The Medieval and Renaissance manuscripts of the Grey Collection catalogued.

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The purpose of this article is twofold: to make known the publication of a comprehensive catalogue of the medieval and Renaissance manuscripts in the Grey Collection of the National Library, Cape Town, and to give an overview of the most valuable and/or unique art works in the Collection. The manuscripts described in the article are not intended to be an exhaustive list. Such a list can be found in the catalogue itself. The descriptions in the catalogue and in the article leave room for further research, but inform the reader of what can be found in the collection. The catalogue has already been proved to be of use for researchers overseas who were unaware of sources in Cape Town. It is my hope and intention that this article may also be of use to researchers who are unaware of the valuable sources in the Grey collection.

In 1989 P.O. Kristeller wrote in *Iter Italicum* (p.474): "A good deal has been published on the (Grey) collection, but no adequate catalogue is available so far". He went on to say that "the art work found in the richly illuminated miniatures and initials is a veritable treasure trove and deserves to be more widely studied" and that the collection contains important dated manuscripts and several humanistic manuscripts whose textual content is rare or unique.

A catalogue in two volumes, entitled *The Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Grey Collection of the National Library of South Africa, Cape Town*, appeared in July 2002, compiled and edited by the author of this article. The catalogue was published as part of the *Analecta Cartusiana* series by the *Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik* of the University of Salzburg, Salzburg, Austria. A total of 114 manuscripts is discussed, dated between the 10th and 16th centuries.

The Grey Collection was a gift to the South African Library (now the National Library) in Cape Town from Sir George Grey, governor of the Cape from 1854 to 1861, who left his collection of five thousand books to the Library when he was transferred to New Zealand. The 114 medieval and Renaissance manuscripts form one of the most valuable parts of the Collection and certainly the most beautiful.

By purchasing all the manuscripts in this collection prior to 1861, Grey was able to acquire works of outstanding range and quality before the rapid growth of collecting diminished the range and number of manuscripts available to potential collectors and drove up their prices precipitously. (Marrow 1992: 128). He was not a specialist in his collecting; he did not set out to accumulate great numbers of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts or to focus only on
particular types of books. Instead, he seems to have wished to collect examples representative of the full spectrum of culture transmitted in books representing Western civilization. The Grey Collection contains examples of Latin manuscripts, those in the major western European vernaculars, of Hebrew and Greek works. Authors range from the Classical tradition to Renaissance Humanism. There are Bibles and other religious works, secular books, scientific works, literary texts, works of music, prose and poetry; works of reference and "escapist literature", books large in size and sumptuous in their material, decoration and illustrations, or small and plain; works written for and previously owned by people in all walks of life.

In this article the manuscripts notable especially for the art work will be concentrated on. The following descriptions are not intended to be an exhaustive list. Such a list can be found in the catalogue. The aim of this article is to give some indication of the artistic quality and importance of the manuscripts in the Collection.

The manuscripts with the most remarkable decorations are mostly the Books of Hours of which there are 27. One of the most notable of these is MS 3.a.16, a compilation of Geert Groote, in Dutch and Latin.

According to James Marrow's description its provenance is Holland and it is dated the first quarter of the 15th century. It is written on vellum, has 235 leaves, and the measurements are 135 x 99 mm, with the binding 145 x 112 x 56 mm. It is written in brown ink in one hand by the scribe Johannes de Malborch in a gothic bookhand. It lacks leaves with full-page miniatures before the Suffrages, beginning on ff. 61 (St John the Baptist), 79 (St James Minor), 89 (St Matthias), 104 (Achatius and the 10,000 martyrs), 107 (St Jerome), 113 (All saints), 121 (Mary Magdalene) and 128 (St Cecilia). Three of these missing miniatures, viz., those of SS Jerome, Mary Magdalene and Cecilia, are now pasted into a Breviary from Cologne, dating from ca. 1475, in Providence, Rhode Island, Brown University, John Hay Library, MS Latin Codex 2, on f. 12v (Mary Magdalene), f. 113r (St Cecilia), and f. 122r (St Jerome). An offset of the outlines of the figure of Mary Magdalene now in Providence appears on f. 120v of the Cape Town Hours, although upside down. Affixed to the inside upper cover of MS 3.a.16 is a hand-coloured Dutch engraving, dated 1507, of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin by the Monogrammist J.I. with the Skull.

The very rich illuminations were probably made by one workshop; it has been ascribed to a follower of the Master of Mary of Gueldres (by J.H.Marrow). The decorative and pictorial elaboration of this manuscript are characteristic of important works of the "second generation" of Dutch illumination (ca. 1415 - 1425). Text pages commencing major texts or text segments in the manuscript are furnished with richly painted initials, a variety of framing baguettes, and dense patterns of border decoration, many of them animated by lively drolleries. Figures in the margins as well as those in many miniatures are garbed in sumptuous and elegantly flowing garments, some with baggy sleeves and dagging, which are typical of the courtly style known as International Gothic. The programme of illustration is distinguished by a large number of full-page miniatures of saints prefacing an extensive series of Suffrages, and some of these are noteworthy in showing the figures in dorsal views. In all these features, the manuscript is allied with contemporaneous works such as the Prayer Book of Mary of Guelders, the latter written in 1415. (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS. Germ qu. 42.)

The Prayer Book of Mary of Guelders furnishes significant stylistic analogies for the present manuscript. The figure types in the Cape Town Hours are similar to those found in the illustrations of the Suffrages of Saints in the Prayer Book, and particularly to the inserted full-page dedication
miniature. The layout of the full-page miniatures in Cape Town also parallels that of Duchess Mary's dedication miniature: all have arched semi-circles at the middle of the upper frame, most of them in the Cape Town Hours likewise containing a bust-length representation of God the Father portrayed in three-quarter view and painted in cameo-blue on a deep blue ground. A few are painted in cameo-pink or gold, and contain representations of angels rather than God the Father, and all are surrounded by thin baguettes which serve as a support for the marginal rinceaux.

If the miniatures of the Cape Town Hours are not by the painter of the dedication miniature of Duchess Mary, they would have to be reckoned as the products of a close assistant or follower. Inasmuch as they can be attributed with greater certainty to the painter who illustrated a Speculum humanae salvationis in Nova Rise, the illuminator will be referred to as the Master of the Nova Rise Speculum. In addition to displaying similar stylistic traits, a number of miniatures in the Cape Town Hours also replicate compositional features of illustrations in the Speculum. These include the depiction of St Ursula with companions beneath her cloak, which echoes, in reverse, the composition of Mary Protectrix in the Speculum; the Flagellation, which quotes the figure of Christ from the like event (f. 21r); the Entombment, whose figures of Christ, Mary and the figure in front of the sarcophagus all harken back to exemplars in Nova Rise (f. 53r); and the Arrest of Christ, which repeats the compositional arrangement and many details of the figures from the same event (f. 19r).

Of other works attributable to the same painter, the most closely related are a damaged and incomplete Missal in Haarlem (Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek, MS. 184 C 8) and a fragmentary Book of Hours in Münster. In addition to its two surviving miniatures, the Haarlem Missal contains baguettes and border decoration that are essentially identical with those in the Cape Town Hours. Although the Münster Hours are more modestly illustrated and decorated than the present manuscript and appears to predate it, the two manuscripts are virtually identical in their dimensions and ruling patterns; they can be attributed to the same scribe, and they belong to the same textual family. The Münster Hours is also related to the Prayer Book of Mary of Guelders through the design of the large painted and gold baguettes on its most important text pages. With the proviso that some of the artisans who decorated the Cape Town manuscript may have been itinerant craftsmen who worked in different centres, the works by the Master of the Nova Rise Speculum, including the present manuscript, may provisionally be localised to Utrecht.

Some of the miniatures are iconographically unusual. The depiction of St Christopher carrying the Christ child is atypical in showing a large and apparently capsized boat just behind the saint, presumably to suggest the perilous nature of the river crossing. The Deposition from the Cross departs from the predominant tradition of representations of this event in showing Mary seated on the ground (she is normally portrayed standing) as she lifts her hands to receive the body of her son. And although the miniatures of the Man of Sorrows here and in the Münster Hours belong to a family of depictions which conflate this subject with elements derived from the iconographic traditions of the Arma Christi and the Angels’ Pieta (Schiller 1972:184), they appear to be singular in their portrayal of an angel holding or descending with the sudarium.

Two other miniatures represent early examples of iconographic motives found in later Dutch art. The Flagellation is the earliest example known to me (J.H. Marrow) from the Northern Netherlands to show Pilate observing the event. (An example of ca. 1431 occurs in a History Bible in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I, MS 9020-23). Significantly, this stylistically related miniature is either a later work by the Master of the Nova Rise Speculum or the product of a close follower:
the figure of Christ repeats the pose of that in the Cape Town miniature and the scourger at the right echoes his counterpart at the left in Cape Town, albeit in reverse. The Crucifixion, finally, is distinctive in showing monochromatic angels who collect blood from Christ's wounds. Although the motif was widespread in German painting of the turn of the fifteenth century, it is exceedingly rare in Dutch art prior to 1450. (Marrow 2002, vol. 1: 80 - 82).

Another Book of Hours remarkable for its artwork is MS 3.c.19. Its provenance is Paris and it was written in the 14th century. It is written on vellum and has 175 leaves plus 1 flyleaf. The measurements are 198 x 143 mm, and the binding 207 x 143 x 46 mm. It has 14 original 3/4-page miniatures, one other 3/4 page miniature and 54 small miniatures added in the fifteenth century.

Margot McIlwain Nshimura writes that this book is significant for its 14 original miniatures which derive from the workshop of the Boucicaut master, the leading Parisian illuminator in the early fifteenth century (active circa 1405-1420). The Boucicaut Master is named after a Book of Hours made around 1405 - 1408 for Jean le Meingre, Maréchal de Boucicaut (Paris, Musée Jacquemart André, MS 2). Some iconographic features of the Grey miniatures represent adaptations from the Boucicaut Hours itself, while others reflect the innovations of one of the early workshop products (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 1161, ca. 1409). The miniatures also demonstrate connections to the Boucicaut Master and his workshop in the basic modelling of figures, in the construction of space, and in the variety of backgrounds and borders. In the Annunciation (p.49), for instance, there are several details that are typical of the Boucicaut workshop: the contrast between the soft, oval face of the Virgin and the more angular face of the angel, the combination of a naturalistic interior space and a flat, finely diapered background, the gold floor and haloes shaded with red; the silver, leaded windows; and the overall balance of colour, with the dominant ultramarine blue, vermilion red, orange and less saturated green repeated in the billowing leaves at the corner of the page. More specifically, the setting represents a scaled-down version of the tall, gothic, rib-vaulted chapel in the Annunciation of the Boucicaut Hours (cf. Meiss 1968, fig. 29), while the foreground arch, which follows the shape of the frame rather than the building, derives from other miniatures in the same manuscript (e.g., ibid., figs. 11, 23, and 41). Millard Meiss identified this device, which creates "a true intermediate form or diaphragm" as one of the more innovative features of the Boucicaut Hours (ibid., p. 13). It becomes common to Boucicaut workshop miniatures, and in the Grey Hours similar arches frame the Presentation in the Temple (p. 136), the Pentecost (p. 211), and the Office of the Dead (p. 234). The settings for the Nativity (p. 110) and the Adoration of the Magi (p. 129) also recall the Boucicaut Hours (ibid., figs. 31 and 33), since the view into the
stable shifts exactly ninety degrees from one scene to the next in both manuscripts. But other sources served as models for some of the details in these scenes. In the Adoration, for instance, the Magi follow the poses for the group from the Boucicaut Hours, but the Madonna and Child derive from the model used for the Adoration in another Book of Hours from around 1409, which Meiss attributed to the Boucicaut workshop (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS lat. 1161, f. 79; ibid., pp. 126 - 127). The same source seems to have supplied the model for the Coronation of the Virgin (p. 157), with the distinctive iconographic features of Christ clasping the hands of the Virgin and the square canopied throne (ibid., fig. 195), which are absent from the Boucicaut Hours (ibid., fig. 36). Although many more references to these early Books of Hours can be cited, it is still difficult to date the Grey Hours with any degree of precision. Some of the miniatures, such as the Funeral Service for the Office of the Dead (p. 234), conform to basic models that were adapted repeatedly in workshop production (cf. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 11051, f. 138, dated by Meiss to c. 1410-20; ibid., fig. 140). The layout of the page and the borders also reflect models that were widely distributed and fall anywhere between 1410 and 1420. ( Nshimura 2002: 220 - 222).

The oldest manuscript in the Grey collection is a Gospel Book in Latin from France dated the 10th century, MS 4.c.15. Nishimura writes in her description that this is a book of the highest importance from an understudied epoch in the history of early medieval manuscript illumination. Leslie Casson¹ examined its text in exhaustive detail but had published little of his research before his death in 1969. In a draft of an article of uncertain date, he makes a strong argument for dating the manuscript in the later 10th century and locates its place of origin in central or northern France, specifically in an unknown monastery with close ties to the great Carolingian centre of Tours (Cape Town, NLSA, L.F. Casson Collection, MSC 36.12(107)). This argument is based on the comparison of some 1300 variant readings. Further evidence pointing to Tours is identified in Casson's extensive handwritten notes.

Leading Carolingian scholars have offered somewhat divergent opinions on the date and place of origin for the Grey Gospel book, based primarily on textual and palaeographical evidence. Bonifatius Fischer has proposed Northeastern France in the last third of the 9th century (Fischer 1988: 28). Bernard Bischoff has suggested the second third of the same century, with a connection, at least for the added Capitulary, to Auxerre (Bischoff 1998: 330-331). Consideration of the manuscript's decoration gives greater support, however, to Casson's unpublished arguments.

There are three basic components to the decoration of MS 4.c.15 that are entirely typical of Carolingian Gospel Books: arcaded canon tables, large introductory initials and full-page evangelist portraits. Unusual, though not unique, are the five title pages in large multicoloured Roman capitals. The combination of insular and classical motifs, especially in the canon tables and initials, ties the decoration to the general conventions of Carolingian illumination. Whereas most of the best-known Carolingian manuscripts make lavish use of gold and rich colours, however, here the decoration is drawn in the same brown ink as the script, with colour added in a very limited range of apparently waterbased pigments, including a slate blue, salmon orange, opaque lemon yellow and fugitive green.

One of the most striking features of this Gospel Book is its suite of four full-page evangelist portraits. In each case the figure is more or less in the centre of the foreground and more or less in profile, a fortress with crenellated walls and multi-story towers behind him. To either side are two spindly columns that support an inverted arch occupied by the given evangelist's symbol. The positioning of the evangelists and the modelling of their seats, footrests, and lecterns draw upon traditions
that were established by the earliest Carolingian Gospel Books, most notably those of the Ada School, which is closely linked to the court and reign of Charlemagne (768-814). The portrait of St John in the Grey Gospels is similar, for example, to the portrait of St Mark in the Soissons Gospels (early 9th century; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 8850, f. 81v; see Koehler 1958, pl. 83), especially in the interrupted writing and the over-the-shoulder glance of each evangelist. In terms of line and colour, there are vast differences between the Grey and the Soissons Gospel Books, but the reminiscences are significant enough to suggest a keen awareness of earlier traditions, however indirect.

Other details can be associated with 9th-century precedents. Florentine Mütterich and Wilhelm Koehler have noted a similarity, for example, between MS 4.c.15's crenellated fortresses and the walls that surround the evangelist portraits in the Sainte-Aure Gospel Book (Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 1171; Koehler and Mütterich 1982: 42 - 43, pls. 34-35), a product of the Court School of Charles the Bald from the third quarter of the 9th century. The style of the drawing suggest, however, that these earlier models were adapted from some chronological distance.

Though no certain identification of the artist has been made, there is a great affinity between the line-drawn figure in the Grey Gospel and those in a number of late 10th- and early 11th-century Prudentius manuscripts. In St John's cap of sausage curls, his heavily rimmed eyes and his 2-shaped nose, for instance, there is a resemblance to figures in a Psychomachia that is dated to the late 10th century and localized to Tours (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 8318; see Woodruff 1930: 36-37, figs. 2-4 and passim). Similar physiognomies can be found in another Psychomachia, possibly from Saint-Amand, dated to the early 11th century (Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 412). In both cases there are also good comparisons for the constructions of the fortress towers.

The inscriptions on the evangelist's scrolls in the Grey Gospels might also be considered as evidence, if not for dating, at least for the central or northern French origin of the manuscript. St Matthew's scroll (f. 14v) contains only a few wavy lines, while St Luke's (f. 86v) is written in two sizes of Tironian notes! Bischoff suggested that this represented a scholastic joke, especially since, according to his identification, the first 17 characters on the scroll are also the first 17 of the Commentarii Notarum Tironianarum (see the edition of Wilhelm Schmitz, Leipzig, 1893, pl. 1; identified in a letter to Casson, dated 10 February 1957, Casson collection, MSC 36.12 (107)). The following, larger notes translate into finit evangelium secundum Lucas [for Lucam]. In the remaining two portraits the inscriptions are written, by contrast, in a tidy, legible
Caroline minuscule and derive from the Carmen Paschale of Sedulius, with Marcus ut altra fremit vox per desert a leonis on St Mark's scroll, and More volans aquilae verbo petit astra Iohannes on St John's (PL XIX, 591, lines 356 and 358). As Sedulian verses are found in evangelist portraits from Tours (cf. Koehler 1933, vol. 2, p. 245 and figs. 10-12) as well as in those from further north (e.g., Cologne, Schnütgen Museum, MS G 531, Saint-Amand ca. 860-880), their presence here gives further weight to Casson's localization.

Repl ying to a letter from Casson asking for an opinion on the Grey Gospels, Wilhelm Koehler wrote, "Your Gospel book makes me very unhappy" (letter to Casson, dated 13 January 1957, Casson Collection, MSC 36.12(107)). He admitted to having never seen anything quite like it, and reported that he knew only of manuscripts that had vague similarities "in details". (In terms of the latter, the comparison to the walls in the Sainte-Aure Gospels must have been foremost, although Koehler does not say so in his letter.) There is, however, a group of little-known late 10th- and early 11th-century Gospel Books from central and northern France, currently being researched by Lawrence Nees, to which MS 4.c.15 appears to belong (see Nees 2002). Among these is New York Morgan Library MS M.319, in which there are canon tables of palette and pattern similar to both the decorated letters and the canon tables of the Grey Gospels. Similarities can also be found in the canon tables of a Gospel Book in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore (MS w.3) that is firmly dated to the end of the 10th century and localized to Fleury (see Nordenfalk 1974). (Nishimura 2002, vol.1: 109-115)

MS 4.c.16 is a Latin Bible, originating from Paris, France, and dating from either the 13th or the first quarter of the 14th centuries. It is written on vellum, has 529 folios, and the measurements are 285 x 193 mm, with the binding 300 x 210 x 80 mm. It is written in an almost uniform dark brown ink in a round gothic bookhand. This Bible's decorative scheme is paralleled more or less closely by that of two others in the Grey Collection (4.b.1, 3.c.1). The details of the colouring and of the iconography are different, of course, but the differences are not fundamental.

At least two illuminators, on different levels of skill, have worked on the book. Whereas the ink outlines the drawings, the borders and the initials are virtually faultless throughout, the same hand being discernible in the features of both the pictures and of the grotesques. This uniformity is not to be found in the colouring, that of the small miniatures having been applied more carefully and with more attention to minutae than that of the remaining, and especially the more repetitive, parts of the design. Particularly noticeable is the less careful workman's habit of running his colour over the edges of the outlines. It is natural to conclude that the more minute work is that of the master, the more perfunctory that of his assistant, perhaps of an apprentice. It is possible that the ink-drawing was the work of one, that the pictures were coloured by another and the remaining parts by a third; the evidence for a decision is insufficient. To find divisions of labour along these lines in the product of a workshop is to be expected.

The opening page (f. 1r) contains the beginning of St Jerome's epistle to Paulinus (Inc. "Frater Ambrosius"). The two horizontals of the historiated initial "F" enclose a small picture of a seated monk, tonsured, and robed in dull pink. With one hand he is writing in a book, in the other he holds a scraper. The whole is a monochrome blue. The "F" with its decorative appendages forms a bar-border, which encloses about two-thirds of the page. It is inhabited by a small brown lion and a small two-legged dragon with a grotesque head, possibly a cat's. The bottom bar supports a hunting scene running towards the left; a hare is being pursued by four greyhounds; behind them comes a man blowing a horn and carrying a club on his left shoulder. The scheme is common
enough in bar-borders at this time, but this version is drawn with unusual humour and nervous energy, especially noticeable in the hounds’ faces.

Chapters II and III of St Jerome’s epistle take up the second column. The opening capitals of each chapter, being subsidiary to the introductory "I" are much smaller, and are coloured red and blue respectively, an alteration of colour that is continued throughout the Bible. Down the whole left-hand side of this column is a border of very fine ink-lines in alternate red and blue. To the left of these with the same alternating colours is a column of J-like strokes, ending in spiral tendrils. Throughout the book, these thread-lines and J strokes are employed in columns containing small subsidiary initials at the beginning of chapters.

This penwork is a valuable clue to both provenance and date. It is not found in manuscripts before the end of the thirteenth century, nor much after the first half of the fourteenth. Moreover, it is a distinctive, though not quite exclusive characteristic of French work, and more narrowly of Paris and the Ile de France.

The decoration of the Genesis page (f. 4r) is similar in principle, different in detail. The initial "I" of the opening verse extends the full height of the left-hand column, and slender vine-branches from it are prolonged to the right, top and bottom, on a cusped ground. The lower branch forms the tail of a dragon, whose body and head (a dog’s head, with short pointed ears, open jaws and protruding tongue) are set under the lowest part of the "I". Two lions, one seated on the cusped finial as before, inhabit the extremity of the tail. The "I" includes eight small miniatures along its length, all but the last mandorla-shaped and bounded by vine-stems. The miniatures represent God creating (1) the earth, (2) the separation of the firmament, (3) the sun, (4) the fishes, (5) the animals, and (6) Adam and Eve. The seventh represent God seated, fullface, with the orb of the world in His left hand, enjoying the Sabbath rest; and the eighth (a rectangle) represents the Crucifixion, with SS Mary and John. Each of these minute and skilfully-drawn figures is portrayed against a monochrome background of blue with a pattern of white dots in threes. In this, as in all Bibles of the period, the Genesis page is the most elaborate.

Figure 3
Genesis, MS 4.c.16

The group of manuscripts to which this book belongs most nearly is that associated with the name of Honoré, the foremost illuminator of his generation. That which is known relating to his life and business is preserved in the records of Parisian taxation and of royal disbursements for work done (the "Comptes du Trésor du Louvre") in the closing years of the thirteenth century. According to the first, he lived in the Rue Erembourc-de-Brie (now corrupted to Rue Bourbrie) near the University, a quarter much favoured by men of his profession (Casson 1960: 55 - 96).

MS 3.b.7, a Dutch Book of Hours from Northern Holland, dating from the end of the fifteenth century has pen-flourish
decoration similar to that in a large group of works localized to the province of North Holland, and in particular to works in the so-called "Meynaert group", which is named after the illuminator of an incunabulum in the Hague.

Figure 4

Annunciation on the left, MS 3.b.7

MS 3.b.9, another Dutch Book of Hours from Utrecht, dating from the end of the fifteenth century, has Spierinck style borders. Of its six miniatures, the illumination of the Delivery of the Law to Moses is very unusual.

MS 3.c.14 is the poem *I Trionfi* by Francesco Petrarca, copied by Gherardo del Ciriago in Florence in 1455. F. 1r has an elaborate gold border on three sides consisting of intertwining white branches on a red, blue and green ground. In large letters: DOMINI FRANCISCI PETRARCHE CLARISSIMI POETE FLORENTINI LIBER TRIUMPHORUM. There is a decorated gold initial "N" in the middle of the page, with the words "DOLCE MEMORIA DIQUEL" (the second line of the poem) next to it in a larger script. A miniature of the Triumph of Love is inserted in the lower border, showing Cupid in a chariot drawn by four horses, followed by a crowd of people. This miniature exhibits many features in common with the style of Francesco d'Antonio, whose work is illustrated in D'Ancona, *La miniatura Fiorentina*, Florence, 1914, Plates 67 - 74.

Figure 5

Moses receiving the Law, MS 3.b.9

Two other manuscripts of Petrarch's *Trionfi* exist which are copied by Gherardo del Ciriago, one in the Biblioteca Corsiniana in Rome, the other in the possession of Mr. A. van Sinderen, Brooklyn, New York.

MS 3.c.23 is a notated Antiphonary for Lauds and Vespers written for the Charterhouse for nuns, Mont-Sainte-Marie, at Gosnay, near Arras, France. It is written on vellum, has 179 folios, and the measurements are 201 x 132 mm, with the binding 213 x 146 x 47 mm. It is written in a gothic liturgical bookhand. The manuscript has eight illuminations which were painted by Dom Louis de Villebecq of the Charterhouse of Montreuil. He was also the illuminator of Manuscript AGC CII 817.
of the Grand Chartreuse near Grenoble, France and MS 4 of the Chartreuse de Pletterje, in the former Yugos- Slavia. Both the latter manuscripts were also written for the Charterhouse of Mont-Sainte-Marie.

There are some very awkward peacocks. The colours are flat, hard, and somewhat gaudy, distinct from the bright and subtly coloured floral borders of the Grimani Breviary.

The pages containing illuminations also have marginal decorations in the style of the Bening-school of Ghent. These borders are very similar to those found in the well-known Grimani Breviary (Grimani Breviary, reproduced from the illuminated manuscript belonging to the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, introduced by Mario Salmi, Woodstock: N.Y.: Overlock Press, 1974) but are poorly executed. The background is gold, but not burnished and of a poor quality. The trompe-l'oeil borders take the form of regularly shaped bands. They include foliage motifs, mainly acanthus leaves, entwining or interspersed with flowers, strawberries, butterflies, snails, caterpillars and birds. The pansies are in the same colours as those in the Grimani Breviary, but without subtlety.

This style of decoration represents a change from the stylized borders of the Gothic period, with their sprays of leaves and flowers springing into the margins, to a carefully realistic rendering of natural objects contained within precisely defined bounds. This new approach is attributed to the illuminator and painter Alexander Bening of Ghent. (Salmi 1974: 11).

It was particularly the Flemish artists at the courts of the Dukes of Burgundy who excelled in this art form. The Grimani Breviary, which has been called "the summit of early 16th-century Flemish miniature-painting", is one of the most valuable treasures of the art of book illustration. The Breviary, now in the Marciana Library in Venice, belonged to the Cardinal Grimani, who bought it in 1520.
from an Italian dealer. (Loesch 1935: 5, 10 and 12, Salmi 1974: 35). It is dated 1510 to 1520. The three major illuminators of the manuscript were Gerard Horenhout (also known as Gerard Hogenhout), Alexander Bening, and Simon Bening, the son of Alexander. (Salmi 1974: 32 and 33).

Another famous manuscript of the same period which shows decorations in the same style as MS 3.c.23 is the Book of Hours of James IV, King of the Scots, dated 1502/1503, now in the Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Vienna. The decorations in the Book of Hours are also attributed to the school of Ghent and Bruges and the artists have been identified as Gerard Hogenhout and Simon Bening. Like the Grimani Breviary, this Book of Hours is regarded as one of the supreme examples of late medieval manuscript illumination, whereas the decorations in MS 3.c.23 are artistically poor.

MS 4.c.5 is a Psalter with Calendar in Latin. Its provenance is England, perhaps London, dating from the middle of the fifteenth century. Added tables are dated 1484. It was written on vellum and has 203 folios. The measurements are 306 x 206 mm. and that of the binding 324 x 220 x 65 mm.

The Psalter is decorated according to a consistent plan. Each of the liturgical divisions of the text, and the office of the Dead, begins with an illuminated page: within a bar-border composed of acanthus-leaf patterns, and completely enclosing the writing-space, is a historiated initial. The pictures within them have the following subjects:

f. 12r: against a madder background scrolled with gilt, and upon a floor of triangular tiles, coloured black and orange, stands David, crowned, wearing a long blue ermine-lined cloak surmounted by a short cape over the shoulders, banded with ermine and fastened in front with a morse. He faces left, and plays a harp. ("Beatus vir").

MS 4.c.5 is a Psalter with Calendar in Latin. Its provenance is England, perhaps London, dating from the middle of the
f. 36r: against a madder background patterned with gilt lozenges, and on a floor of square tiles, coloured black and green, David kneels, with clasped hands, before an altar. He faces right, partly towards the rayed Glory in the upper right-hand corner ("Dominus illuminatio").

f. 52r: David, crowned and beardless, wearing a long blue cloak over a red robe, is walking out of the barbican of a castle ("Dixi custodiam vias"). The sky is burnished gold.

Figure 10: "Cantate Domino" MS 4.c.5

f. 67r: David, crowned and beardless, wearing a pale madder robe and cloak, modelled in white, sits on a gilt throne and points at the fool with his left hand. He has a writing scroll (blank) behind him. The fool is dressed in cap and bells, and carries a stick over his left shoulder ("Dixit insipiens"). The background is mostly burnished gold, with a green hill to the right.

f. 116r: against a madder background scrolled in gilt, and upon a floor of square tiles, coloured black and green, stand three tonsured singing-clerks in cassocks and surplices, before a lectern ("Cantate Domino").

f. 134: the Trinity. The Father, with right hand upraised in blessing, sits enthroned with the Son. The upper part of the Son's body and the feet are bare, showing wounds. His left hand clasps the left hand of the Father. The dove, rayed, flies down between them ("Dixit Dominus").

f. 164r: against a scrolled background, and upon a floor of lozenge-shaped tiles, coloured black and green, stands a catafalque covered by a pall. There is a tall candlestick by each corner and one on the catafalque (Office of the Dead). Within the initial of the Office of the Dead is an overpainted coat-of-arms.

All the remaining Psalms and the Litany of the Saints begin with coloured initials, with feathery sprays of foliage into the margins. The hair-lines composing the sprays may end in acanthus or ivy leaves, variously conventionalized, or, and more commonly, in fine green dots, burnished gold studs, or simply as oval flourishes without colour. This is the style of border current in England in 1430-1450, and is therefore a valuable indication of date.

If a psalm verse does not take up an entire line, the blank thus formed is filled by a much-stylized ornament in red or blue wash. These ornaments, which are used where necessary on all pages, whether otherwise decorated or not, may be patterns of leaves, of bare stems, of herringbone, or of lines hooked in other ways.

As is to be expected, the Beatus-page (f. 12r) is the most ambitious, with its historiated initial and heavy border of foliage, flowers and small feathery sprays. A close examination of this page reveals an overpainted coat-of-arms. Casson detected traces of an uncompleted architectural border which are not easily visible by normal light. The figure of David is the most interesting constituent of this page, and it is certainly the most skilfully painted.
sacred picture in the entire manuscript. The artist had the modelling of the face in particular regard; it is the face of an old man, long, pale and sensitive. The impression of length is promoted by the representation of the nose, which is straight, and of the moustache and beard. The beard is long, curled and forked; the moustache, also curled, droops down on each side of it, imparting a four-pronged effect to the facial hair as a whole.

Figure 11: Office of the Dead, MS 4.c.5

With one exception, the remaining illuminated pages are simpler in design and more harmonious in general effect. The miniatures are clearly by another and inferior hand, and perhaps more than one, though the face of David on f. 36r is an attempt to imitate that on the Beatus-page. Here, too, an old man is represented, with similar moustache and beard, and deeply sagging lower eyelids, touched with white. The acanthus motifs in the borders are repeated, but grow from a more slender stem-framework, with leafy bosses at the corners bulging sometimes into small medallions filled with curled serrated leaves, e.g. on ff. 35r, 52r, 67r, 116r, 164r. The exception is f. 134r, where the border has the same florid and over-ornamented quality as that on f. 12r, and for the same reason. Here, too, is an overpainted coat-of-arms.

There are small but significant additions and variations, e.g. the occasional use of conventional flowers with protuberant conical perianths, e.g. on f. 67r. Even more significant is the use in the body of the historiated capital of a long serrated leaf spiralling about an imaginary central axis, and shaded on the inside and highlighted with white on the outside to produce an illusion of three-dimensionality. This leaf, on f. 164r, is parti-coloured in blue and madder. The same device, used in the panels and the bosses of the borders is usually coloured madder and blue, but occasionally orange and green. Most significant of all, in the lower corners of f. 52r are the two medallions enclosing caricatures in profile, painted in monochrome. That on the right represents two tonsured heads in rose madder; that on the left is a little masterpiece, a single male head of good-humoured but consummate ugliness, painted in blue and deeply modelled on white. It is covered with a soft cap, with liripipe.

The most unusual characteristic of this Psalter is the four pages of inserted tables, ff. 1v, 2r, 10r, 11r, that must be of later compilation than the original volume. The first two relate to mensuration, the last two to the Calendar. The table on f. 1v is in four sets of columns, with a double vertical between each set. It gives the length and the breadth of a one-acre field, i.e. if the length is known, the breadth can easily be found, since the area, one acre, is constant. There are two tables on f. 2r to the left and the right of a pair of double verticals down the middle, and appropriately labelled Tymbur and Bord in slightly ornamented capitals at the bottom. The Tymbur table gives the dimensions of one cubic foot of timber, the Bord table gives the dimensions of one
square foot of wood. There are five tables on f. 10r, the first two being given in circular form at the top, the remainder in block form below them, separated by double verticals. They are: (a) the cycle of dominical letters, i.e. the date in January on which the first Sunday falls; (b) the cycle of Golden Numbers, the nineteen-year period at the end of which the position of the moon with respect to the planets is approximately as it was at the beginning; (c) a Lunary Calendar, correlating the days of the months and the new moons; (d) a table giving the times of the year, appropriate and inappropriate, for blood-letting, the taking of laxatives and bathing; a table relating Golden Numbers, Sunday Letters, and the dates of Septuagesima, Quadragesima, Easter, Rogation Sunday and Pentecost.

The diagram on f. 11r is the most interesting of the series. It is an incomplete volvelle, a device for determining the lengths of the "unequal" hours, or for converting "unequal" into "equal" hours. An "equal" hour is the familiar interval of sixty minutes, and is "equal" by reason of being the same length by day and night. An "unequal" hour of the day is one-twelfth of the interval between sunrise and sunset, and is unequal in length to one twelfth of the interval between sunset and sunrise, the "unequal" hour of the night, except at the equinoxes. This device was thus intended to perform some of the simpler tasks of a much more elaborate instrument, the astrolabe, among the interchangeable metal plates of which a very similar figure was customarily included.

The Grey Collection contains only two medieval MSS of English origin, and of these MS 4.c.5 is by far the more important. Even if it were an item in a more extensive and famous collection than that of Cape Town, it would attract more than passing curiosity. In spite of formidable rivals, it is one of the most handsome and interesting in the Collection, not only in itself, but also because it includes material not customarily found in liturgical manuscripts. (Casson 1961, vol. 15(3): 114-122, 153-163 and vol. 15 (4): 48-57).

MS 48.b.1 is a Concordance of the Bible in Latin, originating from Northern France, probably Paris, and dating from the second half of the fifteenth century. It was written on vellum and has 708 pages. The measurements are 417 x 284 mm. and the binding 417 x 317 x 115 mm. In its present form, the book has been despoiled of seven of its illuminated initials (B, F, M, R, S, X, Z) together nearly always with the leaves on which they were set, often with conjugates to these leaves, and others as well. The title-page and the remaining illuminated initials of the MS make an immediate impression, and undeniably constitute its special glory. The title-page itself includes two illuminated capitals, "C" and "A", of which the "C", somewhat abraded, begins the preface Cuilibet volenti. It is blue, with a penwork design upon it, and encloses a very small miniature of a seated Virgin and Child against a ground of burnished gold, with the donor (or owner) kneeling before them. The Virgin is crowned, with nimbus, and wears...
a red robe under a blue cloak. The Child is also nimbed. The donor grasps a crozier in outstretched clasped hands, with which he also offers something to the Child, who raises His left hand to received the gift. This cannot be identified owing to damage to the manuscript. The donor wears a mitre and a simple white robe, either cassock or alb, not a cope or any specifically episcopal vestment. The illuminator's intention may therefore be to represent an abbot rather than a bishop.

The panel on which the letter is set is light red, adorned with a design in minute white scroll-work and dots. It has an edge of burnished gold outlined in black. The large capital "A" is light red, with pen-work in white as before (a lozenge and scroll - design) having on the left a cusped edging of burnished gold. It lies on a rectangular panel, coloured blue with a burnished blue edge, outlined in black, and encloses a trapezoidal space. This is divided into three more or less equal panels by thin vertical lines. The central panel bears a crozier (with silver staff and gold head), four gold stars and a silver crescent. This area had undoubtedly been repainted: as originally conceived, the silver crescent extended across the full width of what is now the left-hand panel and half the width of the central one. The bar border, in blue and light red, with touches of burnished gold at the corners and sides, and carrying a pattern in white of conventional leaves and lozenges, is attached to this ornamental "A". It extends along the two sides and the bottom of the page. Along the bottom of the border runs a hunting scene, similar in purpose but different in detail from that in the "Sutton" Bible¹, MS Grey 4.c.16, f. 1. It is drawn in fine penwork, with touches of blue-green and brown wash, and represents a man, wearing a girdled tunic and having disproportionally large feet shod in pointed shoes. He is blowing a horn, and is urging on two hounds in pursuit of three hares. Only the hindquarters of the first hare are visible: the rest of him has escaped into his burrow, the barrel-shaped object on the left of the picture. The man stands beside a small conventional tree, with a top shaped like a mushroom and coloured blue-green, like the grassy patch on which the whole is laid. Compared with the similar scene in the Bible, the hounds are noticeably longer, more emaciated, ferocious and neurotic. The whole conception has been given a perceptible twist towards the baroque. In the execution of the remaining illuminated initials (now fourteen, but originally one for every letter of the Latin alphabet), there is much skill and richness, but little originality. The initial, either blue or light red, and decorated with the white pattern as before, rests upon a rectangular or square panel of the other colour. The panel has a frame of burnished gold edged in black. For part of its length, and at its broadest point, each letter except "G" and "Q" incorporated a small passage of interlace work; and the space enclosed by the letter is filled with a spiral design of ivy-stems and red or blue leaves on a ground of burnished gold. From "H" (p. 244) onwards, these spirals are inhabited, by a small squatting man in a white tunic ("H"), by a bearded man ("N", p. 407) or, and more frequently, by grotesques having human bodies and arms, goats' legs, and lacertine tails, who tend the ivy plants or merely clamber among them (see especially "U", p. 679). Their tails eventually bifurcate, and grow into ivy-stems. One letter ("T", p. 643) is unfinished: the grotesque is only an outline, and the panel and the initial carry no white design. Some others lack the gold side-pieces that have been planned for them, the outlines of which are clearly visible. In one case ("P", p.459), the grotesque, a lion- or baboon-faced creature, sits outside the letter, on an ivy-spray growing from the bottom left-hand corner. It is unlikely that the artist who drew these letters and figures was also responsible for the hunting scene on p. 1. The technique is coarser here, the stroke heavier, and the colouring and drawing are less sensitive.

If the border and the initials were the only bases of judgement, the ascription of the book to a particular locality would be out of the question in the absence of a
colophon or any other mark of origin. The characteristics of the illumination - the bar border in red, blue and gold, the ivy-leaf decoration, the gold studs, the lettering with small panels of interlace, enclosing spirals of ivy-stems - were employed over a wide area in northern and eastern France and French Flanders, and even sporadically in Germany. The vogue of this art lasted from ca. 1310 - 1400. But the area can be narrowed, and the span of time shortened, partly from the handwriting, which points to the latter half of the century, and partly from the fact that the MSS showing the closest parallels with the Concordance are mostly of consonant date, the reign of Charles V (1354 - 80), and are certainly French. (See especially B.L. Royal 20 B vi; B.L. Add 15244 - 5; Paris, B.N. fr. 13568; B.L. Add. 23145.) The borders (dated ca. 1380) of the famous Très Belles heures de Notre Dame, once the property of Jean, Duc de Berry (with miniatures later added by Jan van Eyck and a follower) is perhaps the most sumptuous parallel of all. Though the Concordance is more modest than some of these with which it can be confronted, artistically it does not fall far behind them wherever strict comparison is possible, and sometimes shows kinship with its more opulent relatives, adorned though they be with numerous and finely-painted miniatures, in surprising, though isolated details. The satyr-like grotesques in its later illuminated initials claim direct descent from those in the Bible de Jean de Papeleu (Paris, Arsenal 5059); and the tree (perhaps also the figures) in the hunting-scene on p. 1 provides a small but significant link with one of the most important and productive French artists of the time, the Maître aux Boquetaux.

This master, whose name is unknown, was so called by Henry Martin (1924: 37 - 54) from his habit of introducing small clumps of trees into his pictures. The period of his activity appears to have been 1350 - 80, and many of the MSS attributed to him became the property of Charles V, Charles VI, or other aristocratic collectors. The characteristic trees usually have clean stalk-like stems; the foliage is very dense, and is bunched at the top into the shape of an umbrella or mushroom. No other artist represented trees quite in this way at this time. If, as often happens, he represents an isolated tree, it is in the same shape. A comparison with the Concordance tree shows close resemblance to the trees of the artist; there is the same closely matted foliage, the same rounded umbrella-shaped top, slightly flattened, and the same characteristic tilt to the left. A single tree is perhaps a slender piece of evidence on which to hang a case, but when its form is so individual as to become a trademark, one is justified in asserting that the decoration of the Grey Concordance is to be regarded at least as the comparatively unobtrusive product of an imitator, possibly in the same workshop. If the last possibility is indeed a fact, the book was compiled in Paris, 1350 - 80. (Casson 1960: 111 - 128).

A selection of manuscripts which are particularly important for reasons other than their artwork are:

MS 3.b.12, a choir book of polyphonic music, entitled Motetti: Quadragesimale in Musica sive Hymnorum liber, with works by Guillaume Dufay, Henricus Isaac, Alexander Agricola, Hayne van Ghizeghem, Antoine Busnois, Gaspar van Weerbeke and others. The texts are in Latin and Italian and the book is notated. Its origin is the Benedictine congregation of San Giustina, in Padua or Florence and it is dated the fifteenth century.

This is an exceedingly rare source. In shape and number of concordances (22) closest to MS 3.b.12 is the MS Panchiatichi 27 of the Bibl. Nazionale, Florence. Similarities exist also in the MS 871 of Montecassino (this too compiled in a monastery of the congregation of St Giustina), in the MS Régs. Vm 676 of the Bibl. nationale, Paris, and in the MS 431 (G20) of the Bibl. Communale, Perugia. They are all manuscripts compiled between the last decade of the 15th and the first decade of the 16th century.
MS 3.c.21, a Latin Book of Hours written in Eastern France for use in Switzerland, dated the second half of the fifteenth century. Manuscripts of proved Swiss use are extremely scarce, perhaps because of the rigorousness of the reformation in Geneva.

Ms 4.b.3, a notated Gospel Lectionary in Latin from Amorbach in Germany. It is written on vellum and has 432 pages. The measurements are 249 x 189 mm., and the binding 268 x 210 x 75 mm. It is of Benedictine use and is dated the fourteenth or the fifteenth century.

The volume formerly belonged to the library of the Benedictine monastery of Amorbach in Bavaria. In the spring of 1525, the monastery suffered severely from the events of the peasant war. On the 1st May 1525, the so-called "Heller Haufen" of the peasants under the leadership of the knight Goetz von Berlichingen and of Joerg Metzler from Ballenberg, raided the monastery, which was completely plundered during the following days. The following records of the then abbot Jakobus Zweifel refer to the fate of the monastery library in those days. In a complaint of the 4th October 1525, he remarks:

item seher vii buecher aus der liberey konthen wir nit flohell, haben uns die bauwern alle zurrisell und verwuest

(Also very many books of the library which we could not secure were torn up and destroyed by the peasants).

In the dispute with Goetz von Berlichingen concerning indemnification, the abbot mentions on Thursday after Barbara 1532 his endeavours to get back property stolen by the peasants during the disturbances:

Also schiket ich bruder Johanem bauern, derzeit mein keller, im namen, als wolt ichs losen, zu beschichten, welcher sahn, dass die infal zurtennet und die frauwe die maria-bild kommen; ward er allustig, het doch den grossen silbern arm, 8 mark schwer, die monstranzen, etlich silvern becher, beschlagen evangelienbuch und anders, so sie anzeigt, gen gehabt, wenn sie im soches het gegeben, kan also leyer heim

(So I sent brother Johannes Bauer, then my servant, to recover in my name and to inspect. He saw that the mitre was ripped up and that the woman was wearing the beads and jewellery around her neck. He found a great silvern statue of the virgin and got annoyed, as he would have liked to get back the great silver arm, 8 marks in weight, the monstrance, several silver cups, embossed gospel book and other things as shown to him, if they had been given to him, but he returned empty-handed).

Accordingly, the peasants had pillaged an embossed gospel book, which means most likely that it was decorated with rare metals and precious stones. It is justifiable to presume that, owing to its great value, only the binding was torn off and taken away.

On the first flyleaf the following note appears:

Anno domini 1525 facta est desolatio huius Libri, auro, argento, gemmisque tecti in vigilia Philippi et Jacobi a quondam nobilitatis titulo insignito Gocz (sic) de Berlingen nomine, et alio rusticane fecis ante signano Georgio a Ballenberg lanio arte. factis vero et actibus homo perfido, laetrone, et proprii honoris prodigo, cleri, nobilitatis, ac proprii domina contra evangelicas tocius quoque naturalis legis sanctiolles, perseguetor infestissimo, ecclesiariam insuper et religiosorum locorum devastatore et exterminatore atrocissimo

(Anno domini 1525, there took place the despoliation of this book, which had been made with gold, silver and gems on the Eve of Saints Philip and Jacobus, at the hand of a certain man - not distinguished by a grain of nobility, namely Gotz de Berlichingen and by another standard bearer of the scum Georg of Ballenberg, a butcher by trade, a man treacherous in his actions and deeds, a robber lost to all honour, the most bitter persecutor of the clergy, the nobility and of his own god, in the face of the prohibitions of the evangelistic and also those of all natural law, in addition the destroyer and most vile annihilator of churches and places of worship.)

This gospel book is doubtless the volume referred to. (Bielschowsky 1949: 76 - 79).

MS 4.c.7, a notated Antiphonary with Latin text, was one of the first manuscripts written for the Charterhouse of Champmol, near Dijon, France, the mausoleum of the Dukes of Burgundy. It is notated, has a Latin text and is dated 1398, during the lifetime of Duke Philip the Bold, one of the great bibliophiles of the Middle Ages.

MS 48.b.2 is a Hebrew Bible which originated in Spain at the end of the 13th century. It is probably the most valuable manuscript (in monetary terms) in the Collection. It is a complete vocalized Bible.
with *masorah parva*, a list of *haftarot* for the whole year and *Sefer ha-Shorashim* by David Komhi. A poetical inscription in this magnificent "*Tanach*" indicates that it was a wedding gift from a bridegroom to his bride. (Engel 2002: 191-193).

MS 48.b. 4-5 is the long lost Legendary of Santa Cecilia, a copy of which is preserved in the Vatican Library with the shelfmark MS Vat.lat. 6075-6076. It is dated the 11th century and was written for the church of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, Rome. The present manuscript was divided and bound in two volumes at a time (probably the sixteenth century) when a number of leaves had already been lost. The Vatican copy was produced in 1601 on the initiative of Cardinal Paolo Sfondrati who was then the title cardinal of Santa Cecilia. Sfondrati has also entered a note on the origin and authenticity of the copied text.

The manuscripts discussed in this article are only a selection of the manuscripts in the Catalogue. The descriptions in the Catalogue are in much greater detail, providing also all measurements, collations and references to books and articles in which the manuscripts are discussed. It contains a comprehensive bibliography.

**Notes**

1. Professor Leslie F. Casson, Professor of English at the University of Cape Town, who did extensive research on the Grey collection during the 1960's.

2. For other versions, see MS Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Mus. 20, f. 9r; each section of Paris B.N. lat 3893, finished 1314. A somewhat later and coarser version appears in MS Grey 48. b. 1.


**Sources cited**


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