

Joris Corin Heyder

PASTICHE AESTHETIC. A FORGER'S OR A RESTORER'S PRACTICE?

Zusammenfassung

Woran lässt sich erkennen, ob es sich bei einer Handschrift um eine „Fälschung“ oder aber um eine restauratorische Maßnahme des 19. Jahrhundert handelt? Der Beitrag versucht dieser Frage anhand eines heute nahezu unbekanntes Kodex des Baltimore Art Museums (Walters 436) auf den Grund zu gehen, der seit Randall (1997) als eine Arbeit aus dem Umkreis des flämischen Buchmalers Simon Bening gilt. In drei Abschnitten wird zunächst der

ungewöhnliche materielle Bestand des Gebetbuchs erschlossen, bei dem es sich um einen Zusammenschluss aus diversen Gebets- und Stundenbüchern des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts handelt. Sodann werden Personen wie der Pariser Buchbinder Capé in den Blick genommen, die aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach mit der aktuellen Gestalt des Buches in Verbindung gebracht werden können und schließlich die am Beispiel des Gebetbuchs Walters 436 zu beobachtenden Praktiken zeithistorisch kontextualisiert.

Keywords: Forgery, Restoration, Simon Bening, Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts, Bookbinder Charles-François Capé

Introductory remarks

While studying medieval manuscripts, one occasionally stumbles upon those volumes that are bound together from various manuscripts. These miscellany codices have a long tradition in the history of books.¹ Prior to the modern era, they were an effective way of keeping the costs of binding limited, and to collect, for example, texts by different authors referring to the same subject.

Manuscripts related to this group are those that are bound and glued together from various medieval manuscripts but shall represent, unlike the first group, one single, intact codex. This barely studied group of manuscripts had its heyday in the 19th century and doubtlessly resulted from two central aspects: first, the booming art market, and, second, the 19th-century revival of medieval art in general and the consequences for contemporary art and design connected with it.² Therefore, it is often difficult to say,

1 S. WESTPHAL, 'Sammelhandschrift', in: *Medieval Germany. An Encyclopedia*, ed. by J. M. Jeep (New York – London: Routledge 2001), 691–694.

2 Since the literature on the gothic revival is too rich to be summarized, I would like to mention only some relevant monographs and multi-authored works, cf. E. CAU, *Le style troubadour: l'autre romantisme*, (Montreuil:

whether the “re-invention” of a medieval manuscript from different bits and pieces was done by a forger or a restorer.

This paper aims to reconstruct the history of a barely known prayer book (W.436)³ in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore that was attributed to the circle of Simon Bening (c. 1483–1561) by Lilian Randall in 1997,⁴ but which instead appears to be a 19th century product made from dismembered parts of 15th and early 16th centuries books of hours from Flanders and maybe Holland. Arguments for this hypothesis will be presented based on material observations. They trace the compiler’s effort to merge different fragments by using unifying miniatures and decoration as well as the astonishing negligence of contents and different styles that were put together. The focus will be on the person who perhaps stood behind the amalgamation of Walters 436. Whether the manuscript’s pastiche aesthetic is the result of a forger’s wit or the effort of a restorer may be tackled by contextualizing the manuscript within the 19th century art market and its specific taste for medieval illuminations, for instance those created by the famous art forger William Caleb Wing (1801–1875), or the occurrence of journals like the *Coloriste enlumineur*.⁵

Gourcuff Gradenigo, 2017). *Gothic Revival Worldwide: A.W.N. Pugin’s Global Influence*, ed. by T. Brittain-Catlin, J. De Maeyer, and M. Bressani (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 2016). *The Revival of Medieval Illumination: Nineteenth-Century Belgium Manuscripts and Illuminations from a European Perspective = Renaissance de L’enlumineur médiévale: Manuscrits et enluminures belges du XIXe siècle et leur contexte européen*, ed. by T. Coomans and J. DeMaeyer (Louvain: Leuven university press, 2007). C. AMALVI, *Le Goût du moyen âge* (Paris: Plon, 1996).

- 3 Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.436, i+95+bis+i sheets of parchment, 99 × 151 mm, c. 1470, c. 1500 and c. 1850(?). The digitized manuscript can be found here: <http://purl.thewalters.org/art/W.436/description> [last access: 4.11.2019]
- 4 L. M. C. RANDALL, *Medieval and renaissance manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery. Belgium, 1250–1530*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), vol. 3.2, cat. 295, 509–521.
- 5 A digitized version of *Le Coloriste enlumineur : journal d’enseignement du dessin, de la miniature, des émaux, de l’aquarelle, de la peinture sur verre, sur soie, etc. : à l’usage des amateurs et professionnels* can be found here: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k898710h> [last access: 4.11.2019].

Materiality: A barely studied Flemish prayer book in Baltimore (W.436)

In an undated letter probably written before 1969 by the then young expert of late Flemish manuscripts Alfons Biermann (1935–2014) and addressed to Dorothy Miner (1936–2008), who at the time was the curator of the manuscripts department at the Walters Art Gallery, the here-discussed prayer book’s unresolved status becomes quite clear. He wrote: “[...] I am very interested to see the photographs of the MS. W.436, because they will be very important for my thesis in connection with the Bening works [...]”⁶

Biermann asked Miner for photographs of a prayer book of c. 1500 that had been almost unknown until then. It has only occasionally been mentioned in the literature and was assumed to be the work of the Flemish miniaturist Lievine Bening (c. 1510–1576), who is better known as an English court painter of three kings and queens and under the name Lievine Teerlinc, using her husband’s surname.⁷ Lievine was the daughter of Simon Bening, who, nowadays, is still revered as one of the most sought after miniaturists of late medieval art on parchment.⁸ It is unclear who first proposed the manuscript’s attribution to Lievine; however, her oeuvre remains unknown because there is not one single work that can be attributed to her with some degree of certainty.⁹ Biermann had no good reason to doubt such an attribution to Lievine, since the manuscript

- 6 The letter is preserved in the files of Ms. W.436 in the manuscripts department of the Baltimore Art Museum. The item has no individual shelf number. I am very grateful to Lynley Herbert, curator of Manuscripts & Rare Books, who kindly gave me the opportunity to carefully study some of the treasures of the Walters Art Museum.
- 7 C. LEVIN, *Extraordinary women of the Medieval and Renaissance world: a biographical dictionary* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000), 278–280.
- 8 The first comprehensive monograph on the illuminator has recently been presented by: J.C. HEYDER, *Simon Bening und die Kunst der Wiederholung* (forthcoming).
- 9 *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*. London, ed. by T. Kren, S. McKendrick, and M.W. Ainsworth (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2003), 22, 37, 412, 447–448.

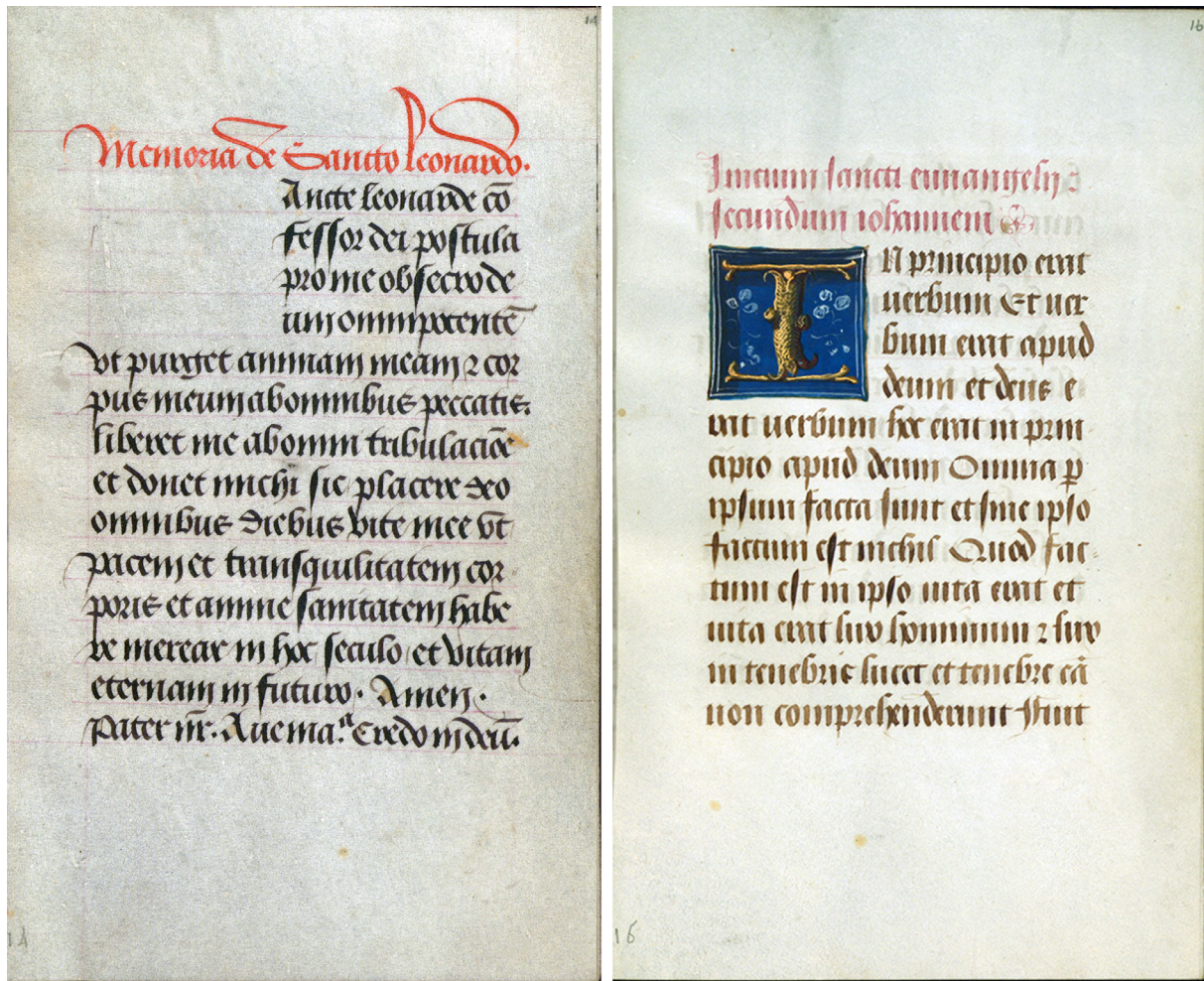


Fig. 1: Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.436, fol. 14, 16, c. 1500 © Walters Art Museum

could be another example of one that was created in the prolific workshop in which he was actually interested.

Going beyond the brief entry in the census of De Ricci,¹⁰ Lilian Randall presented a far-reaching note in her catalogue on the collection of the Walters Art Museum, comprising no less than thirteen closely-printed quarto pages including a meticulous description of the manuscript.¹¹ Based on Randall's entry, it is difficult to understand the manuscript's complex structure. While Randall attempted to explain the different parts of the codex by hypothesizing different writers and painters that worked more or less in

the same period, the material evidence of the manuscript suggests a rather different conclusion. In fact, it is clearly a compilation of several texts from at least five different scribal hands, and more importantly a specimen artfully bonded from different books of hours and/or prayer books. However, there is little doubt that the miniatures were executed in the same campaign, if not by the same hand. With regards to the borders, things look different again, because an execution by distinctive artists and maybe even in different places is out of the question. Further analysis of some of the characteristic parts of the book may illustrate why these, admittedly, somewhat contradictory material indications are of such importance for the understanding of the whole manuscript and its history.

10 *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, ed. by S. De Ricci, and W. J. Wilson, (New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1935), vol. 1, cat. no. 328, 809.

11 RANDALL, vol. 3.2, note 4, cat. 295, 509–521.

Starting with a calendar (fol. 1–13v) written in a Burgundian *littera bastarda*, the predominantly English and northern French feasts indicate an English patron. Among those feasts are, for instance, St Wulstan,¹² King Edward,¹³ St Cuthbert,¹⁴ the translation of King Edward,¹⁵ St Ethelreda,¹⁶ the translation of Edward the Confessor,¹⁷ and so forth. The same scribe has also written two suffrages to St Leonhard and St David (fol. 14–15v) that form the third quire, but another scribe apparently took the lead on the fourth quire.¹⁸ However, it is not only the scribe who changed but the overall design (Fig. 1): A comparison of fol. 14 and 16 demonstrates that the first scribe used seventeen ruled lines, while the second one makes do with a ruling of only fifteen lines. Both the weaker red of the rubric differs as does the size of the pages: while the first three quires were 72 mm width by 96 mm height, the pages of the fourth quire measure 58 mm width by 88 mm height.

Moreover, the succession of texts is as frustrating as the low number of only two suffrages that are following the calendar. Only one out of five of the following gospel sequences (fol. 16–24) that were written by the second scribe is emphasized by a full-page miniature. The mentioned exception is the beginning of the gospels of St Luke (fol. 17v–18). Typically, this standard text is illustrated by a portrait of the apostle or his symbol, the winged ox or bull. In this manuscript, however, an *Annunciation* (fol. 17v) is painted on the blank verso page that follows the gospels of St John. It

is not only the highly unusual incorporation of the *Annunciation* at this particular position in the book that raises suspicion but also the fact that it is not painted on a separate folio as was common in most of the Flemish manuscripts at the time of Simon Bening. By reading the text beginning on the opposing recto page (fol. 18): *In illo tempore Missus est angelus Gabriel*, it becomes clear why an illuminator could have had the odd idea to illustrate Luke's gospels with that scene. It starts with the beginning of the Christmas story. To date, I have not been able to find another (late) medieval example in which this text passage has been illustrated in a comparable way. The succeeding devotional prayers (fol. 24v–39) are correspondingly illustrated by a full-page miniature painted on the blank verso (fol. 24v) of the text end of St Mark. The image depicts *Christ child supported and flanked by six angels holding the instruments of the Passion* (Fig. 2a). Surely, this scene is a faithful copy after versions used in the Ganto-Bruges workshops, particularly in the workshop of the Maximilian Master and Simon Bening.¹⁹ Thus, the comparison with the earliest known version executed between 1492 and 1504 by the Maximilian Master in the *Book of hours of queen Joanne of Castile* in Cleveland (Fig. 2b) demonstrates how stiffly the composition in the Baltimore prayer book is pinned onto a golden ground, whereas in the Cleveland version the composition is immersed in a lawn base. The same applies for the versions by Simon Bening in the *Prayerbook of Albrecht of Brandenburg* (Fig. 2c) in Los Angeles, and another

12 Jan. 19: Wlstani epi.

13 Mar. 18: Eduuardi regis (ruled 963–978).

14 Mar. 20: Cuthberthi epi.

15 Apr. 20: Translacio eduardi regis (cf. Mar. 18).

16 Jun. 23: Etheldride.

17 Oct. 13: Translacio s. eduardi regis (ruled 1003–1066).

18 The collation of ms. W.436 is: quire 1: 10 (fol. 1–10); quire 2: 4, with first folio canceled (fol. 11–13); quire 3: 2 (fol. 14–15); quires 4–7: 8 (fol. 16–47); quire 8: 4, including 48bis (fols. 48–50); quire 9: 6 (fol. 51–56); quires 10–18: 4 (fol. 57–92); quire 19: 4, with third folio canceled (fol. 93–95), cf. <http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W436/description.html> [last access: 12.8.2019].

19 To mention only the most important predecessors in chronological order: *Isabella Hours*, Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, CMA 63256, fol. 50, 1492–1504, cf. <http://www.clevelandart.org/art/1963.256.50.a> [last access: 12.8.2019]; DaCosta-Hours, New York, PML, Morgan Ms. 399, fol. 385v, c. 1515, cf. <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/da-costa-hours/758> [last access: 12.8.2019]; *Prayerbook of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg*, Los Angeles, Getty Museum, Ms. LUDWIG IX 19, fol. 31v, c. 1525–30, cf. <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/3963/simon-bening-the-christ-child-surrounded-by-the-instruments-of-the-passion-flemish-about-1525-1530/> [last access: 12.8.2019].



Fig. 2a: *Christ child supported and flanked by six angels holding the instruments of the Passion*, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.436, fol. 24v, c. 1850(?) © Walters Art Museum.



Fig. 2b: *Christ child supported and flanked by six angels holding the instruments of the Passion*, Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, CMA 63256, fol. 50, 1492-1504 © Cleveland Museum of Art.



Fig. 2c: *Christ child supported and flanked by six angels holding the instruments of the Passion*, Los Angeles, Getty Museum, Ms. LUDWIG IX 19, fol. 31v, c. 1525-30 © The J. Paul Getty Museum.



Fig. 2d: *Christ child supported and flanked by six angels holding the instruments of the Passion*, New York, PML, Morgan Ms. 399, fol. 385v, c. 1515 © The Morgan Library.



Fig. 3: *Virgin and the child and Strew border*, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.436, fol. 39v–40, c. 1850(?), c. 1475 © Walters Art Museum.

version of the same illuminator or one of his workshop assistants in the so-called *Da Costa Hours* (Fig. 2d), today kept in the Pierpont Morgan Museum in New York. While the composition is painstakingly and faithfully copied line by line, the miniature in the Baltimore prayer book fails to comply with either the high finish or the subtle execution of surfaces present in the three other examples.

It follows suffrages to female saints (fol. 39v–52v), first to the Virgin Mary, with the prayer *Sub tuam protectionem [...]* (fol. 40) and continued by prayers to St. Anne (fol. 41), St. Margaret (fol. 43), and so on. The text to the Virgin Mary is introduced by a full-page miniature (fol. 39v–40), once again painted in the sequence of the gathering and on the blank verso of the preceding text (Fig. 3). The miniature represents the virgin

seated at the centre on a low grass-topped brick wall with the Christ child and attended by an angel against a red cloth of honour with canopy. A cleric in black habit kneels to the right behind the wall. Both his position behind the Virgin as well as his proximity to the Mother of God are highly unusual for miniatures from this period. The facing text is framed by a type of border of the highest quality (Fig. 3), which is usually connected with the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy and his followers, as suggested by the comparison to the border of the *Ecce homo* (fol. 69) in the so-called *Nassau Hours* in the Oxford Bodleian Library.²⁰ This kind of

²⁰ *Nassau Hours*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. 219–220, fol. 69, c. 1470s, cf. <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/9dd2bf8a-7472-4a62-98c3-92eb4446713b> [last access: 12.8.2019]. Cf. also: J. J. G. ALEXANDER, *The Master of Mary Burgundy. A Book of Hours for Engelbert of Nassau, The Bodleian Library, Oxford* (New York: George Braziller, 1970).

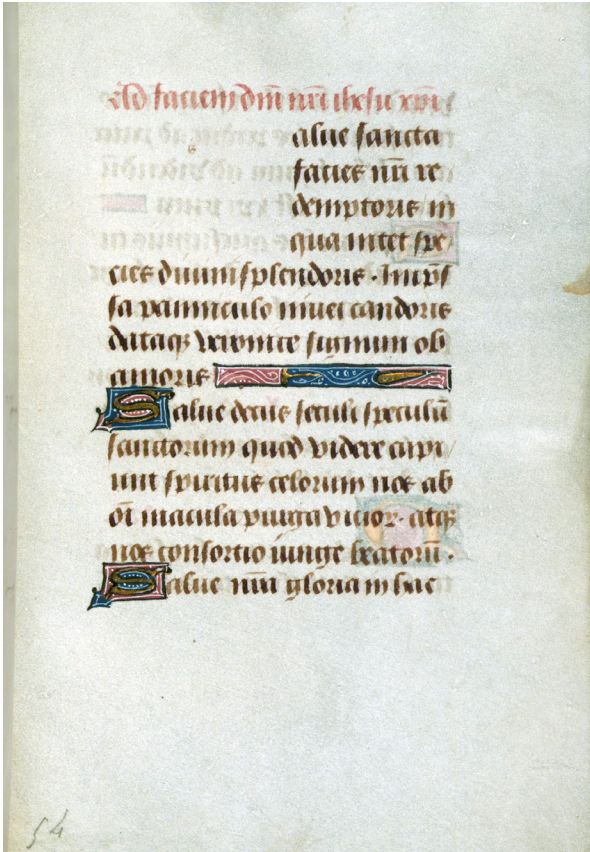


Fig. 4: Prayer *Salve sancta facies*, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.436, fol. 53, c. 1475 © Walters Art Museum.

border-style had its climax between c. 1465 and 1500.

Consequently, it represents Simon Bening's father's generation or even one earlier generation, which leads directly to the question of why he or his workshop should have continued to work with such a style in the Baltimore manuscript. Similar borders can be found in a somewhat modified shape in the *Grimani Breviary*.²¹ However, Simon's father Alexander Bening (c. 1450–1519) was still involved in the production of this manuscript. The combination of strew borders with silver tinted grounds combined with the use of a Burgundian *littera batarda* indicates the execution of this Flemish border type in the earliest possible

period around 1470.²² Therefore, it is somewhat unlikely to connect those borders with the workshop of Simon Bening.

The suffrage to St Barbara (fol. 48bis) remained imperfect, both in respect to the text as well as to the illumination. Another break is manifested at the beginning of the suffrage to the Holy Face, the prayer *Salve sancta facies* (fol. 53, Fig. 4). This appears to be true based on the observations, first, it forms part of an independent quire; second, it measures only 84 mm instead of 88 mm height; third, it has been written by a third scribe and is characterized by an old-fashioned text decoration in red, blue, and gold, embellished with white penwork.

Remarkably, the next miniature with the *Agony in the garden* (fol. 56v) is part of the same quire, even if it is painted on a leaf that is otherwise left blank (Fig. 5a). This brings us to the next caesura (Fig. 5a): the miniature is placed on the opposite side of the beginning of a devotional sequence, which begins with the prayer *Confitebor tibi domine* (fol. 57). The contrast to all previous parts is both visually and physically apparent. From this part on,²³ the parchment is thicker and of poorer quality, which is also indicative of the beginning of a new quire. Moreover, the succeeding pages now measure 65 mm instead of 58 mm width and 92 mm instead of 84 mm height. A different scribe was responsible for the execution of the *littera gothica hybrida*. Unlike his Flemish colleagues, he needed eighteen instead of fourteen or fifteen lines. However, first and foremost, both the text and the border convey a completely different type of decoration principle. As for the huge C-initial, a glance at a late 15th century Dutch prayer book offered at the Christie's Arcana sale in 2011 helps to

21 *Grimani Breviary*, Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, cod. Lat. I, 99 (=2138), c. 1515, cf. E. KÖNIG, and J. HEYDER, *Das Breviarium Grimani* (Simbach am Inn: Buchhandlung Anton Pfeiler Junior, 2016).

22 Another good example for this kind of border decoration—typical for the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy—is present in the so-called *Madrid Hastings Hours*, Madrid, Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, Inv. 15503, cf. *Illuminating the Renaissance*, note 9, 155, ill. 25c.

23 The subsequent parts of the manuscript comprise: a Suffrage to the Holy Face (fol. 53–56), Devotional Sequences (fol. 56v–83v); Suffrages (fol. 84–94v), and a Prayer to the Virgin (fol. 95–95v).



Fig. 5a: *Agony in the garden and Confitebor tibi domine*, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.436, fol. 56v–57, c. 1850(?), c. 1500 © Walters Art Museum.



Fig. 5b: *Nocturn*, Book of hours and Prayer book in Dutch, Christie's London, Arcana sale, 6.7.2011, lot 19, fol. 83, c. 1480 © *The Arcana Collection: Exceptional Illuminated Manuscripts and Incunabula, Part I, 7 July 2010, London, King Street*, ed. by Christie's, (London: Christie's, 2010), lot 19.

classify this part of the book (Fig. 5b).²⁴ Apparently, it is of Dutch origin.

It is, thus, all the more surprising to find already on the verso of the *Confitebor tibi domine* prayer a miniature with *Christ as a Man of Sorrows Seated on Cross* (fol. 57v–58, Fig. 6), revered by a cleric in a black habit. The miniature is painted in the same style present in all former parts of the manuscript. The O-initial of the pre-Communion prayer starting on the opposite side with *O fons totius misericordie* (fol. 58) is embellished by a shield against red ground containing the monogram “P R”. The letters are linked by blue strapwork with the fancy Italian motto “DA VIVERE” above. It is not clear whether these elements have been

²⁴ Book of hours and Prayer book in Dutch, Christie's London, Arcana sale, 6.7.2011, lot 19, fol. 83, c. 1480, cf. *The Arcana Collection: Exceptional Illuminated Manuscripts and Incunabula, Part I, 7 July 2010, London, King Street*, ed. by Christie's (London: Christie's, 2010), lot 19.



Fig. 6: *Christ as a Man of Sorrows Seated on Cross and O fons totius misericordie*, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.436, fol. 57v-58 c. 1850(?), c. 1500 © Walters Art Museum.

added to the O-initial and whether the border decoration took part of the original Dutch decoration campaign, or if it was used to melt together the different sections to one homogenous book, consisting of thirteen miniatures and additional nine historiated initials in Ganto-Bruges style. This attempt to conceal discontinuities not only applies stylistically but also with regard to repeated figures like the cleric in a black habit (ill. 3, 6). Evidently, he is the blueprint for a patron in a prayer book, and, consequently, Lilian Randall and her colleagues at the Walter's Art Gallery assume an ecclesiastical patronage with English connection.²⁵

Actors: A Parisian Bookbinder and “homme d’un goût éminemment artistique” and an American collector

There is no doubt that the volume is a compilation of more than one manuscript. The manuscript's material evidence, therefore, is open to two conflicting interpretations: a first option could be that we are dealing with parts of different late medieval prayer books and/or books of hours that have been merged during the life of artists like Simon Bening or his daughter Lievine Teerlinc. A second prospect might be that we are dealing with parts of books that have been merged at some point in the 19th century. If the second solution applies, it is likely that someone artfully covered up the discrepancies between the different parts using a coherent illustration. Indeed, all of the miniatures originate in well-known Ganto-Bruges

25 Cf. <http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W436/description.html> [last access: 15.8.2019].

patterns. However, this is no guarantee for their authenticity.

Occasionally it occurred in the 15th and 16th centuries that a book project that had been started by earlier miniaturist was continued at later times and by order of new patrons. The famous *Très Belles Heures*, originally ordered by Jean, the Duc of Berry, and the connected *Turin-Milan-Hours* are good examples for such a procedure.²⁶ To my knowledge, however, not one single example for a compilation of a prayer book and/or a book of hours from the 15th or 16th centuries has yet been put forward to suggest that it was a known practice to homogenize different parts with each other via shared illustrations.²⁷ “Errors” like the *Annunciation* miniature for the introduction of the gospels of Saint Luke appear to be unlikely for a time in which illustrative traditions left almost no room for creative variations. In the 19th century, by contrast, eccentricities like this seem to be much more feasible. The 19th century also fits because of the strict adherence to the textual orientation, which could explain the odd placement of the *Annunciation*-miniature in the first place. Conclusively, the hypothesis is that someone brought together all the bits and pieces and gave them a uniting form. Who, then, would be a better candidate than the bookbinder, who established the manuscript’s current condition?

The mid-19th-century French brown leather binding was executed by the Parisian bookbinder Charles-François Capé

(1806–1867).²⁸ His last name is printed in gold capitals centred on the inside of the front cover.²⁹ As the manuscript was purchased by the art collector, philanthropist, and founder of the Walters Art Gallery, Henry Walters (1848–1931) between 1895 and 1931, it is out of the question that he and Capé, who died in 1867, came into contact with each other. According to Roger Devauchelle, Capé had obscure, even illiterate origins.³⁰ Nevertheless, he was one of the most renowned bookbinders and amateurs in painted parchment and paper in the years between 1830 and 1860. His binding styles were regarded as retrospective;³¹ they sought to imitate works from 16th century Renaissance bookbinders like Jean Grolier to mention only the most prominent exponent.³² Shortly after Capé’s demise, his collection of old books, prints, vignettes, drawings, as well as manuscripts was auctioned. It is remarkable to see that he possessed, amongst many other objects, miniatures on parchment, some of which with religious subjects. A “monsieur Vignères” praised the deceased Capé in the preface as follows:

28 Capé was active at 16 rue Dauphine in Paris, between 1848 and 1867, cf. R. DEVAUCHELLE, *La reliure en France de ses origines à nos jours* (Paris: Rousseau-Girard, 1960 [1859–1861]), vol. 2, 200, 205 and vol. 3, 41–42; J. FLETY, ‘Contribution à la connaissance d’un relieur du XIXe siècle, Charles François Capé’, in: *Revue française d’histoire du livre*, 37.1982, 733–743. For another Capé binding, cf. also: *The History of Bookbinding, 525–1950 A.D.: An Exhibition Held at the Baltimore Museum of Art, November 12, 1957, to January 12, 1958*, ed. by D. Miner (Baltimore: Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery, 1957), cat. no. 554.

29 Cf. http://www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/W436/data/W.436/sap/W436_000002_sap.jpg [last access: 17.8.2019].

30 DEVAUCHELLE, vol. 3, note 28, 41–43 [41].

31 W. DE BRUIJN, and G. MANDELBROTE, *The Arcadian Library: Bindings and Provenance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 161.

32 A characteristic Grolier binding is present in *De origine de amplitudine civitatis Veronae*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, S 528, Grolier-binding, cf. <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/p/cc4dc6a1-4faa-467e-b3d7-8acc862c11e4> [last access: 17.8.2019]. A comparison to one of Capé’s bindings in the Bibliothèque nationale de France emphasizes the relation between both the 16th and the 19th century bookbinders, cf. *Book of hours for the use of Rome*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, NAL 3250, Capé-binding.

26 Cf. F. BOESPFLUG and E. KÖNIG, *Die Très Belles Heures von Jean de France, Duc de Berry: ein Meisterwerk an der Schwelle zur Neuzeit (die Très Belles Heures de Notre-Dame, Manuscrit Nouv. acq. lat. 3093, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; das verbrannte Turiner Gebetbuch, K.IV.29, Biblioteca Nazionale Turin; die Blätter im Louvre, RF 2022, 2023, 2023v, 2024, 2025, Musée du Louvre, Paris; der erhaltene Band mit Messen, Museo Civico, Turin)* (Luzern: Faksimile Verlag, 1998); A. VAN BUREN et al, *Heures de Turin-Milan: Inv. Nr. 47 Museo Civico d’Arte Antica e Palazzo Madama Turin. Faksimile* (Luzern: Faksimile Verlag, 1996).

27 Practices like the editing and correction of border decorations like in *Grimani Breviary* have a completely different quality, cf. KÖNIG, and HEYDER, note 21, 47–59.

For me, he always was a man with eminent artistic taste [homme d'un goût éminemment artistique] both in the bookbinding as well as in the illustration of books. He knew how to conduct and assemble the most famous book bindings and gildings with meticulous care and even to make them more perfect; it is very rare that one single man is perfectly doing the entire binding of a book.³³

After all, Capé not only took care of the binding itself but also of the book's illustration. Or to put it differently: was Capé able to organize contemporary illuminators to recreate a book out of miscellanies by adding miniatures in a refined manner? In the light of those considerations, this could be the case; however, the question remains: why should he have embarked on such a time-consuming endeavour? One possible answer to this question is certainly the growing art market. Art collectors like Henry Walters enthusiastically bought medieval artworks, even if, in light of his wide-ranging collecting interests, detailed knowledge in the characteristics of late medieval art cannot be assumed.

Practices: Forging, Restoring or A Question of Aesthetics?

In the *Bulletin du Bibliophile* from 1853, the bibliophile Paul van Malden bemoaned the bookbinders' custom to particularly copy Renaissance designs: "One is copying the ancients more or less servile and with more

or less skill. [...] But why such torpidity? The arts cannot develop as long as they are in the hands of simple craftsmen [...]."³⁴ Roger Devauchelle commented on the situation with reference to the motto of the Paris exhibition of 1855: "NOUS NE POUVONS QUE COPIER LES ANCIENS" – "We copy nothing but the ancients" (my translation).³⁵ In fact, it was at that time that artisans retrieved not only centuries-old patterns but also traditional painting techniques. The knowledge of such working processes grew rapidly so that at the end-of-the-century journals like *Le Coloriste enlumineur. Journal d'enseignement du dessin, de la miniature* [...] saw the light of day.³⁶ The journal propagated the art of illumination as a bourgeois hobby to be practised in the well-equipped living room.

Skills in the art of illuminating manuscripts were, however, indispensable, for instance, in the case of the collection of the bibliophile John Boykett Jarman (1782–1864), which fell victim to a flood of the River Thames.³⁷ A former Jarman book of hours today kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris³⁸ possesses damaged but largely untouched original miniatures as well as such that were repainted by the late 19th century illuminator Caleb William Wing (Fig. 7). In particular, the young female's sweet and rosy face on fol. 76v of NAL 3210 (Fig. 7) reveals the miniature's execution,

33 The original quote reads as follows: "Il fut toujours pour moi un homme d'un goût éminemment artistique, tant pour la reliure que pour l'illustration des livres, d'un soin minutieux afin de faire toujours plus parfait, sachant, au plus haut point, diriger et réunir les travaux des plus fameux ouvriers relieurs et doreurs; car il est très-rare qu'un seul homme fasse entièrement et parfaitement la reliure d'un livre." My translation. Cf. *Catalogue d'Estampes anciennes & modernes livres à figures vignettes pour illustration [...] composant la Collection de Feu M. Capé, ancien Relieur dont la Vente aura lieu Hotel des Commissaires-Priseurs, Rue Drouot [...]*, (Paris: Drouot, 1868), 3.

34 The original quote reads as follows: "On copie les anciens artistes plus ou moins servilement, avec plus ou moins de bonheur. [...] Pourquoi cet engourdissement? Les arts ne peuvent progresser lorsqu'ils sont abandonnés à de simples ouvriers [...]." My translation. Cf. DEVAUCHELLE, vol. 3, note 28, 15–16.

35 The passage reads as follows: "Cet appel demeura sans écho [...] les grands relieurs, entre 1850 et 1870, ne purent échapper à la loi commune: Capé, Lortic, Duru, Marius-Michel père, Niedrée et Trautz exercèrent leur profession en la basant sur cet axiome écrit en toutes lettres dans le rapport de l'Exposition de 1855: NOUS NE POUVONS QUE COPIER LES ANCIENS", cf. DEVAUCHELLE, vol. 3, note 28, 15–16.

36 Cf. note 5.

37 Cf. J. BACKHOUSE, 'A Victorian Connoisseur and His Manuscripts: The Tale of Mr. Jarman and Mr. Wing', in: *British Museum Quarterly* 32 (1967–68): 76–92.

38 *Book of hours for the use of Rome*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, NAL 3210, cf. <https://archivesetmanuscripts.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc71698t> [last access: 15.8.2019].



Fig. 7: *Nativity and Death with Young female*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. NAL 3210, fol. 29, 76v, 15th century / 19th century © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

which took place long after the original painting campaign. The Jarman case is and exemple of the unconstrained involvement of modern miniaturists in the late 19th century. Another example exemplifies the existence of a 18th or 19th century “album of miniatures”. The manuscript compilation in the Bibliothèque Louis Aragon in Amiens is pasted together with the help of the cuttings of at least five books of hours or prayer books.³⁹ The manuscript entered the library in 1891 and seemed to be assembled in the Amiens Augustinian convent somewhere between 1664 and 1791.⁴⁰ The cuttings used for their part belong to manuscripts, whose

illustrations not only had different places of origin but also different times of execution. Even if the underlying design principles may not be equal to those of the Baltimore manuscript Walters 436, the Amiens example represents the wide variety of a culture that was open to the art of the pastiche.

Conclusion

Neither Caleb Wing’s repaintings nor the *Amiens album* are likely to be the result of an intent to defraud. They rather reflect an openness for idealizing restorations as well as an aesthetically guided rearrangement of miniature cuttings. Hence, my proposition is to interpret the presented material observations of the first chapter together with the little we do know about the French bookbinder Capé in the second chapter as

39 Amiens, Bibliothèque Louis Aragon, Ms. 107 C, cf. https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/resultRecherche/resultRecherche.php?COMPOSITION_ID=9946 [last access: 4.5.2019].

40 Cf. <https://artmiens.wordpress.com/2018/04/16/lalbum-de-miniatures-damiens-decoupages-et-collages-de-fragments-denluminures/> [last access: 4.5.2019].

an extraordinary example of an attempt to rescue dismembered parts of devotional manuscripts by creating something entirely new. The success of his assumed intervention is emphasized by Randall's conclusion that the Baltimore manuscript was done by the Bening workshop. It is, however, the most unlikely solution. Instead by imagining someone who creates new and intact manuscripts out of older bits and pieces suits well to a manuscript with a Capé binding held in the BnF in Paris.⁴¹ It needs a second and third look to realize the almost invisible additions to some of the folia therein. Apparently, some pages had lost their lower parts for unknown reasons, and they were fixed by Capé while he executed the new binding. This could be, at least, an indication of more comprehensive restoration works by his workshop. Therefore, it cannot be ruled out that the Baltimore manuscript is such a "restoration piece". Then, however, the restoration would have reached a completely new dimension: the bookbinder would have not only invented a new physical entity but also – and surely with the help of a gifted miniaturist – an unprecedented illustrative programme.

Joris Corin HEYDER

Universität Bielefeld, Fakultät für Geschichtswissenschaft, Philosophie und Theologie. Arbeitsbereich Historische Bildwissenschaft/Kunstgeschichte, Postfach 10 01 31, D-33501 Bielefeld, Germany

j.c.heyder@uni-bielefeld.de

41 *Book of hours for the use of Rome*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, NAL 3250, <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc100283d> [last access: 13.8.2019].