

Geertgen tot Sint Jans and the Dutch Manuscript Tradition*

Some years ago the late L.M.J. Delaissé, specialist in late medieval manuscripts, criticized art historians for harboring the prejudice that great paintings always provided the models for lesser works.¹ He noted as a case in point the miniatures in illuminated manuscripts; why, he asked, might not these smaller, less imposing works have inspired the more monumental efforts of panel painters? Research of the past two decades has added some substance to his hypothesis.² The early history of Dutch art is riddled with lacunae, but among the surviving examples there is evidence that at least in one case, Geertgen tot Sint Jans' *Raising of Lazarus* (Fig. 1),³ a miniature provided the model for key figures in the painting.

The miniature in question (Fig. 2), *The Raising of Lazarus* from a Book of Hours in the Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek (MS I 83, fol. 13v),⁴ belongs to the Grisaille Group, a series of full-page, single-leaf miniatures that appear in fourteen Books of Hours executed in the North Netherlands around 1440.⁵ Altogether the Grisaille Group comprises over 150 miniatures that illustrate 56 different subjects, including scenes from the Youth and Passion of Christ, saints' images and other representations appropriate to the late medieval devotional prayerbook.⁶ Identical numbers of individual compositions – copied or mechanically traced – give evidence of the popularity of these miniatures in book illustration of the period. Among the manuscripts that include the grisaille miniatures, that in the Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek in Hannover has probably received the least attention.⁷ This Latin prayerbook includes three grisaille miniatures⁸ and its *Raising of Lazarus*⁹ is the only known example of the subject in the Grisaille Group.

Like the other miniatures in the Grisaille Group, *The Raising of Lazarus* was prepared on a detached leaf and inserted into the gathering of the manuscript.¹⁰ Measuring approximately 97 × 69 millimeters, this miniature is executed in brownish-black tones with rose tints used for the flesh and gold for haloes and weapons.¹¹ The heavily robed figures, which press up against the picture plane are, in the cases of Christ and Lazarus, awkwardly articulated. However, heads and hands are rendered carefully and close attention is given to facial expression. The faces of Mary, Jesus and Peter are especially sensitive, testifying to the artist's ability to individuate his figures. There is an attractive balance between the fine linear penwork of the hair and facial features and the more broadly shaded areas of the composition. As is peculiar to the Grisaille Group, the draperies are copious and fall in deep folds conceived in an angular and often arbitrary manner.

The figures dominate the picture space to the exclusion of landscape or other settings. Jesus, Mary and Lazarus form a shallow arc that barely penetrates the picture space. The Jewish witnesses, with kerchiefs over their noses, stand behind and to the left of Mary and Martha. The apostles flank Jesus on the right. Lazarus emerges from a stone sarcophagus so that 2/3 of his shrouded torso is visible. His wrists are bound in the manner of many pictorial renderings of the subject in the middle to late fifteenth century.¹² Jesus and Lazarus look directly at each other as the miracle takes place, a detail that contributes to the dramatic intimacy of the event, and one that does not figure in the most famous fifteenth century Dutch panel painting of the *Raising of Lazarus*, that by Albert van Ouwater in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem. The Grisaille Group belongs to the domain of the devotional image whose special character is the isolation of the religious event as an aid to meditation and private piety. Typically, the *Raising of Lazarus* miniature forfeits narrative detail in favor of expressive simplicity.

At first glance Geertgen tot Sint Jans' *Raising of Lazarus* seems unrelated to our miniature. Set in a courtyard framed by an expansive landscape, Geertgen's painting renders the miraculous event within a much larger physical and iconographic framework. The kneeling foreground figures draw our eye into the scene and contribute to the deepening of the picture space. The *Raising* itself takes place in the middle ground, which incorporates the disbelieving Jews and the followers of Jesus. To the traditional bystanders, Geertgen has added the donors, a dog, and background figures, some of whom witness the miracle from within the courtyard. An earlier episode from the Lazarus account (John 11: 30–34) is depicted in the distant landscape beyond the walled courtyard. Geertgen's painting, then, conceived in a manner that anticipates the spatial innovations of late 15th century Netherlandish panel painters, would seem to have no relation to a book illustration whose size and function are, by comparison, far less imposing. Nevertheless, key elements of the Grisaille Group miniature are carefully preserved in Geertgen's panel (Fig. 3).

The resemblance between the Jesus of the miniature and that of the panel is unmistakable. The Savior is shown in three-quarter stance, his left hand grasping his robe and his right arm extended away from the body in a gesture that calls forth Lazarus. Jesus's awkwardly foreshortened left arm and the play of folds in the robe that hides his arm are similarly conceived – or misconceived – in both miniature and painting. In the treatment of Christ's head, moreover, details such



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1
Geertgen tot Sint Jans, *The Raising of Lazarus*. Paris, Louvre (photo: Musées Nationaux).

2
The Raising of Lazarus. Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, MS I, 83, fol. 13v (photo: Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek).

3
Detail of Fig. 1.

4
The Raising of Lazarus, woodcut from a Netherlandish *Biblia Pauperum*, London, British Museum Print Room, C.D., C.1 (photo: British Library).



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as the exposed left ear and specific facial features such as the brow and mouth correspond closely between miniature and panel.¹⁴

The three-quarter disposition of Lazarus, his hands raised in prayer, is repeated in Geertgen's panel, even to the ambiguously disposed abdomen. In both panel and miniature, the upper part of the torso contradicts the position of the lower half, a feature that is accentuated in Geertgen's rendering by his addition of the lower third of Lazarus' body. Although Geertgen does not link the two central figures in the drama by eye contact, as is the case in the miniature, he juxtaposes them in a decidedly intimate manner, maintaining the unity of the smaller composition and preserving its devotional integrity. Despite Geertgen's transformation of the Raising of Lazarus into a full-blown narrative, the fundamental elements of the panel are too close to those of the miniature to be a matter of mere coincidence.¹⁵

The dating of Geertgen's oeuvre has long been a matter of dispute;¹⁶ however, *The Raising of Lazarus* is generally

thought to have been executed in the 1480's.¹⁷ The earliest of the Books of Hours in which Grisaille Group miniatures appears (Leyden, Bibl. der Rijks., B.P.L. 224) was begun in 1439,¹⁸ and most of the other manuscripts in the Group were produced in the 1440's.¹⁹ Since some of the highest quality folios from the Grisaille Group were executed on sheets prepared for the Leyden manuscript,²⁰ it is possible that the Grisaille Group was conceived as early as the late 1430's.²¹ A *terminus ante quem* of 1448 is provided by a dated manuscript of the *Miroir de la salvation humaine* from Lille,²² in which compositions from the Passion miniatures of the Grisaille Group appear.²³ In that the Grisaille Group miniatures were prepared independent of the manuscripts in which they are included, the date of any single manuscript gives us only an approximate idea of when its miniatures were executed. Individual numbers might have been done previous to, during or after the actual copying of the manuscripts in which they appear. The repetition of identical compositions from the Youth and Passion of Christ in such a large number of

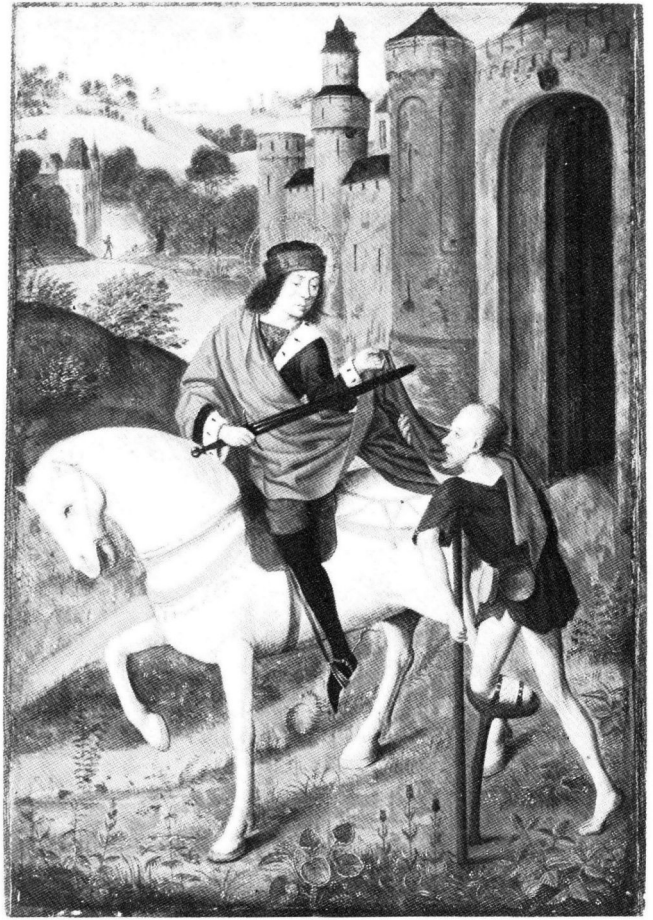


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Dutch prayerbooks suggests that a set of prototypes, perhaps in the form of a model book²⁴ was available to artisans who copied miniatures²⁵ wherever and whenever needed. If we assume that *The Raising of Lazarus* belongs to the original group of grisaille miniatures executed between 1439 and 1449, how do we explain the time gap between this miniature and a panel painting executed by Geertgen some 40 years later?

Art historians have repeatedly noted the possibility that Geertgen began his career as an illuminator of manuscripts.²⁶ Robert Koch discovered a 'Geerkin de Hollandere' enrolled in a guild of illuminators and bookmasters in Bruges in 1475/76,²⁷ and although this evidence presents chronological problems to some scholarly reconstructions of Geertgen's career,²⁸ it offers substance to the hypothesis issued on purely visual grounds that Geertgen was trained in the tradition of late medieval manuscript illumination. Moreover, similarities between Geertgen's female types (especially his 'doll-like Madonnas' with high foreheads) and those in the Grisaille Group²⁹ suggest that Geertgen came into contact with these miniatures or their prototype early in his career.

Further, during the mid to late fifteenth century the Grisaille Group was a popular source of imagery that circulated in a variety of media. Miniatures from the Passion series in the Group, for instance, are almost identical with nine metal engravings of the Passion by the earliest known Netherlandish engraver, the Master of the Gardens of Love,³⁰ while other



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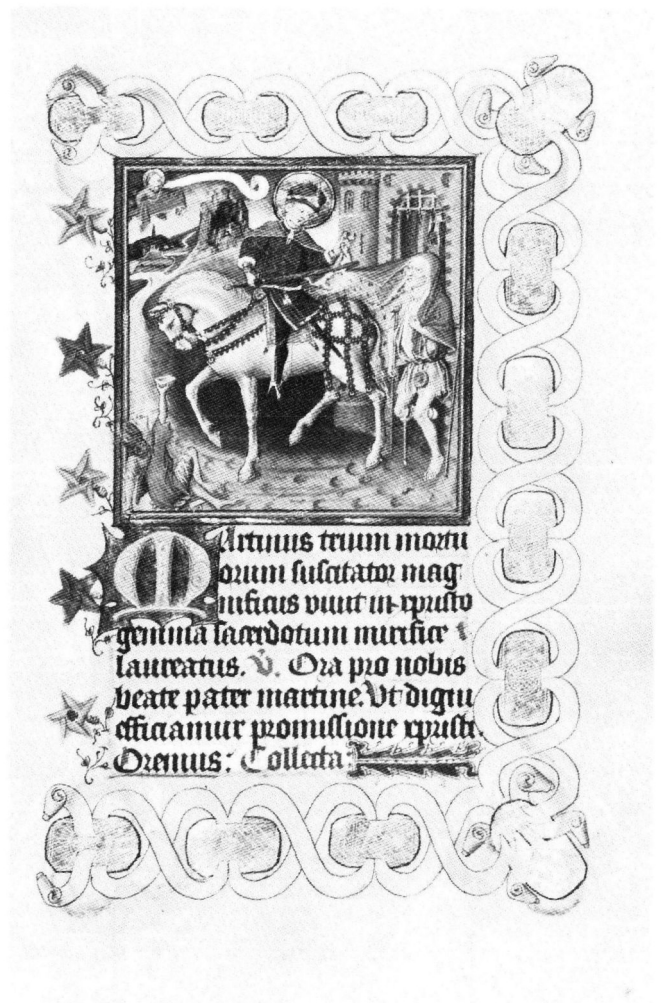
Grisaille Group compositions reappear in woodcuts³¹ and miniatures³² of the period. The Hannover *Raising* is so closely related to a woodcut from a Netherlandish edition of the *Biblia Pauperum*³³ (Fig. 4) as to suggest that both woodcut and miniature look back to a lost common prototype.³⁴ Comparison of the three versions of the Raising of Lazarus (Figs. 2, 3, 4) reveals that Geertgen's rendering is more faithful to the miniature than to the woodcut, but the presence of a similar composition that probably dates from the late 1450's³⁵ suggests that Geertgen might have encountered the Grisaille Group *Raising of Lazarus* by way of some intermediary graphic source. Such a possibility would resolve the enigma of the otherwise wide time gap between the miniature and the panel painting.

Still other instances of similarities between paintings attributed to Geertgen or his followers and Dutch miniatures suggest the importance of the manuscript tradition in the art of panel painting.³⁶ One example involves yet another Grisaille Group composition, that of St. Martin dividing his cloak with a beggar (Fig. 5).³⁷ The panel painting of the same subject (Fig. 6) in the John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, usually attributed to Geertgen or a close follower,³⁸ bears unmistakable resemblance to the Grisaille Group version. The grisaille composition, in turn, is related to three other miniatures, the earliest of which appears in a Dutch prayerbook from the first quarter of the fifteenth century.³⁹ The St. Martin miniature in the extraordinary Book

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St. Martin and the Beggar. Han-
 nover, Niedersächsische Lan-
 desbibliothek, MS I, 83, fol. 2v
 (photo: Niedersächsische Lan-
 desbibliothek).

6
 Follower of Geertgen tot Sint
 Jans, *St. Martin and the Beggar.*
 Philadelphia, John G. Johnson
 Collection (photo: Philadelphia
 Museum of Art).

7
St. Martin and the Beggar. New
 York, Pierpont Morgan Li-
 brary, MS 917, p. 279 (photo:
 Morgan Library).



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of Hours by the Master of Catherine of Cleves (Fig. 7)⁴⁰ is a variant of the composition that anticipates the setting in the panel. As with the Raising of Lazarus, a compositional prototype must have originated early in the century.

What then does the interdependence between panels and miniatures suggest to us about Dutch art of the late fifteenth century, particularly with regard to Geertgen's style? First, it underlines the often made observation that copies, even exact copies, were valued as acceptable formulations of popular imagery,⁴¹ and that their preservation from generation to generation contributed to the essentially conservative cast of fifteenth century Dutch painting. In the case of the St. Martin image, for instance, there is a span of at least sixty years between the earliest miniature and the painting. With regard to Geertgen, we may conclude that the artist's selection of a manuscript model for a monumental commission makes even more enigmatic his relationship to his traditionally alleged teacher, Ouwater,⁴² from whose composition and iconographic focus he clearly departs. Finally, Geertgen's dependence on manuscript art helps to explain some of the peculiarities of his style. In many of Geertgen's

panels, individual figures and groups appear physically detached from one another and isolated in spatial 'cells'; in *The Raising of Lazarus* they are unified principally by the architectural setting.⁴³

This circumstance may indeed be the result of Geertgen's habit of piecing together elements borrowed freely from other paintings⁴⁴ or from manuscript models. Geertgen's syncretism, however, was not an end in itself, but rather, a means of achieving a narrative pictorial style. The process of recasting devotional imagery from miniatures into a larger narrative framework illustrates the transition from devotional to narrative representation in fifteenth century Dutch painting.⁴⁵

The extent to which miniatures actually provided the models for monumental art, even into the late fifteenth century, is yet to be determined. But the evidence suggests that connections between miniatures and panel paintings were stronger than has been assumed heretofore, and bears out the hypothesis that minor works may have influenced major ones in the history of Dutch art.

* I wish to thank Drs. James Marrow and James Snyder for their critical readings of an earlier draft of this manuscript. A preliminary version of this material was read at the Third Annual Conference on Manuscript Studies, St. Louis, Missouri, 1976.

¹ 'A propos du livre de E. Panofsky, "Early Netherlandish Painting,"' *Scriptorium*, XI, 1957, 109–18.

² For instance, C. M. Kauffmann shows that an illustrated commentary on the Apocalypse or a lost manuscript closely related to it was the model for an Apocalypse altarpiece in the Victoria and Albert Museum; see *An Altar-piece of the Apocalypse from Master Bertram's Workshop in Hamburg*, London, 1968; Charles Sterling traces the influence of the Limburg Brothers on Burgundian panel painting of the early fifteenth century in 'Un Nouveau Tableau bourguignon et les Limbourg,' *Studies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Painting in Honor of Millard Meiss*, ed. I. Lavin and J. Plummer, 2 vols., New York, 1977, I, 415–28, II, pls. 138–43.

³ Paris, Louvre, No. 2563A, Inv. No. RF 1285 (127 × 97 cm). Originally attributed to Geertgen by Jules Renouvier, 'Gerard de S. Jean de Harlem,' *Revue universelle des arts*, VIII, 1858, 113–21. For detailed bibliography on the panel, see Edouard Michel, *Musée National du Louvre. Catalogue raisonné des peintures du Moyen-Age, de la Renaissance et des temps moderne*, Paris, 1953, 119–22. For bibliography on Geertgen, see Max Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, trans. Heinz Norden, notes G. Lemmons, New York, 1969 [hereafter ENP], V, 91–92, 94–96, 101–104; since 1969: A. Châtelet, 'Geertgen tot St. Jans dessinateur: une proposition,' *Album Amicorum J. G. Van Gelder*, ed. J. Bruyn et al., The Hague, 1973, 79–82; P. H. Schabacker, 'The Holy Kinship in a Church; Geerten and the Westphalian Master of 1473,' *Oud Holland*, LXXXIX, 1975, 225–42; Z. Urbach, *Geertgen tot Sint Jans*, Budapest, 1976; Diane Scillia, 'Van Mander on Ouwater and Geertgen,' *Art Bulletin*, LX, 1978, 271–73 and rejoinder J. D. Bangs, *Art Bulletin*, LXI, 1979, 505–506.

⁴ I am grateful to Hans Immel of the Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek in Hannover for sending me the library's unpublished description of MS I, 83.

⁵ These Books of Hours are as follows: Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, MS 14.19; Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, MS W. 165; Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS 21696; Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliothek, Gamle Konelige Samling, MS 3445.8; Haarlem, Bisschoppelijk Museum voor Religieuzen Kunst, MS 55; The Hague,

Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 74G 35; Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, B.P.L. 224; Lisbon, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Inv. LA 137; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, George Reid MS 32; New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 349; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 248; Paris Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 500; Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, MS Gollandskaja O.v.I.3 (Present shelf mark 3779). See G. K. Fiero, *Devotional Illumination in Early Netherlandish Manuscripts: A Study of the Grisaille Miniatures in Thirteen Related Fifteenth Century Books of Hours*, Ph.D. diss., Tallahassee, 1970. To these may be added: Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, MS I 83; a Flemish prayerbook in Chapel Hill (North Carolina), Wilson Library, MS 10; and an Italian prayerbook, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 135E 23. For the present location of the last manuscript I thank J. Marrow, who also brought to my attention the set of six drawings related to the Grisaille Group housed in London, British Museum. See A. E. Popham, ed., *Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, London, 1932, V, 79–80. For the Grisaille Group see A. W. Byvanck, 'Een schilderschool te Delft,' *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek*, III, 1923, 188–201; A. W. Byvanck and G. J. Hoogewerff, *La Miniature hollandaise et les manuscrits illustrés du XIVe au XVIe siècles aux Pays-Bas septentrionaux*, 3 vols., The Hague, 1922–26, text, 22–26; A. W. Byvanck, *La Miniature dans les Pays-Bas septentrionaux*, trans. Adrienne Haye, Paris, 1937, 71–77; G. J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche schilderkunst*, 5 vols., The Hague, 1936–47, II, 319–30; S. Sawicka, 'Les Principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque nationale de Varsovie,' *Bulletin de la Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures*, XIX, 1938, 117–25; L. M. J. Delaissé, 'A Century of Dutch Manuscript Illumination,' *California Studies in the History of Art* VI, Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1968, 30–32; G. K. Fiero, 'Smith MS 36: A Study in Fifteenth Century Manuscript Illumination,' *The Courier* (Syracuse University Library Associates), XIII, 1976, 3–27; and James Marrow, 'A Book of Hours from the Circle of the Master of the Berlin Passion: Notes on the Relationship between Fifteenth Century Manuscript Illumination and Printmaking in the Rhenish Lowlands,' *Art Bulletin*, LX, 1978, 609–10. P. F. J. Obbema, Keeper of Western Manuscripts at the University Library in Leiden, is preparing an article in which he will locate the grisaille workshop in the Lopsen monastery in Leiden (letter of August 7, 1980).

⁶ For a list of the subjects in thirteen of the Grisaille Group manuscripts and an index to

the manuscripts in which they appear, see Fiero, 'Devotional Illumination,' Appendix III.

⁷ The manuscript consists of two parts joined together in the late fifteenth century. The first portion (fols. 1–30v) has a calendar for the bishopric of Utrecht; the second portion (fols. 31–136v) may have been intended for a Hildesheim patron since it includes prayers venerating saints from that area; Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek, unpublished description, 1–2.

⁸ St. Martin, fol. 2v and The Adoration of the Magi, fol. 8v. The St. Martin composition appears also in Brussels, Bibl. roy., MS 21696, fol. 125v. The Adoration appears in five other Grisaille Group manuscripts: Leyden, Bibl. der Rijks. B.P.L. 224, fol. 82v; Lisbon, Gulbenkian Inv. LA 137, fol. 110; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 248, fol. 109v; Paris, Bibl. Maz., MS 500, fol. 48v. Minute variations in the copying process and copy errors within the Grisaille Group give evidence of at least a half dozen different copyists. The Hannover miniatures are stylistically close to those in the Antwerp manuscript, where sooty shading and somewhat exaggerated facial features are common.

⁹ The miniature is followed by a selection from the Gospel of John (11:1–45). Earlier in the manuscript (fol. 7v) there is also an unillustrated prayer to Lazarus, 'O beate lazare merito laudaris...'

¹⁰ This frequently noted practice was popular in the production of fifteenth century Dutch manuscripts. See J. Weale, 'Documents inédits sur les enlumineurs de Bruges,' *Le Beffroi*, IV, 1872–73, 238–39. In the case of the Leyden prayerbook five of the miniatures were executed on folios that were prepared to receive the hand-written text (the guide-lines are still visible). A. W. Byvanck took this to indicate that these folios were prepared along with the text or in the same studio as that in which the manuscript was copied, 'Noord-Nederlandsche Miniaturen, III. Het Horarium der Universiteitsbibliothek te Leiden,' *Bulletin van den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond*, XIII, 1920, 224–39.

¹¹ The artist omits, however, the green, ochre and blue tints that are used in all Grisaille Group miniatures with the exception of those in the Antwerp and Lisbon manuscripts.

¹² For instance, in the central panel of a triptych by Nicolas Froment, repro. M. S. Grayson, 'The Northern Origins of Nicolas Froment's Resurrection of Lazarus Now in the

Uffizi Gallery,' *Art Bulletin*, LVIII 1976, 352, Fig. 1; in a fresco by Pierre Spicre, Chapel of St. Leger de Notre Dame in Beaune, repro J. Bacri, 'Pierre Spicre, peintre bourguignon du XV^e siècle,' *Gazette des beaux-arts*, VII, 1935, Figs. 3-4; and in a Netherlandish panel in the Louvre, repro. Charles Sterling and Hélène Adhemar, *Peintures école française XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, Paris, 1965, pl. 128-33. On the origin of the motif, see Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. Janet Seligman, Greenwich, Conn., 1966, I, 186. On the iconography of the Raising of Lazarus in general, see Emile Mâle, 'La Resurrection de Lazare dans l'art,' *Revue des arts*, I, 1951, 44-52; Donat de Chapeaurouge, 'Ouwater's Lazaruserweckung als politischer Document,' *Pantheon*, XXXV, 1977, 108-16; and the forthcoming book by Hans Guratzsch, *Die Auferweckung des Lazarus in der niederländischen Kunst von 1400 bis 1700. Ikonographie und Ikonologie*, Kortrijk, proposed for 1981. I am grateful to Dr. Guratzsch for sending me parts of the unpublished manuscript, and to J. Marrow for calling this work to my attention.

¹³ Repro. Friedländer, *ENP*, III, Pl. 52. In Ouwater's composition, Lazarus faces the viewer with his back to Jesus. In still another Dutch version of the theme, that by the Master of the Tiburtine Sibyl, (repro. Friedländer, *ENP*, III, Pl. 86), Lazarus and Jesus look in different directions. The treatment of the upper portion of Lazarus' body, however, recalls Geertgen's panel.

¹⁴ According to Friedländer, the heads of Jesus and St. John were clumsily restored, *ENP*, V, 19. Though the difference in size between the miniature and the panel prohibits the possibility of tracing or any direct copy process, the original design might have been enlarged or freely copied.

¹⁵ I have examined other mid-fifteenth century Dutch and Flemish miniatures of The Raising of Lazarus too numerous to list here, and to date have found none with any similarity to this compositional prototype. For comparison with reproduced examples, see, for instance, Gotha, Landesbibliothek, MS II. 137, fol. 10v, repro. Edith Rothe, *Medieval Book Illumination in Europe*, London, 1966, Pl. 85; Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Hamilton Collection, MS 437, fol. 9, repro. Friedrich Winkler, 'Simon Marmion als Miniaturmaler,' *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, II, 1913, fig. 20; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 868, fol. 23, repro. W.H. Beuken and J.H. Marrow, *Spiegel van den leven ons Heren*, Doornspijk/Holland, 1979 (foliated facsimile).

¹⁶ Summarized in James Snyder, 'The Early Haarlem School of Painting, Part III: The Problem of Geertgen tot Sint Jans and Jan

Mostaert,' *Art Bulletin*, LIII, 1971, 445-47.

¹⁷ Michel dates the panel between 1475-80, *Louvre Catalogue*, 121. Diane Scillia advanced a date of after 1484 in her paper, 'A terminus post quem for Geertgen tot Sint Jans' *Raising of Lazarus*,' read at the 1978 annual meeting of the College Art Association of America in New York City.

¹⁸ Byvanck, *Bulletin van den Nederlandschen Oudheidkundigen Bond*, 1920, 226-27. On the Leyden prayerbook see also Gerhardus Knuttel, 'De Miniaturen in het Leiden Getijdenboek (Univ. Bibl. B.P.L. 224),' *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek*, I, 1921, 4-15.

¹⁹ The calendar in the Lisbon prayerbook provides the date 1443; Easter tables drafted between 1440 and 1442 give an approximate date for the Copenhagen manuscript. See Fiero, 'Devotional Illumination,' 41; and W. de Vreese, 'Dietsche Kalandars,' *Jaarboek der Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie*, XXV, 1911, 25.

²⁰ Fols. 13v, 106v and 204v (Byvanck's Hand C).

²¹ This conjecture is supported by details of costume and by the relationship between some Grisaille Group compositions and the St. Thomas Altarpiece of 1424 by the Master Francke; see Otto Pächt, 'Meister Francke-Probleme,' *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen*, XIV-XV, 1970, 77-78.

²² Brussels, Bibl. roy., MS 9249-50. The *Miroir* was translated and executed in the studio of Jean Miélot; see C. Gaspar and F. Lyna, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, Paris, 1937-47, III, 468-86.

²³ Principally, the Betrayal, Christ Before Pilate, the Flagellation, and the Bearing of the Cross. The *Miroir* illustrations probably depend on a popular prototype, which may have been a set of engravings, see n. 30 below.

²⁴ On the use of model sheets and the model book tradition see R. W. Scheller, *A Survey of Medieval Model Books*, Haarlem, 1963; Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, ed., *The Göttingen Model Book*, Columbia, Missouri, 1972; A. H. van Buren and Sheila Edmunds, 'Playing Cards and Manuscripts: Some Widely Disseminated Fifteenth-Century Model Sheets,' *Art Bulletin*, LVI, 1974, 12-30; Janet Backhouse, 'An Illuminator's Sketchbook,' *The British Library Journal*, I, 1975, 3-14; Sandra Hindman and J. D. Farquhar, *Pen to Press: Illustrated Manuscripts and Printed Books in the First Century of Printing*, Baltimore, 1977, 78-81, 112-19; Marrow, *Art Bulletin*, 1978, 589-616.

²⁵ On copying techniques see J. D. Farquhar, *Creation and Imitation. The Work of a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illuminator*, Nova University Studies in the Humanities I, Fort Lauderdale, 1976, 65-69.

²⁶ Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character*, Cambridge, Mass., 1953, I, 324-30; Suzanne Sulzberger, 'Gérard de Saint Jean et l'art de la miniature,' *Oud Holland*, LXXIV, 1959, 167-69; and J. Q. van Regteren Altena, 'Wanneer verbleef Geertgen tot Sint Jans in Vlaanderen,' *Oud Holland*, LXXXI, 1966, 76-83.

²⁷ 'Geertgen tot Sint Jans in Bruges,' *Art Bulletin*, XXXIII, 1951, 259-60.

²⁸ Snyder, for instance, has reservations about accepting the document, as 1475/76 seems to him 'too early a date for Geertgen's apprenticeship,' *Art Bulletin*, 1971, 446.

²⁹ See Snyder, 'The Early Haarlem School of Painting, Part II. Geertgen tot Sint Jans,' *Art Bulletin*, XLII, 1960, 120.

³⁰ In his first publication on the Master, Max Lehrs asserted that miniatures in the Brussels and Antwerp manuscripts of the Grisaille Group were based on the Master's engravings, *Der Meister der Liebesgärten, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des ältesten Kupferstichs in den Niederlanden*, Leipzig, 1893, 17-22; this opinion he revised in *Geschichte und Kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstich im XV. Jahrhundert*, Vienna, 1908, I, 305-26. See also J. D. Hintzen, 'De Noord-Nederlandsche grisailles en de 'Meister der Liebesgärten,' *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek*, II, 1922, 178-83. For the proposition that both engravings and miniatures look back to a common prototype, see Byvanck, *La Miniature*, 75; Hoogewerff, *Noord-Nederlandsche schilderkunst*, II, 330; M. Geisberg, *Die Anfänge des Kupferstichs (Meister der Graphik)*, II Leipzig, 1923, 71; I. Schuler, *Der Meister der Liebesgärten*, Amsterdam-Leipzig, n.d. [1932]; and Marrow, *Art Bulletin*, 1978, 609.

³¹ Especially woodcuts in the *Vita et Passio Domini cum Orationibus*; see W. L. Schreiber, *Manual de la gravure sur bois et sur metal au XV^e siècle*, Berlin, 1911, VIII, *passim*; see also Fiero, 'Devotional Illumination,' 228-47.

³² See Fiero, *The Courier*, 1976, 3-27; and n. 22 above.

³³ Campbell Dodgson, *Catalogue of Early German and Flemish Woodcuts Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, London, 1903, I, 209; for a table of editions, see A. M. Hind, *An Introduction to A History of Woodcut*, New York, 1935 (reprint 1963), I, 236-40; on the *Biblia Pau-*

perum, the most up to date study with extensive bibliography is Elisabeth Soltész, *Biblia Pauperum*, trans. Lili Halapy, Budapest, 1967; also see n. 35 below.

³⁴ On the interchange of imagery between manuscript illumination and woodcuts, see Hoogewerff, *Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst*, I, 538–39, Figs. 298–99; Gertrud Bing, 'The Apocalypse Block-Books and their Manuscript Models,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, V, 1942, 143–58; Marrow, 'Dutch Manuscript Illumination Before the Master of Catherine of Cleves: The Master of the Morgan Infancy Cycle,' *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XIX, 1968, 104–107; and Robert G. Calkins, 'Parallels between Incunabula and Manuscripts from the Circle of the Master of Catherine of Cleves,' *Oud Holland*, LXCII, 1978, 137–60.

³⁵ Robert Koch argues that the 40 page blockbook of the *Biblia Pauperum* must have appeared in or just before 1460, the date of its earliest reproduction in manuscript illumination, 'New Criteria for Dating the Netherlandish *Biblia Pauperum*,' *Studies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Painting in Honor of Millard Meiss*, ed. I. Lavin and J. Plummer, New York, 1977, I, 283–89, II, pls. 98–100. For a review of the earlier arguments on dating, see Soltész, *Biblia Pauperum*, vii–ix.

³⁶ The case for a compositional *Urbild* for Geertgen's small panel of St. John the Baptist in the 'Wilderness (Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen) is argued by Wolfgang Krönig, who finds prototypes in engravings by the Master of John the Baptist and the Master E S; see 'Geertgens Bild Johannes' des Taufers,' *Das*

Münster, III, 1950, 193–205. A miniature in a Dutch prayerbook of circa 1470 (Oxford, Bodleian, Auct. D. inf. 2.13, fol. 32v) shows the saint in a landscape, but is otherwise unrelated to the panel. On the other hand, the configuration of St. James the Greater in meditation that appears in a number of late 15th century Flemish prayerbooks (e.g., Oxford, Bodleian, MS Douce 256, fol. 176) is almost identical with that of Geertgen's St. John.

³⁷ See n. 7 above. The Brussels version is not identical with the Hannover miniature.

³⁸ (45 × 31 cm) No. 346 in Philadelphia Museum of Art, *John G. Johnson Collection, Catalogue of Flemish and Dutch Paintings*, Philadelphia, 1972, 41, where it is attributed to a follower of Geertgen tot Sint Jans (other attributions listed). The panel has been dated as late as 1490, Friedländer, *ENP*, V, 79. Also see the panel of the same subject by the Master of 1445 in Basle, *Öffentliche Kunstsammlung*, repro. Fritz Burgler, *Die Deutsche Malerei vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis zum Ende der Renaissance*, Berlin, 1919, Vol. III, fig. 30.

³⁹ New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 866, fol. 150, repro. Marrow, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 1968, fig. 35. The other two miniatures are in manuscripts in the same collection: MS 87, fol. 410v, repro. Delaissé, *Dutch Manuscript Illumination*, fig. 25; and MS 917, p. 279 (Fig. 7).

⁴⁰ Colored miniatures by the Master of Catherine of Cleves are included in the Leyden prayerbook of the Grisaille Group; see Byvanck, 'Noord-Nederlandsche Miniaturen,' 230–39. For the relationship between the Grisaille Group Master and the Cleves

Master, see *idem*, *La Miniature*, 76. In Miélot's *Miroir* (n. 23) there are miniatures that show Grisaille Group figures along with ornamental animals (fols. 11, 38v, 41) found in both the engravings of the Master of the Playing Cards and the borders of the Hours of Catherine of Cleves (pp. 29, 53). See Fiero, 'Devotional Illumination,' 222–25, 287.

⁴¹ Paul Philippot, 'La fin du XVe siècle et les origines d'une nouvelle conception de l'image dans la peinture des Pays-Bas,' *Bulletin des Musées royaux des beaux-arts de Belgique* (Bruxelles), II, 1962, 20.

⁴² In comparing the two artists' versions of the Raising of Lazarus, Snyder found 'little positive evidence' of a master-pupil relationship, *Art Bulletin*, 1960, 117. More recently Diane Scillia argued that Geertgen may not have been trained by Ouwater, *Art Bulletin*, 1978, 271–73.

⁴³ The function of the architecture in unifying the figures is better understood when one covers the upper one-third of the painting.

⁴⁴ This practice was observed by Friedländer, who noted some of Geertgen's borrowings from Rogier van der Weyden and Hugo van de Goe, *ENP*, V, 14–15. Peter Schabacker suggested Geertgen's dependence on a model for his Holy Kindred panel in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, *Oud Holland*, 1975, 225–42.

⁴⁵ See Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Miniature. The Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth Century Devotional Painting*, Abo, 1965, 53–58; and Philippot, *Bulletin des Musées*, 1962, 23–24.