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PICTORIAL PROGRAMMES IN MANUSCRIPTS
OF THE FRENCH VERSION
OF SUSO'S HOROLOGIUM SAPIENTIAE

BY
PETER ROLFE MONKS

Among Suso's writings is the Latin *Horologium Sapientiae*, dedicated to the General of the Order of Preachers, Hugo de Vaucemain (1333-1341), and composed c. 1334, principally for nuns¹. According to statements in the Prologue, the title recalls a celestial clock which Suso beheld in a vision. As a consequence, he divided the work into twenty-four chapters to symbolise the hours of the day. There are two Books, of eighteen and six chapters. At the beginning the reader meets Divine Sapientia, who counsels her Disciple during the next four chapters to study and to imitate Christ's Passion. Sapientia then occupies the centre stage herself for four more chapters in which Suso places great emphasis on her potential role as a spiritual mentor for the soul. Vivid descriptions of Hell and Paradise can be found in chapters 10, 11, 12 and 14. Christ and Sapientia both narrate Passion incidents in chapter 15, while the subject of the Virgin's insurmountable grief concludes Book I.

The atmosphere of Book II appears at times to be metaphysical. The Disciple passes through representative Schools of learning, evaluating the teaching as he goes. He next hears from Sapientia's lips how to die and how to live with the

¹ On Suso, see Thomas KAEPPELI, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, II, Rome 1975, 218-220. A survey of the circumstances of the writing of the *Horologium Sapientiae* can be found in Pius KÜNZLE (ed.), *Heinrich Seuses. Horologium Sapientiae. Erste kritische Ausgabe unter Benützung der Vorarbeiten von Dominikus Planzer OP*, Freiburg 1977, 1-27.

Spirit. In chapter 4 he is reminded that Christ's Passion must be vigilantly recalled at every moment of life on earth, since at the Last Supper He gave mankind the Holy Sacrament of the Altar. In the remaining four chapters of this second Book the Disciple prepares for his spiritual union with Sapiientia. It is finally consummated with the recognition that he will enjoy everlasting bliss, for he has given himself totally to Christ.

The roles played by Sapiientia and the Disciple are closely interwoven and both are polyvalent. She is not merely the Wisdom of the Old Testament personified, but also narrates Passion sequences as if she were Christ. A leading Suso scholar, J. M. Clark, has epitomised her transfigurations in these terms: "Eternal Wisdom is at first a woman, the personification of Wisdom, the spouse of the soul, as in the Wisdom Books of the Old Testament. Later Eternal Wisdom represents Christ"². For his part the Disciple is at times Suso himself, or a friar succumbing to the world's vanities and temptations, and confessing his moral frailty to Sapiientia. At others, the Disciple is a serious and dedicated student of Theology, trying to ponder objectively the mysteries of the Passion.

The popularity of the *Horologium Sapiientiae*, if the number of surviving copies is any guide, was extraordinary. Father Pius Künzle OP describes some 233 complete copies, mentions another 88 that are seemingly lost, and studies 150 extracts of varying lengths. Vernacular redactions were prepared in French, Netherlandish, German, Italian, English, Swedish, Danish, Polish and Czech³.

The principal French translation, known as the *Horloge de Sapience*, was made c. 1389 by a Franciscan of the Observant Convent in Neufchâteau (arr. des Vosges). The instigator of the translation was Demenge de Port, *licencié en droit civil et canon*, a son of Nicole de Port, knight and *seigneur en loi*. Nicole was a liegeman of Duke Henri de Bar and a trusty member of his Council. Maître Demenge, whose name may

² Henry Suso. *Little Book of Eternal Wisdom and Little Book of Truth*, translated by J. M. CLARK, London 1953, 13.

³ The manuscripts of the *Horologium* are described by KÜNZLE, *Horologium*, 105-200 (extant ones), 201-14 (lost ones), 229-49 (extracts), 250-76 (translations).



Bruxelles, Bibl. Royale, MS. IV.111, f. 90v.

School of Theology; Seven Liberal Arts

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Bruxelles, Bibl. Royale, MS. IV.111, f. 18v.

Epicureans

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represent a local Lorrain form of the Latin *Dominicum*, would seem to have had St. Dominic as his patron saint⁴.

There is no critical edition of the French *Horloge*, and an exhaustive census of extant medieval copies is therefore not available. Jeanne Ancelet-Hustache published a list of some fifty manuscripts with a brief statement about the number of paintings each contained. There was no description of the miniatures nor any attempt to reveal if the paintings illustrated the *Horloge* itself or the *Horloge* and other texts within the same volume covers⁵. In his critical edition of the Latin *Horologium Sapientiae*, Father Künzle mentions fifteen complete or fragmentary copies of the French version, but says nothing about illuminations⁶. In spite of the lacunae in our iconographic knowledge, the nature of the art work in the extant volumes that were prepared down to the closing years of Charles VII's reign, is known and assessable. Overall, the illustrative programmes are minimal in extent and meagre in quantity.

The oldest dateable illuminated copy of the French *Horloge* is the one that Marie, daughter of Jean duc de Berry, received in 1406 as a gift from her confessor, Simon de Courcy. At the commencement of the transcription the Luçon Master portrays a Dominican being shown the inner workings of a pedestal clock by Sapientia, whose flying figure leans out of a cloud⁷.

In the same decade an anonymous illuminator painted a large representative frontispiece for another copy of the *Horloge*. Suso, the Friar Preacher is seated, like an Apostle, in the act

⁴ The versified colophon containing the information about the translator and the instigator was published in part by P. MAROT, *Note sur une traduction de l'Orloge de Sapience du Bienheureux Henri de Berg*, *Bulletin mensuel de la Société d'archéologie lorraine et du Musée historique lorrain*, XXIII (1928), 83-5. The year of the translation is given as 1399; this was corrected to 1389 by Jeanne ANCELET-HUSTACHE, *Quelques indications sur les manuscrits de l'Horloge de Sapience in Heinrich Seuse. Studium zum 600 Todestag (1366-1966)* E. M. Filthaut (ed.), Cologne 1966, 161-2, 167-9. See also KÜNZLE, *Horologium*, 251-2.

⁵ ANCELET-HUSTACHE, *Quelques indications*, 161-70.

⁶ KÜNZLE, *Horologium*, 250-5. Illustrative drawings in manuscripts of Suso's German autobiography, the *Vita*, have recently been studied by E. COLLEDGE and J. C. MARLER, *Mystical Pictures in the Suso «Exemplar» MS. Strasbourg 2929*, AFP LIV (1984), 293-54.

⁷ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. fr. 926. fol. 113; see Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale. Les Manuscrits à peintures en France du XIII^e au XV^e siècle*, Paris 1955, 90, no. 185. The painting is reproduced in M. MEISS, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry. The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries*, London 1974, 2 vols., II, fig. 131.

of writing on a scroll, while God the Father looks down from a mandorla at the top of the picture. In the centre, a priest celebrates mass. The right-hand vertical section of the whole composition displays moments of the Last Judgment, with the damned disappearing into the Mouth of Hell and the chosen souls moving heavenwards assisted by angels⁸.

A further fifteenth-century *Horloge* codex opens with a full-page miniature portraying a friar, doubtless Suso, standing in a pulpit, preaching to an audience⁹.

In 1448 Jean d'Ardenay transcribed the text in Lille for Philippe le Bon and an unknown illustrator made an ink and wash drawing on fol. 6 by way of a frontispiece. It shows a centrally positioned pendulum clock with an alarm on top. To the viewer's left stands Sapientia in cowed habit, left hand on the casing, right hand holding a closed book. On the opposite side of the clock is a courtier examining the mechanism¹⁰.

Yet another mid-fifteenth-century copy of the *Horloge* in two volumes was owned by Louis de Bruges, seigneur de la Gruthuyse. A Flemish artist of mediocre accomplishment painted on fol. 9 of the first manuscript a clock chamber dominated by a massive time-piece standing on the floor. A crowned and robed monarch, possibly Solomon, demonstrates the pulleys, chimes and inner wheels to a nobleman wearing the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece, most likely Louis de Bruges, who is attended by a retinue. Neither Sapientia nor a Dominican is represented here. But for a diminutive crucifix on top of the clock, one would say that the format has been secularised. At the opening of the second volume is another view of the same nobleman and his suite in court costume¹¹.

⁸ The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS. 76.E.19, fol. 1, reproduced in MEISS, *Limbours*, fig. 130.

⁹ London, British Library, MS. Additional 15288, fol. 1; cf. *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCXLI-MDCCCXLV*, London 1850, 123 for the year 1844.

¹⁰ Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 10981, fol. 6, reproduced in A. CHAPUIS, *De Horologiis in Arte*, Lausanne 1954, 12, fig. 19, also in *The Secular Spirit. Life and Art at the End of the Middle Ages*, Introduction by T.B. HUSBAND and Jane HAYWARD, New York 1975, 191. On the history of the manuscript, see G. DOUTREPONT, *La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne*, Paris 1909, 208; and *La Miniature flamande. Le Mécénat de Philippe le Bon*, Brussels 1959, 80, no. 71.

¹¹ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS. fr. 455-456. The painting of the Clock Chamber in the first volume on fol. 9 has been reproduced in CHAPUIS, *De Horologiis*, fig. 25 in colour, opposite p. 16, and in MEISS, *Limbours*, fig. 132.

It is clear that the total of the subjects collocated in pre-1450 illustrations of the *Horloge* rarely surpassed five or six. However, about 1450, there appeared in Paris Collectors' circles a most sumptuous copy that excelled all others. It is now Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. IV. 111¹². Of the two armorial bearings found on its folios, the earlier appears to be that of the person for whom the book was made, a certain Guillaume Gouffier (c. 1420 - c. 1495), who was a favourite courtier and High Chamberlain of Charles VII from 1454 until his fall from grace and banishment from court circles in 1457¹³. The date of the art work is conjectured as c. 1450 - c. 1451¹⁴. A lay person's interest in Suso's text, albeit in a French version, may correspond to the period of a French Dominican's presence in royal circles as confessor to the king. Father Robert Baygard OP, of the Evreux Convent, was appointed c. 1448 to the monarch's household¹⁵.

What is more remarkable in the history of art is that one hand is responsible for the manuscript's not inconsiderable programme of original works. The fact that a single artist was entrusted with the illustrations must surely speak highly about his reputation among fellow painters and clients in the Parisien manuscript trade of the period. The artist has been named the Master of Jean Rolin II, after a patron¹⁶. To simplify the nomenclature, he will be here referred to as the Rolin Master.

The Brussels volume contains at least one illumination per chapter, and some of the twenty-four chapters offer the viewer three or four miniatures. A frontispiece is still a feature of the prologue. The total number of paintings is thirty-six. The subjects of the pictorial units comprise cycles or groups of scenes whose thematic content is similar. The practice of illustrating manuscripts by cycles reflecting specific textual emphases became extensive in France in the thirteenth and four-

¹² *Bulletin de la Bibliothèque Royale*, V (1961), 48-58 and in *Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier. Quinze années d'acquisitions*, Brussels 1969, 84-6. See also Eleanor P. SPENCER, *L'Horloge de Sapience, Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. IV, 111, Scriptorium*, XVII (1963), 277-99.

¹³ Cf. SPENCER, *Horloge*, 297-8.

¹⁴ Eleanor P. SPENCER, *Gerson, Ciboule and the Bedford Master's Shop, Scriptorium*, XIX (1965), 107.

¹⁵ I express my sincere thanks to Fr. Bernard Montagnes OP, for identifying this confessor of Charles VII.

¹⁶ Cf. SPENCER, *Horloge*, 277.

teenth centuries owing to the popularity of stereotyped programmes for Latin Bibles, Psalters and Apocalypses¹⁷. As more texts were translated into French in the second half of the fourteenth century, the practice was extended to them. Livy's *Histoire Romaine*, Boccaccio's *Cas des Nobles Hommes et Femmes* received profuse illustrations of the cyclic variety¹⁸, as did translations of the *Cité de Dieu* of St. Augustine and the *Livre des Propriétés des Choses* of Bartholomaeus Anglicus¹⁹. The French translation of the *Horologium Sapientiae* was a late adherent to this iconographic trend.

Prominent among the Rolin Master's cycles is the group of scenes concerned with Christ's corporeal existence on Earth. Unlike standard cycles in Books of Hours that treat the subject of the Infancy of Christ from the *Annunciation* to the *Flight into Egypt*²⁰, the *Horloge* series has a broader sweep: a *Nativity*, the *Virgin Suckling the Holy Child*, the *Temptation*, *Miracles*, a *Rejection at Nazareth*, the *Last Supper* with its echo in the *Elevation of the Host*, and the *Agony in the Garden*. One would not have been surprised to find representations of the *Circumcision*, the *Baptism* or the *Entry into Jerusalem*, but the artist eschewed them.

¹⁷ The programmes are discussed in detail in the following monographs and papers: S. BERGER, *La Bible française au moyen âge*, Paris 1884, 282-91; F. WORMALD, *Bible Illustrations in Medieval Manuscripts* in G. W. H. LAMPE (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, II, London 1969, 309-337, 524; S. BERGER, *Les Manuels pour l'illustration du Psautier au XIII^e siècle*, *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, LVII (1898), 95-134; M. R. JAMES, *The Apocalypse in Art*, London 1931.

¹⁸ M. MEISS, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry. The Boucicaut Master*, London 1968, 50-7 discusses the pictorial programmes for these two texts. Across the Channel, Lydgate translated between 1412 and 1420 the *Troy Book* from Guido de Columnis's *Historia Destructionis Troiae* and it was not long before copies were receiving a standardised sequence of paintings; see Lesley LAWTON, *The Illustration of Late Medieval Secular Texts, with Special Reference to Lydgate's «Troy Book» in Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth-Century England* (ed. D. PEARSALL), Cambridge 1983, 52-69.

¹⁹ Cf. Sharon D. SMITH, *New Themes for the «City of God» around 1400: the Illustrations of Raoul de Presle's Translation*, *Scriptorium*, XXXVI (1982), 70-8; and D. BYRNE, *The Boucicaut Master and the Iconographical Tradition of the Livre des Propriétés des Choses*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XCI (1978), 153-9.

²⁰ Discussed in Margaret M. MANION, *The Wharncliffe Hours. A Study of a Fifteenth-Century Prayerbook*, Canberra 1972, 16-24; and J. HARTMAN, *The Book of Hours*, London 1977, 28.

The cycle for the Sanhedrin Trials may be thought to begin at the *Betrayal*. Although the Rolin Master executes a scene of Christ praying on the Mount of Olives, he chooses the moment before the arrival of the militia, the betrayal by Judas and the arrest. The painting is clearly an *Agony in the Garden*. The artist also includes the successive referral audiences with Annas, Caiaphas, Pilate and Herod, concluding with Christ being presented by Pilate to the Jews as he utters the celebrated *Ecce Homo!* Thus, only the *Flagellation* has been omitted from the series.

The sequel brings the beholder to the Passion Cycle or Stations of the Cross Cycle, in which some subjects are integrated in the same frame. Noticeable omissions are Christ's meeting with His sorrowing Mother, the three Falls beneath the burden of the Cross, the spearing by Longinus (here replaced by the Presentation of the Sop), and the Entombment.

The Resurrection theme could be said to be represented by two subjects only, the *Man of Sorrows*²¹, and *Christ Appearing to His Mother*. There are no views of the *Harrowing of Hell*, *Noli me tangere*, *Ascension* or *Pentecost*.

Another personage about whom a cycle of illustrations can be said to exist in the *Horloge* is Sapientia. She is strikingly portrayed on three occasions: *Sapientia in Majesty* serving as the frontispiece, *Sapientia in a Terebinth Tree*, and Sapientia in the *School of Theology* (plate I). But like her pupil, she is ubiquitous in numerous paintings where she is seen to instruct, guide and assist him to a deeper understanding of life.

Wherever the Disciple appears in Sapientia's cycle, it is to emphasise her spiritual training, its setbacks and its ultimate triumph. Apart from this perspective, the viewer receives insights into his mortal state and its interweaving with the Order of Preachers. The illustrations embrace the period of his *Youth in Dalliance* and *Carole*, the postulant phase, the admission into the Order, listening to *legenda* passages while he eats in the refectory, the temptation he undergoes, the studies in the quiet of his cell, the hardship of the symbolic shipwreck, a with-

²¹ This subject seems to have been of devotional interest to Friars Preachers for at least a century before its appearance in the *Horloge* programme; see H. W. VAN OS, *The Discovery of an Early Man of Sorrows on a Dominican Triptych*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XLI (1978), 65-75 and pls. 10-15.

drawal from Sapientia, the resumption of the ties with her, and the final sublimation of his spirit. In places it is pointless to try and separate the Disciple from the Dominican.

A less structured cycle concerns mortal Man and his pilgrimage through the earthly world, and even here, there is an allegorical double image with Christ's life on earth. A pilgrim-like figure, personifying Christ at the Gates of the *City of Religion in Ruins*, is beset by Virtues and Vices which Battle for domination of the body and soul. Life's Pilgrim later contemplates the Snares of the Devil, the Torments of Hell, and he suffers the dilemma of *Tantalus*. The frailty of the human shell is recalled in a *Death-Bed* scene when gaunt Death lunges at the moribund figure with a spear.

The illustrations include themes that stand on their own without formal attachment to cycles, for example, *God the Father*, *Adam and Eve* and the *Court of Heaven*. Also non-cyclic are the Old Testament subjects which function as *exempla*. The *exemplum* had a long literary history before the High Middle Ages in France, according to Welter, an authority on moralised tales. In Classical Literature Valerius Maximus popularised the technique of recounting anecdotes about historical personages and drawing a moral. The Church Fathers continued the practice²². The *exemplum* was cherished by Dominican preachers whether they were on missionary *itineraria* or delivering homilies closer to their convents²³. Etienne de Bourbon (d. 1261) employed them extensively, as did the luminaries

²² The general survey of the *exemplum* in literature by J. T. WELTER, *L'Exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du moyen âge*, Paris, 1927, may be complemented by F. C. TUBACH, *Index Exemplorum. A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales*, Helsinki 1969. For the role of the *exemplum*, more particularly among religious writers, there is need to consult the article by Hélène PETRÉ *et al.*, *Exemplum* in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique et mystique* (ed. M. VILLET), Paris 1961, IV, part 2, cols 1885-1902. A more recent indispensable reference work is that of C. BREMOND, J. LE GOFF, J.-C. SCHMITT, *L'Exemplum*, Louvain 1982 (fasc. 40 of the series *Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental*, published by the Université Catholique de Louvain).

²³ For the Dominicans in general, see WELTER, *Exemplum*, 137-43; for specific authors and preachers I mention, see also A. LECOY DE LA MARCHE, *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues tirés du Recueil inédit d'Etienne de Bourbon*, Paris 1877; S. L. FORTE, *A Cambridge Dominican Collection of Exempla in the Thirteenth Century*, AFP XXVIII (1958), 115-48; V. ALMAZAN, *L'Exemplum chez Vincent Ferrier*, *Romanische Forschungen*, LXXIX (1967), 288-332.

Humbert of Romans (d. 1277), Vincent of Beauvais (d. 1264), Martin the Pole (d. 1279) and Vincent Ferrier (d. 1419). Suso likewise has recourse to exempla from time to time in the *Horologium*²⁴.

Exempla as art subjects were well known among French miniaturists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, principally as a result of the need to illustrate texts containing literary moralistic tales of one nuance or other. Rosemond Tuve detailed their place in the decoration programmes for versions of the *Somme le Roi* and in the Belleville Breviary, a manuscript containing elements of the Dominican liturgy²⁵. Sharon D. Smith has more recently studied the exempla in cyclic programmes of the *Cité de Dieu*²⁶. One finds among the folios of the Brussels *Horloge* representations of the exempla about *Jael and Sisera*, *Saul Threatening David*, the *Death of Saul*, *Esther's Banquet*, *Haman*, *Susanna*, *Absalom*, and the like. The only non-Biblical exemplum concerns *Tantalus*; it is derived from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

Identifying the originator of this complex scheme of illustrations in the Brussels codex is not a straightforward matter. One must ask first if it was the Rolin Master. But practical considerations suggest that he is not to be cast in that role. In the first place, a painter who planned the painting with a view to illumining the text would surely not have placed pictures on four different occasions at a distance from the relevant textual passages. A belated attempt has been made by a rubricator or copyist to indicate the relationship with the textual matter and a second miniature correctly positioned in the text, by using *de*, meaning 'of', 'belonging to' or 'related to'. Thus, the *Last Judgment* on fol. 46v. precedes the opening of chapter VII of Book I on fol. 47 where the painting's subject is a

²⁴ The Index in KÜNZLE, *Horologium*, 665-6 provides ready access to their placement in the text.

²⁵ Cf. Rosemond TUVE, *Notes on the Virtues and Vices*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXVII (1964) 42-52 and 65-72. Further information about exempla in the Belleville Breviary is contained in V. LEROQUAIS, *Les Bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Mâcon 1934, 5 vols. III, 205-9; in Lilian M. C. RANDALL, *Exempla as a Source of Gothic Marginal Illumination*, *Art Bulletin*, XXXIX (1957), 97-107, and in Lucy F. SANDLER, *Jean Pucelle and the Lost Miniatures of the Belleville Breviary*, *Art Bulletin*, LXVI (1984), 73-96.

²⁶ Cf. Sharon D. SMITH, *New Themes for the City of God*, 74-5.

Shipwreck. The *Shipwreck* is numbered *la xvje hystoire*, yet the *Last Judgment* on the previous page is designated *De la xvje hystoire*. The opening of the narrative in the chapter in fact contains the spectre of a Shipwreck and this is followed by a vision of the Last Judgment.

Again, Latin words excerpted from the New Testament for banderoles in the Annas segment of the Sanhedrin group on fol. 25 are manifestly out of order compared with other statements in the Johannine Gospel²⁷. It is difficult to reconcile this type of confusion with the notion that painter and programme creator were one and the same person.

It is more plausible to argue that the Rolin Master was working to a written programme composed by someone else. He would not have been the first French miniaturist to do so. A few sets of directions for manuscript illuminators are still extant²⁸. One with which historians of art are familiar was drawn up by Jean le Bègue *c.* 1417 to enable an artist to decorate a copy of Sallust²⁹. The exceptionally talented Parisian artist, Maître François, consulted a written plan of the illustrations when he came to execute miniatures *c.* 1470 in a manuscript of the *Cité de Dieu*. The programme has not survived but its existence is attested in a letter from Robert Gaguin, General of the Trinitarians, to Charles de Gaucourt, Governor of Paris³⁰.

The programme that guided the hand of the Rolin Master when he came to illustrate the Brussels *Horloge* volume exists no longer either³¹. The completed pictures themselves attest to the masterly design for their content and positioning, while the emphasis given to the Dominican nature of the text indicate that the planner was most likely a member of the Order of Preachers.

²⁷ Some of the words exchanged between Christ and Caiaphas, *Quid me cedis? Ego palam locutus sum mundo - Sic respondes pontifici?* (John, XVIII, 23, 20, 22) have been copied on scrolls in *Christ before Annas*.

²⁸ Two fourteenth-century descriptions are mentioned by SANDLER, *Jean Pucelle and the Lost Miniatures*, 73.

²⁹ Ed. by J. PORCHER, *Jean le Bègue. Les Histoires que l'on peut raisonnablement faire sur les livres de Salluste*, Paris 1962.

³⁰ See MANON, *Wharnccliffe Hours*, 8 and J. PLUMMER, *The Last Flowering. French Painting in Manuscripts 1420-1530*, New York, 1982, 65.

³¹ There is a description of the paintings in the Brussels manuscript, fols. 3-11, but it was composed after they had been completed. Its title is *Déclaration des hystoires*.

He was thoroughly familiar with Suso's text and the Bible, both in Latin versions, even though the text to be illustrated was in French. The Latin phrases in numerous scrolls and banderoles correspond either to those of the Latin Bible or of Suso's *Horologium*. French words hardly ever occur within the picture frame, and where they do, they have an identification function not a narrative one. Confirmation of another kind that the originator of the programme was versed in the Bible comes from the subject matter of the exempla themselves. Details in the miniature coincide with the written narrative of the Bible about Haman, Absalom, Susanna etc., whereas Suso rarely supplies details, he just mentions the person's name.

The Friars Preachers' concerns for religious and moral instruction of members of the community and for education in general are never far from the viewer's gaze. Maximum visual effect is achieved on one occasion when half a folio is occupied by a representation of the School of Theology (plate I). The depiction is realistic in that a rich assortment of ecclesiastical figures, seculars and regulars, from many hierarchical levels are in attendance. Both the originator of the programme of illustrations and the artist could well have been alluding to the venerable first *studium generale* of the Preachers, founded in Paris, c. 1228³². However that may be, the School of Theology in the painting includes Sapiencia, the personification of Wisdom, wearing doctoral robes and dominating the diffusion of knowledge.

A more obvious visual technique to heighten the Dominican presence is the portraiture of Suso's Disciple, always garbed as a friar, not just in the frontispiece, but on numerous occasions, even when the subject matter does not require the presence of a Dominican. For example, he appears as a participant in the pictorial dramas of the highest moment, such as *Christ Carrying the Cross* and *Christ Nailed to the Cross*. He is even present outside a tavern in which Epicureans are indulging their gluttony (plate II). Technically speaking, the Disciple as a friar is placed into the picture plane as an onlooker or as a suppliant, and so, in the viewer's eye, he is seen to be part of the action.

³² See P. MANDONNET, *Order of Preachers*, in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, XII, 361.

Because the art work is so closely integrated with the subject matter of the text, there must have been discussion between a religious and the artist, either before or during the illustration period of the Brussels volume. While the residence of the Rolin Master is not known, he would most likely have had a domicile in the artists' quarter, the parish of St. Séverin, where the "rue des Ecrivains" recalled the craft of many of the inhabitants. To consult with the originator of the programme, the painter merely had to ascend the nearby steep thoroughfare, the "Grande Rue", also known as the "rue Saint-Jacques". At the top, he reached the St. Jacques Gate in the perimeter walls of the *enceinte* built by Philip Augustus. Close by the Gate stood the Convent of the Preachers³³.

To appreciate truly the extent of the innovation this Brussels programme represents in the history of illustrations for the French *Horloge de Sapience*, one may compare it to the perfunctory iconography of pre-1450. In the first place, the relationship between image and text has been greatly expanded, from one miniature comprising two to four subjects to thirty-six containing one hundred and eight. As a few of these are integrated minor cycles, there could be further subdivisions of the units, which would in turn increase the total number of themes placed in front of the beholder. Clearly, the visual statement was considered to be approaching that of the textual one in importance.

The second departure from earlier patterns is in the content and role of the frontispiece. Both have been completely reassessed. The secularising trend relating to the Clock and the undue emphasis it was receiving by its domination of the frontispiece has been halted. The religious, didactic and mystical nature of Suso's work has been reasserted, redefined and restated in

³³ Cf. G. ROHAULT DE FLEURY, *Les Couvents de saint Dominique au moyen âge*, Paris 1903, 2 vols., II, unpaginated, see «Paris» entry. The proximity of the Eglise St. Séverin to the rue St. Jacques and the rue des Ecrivains can be clearly seen on a map of Paris that dates from the early fourteenth century (redrawn according to modern topographical standards); the map can be studied in fig. 3 of Françoise BARON, *Enlumineurs, peintres et sculpteurs parisiens des XIII^e et XIV^e siècles d'après les rôles de la Taille*, *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, n.s. IV (1968). On 119-120 there are many references to enlumineurs resident in the rue Erembourc de Brie in the same parish of St. Séverin in the fourteenth century.

a powerful visual image of *Sapientia in Majesty*. To be sure, the preaching element is retained, but relegated to a minor chord of grace.

The introduction for the first time of several cycles of illustrations allows one to rank the pictorial programme equal with the outstanding series created by earlier fifteenth-century French miniaturists for other texts. The names of the Boucicaut Master and the Bedford Master come to mind, of course.

Finally, the Brussels volume is remarkable for the visual plenitude of the presence of the Preachers. Hardly noticeable in pre-1450 copies of the *Horloge*, the presence now assumes an iconographic dimension that serves to complement and enhance pictorially recondite facets of Suso's mystical and allegorical treatise.