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# The Margins of Medieval Art: Questioning the Center Sandra Hindman





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## The Margins of Medieval Art: Questioning the Center

The title of this exhibition reflects the interplay between what is represented in the margins of medieval manuscripts and what is depicted in the main picture space, the center. But not only. It also calls attention to persons, beasts, and imaginary creatures that elude social norms — monsters, aliens, women, beggars, fools, and even saints, among others. A carefully curated group of twenty works of art that include manuscripts, miniatures, jewelry, and stained glass allows us to probe the notion of the dynamic between the margin and the center.

The margin is "in" not "out" these days. Or maybe that's been true for a while. In 1992, Michael Camille wrote a delightful book (Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art) which explored the realm of the margin where resistance to medieval social constraints flourished. He argued that it's impossible to appreciate the center (the illumination or the core text) without understanding the margins in medieval manuscripts, where artists and scribes were able "to gloss, parody, modernize, and problematize the text's authority." Long before that, in 1966, Lilian Randall studied Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts, cataloging the vast repertory of medieval marginalia mostly in thirteenth-century Psalters.

Recently a Portuguese team of art historians published collected essays entitled *The Centre as Margin: Eccentric Perspectives on Art.* 



Let's look at just a few examples by way of an introduction. The *Roman de la Rose*, a quintessential medieval text, lent itself to marginal illustration in part because the text itself offered multiple allusions that complicated interpretation (one famous *Rose* manuscript even

includes a nun picking penises from a Penis Tree, underlining the tension between spiritual and courtly – or even carnal – love found in the text). The frontispiece in our *Rose* includes a margin that likewise contrasts bodily pleasure (gluttony) with spiritual pursuits (prayer).

A particularly imaginative example that glosses the text in an unusual way occurs at the end of the calendar in the Arenberg Psalter-Breviary (no. 1). In the margins of the computistic tables (tables that enable a user to calculate movable feasts), the illuminator has included men holding all sorts of measuring instruments: a square, a compass, a globe.

Sometimes the margins function to collapse the world of the book and the world of the reader. For example, putti burst through the parchment sheet into our space (nos. 2-3); a donor stands partially outside the picture space as though in the presence of the reader (no. 10); and flowers, insects, and objects strewn in the borders remind us that owners placed actual dried flowers, pilgrim's badges, and other memorabilia in their books (no. 14).

Not all marginalia come from books: jewelers too had recourse to monstrous, other-worldly images. A sculpturesque satyr adorns a necklace (no. 8); grotesque monsters feature on coat clasps (no. 11); naturalistic floral and arboreal ornament encircle the image of a saint in a reliquary pendant (no. 19).

Exploring the theme of the margin and the center helps us appreciate and engage with medieval art in new and exciting ways. Watch for our series of weekly videos on the theme, including one devoted to peacocks. Stay tuned for a podcast interview with Sherry Lindquist, the co-author with Asa Simon Mittman of Medieval Monsters: Terrors, Aliens, Wonders (2018). Connect with the margin and the center through our social media.







The Arenberg Psalter-Breviary (Premonstratensian use)

In Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment (452 folios; dimensions 180 x 132 mm.)

Northeastern France (Laon?), c. 1300 (after 1297)

- 31 historiated initials, 12 vignettes of zodiac signs,
- 32 full borders with numerous human figures, grotesques, animals, and birds, and hundreds of marginalia on nearly every page

The quintessential features of French Gothic art in the High Middle Ages find full expression in this beautiful Psalter-Breviary, illuminated by skilled artists who combine serious religious imagery with playful borders. No page in this lavish volume was left undecorated. It was made for use at the very wealthy Premonstratensian abbey of St. Martin's in Laon – perhaps a gift to the abbey – at a critical time in the history of the town of Laon when the abbey came under the direct protection of King Philip IV of France. From the famed collection of the Dukes of Arenberg (who also owned the Hours of Catherine of Cleves), the manuscript, although published, has long been unavailable for study and in private hands.

With extraordinary richness, the borders of the manuscript illustrate

scenes from daily life, real and imaginary, enacted by people and animals on nearly every page. We catch glimpses of a juggler, archers, dancers in contorted poses, musicians, bakers at work. Others display mild scatological humor (lots of dogs squatting to poop), a scribe (or artist?) at his desk, a master teaching mathematics. Of special interest is the margin accompanying the calendar tables on f. 7v: referring to the art of calculation, men hold a square, a compass, and a globe. On f. 118, two battling figures mounted on unicorns hold swords and shields (an allusion to the original owner?). Accompanying Psalm 80, bees swarm a seated man on f. 46v, while another man attempts to swat

them away, perhaps a textual reference to the verse describing the gathering of honey from a rock.

\$600,000















Master of François de Rohan (active c. 1525-1546) Bathsheba Bathing, leaf from a Book of Hours (c. 180 x 117 mm.) France, Paris, c. 1540-1546

This inventive illuminated leaf comes from a presumably lost Book of Hours illuminated by the Master of François de Rohan, most likely made for a patron in the court of King Francis I (r. 1515-1547) (see also no. 3). Bathsheba is depicted sitting on a wood plank over a bath as she receives a messenger from King David and is offered a plate of delicacies. David watches from a palace window.

The border deliberately blurs the distinction between margin and center by the creative use of trompe l'oeil, treating the page not as a flat surface but as existing in three-dimensions. An elaborate Italianate

architectural frame with pediment, arabesques, and pendants surrounds the scene, conveying volume on the page. Below

the sacred scene, the text appears in a sculpturesque cartouche, from which a charming putto, modeled in the same fleshy pink tones as Bathsheba, bursts through the parchment surface, his limbs piercing the page. The thoroughly French Renaissance taste evident in this painting is a long way from the more playful late Gothic style and reminds us that Leonardo da Vinci lived and died at the court of Francis I several decades before the completion of this work.

\$95,000





Master of François de Rohan (active c. 1525-1546) Job on the Dung Heap, leaf from a Book of Hours (c. 180 x 117 mm.) France, Paris, c. 1540-1546

This inventive illuminated leaf comes from a presumably lost Book of Hours illuminated by the Master of François de Rohan, most likely made for a patron in the court of King Francis I (r. 1515-1547) (see also no. 2). Job is depicted seated on a dung heap with a thin gold halo and a white cloth, sorrowfully gazing upwards. His wife and friends approach him, gesturing to each other, with a hilly landscape in the background.

The border deliberately blurs the distinction between margin and center by the creative use of trompe l'oeil, treating the page not as a flat surface but as existing in three-dimensions. An elaborate Italianate architectural frame with a rounded arch and pillars draped with pendants surrounds the scene, conveying volume on the page. Below the sacred scene, the text appears in a sculpturesque cartouche, from which a shadowy blue putto bursts through the parchment surface, his limbs piercing the page. The thoroughly French Renaissance taste evident in this painting is a long way from the more playful late Gothic style and reminds us that Leonardo da Vinci lived and died at the court of Francis I several decades before the completion of this work.

\$95,000

GUILLAUME DE LORRIS and JEAN DE MEUN, with interpolations of GUI DE MORI

The Jeanson Roman de la Rose

In French, illuminated manuscript on parchment (182 folios; 320 x 205 mm.)

Southern Netherlands, Tournai, c. 1390

3 illuminations and luxurious initials and border decoration on nearly every page by Jean Semont

A splendid, grand copy of a seminal text of French literature, with rare interpolations by Gui de Mori, illuminated by Jean Semont. Jean Semont is the first illuminator documented by name in the artistic center that produced some of the most important early Flemish panel paintings by Robert Campin and Roger van der Weyden. This pivotal work fits neatly into the artist's career, and compares closely with his securely documented manuscript, the Missal for Jean Olivier (Valenciennes, BM, MS 118). Exceptionally luxurious ivy-leaf and burnished gold initials and border decoration ornament nearly every page, complementing the three fine illuminations all attributed to the master illuminator. Jean Semont's works are crucial to understanding the advent of Flemish realism in Tournai before Jan van Eyck, and the Jeanson Rose plays a notable role in that story.







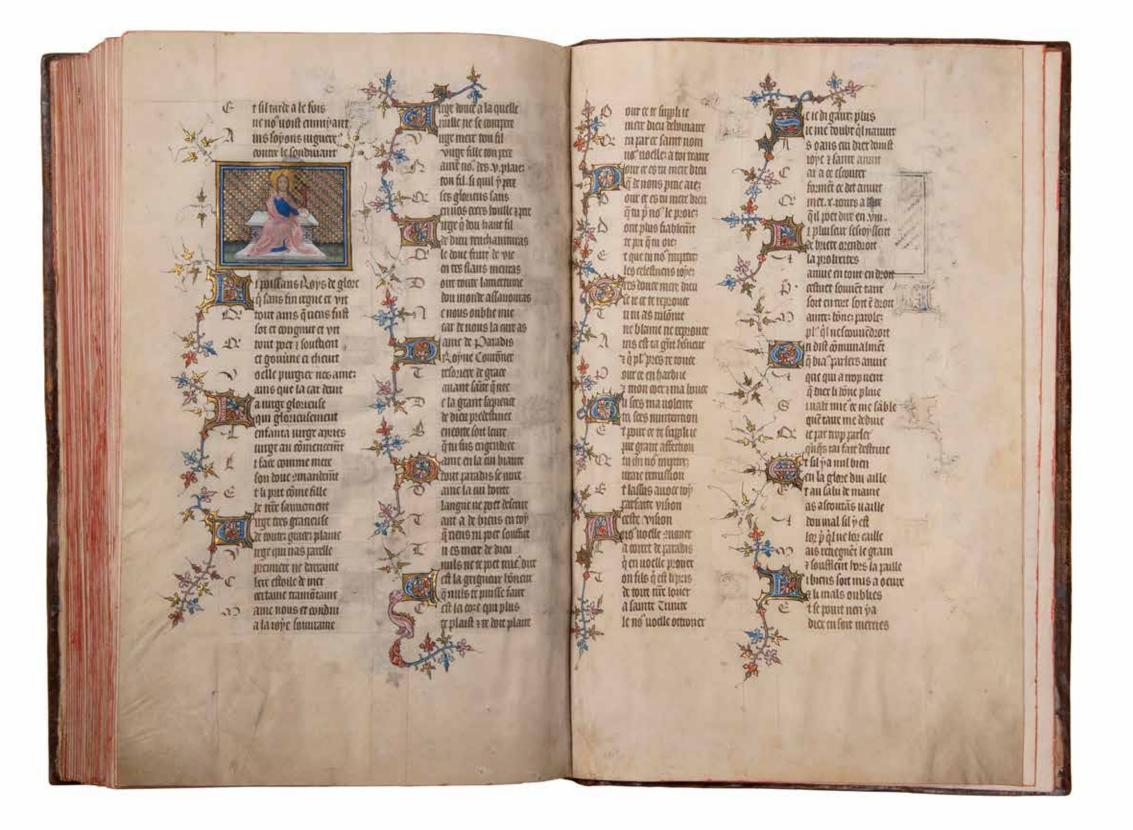
The frontispiece is unique in cycles of Rose illumination. Our artist tells the whole story of the Rose in his opening picture. The lover lies in bed. Before sleeping he propped his sword on his pillow. His books, pen, and parchment are on a desk next to his bed. He must have been near-sighted because we see his discarded spectacles. His dream takes visual form in the two chaplets exchanged by lovers hanging above him. An allusion to the unattainable Rose is the enclosed garden and tall balcony. The enchanting border is also unique among marginal illustrations to the Rose. As frequently occurs in Rose illustrations, the margin glosses the central image in imaginative ways that enhance the interpretation of the text. A monkey tosses food into a bowl while a brewer offers him drink. A nun with a dragon's body holds a rosary. There is a squirrel with nuts burrowing, a mermaid with a mirror and comb, a rabbit and sword. Pure entertainment? Or is the contrast of bodily pleasure with spiritual prayer intentional?

POR











South German Illuminator The Three Marys at the Tomb

(leaf:  $573 \times 382 \text{ mm.}$ ; miniature:  $140 \times 98 \text{ mm.}$ )

Southern Germany, c. 1470-1490

This antiphonal leaf contains an historiated initial depicting the dramatic encounter between the Three Marys and an angel standing on the empty tomb announcing the Risen Christ. The initial "V" forms the incipit for *Vespere autem sabbati...* for Holy Saturday. In the margin, a peacock poses amongst colorful foliate and floral decoration in blue, gold,

green, and red. Its presence refers directly to of the Resurrection, for peacocks signified since Roman times. Their feathers did not fade their lustre, and their flesh was thought to resist

decay.

\$15,000



the theme

#### Book of Hours (use of Rouen)

In Latin and French, illuminated manuscript on parchment (141 folios; dimensions 176 x 128 mm.)

France, Rouen, c. 1470-1480

8 large miniatures by the circle of the Master of the Rouen Échevinage (Jean Coquet?)

This classic Book of Hours is a fine example of Rouen illumination, decorated within the circle of the Master of the Rouen Échevinage, the leading artist in the city in the second half of the fifteenth century. Although the miniatures are all surrounded by rich floral borders, they are surprisingly empty of accompanying fauna. The exception is the folio depicting the Annunciation where two stupendously lifelike birds pose in the margin. In the lower margin, the peacock symbolizes eternal life, a reference to Christ rising from the Dead. On the right, the bird of prey (a vulture) alludes to the Virgin Mary, for the female vulture was believed to conceive and give birth without copulation.

\$100,000







## Stained Glass Ornamental Fragment with a Grotesque Mask

France, c. 1550

Black and brown grisaille with silver stain on clear glass; 12 x 9.7 cm.

This charming, unpublished fragment survives as an element from a vertical Renaissance border, the head of a "monster" with two fangs coming out of its mouth and with foliate decoration below in grisaille and colors. The grotesque is unusually fully and finely modelled with a combination of bold cross-hatching and stick work. "Fear, contempt, awe, and even delight," these are the different responses that medieval viewers might have felt when confronted by images of monsters, according to Sherry Lindquist and Asa Mittman. With its slight smile, oddly crossed eyes, and pudgy cheeks, this monster can't help but delight, bringing a smile to the face of its modern viewers.

(an old lead repair of lead cutting the face in two removed and restored with glue)

\$12,000



Renaissance Enamel Necklace with Satyr Pendant Likely France, c. late 16<sup>th</sup> century Gold, ronde bosse enamel, silk thread Weight 31.2 gr; Length of Chain 39.4 cm; Pendant 19.3 mm. x 10.5 mm × 22.1 mm.

Images found in the riotous margins of medieval art also migrated to medieval and Renaissance jewelry, as for example on this enamel necklace from which a sculpturesque satyr dangles. In the medieval Bestiary, the "restless" satyr with its "pantomimed gestures" and "attractive face" was considered one of the five types of monkeys. In Greek mythology, however, the satyr, known as a *Silenus* or *Silenos*, was a male nature spirit with a tail resembling that of a horse and with exaggerated sexual appetite. Our satyr exhibits characteristics of both – it is quadruped (horse-like?), posed with its contorted body folded backwards so that the hands can grasp the legs. Once worn hanging on pearly white skin within the open square of a lady's dress, this intricate necklace with its fine workmanship is a veritable tour de force. The delicate gold chain is composed of openwork beads, like petals of flowers, that are meticulously enameled opaque white with mottled red dots.

\$275,000



## Thourotte Hours (use of Metz)

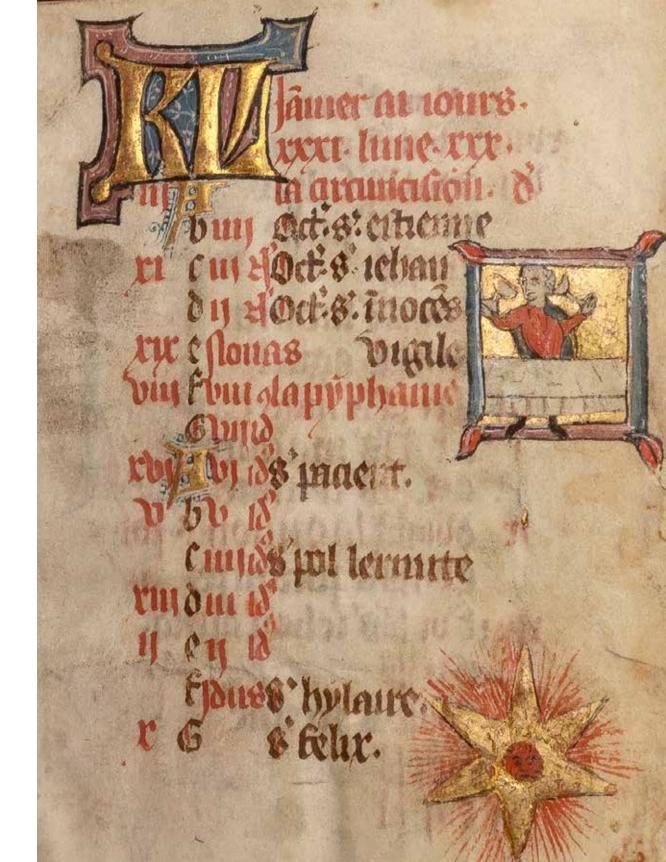
In Latin and French, illuminated manuscript on parchment (110 folios; dimensions  $130 \times 90 \text{ mm.}$ )

France, Metz, c. 1340

40 miniatures (2 full-page, 7 miniatures, 7 large historiated initials, and 24 calendar miniatures) by the Master of the Boethius of Montpellier

This enchanting Book of Hours is a critical work for the formation of the style of the gifted illuminator known as the Master of the Boethius of Montpellier, who was active in Metz in the mid-fourteenth century and is influenced by the Parisian artists Jean Pucelle and Jean Le Noir. As important for its text as it is for its art, the manuscript preserves an unusual cycle of prefatory prayers in a Lorraine vernacular

accompanying the Office of the Virgin. Typical of the artist's work, delightful marginalia abound, a cat-like lion, a unicorn, hounds, hares, boars, monkeys, and angels playing music. Apart from its brief appearance at auction in 1960 and on the art market c. 1988, the manuscript has long been in an illustrious private collection and deserves further study for its illuminations, its text, and its patronage in this thriving center.

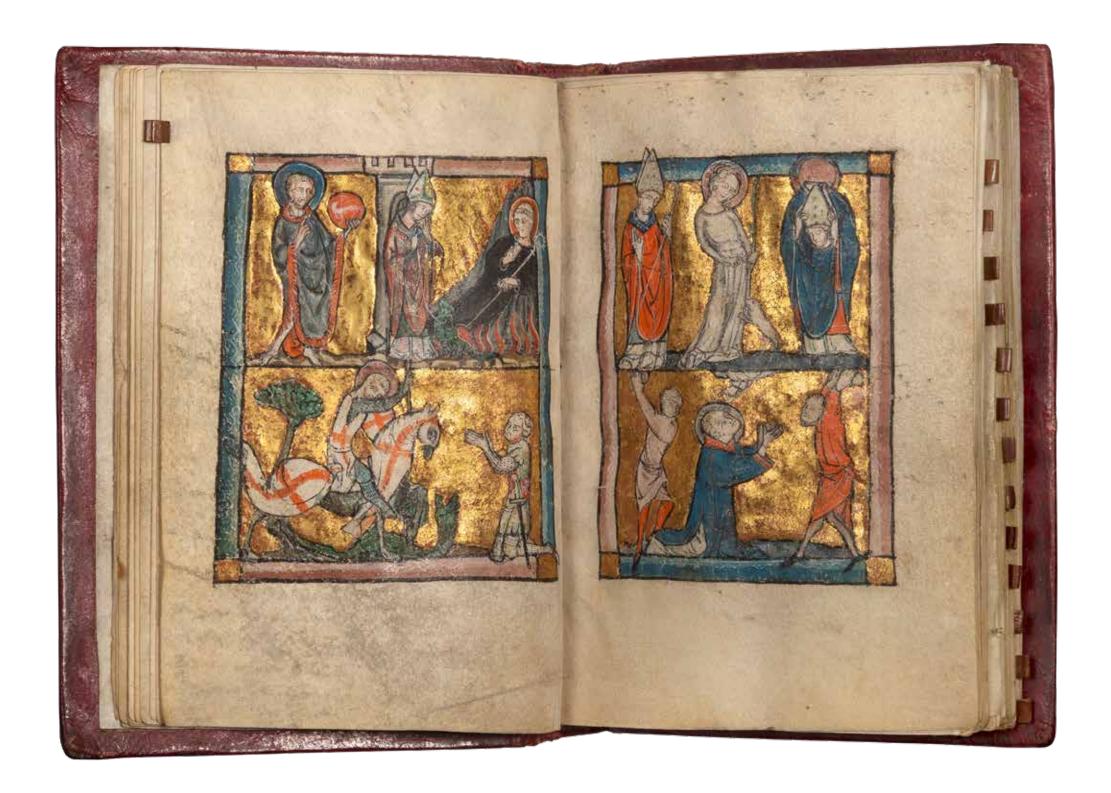




Of special interest is the calendar illustration with the Labors of the Month accompanying the zodiac Signs to signal the activities in rural society during the changing seasons: from planting and harvesting to hunting and feasting. Unique to this manuscript, and to one other, is a special feature in the calendar, a small sun positioned on the page to show the relative height of the sun throughout the year. The sun consists of a tiny face within a six-pointed star of gold, from which emanate red hairline rays. It is positioned at the bottom of the page in January, gradually ascending to its highest point on 18 June (f. 6v), then falling low at the end of December, a poignant reminder of the relationship of man to the passing of time in the natural world before clocks, watches, and the iPhone.

\$650,0000



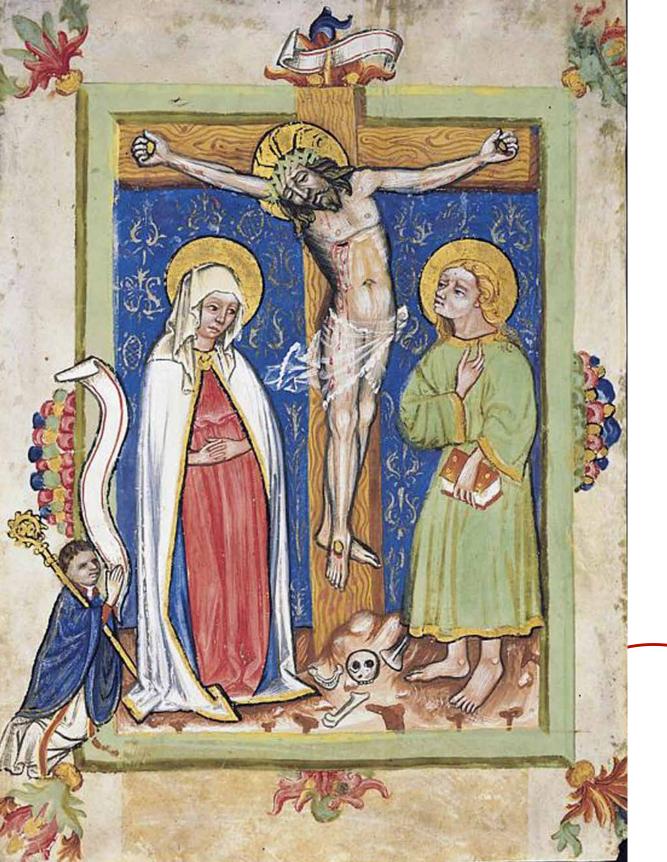












Bamberg (?) Painter
The Crucifixion
(270 x 195 mm.)
Germany, Bamberg (?), c. 1440-1450

Prefacing the Canon of the Mass from a Missal, this impressive full-page miniature illustrates the Crucifixion with a donor. Features of the "Soft Style" of Bohemian late Gothic art, such as the sfumato modelling and the sweetness of Mary's expression, are combined with powerful Germanic expressionism in the tortured body of Christ and the face and gesture of John. Kneeling half in and half out of the picture in the center, the bishop or abbot on the left reminds us that the margin functioned as a mediator; it was a transitional site between the present-day space occupied by the viewer and the otherworldly, sacred space in which the religious event takes place.

\$40,000

Louis Wièse
Cape Clasp
France (Paris), c. 1890
Silver, opals
Weight 102.8 gr.; Length 22.23 cm.; individual clasp diameter(s) c. 44 mm.

Monstrous dragons are not restricted to illuminated manuscripts and certainly not to the Middle Ages; they are ubiquitous in nearly all cultures and periods. Here a pair of dragons on a beguiling coat clasp is depicted with glimmering opal eyes, a pug nose atop a mustacheshaped mouth, and tiny fangs. The intricate body and serpent-like tale of the dragons wrap around the face, the tail sitting atop the face on the left clasp and below it on the right. For this unusual jewel, the Revivalist goldsmith Louis Wièse took inspiration from Gothic art but also from Oriental folklore. The "otherness" of dragons continues to intrigue today, as evident by their prevalence in literature from *Alice and Wonderland* (the Jabberwocky) to *The Hobbit* to *Harry Potter*.

\$16,000



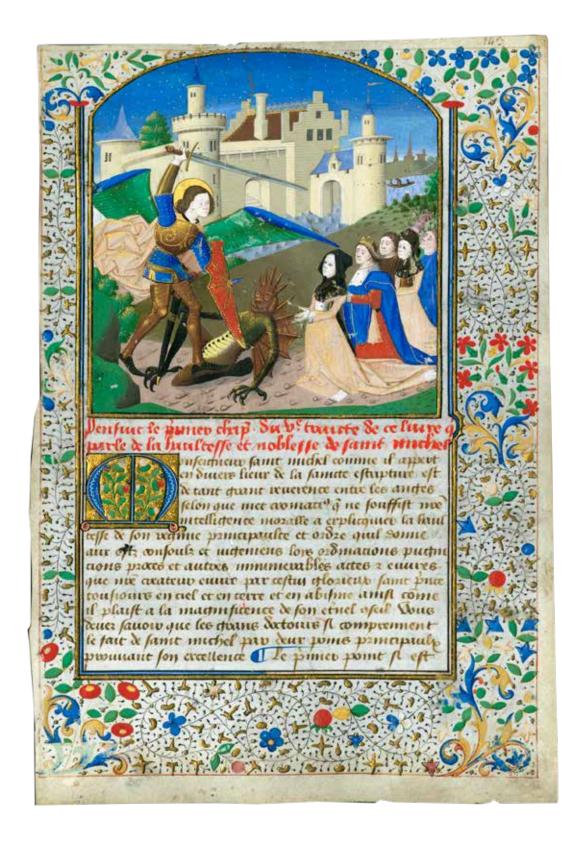




Workshop of Colin d'Amiens (Master of Coëtivy) (active Paris, c. 1460-1500)
St. Michael Slaying the Devil before Laymen, leaf from Francesc Eiximenis, Livre des Anges [Book of Angels] (285 x 197 mm.)
France, Paris, c. 1460-1470

From a presumably lost manuscript of Francesc Eiximenis' *Livre des Anges*, this leaf was illuminated in Paris in the workshop of Colin d'Amiens (Master of Coëtivy) (see also no. 13), deemed "the most important artist active in Paris in the third quarter of the fifteenth century." The fifth book of the *Livre des Anges* is devoted to the Archangel Michael. Michael is illustrated here slaying the devil before a gathering of kneeling laymen, laywomen, and a king. Supremely confident, our angelic demon-slayer is elegantly decked out for battle in gold and blue armor, as he raises his sword and shield to fend off the multi-colored demon underfoot. The miniature reminds us that, as Lindquist and Mittman argue, "individuals and societies both define themselves by the monsters they imagine and the heroes they create to slay them."



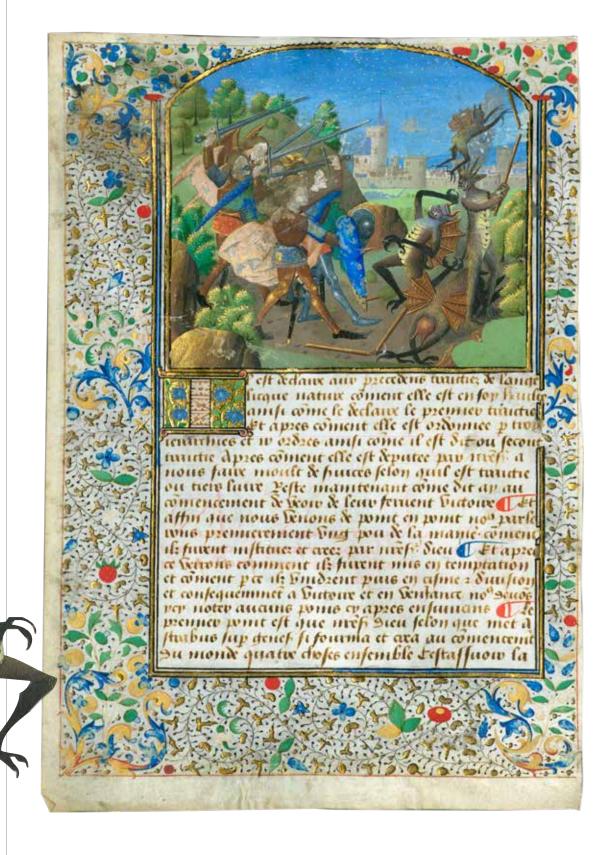


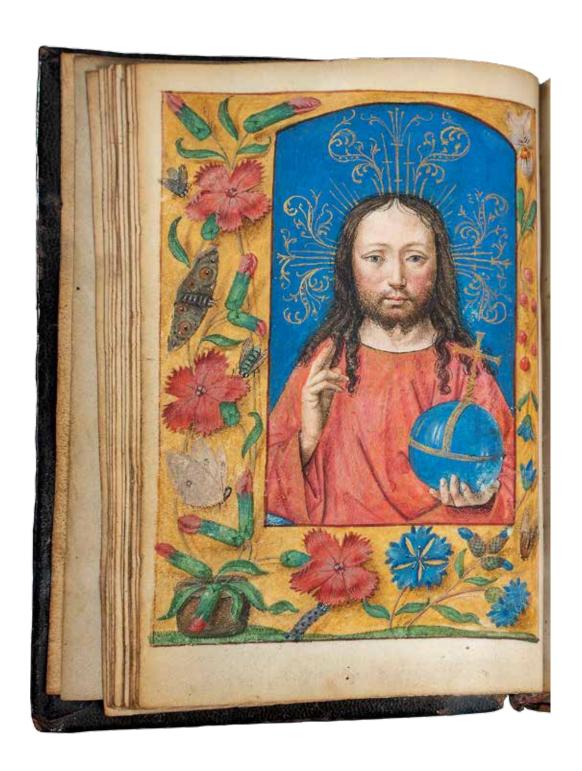
Workshop of Colin d'Amiens (Master of Coëtivy)
(active Paris, c. 1460-1500)
Angels fighting Demons, leaf from Francesc Eiximenis,
Livre des Anges [Book of Angels]
(281 x 196 mm.)
France, Paris, c. 1460-1470

From a presumably lost manuscript of Francesc Eiximenis' *Livre des Anges*, this leaf was illuminated in Paris in the workshop of Colin d'Amiens (Master of Coëtivy) (see also no. 12). Illustrating Book IV on the creation of the angels, angels and demons wage battle, the angels in full armor against demons equipped only \_ with sticks. It comes as

full armor against demons equipped only no surprise that the angels are emerging Artists could draw on plenty of descriptions of monstrous beasts from Pliny to Marco Polo, emphasizing their paws with protruding claws, furry bodies, and huge mouths revealing sharp fangs. Nevertheless, this was an area that encouraged artistic experimentation such as we see here with the multi-colored, button-like bellies of the demons and their rigid, fan-like wings.

\$40,000





Book of Hours (use of Rome)

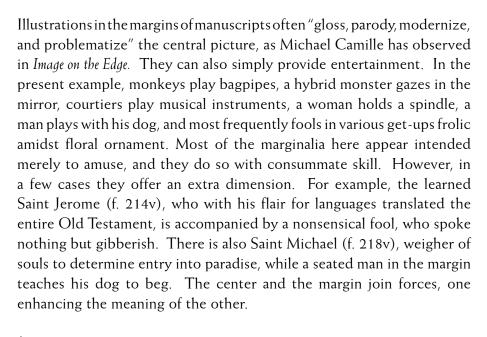
In Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment (228 folios; dimensions 131 x 91 mm.)

Southern Netherlands, Bruges, c. 1500

8 full-page miniatures, 14 small miniatures, 1 historiated initial, 41 illuminated borders attributed to the Master of the Prayerbooks of 1500

This is a lovely and entirely unpublished Book of Hours with illuminations in the Ghent-Bruges manner, including many scatter borders of strewn flowers and drolleries. Its painting is attributed to the Master of the Prayerbooks of 1500, an illuminator whose elegant and courtly style is found in a group of prayerbooks painted at the turn of the century, as well as some important secular manuscripts. Our artist collaborated with others on the famous Rothschild Prayerbook. The manuscript — and its rare, custom-made contemporary casket for easy transport — was made for a Spaniard, possibly at the court of Isabelle of Aragon in Bari.





\$300,000



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## Lucien Falize Enameled Hinged Bracelet

France (Paris), 1881

It may seem odd to include a nineteenth-century circular bracelet in an exhibition on "The Margins of Medieval Art." However, Lucien Falize, the jeweler of this work, himself made the link with medieval manuscripts when he described his series of ornamental bracelets decorated with script and mottos as being "as precious as illuminated parchments." Indeed, Falize took the text, the amatory phrase "Aultre n'Auray" (I would have no other) in Gothic script, from medieval black letter rings. But he adapted the decoration composed of ornamental initials set with diamonds and an enameled spray of ivy leaves and tear drops from medieval manuscript illumination. What was Falize looking at? Not original medieval manuscripts. Instead, he had recourse to contemporary chromolithographic plates in publications such as L'Enlumineur and Le Coloriste enlumineur which provided outlines that practicing illuminators could adapt in their own books. Here the margin (with text) takes over as the primary decorative element of the work of art. It is the center.

\$46,000







Follower of Giovanni di Ugolino King David in Prayer with Franciscans, leaf from a Psalter-Hymnal (leaf 580 × 410 mm; initial 190 × 155 mm) Italy, Abruzzi, L'Aquila, c. 1456-1460

The *Beatus* initial, composed of colorful foliage on a luxurious mosaic ground of gold and vivid colors, presents King David playing the psaltery in the upper counter and Saint Francis in the lower counter. It is attributed to a follower of Giovanni di Ugolino, who was active as a fresco painter in the little-studied region of Abruzzo which melded the styles of Lombardy, the Veneto, and Tuscany. Franciscan saints spill out into the margins: Saint Louis of Toulouse, identified by mitre and crozier and a mantle embroidered with fleurs-de-lys; bottom left, Saint Julian, fashionably dressed holding a falcon and sword. In the lower register from left to right: Saint Anthony of Padua holding a book and a green branch; Saint Bernardino of Siena preaching; Saint John of Capestrano (Abruzzi) holding a

banner and a book; and, lastly, Saint Clare.

\$40,000



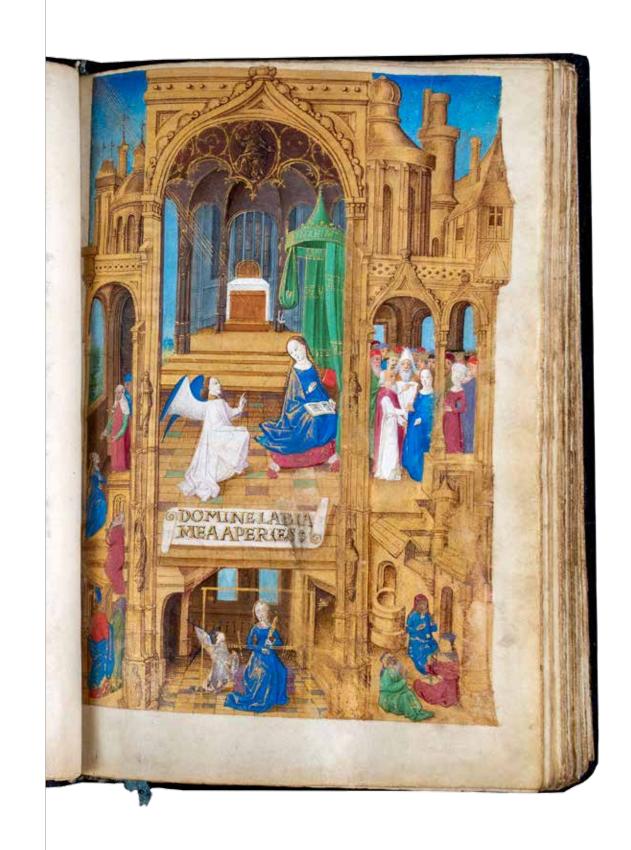
#### Hours of Guillaume II Molé (Use of Troyes)

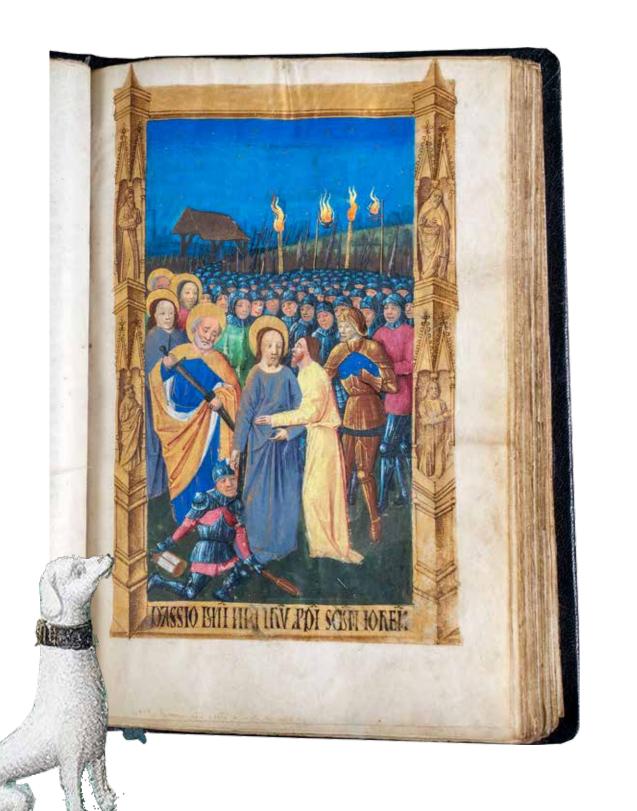
In Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment (128 folios; dimensions 153 x 102 mm.) France, Lyons, c. 1480-1490

13 full-page miniatures, 34 historiated initials, and 24 small calendar miniatures by the Rosenberg Master (active Lyons, c. 1470-1500)

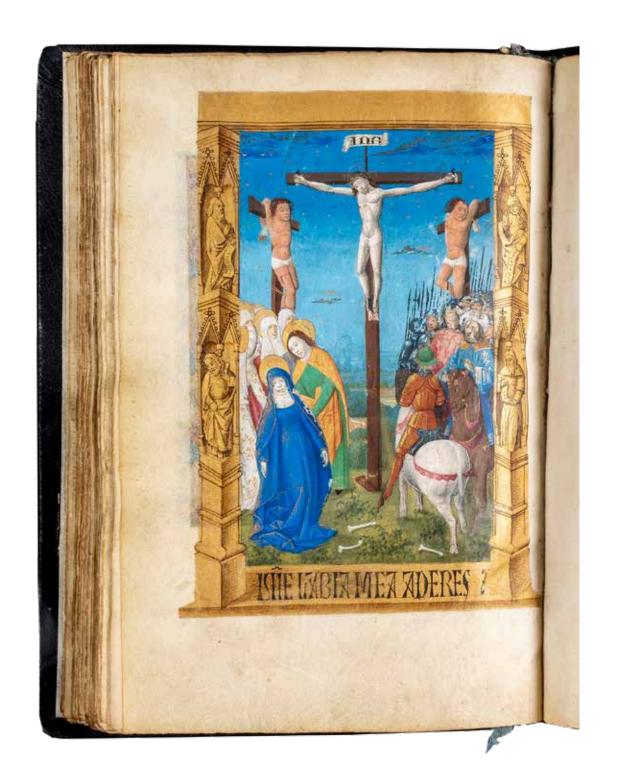
This lavishly decorated manuscript is the name work of the Rosenberg Master, active in Lyons c. 1470-1500, who was part of the flourishing workshop of the scribe Guillaume Lambert. The latter is known from his own Book of Hours (New York, Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.1162), with an ex libris indicating that it was written in Guillaume Lambert's house "near the portal" in 1484. The most impressive miniature of Guillaume II Molé's Hours is undoubtedly the Annunciation, set within a palatial chapel (f. 22), that opens Matins of the Virgin, the most important office of a Book of Hours. The scene is enshrined within a golden architecture that extends onto the margins and distributes ancillary scenes from the Life of Mary: the Presentation of the Virgin to the Temple, having climbed the steps of the Altar of the Holocaust; the Virgin weaving; and the Marriage of the Virgin.

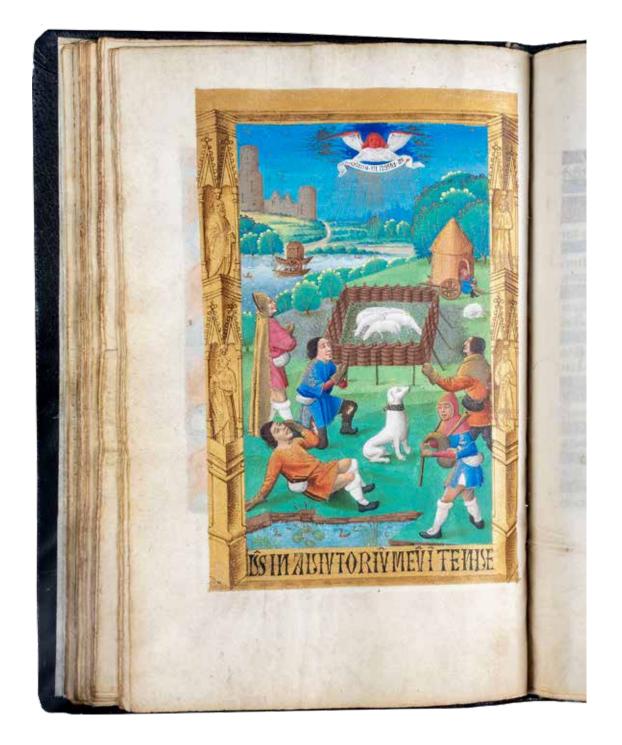
\$250,000













Secondo Maestro del Breviario Strozzi 11 (active Tuscany, c. 1340-1350)

Job in Bed Visited by his Wife, initial 'S' on leaf from an Antiphonal (leaf 622 x 450 mm.; miniature 165 x 150 mm.)

Italy, Tuscany, Florence or Pisa, c. 1340-1350

Painted on this leaf from an enormous Choir Book is a miniature showing the suffering Job reclined in bed with sores covering his body, while his wife stands by his bedside imploring him to question his faith in the face of repeated misfortune. Here, the solemnity of the center (the miniature) and the merriment of the margin (the border) stand in marked contrast. Fantastic humanhybrid figures with bearded faces inhabit the margins; at lower right a musician plays two kettle drums slung around the hips with two bearded faces below the waist spewing foliates. This rare depiction of kettle drums (also called nakers or *naccheroni* in Italian) vividly evokes the secular music of Italian courts and city streets in bold counterpoint to the sacred music sung out loud from Choir Books.

\$85,000





## Reliquary Pendant with St. Catherine

Capsule: Transylvania; Medallion: Germany, c. 1475-1500

Silver, silver-gilt

Weight 49.6 grams; dimensions 57 x 51 x 18 mm., opens to 72 mm.

Are saints marginal? If we understand the margin to mean outside the norm, then Sherry Lindquist and Asa Mittman would argue affirmatively, because many saints had bodies that surpassed expectations of what was humanly possible. Mary Magdalene is an obvious example, because her abundant hair grew to cover her entire body, but saints like Catherine are also "a-normal" because her body resisted breakage even when attached to and then spun on a revolving wheel, inspiring a sense of awe and conveying power through her "otherness." In the central medallion of this medieval reliquary pendant, Catherine prominently displays the wheel, symbol of her martyrdom. The capsule under the medallion perhaps once contained a relic of her body, a link between the natural and the supernatural. Around the medallion in the margin – rather like in a medieval manuscript illumination – ivy leaves and floral ornament frame the central image. Where is the margin: in the metallic silver border? Inside the capsule? Or in the center in the image of the saint?

\$24,000



Choir Gradual with feasts for the Temporal (Franciscan Use) In Latin, illuminated manuscript on parchment with musical notation (192 folios; 480 x 355 mm.)

Northern Italy, c. 1450-1460

One miniature with full border, eleven historiated initials, and numerous painted initials by a provincial follower of the Master of the Budapest Antiphoner

Based on the evidence of the text, script, and the style of the illumination, this Choir Book was copied and illuminated in Piedmont, Northern Italy c. 1450-1460, almost certainly for the Franciscans of Domodossola in the diocese of Novara. The artist, an interesting provincial follower of an important Northern Italian illuminator, testifies to the spread of mainstream Lombard styles of illumination past mid-century. Marginal illumination in this grand Choir Book is restricted to plump colorful acanthus leaves that spill out of the miniatures onto the borders of the pages. Without obvious symbolism or inherent meaning in relationship to the text, these decorations nonetheless convey significance: their deliberate festivity evokes the jubilant sound of the voices of monks singing the Mass in church. \$88,000





