The Golden Bathsheba Hours, there may be an allusion to one in the five-line capital I on folio 19v, which opens the gospel extracts of Saint Matthew. The large letter is white and of an acanthus design set against a blue and golden-yellow diagonal stripe background, and is the only white five-line capital in The Golden Bathsheba Hours (fig. 4.61a). All the other five-line capitals in the manuscript are brown acanthus letters on an orange background (fig. 4.59b). This would suggest that the white capital I was intended to be significant in some way. Assuming the blue and gold design is a potential heraldic device, in the language of blazonry, this would be interpreted as the colouring for a blue shield with diagonal gold stripes or azure a bend or. The bends on the supposed shield would run conventionally from right shoulder across. This is seen in the shield of the Dukes of Burgundy, which also shows a red border or border gules (fig. 4.61c).466 When the red border is absent this is still Burgundian but can indicate a conjunction with Austria.467 A more obvious coat-of-arms appears in The Briçonnet Hours, where the Briçonnet coat-of-arms is painted within the two-line capital C that begins the Saint Mark text, folio 10v, (fig. 4.61d).

Saint Matthew, folio 18v, and its facing text page with the five-line letter I, have matching solid borders filled with lozenges or a diaper pattern (fig. 4.62a-b). Saint Matthew is the only evangelist in the manuscript with double page borders. This would imply that these folios are in some way important. The pattern of lozenges is coloured orange, pale blue-green and pale grey-


467 Neubeker, 1977, p. 233, number 17.
blue, a combination of colours not found elsewhere in the manuscript. The colours may just be a particularly beautiful colour combination. Alternatively they may be related to standard heraldic tints. It is possible that the pale grey is supposed to stand for silver or argent, the orange for tawny or tenne and pale blue for bleu celeste. This could mean that the colours represent someone specific. Codifying one’s identity in colours on shields or clothing worn at tournaments or on the battlefield for example, helped simplify identification, especially from a distance.\footnote{Neubeker, 1977, pp. 23-25.} The chronicler Jehan Haynin recorded that Anthony, bastard son of Philip the Good (1421-1504), used green, yellow and violet as his personal colours.\footnote{Jean de Haynin, 1842, Mémoires de Haynin 1465-1477, R. Chalon ed. (Belges: La Société des Bibliophiles) \textless https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k64681012.texteImage\textgreater p. 114.}

If the lozenge colours in the borders of Saint Matthew are intended to signify someone specific, then this person was of high rank. Armorially speaking lozenges, rather than squares, signify a woman.\footnote{Information on lozenges, Clive Cheeseman, Herald of Arms – CHASE 'Matter of Archive before 1700', 05.05.2017.} The I, it will be argued, may stand for a woman’s name.

Each lozenge has a gold emblem painted into it. This may simply be a motif designed by the artist, but it is also possible that it is intended to be an armorial charge. The motif might be interpreted as some kind of eagle or lily, or even a variation on the ermine. Unfortunately it has not proved possible to positively identify the emblem with its tentative connections to the Burgundian family, or whether, together with the coloured lozenges, they might signify a specific family or person. However, there are other clues within the manuscript that might say something further about the patrons.

The black and gold borders surrounding Bathsheba, folio 120', and those on the text folios 120', 127' and 127'' are very distinctive and quite different from any other borders in the rest of the manuscript. Their prominent use of gold indicates that these borders held special significance for the patron. All four borders consist of alternating black and gold sections. Folios 120' and 127' have a variety of gold coloured grotesques and animals set against black backgrounds, while a pattern made up of the letter L in black, is set against the gold backgrounds (fig. 4.63a). Folios 120' and 127' are reversed, with black grotesques against a gold background and gold letters against a black background, except this time it is the letter I (fig. 4.63b). In the fifteen century I could stand for either I or J in words with modern spelling equivalents. It is possible that the letters L and I/J denote the initials of the patron or patrons. There are several examples of manuscripts that incorporate the initials of their patrons within a border pattern. As already discussed, in The Prayer...
Book of Anne de Bretagne, the borders have the individual letters of Anne’s name, \textit{A N N E}, although the manuscript was commissioned for her son, Charles Orland (1492–1495).\footnote{Image online, \url{http://www.themorgan.org/collection/Anne-De-Bretagne} [Accessed 25.05.2020].}

There is perhaps supporting evidence that the \textit{L} and \textit{I/J} in \textit{The Golden Bathsheba Hours} are the initials of two individuals, rather than one, because what appear to be a man and a woman are concealed within the miniature of \textit{Bathsheba}. In the top right of the joining corners of the fictive tower occupied by King David are two figures sketched in black lines with white highlights on the grey background (fig.4.64). They could represent saints, like those that were often set into walls, but more likely they represent the patrons because they appear to be shown in early sixteenth century costume. Names beginning with the letters \textit{L} and \textit{I/J}, such as Louis and Joanna, were common at the end of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, including King Louis XII of France and his first wife Joan of France, and are therefore not a great deal of help in identifying the specific patrons of \textit{The Golden Bathsheba Hours}. However, it is perhaps possible to conclude that the \textit{L} stood for a man’s name and \textit{I/J} for the woman’s.

The letter \textit{L} occurs in the borders of a provocatively naked \textit{Bathsheba}. The patrons of manuscripts containing such miniatures, where the identity of the patron is known, were usually men, for example in \textit{The Hours of Louis XII} was commissioned by King Louis XII of France.\footnote{Kren, 2005, 43.}

The \textit{I/J} was probably the initial of a woman. \textit{The Visitation} and its facing text page, folios 58' and 59', have matching borders (fig. 4.63a).\footnote{This border has many features in common with the jewelled border surrounding \textit{Saint John of Padua}, folio 579v, in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms lat,199, \textit{The Grimmani Breviary}. The artist is unknown but Alexander Bening, who is often identified as the Master of the first Prayer Book of Maximilian, and Gerard Horenbout contributed miniatures to the manuscript.} In the bottom right corner of the border surrounding the text page there is another possible initial \textit{I/J} (fig. 4.63b). The \textit{Visitation} borders consist of illusionistic jewels alternating with five pearls, arranged in a ‘dice’ pattern. The Illusionistic jewels are mostly flower designs that look as if they have been pinned or sewn onto the illusionistic red brocade background. The exception is the jewel in the lower right corner of the text page. It is shaped like an acanthus letter \textit{I/J}, similar to the design of the five-line capitals, and has a pearl at its centre. Pearls are usually associated with the Virgin Mary, signifying her purity, and can be seen in the border of \textit{The Annunciation}, folio 45v of \textit{The Golden Bathsheba Hours}.\footnote{This border has pearls set in a grid pattern like the border surrounding \textit{The Presentation in the Temple}, folio 514v, of the \textit{Grimmani Breviary} although it has less detail. See Ferrari, Giorgio E. and Mario Salmi, Gian Lorenzo Mellini, 1972, \textit{The Grimani Breviary} (London: Thames and Hudson), Cat. 69.} While the flower-like jewels in the border of \textit{The Visitation} in \textit{The Golden Bathsheba Hours} may not necessarily
indicate a female patron, the subject of the miniature, where both Mary and Elizabeth are pregnant, suggest the I/J ornament denotes a woman's name. This is supported by Saint Anne, the mother of the Virgin Mary, which is marked in gold on 26 July in the calendar.

Saint Anne is a universally celebrated in France on 26 July, which may be indicative that the female patron came from France.\(^\text{475}\) This would also offer an explanation for the French language calendar and also the French style of some of the miniatures in *The Golden Bathsheba Hours*.

*Saint Anne* also features in the miniature of *Joachim and Anne*, folio 111r, (fig. 4.21). The couple stand beneath a lily that cups the Virgin Mary. Tendrils from the lily extend down to join the Virgin to Joachim and Anne in a form reminiscent of *Tree of Jesse* designs, which highlights the relationship between those represented. According to apocryphal writings, the Virgin Mary was the daughter of Joachim and Anne, born to them late in life, after having promised God they would offer the child to Him, if He would grant them a child.\(^\text{476}\) Saints Joachim and Anne are the patron saints of fertility and grandparents, which may imply that the patrons of *The Golden Bathsheba Hours* were in their later years, perhaps longing for a child of their own.

The amount of gold used for *Bathsheba*, together with the black and gold borders that bookend the Seven Penitential Psalms, make them the most expensive miniature and borders in *The Golden Bathsheba Hours* and is probably indicative that they were important to the patrons. Reciting the Seven Penitential Psalms was thought to reduce time in purgatory, both for the dead and for the person reciting them.\(^\text{477}\) If the Hours included in *The Golden Bathsheba Hours* are at all indicative, then there appears to be quite an emphasis on seeking redemption. Besides *Bathsheba* and the Penitential Psalms, there is The Office of the Dead. *Raising of Lazarus*, folio 144v, opens for Vespers with *Placebo*, the most common form of the Office.\(^\text{478}\) There is also a set of four miniatures depicting the life of Job, which illustrate the Readings of Job.\(^\text{479}\) The text following *Job the Blessed*, folio 161v, is Reading I, *Parce mihi*, which is based on Job 7, 16-21 and

\(^{475}\) Wieck, 2017, p. 57.


\(^{478}\) Wieck, 1988, p.166,

‘announce[s]...the imminence of death’ to someone who ‘knows they will soon die’.480 Job Visited by Satan, folio 163v, is, as the same folio reads, Lectio secunda, or Reading II, based on Job 10, 1-7, Taedet animam meam, in which the dying man implores God not to condemn him.481 Job on the Dungheap, folio 165r, is followed by Reading III, Manus Tuae, Job, 8-12. Here the dying man reminds God that he is responsible for all creation and the final salvation.482 Collectively known as The Readings, these texts evolved from ‘the liturgy at the deathbed’ and were sung during ‘the wake of the departed’.483

Praying for redemption was an important part of fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century life. Such an emphasis on redemptive prayers might imply that the patrons were an older couple, contemplating their death and the afterlife. Raising of Lazarus was the subject of choice for the Office of the Dead in the Southern Netherlands, while the Job miniatures and Readings are more commonly found in Books of Hours produced in France. This adds to the theory that one of the patrons of the manuscript came from France and perhaps married someone from the Southern Netherlands, with the couple including references to both cultures in their Book of Hours.

4.9 Conclusion

After examining The Golden Bathsheba Hours, some tentative conclusions have been reached. On the evidence of the calendar and borders with illusionistic flowers on golden yellow the manuscript can be dated to c. 1500 to 1520. However, if Bathsheba was painted by Jean Poyet then the manuscript may have been started before 1503 in Tours. On the probable death of Poyet, members of his workshop dispersed to Paris and Rouen. Perhaps another travelled to Bruges and joined the workshop of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian, which might explain the large figures placed in the foreground, although not necessarily the simplified backgrounds because Poyet’s arranged his backgrounds into three distinct layers, not seen the miniatures that belong to the illusionistic border group. It nevertheless remains that The Golden Bathsheba Hours has some miniatures that appear Southern Netherlandish in style, possibly by the workshop of the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian, thought to have been Alexander Bening, who died in 1519. A contribution by the workshop of Jean Poyet is therefore possible without upsetting the probable production date of 1500 to 1520. The Maximilian Master was based in Bruges. It seems likely that the Calendar as well as the borders were produced in Bruges, especially those borders with flowers on golden yellow grounds. The red velvet binding also indicates that the manuscript was probably bound in

480 Ottensen, 2007, p. 54.
481 Ottensen, 2007, p.54-55.
483 Ottensen, 2007, p.53.
the Southern Netherlands, just like the other Books of Hours in the collection of the First Duchess of Northumberland with their original red-velvet bindings.

Both *Saint Matthew* and *The Visitation* have double spread borders with their facing text pages, which emphasises their importance to the patrons. Both facing folios contain possible clues as to the identity of at least one patron whose may have had connections to the Burgundian-Habsburg Court. It seems likely that one of their names began with the letter *I/J* and perhaps would have been known as Joanna, Jeanne or Anne because *Saint Anne* is marked in gold in the calendar and features in the miniature of *Joachim and Anne*. Possible images of the patrons hidden within the *Bathsheba* miniature may suggest that the manuscript was commissioned by the couple represented. This would be supported by the letters *L* and *I/J* included in the black and gold border which bookend the Penitential Psalms, with the *L* being the initial of the male patron because it appears with the naked Bathsheba. At least one of the patrons may have come from France, possibly Tours given the manuscript’s apparent connection with the town.

The two other miniatures with matching facing borders are, *Job the Blessed* and *Job Visited by Satan*, are traditionally associated with penitence. Together with *Rising of Lazarus*, this would indicated a pre-occupation with lessening time in purgatory, which in the early sixteenth century was a particular concern of those nearing the end of their lives. Perhaps this is why, after the Evangelists, *The Golden Bathsheba Hours* opens with *The Hours of the Cross* and *The Crucifixion*, which is also about death and redemption.
Chapter 5: DNP MS 485  THE GOESIN HOURS

5.1 Introduction

DNP MS 485 is here called The Goesin Hours because tipped into it is an envelope addressed to P. F. de Goesin, boekhandelaar (bookdealer), of Ghent, (fig. 5.1).\textsuperscript{484} The Goesin Hours is previously unpublished, therefore the research questions in this chapter centre round those concerning production and patronage. The Goesin Hours is the only one of the four red velvet Hours mentioned by Martin in his 1872 inventory that also appears in the Musaeum list, handwritten by Elizabeth Seymour Percy, 1\textsuperscript{st} Duchess of Northumberland (fig. 5.2). The First Duchess rightly describes the manuscript as ‘very fine’ because its miniatures are comparable to several of those in some of the most prestigious Books of Hours of the early sixteenth century, including British Library, Add. Ms 34294, known as The Sforza Hours, British Library, Add. Ms 35313, known as The London Rothschild Hours (sometimes referred to as The Hours of Joanna I of Castile\textsuperscript{485}) and Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS Ludwig IX.18, known as The Spinola Hours, specifically those miniatures contributed by the workshop of The Master of James IV of Scotland and Gerard Horenbout, court artist to Margaret of Austria.

There are no coat-of-arms or inscriptions that directly identify the original patron of The Goesin Hours, but two gold capitals have backgrounds of silver tracery that include a pomegranate design. In addition, a kneeling female patron is included in the architectural borders of The Crucifixion, folio 107v. This, together with the mix of Northern and Southern Netherlandish aspects of the manuscript, raises some intriguing questions as to the patron and for what purpose the manuscript was produced.

The Goesin Hours is bound in ‘contemporary or very early red velvet over wooden boards’ with two brass clasps.\textsuperscript{486} The book measures 7¾ x 5½” (19.6 x 14cm) and contains 180 folios. The manuscript is use of Utrecht and ruled to 21 lines throughout. The text is written in Middeleeuwse Nederlands (Medieval Dutch), by at least two scribes, who used different spellings.\textsuperscript{487} There are 13 full-page miniatures that face text pages with matching illusionistic

\textsuperscript{484} See Chapter 2 and the introduction to DNP MS 485 for more information on Goesin the bookdealer.


\textsuperscript{486} Western Illuminated Documents, Alnwick Archive working document, prepared from valuation assessments by Christopher de Hamel, a copy of which was kindly supplied to me by Chris Hunwick, Alnwick Archivist.

\textsuperscript{487} Note: It would take an expert to determine whether the different spelling represents two different dialects or just inconsistent spelling.
borders that are typical of the so-called Ghent-Bruges school. There are no illusionistic borders within the text but 21 folios have pen-decorated borders in the style of the Northern Netherlands.488

The manuscript opens with a Calendar folios 1r-10v, which has no decoration and is continuous with many days unmarked, although March contains instructions for calculating Easter (figs. 5.3a-b). The Gospel Extracts folios 11r-17v, contain 4 small miniatures of the evangelists, Saint John, Saint Luke, Saint Matthew and Saint Mark folios 11r, 12v, 13r and 14v respectively (figs. 5.4a-c). The Hours of the Virgin folios 18r-62v has one miniature for each of the individual Hours, The Annunciation of the Virgin folio 18r, Visitation folio 27r, Nativity folio 33r, Annunciation of the Shepherds folio 40r, Adoration of the Magi folio 44v, Presentation folio 48v, which is the only miniature with a narrative border, Flight into Egypt folio 52v and Coronation of the Virgin folio 58v (figs. 5.5 - 5.12). Pentecost opens the Hours of the Holy Spirit folio 63v, and the Office of the Dead opens with The Trinity folio 87v (figs. 5.13 - 5.14). The Hours of the Cross opens with The Crucifixion folio 107v, while Bathsheba, folio 128v, opens the Penitential Psalms and, finally, The Vigil of Nine Lessons opens with The Three Living and the Three Dead folio 146v (figs. 5.15 - 5.17).

By comparative analysis it will be argued that the miniatures were produced in the workshop of The Master of James IV of Scotland or Gerard Horenbout. There is strong ‘but ultimately circumstantial evidence’ to suggest that The Master of James IV of Scotland and Gerard Horenbout are one and the same, an idea first proposed by Hoolin de Loo and with whom most scholars since have agreed.489

Little is known of the early life of Gerard Horenbout (c. 1465 to c. 1541) but the coat-of-arms designed for his wife's tomb, which was once in a church in Fulham, London, suggests Gerard, son of Willem, came from a noble family.490 The artist is thought to have established a

488 See Appendix 3 And section 5.9.

Note: Here, following convention, the name attributed in the literature will be maintained when discussing any of the individual manuscripts, although it is acknowledged that the workshops of The Master of James IV of Scotland/Gerard Horenbout are probably one and the same.
workshop in the Southern Netherlands towards the end of the fifteenth century. On 27 August 1487 he became a member of the Guild of Saint Luke in Ghent and in 1498 he took on Hannekin van Dijcke as a journeyman. In 1502 Heinric Heinrixzone of Mechelen (Malines), whose uncle was a priest in Utrecht, became Horenbout’s apprentice. In 1503 Gerard Horenbout bought a house on the Drabstraat in Ghent. On 1 April 1515 Margaret of Austria appointed Gerard Horenbout her court painter. She commissioned several different kinds of artwork such as altarpieces, portraits and designs for stained glass windows. In 1517 Horenbout was paid for a Book of Hours. However, The Sforza Hours, paid for in 1519 and 1521, is the only manuscript that can be positively identified with Gerard Horenbout, although, as Lorne Campbell and Susan Foister caution, there is no proof that the artist himself actually painted the sixteen miniatures that Margaret of Austria commissioned. Between October 1528 and April 1531 Gerard Horenbout was being paid as 'paynter' for his service to Henry VIII of England but due to missing records, he may have been at court as early as September 1525 and stayed until February 1538.

At least two of Gerard Horenbout's children, Lucas and Susanna, are known to have been illuminators and moved to England during the 1520s, where they are recorded in the papers of King Henry VIII. Susanna (1503 to 1545) is first recorded in England in 1522 when she was an attendant to Jane Seymour. If Susanna contributed to The Goesin Hours, as will be argued, then this implies that The Goesin Hours was probably finished by 1522.

Comparative studies will first be undertaken to demonstrate that the miniatures in The Goesin Hours can be attributed to the workshop of the Master of James IV of Scotland/Gerard Horenbout. The question of whether it can be suggested that Horenbout himself painted any of the Goesin miniatures will then be examined by comparing miniatures of The Three Living and the Three Dead and The Trinity with miniatures Thomas Kren has identified as being by Gerard Horenbout when he was in England. It will also be asked whether Gerard's daughter Susanna Horenbout might have contributed The Coronation of the Virgin to The Goesin Hours. It will then

491 Campbell and Foister, 1986, p. 719; Horenbout in Ghent also in de Loo, 1939, pp. 3-21.
be asked what information the calendar and Northern pen decorated borders might hold and finally what the internal evidence of the manuscript reveals about the questions of patronage and purpose.

5.2 Production Issues for DNP MS 485, *The Goesin Hours*

Comparative miniatures for eleven of the thirteen full-page miniatures in *The Goesin Hours* can be found in *The Sforza Hours*, commissioned from Gerard Horenbout and/or those miniatures attributed to the workshop of The Master of James IV of Scotland in both *The London Rothschild Hours*, and *The Spinola Hours*. The *London Rothschild Hours* was produced c. 1500, *The Sforza Hours* is dated c. 1510 to 1520 and *The Sforza Hours* was paid for and likely finished by 1521. *The London Rothschild Hours* and *Sforza Hours* manuscripts are thought to have been produced in Ghent, while *The Spinola Hours* is credited with being produced in Ghent or Bruges. Besides The Master of James IV, both *The London Rothschild Hours* and *The Spinola Hours* have miniatures contributed by artists associated with Bruges including The Master of the Dresden Prayer Book and The Master of the first Prayer Book of Maximilian. It therefore seems reasonable to suggest that *The Goesin Hours* was probably produced in Bruges or Ghent sometime in the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

*The Sforza Hours* was originally commissioned from the Italian artist Giovan Pietro Birago for the Duchess Bona Sforza of Milan (d.1503), after whom the Book of Hours is named, but several folios were stolen from Birago and the manuscript was left incomplete. After Margaret of Austria inherited the manuscript she commissioned her court painter Gerard Horenbout to provide sixteen miniatures to replace the missing section, which were paid for between 1517 and 1521. Although, still distinctly Southern Netherlandish in style, Horenbout, or a member of his workshop, seems to have deliberately adjusted his style to fit in with Birago's. The stylistic change becomes problematic and must be borne in mind when comparing the Sforza miniatures with those from *The Goesin Hours*.

*The London Rothschild Hours* is named after Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild (1839 to 1898) who bequeathed it to The British Museum. *The Spinola Hours* is named after Vincenzo

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497 The Master of James IV of Scotland is so called because of this artist's portrait of King James IV in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 1897, known as *The Hours of James IV of Scotland*.


Spinola di San Luca (1752 to 1826) of Genoa, whose arms appear on the bindings. Several artists contributed miniatures to both these manuscripts but only the ones painted in the workshop of The Master of James IV/Gerard Horenbout are comparable to those in The Goesin Hours.

The London Rothschild Hours and Spinola Hours, like The Goesin Hours, have illusionistic borders, mostly architectural or flowers on golden yellow grounds.

5.3 The Miniatures in The Goesin Hours and their Counterparts in the Comparative Manuscripts.

The thirteen miniatures in The Goesin Hours vary in quality but, with the possible exception of Bathsheba folio 128v, all appear to have been produced in the same workshop and are comparable compositionally and stylistically with their counterparts in the The Sforza Hours, The London Rothschild Hours, and The Spinola Hours. The comparative analysis will concentrate on miniatures from the cycle for the Hours of The Virgin, namely The Annunciation, Visitation and Presentation at the Temple.

The Annunciation in three of the four manuscripts shows Mary kneeling on a cushion - in the Sforza manuscript the cushion is cloth of gold - before a prie-dieu. (figs. 5.18-5.21). Gabriel ‘floats’ beside her with the shape of the right leg discernible beneath the Angel’s robes, bent in a fashion that neither kneels or stands. The pose of both Gabriel and the Virgin can also be found in the centre panel of the Triptych of the Annunciation held at Indianapolis Museum of Art, c. 1483 and painted by an artist known as The Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, who was active in Bruges (fig. 5.22). Gabriel in the this panel has a similarly shaped cloak with the green lining revealed, except the Goesin artist has moved the lower portion to the left hand side of Gabriel. Both angels have a large round broach, an item Jan van Eyck often equipped his angels with. The Angel Gabriel, on the closed shutter, and two of the Singing Angels on the open left shutter of the Ghent Altarpiece sport large round broaches (figs. 5.23). The Ghent Altarpiece was completed in 1432 and could be seen in the early sixteenth century at the Church of Saint Bavo in Ghent, the church the Altarpiece was made for. The dove in the Sforza and Rothschild version radiates behind the Virgin’s head, while in the Goesin Hours and the Spinola Hours the background features the interior of an early sixteenth century home, which may be derived from panels, for example, The Annunciation by Hans Memling or Jan de Beer, which both feature tiled floors and interior


furniture (figs. 5.24-5.25). The Goesin Annunciation examples the interchange of artistic ideas between painters and illuminators in early sixteenth century.506

The narrative border of *The Annunciation* in *The Spinola Hours* is of particular interest. The viewer can seemingly follow the angels through the garden, with its open gates, up the steps and through the door, which appears to lead into the interior of the building where the Virgin kneels. Incorporating the borders into the narrative of the Annunciation is a compositional device that will be revisited when discussing *The Visitation* and *Presentation* miniatures. Although the compositions of the four Annunciations differ in detail, the colours and drawing style are sufficiently similar not to dismiss the idea that they were all produced by The Master James IV of Scotland /Gerard Horenbout. This argument is more apparent when discussing *The Visitation*.

*The Visitation* folio 27v, is another Goesin miniature whereby the composition contains elements that can be found in *The Rothschild Hours* folio 76v and also some compositional elements that can only be found in *The Sforza Hours* folio 61r (figs. 5.26-5.28). All three miniatures were probably ultimately derived from Rogier van der Weyden's 1435 Leipzig panel of *The Visitation*, making it unsurprising that compositionally they are all broadly similar (fig. 5.29). Nevertheless, differences are apparent, particularly in the background elements. The Goesin and Sforza versions differ from Van der Weyden's *Visitation* in that the perspective recedes in such a way that the background building is on, or just below, the pictorial line of the figures, rather than seemingly uphill of them. The Rothschild miniature has a Gothic house with an entrance that leads out to the right before a path turns towards the viewer.507 In *The Goesin and Sforza Hours* the building entrance faces the viewer, just as it does in the Van der Weyden panel, although the Sforza building is Italianate rather than Gothic. Van der Weyden's *Visitation* has a flat polder-like background landscape that recedes into the distance. The Rothschild *Visitation* has a background landscape of swans on water with a receding hilly landscape. The Sforza version includes water but has a tall rocky outcrop. *The Goesin Hours* also has a rocky outcrop behind the Virgin.

*The Presentation* in *The Spinola Hours*, is another of The Master of James IV’s creations and has a fictive route from the lower border, up via the steps, through the main temple scene and out to an arched entrance to a related interior scene (fig. 5.33). This kind of compositional device can also be seen in the Goesin *Presentation*, which is the only miniature in this manuscript with a


507 A *Visitation* very similar to the *Rothschild Hours* can be found on folio 99v of Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod.ser. nov, 28844, known as the Austrian *Rothschild Prayer Book*. 
narrative border (fig. 5.30). Via an arched doorway, a jester enters an interior domestic room, which is architecturally related to the temple and seemingly an extension of it. Another arched opening leads outside where two young men, one with a bow and arrow and the other with raised sword, enabling the viewer, like the fictive characters, to pass from the main Presentation scene through the domestic room to the outside. The main difference in the Goesin narrative border is the strawberries and violets painted in the upper borders, which is unusual for these type of borders and begs the question of whether it was created before or after The Spinola Hours. On the one hand the border as a whole in The Goesin Hours is not so fully realised, which might suggest it was the earlier of the two. On the other there is no text within the Goesin miniature, which would suggest it came after as there seems to be a progression of including less and less text within the miniature. 508

The Presentation in all four manuscripts depicts the Virgin presenting the Child to Old Simon who, with bended knees, is holding out his hands to receive the Child, although in the Rothschild, Spinola and Goesin manuscripts the Virgin presents the Child so that he faces Old Simon, while in The Sforza Hours the Child is presented side-on (figs. 5.30-5.33). In all four manuscripts the Virgin, Child and Old Simon are raised on a circular dais set within a semi-circular apse with similarly marbled pillars. The table in The Spinola Hours version, as in the other miniatures is round, but the white cloth is more like a runner and does not cover the whole table. The Goesin Hours, The London Rothschild Hours and The Spinola Hours have putti atop the columns whereas The Sforza Hours columns have an Italianate design that compliments the style of Birago.

Further similarities between the miniatures can be found in the use of colour and colour combinations. The saturated blues and reds balanced with yellow and green or teal can be seen in all four manuscripts. A recognised trait of the Master of James IV is to use colour to 'provide spatial accents in the composition' and to augment the narrative. 509 This effect is apparent in the Goesin Presentation particularly when viewed within the context of its narrative border (fig.5.34). The yellow floor tiles not only take the eye through the pictorial space of the interior of the Presentation scene, they also lead the eye through the border scenes, from the church-like door through which a jester enters, through the room where a couple stand and out through the pillared arch to an outdoor scene. It is not just the tiles that have the effect of extending the main scene into the borders but also the colours. The strong blue and red of Joseph and the Virgin's clothes can be found in the swordsman's attire. The yellow-gold of Old Simon's tabard in the attire of the young man by the red-covered bed and, in the corner of the right border, the archer's shirt, besides of course, in a paler shade, the floor tiles. The archer’s costume is unfinished and should have had a coat to match that


of the swordsman. The white under-drawing is still apparent and reveals that the background was painted first with the figures drawn over the top.

In the Spinola Hours, a similar use of colour is used to connect the side scene with the main event, while the marbled pillars and grey stone tie everything together into a coherent whole. Similarly, the shades of blue grey of the building background in the main scene of the Goesin Presentation has the effect of creating light and space and is echoed in the colour of the walls of the room found in the border. The architectural detail of the round and rectangular windows and the brown-marbled pillar, repeated in the border, also help promote a coherent narrative. This manner of making colours both balance the composition, define spatial depth and augment the narrative concept are recognised traits of the Master of James IV.\(^{510}\)

In the Goesin and the Rothschild versions the background figures are grouped in similar ways. The Spinola and Sforza miniatures are arranged in a slightly different way but all four Presentations include seven figures, which create a sense of pictorial density and depth of space, typical of the The Master of James IV/Horenbout style. In the Rothschild, Spinola and Goesin Presentations the figures have a corresponding range of headgear. Joseph is similarly positioned in the Rothschild and Goesin miniatures and posed holding a staff and a basket with the sacrificial doves. However, in the Goesin version the area around Joseph’s neck is not so well defined and is poorly finished.

The Goesin and Rothschild Presentations have four rectangular stained-glass windows with a circular one in the middle, whereas The Sforza Hours has two rows of windows - a circular set below and a rectangular set above. The Spinola version has square windows in the main scene and arched ones in the side scene. The wall behind the pillars in The Rothschild Hours is plain, but The Goesin Hours has a series of arched insets and in this respect is closer to The Sforza and Spinola Hours. In all four Presentations there is a door in the background through which a Netherlandish townscape can be seen. In The Spinola Hours the door is set in the border scene.\(^{511}\)

If the Virgin is digitally extracted from the Visitation and Presentation in The Rothschild, Goesin and Sforza Hours and placed side by side the similarities in drawing technique can be seen in the drape and fall of Mary's garments (figs. 5.35 a-f). The cloth of Mary’s clothes falls from above shoulder height and is held under the right arm and is bunched at the waist, even when the left hand is not holding the cloth, as in the Goesin Presentation and the Sforza Visitation. There is a


characteristic way of representing the folds in Mary's robes that can be seen in all six versions. Folds are created by delineating the top of the folds with a white, or very pale blue line, while dark lines create the depths of the folds. The material in all six miniatures drapes in a characteristic 'v' formation under the Virgin's right arm. The fold formation is also apparent in the Spinola Presentation but here they have been highlighted in gold in the manner of The Master of Dresden.

If the Virgins' faces are examined more closely it can be seen that all six are oval in shape, with a pale base colour, while the far side is outlined with a dark line, extending under the chin. The nose is also outlined with the nostril marked. The upper lip is wider than the lower one, which is semi-circular in shape. A dark red line separates the lips, with another dark, downward-curving line under the lower lip. The chin is rounded and highlighted in a pale flesh tone. The eyes are large and almond shaped. This is particularly apparent in The Rothschild and Goesin Hours. In all six faces the upper eyelid and under the eye, especially towards the nose, is shaded in a dark colour. The sockets are also shaded above and below the eyes, which have dark round irises. The cheeks are all blushed below the line of the cheek bone. The similarity of modelling technique between all six versions of the Virgin would suggest that the artists of all six were employed by the same workshop and encouraged to paint in a similar style. However, there are subtle differences between the six versions of the Virgin, for example in the colour of Mary's hair or the softness of her face. This may be due to differences in the date of production or the fact that the Sforza miniatures have, to some extent, been painted to fit with Birago's style. However, it would seem that, if not painted by the same hand, the miniatures of all four books were produced in the same workshop. The collective evidence in terms of narrative borders, composition, colour and drawing style therefore supports the theory that the miniatures in The Goesin Hours, like those in the other comparative manuscripts, were probably painted in the workshop of The Master of James IV/ Gerard Horenbout.

5.4 The Hand of Gerard Horenbout

It is well known that Gerard Horenbout ran a workshop but less certain whether he painted any miniatures himself. In Illuminating the Renaissance, Thomas Kren identifies two miniatures from British Library, Royal, Ms 18 D.ii., namely Lydgate and the Pilgrims Departing from Canterbury, folio 148r, and Saint Michael and the Demons folio 161v, which he suggests were executed by Gerard Horenbout during the time he is recorded in England, (figs. 5.36 and 5.37). The question is, are there any miniatures in The Goesin Hours that could have been produced by the same hand, thus distinguishing the Master himself from the rest of the workshop.

In his analysis of the style employed in Lydgate and the Pilgrims Departing from Canterbury Kren focuses on how the pilgrims’ horses are analogous to the ‘drawing, modeling, and

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colouring of the heads of the white horses, the donkey and their trappings' found in *Christ Nailed to the Cross*, folio 12v, in *The Sforza Hours* (fig. 5.38).\(^{513}\) The animals also have a characteristic way of having one eye on the viewer and one eye on the crucifixion scene. A sense of lively animation can also be seen in *The Three Living and the Three Dead*, folio 146v, in *The Goesin Hours*, which, in turn is analogous to the same subject depicted in the lower borders of *The Deathbed Scene* in *The Spinola Hours* folio 184v, and from the *Grimani Breviary*, folio 449v, (figs. 5.49-5.51). Both the Grimani and Spinola versions of *The Three Living and the Three Dead* are attributed to the Horenbout workshop, so it seems possible that the Master painted these miniatures himself too.\(^{514}\) Kren further argues that the face of Saint Michael in *Saint Michael and the Demons* is ‘identical’ to that of the angel in *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, folio 91r, in *The Sforza Hours* (fig. 5.52). If Gerard Horenbout did paint these two miniatures, then it seems likely that he also painted *The Trinity*, folio 87v in *The Goesin Hours* (fig. 5.53). The face of God the Father has similar hair, eyes, mouth and facial colouring. By connecting the Lydgate book, which has a long provenance of English families (including, at one point, Henry Algernon Percy, fifth earl of Northumberland) with *The Sforza Hours*, which was commissioned from Gerard Horenbout it becomes possible to begin separating the Master himself from his workshop colleagues, including his own children.

### 5.5 The Horenbout Workshop and the Hand of Susanna Horenbout

According to Hulin de Loo, Gerard Horenbout had six children.\(^{515}\) Vasari referred to Gerard's son Lucas as an illuminator. No documentary evidence of Lucas has been found in Netherlandish sources, but he was employed at the court of Henry VIII by at least 1525 where he may have done some illumination but seems to have been mostly employed painting miniatures of the Royal Court.\(^{516}\) Karel van Mander asserted that Lucas Horenbout instructed Hans Holbien in the art of miniature portraiture.\(^{517}\) Of Gerard's other sons, Eloy was a painter and cartographer and Jooris (Joos) was known as Master, but whether of painting or some other profession is unknown. There


\[^{515}\] Information regarding Horenbout's children from Loo, 1939, p. 6.


\[^{517}\] Campbell and Foister, 1986, p. 72.
was one daughter and a further child about whom nothing is known. However, Gerard’s daughter Susanna Horenbout may have contributed artistically to *The Goesin Hours.*

Ludovico Guicciardini wrote that Susanna Horenbout was an

‘...and excellent painter, above all in very small works… and superb in the art of illumination.’\(^{518}\)

In May 1521 Albrecht Dürer actually met her in Antwerp. He wrote in his diary:

‘... Master Gerhart [Horenbout] the illuminator, has a daughter, 18 years of age, called Susanna, who illuminated a small panel of the Saviour, for which I gave her 1 gulden. It is remarkable that a woman is able to do such things.’\(^{519}\)

In *The Goesin Hours,* the *Coronation of the Virgin,* folio 58\(^{r}\), is interesting for its seeming immaturities, especially when compared to the *Coronation of the Virgin* in *The Rothschild and Sforza Hours,* folios 124\(^{r}\) and 120\(^{r}\) respectively (figs. 5.54-5.56). While the composition in *The Goesin Hours* is more like *The Rothschild Hours* version, the drawing style is different, not only to the Rothschild manuscript, but to most other miniatures within *The Goesin Hours.* The female faces are a bit rounder of cheek and chin, especially those of the angels. Hair is rendered in squiggly lines to represent spiral curls or ringlets, rather than darker or lighter, often straight lines, over a base colour, which is the more usual workshop manner.\(^{520}\) The colour combinations in the Goesin *Coronation* are also different. God the Father and Son are attired in orange and dark pink, a combination repeated in lighter shades in the garments of the angels to the left of the picture. The colours of this miniature are very intense with a more limited palette - predominantly saturated blue, orange and red, with some teal - while both the Rothschild and the Sforza versions exhibit a whole rainbow of colours and shades. Folds in the drapery of the Goesin *Coronation,* although modelled in the workshop manner with a lighter shade on the top and a darker shade to indicate the depths of the folds, are more tubular in design, which is especially apparent in the angels' robes. The faces of God the Father and Son are much less sophisticated than the versions in the *Rothschild* and *Sforza Hours,* the latter being the most carefully finished of the three. The Goesin *Coronation* follows the workshop rules in that males have more ruddy faces with bigger noses, but the eyes are rounder and the hair shorter and curlier. However, the shoulders are less defined and more sloping, while the Holy crowns have gained an extra layer and the angel playing the lute has five fingers and one thumb.

\(^{518}\) Kren and McKendrick, 2003, p. 37


\(^{520}\) Note: The Virgin in the Goesin *Nativity* also has a rounder face and 'squiggly' ringlet hair.
Although far more accomplished in style, the orange and pink combination, tubular folds, and intensity of colour can be found in two of the Horenbout miniatures in the *Sforza Hours*. The Horenbout colours in the *Sforza Hours* are perhaps deliberately intense to match Birago’s work but the colours in *Virgin and Child in Glory* folio 133v, are particularly intense with a very limited, yet effective palette of blue, yellow and orange-brown (fig. 5.57). In another Sforza miniature, the *Virgin and Child* folio 177v, the background musical angels are clothed in robes with tubular folds and the angels’ wings are drawn and coloured in a similar way to the musical angels in the Goesin *Coronation of the Virgin* (fig. 5.58).

Janet Backhouse and Thomas Kren tentatively suggest Susanna Horenbout may have painted the two Sforza miniatures in question.\(^\text{521}\) If she did, she may also have painted the *Coronation of the Virgin* in *The Goesin Hours* but because the Goesin miniature seems more immature it was possibly painted earlier than the *Sforza Hours*. Dürer wrote that in 1521 Susanna was 18 years old. If *The Goesin Hours* was produced earlier than 1521 and Susanna did paint the *Coronation of the Virgin* then it is understandable that this miniature appears somewhat less sophisticated.\(^\text{522}\)

### 5.6 The Calendar

*The Goesin Hours* calendar is interesting both for what it contains and for what it does does not. *The London Rothschild Hours* and *The Spinola Hours* contain full calendars written in Latin with beautiful vignettes of the agricultural year and signs of the zodiac painted by The Master of James IV/ Gerard Horenbout. In contrast *The Goesin Hours* has no painting at all. It is also continuous, that is one month carries straight on from another without starting a new page so that, for example, two pages include the end of August the month of September and the beginning of October. It is not a full calendar, there not being an entry for every day. The red-letter days are mostly universally celebrated days. The only exceptions to this are saint days for the cities of Utrecht - 14 Jan Pontian, 12 May Pancras, 12 June Odulph, 25 June Translation of Lubuinus, 4 July translation of Martin, 7 November Willibrord bishop and 12 November Lebuinus are all feast days specific to Utrecht and all are written in red.\(^\text{523}\) This would normally indicate that the manuscript was made for use in Utrecht. The miniatures however, were probably painted in the workshop of Gerard Horenbout, who lived in Ghent, and the illusionistic flower borders on golden-yellow grounds, are indicative of

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\(^{523}\) Anne Korteweg, 2013, ‘Books of Hours from the Northern Netherlands Reconsidered: The uses of Windshiem and Geert Grote’s Role as a Translator’ in *Books of Hours Reconsidered*, Sandra Hindman and James Marrow eds. (Belgium: Brepols), p. 238.
the Southern Netherlands, yet the manuscript, like the calendar, is written in Dutch, with some twenty-one pen-decorated borders in the style of the Northern Netherlands.

Between 17 March, Gheertruid iõcfr (Gertrude virgin) marked in red and 18 March, which has no saint day marked, The Goesin Hours has an inscription (figs. 5.60a-c). The language is archaic but it is an instruction for using the perpetual calendar to calculate when Easter lies. It occurs at the top of folio 5r and might be placed at the top of the page for a number of reasons - it is the first full page for March and includes 22 March, which is the earliest date on which Easter could fall, or it might simply be for aesthetic reasons. However, if the placing of the instructions is deliberate, then Easter Sunday would fall three weeks from either the 17 or 18 March, which would be 7 or 8 April. Easter Sunday did not fall on 7 April at all between 1506, and 1558, but Easter Sunday did fall on 8 April in 1509, 1515 and 1520, but perhaps only 1520, or possibly 1515, is feasible if Susanna Horenbout painted The Crowning of the Virgin. A production date of 1515 to 1520 for the miniatures would seem a reasonable assumption based on the dates of the comparative manuscripts.

5.7 Text Pages and Pen-Decorated Borders

Twenty-one text pages in *The Goesin Hours* have pen-decorated borders in a style usually associated with the Northern Netherlands. All these borders fall in the second half of the manuscript, specifically every hour in the *Hours of Holy Spirit, Office of the Dead* and *Hours of the Cross* and one in the *Vigil of Nine Lessons*. These prayers all open with a miniature, but thereafter the pen-decoration, which bookmark the individual hours and prayers, is always in the left margin whether recto or verso, and sometimes extends across the lower margin, for example folios 81v and 94r, with the occasional foray into the upper margin. Each design is different but they were clearly produced as a set. All the designs are mapped out in a fine red pen-line and have gold *sterretjes* (gold circles with radiating lines) dispersed throughout the design. Some examples have had green and orange added, for example folio 78v, while others also have blue, folio 94r (figs. 5.61-5.63). The final six pen-decorated borders have been left with just their red outlines and gold circles, for example folio 123v (fig. 5.64). This is probably because they are unfinished, but they are nevertheless attractive. Most of the designs are abstract but the vine-leaf and grape design on folio 77v is naturalistic (fig. 5.65).

524 Note: Before 1582, when the Gregorian calendar was introduced, the Julian calendar was used. For calculating Easter see Kelley L. Ross, 2020, ‘The determination of Easter on both the Gregorian and Julian calendars’ <http://www.friesian.com/easter.htm> [21.08.2020], for sixteenth century Easter dates (Julian) see Chris Philips, N.d, ‘A Medieval English Calendar’ Sixteenth century <http://www.medievalgenealogy.org.uk/cal/key16.htm> [Accessed 21.08.2020].

525 Re pen-decoration: See Appendix 3 for specific folios.
A design similar to the pen-decorated borders in The Goesin Hours is Den Haag, KB 130 E 4, folio 92v, which is a simple line drawing design that includes motifs that originate in Utrecht and South Holland (fig. 5.66). The Goesin Hours also contains motifs that originate in Utrecht and South Holland. A *kroon* (crown) motif drawn in red occurs on folio 123 v, while a coloured version can be seen on folio 70v (figs. 5.67 a-c). A *radijsje* (radish) motif occurs on folio 123 v (figs. 5.68 a-c). Both the *kroon* and *radijsje* motifs have been localised to Utrecht 1425 to 1500 but the *radijsje* motif can also be seen in manuscripts from South Holland. Localisation of pen-decorated borders becomes more problematic after 1500 when pen-decorated borders began to exhibit signs of mixed heritage. The Goesin Hours probably dates from around 1515 to 1520. It is very unusual to find pen-decorated borders from this time in Books of Hours from the Northern Netherlands let alone those from the Southern Netherlands so perhaps the text pre-dates the miniatures, or it might have been a deliberate choice on the part of the patron.

It might be argued that the miniatures were simply added to a Book of Hours that was written in the Northern Netherlands, with the miniatures added at a later date as a second commission. However, this does not explain why there are no Northern borders at the Beginning of any of the Hours or why the miniatures and facing text pages have matching Southern illusionistic borders. It is perhaps more likely that the mix of North and South was a deliberate choice and the book was planned as a whole.

### 5.8 Bathsheba in The Goesin Hours.

*Bathsheba* folio 128v appears to be by a different hand to most of the miniatures in The Goesin Hours (fig. 5.69). It is not particularly well drawn but worth examination because of the way Bathsheba holds her hair. Bathsheba stands naked in a pool with her two handmaidens in attendance, who are dressed in Burgundian Gowns, a style of dress that can be seen in New York, The Morgan Library, Ms M.659 *The Virgin and Christ and Female Saints*, a miniature c. 1500 (fig. 5.70). The miniature is by Gerard David (1460 to 1523) who lived in Bruges and contributed to manuscripts produced for members of the Hapsburg Court and is known to have influenced contemporary miniaturists as well as those that followed him. The faces of the handmaidens and Bathsheba may also been informed by David’s work but are probably not in his hand.


Bathsheba is not particularly well drawn but worth examination because of the way she holds her hair. Bathsheba is rather stiffly posed, facing forwards with her arm positioned rigidly across her chest. The scarf, which covers her head, falls behind her left shoulder and is draped round her thighs and held with her left hand to shield her pubic area. Although the Goesin Bathsheba is far more rigid, the pose and fall of the scarf call to mind Botticelli’s *Birth of Venus* (1485), held in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence (figs. 5.71 a-c). This is especially apparent in the way Venus’s hair falls and is held in her left hand to maintain her modesty. The Goesin artist may have travelled to Florence and seen Botticelli’s *Venus*. Another possibility is that the artist was familiar with the work of Sandro Botticelli through the Netherlandish tapestry industry for which Botticelli, or his workshop, is known to have provided cartoons. Whether this included a cartoon for *Venus* is not known, but both a Botticelli cartoon and its corresponding Netherlandish tapestry survive of *Minerva*, c. 1491 and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, also has a corresponding drawing attributed to Botticelli (figs. 5.72-5.74).  

It therefore seems likely that by the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the miniaturists of *The Goesin Hours* were not only drawing their inspiration from panel paintings produced in the Southern Netherlands, but were also influenced by Italian panel painting and possibly by tapestry or their corresponding cartoons from Brussels that were designed in Italy. The presence of a naked *Bathsheba* in a Books of Hours from the Southern Netherlands also suggests that the iconography of this image had migrated from Books of Hours produced in France, discussed in chapter 4.

5.9 **The Influence of the Patron within *The Goesin Hours***

Gerard Horenbout, appointed court painter to Margaret of Austria in 1515, was one of the finest illuminators of his day. That Horenbout painted for royalty and other eminent families, implies that the patron of *The Goesin Hours* may also have belonged to the upper echelons of society and may even have been Margaret of Austria herself. Margaret of Austria (1480 to 1530) became Regent of the Burgundian-Hapsburg Netherlands in 1507, acting on behalf of her seven year old nephew Charles, later Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, who was also in her care. Margaret was an active patron of the arts and had an extensive collection of illuminated manuscripts. The question is in what ways does this manifest itself within the manuscript.


531 De Hamel, 2018, lists the ‘family’ of manuscripts, including *The Sforza and Spinola Hours*, that include miniatures by The Master of James IV/ Gerard Horenbout that were all made for the ‘rulers of Europe’, p. 452.


533 Ibid. p. 225
The Presentation, folio 48v, is singular in that it is the only miniature in The Goesin Hours whereby the narrative extends into the border, which together with the quality of the painting, would suggest that it held special meaning for the patron. Significantly, the architectural borders of the facing text page, folio 49v, have a dark burgundy red background, which when seen in the original, is quite distinct from any other colour used in the manuscript (fig. 5.75)\textsuperscript{534} This colour denotes high status and was used by royalty and the Dukes of Burgundy.

The Presentation in The Sforza Hours depicts the traditional biblical scene of Mary and Joseph presenting the Christ Child at the temple. The door at the back of the church-like building leads out into a distinctly Flemish townscape with a belfry tower, which De Hamel argues ‘looks like that of Bruges.’ I think that the building in The Goesin Hours background townscape might even represent the tower of the Church of Our Lady in Bruges where Charles the Bold and Mary of Burgundy are buried. The houses in front of the tower are similarly placed (figs. 5.76 a-b).

The scene in the lower border of The Presentation in The Goesin Hours depicts a young couple dressed in early sixteenth century, rather than biblical garb. A jester enters the room through the door at the back. The jester appears to have a crown of thorns on his head, which symbolises marriage, just as it does in A Wedding Procession, the miniature for April in Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. lat. I 99, The Grimani Breviary, folio 4v, also painted by the Master of James IV/Gerard Horenbout.\textsuperscript{535} In the Goesin miniature, the jester appears to be sprinkling his magic over the red draped bed, perhaps imbuing the couple with fertility in the hope that they too will soon be presenting a child at the temple.

The iconography in the architectural border of the facing text page reinforces that of the miniature and its borders. Illusionistic statues of Adam and Eve, the original sinners and, biblically speaking, founders of humanity, are found in the left border and equate to the young couple in the narrative borders. The wider right hand border of folio 49v has the Virgin and Child \textit{en sole} at the top, while below are two cherubs, one of which, like cupid, is firing an arrow from his bow, which parallels the jester and his magic in the borders.

The iconography of the double page spread of The Presentation, whether in biblical, secular or mythical form, all has to do with fertility, leading to procreation. If, as appears, this was particularly important to the patron then it seems reasonable to suggest that the patron was young enough to have hopes of continuing the family line. Since the lower right corner of The Presentation depicts two young men engaged in the manly pursuits of nobility, archery and

\textsuperscript{534} Note: This is more apparent in the original than the photograph.

\textsuperscript{535} Kren and McKendrick, 2003, pp. 420-421; Illustration, Ferrari, 1972, plate 7
swordsmanship, and whose clothing emphasises their sexual prowess, then perhaps The Goesin Hours was produced for a young man. Given the burgundy colour background of the facing text page, it might further be concluded that The Goesin Hours was intended for a young nobleman.

There is no coat-of-arms in The Goesin Hours but the large capitals on folios 34r and 108r may hold clues as to who this young nobleman might have been. With the exception of the large capital opposite the Presentation, which is a special page, most of the large capitals are acanthus leaf designs of various colours, painted on a contrasting background and decorated with one or two flowers. However, the large nine-line G on folio 34r, facing The Nativity, and the even larger twelve-line H on folio 108r, facing The Crucifixion are different (figs. 5.77-5.78 a-b). Both these letters are of a calligraphic design rather than acanthus leaf and, most significantly, painted with gold. The backgrounds to both these letters are deep blue with a tracery design that looks somewhat grey, but is most likely tarnished silver. The extra expense for these the letters may be because they open The Hours of the Virgin and The Hours of the Cross, the two most important Hours in any Book of Hours. However, in the light of the background tower that resembles of The Church of Our Lady and its connotations of Charles the Bold and Mary of Burgundy, it tempting to consider that the gold letter on blue background as, in heraldic terms, azure and or, the colours of the Burgundian Netherlands. The silver tracery design has a pomegranate at its centre. Symbolically, the pomegranate relates to the classical myth of Persephone and is appropriate for both The Nativity and Crucifixion because it represents the continuation of life, fertility and regeneration, a theme already encountered in The Presentation and its facing text page. This may be all that the pomegranate design infers. However, it is worth remembering that a pomegranate is an armorial symbol used by Charles V of Spain, Holy Roman Emperor who was also ruler of the Habsburg/Burgundian Netherlands from 1506 until his abdication in 1555 (fig.5.79).536

The problem is if The Goesin Hours was made for a young nobleman, or even Charles V, why is it comparatively less luxurious than its comparative counterparts? The Rothschild and Spinola manuscripts have larger folios, many more miniatures and texts and a more elaborate calendar than The Goesin Hours. The Rothschild manuscript has pairs of miniatures opening the Hours, one from the Old and one from the New Testament and has illusionistic flowers on golden grounds bordering the length of the text on every page. The Goesin Hours only has illusionistic borders on text pages that face the miniatures yet the miniatures themselves, in particular The Presentation, are of high quality and the facing text page has a burgundy background, which


indicates someone of high nobility. Might there be a reason for this disparity? An equivalent example might be Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale France, MS, lat. 9474, the *Grande Heures* produced for Anne of Brittany, painted by Jan Bourdichon court painter to successive French Kings, and the much smaller but still impressive New York, Morgan Library, MS M.50, the Prayer Book of Anne de Bretagne, painted by Jean Poyet, which Anne commissioned for her young son Charles-Orland to learn to read his prayers.\(^{537}\) Might *The Goesin Hours* also have been produced as a primer?

### 5.10 *The Goesin Hours as a Primer*

A primer is an alternative name given to Books of Hours, but sometimes refers more specifically to those that were used to teach people to read, often children.\(^{538}\) *The Goesin Hours* was certainly read, and by someone wealthy enough to read by candlelight because the residue leaves its grime on the modern viewer's hands. In addition, the original readers have left their marks in the form of numerous thumb and fingerprints. On folio 20, at the beginning of the Hours of the Virgin, a thumbprint measuring approximately 18 by 33 millimetres has been left in the margin. At the edges of both top corners to the opening of The Hours of the Cross, folios 107 and 108, thumbprints can again be seen, but this time one on top of the other, which implies the book must have been read multiple times (fig.5.78a). The interesting thing is that these thumbprints are upside down, as if they were holding the manuscript open for someone else to read. The size of the thumbprints indicates that the holder of the book was likely a man.

There are also smaller fingerprints on the opening pages of the Hours of the Cross, which indicates a woman or child. The prints, small and large, are all in the same strange greasy, orangey-pink colour, suggesting they were all made within the same time-frame. The person who made the smaller prints appears to have been reading from the front of the book as these prints are the right way up, which might imply that this person was being taught to read the book, rather than having it read to them. Whether the reader and the patron were one and the same is difficult to say but the upside-down thumbprints would seem to indicate that the patron was wealthy enough to pay someone to hold the book for them.

### 5.11 *Did The Goesin Hours have a Female Patron?*

So far the internal evidence of *The Goesin Hours* has been used to suggest its significance to a young nobleman. Despite this, it is possible that the manuscript contains an image of a female patron. The architectural borders surrounding *The Crucifixion* and its facing text page may hold a

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537 De Hamel, 2000, p. 24

clue. The Virgin Mary stands in *The Crucifixion* border, while opposite in her in the border of the text page, the one with a gold initial H on a blue background with pomegranate tracery, a woman can be seen kneeling in prayer (figs. 5.78c-d). Both figures are coloured as if part of the Gothic columns of a carved altarpiece. By convention, the kneeling woman can be interpreted as being the patron. She is wearing an early sixteenth-century square-necked dress with sleeves and headwear similar to that seen in a small devotional diptych *Margaret of Austria* held at the Museum voor Schone Kunsten in Ghent, which features the Virgin in one panel and Margaret of Austria kneeling in prayer in the other (fig. 5.80). The diptych was painted by the Master of 1499 in around 1504.\(^{539}\) It is not possible to definitively conclude that the patron kneeling in the border of folio 108\(^r\) in *The Goesin Hours* represents Margaret of Austria because the drawing is not well enough defined. However, it is definitely a woman so why is she shown in the borders that open the Hours of the Cross, opposite *The Crucifixion?* De Hamel points out that it was men who, at this time, were encouraged to contemplate *The Crucifixion*, while women were supposed to contemplate the life of the Virgin.\(^{540}\) That Horenbout understood this is demonstrated in his portraits of Lievan van Pottlesberge and his wife Lavina van Stellan, held at the Museum voor Schone Kunsten in Ghent, who are both depicted kneeling in prayer before an illuminated Book of Hours (fig. 5.81a). The bottom of the threes crosses of the crucified are discernable, showing Lievan’s book is open at *The Crucifixion*, while Lavina’s is open at a miniature of the *Virgin en Sole* (fig. 5.81b). It is interesting that both fictive books have illusionistic flower borders in the Ghent-Bruges style.

As already discussed, the opening of the Hours of the Cross with *The Crucifixion* in *The Goesin Hours* contains finger and thumbs prints indicating its repeated reading and, in keeping with the conventions of the time, the reader would be male. The kneeling patron appears to have been female and is contemplating the Virgin in the opposite border. Perhaps this is intended to demonstrate that *The Goesin Hours* was commissioned by a woman for a young man to read. The young man could have been her son, or as in the case of Margaret of Austria, her nephew and godson Charles V who was under her care.

### 5.12 The Significance of the Red Velvet Binding and the Two Brass Clasps.

While it is not possible to confirm the theory that Margaret of Austria was the patron, the red velvet binding of *The Goesin Hours*, and tits two brass clasps, which may well be original, do not

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\(^{540}\) De Hamel, 2018, p. 527.
contradict this theory (fig. 5.82). Since The Goesin Hours was likely produced in the workshop of Gerard Horenbout, court painter to Margaret of Austria, it is interesting to examine the 1523 to 1524 inventory of her books. De Hamel argues that The Spinola Hours may be included among the inventory of the household of Margaret of Austria and may even be the book she is shown reading in the diptych Margaret of Austria. It is listed as item no. 367 and described as:

Premier, une riche heure en parchemin, bien historiee et enlumynee, couvertes de satin noir, clouant a deux fermiletz d’or, escriptes a la main.

In the Library inventory several more Books of Hours are recorded. They have covers of various colours including green, black and violet. There is just one Book of Hours, item no. 62, that might fit the description of The Goesin Hours:

Item, une aultre petites heures, couvertes de velours cramaisy, avec cloans de leston.

Item, another small [book of] hours, covered with crimson velvet, with brass clasps.

When compared with The Spinola Hours, The Goesin Hours is a small Book of Hours. It also has a red or crimson velvet cover with brass clasps, rather than the more usual silver or gold. (It is worth noting that of all the manuscripts by The Master of James IV/Gerard Horenbout featured in Illuminating the Renaissance, not one has a red or crimson binding with brass clasps.) It is not possible to conclude that The Goesin Hours can be identified with item no. 62, but it can be said that among all the Books of Hours in the 1524 inventory of Margaret of Austria, there is only one Book of Hours with a red velvet binding and brass clasps. In 1530 item no. 62 was passed to Mary of Hungary (1505 to 1558). The book is again mentioned in an inventory of 1556, but is n’apparaît plus (not apparent) in the inventory of 1569. If The Goesin Hours, can be identified

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541 *Western Illuminated Manuscripts* is an Alnwick archive working document, which the archivist, Christopher Hunwick informed me, comprises information supplied by Christopher Hamel.


543 De Hamel, 2018, pp. 358-359.


545 Debae, 1995, p. 91.


547 Debae, 1995, p. 91.
with the Book of Hours in Margaret of Austria’s 1424 inventory, what is the significance of the Dutch language?

5.13 Dutch Language and Northern Pen-Decorated Borders

The Goesin Hours is written in Dutch. In 1511 it was decreed by the pope that all Books of Hours written for women should be written in the vernacular, which would indicate The Goesin Hours was made for a woman. However, if the manuscript was made for someone associated with the Burgundian/Habsburg court, or someone else from the uppers ranks of society, why Dutch and not French? The mix of Southern illusionistic flower borders and pen-decorated borders in the Northern style is another puzzle for a manuscript that has every indication that its miniatures were produced in the Horenbout workshop, which was in Ghent. The patron may have come from the Northern Netherlands rather than the South. Alternatively, the Dutch language may indicate a political motive. One of the complaints levelled against the ruling classes at this time was that they did not speak Dutch and could not communicate with the general populace.548 Perhaps Margaret of Austria commissioned the book to learn Dutch herself or perhaps for a child in her care to learn the language, which would explain the small fingerprints. It is known that her nephew Charles started to learn Dutch in 1513 under the tutelage of Adriaan of Utrecht.549

The Goesin Hours has a Utrecht calendar and Sancte adriaen (Saint Adrian) is included in the Litany. In 1506 Margaret of Austria appointed Adrian Bishop of Utrecht, born Adriaan Florensz Boeyens (1459 to 1523), as her personal advisor [In 1522 Adrian would be made Pope Adrian IV].550 In 1507 Maximilian, widower of the deceased Mary of Burgundy, appointed Adrian to tutor his grandson Charles.551 If Adrian's appointment to the Hapsburg Court is the reason Saint Adrian is included in the Litany and the fact that the manuscript was so clearly read, then this increases the possibility that Margaret of Austria did commission The Goesin Hours. If the burgundy colour on folio 49r and the pomegranate design are significant, then it is possible Margaret of Austria commissioned The Goesin Hours for her nephew Charles to learn Dutch in readiness for him to take his place as ruler of the Burgundian/Hapsburg empire, which included territories in the Northern Netherlands. If the patron was Margaret of Austria, it would have been relatively easy for her to commission a manuscript written in Dutch but with miniatures by Gerard Horenbout for both the Bishop of Utrecht and the artist were in her employ.

548 Peter Geyl, 1948 [MCMXLVIII], Geschiedenenis van de Nedelandse Stam, Deel 1(Tot 1648), Amsterdam and Antwerp, Herziene), p. 163.

549 Ibid. p. 162.


551 Ibid.
5.14 Conclusion

By comparative analysis it has been shown that *The Goesin Hours* was likely produced around 1510 to 1520 and painted in the workshop of The Master of James IV, who is thought to be Gerard Horenbout, court painter to Margaret of Austria. Following the argument of Thomas Kren regarding Horenbout’s miniatures while working in the court of Henry VIII of England, it is possible that *The Three Living and the Three Dead* and *The Trinity in The Goesin Hours* were painted by Gerard Horenbout himself. His daughter Susanna may possibly have painted *The Crowning of the Virgin* because of its drawing style and the intense, but restricted, colour palette, which is like that found in two miniatures in *The Sforza Hours* tentatively attributed to Susanna by Kren and Janet Backhouse.

The Dutch Language, use of Utrecht calendar and pen-decorated borders in the Northern Style indicate production in the Northern Netherlands, while the miniatures and Southern Netherlands borders indicate the manuscript was finished in Ghent. This combination of the two regional styles may have been a deliberate integrated choice by the patron and not indicative of two independent commissions because the miniatures have facing texts with matching borders at the opening of each of the Hours, while the pen-decorated borders bookmark the divisions of the Hours.

There are no obvious arms that might positively identify the patron but internal evidence, such as the expense of the painting given the status of the miniaturist, and the iconography of *Presentation at the Temple*, indicate that the book was produced for a young nobleman. There are further, more tentative, clues that suggest that this young nobleman could have been Charles V, who became Holy Roman Emperor, and that the manuscript was commissioned by Margaret of Austria as a primer for him to learn Dutch, the language in which *The Goesin Hours* is written. Finally, if the red velvet binding and two brass clasps are original then the manuscript may possibly be identified with Item no. 62 in the 1524 inventory of Margaret of Austria.
Chapter 6: THE ALNWICK HOURS IN THE SIXTEENTH AND EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES THROUGH TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

6.1 Introduction

The first part of this chapter investigates the sixteenth-century signatures and diary inscriptions that have been added to DNP MS 482, *The Hours of Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier*. Both Janet Backhouse and Thomas Kren list the signatures in *The Charlotte Hours*. Here the historical importance of the sixteenth century signatures will be investigated because they have significant implications for dating the start of the uprisings of the Dutch Revolt (fig. 6.1). They also help trace the provenance of the manuscript.

The inscriptions in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* will also be investigated. By the mid sixteenth century and into the early seventeenth century *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* had become a repository for family history. This history is interesting for two reasons. The first is because it charts the provenance of the manuscript and the fate of one line of descendants of Willemijne van Zonnevelt, whose inscription of ownership appears on folio 191v. Secondly, the nearly 2,000 words inscribed into the calendar record the family's support for the Spanish Kings during the political upheavals and early years of the Dutch Revolt, albeit in a more personal way and from the opposite side of the religious divide to that found in *The Charlotte Hours* (fig. 6.2).

Within the wider historical context of the sixteenth century, the inscriptions in *The Charlotte Hours* are perhaps the more important. During the mid sixteenth century a mysterious drawing and a number of signatures and inscriptions were added to the manuscript. Some of the inscriptions have been deliberately washed out. Significantly, several of the signatures and inscriptions that remain legible are dated 1555. The mysterious drawing adjacent to these signatures, which is undated, was not necessarily added at the same time but the colour of the ink, which matches the second signature, strongly suggests that it was. 1555 was the year Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor abdicated as ruler of The Netherlands, handing over power to his son Philip II of Spain. Dutch nobles did not accept the growing absolutism of Philip’s rule. They were more used to a tradition of negotiating constitutional changes by individual town and province and were

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553 For full transcription of inscriptions in *The van Zonnevelt Hours* see Appendix ?

not happy to give up these rights. The nobles also objected to rising taxes to pay for the wars against France and religious changes and the reorganisation of the bishoprics that was imposed in 1559.

Close investigation reveals that the 1555 signatures, together with the drawing, not only pertain to the provenance of The Charlotte Hours, but also give credence to what H. E. Koenigsberger refers to as the 'legend' that William of Nassau, later William I of Orange, began plotting the uprisings against Philip II of Spain as soon as his father Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor abdicated in 1555. Jonathan I. Israel claims there were 'hints of discord' between William and Philip in 1555 but that it did not erupt until 1561. The Dutch noblemen’s discontent with Spanish rule led to the Dutch Revolt through to the Eighty Years War (1568 - 1668) and, ultimately, the formation of the Dutch Republic and freedom from Spanish rule.

The Dutch noblemen’s discontent with Spanish rule led to the Dutch Revolt through to the Eighty Years War (1568 - 1668) and, ultimately, the formation of the Dutch Republic and freedom from Spanish rule.

The final part of this chapter looks at the implications of labels on the covers of the Alnwick Books of Hours and the book dealer descriptions written inside. Together these seem to suggest that The Charlotte Hours and The Van Zonnevelt Hours may have been in the same library and sold by the same dealer before they were brought into the Alnwick collection by Elizabeth Seymour Percy, 1st Duchess of Northumberland.

6.2 The Signatures Dated 1555 in The Charlotte Hours

On folio 14v of The Charlotte Hours there is a collection of signatures, a drawing of clasped hands and inscriptions of sworn fealty. This section investigates the relationship between these three things and a link with participation in a dissenting political group known as the League of Compromise. The signatures also help establish a direct link with the patrons of The Charlotte Hours. Another inscription dated 1555 records a family marriage.

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The patrons of *The Charlotte Hours* have been identified by their arms and mottos as Wolfert VI van Borsele (c. 1430 to 1487), Lord of Veere and his second wife Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier (c. 1443 to 1478), whom he married in 1468. Wolfert became Lord of Veere when his father Hendrik II van Borsele died in 1474. Charlotte was the daughter of Louis, Count of Montpensier and Gabrielle de la Tour. She was also cousin to Mary of Burgundy and Philippa of Guelders, who have both signed the book on folio 39v, probably before Mary became Duchess in 1477 (fig. 6.3).

At least three of the signatures on folio 14v are dated 1555, although one has been partially erased (fig. 6.1). The two legible signatures are signed in two different hands. One hand is signed P. E. Montfort, while the second is simply Montfort, with no other name or initial (fig. 6.4a). Another signature, near the bottom of the page, retains its 1555 date but the signature has been actively washed out and is no longer fully legible, even under ultra violet light (fig. 6.4b). There is a further undated inscription to the right of it, which is partially legible, but it has not been possible to determine the name with any certainty (fig. 6.4c).

*The Charlotte Hours* documents another event that took place in 1555. An inscription on folio 203v formally records that on 11 June 1555 Jehan Mérode Houffalizes (1530 to 1592) married Phillipotte de Montfort (1535 to 1593) (fig. 6.5). The question is, do the Montfort signatures on folio 14v and perhaps another undated Mérode signature on folio 54v simply record family members who attended the marriage of Jehan and Phillipotte or might there have been some other purpose for the signatures on folio 14v (fig.6.6). The mysterious drawing, together with the motto next to the Montfort signatures folio 14v, and the signature of H de Brederode on folio 36v, also dated 1555, suggest another more historically significant reason for these signatures that is related to the Dutch Revolt (fig. 6.7).

The signature of H. de Brederode can be identified as Hendrik II de Brederode (1531 to 1568), an important figure during the Dutch Revolt. On 25 October 1555 Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, having already abdicated as King of Spain, now abdicated as ruler of the Burgundian Netherlands, handing over his responsibilities to his son Philip II of Spain. The ceremony took place in Brussels where all the nobles and statesmen of the Burgundian Netherlands were gathered,
including William of Nassau, better known today as William the Silent, Prince of Orange, the first *stadhouder* of the Dutch Republic, who was personal attendant to Charles at the ceremony, and Hendrik II de Brederode.565

Not everyone was happy with Philip II’s rule, which encroached on the political and judicial traditions of the Netherlands. Particularly abhorrent was the Inquisition, which began under Charles V, and the persecution of those who did not profess the Catholic faith. Protestants were a growing minority in the Low Countries, where they were generally tolerated.566 As disaffection with the King and his Catholic clergy grew, Dutch nobles who supported religious peace and tolerance set up the League of Compromise. The League would become known informally as the *Geuzen* or Beggars.567 On 5 April 1566 a group of some two hundred nobles from all over the Low Countries marched on Margaret of Parma, Phillip of Spain’s appointed regent, and presented her with the Petition of Compromise, condemning the Inquisition and demanding its end.568 The group was led by Hendrik de Brederode who handed over the Petition.569 The Petition was unreservedly dismissed by Philip II, but ultimately the protestors would win the Eighty Years War that ensued and in which Hendrik de Brederode would fight.

Membership of the League of Compromise may mean that the 'Montfort' without initials who signed folio 14v is Phillipote de Montfort's brother, Jan IV de Montfort (1536 to c. 1566), because during the Eighty Years War he fought alongside Hendrik de Brederode. Another inscription on folio 22v with the name Manderschert, this time dated 1557, is likely to be that of Gerhard von Manderscheid (1536 to 1611), the brother of Jan IV de Montfort's wife Anna (fig. 6.8). The presence of the von Manderscheid signature might also support the identification of the Montfort (no initials) signature as Jan IV de Montfort, because it provides an additional family connection.

The League of Compromise acquired the sobriquet *Geuzen*, or Beggars.570 The mysterious drawing in *The Charlotte Hours* provides new dating evidence for how early the group created a visual identity through the emblems that the Beggars adopted. The final form of the


566 Koenigsberger, 2001, p. 201.


emblem is known through objects such as a medal cast of 1566 and printed examples (fig. 6.9). The emblem consists of a pair of hands shaking in friendship, complete with sixteenth-century frilled cuffs, together with a beggar’s bag and, in the printed version, the addition of a bowl (fig 6.10). Folio 14v in *The Charlotte Hours* includes a drawing of two hands clasped in friendship, complete with sixteenth-century frilled cuffs, which only becomes obvious when the page is rotated through ninety degrees (fig. 6.11). Beneath the drawing is the word *Liegues*, which presumably references the League of Compromise. There is also a second, smaller sketch that might also be intended to be a shaking hands motif. (This one appears to be in the same ink as the first signatory on folio 14v.) On the evidence of *The Charlotte Hours*, the shaking hands emblem appears to have already been adopted by 1555. The group did not acquire the informal Beggars name until 1566, suggesting that the bag and bowl may have been added after 1555.

The signatures on folio 14v have inscriptions written by each of the signatories. Each inscription is slightly different. Fading ink and spelling variations make these inscriptions difficult to both transcribe and translate, but they all appear to be expressions of allegiance, similar to the one written by P. E. Montfort, which is legible (fig. 6.4a):

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Je vous sup[p]lie de vous souvenir de cellui
qui toute sa vie vous demourat fide
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This is difficult to translate because there is no direct equivalent of the past imperfect tense in English, but the writer begs to be remembered because he has shown loyalty and will continue to show loyalty all his life.

The presence of the drawing of the clasped hands, signatures and inscriptions of sworn fealty suggest that folio 14v represents evidence of intent towards ending the Inquisition and of support for William of Nassau, who was to become William I of Orange (also known as William the Silent) and his younger brother Louis of Nassau. Whether William himself was included at this time is unclear but, at the very least, the drawing, signatures and inscriptions on folio 14v, together with the 1555 signature of Hendrik de Brederode, suggest that by 1555 the nobles of The Netherlands were already organising themselves to stand up for Dutch freedom against Phillip II of Spain. This might have been on the occasion of Charles V’s abdication in October 1555, or even earlier, since the marriage of Jehan and Phillipotte, which would have occasioned a family gathering, took place in June. In any event, the presence of the drawing of the clasped hands, inscriptions and signatures dated 1555 may be evidence that the start of the uprisings were several years earlier than History officially records, as hinted at by Israel and Koenigsberger.

6.3 Line of Descent Leading to the 1555 Signing of The Charlotte Hours.

The Charlotte Hours was originally commissioned for Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier, who died in 1478. If the book belonged to Charlotte, then it would, in all likelihood, have been inherited by her eldest daughter Anna. A document dated 16 April 1458 in The Cartularium van de heren van Veere demonstrates that in the late fifteenth century the property of a woman was passed on to her daughters. When Margaretha van Borosele, Wolfert's sister, married Louis van Gruthuse of Bruges, Margaretha’s mother Johanna van Halewijn agreed to pay her twintich ponden (twenty pounds) per annum on the Feast of Saint Martin and that this money would come from the money Johanna had inherited from her own mother.

This was not only true of the women associated with the Lords of Veere. As archival documents make clear, and Arie van Steensel summarises, in common law a man and wife shared each other’s goods irrespective of source. If one partner died, then the survivor inherited half the property and the other half was divided between their descendants, irrespective of whether they were male or female. This sometimes caused tensions between families, so contracts could be drawn up to maintain the property and land rights that each partner had brought into the marriage for their respective families. However, it was deemed important that a wife should be financially independent and able to support herself in the event of her husband’s death.

In the particular case of Anna van Borsele, her father's goods were confiscated in 1485 when Wolfert chose to support the forces against Maximilian I. However, as Wolfert and Charlotte had no surviving sons, most of Wolfert's goods were later returned to Anna when, on 4 July 1485, she married Philip Burgundy-Beveren (died 1498), son of Anthony of Burgundy, bastard son of Philip the Good. At least one of Wolfert's books, Paris, BA, 5082-5083, a two volume version of La Guerre des juifs, passed into Philip's hands because his arms have been painted over.

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572 Backhouse, 2002a, p. 85.


576 A. W. E. Dek, 1979, Genealogie der Heren van Borosele (Zaltbommel: Europese Bibliotheek), p. 24. Note: There were a number of men named Philip of Burgundy so Burgundy-Beveren has been appended to Anna’s husband to make his identity clear.
those of Wolfert.\textsuperscript{577} In any case, if \textit{The Charlotte Hours} had belonged to Charlotte then, according to the laws of the day, it should have been passed on to Anna. In 1503 Anna married Lodewijk, or Louis van Montfoort (died 1505), son of Hendrik IV van Montfoort and Margaretha de Croy.\textsuperscript{578}

Anna van Borsele was buried at Zandenburg Castle on 8 December 1518.\textsuperscript{579} She left only one son, Adolf of Burgundy (1489 to 1540), son of Philip of Burgundy-Beveren. Whether Adolf inherited \textit{The Charlotte Hours} is not known, but the signatures in the manuscript suggest two possible lines of inheritance. One is that Anna gave the book to her niece Charlotte van Brederode (1495 to 1529) who was the daughter of Margaretha van Borsele (Anna's sister - who eloped with and then married Walraven II van Brederode).\textsuperscript{580} Charlotte van Brederode married Johan III de Montfort and their granddaughter was Phillipotte de Montfort, whose marriage on 11 June 1555 to Jehan de Mérode Houffalizes is recorded on folio 203\textsuperscript{v} of \textit{The Charlotte Hours}. Hendrik II van Brederode, who signed \textit{The Charlotte Hours}, presented the Petition of Compromise and fought in the Dutch Revolt, was Margaretha van Borsele and Walvaren van Brederode's grandson, by their eldest son Reinoud III van Brederode.

Another possible line of inheritance is that Adolf of Burgundy's daughter, Anna of Burgundy (1516 to 1551), who was born a couple of years before her grandmother Anna van Borsele died, was given or inherited \textit{The Charlotte Hours}. In 1532 Anna of Burgundy married Jan van Henin-Liétard, Count of Bossu, whose sister Yolanda was the mother of Jehan de Mérode Houffalizes. This is a less direct route of inheritance but in either event it appears that by 1555 the book was in the hands of the descendants of Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier, the manuscript’s original patron.\textsuperscript{581}

### 6.4 The Inscriptions in \textit{The Van Zonnevelt Hours}

Nearly 2,000 words of inscriptions make \textit{The Van Zonnevelt Hours} a rich source for understanding the later history of its ownership.\textsuperscript{582} The inscriptions on folio 191\textsuperscript{v}, at the back of \textit{The Van Zonnevelt Hours} show that in the sixteenth century this manuscript belonged to Willemijne van

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{577} Wijsman, 2010, pp. 265-266.
  \item \textsuperscript{578} Monfoort also Monfort.
  \item \textsuperscript{579} Dek, 1979, p. 24.
  \item \textsuperscript{580} Margaretha van Borsele (c. 1472 –1508) was the second daughter of Wolfert VI van Borsele and Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier, Dek, 1979, p. 24.
  \item \textsuperscript{581} Family tree 1.
  \item \textsuperscript{582} See Appendix 4 for full transcription.
\end{itemize}
Zonnevelt (1499/1500 to 1567), the only [surviving] child of Josina van Foreest and Pieter Claesz Paling (fig. 6. 12). According to another inscription on the same folio, during her lifetime Willemijne gave the manuscript to her granddaughter Joanna Sterck (1551 to 1618). Joanna was the daughter of Cornelia van Zonnevelt, who, according to the inscription on folio 1r of The Van Zonnevelt Hours, died in 1553. This means that Joanna must have been gifted the manuscript after 1553 but before 1567 when her grandmother died. Therefore Joanna must have been two, but no more than sixteen years old when she inherited the manuscript.

Although the book was given to Joanna, it was her father, Godevart Sterck (1509 to 1587), who wrote most of the added inscriptions in the formal style of the educated man he was. In doing so he changed the purpose of The Van Zonnevelt Hours making it a depository for family history. His inscriptions do not vary much in writing style or ink, so Godevart may have written them over a short period of time rather than at the time the events happened, which would account for the occasional mistake, such as the error with the death of Pieter Claesz Paling, folio 2v, pointed out in Chapter 3. All Godevart’s inscriptions are written in the margins of the calendar. Most entries are written against the month in which the event took place, so the events themselves are not in sequential order. This makes the nearly 2,000 words somewhat difficult to sort out. On doing so it becomes apparent that Godevart not only records his family’s births, deaths, and marriages but also a very personal catalogue of events that demonstrate the family’s support for the Kings of Spain, first for Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor and then for Philip II. Godevart records that he served not only as Amptman (town representative) for Antwerp for 28 years, but also as Treasurer General and financier for Philip II of Spain, folio 3r.

In 1555, the year Phillip II became ruler of the Netherlands, Godevart married his second wife, Anna van Groenenburg, folio 4r. Anna van Groenenburg, or Anna de Monteverde as she was also known, was the daughter of Jacob and Margareta de Monteverde. Jacob owned houses in Antwerp but also held large sugar plantations on La Palma in the Canary Islands, which came under Spanish rule when colonised in 1493. The Monteverdes along with the Van Dale family were the two main producers of sugar on La Palma and thus implicated in slave labour. An inventory of 1544, drawn up when the family wished to raise a mortgage, shows that, besides the land, they had

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583 Discussed in Chapter 3.

584 An Amptman was the town representative on the States General, which voted on new laws and taxes and which Philip regarded as a threat to his authority – Gelderen, 1992, p. 33


Note: For information on van Dale family and Anna van Groenenberg/Monteverde on the Canaries see - Bilage 2: De Vlammse plantage-houders (Appendix 2: the Flemish Plantation Holders.)
their own sugar making facilities. The slaves are listed among the goods and chattels, which translates as: workhouses, kettles [for boiling the sugar], slaves, animals ..... Godevart’s mother, or possibly step-mother, as on folio 8r of The Van Zonnevelt Hours he refers to her as his schoonmoeder, was Josijna van Dale, although whether she had connections with the Van Dales of La Palma Godevart does not record. However, the name ‘Josyna van Dale’ does occur in the records of La Palma. Anna van Groenenburg was born in 1524 on La Palma but seems to have lived most of her life in Antwerp. She was first married to Willem van der Werven who was, for a short time, Amptman for Antwerp. In 1555, Anna, by then a wealthy young widow having inherited half her parents’ sugar plantation, married Godevart Sterck. This means that although Godevart makes it clear he was proud to serve Phillip II he was also obliged to support the Spanish King because his career and the couple’s wealth depended on it.

Godevart’s inscriptions in The Van Zonnevelt Hours document his involvement with John of Austria and Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma. Godevart records that on 18 April 1578, because of the uprisings and the devastating sacking of Antwerp, which Godevart witnessed, he left Antwerp, and relocated his household in Namur, where his second wife Anna van Groenenburg died and is buried, folios 3r and 10r (fig. 6.13). The account is difficult to follow but Godevart states that he was Treasurer, first for John of Austria, whose campaigns in Namur he mentions, and then for his military successor Alexander Farnese. At least two of Godevart's sons fought and died for the Spanish.

Anna van Groenenberg had no children by either of her marriages but Godevart Sterck, by his first wife Cornelia van Sonnevelt, had four sons and a daughter - Gerard born 5 February 1545, Andries born 24 July 1546, Cornelius born 12 August 1547, Eerhardt born, baptised and buried 7 February 1549, and Joanna, baptised 29 March 1551, folios 2r, 8 r. All the children were born in Antwerp, where the family lived at the Sterckhof, which today is the Silver Museum.

Godevart writes that his eldest son Gerard died in 1563 at Valenciennes in France, folio 1r. He would have been eighteen years old. According to Godevart, Gerard was returning from Oran in babarien. In April to June 1563 there was a campaign to take the Spanish controlled military base at Oran on the Barbary Coast [now Algeria], North Africa. Presumably Gerard had either been at the military base in Oran or was part of the support troops that arrived by sea, and was injured or had become ill. Besides the King, two other people are mentioned in connection

586 Coornaert, 1999-2000, Listed in Bilage 2 under the section on Jácome de Monteverde (Jacob van Groenenbergh and Margaret de Monteverde.

with Gerard’s death, Cortes van Monson and Monsieur le president van Tysnacq. The latter was probably Charles de Tysnacq chef et président du conseil privé, (1494-1610), appointed by Phillip II.588

On 20 January 1579, Godvart's third son Cornelis, aged thirty one years, died in Ruermonde where he had been with den prinche van parma van Coelen, folio 1v (fig. 6.14). This was Alexander Farnese. In the 1570’s Roermond was on the front line in the struggles between the Dutch and Spanish. In the early 1570’s the Spanish took the city from the Dutch. In 1578 Roermond was again besieged.589 The Dutch failed to take the city but fighting continued along the Maas for several years more. Perhaps Cornelis died as a result of the ongoing conflict.

On 4 October 1587 Joanna records that her father, whom she calls Godefroy, died in Brussels at four or five in the morning in her presence folio 5r. He was 78 years old and had served the King as Amptman of Antwerp for 40 years and for the previous 7 years as Treasurer General to Philip II (fig. 6.15). Godevart wrote his inscriptions in Dutch, but when Joanna took over she wrote in French, although it is in a round hand very like the writing in Dutch on folio 191v, which records that Joanna received the manuscript from her grandmother Willemijne.

On 5 February 1585 Joanna writes that her niece Andronica was baptised and on 26 July 1587 Joanna married her third husband, Conte Ludvico Biglia, folio 1v. According to Joanna, Andronica was the daughter of her brother. This must have been Andries Sterck, the only brother still alive at the child’s conception, although it is not clear if he was still alive at her birth. The death of Andries is not recorded in the manuscript. Joanna writes that she was summoned to Lille because the child’s mother was very ill and she was asked to take Andronica to the Church of Saint Margaret in Tournai to have her baptised. This Joanna did, both she and her father acting as Godparents. Presumably the mother died. In any event, seven years later Joanna records Andronica's Confirmation. This religious ceremony took place on 5 October 1594, folio 2v. The Van Zonnevelt Hours also records that at the same ceremony another child, Madelena Biglia, was also confirmed, witnessed by le seignor Jheronimo Caraffa merguis de monto negro, napolitant et moy, folio 2v (fig. 6.16). Girolamo Carrafa (1564 to 1633) fought for the Spanish under Alexander Farnese during the Dutch Revolt.590 The Van Zonnevelt Hours remains silent on the fate of Andronica but the birth of Madelena’s first child, Alberto, first son of Conte de Bugnoy, on 19 November 1607 is recorded, folio 11v (fig. 6.17). From this Alberto can be identified as Charles


589 For information on Roermond during the 1570’s see <https://www.ppsimons.nl/stamboom/roermond_stadshuishouding_1579.htm> [Accessed 04.05,2022].

Albert de Longueval (1607 to 1663), son of Charles Bonaventure de Longueval, 1st Comte de Bocquoy (1571 to 1621), who was a Colonel in the Spanish army when he married Madelana Biglia in 1600. Madelina is formally known as Maria Magdelena de Biglia di Sarona (d. 1640), daughter of Baldassare Biglia de Sarona. This means Madelena was Ludvico de Biglia’s niece, not his daughter. However, Madelena appears to have been brought up by Joanna and Ludvico.

Joanna resided at the Château Farcienne, Hainault (now Belgium), which was purchased by Conte Ludvico Biglia, as Joanna called her third husband, that is Louis Biglia, Comte de Seronna at Gerolle. Louis bought the Château on 31 December 1596 for 41,000 florins. The family evidently lived in the Château and in 1606 Joanna is documented as contributing towards the costs. In *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*, Joanna records Ludvico’s death, reporting that he died in 1606, folio 5v. The Château Farciennes must have passed into Joanna’s hands because on 14 August 1610 she gave it to Albert de Longueval, the young son of Charles and Madelena, whose birth she recorded. The transfer of the château to Albert was confirmed on 2 May 1618. Presumably Joanna died around this time.

No further inscriptions have been added to the manuscript, but it is possible to suggest a likely provenance that unites *The Van Zonnevelt* and *The Charlotte Hours*. Perhaps Joanna, who appears to have had no living descendants, gave *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* to Madelena, whose eldest granddaughter, Marie Coelestine de Longueval-Buquoy (1639 to 1680), married Ferdinand

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1596 – 31 décembre, noble et généreux seigneur monseigneur Louis Biglia, comte de Seronna (Saronno) et Gerolle, colonel d’un régiment haut-allemagne pour le service de S.M.C. fils de noble et généreux seigneur messire Balthasar comte de Biglia et de noble dame madame Magdelenne di li Affaitati, rachète la seigneurie pour 41,000 florins par voie de retrait lignager.

de Mérode-Montfort, grandson of Johan de Mérode Houffalize and Phillipotte de Monfort, whose marriage is recorded in *The Charlotte Hours*. This may go some way towards explaining how *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* and *The Charlotte Hours* came to have similar library labels that show they may have been together in the same library before they entered the Alnwick archives. Both manuscripts also have book dealer descriptions, which suggest they also were sold through the same dealer.

### 6.5 Shelf Marks and Book Dealer Descriptions

It is not only *The Charlotte Hours* and *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* in the Alnwick collection that have library labels, that is shelf marks or press marks as they are sometimes known, and book dealer descriptions written or tipped in. Consideration will also be given to other Books of Hours in the Alnwick collecting, starting with the four Books of Hours referred to as the Red Velvet manuscripts, that is *The Charlotte Hours*, *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*, *The Golden Bathsheba Hours* and *The Goesin Hours*, DNP MSS 482, 483,484 and 485 respectively. All four are of a similar size and all have red velvet covers, albeit that the one on *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* was made as a cover over a calf binding, while the other three appear to be in their original red velvet bindings (figs. 6.18-6.21). At one time all four manuscripts had small rectangular pieces of paper stuck to their front covers, although they have become abraded over time and *The Golden Bathsheba Hours* only has traces of where a label was once attached (figs. 6.22a-h). Most of these labels are now illegible but *The Charlotte Hours* has the number 163 and what appears to be a short description of the book, which ends with the words *... grandes et petite miniatures*. There are more labels pasted to the spines of the books. All four manuscripts have a label between the second and third cord, while, in addition, the *Van Zonnevelt* and *Goesin Hours* have labels between the first and second cords. Some of the spine labels have traces of writing and numbers written on them, which may be shelf marks. For example *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* has an inked capital L on its spine label. This probably means that the book was kept on shelf, or possibly in bookshelf L. If the second label beneath it was still legible it would probably have indicated what position on the shelf the book held.

All four red velvet Hours also have labels on their back covers. These handwritten labels would seem to be from a time when bound books were stored flat on a shelf. If displayed with the fore edge, rather than the spine, to the front of the shelf then the labels on the back cover would

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594 See Family Tree 3.


596 Pearson, 2019, pp. 56-58.

have been visible. This is clearly how The Van Zonnevelt Hours, was intended to be displayed because it would have set off the pattern on its gauffered edges to its best advantage (fig. 6.23).

The presence of the little paper labels in such similar places raises the question of whether some, or all, of the manuscripts were acquired from the same source. It must also be asked whether any other Books of Hours held at Alnwick have similar paper labels. The answer is that most of them do not. However, DNP MS 490, the prayer book that once belonged to the Abbess of Saint John, has labels on the front, spine and back cover. There is a paper fragment at the top of the spine. Below this is a printed 'M' with another label that has '448' handwritten on to it (fig. 6.23a-c). Although these labels are located in similar places, it has to be concluded that they do not match the labels on the four Red Velvet Hours.

The Charlotte Hours includes two bookdealer descriptions written in two different hands, one written on the fly leaf in hand A and another by hand B is tipped in (figs. 6.24a-b.). Both descriptions assert that the book once belonged to Mary of Burgundy (1457 to 1482), who according to the tipped in version gave it to philipotte de gueldres epouse de René Second Duc de Lorraine, that is Philippa of Guelders (1467 to 1547). Although both Mary and Philippa signed the book, the coat-of-arms, mottoes etc. and later signatures in the manuscript do not support the claim that either Mary or Philippa ever owned the manuscript. One of the two dealers may have doctored the manuscript to support the claimed provenance because two coat-of-arms in the borders of The Charlotte Hours have been deliberately altered. Mary of Burgundy was the daughter of Isabelle de Bourbon and Philippa the daughter of Charlotte de Bourbon. On folio 23r, in the violet borders of Saint Augustine, the Van Borsele arms have been inked over to make them resemble the arms for the main house of Bourbon (fig. 6.25).598 The golden dolphin, the device of the Montpensier family on the red apex bar on the left of the shield, has also been inked over, leaving just the Bourbon arms. This has also been done on folio 74v. However, five coats-of-arms, including those in the borders of Prayers to Saint Gregory, folio 158r, remain untouched, complete with the black and white Van Borsele arms and Montpensier dolphin on the apex bar of the Bourbon device (fig. 6.26).599

The Van Zonnevelt Hours and The Golden Bathsheba also have book dealer descriptions inside them, which may have been written by hand A (figs. 6.27-6.28). The Charlotte Hours fly leaf inscription is written in French, with non standardised spelling. (This page has clearly been

598 Saint Augustine reproduced in Backhouse 2002aa, p. 74.

trimmed - the rest of the manuscript has not and it still in its original binding).\textsuperscript{600} If these descriptions were copied from a printed text then, because printing was prepared by hand and printers tended to keep blocks of phrases, it might be expected that phrases would be repeated in each description if all three manuscripts came from the same dealer.\textsuperscript{601} This is not really the case. Each manuscript is described individually and these descriptions make each book distinguishable from the other. This might have been deliberate in the case of a large sale. There are two other Books of Hours in the Alnwick collection with dealer descriptions, both of which were produced in the Southern Netherlands. The first is DNP MS 499, \textit{The Prayer Book of Antoine de Berghes}. This hand looks a little different to the other descriptions in that the letter t has long extended cross bars and when the letter r comes at the end of a word it often extends to the following word. This forms a distinctive pattern on the page that is not readily seen in Hand A although there are some similarities in the handwriting style (figs. 6.29. The second is DNP MS 501, which was bound for Jacoba van de Spangen in 1590 and bought in Ireland before 1770. This dealer description is written in a hand close to A but is not similar enough to state that it is the same hand (fig. 6.30). All the descriptions are written in French and include the words miniatures and vignettes. It should be noted however, that both \textit{The Charlotte Hours} and \textit{The Van Zonnevelt Hours} descriptions have the word 'migniatures' instead of miniatures, which would seem to imply they came from the same book dealer.

Three of the Red Velvet Hours and DNP MS 501 have dealer marks in the back of the books but the mark in the back of \textit{The Van Zonnevelt Hours} is different in that it is a 5 over 180.\textsuperscript{602} The markings in three books all have two set of numbers one over the other. Most of the numbers underneath these prices are not legible enough to work out how they relate to the numbers at the top, but might in any case be code that only the dealer understood.\textsuperscript{603} The top number is always followed by l, which would seem to indicate price. \textit{The Charlotte Hours} has 120l, \textit{The Golden Bathsheba Hours} has 20l and DNP MS 501 has 53l written into them. Whether this is the price the dealer paid for the books, or the price he hoped to sell them for is not clear. It is interesting that the two books with names attached to them are priced higher than \textit{The Golden Bathsheba Hours}, to which no name is attached. \textit{The Charlotte Hours}, with its [falsified] arms and the supposed owner

\textsuperscript{600} Personal communication David Pearson.

\textsuperscript{601} Information London Palaeography Summer School 17 June 2013: Peter Kidd, Identifying the Provenance of Medieval MSS: An Introduction.

\textsuperscript{602} D. Pearson, 2019, pp. 58-61.

\textsuperscript{603} D. Pearson, 2019, p. 60.
Mary of Burgundy, is assigned the highest by some margin. These relative values are reflected in the prices the First Duchess paid for her books.\textsuperscript{604}

It is difficult to come to any definite conclusions but it would seem from the dealer evidence that the First Duchess may well have bought some of her books from the same source, in particular \textit{The Charlotte Hours} and \textit{The Van Zonnevelt Hours}. Occasionally, the First Duchess mentions when she bought Books of Hours in her accounts and diaries dating from 1771 to 1776. In view of the evidence of the labels and book dealer descriptions and the fact that three of the four Red Velvet manuscripts do not appear to have been in the Alnwick collection before 1770, one entry in the diaries is especially interesting:

\begin{quote}
Saturday June 15 I had a Visit in the morning from Lord Chetwynd & after he was gone I bought many prints & 3 fine Missals.\textsuperscript{605}
\end{quote}

The year was 1771 and the First Duchess was in Brussels. On the afternoon of 15 June a Mme Nette came to see the Duchess. Elsewhere the Duchess explains that Mme Nette is ‘my banker a very agreeable and polite woman’.\textsuperscript{606} Lord Chetwynd is mentioned several times in the Diaries. On Wednesday 29 November 1769, the First Duchess, accompanied Lord Chetwynd and his wife to visit a Mr da Hoorts, who was a banker, to view his ‘Collection of Pictures’.\textsuperscript{607} Lord Chetwynd, who also visited the Duchess on the morning of 15 June 1771, may have facilitated her viewing and purchasing of the prints and the 3 fine missals that she purchased.

The question is, from whom might the First Duchess have acquired these manuscripts. In 1734 the Mérode de Westerloo library was put up for sale and a catalogue was compiled. Since members of the Mérode family were descendants of both Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier and Joanna Sterck’s ward, it seemed worthwhile investigating because of the possibility that it might have been the source for both Books of Hours.\textsuperscript{608} A sale catalogue titled \textit{Bibliotheca J. P. E. Comitis de Mérode Westerloo. Bruxellis 1734} was printed, with short descriptions of each manuscript, including a few Books of Hours.\textsuperscript{609} Other copies of the 1734 catalogue are available, but the one in

\begin{footnotes}
\item[604] Prices discussed in Chapter 2.
\item[605] DNP MS 121/33/34/35, transcription, p. 1226. Note: Authors bold type.
\item[606] DNP MS 121/17/18/19, transcription, p. 760.
\item[607] DNP MS 121/25, transcription, p. 829.
\item[608] Family Trees 2 and 3.
\end{footnotes}
the archive of Mérode Westerloo family papers has handwritten prices alongside (fig. 6.31). This makes it possible to gain an insight into the monetary values placed on the books from the seller’s perspective. Even so, identifying individual manuscripts is problematic but some tentative conclusions can be drawn.

6.6 The Mérode Libraries

The family trees of Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier and Joanna Sterck’s ward, Magdalena Biglia, show that various descendants married into the Mérode family. The descendants of Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier can be shown to directly lead to Jean Philippe Eugene de Mérode Westerloo (1674 to 1732), who was the great, great grandson of Jehan de Houffalize and Philipotte de Montfort, whose marriage of 1555 is recorded in The Charlotte Hours.\(^{610}\) As already suggested, the similarity between some of the manuscripts’ library labels mean that it is possible that some of the Alnwick Books of Hours came together before they entered the Northumberland Archives. The First Duchess records that on 15 June 1771 she bought three Books of Hours in Brussels. The Mérode Westerloo family residence was in Brussels and in 1734 the library of Jean Philippe Eugene, who died in 1732, was published in a catalogue with a view to selling the collection. Although the catalogue was published in 1734, the Mérode books may have remained in the hands of dealers in the intervening decades before the Duchess made her visit. Another alternative is that some of Jean Philippe’s manuscripts were purchased by his cousin Maximilien-Leopald de Mérode, III Price of Rumpré, who put his library up for sale in 1766. The following discussion considers whether it is possible to identify any of the Alnwick Hours in the Mérode libraries.

Books in the 1734 catalogue are organised according to size and type. Books of Hours are included in the section titled Libri Manuscripti, in Quarto, pages 286-293, while some smaller Hours are included in the Octavio Etc section, pages 293-296. Each entry consists of a short description, which sometimes includes the colour of the binding, what language the book was written in and whether it had miniatures or other decoration. Neatly handwritten beside each book is the price (fig. 6.31). Some Books of Hours were sold individually, while some were sold as a group, so it is not possible to determine the individual prices for every book.

Of the one hundred and nine books listed under Libri Manuscripti in Quarto, just eighteen are Books of Hours. They are differentiated by language. For example, entry number 1, described as Livre de Prieres en Latin, is one of thirteen written in Latin. Entry number 24 is one of two Books of Hours written in Flemish and is priced 19 - 0, which is one of the most expensive

\(^{610}\) Family Tree 3.
Books of Hours for sale individually. Of the four Red Velvet Hours, only *The Goesin Hours* might fit this description, but there is no mention of a red velvet binding:

**Transcription**

24. *Livre de Prières en Flamand* sur velin avec des miniatures d’une parfait beauté & d’un dessin très delicat, & avec des ornamens en or & couleu

**Translation**

24. *Book of Prayers in Flemish*, on parchment with miniatures of perfect beauty & delicate design, & with ornamentation [borders] in gold & colour

There are four manuscripts described as *Die Ghetiden van onse Lieve Vrouwe*, which means *The Hours of Our Lady*, but must refer to manuscripts such as *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*, known in Dutch as *ghetijdenboeken*, that is Books of Hours written in Dutch that follow the form set by Geert Groote. As discussed in Chapter 3, most of these manuscripts are beautifully pen-decorated but have no miniatures. Interestingly only one of the four books designated *Ghetiden*, item number 46, is described as having *très-belles miniatures* (beautiful miniatures). This could conceivably refer to *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* if it were not for the fact that number 46 is also described as *en veau*, meaning it has a calfskin or leather binding. *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* does have a leather binding, but it is hidden beneath its red velvet dust jacket.

There is only one Book of Hours in the de Mérode Westerloo catalogue that is described as having a red velvet cover and that is item number 30, which is priced with a group of four at 46.0. The description could apply to *The Charlotte Hours*, which is one of the finest Books of Hours in the Alnwick collection:

**Transcription**

30. *L’Office de la Vierge & autre Prières*, sur velin avec plussieurs miniatures d’un excellent dessein, & plussieurs ornamens, ou l’outre-mer, le carmin & les plus fines couleurs n’ont pas été épargnées, en velours rouge.

**Translation**

30. *Office of the Virgin & other Prayers*, on Parchment with many miniatures of an excellent design, & much ornamentation [borders], in ultramarine, carmine & other fine colours [that] have not been spared, [bound] in red velvet.

The only other book that might fit one of the Alnwick Hours is number 66. *The Golden Bathsheba Hours opens with The Hours of the Cross* and if the word *ornemens* means borders, rather than ornamentation in general, then it does contain some borders with gold. There is no mention of the cover, but it was sold, or at least priced, as a single item for 4.5.
Again there is no mention of a red velvet cover, or indeed any kind of binding so it has to be assumed that this book had no binding at all, whereas all the Books of Hours in the Alnwick Collection have bindings.

The 1734 catalogue does not provide a conclusive provenance for any of the Alnwick Books of Hours. However, as Peter Kidd has pointed out, at least some of the books from this sale can be found in an auction catalogue of 22 July 1766, which again took place in Brussels.\textsuperscript{611} These books were being sold by Maximilien-Leopald de Mérode, III Prince of Rumpré (1710-1769), a cousin of Jean Philippe Eugene de Mérode Westerloo of the earlier sale.\textsuperscript{612} Maximilien-Leopald was descended from Magdalena Biglia and her son Charles Albert de Longueval, who are mentioned in Joanna Sterck’s inscriptions in \textit{The Van Zonnevelt Hours}.\textsuperscript{613} The 1734 catalogue has 18 Books of Hours \textit{in Quarto}, whereas the 1766 sale contains 26 Books of Hours ‘\textit{in-4}’, under Section II, \textit{Liturgies}, pages 14-20. The 1766 Books of Hours are again differentiated by language but there are none \textit{en Flamand}. However, like the examples of Bibles given by Peter Kidd, some Books of Hours in the 1766 catalogue, are described in virtually the same words as in the one of 1734, including item 189, which was item 30 in 1734 (figs. 6.31 and 6.32). This is the only Book of Hours bound in red velvet in the earlier catalogue, which might possibly be DNP MS 482, \textit{The Charlotte Hours} at Alnwick. Numbers 190-197 in the 1766 catalogue are all described as Ghetijden (with variations in spelling) or Dutch Book of Hours, four of which have miniatures. Only one of these has a red velvet cover, item 191:

\textsuperscript{611} My thanks to Scot McKendrick for alerting me to this sale.


\textsuperscript{613} See Family Tree 3.
Could item 191 be DNP MS 483, *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*? If items 189 and 191 do equate to *The Charlotte Hours* and *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*, this would explain why they have similar library labels. Perhaps they were purchased by the same dealer who described them both as having ‘mignatures’ rather than miniatures, then sold them to the First Duchess in 1771. However, the Duchess states that she purchased 3 Missals, that is three Books of Hours, so could another of her books have also come from the same sale of 1766? Comparing the descriptions in the catalogue against the descriptions of the Alnwick Hours, including those in *Octavo* and the ones sold in 1948, suggests the answer is probably not. The dealer who misspelled miniatures as mignatures may have obtained books from other sales. Of the books listed as joining the Alnwick collection after 1770 and remain at Alnwick, the origins of only two remain unaccounted for, DNP MSS 484 and 499, *The Golden Bathsheba Hours* and *The Prayer Book of Antoine de Berges*. Both contain dealer descriptions and are both bound in red velvet. The miniatures are described as ‘miniatures’ in both books. The handwriting in both books looks to be of the same era as that in *The Charlotte Hours* and *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*, but differs slightly. *The Prayer Book of Anthoine de Berges* is perhaps closest but has longer cross bars on the letter T’s. The description itself is somewhat like that in *The Charlotte Hours*, in that it identifies an erroneous patron of 1348, although a ‘prince de Bergues’ is correct. Beyond this, it is not possible to identify the source of the 1770 acquisitions with any certainty although *The Golden Bathsheba Hours* and/or *The Prayer Book of Anthoine de Berges* may well have been circulating among the book dealers of Brussels.

The First Duchess may not have bought her books directly from dealers but through an intermediary, such as Lord Chetwynd, who visited the Duchess on the morning that she purchased the three missals in Brussels. A candidate for purchases before 1770, when The First Duchess wrote her inventory, might be Bill Williams who the Duchess identifies as a book dealer in Brussels and

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614 See Volume 2, Figs, 6.24b and 6.6.27.

615 See Volume 2, Fig. 6.29.
to whom she records paying £2 19s 10d in her 1762 to 1763 accounts.616 Another possible candidate is 'Mr Simeon at Amsn' [Amsterdam]. On 17 December 1766 the First Duchess records her purchases:

Received of Mr Simeon at Amsn 98 – 14 – 6

Decr 17

A knife 1 – 6

Prints Joullain 1 – 11 – 10 ½

Almanacks, Packs of Cards, Dresses, Missals Prints Books Pictures Curiosities of all kinds Medals, Coins, Lace, Trinkets, Nuns work Chintz Ribbons, China Millinery, Watches 617

The First Duchess was purchasing all manner of curiosities besides missals, as was the fashion for collectors of the day, including the Duchess of Portland, who was renowned for her collection, which included much fine porcelain.618 The 'Missals' of the above entry relate to 1766 so must have been in the Alnwick collection when the First Duchess wrote the Musaeum List in 1770. Where these Books of Hours originated is difficult to determine but it is perhaps worth noting the person mentioned immediately before the above entry:

Monsr de Joncourt Conseillier & Bibliothecaire de S A S Monsgr Le Prince D'Orange in the practizyns hock

Monsieur de Joncourt, Advisor and Librarian to S A S Monsieur The Prince of Orange in the practizyns corner/house619

Whether the Duchess purchased any of her Books of Hours from the library of the Prince of Orange she does not record, but she did meet the Prince, properly known as William V, Prince of Orange (1748 to 1806).620

It therefore seems that the First Duchess cultivated a network of dealers and advisors who could supply her requirements, which in the case of Books of Hours, would appear to be those in good condition and contained miniatures from the late fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries,

616 DNP MS 121/10 Transcribed Diaries, p. 463.
617 DNP MS 121.15 Transcribed Diaries, pp. 629-630. Note Bold is author’s.
618 Sloboda, 2010.
619 Note: ‘practizyns hock’ may refer to a place or street.
620 DNP MS 121/21/22 Several times in 1767 e.g. p. 814.
although, she might perhaps have specified Gothic style rather than date. She also like to have names associated with her books.

6.7 Conclusion

The inscriptions in both *The Charlotte Hours* and *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* contain evidence that pertain to the Dutch Revolt. Those in *The Charlotte Hours* suggest that the Dutch nobles were organising against Spanish rule from at least 1555, the year Charles V handed over the rule of the Burgundian/Hapsburg Netherlands to his son Philip II of Spain. Inscriptions in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* document some of the long series of uprisings against the Dutch nobles as they affected Gerard Sterck’s family, who supported Spanish rule, possibly because they owed jobs and their wealth, to the Spanish, accumulated from the sugar plantation on La Palma in the Canary Islands, which at that time was under Spanish occupation.

*The Van Zonnevelt Hours* records the provenance of the manuscript directly through the sixteenth century until at least 1618. The provenance of *The Charlotte Hours* is more incidental and can only be understood once the relationship between the 1555 signatories of the manuscript, both with each other and by their descent from the original patrons, Wolfert VI van Borsele, Lord of Veere, and Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier. This has now been demonstrated and supports a possible provenance that joins with that of *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*.

The similarity of library labels and book dealer descriptions in *The Charlotte Hours* and *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* suggest that they may have been together in the same library before they came to Alnwick, a theory supported by the fact that the descendants of the original patrons intermarried in the seventeenth and eighteen centuries. Library labels in other of the Alnwick Books of Hours do not permit identification of provenance, but those Books of Hours that were produced in the Northern and Southern Netherlands probably did not leave the Low Countries until purchased by the Duchess.

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621 See Family Trees 1-3.
Chapter 7 : CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Recapitulation of Purpose and Findings

The purpose of this thesis is to introduce Elizabeth Seymour Percy, 1st Duchess of Northumberland (1716 to 1776) as a collector of Books of Hours and excavate, through her own writings what the First Duchess tells us about her Books of Hours and where, when and from whom she bought them and how much she paid for them. Three unpublished Books of Hours, DNP MSS 483, 484, 485, which I have named, *The Van Zonnevelt Hours, The Golden Bathsheba Hours* and *The Goesin Hours*, respectively, are then examined in detail to establish, as far as possible where, when and who painted them and who their patrons and successive owners might have been before they entered the Duchess’s collection. These three were chosen because, like DNP MS 482, *The Hours of Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier (The Charlotte Hours)* they have red velvet bindings/covers, similar library label pasted onto their covers and book dealer descriptions either written or tipped inside. This raises the question of whether some or all of them were together before the First Duchess purchased them.

From careful examination of her writings, it can be concluded that the First Duchess, who died in 1776, collected her manuscripts during the mid eighteenth century, when she appears to have been the only known English female collector of Books of Hours, which was some fifty years before collectors in general became interested in Books of Hours. The Books of Hours she collected were produced in France or the Southern Netherlands, with one from the Northern Netherlands, and date from the late fifteenth to the early sixteenth centuries, with miniatures that reflect the First Duchess’s taste for the Gothic and high quality art. Each of her Books of Hours is different and most contain miniatures, including examples by the most illustrious miniaturists of their day. Of the nineteen Books of Hours still held at Alnwick Castle, only the four with coats-of-arms have previously been described, the remaining fifteen have, until now, received no scholarly attention at all. Three of these have now been subject to careful examination and comparative analysis. Other evidence such as wills, inventories, pilgrim badges, panel paintings and gravestones have also been taken into account to see what the books reveal about their individual production, patrons and provenance.

The first of the three unpublished red velvet Hours that form the focus of this thesis, *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*, is written in Dutch and has been inscribed with the name Willemijne van Zonnevelt of Alkmaar (1499/1500 to 1567), which places it in the Northern Netherlands. The manuscript has two distinct phases of production. The first phase, which is located in the second half of the book, dated c. 1470 to 1475, consists of three painted borders and one historiated initial by the Masters of the Haarlem Bible, who were active in Haarlem. The first half of the manuscript is ruled to fifteen lines, while the second half is ruled to sixteen lines, suggesting two different scribes were involved. Alternating violet and red pen-flourished single-line capitals suggest the *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* was also written in Haarlem, possibly at the convents of Saint Margaret.
and/or Saint Michael. However, the use of Utrecht calendar suggests the manuscript was produced for someone who lived outside the town. A prayer book, which is written on inferior quality parchment and in a different style with single line capitals stroked in red, has been added to the book at some point. Five miniatures were inserted into the manuscript, while three historiated capitals and the remaining borders were painted during a second artistic phase, c. 1490 to 1506, probably in Leiden, by the Master of Hugo van Woerden and the Masters of the Suffrages. The manuscript was originally bound in calf that cannot be localised, but at some point a red velvet cover was added, possibly by Willemijn van Zonnevelt because her portrait depicts her in a red velvet dress and the edges of the sleeves of the under blouse are couched in metal thread like the holes cut into the velvet cover to allow the clasps to pass through (although they are no longer present).

A special prayer, from the first phase of production, was probably commissioned for a cloistered sister who wished to go on pilgrimage to Rome in a Golden year. The second phase was probably commissioned by the couple represented in *Patrons Kneeling before an Altar*, who may have been Willemijn’s parents, Pieter Claesz Paling of Alkmaar and Josina van Foreest of Haarlem. This thought is supported by two pilgrim badges of the *Vera Icon* that have been sewn into the manuscript because Pieter and Josina’s gravestone at the church of Saint Laurence in Alkmaar also includes representations of pilgrim badges. These show the couple went on pilgrimage to Rome as well as other locations. Willemijn and her parents are well documented in the Archives at Alkmaar because they founded a still extant alms house in the town and portraits of them can be seen in the town Museum opposite the church. Inscriptions in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* reveal that Willemijn passed the manuscript to her granddaughter Joanna Sterck of Antwerp, whose father inscribed a record of the family’s fate during the sixteenth century until his death, when Joanna continued until her death around 1618.

Production issues for the second of the unpublished manuscripts, *The Golden Bathsheba Hours*, proved more problematical. This Book of Hours has a calendar written in French that appears to have been copied from one for use outside Paris that was printed in 1490 but has celebrated feast days, marked in gold, that correspond with those of Bruges, including Saint Eloy the patron saint of Bruges. Some flowers in the illusionistic flowers borders in the so called Ghent Bruges style did not start appearing in such borders until after 1500. This geographical duality is reflected in the twenty-three miniatures. With the exceptions of *The Crucifixion and Bathsheba*, the miniatures are painted in a distinctive style with figures in bold colours that occupy a large proportion of the foreground space, set against backgrounds mostly in washes of pale yellow-grey ochre and green-greys. No direct comparative miniatures have been found, but there are elements that appear to have been derived from panel paintings by Dieric Bouts and male faces resemble those painted in the workshop of The Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian. Compositionally *The Crucifixion* has a background in common with miniatures by Gerard
Horenbout but the painting style of the figures is different. Either this miniature was commissioned from the Horenbout workshop or it is further evidence that the workshops of The Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian and Gerard Horenbout sometimes worked from the same pattern books.

In the monochrome *Bathsheba* miniature with its black and gold borders, Bathsheba stands naked in a naturalistic pool while King David looks on from a nearby unglazed window. They are attended by their handmaidens and courtiers. This form of *Bathsheba*, where Bathsheba stands exposed to the viewer as well as King David became popular in the late fifteenth century, particularly at the courts of the Valois Kings of France. The *Golden Bathsheba* version may have been painted by Jean Poyet of Tours towards the end of his career.

A representation of two patrons are hidden in the King’s building in *Bathsheba*. A large capital I, that opens the gospel of Saint Matthew, is set against what might be the arms of Burgundy and the letter L and I/J appear in the black and gold borders that bookend the Penitential Psalms. Saint Anne is marked in Gold in the calendar and a jewel in the shape of an I/J appears in the borders of *The Visitation*. While the patrons remain unknown, it might be concluded that one patron came from France and the other was a member of the Burgundian-Hapsburg court and that their names began with the letter L and I/J. Perhaps the woman’s name began with I/J, for example Jeanne or Joanne but was known as Anne. The apparent emphasis on Hours and miniatures that are to do with repentance may imply that the couple were in their later years.

The thirteen inserted miniatures in the third unpublished manuscript, *The Goesin Hours*, named after a Bookseller in Ghent whose address is tipped into the book, correspond to those found in some of the most illustrious Books of Hours of the early sixteenth century, such as *The Sforza Hours*, *The London Rothschild Hours* and *The Spinola Hours*. The comparative miniatures in these Books of Hours were produced in the workshops of Gerard Horenbout and The Master of King James IV, who are generally thought to be one and the same person. One miniature in *The Goesin Hours* may have been painted by Susanna Horenbout. While the Goesin miniatures have illusionistic borders commensurate with the Ghent-Bruges school, some text pages have pen-decorated borders in the style of the Northern Netherlands and the text is in Dutch. There are no coats-of arms but there are clues, such as the pomegranate design that forms the background to two large gold capitals, including *The Crucifixion*, and the presence of Saint Adrian in the Litany, which suggest the manuscript was produced after 1507 but probably before 1521, and may have been commissioned as a primer for Charles V, ruler of the Burgundy-Hapsburg Netherlands, and later Holy Roman Emperor. An image of the Virgin in the architectural border of *The Crucifixion*, together with a kneeling patron in the facing border has features in common with a diptych of the Virgin facing Margaret of Austria at Prayer, raising the question of whether Margaret of Austria commissioned *The Goesin Hours* for her young nephew Charles. A Book of Hours with a red
velvet cover and two clasps, which fits the description of *The Goesin Hours*, can be found in the 1524 inventory of the library of Margaret of Austria.

All three of these Red Velvet manuscripts were produced at a time when demand for luxury Books of Hours was high and all three were produced by at least two different scribes. Besides *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*, which, excepting the added prayer book, is divided by rulings into two distinct sections, *The Golden Bathsheba Hours* has also been ruled differently, some to sixteen lines and some to seventeen lines, but they are more mixed, probably implying that different scribes were responsible for different gatherings, but this has not been verified. However, as some miniatures are painted on the recto, the book must have been planned as a whole. *The Goesin Hours* also looks as if two different scribes were involved, not because of different rulings but because of different spellings. The number of scribes involved imply that work has been shared out in order to facilitate speedier production.

Research into the 1555 signatures in *The Charlotte Hours* reveals they are those of Dutch nobles that fought in the uprisings that led to the Dutch Revolt, including Hendrick II van Brederode a leader of the discontent. A mysterious drawing next to the 1555 signatures, may be an early version of the *Geuzen*, or Beggars symbol of shaking hands. Further research reveals that not only were the 1555 signatories related to each other but that they were all descendants, either directly or by marriage, of the original patrons of *The Charlotte Hours*, Wolfert VI van Borsele, Lord of Veere, and his second wife, Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier. Inscriptions in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* tell the hitherto unknown fate of the family of Willemijne van Zonnevelt’s daughter Cornelia, wife of Godevart Sterck of Antwerp, whose names, along with their daughter Joanna, who received the Hours from her grandmother, are confirmed in Willemijne’s will. The inscriptions in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* were written by Godevart Sterck, treasurer to Philip of Spain, whose sons fought for the King against the Dutch Nobles. Joanna had no children of her own but descendants of her ward married descents of Wolfert and Charlotte, which might provide a reason for the similar library labels and bookdealer descriptions in the two manuscripts, meaning that they might have come into the Alnwick Collection together, possibly in 1771 when the First Duchess purchased three Books of Hours in Brussels.

All four of the Red Velvet Hours are are different and of high quality and would appear to have been commissioned specifically for their respective patrons. Each of the manuscripts appear to have belonged to members of the wealthy elite, with one known member of the lower nobility, one wealthy trader and one possible royal owner.

### 7.2 Relationship with Previous Research

This thesis fits into the body of research on manuscript studies with an interdisciplinary approach across art and historical research questions. The First Duchess collected the Books of Hours held at
Alnwick Castle, which, outside the archive, was not widely acknowledged. Her Books of Hours have been introduced, along with what is known about where and when she collected them. Three unpublished Books of Hours, collected by the First Duchess, have been described here, researching questions of production, patronage and provenance. The 1555 inscriptions and mysterious drawing in *The Charlotte Hours* add new information on the uprisings of the Dutch Revolt and also the provenance of the manuscript. The inscription in *The Van Zonnevelt Hours* provides new information on the descendants of Willemijne van Zonnevelt and their part in the Spanish defence during the Dutch Revolt. Overall the answers to the questions raised in this thesis, although not complete, are nevertheless fairly comprehensive and may offer useful information for other researchers to build on.

### 7.3 Limitations of Research

The number of languages that original documents are written in and the number of archives and libraries I needed to visit, both in this country and Europe, proved challenging but interesting. Most archivists and librarians were helpful and enthusiastic, requesting copies of my work when it is completed. Fortunately, I had help available with *Middeleeuwse Nederlands* and managed to cope with the Modern Dutch and French, although relatives and friends checked my translations. I cannot read German, which curtailed research to some extent of *The Charlotte Hours*, which, apart from the 1555 inscriptions and possible provenance, is not included in this thesis. I found research on *The Golden Bathsheba Hours* the most challenging because comparative miniatures, apart from *Bathsheba*, proved difficult to find online and I did not find any published images that are direct comparisons. I did find enough evidence to suggest the artist for the majority of the miniatures probably worked in the workshop of The First Prayer Book of Maximilian but perhaps his/her career was not very long lived.

### 7.4 Implications of my Findings

Working across the themes of production, patronage and provenance, my research shows that much, besides the artists and when a manuscript was produced, can be written about a Book of Hours without necessarily knowing who the patrons were. If anomalies occur within the manuscript, such as in the calendar, litany or special prayers or miniatures are added, if there are hidden arms or initial letters, then something of the patrons may be revealed. If the patrons or subsequent owners are known and have archival material attached to them, then much can be deduced about the circumstances in which that book was produced and also the book’s life beyond its initial production. The result is a more comprehensive assessment of the social circumstances of production and of the patron’s lives, which for lesser nobles or wealthy citizens, compared with royal and high status owners of celebrated manuscripts, is more unusual but as more becomes available online, will be progressively easier to investigate. I have combed the documentary evidence handwritten by the First Duchess and attached it to the books in her collection where
possible. Even if this information has not been followed through in this thesis, it may be of interest to other researchers.

7.5 Recommendation for Further Research
In her writings the First Duchess does not show any awareness of the provenance of her manuscripts although she did choose manuscripts with coats of arms and inscribed names of potential owners. It might prove useful to delve deeper into her own archives as well as the archives of Louis Dutens, tutor to her youngest son, who advised her the Duchess on the history of her own family connections with Alnwick Castle.

Several other Books of Hours at Alnwick are in need of research, especially as they are all different and so many have names of patrons or subsequent owners attached to them. DNP MS 490, which is use of Cologne, for example, has some interesting borders, revealing that their creators must have had access to several artistic traditions from the Southern Netherlands and Germany. Inscriptions reveal that the manuscript once belonged to the Abbess of Saint John’s and that in the early seventeenth century the Lochin family of ‘la Chateaux Flemalle’ inscribed their names into it and probably had it rebound. Whether any archives have survived on either the Abbey of Saint John, the family Lochin or the Château, might prove interesting to investigate. It proved relatively easy to determine the probable identity of Jacoba van Spangen, whose Book of Hours, DNP MS 501, was rebound in 1590, just by online searches. This is probably because she is descended, through her maternal grandmother, Anna van Glymes, from Edward I of England.622

7.6 Contribution to Research
I have shone a light on a private collection of Books of Hours that rivals many museum and library collections. The Alnwick Castle collection is extraordinary not just because it was put together by a woman at a time much earlier than when Books of Hours were sought by collectors, but also because of the quality, extent and diversity of artistic content in the Books of Hours, even though none of them are the size or have as many miniatures as manuscripts such as The Sforza or Spinola Hours. I chose to concentrate my research on those manuscripts that are collectively referred to as the Red Velvet Hours, three of which had no literature attached to them, scholarly or otherwise. It is also unusual to find that so many of the Alnwick Books of Hours have names inscribed or stamped on to them, which can provide a starting point for researching patrons or subsequent owners. Several original patrons or successive owners have a wealth of archival documents attached to them, including the previously published Charlotte Hours and Prayers of Antoine de Berghes, as does The Van Zonnevelt Hours researched here. I have contributed and added to previous research,

described three Books of Hours previously unknown to scholars and provided some pointers for further research.
LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS CONSULTED

Note: manuscripts with an asterisk have been consulted online

**Alkmaar, NL**

Alkmaar Regional Archive:

Archief van het Provenhuis Paling en Van Foreest tot Alkmaar IIA Inv.5 Afschrift testament Wilhelmina van Zonnevelt

Archief van het Provenhuis Paling en Van Foreest tot Alkmaar, Inv. 842 Inventory of house on Langestraat, Alkmaar, 1576

**Alnwick Castle, UK**

Collection of the Duke of Northumberland Percy (DNP):

Books of Hours:

DNP MS 482, *The Hours of Charlotte de Bourbon Montpensier (The Charlotte Hours)*

DNP MS 483, *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*

DNP MS 484, *The Golden Bathsheba Hours*

DNP MS 485, *The Goesin Hours*

DNP MS 486, (Binding Stamped with Royal Arms of Henry VIII)

DNP MS 487

DNP MS 490, (Belonged to the Abbess of Saint John)

DNP MS 492, (Contains 1 miniature with arms of Margaret Beaufort)

DNP MS 493

DNP MS 495

DNP MS 497, (Inscribed with the name Marie de Croville 1620)

DNP MS 498, Lady Margaret Beaufort Hours

DNP MS 498A
DNP MS 499, *The Prayer Book of Antoine de Berghes*

DNP MS 500,

DNP MS 501, (Rebound for Jacoba van Spangen 1590)

DNP MS 502

DNP MS 504 (Printed Book by Jean de Poitevin)

DNP MS 505

Handwritten Documents of the Elizabeth Seymour Percy, 1st Duchess of Northumberland:

DNP 121/1- 121/59, Diaries of First Duchess 1753-1775

DNP 123, Accounts of First Duchess

DNP MS 125 Manuscripts and Illuminated Missals, (The List), in Museum Catalogue: Antiquities, Historical Curiosity's, Miscellaneous Ditto, Manuscripts, Japan, Porcelain, Glass etc., ff. 85v-86v

DNP MS  21/163, List of Bookdeals, Bookbinders and Stationers

Sotheby’s Auction Catalogue Tuesday 21st December 1948 also online at:
Schoenberg Database of Manuscripts (upenn.edu)

Koninklijke Bibliotheek:

Ms. 1105-37, known as *The Prayer Book of Philip the Bold* *

Het Rijksarchief in België/Les Archives d’Etat en Belgique:

Archives de la famile de Mérode Westerloo, I papiers personnels:

Algemeen Rijksarchief / Archives générales du Royaume: Inv. 571, no. 349: *Acte du chapitre de Juliers attestant que Jean de Merode fait profession de la vraie religion catholique*, 1585

Algemeen Rijksarchief / Archives générales du Royaume Inv. 571 No. 350: *Testimonium de profession de la religion catholique, accordé par le doyen du tribunal ecclésiastique de Juliers à Jean de Merode pour ses voyages à l’étranger*, 1586
Cambridge, UK

Saint John's College:

Ms H.13, *The Breviary of Margaret of York*

Chantilly, France

Musée Condé:

MS 65, *Les Très Riches Heures* and reproduction

Delft, NL

Prinsenhof Museum:

no number, *Book of Hours*

Den Haag, NL

Koninklijke Bibliotheek, (The Hague, Royal Library):

KB, 76 G 13*

KB, 130 E 4*

Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum:

hs 10 F 5*

Dresden, Germany

Sächsische Landesbibliothek:

SLB A 311, Prayer Book*

Haarlem, NL

Haarlem Stadsbibliotheek:

Ms. 187 C 1-3, *The Haarlem Bible*
Gent, B

Gent Universiteitsbibliotheek:
Gent, HS 13437 Handboek van Pieter Frans III de Goesin, drukker en boekhandelaar te
Gent, betreffende de inkomende goederen, 1753-1785

Goes, NL

Goes Archive:
Archive 262, Notaris Petrus Levendale, RAZE 2040, nr. 17.01.1595. transcription

Leiden, NL

Leiden University Library:
LTK 297*

London, UK

British Library:
Add. Ms 34294, The Sforza Hours BL reproduction

Add. Ms 35214, The Bourdichon Hours*

Add. Ms 35313, The Rothschild Hours BL reproduction

Add. 38126, The Huth Hours*

Add. Ms 54782, The London Hastings Hours BL reproductions

Royal, Ms 18 D.ii. John Lydgate*

Los Angeles, USA

J. P. Getty Museum:
Ms. 37 (89. ML 35), The Prayer Book of Charles the Bold hs 133 M 1*

Ms. 79, leaf from The Hours of Louis XII*

Ms. Ludwig IX 18, folio 184v, The Spinola Hours*
**Mettingen, Germany**

Draiflessen Collection:

Liberna Ms 1, Inscribed as belonging to the widow of Jacob Pijnss van der Aa [Gerritje van Boschuysen]

**Middelburg, NL**

Zeeuws Archief:

_Archief van de Heren van Veere 1359-1500, nr. 232, 1471-72, nr.233. 1474-75._

HvV, 2750 182, Original copy of the accounts of Vrouwenpolder

Maarschalkerweerd-Dechamps, S., 1986, _Inventaar is van het archief van de heren van Veere 1359-1590_ [Typescript]

**Munich, Germany**

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek:

BSB Cod.gall. 19, _La Chronique des haux en nobles Princes de Cleves_*

**New York, USA**

Morgan Library:

MS M.50, _The Prayer Book of Anne de Bretagne_*

M. 1031, _The Assendelft Hours_*

**Oxford, UK**

University of Oxford, Bodleian Library:

Broxbourne 89.8*

MS Douce 219-220, _The Hours of Engelbert of Nassau_*

**Paris, France**

Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal:

MS 160, _Abcoude Missal_*

Ms 1176 res, A v-Br*

Bibliothèque Nationale:

Ms fr. 2645, Jean Froissart’s _Chroniques_
Ms fr 2691*

Ms Lat. 919. *Grand Heures*

**Private collection**

No number, *Jean de Carpentin’s Book of Hours* reproduction

**Utrecht, NL**

Catharijneconvent Museum:

StCC h 1, *The Van Adrichem Hours*

BMH h 162, *Death and the Young Man*

**Venice, Italy**

Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana:

Ms. lat. I 99, *The Grimani Breviary*

**Vienna, Austria**

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek:

Ms. 1897, *The Hours of James IV of Scotland*

Ms. 1907, *Chroniques du règne de Charles VII*

Ms. S.n. 12878*

Cod. S.n. 13 236, Book of Hours*

Hs. 2734 (Book of Hours inscribed Joest Willems d van Forrest) reproduction

**Windsor Castle, UK**

RCIN.1047371*

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Karen van Mander, 1969 [First published 1550], Het Schilder-boek
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### APPENDIX 1  Description, DNP MS 483, *The Van Zonnevelt Hours*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Binding</th>
<th>Measurements: 22 x 15cm.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Red velvet cover over original brown calf on boards. Triangular holes to allow the clasps (now missing) to be seen and used. Top front hole shows evidence of having been couched with silver thread. Lower front hole has been repaired in blanket stitch with red thread. Back two corresponding triangular holes have been secured in red stitching. Original brown calf is blind stamped in three horizontal and vertical rows of triple lines full across forming a central rectangle. Rectangle is filled with a pattern, forming lozenges of triple stamped lines.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spine</th>
<th>Remains of 2 paper labels. 1 at top with possible L, 1 in middle with M 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Back Cover</th>
<th>Small paper label with 5 180</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Folio Edges</td>
<td>Edges are gilt and gauffered in a lozenge pattern with a flower design consisting of 5 dots round a centre dot within each lozenge.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folios</td>
<td>Written to 17, 15 and 16 lines.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folio</th>
<th>Hour / Full-page Miniature (M) /Historiated Initial (HI)</th>
<th>lines</th>
<th>Borders and Large Capitals</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(All rubrics in red)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-12v</td>
<td>Full calendar, written in Dutch</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Each KL (extends 2 lines above rulings) in gold on a red and blue background patterned with white tracery and outlined in black. Background decoration and outline bounding show some variation; some cusped, some straight, with at least 2 hands evident. Hand A appears the more accomplished artist, displaying a more delicate touch with the white tracery. Hand B has a more solid style, is less consistent with the division of blue and red and, for July and September, the white tracery is only partial. Borders not decorated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dominical letter A in gold with alternating <strong>red and violet pen flourishing</strong>. Written in black, capitals stroked in red. Opening rubrics, important feast days and Golden Numbers written in red. Calendar full, standard use of Utrecht with 2 variations: 11 January left blank and 17 November <em>Tecla ioncfrou</em> (Saint Tecla) as well as the usual 23 September) Several Saint days underlined in red: 23 February Viglia(Vigil), 4 April Ambrosius, (Ambrose) 13 July Margriet ioncfrou, (Saint Margaret), 15 July Der Apostelen scheidhen, (Division of the Apostles) 18 October Lucas Evangelist, (Luke Evangelist), 21 October <em>xi 11 maechden</em> (Saint Ursula and 11,000 martyrs). Almost 2,000 words, in Dutch or French, of family history in borders throughout calendar.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13v</td>
<td><em>Annunciation</em> (M)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Second phase borders. Blue yellow and red acanthus, pinks, heartsease, rose and bird. Tiny gold circles and dots scattered throughout. NB All miniatures inserted (blank on recto) <em>Ave Gracia Plea Ons</em> (Opening of Hail Mary) written in gold across bed cover.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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623 See Appendix 2 for transcript of all inscriptions.
| 14r-69v | *Hours of the Virgin* | 15 | 3 and 4-line capitals demarking Hours are blue on cusped gold fields and enclose gold tracery on a red background with small ink sprays and three gold petals extending from the mid-left of the letter into the left margin.

All pages with 3 and 4-line initials have a double unbroken baguette along the left side of the text column in red and gold. The upper and lower margins of these pages are decorated with acanthus leaves, flowers, fruit and birds, interspersed with brown dots and gold circles.

Most 2-line capitals are gold on a blue and red background, divided either horizontally or on the diagonal, and decorated with white tracery.

2-line capitals on pages with historiated initials are gold on a red background with gold tracery, as is the 2-line capital on folio 78v.

1-line capitals are in gold with alternating red and violet pen flourishing. |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14r</td>
<td>Madonna and Child in half moon (Virgin en Sole)(HI)</td>
<td>Three quarters height Madonna with child holding fruit. All historiated initials belong to the second phase and are by the Masters of Hugo Janszoon van Woerden, Masters of the Suffrages. All historiated initials are blue with white tracery on a cusped gold field, with an ink spray with three gold petals extending from the mid-left of the letter into the left margin, breaking a double baguette in red and gold. The red outer lines of the baguettes have two or three short sections decorated with intertwining fine lines in gold. All historiated initial pages have 4 borders of acanthus leaves, flowers, fruit and birds interspersed with browns dots and gold circles. These borders are enclosed by a fine line in red. Rubric: <em>Hier begint onse lieve vrouwen ghende. Te metten tijt</em> (Here begins the Hours of the Virgin. Matins) 7 line historiated Initial placed on lines 3-9. Madonna and Child on red background with gold tracery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69r</td>
<td>Pilgrim badges</td>
<td>Two pilgrim badges of <em>Vera Icon</em> painted on parchment and sewn in with linen thread at end of Hours of Virgin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70v</td>
<td>Crucifixion (M)</td>
<td>Cross at an oblique angle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71r-81r</td>
<td>Hours of the cross</td>
<td>15 1-line capitals gold alternate red and violet pen flourishing Between ff.75v and 76r loose piece of paper with list of numbers in the hand of the First Duchess of Northumberland. Words on cross: <em>Neope am</em> with <em>L under</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71r</td>
<td>Christ carrying the Cross</td>
<td>6-line historiated initial enclosing the figure of Christ holding the cross on a divided background - green in the lower quarter, red with gold tracery above. 1-line capitals gold alternate red and violet pen flourishing No rubric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82v</td>
<td>Raising of Lazarus (M)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Folios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83r-135r</td>
<td>Hours of the Dead</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83r</td>
<td>Souls in Purgatory (HI)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136r</td>
<td>Patrons before an Altar (M)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137r-162r</td>
<td>Prayers as follows:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137r</td>
<td>Confiteor (Confession)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138r</td>
<td>Stabat Mater</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 140v | Short Hours of the Cross | 16 | 4-line capital in gold, outlined in successive lines of black, blue, white and black on the left, with pinkish-red replacing the blue on the right. Although it is similar style of capital to those found on ff. 137r and 138r it is neater in execution and is probably by a different hand. A single 'Haarlem' style baguette runs down the left margin, extending into the top margin with an ink spray with three gold petals.\(^{624}\)  
Upper and lower border decoration in second phase style  
3-line capital is gold on cusped blue and pinkish-red background, divided vertically, with white tracery.  
Red and gold Haarlem baguette.  
Three 1-line crosses in gold, pen-decorated in alternating red and violet.  
140v-160v, 1-line capitals *strok[ed in red]* | Rubric: *Vanden heilghen crws [cruus]* (Here begins the Short Hours of the Cross)  
Folio 140v changes from double brown and gold verticals to coloured red, blue and gold banded verticals in Haarlem style. |

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\(^{624}\) Haarlem style confirmed by Klaas van der Hoek, conservator at Amsterdam University Library
<p>| 145r | Prayer of Cloistered Sister | 16 | Unusual 3-line capital in gold on a cusped pinkish-red and blue background with white tracery, filled with a 'quilted' diamond pattern in blue. A single Haarlem baguette is divided diagonally into sections of gold, pinkish-red and blue with white tracery extending below the capital on the left side of the page. Ink spray with three gold petals extends into the left margin. Top and lower border second phase style. f. 150r is blank 1-line capitals <strong>stroked in red</strong> | Prayer written in black, with lines 1-14 underlined in red. Written in female form. (See below for transcription) |
| 151r | Unfinished Haarlem-style border | 16 | f. 151r a 5-line capital in blue with white tracery on a cusped gold background. The centre is pinkish-red with a pattern in white that is symmetrical about the vertical centre. Extending below the capital is a Haarlem baguette, a second Haarlem baguette is on the right extending above and below the height of the text. The upper, right and lower borders are of beautifully executed acanthus leaves in two shades of red, blue, green and gold, with ink sprays and gold dots with brown rays or pointed petals in gold. There are spaces in all margins indicating that is unfinished. 1-line capitals <strong>stroked in red</strong> | Change to thinner parchment |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Details</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 156v | **Takkenbossen Haarlem-style border** | 5-line capital placed on lines 12-16 in same style as 5-line capital on f. 151r but with a different infill pattern. There is no baguette. Border decoration in the upper, left and lower margins is of the *takkenbossen* type associated with the Masters of the Haarlem Bible.  
1-line capitals **stroked in red** | Rubric line 12 *van onse vrouwen* |
| 161v | | 3-line capital, at the start of the following prayer, is gold on a blue and pinkish-red background with white tracery and is divided horizontally. The borders in the upper and lower margins are decorated in the same style as 15-line section | Line 5, words underlined in red *hier noem die lake* |
| 162v | | | Rubric: *Hier beghint die seven psalm* (Here begins the seven Psalms) |
| 163v | **Uriah (M)** | *Uriah* has second phase border facing text - opening of Psalms – with Haarlem border | *P.ro Hatra* written in gold in hem |
| 164-176v | Penitential Psalms | 2-line capitals are gold on a squared dark lilac background with blue centre and white tracery. Some painted unevenly.  
1-line capitals are gold with alternating red and violet pen flourishing. | |

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625 *Takkenbossen* style confirmed by Klaas van der Hoek, conservator at Amsterdam University Library
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>164r</td>
<td>Decorated initial and borders in Haarlem style.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Haarlem style 7-line decorated capital in blue with white tracery on a gold background. The centre is decorated with a 'beehive' design. The border in the upper, right and lower margin is composed of acanthus leaves, flowers, a bird and sprays of gold circles and pointed petals in the Haarlem manner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176v</td>
<td>Litany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saints all begin with 1-line capital in gold with alternating red and violet pen flourishing extending into the margin. f.179r, line 8, penned gold arrows with violet and red decoration point at Sinte Ambrosius Saint Ambrose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191v</td>
<td>Inscriptions of Ownership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192r</td>
<td>Back paste down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inscription</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## APPENDIX 2  DNP MS 484, *The Golden Bathsheba Hours*

| Front Cover: Old red velvet over woodeboards | Remains of label, top middle 74(?) bled through | Holes for two clasps | Measurements: 20.4 x 15cm. folios gilded edges |
| Spine | Remains of label at top, 6(?) written in black |
| Back Cover | Label with 6 written on it, middle bottom | Back pastedown: 20l 6.10 |
| Inside cover | Dealer description in French: Heures Latins prieres in..... |
| folios | Calendar written in French. Text written in Latin, ruled to 16 or 17 lines with 5, 2 or 1 line acanthus capitals on red, lilac, blue or turquoise-green backgrounds. Red and blue rubrics. Painted line fillers in same colours as capitals. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folio</th>
<th>Hour</th>
<th>Miniature</th>
<th>lines</th>
<th>Borders</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-12v</td>
<td>Full calendar written in French</td>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Feast days in gold, rest written in alternating red and blue.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13r</td>
<td>Gospel extracts</td>
<td>St John</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Illusionistic flowers, butterflies and bird on yellow background.</td>
<td>f.13r rubric in alternating red and blue lines- <em>Inicium sancti euvā gelij secundu iohem:</em>-<em>Gloria tibi domine</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16v</td>
<td>St Luke</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Large yellow acanthus leaves with red highlights on yellow background.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Book</td>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18v</td>
<td>St Matthew</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Diamond pattern in orange and pale green with upside down fleur-de-lis type motif.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21r</td>
<td>St Mark</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>SANCTE MARCE ORA written in dark yellow with red highlights and grey shadows on lighter grey background.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23v</td>
<td>Obsecro te</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28r</td>
<td>O interemata</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>f. 28r blank (miniature planned?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31r</td>
<td>Hours of the Cross</td>
<td>Crucifixion</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Illusionistic flowers, butterflies, caterpillar and strawberries on yellow background.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38r</td>
<td>Hours of the Holy Spirit</td>
<td>Pentecost</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Alternating triangles of yellow and pink, decorated with flowers, birds and acanthus leaves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45r</td>
<td>Hours of the Virgin</td>
<td>Annunciation</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Large yellow diamond shaped frames with pattern of pearls on grey background.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58v</td>
<td>Visitation</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Orange/red background stippled with gold decorated with illusionistic pearls and jewels.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73r</td>
<td>Nativity</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Large, simple architectural shapes in shades of yellow.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Beautifully painted. Matching border on f. 19r with 5-line capital different to all others: white acanthus 'I' on blue and yellow diagonal stripes, enclosed in a rectangle.
- f. 31v Decoration on large capitals and line fillers commences here, through to f. 38r
- f. 39r begins; O domine labia mea aperies
- Thinly painted
- Matching border on facing text page.
- 3 lines of text in border directly under miniature.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Lineage</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>83r</td>
<td>Annunciation of the Shepherds</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Oblique - backward leaning - yellow acanthus stems on pink background with flowers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85r</td>
<td>Adoration of the Magi</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Oblique - forward leaning – yellow acanthus leaves on turquoise green background</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90r</td>
<td>Presentation at the Temple</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Crossed acanthus leaves on grey, green or red background set in architectural lozenges.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94r</td>
<td>Flight into Egypt</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Illusionistic flowers, butterflies and caterpillars on yellow background.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104r</td>
<td>Coronation of the Virgin</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Illusionistic flowers, butterflies, snail and peacock on yellow background.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111r</td>
<td>Benediction - Conception of the Virgin Mary</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Illusionistic flowers, butterflies and bird on yellow background.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joachim and Anne</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120r</td>
<td>Penitential Psalms</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Pattern of black letters L on gold background alternating with gold grotesques on black background. Painted in monochrome with some yellow ochre and gold.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120v</td>
<td>Psalm 6 text</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Black and gold – letter I/J ff. 121-126v written 16 lines with decorated capitals and line endings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127r</td>
<td>Psalm 50 part 2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Black and gold Letter L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Text</td>
<td>Column</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127v</td>
<td>Psalm 50 part 3</td>
<td>text</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135v</td>
<td>Litany</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144r</td>
<td>Office of the Dead</td>
<td>Raising of Lazarus</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161v</td>
<td>Readings of Job⁶²⁶</td>
<td>Job the Blessed</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163v</td>
<td>Lectio secunda</td>
<td>Job visited by Satan</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165r</td>
<td></td>
<td>Job on Dungheap</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168r</td>
<td></td>
<td>Job Redeemed</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>APPENDIX 3  Description, DNP MS 485, <em>The Goesin Hours</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Binding:</strong> contemporary or very early red velvet over wooden boards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spine</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Back Cover</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Inside fly</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Inside cover</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>folios</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Folio</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1-10v | Continuous calendar | None | Red letter days: 5/1 Dertiendach, 13/1 Ponciaen marteler
Entry for 17 March
Item wilti altoes weeten te vyn
Den. Den dach van paelchen. Soe
lucket in die naeste lyt voer dele
lyt daer staet Ppetua ende feliti
tas ende dat eerste gulden ghetal
van den iave daer ghi dan in lint
ende daer naelt steet. Daer telt drie
sonendage op maart die derde ies
paes dach. |
|-------|---------------------|------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 11v   | Gospel extracts     | St. John | Illusionistic flowers on gold, top , lower and left margin | 10-line miniature, one line into border
f. 11v rubric Evangeliũ Sedm Johãnem |
| 12v   | St Luke             | Illusionistic flowers on gold, top , lower and left margin | 10-line miniature, one line into border
f. 12v red rubric Evangeliũ Sedm Lucan |
| 13v   | St Matthew          | Illusionistic flowers on gold, top , lower and left margin | 10-line miniature, one line into border
f. 13v red rubric Evangeliũ Sedm Matheum |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Image</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14v</td>
<td>St Mark</td>
<td>Illusionistic flowers on gold, top, lower and left margin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10-line miniature, one line into border</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>f. 14v red rubric E S Marc Evangeliù i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18r</td>
<td>blank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18v</td>
<td>Hours of the Virgin</td>
<td>Annunciation of the Virgin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Architectural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Facing text page has matching border</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>f. 19r red rubric benite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20r</td>
<td></td>
<td>Thumbprint 1.8 x 1.3cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26v</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rubric Hie naevolghen die laudee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27r</td>
<td>blank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27v</td>
<td>Visitation</td>
<td>Illusionistic flowers and flies on gold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Facing text page has matching border with 9-line acanthus capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33v</td>
<td>Nativity</td>
<td>9-line capital G, gold on blue background with possibly silver, now grey tracery. 'Pomegranate' shape in centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35v</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rubric hier eyndet die metten van onser / lieuer vrouwen. Hier nae vol /ghet die pryem end voer elche / ghette lestinen due Maria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40v</td>
<td>Annunciation of the Shepherds</td>
<td>Illusionistic flowers.....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Facing text page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11-line initial acanthus initial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43v</td>
<td></td>
<td>hier eyndet die terrij ende nae / die sexe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44r</td>
<td>blank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Image Description</td>
<td>Text Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44v</td>
<td>Adoration of the Magi</td>
<td>Facing text page 11-line acanthus initial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48r</td>
<td>blank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48v</td>
<td>Presentation to the Temple</td>
<td>Facing text page 9-line acanthus initial G with blue and silver pomegranate design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51v</td>
<td>Te vespertyt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52r</td>
<td>blank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52v</td>
<td>Flight into Egypt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58r</td>
<td>8 lines of text</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58v</td>
<td>Coronation of the Virgin</td>
<td>Facing text page 11-line acanthus initial, yellow-brown on orange bakground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62v</td>
<td>Line 13 hier cyndet die vrowen ghetite Line 21 hier beghint die heiligeest gietite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63r</td>
<td>blank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63v</td>
<td>Hours of the Holy Spirit Pentecost</td>
<td>10-line yellow acanthus initial on grey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70v</td>
<td>Pen decorated border</td>
<td>Die Lauds Left margin, red pen and colour Note: All oen-decorated margins include gold sterritjes (golden circles with radiating lines)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Decorated Border Details</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71v</td>
<td>Te prym Left margin extending short way round upper and lower corners, red pen and colour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75v</td>
<td>Te terrien left margin, red pen and colour</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77v</td>
<td>Te sexte tit left margin, vine leaf and grape</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79v</td>
<td>Te noen tit left margin, fine green stems and orange acanthus leaves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81v</td>
<td>Te vesper tit, left margin, red pen and coloured flowers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84v</td>
<td>Te compleet, left and lower margins, red pen, green leaves and coloured flowers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87v</td>
<td>blank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87v</td>
<td>Office of the Dead Trinity Flowers and golden acanthus on green background – like border surrounding Saint Matthew, folio in Getty Museum, Ludwig IX 18, known as <em>The Spinola Hours</em>. Facing text page 10-line acanthus initial</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88v</td>
<td>Opens with red rubric bendien laet ins die ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94v</td>
<td>Die laudes, left and lower margins, red pen, green leaves, coloured flowers and blue and yellow acanthus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96v</td>
<td>Te prymen left margin, red pen and coloured flowers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98r</td>
<td>Die tercie left margin, red pen and coloured motifs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99v</td>
<td>Te sexte tit left margin, red pen and coloured motifs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Decoration Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100v</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pen decorated border, te noen left and lower margins, red pen and coloured motifs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102r</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pen decorated border, Vesper left and lower margins, red pen and coloured motifs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104v</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pen decorated border, Te compleet left margin, red pen, coloured motifs and blue acanthus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107v</td>
<td>Hours of Cross</td>
<td>Crucifixion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108r</td>
<td></td>
<td>Five lines of text above, 12-line capital H, gold capital on blue with white tracery with pomegranate in centre, Architectural borders with woman kneeling in prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108v-116r</td>
<td></td>
<td>Finger prints – small ones over bigger ones. Thumb prints at top of folios – held from top with thumbs pointing down.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116v</td>
<td>Prayers and psalms</td>
<td>Pen decorated border, Te prym left margin, red pen and coloured motifs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118v</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pen decorated border, Psalm left margin, red pen and coloured motifs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120v</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pen decorated border, Psalm left margin, red pen and coloured motifs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122v</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pen decorated border, Left margin, red pen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123v</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pen decorated border, Left margin, red pen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126v</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pen decorated border, Left, upper and lower margin, red pen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128v</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ruled but blank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128°</td>
<td>Penitential Psalms</td>
<td>Bathsheba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vigil of Nine Lessons</td>
<td>Three Living and Three Dead</td>
<td>Flowers and peacock on golden yellow ground. Facing page has basket of flowers the height of border</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pen-decorated border</td>
<td>Left, lower and upper borders, red pen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>Back paste downs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 4
Transcription of added Inscriptions, DNP MS 483, The Van Zonnevelt Hours

Folio 1'   KL January
Top right margin.
Aº 1553 op den iiijen /
dach January naeden stil /
doen was van Brabant

APPENDIX 4
Transcription of added Inscriptions, DNP MS 483, The Van Zonnevelt Hours/
is overleden Vrauwe /
Cornelia van Sonne /
veldt inde stadt van /
Antwerpen huysvrauwe /
des Amptmans der /
selver Sterck627 Heer /
Godevart Sterck /
des Ridders etc.
Zij achterlatende drie /
zonen ende een dochter /
leevende die hij hadde /
getraut inde stadt /
van Alckmaer in /
Hollandt opden v'en /
dach Augusty inden /
Jaere van xliij

627 Should probably read ' der selver stadt', meaning the same town i.e. Antwerp.
Inden Jaere van 1563 Ick gekomen vanden Coninck in Spaengien / metter Commissie van die van Antwerpen doer d'advis vanden /
staten vanden landen. Is gestorven mijnen Eersten zoene Gerard /
Sterck binnen die Stadt van Valencien aldaer gekomen zijnde /
 zijn Majesteit van Barcelonen Ende die Cortes van Monson Ende /
heft hem Inde selve stadt van Valencien Monseigneur le president /
van Tysnacq ende die voorseide Gerard gekomen van Oran In /
Barbarien Ende dat wrange van het pingnon alsoe geheeten /
oick in barbarien voirseit Ende komende van dienst Conincklijcke Majestijt ver /
moeijt\textsuperscript{628} van den Rijse is gestorven als voere /
Cornelius Sterck mijnen derden zoene ende ten dienste vanden Coninck /
bij bevele van den prinche van parma van Coelen ende bij zijn /
hulpe ...... wonende verhit ende verkault is in die Stede /
van Ruermonde subitelick gestorven op den xxen Januarij A\textdegree 1579

\textsuperscript{628} All words in red are uncertain
Top left margin

A° 1579 op den xx\textsuperscript{en} Januarij /
is mijn zoan Cornelis deser /
weerelt overleden in de stadt /
v van Ruermunde in Gelderlandt /
ende subitelick comen van Coelen /
met Commissie van den prinche /
v van parma general Commandeur /
v van den Lande ende doer Carpen dat /
hem overgaff doer zijn toedoen /
tot obedientie van den Co. /
Mat. onser gendadigsten Heer /
Ende begraven in de voorseide /
Stadt van Roermunde

Folio 1\textsuperscript{v} Lower margin

--- l’an 1585 cinqième en Fevrier fu[s]t nee la fille de mon/
frere selon la mere me le mandit dois lille ouque sen voyay/
guerrir par sa ferm[m]e de monnoyer l’enfant ayant sur nom Canen/
et elle marye, venant a lille trouvit la mere en Conobe aux/
extremes malade, laqu’elle lay donit son enfant qu’elle me/
portit a tourney, ou elle reseut le 8e batesime en l’église de/
Sinte mergriete, estant mon pere son parein et moy mareine/
elle at nom andronica
Ao xlix stil was van
Brabant heeft Vrauwe
Cornelia van Sonneveldt
ter weerelt gebrocht
op den vij en february deser maent
int voirseide jaer van 1549
mijnen iven zoent geheeten
Eerhardt daer van de
Genaderen waeren
Heer Lancelot van
Vissel Ridder Borgemeester
van Antwerpen
die Heer van Westmale
Heer Erhardt van
Contereel ende mijn Vrauwe
van Berchem huysvrauw
Heer Henricx van /Berchem, des Ridders
Ende vroech gestorven.
Ao xlv opden vèn februari is geboren /
Gerard Sterck mijn Eersten zoen daer /
moeder aff was Vrauwe Cornelia van /
Sonneveldt, Ende hebben hem ter /
heijligher vunten geheven zijn grootvader /
Heer Gerard Sterck Ridder, Vrouwe Agnes /
van Halmale weduwe den heer honarts /
vanz Inckevoorde, Ende die jongere dochter /
vanz heer Andries van Sonneveldt ende van /
Oudtshoren juffrou Gertrud noch jonge dochter /
Inden name van Heer Peeter Claes Palinck /
Ridder van Jerusalem zijn ouden grooten vader /
die inden dienst Co. Mat. in Hispanien gestorven in de stadt /
vanz Valencien in den jaere xliii

Folio 2v
Lower margin
1594 /
Le 5e du mois d'october sont confirmez mes /
nieves en leglise de la chapelle madeleena biglia /
et andronica sterck per le Reverent esèiesgine /
escossois estant le'ur parein le seignor Jheronimo /
Caraffa merguis de monto negro, napolitant et moy, a l'hon/
neur de dieu soit.

Folio 3v   KL Maert
A° 1 lxvij opden /
xvij April des /
tijts wij doer die /
Rebellie vertrocken /
zijnde ende inde Stadt /
van Namen wesen /
Ende Ick Thresorier /
generael van de financiën /
Conincklicke Majesteit van ver dici e /
vuijt onse erven Ende /
huisen stervende /
Is inde selve stadt /
begraven zijn (b???) /
huysvrauwe Anna /
van Groenenb(erg?) des /
voirseiden Thresoriers /
tweede huysvrauwe Ende /
dat int eerste Jaer /
van onsen voirseiden /
vertreeck ende bannisse van /
Antwerpen dat Ick /
Godefroy Sterck tot /
xxvij Jaeren lanck /
ende continuclicken als /
Amptman der selver /
stadt geresideert heb /
Tusschen wijlen altoos /
gedient hebben tot /
dienst ende bevele van de /
Coninck onsen genadigsten heer /
ende daer naerals /
Thresorier gecontinueert /
Int leenen Domicien foers /
vermoeg ende Heer Don /
Johan van Oistenijck /
ende bij zijnen successor /
den prinche van parma /
Govendor zoer vaillant /
ende victorieus In dese /
landen van Heerwaert over

Folio 3' bottom left
A° beginnen lj opden vier vuijren /
naer middach opden Heylighen /
paesschavont zijnde den xxixen /
Meerte die geheven hebben ter /
vunten ende heylighen kersdom /
doen Thresorier General zijnde Heer /
Laureys Rongim onse nichte die /
weduwe van Heer Govart van /
Inckevoirt Ende driende huysvrauwe /
van Heer Johan Wolffart vraelue /
Agnes van Sombeke Ende is /
Johanna genoempt Ter gedenkenisse /
mijnder saliger moeder.

Folio 4’ - KL April
Side margin
Aº lv op den xxvij en July heb /
Ick getraut mijn /
tweede huysvrauwe /
Anna van Groenenb(erg?) /
die tot Namen deser werelt /
overscheeyden in den Jaer /
vand lxxvij als hier voer.

Folio 5’ - KL Mei
Lower margin
Le 19e de se mois 1587 sur ving mardy j'esposay /
avecque Conge de leglise romainne en la maison de /
mon pere en anvers appres la messe steeg ditte en /
presence de mes plus proches parens le seignor Lode /
vico Conte de Biglia millan[n]es pour mes troisiem[m]es /
nopces, a Honeneur de dieu soit.

Folio 5v
Top and left hand margin
Le 26e de juillet 1606/7 est trespase mon /
mary le Conte Ludovico Biglia estant /
en l'armee a moock Commandant en Regiment /
de hault allemans de 14 Compagnie /
dont il estoit Coronel pour sa Mgte /
Chatolique /
au service de /
sa ditte Majeste /
auquel il a voit /
Continuelle l'espace
de 23 ans a /
piedt et a cheval, /
dieu luy confie... /630
sa S[ain]te. gloire.

Folio 7'  KL July

Top margin

A° xlvj xxiiij a July is geboren inden /
stadt van Antwerpen Mynen tweeden zoen /
……… Sonargije Andries Sterck opde een huyre Beginnende den /
Saterdag ende hebben hem ter vunten Ende/
Heylighen Kersdom ontfangen. Andries Willemsz /
vان Sonneveldt zynen eenigen

629 Looks as if 6 has been corrected to 7.
630 Difficult to read as text overlaps calendar.
zoen Guillelmus ende myn /
suster Unesels Tot bruysel woonende.

**Folio 8r  KL Augustus**

*Top right margin*

A° 1543 op den ven /
dach Augustij trouden /
Heer Godevart Sterck /
Binnen die stadt van /
Aleckmaer zijn huijsvrauwe /
Juffrou Cornelia van /
Sonneveldt ende van /
Outdshoren.

*Folio 8r  lower margin*

A° xlvij opden xij° Augustij worden geboren /
mijnen derden zoene Cornelis Sterck In der stadt /
van Antwerpen hem hebben geheven ter onser /
heyligher vunten ende kerstenheit Heer Martini Lopez /
mijn schoonmoeder Jozijne van Dale ende Johan /
van Eecken drossaert tot Berghen op zoom /
die selve starf /storf inden jaer van 1578 tot mijnen zeer /
grooten verdriete. Ende diener Co.Mat. inder /
oorlogen tegen die Rebellen Begonst die tweede/
zijnde ende regnerende int gouvernement die grooten Alexander /
prinche van parma Ende plaisance.
Folio 9°  KL September

Top Margin

L'an 1587 morut mon pere mesire godefroy sterck /
que dieu face misericorde en la ville de Brusselles moy /
presente, il trespasit le 4e en octobre le matin a 4 heure /
en ving dimence eagee 78 ans ayant servy sou Roy 40 ans /
d'am[m]an danvers et mercy en tresorieux general lequel estat /
il deservit 7 ans

Folio 10°  KL October

Top, right and lower margins

A° 1578 In den tijt van Onse Exulatie gevloeden /
vuijt Antwerpen Ick ende al mijn huysgesin ende tot /
Luxenbourg gekomen tootten dienst van Co. Mat. van te /
voer ende inden Jaere van 1577 Ende aldaer gevonden /
die Hoocheit van Monseigneur Don /
van Oistenryck die van Luxenbourg /
voirseit vertreckende Naer Kersmisse /
ende tot Namen komende vindende /
die vianden Ende /
Rebellen vanden /
landen daer bij /
Namen Ende tot /
Templon omtrent /
ander half mijle /
vander stadt. Ende / willende Reconoseeren / ende vernemende aldaer / gecampeert zijnde die / selve vianden heeft / die occasie gevonden / hunlieden te aentassen / heeft die selve xx tegen / die zijne nedergeleyt / geslagen verdreven / ende boven ses duijsent / opder plaetsen gebleven / Meer dan andere vier / duijsent gevangen / ende daer naer noch / groote victorien gehadt / Is de selve hoochgeboren vorst ende Heere Broeder zijn / Conincklicke Majesteit ende Natuerlick gestorven Inden voirseide Jaere / van 1578 opden Eersten October. Ende In zijn klein / logement opden Berghe geheeten Bonge vast bij der stadt / Namur Ende grootst beclaecht zijnde aldaer tot Namur / zijn vuijtaert Inder grooten kercken gedaen Bij den / prinche van parma zijnen neve die hy in zijn plaetse / korts daer naer verclaert is geweest byden Conincklicke Majesteit /
zijn gouverneur generael inden landen Heerwaertsover /
die wij aldaer zijnde teenemael ende gelijckelick gevolcht ende /
gedient hebben allen de tijt van onse exulatie ende verdriet /
totten dienst Co.Mat.

Folio 11r     KL November

Top margin
Aº 1576 opden iiiën Novembris Was die /
Stadt van Antwerpen vuijten Casteele /
overloepen bij den Spaenjaerden des /
daechs naer dat die Rebellen /
vanden Staten In der Stadt /
gelaeten waeren Ende /
alsoe overvallen /
ende gesaccageert.

Folio 11r, Lower margin
Le 19e de se mois 1607 le matin jo[u]r S[ain]te Elisabeth/
fut nee Alberto entre 7 et 8 heures le premier /
enfant du Conte de bugnoy procree de sa femme /
Donna madalena Biglia luy ayant faiet l’nom /631
S’ Don Rodrigo Laszo qui le leva des fons et /
ner le nom l’archeducz nostro prince perle/
moy qui luy fois marine.

Folio 191v

631 Illegible word
Three inscriptions; each in a different hand.

1. Top

Dit boeck behoort thoe /

Willemijne van Zonnevelt /

Tot alckmaer.

2. Middle. Erased inscription

........ onse boek

3. Lower half of folio.

Ende hebben ghegheven in heuren

Mij

Leeven aen Joanna Sterck heur Clein

Dochter eenighe dochter van vrauwe

Corneli van Sonnevelt

In Liefden

Joanna Sterck.

Folio 192r

Aº xvc ende vj in augusta den xxij dach in den /

kerkje in hollant van weghe den oorloghe welcke pieter

voirs[creven]........ ............... doen out wesende /

drie Jaren ende ix maenden god die ghevet hem /

toet sinder vraanden ende eere op dat hij in /

doechden mach wassen ende leeren toet int /

ende van sine leven dat wil ons godt allesamen /

gonnen ende gheven Na dit leven sin weghe /
loven, Amen

632 My thanks to Paul Harthoorn for his help with the transcription.
Note: Words in red are uncertain