

The Institution of the Rosary. Establishing the context for a recently discovered copy after a lost panel by Geertgen tot Sint Jans in the Pommersfelden Book of Hours, Ms. 343*

In the Museum der bildenden Künste in Leipzig there is a sixteenth-century panel depicting *The Institution of the Rosary*. The style of the figures and the way in which different moments from the story are distributed organically over the picture surface suggest that it is a copy after a lost work that Geertgen tot Sint Jans painted for the Haarlem Confraternity of the Rosary (fig. 1).¹ The left half shows the Virgin appearing to the kneeling St Dominic, who is receiving the rosary from the Christ Child. The door in the left background opens onto a room in which the bare-chested St Dominic is kneeling before a crucifix with a rosary in his hand. The right half of the painting shows the dissemination of the rosary. In the foreground, St Dominic accompanied by another friar is presenting a rosary to Queen Blanche of Castile. He is preaching its use from a pulpit in the background.

¹ Copy after Geertgen tot Sint Jans, *The Institution of the Rosary*, panel, 28 x 42 cm. Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste. Photo: Museum der bildenden Künste, Leipzig.



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Copy after Geertgen tot Sint Jans, *St Dominic Presenting a Rosary to Queen Blanche of Castile*, panel. England, private collection. Photograph taken from Ring 1952 (note 2).



There are two other sixteenth century copies after Geertgen's *Institution of the Rosary*, but they reproduce only parts of the scenes in the Leipzig painting. St Dominic preaching and the meeting with Blanche of Castile are the subject of a panel in an English private collection (fig. 2).² Here there is more of the landscape behind St Dominic than in the Leipzig panel, but the meeting with Queen Blanche has been truncated at the bottom. A third copy in a French private collection merely shows St Dominic preaching. He is seen through the arcade of a cloister garth with a hilly landscape in the background (fig. 3). As with the copy in the private collection in England, the landscape behind the saint is more extensive than in the Leipzig picture.³

James Snyder, who studied Geertgen tot Sint Jans and the Haarlem school of painting in the 1950s, suggested that Geertgen painted *The Institution of the Rosary* around 1480 to mark the Haarlem foundation of the first Confraternity of the Rosary in the Low Countries in 1478, and that the painting was intended for a new chapel or altar dedicated to St Dominic and the rosary in the city's Dominican church. Châtelet, too, believed that the painting was commissioned by the Haarlem confraternity.⁴

A fourth copy can now be added to these three, of which only the Leipzig panel has attracted any attention in the literature up until now. It is not a panel but a miniature in a book of hours illuminated around 1500 by one of the so-called Masters of the Dark Eyes, a group of miniaturists who completely dominated book production in the County of Holland at the time (fig. 4).⁵ The miniature, which illustrates the text of the rosary prayer, has never before been associated with Geertgen's lost panel.⁶ It is not only the subjects of the various parts of the miniature but also the way in which they are presented that display such close similarities to the Leipzig panel that one can only conclude that this must be a copy after Geertgen's composition.

The presentation of the rosary to St Dominic in the miniature, and the view through to a room where he is scourging himself, are depicted in a way similar to that in the left part of the Leipzig scene, although there the saint is not scourging himself



but is kneeling bare-chested with the rosary in his hand.⁷ The scenes in the right half of the panel have been translated into marginal illustrations in the borders around the miniature, which is typical of the way in which the Masters of the Dark Eyes expanded a composition with secondary narrative scenes. St Dominic is preaching at top left, and at bottom left he is meeting Queen Blanche. There is a black-and-white dog with a burning torch in its mouth in the background – a detail that is missing in the panels, as is the devil hurling rocks at the flagellant saint.

The Institution of the Rosary is not based on the *vita* of St Dominic (1170-1221) but on stories related by the Dominican theologian Alanus de Rupe (1428-1475). In the accounts of his visions, Alanus, a passionate devotee of the Virgin, linked the institution of the rosary with the founder of his order. The Virgin supposedly appeared to Dominic, who was in Toulouse battling the Albigensians, and told him to use the rosary to combat the heretics.⁸ The story of the meeting between St Dominic and Blanche of Castile, Queen of France, also comes from Alanus. In one of his exempla he relates how the childless queen asked the saint for his advice and begged him to pray for her. He advised her to seek the intercession of the Virgin and recite the rosary. Wise advice, for Blanche later bore a son, the future St Louis.⁹



The flagellant Dominic in the background of the presentation of the rosary in the miniature may be based on Alanus's story that Dominic used to recite the rosary three times a day, alternating it with flagellation, or it could be an interpretation of a passage in *The Golden Legend* that Dominic often kept vigil in the church at night and scourged himself three times.¹⁰ However, neither Alanus nor *The Golden Legend* says anything about a devil hurling rocks at the saint. That is only found in the far less well-known life of Dominic by Gerardus de Fracheto, who relates how the devil threw a large rock at Dominic when he was praying in church at night. Although the rock was thrown with great force and grazed the saint's forehead and touched his habit, he felt no more than if a piece of straw had fallen on him.¹¹ The miniaturist may have borrowed this scene from the original panel by Geertgen tot Sint Jans, together with the detail of the black-and-white dog in the background of the marginal scene of the meeting between Dominic and Blanche of Castile. That animal is an allusion to a dream that Dominic's mother had when she was pregnant with him. She 'dreamed

that she carried in her womb a little dog which held a lighted torch in his mouth, and when the dog came forth from her womb, he set fire to the whole fabric of the world.' That tale, spread by the popular *Golden Legend*, often led to the dog being regarded as Dominic's attribute.¹²

The theme of *The Institution of the Rosary* is unusual for fifteenth-century Netherlandish art, and in order to place it in the context in which it originated it is necessary to examine the rosary and its devotion in the late fifteenth century. The focus will then shift to the relationship between the lost Geertgen panel, the miniature, and the person who commissioned the book of hours, as well as to the question of which of the copies is the oldest.

The rosary and its devotion

The two key elements of praying the rosary are the Hail Marys, which are recited aloud, and meditations on important moments in the life of Christ, which are done in silence. The Hail Mary, which consists of the words spoken by the archangel Gabriel: 'Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum' ('Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee') and by Mary's cousin Elizabeth: 'Benedicta tu inter mulieres, et benedictus fructus ventris tui' ('Blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb') was already a prayer in its own right in the twelfth century, although its roots go back much further.¹³ A string of beads is used to keep count of the repeated Hail Marys, and like the prayer it is known as a rosary. In the course of the thirteenth century the Cistercians attached the Hail Marys to one hundred meditations on the life of Christ.¹⁴ In 1409 Dominicus Prutenus, also known as Dominic of Prussia, a Carthusian monk of St Alban's Charterhouse in Trier, independently summarised the life of Christ in 50 short sentences in the form of clauses which he associated with an equal number of Hail Marys. Between 1435 and 1445 he evolved a version with 150 meditations, analogous to the 150 psalms, which became known as Our Lady's Psalter. That prayer with 50 or 150 clauses was actively disseminated from the Trier charterhouse and became popular among both clergy and laity.¹⁵ It must have been through the Carthusians that it reached Alanus de Rupe, who adopted Dominicus Prutenus's prayer around 1460 and was responsible for attributing it to St Dominic, the founder of the Dominican order. That attribution was widely disseminated as the church's official view through confirmation in various papal encyclicals and its inclusion in the *Breviarium Romanum*.¹⁶

The popularity of the rosary exploded in the late fifteenth century,¹⁷ fostered by the Dominicans under the influence of Alanus de Rupe, to whom the Virgin appeared in a vision, urging him to encourage its spread. He became its ardent champion, and founded the first Confraternity of the Rosary in Douai in 1468.¹⁸ His ideas were mainly spread by his followers.¹⁹ His pupil Jakob Sprenger, for example, prior of the Dominican friary in Cologne, established the first German confraternity there in 1475.²⁰ This was prompted by a miracle that took place in the Cologne friary during the siege of Neuss, when a statue of the Virgin began speaking, telling Sprenger to preach about the rosary and found a confraternity. An altar was dedicated to the rosary in the friary church on 8 September to which the citizenry went in procession to beg for the siege to be lifted. When Emperor Frederick III succeeded in relieving the town a flood of new members joined the confraternity, following the example of the emperor, the empress and their son, the future Emperor Maximilian. The papal legate, Alexander of Forli, granted an indulgence of 40 days for reciting the rosary as early as 1476.²¹ Membership swelled even further when Pope Sixtus IV declared that same year that the indulgences also applied to the souls in Purgatory, which made it possible to enrol deceased friends and relatives. The German publication

of the confraternity statutes between 1476 and 1477 attracted even more people.²² The Cologne confraternity, which had a large contingent of members from the Low Countries, was very accessible. No distinction was made by origin or gender, and there were no membership fees. All that was required was to say three series of 50 Hail Marys in a week or one complete Our Lady's Psalter.²³

Another follower of Alanus who made an important contribution to the popularity of the rosary and membership of the confraternity was Michael Francisci ab Insulis, also known as Michel François de Lille,²⁴ who delivered a *quodlibet*, or scholarly discussion of the confraternity of the rosary in Cologne in 1476, which appeared in print the following year. An improved and expanded edition was reprinted in Cologne in 1479, and was published in Dutch by Gheraert Leeu of Gouda in 1484.²⁵ The author expounded on the usefulness of confraternities, and that of the rosary in particular, as well as the meaning of the number of Hail Marys and Our Fathers, the reasons for including the names of the members in a book, and the value of wearing a rosary on one's clothing.²⁶ Another route by which Alanus's ideas reached the general public was through the stories printed in the introduction to booklets about the rosary, which served to acquaint people with the prayer. The foundation of countless confraternities of the rosary in Europe, in the northern Netherlands as well, shows how popular the devotions propagated by Alanus had become. One was founded as early as 1478 in Haarlem, where Alanus's pupil Jacobus Weijts, another fervent champion of the rosary, was prior of the Dominican friary.²⁷ That devotion fell on fertile soil in Haarlem, as shown by the description of a miracle that took place there. When a nine-year-old boy drowned in the river, his parents begged the Virgin to bring him back to life 'with the goodness that she displays towards the friends of her rosary'. Their plea, of course, was heard.²⁸

Interest in the rosary is also evident from several paintings that Geertgen made for Haarlem patrons. In the first place, of course, there is the lost *Institution of the Rosary*, which, as Snyder pointed out, was a very fitting subject for the altar of the Haarlem Confraternity of the Rosary. There are two more works by Geertgen or from his immediate circle which can be associated directly with devotion to the rosary. The kneeling donatrix in the lower left corner of *The Tree of Jesse* (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum), who may be a nun of the Whiteladies Convent in Haarlem, has a rosary around her forearm, while one of the kings in the tree is wearing a crown of red and white roses and a double garland of roses as a sash. A second king has a rosary around his neck. In *The Glorification of the Virgin* (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen) Mary has a chaplet of five white roses and one red rose beneath her crown which refer to a rosary cycle of five Hail Marys and one Our Father. Two angels flanking the Virgin and Child are holding rosaries, while the angels with the instruments of the Passion around the Virgin and Child are interpreted in this context as allusions to the joyful, sorrowful and glorious mysteries of the rosary. The other half of this diptych is a *Crucifixion* with Sts Jerome and Dominic, the latter scourging himself. In view of the theological ideas underlying the diptych and the inclusion of the founder of the Dominican order, it is assumed that the person who commissioned the diptych should be sought in Dominican circles.²⁹

The Pommersfelden Book of Hours, Ms. 343

Any attempt to establish a relationship between Geertgen's work and the book of hours in Pommersfelden must start with the geographical origins of the manuscript, for which there are various clues.³⁰ In the first place there is the Calendar, which is usually supported by the Litany, from which it can be deduced that a manuscript was intended for use in a particular diocese, region or city.³¹ Another important aid

for pinpointing the location is the pen flourishing, the simple decoration in inks of different colours which was added after the manuscript had been copied. It has been shown that, for the northern Netherlands in particular, certain types of pen flourishing can be assigned to a specific place or region.³² Finally, there are the colophons, family notes or other traces of ownership that are sometimes found in manuscripts from which one can deduce the place of origin.

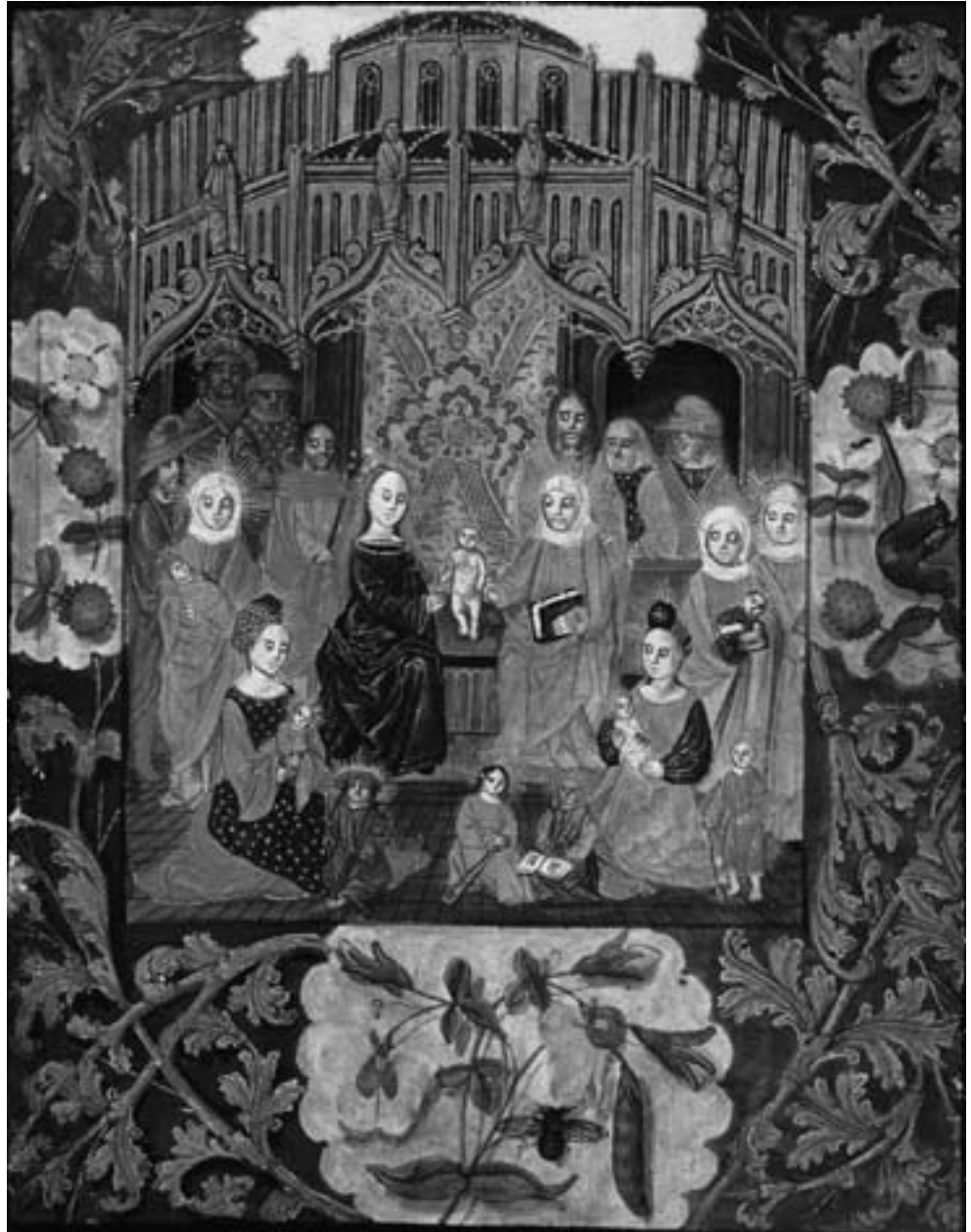
In the case of the Pommersfelden manuscript, however, there are no traces left by a patron or later owner, while the Calendar and Litany offer few clues as to the geography. The fairly empty Calendar does not match the use of a specific diocese. Apart from the principal feast days it consists almost exclusively of the names of saints in red who were venerated throughout the church. Only two of these 'red' saints stand out, Bridget (7 October) and Ursula (21 October), because they were not widely venerated. Both of them are usually found in red in the Calendar of the diocese of Cologne, but then invariably in combination with other Cologne saints, whose names are also written in red. Some of the saints listed in black were important in the diocese of Cologne, such as Pantaleon, Gereon and Severinus. Interestingly, the first saint mentioned in the Litany is not Martin but Sylvester. The focus on Cologne is further reinforced by the inclusion of local saints like Liborius and Ursula in the Litany. This is also mirrored by the language, which is Middle Dutch with typically East Netherlandish elements and strong German influences reflected in words like 'unde' instead of 'ende', 'gades' instead of 'godes', 'yunckfrouwen' for 'yonckfrouwen', 'bichtigher' or 'bichtinge' to indicate the confessors, and so on. The text, which was probably written in the East Netherlandish linguistic area, and the slightly Cologne-oriented Calendar, suggests that the book of hours originated in the border region between the eastern Netherlands and the Rhineland.³³ The only unusual thing about the manuscript is the pen flourishing. In illuminated manuscripts it is usually found throughout, accompanying less important passages. In this book, though, it appears on only one page of the Hours of the Virgin. It can be identified as so-called L-lines penwork, which is a form of decoration that was used in Haarlem at the end of the fifteenth century.³⁴ It is possible that the manuscript later ended up in Haarlem, where pen flourishes were added to just one page (fig. 5).

How do these facts fit in with other books of hours illuminated by the Masters of the Dark Eyes? Almost all of them are written in Middle Dutch (just a few are in Latin) and have the Calendar of the diocese of Utrecht, often with St Jeroen in red on 17 August, who was especially venerated in the region between Delft, Schoonhoven and Haarlem. In addition, Hippolytus (13 August) and Ursula (21 October), the patron saints of the Old and New churches in Delft are occasionally found in red. Where there is penwork in these manuscripts, which was often omitted in ornately decorated specimens, it is frequently very different in nature. As a rule it is a hybrid of various kinds of pen flourishing associated with the County of Holland. For example, in manuscripts with Delft saints in the Calendar one regularly finds pen flourishing that is very similar to the border decoration that has definitely been located in Delft, while manuscripts with a red Jeroen are often in a mixed form of South Holland and Utrecht pen flourishing (so-called 'crown and dragon'). The Haarlem L-lines pen flourishing of Pommersfelden Ms. 343 is not found in any other manuscripts with illuminations by the Masters of the Dark Eyes. So far it has not been possible to say precisely where the Masters of the Dark Eyes were active, but it can be concluded from the presence of Jeroen of Holland in the Calendar and the various forms of Holland penwork that they were located in the County of Holland between Delft and Haarlem, possibly in The Hague or Rijswijk.³⁵ The manuscripts must have been written in different places and provided with pen flourishing, whereupon they were sent to the masters to be illuminated.³⁶ The manuscripts illuminated by these miniaturists, who owe their name to the dark



shadows around the eyes of their figures, are characterised by very ornate illumination and a new kind of border decoration, the so-called strewn borders, which they adopted from the Ghent-Bruges School. The most striking feature is that these masters usually painted detailed series of scenes in the books of hours they illuminated, unlike their contemporaries, who usually only painted miniatures and the occasional historiated initial at the beginning of main texts. In most of the books of hours they illuminated, by contrast, the Masters of the Dark Eyes not only produced full-page miniatures and historiated initials at the beginning of the main texts, but also painted scenes at the canonical hours of the other texts of the offices and at other prayers, with the result that one sometimes finds between 30 and 50 figurative scenes in their books of hours, compared to the five or six miniatures that are usual in the manuscripts by their contemporaries.

The Masters of the Dark Eyes can be divided into various subgroups on stylistic grounds.³⁷ The illuminator of the book of hours in Pommersfelden was one of the Marciana Masters, so called after the earliest known book of hours by the group, which is in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice.³⁸ It is known from a few dated manuscripts that they were active around 1500.³⁹ The distinguishing characteristics of this stylistic subgroup are the rather squat figures with slightly elongated faces situated in a church or deep landscape, and the use of fairly harsh colours. One particularly striking feature is the deep blue sky in nocturnal scenes, with dark blue, orange and gold being used to great dramatic effect, especially in Crucifixion scenes. The border decoration used by this subgroup consists mainly of strewn borders, in addition to the traditional borders of flowers and vegetation that leave the vellum visible. The detailed programmes in most of the books of hours show that the Masters of the



Dark Eyes worked mainly for the elite, which could afford costly prayer books of this kind with extensive cycles. All the identified patrons belonged to the lesser nobility and upper middle class.⁴⁰ It was for this top stratum of society that the masters produced their books of hours, which tied in with the latest developments in book illumination: Ghent-Bruges strewn borders and other forms of illusionistic border decoration borrowed from the southern Netherlands.

The illumination of the Pommersfelden manuscript is part of that development. Not only does it have the fashionable strewn borders and borders with imitation brocade, but the decorative programme is also very lavish. The Hours of the Virgin have a dual programme, with a Passion series being added to the traditional cycle of large or full-page scenes of the infancy of Christ and the death of the Virgin. The Passion scenes are divided among the historiated initial of Matins and the margins of the other canonical hours.⁴¹ The Penitential Psalms also have unusually lavish decoration with a scene of David accompanying each of the seven psalms. Almost all the prayers and Suffrages, most of which are placed between the Hours of the Virgin



and the Penitential Psalms, have full-page miniatures with scenes of the saint or cult concerned. The prayers following the Penitential Psalms have simpler decoration or are not illuminated.⁴² The manuscript lacks the Office of the Dead, which was one of the core texts of a book of hours.⁴³

The dual programme of scenes of Christ's infancy and Passion being combined with the Hours of the Virgin is found nowhere else in the oeuvre of the Masters of the Dark Eyes, since it was their custom to distribute the moments from the different periods of Christ's life over different texts in very ornate books of hours in order to create a chronological life of Christ.⁴⁴ The dual programme was thus probably adopted at the patron's request. The only other comparable dual programme known to me, apart from the one in the far earlier French Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, is in a northern Netherlandish specimen from the mid-fifteenth century in which the miniatures illustrate the Passion and the initials the infancy of Christ.⁴⁵ Unlike the dual programme of the Hours of the Virgin, a David cycle in the Penitential Psalms is more common among the Masters of the Dark Eyes, within the same stylistic group

as well. As in the Pommersfelden manuscript, it involves scenes of David's heroic deeds and the story of Bathsheba.⁴⁶ The illustration of the Suffrages and other prayers with scenes from the life of the relevant saint or relating to a cult is very common in the oeuvre of the Masters of the Dark Eyes. So one can conclude from the decorative programme of Ms. 343 that it fits in well with the rest of the masters' oeuvre, and that they were undoubtedly approached specifically to decorate a book of hours that was made in the border region between the eastern Netherlands and Cologne and was then sent to the County of Holland to be decorated by a miniaturist who was one of a group of book illuminators who were extremely popular, as demonstrated by the many surviving manuscripts adorned in this style.

The miniature and Geertgen's work

Although it was by no means uncommon for miniaturists to be inspired by the compositions of panel painters, it is most remarkable that the borrowing is from this very composition by Geertgen tot Sint Jans, since the *Institution of the Rosary* was depicted nowhere else in fifteenth-century Netherlandish painting. It is not clear how the miniaturist became acquainted with Geertgen's work. The lack of any information about the patron makes it impossible to say whether the illuminator saw the panel in Haarlem or a drawing made after it. Nor, consequently, can one say how the patron knew the work of the popular Masters of the Dark Eyes.

However, it is clear that some of those masters knew Geertgen's work not only from *The Institution of the Rosary* but also from another miniature. If one compares the scene of the Holy Kinship in a prayer book in the Royal Library in The Hague with Geertgen's panel of the same subject in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam one is struck by the similarity in the lines of the composition and the distribution of the figures over the picture surface (figs. 6, 7).⁴⁷ The group with Elizabeth and the half-sisters of the Virgin in Geertgen's painting is reflected in the group with the Virgin's half-sisters and their children on the right in the miniature. The same applies to Anne, the Virgin and their children on the left in the panel, who are paralleled by the group on the left in the miniature. The effect of the miniature is totally different, though, due to the simplification of the space in which the figures are placed and to the cloth of honour behind Anne, the Virgin and the Christ Child, which totally destroys the sense of depth found in Geertgen's panel.

Although one can only speculate about certain questions, such as how the miniaturist knew Geertgen's composition and whether details like St Dominic scourging himself, the devil throwing rocks and the dog with the burning torch were taken from Geertgen's original panel or have to be regarded as the miniaturist's inventions, it is clear that the person who commissioned the book of hours was a great devotee of the rosary and wanted to associate a miniature with the prayer, which was usually not decorated.⁴⁸ He may have been someone living in the borderland between the eastern Netherlands and Cologne who regularly travelled to the west of the country on business. He may have become familiar with the work of the Masters of the Dark Eyes there and could have seen Geertgen's panel on the altar of the Haarlem Confraternity of the Rosary. It is also possible that on that occasion pen flourishes were added to a page with enough free space in the margin of a book containing a Calendar not designed for use in a particular diocese. Such a Calendar was far more useful than a specific one to someone who travelled a lot.

This leaves the question of which of the copies is the earliest. Friedländer dated the Leipzig panel after 1550 because of its 'flat execution'.⁴⁹ Later scholars, who focused on the iconography alone, placed it in the sixteenth century without trying to narrow the date down any further.⁵⁰ Only Beissel, who was also only interested

in the iconography, dated it to the late fifteenth century.⁵¹ Ring published the copy in an English private collection, describing it as ‘another sixteenth-century replica’, while Snyder dated the copy in France after 1530.⁵² At the moment the miniature, which was painted by a master active around 1500, appears to be the earliest copy after Geertgen’s lost work, certainly as long as dendrochronology does not come up with an earlier date for the Leipzig panel.⁵³ Although one cannot say for certain which is the earliest copy, and can only hypothesise about the relationship between the patron and the miniaturist and the way in which they knew Geertgen’s unusual composition, the miniature is clearly a fitting illustration of the rosary prayer and at the same time meshes in well with ideas about religion current in the late fifteenth century. It is those ideas that provide the context in which scenes like those by Geertgen tot Sint Jans and the Master of the Dark Eyes from the Marciana group could arise.

NOTES

* This article, which has been translated from the Dutch by Michael Hoyle, is a reworking of part of my doctoral dissertation and of a paper delivered at the Scholar’s Day in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam on 26 May 2008, after the close of the *Vroege Hollanders* exhibition. See K.H. Broekhuijsen, *The Masters of the Dark Eyes. Dutch Manuscript Painting in Holland*, Turnhout 2009, pp. 63–65. The translation was financed by Vertaalfonds KNAW/Stichting Reprorecht. I am very grateful to Anne Korteweg for reading this article so carefully and commenting on it.

¹ Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste, inv. no. I. 912. See M.J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting V: Geertgen tot Sint Jans and Jerome Bosch*, comments and notes by G. Lemmens, Leiden-Brussels 1969, pp. 24–25, pl. 13.

² England, private collection. See G. Ring, ‘Attempt to Reconstruct a Lost Geertgen Composition’,

The Burlington Magazine 44 (1952), p. 147.

³ It can be assumed from examination of the two partial copies in private collections that the Leipzig painting has been cut down at the top and that in Geertgen’s panel there was a view through the arcade to a landscape behind St Dominic similar to the one in the French collection. This third copy was in the collection of Vicomte Benoist d’Azy in Paris in the 1950s, and is mentioned by Snyder in both his dissertation and his article on the subject in *The Art Bulletin*: J.E. Snyder, *Geertgen tot Sint Jans and the Haarlem School of Painting*, Princeton 1957, p. 241, fig. 58B, and J.E. Snyder, ‘The Early Haarlem School of Painting II: Geertgen tot Sint Jans’, *The Art Bulletin* 42 (1960), p. 131, note 75.

⁴ For the intended location of Geertgen’s lost panel see Snyder 1957 (note 3), p. 241, Snyder 1960 (note 3), p. 131, and A. Châtelet, *Gerard de Saint Jean et la peinture*

dans les Pays-Bas du Nord au XV^eme siècle, 3 vols., Lille 1979 [dissertation 1973], vol. 2, p. 903. On the foundation of the first Dutch confraternity of the rosary in Haarlem in 1478 see H. Choquetius, *Sancti Belgii Ordinis Praedicatorum*, Douai 1618, p. 262.

⁵ Pommersfelden, Graf von Schönborn Schlossbibliothek, Ms. 343. For a survey of the contents and illuminations see Broekhuijsen 2009 (note *), cat. no. 28.

⁶ The book of hours was on display at the major exhibition of books of hours and prayer books held in Cologne’s Schnütgen-Museum in 1987, when it was also published for the first time. See J.M. Plotzek, exh. cat. *Andachtsbücher des Mittelalters aus Privatbesitz*, Cologne (Schütgen-Museum) 1987, pp. 215–217, cat. no. 71.

⁷ The bare-chested saint holding a rosary instead of a scourge may be a misunderstanding on the part of a later painter.

⁸ For the full text of the legend see J.A.F. Kronenburg, *Maria's heerlijkheid in Nederland*, 9 vols., Amsterdam 1904-1931, vol. 3, Amsterdam 1905, pp. 284-285, and C.J.A. Coppenstein, *B. Alanus redivivus de psalterio, seu Rosario Christi ac Mariae ejusdemque fraternitate Rosaria*. Coloniae Agrippinae 1624, pp. 98-104.

⁹ The meeting between St Dominic and Blanche of Castile is described in one of the exempla in ch. 68 of the writings of Alanus; see Coppenstein 1624 (note 8), p. 561. Cf. also C.G.N. de Vooijs, *Middeleeuwse Marialegenden*, Leiden 1903, vol. 1, pp. 397-399, vol. 2, pp. LIII-LVI, 199-217, 327-329.

¹⁰ In Alanus de Rupe, *Een devoet ende orbaerlic boecgen, roerende van die grote nutticheyt ende edelheit des gebenediden vrouwen souter*, [Utrecht, printer with the monogram, after 30 March 1480], c. 1485, fols. 10v-11r, which is an instruction outlining the value of the rosary and the way in which it should be recited, it is described how St Dominic recited the rosary three times a day and scourged himself between those recitations (The Hague, Royal Library, 168 G 42). That passage is also found in Coppenstein 1624 (note 8), p. 96. See also Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints*, trans. W.G. Ryan, Princeton 1993, vol. 2, p. 53. Such tales of the devil's attempts to interfere in pious lives are common in the lives of many saints, Benedict and Antony Abbot among them.

¹¹ Gerardi de Fracheto, *Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Pradicatorum, necnon cronica ordinis ab anno 1203-1254 ad fidem codicum manuscriptorum accurate recognovit*, ed. B.M. Reichert, Romae-Stuttgartiae 1897, p. 77. There is an English translation at www.domcentral.org/trad/brethren, with the story of the devil hurling a rock in ch. XIV.

¹² De Voragine 1993 (note 10), pp. 44-45. The black-and-white dog is seen as a reference to the colours of the order's habit and is a play on its name, 'Domini canes', or 'dogs of the Lord'.

¹³ Luke 1:28 and 42. See also R. Scherschel, *Der Rosenkranz – das Jesusgebet des Westens*, Freiburg, Basel, Vienna 1979, pp. 45-63.

¹⁴ A. Heinz, 'Die Zisterzienser und die Anfänge des Rosenkranzes. Das bisher unveröffentlichte älteste Zeugnis für den Leben-Jesu-Rosenkranz in einem Zisterzienserrinnengebetbuch aus

St. Thomas a.d. Kyll (um 1300)', *Analecta Cisterciensia* 33 (1977), pp. 262-309.

¹⁵ For a brief history of the origins and evolution of the rosary see A. Heinz, 'Die Entstehung des Leben-Jesu-Rosenkranzes', in: U-B. Frei and F. Bühler (ed.), *Der Rosenkranz. Andacht, Geschichte, Kunst*, Bern 2003, pp. 23-47, and A. Duval, 'Rosaire', *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* 13, Paris 1987, cols. 937-980. The principal works of research on the origins and evolution are K.J. Klinkhammer, *Adolf von Essen und seine Werke. Der Rosenkranz in der geschichtlichen Situation seiner Entstehung und in seinem bleibenden Anliegen. Eine Quellenforschung*, Frankfurt am Main 1972; Heinz 1977 (note 14); Scherschel 1979 (note 13); A. Winston, 'Tracing the Origins of the Rosary: German Vernacular Texts', *Speculum* 68 (1993), pp. 619-636, and A. Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose. The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages*, University Park, Pennsylvania 1997.

¹⁶ Esser's research had already discredited that attribution at the end of the nineteenth century, when he identified Dominicus Prutenus as the spiritual father of the rosary prayer. Esser concluded that the mistake arose because Alanus confused St Dominic with Dominicus Prutenus. Doubts about the authorship had been expressed even earlier, for the Bollandist Willem Cuypers (d. 1741) pointed out in his life of St Dominic in the *Acta Sanctorum* published in 1743 that in the two centuries after the saint's death there had been no mention of a vision in which the Virgin appeared to him and that the rosary did not feature in his life either, thus indicating that the legend first appears in Alanus's writings in the second half of the fifteenth century. See T. Esser, *Unserer Lieben Frauen Rosenkranz*, Paderborn 1889, and idem, 'Beitrag zur Geschichte des Rosenkranzes. Die ersten Spuren von Betrachtungen beim Rosenkranz', *Der Katholik* 77 (1897), pp. 346-360, 409-455, 515-528. The authorship of Dominicus Prutenus was widely accepted until Heinz 1977 (note 14) discovered a Cistercian prayer book which makes it clear that the prayer originated 100 years earlier.

¹⁷ On the influence that devotion to the rosary has had on the visual arts see A. von Oertzen, *Maria, die Königin des Rosenkranzes. Eine Ikonographie des Rosenkranzgebets durch zwei Jahrhunderte deutscher Kunst*, Augsburg 1925, and

F.H.A. van den Oudendijk Pieterse, *Dürens Rosenkranzfest en de ikonografie van de Duitse Rozenkransgroepen van de XVe en het begin van de XVIe eeuw*, Amsterdam 1939. On illustrations of the rosary in late fifteenth-century Flemish books of hours and prayer books see A.M. As-Vijvers, 'Weaving Mary's Chaplet: the Representation of the Rosary in Late Medieval Flemish Illumination', in: K.M. Rudy and B. Baert (ed.), *Weaving, Veiling, and Dressing. Textiles and their Metaphors in the Late Middle Ages*. Turnhout 2007, pp. 41-79.

¹⁸ Alanus de Rupe (de la Roche or van der Clip) was born in Brittany in 1428. He probably joined the Dominicans in Dinan in northern France at an early age, and went on to study in Paris. In 1462 he and several other friars were transferred to Lille, which belonged to the *Congregatio Hollandiae*, a Dominican reform movement. In 1464 he preached in Douai, Ghent and Rostock, where he was awarded his doctorate in theology in 1473. He worked in Cologne, where one of his pupils was Jakob Sprenger. He was moved to the Broeren friary in Zwolle in 1474, where he died on 8 September 1475. For further information see B. de Boer, 'De Souter van Alanus de Rupe', *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 29 (1955), pp. 363-364; K.J. Klinkhammer, 'Alanus de Rupe', *Die Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon* 1 (1978), cols. 102-106, and S.P. Wolfs, *Middeleeuwse dominicanenkloosters in Nederland. Bijdrage tot een monasticon*, Assen 1984, pp. 349-350. Different dates, ranging from 1464 to 1470, are given for the foundation of the confraternity of the rosary in Douai. See H. Küffner, 'Zur Kölner Rosenkranzbruderschaft', in: H. Küffner and W. Schulten, exh. cat. *500 Jahre Rosenkranz: 1475 Köln 1975*, Cologne (Erzbischöfliches Diözesan-Museum) 1975, p. 111; 1468; Winston-Allen 1997 (note 15), p. 24; c. 1470; Heinz 2003 (note 15), p. 38; 1468; S. Jäggi, *Rosenkranzbruderschaften. Vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Konfessionalisierung*, in: U-B. Frei and F. Bühler 2003 (note 15), p. 92: between 1464 and 1470. Jäggi does not believe that Alanus founded a confraternity of the rosary but merely introduced a daily recitation of the rosary into an existing confraternity of the Virgin. H.C. Scheeben, 'Michael Francisci ab Insulis o.p., Quodlibet de veritate fraternitatis rosarii', *Archiv der Deutschen Dominikaner* 4 (1951), pp. 97-162, esp. pp. 131-134, actually denies that Alanus ever founded a confraternity of the rosary.

¹⁹ The Haarlem chapter ordered that his writings be collected immediately after his death so that they could be disseminated. However, that decision was rescinded for unknown reasons at the Rotterdam chapter in 1478. A complete edition of Alanus's works did not appear until 1619 under the editorship of J.A. Coppenstein, with the title *Beatus Alanus redivivus* (note 8). De Boer 1955 (note 18), pp. 358-388, lists the manuscripts and printed books in which the rosary prayer is preserved. He calls Coppenstein's work a reworking, which is why he takes the manuscripts and books that appeared before 1500 as his point of departure. However, Kronenburg 1905 (note 8), p. 308, believes that Coppenstein reproduced Alanus's writings faithfully, merely improving the Latin by turning it into classical Latin.

²⁰ For the history of devotion to the rosary in Cologne see Küffner and Schulten, (note 18); H.D. Saffrey, 'La fondation de la Confrérie du Rosaire à Cologne en 1475. Histoire et iconographie', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 76 (2001), pp. 143-164; and S. Schmidt, 'Die Entstehung der Kölner Rosenkranzbruderschaft von 1475', in: idem, exh. cat. *Der heilige Rosenkranz, Cologne* (Diözesanbibliothek) 2003, which is also available on the internet at http://www.dombibliothek-koeln.de/index1.html?veranstaltung/rosenkranz/rosenkranz_schmidt_rosenkranzbruderschaft.html.

²¹ Schmidt 2003 (note 20), p. 3. This indulgence was confirmed and expanded in several later papal bulls. For a summary of papal pronouncements about the rosary see H. Finger, 'Das Rosenkranzgebet und seine Geschichte', in exh. cat. *Der heilige Rosenkranz* (note 20), and http://www.dombibliothek-koeln.de/index1.html?veranstaltung/rosenkranz/rosenkranz_finger_rosenkranzgebet_liturgie.html.

²² See Küffner 1975 (note 18), pp. 115-116. In 1467 Sprenger said that there were already 8,000 members in Cologne, and in 1477 that there were 21,000 in Augsburg.

²³ Kronenburg 1905 (note 8), pp. 341-343.

²⁴ Michael François ab Insulis (1435-1502) was one of Alanus de Rupe's younger brethren in the order. He was in Douai in 1465-1468 when Alanus was preaching the rosary there. He was active in Cologne from 1469 to 1481. His *Quodlibet* was reprinted eight times between 1479 and 1518.

²⁵ Michiel van Risel, *Van Marien rosen cransken een suverlic boexken*, Gouda (Geraert Leeu) 1484 (Leiden, University Library, 1370 G 35:1).

²⁶ B. de Boer, 'De souter van Alanus de Rupe III: het Hollandse Quodlibet van Michael van Rijsel als manifest van de Keulse rozenkranzrichting', *Ons Geestelijk Erf* 31 (1957), pp. 187-204.

²⁷ Jacobus Weijts (d. 1498) was in the Dominican friary in Ghent at the same time as Alanus, where both of them were teachers; see S.T. Arts, *De predikheeren te Gent, 1228-1854*, Ghent 1913, p. 135. In 1478 Weijts was appointed prior of the friary in Haarlem in connection with an agreement with the burgomasters of Haarlem regarding the burial of lay people within the Dominican friary. See Wolfs 1984 (note 18), p. 72.

²⁸ Choquetius 1618 (note 4), p. 262. With thanks to Ilse Slot for her help with the Latin texts.

²⁹ F. Lammertse and J. Giltaij (ed.), exh. cat. *Vroege Hollanders. Schilderkunst van de late Middeleeuwen*, Rotterdam (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen) 2008, no. 14.

³⁰ A.S. Korteweg, 'Randversiering in Noordnederlandse handschriften uit de vijftiende eeuw', in: A.S. Korteweg (ed.), exh. cat. *Kriezelzels, aubergines en takkenbossen. Randversiering in Noordnederlandse handschriften uit de vijftiende eeuw*, The Hague (Rijksmuseum Meermanno-Westreenianum) 1992, pp. 21-31.

³¹ The names of the saints in the Calendar are in red (and sometimes in blue or gold) and black. As a rule, those written in red were specially venerated in a particular diocese. There were also saints who were only venerated locally, and when their names appear in red it is possible to pinpoint the destination of the manuscript. However, that does not automatically mean that the manuscript was actually made there, although research has shown that that is often the case. The sequence of saints in the Litany can sometimes provide added evidence for the geographical location. For example, St Martin often heads the list of the confessors in the Litany in manuscripts with a Calendar of the diocese of Utrecht. His place is usually taken by St Sylvester in manuscripts with a different Calendar. See Korteweg 1992 (note 30), p. 23.

³² Korteweg 1992 (note 30), pp. 23 and 26-27.

³³ With thanks to Prof. Jos Biemans and Prof. Arend Quak in Amsterdam, and above all to Dr Friedel Rooffs, Kommission für Mundart- und Namenforschung Westfalens in Münster, who informed me that the basic is northern Low German with Westphalian, Cleves-Guelders and east Netherlandish elements. The text was probably copied in the eastern Netherlands with the preservation of many distinctively Low German words.

³⁴ M. Hülsmann and R. Nieuwstraten, 'Haarlem en Noord-Holland', in: Korteweg 1992 (note 30), p. 94, and nos. 98 and 99 (ill.).

³⁵ See Broekhuijsen 2009 (note *), pp. 73-77, for the localisation of the Masters of the Dark Eyes.

³⁶ It is known that this was sometimes done from a German book of hours recently discovered by James Marrow which was commissioned by a patrician and made in Lübeck, and was also illuminated by the Masters of the Dark Eyes. Kind communication from Prof. James H. Marrow of Princeton University.

³⁷ See Broekhuijsen 2009 (note *), pp. 9-24, for the various stylistic groups.

³⁸ Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. It.I,35.

³⁹ They include a Gradual in Cologne (Erzbischöfliches Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Diözesan Codex 1519), the colophon of which shows that it was written in 1500, in which a Marciana Master painted five historiated and four decorated initials, and a few borders. A prayer book in London (British Library, Ms. Add. 20859) contains an Advent circle dated 1498. A third manuscript that supports a date of around 1500 is a book of hours in Birmingham (Central Public Library, 091/MED/8), which contains four miniatures by a Marciana Master but was otherwise illuminated by Spierinck, the only Netherlandish miniaturist to sign and date his illuminations. The dates 1502 and 1503 appear at various points in the border decoration, one being in the painted border opposite one of the inserted miniatures by the Marciana Master. In three cases, Spierinck adapted his borders around the text to accommodate those of the master's miniatures, so the date of the borders can be taken as a *terminus*

ante quem for those miniatures. See Broekhuijsen 2009 (note *), p. 14, and cat. nos. 18, 21 and 24.

⁴⁰ The patrons who could be identified include Jeanne van Halewijn, the wife of Jan van Wassenae, Burgrave of Leiden, Cornelis Croesinck, Lord of Benthuizen and Zoetermeer, and his wife Hildegard van Alkemade, and Margaretha van Cleyburg, the wife of Boudewijn Willemszoon van Drenckwaert, Bailiff of Dordrecht. James Marrow recently discovered a book of hours made for a patrician of Lübeck; see note 36.

⁴¹ It is uncertain whether this implies that no Hours of the Cross were planned, since no extra space had to be left open in the text to accommodate the Passion cycle in an initial and the margins of the other canonical hours of the Virgin.

⁴² See Broekhuijsen 2009 (note *), cat. no. 28, for a survey of the text and the associated illumination, as well as for a brief codicological description.

⁴³ The book is now in a modern binding, so it is impossible to say whether the Office of the Dead was originally present and was lost when the book was rebound. The same applies to other texts that are usually found in a book of hours, such as the Hours of the Cross and the Hours of the Holy Spirit. For the texts included in a book of hours and their illumination see V. Leroquais, *Les Livres d'Heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale I*, Paris 1927, pp. XIV-XXXII, R.S. Wieck, *The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, London 1988, and R.S. Wieck, *Painted Prayers. The Book of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art*, New York 1997.

⁴⁴ There is an infancy cycle in the Hours of the Virgin and a Passion cycle in the Hours of the Cross. In more lavishly decorated books of hours there is a third cycle with scenes from the Glorification in the Hours of Eternal Wisdom. That is then followed by the Hours of the Holy Spirit, which traditionally has a Pentecost scene, so that Christ's entire life unfolds before the viewer's eye as he or she leafs through the book. See Broekhuijsen 2009 (note *), nos. 1, 22, 25, 26, 30, 33. Nos. 30 and 33 also include a cycle in the Hours of the Holy Spirit in which the end of the Virgin's life is depicted at the canonical hours.

⁴⁵ Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. 5.J.27. Cf. K. van der Horst,

Illuminated and Decorated Medieval Manuscripts in the University Library, Utrecht, Maarssen and The Hague 1989, no. 59.

⁴⁶ See Broekhuijsen 2009 (note *), nos. 28, 30, 33, 40, 66 and 73.

⁴⁷ The Hague, Royal Library, Ms. 135 E 19; fol. 140r. The miniature with the scene of the Holy Kinship, which originally preceded fol. 19v, is now pasted onto the flyleaf at the back of the manuscript. Cf. K.H. Broekhuijsen, 'Bloemen voor Anna. Een bijzondere verluchtingscyclus in gebeden tot de heilige Anna', in: J. Biemans *et al.* (ed.), *Manuscripten en miniaturen. Studies aangeboden aan Anne. S. Korteweg bij haar afscheid van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, Zutphen 2007, p. 61, note 11.

⁴⁸ That it was unusual to illustrate the rosary prayer is clear from the fact that, leaving aside the oeuvre of the Masters of the Dark Eyes, there is only one other northern Netherlandish book of hours with a scene accompanying the rosary prayer. It is a book of hours illuminated by one of the Masters of Hugo Janszoon van Woerden, contemporaries of the Masters of the Dark Eyes, who painted a full-page miniature of the Virgin and Child on a grassy bank in The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, Ms. 10 F 5, fol. 53v. It is a scene that makes not the slightest allusion to the rosary prayer or devotion to the rosary. The Masters of the Dark Eyes illustrated the rosary prayer with a scene of Emperor Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl in London, British Library, Ms. Add. 20.859, which also belongs to the Marciana group, and collaborated on San Marino (Cal.), Huntington Library, Ms. 1140, in which all the meditations are illustrated. Cf. Broekhuijsen 2009 (note *), nos. 24 and 54. In the southern Netherlands, too, the rosary prayer was only illuminated now and then: The Hague, Royal Library, Ms. 133 D 10 (Annunciation) and Ms. 134 C 47 (Virgin and Child), and The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, Ms. 10 F 14 (scenes of all the meditations). For the manuscripts in The Hague, Royal Library and Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum see also the joint website: www.kb.nl/manuscripts. According to As-Vijvers 2007 (note 17), p. 57, the scene of 'the Virgin in the sun' was the favourite theme for rosary prayers in southern Netherlandish manuscripts. Exhaustive research of the illumination of the rosary prayer cannot be carried out because references

in the *Bibliotheca Neerlandica Manuscripta* of Leiden University Library to manuscripts that include the text do not contain any information about the decoration. In most cases, though, they are manuscripts without illumination. The database of illuminated manuscripts compiled by the Alexander Willem Byvanck Genootschap (The Hague, Royal Library), which does not include unilluminated texts is of no assistance in identifying manuscripts in which the rosary prayer is not illuminated. This makes it difficult to say anything about the number of rosary prayers that are and are not illuminated.

⁴⁹ Friedländer 1969 (note 1), p. 24.

⁵⁰ The panel is discussed briefly during the interpretation of Geertgen's *Glorification of the Virgin* (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen) in J.H.A. Engelbrecht, "'Het glorievolle rozenkransgeheim van Maria's kroning in de hemel" door Geertgen tot Sint Jans', in: *Album discipulorum, aangeboden aan professor dr. J.G. van Gelder ter gelegenheid van zijn zestigste verjaardag 27 februari 1963*. Utrecht 1963, pp. 31-44. It is examined at greater length in H. van Os, 'Coronatio, Glorificatio en Maria in sole', *Bulletin Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen* 15 (1964), pp. 22-38, and in B. Ridderbos, 'The Rotterdam-Edinburgh Diptych: *Maria in Sole* and the Devotion of the Rosary', in: H. van Os, exh. cat. *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe, 1300-1500*, Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 1994, pp. 151-156, and Lammertse and Giltaij 2008 (note 29), no. 14.

⁵¹ S. Beissel, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur Religionswissenschaft und Kunstgeschichte*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1910, pp. 92-93, fig. 22.

⁵² Ring 1952 (note 2), p. 147, and Snyder 1957 (note 3), p. 241. Snyder based his date on the borrowing of several figures from *The Sermon* by Lucas van Leyden, a work that is now attributed to the Master of the Church Sermon (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum) and dates from 1530-1535.

⁵³ Dendrochronological examination of the panel will take place in 2010 or 2011 (kind communication from Dr Jan Nicolaisen, Curator of Paintings at the Museum der bildenden Künste in Leipzig).