

Simon Bening and the
Enríquez de Ribera Prayerbook

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Simon Bening and the Enríquez de Ribera Prayerbook

Sandra Hindman

with

Laura Light and Matthew J. Westerby



Satellite Series



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Preface

My interest in Simon Bening dates back at least forty years. In 1979, I was asked to author the catalogue of the illuminated manuscript leaves in the Robert Lehman Collection. Relishing the prospect of working on such great miniatures, I accepted immediately. Two miniatures by Simon Bening are stand-outs in the collection, one the famous self-portrait of which another version is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the other a leaf from the partly dismantled Hours of Albrecht van Brandenburg. When it was eventually published in 1997, the catalogue included a proposed reconstruction of the Hours of Albrecht van Brandenburg.

The present publication builds on another project I undertook on Simon Bening. In 1989, I was asked to write for Bruce Ferrini and Sam Fogg a publication on four miniatures from the Enríquez de Ribera Prayerbook they had acquired from the Paul Durrieu Collection. At that time, the surviving miniatures were too few to permit a reconstruction of a parent manuscript. Little did I know that decades later, as a dealer, I would acquire three other miniatures from the same Prayerbook. This acquisition prompted new research by Matthew Westerby when he worked for Les Enluminures in 2019. Matt identified the source of the text on one leaf of the Prayerbook, a discovery that launched the present project of reconstruction. Laura Light provided a suggested order in the parent manuscript. I also thank all members of my team, especially Peter Bovenmyer for research and editing and Karen Gennaro for the design.



a.



b.



c.

1 Introduction

In this publication, I present for the first time three dramatic miniatures painted by Simon Bening (1483–1561), one of the greatest and most famous Netherlandish manuscript illuminators. Newly discovered and unstudied, the present miniatures depict vivid scenes from the Passion of Christ and the Last Judgment from the Enríquez de Ribera Prayerbook. They showcase Bening's exceptional talent as an illuminator: his flair for using natural light, haunting poetic landscapes, devotional pathos, narrative use of color, and especially his delicate touches of paint on small surfaces. They can now be added to a group of thirteen other miniatures from this Prayerbook, currently dispersed across public and private collections including the Cleveland Museum of Art, the Morgan Library and Museum, the Musée du Louvre, and the Saint Louis Museum of Art.

The discovery of these three new paintings, bringing the total group of extant leaves to sixteen, presents the unique opportunity to reexamine the Enríquez de Ribera Prayerbook. Exciting new research has led to our new understanding of their origin. The identity of the text – previously unknown – as a selection of prayers from Ambrosio Montesino's Castilian

translation of Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi* (*Life of Christ*) sheds light on Bening's unusual handling of the subjects of the illuminations and their relationship to devotional practices in the late Middle Ages. The identity of their noble patron, who must have been Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera, links the commission to the patron's personal experiences of pilgrimage. I am now able to confirm that the leaves best fit the profile of Bening's artistic activity in the later 1520s to around 1530, just at the beginning of the period when noble Spanish and Portuguese patrons sought him out.

In 1989, when I published four miniatures from this manuscript, I knew of only a handful of other miniatures. Now that the group has grown to sixteen, we are able for the first time to arrange them in order and accurately identify their subjects, allowing us to speculate also about those that are still missing. The Enríquez de Ribera Prayerbook (or should it be rechristened the Enríquez de Ribera *Oraciones del Cartujano*?) emerges as an enormously complex project quite unlike any other work in the Bening corpus or in Flemish manuscript illumination, but closely related to the cultural and religious milieu of the Spanish royal court. It takes its rightful place as a masterful accomplishment by an artist truly at the top of his game.

Les Enluminures, leaf b, detail



2 Simon Bening the Illuminator

Simon Bening became one of the most famous manuscript illuminators of the sixteenth century, and his work was praised during his lifetime by international artists, chroniclers, and historians ranging from Ludovico Guicciardini to Giorgio Vasari. For the Italians Guicciardini and Vasari his art was “excellent.”¹ The Portuguese humanist philosopher Damião de Góis (1502–1574) ranked him as “the greatest master of the art of illumination in all of Europe.”² Another Portuguese, the artist and humanist Francisco de Hollanda (1517–1584), praised him among the Flemish as “the most pleasing colorist who best painted trees and far distances.”³

Bening was born around 1483, probably in Ghent or Antwerp, the son of the illuminator Sanders or Alexander Bening (1469–1518) and Kathelijn van der Goes, perhaps the sister or niece of the great painter Hugo van der Goes.⁴ His family was also connected to Roger van der Weyden. He began his career in Bruges, with his illuminator’s mark registered in the guild in 1508, but only settled permanently in Bruges in 1517. He served as dean of the guild three times, in 1524, 1536, and

1546. Married twice, he had six children, all girls, and his two eldest daughters, Alexandrine and Levinia took up the family business. Levinia later enjoyed a distinguished career at the courts of King Henry VIII and Queens Mary and Elizabeth. His career was long, prosperous, and prolific. His earliest dated work, the Imhof Prayerbook (Private Collection),⁵ was painted probably for a Nuremberg merchant in 1511, only three years after registering in the guild, and his last dated works, painted when he was well into his seventies, are two self-portraits dated 1558 (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Lehman Collection, 1975.1.2487, and London, Victoria and Albert Museum, P.159-1910).⁶ He died three years later in 1561.

Considered the last great master of the Ghent-Bruges school of Flemish miniature painting, Bening specialized in Books of Hours, a genre produced primarily for royal patrons, wealthy ecclesiastics, and secular princes in the sixteenth century. He also created genealogical tables and portable altarpieces on parchment. One contemporary praised his paintings “in oil.” In many respects, his style paid homage to the Flemish masters who preceded him, adopting and transforming models from the Ghent-Bruges illuminators like his father. But his portraits and landscapes also engaged contemporary painters, serving as a link between fifteenth-century illumination and the works of Peter Brueghel and others.⁷ He is perhaps best known for books produced for influential patrons, like Cardinal Albrecht

of Brandenburg, and royalty like Emperor Charles V and Don Fernando, the Infante of Portugal. Our three miniatures were most likely painted within the same period as these notable works, in the late 1520s or c. 1530. Despite considerable research on the artist in recent years, and the appearance of newly attributed works, a monograph is still lacking.⁸ His art more than merits such a comprehensive study.

The exciting emergence of these three leaves offers new insights into Bening’s oeuvre and shows the artist adapting to the highly episodic nature of devotional prayers. As I proposed when four of these leaves surfaced together in the 1980s, the leaves once belonged to a manuscript, no longer extant, illuminated by Simon Bening for a Spanish patron of the Enríquez de Ribera family.⁹ Subsequent contributions by Judith Testa confirmed my hypothesis.¹⁰ Of the sixteen sister leaves from this manuscript presently known, only one at the Free Library of Philadelphia (Fig. 1-2; Lewis E M 6:1) shows the complete justification of the manuscript on its verso

.....
 Fig. 1 (overleaf)
 Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 42, text,
 leaf 1 (recto) from Enríquez de Ribera Prayerbook
 (Philadelphia, Free Library, John Frederick Lewis Collection, E M 6:1)

Fig. 2 (overleaf)
 Simon Bening, *Instruments of the Passion*, *Last Judgment*, *Angels Escorting Souls to Heaven*,
 and *the Parable of the Fig Tree*, leaf 1 (verso) from Enríquez de Ribera Prayerbook
 (Philadelphia, Free Library, John Frederick Lewis Collection, E M 6:1)

te hermosa sin comparación y en to-
 dos sus sitios que fuero estrellas sin
 escaridad: Por que se haga en la tierra
 de mi carne y de mi sensualidad presen-
 te de gentes: que quiere tejer de mo-
 vimientos incircunscritos por la confu-
 sion del sonido de la confession y del
 mar y de la contricion y de las afflic-
 ones tempestuosas y fluctuantes segun-
 do se en mi las cobdicias y velleos car-
 nales por temor del infierno y por
 esperanza de la gloria que soba eterna e
 todo el mundo quando micherres y
 pagares a cada vno segun sus obras
 y otorgame tambien que las virtudes
 de los cielos que son las potencias
 del anima: sean monedas de virtud
 en virtud porque me pueda hallar
 aparejado y bien apercebido en tu po-
 deroso aduunimiento: Amen?



(probably the true recto) with text ruled in gold for twenty lines at 126 × 80 mm. All other leaves are either mounted on wood, like two of the present leaves, or are glued to paper or card like the third leaf, and their texts are thus illegible. The matching dimensions of these newly discovered leaves and their division into panels makes it obvious that they were once part of the Enríquez de Ribera Prayerbook. Most likely, the parent manuscript was dismembered in the nineteenth century, perhaps after it suffered water damage, apparent on the verso of the other complete leaf at the Free Library of Philadelphia (Fig. 4, leaf 15).

Stylistically, these leaves exhibit classic traits of Bening's oeuvre, notably the ability to paint emotionally charged scenes through expressive features and gestures (here especially the Betrayal of Christ, Deposition, and Lamentation) as well as his unrivalled talent for guiding the viewer through a visual narrative by means of color and composition. It remains uncertain, however, when exactly the paintings for the Prayerbook were executed. As Bening relied on older patterns throughout his career,¹¹ dating his works is complicated, something a monographic study could help resolve. Bening's less sophisticated treatment of certain figures, landscapes, and interiors in the Enríquez de Ribera miniatures might suggest that they were painted at an early stage in the artist's career. For instance, the figures of Nicodemus, Joseph, and Mary Magdalene who crowd the panel frames in our leaf b, hint that Bening was experimenting

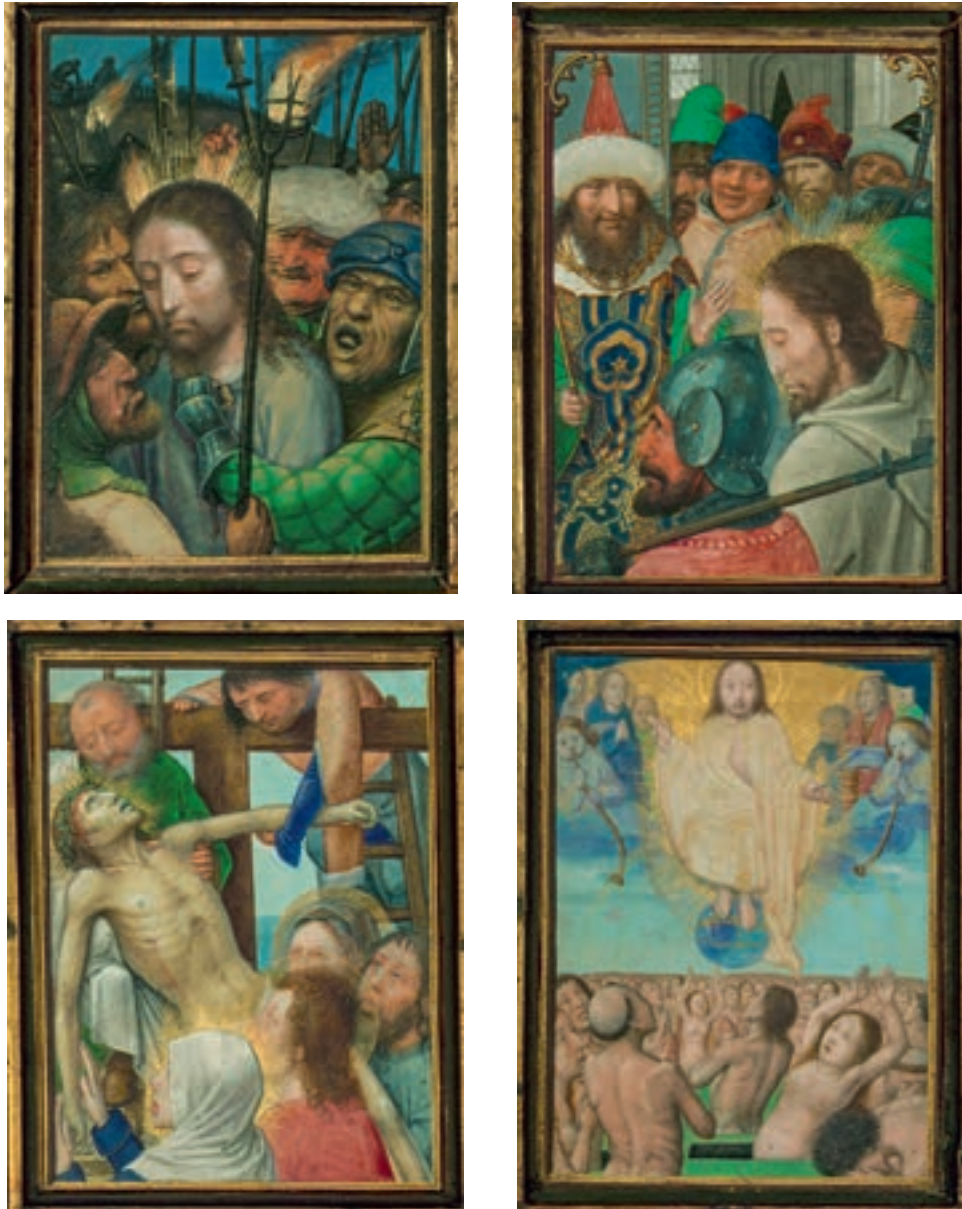
with scale and illusionistic perspective and might favor Testa's analysis, which places the Enríquez de Ribera Prayerbook in the infancy of Bening's career, c. 1509.¹² In 1923, Destrée argued that the Prayerbook might even date as early as the 1490s, but he did not have access to many of the leaves.¹³

Testa proposed that Bening could have inherited Spanish and Portuguese patrons like the Enríquez de Ribera family from his father Sanders, and that the occasional stylistic inconsistencies and the iconographic experimentation in the Enríquez de Ribera miniatures reveal these paintings to be among the earliest witnesses of Bening's art. In comparison to the Imhof Prayerbook painted by Bening and dated 1511, Testa found the Enríquez de Ribera miniatures "much less accomplished," notably lacking compositional variety and sophistication in the spatial settings.¹⁴ Countering her argument, we will see that the compositions and spatial settings served a purpose in the devotional character planned for the manuscript. Testa also called attention to compositional parallels between a panel painting of the Virgin Enthroned by Gerard David, painted in Bruges in 1509 (Fig. 3; Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts,

Fig. 3 (overleaf)
Gerard David, *The Virgin Among the Virgins*, c. 1509
(Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, D.803.4)

Fig. 4 (overleaf)
Simon Bening, *Pentecost*, leaf 15 from Enríquez de Ribera Prayerbook (detail)
(Philadelphia, Free Library, John Frederick Lewis Collection, E M 6:2)





D.803.4) and Bening's depiction of Pentecost in this cycle (Fig. 4, sister leaf 15).¹⁵ According to Testa, Bening could have seen this painting in 1509 when it was still in Bruges before it was delivered to its patron.

On the other hand, I argued in 1989 for a date in the later 1520s as both the style and painting technique as well as similar models closely parallel later examples.¹⁶ While it is true that Bening was influenced by Gerard David and sometimes even collaborated with him, the artistic relationship between these two artists was more pronounced in the later phases of Bening's career. Joris Corin Heyder, who also favors a later date c. 1530 for the Prayerbook paintings, points out in his still-unpublished dissertation that Bening in his early career worked within a limited range of patterns and that the extended iconography of this Passion Cycle fits better with later works, such as the Stein Quadriptych (Fig. 5; Walters Art Museum, MS W.442.A-D), when Bening was collaborating with the Spanish humanist Juan de Vives, then living in Antwerp, who was retained to provide details of the subjects of the miniatures in a Book of Hours ordered from Bening by Mencía de Mendoza.¹⁷ Heyder's observations confirm my earlier analysis that found

Fig. 5

Simon Bening, select panels from the Stein Quadriptych
 Clockwise: *Arrest of Christ* (panel B 29r); *Christ before Herod* (panel C 34r);
Deposition (panel D 49r); *Final Judgment* (panel D 64r)
 (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS W.442.A-D)



Von der verlassung des
heren Iesu vnd der flucht
der zwölff botten



ICH IDE
NIE DEVE
DICH VN
SAG DIR
DAN ER
GUTTER

hirt vnd giettiger mayster
vñ die grosse betimmer
nuß daß du vñ yedemā
verlassen bist wortten im
teine letsten vñ grōste no
ten allain vñ den grausā
mē feinden bliben wann
teine brieder vñ sūnderliche
feind die vñb teine wille
sterbe wolte vñ is lebe für



close parallels between the Enríquez de Ribera Prayerbook, the Stein Quadriptych, and the Albrecht of Brandenburg Prayerbook painted in the second decade of the century (Fig. 6; Getty Museum, MS Ludwig IX 19).¹⁸ Considering Thomas Kren's hypothesis, that the Stein Quadriptych emerged from the Albrecht of Brandenburg Prayerbook,¹⁹ the Enríquez de Ribera cycle would have to be dated in the late 1520s or later. This later date would also be confirmed by the fact that Bening increasingly worked for noble Spanish and Portuguese patrons in the years between 1530 and 1540. Stylistic features of the leaves also buttress a date in the late 1520s or 1530s, especially their borders and script. Although Bening executed many figural borders throughout his career, the *trompe l'oeil* borders presented here are entirely consistent with those of other works generally dated in the 1520s and 1530s.²⁰ We will return to an examination of the leaves one by one in support of this later dating following a discussion of the patron.

Fig. 6 (overleaf)
Simon Bening, *Flight of the Apostles* with facing leaf,
Prayerbook of Albrecht of Brandenburg (Los Angeles, Getty Museum,
MS Ludwig IX 19, ff. 113v-114r)

Les Enluminures, leaf b, detail





3 Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera and the *Oraciones del Cartujano*

There can be no doubt that Bening painted the Prayerbook for a member of the Enríquez de Ribera family. The Ribera coat of arms as well as the Enríquez coat of arms are found prominently displayed in the borders of several sister leaves.²¹ The illustrious Spanish families of Enríquez and Ribera were united when Pedro Enríquez de Quiñones (d. February 8, 1492), the señor of Tarifa and of Alcalá de los Gazules and the first Count of Los Molares, married first Beatriz de Ribera Hurtado de Mendoza, Countess of Los Molares, and then, after her death in 1469, her sister Catalina de Ribera around 1475. Although Pedro's children from his first and second marriages, Francisco (?–1509), Fadrique (1476–1539) and Fernando (?–1522), were the first to use the united coat of arms of both family branches, all the family property that they built or inherited was enhanced with the separate shields of both families, perhaps because certain titles were tied to one of the family lines.²²

The Prayerbook was most likely commissioned by Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera (1476–1539), named the 1st Marquis of Tarifa after 1514. Fadrique embarked on a celebrated pilgrimage to Jerusalem between 1518 and 1520.²³ An itinerary of Fadrique's travels with commentary on the art, architecture, and books he saw along the way survives in a manuscript in Madrid written in 1523 or after. The manuscript concludes with a drawing of a pilgrim (Fadrique himself?) (Fig. 33; Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 9355). Most of the manuscripts that Fadrique purchased or commissioned in his lifetime are tied to this pilgrimage. In Bologna, for example, Fadrique ordered a Spanish translation of the entire Bible along with the third part of Vincent of Beauvais's magisterial *Speculum*, the part known as the *Speculum historiale*, dealing with Creation to the present day; the completed Bible was delivered in October 1521 to the Spanish merchant Juan de Arinde in Venice.²⁴ Pilgrimage to the Holy Land along the *Via Dolorosa*, where the sites of Christ's Passion could be followed chronologically, was closely linked to devotional practices of the Franciscans and to the meditation on the Passion in such texts as the fourteenth-century *Meditations on the Life of Christ* by the Pseudo-Bonaventura (now attributed to John of Caulibus) and the *Vita Jesu Christi* of Ludolph of Saxony.



Fig. 7

Ambrosio Montesino offering his translation of Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi* to Queen Isabella I of Castile and King Ferdinand II of Aragon, frontispiece, *Vita Christi Cartujano*, Alcalá de Henares: Stanislao de Polonia, c. 1502–1503 (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, U/1399 V.1)

We propose that the Prayerbook of Enríquez de Ribera fits the pattern of Fadrique's patronage. Unidentified until now, the text on the verso of the leaf at the Free Library of Philadelphia (Fig. 1; Lewis E M 6:1; see sister leaf 1) corresponds to the prayer in Book II, chapter forty-two of a work known as the *Vita Christi Cartuxano romancado por fray Ambrosio Montesino*. The *Vita Christi Cartujano* is a Castilian vernacular version of Ludolph of Saxony's fourteenth-century *Vita Christi*, adapted and translated by the Franciscan friar Ambrosio Montesino (1444–1514) in 1499 or 1500.²⁵ Montesino's *Vita Christi Cartujano* profoundly shaped devotional movements in sixteenth-century Spain, influencing the spiritual practices of Ignatius of Loyola, who read it during his conversion,²⁶ and recommended by Teresa of Ávila to her nuns.²⁷ Following his return from the Holy Land, Fadrique would have commissioned his manuscript of the *Vita Christi Cartujano* as a means of capturing and rehearsing the memory of his devotional experience. This hypothesis provides further support to the revised dating of the Enríquez de Ribera leaves well into the 1520s.

The *Vita Christi Cartujano* was printed as early as November 22, 1502 (Alcalá de Henares: Stanislao de Polonia), and it went on to enjoy many successive editions.²⁸ The first edition is introduced by a presentation woodcut showing Montesino offering the book to the enthroned King and Queen, Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castille, with their heraldry

displayed and the title within phylactery below the image (Fig. 7; Biblioteca Nacional de España, U/1399 V.1). Fadrique was certainly familiar with Montesino's work because his inventory records all four volumes of Ambrosio Montesino's *Vita Christi Cartujano*, described as "libro colorado" to indicate they were hand-colored copies.²⁹

But it is tempting to imagine that our miniatures and their parent manuscript were inspired by an illuminated Prayerbook with texts from Montesino's translation commissioned by Queen Isabella. Now lost, this Prayerbook, called the *Oraciones del Cartujano* in the account books kept by the treasurer Gonzalo de Baeza, was commissioned directly from Ambrosio Montesino; Meseguer argued that its text must have consisted of the concluding prayers from each chapter of the *Vita Christi Cartujano*.³⁰ It is possible that this may be identified with a Prayerbook that was illuminated by Alonso Jiménez, beginning in 1502. Isabella died in 1504, and Jiménez sought payment. Ferdinand perhaps thought the payment was excessive and called Montesino to court. He was eventually paid in 1506.³¹ After Isabella's death that presentation copy was apparently in the possession of Beatriz Galindo, someone known to have had connections with Fadrique. Alternatively, Fadrique may have seen it in the royal collection, since he purchased books from Fernando after Isabella's death, and may have commissioned his Prayerbook with the *Vita Christi* texts afterward.



Fadrique's library at the Casa de Pilatos in Seville (Fig. 8) was inventoried in 1532, and the Prayerbook in question was probably recorded at this time. Two Prayerbooks are found in the primary list, and three others are recorded separately, the latter three being the most likely candidates. These include a "libro de rezar" valued at 4,570 *reales*, another at 50,965 *reales*, and a third at 19,631 *reales*. This third Prayerbook is the only case where the value explicitly includes the cost for making its gold and velvet covers, suggesting it had only recently been obtained, and thereby making it the most likely candidate for the Prayerbook in question ("Otro libro de rezar con las cubiertas de terciopelo con una guarnición de oro cubierto de lima, que costó el oro y la hechura 19,631 [*reales*]").³² Fadrique promised all of his books and manuscripts written in Latin and in the vernacular to the monastery of Santa María de las Cuevas in Seville. However, it is not clear if this was the ultimate fate of his library, as some manuscripts are perhaps later recorded in the possessions of a descendant.³³ At the time of his death in 1539, without a legitimate heir, Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera was one of the wealthiest nobles in the Kingdom of Spain. He is entombed near his parents at the monastery of Santa María de las Cuevas, known as "Cartuja" (the Charterhouse, or Carthusian house), the same monastery to which he promised his library.

Fig. 8
Courtyard, Casa de Pilatos, Seville, Spain,
begun 1483–completed 1530s

The text adapted and translated by Ambrosio Montesino, Ludolph of Saxony's (d. 1378) *Vita Christi*, is not simply a retelling of the life of Christ by weaving together the Gospel accounts. It also gathers together relevant teachings by the Fathers and medieval authors to create a vast encyclopedic discussion of his subject, the life of Christ from the Incarnation to the Last Judgment. Reading Ludolph's text can be overwhelming, at least to the modern reader, but its purpose was devotional; it is a meditation on Christ's life, and each chapter concludes with a prayer. The new identification of the text of the leaf in the Philadelphia Free Library is key to understanding the original contents of the Enríquez de Ribera Prayerbook, which we propose very likely consisted solely of these prayers, accompanied by extensive images.

The original Latin text of Ludolph of Saxony made up of 181 chapters is divided into two books, with ninety-two and eighty-nine chapters respectively, a structure followed by Montesino's translation (although it was printed in four volumes). Given the subjects of the surviving leaves, it seems most likely that the focus of the Enríquez de Ribera Prayerbook was on the Passion of Christ, the subject of Book II. Book II begins with Peter's confession of faith (the first time Jesus mentions his coming death), but the Prayerbook may never have included all eight-nine prayers.

Based on this new research, it is now tempting to rename the Enríquez de Ribera Prayerbook the *Vita Christi* or, perhaps more accurately, because it is unlikely that it contained Montesino's entire text, the *Oraciones del Cartujano*, the title given to Queen Isabella's manuscript with its prayers extracted from Montesino's text. Fadrique's manuscript must have served as a fitting reminder of his experience as a pilgrim (Fig. 33) along the *Via Dolorosa* in the Holy Land. As we shall see, its text and images worked together, the words as eloquent aids to spiritual devotion through personal meditation and the pictures as vivid *aide-memoires* to the actual narrative of the life and Passion of Christ.



4 The Three New Miniatures

To understand the originality of Bening's paintings and their complexity, divided into multiple panels with numerous speech banderoles and sometimes accompanied by headings or titles, it is essential to view them as illustrations to the text they accompanied. We have been able to arrange the extant leaves and cuttings from the Enríquez de Ribera Prayerbook in their correct order in the parent manuscript (see Ch. 5) and to show how each functioned as a link between the narrative of the Passion from Ludolph of Saxony's *Life of Christ* and the personal devotion the accompanying prayers encouraged. We have added an alternative caption to each miniature taken from the words of the prayer the viewer recited while gazing at the picture and thus evoking the meditation the prayer triggered.

The three new miniatures discussed here come from different sections of the *Life of Christ*. Programmatically, they and their sister leaves fit best in the works for which Bening was responsible in the late 1520s to c. 1530, especially the Stein Quadriptych and the Prayerbook of Albrecht of Brandenburg,

both dated by circumstantial evidence c. 1525–1530. Recent research by Lynn Ransom on the Stein Quadriptych, now arranged on four panels of sixteen scenes each, suggests that its miniatures were never intended to be presented in this form but instead once illustrated a codex of either a *Life of Christ* or prayers related to the *Life of Christ*.³⁴ The forty-two miniatures of the Prayerbook of Albrecht of Brandenburg accompany meditations or prayers in German on the Life and Passion of Christ arranged in roughly chronological order and copied from a Prayerbook printed in Augsburg in 1521. Not unrelated is the Chester Beatty Rosarium (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, W 099), although dated later to c. 1540–1545 on circumstantial evidence, in that it too included pictures meant to enhance the rosary devotion in the prayers of the accompanying text.³⁵ Stylistically, the three new miniatures and their sister leaves also relate most closely to these works, as we shall see.



a.



b.



c.



a. Suffer me not

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 59,
The Passion of Our Lord: First Compline

*Betrayal of Christ, Christ Confounding Soldiers, Arrest of Christ,
and Christ Healing Malchus*

These four panels are arranged in a quadriptych to depict the Betrayal of Christ by Judas and the episodes that directly follow, all in nocturnal settings, Christ Confounding the Soldiers, then his Arrest, and finally Christ Healing Malchus. Bening is well known for his skillful night-time compositions that show flaming braziers and trailing sparks set against shadowy clouds as seen here. Golden highlights throughout these scenes – on the modeling of the garments, the haloes, the glowing lantern, and the banderole – cast a warm hue over the entire miniature, carefully framed with double gold lines in the same tonality. Bening captures the agony and pathos of each moment by focusing in on the episodes, cutting off parts of the principal actors at the edges of the frame, so that they merge into the viewer's space. Through careful attention to details of costume and an effective use of primary and secondary colors, he guides the viewer through the detailed narrative: Peter reappears in blue and the soldier in red, Judas is dressed in green and yellow, and Malchus in yellow and green. Painted green and yellow, Malchus and Judas match the colors of the Ribera coat of arms seen in the sister leaves, projecting the identity of the viewer into the narrative of the Passion. These are characteristics of Bening's style also found in the Stein Quadriptych and the Prayerbook



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 15



Fig. 16

of Albrecht of Brandenburg, which show an evolution from his earlier works such as the Imhof Prayerbook of 1511, where the night scenes and the palette are less nuanced and closer in style to that of the previous generation.

In the Betrayal of Christ (Fig. 9), Judas's coin purse stands out as an unusual iconographic detail, and it reinforces his role as betrayer. As the single spot of red in the first panel, it also guides the viewer's eye to areas of red in the three following panels. Furthermore, it provides a visual cue for the narrative, as it relates back to an earlier leaf in the manuscript, where Judas holds a red coin purse behind his back at the Last Supper (Fig. 10; sister leaf 3). The next panel, Christ Confounding the Soldiers (Fig. 11), shows the moment that Christ acknowledges his identity to the Roman legionaries, an act only described in the Gospel of John (18:3-6). This scene is rarely depicted, but it is found in another Flemish Book of Hours (Fig. 12; Morgan Library, MS M.696).

The third panel with the Arrest of Christ (Fig. 13) includes a banderole with text from Matthew 26:55, "TAMQUA(M) AD LATRONE[M EX]ISTIS CU[M] GLADIIS ET FVSTIBVS" (You come as against a robber with swords and clubs). Bening's use of a pattern is clearly discernable in the figures of Peter and Malchus, a pattern he also used in a miniature in the Imhof Prayerbook (Fig. 14; Private Collection, f. 81v). The fourth panel with Christ Healing Malchus (Fig. 15) shows Malchus a third time, accentuating his role in the Passion scenes, and compares with a miniature in the Prayerbook of Albrecht of Brandenburg (Fig. 16; Getty Museum, MS Ludwig IX 19,

f. 102v). Christ, dressed in pale blue-green, the only tertiary color in the composition, stands out as the single serene figure among the participants throughout the four narratives.

The episodes shown in this leaf and the text in the banderole are discussed in Book II, chapter 59, of Ludolph of Saxony's *Life of Christ*. The miniature would have served as a prompt to devotion while reciting this chapter's prayer at First Compline in the evening after dinner, which corresponds with the time of day the Arrest is presumed to have occurred. The prayer focuses on the agony of Christ ("thou didst sweat blood," Luke 22:44), who suffered "by the kiss of Judas to be handed over to the wicked" (Matthew 25:50), and "to be led bound to Annas" (John 18:12). The devout continues to pray, "Suffer me not to be given over into cruel hands" thus using the episodes from the Passion to "sever the chains of mine evil conscience." Said at night, while viewing night-time depictions of the events, the prayer gained efficacy: "Suffer me not."

(overleaf)

Fig. 9 *Betrayal of Christ* (Les Enluminures, leaf a, detail)

Fig. 10 Simon Bening, *Identification of Judas as the Betrayer*, leaf 3 from Enríquez de Ribera Prayerbook (detail), (Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, 2002.52)

Fig. 11 *Christ Confounding Soldiers*, (Les Enluminures, leaf a, detail)

Fig. 12 *Christ Confounding Soldiers*, Book of Hours, Belgium, Brussels, c. 1540, (New York, Morgan Library and Museum, MS M.696 f. 107v)

Fig. 13 *Arrest of Christ* (Les Enluminures, leaf a, detail)

Fig. 14 Simon Bening, *Arrest of Christ*, Imhof Prayerbook, 151, (Private Collection, f. 81v)

Fig. 15 *Christ Healing Malchus* (Les Enluminures, leaf a, detail)

Fig. 16 Simon Bening, *Betrayal of Christ*, Prayerbook of Albrecht of Brandenburg, (Los Angeles, Getty Museum, MS Ludwig IX 19, f. 102v)



b. Make me a Joseph

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 65,
The Passion of Our Lord: Second Vespers

*Joseph of Arimathea with Pontius Pilate, Joseph of Arimathea and
Nicodemus, Deposition, and Lamentation*

Arranged in a quadriptych, four scenes focus on post-Passion episodes. The first panel shows Joseph of Arimathea kneeling in front of Pilate to ask for the body of Christ with Nicodemus standing next to Joseph on the far right. Banderoles indicate speech between the figures. While the scroll referring to Joseph has been scraped, it probably contained a request for the body of Christ; Pilate clearly answers “CO(N)CEDITUR TIBI S(?) E MORTUUS” (the body will be granted to you); there is no direct speech in the Gospel accounts. The second panel on the upper right again depicts Nicodemus and Joseph, clearly recognizable by their elaborate robes and exotic hats, on their way to Calvary bathed in a warm afternoon light. Nicodemus carries myrrh, aloe, and the white linen, with which to treat and wrap the body. Nicodemus’s role is related only in the Gospel of John (19:39–40). Joseph reaches out with his left hand to touch (or give?) the linen in Nicodemus’s arms.

The unusual scene of Joseph of Arimathea can occasionally be found in other illuminations of the Bening milieu, for example in the Grimani Breviary (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS

lat. 99 [2138], ff. 138v–139) by the Master of James IV of Scotland. Bening also depicts the scene in a full-page miniature in the Prayerbook of Albrecht of Brandenburg (Fig. 17; Getty Museum, MS Ludwig IX 19, f. 311v), but the figures are arranged differently, and the scene occurs outdoors in front of a very impressive cityscape instead of in a landscape. The encounter of Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus on their way to Calvary in the second panel has no iconographic parallel and appears to be unique to Bening's oeuvre.

The two lower panels depicting the Deposition from the Cross and the Lamentation also include Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, although they play less prominent roles. In the Deposition the two men lower the body of Christ from the Cross, while John holds the swooning Mary, arms upraised toward the body of her dead Son. In the Lamentation, they are spectators, looking on from behind the central group on the left and right of the cross. For both scenes, Bening relied on patterns he also used elsewhere, especially, but not exclusively, in the late 1520s, for instance, in the Stein Quadriptych, the Prayerbook of Albrecht of Brandenburg (Fig. 18), and the Prayerbook for Joanna of Ghisteltes (dated c. 1516; British Library, Egerton MS 2125, f. 154v).³⁶ The group featuring the Virgin Mary holding the dead body of her son with her right hand, while she gestures



Fig. 17
Simon Bening, *Joseph of Arimathea*,
Prayerbook of Albrecht of Brandenburg,
(Los Angeles, Getty Museum, MS Ludwig IX 19, f. 311v)



in grief with her left, and Mary Magdalene, wringing her hands in agony, also recalls Roger van der Weyden's famous panel painting the *Descent from the Cross* (Museo del Prado, P002825), executed between 1435 and 1440.

The chief subject of the miniature, Joseph of Arimathea, is the focus of the narrative in chapter 65 of Book II of Ludolph of Saxony's *Life of Christ* and its accompanying prayer. The prayer is to be said at Second Vespers in the late afternoon, when the Lamentation took place – as depicted in the warm afternoon sunlight that bathes three of these episodes. In the prayer, the supplicant beseeches Christ: “make me a Joseph increasing in virtue from day to day” for “thou didst suffer Joseph of Arimathea to take thee down from the cross and receive thee within his arms” Like Joseph, the believer offers a “sachet of myrrh within my arms with love.”

Fig. 18
Simon Bening, *Lamentation*, Prayerbook of Albrecht of Brandenburg
(Los Angeles, Getty Museum, MS Ludwig IX 19, f. 317v)



c. Oh Mary help me

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 70,
The Lord Appears to His Mother

*Souls Entering Heaven, Christ Appearing to His Mother,
Souls of the Saved Brought to Heaven, and Last Judgment*

Four panels on this leaf comprise two cuttings mounted together on the same wood support; the top two panels are still joined together, as are the lower two panels. Initially, I believed that they were perhaps not from the same leaf. However, as we shall see, an understanding of the text of the prayer suggests otherwise. Although they were cut apart at some point in their history, they are now mounted together as they originally appeared.

The first panel with Souls Entering Heaven (Fig. 19) shows four figures emerging from their graves and entering the gates of the Heavenly Jerusalem, here rendered in detail with tall Gothic spires and a vaulted apse with pointed arches at center. The iconography is comparable to a panel by Dieric Bouts with the Ascension of the Elect of c. 1450–1468 (Fig. 20; Lille, Palais de Beaux-Arts, inv. no. P 820), a comparison suggested by Testa.³⁷

On the upper right, Christ Appearing to his Mother (the central subject of the prayer) (Fig. 21) depicts Christ surrounded by a glowing aura when he first greets his mother after the Resurrection. Sitting next to her bed, Mary turns her gaze away from the Prayerbook in her lap and raises her hands to witness



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 23

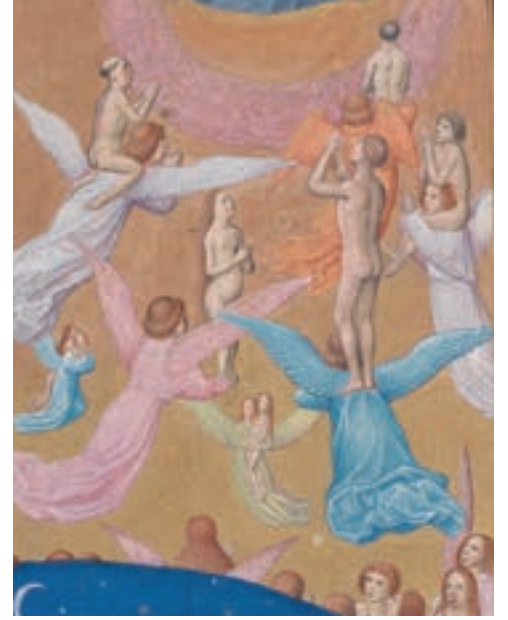


Fig. 24



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 25

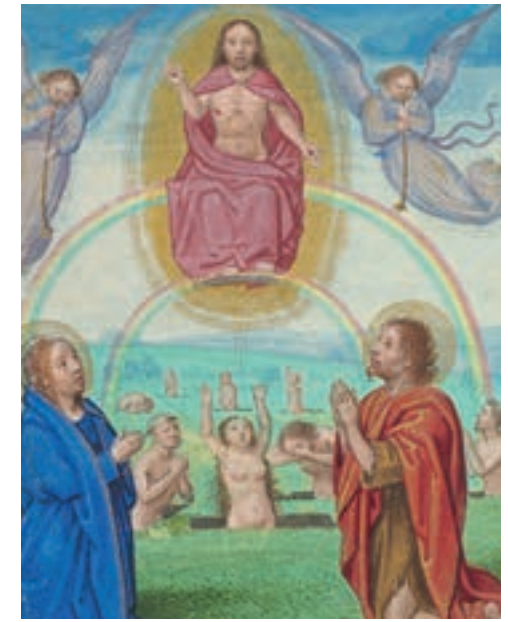


Fig. 26

her son in triumph. Delicately painted in liquid gold inside Christ's mandorla are small faces, most likely representing the souls of the saved. This episode is not in the Bible, but it does appear in Ludolph of Saxony's *Life of Christ*.³⁸

On Sunday morning, after Christ had risen, the holy women take leave of the Virgin, who remains in her chambers praying while they go to the sepulcher with their ointments. Christ appears in the Virgin's room, and the two embrace and speak together thus celebrating the first Easter Sunday.³⁹

The closest comparison among Bening's miniatures is to the Stein Quadriptych, where Christ is shown in pinkish red, the souls of the saved emerging in golden hues in the aureole behind him (Fig. 22; Walters Art Museum, W.442.D, 58r).

For the third panel with *Souls of the Saved Brought to Heaven* (Fig. 23), Bening again relies on a pattern, in this case one that he probably inherited from his father. The two figures with souls on the backs of angels can be recognized in a miniature by the Master of the First Prayerbook of Maximilian in the Hours of Queen Isabella the Catholic (Fig. 24; Cleveland Museum of Art, 1963.256.24.b, f. 24v) and in the Grimani Breviary (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS lat. I, f. 469). The Master of the First Prayerbook of Maximilian has now been identified as Alexander Bening.⁴⁰

Finally, the fourth panel depicting the Last Judgment (Fig. 25) shows Christ seated in heaven with four angels and the

twelve apostles beside him, while below appear the souls of the saved on the left and the tormented souls of the damned on the right. Stylistically this miniature can be related to Bening's Last Judgment on a leaf from the Prayerbook of Albrecht of Brandenburg in Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 294d). The folds of Christ's robes are perhaps from a pattern that appears in the Last Judgment Bening painted in the Van Damme Hours, dated to 1531 (Fig. 26; Morgan Library, MS M.451, f. 91v).

The prayer accompanying Ludolph of Saxony's description of the episode of Christ appearing to his mother focuses not on the narrative moment but on Mary's help to the devout "on the last day" to "escape the sentence of eternal damnation and

(overleaf)

Fig. 19 *Souls Entering Heaven* (Les Enluminures, leaf c, detail)

Fig. 20 Dieric Bouts, *Ascension of the Elect*, c. 1470,
(Lille, Palais de Beaux-Arts, inv. no. P 820)

Fig. 21 *Christ Appearing to His Mother* (Les Enluminures, leaf c, detail)

Fig. 22 Simon Bening, *Christ Appearing to His Mother*, Stein Quadriptych,
(Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.442.D, panel D 58r)

Fig. 23 *Souls of the Saved Brought to Heaven* (Les Enluminures, leaf c, detail)

Fig. 24 Master of the First Prayerbook of Maximilian (Alexander Bening) and Associates,
Souls of the Saved Brought to Heaven, Hours of Queen Isabella the Catholic,
Queen of Spain, c. 1500, (Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, Leonard C. Hanna,
Jr. Fund 1963.256.24.b, f. 24v)

Fig. 25 *Last Judgment* (Les Enluminures, leaf c, detail)

Fig. 26 Simon Bening, *Last Judgment*, Van Damme Hours, 1531, (New York, Morgan
Library and Museum, MS M.451, f. 91v)

arrive happily with all the elect of God to joys eternal.” It opens “O Mary, Mother of God and virgin full of grace ... the joy of knowing the Lord Jesus glorified arose from the dead on the third day, be the consolation of my soul.”⁴¹ The prayer thus ties the narrative moment to salvation, as the four scenes together illustrate.



Les Enluminures, leaf c, detail

5 The Parent Manuscript and the Sister Leaves

Bening undertook one of the most complicated projects of his career when he painted the manuscript for Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera. The patron must have specified the details of the commission because there is nothing quite like it either in Bening's corpus or in other extant manuscripts. An advisor devised the program, assigning subjects for individual miniatures and dividing them in two, three, or four panels. The same advisor surely chose the titles that sometimes identify the subject of the leaf, and he most likely also supplied a written set of instructions not only for the titles but also for the many Latin biblical quotations inscribed in the banderoles (Fig. 27; sister leaf 3). Although the banderoles link the illuminations with the Latin text of the *Life of Christ*, the text of Fabrique's manuscript contained – we believe – only the prayers from Ambrosio Montesino's Castilian translation of Ludoph's text. (Every chapter in both the Latin and the Spanish rendition of the *Life* concludes with a prayer).

Fig. 27
Simon Bening, *Identification of Judas as the Betrayer, His Exit from the Last Supper*, c. 1530
(Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, 2002.52)

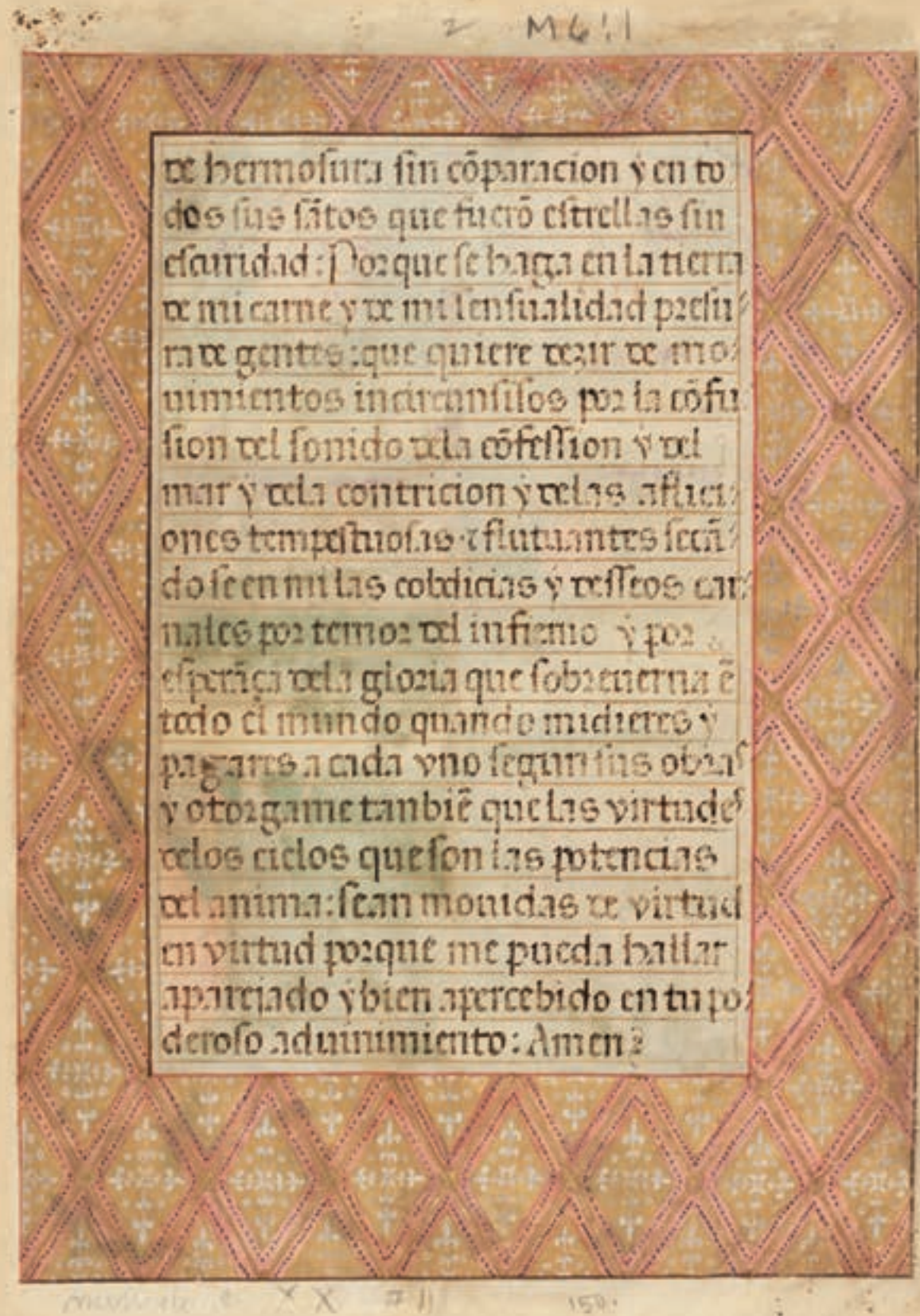
Presumably working in the Netherlands, Bening collaborated on this project with a Spanish scribe, not one that we recognize from other manuscripts in the Bening corpus. The overall squarish style of gothica rotunda, in addition to features of single letter forms point to Spain, for example the dotted 'y' and the three-shaped 'z'. Possibly also the 'd' with its short wavy stem is Spanish. As well, the Spanish orthography is almost impeccable, which one would not expect from a Flemish hand practicing a good rotunda.⁴² (Fig. 28)

What was the original manuscript like? How many pictures did it contain? How many pages of text? How were the pictures and text laid out? How much decoration was there on the text pages? These are questions that we will try to address, with the disclaimer that there is still much we cannot know, and we have made many reasoned assumptions in our reconstruction. I will return to this following a presentation of all the extant leaves and cuttings.

This chapter will not go through a complete analysis of the miniatures apart from identifying the correct subjects, putting them in order, assigning them to the right prayer, and giving a caption (words from the prayer) that captures the essence of the prayer. I also include all the banderoles and the titles of the miniatures when they are present. The banderoles, which are sometimes extensive, carry the narrative to the Passion episodes, linking the imagery back to the *lectio* of the *Life of Christ*.

Fig. 28

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 42, text, leaf 1 (recto) from Enríquez de Ribera Prayerbook (Philadelphia, Free Library, John Frederick Lewis Collection, E M 6:1)





1



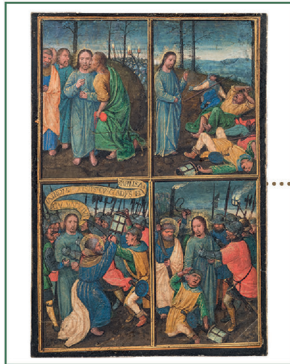
2



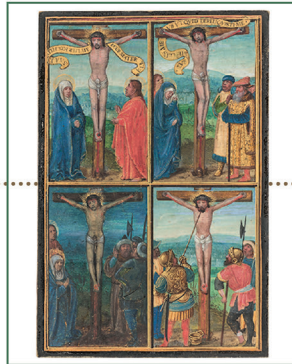
3



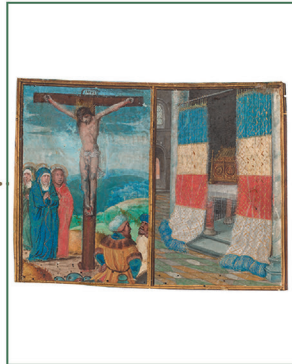
4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



15



16



Come to me in clouds of penance/
Help me see the fig tree

Recto of leaf 1 contains text from the prayer at the end of Bk. II, ch. 42, Praying and Waiting for the Coming of the Lord; the Remote Signs of his Coming and the End of the World. The text begins imperfectly, “//de hermosura sin ... ad uinimentio, Amen,” (in the 1502–1503 edition, missing about 10 lines) (Fig. 1)⁴³

Verso of leaf 1: Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 43, The Coming of Christ the Judge; ch. 44, The Coming Redemption and Its Consolation for the Elect, the Parable of the Fig Tree.

Instruments of the Passion, Last Judgment, Angels Escorting Souls to Heaven, and the Parable of the Fig Tree

Illuminated parchment leaf with *trompe l'oeil* border decoration bearing the coat of arms of the Enríquez family (c. 181 × 132 mm.).

Philadelphia, PA, Free Library of Philadelphia, John Frederick Lewis Collection (E M 6:1) https://openn.library.upenn.edu/Data/0023/html/lewis_e_m_006_001.html.

Title: [illegible, perhaps DE ADVENTU...] (On the Coming [of Christ]?).

Banderoles: VIDE BUNT IN QUEM TRANSFIXERUNT (John 19:37, They shall look on him whom they pierced); QUEM AD MODUM VIDISTIS EUM ASCENDERE ITA VENIET ACTUUM PRIMO (Acts 1:11, [This Jesus], shall so come, as you have seen him going into heaven).

Prayer 43 begins “Lord Jesus Christ, thou art coming “with power and great glory” (Matthew 24:30) to the judgment. Angels escort thee ...” Prayer 44 continues with the words “come to me in clouds of penance ... help me see the fig tree ... Then I shall not fear thy presence at the Judgment.”⁴⁴





2 Purify my affections

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 54, The Washing of the Feet.

Christ Prepares to Wash the Feet of the Apostles, Christ Washes the Feet of Judas, Peter Refuses to Allow Christ to Wash His Feet

Illuminated parchment leaf, laid down on board, *trompe l'oeil* border decoration bearing coat of arms of the Enríquez family (170 × 125 mm.).

Jörn Günther Antiquariat, *Mittelalterliche Miniaturen und Handschriften* 1993, pp. 172–74, no. 32; now destroyed; formerly Paris, Paul Durrieu.⁴⁵

Title: QUOMODO LAVIT PEDES DISCIPULORUM (How the Feet of the Disciples Were Washed).

Banderoles: QUI MAIOR EST INTER VOS ... MINSTER VESTER (Matthew 23:11, He that is greatest among you shall be your servant); SI NON LAVERO TE NON HABEBIS PARTEM MECUM (John 13:8, If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me).

The prayer focuses on the humility Christ teaches: “Oh gentle Jesus, thou hast given me an example of true humility. Thou didst “wash the feet of thy disciples” (John 13:5) ... purify my affections ... purify me at the end of my life ... direct my feet along the way of peace.”⁴⁶



3 Oh my Savior, give me the strength

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 55, The Kind Reprimand Given the Traitor; His Departure.

Identification of Judas as the Betrayer, His Exit from the Last Supper

Illuminated parchment leaf, laid down on board, including *trompe l'oeil* border decoration bearing coat of arms of the Enríquez de Ribera family (170 × 125 mm.).

Cleveland, OH, Cleveland Museum of Art (2002.52) <https://www.clevelandart.org/art/2002.52>; ex-Paul Durrieu, Paris.⁴⁷

Title: DE SIGNIFICATIONE PRODITIONIS JUDAE (The Meaning of the Betrayal of Judas).

Banderoles: upper panel, AMEN DICO VOBIS QUOD UNUS VESTRUM ME PRODITURUS EST (Matthew 26:21, Verily I say unto you that one of you shall betray me); QUI INTINXIT MECUM PANEM IN PAROPSIDE IS [sic] ME TRADET (Matthew 26:23, He that dippeth his bread with me in the dish, the same shall betray me); TU DIXISTI (Matthew 26: 25, Thou hast said); NON EGO SUM RABBI (Matthew 26:25, I am not he, master); lower panel, QUOD FACIS FAC CITO (John 13:27, What thou doest, do quickly); left border FILIUS HOMINIS VADIT SICUT SCRIPTUM EST DE EO VAE AUTEM HOMINI ILLI PER QUEM TRADITUR MATTHEI XXVI (Matthew 26:24, “The Son of man goeth as it is written of him: but woe unto that man by whom the Son of Man is betrayed”).

The prayer focuses on the call to repentance Christ gave to Judas: “Lord Jesus Christ, *pastor bonus* (John 10:11), to thy erring disciple, thou didst issue a repeated call to repentance” using this as a lesson to give the devout, Enríquez de Ribera himself, “the strength and the courage to overcome the devil.”⁴⁸



4

Thou didst sweat blood

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 59, The Passion of Our Lord: First Compline.

[Agony in the Garden] Christ Prays for the Removal of the Chalice, There Appeared to Him an Angel from Heaven, His Sweat Became as Drops of Blood, Christ Speaks to His Disciples

Illuminated parchment leaf, laid down on board (130 × 90 mm.).

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Cabinet des dessins (RFML.AG.2020.5.1);

<https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl020626155>;

Formerly Michel Gonord (d. 2012); Alban Gonord by inheritance; acquired by the Louvre in 2020.

Banderoles: [PATER MI SJI POSSIBILE EST TRANSEAT A ME CALIX (Matthew 26:39, My father if it is possible let that cup pass by me); VIGILATE ET ORATE INTRETIS IN TE(N)TATIONES (Matthew 26:41, Watch and pray, that you enter not into temptation).

The prayer for Compline recited in the evening (when the Agony in the Garden occurred) focuses on how the agony of Christ who “didst sweat blood” should “give grace in the hardships of life’s pilgrimage” to be enjoyed “in the sweat of my brow.”⁴⁹



5
Suffer me not

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 59, The Passion of Our Lord: First Compline.

Betrayal of Christ, Christ Confounding Soldiers, Arrest of Christ, and Christ Healing Malchus

Les Enluminures, leaf a.



6
May I be fastened to the cross with thee

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 63, The Passion of Our Lord: Sext.

[Christ at Calvary] Christ on the Cross with Mary and John, Christ on the Cross Crying Out; Darkness Descends from the Sixth through the Ninth Hour; Christ on the Cross with Vinegar and Hyssop

Illuminated parchment leaf, laid down on board (130 × 90 mm.).

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des dessins (RFML.AG.2020.5.2)

<https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl020626156>;

Formerly Michel Gonord (d. 2012); Alban Gonord by inheritance; acquired by the Louvre in 2020.

Banderoles: MULIER ECCE FILIVS TVVS ECCE MATER TVA (John 19:26-27, Woman behold thy son, [Son] behold thy mother); DEUS MEUS DEUS MEUS, UT QUID DERELIQUISTI ME (Mark 15:34, My God, why hast thou forsaken me).

The prayer, to be said at Sext, describes the “great cruelty” of the Crucifixion, the blasphemy suffered by Jesus, and the “vinegar or wine mixed with vinegar” He was given, and beseeches Christ: “may I be fastened to the cross with thee

....”⁵⁰



7
And with a loud voice

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, 64, The Passion of Our Lord: None.

Crucifixion, Veil of the Temple Rent in Two

Illuminated parchment cutting, laid down (62 × 85 mm.).

New York, Morgan Library and Museum, Melvin R. Seiden Collection, 2006 (MS M.1151) <http://ica.themorgan.org/manuscript/page/1/282477>; formerly Peter Sharrer, purchased in 1988 from a collection assembled in Spain in the 1960s; sold Sotheby's London, 6 July 2000, lot 35.

The prayer narrates that at None “with a loud voice thou didst commit thy spirit into the hands of the Father (Luke 23:46)” (it was at this moment that the Veil of the Temple was torn in two, not mentioned in the prayer), and goes on to ask to “repel the sinful thoughts” so as to be “in the realm of the blessed.”⁵¹



8
Make me a Joseph

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 65, The Passion of Our Lord: Second Vespers.

Joseph of Arimathea with Pontius Pilate, Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, Deposition, and Lamentation

Les Enluminures, leaf b.



9
Oh Mary help me

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 70, Prayer: The Lord Appears to His Mother.

Souls Entering Heaven, Christ Appearing to His Mother, Souls of the Saved Brought to Heaven, and Last Judgment

Les Enluminures, leaf c.



10

Their hearts thou didst inflame

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 76, Jesus Appears to the Two Disciples on Their Way to Emmaus.

Christ on the Road with Two Apostles, Christ and Two Apostles before a Castle, Supper at Emmaus, Two Apostles on the Road

Illuminated parchment leaf, laid down on board (134 × 89 mm.).

Private Collection; formerly London, Christie's, 1 December 2016, lot 9.

The prayer addresses Jesus, "thou didst appear to two of thy disciples on their way to Emmaus; their hearts thou didst inflame with love of thee ...," and asks for help to "perform works of mercy and loving kindness."⁵²





11 _____
Close my interior and exterior senses to temptations

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 77, Christ Appears to the Disciples in the Absence of Thomas.

Apostles Gathered Behind Closed Doors, Christ Appears to the Apostles with his Wounds, Christ Shares a Meal with his Apostles, Christ Shows his Wounds

Illuminated parchment leaf, laid down on wood including *trompe l'oeil* border decoration bearing coat of arms of the Enríquez de Ribera family (168/170 × 125 mm.).

Private Collection; formerly Paris, Paul Durrieu.⁵³

Title: APPARET UNDECIM (Appearance to the Eleven).

Banderoles: SURREXIT DOMINUS VERE (Luke 24:34, The Lord has risen indeed); COGNOVIMUS EUM IN FRACTIONE PANIS (Luke 24:35, They knew the Lord in the breaking of bread); PAX VOBIS (John 20:21, Peace be unto you); ACCIPITE SPIRITUM SANCTUM (John 20:22, Receive the Holy Spirit).

The prayer opens ... “thou didst appear to thy disciples though the doors where they had gathered had been locked (John 20:19). Close, I beseech thee, to the dangers of temptations the barriers of my interior and exterior senses ...”⁵⁴



12 _____
With Thomas help me

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 78, Christ Appears to the Disciples in the Presence of Thomas.

Thomas Gathering with the Apostles; Christ's Appearance to Thomas

Illuminated parchment leaf, laid down on wood (168/170 × 125 mm.), including *trompe l'oeil* border decoration bearing coat of arms of the Enríquez de Ribera family.

Private Collection, USA; formerly Paris, Paul Durrieu.⁵⁵

Title: DE APPARITIONE THOMAE (On the Appearance to Thomas).

Banderoles: VIDIMUS DOMINUM (John 20:25, We have seen the Lord); [? illegible] NON CREDO (John 20:25, [?] I will not believe); VIDIMUS DOMINUM (John 20:25, We have seen the Lord); DOMINUS MEUS ET DEUS MEUS (John 20:28, My Lord and my God).

The prayer recounts how “thou didst show the doubting Thomas the imprint of the nails and the lance ... by requesting him to touch thy scars.” And asks that “I may use my fingers and hands wholly for thy service. With Thomas help me ...”⁵⁶



13
Thou art as broiled fish

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 79, Christ Appears to the Seven Disciples at the Sea of Tiberias.

Apostles John, Simon Peter, and Andrew Casting Their Net, Jesus Addresses John and Simon Peter

Illuminated parchment cutting, laid down on board (67 × 85 mm.).

Private Collection, Belgium; formerly Ch. A. De Burlet, Berlin; Albert Figdor, Vienna; Arnhold Collection, sold Sotheby's London, 23 June 1992, lot 22.

(originally with 14 on the same leaf)



14

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 79, Christ Appears to the Seven Disciples at the Sea of Tiberias.

Jesus Addresses Simon Peter, Peter Grieves in the Presence of John

Illuminated parchment cutting, laid down (67 × 85).

Private Collection, Belgium; formerly Ch. A. De Burlet, Berlin; Albert Figdor, Vienna; Arnhold Collection, sold Sotheby's London, 23 June 1992, lot 22.

Banderoles: left, rubbed [...]IS DILIG[IS] ME PLUS HIS and TU SCIS [...] (John 21:16, Simon, son of John, dost thou love me [more]? Lord thou knowest [that I love thee]); right, SIC EUM VOLO MANERE DONEC VENIAM QUID AD TE (John 21:22, If I will that he tarry till I come what is that to thee?); SEQUERE ME (John 21:22, Follow me); DOMINE IESU HIC AUTEM QUID (John 21:21, Lord Jesus what shall this man do?).

The prayer likens Jesus to broiled fish, depicted in a fire in the lower foreground of the second panel of n. 13: "In my suffering for thee, be thou my refreshment – thou art as broiled fish ... grant that I may love thee with Peter in bearing hardships for thee; grant that I may be loved by thee with John in loyal friendship ..."⁵⁷



15

Jesus, bountiful giver



Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 84, Pentecost.

Pentecost, Mocking of the Apostles, Saint Peter Preaching

Illuminated parchment leaf, including *trompe l'oeil* border decoration bearing the coat of arms of the Enríquez de Ribera family (verso), with text blank on the recto, decorated by vegetal border motifs.; (186 × 135 mm., miniature 128 × 82 mm.).

Philadelphia, PA, Free Library of Philadelphia, John Frederick Lewis Collection, E M 6:2

https://openn.library.upenn.edu/Data/0023/html/lewis_e_m_006_002.html.

Title: DE DESCENSU SPIRITVS SANCTI (On the Descent of the Holy Spirit).

Banderoles: EFFUNDAM DE SPIRITUM QUE SUPER OMNES GENTES ET PROPHETABUNT FILII ET FILIUM VESTRUM (Joel 2:28, I will pour out my spirit upon all the nations and your sons and daughters shall prophesy); SENSUM AUTEM TUUM QUIS SCIET NISI TU MISERIS SPIRITUM SANCTUM TUUM DE ALTISSIMUS [SAPIENTI CHRISTI?] (Wisdom 9:17, And who shall know thou thought except thou shall send the Holy Spirit from above [from the Wisdom of Christ]).

The prayer opens “Jesus, bountiful giver, thou hast sent the Holy Spirit under an appearance of fire upon thy disciples ...” and continues “I pray and beseech thee, loving Jesus, that this gift from thy bounty be likewise mine unto my salvation.”⁵⁸



16

Our tongue be released

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. I, ch. 90, The Deaf-Mute Possessed by a Devil.

Christ Healing the Deaf and Dumb

Illuminated parchment cutting (69 × 83 mm.).

Saint Louis, MO, Saint Louis Museum of Art (66.1952); acquired from Vladimir Simkhovitch in 1952; formerly Ch. A. De Burlet, Berlin; Albert Figdor, Vienna.

Banderole: [illegible] OMNIA BENE FECIT [illegible], [thus from BENE OMNIA FECIT ET SURDOS FECIT AUDIRE ET MUTOS LOQUI] (Mark 7:37, He hath done all things well; he hath made both the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak).

The prayer likens the deaf and dumb to the sinful: “Put your finger of discretion into the ears of our intellect and the taste of wisdom into the mouth of our affection that our tongue be released for confession”⁵⁹

Parent Manuscript

Relying partially on the presence of the prayer for chapter 42 on the Free Library leaf, it seems improbable that Fadrique’s manuscript included the entire very lengthy text of Ludolph of Saxony’s *Life of Christ* (the Spanish translation was printed in four volumes). The text for such a manuscript would have been unwieldy and an unlikely choice for a luxury commission. It is far more likely that the pictures were intended to record visually the narrative in the *Life* and to serve as prompts for the accompanying prayers.

The order of the *Vita Christi*, which generally follows the order of the Gospel narratives, but with some exceptions, allows us to reconstruct the likely original order of the extant leaves and also to suggest where leaves are still missing. Most of the extant leaves come from Book II of the *Life of Christ*, beginning with chapter 42 (the recto of the Free Library leaf) and ending with chapter 84, that is, they are part of the sequence of texts and prayers on the Passion and Resurrection of Christ. In Book II, chapter 39, “The Signs of the Coming of the Lord and the End of the World,” through chapter 88 on “Heaven and Hell,” form a logical subsection of Ludolph’s work, beginning with chapters foreshadowing the Last Judgment, and then continuing through the narrative of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, leading to the events after the Resurrection and finally to the Last Judgment again. If,

therefore, the original manuscript consisted of this extended Passion cycle, then the Free Library leaf with chapter 42 came near the beginning and the second Free Library leaf came near the end with chapter 84. If the prayer of every chapter was accompanied by a miniature (and that cannot have been entirely the case because one leaf illustrates two prayers and in another instance two miniatures go with one prayer), we are missing thirty-six miniatures. With fifty full-page miniatures, this would make the Enríquez de Ribera Prayerbook a more lavish cycle than the Albrecht of Brandenburg Prayerbook, similarly composed of full-page pictures and prayers and of comparable dimensions, but not that much more so. It would also mean that approximately one-third of the manuscript now survives.

One detail, however, renders this reconstruction problematic: a single leaf survives from Ludolph of Saxony's Book I, chapter 90, "Christ Healing the Deaf and Dumb." This raises the possibility that the Enríquez de Ribera manuscript included miniatures for all 181 chapters of the *Life of Christ*. Or, alternatively, it could have been a *Life of Christ* composed only of selected chapters.

Based on the Free Library leaf and the assumption that the manuscript included only the prayers from the *Life of Christ*, we can speculate further on its layout and overall length. The extant prayer on the Philadelphia leaf begins at the end of the

tenth line of the prayer at the end of chapter 42, "On Praying and Waiting for the Coming of the Lord; the Remote Signs of His Coming and the End of the World" (comparing the text with the printed edition), and we can postulate that this prayer was copied across a double-page opening, beginning on the facing verso, and concluding on the recto. The image on this leaf follows on the verso, and the subjects are suitable for the prayer from the following chapter (chapter 43), suggesting that the images in the intact Prayerbook preceded the text of the prayers. The prayers vary in length, but not by a lot, and most of them would have spanned two pages. As far as the miniatures are concerned, all leaves with marginal decoration are versos, which leads to the conclusion that the manuscript was laid out much like the Prayerbook of Albrecht of Brandenburg: miniature, two text pages, blank if necessary, miniature. This composition of the entire manuscript would have reached approximately 150 folios (the prayers in the Albrecht of Brandenburg Prayerbook are longer – hence 337 folios).

The Prayerbook of Enríquez de Ribera was a luxury production, with border decoration for the miniatures and for the text pages, as we can conclude from the rectos of both leaves in the Free Library, where in both cases they faced another text page and not an illumination.

6 Conclusion

The Prayerbook of Enríquez de Ribera cannot have been an easy commission for Simon Bening. He must have received such strict and detailed instructions from Fadrique's advisor on how to illustrate the text: which subjects, how many panels, where to put the titles, what the text was for the banderoles. And in addition to these specific instructions, his challenging goal was to illustrate a text that was both narrative and contemplative, that told a story meant to serve as a basis for prayer. The multi-panel subjects carried the dense narrative from Ludolph of Saxony's *Life of Christ*, and the many speech scrolls reinforced the actions of the participants in the biblical stories. As we have seen, Bening relied for the fundamentals of his compositions partly on patterns he inherited and employed throughout his career. He stayed faithful to the sequential chronology of the text which he skillfully paced through the repetition of color and costume. He also displays a remarkable sensitivity to setting, sometimes alluding to the times of the day the events took place (such as in the Crucifixion miniature in the Louvre), which often correspond to the very hours the prayers were recited. In realizing the finished manuscript,



Bening thus carefully directed and controlled the experience of the viewer, effectively laying out the drama of the biblical narratives and simultaneously deepening the viewer's affective response to them by eliciting the sense of the prayers.

There is nothing quite like the final product either in Bening's corpus or in Flemish manuscript illustration. However, if we look to the royal court in Spain, the home of the patron Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera and of Ambrosio Montesino's text, we find a cultural and religious climate in which the Prayerbook fits well. Devout Catholic monarchs, Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon made the life of Christ a cornerstone of their patronage. In this regard, we should remember that Fadrique was a cousin of Ferdinand II, who appointed him Admiral of Castile; he participated directly in many royal events, in peacetime and at battle. A Franciscan friar and cleric, Ambrosio Montesino was Isabella's court poet; he composed his Castilian translation of Ludolph of Saxony's text at her request and under her sponsorship.

Let us start with the text. The theme of the life of Christ was immensely popular in Spain during the reign of Isabella the Catholic, in part through the influence of her advisor and confessor, Hernando de Talavera (1428–1507), the Archbishop of Grenada. Talavera's chief precept was: "Always keep your thoughts firmly set in the life of Jesus Christ Our Lord and [the life] of his blessed Mother."⁶⁰ Five major original treatises

devoted to the life or passion of Christ were published in Castilian during the last fifteen years of Isabella the Catholic's reign.⁶¹ Three of these were dedicated to Isabella or to the royal couple; four are recorded in her inventories; and from a fifth she had prayers copied. In addition, multiple translations of the Latin texts by Pseudo-Bonaventura (John of Caulibus?) and Ludolph of Saxony, including Ambrosio Montesino's, led to their widespread influence.⁶² Whether in prose or in poetry, all the works use a sequential chronological format with few digressions and employ simple, straightforward language that would make them easy to read aloud.

At the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, meditating on the life of Christ was also a visual exercise. Scholars have linked an interesting set of panels painted by Juan de Flandes (active 1496–1519) with assistance from Michel Sittow to Isabella's personal meditational practices.⁶³ Begun in 1496, forty-six panels were ordered, although only twenty-seven survive today, and they all focus on the life of Christ from the Nativity to the Last Judgment with the addition of four depicting episodes of the life of the Virgin Mary before and after Christ's appearance on earth. Nothing in the inventories specifies the final arrangement of the panels (all survive separately today), but recent scholarly opinion considers that they were meant to form a retable. The idea of one scholar, however, remains intriguing. Following up on the original description of the panels as located in a cupboard, he suggested that Isabella took



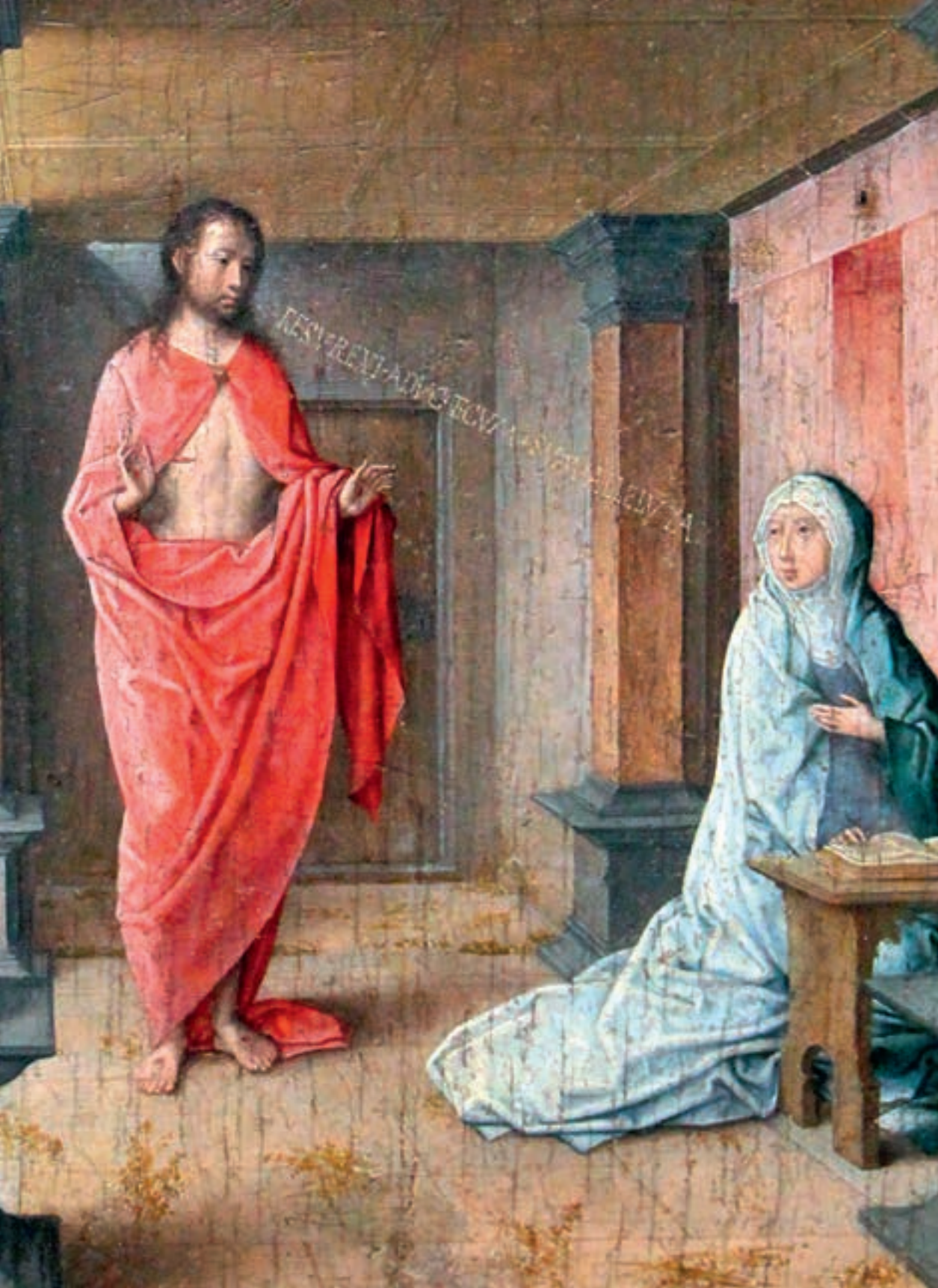
them out of the cupboard one by one to meditate on the life of Christ.⁶⁴ Their small size is not unlike that of a manuscript, such as the Enríquez de Ribera Prayerbook (Isabella's panels, 210 × 150 mm., compared to the Prayerbook of 186 × 135 mm. but substantially trimmed). Many of the panels incorporate speech scrolls, like the Prayerbook. Common stylistic features include the depiction of Christ as a slender, impassive figure; the arrangement of the scenes parallel to the picture plane; and their setting in the center foreground – all visual strategies that control the viewer's experience. It is tempting to imagine Isabella holding these small panels in her hands as she visually read the biblical narratives from them, while reciting the relevant prayers from Montesino's translation. In this sense, they would have functioned as an equivalent to an illuminated manuscript.

As mandated by Talavera, the focus on the Virgin Mary is a feature of the Spanish reception of the life of Christ, and two of Juan de Flandes panels (Fig. 29; National Gallery of

Fig. 29
 Juan de Flandes, *Christ Appearing to His Mother*, 1499–1500
 (London, National Gallery of Art, NG 1280)

Fig. 30 (overleaf)
 Juan de Flandes, *Christ Appearing to His Mother*, c. 1500
 (Berlin, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, inv. no. 2064)

(overleaf)
 Les Enluminures, leaf c, detail



Art, NG1280, and Fig. 30; Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Ident.Nr. 2064) depict the extra-biblical Appearance of Christ to his Mother that also occurs on leaf 9 in the Prayerbook. Staged as an Annunciation in the Berlin panel and in the Prayerbook, Christ appears after his Resurrection to his Mother, who, surprised in prayer, looks up from her open book. Dressed in bright red, Christ's garment denotes the Passion, underscored by his visible open wounds. In the panel painting, angels hover on the left while in the upper entablature, God the Father and the Holy Dove of the Trinity look down. In Bening's leaf, angels subtly emerge from within Christ's golden aureole to signal his role as Savior, the theme elaborated in the three accompanying panels in the Prayerbook. In the National Gallery panel of the same subject, through an open door in the bedchamber appear the souls who followed Christ out of limbo (illustrated in the upper left panel of the Prayerbook). As the Annunciation announced the Incarnation of Christ, so this second Annunciation heralded the reincarnation of Christ. As we have already seen, Bening took his representation from Ludolph of Saxony's *Life of Christ*, and the accompanying prayer "O Mary ... help me" is designed to assure the devout that he or she will "arrive happily with all the elect of God to joys eternal."

One further intriguing but elusive Spanish connection should be mentioned. Although we have not been able to locate any complete illuminated manuscripts of Montesino's



Fig. 31

Spanish Illuminator, *Zacchaeus Receives Jesus*, cutting from a Prayerbook with prayers from Montesino's translation of the *Life of Christ*, after c. 1502 (Private Collection)



translation of the *Life of Christ*, we should recall that Isabella herself evidently ordered an illuminated manuscript of it that was incomplete at the time of her death. Three illuminated cuttings with fragments of Montesino's text on the verso have come to light (Fig. 31; Private Collection).⁶⁵ They appear to be approximately the right date; their text does include one of the prayers from Ludolph's text, together with related text that has not been identified. Interestingly, they are illustrated with extensive banderoles, like the Prayerbook. Further research is required to determine what relationship, if any, they could possibly have to Isabella's lost manuscript of the *Oraciones del Cartujano*.

Returning from pilgrimage to the Holy Land between 1518 and 1523, of which he wrote an account (Fig. 33), Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera sought affective ways in his native Seville to prolong his first-hand experience of Christ's Passion. During Lent in 1521, he instituted a *Via Crucis* which began in his family palace, in his chapel known as the Chapel of the Flagellation (Fig. 32) and ended at a pillar not far from the Cruz del Campo. Walking the *Via Crucis* required exactly 1,321 paces, the same number of paces that Fadrique himself took from the House of Pilate in Jerusalem to Mount Golgotha. Associated so closely with this annual event, his house was

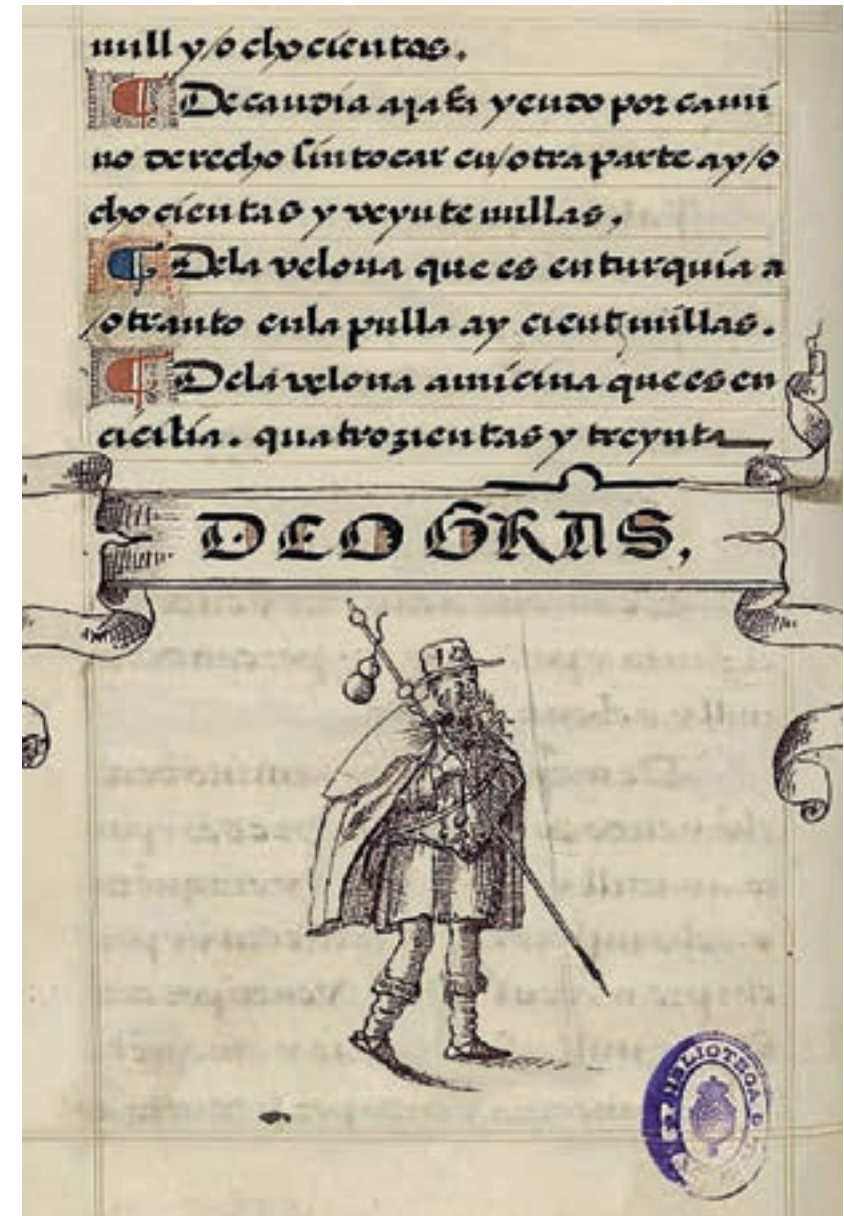
Fig. 32
Chapel of the Flagellation, Casa de Pilatos, Seville, Spain, begun after 1520

renamed the Casa de Pilatos, or House of Pilate, in 1533. In this context, it is easy to imagine Fadrique contemplating the miniatures as he recited the prayers from Bening's Prayerbook, his *Oraciones del Cartujano*, reliving daily the life of Christ and that of the Virgin Mary. The blood dripping from Jesus's face as he kneels at Golgotha, the agony Christ suffers when kissed by the betrayer, the pathos of Joseph and Nicodemus as they take myrrh, aloe, and linen to wrap the body of Christ, the astonishment of Mary as she looks up to witness her son with his wounds after the Resurrection: these are moments that Bening with his consummate skill as "the greatest master of the art of illumination in all of Europe" brought alive for Fadrique in his masterful *chef d'oeuvre*, the Prayerbook of Enríquez de Ribera or the *Oraciones del Cartujano*.



Fig. 33

A Pilgrim (Fadrique?), Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera, *Viaje de Jerusalem*, 1518-1523 (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 9355, f. 254v)





Appendix I Provenance

From a Prayerbook made for the Spanish noble Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera, identified by his coat of arms (three fess vert and chapé ployé; 1 and 2 gules and a castle, triple towered; in base argent a lion passant proper crowned) painted in border decoration of four sister leaves (nos. 1, 2, 12, 15). Potentially identified in an inventory of Fadrique's library at the Casa de Pilatos, Seville in 1532 ("Otro libro de rezar con las cubiertas de terciopelo con una guarnición de oro cubierto de lima, que costó el oro y la hechura 19,631 [*reales*]"). Possibly endowed to the monastery of Santa María de las Cuevas in Seville following Fadrique's death, although some of his library is later recorded in the possessions of a descendant.

During the nineteenth century, the Enríquez de Ribera Prayerbook was broken up and its various leaves dispersed. Of the known sixteen leaves, nine are mounted on wooden boards (nos. 2–6, 9–12), five on paper (nos. 7–8, 13–14, 16) and two unmounted (nos. 1, 15). Further material analysis is needed to determine if these wood- and paper-mounted leaves might indicate groups of yet unidentified nineteenth-century

collections. Following the nineteenth-century dispersal, leaves a and b (on board) remained together while leaf c (on paper) owns a separate provenance.

Leaf a: *Betrayal of Christ, Christ Confounding Soldiers, Arrest of Christ, and Christ Healing Malchus*; Leaf c: *Souls Entering Heaven, Christ Appearing to His Mother, Souls of the Saved Brought to Heaven, and Last Judgment*

1. Unidentified nineteenth- or early twentieth-century collection. The wood panels to which the cuttings are mounted are similar to those of four leaves formerly in the collection of Paul Durrieu, Paris (nos. 2, 3, 11, 12) two leaves in the Musée du Louvre (nos. 4, 6), and one leaf in a Private Collection (no. 10). Potentially, these eight mounted leaves were all previously part of an earlier collection. The present two leaves, however, cannot be traced to Durrieu.

2. Private Collection, Lille, France; sold Bruges, Rob Michiels Auctions, 28 April 2019, lot 1201.

Leaf b: *Joseph of Arimathea with Pontius Pilate, Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, Deposition, and Lamentation*

Unidentified nineteenth- or early twentieth-century collection. May correspond to four sister leaves similarly cut and mounted on paper (nos. 7, 13–14, 16).

1. Possibly one of four miniatures from the Charles Albert De Burlet collection in Berlin, identified by Friedrich Winkler.⁶⁶ Shortly thereafter, three of these leaves (nos. 13, 14, 16), entered the collection of Albert Figdor of Vienna and were subsequently sold in 1930.⁶⁷ The subject matter of the fourth, unsold leaf was not identified by Winkler. It may possibly correspond to the present leaf or represent a yet unknown seventeenth leaf from the Prayerbook. The present leaf contains four full panels whereas the three identified leaves from the De Burlet collection all survive as cuttings of upper and lower registers.

2. Private Collection.



Appendix II The Original Manuscript

We cannot know the exact content of the original manuscript but based on the extant leaves we can speculate about what might be missing. The surviving leaves (with one exception) illustrate chapters from Book II of Ludolph of Saxony's *Life of Christ* that tell the story of the Passion of Christ and the events following the Resurrection. This suggests that the original manuscript included miniatures that laid out the narratives contained in this part of Ludolph's work arranged so as to elicit the contents of the accompanying prayers. It is possible that not every prayer was illustrated. We have also observed that in one case two leaves illustrate the same prayer and may thus have faced each other in the original manuscript. If every prayer beginning with Book II, ch. 39, was illustrated, then we are still missing thirty-six miniatures. This would mean that approximately one-third of the original manuscript survives.

Surely missing is the sequence of three leaves on the Passion following the Betrayal (leaf 4, ch. 59) and preceding the Crucifixion (leaf 6, ch. 63). These would have illustrated Christ with Annas and Caiaphas, Christ before Pilate, and the scourging, crowning, and carrying of the Cross (chs. 60–62).

Probably also missing are two (or three) leaves following the Lamentation (leaf 8, ch. 65) and preceding Christ's appearance to his mother (leaf 9, ch. 70). These would have illustrated his Entombment and his Resurrection (chs. 64–69). Perhaps also missing are other post-Passion appearances (following leaf 9, ch. 70), which would have included Mary Magdalene, the Three Marys, and to Peter, Joseph of Arimathea, and James the Less (chs. 71–75). Nor is it likely that the manuscript concluded with Pentecost (leaf 15, ch. 84); most likely it illustrated the Assumption of the Virgin, the Last Judgment, and Heaven and Hell (chs. 85–88).

The fact that the surviving leaves are not consecutive gives reason to hope for the recovery of other miniatures because it reduces the possibility that one portion of the manuscript was destroyed and not others.

Leaf 16 remains a mystery, because it raises the possibility that the Prayerbook originally also included the prayers, select or complete, from Book I of Ludolph of Saxony's *Life of Christ*.

II, ch. 39, The Signs of the Coming of the Lord and the End of the World [Matthew 14, Mark 13, Luke 23]

II, ch. 40, The Coming and Persecution of the Antichrist

II, ch. 41, The Remedies for the Spiritual Trials of the Last Days; Meditation on God

Leaf 1 (verso)

Text of the prayer from Bk. II, ch. 42, Praying and Waiting for the Coming of the Lord; the Remote Signs of his Coming and the End of the World

Leaf 1 (recto)

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 43, The Coming of Christ the Judge; ch. 44, Prayer: The Coming Redemption and Its Consolation for the Elect, the Parable of the Fig Tree

Instruments of the Passion, Last Judgement, Angels Escorting Souls to Heaven, and the Parable of the Fig Tree

II, ch. 45, The Day of the Lord Coming as in the Age of Noah or Lot; The Elect and the Rejected

II, ch. 46, The Father's Protection Against Prowlers (Mark 13:34f)

II, ch. 47, Loins Girt About and Lamps Burning

II, ch. 48, The Ten Virgins

II, ch. 49, Gifts of the Lord Entrusted to His Servants

II, ch. 50, The Winnowing of the Last Judgement

II, ch. 51, The Passover; Interpretation of the Word "Passover"

II, ch. 52, The Date, and the Cause, of the Betrayal by Judas

II, ch. 53, Mediation for the First Vespers on Holy Thursday

(Prayer: ... with thy disciples at the vesper hour thou didst partake of the Last Supper ...)*

Leaf 2

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 54, The Washing of the Feet

Christ Prepares to Wash the Feet of the Apostles, Christ Washes the Feet of Judas, Peter Refuses to Allow Christ to Wash His Feet

Leaf 3

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 55, The Kind Reprimand Given the Traitor; His Departure

Identification of Judas as the Betrayer, His Exit from the Last Supper

II, ch. 56, The Institution of the Holy Eucharist (John 22:14–20)

II, ch 57, Christ's Sermon at the Last Supper

II, ch. 58, On Meditation on Our Lord's Passion

Leaf 4

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 59, The Passion of Our Lord: First Compline

[Agony in the Garden] Christ Prays for the Removal of the Chalice, There Appeared to Him an Angel from Heaven, His Sweat Became as Drops of Blood, Christ Speaks to His Disciples

Leaf 5

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 59, The Passion of Our Lord, First Compline

Betrayal of Christ, Christ Confounding Soldiers, Arrest of Christ, and Christ Healing Malchus

II, ch. 60, The Passion of Our Lord: Matins (prayer, “at the matinal hour thou wert struck by a servant in the presence of Annas (John 18:22); thou wert led bound to Caiphas (John 18:24) ...”)

II, ch. 61, The Passion of Our Lord: Prime (Prayer: ... “at prime thou wert led away as a captive into the Sanhedrin (Luke 22:66). After much injustice and insult “thou wert taken before Pilate” (Luke 23:1) ... [then to Herod, and back to Pilate])

II, ch. 62, The Passion of our Lord: Tierce (scourging of Christ, crowning with thorns, Carrying the Cross)

Leaf 6

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 63, The Passion of Our Lord, Sext

[Christ at Calvary], Christ on the Cross with Mary and John, Christ on the Cross Crying Out, Darkness Descends from the Sixth through the Ninth Hour, Christ on the Cross with Vinegar and Hyssop

Leaf 7

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 64, The Passion of Our Lord, None

Crucifixion, Veil of the Temple Rent in Two

Leaf 8

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 65, The Passion of Our Lord: Second Vespers

Joseph of Arimathea with Pontius Pilate, Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, Deposition, and Lamentation

II, ch. 66, The Passion of Our Lord: Second Compline (Prayer: ... at Compline “thou wert anointed and embalmed” with fragrant spices, “wrapped and bound in a shroud and other linens ...” (John 19:39-42), and “buried by thy mother and sorrowing friends (Luke 23:55) ...”)

II, ch. 67, Epilogue of the Passion of Our Lord; Eulogy of the Cross

Leaf 6

Christ at Calvary

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des dessins RFML.AG.2020.5.2



II, ch. 68, Holy Saturday (Prayer, "... Thou must enter the limbo prison, that is "of the Fathers," to redeem thy captives. And so, thy blissful, sacred spirit descends to hell and "brings them out of darkness and the shadow of death" (Ps 107:14). Merciful Jesus, in thy supreme love let thy grace and mercy descend upon the souls ... Save them.... And escort them to joys eternal. Amen.")

II, ch. 69, The Resurrection of Our Lord

Leaf 9

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 70, The Lord Appears to His Mother

Souls Entering Heaven, Christ Appearing to His Mother, Souls of the Saved Brought to Heaven, and Last Judgment

II, ch. 71, Mary Magdalene and the Other Marys and Peter and John at the Grave

II, ch. 72, Jesus Appears to Mary Magdalene

II, ch. 73, Christ Appears to the Three Marys

II, ch. 74, The Guards Resort to Lying

II, ch. 75, Christ Appears to Peter, Joseph of Arimathea, James the Less, and the Holy Brethren

Leaf 10

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 76, Jesus Appears to the Two Disciples on Their Way to Emmaus

Christ on the Road with Two Apostles, Christ and Two Apostles before a Castle; Supper at Emmaus, Two Apostles on the Road

Leaf 11

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 77, Christ Appears to the Disciples in the Absence of Thomas

Apostles Gathered Behind Closed Doors, Christ Appears to the Apostles with his Wounds, Christ Shares a Meal with his Apostles, Christ Shows his Wounds

Leaf 12

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 78, Christ Appears to the Disciples in the Presence of Thomas

Thomas Gathering with the Apostles, Christ's Appearance to Thomas

Leaf 13 (once part of leaf 14)

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 79, Christ Appears to the Seven Disciples at the Sea of Tiberias

Apostles John, Simon Peter, and Andrew Casting Their Net; Jesus Addresses John and Simon Peter

Leaf 14

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 79, Christ Appears to the Seven Disciples at the Sea of Tiberias

Jesus Addresses Simon Peter, Peter Grieves in the Presence of John

II, ch. 80, Christ Appears to the Eleven Disciples and the Five Hundred Brethren (1 Cor. 15:5f)

II, ch. 81, Epilogue: Christ's Apparitions after His Resurrection

II, ch. 82, The Ascension of Our Lord Jesus Christ

II, ch. 83, The Gospels; the End and Value of Faith

Leaf 15

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, Bk. II, ch. 84, Pentecost

Pentecost, Mocking of the Apostles, Saint Peter preaching

II, ch. 85, Glory to God

II, ch. 86, The Assumption, and Praise, of the Blessed Virgin

II, ch. 87, The Last Judgement

II, ch. 88, Heaven and Hell

II, ch. 89, The Conclusion and Seal of the *Vita Christi*

Leaf 16

Ludolph of Saxony, *Life of Christ*, I, ch. 90, The Deaf-Mute Possessed by a Devil (Mark 7:31-37)

Christ Healing the Deaf and Dumb

*Where we have given the content of the prayer, it is because the title of the chapter is insufficient in predicting the identity of the subject of a missing leaf.

- ¹ Guicciardini 1588, 143; Vasari 1927, 4:254.
² Quoted in Weale 1864–1865, 311.
³ Hollanda 1930, 286.
⁴ For Bening's biography see Hindman 1989; Hindman 1997; and Los Angeles 2003, 447–486.
⁵ Sotheby's sale July 5, 2011, lot 26; see Lieftinck 1957; and Los Angeles 2003, 448–449.
⁶ Hindman 1997, no. 14, 112–19; Panayotova 2016, 86–87; Marrow 1984, 553, 558.
⁷ Bochert 2019.
⁸ In the meantime, see Heydier 2017.
⁹ Hindman 1989.
¹⁰ Testa 1991; Testa 1992.
¹¹ Kren 2005; Heyder 2014.
¹² Testa 1991.
¹³ Destrée 1923, 35.
¹⁴ Testa 1991, 106.
¹⁵ Testa 1991, 108–9; see also Hindman 1989, 13.
¹⁶ Hindman 1989, 18–19.
¹⁷ Heyder 2014.
¹⁸ Euw and Plotzek 1979–1985, 2:286–313, figs. 469–542.
¹⁹ Kren in Los Angeles 2003, 458–59.
²⁰ Hindman 1989, 18.
²¹ For heraldry see Garcia Caraffa and Garcia Caraffa 1828, 31: 32, 49–52, 80–81 and 78:220–21, 224, 249–50.
²² Álvarez Márquez 1986, 2.
²³ Pereda 2012.
²⁴ Álvarez Márquez 1986, 4.
²⁵ Melgoza 1969.
²⁶ García Mateo 2000.
²⁷ Melgoza 1969, 190.
²⁸ Ibid, 189.
²⁹ Álvarez Márquez 1986, 12–13.
³⁰ Meseguer 1959, 176, 181; see also Madrid 2004, 182.
³¹ Villaseñor Sebastián 2009, 308–309.

- ³² Álvarez Márquez 1986, 3, note 8.
³³ Ibid, 9.
³⁴ Ransom 2014.
³⁵ Kupfer-Tarasuolo 1979a; Testa 1984; Testa 1986.
³⁶ Los Angeles 2003, nos. 141, 452, Fig. 141.
³⁷ Testa 1991, 106–107.
³⁸ Ishikawa 2004, 35–39, and nos. 11, 14; Breckenridge 1957.
³⁹ Quoted in Breckenridge 1957, 17.
⁴⁰ Kren in Los Angeles, 2003, 191.
⁴¹ Ludolph of Saxony 1973, 164.
⁴² I am grateful to Marc Smith for this analysis.
⁴³ Ludolphus de Saxonia 1502–1503, 3:XLII.
⁴⁴ Ludolph of Saxony 1973, 138.
⁴⁵ Hindman 1989, no. 1.
⁴⁶ Ludolph of Saxony 1973, 148.
⁴⁷ Hindman 1989, no. 2.
⁴⁸ Ludolph of Saxony 1973, 150.
⁴⁹ Ibid, 154.
⁵⁰ Ibid, 158.
⁵¹ Ibid.
⁵² Ibid, 170.
⁵³ Hindman 1989, no. 3.
⁵⁴ Ludolph of Saxony 1973, 170.
⁵⁵ Hindman 1989, no. 4.
⁵⁶ Ludolph of Saxony 1973, 172.
⁵⁷ Ibid, 174.
⁵⁸ Ibid, 178.
⁵⁹ Ibid, 172.
⁶⁰ Quoted in Ishikawa 2008, 73.
⁶¹ Ishikawa 2004, 29.
⁶² Ibid, 30.
⁶³ Ibid, 23–25.
⁶⁴ Campbell 1998, 264; see also Ransom 2014; and Ishikawa 2004.
⁶⁵ Sotheby's, July 8, 2014, lot 40, with a cutting of the *Cleansing of the Temple*, now unknown Private Collection; a third leaf may have been sold by Guillaumot-Richard, Villefranche sur Saone, 25 January 2014, lot 88, unknown subject.
⁶⁶ Winkler 1925, 160.
⁶⁷ Ball and Graupe 1930, 2:10–11, nos. 20–22; Hindman 1989, 6; Testa 1991, 89.



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