PILGRIMAGE THROUGH THE PAGES:
PILGRIM’S BADGES IN LATE MEDIEVAL DEVOTIONAL MANUSCRIPTS

BY
MEGAN H. FOSTER

DISSEPTION
Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Art History
with a Concentration in Medieval Studies
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2011

Urbana, Illinois

Doctoral Committee:
Professor Anne D. Hedeman, Chair
Associate Professor Karen L. Fresco
Assistant Professor Areli Marina
Professor Robert G. Ousterhout, University of Pennsylvania
ABSTRACT

In the late Middle Ages, pilgrims travelling to popular holy shrines often purchased small, inexpensive metal badges to commemorate their visit. While these souvenirs were frequently worn on one’s clothing, hat, or bag, pilgrims began sewing the badges into the pages of their private prayer books—usually books of hours—by the second half of the fifteenth century. In turn, these led to painted trompe l’œil representations of badges in manuscript margins.

Through an analysis of surviving examples, this dissertation will examine how a badge’s original function as a souvenir of a physical pilgrimage shifted within the context of a manuscript. Similarly, the augmentation of a manuscript’s primary use as a prayer book by the inclusion of actual or painted souvenirs is discussed. Also considered is how the inclusion of pilgrim badges, either real or representational, facilitated a “mental pilgrimage” for the book owner, whether through memory or imagination.

The dissertation is divided into two sections, focusing respectively on books containing actual pilgrims’ badges and manuscripts with painted representations of souvenirs. In the first portion, I will investigate how the particular location of pilgrims’ badges within a manuscript affected the reader’s interaction with the souvenirs and the book’s contents, whether clustered together on one folio or scattered through the manuscript next to specific—and often relevant—text and illuminations. Particular attention will be placed on manuscripts originally owned by fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Burgundian and Hapsburg families and their associates. The second half addresses the artists and workshops behind the production of Flemish manuscript illumination, specifically the development of the trompe l’œil borders and the likely use of models and copying. It also examines the possible ways in which painted pilgrim badge borders could be interpreted by the book’s owner.

This study provides insight as to how two forms of popular devotion—that of public pilgrimage through the ownership of pilgrim badges and private contemplation through prayer books supplemented by these badges—merged in the late medieval period.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I express my gratitude to my advisor, Anne D. Hedeman. Knowing my mutual interests in pilgrimage studies and manuscripts, a casual observation made by her during a seminar on Books of Hours led to the formation of a project enormous in its scope. I am appreciative for her intellectual and moral support during the crests and troughs of this project.

A Dissertation Travel Grant from the University of Illinois’s Graduate College provided financial means to visit several European archives. The University’s Department of Art History and School of Art and Design further supported my research the Graduate Dissertation Research Funds (the “Fehl Fund”) the following year. I am very grateful for their funding.


I am appreciative of the suggestions and support of my committee members, Anne D. Hedeman (Chair), Robert G. Ousterhout, Karen Fresco, and Areli Marina.

Virtual and personal conversations with Sarah Blick, Laura Gelfand, Elizabeth Morrison, Jennifer M. Lee, Anne Margreet W. As-Vijvers, Kathryn M. Rudy, David Gitlitz, Linda Davidson, George Greenia, Daniel K. Connolly, Susan Signe Morrison, James Marrow, Thomas Kaufmann, Scott Montgomery, Charlotte Bauer, and Carlee Bradbury further stimulated my interest in this material and honed its results.

I dedicate this dissertation to three sets of individuals. First, I thank my parents, Michael and Joanne Foster, for their enthusiastic and unfailing intellectual, emotional, financial support throughout the duration of this project and throughout my years as a student. I am especially grateful to my father for setting aside retirement as an English professor to provide thoughtful critiques and edits of my writing. Foremost is to my husband, Frank, who willingly listens to my ideas and ruminations, celebrates academic and professional accomplishments, and offers encouragement through the low valleys. I am also appreciative of his technical assistance, ranging from his PowerPoint expertise to repairing computer malfunctions.
Finally, this labor of love also is dedicated to my daughters, Madeleine and Emma, whose births bookend the writing process of this dissertation.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**FREQUENTLY USED ABBREVIATIONS** .................................................................................. viii  

**CHAPTER 1:** **INTRODUCTION** ......................................................................................... 1  

**CHAPTER 2:** **PILGRIM BADGES IN DEVOTIONAL MANUSCRIPTS:**  
THE STATE OF RESEARCH ........................................................................................................... 8  

   2.1 Introduction ...................................................................................................................... 8  
   Pilgrim badge studies: state of research ............................................................................... 8  
   2.3 Pilgrim badges in manuscripts: state of research .......................................................... 15  
   2.4 Flemish manuscript illumination: state of research ....................................................... 17  
   2.5 Flemish border illumination state of research:  
      *trompe l’oeil* imagery and painted pilgrims’ badges ..................................................... 24  
   2.6 Painted pilgrims’ badges in manuscripts: state of research ........................................... 28  
   2.7 Conclusion ..................................................................................................................... 31  

**PART I: PILGRIM’S BADGES AFFIXED IN MANUSCRIPTS**

**CHAPTER 3:** **PRESERVING THE PATH ON THE PAGE: MOTIVATIONS**  
AND CASE EXAMPLES ............................................................................................................. 34  

   3.1 Introduction ...................................................................................................................... 34  
   3.2 From Shrine to Cloak to Page ......................................................................................... 37  
   3.3 A Page of Pilgrimages: The *Hours of Gillette van der Ee*  
      (Bad Godesburg [Bonn], Collection Hermann Kunst, MS 5) and The *D’Oiselet Hours*,  
      (The Hague Koninklijke Bibliotheek MS 77 L 60) ............................................................ 50  
      3.3.1: The *Hours of Gillette van der Ee* ........................................................................ 51  
      3.3.2: The *D’Oiselet Hours* ......................................................................................... 55  
   3.4 Pilgrimage across the Pages: Oxford Bodleian Library  
      MS Douce 51 ................................................................................................................... 58  
   3.5 Conclusion ..................................................................................................................... 65  

**CHAPTER 4:** **DUCAL DEVOTIONS: PILGRIM’S BADGES IN THE**  
**MANUSCRIPTS OF DUKE PHILIP THE GOOD OF BURGUNDY** ........................................... 66  

   4.1 Introduction ...................................................................................................................... 66  
   4.2 The religious and devotional practices of...
CHAPTER 5: BADGES IN BOOKS: A FAMILY TRADITION?
THE CASE OF THE HAPSBURG EMPERORS

5.1 Introduction

5.2 The First Prayer Book of Charles V (Vienna ÖNB MS 1859)

5.3 Prayer Book of Emperor Ferdinand I (Vienna ÖNB MS s.n. 2596)

5.4 The Hours of Emperor Ferdinand I (Vienna ÖNB MS s.n. 2624)

5.5 Conclusion

PART II: REPRESENTATIONS OF PILGRIM’S BADGES IN FLEMISH ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS

CHAPTER 6: FROM METALS TO PIGMENTS: THE ICONOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENT AND ARTISTIC TRANSMISSION OF PAINTED PILGRIM’S BADGES IN FLEMISH ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT BORDERS

6.1 Introduction

6.2 An early example of painted scallop shell badges: The Master of Catherine of Cleves, The Hours of Catherine of Cleves, and the Van Alphen Hours

6.3 Types of Flemish painted pilgrim badge borders

6.3.1 The scallop shell badge

6.3.2 Assorted/various pilgrims’ badges within a panel border

6.3.3 Types of badges: identifiable badge motifs

6.3.4 Types of badges: “generic” or unidentifiable badge motifs
6.4 Artistic influence across workshops and the use of patterns and model sheets.................................181
6.5 Specific artists and workshops that produced painted badge borders.............................................186
6.6 The Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy..................188
6.7 The Ghent Associates........................................189
6.8 The Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian (Alexander Bening?).................................191
6.9 The Master of the Prayer Book of James IV of Scotland (Gerard Horenbout?)..............................199
6.10 The Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary..........................................................201
6.11 The Master of the Prayer Books of Around 1500........205
6.12 The Master of the Soane Hours.............................206
6.13 Simon Bening..................................................208
6.14 Conclusion......................................................210

CHAPTER 7: TRAVELLING ACROSS BORDERS: THE USE AND RECEPTION OF PAINTED PILGRIM’S BADGES IN THE MARGINS OF FLEMISH ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS.......213

7.1 Introduction......................................................213
7.2 Beyond the Borders: The Relationship of Pilgrim’s Badge Borders and their Surrounding Texts and Illustrations.........................................................214
7.3 A spiritual journey through the mind: Pilgrim’s badge borders as a springboard to mental pilgrimage.........220
7.4 Manuscripts with painted pilgrim’s badges for the Burgundians and their courtiers..........................226
7.4.1 Engelbert of Nassau and his Hours (Oxford Bodleian Library MS Douce 219-220)........227
7.4.2 Louis Quarré and his Hours (Oxford Bodleian Library MS Douce 311).................................231
7.4.3 Philip of Cleves and his Hours (Brussels Bibliothèque Royale MS IV 40).........................232
7.5 Manuscripts made for Spanish and Portuguese patrons: making “long distance” devotional journeys “local”?.........................................................234
7.5.1 Isabella of Castile and her Hours (Cleveland Museum of Art MS 1963.256).........................235
7.5.2 Joanna of Castile and her Hours (London British Library Add. MS 18852).........................238
7.6 Conclusion......................................................240
CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION…………………………………………………………242

APPENDIX A: LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING PILGRIM’S BADGES….250

APPENDIX B: LIST OF PILGRIMAGE SITES REPRESENTED IN THE D’OISELET HOURS’ PILGRIM’S BADGES…………………………………………………………260

APPENDIX C: MAP OF PILGRIMAGE SITES ASSOCIATED WITH DUKE PHILIP THE GOOD OF BURGUNDY………………………………………………………..261

APPENDIX D: COLLABORATIONS AMONG FLEMISH ARTISTS ON MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING PAINTED PILGRIM’S BADGE BORDERS……………………………………………………………………………….262

APPENDIX E: PROVENANCES OF PILGRIM’S BADGE-FILLED MANUSCRIPTS WITH AFFILIATIONS TO THE LATE MEDIEVAL BURGUNDIAN AND HAPSBURG DYNASTIES…………………266

BIBLIOGRAPHY……………………………………………………………………………………………………269

IMAGES……………………………………………………………………………………………………………283
FREQUENTLY USED ABBREVIATIONS:

BL: British Library
BnF: Bibliothèque Nationale de France
BSB: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
CMA: Cleveland Museum of Art
KBR: Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique
KB: Koninklijke Bibliotheek
KSK: Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
ÖNB: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
PML: Pierpont Morgan Library
Chapter 1: Introduction

In the late Middle Ages, the increasing secular demand for personal prayer books, particularly books of hours, exemplified the rising interest in individual control of everyday spiritual life through private prayer. These medieval “best sellers” contained a wide range of texts and illustrations, many of which were tailored to fit the owner’s preferences.

At the same time, pilgrimage to popular holy shrines peaked in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. To remember their visits, pilgrims often purchased small, inexpensive religious souvenirs which were manufactured and sold near pilgrimage sites. Usually made of a thin piece of metal, pilgrim’s badges often depict an aspect of the pilgrimage destination, such as the shrine or reliquary itself, the saint or his or her attribute, or a scene from the saint’s life.¹ They were commonly fastened to the wearer’s clothing, hat, or bag, either with a pin or sewn on with thread through loops on the badges. However, by the second half of the fifteenth century, pilgrim’s badges began to appear in prayer books, having been sewn or glued on to the pages by their owners.

In the second half of the fifteenth century, soon after pilgrim badges first appeared in the margins of prayer books, a new and innovative style of manuscript illumination developed rapidly in Flanders. Some of the most noticeable changes took place in Flemish manuscript border motifs: the previously popular grapevine line acanthus design of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries was replaced with panel borders filled with a wide array of objects depicted in illusionistic, trompe l’oeil detail. These objects often included flowers, fruit, jewelry, insects, Faience pottery, coins, and memento mori skulls. Among this border repertoire were painted representations of pilgrim’s badges, a motif that probably was prompted by the practice of affixing badges in books.

This dissertation will examine the late medieval phenomenon of pilgrims’ badges in private devotional manuscripts. I demonstrate how a badge’s original function as a souvenir of a physical pilgrimage shifted within the context of a manuscript, particularly when placed near text

¹ The terms “souvenir” and “badge” are used interchangeably throughout the dissertation. Besides badges depicting religious imagery, another class of badges depicts a wide range of secular imagery, with some even displaying profane or erotic iconography. However, they will not be discussed in this dissertation.
and illuminations. I also analyze how this practice of affixing badges in manuscripts influenced the painted depiction of pilgrims’ badges as an iconographic motif in the margins of certain illuminated books. I contend that this practice merges two forms of popular devotion in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries: that of public pilgrimage through the ownership of pilgrims’ badges and private meditations through the regular utilization of prayer books. I investigate reader use and response to two types of small, portable, and widely used art objects—the pilgrim badge and the manuscript—and how combining the two into one matrix resonated with, encouraged, and amplified popular devotional practices in late medieval Western Europe.

Manuscripts with “devotional ephemera,” such as metal pilgrim badges, engraved images, and other small objects, have garnered scholarly attention only within the past several decades. Preliminary inventories and descriptions of badge-filled books by the pilgrim badge scholar Kurt Köster, in the 1970s and 1980s, laid the groundwork for subsequent secondary sources on the topic of pilgrim’s badges in illuminated manuscripts.² This dissertation’s research responds to Köster’s seminal works on the subject, either providing further evidence for his initial observations or in some instances refuting his original claims.

More than sixty extant manuscripts containing actual badges or evidence for them, and at least forty-five manuscripts displaying painted marginal representations of badges have been identified in public archives and private collections [see Appendix A]. Additional manuscripts which once held pilgrims’ badges, evident by the visible offsets and small needle holes on the folio, are continually being discovered. There is now sufficient evidence to suggest that what was once ignored or dismissed in these manuscripts as an incidental occurrence, a minor codicological detail, or an inconsequential iconographic motif now appears to indicate a larger phenomenon.

Surviving evidence suggests that fastening pilgrim badges in manuscripts was practiced as early as the 1450s and lasted well into the mid-sixteenth century. It seems to have been most popular among the upper and middle classes, although several examples of more modest prayer books with devotional souvenirs survive. The practice was prevalent in the Southern Netherlands and northern France, with some exceptions stretching into the Northern Netherlands and even as far as south-central France. Many of these manuscripts’ identifiable badges, be they actual or painted, are from shrines mainly concentrated in the Low Countries; north, northeastern, and central France; Burgundy, and Germany. The subsequent depiction of pilgrims’ badges in panel border illumination was most popular in the artistic workshops of Ghent and Bruges in the Low Countries. These were a localized trend not seen in other parts of Europe.

The merging of these two types of devotional objects—the prayer book and the real or fictive pilgrim badge—created a more complex devotional experience for the owner. I consider the significance of these objects as aids for personal devotion beyond the temporal and physical experience of a pilgrimage journey, and their use in daily prayer life as exhibited in prayer books. My study also examines how the inclusion of pilgrim badges in prayer books facilitated

---

forms of a mental or virtual pilgrimage for the book owner, whether through memory or imagination.  

This dissertation is divided into two parts. Part I focuses on prayer books that contain (or contained) actual affixed pilgrims’ badges. Part II analyzes painted representations of badges in illuminated Flemish manuscript margins.

Chapter two of part I provides a historiographic analysis of the two scholarly fields pertinent to this dissertation: pilgrim badge studies and Flemish manuscript studies. The review of the published material on these topics will show that, while scholarship in both fields has increased exponentially in recent years, many of these publications only discuss pilgrim souvenirs in manuscripts briefly and perfunctorily.

Chapter three discusses the manifold reasons, motivations, and spiritual implications for a book’s owner to preserve pilgrims’ badges in devotional manuscripts. It examines how the regular use of the book in daily prayer life allowed the reader to revisit the badges in order to recall a journey to specific pilgrimage sites. In these codices, the arrangement of the badges and their relation to adjacent prayers and other images contained within the manuscript likely influenced the owner’s reliving and remembering of the pilgrimage journey in distinct ways.

Some of the original owners of badge-filled prayer books are known. Among the most exciting and rich for research are a group of manuscripts made for a significant late medieval familial line, the fifteenth-century dukes of Burgundy and their early sixteenth-century Hapsburg successors. These individuals were known not only to be pious, but also to have made many pilgrimages throughout Western Europe.  

Chapters three and four provide an in-depth exploration of these patrons and their manuscripts.

---


Chapter four examines four manuscripts, all containing pilgrims’ badges, which can be traced back to the fifteenth-century dukes of Burgundy. I consider these manuscripts primarily in relation to the devotional life of Philip the Good, since they were inherited or commissioned by him. I analyze the iconography of these now-lost souvenirs (when determinable), as well as their location in the book, whether clustered together on a few folios or sewn next to specific prayers and/or illuminations. I also provide detailed listings of the pilgrimages known to have been frequented by Philip and his family, describe when and how frequently they took place, and consider how these holy destinations were influenced by his regional interests, particularly after a period of rapid expansion in the Burgundian territories.

Chapter five examines three manuscripts containing pilgrim’s badges owned by two Hapsburg emperors and brothers, Charles V and Ferdinand I. My analysis of these codices demonstrates the brothers’ continuation of a pious practice of their Burgundian ancestors, maintaining a family devotional ideal through a half-century. It also provides evidence of the continued popularity of attaching pilgrims’ souvenirs in prayer books by these imperial brothers, demonstrating their strong Catholic beliefs at the dawn of the Reformation.

In Part II I investigate the development, proliferation, and reception of pilgrim’s badge iconography in the painted borders of Flemish illuminated manuscripts. Chapter six focuses on the artistic production of the painted badge border motif. I first analyze the specific iconography of painted badges, examining common and popular motifs, any correlations to actual souvenirs and pilgrimage sites, and possible iconographic derivatives. I then discuss the artistic milieu in which the painted badge borders were produced, including specific artists, their workshops, and their possible ties to the Burgundian court and its library, which held several older books containing pilgrims’ badges (previously discussed in chapters four and five). I will pay particular attention to the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy, the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian, the Master of James IV of Scotland, The Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary, the Master of the Soane Hours, and Simon Bening, artists who produced most extant manuscripts containing painted badge borders. I will also identify several artistic hands,

Handschriften,” Köster noted that nearly all of the manuscripts containing badges which have so far been collected and identified (at that point) to their original owner, belong to the Burgundians, the Hapsburg heirs, and their closest circle of friends.
based on a description of stylistic attributes of the illustrated badges. I will further demonstrate how a cross-fertilization among artists and their workshops led to a certain codification of pilgrim badge borders. These manuscript artists standardized the choice of pilgrimage sites represented within the badges. In addition, they created a repertoire of generic religious iconographic motifs that found their place among the identifiable painted badges. The iconographic types selected for these painted pilgrims’ badges and their repetition through several decades of Flemish manuscript illumination suggest that a body of workshop patterns likely was employed and passed through several generations of manuscript artists.

The final chapter focuses on the reception and response to depicted pilgrim’s souvenirs in illuminated manuscript margins. Within it I explore the possible spiritual functions and interpretations of illustrated badges, which could allow the book’s owner to contemplate religious shrines represented by these painted souvenirs. The chapter also considers as case studies two groups of patrons who owned manuscripts with elaborate painted badge margins. The first group includes individuals living in the Low Countries and southern Netherlands, who either belonged to or were affiliated with the Burgundian ducal court, including Engelbert of Nassau, Louis Quarré, and Duke Philip of Cleves. The second group consists of later owners at the turn of the sixteenth century primarily living on the Iberian Peninsula, such as Queen Isabella of Castile and her daughter, Joanna of Castile. I analyze how Isabella and Joanna may have interacted differently with painted badges depicting Low Countries’ shrines, given mother’s and daughter’s different connections to the region.

Thus, this dissertation combines detailed studies of manuscripts with pilgrims’ badges with archaeologically, codicologically, and iconographically informed analyses of badges and manuscript studies. It examines a variety of sources outside of the pilgrims’ badges and prayer books, including popular devotional texts, pilgrims’ travel accounts and guides, royal and ducal libraries and inventories, guild records, hagiographic writings, contemporary panel painting, and church and reliquary iconography.

“Pilgrimage through the Pages” contributes to various fields of medieval studies in several ways. First, it will further the continuing studies of pilgrims’ badges by examining one way in which these souvenirs were used, in the context of another devotional tool, the prayer book. In addition, it sheds light on the “social history” of late medieval devotional books,
particularly one facet of devotional reception and use by the owner of a prayer book containing pilgrims’ badges. Reexamining actual and painted pilgrims’ souvenirs not simply as objects on individual manuscript pages but also within the larger context of the entire manuscript will achieve a greater understanding of how these were experienced and used by their owners. The evaluation of the whole collective corpus of extant manuscripts with pilgrims’ badges will lead to a better appreciation of how this melding of souvenir and book facilitated particular private devotional interests in late medieval society.
Chapter 2: Pilgrim Badges in Manuscripts: The State of Research

2.1: Introduction

This dissertation merges two fields of art historical study: combining analysis of medieval pilgrim’s badges and late medieval manuscript illumination from Flanders. With this in mind, a historiographical consideration of both actual and painted pilgrim’s badges in the margins of medieval devotional manuscripts involves examining these two separate fields of research. Both areas of scholarship have expanded exponentially in the past few decades. However, the following analysis will demonstrate that while scholarship has grown in both fields, most notably in the past three decades, many publications do not address the topic of pilgrim souvenirs in manuscripts, or only do so in a brief and perfunctory manner.

2.2: Pilgrim badge studies: state of research

Although scholarly interest in pilgrim’s souvenirs has existed since the mid-nineteenth century, pilgrim badge studies have only recently gained widespread attention as a clearly defined area of archaeological research. Particularly within the past thirty years, the field has come into its own, with the heightened interests in both quotidian, mass-produced art objects and cultural studies. Whether worn on pilgrims’ clothing or discarded along the pilgrimage route, depicted in paintings or sewn into books, pilgrim’s badges preserve a wealth of information for archaeologists, historians, and art historians seeking a better understanding of the religious and social history of the late Middle Ages.

Pilgrims badges frequently are mentioned in general studies of medieval pilgrimages, often as a coda to the description and analysis of the experience; authors use them as concrete proof of a pilgrimage. However, the most prominent body of pilgrim badge scholarship concentrates on examining badges as isolated archaeological objects. These studies provide

---

descriptive information on excavation details, state of preservation, iconography, and the association of these souvenirs to a specific cult site, when possible.

In the mid-nineteenth century, excavations from rivers in France and England provided the first noteworthy interest in these small objects. Most famous is Arthur Forgeais’s *Notices sur des plombs historiés trouvés dans la Seine*, a series of excavation findings dredged from the Seine River during improvements of the bridges and quays. His five-volume collection published over the course of a decade documents individual souvenirs, including information on iconography and cult site, and with accompanying engraved images of the souvenirs. Since some souvenirs found by Forgeais and subsequent archaeologists have deteriorated or decayed due to their fragile nature, his work is a key source with which to compare more recent archaeological discoveries of pilgrim’s badges.

Perhaps the greatest modern proponent of pilgrim badge studies in the mid-twentieth century was the late German scholar Kurt Köster. Köster’s interest in pilgrim badges began with his documentation of church bells recovered after World War II, when he observed that many of them displayed pilgrim’s badges. Over the course of four decades, from the 1940s until his death in 1986, he published numerous monographs and articles on pilgrim souvenirs, ranging from introductory texts to detailed examinations of extant pilgrim’s signs. Noteworthy are his studies closely examining souvenirs produced at specific pilgrimage sites in Germany and northern Europe, such as those made in Regensburg, Amersfoort and Niedermünster, Gottsbüren, Aachen, and St. Adrian at Geraardsbergen. Köster also produced a monograph on souvenirs found along

---

8 Badges that have survived are often found in damp soil or river beds. If not stored in a proper climate-controlled environment, they can disintegrate quickly after being unearthed.
the road to Santiago de Compostela. He was also interested in the various uses of badges, whether worn on clothing or cast in bells.

Interest in pilgrims’ badges has soared thanks to amateur archaeologists who continue to find hundreds of badges each year, often by the use of metal detectors. Scholars and archaeologists of the past two decades have extensively published on these newly-discovered badges.

Since Köster’s death, A.M. (Jos) Koldeweij has emerged as the preeminent scholar in the field of pilgrim badges. His focus on pilgrim’s badges began in the late 1980s and early 1990s; since then he has written significant analyses of specific Flemish, Dutch, and German pilgrimage cults and their associated badges, including those of St. Servatius in Maastricht and Charlemagne at Aachen. Koldeweij’s analyses also address function and viewer response to pilgrim’s souvenirs. In particular, he discusses how religious and secular badges were used as attributes and symbols for presenting a certain status or image to the souvenir’s bearer (such as those worn on clothing), ranging from apotropaic protection to dishonest vagabonds disguised as fraudulent pilgrims.

Koldeweij also has collaborated with H.J.E. Van Beuningen, a private collector of excavated medieval domestic objects, to produce three noteworthy publications on pilgrim’s badges:

Wallfahrt kennt keine Grenzen (Munich: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, 1984), pp. 203-223, among other publications. Another German scholar who has worked extensively on pilgrim badges is Jürgen Wittstock; see “Pilgerzeichen und Pilgermuscheln von mittelalterlichen Santiago-strassen: Saint-Leonard, Rocamadour, Saint-Gilles, Santiago de Compostela.”


Starting in the mid-twentieth century, Van Beuningen became interested in pilgrim’s badges and soon amassed a grouping of over a thousand objects; by century’s end, this number had expanded to nearly four thousand. Many of these souvenirs were the primary material featured in *Heilig en Profaan I*, a catalog of pilgrims’ badges with accompanying essays, published in 1993 by Van Beuningen and Koldeweij. A second *Heilig en Profaan* catalog, published by Koldeweij, Van Beuningen, and other pilgrim’s badge scholars included new pilgrim badges discovered since the previous catalog’s publication. A third volume is scheduled to be published in late 2011 or 2012.

In England, Brian Spencer, former curator at the Museum of London, published various articles on pilgrims’ badges found across Great Britain over several decades. Many of these souvenirs were unearthed in England, primarily discovered in the muddy banks of the Thames River by “mudlarks” (amateur treasure seekers using metal detectors). The culmination of his work was a catalog of religious and secular badges from these London excavations. Many of the catalog’s badges are from British and Scottish pilgrimage shrines (with special focus on

---

14 Van Beuningen actually began collecting prehistoric and medieval artifacts at a young age. Unfortunately his original collection was destroyed during the World War II bombings of Rotterdam in the Netherlands. However, the subsequent demolition and rebuilding of Rotterdam after the war led to many objects being unearthed in the marshes. Between 1940 and 1980, van Beuningen built up his second collection of domestic artifacts (including plate ware, utensils, etc.), many of which date from 1100 to 1800. In the 1980s, van Beuningen and his wife presented this large and comprehensive collection to the City of Rotterdam. Around ten thousand of these archaeological finds were officially handed over in 1991, on the occasion of the opening of the Van Beuningen-de Vriese Pavilion, which was specifically built within Rotterdam’s Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen to house them. See the Medieval Badges Foundation (website): http://www.medievalbadges.org (accessed 2009).

15 See *Heilig en Profaan: 1000 Laatmiddeleeuwse Insignes uit de Collectie H.J.E. van Beuningen [Rotterdam Papers 8]* (Cothen, 1993); Also see Van Beuningen, D. Kicken, Koldeweij, and J.R. Ter Molen, eds. *Gevonden Voorwerpen: Lost and Found (Rotterdam Papers 11).* (Rotterdam, 2000).


Canterbury as well as English cults of the Virgin Mary), along with some souvenirs from mainland Europe.

In France, Denis Bruna continues to build on the collection first discovered by Arthur Forgeais, which is housed in the Musée national du Moyen Age (formerly the Cluny Museum/Thermes du Cluny) in Paris. His catalog *Enseignes de Pèlerinage et Enseignes Profanes* provides detailed archaeological analyses of religious and secular badges now kept at the Musée national du Moyen Age, most of which were excavated by Foregeais. Bruna’s interest in pilgrim’s badges as “humble” historical documents is apparent in a subsequent book, *Saints et Diables au Chapeau*, which traces pilgrim badges from their forging to their eventual deposition in rivers, and examines the function of iconography seen in both religious and profane badges. He has also written on pilgrim’s badges from shrines such as Mont-Saint-Michel and Regensburg, as well as the replication of head-reliquary iconography in pilgrim badges, with special focus on the reliquary of Charlemagne.

A new generation of pilgrim’s badge scholars continues to shed more light on iconography and function of these souvenirs. In particular, several students of Jos Koldewej at the Raboud University (formerly the Catholic University) in Nijmegen, the Netherlands, are providing more detailed and interpretive analyses of the souvenirs. Katja Boertes has examined badge collections excavated in Amsterdam and analyzed specific pilgrim’s badges, such as ampullae from Vendôme’s Shrine of the Holy Tear, and their cults. Marike de Kroon has written on the iconography of specific pilgrim’s badges to examine how the mass-produced, widespread imagery of pilgrim badges participated in the spread of visual language.

---

23 “Medieval Pilgrim Badges and Their Iconographic Aspects,” in *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe*, pp. 385-404.
In addition, several of Koldeweij’s students and colleagues developed an online database of badges and ampullae, known as KUNera.\textsuperscript{24} This website documents all known excavated pilgrim’s souvenirs, from Forgeais’s finds to recent discoveries. Badges can be searched based on material or medium, date, iconography, shrine depicted, and/or excavation site. It continues to be an invaluable research tool for those in pilgrim’s badge studies.

Other scholarly work on pilgrim’s badges deserves mention. Darko Knez published on the collection of pilgrim’s badges at the National Museum of Slovenia.\textsuperscript{25} Both Sarah Blick and Jennifer M. Lee focused on the pilgrim’s souvenirs of Thomas Becket from the shrine at Canterbury and commented on how the badges’ iconography visually copies or differs from the now-lost monumental shrine of the bishop saint.\textsuperscript{26} Sarah Blick has also examined pilgrim’s badges as evidence of copying in medieval art; using Richard Krautheimer’s theories about architectural copies, she analyzes how a souvenir’s imitation of a shrine’s iconography allowed the medieval viewer to instantly recognize the visual source.\textsuperscript{27} Lee considers how pilgrims’ badges took on different meanings when worn by devotees away from the pilgrimage site—specifically, both as memory aids and as means to communicate to others that the individual had accomplished a pilgrimage.\textsuperscript{28} Thomas A. Bredehoft examines pseudo-inscriptions on badges and how they operated for pilgrims, considering levels of owner literacy.\textsuperscript{29} Besides Jos Koldeweij, Malcolm Jones and Ruth Mellinkoff have worked extensively on the iconography of secular and

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{24} Website: http://www.kunera.nl/ (accessed 2006-2011).
\textsuperscript{25} Pilgrimage Badges from the Collections of the National Museum of Slovenia. (Ljubljana: Narodni Muzej Slovenije, 2001).
\textsuperscript{27} “Exceptions to Krautheimer’s Theory of Copying.” Visual Resources Vol. 20: 2-3 (June-September 2004), pp. 123-42.
\end{flushleft}
profane badges, particularly those of a lewd or sexual nature, and the possible interpretations of those badges.

Other scholars delved into the social circumstances behind the production and distribution of pilgrim’s badges. One of the earliest articles on such a topic, written by Esther Cohen, examines the pilgrim badge trade around popular European shrines, and the conflicts that arose between church and town vendors selling souvenirs. Other scholars investigate the practical aspects of making pilgrim badges, including detailed analyses of extant pilgrim badge molds and the types of metals used in badge production; for example, Sarah Blick examined the popularity of precious gold and silver badges among elite pilgrims.

Recent scholars are interested in placing pilgrim’s badge studies within a broader cultural, social, and/or historical context. As these widely-disseminated badges are increasingly acknowledged as an important source for beliefs, stories, and superstitions, their function and use are receiving more attention. For example, scholars investigate the appearance of badges in other media, such as paintings and sculptures. Others discuss surviving examples of pilgrim badges cast in bells, considering how these souvenirs could help “ring out” saintly blessings to a town by their presence within the bell. Michael Garcia examines evidence of badges being

33 Many of these paintings are included as supplementary illustrations within a larger discussion of pilgrim’s badges; see publications by Kurt Köster and Jos Koldewey, as well as Denis Bruna, “Les enseignes de pèlerinage et les coquilles Saint-Jacques dans les sépultures médiévales en Europe occidentale: valeurs et symbolisme.” Art and Symbolism in Medieval Europe, vol. 7 (York, 1992), pp. 47-50. In addition, at the time of the completion of this dissertation, Jennifer M. Lee was researching pilgrims’ signs worn by hybrid monster creatures in the margins of the Luttrell Psalter.
34 For more on pilgrim’s badges that were cast in bells, see Kurt Köster, “Mittelalterliche Pilgerzeichen,” in (eds.) L. Kriss-Rettenbeck and G Möhler, Wallfahrt kennt keine Grenzen (1984), pp. 203-223; Elly van Loon-van de Moosdijk, “Pelgrimsinsignes op ‘Nederlandse’ Klokken,” in Heilig en Profaan 2, pp. 112-127; and Jörg Poettgen, “Pilgerzeichen auf Glocken,” in Heilig en Profaan 2, pp. 128-36.
deliberately disposed of after pilgrimage. My dissertation falls within this new wave of social/cultural contextualization and seeks to understand how pilgrim’s badges were used in one particular popular medium, the devotional prayer book.

2.3: Pilgrim badges in manuscripts: state of research

The most significant contribution to the understanding of actual and painted pilgrims’ badges within manuscripts was provided by Kurt Köster. In a series of three separate publications, Köster compiled extensive inventory lists of manuscripts that contain badges, both original (actual) or reproduced (painted). While all three articles discuss both types of badges in manuscripts, two articles primarily focus on the painted representations in manuscript marginalia, with the third primarily focusing on actual souvenirs attached in codices. He itemized twenty-five manuscripts with either real or representational badges, dating from the late fourteenth to early sixteenth centuries, mostly from the Southern Netherlands.

Köster was one of the first to acknowledge the close relationship of painted and actual pilgrims’ souvenirs, suggesting that the painted representations of badges were undoubtedly influenced by the practice of sewing badges in books. He likewise attempted to identify the original provenance of the badges (both actual souvenirs and painted depictions), and investigated specific case studies of pilgrim badges, their dispersal, and their inclusion in manuscripts. Additionally, he was the first scholar to note the prominence of badge-filled

---

manuscripts among members of the Burgundian and Hapsburg families and their inner circle of courtiers.

While Köster’s research is indispensable for the study of pilgrims’ badges in manuscripts, his work leaves several topics unexplored. Recent scholars, for example, have discovered other manuscripts containing actual or painted badges, not included in Köster’s studies. These new findings may provide additional information to both support and challenge his original observations. Moreover, Köster did not fully pursue the possible relationships of badges to texts or programs of illumination within books of hours (i.e., their placement at the beginning or end of a manuscript, or next to particular prayers, such as saints’ suffrages, the Office of Virgin, the Office of the Dead, and so forth). In addition, Köster did not address the reasons why these objects were collected and replicated in books of hours; were they, for example, merely a collection of souvenirs, or did they have devotional resonances with the manuscript’s contents?

While Köster’s contribution to the study of pilgrim’s badges in manuscripts is invaluable, further research on these issues is necessary.

In the years after Köster’s publications on pilgrims’ badges in manuscripts, additional articles supplemented his original research. Among these are articles by Jos Koldweij, found in both Heilig en Profaan volumes. In particular, Koldweij highlighted a manuscript now kept in The Hague’s Royal Library, the D’Oiselet Hours, which Anne S. Korteweg also published. This codex has since been repeatedly reproduced in subsequent discussions on the topic of pilgrim’s badges in books.

Complementing Koldweij, Brian Spencer’s 1998 catalog devotes several pages to the discussion of actual and painted pilgrim’s badges in manuscripts. He specifically mentions a collection of badge offsets from now-lost souvenirs in a manuscript auctioned at Sotheby’s, as

---


41 Kaufmann and Kaufmann note this in passing; see “The Sanctification of Nature,” p. 59.

42 See Koldweij’s contributions in Heilig en Profaan (1993), as well as in Van Beuningen, Koldweij, and Kicken, Heilig en Profaan 2 (2001).

well as painted badges in a book of hours now in the Sir John Soane’s Museum in London. In a 1998 article, Denis Bruna provided addenda to the original manuscript finds by Köster.\textsuperscript{44} Most of these manuscripts are presently located in French libraries, although Bruna also refers to a portion of the Grandes Heures of Philip the Bold, now in Brussels. In his article, Bruna also classified the types of religious objects preserved in books, including badges, vera icons, prints, and embroidered fabrics.\textsuperscript{45} Much of this material, briefly discussed in his 1996 catalog, was summarized in his 2007 book.\textsuperscript{46}

In the wake of Köster’s initial investigations, however, many subsequent publications essentially reprise his descriptive format, providing only initial observations on the evidence of pilgrims’ badges in manuscripts (documenting the number of souvenirs or offsets, identifying extant badges’ iconography, etc.). Few scholars attempt further critical analysis, such as codicological descriptions of the books or discussions of the historical circumstances behind the badges’ acquisitions.

Kathryn Rudy, Ursula Weekes, and Hanneke van Asperen also draw attention to extant manuscripts with inserted devotional objects, specifically prints and engravings.\textsuperscript{47} Kathryn Rudy’s work, in particular, exhibits a new interest in the socio-historical concept of “mental or spiritual pilgrimage,” a journey undertaken within a devotee’s mind for spiritual enlightenment, perhaps when a physical pilgrimage is not feasible.\textsuperscript{48} These publications are significant for highlighting the “living history” of the book; that is, how the book changes over time through additions and alterations, such as with the inclusion of pilgrims’ souvenirs.

### 2.4: Flemish manuscript illumination: state of research

\textsuperscript{44} Denis Bruna, “Témoins,” pp. 127-61.
\textsuperscript{46} Bruna, Enseignes, pp. 16-17; Bruna, Saints et Diables, pp. 91-100.
\textsuperscript{48} In particular, see Rudy’s dissertation, “Northern European Visual Responses to Holy Land Pilgrimage, 1453-1550” (Columbia University, 2000).
In recent years, the state of research on Flemish manuscripts, particularly those from the 1470s until the mid-sixteenth century that are the focus of this dissertation, has been closely reexamined by several authors. Thomas Kren provided an extensive historiographical analysis at the beginning of the landmark exhibition catalog *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*. James Marrow and Jonathan Alexander have also discussed the history of Flemish illumination studies, as well as providing suggestions for new directions in research.

While Flemish manuscript illumination has been studied since the mid-to-late nineteenth century, most early scholarship concentrated on traditional art historical issues of attribution and connoisseurship. Much of this was due to archival research. As Thomas Kren describes, late nineteenth-century investigations of city archival documents in Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp, and other towns uncovered important names, guild memberships, patrons, and some of the artistic projects led by Simon Marmion, Gerard Horenbout, Alexander and Simon Bening, and other illuminators. Scholars drawing on the archival information sought to identify and localize these artists, as well as to match artistic hands with specific extant works in order to reconstruct artists’ careers and oeuvres. Subsequent twentieth-century scholars have continued to ascertain and ascribe extant manuscripts to these artists, along with providing evidence of cross-influences in artistic compositions, either between fellow illuminators or within the realm of panel painting.

---

49 While the term “Ghent-Bruges” will be used in this dissertation, it should be noted that the production of manuscripts produced by the so-called “Ghent-Bruges” school was not restricted to these two cities. Some may have been created in the geographical region surrounding Ghent and Bruges in the Southern Low Countries. See Greet Nijs, “Typology of the Border Decoration in the Manuscripts of the Ghent-Bruges School.” *Als Ich Can: Liber Amicorum in Memory of Professor Dr. MauritS Smeyers*, vol. 2. (Bert Cardon, Jan Van der Stock, Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, eds.) (Leuven: Peeters Publishing, 2002), p. 1008.


51 *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 9.
In the first decade of the twentieth century there was a heightened interest in late medieval Flemish painting, made manifest in two significant exhibitions in Belgium and France. For the famous 1902 Bruges exhibition of fourteenth-to-sixteenth century Flemish paintings, Georges Hulin de Loo completed the catalog *Exposition de tableaux flamands des XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles*. He introduced and identified of several anonymous master painters. A second and equally famous exhibition on Flemish “Primitive” painters occurred two years later at the Louvre in Paris. For this show, the French historian Paul Durrieu completed the accompanying catalog *La peinture à l’exposition des Primitifs français*.

Soon after, Durrieu, along with other contemporary scholars, began to concentrate mainly on fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Flemish manuscript illumination. Several of their publications are still considered formative works for the study of Flemish manuscript painting. Durrieu’s famous monograph *La Miniature flamande au temps de la cour de Bourgogne (1415-1530)* focused on Flemish illumination around the court of Burgundy. The German art historian Frederich Winkler’s 1925 *Flämische Buchmalerei*, considered one of the earliest comprehensive surveys of Flemish book illumination, also increased interest in the study of Flemish manuscripts.

In the mid-twentieth century, a new generation of scholars expanded on the initial publications by Hulin de Loo, Durrieu, and Winkler. One influential proponent in the study of Flemish manuscript illumination was Otto Pächt. Among Pächt’s seminal contributions was the publication of several catalogs of manuscript holdings in British and mainland European libraries.

---

52 Ghent, 1902.
53 A key publication by Hulin on Flemish manuscript painting is “La vignette chez des enlumineurs gantois entre 1470 et 1500.” *Académie Royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la Classe des Beaux-Arts* XXI (1939), pp. 158-180.
55 Op cit, p. 10.
These catalogs established a benchmark on archival catalogs by including detailed inventory listings for nearly every illuminated book in a collection, regardless of a codex’s quality or amount of illustration. These catalogs contain thorough descriptions and analyses of stylistic influences, sources, provenance, and comparable manuscripts in other archives.

Pächt’s other works on Flemish manuscript illumination would influence succeeding scholars on the subject. Along with G.I. Lieftinck, he pinpointed the crucial years of what they considered as the emergence of the new illusionistic style in Flemish illumination, ca. 1470-1490. Pächt’s monograph on the Master of Mary of Burgundy focused primarily on the artist’s stylistic innovations and his contribution to both miniature and border. It subsequently became a touchstone for the reexamination of this important artist’s oeuvre and influence within the history of Flemish illumination.

The Belgian scholar L.M.J. Delaissé was instrumental in encouraging the study of manuscript illumination within the context of the physical book, rather than as miniature panel paintings, by encouraging the study of “l’archéologie du livre”. His 1959 exhibition catalog on manuscripts from the era of Philip the Good brought major attention to Flemish illumination from the last half of the fifteenth century, and remains influential today.


60 See G.I. Lieftinck, Boekverluchters uit de omgeving van Maria von Bourgondië c. 1475-1485. 2 vols. Brussels, 1969. The authors of Illuminating the Renaissance admit that this may show a particular bias on this short time period, and that subsequent decades also need to be examined in order to consider the innovations that developed during that time. p. 10.

61 Master of Mary of Burgundy (London, 1948). See Anne van Buren’s analysis on Pächt’s contribution in “The Master of Mary of Burgundy and his Colleagues: The State of Research and Questions of Method.” Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 38:3/4 (1975), p. 287. In particular, she notes that “Pächt turned away from the biographical problem (of the Master of Mary of Burgundy) to that of the Master’s contribution to the history of style.”

62 Alexander, “One Hundred Years,” p. 178. Delaissé’s approach was considered by some as a reaction to the study of manuscript illuminations in isolation of the context of the book itself, such as by Millard Meiss in his five-volume colossal study, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry. Delaissé elaborated on his approach in the essay “Towards a History of the Medieval Book,” in Codicologica 1 (1976), pp. 75-83.

63 The authors of the Getty exhibition catalog Illuminating the Renaissance describe their publication as the “sequel” to Delaissé’s publication. p. 10.
Among the many leading Flemish illumination scholars in the last decades of the twentieth century was Maurits Smeyers, whose epic monograph surveying the history of Flemish manuscript illumination from the eighth to the sixteenth century is now considered a standard work in the study of Flemish illumination. Although his focus on the late medieval period was limited, Smeyers described the key illuminators of the period, important patrons, and stylistic innovations. Along with Jan van der Stock, Smeyers also published a monograph focusing on late medieval Flemish illumination for an exhibition originally held in St. Petersburg. In addition, he founded the Centre for the Study of Flemish Illuminators, which continues to produce the Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts series, for which he published monographs on multiple occasions.

In the spirit and tradition of Otto Pächt’s cataloging efforts, subsequent descriptive catalogs and inventories by libraries and archives have also facilitated access to Flemish manuscripts through their detailed analyses of book decoration. In addition, illustrated monographs on individual manuscripts—whether large facsimiles or souvenir museum booklets—have shed light on individual works and their role in the oeuvre of an artist as well as providing easier access to these famous codices.


66 For example, see Lilian M.C. Randall, Judith H. Oliver, John Plummer, James H. Marrow, Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery. Volume III: Belgium, 1250-1530 (Baltimore, 1997); La Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne: Manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique. (Bernard Bousmanne and Céline van Hoorebeeck, eds. 3 vols. CD-ROM (Brepols, 2001).

Recent monographs on individual artists not only have facilitated a reconsideration of some artistic oeuvres but, in some cases, have helped re-identify or rename artists, based on new examinations of their works. In other instances, the previously-determined impact of an artist has either been emphasized or diminished. Furthermore, the role of a “master” artist and his full contribution to the completion of a manuscript has been reconsidered. In particular, these studies have highlighted the key role of anonymous workshop illuminators in the large-scale production of manuscripts. Among these are Bodo Brinkmann’s study of the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book, which pointed out the artist’s previously unrealized impact on Flemish manuscript illumination (ranging from full-page miniatures to border and initial designs) in the last decades of the fifteenth century. Brinkmann also looks at the next generation of artists influenced by the Dresden Master. Bernard Bousmanne’s monograph on Willem Vrelant analyzed the artist’s stylistic qualities, his use of workshop assistants and other collaborators, and the work completed for his patron, Duke Philip the Good. Gregory Clark’s book on the Master of the Ghent Privileges examined an artist originally identified by Friedrich Winkler; in it, Clark demonstrates that many of the works ascribed to the Privileges Master were mostly produced by two sets of illuminators under his direction. Elizabeth Morrison and Anne Margreet As-Vijvers separately have examined the role of the Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary in Flemish illumination in the decades after the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy. These studies have encouraged not only a greater understanding of these individual illuminators but also a broader

---

68 Other notable authors include James Marrow, Robert Calkins, Bert Cardon, Antoine de Schryver, Georges Dogaer, and Judith A. Testa.
71 “Item a Guillaume Wyalant aussi enlumineur”: Willem Vrelant : un aspect de l'enluminure dans les Pays-Bas meridionaux sous le mecenat des ducs de Bourgogne Philippe le Bon et Charles le Temeraire (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997).
72 Gregory T. Clark, *Made in Flanders: The Master of the Ghent Privileges and Manuscript Painting in the Time of Philip the Good* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000). Clark also discusses an artist that succeeded the Privileges Master, the Ghent Gradual Master, who directed the workshops in Ghent and Tournai from c.1460-1475. Clark also provides detailed codicological and stylistic analyses, as well as highlighting the liturgical use for many of the devotional manuscripts he discusses.
questioning of artistic innovation and the role of workshops and the cross-influence of artists in the regions of Flanders and northern France.

Within the last decade, one of the most significant publications on Flemish manuscript illumination is *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, edited by Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick. This massive catalog accompanied a large-scale exhibition of Flemish manuscripts, displayed at the Getty Museum in Los Angeles and the Royal Academy in London. The catalog sought to be comprehensive, featuring historiographic and thematic essays by several contributors, detailed biographies of the key artists from the era, and thorough analyses of key works (listed roughly in chronological order), many of which were included in the exhibitions. In addition, new artists and attributions were identified and old connoisseurship theories were questioned. Complete with an extensive bibliography, it will continue to be an invaluable source for the study of Flemish manuscript illumination.

As scholarship moves into the new century, scholars are looking beyond stylistic analysis and artistic connoisseurship in order to better understand the contexts and circumstances of production. Among areas of investigation are the role of the patron in the creation of a manuscript and how the role of reader literacy affects the production of a book’s contents. Production processes are also being examined, with scholars now investigating issues of borrowing, copying, and tracing in order to expedite the completion of manuscript painting. The development of specific iconographic themes, particularly in relation to contemporary devotional practices, is also receiving greater attention. In addition, the contents of fifteenth-century libraries are being studied and reconstructed in order to gain insight into the choice, use,


and purpose of texts. And the “living history” of the book continues to be explored (additions, deletions, evidence of wear, and other codicological markings) in order to better understand how these books were used by their owners after the codices left the artist’s workshop.

2.5: Flemish border illumination state of research: trompe l’oeil imagery and painted pilgrims’ badges

This dissertation primarily focuses on Flemish border illumination from the last quarter of the fifteenth century into the sixteenth century, completed by artists in the Burgundian Netherlands, especially in areas surrounding the towns of Ghent and Bruges. One hallmark of these borders is the frequent use of trompe l’oeil objects, including flowers, fruit, birds, jewels, pottery, and pilgrim’s badges. These marginalia continue to fascinate modern viewers with their illusionistic imagery and high level of detail.

Most early scholars from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, including Georges Hulin de Loo, Paul Durrieu, and Friedrich Winkler, did not extensively discuss border illumination. Instead, they concentrated their analyses on the main illustrations, treating them as though they were miniature panel paintings.

Subsequent scholarship on Flemish border illumination tends to emphasize roughly three main aspects: style, iconography, and—somewhat later—meaning and function. Perhaps most predominant of these are stylistic analyses of border motifs, since the development of the characteristic illusionistic panel border is considered a hallmark in late medieval Flemish illumination from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Often general observations are made on the evolution of this new approach to border decoration: the high degree of naturalism, the illusionistic qualities of the objects (the attention to detail, the use of overlap, shadows, framing devices, etc.). For scholars of the mid-twentieth century, one source of debate was the artists’ aesthetic approach to page design, and specifically the level of three-dimensionality versus two-dimensionality between border and marginalia objects, and/or border and main illumination/text. For example, in his monograph on the Master of Mary of Burgundy, Otto Scheller, “From Meerman to Marrow,” p. 15. Also see Patrick M. De Winter, La Bibliothèque de Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne (1364-1404) (Paris: CNRS, 1985); Pierre Cockshaw, “Some Remarks on the Character and Content of the Library of Margaret of York.” Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and the Visions of Tondal. Thomas Kren, ed. (Malibu: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1992), pp. 57-52.
Pächt contended that artists recognized that a manuscript page was inherently two-dimensional; by representing three-dimensional trompe l’œil imagery, they complicated, strained, and transgressed this flatness.\footnote{See Pächt, The Master of Mary of Burgundy, pp. 19-25. Like Pächt, Erwin Panofsky also believed the introduction of three-dimensional space into manuscript painting brought about its inevitable decline; see Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origins and Development, (London: Harper Collins, 1971), p. 28. Myra D. Orth labels this as Pächt’s “perspectival conspiracy theory,” and questions whether this “flatter is better” notion really was relevant to book art at the time, and whether transgressing the flatness meant the demise of book painting. See “What Goes Around: Borders and Frames in French Manuscripts,” The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery 54 (1996), p. 190. In her historiographic analysis, Anne van Buren points out that Pächt’s analysis was dismissed by Sixten Ringbom as indicative of a twentieth-century, post-Cubist point of view. “The Master of Mary of Burgundy and his Colleagues: The State of Research and Questions of Method.” Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 38:3/4 (1975), p. 288.} Both Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander separately maintained that the trompe l’œil borders rest on one spatial plane closest to the reader, while the text or miniature is written on the blank page. The latter thus appears as though viewed through an open, illusionistic window.\footnote{Pächt, op. cit.; Alexander, The Master of Mary of Burgundy. A Book of Hours for Engelbert of Nassau; Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Virginia Roehrig Kaufmann, “The Sanctification of Nature: Observations on the Origins of Trompe l’oeil in Netherlandish Book Painting of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries.” Journal of the J. Paul Getty Museum 19 (1991), pp. 48-49.}

Other scholars have claimed Flemish trompe l’œil borders as the downfall of medieval manuscript illumination, particularly with their subject matter. In his book examining border illumination in Gothic manuscripts, Michael Camille labeled fifteenth-century Flemish trompe l’œil border decoration as “The End of the Edge.”\footnote{Michael Camille, Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 1992), specifically the chapter “The End of the Edge”, pp. 153-160.} Camille asserted that the edge vanishes when it becomes a field for realistic trompe l’œil painting. Instead, it deadens one’s imagination by replacing the earlier Gothic margins filled with fictitious creatures exhibiting various subversive behaviors.\footnote{In a review of Camille’s book, Jeffrey Hamburger questioned if it was correct to assume that a “naturalistic” image is any more “true to life” than depictions of peasants in fourteenth-century manuscripts. See J.F. Hamburger “Michael Camille: Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art [review]” Art Bulletin LXXV: 2 (June 1993), pp. 319-327.}

Furthermore, as Myra Orth suggested, by applying Marxist methodology, Camille equates “the representation of real objects in the margins (jewels, shells, flowers) with ‘commodification’, putting a price on precious things in a rising market economy. Thus, for Camille, these margins mark the separation of high and low art by abolishing what he conceives of as the socially marginal figures playing on the edge of Gothic manuscripts.”\footnote{See Camille, Image on the Edge, pp. 153-60. Camille’s discussion includes a look at the Master of Catherine of Cleves, discussed here in Chapter 6. See also Orth, p. 191.}
Besides studying Flemish borders for their depictions of spatial depth and illusion, others have examined specific iconography within the margins of Flemish manuscripts. Previously, the individual *trompe l’oeil* objects associated with these borders—such as flowers, insects, jewels, pottery, and pilgrim’s badges—had not received the same level of connoisseurship analysis. Yet for the scholars of border imagery, the subject matter in the margins holds equal importance to that depicted within the main illuminations. Some discuss the numerous examples of flowers frequently portrayed. In particular, Celia Fisher described and identified the various types of border flora, how they were grouped, and analyzed the symbolic value of particular flowers, where applicable. Kate Challis specifically surveyed the motif of jewels in Flemish manuscript margins, and their possible religious and status implications. Interestingly, both authors’ works have underscored a slight methodological shift in the study of Flemish illuminators from the main miniatures to the border decorations. By emphasizing what has previously been considered “secondary decoration,” manuscripts could be reclassified, dated, and linked together by artists and workshops in ways strikingly different from studying only full-page illuminations.

Others seek to further codify Flemish illuminated borders in order to better understand their contents. Greet Nijs formulated typological categories for Flemish border decoration. Based on her observations of 127 manuscripts of the “Ghent-Bruges style,” she divided the various border motifs into categories, often with subsets, based on their organization on the page

---

81 Historiated borders depicting narrative scenes have received considerable attention, as the scenes within can be often compared to full-page miniatures completed by the same artist or workshop, allowing for some artistic attribution.

82 Celia Margaret Fisher, “The Development of Flower Borders in Ghent-Bruges Manuscripts 1470-1490” (Ph.D. diss., Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1996); Fisher, *Flowers in Medieval Manuscripts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004). Anne Margreet As-Vijvers has also extensively examined strewn flower borders; see for example “Marginal Decoration in Ghent-Bruges Manuscripts,” in *Sources for the History of Medieval Books and Libraries.* (Rita Schlusemann, Jos. M.M. Hermans, and Margaret Hoogvliet, eds.) (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1999), pp. 245-56.


84 Celia Fisher has argued that her goal was “to redress a previous imbalance sometimes created by an undue emphasis on miniaturists,” since border decorations of luxury manuscripts produced in the Southern Netherlands in the last quarter of the fifteenth century underwent more changes, variations, and experimentation than the miniatures did. However, she urges caution with this approach by not overzealously overstating, associating, or disassociating previously accepted artists and the works in their *oeuvres.*
and their iconography. Among the various border types she identifies are the historiated, the architectural, the geometrical (with acanthus, flowers, birds, jewels, rosaries, letters, bells, or a combination of all of these), and the scatter border (with flowers, acanthus, jewels, peacock feathers, fruit, insects, laurel garlands, and other objects). Within the iconography of the scatter borders, Nijs mentions gold and silver “pilgrims’ signs” and “scallops”; the latter also appears in the “geometrical border” category. Nijs posits that the choice of motif is determined by several factors, including the need to create a decorative and coloristic effect, to enhance a trompe l’oeil illusion, to imply accompanying marginal iconography, and to emphasize the rich aspect of the manuscript.

Initially, most scholarship on Flemish border decoration highlighted primarily its decorative and iconographic qualities. Within recent years, scholars are turning their attention to the functional aspect of marginal decoration, both as a collective whole and as individual objects surrounding the central texts and/or miniatures. This includes analyses of a border’s decoration in relation to the rest of the page’s contents, as well as how individual objects may have been interpreted by the reader. One of the first to highlight the needs and advantages of this method was Lucy Freeman Sandler, a scholar of Gothic manuscripts and their border imagery. In her historiographical article “The Study of Marginal Imagery: Past, Present, and Future,” Sandler suggests that while singular interpretation of marginal imagery is possible, scholars must consider every aspect of their meaning.

---

86 Nijs also mentions examples such as the cupboard border, the textile border, the letter border, and the panel border (with various iconographic elements). She also describes “mixed” borders, which combines two or more types of border illustrations (e.g., the “historiated architectural border”, the “geometrical border with acanthus and flowers and architectural border,” and so forth).
87 Nijs, pp. 1013, 1020. In a table at the end of Nijs’s study, she lists three scatter borders with pilgrims’ signs, one scatter border with scallops, and three geometrical borders with scallops. She asserts that the scatter border proved to be the most frequently used type of border decoration. pp. 1029-30.
88 In the field of early and mid-Gothic manuscript illumination, authors such as Lucy Freeman Sandler and Michael Camille carefully examined possible connections between border illuminations and the texts, illuminations, or historiated initials they surround. Sandler, along with Myra Orth, published separate essays on the state of research of Gothic marginal imagery; see Sandler, “The Study of Marginal Imagery: Past, Present, and Future,” Studies in Iconography 18 (1997), pp. 1-49; and Orth, “What Goes Around: Borders and Frames in French Manuscripts,” pp. 189-201.
Anja Grebe examined the general functions of borders in late medieval book illumination. She maintains that, while still serving as a form of decoration, margins began to play a more prominent role, both visually and in terms of the narrative content. Seeing them as distinct within the medium of book illustration, she claims that borders could help embed the miniature in the book, serving as an intermediary between texts and images. It could be simply decorative, or, as in the case of marginal figures and scenes, provide additional narrative information. Borders with *trompe l’oeil* imagery, in particular, “underline the status of the frame as a dimension of its own.”

Anne-Margreet As-Vijvers’s work also examines whether symbolic meanings can be applied to Flemish border decorations. Her article “More Than Marginal Meaning? The Interpretation of Ghent-Bruges Border Decoration” looks at several types of border motifs, including flowers, skulls, animals, architecture, letters, coins and largesse, and devotional objects, including pilgrim badges. She suggests that Flemish border decoration contains a symbolic element that is always implicitly present for the reader; the extent to which readers are prepared to go in their interpretation depends on the context in which the border is used and the degree of the readers’ own active contribution. Dismissing the notion that border decoration has a single, unambiguous interpretation, she asserts that marginal motifs can fulfill a variety of functions and be open to a range of interpretations. However, she also believes that pages should be interpreted as a single entity, without any implicit division between a page’s margins and center. While it sometimes can be difficult to find direct relationships between border and text, some clear examples can be found, such as the use of scallop shells around Suffrage prayers to St. James, in reference to the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela.

---


93 She also suggests that the border’s composition, such as the border of strewn objects, can have a formal relationship to the composition of the main miniature. “More Than Marginal Meaning?”, p. 26.
2.6: Painted pilgrims’ badges in manuscripts: state of research

An examination of painted pilgrims’ badges in the margins of medieval manuscripts often appears concurrently with a discussion of actual souvenirs, since most scholars now widely agree with Kurt Köster’s statement that illustrating pilgrimage souvenirs mimics the practice of affixing their real counterparts to the pages of books of hours, breviaries, and other prayer manuscripts. Köster’s two articles provide a list of known manuscripts containing painted souvenirs.94 His original findings describe ten codices; the second article included eight manuscripts discovered since the previous publication, for a total of eighteen codices. For each, Köster describes the border’s composition, the number of souvenirs represented, and the text and/or miniature that the border surrounds. He also identifies the souvenirs’ provenance when possible, although some of his attributions have since been disproven or reassigned. In addition, Köster was the first to suggest that certain artists’ workshops that specialized in trompe l’œil marginal illumination—including those of famed Flemish manuscript illuminators Alexander Bening, Simon Bening, and Gerard Horenbout—were involved in the production of many surviving manuscripts with painted badges.95 He wondered whether badge-filled manuscripts owned by the Burgundians and Hapsburgs perhaps influenced painted collections of painted souvenirs and whether or not the artists had access to their patron’s library or treasury.96

Painted depictions of pilgrim badges in manuscripts are also briefly addressed by Brian Spencer in his catalog of English badges, though he primarily cites Köster’s findings.97 Describing them as “exceptions” to the Southern Flemish tradition of pilgrim badge-filled margins, Jos Koldeweij addresses two early examples of painted pilgrim’s badges in the margins of two Northern Netherlandish manuscripts, completed by the Master of Catherine of Cleves.98

96 “Religiöse Medaillen und Wallfahrts-Devotionalien,” pp. 495-496.
97 Spencer, Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges, pp. 20-21. He also includes an illustration of London, Sir John Soane’s Museum MS 4, fol. 112v (misidentified as fol. 122v).
He also adds a small codex now in Paris to Köster’s listings, and calls attention to single images of scallop shells in the text margins of manuscripts previously described by Köster.99 Denis Bruna mentions painted pilgrim’s badges in his considerations of actual souvenirs in manuscripts in Saints et Diables, though this is primarily a descriptive discussion.100

While the descriptive aspect of painted pilgrim’s badges has received careful analysis, the functional aspect of painted souvenirs—how they were used and interpreted by their owners—has received only perfunctory examination. Köster’s two articles on painted badges do not address how book owners would have perceived these badges. In his article on Northern Netherlandish painted badges, Jos Koldewej only cursorily explains how the shell-and-pilgrim-badge border in the Van Alphen Hours may have been construed relative to the adjacent illumination of the Mouth of Hell. For him, the souvenirs could be construed as the tokens by which the reader could avoid the damnation depicted in the miniature.

Among the few scholars to consider the function of painted souvenirs at some length were Thomas Kaufmann and Virginia Roehrig Kaufmann. In an article on border trompe l’oeil flora and fauna by the sixteenth-century painter Georg Hoefnagel, the two call attention to the painted trompe l’oeil examples of pilgrim badges in the margins of Flemish prayer books, suggesting that the development of illusionism in manuscript margins may be related to the book’s function.101 Like Köster, the Kaufmanns maintain these represented souvenirs reflect the practice of preserving devotional objects in books of hours. They cite manuscripts which contained actual badges (including a newly discovered codex), which created a convergence of two popular forms of private devotion, prayer books and pilgrim’s badges. Thus, these painted collections of trompe l’oeil badges mimicked existing collections of actual devotional objects sewn in manuscripts. Moreover, they further suggest these objects helped the reader to recall the

---

100 Saints et Diables, pp. 96-100. However, discussions on border depictions of pilgrim souvenirs do not appear in the 1996 Musée National du Moyen Age catalog, nor in his Revue Mabillon article.
memory of a visit to a pilgrimage site, as well as inspiring devotion and pious contemplation for
the books’ owners. 102

Other scholars are skeptical about the level of interpretation that can be applied to painted
souvenirs. In her work on the Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary, Anne
Margreet As-Vijvers discusses margins depicting both individual and collections of painted
pilgrims’ badges. For her, little leeway exists for symbolic interpretation of the badges,
primarily when examining their iconography in relation to the rest of the folio’s contents.
However, she does not dismiss the possibility that painted badges developed a devotional
function, although she insists that they were painted without any purposeful devotional
intentions. Observing that Flemish border decoration contains a symbolic element implicitly
present for the reader, she acknowledges that a painted pilgrim badge collection can have a
general religious value.

2.7: Conclusion

The study of pilgrims’ badges in late medieval devotional manuscripts draws from two
areas of scholarly discipline, that of medieval pilgrim souvenirs and that of medieval Flemish
manuscript illumination. This topic can be seen a subset of these two separate research fields,
both of which have advanced substantially within the last century, moving from stylistic and
iconographic analyses to discussions on function and socio-historical context.

Extensive study on pilgrims’ badges in manuscripts, both real and represented, was
instigated by the German scholar Kurt Köster. His three key articles on the topic still are
considered significant and frequently cited in later secondary sources. Subsequent publications
by Jos Koldeweij, Denis Bruna, and others have supplemented Köster’s initial work by providing
new archival discoveries and revised attributions. Their work prompts deeper exploration into
issues parenthetically discussed, such as the relation of pilgrim badges to texts and imagery and
reader reception. Additional publications examining iconography, mental or spiritual

102 See specifically pp. 53-59. The new manuscript find mentioned by Kaufmann and Kaufmann is Princeton
University, Firestone Library, MS Garrett 59, fols. 2v-3r. Besides this key publication, Virginia Kaufmann
discussed painted pilgrims’ badges in a separate article on the theme of pilgrimage in the Hours of Engelbert of
Nassau (Oxford Bodleian Library MS Douce 219-220). See “The Theme of Pilgrimage in the Miniatures of the
pilgrimage, manuscript artists, and workshop practices offer additional material with which to analyze souvenirs in prayer books. Provided with this wide range of published studies, we may be able to thoroughly analyze individual manuscripts and their pilgrim’s souvenirs, in order to determine how these objects were assembled and used by their owners in late medieval society.
PART I: PILGRIM’S BADGES AFFIXED IN MANUSCRIPTS
Chapter 3: Preserving the Path on the Page: Motivations and Case Examples

3.1: Introduction

The examination of pilgrims’ badges in devotional manuscripts draws on the theoretical current focusing on object reception. This methodological approach has increasingly influenced medieval art history in the past twenty years, and in particular the separate fields of manuscript and pilgrim badge studies. In the research of manuscripts, scholars have analyzed how reader response may have influenced the contents of a codex, either during its initial production or with subsequent adaptations. As noted in the second chapter, pilgrim badge scholarship by authors such as Jos Koldweij, Denis Bruna, Brian Spencer, Jennifer Lee, Michael Garcia, and others have sought to understand how a pilgrim badge was used after its acquisition. I contribute to this scholarly method by investigating reader use and response to two types of small, portable, and widely used art objects—the pilgrim badge and the manuscript. Combining the two in one matrix resonated with, encouraged, and amplified popular devotional practices in late medieval Western Europe.

The body of work to study is constantly expanding, as more examples of manuscripts containing (or once containing) pilgrims’ souvenirs are continually being discovered. Kurt Köster’s original count of seven manuscripts with actual pilgrims’ badges—plus eight codices subsequently added by Denis Bruna—now have expanded to at least sixty extant badge-filled manuscripts in public and private collections. With recent interest in codicology—especially

---


the alterations and addenda made after a book’s completion—additional manuscripts which display evidence that they once held pilgrims’ badges, in the visible offsets and small needle holes on the folio, are being uncovered regularly. Thus, the total number of manuscripts listed in the appendix at the end of this dissertation likely will be outdated within a few years.

Pilgrims’ badges are found almost exclusively in prayer books, such as books of hours and breviaries, although at least one psalter augmented with pilgrim souvenir prints survives. No pilgrims’ badges have been discovered in manuscripts with secular texts, such as histories, chronicles, or romances.

This dissertation primarily concentrates on metal pilgrims’ badges within manuscripts. There are many extant examples of metal badges within codices and if removed, they leave clear traces of their presence long after their removal from books. In addition, they were frequently reproduced in illuminated manuscript margins. However, this should not imply that metal badges were exclusively fastened into manuscripts to the detriment of other devotional objects. Indeed, other small devotional media acquired on pilgrimage, such as parchment or paper prints, were often added to manuscripts in order to heighten and personalize the prayer experience. In some manuscripts, paper or parchment prints, rather than metal badges, are the only devotional objects affixed. Of these, the Vera Icon (also known as the Holy Face, Veronica’s Veil, Veronica, or vernicle), stands out as a particularly popular parchment souvenir. As actual paper or parchment souvenirs or as painted representations, the Holy Face frequently appeared adjacent to metal badges.


105 Meaux, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 7, a psalter for a Celestine monastery in eastern France, dating to the end of fifteenth or early sixteenth century. See Denis Bruna, “Témoins de Dévotions,” pp. 145-146.

106 Of these metal pilgrims’ badges, the flat, solid bracteate form is the most type affixed in prayer books, rather than open-form badges. This form was most common in the late Middle Ages (from the fifteenth century onwards).

Besides metal badges and paper or parchment prints, other devotional objects were sewn in the pages of manuscripts. One such example, a book of hours (Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS 1176A rés), originally held numerous metal pilgrims’ souvenirs on its opening and closing folios, although many badges are now missing. However, on fol. A verso, a metal badge of St. Martha of Tarascon and a Vera Icon souvenir surround a square embroidery depicting the instruments of Christ’s Passion, the *Arma Christi*. It may be the only embroidery preserved in a devotional book [fig. 1].

---

108 Paris use, from the second half of the fifteenth century. The badges originally were located at the beginning and the end of the book. No badges were sewn within the actual text of the manuscript.

Folios A and B are separate bifolia that are easily removable. The first (unnumbered) folio has approximately six to eight badge imprints and needle holes; those imprints are mirrored in folio C. Thus, if the A and B folios were missing, the unnumbered folio and fol. C would have faced each other and, in turn, created the matching offsets. Folio Av contains the surviving badges described here. The square embroidery depicting the *Arma Christi* is affixed onto the page with gold thread. The embroidery is bordered by alternating red, gold, and blue flowers and leaves, which surround a green frame. Inside the frame are objects associated with the Crucifixion, including a cross; pinchers; nails; grey dice; gold coins; a pink pillar surmounted by a black and gold rooster; hammers; the brown poles of lance and sponge; brown, red, and gold scourging whips; a black and gold lantern; and the red monogram of Christ (‘IHS’).

The Arsenal Vera Icon shows Christ’s face surrounded by a light green and grey cross-nimbus, and grey keys of St. Peter below Christ’s face. The Vera Icon’s placement next to the *Arma Christi* iconographically and devotionally aligns the two images, as both contain objects associated with Christ’s Passion. In fact, other contemporary depictions of the *Arma Christi* show the Veronica amid these other objects.

The badge of St. Martha shows the saint in front of a fleur-de-lis background, holding an aspersorium and aspergillum, with the dragon underfoot. It appears to have been partially ripped off of the page, evidenced by the partially torn needle holes (probably from the original stitching, now lost). Additionally, a small corner of the badge is missing on the upper left, along with a small rip on its lower portion. The Martha imprint on the opposite folio (fol. B) is several millimeters higher than where it appears on fol. Av. This is confirmed by the folio needle holes behind the present badge. The string on the re-sewn badge is also a darker beige color than the other string used for the badges on this folio. Thus, it seems that it was originally affixed in a different location on the page—and somewhat crookedly and haphazardly—before being reattached lower on the page at a later date.

A small square object, now missing, was originally sewn to the left of the Martha badge. Another larger badge, to the right of the Martha badge and below the Vera Icon, is also lost.

Folios C and D contain later Latin texts regarding dating for this book, and a prayer on folio D (“Gratias iago tibi dominio omnipotens dues qui me…”). There may have been a large badge sewn in the lower half of C verso, based on a faint offset here and a mirroring round imprint on D recto. The badge measures 38 mm in diameter with a tooled inner edge and a border; any iconographic detail is indistinguishable.

At the bottom of fol. 156v near the end of the codex is another large, round imprint of a pilgrim badge, 42 mm in diameter with a 2 mm border. However, this offset does not match with any offsets on fol. A. Following fol. 156v is an additional unnumbered folio. Based on needle markings and offsets, its verso also originally held at least six to eight pilgrims’ badges. Ranging in sizes from 57 mm in diameter to 19 mm in diameter), they are all now missing. Tooled edges can be seen on the offsets of a few badges, as well as a greenish smudge. Dark grey brown smudges appear on the opposite from where the thread matches up with the needle holes on the previous folio.

Although bifolio A and B was paginated to be included at the beginning of the manuscript, it likely was originally placed at the end of the book, based on the faint imprints of the Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal stamp on fol. Ar, which aligns with the Arsenal stamp on fol. 156v. Therefore, the ending of this book would have included the prayer on fol. 156v, with one imprint; then the A and B bifolio, with the present badges; next, the end page (with imprints on the verso); and finally the end of the cover.
Unfortunately, many manuscripts have lost their pilgrims’ souvenirs. Badges were often removed by later owners, who perhaps found the souvenirs too cumbersome, bulky, distracting, or unattractive to be kept within the codex. However, in a few instances, the badges have been preserved, allowing analysis of the regular use of the book in daily prayer life which allowed the reader to revisit the badges and recall a journey to specific holy sites. As will become clear in these codices, the placement of the badges and their relation to adjacent prayers and other images contained within the manuscript likely influenced the owner’s reliving and remembering of the pilgrimage journey in manifold ways.

3.2: From Shrine to Cloak to Page

No precise numbers exist for the amount of pilgrims’ badges produced at any given holy site in the late medieval period. However, based on documented numbers of pilgrims who visited these sites—often hundreds of thousands each year for renowned destinations such as Rome, Aachen, and Chartres—one can assume that the metal smiths who made the badges along with the churches and private vendors who sold them were able to accommodate the high demand for holy souvenirs. Of the thousands of badges unearthed in the past 150 years, most are made of metal. Of these, the vast majority, mass-produced, were often cast of pewter or a lead/tin alloy. However, richer pilgrims were able to afford badges made of costlier metals, such as gold, silver, and silver-gilt. By the end of the fifteenth century, however, an increasing number were made of cloth, parchment, or paper.109

109 For more on the luxury badges, see Sarah Blick, “Popular and Precious: Silver-Gilt and Silver Pilgrim Badges.” Peregrinations: the International Society for the Study of Pilgrimage Art, website: http://peregrinations.kenyon.edu/vol2-1/DiscoveriesSection/Silver_gilt_v2.pdf (accessed 2009). Upper-class or noble pilgrims usually would receive special “luxury” badges, produced in a small series or individually, usually made of precious materials, such as copper, bronze, silver, silver-gilt, or occasionally gold; thus, poorer pilgrims would perhaps receive a pewter equivalent. A.M. Koldeweij, “Sacred and Profane: Medieval Mass-produced Badges.” Art and Symbolism in Medieval Europe, vol. 5 (Guy de Boe and Frans Verhaeghe, eds.) Zellik, 1997, p. 137; Koldeweij, “Lifting the Veil on Pilgrim Badges,” in Pilgrimage Explored. J. Stopford, ed. Suffolk, 1999, pp. 163, 182. Since these “luxury” badges were produced in small quantities, iconographic or numismatic comparisons with “lower-quality” badges (in order to localize a pilgrimage site) may prove difficult. Brian Spencer notes that many thirteenth-century badges produced on the European Continent (as opposed to those produced in England) were solid, flat plaques (bracteates), often circular, oval, pointed oval, or rectangular in shape,
The phenomenon of collecting pilgrims’ souvenirs was not new in the history of Christianity. As early as the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, pilgrims would collect oil, water, or dirt from pilgrimage sites (particularly those in the Holy Land) in small hollow tin or lead flasks, called *ampullae*.\(^\text{110}\) This popular form of pilgrim’s souvenir often was worn as a necklace or could be attached to the pilgrim’s clothing. Early Christian pilgrims believed that the substances in the ampullae held thaumaturgic (miracle-working) powers, and kept ampullae in their homes or used them for various ailments. Although scant evidence of pilgrim souvenirs survives from the eighth to the eleventh centuries, by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, inexpensive ampullae and other pilgrim souvenirs reappeared at various western European pilgrimage sites, and soon had widespread popularity. As time passed, pilgrim’s souvenirs began to appear in bracteate form, either cast from poured moulds or stamped from thin sheets of metal. By the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, these souvenirs became a recognized attribute of the pilgrim.

As a mass-produced item, the pilgrim badge was something that could be purchased by any pilgrim. Pinned to a cloak, hat, or bag, a pilgrim souvenir would be seen by everyone the pilgrim encountered and thus could serve several identifying functions when worn in public. On the one hand, they singled out the wearers as pilgrims, providing them with rights and amenities as they traveled, such as shelter and food. Furthermore, they visually signified the accomplishment of a pilgrimage, advertising which sites and shrines the pilgrim visited and how far the pilgrim traveled. The specific iconography of the badges also helped to connect pilgrims to particular saints.\(^\text{111}\) Badges thus became a form of social status and identity, as a proof or “sign” of pilgrimage.\(^\text{112}\)


Pilgrim badges also could acquire sanctification from the saint’s shrine, and pilgrims sought the blessing and protection of specific saints and shrines by visiting them. The badges were in close proximity or perhaps even direct contact with the holy shrine, often by being touched or pressed against the shrine to imbue them with miraculous powers, effectually making the badge a contact relic.\textsuperscript{113} When worn by a pilgrim, the souvenir could serve a talismanic or apotropaic function, capable of warding off evil and protecting the individual from harm. Indeed, the pilgrims’ practice of pinning badges to their clothing suggests the concern for a safe return journey from the holy site.\textsuperscript{114} Badges imbued with apotropaic powers were used to cure ailments or illnesses, either for their owner or for relatives incapable of undertaking the pilgrimage journey. Some were dipped in liquid that was either consumed or applied to the body. Badges could be placed inside houses or near livestock for safeguarding, or cast in bells in order to ring out the badges’ apotropaic properties and deter evil.\textsuperscript{115}

How do these key functions of pilgrim badges—as an outwardly displayed sign of an undertaken pilgrimage and as a carrier of sanctity that had been transferred upon it—change or remain the same when placed in a prayer book? Ultimately, the badges placed in private prayer books may have had different meanings and resonated differently than those worn by pilgrims, although some functions invariably overlapped.


\textsuperscript{114} Besides multiple depictions of pilgrims wearing badges in fifteenth-century paintings, other examples of pilgrim’s clothing include a cloak and badge-and-shell-filled hat (now in the Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, Germany) of a pilgrim named Stephen III Praun. See Anja Grebe, “Pilgrims and Fashion: The Functions of Pilgrims’ Garments,” in Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe, eds., \textit{Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles}, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill Academic Press, 2005), pp. 3-27. A hat, cloak, and staff with a scallop shell also have been found near Worcester, England; now seen at Worcester Cathedral, their former owner is dubbed the “Worcester Pilgrim.”

\textsuperscript{115} Spencer, \textit{Pilgrim Souvenirs}, p. 18. For more on pilgrims’ badges that were cast in bells, see Kurt Köster, “Mittelalterliche Pilgerzeichen,” in (eds.) L. Kriss-Rettenbeck and G Möhler, \textit{Wallfahrt kennt keine Grenzen} (1984), pp. 203-223; Elly van Loon-van de Moosdijk, “Pelgrimsinsignes op ‘Nederlandse’ Klokken,” in \textit{Heilig en Profaan} 2, pp. 112-127; and Jörg Poettgen, “Pilgerzeichen auf Glocken,” in \textit{Heilig en Profaan} 2, pp. 128-36, among other publications.
The placement of pilgrims’ badges in prayer books indicates that multiple forms of private devotion were increasingly significant in the religious lives of the late medieval laity. An individual sought not only a private prayer experience by reading a book of hours, but also an individual response within the larger mass experience of pilgrimage. In both cases, the private use of images within small-format devotional objects is integral. Placing badges within a prayer book combined aspects of a devotee’s private religious experiences: one object—the book—was used daily, and the other—the badge—was a memento from an extraordinary occurrence. Adding a souvenir of a special event to a frequently-used object allowed the former to be accessible on a more quotidian level. As Brian Spencer remarks, “…the stitching of badges into prayer books underlines the devotion with which even the most sophisticated pilgrims regarded their souvenirs.”

The talismanic or apotropaic function of badges worn by the pilgrim on the journey also could be transferred to the manuscript when the badge was sewn within its pages. Ursula Weekes suggests that “one of the chief motives for attaching pilgrim badges . . . to manuscripts was the notion that in so doing the owner of the book could appropriate the spiritual blessings of an external context such as the pilgrim shrine.” While the pilgrims’ practice of pinning badges to their clothing implies the concern for a safe return journey from the holy site, the sewing of badges into a manuscript suggests that the book’s contents themselves were valuable and needing the protection of apotropaic objects. Badges in manuscripts thus not only served devotional needs, but they also assumed the role of a talisman. The inclusion of multiple badges, either from different shrines and saints or repetitions of the same ones, suggests the

116 Another means of devotional interaction for the viewer was through the use of small textile curtains sewn over manuscript illuminations. These protective curtains would shield the images, requiring the reader to unveil and rediscover them as the text was read. See Christine Sciacca, “Raising the Curtain on the Use of Textiles in Manuscripts,” in Weaving, Veiling, and Dressing, pp. 161-190.
117 Spencer, Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges, p. 20.
118 Weekes, Early Engravers and their Public, p. 182.
120 Bruna, “Témoins,” p. 137. Eamon Duffy notes that certain types of prayers often added to books of hours included devotions and prayers intended to fend off evil or bring about material good, which he labels “apotropaic charms.” Marking the Hours, pp. 90-96. In the same way, the badges could be used as a further tool to ward off evil and protect the owner, perhaps in conjunction with these apotropaic prayers.
owner’s belief of greater and more powerful protection, a “strength in numbers” collection.\textsuperscript{121} Furthermore, the badges’ function as a contact relic made the book a receptacle for holding these relics—in effect, the codex becomes, as Mary Carruthers described, a reliquary or shrine.\textsuperscript{122}

Analogously, certain pilgrims’ badges may relate to the practice of acquiring indulgences. Earning indulgences was a significant reason for many to undertake a pilgrimage, and visiting specific shrines, particularly during a Jubilee Year or by papal decree, could earn the pilgrim a substantial indulgence. Pilgrims traveling to visit important churches in Rome, for example, could gain an indulgence of several thousand years to lessen their time in Purgatory; those traveling to the Holy Land could acquire one or more plenary indulgences.\textsuperscript{123}

Even more compelling is the pilgrim badge’s possible correlation with indulgenced prayers and images, the most noteworthy being the Vera Icon/Veronica. Many late medieval books of hours contained a prayer to the Holy Face, often accompanied by a miniature of Veronica holding the veil imprinted with Christ’s face, or simply an image of Christ’s face. This prayer gained widespread popularity thanks to a papal indulgence obtained by saying the prayer and viewing and meditating upon the image. Pilgrims who traveled to see this relic in Rome or other European Veronica pilgrimage shrines would purchase a small cloth, parchment, or metal badge depicting the Holy Face.\textsuperscript{124} Similar to other metal pilgrims’ souvenirs, Vera Icon badges were pasted in several manuscripts.\textsuperscript{125} Meditating on the Vera Icon badge while reciting the

\textsuperscript{121}\textsuperscript{121} Mellinkoff, Averting Demons, p. 44. She further cites Henry Maguire, who points out, “in many cases repetition does not mean dilution, but rather an intent to multiply the power of the sign, and thus render it more effective, rather than less.” See “Magic and Geometry in Early Christian Floor Mosaics and Textiles,” Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik (1994), pp. 269-270.

\textsuperscript{122}\textsuperscript{122} Mary Carruthers, The Book of Memory (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 246.


\textsuperscript{124} Veronicas were also distributed at other religious sites in Western Europe, such as in Weinhausen, Germany; thus, it cannot be assumed that all extant vernicles originated in Rome.

\textsuperscript{125} The most notable example of a manuscript with Vera Icon badges is a portion of the now-divided Prayer Book of Philip the Bold (Brussels Bibliothèque Royale MS 11035-37), fol. 96r, discussed in the next chapter. Affixed Vera Icon badges also can be seen in other books of hours, including Paris Bibliothèque Arsenal, MS 1176A rés, fol. Av (previously discussed); Utrecht Rijkmuseum Het Catharijneconvent RMCC MS 1, fol. 1; Carpentras Bibliothèque
Salve Sancta Facies, the Prayer to the Holy Face, would shave off several thousand years of time served in Purgatory. The Holy Face soon appeared as a popular painted badge in manuscript margins.\textsuperscript{126} As Jeffrey Hamburger observes, this exceptionally close relationship between the Holy Face relic, its pilgrimage site, its pilgrim souvenir, and its indulgence was often manifested in devotional manuscripts and could provide the owner an opportunity to perform a mental, or “proxy” pilgrimage.\textsuperscript{127}

Thus, pilgrim badges stored in prayer books combined two key means of receiving indulgences: the pilgrimage journey and the use of particular indulgenced prayers and images in the codex. A pilgrim badge served as material proof of the pilgrimage taken and a reminder of the indulgence bestowed upon the individual for visiting the holy site. When combined with indulgenced prayers and images in the book, the souvenir provided great spiritual efficacy, helping the devotee reduce time in Purgatory. By gazing upon (and perhaps even touching and kissing) the badge and its image, recalling the pilgrimage journey to the holy shrine, praying to the particular saint, and reciting an indulgenced prayer, the reader employed a number of devotional devices to earn indulgences. In effect, it was a cumulative approach to prayerful indulgenced meditation in order to lessen one’s time in Purgatory.

Badges sewn in prayer books also may have functioned as \textit{ex-votos}, as offerings to a saint represented in a manuscript in gratitude or as concrete proof of a fulfilled vow of pilgrimage. This notion seems particularly plausible in instances where badges were placed directly next to prayers and illuminations, be they Suffrage prayers to saints or popular devotions to the Virgin, such as the \textit{Obsecro te} or \textit{O intemerata}.\textsuperscript{128} They served as testimony of prayers heard or a

---

\textsuperscript{126} Kurt Köster originally calculated that at least twenty-eight painted representations of Vera Icon badges survive. “Gemalte Kollektionen,” p. 525. The online pilgrim badge database Kunera only provides illustrations for approximately half of Köster’s examples.


\textsuperscript{128} See, for example, the illumination of the Virgin on the Crescent in the \textit{Prayerbook of Philip the Bold} (Brussels Bibliothèque Royale MS 11035-37, fol. 6v), believed to be a miraculous image, originally was surrounded with 11 to 13 badges, all likely Marian in theme.
miracle received; their placement in a prayer book would allow the reader to repeatedly remember their fulfilled vow and the saint’s miraculous response.

A manuscript’s primary function as a written collection of prayers and devotions assumed additional roles with the inclusion of pilgrim souvenirs. On a practical level, the manuscript held badges for safekeeping, as would a token box or bag, so that these precious souvenirs would not get lost. In turn, the badges became part of the book’s fabric and an integral part of its structure.129 These mass-produced, ephemeral objects were made more permanent and durable when sewn into the book, becoming mementos that could be repeatedly used.130

A pilgrim badge’s function as an outward sign publicly identifying the pilgrim changed when it was housed in a prayer book. Instead, the pilgrim souvenir became associated with a more private viewing experience within the codex’s pages, where only one, or a few, individuals saw it at one time. In effect, the book became the physical matrix in which the pilgrimage was privately re-experienced by the reader. However, the collection of badges also could be displayed to anyone the owner wished, as a testament to their faith. Thus, the book was the device for exhibiting, reviewing, and sharing the accomplishment of the pilgrimage journey with others. If the book accompanied the owner during the pilgrimage, the pilgrim could display his badge collection to other pilgrims along the route; the collection could also be shown to others upon the pilgrim’s return. For descendants of the pilgrim’s family who passed down the manuscript, the book’s collection of badges was a mnemonic reminder of the holy sites visited by their ancestor, and perhaps served as a model of pilgrim piety.

129 van Asperen, “Praying, Threading, and Adorning”, p. 96.
130 The degree of permanence of pilgrims’ badges—whether they were meant to be kept for long-term use—is still under debate. Some scholars have suggested that pilgrims’ badges were more disposable, as in “Summary” by Koldewej in Heilig en Profaan, pp. 324-6. In particular, the large numbers of badges found in riverbeds or buried near muddy river banks have led some scholars to suggest that badges may have assumed an ex-voto function, perhaps even to help the pilgrim re-integrate into normal society after the pilgrimage was completed. See Bruna, Enseignes de Pelerinage et Enseignes Profanes, p. 15, and Michael Garcia, “Medieval Medicine, Magic, and Water: The dilemma of deliberate deposition of pilgrim signs”, Peregrinations: International Society for the Study of Pilgrimage Art 1:3, http://peregrinations.kenyon.edu/vol1-3.pdf (accessed spring 2009). Jennifer M. Lee has further posited that the badge’s primary amuletic function diminished after the pilgrimage was completed. Citing the large number of badges found in rivers and other bodies of water, as well as the prevalence of badges in organic construction backfill and rubbish, she argues that the “discarded material indicates the low intrinsic value ascribed to individual pilgrims’ signs once they were no longer being worn”, although she suggests that these badges could have been disposed as some sort of offering. “Searching for Signs: Pilgrims’ Identity and Experience Made Visible in the Miracula Sancti Thomae Cantuariensis” in (eds.) Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe, Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles, p. 478.
Not only could the physical journey of the pilgrimage be re-experienced, but also the psychological and emotional journey.\(^{131}\) The difficulties of travelling extended distances under arduous circumstances, as well as the elation which came with the fulfilment of each pilgrimage could be relived.\(^{132}\) This small physical memento encapsulated the gamut of feelings that were part of the pilgrim’s experience, including the strain of the lengthy, gruelling travel and the exhilaration of seeing, praying near, and perhaps even touching the saint’s shrine.\(^{133}\) In turn, the badges’ imagery helped the pilgrim to envision the pilgrimage shrine and the feeling of being in the presence of the saint. As Sarah Blick writes, “[the badge] offers a likeness of what the pilgrim witnessed, which in some way must capture the essence of what has been seen and experienced so that it can stir memory.”\(^{134}\) This immediate and intense emotion of experiencing the shrine and the saint made daily prayer more tangible and meaningful. Consequently, the badges provided an undercurrent of emotional immediacy during the routine reading and recitation of the book’s prayers. By revisiting the souvenir in the book and reliving the pilgrimage journey, an emotive element was added to daily prayer, helping to elevate the reader’s devotional experience.

Inserting badges into books also provided a degree of personalization in a prayer book that may or may have not been produced specifically for the owner’s personal spiritual needs. Most books of hours contained a standard set of Offices, prayers, and devotions with little

---

\(^{131}\) The notion that memory and emotions are intrinsically connected in the Middle Ages has been discussed by Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski. They comment that “memories themselves are affects in the soul and mind. In ancient philosophy, that property classified memory with the emotions and mean that each memory involves some kind of emotion; each memory is thus to an important degree a physiological, bodily phenomenon.” *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2003), p. 8.

\(^{132}\) While numerous pilgrims traveled long distances to famous religious sites, by the late Middle Ages, many pilgrimage cults reflected strong popularity on a more local level. In *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (New York, St. Martin’s Press, 1995), Ronald C. Finucane writes that pilgrims visiting most cults of English saints came from places less than 40 miles from the shrine (the primary exception being the cult of Thomas Becket). However, he goes on to state that while saints attracted the local devout and the start of their miracle-working careers, eventually more outside pilgrims were recorded visiting the site as local enthusiasm for the cult declined. pp. 169-171. See also “Introduction” in *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles* (Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe, eds.), p. xxi.

\(^{133}\) Perhaps the most famous example of a pilgrim’s documented emotion is in the *Book of Margery Kempe*, who describes being overcome with unremitting crying and sobbing while visiting pilgrimage sites in Jerusalem, the most famous incident occurring at the Tomb of Christ. *The Book of Margery Kempe*, trans. Lynn Staley (London: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 2001), pp. 49-54.

variance, with accessory prayers added depending on the patron’s wishes. As books of hours increased in popularity, and were produced in large numbers, production became more standardized, with codices written (or printed) and later supplemented with equally mass-produced sets of illustrations from workshops. The inserted pilgrims’ badges were able to complement or enhance favorite devotions, similar to accessory prayers included in a book of hours. Habitually-used, favorite prayers or illuminations may have resonated with the patron prior to departing on pilgrimage and could later be accentuated by an adjacent badge. Evidence of frequently-used texts can be seen in the high amount of dirt and wear on those particular folios. Pages that held pilgrims’ badges often display traces of heavy wear.

Congruently, the same personalization could be applied to mass-produced pilgrim souvenirs. Thousands of badges from a pilgrimage site were produced with similar material and iconography, yet each pilgrim layered his or her own devotional experience onto the purchased badge: the experiences traveling to the shrine, the emotions experienced, the prayers said at the shrine, and the spiritual closeness to the saint. As Blick suggests, “the souvenirs prompted memories that could be summoned again and again, recalling what they actually saw.” More than just identifying the bearer as a pilgrim, this small metal badge encapsulated the entire pilgrimage experience, one different from the thousands of other fellow pilgrims traveling to the same shrine. Though the badges could serve as an exterior testament of one’s faith when worn on clothing or a bag, they became more intimate and personal when placed within the manuscript’s pages.

135 These accessory texts include a Calendar of Church Feasts and Saints’ Days; excerpts from each of the four Gospels; the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary; the Seven Penitential Psalms; a Litany of the Saints; the Office for the Dead; and a collection of various prayers. Additional prayers include the often-included such as the Obsecro te and O Intemerata (both prayers of entreaty to the Virgin); a set of four Gospel lessons; the Hours of the Cross, the Hours of the Holy Spirit; and Suffrages to Saints. The personalization of a Book of Hours with supplementary texts and personal details about the book’s owner (coats of arms, entries of family births and deaths, even portraits) is discussed by Eamon Duffy in *Marking the Hours*, pp. 30-52.

136 Kathryn M. Rudy recently began investigating and quantifying the levels of dirt and grime deposited in books of hours by their owners, using a densitometer. In this project, she theorizes that the amount and intensity of grime on particular folios or sections of a prayer book can indicate the user’s interest or sentiment towards particular texts and/or images. Results from this project are forthcoming.

137 Blick, “Exceptions to Krautheimer’s Theory of Copying,” p. 132.

Initially, a pilgrimage may not have been connected with the daily use of the prayer book’s texts, but rather a separate devotional experience to be relived. Badges served as points of reference to what Weekes describes as “religious contexts outside of the book,” encouraging the reader to use them to contemplate and meditate beyond the prayers’ words within the book and to connect these prayers to other outside devotional experiences.\textsuperscript{139} In many instances, the badge’s iconography depicted the relic, shrine, or cult statue, reproducing characteristic elements of the objects of the pilgrim’s devotion, reminding viewers of their visit to the shrine and what they saw there.\textsuperscript{140} Still other badges represented a saint or an episode from the saint’s life; pilgrims could then imagine themselves in the presence of that saint when they physically visited the shrine, as well as picturing the saint’s hagiographic narrative.\textsuperscript{141} Such images then could be coupled with specific prayers in the manuscript, such as saints’ Suffrages, which recount the saint’s life and seek intercession and help.\textsuperscript{142} The badge’s image provided a visual shortcut for

\textsuperscript{139} Weekes, \textit{Early Engravers}, p. 182.

\textsuperscript{140} Examples include badges from the shrines of St. Thomas Becket, St. Denis, the Holy Rood at Aachen, Notre-Dame at Halle, and St. Adrian of Geraardsbergen, and Notre-Dame at Rocamadour. See the pilgrim badge database Kunera (http://www.let.kun.nl/); as well as catalog entries in Bruna, \textit{Enseignes de Pèlerinage et Enseignes Profanes}; H.J.E. Van Beuningen and A.M. Koldeweij, \textit{Heilig en Profaan}; H.J.E. Van Beuningen, A.M. Koldeweij and D. Kicken, \textit{Heilig en Profaan 2}; Spencer, \textit{Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges}. Among the further analyses on particular pilgrims’ badges depicting the saint’s relics or shrine, see essays in \textit{Heilig en Profaan} as well as \textit{Gevonden Voorwerpen: Opstellen over middeleeuwse archeologie}, (Rotterdam Papers nr. 11) H.J.E. Van Beuningen, A.M. Koldeweij and D. Kicken, (Rotterdam, 2000); Kurt Köster, “Pilgerzeichen und Wallfahrtsplaketten von St. Adrian in Geraardsbergen,” in \textit{Städel-Jahrbuch} (4:1973), pp. 103-120; idem., \textit{Pilgerzeichen und Pilgermuscheln von mittelalterlichen Santiagostraßen} (Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz Verlag., 1983); Sarah Blick, “Reconstructing the Shrine of St. Thomas Becket, Canterbury Cathedral” in (eds.) Blick and Tekippe, \textit{Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe}, pp. 405-441; and Marike de Kroon, “Pilgrim Ampullae from Vendôme: Souvenirs from a Pilgrimage to the Holy Tear of Christ,” \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 443-472.


\textsuperscript{142} A clear example of this occurs in the \textit{Prayer Book of Philip the Bold} (Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum MS 3-1954), discussed further in the next chapter. Another compelling example of badges used in close conjunction with suffrages is a modest late-fifteenth century Dutch book of hours in Brussel’s Bibliothèque Royale (MS IV 497). The manuscript’s suffrage prayers to saints are accompanied by blank spaces, left for illuminations never completed. On
the saint’s life or martyrdom and a focal point of devotional entreaty and meditation.\textsuperscript{143} By visiting these holy sites, the pilgrim achieved close physical proximity to these saints, and thus could achieve close spiritual proximity to them when reading about the saints in their prayer book. The reader could recall standing in the presence of the saint’s shrine and the efficacy of the saint while praying the suffrage.

In effect, the act of turning the pages of the prayer book containing pilgrims’ becomes another form of pilgrimage. This unfolding of the journey in the book is similar to contemporary devotional pilgrimage texts which describe local details such as geography, churches and shrines at famed destinations such as the Holy Land; these descriptions encourage the reader to undertake a pilgrimage within his or her mind.\textsuperscript{144} The anticipation and the unveiling of the badges occurred as the reader moved through the pages. The reliving of the emotions and devotions associated with the acquisition of the badge, or badges, becomes the mental journey, and rather than experiencing the entire pilgrimage journey by using the manuscript’s contents, the reader could dip into a section of the book to focus devotions, the equivalent of following a shorter pilgrimage.

In some instances, it seems plausible that the manuscripts actually journeyed with the books’ owners on their various travels, perhaps even on pilgrimage, kept safe in a girdle purse. By travelling with a manuscript, the pilgrimage experience is doubled with physical and mental souvenirs: not only did the pilgrim acquire pilgrim badges that were later affixed in the manuscript, but also the pilgrim gained the remembrance of how the book was used during the physical journey (such as prayers along the route, or specific manuscript prayers to saints while visiting their namesake shrine).\textsuperscript{145}

Not surprisingly, the majority of prayer books containing badges belonged to the upper and middle classes. Many of the surviving badges sewn into manuscripts were made of precious

\textsuperscript{143} Hanneke van Asperen, “Gebed, geboorte, en bedevaart Genealogie en pelgrimstekens in het getijdenboek D'Oiselet (Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms 77 L 60)” \textit{Desipientia} 11:2 (November 2004), p. 44.


metals such as silver-gilt, silver, or gold, which only the rich could purchase. Moreover, the books that contain(ed) badges were often of a more luxurious quality, frequently containing rich illuminations that, in late medieval society, only the affluent could afford. While dozens of manuscripts with evidence of pilgrims’ badges survive, their precise provenance is sometimes difficult to trace and their original owners, perhaps those who added the badges to the codices, often remain unknown. This raises questions, many of which remain unanswered. For example, it is unclear whether a manuscript’s pilgrims’ badges were collected on one journey. Indeed, it is plausible that a group of badges kept in a book could be an amalgamation of a lifetime’s worth of pilgrimage journeys experienced by the book owner. Whether all badges collected by the individual on pilgrimage found their way onto the pages of a manuscript is also uncertain. Some may have been given more priority than others, and thus deemed worthy of being sewn into the prayer book. Moreover, it often cannot be determined if one person was solely responsible for the gathering of pilgrim souvenirs in a particular manuscript. The affixed badges could have been received as gifts or collected on pilgrimages across several family generations.

Jos Koldeweij notes that the rich would buy badges made of precious metals, while the poor pilgrims could only afford those made of tin or pewter. “Sacred and Profane: Medieval Mass-Produced Badges,” in (eds.) Guy de eBoe and Frans Verhaeghe, Art and Symbolism in Medieval Europe, vol. 5. (Zellik: Instituut voor het Archeologisch Patrimonium, 1997), p. 137. Brian Spencer also comments that aristocratic pilgrims such as the Dukes of Burgundy and the French king Charles VIII commissioned and bought the costlier badges (although King Louis XI of France once wore an inexpensive lead pilgrim badge on a hat), and observed that gold badges might have cost at least 300 times their equivalent in pewter. He further observes that copper and brass badges were cast by the second half of the fifteenth century, but few of these badges made of precious metals survive. See Spencer, Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges, p. 12-13. Because of the intrinsic monetary value of these badges, their owners may have chosen not to sew them on cloaks or hats, but carried them for safekeeping after departing the pilgrimage shrine. Charles VII, for example, carried 42 gold badges from Notre-Dame in Embrun on a gold scarf with crimson lining. Spencer, Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges, p. 13.

For more on the upper and middle classes who owned books of hours, see Roger S. Wieck, Time Sanctified, pp. 33-35. Among the badge-augmented manuscripts once belonging to noble or royal owners are Brussels Bibliothèque Royale MS 11035-37 and Cambridge Fitzwilliam MS 3-1954 (divided portions of the Prayer book of Philip the Bold, discussed in the next chapter); Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 1370 (Hours of King Charles VIII); Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 1800 (Prayer Book and Diptych of Philip the Good), also discussed in the next chapter; Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 1859 (Prayer Book for Emperor Charles V, discussed in a later chapter); Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS s.n. 2624 (Book of Hours of Emperor Ferdinand I), to be discussed; Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS s.n. 2596 (Book of Hours and Psalter of Ferdinand I), also to be discussed in this dissertation; and Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 1159 (Hours of Pierre II, Duke of Bretagne). Sewing badges into books was not limited to the upper classes. Examples of humbler books with pilgrims’ souvenirs survive, such as a late-fifteenth century Dutch book of hours in Brussels’s Bibliothèque Royale (MS IV 497).

See the discussion on pilgrimage and the Burgundian ducal family in the following chapter.
Another important feature is the badges’ location in the manuscript. Their arrangement within the codex may provide clues as to their purpose for the owner, as the reader’s interaction with the badges potentially was affected by how they were grouped. In general, the placement of pilgrims’ badges seems to follow two general patterns. Often, the badges were assembled on one or two folios, frequently clustered on the guard folios at the beginning or end of the book. In fact, Thomas Kaufmann and Virginia Roehrig Kaufmann suggest that the key purpose of the guard folios in some manuscripts was for the attachment of pilgrims’ souvenirs. Occasionally, though, they were gathered together on other folios, such as on the beginning or final pages of the calendar sequence. Perhaps since badges were slightly thicker than the manuscript’s vellum folia, they were best kept in one place to avoid cluttering the rest of the book. The result is a small section of the manuscript highly concentrated with badges, allowing for easy access and reference by the owner. Another trend distributed badges throughout the pages of the manuscript, often near relevant text or illuminations where the owner found distinct devotional resonances between the badges and the codex’s contents. The three following examples

---

Among other examples, see The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliothek MS 77 L 60, fol. 98, discussed shortly; Paris, Bibliothèque Arsenal MS 1176, fol. Av (with extant badges and an embroidery); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 1394, fol. 1 (offsets on fol. 2); Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 2895, fol. 1r (offsets); Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 2596, fols. 1v, 371v; Leeds, University Library Brotherton 7, fol. 5 (offsets); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 1159 (the Hours of Pierre II, Duke of Bretagne), fol. Iv (offsets on fol. II); Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertine MS 59 (Hours of Antoine Bourdin), fol. 110 (Vera icon badge and five offsets); Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 1800 (Prayer Book and Diptych of Philip the Good), fols. II, and 32r (offsets); Berkeley, CA, Huntington Library, HM 1136, fol. 1 (offsets); Princeton University, Firestone Library Garrett 59, fols. 2v, 3 (offsets); Sotheby’s 26 November 1985, lot 134 (offsets).
150 See, for example, a book of hours sold at Christie’s (lot 13, sale 7725, 3 June 2009), with souvenirs of Veronica and St. Mathurin on fol. 13v, along with five offsets from now-missing badges, their offsets seen along the top margin. http://www.christies.com/Lotfinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=5210107 (accessed June 2009). Also see The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek MS 74 G 35, with traces of pilgrims’ badges near the end of the calendar on fol. 13v, as well as on fols. V and VI. A manuscript now in New York’s Pierpont Morgan Library (MS Wightman 2) has traces of at least three badges on fol. 1, the calendar’s month of January, as does the “D’Oiselet Hours,” discussed below. Interestingly, the badges affixed to these pages do not necessarily correspond with their respective saints’ days as they are listed within the calendar sequence.
151 Among other examples are Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 51, discussed later; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 8645, fols. 6v, 9v(?), 23v, 30r, 35r(?), 37v(?), 71v; Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS IV 497, fols. 90v, 91r (offsets); Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 10.541, on unfoliated flyleaf and fols. 10v, 13v, 17v(?), 64v(?)(offsets); Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 11035-37 (the Prayer Book of Philip the Bold), fols. 6r, 6v, 7r, 34v, 87v, 96v (offsets, except for fol. 96r); Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 3-1954 (the Prayer Book of Philip the Bold), fols. 226v, 227r, 237r, 237v, 239, 240, 241r, 243r, 244r, 246v, 250v, 251r, 252r, 252v, 253r, 274v, 275r (offsets); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS n.a.f. 16428 (Prayer Book of Philip the Good), fols. 3r, 7r (?), 13r, 19r, 28v, 94v (offsets), Chantilly, Bibliothèque Muséé Condé MS
illustrate how these distinct groupings of extant pilgrim’s badges may have functioned within manuscripts.

3.3: A Page of Pilgrimages: The Hours of Gillette van der Ee (Bad Godesburg [Bonn], Collection Hermann Kunst, MS 5) and The D’Oiselet Hours, (The Hague Koninklijke Bibliothek MS 77 L 60)

Among extant manuscripts, the predominant method for displaying pilgrim’s badges was by clustering souvenirs on one or two folios. Dozens of manuscripts with badges kept in this manner still exist. Unfortunately, more often than not the souvenirs themselves have since disappeared, perhaps removed by later owners who did not recognize the devotional value placed on them by their previous owners (although, in the case of badges cast from precious metal, the monetary value may have been recognized). In a few instances, the badges were affixed to the badges firmly enough that the outlines of the souvenirs can be seen with some legibility. One such example can be seen in a Flemish book of hours from c. 1460-80, sold at a 1985 Sotheby’s auction. [fig. 2] Here, the imprints of twenty-nine badges (along with stitching marks) clearly mark the folio. While not all of the badges are identifiable to a specific pilgrimage site, some can be clearly discerned, such as Notre-Dame from Halle (in the upper left corner), the Holy Cross at Zande (third row, far right), and St. Adrian of Geraardsbergen in the first row, far left. Even if shrines cannot be conclusively linked, particular iconographic details can be recognized: Virgin and Child badges are evident in the third row, far left as well as the fourth row, far right (perhaps another badge from Halle?); and numerous badges depict standing saints (such as one with a bishop’s mitre, first row, fourth badge).

In many other instances, however, the only traces of pilgrims’ badges are the faint dark and discoloration around the needle holes in the vellum. While the shape and size of the souvenir may be apparent, along with perhaps a faint outline of a human figure or geometric shapes, one cannot discern any other specific iconographic aspects of the badges. Without a direct correlation to any adjacent text or miniature, determining the badges’ iconography is

XIV, C. 3, fols. 1v, 7r (offsets); and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 1859 (Prayer Book for Emperor Charles V), fols. 131v, 209v, 250r (offsets).

152 Spencer, Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges, pp. 19-20.
nearly impossible. Thankfully a handful of manuscripts still hold pilgrims’ badges within their folios; by examining these examples, we may be able to understand which souvenirs (and which pilgrimage shrines) were popular with the books’ owners. In turn, we may be able to speculate on the types of shrines represented in now-lost souvenirs from other manuscripts.

3.3.1: The *Hours of Gillette van der Ee*

One example, a Book of Hours from the fifteenth century, has lost most of its extensive collection of badges, save for less than a half-dozen souvenirs [fig. 3].153 This manuscript, now in Bonn, originally contained between nineteen and twenty-one metal souvenirs on the verso of the ruled guard folio, opposite the opening of the calendar (fol. 2v). They were originally arranged in six rows, packed closely together to fit on the folio. Of these souvenirs, five partial or whole souvenirs remain, along with a sixth souvenir of the Virgin and Child from a later date. They are sewn into place with red thread, which can be clearly seen on the opposite side of the folio. They are now protected from the opposite folio, the calendar month of January, with a thin piece of gauzy silk. Besides these few surviving badges are traces of approximately fourteen now-lost badges, which left offsets and needle punctures.154 The page is worn and dirty, suggesting that these badges were viewed and used frequently by the book’s owner.

The five extant badges are silver-gilt and bracteate (thin, flat, and solid) in form, and perhaps made in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Arranged in two rows, they include:

- (First row) A shield-shaped badge (32x26mm), partially missing the right edge of the souvenir. It is held in place by threads in the corners of the badge. It depicts the Virgin and Child seated in a C-curved boat over swirls of water. To the left of the pair is an angel form, holding the boat’s rigging ropes. A frame interspersed with rosettes surrounds the scene. This badge originates from the pilgrimage site of Notre-Dame at Boulogne-sur-Mer.

---

153 *Hours, Tournai Use (?)*, c. 1470-1490. 190 x 130 mm (text block 98 x 71 mm), 1+ 92 + 1 folios. Contents include a calendar (fol. 1); Hours of the Cross (fol. 8); Hours of the Holy Spirit (fol. 12r); Mass of the Virgin (fol. 16r), Hours of the Virgin (fol. 25r); Antiphons for John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, Anthony, Catherine, Barbara, and All Saints (fol. 59r); Seven Pentiitial Psalms (fol. 63r); Litany (fol. 70r); Hours of the Dead (fol. 76r); Prayers to the Virgin (*Obsecor te, O intemerata*), fol. 87r.

154 See Köster, “Wallfahrtdevotionalien,” p. 84.
• A square badge (24x24mm), with slightly damaged corners around the needle holes. Inside a circle is a crowned Virgin and Child; below them, dominating the composition, is Mary’s tunic, shown with several folds, wide sleeves and a cross at its neckline. Rosettes surround the image within the circle. This badge is associated with the pilgrimage shrine of the Holy Tunic at Aachen.

• An octagonal badge (23x20mm), showing two angels holding up a chasse-shaped shrine surmounted by a crown (and three crosses?). Below, the Gothic minuscule word “waver” is written, conclusively linking the badge to the shrine at Notre-Dame in Wavre. Its lower right corner is slightly damaged.

• (second row) A round badge, (22mm diameter), with some damage to the upper and lower portions. Seated in the middle is a haloed male saint, holding a book in his right hand and a long staff surmounted with a Tau cross in his left. Tau crosses flank both sides, along with a bell (left) and a star (right). Based on the Tau cross, the badge likely represents St. Anthony, although the specific pilgrimage site is not certain (although there were pilgrimage shrines in the French Alps as well as in Wesel and Grünberg, both in present-day northeast Germany).

• The upper portion of an oval badge. The offset indicates it was originally approximately 25x22mm. Visible are the haloed heads of the Virgin and Christ child surrounded by a decorative frame; the rest of composition has been lost. Since many Virgin and Child badges survive and are linked with multiple pilgrimage shrines, it is impossible to link this souvenir with a specific site.

• An oval badge from a later date (24x20mm) depicts a standing, crowned Virgin holding the haloed Infant Christ; she carries a scepter in her other hand. Around the badge’s border is an inscription:” “S. MARIA A OETHING/ Patrona BAVARIA”. This Virgin and Child badge is from the shrine of the Miraculous Image of the Virgin and Child in Altötting, in southeast Germany.155

---

Although the outlines of the missing badges are clearly visible, the offsets’ details are not dark enough to determine any other pilgrimage shrines. Many of these souvenirs were round, and range in size from 15 to 34 mm in diameter. However, at least two rectangular badges with gabled or pointed tops were included in the collection (in the lower right corner as well as the second row from the bottom, near the center of the row). This rectangular form was common for badges of St. Adrian from Geraardsbergen, suggesting a possible pilgrimage shrine for this missing souvenir(s); in particular, the lower right corner souvenir, with its thin border frame.

Along with this collection, three small rectangular painted parchment souvenirs are affixed to the recto of the last ruled yet otherwise blank folio in the manuscript (fol. 95r). Some appear to have been glued on, although remnants of thread indicate they were also partially sewn onto the folio. These include:

- A kneeling haloed female saint in a blue and maroon robe, holding a large chalice. She appears on a gold background with a dark blue frame. While it is not fully certain, the saint is likely Barbara, as the chalice is one of her attributes. (parchment 59x47mm, framed image approximately 41x29mm)

- To the right of the Barbara souvenir is an image of the Christ child sitting with a sheep in his lap. From Christ’s right shoulder is a banderole with an inscription. The composition is surrounded by frame with ornamentation on its corners. (parchment 48x41mm, image is 35x26mm)

- In the lower left corner, below the Barbara souvenir, is an image of Veronica holding the veil depicting Christ’s face. Above her head is a pattern of three dots, perhaps an allusion to Christ’s wounds. (parchment 45x34mm, image is 32x26mm)

While it is not fully certain who collected and affixed these souvenirs to the front and back of the book, an inscription on the inside front cover identifies one owner: “Desen boeck hoert to/ vander Ee huysvrouwe/ Anthonius van Houtheem. [This book belongs to the wife of Köster translates the inscription as “doer m[i]jn.v.wo[nd]en heb ic mijn scaepken vo[nd]en.” See “Wallfahrtsdevotionalien,” p. 86.
Several scholars have identified this individual as Gillette van der Ee (1470-1543), the wife of Anton van Houthem, Lord of Meerbeek. Both her father, Bartholomew, as well as her grandfather, Adrian, worked as the Master of the Chambres des Comptes for the dukes of Burgundy in the second half of the fifteenth century. Given that the Burgundian dukes collected badges in their prayer books—discussed at length in the next chapter—it is worth noting that individuals working under the ducal realm maintained a similar practice, and that this book may have traveled within the Burgundian court circle of officers and councilors.

It is not clear who assembled this manuscript’s badge collections at the front and back of the book (none appear throughout the body of the manuscript). Gillette herself is a possible candidate for collecting the souvenirs, since the bracteate badges likely date to the last quarter of the fifteenth century and she may have acquired them while she was young. It is also feasible that the badges at the front of the book were collected by an ancestor, perhaps her father or grandfather, and then she or another member of her family added the later parchment badges (from around the turn of the sixteenth century) at the end of the codex.

The shrines represented by the extant badges on fol. 2v—Aachen, Wavre, and Boulogne-sur-Mer—are all popular pilgrimage shrines easily accessible from the Brabant province. The possibility that a badge(s) from the shrine of St. Adrian at Geraardsbergen was included is even more plausible given that her grandfather is the saint’s namesake, although it is unclear whether he, his son, or his granddaughter would have acquired the souvenir(s).

The parchment souvenirs may have been placed at the end of the book simply due to lack of space, as the original arrangement of metal souvenirs filled all of fol. 2v. However, it is fitting that the parchment images of the Virgin and the Veronica be placed near the end of the book, next to important Marian prayers that mention Christ’s life and death.

157 Köster, “Wallfahrtsdevotionalien,” p. 86. A second transcription under this is more difficult to read, due to it being partially scratched away and then overwritten. Köster transcribed it as “Amicum non reputes eum qui te/presentem laudauerit, sed op[it feren]tem.” p. 86.
158 Her brother, Jean, Lord of Quabeck, was childless, and when Gillette married Anton, she became lady of Quabeck. Quabeck and Meerbeek are in the Brabant province of Belgium. Her grandfather, Adrian, was secretary in 1434, and then was in Council, before becoming the Master of the Chambres des Comptes. Köster, p. 86
159 It is also worth mentioning that these particular souvenirs—Wavre, Aachen, Boulogne-sur-Mer, and to a lesser extent, St. Anthony—repeatedly appear in painted representations of pilgrims’ badges. See Chapter 6 for further discussion.
3.3.2: The *D’Oiselet Hours*

The *D’Oiselet Hours* has one of the largest and most intact collections of pilgrim badges sewn into a devotional manuscript\(^{160}\) [*fig. 4*]. Made in Bruges between 1440 and 1460, this codex holds a collection of twenty-three metal pilgrims’ badges, made of gold, pewter, and a lead-tin alloy. Originally located opposite fol. 90v (as evidenced by the badge imprints still visible on this page), the badges are now fastened to fol. 98, the end cover page and part of a nineteenth-century quire.\(^{161}\) Surmising the original placement of the badges is difficult, though traces of one badge offset are still visible on folios IIv and I, which begins the calendar for the month of January, indicating that they may have been originally clustered together on one or two pages to be viewed simultaneously.

The pilgrimage destinations of the badges featured in the *D’Oiselet Hours* primarily focus on shrines in France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Switzerland.\(^{162}\) They include:

- St. Hubert, St.-Hubert-en-Ardenne
- Holy Tunic of the Virgin, Aachen
- Three Kings with Mary and Christ, Cologne
- St. Claude, Jura (three badges)
- Christ and Lazarus, perhaps La-Sainte-Beaume, Aix-en-Provence
- St. Quentin, Saint-Quentin
- Mary of Egypt (Mary Magdalene), La-Sainte-Beaume, Aix-en-Provence
- Virgin and Child, Bürren an der Aare (near Bern)
- Virgin and Child, Mont-Roland
- St. Adrian, Geraardsbergen

\(^{160}\) 98 fols., 196x134 mm. Latin prayers of Bruges use. Eleven full-page illuminations were executed by an artist dubbed the Master of the Small Eyes. The codex also contains border decoration, decorated initials, and pen initials with flourishes.

\(^{161}\) The original folio on which the badges were located has since disappeared from the manuscript. Imprints from the badges are apparent on the opposite folio, 97v. Although difficult to discern due to the handwritten text on the folio, by comparing the arrangement of offsets on fol. 90v, it is clear that the badges were repositioned before being re-sewn onto fol. 98.

• St. Martha, Tarascon
• St. Nicholas, St.-Nicholas-de-Port
• Annunciation, s’Gravenzande
• Annunciation badge, provenance unknown
• Holy Cross with shield, provenance unknown
• St. Theobald with shield, between two kneeling pilgrims, Thann
• Badge with unidentified martyr holding palm about to be beheaded, angel placing martyr’s crown on head, provenance unknown
• St. Anne between two bishops’ busts, Düren
• Virgin and Child with bishop, Einsiedeln
• St. Denis, Paris

Thanks to genealogical entries in the codex, the historical provenance of the *D’Oiselet Hours* is well-documented, revealing that the likely collector of these pilgrimage badges was Claude de la Chambre (1467-?), a squire and arms bearer who spent most of his life in the village of Montjustin in Haute-Saône in the region of Franche-Comté, then a Burgundian province. This assumption is based on the predominance of badges from the nearby pilgrimage site of St. Claude in the Jura (Besançon), also in the region Franche-Comté, which, as Claude de la Chambre’s namesake, would undoubtedly appeal to him. Since he lived in Montjustin for most of his life, Claude likely would have visited nearby cult sites, such as St. Claude, Jura and the Virgin and Child at Mont-Roland. Indeed, most of the badges’ destinations are relatively local sites within Western Europe: north and central France, including Paris,

---

163 This badge was originally identified as St. Margaret. Van Asperen, “Gebed, geboorte, en bedevaart,” pp. 41-42.
164 Claude’s father, Symon de la Chambre of Burgundy, purchased this book. Aside from attaching pilgrim’s badges, this manuscript was further personalized with documentation of important family events, mainly births and baptisms, until the early seventeenth century (for example, on fols. 18r, 29r, 44v, 45r, 55r 60r, 70v, 72r, 73r, as well as on the bottom of several of the calendar folios). Symon wrote a lengthy annotation announcing the birth of Claude, suggesting that Claude’s birth was the reason for the purchase of the manuscript. Based on this evidence, it appears that the manuscript was kept within the family for several generations. Koldeweij, “Pelgrimsinsignes in het Getijdenboek ‘D’Oiselet,” p. 46; Van Asperen, “Gebed, geboorte en bedevaart,” p. 40.
Picardy, and Alsace; Provence, Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, all of which he likely saw on his travels [see Appendix B].

The exact dates of Claude de la Chambre’s trips to these sites are unknown, as is how he kept the badges on his person after acquiring them, whether or not he actually wore these pilgrim badges on his clothing during his journey or kept them in a bag or perhaps even in the manuscript if taken on his travels. Nonetheless, that he affixed these badges into his prayer book suggests that he deemed them, and the holy figures portrayed, important enough to be preserved. The inclusion of several badges of St. Claude, his name saint, indicates that he wished to personalize the prayer book, as well as to call upon his patron saint for special protection and blessings.

The nineteenth-century re-sewing of the pilgrim souvenirs in the D’Oiselet Hours erased any chance of knowing Claude de la Chambre’s original arrangement and intentions for use of the badges in his book. In their current composition, it seems that the decorative is prioritized over the devotional. Affixed with the same pale pink thread, the souvenirs are arranged in a vertically symmetrical pattern covering the entire folio. The two rectangular badges are positioned on the page’s central axis, with gold badges clustered together in a square pattern in the upper half of the folio. They are not grouped iconographically or thematically, but by material and shape.

Although the organizational significance of the badges to Claude is unknown, much can be understood by examining his choice of souvenirs which reveals those pilgrimages he considered important for his spiritual life. Whether the visits to shrines were a short distance or further afield, these pilgrimages became one large, amalgamated journey, an accumulation of religious travels concentrated in one place for easy and immediate re-visititation and reflection, and for sharing with others. The pilgrimage memory primarily displayed on one folio allowed Claude greater flexibility to use the badges according to his own spiritual needs and edification:

---

165 None of these badges are from famed distant shrines such as Rome, Santiago de Compostela, or the Holy Land.

166 Perhaps the badges were originally arranged and affixed thematically by grouping of saints (for example, the Marian badges, or badges of his namesake Saint Claude singled out on the page), which would suggest that perhaps Claude prioritized certain badges over others based on their placement on the folio. He may have also fastened the badges according to the order of their acquisition.

It was pointed out to the author that the current composition of some the badges echoes that of a cross. My thanks to Shelley MacLaren for this observation.
he could survey the visual impact of his entire “pilgrimage career” on one page, or he could focus on individual badges.

Additionally, placing the badges on one page concentrated the spiritual efficacy of the pilgrims’ badges—the saints’ holy presence, as well as the souvenirs’ role as contact relics—for easy access by the reader. Claude de la Chambre and subsequent owners of the *D’Oiselet Hours* could simultaneously call on the sanctified community of “all saints”—and, in the case of Claude, special attention to his name saint—and experience their holy presence through the badges simply by turning to one page. After originally having their saintly protection while on his journeys, Claude could call on their continual assistance in his prayer book.

Hanneke van Asperen suggested that the badges of the Virgin and other saints in this codex functioned as devotional images to which devotees could address their prayers. In turn, the badges could emulate Suffrage prayers, which were a common feature in Hours but not in the *D’Oiselet* manuscript.¹⁶⁷ Placing the badges all on one folio also may have provided a personal spiritual connection to the saints listed in the repetitive and hypnotic Litany prayers—evoked for their help and blessings—which are included in the *D’Oiselet Hours*. The collection of pilgrims’ badges on one folio visually echoes the list of saints’ names that appear after the Penitential Psalms. In turn, the reader can read across or down the page, appealing to each saint depicted in the badges and asking for their blessings and protection in a litany form (“…pray for us”). Since Claude de la Chambre visited these saints’ shrines personally, this form of visual litany would be a revisiting of each pilgrimage destination. The entreaty to the saints becomes a series of cursory memories of each saint, each shrine, and each petition made at that shrine, from his religious journeys. The pilgrim badge litany facilitated a rapid mental pilgrimage through all the holy sites Claude visited.

### 3.4: Pilgrimage across the Pages: Oxford Bodleian Library MS Douce 51

In contrast, a small sample of devotional manuscripts demonstrates pilgrims’ badges aligned in a one-to-one correlation with certain prayers and images. In these examples, the pilgrimage experience and the book’s contents were intertwined, demonstrating a complex,

---

¹⁶⁷ Van Asperen, “Gebed, geboorte en bedevaart,” pp. 43-45. No codicological evidence suggests there were Suffrage prayers originally in the codex.
nuanced, and multilayered relationship between badge and prayer. As Jos Koldeweij noted, “. . . by literally sewing the laboriously obtained badges onto one or more pages of a prayer-book, the concrete reality of the object from the pilgrim resort [site] was combined with the abstract spirituality of the prayer or Biblical text.” In turn, the act of remembering and re-experiencing the pilgrimage becomes transformed through reading and contemplating the adjacent prayers and imagery. The book’s prayers become an integral—indeed a necessary—part of reliving pilgrimage experience. The journey through the words of the book’s prayers mirrors the physical journey; the meditation on the images in both miniatures and badges mirrors the meditation on the image of the shrine itself.

The badges amplified the spiritual power of the manuscript’s contents as they distributed the spiritual and apotropaic power of the pilgrimage shrine through the pages of the book. Placed next to a specific prayer, the badges supplemented the devotion of the reader during reading or meditation. The combined efficacy of saint’s image in the souvenir, the badge as a contact relic, and the manuscript’s words and pictures would provide a focal point for piety, a locus sanctus within the codex.

Such a case could be argued with a book of hours (Oxford Bodleian Library MS Douce 51), originating in France around 1490. Its program of decoration contains numerous full- and half-page illuminations, many surrounded by Flemish panel borders. These illuminations were executed by the Master of Edward IV, who may have worked in the Hainault region.

Although the original owner is unknown, and it is uncertain whether the book’s owner took the codex on pilgrimage (or pilgrimages), it appears that this owner made a conscientious effort to place pilgrims’ badges in close correspondence with the book’s images and prayers.

Originally, at least six thin metal badges were sewn in the richly illuminated folia margins throughout the manuscript. Of these, five still survive, dispersed over four separate leaves:

---

168 Koldeweij, “Pilgrim Badges Painted in Manuscripts: A North Netherlandish Example,” p. 211. Koldeweij also notes that painted badges were valued in much the same way.

169 135 x 96 mm, 244 folios. The codex contains Latin prayers of Roman use. This manuscript appears to be the only book illustrated by the Master of Edward IV, which was later augmented with pilgrims’ souvenirs. Bodo Brinkmann, Die Flämische Buchmalerei am Ende des Burgunderreichs: Der Meister des Dresdener Gebetbuchs und die Miniaturisten seiner Zeit (2 vols.) Turnhout: Brepols, 1997, pp. 397-398, and Illuminating the Renaissance, pp. 295-296.
- Fol. 45v: Virgin and Child surrounded by kneeling angels in a heart-shaped frame
- Fol. 58v: Virgin and Child in front of crossbeam, in a heart-shaped mandorla
- Fol. 59r: Virgin and Child in Gothic dais (Notre-Dame-du-Puy-en-Velay)
- Fol. 59r: Crucifixion badge
- Fol. 74v: Mary Magdalen (St.-Maximian-La-Sainte-Baume)

Additionally, an offset on folio 123r suggests that the manuscript held another badge. Whether this badge was lost or removed, or whether an extant badge was moved to another page, is unclear. The offset’s shape and dimensions are nearly identical to the badge on fol. 45v, suggesting that the badge may have been moved from this folio to its current position. The badges are cast of a metal alloy—perhaps tin- or lead-based—with the exception of one tarnished silver badge. The detail of their stamping is occasionally worn, and thus unclear. All are sewn into the book with at least two strands of thread, usually on the upper and lower center of each badge.

*Votive Mass of the Virgin (fol. 45v):*

The prayers and illuminations that the owner supplemented with badges are all related to the Virgin Mary. Perhaps not coincidentally, several of the badges inserted also depict the Virgin. The first, on the verso of fol. 45v (with an offset on fol. 46v), is adjacent to a full-page illumination of the Virgin and Child surrounded by kneeling angels [fig. 5]. Partially covering the yellow panel border in the upper left corner is a square badge with a heart-shaped frame containing a scallop shell, associated with pilgrimage. On the shell is a representation of the Virgin Mary with the Infant Christ in her left arm in a small enclosed arch.

The Virgin holding Christ was a popular motif on pilgrims’ badges in the late Middle Ages. Many pilgrimage sites dedicated to the Virgin produced badges with minor variants of this subject, ranging from famous shrines like Halle in the Low Countries, and Rocamadour and Le Puy-en-Velay in south-central France, to lesser-known destinations. As a result, pilgrim badge scholars are reluctant to assign this particular souvenir to a specific locale.\(^\text{170}\)

Despite its uncertain provenance, the distinct Virgin and Child iconography encourages comparisons with its adjacent miniature and text. The accompanying picture opens the Votive Mass of the Virgin; unsurprisingly, the illumination depicts the Virgin and Child. The owner observed the obvious iconographic correlation between miniature and acquired badge and fastened the souvenir next to the image for a direct correspondence between both images. Equally striking are the similarities in shapes and patterns between the badge and the illumination. In the miniature, the tips of the sloping wings of the angel in the background reach to the sides of the archway. Combined with the rounded forms of the two arches, the wings’ edges form the shape of a heart. This form is similar to the heart-shaped frame of the metal badge, suggesting that the owner not only recalled iconographic resonances between the dual depictions of the Virgin and Child but also saw visual resonances in the compositions of each image.

Obsecro te (fols. 58v/59r):

Another badge, found in the upper left corner of a blank folio (fol. 58v), is a heart-shaped souvenir illustrating a half-length Madonna with the Infant Christ on her left arm. They are in front of a crossbeam seen in the upper background and appear within a smaller heart-shaped halo or mandorla. Beneath the Virgin and Child is a small, smooth oval disk, perhaps originally meant for an inscription. [fig. 6] As with the previous Virgin and Child badge, it is impossible to establish a direct correlation between the fol. 58v badge and other extant Marian badges.

\[\text{171}\] The Master of Edward IV was quite active in the last decades of the fifteenth century and produced dozens of secular and devotional manuscripts. For a list of surviving works by the Master, see Bodo Brinkmann, *Die Flämische Buchmalerei Am Ende Des Burgunderreichs*, pp. 397-398; and the artist’s biography in *Illuminating the Renaissance*, pp. 295-296, along with subsequent catalog entries. At the time of this dissertation’s completion, I had not yet located any additional examples of heart-shaped angel wings in other extant works by the Master of Edward IV.

\[\text{172}\] Scholars have noted the rise of the heart as a metaphor in the context of late medieval devotion. In the chapter “House of the Heart” in *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent*, Jeffrey Hamburger examines a cycle of images depicting the soul’s union with Christ. In each, the heart is used as a frame for the interior scene, and signifies the heart of the devotee, pp. 137-175.

\[\text{173}\] Several heart-shaped badges with generic or secular iconography have been found. See catalog entries in Van Beuningen and Koldewej, *Heilig en Profaan*; Van Beuningen, Koldewej, and Kicken, *Heilig en Profaan* 2; and Kunera. Additionally, numerous heart-shaped badges depicting the Virgin and Child have been unearthed in the
The margin of the opposite page (fol. 59r) contains two badges placed one above the other, with their imprints still visible on the opposite folio [fig. 7a]. The upper badge, square with damaged corners, shows the Virgin and Child seated frontally in a rounded frame with an ogee Gothic arch. With its sedes sapientiae or throne of Wisdom iconography, the badge has been identified as originating at the pilgrimage site of Notre-Dame du Puy-en-Velay [fig. 7b].

Below it, an arched, rectangular badge with a damaged corner portrays the Crucifixion at Calvary. To the left of the cross is a kneeling figure, most likely Mary Magdalen; to the right is an undistinguishable object, perhaps her ointment jar. The badge’s origin is unclear; although souvenirs depicting Christ’s death have been linked to sites in the Holy Land, Cologne, and Lucca, Italy, other extant examples have not been localized to a particular site. It is intriguing that the presence of Mary Magdalen beside the Crucifixion departs from the more conventional iconography of the Virgin Mary and St. John, perhaps indicating an origin from a shrine dedicated to Mary Magdalen.

Nonetheless, the badges’ iconography shows strong resonances with both text and illumination. The page, which opens the prayer for the Obsecro te, contains a historiated initial for the ‘O’ depicting the Pietà, which often introduced this prayer of direct entreaty to the Virgin. The text of the Obsecro te not only describes her role as the redeemer of mankind, but also focuses on her emotions as she experienced Christ’s Passion, as seen in other contemporary texts:

“I beseech you, Mary, holy lady, mother of God, most full of piety, daughter of the greatest king, most glorious mother . . . through that holy, unutterable joy with which your spirit rejoiced in that hour when the Son of God was announced to you by the archangel Gabriel and was conceived . . . and through those most holy fifteen joys that you had in your Son, Our Lord Jesus Christ; and through that holy, great compassion and that most bitter sorrow in your heart that you had when you saw your Son, Our Lord Jesus Christ, nude and lifted up on the cross, hanging, crucified, wounded, thirsty . . . and

---

Netherlands. One early sixteenth-century badge is associated with an Amsterdam pilgrimage site dedicated to the Miraculous Host (the back of the badge depicts Virgin Mary with the Christ child on her right arm, flanked by two high candles). Another Virgin and Child composition is featured on the reverse of a heart-shaped badge from the shrine of St. Servatius in Maastricht.
Heart-shaped badges also were painted in Flemish manuscript margins; in at least two instances, the heart badge contains a representation of the Virgin and Child (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS IV 441, fol. 22r, and New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS 52, fol. 353r).

174 The badge was previously associated with Notre-Dame de Rocamadour and Notre-Dame de Montpellier in south-central France, as well as Notre-Dame-de-Halle in the Low Countries. The most recent attribution was posted on the Kunera website.
you heard him cry ‘Eli’ and you saw him dying; and through the five wounds of your Son and through the collapse of his flesh because of the great pain of his wounds; then through the sorrow that you had when you saw him wounded; and through the fountains of his blood and through all his suffering; and through all the sorrow of your heart and through the fountains of your tears; with all the saints and the elect of God. Come hasten to my aid and counsel, in all my prayers and requests, in all my difficulties and needs, and in all those things that I do . . . and secure for me, your servant, from your esteemed Son the fullness of all mercy and consolation, all counsel and aid, all help, all blessings and sanctification, all salvation, peace, and prosperity, all joy and gladness, and an abundance of everything good for the spirit and the body . . . please hear and receive this humble prayer and grant me eternal life. Listen and hear me, Mary, sweetest Virgin, Mother of God and of mercy. Amen.”

The late medieval interest in sympathizing with the Virgin may have prompted the book’s owner to place these two badges next to this prayer and miniature. On one hand, the Crucifixion badge, depicting the moment that inspired Mary’s grief—seen in the historiated initial’s Pietà scene—provides the reader with an illustration of Christ’s execution described in the text of the Obsecro te, and expands on the narrative cycle of the initial. In contrast, the badge of the Virgin and Infant Christ underscores the parallel act of Mary holding her son, and so both the beginning and end of Christ’s life are depicted. Thus, the placement of both badges by the Obsecro te and its illumination further supplements the prayer for the book’s owner, providing a nuanced juxtaposition of Marian themes—in particular, the physical and emotional contact between the Virgin and Christ at his birth and death—for devotional meditation. Furthermore, the concentration of these three pilgrim badges indicates the importance of this prayer and image to the manuscript’s owner.

Opening of the Hours of the Virgin (fol. 74r):

The last surviving badge, on fol. 74r, accompanies the Hours of the Virgin with a full-page illumination of the Annunciation. [fig. 8a]. It is a small oval form, partially covering the green panel border in the upper right corner, depicting Mary Madgalen praying, dressed in a hair

shirt as she is carried up to Heaven by four angels. It is comparable to other badges found at her pilgrimage shrine in Saint-Maximin-la-Sainte-Baume in southeastern France [fig. 8b].

The reason behind the placement of the Mary Magdalene badge next to an illumination of the Annunciation is not clear. The badge’s iconography is remarkably similar to that of the Assumption, which depicts the Virgin physically carried to heaven by angels. Perhaps the owner of the badge confused the imagery of the badge, although this would be unusual had the owner gone on pilgrimage and remembered its provenance. Yet if the badge was a gift, the owner may have been uncertain or unaware of its original provenance.

The badge’s location at the opening of the Hours of the Virgin also might be explained in that this pilgrimage church was where Mary Magdalene was re-imagined in the thirteenth century as the erstwhile sinful figure of perfect penitence and declared as co-patron of the Dominican church, along with the Virgin. The Virgin and Mary Magdalen thus are linked at this pilgrimage site and, in turn, in this manuscript. Additionally, the pilgrimage to St.-Maximin-la-Sainte-Baume was publicized and a pilgrim could receive several indulgences thanks to a papal decree.

Marian badges comprise the majority of pilgrims’ souvenirs in this manuscript perhaps due to the book owner’s particular devotion to the Virgin and the wish to enhance the Marian prayers and images in the book of hours. It seems unlikely that only badges from Marian pilgrimage sites would have been collected, for the pilgrim would have encountered shrines of other renowned saints while on pilgrimage. Still, identifying the route(s) the pilgrim may have followed presents a challenge since the precise provenance for some of these badges cannot be conclusively ascertained. While sites in the Low Countries regions cannot be dismissed as possible destinations, particularly if the Marian badges have provenances such as Amsterdam or Halle, a stronger supposition is a pilgrimage to sites throughout south-central France. For example, the pilgrimage site of Ste. Maximin-La-Ste.-Baume (fol. 74r)—a badge that can be

---

176 Although some extant badges from this site depict Mary Magdalene wiping the feet of Christ, other badges with the iconographic motif noted above have been found. See the D’Oiselet Hours, discussed earlier in this chapter.
177 Brian Spencer, Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges, p. 239.
178 No evidence suggests other portions of the book were altered to take into account the inclusion of pilgrims’ badges (such as additions to the calendar, Litany, or Suffrage prayers).
identified here—would be plausible for a pilgrim visiting sites such as Le Puy-en-Velay (fol.
45v, 58v) or Rocamadour.\footnote{This hypothesis might be further strengthened with the manuscript’s later provenance: in the sixteenth century, the manuscript belonged to Bernard and Margaret de Bonnoel of Bordeaux. In 1582, it was owned by Jehan Vitrac of Bordeaux; his granddaughter Marguerite Brun gave it in 1655 to her grandson Jacque de Maures, who also lived in Bordeaux. See Otto Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, \textit{Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.} 3 vols. (Oxford: University of Oxford, 1973), p. 167.}

In Oxford Bodleian MS Douce 51, the pilgrimage experience, exemplified by the pilgrim badges, is intrinsically linked to the prayers and illuminations. Careful decisions were made by the manuscript’s owner to associate certain badges with specific prayers and illuminations, determining not only which badges were important enough to be preserved in the book, but also which prayers were significant enough to be supplemented with the badges and their associated talismanic powers. The badges provide additional spiritual efficacy to the texts and illuminations directed to the Virgin, focusing the owner’s prayers calling for Mary’s intervention and aid. The memory of the pilgrimage journey, being at the shrine, and the meditation upon the prayer after returning from the journey are inexorably linked. A full circle of recollection occurred each time the book was opened.

\section*{3.5: Conclusion}

Despite the fact that many manuscripts once containing pilgrims’ badges no longer hold their extant souvenirs, a handful of manuscripts with intact souvenirs fortunately survive. They provide the opportunity to carefully analyze the specific souvenirs collected in relation to the codex’s contents. In the three examples discussed here, two manuscripts grouped together the badges on one folio for visual and devotional impact. The third dispersed its badges throughout the book, for close visual and devotional correlations with its prayers and illuminations. In both cases, the preserved badges allowed the owner to revisit them and perhaps re-experience the pilgrimage journey(s). By doing so, their presence continued to render the badges personal to the owner long after the pilgrimage was completed.
Chapter 4: Ducal devotions: pilgrims’ badges in the manuscripts of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy

4.1: Introduction

The previous chapter’s analyses of The Hague, Bonn, and Oxford manuscripts establishes that owners of private devotional books avidly collected and sewed pilgrim badges in their prayer books, either collected at the beginning or end of the manuscript, or placed next to prayers which likely held particular devotional interest to the person. However, the unfortunate reality of many extant codices is that little is known about the identity of the owner(s). Knowledge of the circumstances behind the badges’ acquisition would provide further clues as to and how they were used and received by the owners.

Fortunately, a series of manuscripts which held pilgrims’ badges survives which can be traced back to one significant family in the late Middle Ages, the fifteenth-century dukes of Burgundy. This chapter will specifically examine four manuscripts which contained a total of between eighty-eight and ninety-two pilgrims’ souvenirs. They are exceptional examples for analysis because, thanks to extant travel itinerary records, we know where and when members of the Burgundian family traveled, and how long they stayed at each locale. While these journeys may have been primarily for secular duties, religious pilgrimage was documented as an official reason for travel. Surviving documentation also shows that while on pilgrimage, the dukes of Burgundy—particularly Philip the Good and his son, Charles the Bold—bought numerous badges in gold, gilded silver, silver, and a lead-tin alloy. However, no one has yet considered the scope of pilgrimages completed by the Burgundian dukes—and the souvenirs purchased at each site—in relation to the badges that were preserved in their devotional manuscripts.

While it is possible that badges were acquired or received as gifts by multiple members of the Burgundian family, I will consider these manuscripts primarily in relation to the life of Philip the Good, since they were inherited or commissioned by him. Interestingly, the inherited manuscripts had alterations made in the 1450s, and the commissioned manuscripts were executed during the late 1450s and early 1460s, a short time span during his reign. The duke was known to be was a devout man who undertook religious pilgrimage to strengthen his faith, although no one has yet compiled a listing of the pilgrimage sites that Philip was documented to
have visited. However, perhaps not only devotional sentiment played a role in the choice of badges Philip acquired and affixed in his manuscripts. The geographical and political role of the pilgrimage sites were certainly equally important during the duke’s ascending power in the Low Countries.

4.2: The religious and devotional practices of Philip the Good

By the time Philip the Good assumed power of the duchy of Burgundy, there was a longstanding tradition of religious practices within the Burgundian ducal family, both in the public and private spheres. Quotidian devotions took up an important role in the duke’s life, and courtiers surrounding the duke describe his moral virtues and religious devotion. According to Guillaume Filastre, bishop and chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Philip attended Mass daily, often in his private chapel, and would observe and celebrate private devotions and important feast dates on the liturgical calendar. Like many dukes and princes, he possessed a portable chapel, such as a wooden one made in Lille in 1457, designed “to be transported and brought after him by cart when he took the field in arms against his enemies.” Additionally, the Burgundian dukes, including Philip, supported the founding and maintenance of churches, chapels, and various religious institutions throughout their territories.

Recent scholarship has focused on the religious and devotional practices of the Burgundian ducal family during the fifteenth century. These include essays in Art from the Court of Burgundy: The Patronage of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless 1364-1419 (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 2004); Monique Sommé, Isabelle de Portugal, duchesse de Bourgogne. Une femme au pouvoir au XVe siècle (Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 1998); Hugo van der Velden, The Donor’s Image: Gerard Loyet and the Votive Portraits of Charles the Bold (Turnholt: Brepols, 2000); Harry Schnitker, “Margaret of York on Pilgrimage: The Exercise of Devotion and the Religious Traditions of the House of York,” in Reputation and representation in Fifteenth-Century Europe, Douglas L. Biggs, Sharon D. Michalove, and A. Compton Reeves, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 81-122, among others.

Bertrand Schnerb, “The Piety and Worship of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless,” in Art from the Court of Burgundy, p. 72.

Vaughan, Philip the Good, p. 128.

The dukes also took an interest in the mendicant orders, including the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, and Augustinians. The ducal family regularly provided gifts and alms to these orders; in addition, reformers associated with these orders received backing and assistance from the ducal family. Art from the Court of Burgundy, p. 74.

Philip the Good helped maintain holy sanctuaries within his territories. One such example was the monastery of St. Aubert’s in Cambrai. Philip was in close contact with the abbot of St. Aubert’s, who hosted the duke when he stayed there. The abbot gives a detailed account of Philip’s visit in January 1449. At the time, the abbot celebrated Mass for the duke before dinner, and afterwards, Philip was invited to see and revere the local relics; he was even allowed to kiss the tooth of St. Géry. The next day he heard Mass and kissed the relics again. Philip visited Cambrai again on 25 August 1457, with Mass and a chance to see the painting of the Virgin, supposedly done by St. Luke. Vaughan, Philip the Good, pp. 129-30.
Devotion to particular saints held an essential place in the Burgundian court’s religious observances. As typical of late medieval piety, the Virgin Mary received the top honors for devotion within the Burgundian family. The dukes manifested their attachment to a number of sanctuaries under the patronage of Notre-Dame. Philip’s grandfather, Philip the Bold, made a vow at Notre-Dame de Chartres and wore replicas of the Veil of the Virgin, the famous relic preserved at Chartres.\footnote{Art from the Court of Burgundy, p. 72.}

Other favorite saints included namesake ones. For example, John the Fearless was staunchly devoted to John the Baptist. Additionally, saints whose birthdays were shared with ducal birthdays were important in the Burgundian family; for example, Philip the Bold was born on 17 January, the feast day of Saint Anthony, and the reverence he always showed for this saint was transmitted to his successors. Other saints who played a key role in the heritage of the French royal family—including Charlemagne, St. Louis of France, and St. Denis—were revered and celebrated at the courts of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless, especially on their feast days.\footnote{Schnerb, Art from the Court of Burgundy, p. 72.} The Burgundian dukes, no strangers to military conquests, also favored military saints.\footnote{Other saints which held special favor in the Burgundian court included St. Gery, seventh-century bishop of Cambrai, who was highly venerated in Brabant and Hainault. St. Gery—along with Sts. Victor, Maurice, and Sebastian—are all traditional military saints. Like St. George, St. Gery is credited with slaying a dragon that had ravished the area around Brussels. According to the Chroniques de Bourgogne, written by Philip the Good’s chamberlain Philippe Bartin, St. Victor and St. Maurice were closely linked with the early Burgundian rulers. Smith, pp. 174-5.}

Saints Michael and George were particularly honored in a court where the Christian knightly ideal was celebrated; in fact, St. George was an unofficial patron for the dukes of Burgundy and their Hapsburg successors.\footnote{Philip reportedly even owned George’s sword, armor, and one of his ribs. The knightly saint adorned Burgundian battle standards and stained glass windows. George was also revered by Philip’s son, Charles the Bold; along with St. Andrew, George appears in Charles the Bold’s armorial table. Additionally, Charles commissioned a gold reliquary statue by Gerard Loyet. See Smith, pp. 175-6, and Hugo van der Velden, The Donor’s Image. It should be noted that Philip’s wife, Isabelle of Portugal, also had specific devotional interests. Like Philip, she had a strong devotion to the Virgin. Being from Portugal, Isabelle also was fervently devoted to Anthony of Padua. See Monique Sommé, Isabelle de Portugal, pp. 451-452. Anthony was a Franciscan, the order for which she was the protector within her realm. She was also devoted to Bernard of Siena, another Franciscan. See Monique Sommé,}
Among other saints who held favor were those whose relics were owned by the Burgundian family. Philip the Good’s grandfather, Philip the Bold, his wife Margaret of Flanders, and his daughter Margaret of Bavaria amassed a relic collection for their own private use and worship; they believed that the worship of saints essentially was founded on the worship of relics. In 1376, Philip the Bold received from his brother Jean de Berry a fragment of wood from the True Cross and a nail from the Crucifixion, both of which had been acquired from King Peter of Spain by Bertrand du Guesclin. Among other relics owned by the Burgundian family (particularly the duchesses) include a portion of St. Anastasia’s head; St. Bartholomew, St. Roman, and dust found at Christ’s feet, all of which were preserved in a painting reliquary. Margaret of Flanders and Margaret of Bavaria also had some unidentified teeth and drops of Mary’s milk. Margaret of Flanders also had a purse that contained a souvenir of the sacrifice of the cross, and she had the “mantle of our lady,” perhaps related to the holy tunic of Chartres; the latter was believed to ease childbirth for the duchesses of Burgundy.

The Burgundian dukes held particular devotion to Saint Andrew, and the relic of the cross of the saint was one of many that the Burgundians acquired. Enclosed in a silver gilded case, the relic of Andrew’s cross was brought and kept in Brussels by Philip the Good. In honor of its arrival, Philip instituted the knightly Order of the Golden Fleece and made Andrew, along with the Virgin, the patron saint of the Order. Indeed, the badge of their Order depicted the St.

---

“Le testament d’Isabelle de Portugal et la dévotion moderne,” *Publication du Centre européen d’études bourguignonnes (XIVe-XVIe siècles)* 29 (1989), p. 29. It is noteworthy that suffrages for both Anthony and Bernard were added to Cambridge Fitzwilliam MS 3-1954. Isabelle likely read spiritual treatises and the lives and works of the saints in the ducal library, including thirteenth- and fourteenth-century saints like Elisabeth of Hungary, Catherine of Siena, and Bridget of Sweden. In particular, it is known that she had a special devotion to Elisabeth of Hungary.

The Burgundians had sixty-seven reliquaries, according to inventories of the duchesses Margaret of Flanders and Margaret of Bavaria. Unfortunately, most were empty of relics and were likely kept only for their monetary and aesthetic worth. See Fabrice Rey, “Princely Piety: the Devotions of the Duchesses, Margaret of Flanders and Margaret of Bavaria,” in *Art from the Court of Burgundy*, p. 76.


Andrew’s cross. Yet while he collected badges for the Virgin, no souvenirs of St. Andrew seem to be preserved in his manuscripts.

Many of the Burgundian relics were kept in the Sainte Chapelle at the ducal palace in Dijon. The Sainte Chapelle was seen the embodiment of Burgundian religious devotion, and the center for the Order of the Golden Fleece, the knightly order started by Philip the Good in 1453. Dedicated to the Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist, the church assumed its current name, the Sainte Chapelle, soon after Philip presented a famous relic of the Bleeding Host in 1433.193

4.3: Territorial and devotional expansion

The reign of Philip the Good is notable for the extensive expansion of his territories, mainly during the late 1420s and for most of the 1430s. By the time of his death in 1467, Philip the Good’s realm included most of modern Belgium, Luxembourg, and portions of the Netherlands, as well as regions in present-day Northern France. As Jeffrey Chipps Smith noted, the acquisition of several significant new territories increased Philip the Good’s land holdings by more than one-third. The Burgundian realm thus rivaled the empires of Germany and France in size.194

The previous Burgundian dukes—including Philip’s father John the Fearless and his grandfather Philip the Bold—had acquired some of their realm by treaty provisions, purchase, or shrewd marital arrangements. Philip the Bold obtained the regions of Flanders, the Franche-Comté, Artois, Nevers, and Rethel through his marriage to Margaret of Male/Flanders, heiress to these regions. Upon the death of his father-in-law, Louis of Male, in 1384, Philip became the

---

192 Philip the Good’s adoration for Saint Andrew is apparent in a large Breviary that he owned, now in Brussels (KBR ms 9511, fol. 398). Additionally, Philip is shown presented by Andrew to the Virgin twice in his Miracles de Notre-Dame (Paris BNF MS 9198, fol. 1, and Oxford Bodleian Library Douce 374, fol. 5). A depiction of a man adoring Saint Andrew on the last decorated page of the famous Turin-Milan Hours (Turin, Museo d’Arte Antica inv. K 47, fol. 124) also closely resembles Philip.

193 This chapel was considered a counterpart to the Louis IX’s Sainte Chapelle of Paris (coincidentally, Philip appears in the guise of Louis IX in the Rogier van der Weyden altarpiece made for Nicholas Rolin, now in Beaune), or the Duke of Berry’s Sainte Chapelle in Bourges. Philip received the relic from Pope Eugenius IV as a reward for supporting the pontiff at the Council of Basel, after a disagreement between the Pope and the Council. The Host had supposedly been pierced by a Jew and afterwards was miraculously blood-stained. The relic quickly attracted pilgrims to the chapel with claims of miraculous cures. The pyx reliquary that held the Host is now in the museum in Dijon. Many of Philip the Bold’s manuscripts depict him adoring the Sacrament. Chipps Smith, pp. 34-5.

194 Chipps Smith, p. 3.
Count of Flanders. Philip the Bold then bought the county of Charolais from a vassal in 1390. The region of Limbourg was owned by the Burgundians in 1396; while it was later rescinded to Philip’s aunt, Duchess Joan of Brabant, upon his death, it was then reacquired by his grandson Philip the Good. Philip’s son, John the Fearless, added the northern French territories of Boulogne, Roye, Péronne, and Montdidier, as well as the southern French territories of Mâcon and Tonnerre. Thus Philip the Good had significant land holdings by the time he became duke. Yet he looked to further add his ducal territories.

Under the reign of Philip the Good, the duchy’s territory more than doubled. Some land acquisitions by Philip the Good were the result of luck, primarily territories that lacked heirs. For example, he inherited the county of Namur in 1421 when its count turned out to be childless. Philip also acquired Tournai in September 1423 from the English, and inherited Brabant and Limbourg in 1430 after the Duke Anthony of Brabant’s sons produced no heirs and died young. One of the largest acquisitions of land, however, happened in a short space of time, between 1428 and 1433, when Philip gradually attained the three main Netherlandish principalities of Hainault, Holland, and Zeeland, territories highly prized by the duke.

Under the reign of Philip the Good, the duchy’s territory more than doubled. Some land acquisitions by Philip the Good were the result of luck, primarily territories that lacked heirs. For example, he inherited the county of Namur in 1421 when its count turned out to be childless. Philip also acquired Tournai in September 1423 from the English, and inherited Brabant and Limbourg in 1430 after the Duke Anthony of Brabant’s sons produced no heirs and died young. One of the largest acquisitions of land, however, happened in a short space of time, between 1428 and 1433, when Philip gradually attained the three main Netherlandish principalities of Hainault, Holland, and Zeeland, territories highly prized by the duke.

195 Splendours of Flanders: Late Medieval Art in Cambridge Collections (Fitzwilliam Museum Publications), Alain Arnould and Jean-Michel Messing, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 4-5. Philip maintained Burgundian presence primarily through ecclesiastical appointments. For example, when the prince-bishop of Utrecht died, Philip had one his bastard sons appointed. Which the prince-bishop of Liège died, he appointed a nephew to the position. When the prince-bishop of Cambrai died, he had one of his bastard half-brothers appointed. Philip also arranged for the bishopric of Tournai to be vacated so that he could see that the President of his Council was provided for. Thus, the bishops within these ducal territories in the Netherlands became more “Burgundian.”

196 Vaughan, Philip the Good, p. 29; Splendours of Flanders, pp. 4-5.

197 These lands were acquired from Duke John III of Brabant through his daughter Margaret, wife of Louis of Male, and thus his granddaughter Margaret of Male. A younger branch of the Burgundian house had acquired these principalities, but when this line died out in 1430, Philip the Good obtained them. Robert Stein, “Philip the Good and the German Empire: The Legitimation of the Burgundian Succession to the German Principalities,” Centre Européen d’Etudes Bourguignonnes, vol. 36 (1996), p. 36.

198 Stein, “Philip the Good and the German Empire,” p. 35. Until then, these territories been joined in a personal union under the house of Bavaria. When Jacqueline, daughter of William of Bavaria, married a fourth time, Philip could, in turn, base his succession on the fact that his mother was the main heir of Albert, the last duke. But if the prince did not have a male heir at the time of his death, his inheritance reverted to the Imperial Crown, who would then choose a new prince. This meant that Philip the Good needed the approval of the king of Rome to legitimize his position inside the German Empire as Duke and Count of Brabant, Limburg, the Franche-Comté, Hainault, Holland, and Zeeland. The Burgundian interpretation of the Brabantine rules of succession (which they chose to follow) had passed through three phases. First, a national tradition was created by extrapolating the local and regional customs to the duchy as a whole. In a second phase, this was confirmed by historiographical arguments. He had Hainault, Holland and Brabant added to his own territories by 1430. The final transference of Hainault, Holland, and Zeeland to Philip occurred in April 1433. Finally, in 1435, the rules were formalized with the support of some old charters. Stein, “Philip the Good and the German Empire,” p. 37; Splendours of Flanders, pp. 2-4.
1443, he finally gained official rights to Luxembourg from his aunt, Duchess Elizabeth von Görlitz, and this duchy formed an important territorial link between northern and southern parts of his dominions, thus creating greater territorial unity between Germany and France. At the same time, Philip’s territorial expansion in France expanded his holdings. The peace Treaty of Arras between Burgundy and the French king Charles VII in 1435 provided substantial gains to the Burgundian domains, including the counties of Mâcon, Auxerre, and Boulogne, in Picardy. However, other than these regions, Philip the Good’s territorial gains in France were limited.

Beginning in the early 1430s, the duke committed more of his time to the vast territories in the Low Countries and northeastern France that he had rapidly acquired, shifting his attentions away from regions such as the old territory of Burgundy. He began to live peripatetically, on the move between the various castles and palaces that he had inherited in Arras, St. Omer, The Hague, Hesdin, Lille, Ghent, and spending considerable time at palaces in Bruges and Brussels. In particular, Philip spent much of his time at the Coudenbourg Palace near Brussels, a palace formerly owned by the Brabant dukes that he twice rebuilt. In a sense, Brussels became the capital of his newly acquired “state.”

Unifying these northern territories under Philip’s reign required greater focus not only on defining physical and governmental borders of the new Burgundian state, but also on creating a unified ideological identity. As Elizabeth Moodey has acknowledged in her study of illuminated crusader histories, these various regions were comprised of people speaking different languages, ruled under different governments, and worshipping different saints. Moreover, defining the realm’s physical and ideological borders had to unify the two geographically disparate groups of

---

199 Stein, “Philip the Good and the German Empire,” p. 37.
200 The towns of St. Quentin, Corbie, Amiens, Abbeville, Doullens, St. Riquier, Crévecoeur, Arleux, and Mortagne, along with the county of Ponthieu were ceded to Philip and his heirs in mortgage against their redemption by the king of France for 400,000 gold crowns. The county of Boulogne had been seized in 1423; it had been taken by John the Fearless in 1415 but had been briefly returned to its former legal owner. Vaughan, Philip the Good, p. 18, 355. 
201 Fitzwilliam, pp. 2-5; Vaughan, Philip the Good, p. 27. In fact, Richard Vaughan suggests that Philip’s focus turned more towards the German-speaking world of the Holy Roman Empire. As Duke of Brabant, Philip inherited two houses in, as well as close economic connections with the German city of Cologne, which he visited in 1440. Vaughan, Philip the Good, p. 53.
202 Elizabeth Moodey, “Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy (1419-1467)” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton, 2002), p. 54. In her dissertation, Elizabeth Moodey examines history and crusader manuscripts made during Philip’s reign, which she suggests helped to define an identity of a Burgundian state. Moodey argues that this “shift toward the definition of a Burgundy” was reflected in an interest in the regional histories of Philip’s northern territories to claim its own heroes and own missions. Moodey, p. 6.
ducal territories, in Burgundy itself and in the Low Countries. In his study of Philip the Good’s relations with the German Empire, Robert Stein noted that while these new land holdings enhanced the duke’s stature within Europe, his role as leader of Burgundy region itself potentially was diminished by Philip’s new status as ruler of the Low Countries. Fashioning a common history could gather and unite disparate territories into a group, allowing the duke to create a single, cohesive force. The same could be said for gathering religious traditions. By visiting the multiple shrines within his new territories and venerating the saints associated with local cult sites, Philip sought to unite his newly acquired territories not only on a secular level, but also on a religious level.

Some of Philip’s devotional interests were on a more pragmatic and secular scale, and it was not unusual for the duke to conceal territorial interests under religious pretenses. Bertrand Schnerb notes that political concerns were often present within the devotional practices of the Burgundian dukes. By visiting a particular sanctuary or participating in a religious service or observance in a region, the duke’s presence (or that of a member of his family) occupied a certain space and, in the long term, could perhaps capture the sympathy of the region’s population for his benefit. For example, in the case of Philip’s grandfather, Philip the Bold, when he traveled, he visited sanctuaries and relics in these regions. In this way, Schnerb argues, “his travels represented a permanent pilgrimage.” While many were primarily

203 Stein, p. 35; Vaughan, Philip the Good, p. 53.
204 Mood, “Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy (1419-1467),” p. 54.
205 Vaughan, Philip the Good, p. 73. Pilgrimages, in particular, may not necessarily be purely for religious reasons, but could also be used as excuses to travel, and as an externalized show of religion, a significant concern for a princely figure like the duke. See Harry Schnitker, “Margaret of York on Pilgrimage,” p. 82.
206 Philip the Bold, for example, regularly visited the shrines of Notre-Dame du Mont-Roland and St. Claude, both in Burgundy. See Schnerb, in Art from the Court of Burgundy, p. 73. He also occasionally undertook long-distance pilgrimages, such as one in March 1383 to Sainte-Catherine de Fierbois (in France’s Loire region) as an act of gratitude following a battle at Westrozebeke. (Schnerb, p. 73) He died while on pilgrimage to Notre-Dame at Halle in Brabant, a site of later frequent visits by Philip the Good, perhaps in tribute to his grandfather.
207 Schnerb, Art from the Court of Burgundy, p. 74, 73. In his biography of Philip the Good, Richard Vaughan described an unusual episode of Philip using religious pilgrimage as ulterior guise. The Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund, upset over losing several territories to Philip (including Brabant, Hainault, Zeeland, and Limbourg, among others) decided to seek revenge against the duke. Sigismund encouraged several imperial princes and the landgrave Louis of Hesse (who had a small claim to the land, being a descendant of a thirteenth-century duke) to attack Philip; indeed Louis of Hesse had hired a troop of French knights in July 1430 to carry out this plan. However, Philip disguised himself as a pilgrim in May 1431 to travel incognito through Brabant, using as his excuse a visit the pilgrimage shrine of St. Josse (his marshal did the same five years later). Sigismund’s and Louis’s attack plan ultimately failed, and Louis was never able to claim these lands. Vaughan, Philip the Good, p. 72-73.
motivated by genuine personal piety and religious fervor, by doing so, he could promote them and perhaps encourage citizens from neighboring regions to visit nearby shrines. Many of the shrines Philip visited during his decades as duke, exemplified by the pilgrims’ badges sewn into his prayer books, reflected underlying secular concerns in defining and maintaining the newly acquired lands of the Burgundian duchy. Needing to stay in the region to maintain his power and peace, Philip frequented and promoted popular shrines within the regions of the Low Countries and northeastern France. This exemplifies a larger fifteenth-century tendency to undertake pilgrimages that were not long-distance. Philip’s pilgrimages include both established, famed sites as well as lesser-known sites in his new territories. Besides receiving the blessings of the saint and the relics at that pilgrimage shrine, Philip used the ducal visits to promote the pilgrimage site within his newly gained ducal territories. His itinerant lifestyle and concerns over his newly acquired territories made it feasible for Philip, Isabelle, and even other members of the ducal family to pursue this joint interest in their personal devotions, and specifically to visit pilgrim sanctuaries housing relics of saints or cult images. Popular regional saints, such as St. Adrian, St. Remi, St. Aldegonde, and St. Barbara, were included (or added to the manuscripts’ calendars). Local pilgrimage sites were frequently visited (especially Marian shrines), either while on purposeful religious pilgrimage or during Philip’s travels for secular reasons. Badges from these sites were often purchased, and many found their way into the duke’s prayer books.

Extant records detail the many pilgrimages Philip the Good performed throughout his life. The primary sources for his pilgrimages include travel itineraries, descriptions by chroniclers, as well as account receipts from the Chambres des Comptes. Philip’s travel itineraries document frequent journeys—many of which likely involved pilgrimage—from the early 1430s to the mid-1450s, during the time of Philip’s extensive monitoring of his newly

---

208 Sommé, Isabelle de Portugal, p. 453.
209 Many of these accounts are now preserved in the Archives du Nord, Lille.
acquired lands. The court gradually became sedentary towards the end of Philip’s reign in the late 1450s and early 1460s, when he spent much of his time in either Brussels or Bruges.

Account receipts from the Chambres des Comptes specify what was purchased at each shrine, including votives such as candles or wax for candles. They also describe the number and material used for pilgrims’ badges purchased by Philip (as well as Isabelle and their son Charles), either for himself or as gifts those in his entourage or at court. While the duke kept some souvenirs, extra badges would be carefully distributed according to rank of the receivers, divided among family members and other relatives, courtiers, courtesans, and servants. Many badges were made with precious metals such as gold, gilded silver, or silver, which had material and ceremonial value as well as spiritual value, given the Burgundian family’s love of ostentation. The prevalence of precious metal badges may explain their later disappearance from these manuscripts. However, while the ducal family certainly preferred the luxury badges, it is likely that a few were made of more modest medals, such as lead or tin, or an alloy of the two, suggesting a level of humility on the part of the duke. Otto Mazal suggests that a few of these humbler badges also were sewn into the prayer books.

The major pilgrimage destinations of the late Middle Ages—those to the Holy Land and Jerusalem, Rome, and Santiago de Compostela—were of strong interest to Philip the Good,

---

210 Philip’s itineraries, along with those of his son, Charles the Bold, were published by Herman van der Linden; see Itinéraires de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne (1419-1467) et de Charles, comte de Charolais (1433-1467) (Brussels, 1940).
211 The court’s first prolonged stay in one spot occurred in 1438, when Philip and Isabel were at St. Omer for the final seven months of the year. In 1442-3, they remained in Dijon for over a year. His first long stay at Brussels was in 1450, although during the period of the Ghent war he was based at Lille. During the late 1450s the court alternated for the most part between Bruges and Brussels, after a stay at The Hague in 1455-6 while Philip dealt with issues in Utrecht. The court remained at Brussels from around 1459 until Philip’s death in 1467. The five principal ducal residences during his reign were at Brussels, Bruges, Lille, Dijon, and Hesdin in Artois. Vaughan, Philip the Good, pp. 135-6.
215 Philip had a well-known devotional interest in the Holy Land. Among the clearest manifestations of his interest in the Holy Land was his desire to lead a Burgundian crusade, which never occurred. He also had members of his Burgundian fleet visit the pope in Rome in January 1456 as part of his crusading project. See Vaughan, Philip the
although he never made it to any of these sites. However, Philip financed pilgrimages for others, and sent people on proxy pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Rome, and Santiago de Compostela.\footnote{216} He also paid for the repairs and upkeep of churches and other structures along the main pilgrimage routes in Europe and the Holy Land.\footnote{217}

\footnote{216}This practice had occurred with both Philip the Good’s grandfather and father; see Bernard Schnerb, “The Piety and Worship of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless” in \textit{Art from the Court of Burgundy}, pp. 71, 73. Schnerb describes Philip the Bold sending two courtiers to Santiago de Compostela, and another from his Chamber of Accounts to Mont-St.-Michel. p. 73. In 1415, the confessor to Philip the Good went on a pilgrimage by proxy on behalf of John the Fearless. Philip the Good’s mother, Margaret of Flanders, also likely had pilgrimages performed in proxy to shrines associated with St. Quentin, St. Adrian, St. Mammès, and St. Thibault, particularly when family members were ill. See Fabrice Rey, “Princely Piety: the Devotions of the Duchesses, Margaret of Flanders and Margaret of Bavaria (1369-1423),” in \textit{Art of the Burgundian Court}, p. 75. Although Philip the Good never personally undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, he provided assistance to at least five pilgrims who made the venture to Jerusalem. He gave provisions for those who visited and worshipped in the Holy Land. In 1421, he sent a Carthusian monk and newly knighted Ferrandos de Sarrabia to perform the pilgrimage in his name (and in the name of his father John the Fearless) as a proxy. He financed pilgrimages for two high-ranking pilgrims, Guillebert de Lannoy in 1421, and a court counselor, Bertrand de la Broquière in 1432-3. In 1441, the duke had another pilgrimage in his name by the Picard lord Godefroy de Moncel. For a complete list of Holy Land pilgrimages that the duke financed, see Jacques Paviot, “La dévotion vis-à-vis de la Terre Sainte au XVe siècle: L’exemple de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne (1396-1467).” \textit{Autour de la Première Croisade: Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East.} (Michel Balard, ed.) Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, pp. 402-404.

Besides these two pilgrimages fulfilled in his name, the duke financed other pilgrimages to Rome. See Paviot, pp. 402-403. This eventually came to benefit Philip. Pope Nicholas V appointed Jehan Rolin, son of Philip’s chancellor, as cardinal and granted indulgences to benefactors of St. Julian’s hospital in Rome “where poor people and pilgrims from Burgundy and Brabant are made welcome and cared for.” In 1450 a plenary indulgence was granted to any of Philip’s subjects who, having failed to visit Rome in the jubilee year 1450, visited instead the seven churches of Mechelen (Malines). Philip, his wife, and his son qualified for this indulgence in 1451, and it was such a success that it was later prolonged for a ten-year period at the request of the civic authorities of Mechelen. See Vaughan, \textit{Philip the Good}, pp. 215-216.

Philip also financed several pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela, though he himself never made the journey. See Paviot, pp. 402-3. Among the many paid for by Philip included a 1428 pilgrimage in which the renowned panel painter Jan van Eyck participated. Duchess Isabelle, founded a hospital in Lille for pilgrims returning from Santiago de Compostela; See Sommé, \textit{Isabelle de Portugal}, p. 461. On this same journey, some of Philip’s ambassadors also went to Santiago in 1429, before heading out to see a Spanish duke as well as the kings of Granada and Castile. Vaughan, \textit{Philip the Good}, p. 180.

The duke also financed several pilgrimages to destinations in Egypt and Venice; see Paviot, 402-3. Philip supported church building in Nazareth; gave money for repairs for the church built over the grotto of the Nativity in Bethlehem. See Paviot, p. 404. Just outside of Jerusalem, he had a foundation set up for feeding pilgrims who visited the Church of Our Lady at Mount Sion; this included a chapel with stained glass bearing his arms. See Paviot, p. 408, as cited in Moodey, p. 151. In 1454, Philip paid for the passage of a Huges Grillet from Beaune to Jerusalem, who carried a monetary gift to Fransicans in the Holy Land. Moodey, p. 152.
The ducal family did not overlook pilgrimage shrines within the region of Burgundy. In fact there was a tradition of the Burgundian dukes and duchesses visiting regional sites, which represented a return to a piety rooted in Burgundy proper. Following the footsteps of his Burgundian ancestors, he visited the miraculous statue of the Virgin and Child at Notre-Dame du Mont-Roland, near the town of Dole in the Jura Mountains. In fact, Philip issued a declaration on 27 March 1441, describing the shrine as “a place of great and old devotion…,” and he became involved in resolving the sale of candle wax by disreputable merchants. Another famed Burgundian shrine visited on multiple occasions by Philip the Good was the Benedictine Abbey of St. Claude in the Jura, near Besançon. His grandfather Philip the Bold traveled to St. Claude on pilgrimages in 1369, 1376, and 1382. Philip himself visited several times in 1422, November 1442, and July 1443. His wife Isabelle visited in October 1434; his son, Charles the Bold, also visited here in 1461. No less than two pilgrims’ badges from the shrine of St. Claude found their way into at least one prayer book owned by Philip (Cambridge Fitzwilliam MS 3-1954), fol. 243r.

As part of their itinerant life, Philip and Isabelle routinely stopped at sanctuaries that held miraculous images of the Virgin, some of which were visited on multiple occasions. Among these were well-renowned sanctuaries, such as Notre-Dame of Halle, Notre-Dame of Boulogne, and Notre-Dame in Aardenburg; others were more modest sites like Notre-Dame d’Esquerchin or the Marian shrine of Vrouwenpolder on the island of Walcheren. At many of these sites, Philip often would march in long lines with other devout Christians.

---

218 Art from the Court of Burgundy, p. 73. Shrines at St. Quentin, St. Adrian, St. Mammès, and St. Thibault make numerous appearances in pilgrimage commentaries associated with Philip the Bold’s wife, Margaret of Flanders. It seems that saints associated with proxy-pilgrimages were visited at shrines geographically remote from what would become the Burgundian state, such as a vow made by Margaret of Flanders to the shrine at St. Louis of Marseille. Op cit., p. 75.


220 In 1430, Duchess Isabelle also had offered to the abbey a silver statue gilded with her coat of arms. However, she did not accompany the duke while on pilgrimage to Saint-Claude with the duke in November 1442, nor July 1443 (“se retirement faire leur pelerinage a Saint Houan ou le corps du glorieux confesseur monseigneur sainct Claude gist et repose”); instead, she stayed in Dijon. Sommé, Isabelle de Portugal, p. 454.

221 The French king Louis XI also visited the shrine of St. Claude in 1456 and 1482.

222 Jan van Herwaarden, Between Saint James and Erasmus: Studies in Late-Medieval Religious Life: Devotion and Pilgrimage in the Netherlands. (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p. 186. Philip visited Aardenburg on several occasions, including in 1425; he visited Walcheren in 1437 and inevitably contributed to its gradual rise in popularity. Also see Jean-François Maillot, “Un petit pèlerinage méconnu : Notre-Dame d’Esquerchin près de Douai (XIVe-XVIe...
Many of the Marian shrines visited by Philip, Isabelle, and their entourages remained primarily local cults in the Low Countries. One was the shrine of Notre-Dame d’Esquerchin, about five kilometers from Douai, which had a miraculous statue of the Virgin and Child. Philip the Good described it in 1441 as “une eglise de Nostre Dame ou il a grant et notable pelerinage,” and Isabelle, in particular, had strong “singuliere devocion” to this site. In 1448, Philip and Isabelle, staying nearby in Douai, went on a return pilgrimage together to Notre-Dame d’Esquerchin. In this circumstance, the duke and duchess made the offering of a large candle of fifty livres (pounds) of wax, with the Burgundian arms applied on the candle, which represented the day “que mesdits seigneur et dame y firent leur pelerinage.” In later years, the pilgrimage of Esquerchin held a place of affection for Philip who, in 1458, recalled “la singuliere affection et devocion que de tout temps avons eue et avons a la ditte eglise de Nostre Dame d’Esquerchin.” Pilgrims’ badges were sold at the shrine, but their absence in numismatic collections allows no description of their iconography or production.
The shrine of Notre-Dame d’Esquerchin was near the famous Marian pilgrimage site of Notre-Dame de Boulogne-sur-Mer, a site that saw frequent and fervent visits by the duke. The regular pilgrimages of Philip seem to have been inspired by a particular devotion to the Boulogne Virgin. His chroniclers made no mention of his pilgrimages, perhaps because he did them so frequently, often accompanied by his wife Isabelle and his confessor; or perhaps because he kept them as a private devotion. In fact, there were at least thirteen pilgrimages here, attesting to Philip’s particular devotion to the Virgin of Boulogne-sur-Mer. In many of these instances, he also purchased pilgrims’ badges for himself as well as gifts for others.

Philip’s visits to Boulogne began as early as the 1420s. He visited the shrine on 8 September 1421, and the ducal accounts list a purchase of twenty badges, made by the goldsmith Pierre Fortin for the duke, the duchess, knights, riders, and other officials. He visited again in 1425, at which time a goldsmith named Jehan Martin made a gold pilgrim’s badge, three gilded badges, and thirteen silver souvenirs for knights and riders of the duke’s company who also made the pilgrimage. He went to Boulogne again in 1426 and 1428 (during the latter trip, he made an offering of a candle of a hundred livres of wax); and again on 8 August 1432 (documented having arrived at St. Omer after the pilgrimage to Boulogne). In 1435, he returned on pilgrimage, ordering two more candles of 100 livres of wax, one each for himself and Isabelle, as well as smaller candles and another candle to be placed near the monstrance in front of the image of Notre-Dame. He also paid for Masses and for offerings to the relics. On this pilgrimage, he purchased twelve gold pilgrims’ badges for each English nobleman accompanying him, as well as silver and lead badges. Another trip occurred in 1437, when he bought a candle decorated with his coat of arms to be placed in front of the image of the Virgin.

---

229 For the dates of Philip’s visits to Boulogne-sur-Mer listed here, see Albert Benoit, “Les pèlerinages de Philippe le Bon à Notre-Dame de Boulogne,” Bulletin de la société d’études de la province de Cambrai 37 (1937), pp. 119-123. Benoit notes that the historians of Notre-Dame de Boulogne-sur-Mer, in particular the abbots Le Roy, Haigneré and Lefebvre, mention five pilgrimages accomplished by the duke, but it is believed he completed many more. The accounts of the tax collector of Boulogne conserved in the Archives du Nord show the relative expenditures of three pilgrimages to Boulogne-sur-Mer made in 1435, 1437, and 1438. A manuscript of the library of Saint-Omer (codex 153,2) mentions a pilgrimage in August 1448, although according to van der Linden, it shows that Philip was in Boulogne-sur-Mer in July of that year. See Hermann van der Linden, Itinéraires de Philippe le Bon, Duc de Bourgogne et de Charles, Comte de Charolais. In the itinerary of Duchess Isabelle, M. de Laborde and la Baronne Amaury de Lagrange show visits to Boulogne-sur-Mer of the duke and his wife in 1425, 1448, and 1451.

230 Benoit, p. 120. Vaughan suggests a dozen visits to Boulogne; see Philip the Good, p. 128. Harry Schnitker mentions that his bastard son, Anthony, was also devoted to the Boulogne Virgin, and not only went on pilgrimage there but owned a book about the legend of the Boulogne Virgin. “Margaret of York on Pilgrimage,” p. 116.
a candle made with 100 livres of wax, and Masses to be said and sung in front of the image. He also bought a gold pilgrim badge which he sent to a noble in England. In 1438, he bought a candle, ten gold badges, and silver badges to give to his court, as well as offerings for Masses, candles, and offerings to the relics. Philip went back again on 18 July 1448; Isabelle also traveled there by herself in 1448 and on 4 August 1451; they went to Boulogne together in July 1450.\textsuperscript{231} Benoit also cites chronicles of the French King Louis XI, which mention Philip’s visit and sojourn in Boulogne between the 13 and 27 August 1463; this is corroborated by his travel itineraries. And in 1467, the year of Philip’s death, he made one last pilgrimage to Boulogne, perhaps as a final visit to honor one of his saintly patrons, and in hopes of commending his soul to heaven.\textsuperscript{232}

With these many visits to this Marian shrine—and extant documentation of the purchase of pilgrims’ badges—it appears certain that badges from Notre-Dame at Boulogne appeared in Philip’s manuscripts, likely sewn in both the Brussels prayer book (KBR MS 11035-37, fol. 6v), and the flyleaves of the Book-Altarpiece in Vienna (ÖNB MS 1800).

Another local Marian pilgrimage shrine playing a prominent role for the ducal family was Notre-Dame at Halle, near Brussels, one of his principal residences. The shrine held a famous blackened cult statue of the Virgin, which drew a substantial number of pilgrims. The statue was renowned for the number of miracles it had performed, as well as the possibility of a pilgrim receiving numerous indulgences for visiting the shrine.\textsuperscript{233} While devotion to the Virgin certainly informed frequent visits there, Halle was also the site of Philip the Bold’s death and the burial of his entrails in 1404, giving the destination personal resonance for Philip the Good.

\textsuperscript{231} In the 1449 entry in Daniel Haigneré’s Histoire de Notre-Dame de Boulogne (Boulogne-sur-Mer, 1857) mentions the “l’oratoire du duc de Bourgogne” in the church. p. 95.

\textsuperscript{232} Besides the Boulogne badges that were made for Philip, five gold badges were also made for Charles the Bold (then Count of Charolais) around 1456, perhaps for the nobles in his entourage, based on the archives in Lille. See Benoit, Itinéraires, p. 465. Hugo van der Velden describes Charles visiting, making offerings, and buying pilgrims’ badges at Notre-Dame de Boulogne on two separate occasions in 1457. See “Karel de Stoute op Bedevaart: De Aanschaf van Pelgrimstekens door de Graaf van Charolais,” in Heilig en Profaan 2: 1200 Laatmiddeleeuwse insigne suit openbare en particuliere collectives. H.J.E van Beuningen, A.M. Koldeweij, and D. Kicken, eds. (Cothen, 2001), pp. 235-238.

\textsuperscript{233} Van der Linden, Itinéraires; Benoit, p. 123. On 17 December 1471, Isabelle of Portugal went to Boulogne alone on pilgrimage.

\textsuperscript{235} Schnitker, p. 86.
Philip’s visits to Halle were almost as frequent as those to Boulogne, making the site and its cult statue, as Harry Schnitker describes, “a counterpart to his favourite Madonna in Boulogne.”234 According to records of his itinerary, Philip went there at least two dozen times.235 Near the end of his life, when Philip ceased most traveling and remained at his palaces in either Brussels or Bruges, he still traveled to the shrine at Halle.236

Pilgrims’ badges of Notre-Dame of Halle are recognizable by their distinct iconography of the Virgin enthroned under a Gothic-arched dais. Clearly identifiable imprints with this iconography appear on fol. 263r of Cambridge Fitzwilliam MS 3-1954, next to the Obsecro te prayer. It also appears likely that Halle badges were sewn in Brussels KBR MS 11035-37, next to the image of the Virgin on the Crescent, as well as the flyleaves of Vienna ÖNB MS 1800.

Besides badges of the Virgin, Philip collected pilgrims’ badges from other saints’ shrines. One of the most important of these Low Countries’ pilgrimages sites for the Burgundian state was to Geraardsbergen (Grammont). Near both palaces in Brussels and Bruges, Geraardsbergen was a significant pilgrimage destination for the relics of St. Adrian of Nicomedia, a saint invoked against the plague as well as a warrior saint invoked against sudden death (the military aspect of this saint being particularly attractive to the Burgundian dukes). More than a hundred of pilgrims’ badges from this shrine still survive, attesting to its popularity in the region in the late Middle Ages. According to his travel itineraries, Philip the Good is documented traveling through Geraardsbergen at least ten occasions.237 While not listed in his itinerary, Köster also mentions a visit in 1438 by Philip, at which time he purchased a silver pilgrim badge.238 Sometime after 1438, account records document the duke visiting again and purchasing a silver-

---

235 Philip visited Halle on 13 May 1433; 3-4 June 1435; 31 December 1435 and 3-4 January 1436; 30 July 1438; 14-15 January 1440; 23-24 May 1441; 1-2 September 1441; 11-12 November 1441; 21-23 February 1444; 5-6 October 1444; 20-21 August 1445; 23-24 October 1447; 15-16 April 1452; 8-9 September 1455; 16 December 1456. See van der Linden for these dates. His son Charles accompanied Philip on several of these visits, and Charles later visited the shrine on his own and bought pilgrims’ badges; see van der Velden, “Karel de Stoute,” pp. 235-237.
236 These dates include 18-20 November 1458; 3-4 November 1459; 3 March 1460; 17 March 1460; 25-26 October 1460; 22-23 March 1461; 7-9 August 1462; 13-14 August 1465; and 2-3 August 1466.
237 See van der Linden, *Itinéraires*. The dates include: 11 September 1428 (the saint’s feast day is 8 September); 21-22 October 1428; 24 July 1435; 27 November 1435; 2 May 1441; 27-29 April 1452; 4 May 1452; 25-27 June 1458; 7 July 1458; 26 March 1461; 11 September 1428; and 21-22 October 1428.
238 Köster, “Religiöse Medaillen,” p. 493. The French King Louis XI also visited the shrine several times while Dauphin; a manuscript devoted to St. Adrian likely belonging to Louis is now preserved in Vienna’s Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (MS s.n. 2619). Köster, “Pilgerzeichen und Wallfahrtsplaketten von St. Adrian in Geraardsbergen”, *Städel-Jahrbuch* (Ernst Holzinger and Herbert Beck, eds.), Ansbach, 1973, p. 112.
gilt badge for himself, along with lesser expensive ones for members of his entourage. On another instance, after falling very ill, Philip had an ex-voto delivered to St. Adrian (as patron of illnesses and sudden death) in the form of a 30-kilogram wax statue of a kneeling man. The acquisition of Adrian badges may attest to his belief in their apotropaic powers, after his illness. In 1467, the year that Philip died, he left a heavy wax figure (sixty pounds) depicting a kneeling version of himself, as a votive gift at the shrine. The distinct rectangular, arched badges of St. Adrian can be identified on fols. II and 32 of Vienna ÖNB MS 1800, as well as Cambridge Fitzwilliam MS 3-1954, fol. 237r.

In northern France near Calais, the shrine of Saint-Josse-sur-Mer, near Étaples, was also frequently visited by Philip and his family. St. Josse (Judocus) was the patron saint of Philip’s son, Joseph (Josse), who died in 1432 having only lived several weeks. The duke and duchess visited at the abbey of Saint-Josse, as well as the nearby church of Notre-Dame of Boulogne, particularly when their travels had them staying in Saint-Omer or Hesdin. Itineraries record at least three visits: 7-8 Aug. 1432, 22 July 1448, and on 26-27 August 1463. This devotion to St. Josse manifested itself in Philip’s prayer books. In 1449, the duke’s scribe and translator, Jean Miélot, completed a manuscript describing the life and miracles of St. Josse (Vie et miracles

---

239 Op. cit., p. 112. In 1467, the year that Philip died, he left a heavy wax figure (sixty pounds) depicting a kneeling version of himself, as a votive gift at the shrine. Op. cit., p. 119 n. 48.
241 Köster, “Pilgerzeichen und Wallfahrtsplaketten von St. Adrian,” p. 119 n. 48. Philip’s son, Charles, continued the tradition of pilgrimage to Geraardsbergen, visiting on multiple occasions. See van der Velden, “Karel de Stoute,” pp. 235-238. Van der Velden makes no mention of Charles purchasing any badges from St. Adrian’s shrine, however.
242 Köster originally argued that a badge of Adrian was located next to the Madonna and Crescent illumination on fol. 6v of Brussels KBR MS 11035-37. However this seems unlikely given the subject matter of the image; rather, a badge of the Virgin and Child appears more appropriate to accompany the miniature.
243 See van der Linden. Also to be mentioned is the occasion in May 1431, in which Philip disguised himself as a pilgrim to travel incognito through Brabant to the shrine of St. Josse in order to trick the Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund and Louis of Hesse. See n. 28.

Philip’s wife Isabelle showed particular devotion to St. Josse, particularly in memoriam to her dead son. In 1432, Isabelle had a goldsmith from Arras, Frenim du Praiel, make a representation of her son Josse for the church of Saint-Josse, pour “recevoir l’eau quand le prêtre lever ses mains à la messe.” Sommé, Isabelle de Portugal, p. 454. In 1432 she offered to the church two gold hearts, valued at 17 pounds 8 sous, both of which were still present in the seventeenth-century sanctuary. Between the first and third of October 1448, Isabelle returned to St. Josse on departure from Hesdin (The great chapel of the castle at Hesdin was itself a venerated cult place sheltering the relics of Saint Louis), accompanied by the Count of Charolais (Charles the Bold), as well as visiting the church Saint-Esprit de Rue, a place that she had visited in July 1440 after a pilgrimage to Abbeville. She paid for a daily perpetual Mass for the soul of her son at a chapel of the church of the small chapter of Saint-Wulphy. Sommé, “Testament,” pp. 32, 39.

Charles the Bold also bought pilgrims’ badges multiple times from the shrine at St. Josse; see van der Velden, “Karel de Stoute,” pp. 235-238.
de Saint Josse, Brussels KBR MS 10958). Although no specific prayer or suffrage to St. Josse can be seen in the Cambridge volume of the *Prayer Book of Philip the Bold*, it is plausible that pilgrim badges of St. Josse were sewn onto the flyleaves of Vienna ÖNB MS 1800.

Philip also visited pilgrimage sites further afield from his Burgundian territories. In particular, several significant pilgrimage shrines in Germany were visited by the duke, including Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), Regensburg (Ratisbonne), and perhaps Cologne. The duke visited this region, specifically Aachen, for political reasons in late July 1440. While there, he likely acquired a pilgrimage badge of the robe of the Virgin (and perhaps a souvenir to commemorate the hosiery of Joseph). He also made a visit to the area in 1454, described by Richard Vaughan as the “culmination of Philip’s political influence in Germany.” Philip was summoned by Emperor Frederick III to attend an imperial diet and general congress of princes in Regensburg on 23 April in order to organize a crusade, one that was never realized. Philip’s journey to and from Germany lasted from April to August 1454, traveling through Burgundy and then into Germany, before returning back through Burgundy in late summer. Philip stayed in Regensburg for two weeks from the 10-22 May, and though it is not specifically mentioned in the chronicler’s descriptions, it seems highly likely that he visited the pilgrimage shrine holding the image of the Schöne Madonna there, and purchased a badge. Their medals were likely included in Philip’s manuscripts.


The Aachen relics were very popular, attracting pilgrims and processions from as far away as Hungary and Bohemia but also from Lorraine, Holland and the Burgundian territories. When Philip the Good attended the celebration in 1440, the occasion was marred by the collapse of roofs near the cathedral, killing or injuring around sixty pilgrims who had climbed up in large numbers to obtain a better view of the relics.

Cologne’s famous shrine was dedicated to the Three Kings.


Werner Paravincini, “Philippe le Bon en Allemagne (1454),” *Revue Belge de Philologie et d’Histoire* 75:4 (1997), p. 967. Philip’s itinerary is documented in van der Linden, pp. 324-5. It is worth noting that the crusade is on the mind of Philip in 1454; just two months earlier, on 17 February, he held the famous Feast of the Pheasant, at which the guests were invited to swear a vow to go on crusade.

His progress through Germany is chronicled in great detail in the accounts. Among the cities he visited were Ulm, Günzburg (Austria), Lauingen, Lanshut, Ingolstadt, Stuttgart, Neuchatel, Nozeroy, and Dijon. Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, p. 299-301.

Apart from trips to Paris in the 1420s and again in 1461, Philip the Good’s visit to Regensburg in 1454 was the only important journey he ever made outside his own territories. Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, p. 302. Interestingly, the emperor never attended the diet.
Thus, the pilgrimages performed by Philip the Good were both extensive in the number of shrines visited and in their repeated visits during his years as duke. It is apparent that he preferred particular pilgrimage destinations in his territories, not only for their practical access during his political dealings, but also for devotional and familial reasons. Moreover, he continued the tradition of Burgundian ducal pilgrimage, and in doing so, he continued a popular form of piety that conformed with a princely lifestyle. The surviving itinerary and account records detail Philip’s travels and pilgrimages, as well as his purchases of pilgrims’ badges, particularly between the 1420s and the 1450s.

At the same time, during the peak of Philip’s itinerant years in the late 1440s and 1450s—particularly 1448-1456—he took an active interest in his library. While he had inherited a large number of books from the original collection started by Philip the Bold, he wished to enlarge and enrich its holdings. During this period of major renovation, the duke ordered several new manuscripts with prayers and texts specific to his interests. He also commissioned alterations on a large book of hours inherited from his grandfather, Philip the Bold. Interestingly, at least four of these newly commissioned or altered manuscripts held extensive, meticulously-sewn collections of badges. Unfortunately, most of these souvenirs have been removed or lost; thus, analysis can only be based on the (often faint) imprints in these

---

249 Maillot, “Un petit pèlerinage méconnu,” pp. 42-3; Sommé, Isabelle de Portugal, p. 454.

250 Anne H. van Buren, “Dreux Jehan and the ‘Grandes Heures’ of Philip the Bold,” in ‘Als ich can’: Liber Amicorum in Memory of Professor Dr. Maurits Smeyers, ed. Bert Cardon et al., (Leuven, Peeters, 2002), p. 1403. Philip had inherited a collection of around 250 books; at his death in 1467, he had added more than 600 volumes, either through gifts or commissions and purchases. Dogaer and Debae, La Librairie de Philippe le Bon, pp. 3-5.

251 Although not all are listed here, these include several Bibles, including ones translated into the vernacular French (Brussels KBR MS 10516) and historiated Bibles (Brussels KBR MS 9001 and 9002); prayer books including breviaries (Brussels KBR 9511 and 9026; London British Library MS Add. 35311), books of hours (The Hague, KB MS 76 F 2; Paris BnF MS lat. 10538), and other prayer collections (Paris BnF MS. n.a.f. 16428, Vienna ÖNB MS 1800); religious texts and saints’ lives (The Hague, KB MS 76 F 10, Miracles of St. Hubert; Brussels KBR MS 6408 Life of St. Colette; Brussels KBR MS 6409, Life of St. Remi), and various ascetic treatises (Brussels KBR MS. 9092, Traité sur l’Oraison dominicale; Brussels KBR MS 9544, Somme le Roi, Brussels KBR MS 9081-9082, Jean Gerson and Jean Mansel’s texts on the Passion, Brussels KBR 10981, Horloge de Sapience; Brussels KBR MS IV 106, a translation of the Vita Christi; Paris BnF MSS fr. 9200 and 9201, Songe de viel pelerin by Philippe de Mézières). Many manuscripts were commissioned translations by Philip’s secretary, Jean Miélot, including Brussels KBR MS 9249-9250, Le Miroir de salvation humaine; Brussels KBR MS 10958, Life and Miracles of St. Josse; Paris BnF MS fr. 9198 and 9199, and Oxford Bodleian Library MS Douce 374, Life and Miracles of the Virgin, among others.

See Dogaer and Debae, La Librairie de Philippe le Bon; Bousmanne and van Hoorebeeck, eds. La Librairie des ducs de Bourgogne.

252 This large prayer book, already mentioned, is now divided into two portions: Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum MS 3-1954 and Brussels KBR MS 11035-37.
While these pilgrim badges in Philip the Good’s manuscripts are mentioned by several scholars, it is usually in passing, without considering the manuscripts as a group and in relation to one another. I will examine these four manuscripts as a group, considering the badges that were originally contained within their pages (when determinable). In doing so, we can determine which badges the duke believed valuable for saving in his prayer books, and which prayer collections, specific texts, and specific prayers he felt important, useful, and effective in his daily devotional life to be adorned with pilgrim souvenirs.

4.4: The *Grandes Heures of Philip the Bold* (Brussels KBR MS 11035-37 and Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum MS 3-1954)

The manuscript now known as the *Grandes Heures of Philip the Bold* actually is comprised of two volumes, one each in Cambridge and Brussels. Codicological evidence indicates that they were originally one large volume, and scholars have since pieced together of the two codices. Evidence that this large codex was made for Philip the Bold can be seen by

---

253 Though not analyzed in detail in this dissertation, it should be noted that a manuscript owned by the brother of Philip the Bold, Jean de Berry, also contained several pilgrims’ badges. The famous *Belles Heures of Jean de Berry* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, New York, Acc. No. 54.1.1) contained two pilgrim’s badges, their offsets visible on fol. 21. The badges may have been attached to a now-missing folio, or perhaps the bifolio was used from another manuscript. See Timothy B. Husband, *The Art of Illumination: The Limbourg Brothers and the Belles Heures of Jean de France, Due de Berry* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2008), p. 78 n. 3.


255 225mm x 178 mm. 144 folios plus 2 folios inserted later.

256 Francis Wormald and Phyllis M. Giles were the first to observe that texts from Fitzwilliam MS 3-1954 are continued in Brussels KBR MS 11035-37. They note, “According to the inventory of the library of Philippe le Bon (see Georges Doutrepont, *Inventaire de la “Librairie” de Philippe le Bon* [1906], p. 4, item 4), there was in the Library “les grans Heures de Nostre Dame de feu monti seigneur le grant père, commences ou Ile fuiellet le kalendar Dominus tecum, et fenissant out derrenier fuiellet Deduct inimicos nostros . . .” The second folio after the calendar of Fitzwilliam MS 3-1954 begins also with the words *Dominus tecum.*” See “Description of Fitzwilliam Museum MS. 3-1954,” in *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, eds. Bruce Dickins, Richard Vaughan, and John Harrison, IV (1964-1968), p. 1, and Patrick de Winter, *La Bibliothèque de Philippe le Hardi, Duc de Bourgogne* (1364-1404): étude sur les manuscrits a peintures d’une collection princière a l’époque du «style gothique international» (Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1985), p. 184. The Cleveland exhibition catalog *Art from the Court of Burgundy* states that Patrick de Winter discovered that the two manuscripts constitute fragments from the *Grandes Heures*. p. 107. Elsewhere, de Winter noted that the incipit on the second folio of the Cambridge portion corresponds with the listed incipit in a ducal library inventory made in 1420, suggesting that the manuscript was probably divided sometime after 1419. Moreover, the last line of a prayer on the beginning of fol. 45 of the Brussels’s manuscript was crossed out, and the same words were added on the lower portion of fol. 229v in the Cambridge volume. See de Winter, *La Bibliothèque de Philippe le Hardi, Duc de Bourgogne* (1364-1404), p. 183.
the now-obliterated coats of arms and the portrait of Philip in the initial of the Annunciation scene found in Fitzwilliam 3-1954, fol. 13. The duke was very attached to this book of prayers and used the Grandes Heures on a daily basis in his chapel oratory, according to inventories of his library made at the time of his death in 1404.257 His descendants, including Philip the Good, inherited the volume and also prized it.

The history of the Grandes Heures is somewhat complicated. Through the course of its history, it received many additions and alterations, resulting in a manuscript that, as Anne van Buren notes, is extremely disunified.258 It also shows heavy use and wear, as evidenced by darkened and dirty margins, flaking illuminations, and faded texts that were later rewritten.

Philip the Bold commissioned the Grandes Heures in 1376, along with a matching book of prayers, from Jean L’Avenant, an entrepreneurial scribe in Paris who produced many devotional books for the royal family.259 Production likely occurred sometime between 1376 and 1379, although based on payment records, they may have been transcribed as late as 1378 and 1379 and bound in 1379.260 Around 1390, Philip the Bold had the book unbound to add several more prayers.

257 Patrick M. DeWinter’s publication on the Library of Philip the Bold includes the inventory entry: “Item, deux grans livres des heures de Nostre Dame, de la croix, du Saint Esprit, des mors et plusieurs oroisons et autres suffraiges, servans tous les jours en l’oratoire de mondit seigneur a fermouers et pipes d’or, dont en l’un a oeilles d’or soubz une platen d’argent.” La Bibliothèque de Philippe le Hardi, Duc de Bourgogne (1364-1404), p. 127. See also L.M.J. Delaissé, Miniatures Médievales de la Librarie de Bourgogne au Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique (Geneva: Éditions des Deux-Mondes, 1959), p. 100; Art from the Burgundian Court, p. 108; Splendours of Flanders, p. 144. The manuscript is described in the inventory as the “Grandes Heures quotidiennes,” or “large hours of daily use”, which conveys Philip the Bold’s preference for this book. Maurits Smeyers, Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th century: the Medieval World on Parchment. (Leuven: Brepols, 1999), p. 297.

258 Van Buren, “Dreux Jehan,” p. 1383. As she describes, “[g]atherings are interrupted, truncated, augmented, or displaced.”

259 For more on Jean L’Avenant’s role in the production of this manuscript, see Patrick M. de Winter, “The Grandes Heures of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy: The Copyist Jean L’Avenant and His Patrons at the French Court” Speculum 57:4 (1982), pp. 786-842. Like his brothers King Charles V and Duke Jean of Berry, Philip wanted a compendium of all prayers and responses needed to follow the Offices and the Mass throughout the liturgical year, combined with some of the favorite prayers of the royal family.” Van Buren, “Dreux Jehan,” pp. 1382-3.

260 Many of the codex’s original miniatures were painted by two Parisian artists of the time, The Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy and the Master of the Coronation of Charles VI.
After Philip the Bold’s death, the *Grandes Heures* were probably passed to Margaret of Bavaria, wife of John the Fearless.²⁶¹ It was then handed down to Philip the Good. As a manuscript that was important to Philip the Bold and passed down through the generations of the Burgundian dukes, it held great significance to his grandson. Neither book appears in Philip the Good’s final inventory of ca. 1468, although it should be noted that this inventory did not include books kept in the duke’s chapel.²⁶²

During his reign, Philip the Good commissioned alterations and additions to the *Grandes Heures* to suit to his devotions. These changes were substantial, the most significant being that the single volume was divided in two. Although it is unclear when the book was split, Anne van Buren suggests that it was done during the second stage of additions, around 1450 in Bruges.²⁶³

Philip also had numerous prayers and devotions added to the *Grandes Heures*, particularly in the French vernacular.²⁶⁴ Anne van Buren has summarized the need for changes and additions by Philip the Good to the *Grandes Heures*:

²⁶¹ The inventory made of the Burgundian library in 1420 after the death of John the Fearless adds that each book was covered in purple damask and had the arms of Philip the Bold enameled on the clasps. See Georges Doutrepont, *Inventaire de la Librairie Philippe le Bon* (Brussels: Kiessling, 1906), p. 4.

²⁶² Van Buren, “Dreux Jehan,” p. 1383. Neither of the present volumes is in the inventory of 1487, nor in any subsequent inventory. In fact, the obliteration of the still noticeable arms of Philip the Bold in the bas-de-page of the Annunciation in the Cambridge volume and on its fore-edge suggest that this volume was likely stolen, perhaps from the Burgundian library and certainly before the modern era. The manuscript returned to Brussels after French Revolution, in accordance with Treaty of Vienna, in 1815.


²⁶⁴ New additions to Brussels KBR MS 11035-37 include: fol. 6v: a pasted image of the Virgin and Child on the Crescent Moon; fols. 7-7v: Prayers against temptations of the flesh, to the Virgin, the Cross, the Father; fol. 8v: pasted picture of St. Veronica; fols. 9-18v: Latin prayer *Commendatio animarum* (Commendation of the Soul); fols. 19-44 older folios with additional prayers added, including the *Stabat Mater* and an expanded creed; fols. 68-79v: prayer to Virgin and God; fols. 79v-81: Prayer extracted from the Psalms (with an image of David before Christ crucified); fols. 81v-92v: Words from the Cross, prayers (with an image of Christ crucified with Virgin and St. John); fol. 95v: an excerpt from office of St. Veronica; fol. 96—continued (with verso blank, though on the verso there are four Vera Icon badges); fol. 97v: *Sub tuum presidium*; fol. 98: Excerpt from the Office of St. Veronica (verso blank, fol. 98 contains a picture of Veronica); fol. 99: blank; fol. 99v: 9 lessons from the Vigil of the Dead in French; fol. 100 (with an image of Job): first lesson; fol. 144v has “translates en prose a brouxelles en 1451.” See van Buren, “Dreux Jehan,” p. 1409.

New additions to Cambridge Fitzwilliam MS 3-1954 include: fol. 237v (Suffrages of Adrian and Lazarus, with images, one pasted in); fol. 238v (Suffrages of Eligius and Remigius, with images, one pasted in); fols. 242-243v (Suffrages to the Three Kings and Claude, with images); Suffrage to Bernardino (fol. 251v, an alteration of a Suffrage to Fiacre); fol. 252v (Suffrages to All Saints and Barbara); fol. 253v-254v (Suffrages to Marcellus and Gregory, with images); fol. 255v (Mary Magdalene and Gertrude of Nivelles, with an image of Mary Magdalene
“The content of the additions shows why Philip needed to revise his grandfather’s Book of Hours. It lacked the propers for two important Masses, those of Pentecost and the Visitation . . . Second, as a resident of the southern Low Countries, Philip needed the suffrages of saints and holy persons most popular in this region [author’s note: saints whose shrines were mostly in territories he had recently acquired]: Adrian, Anne, Aldegundis of Maubeuge, Barbara, Eligius of Noyon, Gertrude of Nivelles, the Three Kings, and Waldertrude (Waudru) of Mons. He also wanted to remember some French saints not in the original book, including Remigius of Rheims, Lazarus (who was believed to have come to France and become a martyr-bishop of Marseille), and Claudius bishop of Lyon, and the Italian San Bernardino of Florence (who was recently canonized in 1450). He chose some additional prayers and, unsure of his Latin, needed a French translation of those not in the vernacular, as well as some of the lessons of the frequently recited Vigil of the Dead. Finally, he wanted to include some holy pictures from his collection, including a full page miniature of the Virgin of the Apocalypse by the follower of the Limbourg brothers known as the Master of the Breviary of John the Fearless.”

It has been widely suggested that Jean Miélot supervised the repairs and additions of the Grandes Heures. Indeed, many of the devotional texts of this volume are written in his hand, transcribed from translations he likely made around 1451 in Brussels. However, Anne van Buren’s recent extensive analysis of the stages of additions and alterations of the two volumes comprising the Grand Heures suggested to her that Dreux Jehan was primarily responsible for the division and repair of the two volumes. The largest number of additions was made in


266 These were done in a mid-fifteenth century Latin Gothic bastard Burgundian handwriting, ruled with French rubrics and decorated initials.

In Brussels KBR MS 11035-37, fol. 1-7 and fol. 68-95 were certainly completed by Jean Miélot. Miélot’s transcription of the preceding sections, containing the Creed, the 90th Psalm, the Veni Creator spiritus, and several prayers, make it practically certain that he transcribed the lessons just after he turned them into prose.” Van Buren, p. 1382.

267 Anne van Buren analyzed the size of folios, color of ruling and initials, and artist attribution behind certain illuminations in order to determine the successive campaigns of additions to the Grand Heures. See “Dreux Jehan,” pp. 1384+

By 1448, Dreux Jehan had entered the services of Philip the Good and was engaged by him to produce “miniatures, illuminations, and writings” and to organize the binding of books. By 1449 he had become a valet de chambre to Philip, and from then until 1454 he received a regular salary, as well as occasional gifts and reimbursement of expenses. By 1454, as a part of a push to economize the court, Dreux Jehan’s salary was terminated, and the salaried post of court illuminator was left vacant. See Illuminating the Renaissance, p. 212.
September 1451, when, according to a document discovered by Anne van Buren, the duke paid his “varlet de chambre et enlumineur Dreux Jehan 10 livres et 16 sous” on 17 September for the renovation and binding in two volumes and other unspecified work. 268 This suggests that Jehan coordinated the additions to the Grandes Heures at least in the final stage in 1451. 269

The alterations of the Grandes Heures required many illuminators and scribes, as well as the use of disparate leaves from other books. These additions are illustrated by many artists and several pictures are pasted in reserved spaces in the text. 270 For the 1451 additions, fourteen to sixteen illuminators were employed, including many great masters of mid-fifteenth century Flemish illumination, such as Willem Vrelant, Jan Tavernier, and the Master of the Roman de Girart de Roussillon, along with others who produced manuscripts for the duke. Anne van Buren suggests this may have been due to limited time to complete the alterations, since Philip refused to say his prayers without this book for more than a few weeks. 271

The Grandes Heures were redone in three phases, although ultimately these phases could have been one more or less continuous campaign from around 1451, beginning in Bruges before

---

268 Van Buren lists the work as the rebinding (twice), cleaning, regilding, and remaking gold clasps, among other tasks. She further explains, “It implies that the book was old and dirty, and that Philip wanted to make some changes and that he explained them to the illuminator, who saw to their execution and paid the workers and the binder.” “Dreux Jehan,” pp. 1381-1382.

269 Van Buren, “Dreux Jehan,” p. 1396. Van Buren further explains, “While Miélot produced more folios and may have chosen his decorators, Dreux Jehan wrote on leaves written and decorated by his collaborators. Dreux Jehan added the prayer on one of the holy pictures of Veronica (with badges. KBR MS 11035-37 volume, fol. 8v), fitting its purple ruling into the space below the image (although the hand is quite upright, it contains the same letter forms as his suffrages). More significantly, the same thick blood-colored paint was used for the foliation on the suffrage pages as that of the titles of his own suffrages of Saints Anne and Bernardino . . . it is thus highly likely that Jehan was the one who moved the suffrages to the front, numbering the leaves so that the binder could keep them in order. He stopped after fol. xlv, because the binder would then be guided by the flow of the longer texts on the following leaves. The second and third stages included the incorporation of some extraneous leaves originally made for other books.”

270 Anne van Buren suggests that the Grandes Heures could be seen as a catalog of contemporary miniaturists, reflecting Phil’s contacts with the artistic world. “Dreux Jehan,” p. 1402. Maurits Smeyers suggests the same; see Flemish Miniatures, p. 297.

271 Smeyers, Flemish Miniatures, p. 297; Van Buren, “Dreux Jehan,” p. 1384, 1402. Van Buren suggests that “he may have agreed because this procedure gave him an anthology of work by most or all of the craftsmen at his command.”
being transferred to Brussels (in following with the duke’s travels). Of particular relevance to the dating of the addition of pilgrims’ badges are the second and third phases, for, according to van Buren’s attributions, these saw the addition of many folios that were later adorned with pilgrimage souvenirs. The second phase was completed in Bruges around 1450; several pages completed during this stage later held pilgrims’ souvenirs, including the Suffrages to Sts. Adrian and Lazarus in the Cambridge volume, fols. 237-237v. The third phase was likely created in Brussels in 1451. It also includes the addition of folios which later held pilgrim badges, including the Suffrage to St. Claude on Cambridge volume on fols. 242v-243r; prayers on Christ’s wounds on fols. 274v and 275r; and the prayers facing the illumination of the Virgin and Child in the Brussels volume on fol. 6v. The addition of the badges thus can be dated to sometime after 1451.

Van Buren notes that it is unlikely that any of the new leaves or gatherings were added after 1451, because their dispersion throughout the volumes would have required a major rebinding, of which there is no record. “Dreux Jehan,” p. 1396.

The first cluster of alterations mainly included the Propers for the Mass of Pentecost (Fitzwilliam MS 3-1954., fol. 190-3); its scene of the Pentecost is by one of the Gold Scrolls illuminators of Bruges. Anne van Buren, “Dreux Jehan,” p. 1385.

According to van Buren, this second campaign had different ruling than the first, but the texts are by one scribe whose writing is found in the Propers of the Mass of the Visitation (Fitzwilliam MS 3-1954, fol. 200-201) and in four suffrages (Fitzwilliam MS 3-1954, fols. 237-237v, which later held pilgrims’ badges; also fols. 253-253v, although these did not contain badges). He also wrote the new last line for the suffrage of Saints Julian and Martha, and presumably lined through the original ending in the second volume, which shows that it was already obvious that the additions would make it necessary to divide the book into two volumes. The scribe also probably painted the Visitation miniature and the pasted mass of Saint Gregory (showing Philip in attendance) for the suffrage of this saint. An assistant illustrated another of the scribe’s four suffrages, that of Saint Adrian on Fitzwilliam MS 3-1954, fol. 237 (which later held badges). This cluster includes a set of prayer for the Commendation of Souls (KBR MS 11035-37, fols. 9-18v) with a border by an associate of Willem Vrelant. This stage also saw the inclusion of leaves from other books, notably three illustrated and possibly written by Marc Caussin of Valenciennes: a leaf containing the suffrage of All the Saints and a bi-folio containing those of Mary Magdalen and Saint Gertrude of Nivelles, on which the Alexander Master continued the suffrage of Saint Gregory (Fitzwilliam MS 3-1954, fols. 252 and 254-255). On the verso of the All Saints suffrage, another scribe added a suffrage of Saint Barbara. Van Buren, “Dreux Jehan,” pp. 1385, 1387.

Van Buren says that at least fol. 79v, and perhaps 81v, were both done in the third group of work, from around 1451 in Brussels. The suffrages to the saints, which were later moved to the back of the Cambridge manuscript, contain mid-fifteenth century foliation from “j” to “xlv”, revealing that the suffrages were for a time at the front directly after the calendar (and these were the pages with the badges), which occurs in many other Flemish books. Other additions include isolated bi-folios and single leaves, two of which are inserted holy pictures (KBR MS 11035-37, fols. 8v and 98).

Miélot’s handwriting, with his characteristic twenty lines of text, is apparent during this phase. Nearly all of its texts are on purple ruling with wide interlineations required by the Burgundian bastarda writing on most of its leaves. Two of his texts were illustrated by the Master of the Chroniques de Hainault’s Coronation of Ursus, while a related artist painted the third (KBR MS 11035-37, fol. 79v). The Ursus Master also illustrated, and perhaps wrote, the
The *Grandes Heures* held both metal pilgrimage badges as well as parchment Vera Icon souvenirs. While the Vera Icons are still affixed in the Brussels volume, all of the metal badges have disappeared. However, based on the imprints, Kurt Köster counted at least forty-five badges in both the Cambridge and Brussels volumes. Based on a reexamination of the badge offsets, this total can be raised to between fifty and fifty-three souvenirs. The fact that dozens of badges were sewn into the manuscript, as well as the heavy wear and tear on many of the pages, testifies to the manuscript’s continued importance as a precious treasure among Philip the Bold’s descendants—particularly Philip the Good—and that it continued to be frequently used for devotional purposes.

In Brussels KBR 11035-37, traces of pilgrims’ badges survive on fols. 6v, 7r, 34v, 87v, and 96r.

*Illumination of the Virgin and Child (fol. 6v and 7r):*

---

Suffrages of the Three Kings (Fitzwilliam MS 3-1954, fol. 242) and of St. Claudius (Fitzwilliam MS 3-1954, fols. 242-243). Miélot also wrote four prayers against the temptations of the flesh on a leaf which was joined to the miniature of the Apocalyptic Virgin (with many badges). Although their ruling for 29 lines of text is different from that of the rest of this cluster, the heavy black ink and the letter forms are like those of Miélot’s texts. Furthermore, the painter of their initials also painted the four initials on this page. Similar initials are found in the prayers on the wounds of Christ, written by another scribe, likewise on purple ruling (Fitzwilliam MS -1954, fols. 274v-275v, which held badges), who may have painted its little Flagellation of Christ. The same decorated also painted initials on the new beginning of the Mass of the Sacrament. The Girart Master (whom she suggests is Dreux Jehan) illustrated, and likely wrote, the suffrages for Saint Remy and Saint Anne (neither adored with badges). The Master also placed the emblems of Philip the Good in these illustrations, which is unusual, as Philip did not have special devotion to either Remy or Anne, like he did for the Virgin and Andrew and for the Holy Sacrament. van Buren, “Dreux Jehan,” p. 1393.

276 *Art from the Court of Burgundy,* p. 107.
277 *Art from the Court of Burgundy,* p. 108.
278 The contents of Brussels KBR MS 11035-37 are as follows: fols. 1-3: symbol of Athanasius; f. 3-4: Psalm 90, followed by the invocation of *Benedicat me imperialis majestas*; f 4v-5: Veni Creator hymn, followed by a collect, fols. 7-7v: prayers to the Virgin against temptations; prayer to the holy cross, Psalm 69; fols. 9-18v: commodatio animarum; fols 19-67: diverse prayers in Latin and in French, fols. 68-72: a request to the Virgin, in French verse; fols. 72-79: prayers and hymns to God, in Latin and French; fols. 79-81: psalms and prayers, fols. 81v-92v: prayers in Latin and in French, in prose and verse, to God and the Virgin; fols 93-95: blank; fols. 95v-96: Prayer to the Veronica, followed by the verse “Deus qui nobis signatis lumine”; fols. 96v-97: blank; fol. 97v: prayers in Latin; fol. 98, same text as folios 95v-96, fols. 98v—99: blank, fols. 99v-144v: nine lessons of the vigil of the dead composed in French rhyme by couplets. See Camille Gaspard and Frédéric Lyna, *Les Principaux Manuscrits a Peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique,* I (Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 1984). p. 420.
279 Bruna mentions “painted images and imprints of badges in metal” on fols. 6v, 7, 34v, and 87v. He does not mention the Vera Icons on fol. 96r. “Témoins,” p. 146.
The miniature on fol. 6v is perhaps the most famous illumination in the Brussels portion of the Grandes Heures. Much has been written on this image from the Brussels manuscript, ranging from its pilgrim’s badges to the origin of the image’s iconography and artistic provenance.

Folio 6v presents a pasted-on miniature of the Virgin of the Crescent [fig. 9]. It depicts the bust-length Virgin on a crescent moon nursing Christ. Above the Virgin and Child appears the dove of the Holy Spirit, with two blue seraphim angels holding a star-filled crown directly above the Virgin’s head.\footnote{280 Originally it was suggested that this particular iconography of Virgin of the Crescent derived from a passage from the Apocalypse, and that this was an image of the Virgin as the woman of the Apocalypse. However, it does not correspond with the Virgin of the Apocalypse, usually seen standing or stepping on the crescent moon. See Gaspar and Lyna, Les principaux Manuscrits à Peinture de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, p. 422.} Most now believe the miniature was executed by the Limbourg Brothers during the reign of Jean the Fearless, having been unfinished before Philip the Bold’s death in 1404.\footnote{281 Among the first to put forth this suggestion were Gaspar and Lyna, p. 422. Others have followed, including Delaissé, Miniatures Médiévales, p. 103, Bruna, “Témoins,” p. 146, and Art from the Court of Burgundy, p. 107. Patrick De Winter had argued for an artist whose style is linked to that of the Limbourg Brothers, while Millard Meiss originally suggested that it should be attributed to the Mastery of the Breviary of John the Fearless, and places it in Paris at the start of the fifteenth century. See Art from the Court of Burgundy, p. 107. However, it is known that the Virgin of the Crescent appears three times in the works of the Limbourg Brothers: Jean of Berry’s Tres Riches Heures, the Heures d’Ailly, and the Heures de Jean sans Peur.} It is not clear if this illumination was originally an independent painting, or a page from a now-lost manuscript with larger dimensions. However, the image has been trimmed to size, as is evident by the cropped cherubim wing on the lower portion of the page.\footnote{282 Art from the Court of Burgundy, p. 107. Underneath the original verso, at the bottom, written text can be seen. Additionally, the tabs of the inserted folio are clearly apparent in the volume. Bruna believes the image was made for a larger format manuscript, later cut down to be inserted in the present book. “Témoins,” p. 146.} The cloak of the Virgin and the lower portion of the folio have darkened considerably particularly around the lower margins, suggesting that the users of the book frequently touched and kissed the painting as if venerating an icon or relic, perhaps each time the prayer on the opposite page was recited.\footnote{283 Kurt Köster also notes the blackening and discoloring of the image “from generations of use”). “Wallfahrtsdevotionalien,” p. 92.}

Jean Miélot transcribed the prayer that accompanies the image around 1450. Its text protects against the temptations of the flesh, which explains the presence of the Virgin on the Cross, seen as a symbol of purity.\footnote{284 Delaissé, Miniatures Médiévales, p. 103.} Thus, Philip the Good added an image created during his
father’s reign to a book commissioned by his grandfather. By doing so, he combined and constituted authentic “relics” of the dukes of Burgundy.

A series of metal pilgrim badges were sewn along the outer lower edges of fol. 6v, perhaps soon after the image was added to the book. The affixing of badges may have caused pigment to fall off on parts of the vellum, causing additional fading of the miniature. The faintness of the offsets in certain places makes it difficult to calculate the exact number of badges originally affixed. Both Bruna and Köster claimed there were thirteen badges (five running vertically down the left margin; three in the lower center of the page; and five running vertically in the right margin). However, only eleven imprints are clearly visible, although needle holes seem to indicate badges where no offset is apparent. Most needle holes are located at the cardinal points of each round badge. The light blue color of the thread markings seems similar to the thread markings seen in Cambridge MS 3-1954 (which can be seen on fol. 5v and 6r, though somewhat smudged), though it is unclear as to whether the badge in the upper corner of fol. 6r had the same blue thread.

The visible badge offsets measure, starting in upper left and running counterclockwise, where the imprints are most obvious:

- Badge A: larger, round, with some interior imprints; 38 mm diameter
- Badge B: round, small, dark smudges are part of its imprints; 28 mm diameter
- Badge C: larger, round, interior imprints including some horizontal lines in lower part (likely of one central figure); tear in lower right corner; 37mm. A trace of an indistinct inscription can be seen around the edge.
- Badge D: rectangular with a pointed gable; 36 x 22mm. Needle holes are visible at the top center, upper middle portion, and lower corners. Some imprints in the center suggest a central figure. Köster suggests that its dimensions and form correspond with an early pilgrim badge of St. Adrian in Geraardsbergen. While the shape of the badge is similar to

---

286 Delaissé, *Miniatures Médiévales*, p. 103.
287 Fol. 6r is blank, which makes the sewing holes quite visible, particularly in the upper and lower right corners, as well as along the left side.
288 Bruna, “Témoins,” p. 146. Kurt Köster created a diagram identifying where he thinks the thirteen objects are originally located. “Wallfahrtsdevotionalien”, pp. 90-91. He claims that the rectangular badges are sewn in with five stitches; the larger round ones with four, and the smaller round ones with three stitches, although this pattern does not clearly exist in all cases.
extant badges from the shrine of St. Adrian, it is unclear why a badge of St. Adrian would be affixed next to an image and prayer to the Virgin. It seems unlikely that the other saints’ badges would have been placed next to prayers and images devoted to the Virgin; rather, one-to-one correlations between badge imagery and the subject of the text and illumination—all Marian in nature—would be more probable.

- **Badge E**: round with interior imprints; 31 mm in diameter
- **Badge F**: located in the lower margin. Only traces of faint imprints are visible in the offset’s lower half, making it difficult to accurately measurement its size (28 mm diameter?)

  There may be another badge offset, 29 mm in diameter, to the right of offset F.

- **Badge G**: located in the lower right corner, is square, 50 x 37mm, with tooled edges and strong imprints visible in the interior of the offset. Köster describes a gabled form on the top, but the offset does not appear to have a triangular apex.
- **Badge H**: round, larger, no details in offset; approximately 32 mm.
- **Badge I**: smaller, with interior border. Details of offset include wavy line in interior; 28 mm, with traces of a broad edge, perhaps with an inscription.
- **Badge J**: smaller (26 mm diameter) and overlaps behind Badge I.289

Additionally, seven or perhaps eight metal badges were affixed on the facing page on fol. 7r, with five badges along lower margin, and either two or three in right margin. Köster claimed that only five were affixed to this page, three in the lower margin and two in the right-hand margin.290 Although three badges on fol. 7r are near prayers against the temptations of the flesh, the words of this prayer are addressed to the Virgin, as are the other prayers on the page. Thus, it seems probable that the badges’ subject matter was the Virgin.

Measurements of badges, when viewed counterclockwise starting in the lower left, are:

- **Badge K**: round, either 33 or 22 mm in diameter (the imprint is unclear).

---

289 Köster’s measurements differ slightly. Badge A: 37 mm, Badge B: 27 mm, Badge C: Badge D: 37 x 23 mm, Badge E: 32 mm, Badge H: 33 mm, Badge I: 27 mm, Badge J: 25 mm. See “Wallfahrtsdevotionalien,” pp. 88-92. In his diagrams on pp. 90-91, Köster lists three round medallions, 30, 32, and 31 mm, across the bottom of the page, along with Badge F. It also seems unlikely that a badge he labels as number 10 is where he claims; rather, he makes the sketch of this badge too small and slightly too far to the left.

Badges:

- Badge L: rectangular, 39x23 mm
- Badge M: round, 34 mm
- Badge N: round, 35 mm
- Badge O: round, between 32-34 mm
- Badge P: round, 28 mm
- Badge Q: round 28 mm, with a small attached gable form 9x18 mm at its top. This gable may also be a separate badge. Köster tries to connect the top two; however, the gable is surrounded by its own needle holes, including one in its lower center where it touches the lower round badge offset. Köster’s measurements differ slightly. Badge L: 40 x 26 mm, Badge M: 31 mm, Badge N: 31 mm; Badge P: 27 mm. Badge Q is measured with a height of 52 mm and one with diameter of 27 mm, “stacked” on top of each other, with six stitches. Köster misses several badges (based on holes and string marks on fol. 7v). His diagram includes badges that appear to overlap the text, which he numbers “15” and “16”. No imprints seem to overlap the text; instead, the offsets appear in one row in the lower region of the text.
- Badge Q is measured with a height of 52 mm and one with diameter of 27 mm, “stacked” on top of each other, with six stitches. Köster misses several badges (based on holes and string marks on fol. 7v). His diagram includes badges that appear to overlap the text, which he numbers “15” and “16”. No imprints seem to overlap the text; instead, the offsets appear in one row in the lower region of the text.

The surrounding folios do not show the same level of wear as fol. 6v and 7r, leading one to conclude that the badges, the Virgin and Child image, and the accompanying prayer were the main devotional focus in this portion of the book. The badges sewn on the outer margins of the pages (one on fol. 6v, and three on fol. 7r) seem to have been staggered in such a way to lie flatter when book is closed. The three badges on the top right of fol. 7r have left marks; the parchment underneath the original badges is much lighter, suggesting that they were in place during heavy use of this prayer and image, preventing these portions of the folio from becoming dirtied.

This sizeable collection of Marian pilgrim badges on fols. 6v and 7r surely had a striking visual impact when all badges were still in the manuscript. In effect, the badges created a frame of glittering metal all around the margins of these two pages. As the most important image among the Brussels and Cambridge volumes, the two-page spread of Virgin and Child image and accompanying prayer would have resembled a mini-devotional diptych.

---

291 Köster’s measurements differ slightly. Badge L: 40 x 26 mm, Badge M: 31 mm, Badge N: 31 mm; Badge P: 27 mm. Badge Q is measured with a height of 52 mm and one with diameter of 27 mm, “stacked” on top of each other, with six stitches. Köster misses several badges (based on holes and string marks on fol. 7v). His diagram includes badges that appear to overlap the text, which he numbers “15” and “16”. No imprints seem to overlap the text; instead, the offsets appear in one row in the lower region of the text.

292 Fol. 8 is similar in dimensions, with similar height but narrower in width; a tab can be seen in the gutter between 7 and 8. On fol. 8r, blue string marks from badges on fol. 7r are visible, including three badge markings along the bottom margin, along with other grey markings. It is interesting to note that none of the badges on the inner gutter of fol. 6v left imprints on fol. 7r; leading one to question if there was once another page there.
As the badges were believed to contain apotropaic powers from the pilgrimage shrines, the Marian badges were in close proximity of famous cult images of the Virgin. As contact relics, the badges’ placement next to an illumination, also regarded as a prized holy image by the Burgundian dukes, only enhanced the image’s spiritual potency. If as I suspect, the badges were an assemblage of souvenirs from various Marian shrines, their proximate placement would concentrate and enhance their efficacy as well as the sacred power of the miniature. This is significant, considering the duke’s strong devotion to the Virgin. The sacred powers invested in the badges from the various Marian shrines created an amalgamated grouping of heightened spiritual power on these two folios, focusing Philip’s devotions and serving to bless and benefit the duke and his family.

**Stabat Mater (fol. 34v):**

The *Stabat Mater* prayer (fol. 34v-35v) was part of Philip the Bold’s original manuscript. This prayer was used frequently, as its pages show heavy wear, while preceding and subsequent folios do not. Additionally, the wear seems to have required certain parts of the prayer to be re-inked, using the same black ink and script as the later additions on fol. 18v and prior pages.

Evidence of two souvenirs can be seen on fol. 34v. A rectangular shape, 52 x 37 mm, may have been left from pasted-in paper or parchment, since no evidence of needle holes can be seen. The other badge, a circle 33 mm in diameter, was located underneath this rectangular badge. It was probably made of metal and sewn into place with four pairs of stitches. Imprints of the strings can be seen on fol. 33v and 34r, and a small rip is visible on fol. 34. The badge’s opposite offset on fol. 35r has some markings on its interior, including a diagonal straight line in the lower portion, although the badge’s iconography is undetectable.

Like the *Obsecro te*, the *Stabat Mater* was an important prayer in the late Middle Ages. Both devotions emphasize the Virgin’s inconsolable sadness during Christ’s Crucifixion,

---

294 Köster measured the souvenir at 32 mm.
295 Köster says is part of a rhomboid shape. The rhomboid form could have been part of a tomb, based on the subject matter of the prayer; however, this is pure speculation.
296 The *Stabat Mater* translates: “The grieving Mother stood beside the cross weeping where her Son was hanging/Through her weeping soul, compassionate and grieving, a sword passed/ O how sad and afflicted was that
encouraging the reader to sympathize with her emotions. In keeping with the prayer’s theme, the now-lost badge may have been a Crucifixion or Pietà image, allowing the reader to further visualize the text of the *Stabat Mater*. The badges’ placement next to this particular prayer reiterates Philip’s keen interest in Marian devotion.

*Prayer to the Virgin (fol. 87v):*  

The prayer on fol. 87v, dedicated to the Virgin, was part of the new additions made by Jean Miélot in 1451. A badge 32 mm in diameter, with a 25 mm inner portion, was located next to the “M” initial in “Mere”. An imprint of this badge can still be seen on fol. 88r. The area on the parchment where the badge was located is lighter and cleaner. As with other prayers and accompanying badges in this codex, it seems likely that the Virgin was subject matter of the badge.

*Prayer to the Holy Face (fol. 96r):*  

The bottom of fol. 96r consists of four different types of small leather and parchment sheets, painted with depictions of St. Veronica and the holy veil [fig. 10]. The badges are situated next to two prayers, one to Veronica and the other to her veil. Fol. 95v contains a prayer to the Veronica, followed by the verses “Deus qui nobis signatis summe lumine vultus tui . . .” at the top of fol. 96. The pages show much wear, and the lower half of the folio where the

---

blessed Mother of the Only-begotten!/Who mourned and grieved, the pious Mother, with seeing the torment of her glorious Son/ Who is the man who would not weep if seeing the Mother of Christ in such agony?/ Who would not behave compassion on beholding the devout mother suffering with her Son?/ For the sins of His people she saw Jesus in torment and subjected to the scourge./She saw her sweet Son dying, forsaken, while He gave up His spirit./ Christ, when it is henceforth in need to pass away, grant that through your Mother I may come to the palm of victory. Amen.”

297 It should be noted that fol. 81v displays several holes in its margins, directly next to an illumination of the Crucifixion. The accompanying prayer focuses on words Christ said from the Cross. It is unclear whether these are random needle holes or perhaps a badge had been located next to this prayer.

298 The incipit begins, “Mere et fille u haal roy souveirain . . .”

299 This book also contains two separate sheets, inserted later, showing a full page St. Veronica and her veil (folks. 8v, 98). The first, fol. 8v, is dated to the beginning of the sixteenth century, although van Buren argues that Miélot added the accompanying Veronica prayer on fol. 9. “Dreux Jehan,” p. 1396. The other Veronica on fol. 98 is from the second half of the fifteenth century. With its papal crown and keys of St. Peter at the top, the iconography slightly differs from the Veronicas on fol. 96. There is very little wear on this painting, unlike the Veronicas on fol. 96.

Two full-page Veronica images are inserted into the volume (folios 8v and 98); the first dates from the beginning of the 16th century and the second from the 15th century. A Veronica image, with a prayer at the bottom, was added on fol. 98r with text similar to that seen on fol. 95v. The bottom half is worn, particularly around the prayer. Much of the dark grey/black paint used for Christ’s face has flaked off. The style of the icon seems to suggest a later edition of the badge, perhaps more like a Roman Veronica, since it has Peter and Paul flanking Veronica (with elaborate headdress).
Veronica badges are located is particularly dark, as if the folio has been touched or kissed frequently.

The four Vera Icon badges include:

- **Badge 1:** Veronica, 91x39 mm; is a full-length depiction of Veronica dressed in white, on dark maroon background. Christ’s face is hard to distinguish, although the eyes (as on all of these badges) look to the left. This Veronica is similar to another found in the *Hours of Jean of Berry*, Brussels Bibliothèque Royale MS 11060-61, fol. 8.  

- **Badge 2:** The largest of the Veronica badges is 107x 87 mm. Veronica wears a light blue gown and a gold halo. Green palm-like foliage appears inside of the mandorla, with small flowers around it. Veronica holds the white cloth with Christ’s visage. Christ’s face is worn and the paint has partially flaked off, perhaps due to touching and kissing of the image. The opening lines of the Office of the Holy Face (“Salve sancta facies n[o]stri redemptoris”) are written in blue in the mandorla’s border.

- **Badge 3:** Vera Icon, 51x48 mm, is a small square badge. Christ’s face is surrounded by a round halo containing the opening lines of the Office of the Holy Face (“Salve sancta facies nostri redemptoris”), similar to the second badge. No color appears on the halo except for the green and red borders. Christ’s face is somewhat darkened, although the lips are still clearly red.

- **Badge 4:** Vera Icon, 53x47 mm, is extremely dark, with a maroon-colored background, and dark grey and grey-brown colors used for Christ’s face. This particular Vera Icon type has survived both as independent souvenirs and in other manuscripts.

---


301 Köster measures the width at 84 mm.

302 Köster says it measures 57 mm, although this could be due to the souvenir’s edge resting under the second Veronica.

303 This particular souvenir is comparable to a sheet of small Veronicas from an inventory of Wienhausen in Germany, which were likely meant to be distributed to pilgrims as souvenirs. See Jeffrey Hamburger, *Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p. 195.
Though the page is now dirtied, white thread was used to sew in the Veronica badges, suggesting that these perhaps were added at a different time than the other badges, which had been attached with blue thread. The arrangement of the souvenirs on the folio may be due to size, with the larger souvenirs placed on top and the smaller ones fit at the bottom of the page. They may have also been grouped iconographically, with two Vera Icons and two Veronicas placed together.\(^{304}\)

The precise dating of the addition of the Veronica images is under some debate.\(^{305}\) Based on the manuscript’s early provenance within the ducal family, Gaspar and Lyna suggested that the manuscript was at one time in the hands of Margaret of Bavaria, John the Fearless’s wife, daughter-in-law of Philip the Bold, and mother of Philip the Good.\(^{306}\) Devotion to the Veronica was popular in the late Middle Ages, and Margaret of Bavaria was a fervent devotee. Its image was often invoked for grace against sudden death, which was probably significant for the family of Jean the Fearless, who was assassinated in 1419.\(^{307}\) If Margaret of Bavaria introduced the Veronicas into the volume, they would have been added to the older portions of the manuscript before the renovations under Philip the Good. However, according to Anne van Buren’s analysis, all pages containing Vera Icons, full-page Veronicas, and prayers to the Vera Icon were inserted during the reign of Philip the Good.\(^{308}\) It thus seems unlikely that Margaret of Bavaria is

---

\(^{304}\) Imprints of the two lower Vera Icons, as well as the dark outline of the large Veronica badge, are on fol. 95v. Fols. 96v and 97r are blank; it is unclear why, although perhaps it is due to the unsightly strings from the Veronica badges.

\(^{305}\) In his commentary on this manuscript, Bousmanne notes the difficulties of attributing these Vera Icon souvenirs.\(^{306}\) Gaspar and Lyna, Les Principaux Manuscrits, p. 421. Other manuscripts owned by Margaret show the same strong devotion to the Veronica.

\(^{307}\) Delaissé, Miniatures Médiévales, p. 103.

\(^{308}\) Dreux Jehan, for example, added a prayer to the Holy Face on one of the holy pictures of Saint Veronica on fol. 8v, fitting the ruling below the image.
the source of the Vera Icons. If all were incorporated by Philip, he may have been religiously influenced by his mother and her strong devotion to the vernicle. The Vera Icons also would further exemplify the duke’s devotion to images.\textsuperscript{309} However, it is possible that the images were gradually added, or were added later after Philip the Good, thus making it unclear who affixed the Vera Icons to fol. 96r. Even if the Vera icons were added later, their inclusion amplifies the importance of this manuscript within the family, the tradition of the cult of the Veronica in the house of Burgundy, as well as the “tradition” of pilgrim souvenirs being placed in books, an exercise practiced by Burgundian descendants, including the Holy Roman Emperors Charles V and Ferdinand I.

Thus, in the Brussels portion of the \textit{Grandes Heures}, most of the manuscript sections supplemented with pilgrim badges were additions under Philip the Good, suggesting that the souvenirs were added after the early 1450s, likely by Philip himself. The one exception from the older part of the manuscript, the \textit{Stabat Mater}, still had portions rewritten, leading to the conclusion that Philip found resonance in this prayer and deemed it significant enough in his prayer life to supplement with badges.

The badges selected for the Brussels portion of the \textit{Grandes Heures} seem to emphasize Philip’s strong devotion to the Virgin, as exemplified on fols. 6v-7r, 34v, and 87v. The origin of the Vera Icons is more problematic. While it is possible that Philip did not add the Vera Icon souvenirs himself, the tradition of Vera Icon worship held strong in the Burgundian family, beginning at least with his mother, Margaret of Bavaria.

In the portion of the \textit{Grandes Heures} surviving as \textit{Cambridge Fitzwilliam MS 3-1954}, pilgrims’ badges are located on fols. 13r, 227v, 237r, 237v, 239r, 240r, 241r, 243r, 244r, 246v, 250v, 251r, 252r, 263r, and 273v. Like the Brussels portion of the \textit{Grandes Heures}, many of the pages added during the renovations undertaken for Philip the Good have badges on them. However, if the book’s original, old foliation is followed, rather than its current order, all of the folios containing badges were located at the front of the codex, near the calendar.\textsuperscript{310} With the exception of a badge by the opening of the Office of the Virgin, nearly all of the badges were

\textsuperscript{309} \textit{Art from the Court of Burgundy}, p. 107.
\textsuperscript{310} The volume has mid-fifteenth century foliation (labeled “i to xlv”) added by Dreux Jehan, indicating that the suffrages had been at the front of the book, as was the case with many Flemish books.
placed next to suffrage prayers to various saints. It is noteworthy that primarily male saints had badges accompanying their suffrage prayers and illustrations. With the exception of the Virgin, few female saints, even those commemorated in suffrage prayers added to the volume, are commemorated with pilgrims’ badges.

*Opening to the Office of the Virgin (fol. 13r):*

The Office of the Virgin (Paris use) begins on fol. 13r with a near full-page, late fourteenth-century depiction of the Annunciation [*fig. 11*]. The scene shows Gabriel pointing to God above, and kneeling before Mary, who stands in front of a prayer book on an eagle lectern, under an ornate baldachin. It is surrounded by a red, white, and blue quatrefoil frame; a kneeling, praying Philip the Bold looks up at the scene in a historiated initial below. Here, a round badge, approximately 36 mm in diameter, was sewn in the center right margin. Traces of six holes (two per cardinal point, with one side overhanging the page’s edge) can be seen on fol. 13v, along with the line imprints of the blue threads that held it in place on fol. 14r. A shadow imprint appears on fol. 12v, the final page of the calendar cycle. There, a tooled edge in the upper portion, as well as a central figure—certainly that of Mary—can be seen. However, because an offset exists on fol. 12v from the badge originally on fol. 13—and if the suffrages were originally after the calendar, followed by the Office of the Virgin—then the badge was still sewn inside the manuscript when the codex was rearranged and rebound. Köster and other pilgrim badge scholars did not observe this badge offset.

*Suffrage prayers to the Virgin, Michael the Archangel, the Annunciation, John the Baptist, Luke, and Mark (fols. 226-228):*

Several badges are scattered over fols. 226 through 228, the beginning of the Suffrage prayers. Determining which badges were sewn on which pages is difficult, due to overlapping offsets, needle holes, and thread marks on pages opposite the badges’ original locations. In his analysis of the Cambridge volume, Kurt Köster did not determine the precise location of the badges on these folios; rather, he grouped them all together on either fol. 226v or fol. 227v.  

---

311 The old foliation begins with “i”.

312 For example, Köster says that there was a 31mm diameter badge next to the “Memoire de la Couronne” suffrage. However, no needle holes exist for that badge. Instead, this imprint matches up with an offset on fol. 227r (complete with needle holes and string marks), which is next to the “Memoire de l’Annunciation”. See “Wallfahrtsdevotionalien,” p. 96.
Nonetheless, these pages demonstrate the careful staggering of the badges along the page’s margins, so that badges would not be all clustered together in one portion. The badges’ staggered distribution also seems to have coincided with their location next to the book’s prayers and pictures.

Fol. 226r originally had a round badge, 25 mm in diameter, in the upper right corner. On the top half of the page is the Suffrage to the Virgin, with an illumination showing the Virgin and Child with the duke kneeling in prayer before them. The bottom half of the page contains a prayer to the cross, with an illumination of the Crucifixion and the duke kneeling in prayer. An imprint can be seen opposite on fol. 225v, and a blue thread mark on fol. 226v. Little else of the badge’s imprint is visible, other than the basic outline and about three holes, one of which has a light aqua blue tint around its edge, suggesting blue string. Its subject was likely the Virgin or the Virgin and Child, since both stand before the duke.

Fol. 226v has two badge offsets adjacent to each other in the lower left half of the margin. The top offset is about 40 mm in diameter; the bottom is 35 mm diameter with a 6 mm border. They are adjacent to the “Memoire des Anges,” with an illumination of Michael slaying the dragon and choirs of angels on either side. Köster suggests the badge came from a shrine dedicated to St. Michael, perhaps Mont-St.-Michel in Normandy, although it is not certain that Philip traveled there. However, his frequent stays in Brussels meant that he certainly visited the cathedral dedicated to Sts. Michael and Gudule, and perhaps he acquired a souvenir there. An additional faint offset appears midway down the margin, the result of the badge originally located on fol. 227r.

Although four imprints can be seen in the margin of fol. 227r, the page held only one badge: the second offset from the top, next to an illumination of the Annunciation. As the prayer was dedicated to the Annunciation, the badge would assuredly depicted the Virgin, or the Virgin and Child, though the badge’s appearance cannot be determined based on the imprint. The bottom two offsets resulted from the badges sewn onto fol. 226v, both of which have left markings. Of these, the upper badge offset seems to suggest a haloed figure on a three-

---

313 Köster suggests the badge came from a shrine dedicated to St. Michael, perhaps Mont-St.-Michel in Normandy, although it is not certain that Philip traveled there. However, his frequent stays in Brussels meant that he certainly visited the cathedral dedicated to Sts. Michael and Gudule, and perhaps he acquired a souvenir there. An additional faint offset appears midway down the margin, the result of the badge originally located on fol. 227r.

Although four imprints can be seen in the margin of fol. 227r, the page held only one badge: the second offset from the top, next to an illumination of the Annunciation. As the prayer was dedicated to the Annunciation, the badge would assuredly depicted the Virgin, or the Virgin and Child, though the badge’s appearance cannot be determined based on the imprint. The bottom two offsets resulted from the badges sewn onto fol. 226v, both of which have left markings. Of these, the upper badge offset seems to suggest a haloed figure on a three-
dimensional platform shape, with one or two square forms framing the figure in the background. The second badge’s interior markings are less distinct, although markings on its frame suggest an inscription. These badges’ subject matter would have related to St. Michael on fol. 226v, however, no extant metal badges depict the archangel near or upon a platform shape. The top imprint is likely the reverse of the badge on the following page, fol. 227v.

Fol. 227v contains the incipit to the prayer to John the Baptist, with an illumination depicting an unknown young man kneeling in prayer to John the Baptist. The lower half of the page includes the prayer and an illumination of John the Evangelist. Next to John the Baptist’s Suffrage is a round badge imprint with needle holes (36 mm in diameter, with a radius of 11 mm from outer to inner edges of the badge). The large radius between outer and inner circles suggests perhaps a common pilgrims’ badge scene of John the Baptist’s head on a platter (perhaps from Amiens?), although the souvenir’s iconography is impossible to determine with certainty. [fig. 12]

Fol. 228r, showing the Suffrages to Saints Luke and Mark, holds a puzzling imprint: an offset with markings similar to a face is visible next to the Luke miniatures. Although it seems to be aligned with the placement of the John the Baptist badge on the previous page, its diameter is dissimilar (here, it measures 21-22 mm) and it is off-center in comparison with the fol. 227v badge. Moreover, there is no evidence of needle holes, nor any adhesive residue of a pasted souvenir, suggesting there was not another badge affixed here. Whether this offset indicates the presence of a badge is uncertain.

Suffrage to St. Adrian (fol. 237r):

---

314 The lower imprint, in particular, recalls an extant badge on the database Kunera (#01861), see http://www.kunera.nl
315 In his analysis of this folio, Kurt Köster described two round badges, and a rhomboid badge 24 x 36 mm. These dimensions for the rhomboid shape appear to match with the strings that were used to sew the Annunciation badge on fol. 227r. The exact location of the second round badge that Köster describes is unclear. See “Wallfahrtsdevotionalen,” p. 97.
316 Following these folios are several pages which contained no badges. These include prayers to Mark, the relics of Ste. Chapelle (a prayer also in the Hague manuscript that Philip the Good owned, Koninklijke Bibliotheek MS 76 F 2); Julien and Martha; Mary Magdalene, Peter, Paul, “the apostles together” (Peter and Paul), James, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon, Jude, Andrew, Thomas, Mathias, James the Lesser, and Philip. A rubric at the bottom of fol. 234r is for a “Memoire de Saint Benigne apostre des bourgoingnons”, followed by suffrages for saints Barnabas, Stephen, Lawrence, Clement, Vincent, and George.
A noteworthy prayer lacking a badge is on fol. 234r, dedicated to the Veronica, with an illumination of Christ’s head floating on a blue ground. While two needle holes can be seen in the margin, there is no other evidence of anything indicating a pilgrim’s souvenir was affixed to the page.
The Suffrage of St. Adrian is located on fol. 237r, among the mid-fifteenth century additions [fig. 13]. The illumination uses the characteristic iconography of St. Adrian holding a sword in his right hand, with a hammer and block on a stump and a lion by his feet. In the right margin, across from the image at the prayer’s incipit, is a badge imprint (36 x 19 mm, with a hint of frame evident on the left side of the offset). This is the common shape for an Adrian pilgrim badge from Geraardsbergen, which Philip the Good visited several times. The imprint for the Adrian badge can be seen on fol. 236v; there, a tooled inner edge on the right side (originally the left side of the badge), the raised areas from the central form of Adrian’s body, and the hand that holds the sword are visible. Below the badge is a triangular grouping of three sets of holes for the badge originally on the next page.

Suffrage to St. Lazarus (fol. 237v):

Fol. 237v contains the Suffrage prayer to St. Lazarus, which was completed in a later fifteenth-century hand [fig. 14]. Originally, a square miniature of Lazarus was pasted in; though now missing, glue residue is still present. The imprint in the left margin is difficult to see due to the border decoration, but needle holes are visible. The circular badge was larger than many others in the manuscript, measuring 45 mm in diameter with a 6 mm outer border. The souvenir possibly had tooling and perhaps, according to Köster, writing. Minor markings occur on the left and right edges of the inner circle, along with two faint horizontal lines near the bottom of the scene. The reverse offset can be seen on fol. 238r.

The most famous Lazarus pilgrimage site was the cult at Autun, within the original Burgundian territories. According to his travel itineraries, Philip visited Autun on several occasions, including several weeks’ stay in the late summer of 1454. Thus it seems highly probable that he acquired a souvenir of St. Lazarus there.

Suffrage to St. Thomas Becket (fol. 239r):

This is evidenced by large folio tip between fols. 236 and 237. The page’s scribe tried to mimic the earlier fourteenth-century script, and the gold frame for the miniature, though slightly larger in dimensions than the earlier illuminations, recalls the earlier style.

Like the Suffrage of St. Adrian on the previous page, the scribe and illuminator tried to emulate the earlier Gothic style in the codex (e.g., the script, as well as the border’s line acanthus with a few berries, flowers, and a bird). In the manuscript’s calendar, a later hand added Lazarus’s feast day on 1 September, after the originally listed feast days of St. Lupus and St. Giles. See Wormald and Giles, Descriptive Catalogue, p. 481.

According to van der Linden’s *Itinéraires de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne (1419-1467) et de Charles, comte de Charolais (1433-1467)*, Philip was in Autun in March 1432; 11 January 1435; 25 January 1442; 15 March 1442; from August until early September 1454; and a return visit in late September 1454.
Fol. 239r contains the Suffrage and a miniature of St. Thomas Becket, along with Peter the Martyr [fig. 15]. Immediately next to the opening line of Thomas’s suffrage midway down the page, the round form of the badge (33 mm in diameter and a 4 mm border) with tooled edges can be seen, along with the faint outline of shoulders, eyes, a nose, and a pointed miter. Offsets also can be seen in the margins of fol. 238v; on fols. 239v and 240r, the imprint of a blue diamond form (from the string lines that originally held the badge in place) is visible.

It is readily apparent that this offset is a bust image of the bishop of Canterbury. However, since Philip the Good never traveled to Canterbury, it is unclear how a Thomas Becket arrived in the manuscript. One possibility is that Philip may have received it as a gift from a courtier. Still another possibility is that the badge came from shrines dedicated to St. Thomas in Tournai and particularly St.-Omer (although no extant badges survive), which had large numbers of relics relating to the saint, including his tunic, hair shirt, staff, hair, and blood. As Philip visited Tournai and St.-Omer many times, it is plausible that a souvenir came from these sites, and was later added to the manuscript. Still another possible source is Philip’s daughter-in-law, Margaret of York. She traveled to the shrine at Canterbury twice after Philip’s death, in 1468 and in 1480, and may have affixed the badge in the codex at a later date.

Suffrage to St. Sebastian (fol. 240r):

On the top of the fol. 240r is a prayer and illumination to the Trinity, with a Suffrage to St. Sebastian at the bottom [fig. 16]. In the right margin, immediately below the imprint of strings from the previous folio’s Thomas badge, is a series of paired needle holes located at the

---

320 Fols. 239-241 were part of Philip the Bold’s original manuscript. The saints’ prayers on these pages contain no illuminations.
321 Köster’s measurements of 40 mm are incorrect.
322 Fol. 238v shows the end of the prayer to St. Eligius, with a pasted-in image, and the prayer to St. Remigius, with the image painted directly on the folio. Fol. 239v includes the suffrage and miniature dedicated to St. Blaise; fol. 240r contains the prayer of St. Sebastian.
323 Schnitker, p. 117.
324 Schnitker, p. 117.
325 At some point, a later hand added “de cantorbie translacion”, in reference to the translation of Thomas’s relics to Canterbury, to his feast day on 7 July in the manuscript’s calendar. See Wormald and Giles, Descriptive Catalogue, p. 481.
326 Fol. 239v also shows an imprint just below the Thomas offset, that of a round badge, mostly likely for the badge originally near the bottom of 240r. This second offset is somewhat confusing, as it almost looks cruciform in its markings (particularly a horizontal set of marks on the upper portion of the badge), and Blaise, on this page, is seen on a Crucifix. However, it matches with the sew holes on 240r, so it likely is associated with the prayer and image to Sebastian on that page.
cardinal points. This badge, approximately 29 mm in diameter, appears to have accompanied the Suffrage to St. Sebastian. However, the origin of this Sebastian pilgrimage badge is uncertain.

*Suffrages to Sts. Eustache and Julien (fol. 241r):*

The next folio, 241r, contains Suffrages to St. Eustache (Eustace) and St. Julien (Julian). Unusually, the miniature accompanying the prayer shows the stag deer displaying Christ’s face, rather than the Cross, between his antlers. Next to the prayer of St. Eustache are four pairs of needle holes for a circular badge 35 mm in diameter, with perhaps a thin border on the badge. An imprint can also be seen on fol. 240v. While the badge clearly would have originated from a pilgrimage site devoted to St. Eustache, its provenance is unknown.

*Suffrage to St. Claude (fol. 243r):*

Fol. 243r is an addition to the manuscript at the time of Philip the Good [fig. 17]. It includes a suffrage prayer to St. Claude, which begins at the top of fol. 242v. The saint’s illumination is at the top of 243r, and in the right margin are two sets of needle holes in circular forms; the first is a three sets of paired holes; the lower badge has four pairs of holes at the cardinal points. Two circular imprints approximately the same size (30 mm in diameter, with a thin border less than 1 mm in width) appear in the left margin of fol. 242v, one above the other. Traces of light blue color are on the verso, suggesting the same blue thread is being used as on other folios.

Both badge offsets display a bishop sitting on his throne. The top badge clearly displays the bishop’s miter, a crozier on the right side, and the square form of the side of the throne (the lower badge’s markings are less well-defined than the top, but appears to be similar). This composition recalls extant badges from the shrine of St. Claude in the Jura, which Philip visited several times.

*Suffrages to Sts. Christopher and Denis (fol. 244r):*

---

326 Köster’s assessment of 36 mm came from measuring the holes rather than the imprint.
327 The feast day of St. Eustace, on 20 September, was added by a later hand in the manuscript’s calendar. After the feast for St. Julian, on 28 August, a later hand added “hospitallier.” Wormald and Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 481.
328 Another prayer to St. Claude is on fol. 108r of the manuscript. In addition, Claude, described as the “Archbishop of Besançon,” was added in the manuscript’s calendar on 6 June (another feast day for St. Claude was also added on 8 July in the calendar). See Wormald and Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 481.
Folio 244r, part of the original fourteenth-century manuscript, shows the prayer to St. Christopher at the top, immediately followed by a series suffrages to martyrs, beginning with St. Denis and his companions. Two offsets (30 and 29 mm diameter) with visible needle holes are located in the margin next to the Suffrage for Christopher. While the upper offset shows little detail, dark markings on the lower badge suggest a bust figure wearing a mitre. This form is remarkably similar to extant pilgrims’ badges from the shrine of St. Denis, just outside of Paris. According to his travel itineraries, Philip visited from 29 September until 1 October in 1461, and thus seems likely he visited the church and bought a souvenir.

**Suffrages to Sts. Nicholas and Anthony (fol. 246v):**

Fol. 246v contains suffrage prayers and illuminations for St. Nicholas and St. Anthony of Egypt, as well as three offsets of pilgrim badges [fig. 18a]. In the margin next to St. Nicholas’s prayer was one circular badge (31 mm in diameter, with a 3 mm border). The outlines of two mitered, bust-length badges are next to the illumination of Anthony dressed as a hermit. The first badge measures 47 x 37 mm (a few millimeters are cut off, and the width of miter is 24 mm); the second is 33 x 29 mm (width of miter 19 mm). The upper Anthony badge was sewn along the outer edges of the miters and the lower corners; the other is sewn in around the crown of his head, with no needle holes present on the lower portion of the badge. The imprints of all three badges are clearly visible on fol. 247r, with the mitered bust shapes of the two Anthony badges and the round badge of Nicholas with markings in the central portion.

Markings from the strings also can be seen on fol. 245v (the round badge having a diamond shape from the strings, one of the bust badges having a square shape on three sides).

Assigning specific pilgrimage sites for either the Anthony or Nicholas badges is inconclusive. Similarly-shaped badges of Anthony of Egypt dressed as a bishop have been

---

329 Fols. 244-250 are part of the original manuscript commissioned by Philip the Bold. In the calendar, on 22 April, a later hand included the feast day “Invention St. Denis et ses compagnons”. Wormald and Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 481.

330 Köster’s measurements for the top badge are 32 mm. He also described imprints on the opposite folio, 243v. However, it seems more likely that these are string marks from fol. 243r. “Wallfahrtsdevotionalen,” p. 99.

331 Oddly, the upper corners of fols. 245 and 246 have needle holes. Their identical placement on both folios suggests that the pages were accidentally sewn together, most likely when the badge of St. Nicholas was affixed.

332 Köster measured this imprint at 29 mm in diameter.

333 Two feast days for St. Anthony were added by a later hand to the manuscript’s calendar, on 17 January (which was also Philip the Bold’s birthday) and 13 June. Nicholas’s feast day does not appear in the calendar, however. Wormald and Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue*, pp. 480-482.
unearthed in the Netherlands. In addition, several extant bust pilgrim’s badges identified as Anthony have been associated with the shrine of Saint-Antoine-l’Abbaye, in the Rhône-Alpes just west of Grenoble [fig. 18b], which may suggest a possible provenance for these lost souvenirs.334 Kurt Köster suggested that the origin of the Nicholas badge was from the famous Italian pilgrimage shrine in Bari; however, Philip is not recorded as visiting Bari (although he possibly may have received a souvenir as a gift). Shrines of St. Nicholas in Ghent as well as St. Nicholas-de-Port (in the Lorraine region of northeastern France, an area between Burgundy and the duke’s new territories in the Low Countries) are more plausible suggestions for visits by the duke.335

*Suffrage to St. Maurus (fol. 250v):*

Badge offsets do not appear again until fol. 250v, with two round imprints directly next to the Suffrage and an illumination to Saint Maurus (“Mor”). The top offset measures 32 mm in diameter, although the outer edge of this badge is not clear and no needle holes appear. Its centralized markings indicate a mitered bust figure. The bottom offset is 35 mm in diameter; no details on the badge’s interior can be discerned. A hexagonal imprint of the string lines can be seen on fol. 250r, lining up with the holes of the badge’s position. Its provenance is unknown, although a possible suggestion is the pilgrimage shrine of St.-Maur-des-Fosses, just southeast of Paris.

*Suffrage to St. Bernardino (?) (fol. 251r):*

Fol. 251r presents a challenge in identifying the pilgrim badge’s origin, mainly due to the changes of the folio’s subject matter. Originally the Suffrage on fol. 251r was for St. Fiacre; however, its incipit on fol. 250v was erased and changed to “Memoire de Saint Bernardino”, although the reasons behind the alterations of the suffrage’s rubric, rather than adding a folio with the new suffrage, are unclear. To the right of the illumination, which depicts the saint under a scalloped archway, are two sets of holes that perhaps held round badges. No badge offsets are visible on either fol. 250v or fol. 251r, although the measurements between needle holes would

---

334 Philip had an illegitimate son named Anthony, who was known as the “Grand Bâtard”. He enjoyed some prominence among the ducal family and undertook several endeavors, including leading a (failed) crusade and receiving a sixteen-year endowment of Flanders (along with other members of the ducal family) the year after Philip’s death. He was later a diplomat and general to Philip’s son, Charles the Bold, and was also noted for leading court and tournament games.

335 A church dedicated to St. Nicholas also existed in Ghent.
have accommodated badges measuring 15-16 mm in diameter. Two light blue vertical lines amid three sets of paired holes are visible on fol. 251v, suggesting thread marks.

Kurt Köster hypothesized that the badges were from St. Fiacre-en-Brie, near Meaux, outside of Paris; indeed, the ducal travel itineraries show Philip visiting St. Fiacre on 27 August 1461. However, if the suffrage was changed from Fiacre to Bernardino during the alterations in the 1450s, the badge’s subject may therefore have been St. Bernard, from the shrine in Siena. If the badge was from Siena, perhaps Philip received the souvenir as a gift, since he did not visit the Italian city. Unfortunately, the state of the offset makes it difficult to conclusively prove which saint adorned the now-lost badge.

*Suffrage to All Saints (fol. 252r):*

Fol. 252 was added during the fifteenth-century revisions [fig. 19]. As with the following page, it is worn and dirty, showing evidence of frequent use. A suffrage prayer to All Saints with a half-page illumination is on the recto, with a Suffrage to Barbara (with a pasted-in illumination) on the verso. The accompanying All Saints illumination shows the Virgin and Christ enthroned in Heaven surrounded by saints, being crowned by angels and seraphim. A badge imprint, 34 mm in diameter, is on the same horizontal plane as Mary and Christ with the top two needle holes outside of the badge’s edge. The border decoration makes it difficult to see the entire space where the badge was sewn. Based on the offsets on fols. 252r and 251v, the badge may have had an oval shape at the top, with a square form at the base.

The badge’s subject is unclear in relation to the Suffrage to All Saints. Since Mary is seen enthroned, the badge may have depicted similar enthroned Marian imagery, which may have resonated with the incipit “salvator mundi salva nos omnes sancta dei genitri(c)e virgo semper maria ora pro nobis.” Other possibilities include badges depicting the Trinity or a saint not listed in the suffrages.

*Obsecro te (fol. 263r):*

---

336 There are no holes on the left “cardinal point” of the badges, though.
337 Philip did send an envoy to Siena to a papal council in 1423–4. See Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, p. 206. Interestingly, St. Bernard is added to the manuscript’s calendar (20 May). See Wormald and Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue*, p. 481.
338 The female saints are on Mary’s right (our left); and male saints are on Christ’s left (our right).
339 Köster measured the imprint as 35 mm.
Fol. 262v shows a clear, round imprint of the badge (30 mm in diameter with a 2 mm-wide tooled edge) originally sewn on the facing page, also visible on fol. 263r [fig. 20]. Three pairs of holes held the badge in the upper left, upper right, and the bottom portions. The imprint shows horizontal and arched markings near the top, outlines of the head and body of a centralized figure, and the forms of two flanking figures. These figures likely are the Virgin and Child, with angels on either side. This offset evokes the familiar iconography of badges from Notre-Dame at Halle, which usually depicts Mary and the Infant Christ as centralized figures under a Gothic dais, surrounded by angels [see fig. 7].

The badge is located next to the opening lines of the Obsecro te in French, which opens with a long rubric describing the indulgence for saying this prayer. The prayer continues on 263v, where the sky-blue thread marks, forming an inverted triangle, are visible (they are also seen on fol. 264r). The Obsecro te pages are darker than previous folios, indicating heavier use. Thus, it seems that this Marian-based prayer held devotional meaning for the duke, significant enough for its words to be enhanced with a badge.

*Meditation on Christ’s Passion (fol. 273v):* The badge imprints seen on fols. 273 and 274 are more enigmatic, and identifying on which page it was originally located is somewhat difficult. Fol. 273v begins a Latin meditation in verse on Christ’s Passion. Here, in the upper left corner, is a strong imprint (including wrinkles in the parchment), measuring 53 x 38 mm. The absence of needle holes suggests that the badge was pasted to the folio. An imprint can also be seen in the upper right corner of fol. 274r. The badge’s material is unclear, although a dark grey outline appears on both fols. 274r and 274v, indicate the use of metal around the edges. Brown markings on fol. 274r—likely of an outstretched arm and perhaps a human form—suggest metal, perhaps a metal-based paint or a painted metal badge. These brown markings look similar to markings on 274r that were caused by the red paint in the initials, red being a logical color for painting flesh tones.

Kurt Köster suggests that a badge was located on fol. 274v, yet nothing indicates a souvenir was affixed here. He may have wanted to align the badge with the miniature of Christ’s

---

340 The rubric mentions Pope Innocent and Pope Boniface.
341 No pilgrims’ badges appear to be affixed to any folios between 264v to 273.
342 Köster’s measurements were 50 x 37 mm.
Flagellation on this folio; however, the rubrics directly next to this image are for common prayers, including the Our Father and Hail Mary. It seems more likely that the badge seen in this area was not on folio 274v but on 273v, which is the beginning of the meditation on Christ’s Passion. Firstly, the imprint on fol. 273v lined up exactly along the top margin of the text. Secondly, the shadows of the badge’s composition are stronger on fol. 274r, which is consistent for a folio resting against a facing badge. Finally, the only imprint on fol. 274v by the miniature is the faint edges of the badge, including the upper curved and lower square portions.

The imprints on fol. 274r indicate that a Crucifixion scene was on the badge. These include Christ’s right arm outstretched on the cross; markings down the center of the badge corresponding to his torso and legs; the head of a figure on the right, and the head, shoulder, arm, and leg of a figure on the left. These two figures presumably are the Virgin and John the Evangelist. The prayers and images recently added on fols. 274 and 275, including a devotion to the body and wounds of Christ and an illumination of the Flagellation on fol. 274v, would have coincided with the badge’s Crucifixion imagery on fol. 273v.

Indulgenced prayer (fol. 275r): (?)

On fol. 275r, a pasted paper badge, 57 x 43 mm, may have been affixed in the right margin. It appears next to an added indulgenced French prayer devoted to the words spoken by Christ, which ends the manuscript in its current state [fig. 21]. While these folios are extremely dirty and worn, a lighter, rectangular form is visible in the margin, directly next to the beginning of the prayer. The subject of this missing badge is unclear: perhaps the Ecce Homo, the Arma Christi, a combination of both of these subjects, or maybe a Veronica.

As in the Brussels volume, the Cambridge *Grandes Heures* has most of its badges concentrated at the beginning of the book. Many are located in the series of Suffrage prayers to saints, adjacent to the saint mentioned in the prayer. Other prayers supplanted with a badge in the Fitzwilliam volume include the *Obsecro te* and the Office of the Virgin, reinforcing yet again Philip’s strong devotion to Mary, clearly evident in the Brussels volume with its numerous Marian pilgrims’ badges. No female saints listed in the Cambridge manuscript (with the exception of the Virgin) have been augmented with a pilgrim’s badge. Even local saints of the

---

343 Wormald and Giles, p. 12.
344 It is noteworthy that the volume’s Litany shows signs of heavy wear and use.
Low Countries, such as Waldetrudis and Aldegundis, whose suffrages were specifically added during the fifteenth-century alterations, were badgeless.

The inclusion of these pilgrim badges by the various suffrage prayers allowed Philip to recall the many shrines he had visited, along with the blessings received and the prayers evoked at each site. Even badges from popular cult shrines Philip had not visited, such as the badge of Thomas Becket, were nonetheless acquired and added to his prayer book. These souvenirs allowed him to experience a spiritual closeness to the saints while reading their suffrages.

The two volumes that made up the _Grandes Heures_ originally held the largest number of pilgrims’ souvenirs of all of the Burgundian ducal manuscripts. Their wide dispersion throughout the manuscript and their proximity to relevant texts and illuminations suggest their careful and conscientious placement by the duke. As bookmarks for Philip’s favorite images, devotions, and suffrages in this manuscript, the badges let the duke easily turn to these preferred prayers for repeated meditation. His concerted interest in local saints and pilgrimage shrines is exemplified in the high number of added badges from shrines in the Low Countries’ regions, such as Geraardsbergen, Halle, and Boulogne—badges which, perhaps, provided the duke with further blessings on his territories and his leadership of these regions. These were further augmented with badges from famed sites further abroad from the Burgundian territories, and distant shrines such as Aachen and Canterbury. The badges had both visual and devotional power for the duke, and valued enough to be placed in a volume so precious to him, one esteemed through several generations of the Burgundian family.

Since the two volumes of the _Grandes Heures_ were large and heavy, they likely were not taken on the duke’s frequent travels, but instead stayed in the ducal chapel. However, with his vast territories and the constant need to move around to exert his power, Philip’s itinerant lifestyle required smaller and more portable devotional objects and books of prayer. Among several prayer books and books of hours created for him during his reign, two smaller books likely accompanied the duke on his frequent travels. Like the _Grandes Heures_, they became repositories for pilgrims’ badges.

---

345 The inventory of Philip the Good’s holdings after his death did not list items kept in the ducal chapel, such as the _Grand Heures_.
Among the most unique objects commissioned by Philip the Good is the so-called “Book-Altar”, now in Vienna’s National Library. This exceptional codex, made in the early 1450s, actually combines two popular artistic genres—a panel altar diptych and a prayer manuscript—into one single object for the need of its owner. As Dagmar Eichberger notes, “this object permanently links together two devotional tools that were obviously designed to be used in conjunction with each other, so that they as the owner prayed from the book he could fix his gaze at the images of the diptych that represented the object of his devotion.” For Philip, this combination of book and altarpiece was conveniently and easily accessible, allowing him to

346 The arched binding measures 352 x 142 mm in its maximum dimensions. It is hinged so that the codex can stand independently as an altarpiece. The cover’s leather decoration reflects the division of the codex in a lower book portion and the upper altar element. The binding is ornamented with rinceaux, brocade motifs and bands of clouds. Dagmar Thoss, “Philippe le Bon, due de Bourgogne,” in Le Livre-autel, p. 117-118. The volume contains 38 folios, 185 x 127-130mm, though varying in size. The volume is foliated in V and 33 sheets. Codicology assemblage is III (page 1) + 2 IV (to page 17; i.e., 2 groups of 4) + 2 (1; 1 grouping to page 25) + IV (1 group of 4, to page 33) [tertium and quaternion description omitted]. Fol. 24 and fol. 25 are individual sheets mounted and stuck on a fold. Between fols. 9 and 10, a double sheet was cut out. Folios 1v and 1r have stayed blank, as are the end, with folios 23r-33v, though they are ruled with red lines and pricking. See Mazal, Le Livre-autel, p. 194, 195.
The texts were, for the most part, written by one scribe in a neat Gothic textura writing in a single column of sixteen lines. On certain pages, smaller gothic text was used for secondary prayers. The initials, varying sizes, and the line endings accentuate the ornamental effect. Le Livre-autel, p. 196. Dagmar Thoss notes that Gothic textura was used for older courtly manuscripts, and thus the script used in the Book-Altar recalled a tradition of writing that was dying out in the Burgundian territories. Thoss, “Philippe le Bon,” Le Livre-autel, pp. 114, 195.

347 Thoss, “Philippe le Bon,” p. 118. As Dagmar Eichberger has described, an image from the Traité sur l’oraison dominicale (Brussels KBR MS 9092, fol. 9, c. 1457) illustrates how a diptych and a private prayer book could function together. In the scene, Philip the Good is shown kneeling, separated from the rest of the congregation in a secluded tent-like structure. Before him, an illuminated prayer book lies open on the prie-dieu, and a small diptych hangs on the wall directly above it. This displays an image of the Virgin and a portrait, perhaps of Philip himself. See Eichberger, “Devotional Objects in Book Format: Diptychs in the Collection of Margaret of Austria and her Family.” The Art of the Book: Its Place in Medieval Worship (Margaret M. Manion and Bernard J. Muir, eds). Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1998, p. 293. In effect, the two formats combined in Vienna ÖNB MS 1800 resemble what is depicted in the KBR MS 9092 miniature.
348 Eichberger, “Devotional Objects in Book Format,” p. 294. Eichberger further notes the formal parallels between a diptych altarpiece and an opened prayer book: “both objects are generally small in format and therefore portable; both can be opened and closed, and secured with clasps; and both sometimes contain full-length images on facing leaves.” p. 292.
Maurits Smeyers has also described the object as “a combination of a manuscript and a retable, whereby it could serve as a small portable altar,” although the book’s physical structure does not seem to support an altar format. Flemish Miniatures, p. 299.
easily practice daily devotions and meditation during his travels. Its darkened folios and humidity stains on the parchment pages suggest that Philip used the book frequently.

The upper element is a devotional diptych comprised of two parchment miniatures glued onto thick panel boards [fig. 22]. The diptych’s two miniatures date from the 1430s, although the book of prayers itself was completed around 1450. The duke probably owned the two devotional pictures prior to their integration into the Book-Altar, and he found them precious enough to be incorporated into a diptych for his private use. An image of the Trinity, in which God and the Holy Spirit flank the crucified Christ, is portrayed on the left. The right portion of the diptych represents the Coronation of the Virgin. Both images echo the themes of the codex’s prayers, which are mainly dedicated to the Trinity and the Virgin, revered by the Burgundian rulers and particularly Philip.

The manuscript’s prayers were adapted to suit Philip’s personal needs. Many of them reiterate prayers from other manuscripts owned by Philip. The texts primarily focus on the Trinity (the central theme of the introductory prayers); Christ (both during his Passion and as the Redeemer), the Eucharist, and the Virgin. In fact, many are dedicated to the Virgin, including hymns, prayers, rhymed offices, stations of the life of the Virgin, the joys and sorrows of the Virgin, and other prayers calling for her protection. Psalm verses extracted from the Devotions of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, the Passion of Christ according to St. John (fols. 6v-7v), and the “nine words” of Aubert de Cologne, the thirteen-century German theologian and bishop of Regensburg (fols. 8v-9v), and a prayer against sudden death (fol. 3r) are also included. Many of the book’s prayers were indulgenced. The Book-Altar’s personal character for Philip is further apparent in the illustrations, depicting Philip the Good in prayer, either alone or with his son Charles. In other miniatures, Philip witnesses the Mass of St. Gregory or prays before the Virgin of the Ears of Wheat.
Despite the fact that this book-altar has received much attention for its unusual format, few note, except in passing, that it once held badges. A total of thirty-three pilgrims’ badges once covered the first and last pages of the Book-Altar. Offsets and needle holes from these badges pilgrims’ badges can be seen on these blank guard pages: fol. II (with eleven badges), and fol. 32r (twenty-two badges). Imprints are also visible on the opposite folios of both pages.

Unlike the careful integration of pilgrim badges and both prayers and illuminations in the Brussels and Cambridge volumes, the badges in the Book-Altar have been grouped together at the beginning or end folios. No evidence of badges sewn within the texts of the manuscript is apparent.

The majority of the manuscript’s badge collection was on the back flyleaf, filling most of the page. While it is uncertain why most of the badges are there, the collection perhaps was first assembled on the final folio. Then, as the collection grew and no more room was available on the final page, the remainder was sewn on to folio II at the front of the manuscript. This argument is supported by the fact that the thickness of the badges would have appeared in the portion containing the thick wood diptych, thus keeping all thick objects on one side of the book.

It appears that rather than placing the badges in any “chronological” order of acquisition, Philip had them arranged primarily according to shape and size. For example, nearly all of the their chains from the Order of the Golden Fleece. A prayer book rests on a small altar below a diptych. The miniature’s diptych echoes the diptych affixed on ÖNB MS 1800: the left side shows the Crucifixion, while the right side differs slightly with the Virgin and Child. Philip appears to look up at the altarpiece, and in doing so he appears to gaze up towards the codex’s diptych. As the first image in the manuscript, this is significant, particularly at the beginning of the devotion to the Trinity on fol. 2v. Fol. 2 also shows Philip’s coat of arms between two angels carrying banderoles. The bifolio shows evidence of some wear in bottom outer corners.

Fol. 4r depicts the Mass of St. Gregory, with Philip—under a black canopy, in black, wearing his chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece—witnessing the event (if as an attendant). Christ’s side wound pours prominently into a chalice, which could allude to the Burgundian interest in the Holy Blood.

Fol. 13v shows the Virgin in glory, in a hexagonal temple edifice, clothed in a blue gown decorated with golden ears of wheat. This “Virgin of the Ears of Wheat” has been linked to the liberation of Jerusalem from the Saracens. It also alludes to a cult statue in Milan, perhaps of interest due to his diplomatic relations with the dukes of Milan. Philip was a member of the confraternity of Our Lady of Milan in the church of St. James in Bruges. The duke, again in black wearing his Golden Fleece chain, kneels before a prayer book in the right-hand arch of the temple edifice. This image resonates with the Coronation image on the right-hand side of the diptych.

The commentary volume was one of the first publications to draw attention to the evidence of pilgrims’ badges.

Otto Mazal observes that, based on the holes and the imprints permit one to distinguish fifteen medals on fol. II and eighteen badges on fol. 32. Le Livre-autel, p. 193. However, this suggested distribution of badges does not correspond with the offsets and needle marks on the two folios.

Mazal also noted that most of the badges have one side or ‘face’, making them easy to affix. Op. cit., p. 194.
semi-rectangular badges were carefully placed side-to-side in the top row of fol. 32 to fit the width of the page. Rows of larger circular badges were placed beneath the row of rectangular badges, while the final row was reserved for smaller circular badges. It also seems plausible, based on similarities between proximate badges, that the souvenirs were grouped by subject matter and/or pilgrimage sites. Whether they were also affixed based on devotional importance or significance to the duke—or solely based on shape, size, and iconography—is unclear. It is likewise impossible to know if they were acquired over a short period of time (say, in the few years after the manuscript’s completion), or over a longer span. Most offsets are impossible to conclusively assign to specific pilgrimage sites, although it is possible to ascertain a few.

*Back flyleaf (fol. 32r):*

Fol. 32r contains approximately twenty-two badges of varying sizes, on a page with red ruling [fig. 23]. Smaller ones, both circular and one rectangular-shaped badge, are on outer margins; rectangular ones in top row; larger ones fill out the rest of the page. A turquoise tarnish appears around several of the needle holes, perhaps resulting from the silver gilt on the badges.

The top row includes three rectangular offsets with arched tops. Dagmar Thoss suggests that the second mark from the right on the top row of fol. 32 was from a pilgrims’ badge representing St. Adrian at Geraardsbergen. Besides this offset, the first three (and likely the fourth) imprints can be linked to the same shrine, due to their similar forms. While the distinctive shape of the Adrian badges was a credible reason for their placement at the top of the page, the subject of St. Adrian—one of Philip’s preferred pilgrimage destinations—may have prompted him to give these souvenirs priority on the folio. The final two circular offsets of the first row, on the far right, are stacked on top of each other. They are identical in size, having same inner border width. Sewn next to each other, they are likely from the same site, although their exact provenance is unknown.

---

357 The measurements of badges on fol. 32 are as follows, from left to right: First row: 26 x 40 mm, 15.5 x 35 mm, 23 x 39 mm, 21.5 x 38 mm (the commentary volume’s measurements are 19 mm x 33 mm), 22 mm (top), 21 mm (bottom). Second row: 30 mm, 32 mm, 32 mm, 20 x 32 mm. Third row: 36 mm, 34.5 mm, 36 mm, 22 mm (top), 25 mm (bottom). Fourth row: 22 mm, 22.5 mm, 30 mm, 27 mm, 26 mm (perhaps 26 x 26 mm?). Fifth row: 24 mm, 27 mm, 22 mm, 25 mm.


359 The fourth Adrian badge left a diagonal string marking on the folio’s verso.
Unfortunately, little can be discerned of the badge offsets in the next three rows. In the second row, the second and third badge offsets from the left are similar, suggesting they may refer to the same site. The second offset has evidence of faint tooling on inner border on fol. 31v. In the third row, the first badge on the left has left behind obvious border tooling marks on fol. 31v, as well as several dots of tool marks from second badge. The first and second badges in the third row are about the same diameter, although it cannot be determined if they were from same site.

The badge organization in the fourth row is somewhat confusing to read. A badge imprint on the far right may or may not exist; there is no outline from a badge imprint, but needle holes are present in a very faint rhomboid shape, caused by the thread. The offset to its left also is questionable, as it also has no outline, but needle holes. Both of these badges appear to overlap.

In the fifth row, the first badge on the left is round with a faint outline of a standing figure, possibly with a halo. The last badge, on the right, is likewise round and has a standing figure, based on a faint imprint. A mark on the left of the last badge in the row was probably caused by string.

*Front flyleaf (fol. II):*

Eleven badges were originally located in the upper half of fol. II at the front of the codex [*fig. 24*]. No badge offsets are visible in the lower half. Unfortunately, because none of the offsets give any indication as to their provenance, only a few general observations can be made.

In the first row, the similarity between the third and fourth badge, with comparable borders, suggests that they may have been souvenirs from the same site. One unusual offset, on the top left, is either round, a heart-shaped badge, or round with a pointed base.

In the second row, outlines of two rectangular badges with arched tops are apparent, the first slightly larger than the second. The second displays a diagonal string marking across its width. Whether these badges were from the shrine of St. Adrian at Geraardsbergen or another shrine cannot be determined. The third and fourth badges in this row also may be identical because of their scale. Some of the needle holes, including the last final three in the second row,

---

360 The measurements of the badge offsets on fol. II are: first row, from left to right: 30 x 27 mm, 28 mm, 28 mm, 33 x 23 mm. Second row: 29 x 32 mm; 25 mm, 23 mm, 25 mm, 15 x 25 mm, 21.5 mm. Third row: 23 mm.
have a slight blue-green color around the edges of the holes, which may indicate metal corrosion or oxidization that occurred when the pierced metal touched the parchment.

Like the *Grandes Heures* volumes in both Brussels and Cambridge, the *Book-Altar of Philip the Good* became an important repository for dozens of badges, and the thirty-three offsets testify to the book’s frequent devotional use by the duke.\(^{361}\) However, because of the placement of the badges on blank folia and the faintness of their offsets, determining the relationship between Philip’s pilgrimages and these souvenirs is difficult.\(^{362}\)

While the subjects of any of these badges are unknown, it seems highly likely that many of the badges would be Marian in theme. Badges portraying the Virgin would certainly complement the Coronation imagery on the diptych; souvenirs from Halle, which usually depict enthroned Virgin and Child flanked by angels, would have been particularly apt. Marian souvenirs also would reverberate with the numerous prayers to the Virgin in this book.\(^{363}\) However, the badge offsets that can be ascertained, such as those from St. Adrian in Geraardsbergen, do not necessarily resonate with the diptych imagery or the book’s prayers. No prayers to St. Adrian, St. Nicholas, or other saints are included in the book; rather, the prayers focus on the Virgin, Christ, the Holy Blood, and the Trinity. Perhaps more important than devotional resonance, the portable quality of the Book-Altar meant that badges could be added during the duke’s travels, regardless of shrine and regardless of congruency with the book’s contents.

Adding pilgrims’ badges would not only further personalize this object for Philip, but also potentially enhance his devotions while using the Book-Altar. As a likely companion of the duke on frequent voyages across his territories, the Book-Altar functioned as a practical souvenir holder, preventing badges from getting lost. Philip could continue to enrich the book and its badge collection with his constant travels and stops at pilgrimage shrines. As in the *D’Oiselet*

---

\(^{361}\) In her analysis of the Book-Altar’s badge collection, Dagmar Thoss suggested that this collection represents one of the richest collections of pilgrimage badges, indicating the immense extent of the duke’s itinerary, and of great interest for the understanding of the personal piety of Philip. Thoss, “Philippe le Bon,” *Le Livre-autel*, p. 127.

\(^{362}\) It is also uncertain if Philip had some of the badges before the books were made, or if he acquired them after the book was made, and when he could take the manuscript with him on his travels.

\(^{363}\) Among the shrines Thoss suggests that Philip visited—whose badges were collected in this codex—were Boulogne, St. Josse, and other proximate shrines; Halle; and the German shrines at Aachen, Cologne, and Regensburg. “Philippe le Bon,” *Le Livre-autel*, p. 130.
Hours, the souvenirs were grouped together on a page, having them always accessible to Philip’s eyes.

The Book-Altar combines two forms of popular devotion, creating a uniquely personal object for the duke. The addition of the badges provided a “three-way devotional exchange” with the manuscript and diptych. In addition, the pilgrims’ badges in both the front and back of the codex frame the Book-Altar and its contents within, in parallel to the affixed altarpiece that opened above the book. Surrounding the manuscript, they “fold in” on each other as a second diptych when the codex is closed. The badges’ spiritual efficacy concentrated the saints’ holy presence; as contact relics and as a second set of sacred images, the collection of badges blessed the manuscript’s prayers and images, the altarpiece, and its owner.

4.6: The Hours of Philip the Good (Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS n.a.f. 16428)

The manuscript usually called the Hours of Philip the Good was commissioned by Philip the Good, and executed in Flanders c. 1460-1461. Despite its name, the codex’s contents differ from a traditional book of hours. Instead, they were a diverse collection of prayers made to suit the duke’s (and subsequent owners’) specific devotional needs. The manuscript was transcribed by several hands. Its rich illuminations, which have received much attention in secondary sources, were primarily completed by two Flemish illuminators, Dreux Jehan and Lieven van Lathem, with additional contributions by Simon Marmion. That the manuscript

---

364 One hundred folios, 182 x 123 mm. The first five folios are paper; the rest is parchment.
365 The contents of Paris BNF MS n.a.f. 16428 include: fols. I-II: inscription from the Chimay family, 1595-1615; fols. 1-33: diverse prayers in French, to Virgin and Christ, God and Holy Spirit (including a prayer on the Mass of Gregory; prayer to Trinity, and a prayer to the name of Jesus) and various saints (Gerardo, Anne, Barbara, Appollonia, Magdildis, Michael, Quentin, John the Baptist, Sebastian, Nicholas, Adrian, Guislain, Francis, a prayer to Virgin at Easter time, Mary Magdalene, Margaret; the Stabat Mater, a Devotion to Christ, O intemerata, Obscurate, from third quarter of fifteenth century; fols. 34-41: description of the pains of the damned in hell, attributed to St. Lazarus (in Latin), from fifteenth century (around 1470-80); fol. 42: end of an office to the Holy Spirit. Fols. 43-93: collection of fifty prayers in French addressed to the Trinity, the Virgin and Christ in different moments of His life and Passion, from around 1461-67; fols. 94-97: Offices and prayers to Saint Catherine, to Peter, prayer to Christ in memory of the effusion of his Blood (fols. 95-7); prayer for confession. Catalogue des Nouvelles Acquisitions françaises du department des Manuscrits 1972-1986, nos. 16428-18755. Florence Callu, et. al. (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 1999), pp. 1-3.
366 For example, two scribal hands can be identified between fols. 6v and 7.
367 Dreux Jehan also worked on the renovations of the Grandes Heures.
was destined for Philip the Good is evident by his monogram, the double affronted “E,” seen in the first three prayers as well as in the initial on fol. 43. Philip’s armorials are also in an initial on fol. 44, and an emblem of the Order of the Golden Fleece—two adjacent briquettes—is in an initial on fol. 45.368

During the last quarter of the fifteenth century, diverse prayers and devotional texts were added to the volume. This occurred at a time when the manuscript perhaps left the ducal collection. Among the most interesting of these later additions are the apocryphal texts attributed to St. Lazarus, describing the torments inflicted on the damned in Hell, which correspond to punishments for the Seven Deadly Sins.369 Also included is a collection of French prayers, all based on episodes from the life of Christ, with the exception of the first two which addressed to the Trinity.370 A painting representing the scene described precedes each prayer. Together the cycle of forty-eight prayers form a narrative cycle for the life and Passion of Christ. It is interesting that several of these later prayers were likely written for a woman, based on the word endings.371

The Paris manuscript originally contained several pilgrims’ badges, but only their offsets and the needle perforations remain. Denis Bruna noted that all badges were sewn in the upper corner of the folios, either on the recto or the verso.372 As such, they act like bookmarks or place-holders for significant prayers in this manuscript. Most of the badges were located within the first 28 folios, with one exception on fol. 94v. No badges are placed between folios 34-93,

Attributions for the 50+ miniatures are as follows: Dreux Jehan (fols. 43-58, 62-3, 69-72), Lieven van Lathem (fols. 59-61, 64-68, 73-83, 85-92v) and Simon Marmion (f. 84 painting of the Crucifixion, with vegetal borders and gold/blue borders perhaps done by Lathem). See the artists’ biographies in *Illuminating the Renaissance.*
369 The text’s famous images and borders accompanying the Lazarus text were done sometime between the 1470s and 1490s and are attributed to the Master of the Dresden Prayerbook. For more on this portion of the manuscript, see Thomas Kren, “Some Illuminated Manuscripts of *The Vision of Lazarus* from the Time of Margaret of York” in *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and the Visions of Tondal*, Thomas Kren (ed.), (Malibu: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1992), pp. 141-156, and Bodo Brinkmann, *Die flämische Buchmalerei am Ende des Burgunderreichs: Der Meister des Dresdener Gebetbuchs und die Miniaturisten seiner Zeit* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997).
370 *Enrichissements*, no. 645.
371 Additionally, fol. 29r contains a treatise/exemplum addressed to a woman, which follows the prayer of submission to God. While surely a subsequent addition (the bottom of 29 has one line rewritten in lavender ink), it is unclear for whom these texts were written, perhaps a female relative of Philip’s, such as his wife, Isabelle, his daughter-in-law, Margaret of York, or their granddaughter, Margaret of Austria, or a subsequent owner.
which contains the prayers devoted to Christ’s Passion and the cycle of Hell scenes attributed to Lazarus.\textsuperscript{373}

At least five (perhaps six) badges were sewn on fols. 3r, 7r (?), 13r, 19r, 28r, and 94v.\textsuperscript{374} Unfortunately, none of the badges’ details can be conclusively identified due to their faint imprints, although conjectures can be made about some of them, based on their locations within the manuscript.

\textit{Prayer to St. Cornelius (fol. 3r):}

A badge offset, measuring approximately 27 mm wide and 30 mm high, on fol. 3r has not yet been noted in secondary sources [\textbf{fig. 25}].\textsuperscript{375} The imprint appears to be square at the base, with either an arched top, or an arched shape within the badge’s square form. Three slender, double-tooled rows are visible along its edge. Needle holes were made at the imprint’s corners in groups of three (in the upper left corner, lower left corner, and a hole in lower right). The pattern of the imprint on the opposite folio suggests that the badge was originally on fol. 2v. Yet no imprint or marking appears on fol. 2v; rather, the only indication is a slight vertical grey mark just above first line of text on fol. 2v.

Fol. 3r begins with a French doctrine by the theological writer Jean Gerson (“Jehan Jarson”) against an unscrupulous conscience, lasting for several pages. However, it seems unlikely that a pilgrims’ souvenir was placed by this theological treatise. Rather, the badge offset would more closely align with the prayer to St. Cornelius, which is contained at the bottom of fol. 2v and ends on fol. 3r. Although the Cornelius prayer stretches over two disparate gatherings, and the two prayers were completed by two different hands, it confirms the book was already assembled prior to badge insertion.\textsuperscript{376} Like the many badges in the Cambridge \textit{Grandes Heures}, a pilgrim badge adjacent to a saint’s suffrage is predictable. Other badges in this book are also adjacent to saints’ suffrages. Furthermore, the saint’s suffrage focuses on a tangible individual figure, rather than a more abstract theological treatise. Its location in the upper right

\textsuperscript{373} This section was completed around 1470-80, well after Philip’s death.
\textsuperscript{375} This measurement is to the top of the page, if the badge is square in shape. Measurements to the rounded arch within the badge are 26-27 mm high.
\textsuperscript{376} Fols. 3-6 are separate from the previous gathering and completed by a different scribal hand. Perhaps by coincidence, the following gathering, beginning with fol. 7, also displays a badge offset.
Several pilgrimage shrines to St. Cornelius existed across Europe. Perhaps the most famous of these was in Ninove, a site located between Brussels, Ghent and Geraardsbergen. According to his travel records, Philip visited Ninove at least once, on 18 December 1444, although it is likely he visited it more than once while passing between these often-frequented towns. Most of Ninove’s extant pilgrim badges clearly show the saint as a freestanding full figure, holding a cross staff and horn, which does not resemble the folio’s imprint. However, two other possible Cornelius pilgrimage sites were located in Diegem, near Brussels, and in Kornelimünster Abbey, just outside Aachen, Germany. Both produced square-shaped badges of the saint, some with arches, similar to the offset seen here. While Philip’s travel itineraries do not list visits to Diegem, it is plausible that, because of the town’s proximity to Brussels, the duke paid the shrine a visit and purchased a badge. It is conceivable that he visited Kornelimünster on one of his visits to nearby Aachen in either 1440 or 1454.

St. Gregory (fol. 7r):

The marking on fol. 7r—perhaps an offset, although not mentioned in previous sources—presents a challenge. No needle marks exist except for one on top of page, and details of the imprint are indeterminable. The round offset is gold in color (around 33-34 mm in diameter, with a thin 2 mm border). A dark circular shape can also been seen on fol. 7v. The devotion on fol. 7r is to St. Gregory; both the prayer and pictorial motif appear in Philip’s other manuscripts. A badge accompanying this prayer has vast iconographic possibilities, including the Ecce Homo or 

377 The exception to this uniformity was the souvenir on fol. 94v.
378 There was another Cornelius shrine in Bruges, although no badges survive from this site.
379 One extant badge from Kornelimünster is square with an arched shape inside, showing the bust of the saint, wearing the papal tiara. See Kunera website, http://www.kunera.nl
380 It is worth noting that Philip had an illegitimate son named Cornelius, who was appointed governor of Luxembourg 1444 and received a large annuity from his father. Philip was distraught when Cornelius died at the battle against the citizens of Ghent in 1452, and among other tributes, ordered requiem Masses to be said in his honor. See Walter Prevenier and Wim Blockmans, The Burgundian Netherlands (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 230.
381 The rubric begins: “Oroison moult devote sus la Passion de Nostre Saulveur Jhesu Crist a dire devant la vision mon seigneur saint Gregoire”. Prayer: “O Domine Jhesu xpe adoro te in cruce pendentem et corona sp meam in capite portantem . . .” The prayer was completed by a different scribe than the previous pages (as exemplified by its different initials and line spacing). Philip appears in an illumination depicting the Mass of St. Gregory in the Vienna Book-Altar, fol. 4r. A Suffrage to St. Gregory also appears in the Cambridge Grandes Heures volume, fol. 254.
Man of Sorrows, the *Arma Christi*, or an actual depiction of the Mass of Pope Gregory. A circle metal bracteate badge from the second half of the fifteenth century depicting the Mass of Gregory survives in the National Museum in Nuremburg, Germany, although its provenance is unknown. Closer to Philip’s residence is a pilgrim badge depicting the *Arma Christi* and the arms of Gregory VIII, which was unearthed and identified with a church in Mechelen (Malines) in Belgium. As a part of his newly-acquired territories, Mechelen was often visited by Philip, and one might speculate that he acquired a souvenir there.

*Stabat Mater (fol. 13r):*

A round badge imprint 32 mm in diameter appears on fol. 13 [fig. 26]. The offset, mainly the tooled inner edge rather than the badge’s outside edge, is visible in the upper left corner of fol. 12v. It appears to portray a large centralized solitary figure, although it is difficult to determine whether this is a full-figure, a bust, or a face.

The prayer adjacent to the badge offset is the *Stabat Mater*. This important prayer to emphasizing the Virgin and her intense emotions at the foot of the cross also appeared in Philip’s other prayer books, such as the Brussels’s *Grandes Heures* and the Vienna Book-Altar. The prayer in the *Grandes Heures* also was adorned with a Marian badge, although the *Stabat Mater* in the Vienna Book-Altar (on fol. 16v) did not have one. The Virgin is certainly plausible subject matter for the badge (originating from any number of pilgrimage shrines), although other feasible subjects for badges include the *Ecce Homo*, the Crucifixion, and the Holy Tears. The previous prayer ending on the same folio is dedicated to the name of Jesus.

* Suffrage to St. Nicholas (fol. 19r): 

---

382 For both badges, see Kunera. Additionally, in a manuscript at Meaux, France (Bibliothèque Municipale MS 7), an arched-shaped paper badge depicts St. Gregory at Mass. Since there is no evidence of a pressed imprint into the parchment, the badge may not have been metal but another medium (parchment or paper); the glue residue would have seeped into the verso.
383 The badge has a 4 mm border and tooled edge, with pairs of needle holes at each cardinal point. Bruna says its diameter is 26 mm, with eight needle perforations. “Témoins,” p. 144.
384 Its red rubric larger than previous rubrics, three lines: “Devote oroison a nostre dame sus le mistere de le benoittre passion de nostre seigneur Jhesu Crist . . . Stabat Mater”. The rest of fol. 13, continuing on fol. 14, is a Suffrage to Saint Anne.
A circular badge 32 mm in diameter was originally sewn in the upper right corner of fol. 19r; its imprint is visible on fol. 18v [fig. 27]. The badge’s edge overlapped the edge of the page, as the full circle of the imprint is partially cut off along the right side. Along the left side of the badge are holes, although not directly along the edge. In the center is an outline of a standing figure, perhaps wearing a miter, with curving drapery lines. The silhouette indicates the figure of a bishop.

The form of this offset closely resembles an extant St. Nicholas badge seen in the D’Oiselet Hours (The Hague, KLB MS 77 L 60, fol. 98). The badge would correspond with the Suffrage to St. Nicholas on fols. 18v-19r. As on fol. 246v of the Cambridge Grandes Heures volume, Philip affixed a badge next to the ending of the holy bishop’s suffrage, midway on fol. 19. With a similar mitered head and what appears to be a line from a crozier across the front of the saint, the badge’s faint offset recalls the iconography of other pilgrimage badges of St. Nicholas, most likely ones from the shrine of St.-Nicholas-de-Port.

Obsecro te (fol. 28r):

The round badge offset on fol. 28r is 34 mm in diameter, with three needle holes and diagonal string marks on the vellum caused by the thread [fig. 28]. Two borders from the badge are visible, but no other clues give any indication of its iconography. On fol. 27v an imprint of the thin border surrounding several vertically symmetric markings indicates a centralized figure (perhaps standing?).

The Obsecro te prayer, which begins on fol. 25r, ends on the top of fol. 28 and is followed by a vernacular prayer devoted to God and the Trinity, encouraging humility and acquiescence to God. It is unclear which of these the badge on fol. 28r accompanies. If the badge’s placement follows the same trend as those offsets on fol. 13r or fol. 7r, the badge is located at the beginning of the prayer. However, because a badge appeared next to the Obsecro te prayer in the

---

385 The imprint on fol. 18v shows a narrow border 1-2 mm wide with a tooled inner edge, and two tooled border rings and a bit of copper colored residue in the center. Also visible is a series of marks vertically lined up down the center of the badge.
386 Worth noting is the lack of pilgrim badge of St. Adrian from Geraardsbergen—the shrine popular with Philip the Good—even though the following Suffrage prayer is dedicated to St. Adrian.
387 Bruna says the badge is 32 mm diameter, with 6 needle holes present.
388 This is prefaced by a rubric in the middle of fol. 28r, which instructs the reader to kneel each morning and with joined hands, pray an Our Father, Hail Mary, Creed, Creed of the Holy Spirit, and then make the sign of the cross and say ‘Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, glorious Trinity’.
Cambridge *Grandes Heures* (fol. 263r), it seems that the same prayer held enough importance for Philip to have a badge placed adjacent. Its subject matter is unclear, although based on the prayer’s theme, it seems likely that the souvenir was related to the Virgin.

*Suffrage to St. Peter* (fol. 94v):

The manuscript’s final pilgrim badge is on fol. 94, adjacent to a Suffrage to St. Peter [fig. 29a]. The badge appears to have been diamond-shaped with a round. It originally measured approximately 29 x 29 mm with a tooled inner circle 22 mm in diameter, and 12 needle holes around edge of imprint. A line on upper left side of imprint indicates that the badge originally had a straight border. Additionally, the imprint on fol. 95r displays distinct marks in the cardinal point corners.

The badge’s subject matter is difficult to distinguish, based on the faint offset. However, within the badge’s center, there is a line of dotted markings down the center vertical axis, along with two small vertical lines on the outer edges. Since it is located next to the devotion to St. Peter, most likely the badge’s subject related to Peter. The markings could be indicative a badge of Peter and Paul from Rome, showing the two saints holding the key between them. Other extant badges show the saint standing, and prominently holding the emblematic keys [fig. 29b].

It is noteworthy that each section of folios that originally held badges in the *Hours of Philip the Good* dates from the third quarter of the fifteenth century, while Philip was still alive. However, three of these badge-adorned pages were later edited for a female owner: fol. 13, (which contains the *Stabat Mater*); fol. 19, the prayer to Adrian; and fol. 28, which has the ending of the *Obsecro te*. It is unclear if the badges were affixed later, or were there prior to the manuscript’s alterations, and remained untouched. Furthermore, based on the 1470-80 dating

---

389 It is worth noting that this folio was done in lavender ruling, in the same hand as the treatise to a female.
390 Bruna’s measurements are 38x38mm, with 12 needle holes. Additionally, there are three groupings of needle perforations in the top center margin on fol. 94v, though their purpose is unclear. Although there are slightly lighter patches of parchment below these holes and on the tops of the top lines of the text, it is not clear if there had been something affixed here. The same echoes of light parchment are also seen on fol. 95r.
391 Another possibility is that the badge related to the prayer to the Holy Blood, written on fol. 95 in a different hand than the Suffrage to St. Peter. The Burgundian ducal family held strong devotion to Holy Blood.
392 In addition, some scholars have claimed that the prayer to Christ’s blood on fol. 95—augmented with a badge—and the rules for being a proper woman immediately following the prayer were completed in the same scribal hand. This scribal attribution has not been conclusively proven or discredited.
of the Lazarus cycle, if the manuscript was altered and reassembled after Philip’s death, were the
badges were left sewn on the pages when book was reconstructed, or were they removed at that
time?

Many of the needle perforations within the badge imprints have a similar width and
metallic residue, suggesting that the same needle was used, and that they were sewn into the
manuscript around the same time (see fol. 19 and 28, for example). The prayers augmented by
badges—saints’ suffrages and especially meaningful Marian prayers, such as the Obsecro te and
the Stabat Mater—are similar to the badge-decorated devotions in both the Grandes Heures and
the Book-Altar of Philip the Good. Despite the numerous suffrages dedicated to female saints in
the manuscript, most of the pilgrim badges were adjacent to prayers of male saints as in the
Cambridge Grandes Heures.

The offset that remains somewhat problematic is fol. 94v, added to a section seemingly
ruled and decorated at a later date, and with texts on the following folios written for a female
owner. There are several possibilities for the addition of this badge in relation to the other
souvenirs. They may have all been added by Philip, with the lavender ruling and prayers on fol.
94v both added after badge was affixed. Another possibility is the badges in the front pages of
the manuscript were added in one campaign by Philip; the prayer (and badge) on fol. 94v was
then added at a later date by someone else, such as Margaret of York or another female
descendant of Philip.

4.7: Conclusion

Taken as a group, the Grandes Heures, the Book-Altar of Philip the Good, and the Hours
of Philip the Good offer insight into Duke Philip the Good’s active personal devotional life. The
dozens of badges sewn into these manuscripts provide evidence of the duke’s spiritual regimen
while on his frequent travels, be they on official pilgrimage or secular business. As each badge
was acquired, they prompted a reminder of a prayer and/or an image in one of his devotional
manuscripts.

393 Interestingly, a folio depicting the Veronica is on fol. 92v. This inclusion may have resonated with the multiple
Vera Icon images kept in the Brussels portion of the Grandes Heures.
The two *Grandes Heures* volumes, which may be the earliest prayer book owned by Philip to be adored with pilgrim’s badges, have the greatest number and concentration of souvenirs, from the widest variety from different shrines. They also appear to show the most deliberate attention by Philip, as many badges are carefully arranged on a single page to maximize space, or placed closely next to their corresponding prayer. This may be due to the esteem Philip held for his grandfather’s manuscript. Despite Philip’s partiality for these codices, their large, unwieldy size made them difficult to take on his travels. Within a time span of only a few years (between the early 1450s and 1461), Philip commissioned two smaller prayer books to take with him on his journeys. Both contained prayers of special devotional interest to the duke, and both were soon filled with pilgrim souvenirs. While travelling, the apotropaic powers of the badges, particularly those from shrines in his territories, could protect and bless Philip as well as his newly acquired holdings.

The placement of badges in the Book-Altar, restricted to front and back leaves of the manuscript, generated a codex framed by a collection of objects that enclose and encircle the book and its contents. In contrast, the badges in the *Grandes Heures* and the *Hours* are distributed throughout the book in direct correlation with the prayers. Certain prayers were repeatedly augmented with souvenirs. These included over a dozen saints’ suffrages, holy images of the Virgin and prayers focused on Mary’s emotions, such as the *Stabat Mater* and the *Obsecro te*,394 and prayers devoted to the Veronica. In all of the manuscripts, the heavy level of wear of the folios containing these prayers suggests that they were used on a regular basis.

The badges collected in Philip’s prayer books reflect the geographical extent of Philip’s new lands, which expanded the older and larger inherited Burgundian realm that he had inherited [see Appendix C]. Badges collected from such shrines as Notre-Dame at Halle, Notre-Dame at Boulogne, and St. Adrian at Geraardsbergen testify to Philip’s great interest in local shrines within his new territories in the Low Countries. Badges from older realms in Burgundy are also featured in his manuscripts, such as St. Lazarus at Autun and St. Claude in the Jura. Souvenirs from more distant sites, such as those near Paris (St. Denis, St. Fiacre, and St. Nicholas) and

394 For the *Stabat Mater*: Paris BnF MS n.a.f. 16428, fol. 13r and Brussels KBR MS 11035-37, fol. 34v; for the *Obsecro te*: Paris BnF MS n.a.f. 16428, fol. 28r and Brussels KBR MS 11035-37, fol. 263r.
Germany (Aachen and Regensberg), were also included. Badges that make repeated appearances in the codices may suggest the importance of that particular shrine to Philip.

Many questions remain unanswered about Philip’s manuscripts with badge collections. Some pilgrims’ badge identifications, be it the souvenir’s subject and/or provenance, remain a mystery. Were badges in each manuscript affixed within a relatively short period of time, or over the course of many years? Were the Paris and Vienna volumes taken on different travels, or used in different devotional environments and under different sets of circumstances? Could Philip have removed badges from one codex and then placed them in another manuscript? Is there a possibility that some of the badges were added by someone other than Philip at a later date? Lastly when, why, and by whom were the badges removed?

Despite these unknowns, the pilgrims’ badges in the three manuscripts examined in this chapter provide a concrete example of one man whose travels were documented and whose purchases of pilgrims’ badges were specifically recorded. Philip’s badges alluded to local saints and to the local enactment of their cults, indicating a merging of spiritual and secular concerns for the duke. Affixed within a group of manuscripts made or altered in the 1450s and early 1460s, they highlight a period of increasing piety in Philip’s life. The badges sewn in his prayer books not only collected his pilgrimage journeys, but also assembled specific devotions and petitions made to each saint and each shrine. Their collective power sanctified the prayers that were most important to the duke, giving them further personal resonance. By juxtaposing pilgrims’ badges from local shrines by universally popular devotions in his manuscripts, Philip was able to achieve further spiritual enlightenment that transcended his earthly concerns.

---

395 No other badge collections were present in any other devotional manuscript he owned.
Chapter 5: Badges in Books: a Family Tradition? The case of the Hapsburg Emperors

5.1: Introduction

Surviving evidence indicates the practice of affixing metal badges and other pilgrims’ souvenirs in prayer manuscripts lasted well into the early sixteenth century. However, while the practice of inserting badges in manuscripts was widespread in north and central Europe, the lack of codicological evidence (such as inscriptions or other personal information) makes provenances difficult to trace. More often than not, a patron cannot be readily identified. However, those who can be determined are frequently members of the nobility. As demonstrated in the last chapter, several extant late fifteenth-century badged-filled books prove to have been made for the Burgundian dukes, specifically Philip the Good. In the few early sixteenth-century cases when ownership can be conclusively determined, the manuscripts were owned and regularly used by members of the imperial Hapsburgs, who were descendants and successors of the Burgundian household. This suggests that the devotional practice of collecting pilgrims’ souvenirs in manuscripts appears to have continued through the generations of the Burgundian family. Indeed, some six to seven decades after badges likely made their way into Philip the Good’s prayer books, his great-great grandchildren, the Holy Roman Emperors Charles V and Ferdinand I, apparently took up the same practice for their books.

This chapter examines three extant manuscripts once containing pilgrims’ badges, all owned by the Hapsburg brothers: one belonging to Charles V, and two owned by Ferdinand I. Careful examination of these three exceptional manuscripts demonstrates that the badge-filled books owned by Charles V and Ferdinand I link the Hapsburg brothers to pious practices held by their Burgundian ancestors, and in doing so maintain a family devotional ideal through

396 Thomas and Virginia Kaufmann have noted the prevalence of badges in books among not only the Burgundians, but their Hapsburg successors. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Virginia Roehrig Kaufmann, “The Sanctification of Nature: Observations on the Origins of Trompe l’oeil in Netherlandish Book Painting of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries” in Journal of the J. Paul Getty Museum 19 (1991), p. 55-56. They were not the first to comment on this phenomenon: in his 1979 publication, Kurt Köster noted that nearly all of the manuscripts containing badges which have so far been collected and identified (at that point) to their original owner, belong to the Burgundians, the Hapsburg heirs, and their closest circle of friends. See Köster,”Kollektionen Metallener Wallfahrts-Devotionalien Metallener Wallfahrts-Devotionalien und Kleiner Andachtsbilder, Eingenäht in Spätmittelalterliche Gebetbuch-Handschriften”, esp. pp. 106-111; Köster, “Religiöse Medaillen und Wallfahrts-Devotionalien in der Flämischen Buchmalerei des 15. und Frühen 16. Jahrhunderts” in Buch und Welt.
397 These include Vienna ÖNB 1859 (the Prayer Book of Emperor Charles V), Vienna ÖNB 2596 (Book of Hours and Psalter of Emperor Ferdinand I), and Vienna ÖNB 2624 (Book of Hours of Emperor Ferdinand I).
sequential generations. Further, they provide evidence of the continued popularity of attaching pilgrims’ souvenirs in prayer books and of marking preferred prayers with them. Such activities by the Hapsburg patrons attest to their strong Catholic beliefs at the dawn of the Reformation movement.

The choice of pilgrims’ badges for these Hapsburg manuscripts frequently replicates those in the earlier Burgundian codices. Most of the badges kept in these books come from sites in the Low Countries and Germany, with the exception of a Vera Icon souvenir (which may have originated in Rome or—perhaps more likely—one of several shrines in Germany). The geographic limits of the badges’ provenance are significant, given that Charles and Ferdinand traveled extensively throughout Europe, due to their vast territorial claims first as Burgundian/Hapsburg heads of state (their titles included archduke and king), and eventually as Holy Roman Emperors. Yet pilgrim souvenirs from other parts of their vast domains, such as Spain, Bohemia, Austria, and Hungary, do not figure in their prayer books’ collections. Thus, it seems likely that the collections were formed during the years when the dukes spent a majority of their time in the Low Countries, specifically during their teen years and early twenties in the first two decades of the sixteenth century.

During these years, both Charles and Ferdinand spent time under the care and tutelage of their aunt, Margaret of Austria (1480-1530), the daughter of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy, whose marriage merged the Burgundian and Hapsburg dynasties.398 Margaret married twice; her first husband, Don Juan, died in 1497, and her second husband, Duke Philip of Savoy (whom she married in 1501) died in 1504.

After Philip of Savoy’s death, Margaret chose not to remarry and moved to the Low Countries, settling in Mechelen. In March 1507, her father, Maximilian, appointed her regent of the government of the Burgundian Netherlands, which included the territories of Artois, Brabant, Franche-Comté, Charolais, Hainault, Holland, Namur, and Zeeland, among others. The cities she governed included key Burgundian holdings such as Brussels, Mechelen, Mons, Leuven, Valenciennes, Douai, Arras, Lille, Ghent, Bruges, Middleburg, Breda, Hoogstraten, and Antwerp.399

398 Mary of Burgundy was Charles the Bold’s daughter and Philip the Good’s granddaughter.
Following the sudden death of her brother Duke Philip the Handsome in 1506, she became the official guardian of her nieces and nephews in the Low Countries. She later devoted herself to raising and educating them at her Mechelen court from 1507 onwards, including Eleanor (born 1498), Charles (born 1500) Isabel (born 1501), and Mary (born 1505). In subsequent years, she watched over their brother, Ferdinand (born 1503).

On 24 February 1500, the future Holy Roman Emperor Charles V was born in Ghent to Queen Joanna of Castile and the Hapsburg Archduke Philip the Handsome, Duke of Burgundy and future King of Castile, who was heir to Emperor Maximilian I. In 1506, Charles inherited his father’s ducal Burgundian territories, most notably the Low Countries and Franche-Comté Burgundy. He and his three sisters were sent to Flanders to live with their aunt, Margaret of Austria, the following year in 1507. However, since Charles was a minor, his aunt Margaret acted as regent until he was fifteen. On the Feast of the Epiphany, 6 January 1515, Charles was declared of age and proclaimed Prince of the Burgundian Netherlands by his grandfather, Maximilian. A year later, in January 1516, his other grandfather, Ferdinand of Aragon, died. In order to oversee his interests there, Charles left the Netherlands for Spain in September 1517 to become King of Spain.

---

400 After Philip died in September 1506, his wife Joanna of Castile soon began to exhibit symptoms of mental illness, lending to her moniker “the Mad”. She was thus unable to care for her children.
401 Charles’s Burgundian possessions included Holland, Brabant, Mechelen, Flanders, Tournai, Guines, Artois, Hainault, Namur, Limbourg, and Luxembourg. Charles extended the Burgundian territory with the annexation of Tournai, Artois, Utrecht, Groningen and Guelders. His other land conquests included Friesland, Ommelanden, Overijssel, Utrecht, Guelders, and Cambrai. Many of these territories had been unified by Charles’s Burgundian ancestors, but nominally were fiefs of either France or the Holy Roman Empire. Later, in 1549, Charles issued the Pragmatic Sanction, declaring the Low Countries to be one unified entity, with his family as its heirs.
402 Blockmans, Emperor Charles V, p. 9. Upon his inauguration as lord of the Netherlands in 1515, a number of Flemish and Brabantine cities confirmed in his leadership. He also had an entry procession into Bruges on 18 April 1515, represented in manuscript now in Vienna’s Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (MS 2591). See Women of Distinction: Margaret of York, Margaret of Austria, ed. Dagmar Eichberger (Leuven: Brepols, 2005), p. 82. Also see Dagmar Eichberger, “Margareta of Austria: A Princess with Ambition and Political Insight,” in Women of Distinction, p. 53.
403 This move to Spain was backed by, among others, his surviving grandfather, Emperor Maximilian I. During Charles’s absence from the Netherlands, he formed a regency council to regulate his business affairs. His aunt, Margaret of Austria, was given far fewer powers than during her first regency. It would be two years before she was reappointed regent with the sole responsibility for governing the Netherlands. Unhappy with her restrictive role, Margaret repeatedly petitioned her nephew to extend her powers. Charles eventually partially acceded to her wishes, without giving her the official title of regent. For example, she was only allowed to sign official letters with “Par le Roy, Marguerite”. Following the death of Maximilian in January 1519, her wish was granted, and on 1 July of that year, Charles decreed officially that Margaret was, for a second time, elevated to the position of Regent of the Netherlands. He revised and reconfirmed her role as regent on 19 October 1520 and again on 15 April 1522. In
Ferdinand, the second son of Philip the Handsome and Joanna the Mad, was born on 10 March 1503 in Alcalá de Henares, near Madrid. Unlike Charles, Ferdinand was brought up in Spain and expected to succeed his grandfather Ferdinand as king. But he had to leave Spain when Charles took over its dominion in 1517. Ferdinand was sent to the Netherlands in 1518, and lived there with his governess regent aunt, Margaret, until 1521.


Ferdinand shared his birthday with his maternal grandfather, King Ferdinand II of Aragon. Paula Fitchner claims that several individuals, including Maximilian at one point, thought Ferdinand a more suitable candidate than Charles. The pope, Leo X, judged Ferdinand to be more intelligent (“più spirito”) than his brother. Even the writer Erasmus believed that Ferdinand would do a great deal more, particularly for the cause of learning, than would Charles. However, the king of Spain and his counselors were troubled by Margaret’s suggestion that Charles remove himself from the imperial election in favor of his brother. See Ferdinand I of Austria: The Politics of Dynasticism in the Age of the Reformation (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), p. 17.

After he became Holy Roman Emperor, Charles returned to Flanders and in 1520 made a “Joyous Entry” into Antwerp. Charles remained in Leuven and close to the court in Brussels until October 1521. Later in life, Charles again visited the Low Countries, including Antwerp, in 1549. Hugh Trevor-Roper, Princes and Artists: Patronage and ideology at four Hapsburg courts 1517-1633 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1976); pp. 11-18.

Alfred Kohler, Ferdinand I, 1503-1564: Fürst, König, and Kaiser (Munich, Verlag C.H. Beck, 2003), pp. 56-8. According to Paula Fichtner, “Maximilian, visiting Brussels in 1517, had proposed the Austrian kingdom with Ferdinand as its ruler. Charles and his counselors had listened politely, but declined to consider the idea seriously. But he was later shunted by his brother from Spain, as Charles’s advisors feared him as a rival for the Spanish crown. There was much tension between the two youths, or, more accurately put, between their two sets of advisors and partisans. In September 1517, Charles ordered that the most important members of Ferdinand’s court be replaced, so that by 1518, he was surrounded almost completely by French-speaking Burgundians.” See Fichtner, Ferdinand I, p. 410.

Interestingly, Margaret’s support of Ferdinand and his political future as a ruler may have put her relationship with Charles at risk, given the strain between the two brothers. In 1519, with the Emperor’s upcoming election, an inner Hapsburg ruling alternative was proposed. However, on 15 March 1519, Charles strongly objected to Margaret and the Council of the Netherlands to the proposal of Ferdinand or another third party as candidate for election to the role of Holy Roman Emperor.

During the Diet of Worms in 1521, a definitive agreement was reached with Charles as the new head of the Hapsburg dynasty. Charles abdicated his share of the hereditary Hapsburg lands in favor of Ferdinand. Ferdinand, in turn, had to pledge his total commitment to the cause of the Hapsburg dynasty. Ferdinand received the five Austrian duchies (Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola [modern Slovenia])—with Charles retaining Tyrol, some Dalmatian territories as well as the Hapsburg possessions in the western areas of present-day Austria and southwestern Germany. Ferdinand traveled to Brussels in 1522 there to meet with his brother once again. It was this conference that produced a definitive division of the Hapsburg holdings. Ferdinand was given the Dalmatian territories as well as the Tyrol and the other western Hapsburg lands. In return, he gave up any political claims he had in Naples, and he also promised to keep the Tyrolean arrangements secret. Charles made him his governor in the Empire to act in his name in his absence. Fichtner, Ferdinand I, p. 19.
Although Charles and Ferdinand resided in Mechelen at separate times, Margaret of Austria’s court had much to offer the brothers, as well as their sisters, Isabella and Eleanor. Charles spent roughly ten years in the Burgundian court, and Ferdinand’s shorter three-year stint appears to have been likewise important and formative. Despite this, neither of their residencies in the Netherlands has received much scholarly attention. Margaret was keenly aware of the dynastic, imperial interests for her nephews; however, she chose to raise the brothers and their siblings in the Burgundian courtly model that was familiar to her. As a result, Charles, Ferdinand, and their sisters learned Flemish and French as their primary languages, although Dutch and Spanish were also taught. Additionally, the brothers were influenced by the ideal of Burgundian court culture. Mechelen was flourishing under new-found prosperity, and during their separate stays, Charles and Ferdinand enjoyed the scholars, artists, and musicians who were drawn to Margaret’s court.

The Hapsburg children had access to Margaret’s substantial library on the first floor of the palace’s southern wing. An inventory catalog dating from 1523-24 records 335 manuscripts and 44 printed books; Margaret doubtless owned more. These manuscripts—which perhaps included those owned by their great-great-grandfather, Philip the Good—were passed down through the family generations: through the collections of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York; Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy, their grandparents; and then Margaret of Austria. Notably, Margaret of Austria inherited much of the Burgundian library directly from her step-grandmother and godmother, Margaret of York.

---

407 Their tutor was William of Croy. The Croy family had a long record of service to the dukes of Burgundy, and they were members of the knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Interestingly, after Charles became emperor, his court was not based on a Spanish model, but a Burgundian one.

408 Marguerite Debae, *La Bibliothèque de Marguerite d’Autriche* (Leuven: Peeters, 1995), p. IX; Blockmans, *Emperor Charles V*, p. 16. Numerous artists, including Bernard van Orley, Conrat Meit, and Gerard Horenbout, worked closely with the Mechelen court. Both Charles and Ferdinand also were in contact with the scholarly priest Erasmus, an individual who had later influence on Ferdinand in relation to questions of religion and humanism. After Charles’s majority in 1515, Erasmus enjoyed the title of councilor with a stipend and canon’s benefice. Ferdinand and Erasmus remained in contact up until Erasmus’s death in the 1530’s.


410 The Duchess Margaret of York, Charles the Bold’s widow, was a famous bibliophile in her own right, and commissioned many codices for her private devotion. Margaret of Austria probably picked up the same ardent love of books from her godmother, who left her at least five devotional treatises for her religious edification. See Legaré, “‘La librairye de Madame’,” pp. 207, 210, 215. The Brussels’s portion of the *Grandes Heures* was listed in Philip
While they are not explicitly listed among her inventories, Margaret likely inherited devotional texts owned by Philip the Good, including those containing affixed badges, discussed in the previous chapter. Charles and Ferdinand probably encountered these highly esteemed family prayer books, such as the large *Grandes Heures* and the unusual book-altarpiece now in Vienna. In doing so, they could discover and contemplate the personal devotional significance of their ancestor’s pilgrimage objects sewn into his texts.

Besides inheriting works from her Burgundian ancestors (and their court confidants), Margaret personally commissioned, collected, or purchased at least an additional forty manuscripts. The duchess had a keen interest in secular works, and her library included histories, romances, and moralizing writings. Her interest in educating her nephews and nieces likely led her to acquire didactic texts. She also had compilations of historical chronicles and genealogies of the house of Burgundy, most likely to help imbue Charles and Ferdinand with the chivalric ideals of their Burgundian ancestors. These texts may have been useful to them for studying how to govern effectively.

the Bold’s 1420 inventory but then did not appear in subsequent inventories until 1577. It is unclear whether the Cambridge portion was still in the Burgundian library at that time, since it wasn’t listed in the 1577 inventory. It may have been overlooked or omitted. See *Art from the Court of Burgundy*, pp. 107.

According to Marguerite Debae, Margaret’s 1523-1524 inventory did include items kept in the family chapel, which included five manuscripts, including the the *Très Riches Heures du duc du Berry*. The chapel manuscripts include an “Heures, couvertes de velours noir” and an “Heures, longuettes avec deux fermoirs d’or.” However, one of these was supposedly lost; another was given to the Count of Hoogstraeten. See Debae, *La Librairie de Marguerite d’Autriche* (Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, 1987), p. xxi; and Debae, *La Bibliothèque de Marguerite d’Autriche: Essai de reconstruction d’après l’inventaire de 1523-1524*. (Louvain-Paris: Éditions Peeters, 1995), p. viii, 527. Additional Hours and prayer books, still unidentified by modern library/archive shelf numbers, were listed in the same 1523-1524 inventory; see *La Bibliothèque de Marguerite d’Autriche*, pp. 530-531.

Köster suggests that even among the Hapsburg heirs of the Burgundians, the *Prayer Book of Philip the Bold* was regularly used for over a century and a half. He specifically cites such folios as the Virgin on the Crescent miniature in the Brussels *Grandes Heures* (fol. 6v, with its many metal badges), as well as the collection of Vera Icons and associated prayers (fol. 96r), all of which show traces of intense use. “Kollektionen Metallener Wallfahrts-Devotionalien,” p. 110.

The preeminent sources for Margaret of Austria’s library are Debae, *La Librairie de Marguerite d’Autriche* and *La Bibliothèque de Marguerite d’Autriche: Essai de reconstruction d’après l’inventaire de 1523-1524*. In the latter, Debae notes that in 1511, Margaret bought “78 parchment manuscripts bound in velvet of diverse colors” and an unspecified number of unbound books on parchment and paper. For these she paid Charles of Croy, prince of Chimay and one of Charles’ godfathers and tutors, the sum of 5000 pounds. Her collection included most texts expected to be found in a royal or princely library from around 1500, including romances, histories, and moralizing works. Debae, *La Bibliothèque de Marguerite d’Autriche*, p. XIII.

Legaré, “‘La librairie de Madame’,” p. 217. For example, later in Charles’s life, Margaret commissioned several manuscripts commemorating the education of her eldest nephew. These included a *Genealogie abréegée de Charles Quint* (made between 1527-30), a breviary containing the imperial and catholic genealogical lines of Charles V, and the unfinished *Mémoire sur l’éducation de Charles Quint*, its preface dedicated to her. See Debae, *La Bibliothèque de Marguerite d’Autriche*, p. XV.
Margaret also acquired other devotional manuscripts either through new purchases or inheritance. Among notable examples, Margaret commissioned and owned an illuminated book of hours now in Vienna, illustrated by the Master of the Prayer Books of Around 1500 (Vienna ÖNB MS 1862). She was fond of the Hours of Mary and Maximilian (Berlin, Staatsliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstickkabinett, MS 78 B 12), which contained an inscription to Margaret from her father, Maximilian. The duchess may have also been left another of her father’s prayer books, the First Prayer Book of Maximilian (Vienna, ÖNB MS 1907). Margaret also inherited the unfinished Sforza Hours from her deceased husband, Philip of Savoy (London, British Library Add. MS 34294). She later ordered sixteen illuminations and two borders for this book to be finished by her court painter and valet de chambre, Gerard Horenbout. This manuscript likely ended up in the possession of Charles V, although it is uncertain whether it was a gift to her nephew during his Coronation as Holy Roman Emperor in 1520, or whether he inherited it after her death. She also inherited the famous Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry from her husband, Philip, upon his death. Besides multiple books of hours, Margaret also owned at least three copies of Thomas à Kempis’s De Imitatione Christi (The Imitation of Christ). Thus, as Charles and Ferdinand spent time in Margaret’s court, they grew familiar with Flemish book painting and in particular, the types of prayer books that were being produced in Ghent, Bruges, Brussels, and Mechelen.

---

415 Kathryn Rudy notes that Margaret likely preferred to read texts in French, and indeed, women’s reading habits encourage the translation of original composition of devotional texts in vernacular languages. See “Women’s Devotions at Court,” in Women of Distinction, p. 234.
416 This manuscript is included in Margaret’s inventory; see Debae, La Librairie de Marguerite d’Autriche, pp. 128-31. This manuscript has been attributed to the Master of the Prayerbooks from Around 1500.
417 Noteworthy about the Hours of Mary and Maximilian is its painted representations of scallop shells in the illuminated margins of fols. 90v-91r, a reference to the scallop shell collected on pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostela.
418 This book was illustrated by an anonymous artist, now named after his namesake, the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian. He will be discussed at length in Chapter 6 in this dissertation. Also see Illuminating the Renaissance, pp. 190-1.
419 He was paid for work on this manuscript in 1520. See the biography of Gerard Horenbout in Illuminating the Renaissance, p. 427, as well as description of the Sforza Hours, pp. 428-31. Horenbout is also identified with the Master of James IV, discussed in Chapter 6 of this dissertation.
420 Illuminating the Renaissance proposes that the codex was passed along to Charles V from Margaret. Among evidence for this suggestion is a portrait of Charles in a border medallion on fol. 213, painted by Gerard Horenbout. The manuscript is recorded being in Spain by the nineteenth century; this may be due to Charles’s relocation to Spain after inheriting the Spanish Empire. p. 429.
Devotional activities at the Mechelen court were not limited to perusing religious texts. Religious pilgrimage continued to be important to the Burgundian family into the early sixteenth century. Margaret of Austria’s godmother, Margaret of York, for example, was known to have undertaken many religious pilgrimages throughout the Low Countries, Germany, and even England. Margaret of York’s stepdaughter, Mary of Burgundy, traveled alone as well as with her husband emperor Maximilian I to cult sites, especially shrines of the Virgin. Pilgrimage continued to be an important facet of the devotional lives of Maximilian and Mary’s Hapsburg progeny. However, there is little concentrated research into the pilgrimages completed by the later Burgundian and Hapsburg generations, and as a result little is known about the types of shrines visited, the frequency of these visits, and favorite cults and devotions. Kathryn Rudy writes that both Margaret of Austria and her godmother, Margaret of York, frequently showed their devotion to various cult shrines in Flanders and neighboring territories, often donating gifts to these shrines, as an extension of their social charity. While traveling through her territory and among its shrines, Margaret of Austria might well have carried portable altars and small religious objects, as did her Burgundian ancestors such as Philip the Good.

Like their ancestors, the later generations of the Burgundian family rarely undertook long-distance travel, due to concerns about safety and the need to be close to their governed territories. In the case of Margaret of Austria, Rudy observed that while the duchess and her female relatives extensively traveled, they rarely left their realms to visit the major pilgrimage shrines, such as Jerusalem, Rome, or Santiago de Compostela. Instead, they undertook proxy or virtual pilgrimages, and used specific devotional objects to facilitate these mental journeys.

---


424 Op. cit., p. 236. For example, Margaret of York owned an illustrated devotional guide for taking virtual pilgrimages to the Seven Principal Churches of Rome (New Haven, Beinecke Library MS 639). The book, written in French, allowed the reader to visit the Roman pilgrimage churches by meditating on images of them and simultaneously reading cycles of prayers. In this way, the reader earned indulgences. For more on this manuscript, see Walter Cahn, “Margaret of York’s Guide to the Pilgrimage Churches of Rome” in Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and the Visions of Tondal. Thomas Kren, ed. (Malibu: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1992), pp. 89-98. Margaret of Austria also owned an extensive series of panels illustrating the life of Jesus, painted by Juan de Flandres. The panels depicted the life and death of Christ, arranged in a sequential tour of the important sites in the
Thus, with the need to be close to the territories she governed, Margaret of Austria limited her religious travels to shrines in the Burgundian Low Countries, similar to her predecessors. It is plausible that, as caregiver to Charles and Ferdinand, the duchess journeyed with them to pilgrimage shrines in the region. Not only would such pilgrimages be a means to uphold their strong Catholic faith, it also would preserve a model of ducal devotion to pass on to her nephews. For both Charles and Ferdinand, the sincere ideal of inner devotion with which Margaret imbued them lived on as a strong Catholic faith throughout their adult lives.\textsuperscript{425} Moreover, by supporting the popular local religious cults of their subjects, the Hapsburgs maintained the pilgrimage traditions practiced by the Burgundian court. Not only did interest in the local shrines reflect well on their own spirituality, it also bode well politically to demonstrate a common devotion by participating in such popular demonstrations of piety.\textsuperscript{426} It both asserted their administrative presence in the region as well as demonstrated their support of the region’s cult sites.

Unfortunately, few records survive regarding the travel itineraries of the young Hapsburg brothers. Paula Fichtner notes that occasionally Ferdinand went out of his way to visit relics and religious sites, although she does not list specific shrines that he saw, except for a visit to Trier in 1540.\textsuperscript{427} However, a tapestry woven between 1516-8 in Brussels, the last of a series of four tapestries of the Church of Notre-Dame du Sablon, depicts Charles and Ferdinand’s religious devotion at a shrine in the Low Countries.\textsuperscript{428} It shows a religious procession in which the central

---


\textsuperscript{426} Kaufmann, "The Theme of Pilgrimage,” pp. 40-42.

\textsuperscript{427} Fichtner, \textit{Ferdinand I}, p. 8. Perhaps the most famous shrine in Trier was that of St. Mathias, although Ferdinand does not appear to have acquired a pilgrimage souvenir from this shrine. Diana Webb, \textit{Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West} (London: I. B. Tauris & Co., 2001), p. 141.

\textsuperscript{428} The inscription in the tapestry’s right border shows the group was completed in 1518. The donor, the Imperial Postmaster Francis de Taxis, appears in all three tapestries holding a staff and sealed letter. Margaret of Austria’s heraldic crest appears in the top border of the tapestry. The design for this and the other tapestries in the series were completed by Bernard van Orley, the official court painter under Margaret of Austria and later Mary of Hungary.
figures, Charles V and Ferdinand, identifiable by their facial features, carry the miraculous statue of the crowned Virgin Mary of Sablon on a bier. [fig. 30] Other key individuals are represented, including their now-deceased father Philip the Handsome, shown kneeling in the left portion of the composition; and Margaret of Austria, seen at the right, with Ferdinand and his four sisters behind her.429 Whether all of these individuals were ever simultaneously present is unclear, although the shrine was popular with Margaret of Austria and she frequently visited it.

No records survive regarding any purchases of pilgrims’ badges by Charles or Ferdinand. Only one badge, a Virgin and Child souvenir from Regensburg, now in the *Hours of Ferdinand I* (Vienna ÖNB MS 2624), is precisely dated to 1519. Hence, the circumstances behind the acquisition of the extant badges in the Hapsburgs’ prayer books are unclear. While the brothers probably bought souvenirs while visiting a particular holy shrine, it is also feasible that the badges were gifts from their aunt, or even “borrowed” from the collection of their great-great grandfather. Many of the extant badges are from shrines favored by Philip the Good, including Notre-Dame at Halle, St. Adrian at Geraardsbergen, and St. Claude in the Jura. These would have provided the brothers further opportunity to identify with and appreciate the Burgundian Netherlands through their religious shrines.

Thus, Margaret’s wish to raise her nephews as strong Catholics—which included a strong devotion to local cult shrines, pilgrimages, and the ownership of pilgrims’ badges from those shrines—suggests devotion grounded in Burgundian traditions for the Hapsburg brothers to uphold. Her inheritance of the Burgundian library also provided Charles and Ferdinand opportunities to study and contemplate upon esteemed ancestral devotional books. Within a five- to six year timespan, Margaret bequeathed several prayer books to Charles and Ferdinand. While one codex was an heirloom, two were specifically commissioned by Margaret for the brothers. These codices clearly held special meaning for her young nephews, for it is in these books that Charles and Ferdinand fastened pilgrimage souvenirs, as their Burgundian ancestors had done before them.


429 Margaret, Charles, and Ferdinand frequently visited Notre-Dame du Sablon. In 1505, the sister of Charles V, Princess Mary of Hungary, was baptized here, suggesting that the church was very popular with the noble family. See Jos Koldeweij, “Shameless and Naked Images”, in *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles*. Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe, eds. (Leiden: Brill, 2005), p. 507.
5.2: The First Prayer Book of Charles V (Vienna ÖNB MS 1859)

Sometime between 1516 and 1519, Margaret of Austria commissioned and gave her eldest teenage nephew a book of prayers. This codex, now called the First Prayer Book of Charles V, was made in either Mechelen or Brussels. Based on the possible dates of its commission, this gift likely coincided with one of two major events in the young emperor’s life: either his crowning as the King of Spain in 1516 after the death of his father; or his choice by the electors as the Successor of Maximilian I, as King of the Romans, and coronation at Aachen in 1520. Charles seems to have placed great importance on her gift, for in 1533 he had an exact copy of the manuscript made.

The Prayer Book of Charles V was highly personalized, specifically destined for the young emperor. For example, the guard folio (1v) shows Charles’s name and motto “PLVS OVLTRE”, along with emblems of the Golden Fleece, the Cross of St. Andrew, and the House of Burgundy. Charles is also depicted at the beginning of the prayer to the angels on fol. 213v.

Parchment, I + 254 folios (the pencil foliation goes from I until 255, with fol. 132 missing, 153 mm x 82 mm. Justification measures 110 mm x 51 mm, with 26 lines of Burgundian bastarda text per page. Latin and French texts. While many texts (such as the Our Fathers, Creeds, Passion devotions, Marian prayers, Trinity prayers, and prayers against deadly sins) are all in Latin, a few prayers are in French. Large decorated initials, borders, and line endings. It contains 76 (originally 78) miniatures, each corresponding to an accompanying prayer. Each page follows a uniform illustrative system of a brown-tinted Gothic or Renaissance frame, imitating sculpted wood, which takes over just half of the page; the miniature is the located in the upper portion of the frame. The manuscript’s illuminations have been attributed to the Master of Charles V, although their style and composition is similar to the work of Simon Bening. See Illuminating the Renaissance, p. 497. The miniatures’ architectural frames are similar to those seen in the work of the artist Bernard van Orley, lending to the notion that this manuscript was completed in either Brussels or Mechelen, where van Orley was also working. For more on the Master of Charles V’s biography and the debate surrounding the attribution, see Illuminating the Renaissance, p. 495.

The manuscript’s calendar follows has no particular regional diocese, and lacks specific saints for Mechelen (Rumold), Ghent (Bavo), and Brussels (Gudule). However, Adrian was recorded on the date of 4 March, as well as Franciscan saints like Bonaventure, Bernard, Clare, Elizabeth, and the thirteenth-century Moroccan martyr Berardus. Spanish saints like Vincent are also included.


Bruges has also been posited as a possible production site for the manuscript.

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS 491. It is likely that this manuscript was completed by another artist, recently renamed the Master of Morgan M. 491 in Illuminating the Renaissance. p. 495.
Here, the young king kneels under a green canopy on a *prie-dieu* emblazoned with his coat of arms, hands raised in prayer with a prayer book, next to a guardian angel.\(^{432}\) He wears gilded armor and an ermine-lined cloak, along with the collar of the order of the Golden Fleece and the Spanish crown.\(^{433}\)

The inclusion of dedications written by several female members of Charles’s family also denotes the book’s personal nature. Charles’s aunt Margaret composed and inserted a short rhyme immediately preceding the ‘Paternoster’ on a blank page, fol. 21v: *James je ne seray contante/Sy ne me tenes pour votre humble tante/Marguerite* (“Never will I be content/ If you do not see me as your humble aunt/ Margaret”). Her inscription exemplifies how Margaret, as guardian of Charles and donor of the book, could convey her close association with the recipient, whether it be out of loyalty or personal affection.\(^{434}\) Charles’s sisters also provided autograph inscriptions to their brother in the manuscript. Eleanor, Charles’s older sister, wrote on an empty page (fol. 86v), across from the illumination of the Annunciation on fol. 87r at the beginning of the Office of the Virgin, that she was “*votre tres humble et obeissante soeur Liennor*” (“your very humble and obedient sister Eleanor,” her name represented by the initials SL).\(^{435}\) His younger sister Mary also included an inscription on the same folio: “*Je demoray toute ma vie votre tres humble servent et amie Marie*” (“All my life I will remain your very humble servant and friend Mary”).

The prayers in Charles’s book diverge from those commonly appearing in a book of hours, and suggest the book’s role as a devotional aid for an eminent ruler. Of particular interest are the last of five pages of added prayers tailored to the personal use of Charles, as well as other prayers that show strong signs of use. The “Prayer of a Ruler” on fols. 252v-253v, which was part of both versions of the *Prayer Book of Maximilian I*, was added here, most likely by Charles himself, replacing an earlier text that was scraped away. Some of the book’s unusual illustrations may also have been influenced by unique models gleaned from the *Prayer Book of* \(^{432}\)Eichberger, “The Culture of Gifts: A Courtly Phenomenon from a Female Perspective,” p. 290.

\(^{433}\) Other personalized elements in the manuscript appear on fol. 30r, depicting St. Matthew; surrounding the saint on the architectural frame are two flags displaying the arms of Austria and Burgundy. On fol. 99v, elements of the heraldic symbols of Aragon and Castile can be seen on the flags adorning the frame of the Visitation miniature.\(^{434}\) *Das Gebetbuch Karls. V* (Codices Selecti, Graz, 1976), p. 39.

\(^{435}\) Eleanor accompanied Charles to Spain in 1517 with King Manuel of Portugal. Eleanor was by then the second wife of François I of France.
Maximilian I. Taken together, these textual changes and unique images seem to make a statement about both the leadership and the piety of Charles V. Such qualities not only established Charles within the generations of strong Burgundian and Hapsburg leaders, but his practice of affixing pilgrims’ badges in prayer books also linked him to his late fifteenth-century ancestors.

Traces of thin medal pilgrims’ badges appear on several blank pages scattered throughout the manuscript. Based on the offsets, souvenirs were likely fastened on fol. 131v (or perhaps fol. 132r, although the folio is now missing); an unnumbered, now-missing folio after 209v (with an imprint on 209v); fol. 236r; and fol. 250v. Presumably, these badges were added during the first years after the book was made. This was probably done at different times, based on the strength or faintness of the offsets. The date of the badges’ removal is unknown.

Among these offsets, those on the excised folios originally placed after fols. 131 and 209 are noteworthy. Fol. 209 was already missing when the book received its present foliation and was thus likely removed prior to the nineteenth century. However, fol. 132, which opened the Penitential Psalms, may have had a miniature of King David. The folio turned up missing after the book’s modern foliation was inserted, and was thus probably removed in the modern era. In both cases, imprints of the badges are preserved on the facing folios.

End of the Compline from the Office of the Virgin, fol. 131v:

On the lower half of folio 131v, the prints of two circular inlaid badges can be seen, one placed above the other, so that the top badge originally touched the final lines of the page’s text block [fig. 31]. The top offset measures 35 mm in diameter with a border 2 mm wide, while the bottom imprint measures 37 mm in diameter with a wider 3-4 mm border. Both imprints have traces of gold residue, and there is no evidence of sewing holes, suggesting they were glued onto the parchment.

---

436 An 1802 publication by Michael Denis does not mention this missing folio. It is therefore possible that the page was removed between 1809 and 1815, when another analysis was made on the book. The missing text of the prayer may be supplemented from the copy of the prayer book for Charles V, now in New York’s Pierpont Morgan Library. See commentary volume for the facsimile Das Gebetbuch Karls. V, p. 28.

437 Weak offsets are visible on the previous folio, 130v, though the physical indentations are not as prominent. The text on the last six lines of psalms on 133r is very worn, although this only corresponds with the placement of the lower badge, rather than both souvenirs.
Unfortunately, the details of the badges’ iconography are no longer legible, although they both had inscriptions on the outside borders. The top offset is difficult to read, due to the bleed-through of the text from the previous page, although it appears to display figures in the center and an inscription around the border. The lower portion of the bottom badge is slightly clearer, due to the blank margin of the folio. Little else can be discerned.

Fol. 131v ends the Compline Office of the Hours of the Virgin. The opening of this office, on fol. 128r, features an illumination of the Virgin’s Coronation in Heaven. Fol. 131v is worn, stained and discolored; in particular, the left border of the parchment seems to preserve vague fingerprints, as though the parchment was pressed here with two or three fingers. Mostly illegible handwritten text also is visible on the top margin of fol. 131v (“Je [___] mon [___] marie”).

Interestingly, a significant amount of wear is visible in the Office of the Virgin on the pages immediately preceding the badges. The rest of the Office and the pages that follow, which include the Penitential Psalms, show less use. Thus, it is uncertain how often Charles actually used the Hours of the Virgin or whether these two badges were meant for the end of the Compline, or the space for the now-lost image of King David opposite the opening of the Penitential Psalms. The portion of the miniature’s frame that is still visible suggests that the badges would have faced the Penitential Psalms. However, this would be an unusual section of prayers to be adorned with a badge, as no other extant manuscript containing pilgrim’s badges situates them next to the Penitential Psalms. Rather, due to the Office of the Virgin’s heavy wear and badge traces near other Marian prayers in the manuscript, I suspect that the two badges were both dedicated to Mary and placed at end of the Hours of the Virgin. While their iconography cannot be discerned (perhaps related to the Coronation scene at the beginning of the Compline), it is clear that Charles was very fond of them and frequently referred to them, as evidenced by the handwritten text in the upper margin describing Mary and the fingerprint-like marks in the left margin.

*Stabat Mater* (fols. 209v and 210r):

---

438 This portion of the Office is a separate gathering of three folios.
439 This script has not been dated.
440 Their placement follows a similar pattern in other parts of the book of placing the badge at the end of the prayer, such as for the Suffrage of St. Claude on fol. 236r, discussed shortly.
Fol. 209v shows a very faint, pale gold offset of a round badge, 37mm in diameter with a 5 mm border. Rust-colored print smudges indicate where the medal was glued. The offset’s details are illegible, beyond the vague presence of a central figure in the middle of the badge. Dark grey horizontal lines 1-2 mm in length from the badge appear amid the red rubric on fol. 210r, corresponding with the badge imprints on the previous page [fig. 32]. A jagged tip of parchment visible between folios 209 and 210 suggests a folio had been cut out. It thus seems likely that this page was excised before the badge itself was removed, due to the imprints on both 209v and 210r.

This badge is placed in the middle of a cycle of prayers to the Virgin; thus, it appears likely that this badge featured Mary. Fol. 204r begins a devotion to the Virgin “Missus est gabriel angelus ad mariam . . .” The badge was located at the end of this particular sequence; however, its placement on the verso of the excised page that followed fol. 209 detached it from the “Missus est” devotion, which ends near the top of fol. 209v.

More interestingly, the badge appeared directly opposite the Stabat Mater on fol. 210r, decorated by a half-page illumination of a standing Mary lamenting Christ on the Cross. The pages of the Stabat Mater show more evidence of use—including the worn letters in the text, the darker page edges, from fol. 210 to the bottom of fol. 211r—than the Marian prayers on the previous pages. This prayer, a direct entreaty to the Virgin, had been supplemented with badges several times in other manuscripts, including two owned by Charles’s great-great-grandfather, Philip the Good. Perhaps the badge’s iconography—perhaps depicting the Virgin, the Virgin and Child, the Pietà, or the Crucifixion—would have closely related to the sympathetic themes of Mary’s grieving described in the Stabat Mater. If this were the case, it would create a direct resonance between badge, prayer, and illumination, similar to the Obsecro te prayer in the Douce Hours (Oxford Bodleian MS Douce 51, fol. 59r). This combination of badge, prayer, and

---

441 The badge is about the same size as a badge offset on fol. 131v.
442 Prayers on previous folios included the Obsecro te and the O intemerata.
443 This prayer is also included in Margaret of Austria’s book of hours now in Vienna (ÖNB MS 1862), fol. 197v.
444 These manuscripts, discussed in Chapter 4, are Paris BnF MS n.a.f. 16428, fol. 13r and Brussels KBR MS 11035-37, fol. 34v.
445 The rubric reads: “Devotio contemplation beate marie virginis uixta [juxta] crucem filli sui lachrimantis . . .” The prayer begins, “Stabat mater dolorosa/juxta Crucem lacrimosa/dum pendebat Filius.” (“At the Cross her station keeping, stood the mournful Mother weeping, close to Jesus to the last.”)
illumination in ÖNB MS 1859 would have provided Charles with a focal point for contemplating and sympathizing with Mary’s grief at the Crucifixion.

*Suffrage to Saint Claude, fol. 236r:*

The Suffrage to St. Claude appears in the midst of a large section of Suffrage prayers in Charles’s prayer book. The saint’s prayer transcribed on fols. 235v through 236v opens with a half-page miniature of Claude on fol. 235v [fig. 33]. An offset of a pilgrim’s badge originally placed at the bottom of the opposite page (fol. 236r) complements the facing illumination. This round souvenir, measuring 36mm in diameter with a 2mm border, was overlooked by Köster in his analysis. Its placement is clearly apparent because of the dark gold circular mark, perhaps left by the adhesive used to paste the badge; no needle holes are visible. Flaky gold residue gilds the offset’s edges.

The badge’s edge has worn away part of the illumination’s brown frame on fol. 235v, which indicates that the souvenir’s top portion barely touched the bottom line of the manuscript’s text. The badge originally overlapped the page’s lower edge. The few discernible offset marks could result from either the popular badge iconography of a bust figure or enthroned Saint Claude, although they are too faint to conclusively identify. Some evidence of wear can also be seen on the following folio.

Rather than placing the badge at the Suffrage’s conclusion on fol. 236v, the souvenir was affixed in the middle of the text at the bottom of fol. 236r. It seems that Charles positioned the badge here, rather than the end of the prayer, in order to keep the souvenir close to the miniature on the opposite page. In this way, Charles visually linked the images of Claude in the illumination and the badge.

Claude’s suffrage is the only one in the manuscript to be augmented with a badge. Yet, while some evidence of wear is seen on its folios, other Suffrages, such as those for St. Anthony or St. James, show more use. It is a mystery why this particular suffrage had a pilgrim’s badge, because Charles had no known preference for the saint or his pilgrimage shrine, and there is no evidence that he ever visited there. However, the badge’s inclusion may suggest an interest in

---

446 These begin on fols. 192 and 193.
448 Charles might have emulated his great-great-grandfather’s practice of putting badges near suffrages, as Philip had done in the Cambridge volume of the *Grandes Heures* (Fitzwilliam Museum MS 3-1954). As noted in Chapter 4,
upholding the devotional traditions of saints whose cult sites were in the old Burgundian
territories, and saints revered in the House of Burgundy, especially since Claude was a patron
saint for Charles’s Burgundian ancestors.  

Prayer to the Virgin, fol. 250v:

Another pilgrim’s badge, measuring 36mm in diameter with a 2mm outer border, was
affixed onto the bottom of fol. 250v, where sufficient blank space at the bottom of the folio
would have allowed Charles to hold a large souvenir [fig. 34]. Two small needle marks on the
left and right sides of the inner rim of the badge are apparent on fol. 250r, and grey silver residue
is present on the opposite fol. 251r, overlapping the illuminated border and text (an offset also is
visible on fol. 251v). An imprint of the inscription “Salve Regina” is clearly legible around
the left edge of the offset on fol. 250v. In its center, an outline of a head, presumably that of the
Virgin Mary, is barely visible. The imprint also appears to show the outline of a human body,
perhaps a depiction like the Virgin enthroned, although this is unclear.

Fol. 251r contains a half-page illumination of the Virgin and Infant Christ, their cheeks
touching. A red French rubric faces it on fol. 250v and lists the benefits of regular recitation of

Philip revered the shrine of St. Claude in the Jura and visited there several times. Perhaps Charles V was emulating
Philip and his devotion to this particular shrine by appropriating one of the badges originally acquired by his
ancestor to place in his own prayer book. However, the badge from Fitzwilliam Museum MS 3-1954 originally
measured 29 mm in diameter, so Charles likely did not appropriate the actual badge from Philip’s prayer book to
take in this manuscript.

One coincidence in Charles V’s early life took place in 1504, when he was initially betrothed to Claude of France,
Duchess of Brittany. Queen Claude was named after St. Claude, a saint her mother had invoked during a pilgrimage
so she could give birth to a living child. This betrothal eventually fell through due to territorial concerns, and the
Duchess Claude eventually married the French King Francis I in 1514. Interestingly, after Claude’s early death, the
widowed Francis I eventually remarried Eleanor of Hapsburg, the sister of Charles V.

This is also noted in the commentary volume, Gebetbuch Karls. V, p. 55. The manuscript’s calendar also features
several Burgundian saints.

In this I disagree with Kurt Köster, who claimed that a pilgrim’s souvenir was pasted in on fol. 250r, adjacent to a
prayer to the Virgin. If the badge had been affixed on fol. 250r, it would have overlapped the text on the bottom of
the folio. He further claims that the souvenir was double-sided, leaving a pressed imprint of a mirror-inverse
inscription of the words “Salve Regina”. The badge’s offset is darker and more legible on fol. 250r rather than fol.
250v, and perhaps that is why Köster chose that as the page for the badge’s location.


Other details of note: the outer border of the badge is not clearly defined. The inner border adjacent to the text is
surrounded by two thin lines.

These needle marks and residue are not visible on fol. 249v, opposite Köster’s proposed location.

While it seems as though there is an offset on fol. 250r, it does not appear to match the offset on fol. 250v,
suggesting that the badge perhaps may have been double-sided. On fol. 250r, the imprint appears to depict a
squared architectural structure, with a finial or turret in the lower right and a corner tower in the upper left of the
structure. Small triangular-shaped holes appear on inner rim of the offset.
the prayer, including prevention of death by water, fire, or battle; victory over one’s enemies; and a vision of the Virgin three hundred days before death. The Latin prayer below is dedicated to the Virgin (“Domine Jesu christe fili Dei patris omnipotens . . . Deus angelorum et filius virginis Mariem . . . O gloriosa virgo mater domini nostri iesu christi, tu que es domina . . . Ave santissima maria mater dei regina celi . . .”).

The subjects of each devotion on fols. 250r and 251r further suggest that the Marian badge was affixed on fol. 250v. While the prayer that ends on fol. 250r mentions the Virgin, it directly addresses God. In contrast, the Latin prayer beginning on fol. 251r (and ending on fol. 252v) mentions the Virgin more explicitly, making it the most likely candidate for correspondence with the pilgrim badge and its Marian iconography. Charles affixed the Virgin pilgrimage badge in the space beneath the explanatory rubric, and just before the opening of the prayer and illumination of the Virgin on the following folio. The prayer’s vernacular rubric clearly explained to Charles of the prayer’s mediating nature, and that it was devoted to the Virgin (“Ceste oraison est en l’honneur de la vierge marie . . .”). It further explains how regular use of the prayer could guide and protect him from ills, disasters, or sudden violent death, as well as foreshadowing his death with the vision of the Virgin. Supplementing the prayer with a badge of the Virgin further amplified the prayer’s intercessory powers for Charles. In addition, the souvenir’s Marian imagery would resonate with the illumination of the Virgin and Child.

The Vienna Codex 1859 stands out among other manuscripts owned by Charles V. While he owned several other prayer manuscripts, and even had a copy of this particular codex made at a later date, this was the only devotional text that he supplemented with pilgrims’ souvenirs. It appears that, as a young Catholic king poised to soon become emperor, Charles sought to find new means to convey his personal piety. As a descendent of the Burgundians

453 “Ceste oraison est en l’honneur de la vierge marie. Et fut trouvée soubz le sepulcre dell en la vallee de Josaphat. Et est de si grande vertu que qui le dira ou fera dire et le portera sur soy ne moura en eaue ne en feu ne en bataille et ne sera point vancu de ses enemis. Et oultre si l’avoir le diable au corps tantost se partira. Et si l’avoir le mal de saint Jehan, tantost sera gary. Et se la femme estant en peine denfiant, qui le portera sur elle ou fera dire tantost enfantera. Et cellin ou cell qui sur soy le portera et dira tous les jours verra la vierge marie tois cens jour savant sa mort.”
454 Commentary volume, Gebetbuch Karls. V, p. 36.
455 “Mon dieu mon createur, je vous prometz moy confesser au mieulx que je pourray selon vostre commandement, et le commandement de l’esglise. En vous requerant en l’honneur de vostre benoite more et doloreuse passion par les priers de la doux vierge marie; quil vous plaise moy pardonner tous mes pechez, et moy deffendre a leure de la mort de lennemy. Et mener a la gloire de paradis. Amen.”
under the care of his Flemish-based aunt, Charles’s inclusion of five pilgrim badges (from sites in Burgundy and the Low Countries) in his Flemish prayer book maintained a devotional tradition first begun by his ducal ancestors.

5.3: *Prayer Book of Emperor Ferdinand I* (Vienna ÖNB MS s.n. 2596)

The *Prayer Book of Ferdinand I* combines two older manuscripts, a book of hours and a psalter. These were originally made in the early fourteenth century, perhaps between 1300 and 1320.\(^{456}\) The exact date when these parts were combined—whether soon after their execution or just before being given to Ferdinand—is unknown.

According to Otto Pächt and Dagmar Thoss, the book came into the possession of Margaret of Austria at some point, although the precise date is uncertain.\(^{457}\) The sixteenth-century binding, decorated with Ferdinand’s heraldic shields on its clasps, indicates that the manuscript was destined for Ferdinand.\(^{458}\) It is unclear whether she bequeathed the manuscript to Ferdinand—presumably in Flanders—before her commission of new prayer books for Charles and Ferdinand (Vienna ÖNB 1859 and Vienna ÖNB 2624, both discussed in this chapter).\(^{459}\)

---

\(^{456}\) Parchment, 371 folios, 110x80mm, Gothic miniscule writing, text block 18 lines (75x50mm). Latin and French prayers in a Gothic textura script. The manuscript contains two full-page miniatures and 35 historiated initials. The separate portions were likely produced in Northern France (evidenced by the use of Picard French) and Paris; according to Otto Pächt and Dagmar Thoss, the Office of the Virgin was of Chartres use, while the Office of the Dead was of Paris use. See Pächt and Thoss, *Französische Schule I* (vol. 1), Vienna, 1974, p. 127. The contents include the Hours of the Virgin (fols. 5-50v); Hours of the Holy Spirit (fols. 51r-71v); Hours of the Passion/Cross (fols. 73r-100r), Psalms (100v-102r); Seven Psalms and Litany (102v-117r), Office of the Dead (fols. 119r-150v); *O intemerata* and other prayers (fols. 151r-169r); fragment of a Votive Mass (fol. 170r); psalter and litany (fol. 171r-370r); in fifteenth-century handwriting, two prayers (fol. 370). It seems likely the book was at least partly produced in Paris. Pächt and Thoss, *Französische Schule I* (vol. 1), p. 127. The original owner of the Hours of the Virgin probably was a female, since the illustration on fol. 5r shows a kneeling female in front of the Virgin and Child. The Hours of the Virgin display dirt, grime, and other evidence of wear, more so than the other offices in the manuscript, with particular discoloration at the beginning of each Hour in the Office. It is unclear whether this was due to only the opening prayer being recited at the beginning of each Office, or perhaps the inclination to view the manuscript’s illuminations that divided each section of the Office.


\(^{458}\) The manuscript was likely cropped for rebinding during Ferdinand’s era, as evidenced by the truncated acanthus and line borders (for example, on fol. 21r, the line flourishes which run the length of the page’s height are slightly cropped at the top). Marguerite Debae does not mention this particular manuscript in her publications on the library of Margaret of Austria.

\(^{459}\) Comparisons have been made with Vienna ÖNB MSS 1859 and 2624.
Perhaps it was an early gift from his aunt and caregiver; then, when he and Charles came of age, she commissioned new manuscripts for the brothers.

The surviving pilgrims’ souvenirs are located at the very beginning and very end of the manuscript, on fols. 1v and 371r. Thus, unlike the badges that were carefully dispersed within Charles’s prayer book next to relevant devotions, Ferdinand’s souvenirs serve to bookend the contents within his manuscript. Their location at the beginning and end of the codex allowed easy access and reference to Ferdinand, for both meditation and display.

*Blank folio, fol. 1v:*

The first pilgrim’s badge is located in a separate gathering of four folios before the beginning of the text. Fol. 1r is augmented by an inserted horizontal piece of parchment containing a handwritten note “libellus orationum imperatoris Ferdinandi”, identifying the owner as Ferdinand. The strip was likely added at a later date, since it mentions Ferdinand as emperor, a title he did not have when he acquired this book. His name is also written in a loose cursive script on the following page, fol. 1v (“Ferdinando”).

Just below this second signature is a single, gilded-silver bracteate badge, 33mm in diameter [**fig. 35**]. The badge depicts Christ’s Circumcision, showing the Infant Christ, disproportionately large, lying on an altar beneath the high priest, who holds the knife in his right hand. Two figures flank the altar, one holding a chalice which catches the blood and the other holding Christ’s shoulders. It is sewn onto the page with four double stitches of faded, red thread. Some tarnishing is visible around the figures’ faces as well as around the tooled edges of the badge. Pächt and Thoss identify the badge as a “Franco-Flemish” souvenir from around 1400, while the pilgrim badge database, Kunera, lists a timeframe of 1300-24. However, this dating of the badge is too early, quoting the similar early-fourteenth timeframe of the manuscript’s production. The badge’s solid bracteate form was rare in the early fourteenth century, but grew in popularity from the mid-fifteenth century onwards, and was widespread during Ferdinand’s era.

---

460 It is uncertain whether Ferdinand himself inscribed this parchment.
461 Kurt Köster also describes the dating of this souvenir as too early. “Kollektion Metallener Wallfahrts-Devotionalien,” p. 107.
Both Köster and Kunera identify this badge with the pilgrimage shrine at Onze Lieve Vrouw Cathedral in Antwerp, where a small relic of the Holy Prepuce, Christ’s foreskin, was kept.\textsuperscript{462} Although Tom and Virginia Kaufmann maintain that Ferdinand likely obtained the souvenir at a pilgrimage site, it is not known if or when Ferdinand (or any of his relatives) visited this shrine.\textsuperscript{463} While documentation shows that his brother Charles had a triumphal entry into Antwerp in 1521, around the time that the brothers may have received these manuscripts as gifts from their aunt, it is unclear whether Ferdinand also was present in Antwerp, or if he had visited Antwerp at another time.\textsuperscript{464}

Despite the lack of a recorded visit by Ferdinand to Antwerp, his handwritten signature above the badge clearly and deliberately ties Ferdinand to the badge. The signature claims ownership of the badge and the book, establishing that Ferdinand acquired the badge personally, and that he was proud to own it.\textsuperscript{465} As Tom and Virginia Kaufmann point out, the juxtaposition of the pilgrim’s badge and the emperor’s signature suggests not only Ferdinand’s personal attachment to the souvenir, but also the likelihood that he used the book as an object of devotion while on pilgrimage.\textsuperscript{466} It also implies a personal connection and a certain fondness for the shrine, although it is unclear why a badge of the Holy Prepuce from Antwerp was singled out and given such a prominent placement, centered on the page and separate from any other souvenir in front of the book, with Ferdinand’s name signed above. It could have been one of the first religious shrines he visited in the region, or perhaps he had this particular manuscript with him while traveling to Antwerp. And, on a more pragmatic level, he may have wished to especially preserve a pilgrim’s souvenir made of precious gold safely within the pages of his prayer book.

\textsuperscript{463} Kaufmann and Kaufmann, p. 55. It seems likely that the young Ferdinand might have visited Antwerp at some point, as the city had grown rapidly in the early decades of the sixteenth century, due to its trade and industry. Blockmans, Promised Lands, p. 214. Another possibility may have been when his brother, Charles, became Holy Roman Emperor, and had a “Joyous Entry” into Antwerp in 1520. Ferdinand may have been in Antwerp around the same time and picked up the Circumcision badge then.
\textsuperscript{464} Still another plausible suggestion is that a member of his family (his brother Charles, his aunt Margaret, or even a Burgundian ancestor such as his great-great grandfather, Philip the Good) went on pilgrimage to Antwerp. Then Ferdinand (or Margaret) took the badge from the family collection (perhaps even from another manuscript) and then claimed it as his own. It implies the notion of passing down the badge (and its blessings) through the ducal descendants.
\textsuperscript{465} It does not appear that other manuscripts belong to Ferdinand were signed by the emperor.
\textsuperscript{466} Kaufmann and Kaufmann, p. 55.
Blank folio, fol. 371r:

The final folio of the entire manuscript is made of thick, tipped-in vellum, on which is sewn a rectangular parchment Vera Icon (70x55mm) [fig. 36]. Its jagged edges are sewn in with red thread (although one thread is pink in color) similar to the thread used on the badge on fol. 1v. The Vera Icon depicts a close-up of Christ’s face on a dark burgundy background, with a white stripe running vertically on the right portion of the souvenir. Christ’s slightly uneven eyes look to the left.

Though darkened almost to the point of unreadability, this Vera Icon closely resembles the Vera Icon souvenir in the lower right corner on fol. 96r of the Brussels Grandes Heures (Bibliothèque Royale MS 11035-37), which was owned by the Burgundian dukes. Although the Grandes Heures’ Vera Icon is slightly smaller in size (57x46mm), its similar stylistic tendencies—including the dark color palette, the direction of Christ’s gaze (though most Vera Icons look to the left), the highlights on the bridge of the nose and eyes, and the thin vertical band on the right side of the souvenir—suggest that both Vera Icons originated from the same shrine, and may have been made around the same time.

While the Vera Icons in the Brussels Grandes Heures accompany a prayer and indulgence to the Holy Face, the prayer opposite Ferdinand’s Vera Icon, on fol. 370v, is a completely different text. Written in a fifteenth-century hand using the same color ink as the “Ferdinando” written on fol. 1v, it focuses on the body of Christ. Although its cursive script is slightly different, it may have been Ferdinand’s addition. The Vera Icon’s placement on the folio gives the impression that Christ’s “looks” at the prayer on fol. 370v, potentially evoking a reciprocal relationship between prayer and souvenir.

The circumstances of Ferdinand’s acquisition of this souvenir are unclear; there is no way to know whether he went on pilgrimage or took it from another manuscript in the collection of his guardian, Margaret of Austria. No Vera Icon souvenirs seem to have been removed from the

---

467 The tip’s edge was inserted between folios 358 and 359. At this point, the last gathering was removed; there is an obvious loose gap between the two folios, held in with white thread. The original text of the manuscript ends on fol. 370r.
468 The Vera Icon has an “X” string running across the back, visible from a side angle. It was incorrectly identified in the Flämische Schule volumes on 370v, rather than the recto of 371r.
469 This was also noted by Pächt and Thoss, Französische Schule I (vol. 1), p. 130.
collection in Philip the Good’s *Grandes Heures*, so it is improbable that he removed a badge from his great-great-grandfather’s prayer book. While many Vera Icon souvenirs originate from Rome, whether Ferdinand actually traveled to Italy went on pilgrimage to Rome is unknown.\(^{471}\) The souvenir could easily have come from one of several German shrines that distributed Vera Icons, mentioned in Chapter 4. In either circumstance, the young Ferdinand continued the strong devotion to the Holy Face of his Burgundian ancestors.

Unlike his brother Charles, Ferdinand did not directly correlate pilgrims’ souvenirs with texts or illustrations in the manuscript. Although dirt and wear are evident throughout the book, no evidence of needle holes from souvenirs appears within the main body of prayers. Rather, the souvenirs were added only at the manuscript’s beginning and end, accompanied by either his handwritten name or an added prayer. While he may preferred not to clutter the text pages with souvenirs, this may have been for practical reasons, since few of the manuscript’s cropped pages would allow the large size of the Vera Icon and the Antwerp badge without overlapping text or illumination.\(^{472}\)

Both extant souvenirs in the manuscript, the Holy Prepuce and the Vera Icon, commemorate tangible, physical relics of that Christ left behind while he was alive. These two pilgrims’ souvenirs—one from his early life and one from the end of his life—also reflect their respective placement at the beginning and end of the book; the badges serve as “bookends” for the manuscript. What is more, their placement mirrors the manuscript’s opening two full-page miniatures on fols. 2v and 3r [fig. 37].\(^{473}\) These fourteenth-century illuminations by Jean Pucelle depict the Visit of the Magi and the Crucifixion.\(^{474}\) In these two folios, a scene from Christ’s early life is shown on the left (corresponding with the badge at the beginning of the book); the

\(^{471}\) His brother Charles was known to have been in Italy from 1529 until 1533; perhaps a Vera Icon was acquired at that time. Charles’s first visit to Italy was in 1529, and he had a triumphal journey through Sicily and Italy in 1535-36, which included entries into Messina, Rome, Siena, and Florence. Blockmans, *Emperor Charles V*, pp. 119, 173.

\(^{472}\) Fol. 170 was once originally blank, but an added fourteenth-century text filled the recto side. Sewn threads would also have interfered with the manuscript’s texts.

\(^{473}\) Folios 1-4 are a separate gathering, so perhaps the picture was added later, or taken from another manuscript. The bifolio may have been added to create a “frontispiece” at the beginning of the book. As Ferdinand paged through the opening of the book, he would have seen scenes from the early life of Christ on the versos.

\(^{474}\) No special marks can be seen around other prayers or images of Christ’s life or death in the book, particularly those directly corresponding in theme or iconography, such as scenes of the Crucifixion or Presentation in the Temple.
end of Christ’s life is shown on the right (with the Vera Icon, created just before the Crucifixion, at the end of the book).

5.4: *The Hours of Emperor Ferdinand I* (Vienna ÖNB MS s.n. 2624)

At about the same time that Margaret commissioned the *Prayer Book of Charles V*, she also ordered a second book of hours for Ferdinand. Made in Flanders around 1520, the manuscript’s miniatures are the work of several artists, some associated with the Master of the Prayer Book of Charles V (who also completed Vienna ÖNB MS 1859). The binding was adorned with the letter “F” in numerous places, including the binding’s edge (“F”s inside fishes) and the large silver gilded clasps, decorated with alternating “F”s and branches. These, along with the frequent use of the letter “F” in the ornamental Ghent-Bruges borders, reference Ferdinand.

The last gathering of the manuscript, fols. 244-253, is a separate grouping of ten folios added at a later point. This gathering contains various personal mementoes added by Ferdinand. On fol. 252r, a pasted parchment image depicts Ferdinand’s wife, Queen Anna of Austria, whom

---

475 Parchment, 253 folios, 202mm x 137 mm, Text block 119x78mm, 21 lines per page. 13 full-page miniatures, 44 smaller miniatures, 36 pages with decorative borders. Latin prayers. Red velvet binding.

The book’s contents include a handwritten copy of the *O intemerata*; a calendar; Gospel lessons; Hours of the Virgin; Mass of the Virgin; *Obsecro te; O intemerata* and other prayers to the Virgin (it is unclear why the book owner would copy the same prayer at the beginning of the book. This version shows less wear compared to the opening *O intemerata* [which is slightly different than the second version], the *Obsecro te*, or the opening of the Hours of the Virgin); Bonaventure’s meditations on the Passion of Christ; the Hours of the Holy Cross; Mass and Communion prayers; the penitential psalms and Litany; daily hours to Mary Magdalene; Hours of the Holy Spirit; canticles; Office of the Dead; “tria simbola nostrae fidei catholicae”; prayers to Christ, the Trinity, and Saints’ Suffrages (including a Suffrage to St. James with four scallop shells depicted in the margins’ corners); various prayers; prayer against the Turks (recall that they were invading Hapsburg territories around Austria/Hungary); and an added illumination of Ferdinand’s wife, Queen Anna, discussed shortly.

Interestingly, Fol. 148r contains a devotion to the Holy Face, which may be relevant considering the Vera Icon in ÖNB MS 2596, but not here. The Office of the Dead shows evidence of use and wear, and the possibility exists that Ferdinand used the Office after the death of his wife Anna in 1547; combined with the illustration of her on fol. 252, meditations on this particular Office enabled Ferdinand to commemorate her in death.

This volume is more than twice the size of the small, pocket-sized, and easily portable Vienna ÖNB MS s.n. 2596, Ferdinand’s other prayer book.

he married in 1521. The image, signed “IS” (by the artist Jakob Seisenegger) and dated to 1544, proves that Ferdinand was still using this manuscript to hold precious keepsakes as late as the 1540s. Immediately following this image, on fol. 252v, is a list of key dates in the family history, including those of Ferdinand and Anna’s marriage, the birth of their fifteen children, and death of the queen. A small envelope near this illustration holds a particle of a handkerchief or veil, perhaps belonging to Queen Anne and maybe added after her death in 1547.

The last water-stained page of this gathering—and the final folio of the entire manuscript—holds a group of five pilgrims’ souvenirs, although there were originally seven [fig. 38].

Blank folio, fol. 253r:

The five extant souvenirs consist of three metal badges, roughly arranged in a cross layout in the center of the page, as well as two colored engraved prints. Two metal bracteate badges, on opposite sides of the folio, are now missing, though their dark imprints are clearly visible. The remaining metal badges are gold gilt.

The badge in the upper center of the page, 27mm in diameter and carefully sewn in with white thread, portrays a bust-length Virgin holding the Infant Christ, both with round, pudgy, and smiling faces. Below them is a heraldic shield bearing two keys. Christ wears an elaborate gown, its tassels ending in an inverted fleur-de-lis-like pattern. Around the figures on the inner portion of the badge are tooled markings, and a circular inscription on its edge reads: “TOTA PVLCHRA ES 1519”. The precise date on this souvenir is contemporary with the manuscript.

---

476 It may have been added while the image was still wet, as a small line of brown/burgundy paint can be seen in the left gutter just under the edge of the painting. The paint is thick, suggesting use of an oil-based paint. The image has a dark painted frame, as though the viewer is looking at the Queen through a window.

477 On fol. 252v, grey circular marks left by the badges on the opposite badge can be seen.

478 Kurt Köster also speculates whether this piece of cloth was a brandea (objects, such scarves or veils, which had come into contact with the holy relic or shrine, brought home, and sometimes cut into small pieces to be distributed to relatives and friends). “Kollektionen Metallener Wallfahrts-Devotionalien,” p. 109.

479 Fol. 1 was originally blank; however, at some point a copy of the O intemerata prayer was added in a lesser scribal hand. If this was in the front of the book at the time the badges were affixed, it may be why they are not attached in the front.

480 The catalog Bibliothèque Nationale d’Autriche identifies these as a wood print and a copper engraving, p. 49. However, Otto Mazal and Franz Unterkircher claim they are both copper engravings; see Katalog der Abendländischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek “Series Nova”: Teil 2/1 (cod. Ser. N. 1601-3200) (Vienna, 1963), p. 291.

481 The vellum has become thinned and considerably worn where the Halle and Regensberg badges are affixed, either due to tearing or pests.
This badge is from the shrine of the Virgin in Regensberg, Germany. Ferdinand visited Regensberg on multiple occasions, sometimes staying for prolonged periods. According to his itinerary records, he traveled to Regensberg 17-18 September 1522, 24-29 November 1523, 25 June-10 July 1524, 23 June-2 July 1529, 4-5 February 1531, a 2-month period from 28 February-1 May 1532 and again from 13 June-2 September 1532, 23 June-29 July 1541, 19 July and 27-28 August 1542, 30 May-21 July 1546, 7 December 1556-14 March 1557, and 3 April and 24-28 December 1558. Moreover, Regensberg was halfway along the journey between Nuremberg and Linz, an itinerary he followed multiple times throughout his life. He thus may have made other undocumented stops in Regensburg.

Just below the Regensberg souvenir, in the center of the folio, is a large round badge with tooled edges, 40mm in diameter. Showing the Virgin and Child under an elaborate Gothic dais and flanked by angels holding banderoles, its iconography is typical of souvenirs from the shrine at Notre-Dame in Halle. This is confirmed by an inscription underneath the dais, “De Hal”. While no official documentation shows Ferdinand visiting Halle, its proximity to Brussels makes it a plausible stop for Ferdinand during his many visits to Brussels, particularly in the early 1520s.

Below the Halle badge, a rectangular souvenir capped with an ogee finial depicts St. Adrian from Geraardsbergen (35x20mm). Like the Halle badge, its iconography is typical for souvenirs from this shrine, and further confirmed by the inscription “Adrian” at the bottom. The Halle and Geraardsbergen badges touch, and although the top portion of the Halle badge is sewn in with a light beige thread (as was the Regensberg badge), a thick brown bottom thread was used to hold both the bottom of the Halle badge and the entire St. Adrian souvenir. Whether they were sewed in at the same time (and thus perhaps acquired at the same time, which would be

483 Anton von Gévay, Itinerar Kaiser Ferdinands I, 1521-64 (Vienna, 1843).
485 He was in Brussels on 10 December 1521 (he was also in Ghent on the 20th of December), and from 20 January up until April the following year. See von Gévay, Itinerar Kaiser Ferdinands I, 1521-64.
plausible given these sites’ proximity), or whether the Geraardsbergen badge was added later, is unclear.\footnote{A stop at Antwerp to visit the pilgrimage shrine there, though a little further afield, may have also been plausible, allowing Ferdinand to pick up the badge now in Vienna ÖNB MS 2619. The badge may also reference imagery on the back plaque of the book’s cover, which depicts the Virgin and Child on the Crescent Moon.}

The two large paper prints are glued to the right side of the folio. While Otto Mazal and Franz Unterkircher suggest that these date to ca. 1530, the prints may have been affixed earlier than the metal badges, because one of the now-lost metal badges overlapped the edges of the paper souvenirs.\footnote{Katalog der Abendländischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek “Series Nova”, p. 291.} In the upper right corner of the folio is a large round print, 66mm in diameter. The upper half of the print shows the Virgin and Christ crowned in Heaven, flanked by Joseph and Mary’s mother, Anne. Below is a kneeling monk—likely St. Gregory—kneeling in prayer and looking upwards at the heavenly vision. An inscription wraps around the outer border of the print, reading “Salve Sancta Parens Prorsus Omni Labe Carens hec Gregorivs”. It is hand painted, using red and green for the figures and the plants and the acanthus; blue for the church’s roof behind Gregory; and yellow for the haloes and the Virgin’s hair. Unfortunately, its provenance is unknown.

The print (104x54mm) in the lower right corner is comprised of a larger piece of paper with a hole cut in its center, into which a smaller print is inserted. It shows Christ as the Man of Sorrows, wearing a waist tunic and a crown of thorns, standing in front of the cross with a skull at his feet, an allusion to Golgotha. A hand-written inscription above and below the image reads “O bone jhesu [__] [__] me m[__] passus es; at the bottom: “O bone jesu ego [sui] qui perravi et proprez me ope zuit [rofusio?] [faciem] [niam?]”. The print is also hand-colored, with Christ’s body painted red-orange, and the thorns and grass in green. The print of Christ shows a monogram from the artist (“AI”) in the lower right corner. Like the other engraving, its provenance is unknown. However, its imagery may have had some resonance with the silver lozenge on the upper plate of the book’s cover, depicting the Flagellation of Christ.

Two round badges on the folio were removed at a later date, leaving brown markings on the parchment, similar to those seen in the Hours of Charles V. The first marking, 25mm in
diameter, appears midway down on the left portion on the folio.\(^{488}\) No needle holes are visible, suggesting that the metal souvenir (perhaps gold) was pasted or glued onto the page. The souvenir’s imprints on the parchment, mainly horizontal and vertical markings on the lower portion of the offset, indicate an architectural form such as an altar, table, or tomb, perhaps with a figure lying on top of the structure. The badge on the right portion of the folio, between the two paper souvenirs, was a metal badge, 24 mm in diameter. The bottom of the missing badge on the left may or may not be round; the top portion is semi-circular; but the bottom is pointed, rather in the shape of the bottom of the heart. No needle marks are present, once again indicating that the souvenir was pasted on the page. Although the imprint is too faint to discern clearly, there seems to be a faint bust figure and an inscription around the edge of the souvenir.

The dating of the addition of the badges to the manuscript is debatable. It appears that the prints were added before some or all of the metal souvenirs, as the markings from the now-lost metal badge on the right side of the folio slightly overlap both prints. Köster as well as Mazal and Unterkicher date them to around 1520, the same date as the manuscript’s production. However, Thoss’s 1987 catalog dates the badges later, around 1530. However, if this were the case, the Regensberg badge, dated 1519, would have been added over a decade after its creation.

It is safe to say that the final folios of the codex space were used to compile and store mementoes for Ferdinand. With the illustration of Queen Anne, the records of family births and deaths, and the pilgrim souvenirs, the end of the book became a scrapbook repository for Ferdinand to store his remembrances of family and documents of pilgrimage journeys. As a result, they became a focal point for his meditations on his personal and spiritual life.\(^{489}\)

5.5: Conclusion

When examined together, Charles’s and Ferdinand’s three manuscripts discussed here provide a glimpse into the devotional life of two young men seeking new ways to express their

\(^{488}\) It is the same diameter as the Halle badge.

\(^{489}\) Also worth mentioning is another manuscript made for Ferdinand I, now in Vienna (ÖNB MS 1875). The manuscript was likely illustrated by an artist working closely with the Master of Charles I, the Master of Morgan M. 491. See *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 495. However, this codex did not contain any badges. The manuscript contained an illustration of Ferdinand on fol. 1v, and subsequent analysis has discovered that this was originally a depiction of Charles V. See Franz Unterkircher, *Manuscrits et livres imprimés concernant l’histoire des Pays-Bas, 1475-1600/ Bibliothèque Nationale d’Autriche* (Brussels: Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, 1962), pp. 47-8.
piety, as well as carrying on the religious traditions of previous generations. It also shows how they were clearly affected by their youthful years living in the Low Countries under the tutelage of Margaret of Austria.

Originally looked after by the brothers’ great-grandmother, Margaret of York, and then inherited by their grandparents, Maximilian I and Mary, the library of the Burgundian dukes passed to Margaret of Austria, who likely allowed her nephews access to its wide range of texts, including devotional tracts and other prayer books. As gifts from their regent aunt, these three manuscripts—one inherited, two specifically commissioned—were clearly used and treasured by the teenage brothers.

The souvenirs in the prayer books of Charles and Ferdinand originate from a small geographic range in Europe, primarily shrines in the Low Countries and Germany such as Halle, Geraardsbergen, Antwerp, and Regensberg. Unfortunately, no records exist describing specific pilgrimage journeys by Charles and Ferdinand to these famous shrines, save for Ferdinand’s frequent visits to Regensberg. However, during their years under the care and tutelage of their aunt Margaret, pilgrimages to these proximate cult sites would have been highly likely, even inevitable. Interestingly, Charles’s and Ferdinand’s badge collections are distinct; neither duplicates the other.

While the brothers may have traveled on pilgrimage to local destinations, there is also a remote possibility that the badges were acquired from the collections of the Burgundian household and library, particularly since sites like Notre-Dame in Halle and Geraardsbergen were popular with the Burgundian dukes. Both Philip the Good and his great-great-grandson, Ferdinand, visited Regensberg. It is conceivable that a Marian badge from Halle was appropriated from the large collection of Marian badges from the Brussels volume of the Grandes Heures (fol. 6v), or a St. Adrian badge was removed from the Suffrage to St. Adrian on fol. 237r in the Cambridge Grandes Heures, which was approximately the same size (36x19mm, versus 35x20mm). The Vera Icon may have been one among the large Burgundian collection of Holy Face badges. The Hapsburg brothers obtained badges from cult sites popular with their Burgundian ancestors.

The brothers chose different ways of interacting with their pilgrims’ badges within their respective prayer books. Charles’s manuscript contained badges closely associated with the
prayers in the books. He affixed them adjacent to relevant prayers and images, such as Suffrage prayers and other vernacular prayers of entreaty, a pattern likewise apparent in manuscripts owned by Burgundian ancestors (such as Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum MS 3-1954 or Brussels KBR MS 11035-37). In contrast, Ferdinand chose not to intersperse the prayer badges in his manuscripts, instead grouping his souvenirs on blank folios either at the beginning or the end of the codex on pages that carry the strongest sign of wear. This may suggest that Ferdinand was not particularly concerned with aligning the souvenirs he had acquired with the devotions in his book, or that he wanted easy access to the souvenirs at either end of his prayer book, as was the case in some earlier Burgundian manuscripts (such as Vienna ÖNB MS 1800).

Although Charles and Ferdinand only lived in the Burgundian Netherlands for a few short years, they were profoundly affected by the experience. Charles, born in the Netherlands and duke of Burgundy by the age of five, had declared in 1520 before the Estates General “that his heart had always been in these lands over here,” referencing the Burgundian Low Countries. As the brothers reached adulthood and assumed their respective roles as archdukes, kings, and eventual emperors, the brothers’ governmental roles took them to other regions in Europe. The remainder of Charles V’s life was transient and somewhat nomadic, and he rarely came back to the Low Countries as an adult and as Holy Roman Emperor. Likewise, Ferdinand seldom returned to the region, particularly after Charles entrusted his brother with the government of the Austrian hereditary lands (roughly modern-day Austria and Slovenia). As a result, much of the younger brother’s time and energy were spent there. The brothers’ brief

---

490 In fact, in Charles’s 1522 will, he specified that he wanted to be buried with his Burgundian ancestors in the mausoleum at Champmol near Dijon, if the Burgundy duchy could be reclaimed from France. If this was not possible, he then asked to be buried at Bruges, next to his grandmother Mary of Burgundy. Eventually, however, Charles was buried in Spain. Blockmans, The Promised Lands, p. 210.

491 Blockmans calculated that Charles was in Brussels a total of three years (1100 days), throughout the course of his entire life. Emperor Charles V, p. 35.

By the end of his life, Charles V had made nine journeys to Germany, six to Spain, seven to Italy, ten to the Low Countries, four to France and two to Africa. He resided for the equivalent of a year’s time in Spanish towns such as Valladolid, Madrid, Toledo, Monzón and Barcelona, as well as in German stops such as Augsburg and Regensburg. His principal travelling routes included these; through Lombardy, and along the Rhine and Danube Rivers. Blockmans, Emperor Charles V, p. 9.

492 Ferdinand served as his brother’s deputy in the Holy Roman Empire during his brother’s many absences and in 1531 was elected King of the Romans, making him Charles’s designated heir in the Empire. Eventually, Charles abdicated Low Countries in late 1555, before abdicating Spain and his role as Holy Roman Emperor the following year in 1556. Ferdinand succeeded him, assuming the title of Emperor elect in 1558. Charles spent the rest of his life in Spain, including his final years in a Spanish monastery.
stay in the Low Countries is perhaps what makes the extant or now-lost badges in their books so remarkable.\textsuperscript{493}

\textsuperscript{493} Manuscript artists had been painting representations of pilgrims’ badges in the margins of manuscripts for at least two decades by the time Charles and Ferdinand were inserting badges in their books. The following chapters will discuss this further.
Part II: Representations of Pilgrim’s Badges in Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts
6.1: Introduction

In the decades after pilgrim’s badges first appeared affixed in prayer books, Flemish manuscript illumination underwent a significant stylistic transformation. In particular, the decorated borders surrounding the main text or image became more illusionistic, replacing the widely popular two-dimensional acanthus-style margins. In this new illusionistic style, a panel border was often filled with objects displaying a close attention to naturalism, detail, texture, light and shadows, and three-dimensionality, in trompe l’oeil fashion. Scattered examples of this border appear as early as the late 1470s. However, by the mid-1480s, they were a commonplace feature in nearly all Flemish illuminated manuscripts.

Flemish borders contained a wide repertoire of objects. Often, margins were decorated with acanthus tendrils or a variety of flowers randomly strewn within the panel. Butterflies, birds, and insects were depicted among the flower borders, though they also appeared as a separate motif. Other decoration, including peacock feathers, jewels, pearls, embroidered textiles, seashells, pottery, monogram or random letters, and memento mori objects also grew in popularity as a marginal motif. Painted representations of pilgrim’s badges emerged as one among this broad range of border imagery. They were primarily seen in prayer books and books...

---

494 James H. Marrow recently noted the minor incongruities between terms “pictorial realism,” “naturalism,” “illusionistic”, and “trompe l’oeil” when describing Flemish border illumination. He argues that scholars need to distinguish the differences between these terms: “‘pictorial realism’ can be used to evoke our experience of the inhabited world, ‘illusionism’ to alter our consciousness of the nature of works of art and our relationships to them, and ‘trompe l’oeil’ overtly to contradict our logic and experience, which, in turn, can provoke different orders of consciousness about the meanings of artworks and our attitudes toward them.” See Marrow, “Scholarship on Flemish Manuscript Illumination,” in Flemish Manuscript Painting in Context: Recent Research. Elizabeth Morrison and Thomas Kren, eds. (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006), p. 169; and Marrow, Pictorial Invention in Netherlandish Manuscript Illumination of the Late Middle Ages: The Play of Illusion and Meaning. (Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts, Low Countries Series II, vol. 16) (Leuven: Peeters, 2005). I use the terms “illusionistic” and “trompe l’oeil” throughout this chapter.


496 This term was coined by Otto Pächt in reference to their appearance of falling randomly on the page, not carefully arranged.
of hours; no pilgrim badges appear in any vernacular manuscripts. Unlike other objects painted in margins, painted pilgrim’s badges often can be identified with specific geographic locales of pilgrimage and even surviving pilgrim’s badges. In turn, they provide insight into the popularity of particular pilgrimage sites deemed significant enough to be represented in late medieval Flemish manuscript illumination.

Kurt Köster’s initial totals of eighteen codices with painted pilgrim’s badges can now be expanded to at least forty-eight manuscripts with painted representations of pilgrim’s souvenirs.497 According to the online pilgrim badge database Kunera, at least 488 represented pilgrims’ souvenirs can be found in late medieval Flemish manuscripts.498

As part of the larger repertoire of marginal imagery in Flemish illumination, painted pilgrims’ badges appeared, with minor exceptions, from the 1480s until the mid-sixteenth century, rapidly growing in popularity as an iconographic border motif.499 While versions of the trompe l’oeil borders were adapted in German, Italian, English, and Spanish manuscripts, no evidence exists of pilgrim badge borders from these regional manuscript schools.

The composition of painted pilgrim’s badges borders were often designed to create a diverse yet attractive ensemble on the folio. Rendered in varying levels of detail, the souvenirs are evenly arranged on a three-sided or four-side panel border, on a one- or two-page layout of border decoration.500 Many of these painted pilgrims’ badges assume the popular bracteate form of actual souvenirs from the mid-to-late fifteenth century. The iconography of the souvenirs varied, and although motifs could be repeated within a particular border (in several manuscripts, one motif could be copied three to four times), rarely are these duplicates placed next to each other on the folio. Variations in shape were also taken into account, with round souvenirs placed next to diamond, rectangular, or chasse-shaped souvenirs. Smaller souvenirs were often interspersed among larger ones.

499 The exceptions are two manuscripts dating to the 1440s from the Northern Netherlands, discussed later in this chapter.
500 In at least two instances, including the famous Grimani Breviary (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana MS. lat. I. 99), the badges are arranged within a narrow one-sided panel in the outer border, adjacent to the text.
Badges were often painted with gold and silver paint, alternating across the panel border for visual variety. However, the coloring of the badges perhaps emulated the tastes of upper-class lay pilgrims, who often requested and collected luxury gold and silver pilgrim souvenirs while on pilgrimage. At one time, the silver badges would have been shiny and brilliant, making the margins both visually striking and allowing the reader to readily imagine the material worth of these “metal” badges. Unfortunately, silver badges often darken due to oxidization of the paint, making their forms illegible. Shadows were also frequently painted under the badges, providing additional illusionism. To add further detail, the artists often portrayed the badges with holes and colored threads, mimicking the actual practice of sewing the souvenirs onto the parchment.\textsuperscript{501} However, later examples often omit some of these \textit{trompe l’oeil} details.

Pilgrims’ badges were occasionally depicted next to other precious objects, such as jewels, pearls, or cameos. In one unusual example, dating ca. 1510-20, two large \textit{trompe l’oeil} flies rest on the badges, heightening the sense of illusionism (Vienna Österreichiche Nationalbibliothek MS 1979, fol. 108r) \textbf{[fig. 39]}\textsuperscript{502}

As yet, no discovery has been made of a manuscript containing both painted badges and actual souvenirs. However, in at least one instance, the French king Charles VIII owned two separate manuscripts, one with actual badges and one with painted pilgrim’s badges.\textsuperscript{503}

\textbf{6.2: An early example of painted scallop shell badges: The Master of Catherine of Cleves, The Hours of Catherine of Cleves, and the Van Alphen Hours}

\textsuperscript{501} This \textit{trompe l’oeil} effect is seen in other types of Flemish border decoration: jewels look as though they are affixed to the page with stick pins, and devotional objects are “nailed” to the parchment using painted representations of nails, and objects rest on the shelves of wooden boxes.

\textsuperscript{502} In this manuscript, three sides of the blue panel border are eighteen pilgrims’ badges, although two badges repeat iconographic motifs. Seven badges contain unreadable inscriptions. The borders on fols. 13r and 88 also depict religious medals amid wreaths of roses (an “A” representing “Angus Dei” and Christ’s monogram “IHS”). These cannot be identified with a specific cult site. The owner(s) of the book are unknown. See Köster, “Religiöse Medaillen und Wallfahrts-Devotionalien,” pp. 471-472.

\textsuperscript{503} The manuscripts owned by Charles VIII are Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 1370, the \textit{Hours of Charles VIII}, from the end of the fifteenth century (with a now-lost circular pilgrim’s badge on fol. 32v; and the \textit{La Flora Hours} (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS I.B.51), which may have been originally made and/or destined for the king (with miscellaneous badges in a border on fol. 38r; and a scallop shell border on fol. 151). Another possible patron who may have owned manuscripts with both actual and painted badges is Margaret of Austria, although this cannot be conclusively confirmed.
While illuminated borders depicting pilgrims’ badges were most prevalent in manuscript workshops around Ghent and Bruges in the final decades of the fifteenth century and into the sixteenth century, at least two earlier anomalous manuscripts survive, painted by the Master of Catherine of Cleves, a Dutch artist from the Northern Netherlands (most likely Utrecht). The *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (ca. 1440)—now divided in two parts (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS 917 and MS 945)—and the *Van Alphen Hours* (ca. 1440-1450) (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery MS W 782) were luxury prayer books made for upper-class clientele. The Master of Catherine of Cleves and his studio completed both codices within several years of each other, between 1140 and 1450.

The border iconography of the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* and the *Van Alphen Hours* is noteworthy for being the earliest surviving examples containing depictions of sea shells, including scallop shells, as well as metal religious tokens or pilgrim’s badges. They were executed about thirty years before the earliest Flemish painted badge borders, making them a precursor (albeit indirect) to the Flemish scallop shell and pilgrim badge margins. The *Van Alphen Hours*, in particular, directly references pilgrims’ souvenirs in its border representations of scallop shells.

The MS 917 portion of the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* depicts eleven mussel shells and a crab in the lower center of the margin, all surrounding an image of St. Ambrose on fol. 244r [fig. 40]; while these shellfish do not directly reference pilgrimage, they would also be used in the *Van Alphen Hours*, adding two scallop shells to this border repertoire. On fol. 240r, surrounding an image of St. Gregory, is a collection of twenty-five alternating gold and silver medals or coins [fig. 41]. Their iconographic details are not always clear, although some medals

---

504 No other manuscripts by the Master of Catherine of Cleves depicting shell borders have survived.
505 The former was commissioned for Duchess Catherine of Guelders to commemorate her 1430 marriage to Arnold, Duke of Guelders. It probably was not begun until 1434 and took several years to complete. The *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* contain the usual offices, prayers, and litanies, along with supplemental texts, all in Latin. The manuscript contains 157 large illuminations. John Plummer, *The Book of Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1964); Jos Koldeweij. “Pilgrim Badges Painted in Manuscripts: A North Netherlandish Example,” in *Masters and Miniatures: Proceedings of the Congress on Medieval Manuscript Illumination in the Northern Netherlands*. Koert van der Horst and Johann-Christian Klant, eds. (Doomspijk, 1991), pp. 211-218. This essay was also published as “Pelgrimstekens in de Marge: middeleeuwse afbeeldingen van insignes in handschriften en een Jacobusschelp die een applique verloor,” in *Heilig en Profaan I* (1993), pp. 38-45. An interactive version of the *Hours of Catherine of Cleves* can be found online at http://www.themorgan.org/collections/works/cleves/manuscript.asp (accessed 2009-2010).
illustrate crowns and heraldic shields. However, at least four medals illustrate full-length saintly figures; these may prelude later Flemish depictions of pilgrim’s badges displaying cult saints. A gold medal in the upper left corner shows a bearded, haloed saint holding a staff (?); this composition also occurs in two other gold medals, in the left center margin (tilted left, at an angle) and in the lower center margin. A mitered bishop saint with a crozier appears in a gold badge in the upper center of the margin, and a gold badge in the center right margin illustrates the head of a mitered bishop. Still other medals depict what can be interpreted as religious subjects, such as a heart surmounted by a cross, in the center right margin.

In the *Van Alphen Hours*, on fol. 113r, a sea shell-filled border with a variety of sea shells surround a large historiated initial depicting the Mouth of Hell [fig. 42]. The shells include a small crayfish in the upper center margin, a crab in the lower center margin, mussels, and four scallop shells. Noteworthy among the *Van Alphen Hours*’ shells are the two scallop shells found in the right margin. Scallop shells, of course, were found along the coast of the Atlantic near the site of Santiago de Compostela and were synonymous with pilgrimage there, eventually becoming a generic symbol of pilgrimage and pilgrims. Both the upper and lower shells each depict two pierced holes are pierced in the scallops “ears”. This piercing of the shell was common practice for pilgrims who wished to affix the scallop shell on their hat, cloak, or bag as they undertook the pilgrimage. In addition, the lower shell displays a metal pilgrim’s badge of James the Great. Seated under Gothic architecture, the saint is dressed as a pilgrim and holding a pilgrim’s staff. He is worshiped by two kneeling pilgrims, a man and a woman, on either side. The painted texture of the badge mimics the tin-lead alloy casting process, the most commonly used material for the mass-produced pilgrim badges.

This particular badge type depicting James venerated by two pilgrims was known to have been produced and sold at Santiago de Compostela. However, no souvenir of a scallop shell with an attached metal badge such as this has been discovered, although literature suggests that in the late Middles Ages at Santiago, pilgrim shells were sold with metal appliqués (such as staffs). It is possible that the Master of Catherine of Cleves came across a Santiago scallop shell with an affixed metal James badge, and then copied it into the margins of this manuscript.

---

506 For one example, see no. 227 in *Heilig en Profaan* I (1993), p. 166.
These two scallop shell badges may have had further resonance with the illustration on the folio. The historiated initial ‘H’ (in this case, “Here”, Dutch for “Lord”) shows souls being swallowed by the mouth of Hell. The prayer appeals for mercy on the reader’s behalf to bypass eternal damnation. Thus, perhaps the badge—and in turn, the saint—could be called upon by the owner to avoid a similar fate.\footnote{Koldeweij, “Pelgrimstekens in de Marge,” p. 40.} They served as a reminder to the reader that pilgrimage could provide salvation for the soul.

The trompe l’oeil border iconography produced by the Master of Catherine of Cleves in the Van Alphen Hours and the Hours of Catherine of Cleves can be considered antecedents to the later Flemish illuminated pilgrim’s badge margins, and likely influenced later Flemish artists. The marginalia in these manuscripts offer insight into an artist’s early use of trompe l’oeil borders to suggest the custom of placing devotional objects within manuscript pages, which was already being practiced by the mid-fifteenth century.

Nearly three decades after the Master of Catherine of Cleves produced these codices, the first Flemish manuscripts with painted badges and scallop shells in their borders appeared and flourished. Within a few short years, the early motifs and border designs seen in the Van Alphen Hours and the Hours of Catherine of Cleves were developed, repeated, and even standardized in the repertoire of Flemish border imagery.

6.3: Types of Flemish painted pilgrim badge borders

6.3.1: The scallop shell badge

One repeatedly-used variant of the painted badges border motif is the scallop shell.\footnote{In his 1984 study, Kurt Köster provided a tally of the number of painted scallop shell borders. He counted eight manuscripts with representations of scallop shells, including eight large groups/collections of scallop shells in five manuscripts; three instances of single or paired scallop badges, four examples in three manuscripts of scallops on pilgrims’ staffs, and seven instances of single shell motifs in one manuscript. See “Gemalte Kollektionen,” p. 534. These numbers have since expanded to at least seventeen manuscripts with scallop shell borders. Also see Greet Nijs, “Typology of the Border Decoration in the Manuscripts of the Ghent-Bruges School.” Als Ich Can: Liber Amicorum in Memory of Professor Dr. Maurits Smeyers. vol. 2 (Bert Cardon, Jan Van der Stock, Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, eds. Leuven: Peeters Publishing, 2002), for her brief analysis of the scallop shell border.} As mentioned, the scallop shell was commonly associated with the Cult of Saint James and pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. However, due to the large numbers of pilgrims travelling through Europe to Santiago de Compostela, the scallop shell eventually became a universal
symbol of pilgrimage itself. In addition, metal replicas of scallop shells were often sold at pilgrimage sites.

Not surprisingly, illuminated scallop shell borders frequently appear around images and prayers to St. James, and in particular juxtaposed with the Suffrage prayer to the saint. Occasionally, though, the scallops appear around other prayers. For example, in the *Hours of Charlotte of Bourbon-Montpensier*, perhaps the earliest datable manuscript to include illusionistic borders in the new style (completed before 1476), several dozen white scallop shells are arranged in a lozenge pattern on fol. 46r, surrounding the Annunciation.

The colors of the depicted scallops vary, ranging from realistic white, grey, and pink colors, to alternating rows of gold and silver shells, the alternating colors the result of artist’s choice. The choice of gold and silver for the shells may also evoke associations with the precious objects appropriate for the cults of sanctified figures and objects. Painted scallop shells often appear to cast slight shadows underneath, heightening their three-dimensionality. Along some of the border’s edges, the scallops are cropped, suggesting an endless collection of shells beyond the margin’s boundaries.

510 Pectens Maximus L. Several actual pilgrims’ scallop shells with piercings have been discovered, as in *Heilig en Profaan* (1993), pp. 163-167. The scallop shell was also associated with pilgrimage to Mont-St.-Michel, as well as Canterbury. See Denis Bruna, *Enseignes de Pèlerinage et Enseignes Profanes*, pp. 185-186; Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges*, pp. 40-1; and the online database Kunera.

511 Examples of scallop shell borders around illuminations and/or prayers to St. James include London British Library Add. MS 18852 (*The Hours of Joanna the Mad*), fol. 412r; London British Library Add. MS 35313, fol. 215v; London Sir John Soane’s Museum MS 4, fol. 111v; Alnwick Castle Percy MS 482 (*The Hours of Charlotte Bourbon-Montpensier*), fol. 46r; Brussels Bibliothèque Royale MS IV 456, fol. 52v; Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek CLM 28345, fol. 265r; New York Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 399 (*Da Costa Hours*), fol. 280r; and Los Angeles The Getty Museum MS Ludwig IX 19 (*The Hours of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg*), fol. 61r.

512 The lead artist of the *Hours of Charlotte of Bourbon-Montpensier* was the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book. The original owner, Charlotte of Bourbon-Montpensier, was the wife of the prominent Burgundian courtier Wolfgart van Borssele and the cousin of Isabelle of Bourbon. The manuscript is considered by Thomas Kren as the earliest datable example of many of the new Flemish border types that would be popular for the next seventy years. *Illuminating the Renaissance*.

Other similar examples include London, British Library Add. MS 35313, fol. 215v; London British Library Add. MS 38126 (*The Huth Hours*), fol. 92r (around the opening of Vespers); Oxford Bodleian Library MS Douce 219-220 (*Hours of Engelbert of Nassau*), fol. 84v (around miniature of the Crucifixion); Cambridge (Mass.), Houghton Library MS Typ 443 (Emerson-White Hours), fol. 132r (around the Opening of the Hours of the Virgin); Berlin Museen Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 12 (*Hours of Mary and Maximilian*), fol. 90v/91r (surrounding an image of the Prayer at Gethsemane); Berlin Museen Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 14, fols. 18v/19r (surrounding an opening prayer to the Virgin); and Naples Biblioteca Nazionale MS I.B.51 (*La Flora Hours*), fol. 151r.

513 James H. Marrow, *Pictorial Invention in Netherlandish Manuscript Illumination of the Late Middle Ages*, p. 22.
Many scallops are shown with pierced holes in the shell and occasionally suspended by thread. The placement of the piercings in the painted badges versus piercings in extant scallops has been scrutinized by Jos Koldweij. He observed that most scallop shells used as pilgrim tokens were pierced around the solid, strongly curved narrow portion of the shell, often called the central “beak;” only in rare instances are holes pierced in the scallops “ears.” Yet in the painted representations of scallop shells, piercings are most often located in the ears. This likely was for purely decorative reasons, as a scallop with symmetrically pierced ears was probably preferable from a decorative standpoint to one with a large pierced hole in the central beak. Thus, many artists, from the Cleves Master to later artists working in Flemish workshops, chose the most aesthetically appealing but least common piercing of the shell.

Scallop shells were arranged by illuminators in varying ways. The shells could be arranged in horizontal rows, sometimes hanging by threads from depicted ledges, as in London, Sir John Soane’s Museum MS 4, on fol. 111v [fig. 43]. Frequently the scallop shells are arranged in a repeating grid pattern within a diamond or square field. The square design appears on a folio in the Hours of Engelbert of Nassau (Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Douce 219/220, fol. 84v), with its checkerboard arrangement of scallops [fig. 44]. Fifty-two alternating gold and silver shells (twenty-three complete in their depiction) are arranged in free-floating, diagonal rows in a book of hours now in Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS clm 28345, fol. 265r) [fig. 45]. Scallops are arranged diagonally in a diaper pattern in The Hours of Mary and Maximilian (Berlin Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78 B 12, fols. 90v-91r) [fig. 46]. In Cambridge Houghton Library MS Typ. 443, fol. 132r, this diaper pattern is divided by thin branches. Occasionally, scallop shells will hang from a latticework trellis by strings (such as in London, British Library Add. MS 35313, fol. 215v). Scallop badges also were portrayed interspersed with pilgrims’ walking staffs in decorative patterns, such as in The Hours of Joanna the Mad

---

514 Among other examples, see Baltimore Walters Art Gallery MS W 782, the Van Alphen Hours, fol. 133r; Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek clm 28345, fol. 265r; London British Library Add. MS 35313, fol. 215v; and London Sir John Soane’s Museum MS 4, fol. 111.
516 Other examples include Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS I.B.51 (the Flora Codex), fol. 151; London, British Library Add MS. 38126 (the Huth Hours), fol. 92r; and Los Angeles, The Getty Museum, MS Ludwig IX 19 (Hours of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg), fol. 61.
517 Other manuscripts with scallop shells hanging from trellis patterns include Sotheby’s, London, June 19, 2001, lot 36 (the Hours of Albrecht of Brandenburg), fol. 17r.
(London British Library Add. MS 18852, fol. 412r), or Brussels Bibliothèque Royale IV 456, fol. 52v [fig. 47]. In the latter, scallops of varying sizes are scattered among crisscrossed pilgrim staffs, a pilgrim’s satchel, and a banderole with the inscription “Sancte Jacobe, ora pro nobis 1488”. They also appeared as separate, individual motifs in the margins of codices, such as in the Hours of Joanna the Mad (fol. 183v).

The majority—over half—of extant manuscripts with scallop shell margins surround Suffrage prayers and/or images of St. James. Such a correlation between the page’s margin and main contents reiterates the scallop shell’s associations with pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, and that the manuscript artists who produced these pages recognized and reiterated this link between shell and saint across many codices. However, scallop shell borders also appear around other texts and images in books of hours: the Hours of the Virgin, the beginnings of Vespers, and scenes of the Annunciation, the Agony in the Garden, and the Crucifixion. In these instances, the connections between border and center are somewhat more tenuous. Scallop shells appearing as individual motifs usually are not directly related to adjacent texts.

6.3.2: Assorted/various pilgrims’ badges within a panel border

Border collections of painted pilgrim’s badges with varied or mixed subject matter are more iconographically complex. Like scallop shells, the badges appear within a border encircling three or four sides of the page; however, on fol. 740v of the Grimani Breviary (Venice, Biblioteca Nationale Marciana, MS. Lat. I, 99 [2138]), the badges run vertically in a narrow strip border along the outer edge of the margin [fig. 48]. The arrangement of the badges can vary, but the badges are usually sized to fit the width and dimensions of the border, and evenly spaced within it. Thus, larger badges are often located on the lower band of the panel border (and to a lesser extent in the outer border), while smaller badges are usually seen in the inner margin along the book’s gutter. In at least one unusual example, the Brukenthal Breviary (Sibiu, Muzeu National Bruckenthal, Biblioteca MS 761), the pilgrims’ badges were placed within a painted wooden frame [fig. 49]. This composition accomplishes several goals: first, it mimics the actual compilations of badges that were often affixed at the beginning or end of a manuscript; secondly, it highlights the precious quality of the badges, suggesting them deserving being set apart in a frame. It also may refer to the practice of hanging badges in the home after completion of a pilgrimage, although this cannot be conclusively proven.
Pilgrim’s badge collections such as these are often reserved for folios illuminated with full or half-page miniatures; and/or pages that mark the opening of a new prayer or devotion within the manuscript (these sometimes are further indicated with historiated initials). Prayers surrounded by painted badges include the Office of the Virgin, the Mass of the Virgin, and saints’ suffrages. These also include indulgenced prayers (as in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, S.P. II. 189), paralleling the contemporary practice of affixing souvenirs near indulgenced texts. Specific illuminations enhanced by surrounding painted badges include the Virgin and Child, the Annunciation, the Three Kings worshiping the Christ Child, the Flight into Egypt, the Mocking of Christ, Pentecost, the evangelist Luke, and saints such as Sebastian, James, and Andrew.518

As previously stated, artists often alternated the painted badges’ shapes and colors for visual diversity. Some, though not all, have the added detail of painted thread loops through their edges, suggesting they were sewn or pinned onto the parchment. In some instances, the badges’ shapes and their arrangement may appear to be close copies from other manuscripts, suggesting that perhaps there was a set compositional model (perhaps from a pattern or sheet) used to design the badge borders. However, the specific iconographic detail of the individual painted badges varied greatly. Thus, while the compositional layout of badge borders between two manuscripts may be very similar, ultimately no two borders are exactly identical.519

Individual badges were sometimes depicted multiple times in a manuscript border. For example, a book of hours now in Brussels (Bibliothèque Royale, MS IV 441, fol. 22r) contains at least five variously shaped badges of the Virgin and Child enthroned on a Gothic dais, referring to the pilgrims’ badges from Notre-Dame at Halle. [figs. 50a and 50b] Other manuscripts contain numerous representations of badges of St. Adrian, the Holy Face, Notre-Dame at Boulogne-sur-Mer, as well as multiple images of souvenirs lacking a clearly identifiable pilgrimage destination, such as the Crucifixion, the monogram of Christ (“IHS”), the dove of the Holy Spirit, casket or pyx reliquaries, and busts of unidentified saints.520 Reproducing badge iconography undoubtedly was an expedient way for an artist to fill border space, but it could also

518 Pilgrim badge borders usually are not depicted around texts such as the Office of the Dead, and rarely around images of David and the Psalms and other Old Testament subjects.
519 As-Vijvers argues that several manuscripts contain (nearly) identical marginal decorations over four sides of the margin, thus demonstrating that models for complete borders did exist. Unpublished dissertation summary, p. 2.
520 Other generic painted badge iconography includes the Paschal Lamb, a five-petal flower, and a skull.
allude to the practice of visiting a pilgrimage shrine on multiple occasions and acquiring multiple badges.

In some instances, painted pilgrim’s badges appeared among more costly, precious objects, such as cameos, pearls, freestanding jewels, or jeweled pins (often in the shape of crosses or flowers). Such an example occurs in London, British Library Add. MS 35313, fol. 231v, around a miniature of Mary Magdalene. Here, two images, one of the Virgin (with jewels and pearls) and the other a bust of a male saint, are found amidst jewels in the forms of a flower, a cross, a heart, and a horseshoe.\(^\text{521}\)

Besides collections of pilgrim’s badges in panel borders, pilgrim souvenirs were occasionally depicted as single, free-standing elements within a folio’s margin, usually within the three outer borders surrounding the text. Anne Margreet W. As-Vijvers coined the term “einzelmotive” to describe single these individual motifs—such as a flower, bird, insect, jewel, devotional image, or pilgrim’s badge—painted directly on the parchment in the margins of every text page in a codex.\(^\text{522}\) Such einzelmotives appear in the Hours of Joanna of Castile (London, British Library, Add. MS 18852),\(^\text{523}\) and a psalter now in Copenhagen (MS GKS 1605/4) \([\text{fig. 51}]\). These einzelmotive decorations usually did not have any function in terms of structuring the contents they surround.

Objects used as einzelmotives excerpt objects used within larger, full-page border compositions. As As-Vijvers suggests, pattern models for complete borders were “cut into” separate einzelmotive, copying not only iconography, but in some instances, stylistic elements.\(^\text{524}\) The illuminators concentrated on motifs which were easy to isolate—and thus copy—from larger


\(^{523}\) The Master of the David Scenes, discussed later in this chapter, painted almost all of Joanna’s Hours exclusively.

\(^{524}\) As-Vijvers, summary, p. 2; As-Vijvers, “Marginal Decoration,” 251. As-Vijvers extensively analyzes the working process for the illuminators’ creation of einzelmotives. The illuminators chose the motifs appropriate for each margin. Often their working methods included making variations on existing marginal motifs, in the process of which the models were adapted and changed. At the same time, there was the opposite tendency to standardize the motifs and the processes by which variations were made. Often a bifolio was treated as a working unit, and then motifs from the same model source were usually applied within one gathering, or even on the same bifolio, with the artist merely copying the pattern on the reverse side of the folio, to create a mirror image.
border designs or illustrations, and evidence exists for the use of tracing and other methods of reproduction, such as model drawings and full-color models. The repetition and distribution of similar motifs suggests a common source, a core body of patterns to illustrate *einzelmotive* margins.

**6.3.3: Types of badges: identifiable badge motifs**

Some painted badges have known precedents in metal. By 1984, scholars had identified references to close to thirty-eight different pilgrimage sites in over 143 examples of painted pilgrims’ badges. Since then, according to Kunera, the online pilgrim badge database, these numbers have increased to over 420 identifiable examples. These one-to-one iconographic correlations between represented badges and specific extant metal souvenirs are readily apparent to the modern eye, indicating that a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century reader would recognize the same.

In an appendix in his 1984 study, Kurt Köster listed the types of each painted badge found in eighteen Flemish manuscript margins which he had discovered and identified during in his lifetime research. His totals of 146 painted badges included souvenirs from popular shrines in Flanders, such as Notre-Dame at Halle, Notre-Dame at Boulogne-sur-Mer; St. Adrian at Geraardbergen, and the vernicle (either as a Vera Icon only, or the vernicle held by Veronica). Jos Koldeweij’s more recent totals of pilgrim badges follow a similar trend, with

---

525 For example, *einzelmotive* badges of the Vera Icon, Notre-Dame at Halle, and Notre-Dame at Boulogne-sur-Mer appear in a book of hours now in Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale (MS 3028), fols. 162r-162v and fols. 184r-184v. These badges are all part of the repertoire of full-page badge borders by the Rouen illuminator, the Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary, as well as previous manuscript artists.

526 Köster, “Medieval Pilgrim Badges Found in the Netherlands,” pp. 43-46. Köster listed 146 examples of painted souvenirs in eighteen manuscripts. “Gemalte Kollectionen”, pp. 524-525. Further additions to Köster’s list were provided by Koldeweij in “Pilgrim Badges Painted in Manuscripts: A North Netherlandish Example,” p. 212. For the most recent count of painted badges in illuminated manuscripts, see the online database Kunera: http://www.kunera.nl (accessed 2006-2010).


528 Köster’s totals were as follows: Mary’s Tunic, Aachen: seven times in five manuscripts; Holy Cross, Asse: four times in three manuscripts; Notre-Dame, Boulogne-sur-Mer: nine times in eight manuscripts; St. Quirinus, Camblain: one time in one manuscript; St. Thomas Becket, Canterbury: two times in two manuscripts; St. Benignus, Dijon: one time in one manuscript; St. Maurontius, Douai: three times in two manuscripts; St. Anne, Düren: one time in one manuscript; St. Dymphna, Geel: three times in three manuscripts (twice as portrait badge, once as the
the most popular pilgrims’ badges being the Vera Icon, St. Adrian at Geraardsbergen, Notre-Dame at Halle, St. James at Santiago de Compostela, the Virgin at Boulogne-sur-Mer, St.-Josse-sur-Mer, and the Virgin at Aachen.530

Some of Kurt Köster’s shrine attributions have since been questioned, refuted, or revised. For example, several Marian badges formerly assigned specific pilgrimage sites, such as at Walsingham, have since been classified as “generic” images of the Virgin or the Virgin and Child. Additional painted badges have since been identified, such as St. Claude in the Jura, John the Baptist, and several busts of mitred bishop saints like Thomas Becket.531

Taking into account recent attributions of extant pilgrim’s souvenirs, as well as manuscripts with painted badge borders discovered after Köster’s publications, a revised tally of depicted pilgrims’ souvenirs follows.532 This list is organized into two categories: between 189 and 199 badges refer to identifiable pilgrimage shrines and 333 badges do not have an identifiable site:

530 See Koldeweij, “Medieval Pilgrim Badges Found in the Netherlands” column C, p. 46.
531 For the latest attributions, see Kunera: http://www.kunera.nl (accessed 2008-2010).
532 The manuscripts consulted for this tally include Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery MS 782 The Van Alphen Hours; Berlin KSK MS 78 B 14; Brussels KBR II 5941; Brussels KBR IV 40; Brussels KBR IV 167; Brussels KBR IV 280; Brussels KBR IV 441; Brussels KBR IV 480; Chantilly Musée Condé MS 77; Cleveland CMA 63256; The Hague Meermanno-Westreenarium MS 10 E 3; Lisbon Museu Calouste Gulbenkian MS L.A. 210; London BL MS 18852; London Soane’s Museum MS 4; Milan Biblioteca Ambrosiana S.P. II 189; Naples Biblioteca Nazionale MS I.B.51; New York PML MS 52; New York PML 399; Oxford Bodleian Library MS Douce 311; Oxford Bodleian Library MS Douce 219-220; Paris BnF MS lat. 10555; Parma Biblioteca Palatina MS Pal. 165; Parma Biblioteca Palatina MS. Pal. 195; Rouen Bibliothèque Municipale MS 3028; Sibiu (Romania) Muzeul Brukenthal MS 761; Venice Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana MS lat. 1,99 (2138); Vic (Spain) Museu Episcopal s.n [no accession number]; Vienna ÖNB MS 1979; Vienna ÖNB 2706; private collection, The Rothschild Hours (formerly Vienna ÖNB MS 2844); and a manuscript attributed to the Master of the David Scenes, whereabouts unknown.
Badges with identifiable pilgrimage shrines:

- Notre-Dame, Halle:
  Round badge without flanking angels: eight times in six manuscripts
  Round badge with flanking angels: seven times in four manuscripts
  Round badge with figure holding pole or stick to Virgin’s face: one time in one manuscript
  Octagonal badge without flanking angels: ten times in five manuscripts
  Quatrefoil badge without flanking angels: two times in one manuscript

- Tunic or Robe of the Virgin, Aachen: ten times in seven manuscripts
  (an unidentifiable robe in one other manuscript may also be the Virgin’s Tunic from Aachen)

- Holy Tunic, Trier: four times in two manuscripts
- Notre-Dame, Boulogne-sur-Mer: fifteen times in thirteen manuscripts
- Holy Shrine of the Virgin, Wavre: six times in three manuscripts
- Notre-Dame, Liesse: one time in one manuscript
- Annunciation, s’Gravenzande: fifteen times in twelve manuscripts

- Vera Icon/Veronica:
  Textile Veronicas: four times in four manuscripts
  Textile Vera Icons: eight times in eight manuscripts

- Metal Veronicas: five times in five manuscripts
- Metal Vera Icons: eleven times in nine manuscripts

- Holy Cross, Asse: five times in four manuscripts
- Holy Cross, Zande: five times in two manuscripts
- Crucifixion, Cruys-Baellert: five times in four manuscripts
- Three Hosts, Wilsnack: three times in three manuscripts

- Three Kings, Cologne: nine times in nine manuscripts
- St. Josse (Jodocus), St. Josse-sur-Mer: ten times in six manuscripts
- St. Quentin, Saint-Quentin: four times in four manuscripts
- St. Claude in the Jura, Besançon: two times in two manuscripts
- St. Florentius, Saumur: four times in two manuscripts
- St. Thomas Becket, Canterbury: as few as two in one manuscript; as many as eleven times in five manuscripts
- St. Adrian, Geraardsbergen: fifteen times in fifteen manuscripts
- St. Maurontius, Douai: six times in six manuscripts
- St. Cornelius: six times in four manuscripts (three from the shrine at Kornelmünster, three from the shrine at Ninove)
- St. Servatius, Maastricht: four times in three manuscripts
- St. Anne, Düren: one time in one manuscript
- St. Dymphna, Geel: two times in two manuscripts
- St. Godelieve, Gistel: two times in two manuscripts
Badges without conclusively identifiable shrines:

- Virgin and Child:  
  **Standing/full-length:** seventeen times in ten manuscripts (these include the Virgin in a Gothic baldachin or other architecture, standing on a crescent moon\(^533\), and in a wayside, tree, or box chapel)  
  **Enthroned/seated:** eleven times in nine manuscripts (these include a heart-shaped badge, in a small chapel with scrolls on the side, the Virgin without Christ)  
  **Bust-length:** twenty-nine times in eighteen manuscripts (among these include the Virgin and Infant in a crescent moon, in an aureole, or a combination of crescent moon and aureole)  
- Virgin only: seven times in six manuscripts (six of these display the Virgin in a tree or wayside chapel; the Internet database Kunera links this with the shrine at Kapellebrug, the Netherlands)  
- Annunciation: two times in two manuscripts  
- ‘M’ monogram (Mary): seven times in five manuscripts  
- Crucifix/Crucifixion: twenty-five times in fifteen manuscripts (these include the Latin Cross, Greek Crosses, Cross with flanking ships, Cross with flanking angels, and the Tau Cross, associated with Anthony of Egypt)  
- ‘IHS’/Christo-monogram: twenty-five times in fifteen manuscripts (NB: one badge displays “ihesus” instead of the monogram)  
- Bust of Christ: three times in three manuscripts (one depicted with orb)  
- Pietà: three times in three manuscripts  
- Ascension: one time in one manuscript  
- Infant Christ: two times in one manuscript  
- St. John the Baptist: three times in one manuscript  
- St. James: three times in three manuscripts

\(^533\) Badges of the Virgin and Child under a Gothic baldachin or on a crescent moon have been identified with the shrine of the Virgin at Walsingham in England, which may explain Köster’s original attribution. However, the pilgrim badge database Kunera has since questioned this attribution.
- St. Andrew (cross only): one time in one manuscript
- St. George: one time in one manuscript
- St. Sebastian: one time in one manuscript
- St. Barbara: nine times in seven manuscripts
- St. Catherine: fourteen times in ten manuscripts (includes depictions of Catherine’s wheel only)
- St. Margaret: one time in one manuscript
- St. Mary Magdalene: two times in two manuscripts (includes depiction of ointment jar only)
- St. Cunera: one time in one manuscript
- Unknown bishop saints: ten times in eight manuscripts
  (Includes bishop flanked by Saints Peter and Paul, with a large heraldic shield: three times in three manuscripts)
- Unknown saints, standing/full-length: thirty-six times in fourteen manuscripts
- Unknown saints, bust-length: thirty-eight times in sixteen manuscripts (includes male and female depictions, crowned females, saints holding any or a combination of a staff, martyr’s palm, book, sword, or other object. Some bearded male busts may be either Christ or John the Baptist)
- Dove (Holy Spirit): seven times in six manuscripts
- Agnus Dei: five times in five manuscripts
- God or papal saint: one time in one manuscript
- Papal crown (Rome?): one time in one manuscript
- Nail (associated with Christ’s Passion): one time in one manuscript
- Heart: four times in three manuscripts
- Flower: two times in two manuscripts
- Bell: three times in two manuscripts
- Curved horn (associated with St. Hubert): one time in one manuscript
- Ichthys/Fish (symbol of Christ): one time in one manuscript
- Arma Christi: one time in one manuscript
- Gothic monstrance (Eucharist?): one time in one manuscript
- Individual Scallop shells: four times in four manuscripts
- Skull: five times in four manuscripts
- Praying figure: one time in one manuscript
- Cylinder shape: one time in one manuscript
- Diamond lozenge: one time in one manuscript
- Nonsensical inscriptions: two times in two manuscripts
- Round badges without iconography: eight times in one manuscript
- Oval badges without iconography: three times in one manuscript
- Diamond-in-circle badge: one time in one manuscript
- Undecipherable iconography: twenty-three times in seven manuscripts

Total: between 522 and 532 painted pilgrim’s badges
Along with Köster’s and Koldeweij’s original findings, these new totals provide insight as to the specific types of badges illustrated, and the popularity of each. On a pragmatic level, they reveal certain trends in the choice of badges. Some iconography is depicted multiple times within one panel border. Examples include generic Virgin and Child imagery and representations of the Cross or Crucifixion, although some of the Crosses and Crucifixions are associated with the shrine of Cruys-Ballaert in Petite-Synthe (near Dunkerque), based on the cross’s characteristic flared arms and bell iconography. Identifiable Virgin and Child iconography from extant badges such as the shrine at Halle are also repeated within a folio or bifolio.

Other badges were depicted only once, yet prominently, in a panel border. Key examples include badges depicting the Three Kings in Cologne and St. Adrian at Geraardsbergen. In the latter’s case, this larger rectangular badge with its pointed or ogee arch was used to “anchor” the composition by being placed in the lower corner of the margin. Other badges will be represented twice in a margin’s composition. For example, badges of St. Florentius from Samur occur two times in manuscripts in Brussels and Chantilly; the Holy Shrine at Wavre is seen in codices in Brussels, Chantilly, and Vic; and St. Josse (Jodocus) from St.-Josse-sur-Mer has pairings of badges in manuscripts now in Berlin, Brussels, Chantilly, and Parma.534

The range of pilgrimage shrines and saints represented favor certain geographic locales. Their frequency parallels the popularity of the actual pilgrimage destinations and the wide distribution of surviving badges from those sites. The majority of painted badges represent pilgrimage sites mostly from Flanders and its surroundings, the most popular being St. Adrian at Geraardsbergen, Notre-Dame at Boulogne-sur-Mer, Notre-Dame at Halle, St. Josse-sur-Mer, St. Servatius in Maastricht, St. Maurontius at Douai, and the Holy Cross at Asse, among others.535

534 For St. Florentius, see Bibliothèque Royale MS IV 480 and Musée Condé MS 77. For the Holy Shrine at Wavre, see Kunera: http://www.kunera.nl, along with Vic, Museu Arqueológico Artistic Episcopal s.n. [no accession number]. For St. Josse-sur-Mer, see Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 14; Bibliothèque Royale MS IV 480; Musée Condé MS 77; Biblioteca Palatina MS 165. The latter three were likely produced by the same artistic hand; see the discussion of the Master of the David Scenes later in this chapter.

535 Painted badges depicting St. Adrian of Geraardsbergen were frequently repeated across extant examples. Part of this may have been due to the unusual shape of the badge, a rectangular form with an ogee arch; indeed, in many manuscripts, this particular souvenir served as a large “anchoring” object within the border’s composition, usually in the lower outer corner. Kurt Köster, “Religiöse Medaillen und Wallfahrts-Devotionalien in der Flämischen Buchmalerei des 15. und Frühen 16. Jahrhunderts”; idem., “Gemalte Kollektionen”; idem., “Pilgerzeichen und
The sites from Germany most often featured include the Holy Tunic at Aachen, the Three Kings in Cologne, and the Miraculous Host in Wilsnack. The main exception to this trend is the predominance of painted Holy Face/vernicle/Vera Icon badges, most commonly associated with Rome but also affiliated with several pilgrimage sites in Germany, such as the monastery of Wienhausen.536

How the badges’ iconography was selected, whether by artist’s choice or patron input is uncertain. However, it is remarkable that many of these Flemish and German pilgrimage sites commemorated in painted badges’ iconography also appeared in actual badges in extant manuscripts of famous patrons, particularly in the codices once owned by Philip the Good as discussed in previous chapters. The popularity and repetition of these fictive badges in manuscript margins mirrors the souvenirs sewn into the duke’s manuscripts.537 The sites referenced in both the real and painted pilgrims’ badges include a high percentage near Ghent and Bruges, where the ducal family spent much of its time. The numerous depictions of the Virgin also parallel the large number of Marian badges collected by the duke from various shrines. Both the real and fictive Marian souvenirs reflect a special devotion to the Virgin and reference pilgrimage cults of the Virgin.538

The interest in Flemish holy cults also may have prompted the representation of saints in fictive badges that have neither extant actual counterparts, nor evidence for their production at the cult site. For example, Virginia Kaufmann suggests that painted badges of St. Barbara recall...
the cult site in Ghent devoted to that saint, where her cult was especially strong in the late fifteenth century. Although not an important international pilgrimage site, the Church of Saint Barbara was visited frequently by local residents. Since the Burgundian court was long associated with Ghent they may well have been directly involved in the growth of popularity of her cult. Anne Margreet As-Vijvers suggested that locally venerated saints were unusual in standardized Flemish book production, which often attracted international clientele. However, representations of badges from sites such as St. Adrian of Geraardsbergen and the Virgin at Halle, and the Virgin at Boulogne-sur-Mer appear in manuscripts designed for patrons in areas outside of Flanders, such as Spain and Portugal.

6.3.4: Types of badges: “generic” or unidentifiable badge motifs

Generally, the early representations of painted badges from the 1480s and 1490s have the highest level of fidelity to actual pilgrim badges. In certain painted badge margins, artists depicted the souvenirs with great detail and legibility, allowing many of them to be conclusively identified. For example, in the Hours of Louis Quarré (Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Douce 311, c. 1488), twenty-three badges—fourteen gold, eight silver, and one parchment or cloth Veronica—are represented in the lavender marginal panel on the opening to the Hours of the Holy Spirit (fol. 21v). They include souvenirs of St. Adrian of Geraardsbergen, Notre-Dame at Boulogne-sur-Mer, St. Servatius, St. Cornelius, St. Josse-sur-Mer, St. Dymphna at Gheel, the Three Kings at Cologne, The Holy Tunic from Aachen, and three badges of Notre-Dame at Halle. [figs. 52a-e]

Based on extant badges, the appearance of cult shrines or statues, and/or the known locale of specific cults in the late Middle Ages, many of the painted badges can be conclusively identified to a particular pilgrimage shrine. Nonetheless, numerous painted badges are less clearly defined and painted, because their schematic iconography cannot be readily connected to a specific pilgrimage site. This can be seen in the Hours of Louis Quarré (Oxford MS Douce 311), with badges depicting the Crucifixion, the Annunciation, a pyx reliquary, and other saintly figures. Such “generic” pilgrim’s badges are more common later among early sixteenth century

539 Kaufmann, “The Theme of Pilgrimage,” p. 34.
manuscript artists. While some attempted to execute painted badges with the same level of detail as earlier models, other manuscript artists, perhaps unfamiliar with the specific badge iconography they were copying, reproduced them on a more schematic, rudimentary level. This could be due simply to a dilution in iconographic forms as subsequent generations copied a popular marginal motif. In many instances, often an unusual shape of the badge (for example, the rectangular base and ogee apex of the St. Adrian of Geraardsbergen badge) or vague similarities with recognized extant badges (for example, a badge consisting of three concentric circles, representing the Miraculous Host at Wilsnack; or the outstretched arms of a tunic, symbolizing the Virgin’s relic kept at Aachen), provide the only clues as to the painted badge’s provenance.

Iconographic details also could be completely dissociated from that seen on actual badges, particularly when the artists used either more generic or vague religious imagery. Motifs like the pilgrim’s staff with a scallop, the Madonna on the Crescent Moon, and popular saints such Catherine or Barbara were recognizable, but have no direct links to a specific pilgrimage shrine. These fabrications draw on schematic attributes commonly associated with saintly figures: a tower for St. Barbara; a wheel for St. Catherine, a set of keys for St. Peter.

Despite this, many painted badges that replicate actual badges are simply unidentifiable due to their common features, such as the bust of a tonsured monk or a mitred bishop, which could represent any number of saints. Examples of even more unclassifiable pictorial representations include crosses; the dove of the Holy Spirit; the Ascension; the Agnus Dei (Lamb of God); busts of Christ, Mary, saints, popes, and bishops; and nonsensical inscriptions, none of which have iconographic precedents in actual pilgrim badges. In addition, some smaller painted badges often were reduced to basic circles, diamonds, and ovals, and included no iconographic detail.

---

542 As previously mentioned, the pilgrim badge database Kunera recently has suggested that several of the mitred bishop badges may in fact represent St. Thomas Becket; other mitred bishops include St. Claudius, St. Eloi, St. Ghislenius, St. Nicholas, and St. Denis. Possible attributions for a tonsured monk badge include St. Leonard and St. Quentin.

543 Köster originally counted this motif occurring four times in four separate manuscripts.
This phenomenon is evident on fol. 50r in a small, pocket-sized book of hours in Paris’s Bibliothèque Nationale (MS lat. 10555), from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Among the folio’s larger pilgrim’s badges surrounding the miniature of St. Luke are a silver souvenir of St. Adrian at Geraardsbergen, St. Quentin (in Picardy), St. Peter (in bust form, holding the key), St. Barbara standing next to the tower, and the Virgin and Child on the crescent moon (with the inscription “MARIA”). However, many of the other badges—which include at least two of Christ’s monograms, “IHS”; a silver monogram of the Virgin, “MA”, in the lower left; an unidentifiable monk; and other busts of saints—cannot be associated with a particular pilgrimage site. The folio’s small dimensions made it difficult for the manuscript artist to execute the fine details of the smaller badges; indeed, several are merely tiny circles scattered amid the larger souvenirs. What is more, most of the silver badges are illegible, due to their darkening from the oxidization of the silver paint.

6.4: Artistic influence across workshops and the use of patterns and model sheets

The increasing prevalence of pilgrim badge-filled borders may have had much to do with the cross-fertilization of artistic ideas among manuscript workshops during the last decades of the fifteenth century. Often, many artists contributed miniatures to the same book. Since the production of illuminated manuscripts was time and labor intensive, many of the lavish books made during these decades involved three or more lead artists and their workshops. Jan van

---

544 [fig. 53a] Although the book’s owner is unknown, the Suffrage to St. Agnes on fol. 305r includes a full-page miniature of the saint depicted next to a kneeling female patron, identified in a prayer on fol. 271 as Ançola. Virginia Reinburg, “Hearing Lay People’s Prayer,” in (eds.) Barbara Diefendorf and Carla Hesse, Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800): Essays in Honor of Natalie Zemon Davis (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), p. 23. An unidentified coat of arms held by two angels also appears at the beginning of the codex, on fol. 1v.

545 The Adrian badge may have a possible inscription on its lower portion.

546 The set also consists of three red and two blue gems amid the six gold and nineteen silver badges. The narrow shadow on the lower right side of the badges suggests a not-seen source of light from the upper left of the manuscript page. The folio contains no fewer than thirty pieces of jewels and pilgrim’s badges on a blue-green border. Most of the larger badges appear to be sewn in with three or four red threads, providing an additional realistic touch.

547 While the high level of cooperation among workshops suggests an “enlightened entrepreneurship”, as Thomas Kren describes, the sharing of pattern ideas and the distribution of labor may have been for more pragmatic reasons. It expedited the production of high-quality, lavish books systematically and efficiently. As Kren and Scot McKendrick note, the practice did not so much discourage innovation and creativity as help to meet the demand for richly decorated books in the new style without sacrificing the high level of quality admired and demanded by their wealthy patrons. Kren, “The Importance of Patterns;” p. 372; Illuminating the Renaissance, p. 12. Famous extant
der Stock notes that several illuminators would often work together on one manuscript, either simultaneously (where each artist would be given a gathering of folios to illuminate, with the book assembled later) or in consecutive stages.\textsuperscript{548} In this environment of shared production, illuminators were open to others’ ideas and freely adapted these to their own needs, often borrowing and copying compositions and motifs invented by artists from other workshops.

Scholars have recognized the prevalent use of patterns for illuminations, based on striking similarities between miniatures in separate codices, ranging from individual miniatures to full-page compositions to border elements.\textsuperscript{549} It is now generally accepted that Flemish manuscript illuminators developed and regularly used model sheets and/or pattern books containing various iconographic motifs. In fact, model sheets and model books may have been employed for entire cycles of illuminations. Thomas Kren notes that between the mid-1470s and 1483, a large body of illuminated patterns was rapidly generated.\textsuperscript{550} Perhaps not coincidentally, this timeframe corresponds with the appearance and duration of painted pilgrim badge borders in illuminated codices. Unfortunately, few examples of these patterns and model sheets survive. However, those that do exist vary extensively in their subject matter: a full page drawing portraying the Pentecost by the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy; a sketch sheet of fourteen


\textsuperscript{549} Anne Margreet As-Vijvers argues that, in at least a few cases, miniatures in finished manuscripts, including those already in private collections, could serve as a primary model source. See As-Vijvers, “Recycling the \textit{Huth Hours}: The Master of the David Scenes and the Making of the Brukenthal Breviary, or: The Ghent Associates and the Contribution of Simon Marmion to Ghent-Bruges Manuscript Painting.” \textit{Manuscripts in Transition: Recycling Manuscripts, Texts and Images.} (Brigitte Dekeyzer and Jan Van der Stock, eds.) (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), p. 387. In another example, a miniature attributed to the group of illuminators associated with the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian appears in a Book of Hours owned by Louis Quarré, the treasurer of the Golden Fleece (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 311). A full-page composition of King David in prayer from a detached folio was reused in \textit{The Spinola Hours} (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS Ludwig IX). A copy of a miniature by Simon Marmion in the \textit{La Flora Hours} appears in a manuscript kept in Munich (MS Clm 28345). For these and other examples, see Kren, “The Importance of Patterns,” pp. 364-375.

\textsuperscript{550} Kren, “The Importance of Patterns,” p. 357. Kren states that by 1483 at least fifty known patterns had been developed for copying in Flemish manuscripts. \textit{Op. cit.}, p. 374. These patterns may have migrated in groups, or perhaps they were gathered in a pattern book or artist’s chest. \textit{Illuminating the Renaissance}, p. 193. Although used by both Bruges and Ghent artists, from the outset they proved especially popular with artists associated with Ghent.
heads by the Master of the Houghton Miniatures, and a full-page study of a historiated manuscript border, depicting vignettes of Mary and Joseph arriving at the Inn and the Nativity.\textsuperscript{551} Rather than being kept closely guarded within a particular workshop, patterns migrated across workshops quickly, as artists collaborated. What is more, many of the designs remained popular for as much as seventy years, although later copies of these motifs were altered both stylistically and iconographically by subsequent artists and their workshops.\textsuperscript{552}

The use of patterns and model books in Flemish manuscript production helped to quickly systematize manuscript production at around the same time.\textsuperscript{553} But, as Anne Margreet As-Vijvers observed, “the working method of the illuminators was to make variations on existing marginal motifs, in the process of which the models were adapted and changed, and sometimes got obscured. At the same time, there was the (opposite) tendency to a standardization of the motifs and the processes by which the variations were made.”\textsuperscript{554} This standardization of motifs may account for the more generic, homogenous appearance of pilgrim’s badges as the decades progressed and subsequent workshops continued to employ and vary these patterns.

The full role of copying and imitation when it comes to the pilgrim badge border design has yet to be extensively addressed. Since no patterns or model books survive with these sorts of motifs, it is uncertain whether pilgrim’s badges were ever copied into model books or sheets. As

\textsuperscript{551} Kren, “The Importance of Patterns,” pp. 360-1; Illuminating the Renaissance, pp. 156, 178, and 146-147. In the case of the historiated border model sheet, Thomas Kren notes that variants of this model were repeated in at least eight Flemish manuscripts.

\textsuperscript{552} Kren, “The Importance of Patterns,” p. 357. Patrick de Winter also notes that at the time, many manuscript workshops were “family affairs.” This obviously led to a craftsman’s approach rather than one of fresh interpretation. See de Winter, “A Book of Hours of Queen Isabel la Católica,” The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art 10 (December 1981), p. 369. He remarks that often earlier miniatures, frequently those of the main master, were the shop’s immediate main iconographic source and structural model. He notes that “once a composition was considered successful, it became part of the shop’s repertory and might be repeated with only minor amendments and change of scale to fit the space for a new miniature in a series of future productions.” This method of production can certainly be seen in larger illuminations, but it can also be applied to the border decoration.

The subject of model books and patterns has been examined by Robert W. Scheller, Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900 - ca. 1470) Trans. Michael Hoyle (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995). However, his study ends just before the era discussed here.). Pattern books have also been examined by Jonathan J.G. Alexander in Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), specifically pp. 97-101, 124-27, and 129-38.

\textsuperscript{553} Kren, “The Importance of Patterns,” p. 371. The origins of the new type of border are generally dated to the mid-1470s, but the lack of precise dating for most devotional books makes a chronology difficult to sketch.

mentioned, the original source for pilgrim’s badges is equally unknown; did the artists copy them from free-standing badges, or from badges already sewn in manuscripts? Regardless, I would argue that, although no extant evidence survives, the repeated prevalence of iconographic motifs in painted badges across dozens of surviving Flemish prayer books indicates that artists and their workshops were undoubtedly borrowing and/or copying from particular templates of painted badge borders. This model included not only the structure and layout of the badges within the border, but also the individual iconographic motifs for each badge, thus explaining why certain pilgrim’s badges are repeatedly featured across painted margins in multiple codices. This practice continued for several decades, until the decline of illuminated manuscript production in the mid-sixteenth century.

The original, direct source of inspiration for the depictions of actual, identifiable badges sewn in manuscripts still remains in question. A discernable candidate would be the badge-filled manuscripts in the Burgundian ducal library. Indeed, several of the artists who completed manuscripts with painted badges may have had ties to the Burgundian court, particularly during the latter decades of the fifteenth and into the sixteenth century. These illuminators received

555 Among the artists who worked for the Burgundian dukes in the mid-fifteenth century was Simon Marmion. Marmion was one of the first artists to adopt the new style of illusionistic strewn-pattern border and was the lead illuminator for a number of projects with the new border. While it is uncertain that he himself made the patterns from them or played a personal role in their proliferation, he collaborated with key artists who propagated the panel border type, including the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy (with whom he worked in the 1470s) as well as the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian. Illuminating the Renaissance, p. 314. A direct albeit tenuous connection also can be made between the first artist to depict pilgrim’s badges in margins, the Master of Catherine of Cleves, and later Flemish illuminators during the final decades of the fifteenth century. Lieven Van Lathem was closely connected with Burgundian court illumination and worked for both Philip the Good and Charles the Bold. He was also the primary artist behind the miniatures of the Prayer Book of Philip the Good (Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS n.a.f. 16428), later filled with pilgrim’s badges. What is more, Van Lathem collaborated with the Master of Catherine of Cleves on a manuscript now in The Hague. Van Lathem’s work from around the 1470s contains motifs that appear to be derived from the Cleves’s workshop, suggesting that perhaps he perhaps borrowed designs, either paintings or model drawings. In the 1470s, Van Lathem went on to collaborate multiple times with artists working in the new border style, including the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy; he may have passed on these borrowed designs to the Vienna Master. See Anne van Buren, “The Master of Mary of Burgundy and his Colleagues: The State of Research and Questions of Method.” Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 38:3/4 (1975), p. 300; Illuminating the Renaissance, p. 132. The Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian (discussed later in this chapter), who was actively painting by 1477 and perhaps a key propagator for the dispersion of the pilgrim’s badge border motif, produced several volumes for the ducal court. A cycle of images depicting Visions of Lazarus was added at a later date to the badge-filled prayer book of Philip the Good (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS n.a.f. 16428). This cycle was painted by the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book, who collaborated with the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy, the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian, and the Master of James IV of Scotland. Illuminating the Renaissance, pp. 197-198 and 305-306.
various manuscript commissions from the subsequent inheritors of the library, including Charles the Bold; his daughter Mary and her husband Emperor Maximilian I, and Mary’s daughter, Margaret of Austria. However, it is unclear whether manuscript artists had direct access to the ducal library and its rich collection of manuscripts, such as one of several badge-filled manuscripts discussed in Chapter 4.

Not only is it challenging to ascertain the original model source of badge-filled margins, determining the earliest prototype of the trompe l’oeil Ghent-Bruges margins—and, in particular, the painted badge margins—is extremely difficult. With any potential patterns or model sheets long gone, we only can examine the surviving manuscripts containing the illusionistic panel borders (and, specifically, the pilgrim badge borders). At least four Ghent-Bruges manuscripts with the new illusionistic border likely date to 1477 or earlier. For instance, the *Hours of Charlotte of Bourbon-Montpensier* contains some of the most fully developed and varied margins, including a scallop shell border. Codices with assorted pilgrim souvenirs borders, such as the *Hours of Engelbert of Nassau*, the *Hours of Louis Quarré*, and the *Huth Hours* are datable to approximately the 1480s and are probably among the earliest examples of this particular badge border. However, even with analysis of these extant manuscripts, it is not

---

556 Thomas Kren suggests that the lavish new style of Flemish manuscript painting mirrored the interest in Burgundian courtly display. For example, during the 1470s some of the new border types copied woven brocades worn ceremonially by members of the ducal household. Borders depicting peacock feathers, gold, jewels, or pearls are similar manifestations of the Burgundian dynasty’s taste in luxury objects. *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 2.

557 In a review of *Illuminating the Renaissance*, Jean C. Wilson analyzes the issue of artists’ accessibility to libraries: “while it is relatively easy to envision painters visiting colleagues’ shops while works were in production or encountering panel paintings on public display in local churches, it is less clear how completed manuscripts might have served as sources of inspiration once they entered private collections.” In *Illuminating the Renaissance*, Scot McKendrick suggests evidence of owners lending their books to other interested members of their social circle. However, as Wilson points out, “the questions of how manuscripts were displayed in private libraries and, more importantly, who might have been able to venture into these important spaces and study the collections are issues of major importance for any investigation of pictorial sources or influences (not to mention, as asserted in the introduction, the ways in which manuscripts might have served as ‘opulent symbols’ of the ‘taste for splendor and its display’ . . . [there is a] need for a greater understanding of the day-to-day functioning of private libraries and how collectors might have made visible, shared, or possibly exploited the treasures housed within their walls.” See Wilson, “Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance: the Triumph of Flemish Painting in Europe* [review],” *Speculum* 80:2 (April 2005), pp. 611-613.

558 By 1483, the creation of books such as the *Berlin Hours of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian* (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78 B12), the *London Hours of William Lord Hastings*, the *Madrid Hours of William Lord Hastings*, and the *Voustre Demeure Hours* attests to the active use of such a group of images. *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 154+.
possible or useful to reconstruct an archetypal example in order to create any type of recension model.\footnote{This recension theory model in manuscript studies was developed by Kurt Weitzmann; see Illustrations in Roll and Codex. John Lowden’s 1992 study of the Byzantine Octateuchs largely rejected this model. See Anja Grebe, “The Art of the Edge: Frames and Page-Design in Manuscripts of the Ghent-Bruges-School.” The Metamorphosis of Marginal Images; From Antiquity to Present Time (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2001), p. 98.}

Nonetheless, by comparing manuscripts attributable to separate artists, we can identify common layout, iconographic motifs, and badge shapes to show that there was a distinct compositional pattern being (re)used. Looking at codices such as The Hours of Louis Quarré (Oxford Bodleian Library MS 311), a book of hours in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 10555), The Holford Hours (Lisbon Oeiras, Museu Gulbenkian Ms. LA 210), and The Hours of Joanna of Castile (London, The British Library Add. MS 18852), all from between the 1480s and to 1510, artists tended to follow a schema [figs. 52a, 53a, 54, 55]. Often a large badge was placed in the outer lower corner of the page (such as the Vera Icon or St. Adrian of Geraardsbergen, with its distinct geometrical shape of an ogee-arched rectangle). Larger badges of varying shapes and alternating metallic colors would then be scattered at regular intervals across the lower and outer borders, which were wider than the upper and inner margins. Smaller badges scattered between these evenly fill up the composition’s negative space. By examining these codices, it appears that entire compositions of painted pilgrim badge borders were copied and borrowed among artists as they worked on different manuscripts.

6.5: Specific artists and workshops that produced painted badge borders

Most scholarship on Flemish illumination has sought to identify artistic hands working on a particular manuscript (or across a group of manuscripts), providing a greater understanding as to which artists collaborated on specific projects, evidence of tutelage between artists, and so forth. Yet while most connoisseurship has focused heavily on full- or half-page miniatures, little has been done to attribute the marginal decoration. This is partly due to the types of objects depicted. While it can be easier to determine subtle artistic nuances in faces, drapery, or even compositional structure, it is difficult to make comparative links between illustrations of flowers, insects, or acanthus sprays.
The high level of specific iconographic detail in painted pilgrim badges provides an opportunity to attribute them to certain artists or groups of artists. In fact, a discrete group of Flemish workshops was known to have completed manuscripts with painted badge borders. Furthermore, while it cannot be concluded that a master or lead artist’s hand was involved in the marginal illustrations of painted badges, in some instances a distinct artistic hand is apparent in the margins, allowing manuscripts to be grouped together based on stylistic similarities and perhaps assigned to one specific illuminator. The specific stylistic attributes of these various artists’ hands (or that of an assistant or member of their workshops) will be discussed under each artist mentioned later in this chapter.

Only a handful of Flemish illuminators can be identified with representations of painted badges in margins. Kurt Köster assigned pilgrim badge borders primarily to Gerard Horenbout, Alexander Bening, and his son Simon Bening. Now, attributions can now be made to the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy and in particular the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian (sometimes identified as Alexander Bening), whose style indicated a dependence on a large body of patterns that originated during the 1470s with the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy. Later generations of illuminators who painted pilgrims’ badges in borders include the Master of James IV of Scotland (sometimes identified as Gerard Horenbout), the Master of the David Scenes in

---

560 It also cannot be assumed that the artist who executed the full-page miniatures also completed the borders, or even that they were working in the same workshop. Full-page miniatures were often painted on separate sheets; thus, they may not originate from the same workshop as the rest of the manuscript’s decoration. However, as Anne Margreet As-Vijvers notes, “from the style of the borders it is likely that in general the miniatures and the text block were decorated by one and the same workshop.” As-Vijvers, Ph.D. dissertation summary, p. 9. In addition, there is still some debate as to whether the illuminator(s) would complete full-page illumination and border simultaneously. Some scholars have argued that the workshop master was the artist responsible for the painted badges borders themselves. A master illuminator undoubtedly would make available patterns or model sheets to his assistant when necessary, to be copied. If illuminators are working together, an individual assigned a gathering of folios to illustrate may have then chooses to elaborate the margins with pilgrims’ badges. However, as Anja Grebe describes, “the new illusionistic concept of the page did not only have an aesthetic impact, but also affected the traditional form of manuscript production. Up to the invention of the illusionist page design, the distinction of miniature and border often ran parallel with a distinction of artists’ hands: the miniatures were formerly executed by a historieur or ‘scenic painter’, whereas an enlumineur or ‘decorative painter’ took charge of the borders. Now a single illuminator was responsible for the entire page. The page design follows a single concept, and from the point of view of perspective the frame is as much a part of the picture as the picture itself.” See “Frames and Illusion: The Functions of Borders in Late Medieval Book Illumination.” *Framing Borders in Literature and Other Media* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), p. 55. It is unclear how this applies to “collection” panel borders containing pilgrims’ badges, jewels, pottery, et alia. Perhaps these were specifically illuminated by the main artists, whereas more commonly used border motifs, like flowers, fruit, and insects, were completed by others in the workshops.
the Grimani Breviary, the Master of the Soane Hours, and Simon Bening, the son of Alexander and the likely inheritor of his body of patterns. The Master of the Prayerbook of 1500 may also have at least one painted badge border (a scallop shell margin) attributable to him.\footnote{Illuminating the Renaissance, p. 124. Simon Marmion, the Master of the Houghton Miniatures, and the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book all eventually adopted the strewn panel border. Yet while one or more of these particular artists may have employed the shell border, none appear to have completed a border with painted pilgrim’s badges.}

6.6: The Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy

The leading candidate for consideration as inventor of the new style of *trompe l’oeil* panel border is the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy. He was originally identified as the Master of Mary of Burgundy by Otto Pächt and renamed the Vienna Master by Bodo Brinkmann.\footnote{Pächt, *The Master of Mary of Burgundy* (London, 1948). Pächt’s “Master of Mary of Burgundy” was originally named after two manuscripts, the *Hours of Mary of Burgundy* in Vienna (ÖNB 1857) and the *Hours of Mary and Maximilian in Berlin* (Museen Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78 B 12). The latter manuscript contains a scallop shell border around an illumination of the Garden of Gethsemane, on fols. 90v-91r. Pächt’s monograph was one of the first to focus exclusively on a Flemish illuminator, although some of his attributions since have been reconsidered. For example, G.I. Lieftinck removed the Berlin Hours from his *oeuvre*, and Anne van Buren reassigned many manuscripts to a group of artists she called the Ghent Associates. *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 126. Bodo Brinkmann suggests that two of the Vienna Master’s works—the *Hours of Engelbert of Nassau* (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 219-220) and the *Vienna Hours of Mary of Burgundy* (Vienna, ÖNB MS 1857)—served as the basis to compare and attribute subsequent works. See Die Flamische Buchmalerei Am Ende Des Burgunderreichs: der Meister der Dresdener Gebetbuchs und die Miniaturisten seiner Zeit (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), pp. 133-147.} He was based in Ghent, where he collaborated with many of the other popular artists, often as the lead illuminator. His earliest datable miniatures are from the early 1470s.

Most scholarship has accepted arguments for the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy’s crucial role in the design and development of the use of patterns in manuscript illumination, along with Simon Marmion, the Master of the Houghton Miniatures, and Lieven van Lathem.\footnote{See the biography of the Vienna Master, along with examples of his collaborations with Lathem and Marmion, in *Illuminating the Renaissance*, pp. 126-134; 137-146.} The Vienna Master may have helped Lieven van Lathem in the illustration of the Prayer Book of Philip the Good (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS n.a.f. 16428), which later held several pilgrims’ badges, as described in Chapter 4.\footnote{Illuminating the Renaissance, p. 132; and Chapter 4 of this dissertation.} He may in fact be one of the key links between the Burgundian library and subsequent Flemish illuminators, who may have followed his artistic style and borrowed his patterns.
Otto Pächt’s theory that the Vienna Master invented and developed the new style of illusionistic border is widely accepted. Even recent authors such as Greet Nijs suggest that this artist introduced many new types and substyles of border design. However, he did not employ them consistently until the 1480s. Additionally, whether he undertook the border designs alone or with other artists remains unclear.

Perhaps one of his most famous codices is the *Hours of Engelbert of Nassau*, originally completed in the 1470s. Either he or another illuminator returned to the book in the next decade to repaint some of the manuscript’s borders in the new style. These included a painted badge border on fol. 16v and a scallop shell border on fol. 84v *[figs. 56 and 44]*. The repainted border on fol. 16v is likely one of the earliest examples of a mixed collection of pilgrim’s badges.

### 6.7: The Ghent Associates

First named by Anne van Buren, this anonymous group of artists was prolific during the 1470s and 1480s, illuminating liturgical and secular texts for both Flemish and foreign patrons. The group appears to have been inspired by the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy, both stylistically and iconographically. However, while they used the same patterns for miniatures as the Vienna Master, they often preferred solid-colored panel margins with strewn *trompe l’oeil* objects, such as flowers, acanthus, and other objects.

---

565 In their historiographical analysis of Flemish illumination, Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick note that twentieth-century manuscript scholarship, which had previously placed the Master of Mary of Burgundy as the standard for examining and critiquing all subsequent Flemish illumination, is now being reevaluated. In fact, recent scholarship has led to a “diminished critical appraisal . . . both aesthetically and in terms of invention, of a significant component of his oeuvre.” *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 10.

566 However, it should be noted that Nijs’s attribution is heavily based on Otto Pächt’s 1947 monograph. See “Typology of Border Decoration,” p. 1031.

567 Thomas Kren suggests that the regular use of these illusionistic borders may represent either the next phase in the development of the Vienna Master or perhaps extraordinary works by a student or follower. *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 207.

568 J.J.G. Alexander, *The Master of Mary of Burgundy*: *A Book of Hours for Engelbert of Nassau* (New York, 1970). Anne van Buren describes this publication a focus on aesthetics; moreover, “This little book was never intended as more than a pleasant, modestly priced book for the general public.” p. 288.

569 “The Master of Mary of Burgundy and his Colleagues: The State of Research and Questions of Method.” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 38:3/4 (1975), pp. 291-293; 305. Her attribution is based on works she believed are by either the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian or the artists of the Berlin Hours of Mary of Burgundy. Van Buren cites twenty manuscripts that appear to have illuminations done by the Ghent Associates. p. 291.
The Ghent Associates relied heavily on a large group of patterns and models for their illuminations. Many of them were originally designed by or based closely on artists such as the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy and Simon Marmion, among others.\textsuperscript{570} Circumstantial evidence further suggests that some of these patterns, or groups of patterns, may have been organized in complete pictorial cycles.\textsuperscript{571}

The Ghent Associates also collaborated widely. They shared patterns with the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian, discussed shortly. Furthermore, they may have collaborated with the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian on several manuscripts, including the Brussels’s \textit{Hours of Philip of Cleves} (Bibliothèque Royale, MS IV 40) and the \textit{Hours of Louis Quarré} (Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 311), both of which contained borders with assorted collections of pilgrim’s badges. The Ghent Associates were also probably the primary artists of folios from the \textit{Hours of Mary and Maximilian} (Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 12), which contained two folios of scallop shells decorating the margins. In addition, they may have worked with Simon Marmion, The Master of the Houghton Miniatures, and the Master of the Dresden Prayerbook on the \textit{Emerson-White Hours} (Cambridge [Mass.], The Houghton Library, MS Typ. 443), which has a scallop shell border on fol. 132r, although it is unclear who illustrated this particular folio.\textsuperscript{572}

\textsuperscript{570} Other artists who designed patterns possibly used by the Ghent Associates include the Master of the Houghton Miniatures and Hugo van der Goes. \textit{Illuminating the Renaissance}, p. 184.

In the brief biography of the Ghent Associates in \textit{Illuminating the Renaissance}, Thomas Kren considers the level of originality behind the group’s compositions (he also questions the same of the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian). He asks whether the Ghent Associates were primarily copyists, their work based entirely on patterns. Kren also speculates whether the group may have played a role in designing any of the patterns that they regularly employed, particularly since a large group of patterns emerged in a fairly short period of time, apparently between roughly 1475 and 1480. \textit{Op. cit.}, p. 179.

\textsuperscript{571} For example, eight compositions from the Berlin \textit{Hours of Mary of Maximilian} (Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 12) reappear in the \textit{Hours of Isabella of Castile}, including six from the Passion cycle, while five miniatures from the Passion cycle reappear in the Brussels \textit{Hours of Philip of Cleves} (Bibliothèque Royale MS IV 40). Moreover, four (or parts of four) compositions show up in the Passion cycle in the \textit{La Flora Hours}, out of a total of seven patterns that the two books shared. This suggests that patterns given to the illuminator of the Berlin \textit{Hours} may well have been organized in complete pictorial cycles. See \textit{Illuminating the Renaissance}, p. 186 n. 11.

\textsuperscript{572} Another artist who deserves note is the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book, as a handful of manuscripts on which he collaborated had pilgrim badge borders. However, it is unclear whether he actually completed the sections with badge margins. Some of the figures that appear in the borders are clearly by him, though the technique for the flowers and other motifs is different from that employed in the miniatures, and it is difficult to judge. Yet his collaborators had greater numbers/percentages of manuscripts with badge borders, lending less to the idea that the Dresden Master was an active proponent of the badge border motifs. See \textit{Illuminating the Renaissance}, p. 124.
6.8: The Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian (Alexander Bening?)

Perhaps one of the most significant artists in the development and widespread dispersion of the pilgrim badge border motif was the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian (henceforth identified as the Maximilian Master), along with his workshop. Once identified as the Master of the Older Prayerbook of Maximilian after an eponymous manuscript in Vienna (ÖNB MS 1907, ca. 1486), he appears to have lived a long life and sustained a lengthy career, most likely in Ghent, from the early 1480s until the second decade of the sixteenth century.573 The Maximilian Master maintained a large, productive workshop, and he is credited with completing numerous extant manuscripts, many of which were exported outside of Flanders. He also frequently collaborated with other artistic workshops in the Ghent-Bruges regions. Indeed, one problem with looking at the Maximilian Master’s oeuvre is determining his level of participation on a given manuscript, since he worked closely with his workshop and other local miniaturists.574

573 Wolfgang Hilger, *Das ältere Gebetbuch Maximilians I. Codices Selecti XXXIX*. Graz, 1973. Previously, scholars had identified him as the Master of Mary of Burgundy, when it was believed that the latter’s career extended for several more decades. For example, Georges Hulin de Loo’s 1931 publication placed this manuscript’s illumination at the center of what he called the second style of the Master of Mary of Burgundy, in essence a second phase of his work. “Quelques oeuvres d’art inédites reconnues en Espagne.” *Académie royale de Belgique, Bulletins de la Classe des Beaux-Arts* 13 (1931), pp. 41-42.

However, a subsequent debate emerged over whether this artist’s production was a second phase in the career of the Master of Mary Burgundy, or was instead a separate artist. In his 1948 monograph on the Master of Mary of Burgundy, Otto Pächt argued that they were two distinct artists. He also attributed several additional manuscripts to the Maximilian Master. For more on the historiography of the Maximilian Master, see *Illuminating the Renaissance*, pp. 190-191.


In the artist’s biography in *Illuminating the Renaissance*, Thomas Kren describes the Master’s artistic talent as “less gifted” compared to other artists such as Simon Marmion, The Master of the Houghton Miniatures, and the Master of the Dresden Prayerbook. In particular, Kren notes that the Maximilian Master’s workshop involved a number of collaborators who shared patterns, similar figure types, and often a similar palette, although their results and output could vary in quality. However, he does point out that the Maximilian Master was a productive and prolific artist. pp. 190-191.
The long career of the Maximilian Master has prompted many scholars to identify him with Alexander Bening.\(^{575}\) Their extended careers appear to parallel each other; Alexander Bening died around 1519, at which point evidence of the artistic activity of the Maximilian Master ceases. Additionally, the large body of patterns that the Maximilian Master used was passed on to the celebrated Bruges illuminator Simon Bening, son of Alexander.\(^{576}\) Alexander Bening also belonged to the confraternity of the book trade in Bruges, an important center for the production of such books in the sixteenth century, while the Maximilian Master’s workshop produced a number of books in collaboration with artists from Bruges. Further, according to Erik Drigsahl, Alexander’s signature appears sideways in the border on fol. 339v in the *Grimani Breviary*, the large illuminated manuscript with known artistic contributions by the Maximilian Master.\(^{577}\)

By 1477 the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian was actively working for the Burgundian ducal court, for whom he produced several volumes, although no concrete evidence, such as court payment records, survive. Whether he saw any of the ducal manuscripts containing actual pilgrims’ badges is unclear. However, he was a close follower of the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy, who also worked for the Burgundian court.\(^{578}\)

The Maximilian Master appears to have relied heavily on a large body of patterns and models. Many of these patterns were probably dated from the 1470s and originate with the Vienna Master and his workshop.\(^{579}\) Well over half of the manuscripts painted by him and his

---

\(^{575}\) Bening’s membership in the Ghent painters’ guild was sponsored by Hugo van der Goes and Joos van Ghent in 1469. Alexander Bening married Catherine van der Goes, who was likely the sister or niece of Hugo. *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 191.

\(^{576}\) *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 191.

\(^{577}\) Drigsahl, “Alexander Bening’s Signature in the Grimani Breviary.” Website: http://www.chd.dk/misc/AB1515.html (accessed 2005, 2010). The signature, framed by intertwined wooden branches, reads A. BE + NC + 71 [A.(lexander) BE(ni)NC 71], suggesting that Bening was 71 years old when the page was completed (ca. 1515). Drigsahl argues that the presence of Bening’s signature in the book means the artist was the main illuminator as well as the driving force behind the production of the breviary. However, it is not clear whether he completed the actual illuminations on fol. 339v and/or its facing folio, 340r. He also suggests that an illumination of two spectators watching King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba on fol. 75v is a self-portrait of the elder artist, along with his son, Simon Bening; see website: http://www.chd.dk/misc/ABGrim.html


\(^{579}\) Other artistic sources of inspiration include the Master of the Houghton Miniatures, Dieric Bouts, and Simon Marmion (from whom he copied four illuminations from Marmion’s compositions in the *La Flora Hours*). *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 190. His work is also believed to have been derived from their earlier miniatures, along with from paintings by Hugo van der Goes.
workshop clearly copy from or adapt designs he regularly employed for several decades. The heavy reliance on patterns allowed for a highly systematized, efficient production of illuminations in his style, resulting in relatively uniform works.\(^{580}\) As the Maximilian Master’s output increased and his workshop concurrently expanded, many illuminated forms were outlined in black, suggesting an increasing reliance on transferring models from patterns and pattern books.\(^{581}\)

Still another notable characteristic of the Maximilian Master and his workshop is the prolific use of the new *trompe l’oeil* style of panel border, undoubtedly due to the Vienna Master’s border designs, including the painted badge borders.\(^{582}\) In fact, Patrick de Winter suggests that the Maximilian Master, rather than the Vienna Master, was the creator of the pilgrim badge border.\(^{583}\) At the very least, the Maximilian Master and his collaborators appear to be the leading proponent of margins illustrated with pilgrim’s badges: at least thirteen manuscripts attributed his workshop contain either scallop shell borders and/or mixed badge borders.

The Maximilian Master also illustrated manuscripts that may have had indirect influence on the painted badge borders. For example, he along with the Ghent Associates worked on the *Legende de Saint Adrien* (Vienna ÖNB MS s.n. 2619).\(^{584}\) Its main miniature, a representation of the shrine of St. Adrian in Geraardsbergen, is attributed to the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian (fol. 3v) [fig. 57]. This image, copied in the actual extant metal badges, became equally popular in painted badges. Given the repeated and faithfully detailed reproduction of the image in painted badges of St. Adrian across multiple manuscripts, the artists may have

---

\(^{580}\) *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 314. “Sometimes, in repeating a pattern, the workshop used an entirely different palette or interchanged the placement of particular hues.”

\(^{581}\) De Winter, “A Book of Hours of Queen Isabel la Católica,” p. 362.

\(^{582}\) *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 124.

\(^{583}\) De Winter writes, “the custom of sewing or pasting small badges, mementoes of pilgrimages, in books was illusionistically counterfeited by the illuminator, for example, in the border of a page of the Cleveland *Hours* portrayed with great accuracy small medals and the votive image of the Veronica as if appended to the book. This practice of this appealing artifice was becoming widespread among contemporary Flemish illuminators.” “A Book of Hours of Queen Isabel la Católica,” p. 366.

\(^{584}\) This codex was made for the French King Louis XI sometime after 1477, when the death of Charles the Bold caused him to venture back into Burgundian lands to regain territory.
appropriated their reality-based model for both the *Legende*’s illustration and the marginal painted badges.\(^{585}\)

One of the Maximilian Master’s earliest attributable manuscripts with a painted pilgrim’s badge border is the *Hours of Philip of Cleves* (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS IV 40), from the very early 1480s (c. 1483?) [fig. 58]. The Maximilian Master worked on most of the full-page illuminations and borders in the codex. In this book, a collection of assorted pilgrims’ badges, rendered in careful detail as well-defined, isolated objects, surrounds an image of the Virgin and Child, facing the opening of the Hours of the Virgin (fol. 42r).\(^{586}\)

Other manuscripts largely attributable to the Maximilian Master and his workshop contain painted scallop shell margins, suggesting that he fostered the regular use of this motif. These include the Berlin *Hours of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian* (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 12), which held two pages of painted scallop shells (fols. 90v-91r). Similarly, in the *Hours of Charlotte of Bourbon-Montpensier* (Alnwick Castle, Percy MS 482), which he and/or his workshop worked on with the Dresden Master and Simon Marmion, a scallop shell border is illustrated on fol. 46.\(^{587}\) The Maximilian Master’s workshop also completed illuminations in a book of hours now in Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS clm 28345), likely collaborating with the workshop of the Master of the Prayer Books of

---

\(^{585}\) A variation of the Adrian pose also appears in the Madrid *Hastings Hours* (Madrid, Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, Inv. 15503), another likely collaboration between the Ghent Associates and the Maximilian Master.

\(^{586}\) De Winter, “A Book of Hours of Queen Isabel la Católica,” p. 362; Maurits Smeyers and Jan van der Stock, eds. *Flemish Illumination Manuscripts 1475-1550* (Ghent: Ludion, 1996), p. 137. De Winter suggests that the Maximilian Master was perhaps aware of *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*; however, this cannot be conclusively proven.

Identifiable badges include the Virgin and Child at Boulogne-sur-Mer; Notre-Dame at Halle St. Josse-sur-Mer; the Three Kings at Cologne; and a Vera Icon, among other souvenirs.

\(^{587}\) Thomas Kren first attributed this manuscript to the Maximilian Master, and argued that this book had the earliest securely datable illusionistic borders, made before mid-March 1478 (the date of her death), and likely by January 1477, when her second cousin, Mary of Burgundy, became duchess. For more, see *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 199+.

Kren also attributed the *Carondelet Breviary* to the artist. In addition, the Maximilian Master worked on the *Hasting Hours* (London, British Library, Add. MS 54782).
Around 1500.\textsuperscript{588} This particular codex contains an often-reproduced scallop shell border on a salmon-colored background (fol. 265r) [fig. 45].\textsuperscript{589}

Representations of metal pilgrim’s badges continued to be employed by the Maximilian Master and his workshop. The Rothschild Hours (formerly Vienna ÖNB s. n. 2844), an example of the artist’s later, more mature style, contains a mixed painted badge collection in the margins of fol. 125r. He was also one of the many artists who contributed illustrations to the large Grimani Breviary, which includes a narrow panel of five pilgrims’ souvenirs in the outer margin of text page (fol. 740v) [fig. 48].\textsuperscript{590}

The Maximilian Master and his workshop also completed illustrations in the Hours of Louis Quarré (from 1487-1490, most likely around 1488) [fig. 52a], in which twenty-three badges are represented on three sides of a lavender panel ground surrounding a full-page miniature of Pentecost: fourteen gold, eight silver, and one Vera Icon (fol. 21v).\textsuperscript{591} Three medals are repeated in various sizes as well as shapes, such as the St. Adrian badges, Notre-Dame from Halle, and the Crucifixion badges. Narrow shadows can be seen behind the badges, and the artist also depicted holes with white threads running through the badges. Twelve medals have inscriptions; some are legible while others include mock inscriptions.

Two other manuscripts contemporaneous to the Hours of Louis Quarré also are filled with badge-filled borders. In the Hours of Isabella of Castile (Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art inv. 1963.256; also cited as 63.256), fol. 184r, thirty-four gold and silver badges, along with

\textsuperscript{588} Other artists who collaborated on this manuscript include the Master of the Munich Annunciation and the workshop of Simon Marmion. Illuminating the Renaissance, pp. 318-319.  
This manuscript was found in a Spanish collection in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.  
\textsuperscript{589} Patrick de Winter suggests that this manuscript was produced not long after the Cleveland Hours of Isabella of Castile, discussed below.  
\textsuperscript{590} Other manuscripts attributed to him include the Vienna Hours of Philip of Cleves (ÖNB MS s.n. 13239), as well as the Munich Chronicle of the Princes of Cleves. In his analysis of one of the master’s key works, the Hours of Isabella of Castile, Patrick de Winter also attributed to the Maximilian Master a group of miniatures in the Spinola Hours, the Madrid Hastings Hours and a book of hours in Krakow.  
Another manuscript with illuminations by the Maximilian Master is the famous Mayer van den Bergh Breviary, c. 1496 (Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh, inv. 946). In addition to the Maximilian Master, there are at least five to seven workshop associates who provided the majority of the breviary’s illumination, including the full and half-page miniatures, smaller miniatures, historiated margins and calendar illustrations. At least two other hands were involved in the illumination of the calendar pages and the historiated borders. One of them painted in a rather rigid style, suggesting that his figures clearly were derived from pattern books, and he was responsible for part of the border decoration. For more on this particular manuscript, see Brigitte Dekeyzer, Layers of Illusion: The Mayer van den Bergh Breviary. (Ghent & Amsterdam: Ludion, 2004), p. 92.  
\textsuperscript{591} See Kren, “The Importance of Patterns,” p. 371. According to Kren, many compositions in this manuscript borrowed from the work of Lieven van Lathem.
a pinned parchment Vera Icon, surround the opening to the Suffrage prayer to St. Nicholas. [fig. 59]. Based on its overall layout, De Winter argues that the book was primarily a project of the Maximilian Master: he received the commission and conceived most of the book’s composition himself. He and his workshop completed most of the miniatures in Bruges and perhaps Ghent in the beginning of the sixteenth century (before 1504), mid-point in the artist’s career.

The Maximilian Master also contributed to the illumination of a volume now in Naples, known as La Flora Hours (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS I.B.51). It is likely that the La Flora Hours were executed before the Cleveland Hours, although they have many correspondences between them, including the layout, the scribal hand, the architectural borders, and the full borders strewn with large flowers.

This manuscript was not completed in one campaign; rather, the various parts were worked on at different times, and then pieced together. Patrick de Winter attributes most of the La Flora miniatures to the Maximilian Master, including fol. 38r, which depicts a mixed pilgrim’s badge border surrounding a miniature of the Mocking of Christ [fig. 60]. Here, seventeen miscellaneous badges include souvenirs of St. Adrian of Geraardsbergen, Notre-Dame

---

592 Another manuscript, a breviary in Glasgow’s University Library (MS Hunter 25 [S.2.15]), was also completed around this time (ca. 1494); however, while the manuscript contains several trompe l’œil borders, I have not seen the manuscript to determine if any of these are badge-filled borders.

593 The Maximilian Master and his workshop executed thirty-one full-page miniatures, all ten of the half-page miniatures, and the twenty-four roundels in the calendar, comprising more than 80 percent of the book’s narrative decoration. Thus, while it is believed the Master of the Prayer Books of Around 1500, Gerard David, the Master of James IV of Scotland, and another illuminator also worked on the manuscript, it seems as the Maximilian Master completed many of the illuminations. Illuminating the Renaissance, p. 358.

594 This codex had also been worked on by Simon Marmion, the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book, the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian and workshop, and Master of the Prayer Books of Around 1500. However, Thomas Kren suggests that the Maximilian Master likely acquired the manuscript unfinished after Simon Marmion died, and had to complete it. He “adapted the codex to a different book project and subsequently to alter the style of borders to suit the changing tastes. [Thus], the Dresden Master would have been the Maximilian Master’s collaborator on the project rather than being responsible for an earlier stage.” The patterns used in the La Flora Hours appear in many subsequent books. See Illuminating the Renaissance, p. 335. The La Flora Hours may have been made for the French king Charles VIII (who became king in 1484 and died in 1498), perhaps commissioned/completed on the occasion of his marriage to Anne of Brittany. Charles’s coat of arms appears at the beginning of the manuscript, although beyond this, there is no indication of royal ownership in any of the texts. It should be noted that Charles also owned a book with one pilgrim’s badges sewn on one folio (Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 1370, fol. 32v).

595 Illuminating the Renaissance, p. 330. It was probably started in Valenciennes before 1489; when Marmion died in 1489, the book was completed in Bruges and probably Ghent before 1498, ultimately for someone else.

596 De Winter, p. 425, n. 31. The Getty catalog also claims that fol. 37v, depicting the Road to Calvary, was likely done by the Maximilian Master. In keeping with de Winter’s hypothesis, perhaps he also completed the illustration on the next folio. Illuminating the Renaissance, p. 330.
at Halle, the Annunciation, a bishop standing behind a shield and flanked by Peter and Paul (also seen in the Cleveland Hours), St. Catherine, and a ‘pinned’ Vera Icon, which appears to overlap the border’s edge.

The codex also includes a scallop shell border surrounding the Virgin and Child with angels on fol. 151r. It is uncertain whether the Maximilian Master completed the scallop shells here, although it is believed he completed the illustrations on the previous page, fol. 150v.\textsuperscript{597} What is more, the style, spacing, trompe l’oeil shadows, and alternating colors of the scallop shells in the \textit{La Flora} codex are analogous to the scallop shells seen in the Munich Hours (MS clm 28345), also by the Maximilian Master’s workshop.

A stylistic comparison of the assorted badge borders of the \textit{La Flora Hours}, the \textit{Hours of Isabella of Castile}, and the \textit{Hours of Louis Quarré}[compare figs. 60, 59, and 52a] reveals that all three badge borders were completed by the same person within the orbit of the Maximilian Master. Similarities include the pale, ghost-like form of Veronica holding the darkened vernicle (with three angular tips for Christ’s hair and beard); the careful detail of the sword, anvil, and dragon on the St. Adrian badge; and the tooled edging around many of the badges. Certain badges are repeated across these three manuscripts, including St. Adrian, the Vera Icon, Notre-Dame at Halle, a bishop saint with shield, the Annunciation, and Crucifixion badges, among others. Circular and hexagonal shaped forms tend to dominate these collections.

A second stylistic grouping across pilgrim badge borders appears in three manuscripts also completed by the Maximilian Master and his workshop: the \textit{Breviary of Eleanor of Portugal} (New York Pierpont Morgan Library MS M. 52), which has a mixed badge border on fol. 353r, as well as a scallop shell border surrounding St. James’s Suffrage on fol. 265) [fig. 61]; a book of hours now in Brussels (Bibliothèque Royale MS IV 441, fol. 22r) [fig. 50a]; and a book of hours from a private collection in Cologne (fol. 206r) [fig. 62].\textsuperscript{598} The badges of St. Adrian, Notre-Dame at Halle, and the Crucifixion copy the models seen in the \textit{Louis Quarré, La Flora, and Cleveland Isabella manuscripts}. Among the more distinctive painted badges linking these three

\textsuperscript{597} \textit{Illuminating the Renaissance}, p. 332. The Getty catalog suggests that a third artist working in the Maximilian Master’s style painted the half-page Virgin and Child with Musical Angels (fol. 151), along with the semi-monochrome miniatures of the full-page Lamentation scene on the same folio. These folios are part of the Advent Office, which runs between folios. 150v-158v.

\textsuperscript{598} For the latter, see Joachim M. Plotzek, \textit{Andachtsbücher des Mittelalters aus Privatbesitz} (Cologne, 1987), pp. 34, 206-208.
borders to one artistic hand is the Holy Tunic badge from Aachen. In all of the manuscripts, the
badge—comparable to the extant souvenir in the Book of Gillette van der Ee (in Bad
Godesberg)—is shown with the Infant Christ seated on the left shoulder of the Virgin, with the
tunic’s sleeves slightly flared. While circular and octagonal badges predominate, other shapes
are also introduced, including heart-shaped, oval, diamond, and quadrilobed souvenirs.

While scholars have yet to conclusively assign the main illuminations of the Cologne and
Brussels volumes to the Maximilian Master and his workshop, the Breviary of Eleanor of
Portugal is considered a later work from the Master’s workshop. The manuscript can be
assigned to the first decade of the sixteenth century, although scholars have dated it as early as
the last years of the fifteenth century and as late as 1520. It was largely a collaborative effort
among the members of the Maximilian Master’s workshop.599 A large collection of thirty-seven
badges appear around two columns of text on fol. 353r, painted by either the Master, a member
of his workshop, or an apprentice, perhaps the Master of James IV of Scotland. Some of
the larger souvenirs are easily identifiable, such as St. Adrian of Geraardsbergen, St. Quirinus of
Neuss, the Holy Tunic from Aachen, St. Claude-in-the-Jura, Notre-Dame at Halle, and St.
Sebastian. Others are small souvenirs in between the two text columns and along the inner
gutter, with more schematic iconography (a seated Virgin and Child, perhaps mimicking badges
from Notre-Dame at Halle, as well as full standing figures and busts of saints).

Thus, the Maximilian Master’s work was influenced by both the use of patterns he got
from the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy. One or both factors may have led to the
prominence of the pilgrim badge filled borders in his oeuvre. While it is uncertain whether the
Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian was the original creator of the painted badge
border, he almost certainly was the prime instigator in the proliferation of these badge-filled

599 This is similar to the completion of the Munich Hours. In this codex, the workshop of the Master of the First
Prayer Book of Maximilian painted all of the full-page miniatures, six of the historiated borders, and twenty-five of
the one-column miniatures. One of the workshop artists seems also to have begun two of the one-column miniatures,
which were then completed by the Master of James IV and his workshop. The Maximilian Master workshop
miniatures range in quality, probably reflecting the participation of several hands.
The Master of James IV of Scotland or his workshop painted all of the miniatures in the calendar and four
historiated borders and ten one-column miniatures (including two on fols. 349v and 351, near the painted badge
border on fol. 353).
For dating of the manuscript, see Illuminating the Renaissance, p. 321.
borders. Because of his prolific output over several decades, he and his workshop may have been the most influential in terms of dispersing the pilgrim badge-filled borders.

6.9: The Master of the Prayer Book of James IV of Scotland (Gerard Horenbout?)

Originally identified by Friedrich Winkler, the Master of the Prayer Book of James IV of Scotland was a leading illuminator during the generation between the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy and Simon Bening. Named after a full-page miniature he completed in a book of hours now in Vienna (ÖNB MS 1897), scholars trace the artist’s long and active career over nearly four decades. He emerged in the mid-1480s (perhaps between 1485-7?) and worked until at least 1510, and perhaps as late as 1526, based on extant books attributed to him.

The activity of the Master of James IV is difficult to localize. He borrowed and built upon the artistic ideas of the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy. While he is known to have worked with artists such as such as the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book and Gerard David, he frequently worked with the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian.⁶⁰⁰ He also helped to shape later generations of illuminators over the next several decades, including the Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary (who later carried on his style, after training in the Master of James IV’s workshop), the Master of the Soane Hours, and Simon Bening, all of whom produced manuscripts with painted badge borders. Thus, the Master of James IV can be seen as a key link between the early and later generations of Flemish illuminators, and—in turn—may have been the crucial conduit for passing along of the painted badge border motif to later manuscript artists.

Some scholars have suggested that the Master of James IV is Gerard Horenbout of Ghent.⁶⁰¹ Striking coincidences in the artistic career and circles of patronage of both artists have led scholars to this conclusion, similar to the circumstances linking the Maximilian Master with Alexander Bening. The earliest and latest dated works of the Master of James IV belong to 1487 and 1526, respectively. This is compatible with what is known of Horenbout’s activity in Ghent,

---

⁶⁰⁰ He may have received training in the Maximilian Master’s workshop. See Nijs, p. 1033.
⁶⁰¹ Kurt Köster identified Horenbout as a key instigator of painted badge borders. Georges Hulin de Loo, Friedrich Winkler, Robert G. Calkins, and others have previously identified the Master of James IV of Scotland as Gerard Horenbout. *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 427.
where he was a full master in the town’s painters’ guild. Both also were known to have painted other media besides manuscripts, such as portraits. The work of both artists was acquired by well-to-do patrons, such as the Hapsburgs, Spanish and Portuguese nobility, and those affiliated with their circles. Gerard Horenbout was clearly identified as a court artist for Margaret of Austria, and perhaps would have seen badge-filled manuscripts from the Burgundian library.

Unfortunately, few painted badge borders can be conclusively attributed to the Master of James IV, particularly in comparison with the Maximilian Master’s output. The Master of James IV and the Maximilian Master (and their respective workshops) split the work on a book of hours now in London (British Library, Add. MS 35313), dating to around 1500. This codex displays scallop shells around the suffrage of St. James (fol. 215v). Thomas Kren suggests that although the Master of James IV contributed a cycle of images to this particular manuscript, it is unclear whether or not he worked on the Suffrages. In fact, it is likely that the Suffrages were completed by the workshop painters (perhaps even that of the Maximilian Master), since

---

603 For example, the Master of James IV executed miniatures for both the breviary and hours acquired by Isabella of Castile, for the *Hours of James IV of Scotland*, and much later, for a prayer book for a member of the Portuguese royal family.
604 Some scholars have gone further, hypothesizing that Margaret of Austria inherited from her husband Philibert of Savoy the *Très Riches Heures* of the Duke of Berry (Chantilly, Musee Condé), the key pictorial source for the Master of James IV’s miniatures in the *Grimani Breviary*. Since Gerard Horenbout became Margaret’s court painter around the time that the *Grimani Breviary* was painted (ca. 1515), he would have been ideally positioned to have access to it, and perhaps copied some of the compositions (e.g., the calendar sequence) from the famous codex. This strong coincidence may link between Horenbout and the Master of James IV as the same artist. Although Horenbout was court painter to Margaret, he remained based in his own workshop in Ghent, where he could continue to offer the range of painting that had presumably helped to attract her patronage. He had a journeyman for four years to help him specifically with illumination. *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 21.
605 According to Thomas Kren, among his key stylistic attributes and innovations is the double or two-page illuminated opening at the beginning of manuscript section. This allowed the artist to expand the visual narrative. (*Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 412). Kren cites the James Master as an artist who showed great originality and illusionism, finding new ways to integrate miniature, border, and text. The Master of James IV also pushed the envelope of naturalism in the borders, exploring the possibilities of *trompe l’oeil*. Kren also claims that the James Master rarely relied on models, although when he did, for example in the *Grimani Breviary*, “he completely reinvented his source.” *Op cit.*, p. 366.
606 Based on an image of Mary of Burgundy as one of the Three Living Menaced by Death in the Office of the Dead, Janet Backhouse suggests that the book was made for Margaret of Austria, which is of interest since she inherited the Berlin book of hours from her mother, Mary (perhaps she wanted to preserve the memory of her mother). Another possible owner is Joanna of Castile, who married Philip the Handsome. Perhaps Margaret had the book made for Joanna. See Backhouse, *The Isabella Breviary*. London: The British Library, 1995.
they are relatively weak and uneven, and were likely based off of patterns. The Master of James IV also worked on the *Rothschild Hours* (formerly Vienna ÖNB MS s.n. 2844), which also had a page of painted pilgrim’s badges. In addition, he contributed to the *Breviary of Isabella of Castile* (London, British Library, Add. MS 18851), as well as working on the *Spinola Hours* and a book of hours in Vienna (ÖNB MS 2625), among many other manuscripts.

6.10: The Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary

First identified by Otto Pächt, the Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary (henceforth the David Master) is named after a series of illuminations featuring the Old Testament King David in the famous *Grimani Breviary*, now in Venice (Biblioteca Nationale Marciana, MS Lat. I, 99 [2138]). He likely began his career in Ghent but then moved to Bruges. He was a follower of the Master of the Prayer Book of James IV, and it is highly possible that he was a student of this artist, as he appears to have been greatly influenced by him in terms of composition and style. Like his predecessors, he collaborated with many illuminators. Often his own contributions depended on the importance of the patron and the number of manuscripts he had to supervise at the same time.

The David Master’s career likely spanned from 1490 until 1520. During the early part of his career, he primarily produced small devotional books, such as prayer books or books of hours, between approximately 1490 and 1505. Many of these were derived from patterns, and several of these prayer books contain full-page painted badge borders.

---

607 *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 370-371, n. 5; also see p. 8.
608 *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 347.
609 Beth Morrison has observed that the few pieces of evidence for localizing the Master of the David Scenes and his workshop mostly point to Bruges as the center for his activities, although some examples suggest that some of his work may have been completed in a Ghent tradition, or executed for Ghent-based clients. *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 384.
610 As-Vijvers notes that the books of hours his workshop produced were usually made for the general market instead of a particular patron. They were particularly appreciated by the Italian merchants who frequented Bruges and other Flemish cities. She also claims that there are no indications that the David Master worked for patrons ordering from abroad, although this would complicate explaining the circumstances behind the commission of the *Hours of Joanna of Castile*. “Recycling the Huth Hours: The Master of the David Scenes and the Making of the Brunkenthal Breviary, or: The Ghent Associates and the Contribution of Simon Marmion to Ghent-Bruges Manuscript Painting.” *Manuscripts in Transition: Recycling Manuscripts, Texts and Images*. (Brigitte Dekeyzer and Jan Van der Stock, eds.) (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), p. 384.
611 As Morrison notes, “the early work of the Master of the David Scenes consists almost entirely of small private devotional books in which traditional subjects in stock compositions are often repeated with little variation.”
During this time, the David Master was also responsible for the appearance of pilgrim’s badges (along with flowers, insects, birds, and jewels) which were used as individual, isolated motifs scattered among the text block. It seems likely that this *einzelmotive* decoration was a specialty of the David Master, and that he owned the models for these singular motifs, which he kept over the decades and provided to his co-illuminators when necessary.\(^{612}\) Although the concept for this decoration spread beyond his workshop, specific models were preserved by him and his workshop.\(^{613}\)

One of the first manuscripts with these *einzelmotives* probably was the *Hours of Joanna of Castile*, now in London (British Library Add. MS 18852).\(^{614}\) This codex is his most notable early work (ca. 1496-1506), which, in all likelihood, he painted almost exclusively. On fol. 184r, a collection of gold and silver badges surround an illustration of St. Luke.\(^{615}\) Many of the souvenirs depicted here are difficult to localize, with the exception of a souvenir depicting St. Maurontius of Douai, and a Holy Tunic (perhaps from Aachen), both in the lower margins [*fig. 55*]. The rest of the badges represent generic themes: busts of saints, the dove of the Holy Spirit, the Virgin and Child, the Crucifixion, crosses, and the Christomonogram ‘IHS’. Later in the codex, a full-page scallop shell border, interspersed with crisscrossed pilgrim staffs, surrounds the Suffrage of St. James on fol. 412r. In addition, the manuscript contains numerous *einzelmotives* pilgrim’s souvenirs and devotional objects, on folios. 50v, 53r, 53v, 54v, 57v, 58v, 61v, 156v, 183v, 184v, 344r, 344v, 395r, 395v, and 412v.

Around the same time that the David Master was working on the Joanna Hours, he also executed miniatures for the *Brukenthal Breviary* (Sibiu, Romania, Museu Brukenthal, MS 761),

---


\(^{613}\) Manuscripts illuminated by the Master of the David Scenes were produced for some of the highest-ranking members of courts across Europe, including Cardinal Domenico Grimani, Joanna of Castile, Maximilian I or Henry VIII, possibly Pope Alexander VI, and Frederick the Wise, elder of Saxony. *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 384.


\(^{615}\) As-Vijvers, Dissertation summary, p. 8.

\(^{616}\) According to Köster, the manuscript was originally attributed to Gerard Horenbout by Friedrich Winkler. “Religiöse Medaillen und Wallfahrts-Devotionalien,” p. 468.

\(^{615}\) In addition, an *einzelmotive* of a scallop shell and walking staff appears in the outer margin of fol. 183v, opposite the badge collection described here.
a book of hours dating to the early or mid-1490s, perhaps around 1495. This significant work is considered a turning point in the David Master’s career.\footnote{616} Like the Joanna Hours, it is likely one of the earliest manuscripts to use this \textit{einzelmotive} decoration. Though primarily focusing on birds, flowers, fruit, jewels, along with real and fantastical creatures, pages with \textit{einzelmotive} pilgrim’s badges include p. 78 (a gold Crucifixion badge) and p. 79 (a round gold badge with a saint’s bust). On page 259, a collection of assorted round gold and silver badges—mostly bust figures of saints and the Virgin—are painted within a blue-violet panel border along the inner gutter margin. This resembles the format of the panel of badges seen in the margin of fol. 740v in the \textit{Grimani Breviary}. In addition, a painted scallop shell badge border on a red ground appears on p. 589, surrounding a prayer to St. James.

Besides the \textit{Brukenthal Breviary}’s \textit{einzelmotive} badges, an unusual painted pilgrim’s badge collection opens the entire manuscript, before the calendar (p. 4) [\textbf{fig. 49}].\footnote{617} The badges appear sewn onto a grey background; however, the collection is then housed within a wooden frame, giving the impression of being hung on a nail protruding from the parchment leaf, as though affixed to a wall. Compared to other panel borders containing pilgrim badges, it is an exceptional collection not reproduced in any other extant manuscript. \textit{As-Vijvers} suggests that this grouping might reflect one way of preserving one’s pilgrim’s souvenirs after having returned home,\footnote{618} perhaps hanging them on a wall inside one’s house. The compiled collection also mimics having a group of badges concentrated on one folio within a manuscript. The souvenirs include a parchment Vera Icon (located in the center), St. Adrian from Geraardsbergen, Notre-Dame at Boulogne-sur-Mer, the Three Kings (from Cologne?), the Annunciation, a generic Virgin and Child souvenir, St. Catherine, and St. George, among others. Given that this

\footnote{616} Elizabeth Morrison, “Iconographic Originality,” pp. 150, 152. He may have begun work on the Brukenthal Breviary before work on the Joanna Hours was finished.\footnote{617} \textit{As-Vijvers} actually suggests that the \textit{Brukenthal Breviary} was completed before the \textit{Joanna Hours}, and that the miniatures and border decoration of the \textit{Joanna Hours}, (done by the David Master, the Master of Vat. Lat. 10293, the Chief Associate, and a workshop assistant), are not only closely related to those of the \textit{Brukenthal Breviary}, but also were influenced by model sheets that may been prepared during the production of the latter. In the \textit{Joanna Hours}, there are also three motifs on the page, rather than just two, which would become the prevalent number of motifs in later manuscripts. See “Recycling the Huth Hours,” p. 384.

\textit{The contents of the Brukenthal Breviary} are accessible on a website through the Brukenthal Museum: \url{http://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro/breviar/index_en.htm} (accessed 2009).

\footnote{618} \textit{As-Vijvers}, “Recycling the \textit{Huth Hours},” p. 379.
particular depiction of badges in a wooden frame is a unique composition among extant manuscripts with painted badges, it is unclear whether this reflects a special interest of the book’s owner.

_Einzelmotives_ also appear in a psalter-hours by the David Master, now in Copenhagen (MS Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. Kgl. Saml. 1605 4°), on fols. 100r, 100v, 249r, and 249v [fig. 51]. Several of the _einzelmotive_ badges in the Copenhagen manuscript are comparable to those in the border of the _Hours of Joanna of Castile_, fol. 184r, such as the frontal representation of the Holy Dove on fol. 100v. The lower margin’s representation of a flared-sleeve Aachen Holy Tunic badge, however, might be more comparable to Holy Tunic badges painted within the workshop of the Maximilian Master.

By 1510, the David Master’s work was approaching a more mature style, with the peak of his career most likely in the mid-1510s. During this period, he contributed illuminations to the Copenhagen codex; the _Grimani Breviary_ (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS Lat. 199); and Brussels Bibliothèque Royale MS IV 480. These three codices contained painted representations of pilgrim’s badges, either as _einzelmotives_ or as assembled collections within panel borders.

The David Master is believed to have supervised the illumination process of the _Grimani Breviary_ (ca. 1515-20), considered to be one of the greatest Flemish manuscripts of the sixteenth century. He also painted the largest number of the nearly one hundred miniatures in this enormous volume. It is unclear which of the many famous Ghent-Bruges artists painted the five badges in the narrow panel border on fol. 740v (3 golden, 1 silver, and a Vera Icon), all with “sewn” black strings and three with illegible inscriptions [fig. 48]. On the borders of other

---

619 Morrison describes the work from this period as having “greater attention to naturalistic detail and a more linear approach,” with “miniatures characterized by the frequent inclusion of completely original iconography, [a] psychological complexity in the figures and their interactions, and more rounded bodies.” _Op. cit._, p. 383-4. Other manuscripts from this era include Oxford Bodleian Library MS Douce 112 and Vienna ÖNB 1887, neither containing painted representations of pilgrim’s badges.

620 Other key contributors, some of the most famous names in Flemish illumination, include the Maximilian Master (Alexander Bening [?], who signed the codex), the Master of James IV of Scotland, Gerard David, and Simon Bening. Beth Morrison notes that, since the Master of the David Scenes was asked to contribute to the manuscript’s illumination, it shows the high regard towards the artist and his work. _Illuminating the Renaissance_, p. 153.

The book’s first owner was Antonio Siciliano, based on his coats of arms which appear in the manuscript. It was acquired before 1521 by Cardinal Domenico Grimani, who gave it to the republic of Venice.

621 The artists’ contributions appear scattered throughout the book, rather than concentrated in certain portions. They also appear to have been executing their work with higher refinement compared to previous completed works,
pages appear single *einzelmotive* badges, sometimes interspersed with pearls and other gems. Since many of these artists and their workshops who contributed to the *Grimani Breviary* were known to have added painted badge borders in their manuscripts, it comes as no surprise that they would appear here, if only in one narrow rectangular panel border near the end of the manuscript among the Proper for the Saints. However, the artist who painted this folio has a style similar to manuscripts associated with both the David Master and the Maximilian Master. In addition, this composition resembles the narrow panel border on p. 259 of the David Master’s *Brukenthal Breviary*.

Among the many manuscripts that can be possibly attributed to or associated with the David Master, three manuscripts display stylistic commonalities of the painted pilgrim’s badges, suggesting that one hand (either the David Master’s or a member of his workshop) completed these borders. They include Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS IV 480, fol. 163v/164r; Chantilly Musée Condé MS 77 (formerly MS 1595), fols. 29v/30r; and Parma Biblioteca Palatina MS pal. 165, fols. 36v/37r [figs. 63, 64, 65]. The depictions include similar badges of angels holding a chasse reliquary (likely representing the shrine at Wavre), and the frontally enthroned Virgin and Child with Gothic portals with clear finials (indicative of a badge from Notre-Dame at Halle). In addition, the slightly skewed geometric forms of some badges (particularly the octagonal-shaped badges), as well as the slight smiles on some of the figures, appear throughout all three manuscripts. The badges are also interspersed with pearls in all three codices, the Parma manuscript’s margins further decorated with jewels and rings.

Thus, as a specialist in elaborate marginal decoration, the David Master can be seen as a key proponent of the pilgrim badge border in the later generation of Flemish illuminators.

6.11: The Master of the Prayer Books of Around 1500

First named by Friedrich Winkler after a group of roughly contemporaneous manuscripts, the Master of the Prayer Books of Around 1500 worked in Bruges around the turn of the century, and had repeated patronage from such lofty clients as King Henry VII and Engelbert II of

making attributions somewhat difficult. Attributions of adjacent pages have been made to the Maximilian Master (Alexander Bening) and Simon Bening. Köster attributes this folio’s work to Simon Bening, with participation of Gerard Horenbout, although this cannot be proven.
Nassau. He created several luxurious devotional books with a team of assistants. His works include a book of hours for Margaret of Austria (Vienna ÖNB MS 1862); a book of hours in Berlin (Museen Stiftung Preussicher Kulturbesitz Kupferstichkabinet MS 78 B 15); and another codex in Vienna (ÖNB MS 1887). He likely made small contributions to several lavish devotional books between 1490 and 1515, including a cycle of calendar illustrations for the Munich prayer book in Munich (MS clm 28345); the Spinola Hours; the Hours of Isabella of Castile; and the Rothschild Hours (the latter two with painted badge margins). At least two devotional manuscripts (Berlin MS 78 B 15 and Brussels Bibliothèque Royale MS IV 280) were written by the same scribe and decorated by the same subsidiary illuminator.622

Of particular note is the Brussels manuscript, painted ca. 1510, with a painted pilgrim’s badge border surrounding the Suffrage of St. Andrew on fol. 211r [fig. 66]. Many of the souvenirs here cannot be linked to specific pilgrimage sites, and are generic in their iconography: St. Catherine, the Agnus Dei; a tower (perhaps a shorthand representation for St. Barbara); a possible depiction of a nail from Christ’s Crucifixion, a trilobed shape, and a bell, among other forms.623 The badges have some stylistic and iconographic commonalities to the souvenirs depicted in the New York Joanna Hours. The Brussels’s scallop shell/staff souvenir is a near-exact replica of the einzemotive seen in the Joanna Hours on fol. 183v, and the ‘IHS’ monogram also appears similar to that seen on fol. 184r of the same manuscript. While evidence indicates the same artist worked on both of these manuscripts (perhaps an illuminator working with both the David Master and the 1500 Prayer Books Master), this is still unclear.

6.12: The Master of the Soane Hours

Like the David Master, the Master of the Soane Hours appears to have worked closely with the Master of James IV. He was likely one of the David Master’s pupils in Ghent, remaining there after beginning his own workshop.624 He appears to have relied heavily upon, even imitated, the James Master’s compositions; for example, in his namesake codex the Soane

622 Illuminating the Renaissance, p. 394.
623 The tower badge represented here is similar to the partial tower depicted in a St. Barbara badge in a small book of hours now in Paris’s Bibliotheque Nationale (MS lat. 10555). Other badges depict slight smiles and ‘IHS’ monograms. Thus, while it cannot be conclusively proven, the same artist may have worked on the Paris manuscript.
624 Morrison, “Iconographic Originality,” p. 149.
**Hours**, no fewer than twenty-five miniatures appear to be copies of illuminations from the workshop of the Master of James IV. 625

The **Soane Hours** (London, Sir John Soane’s Museum, MS 4) was made in Ghent or Bruges sometime after 1512. 626 The accepted dating of post-1512 was originally proposed by Kurt Köster, based on the types of pilgrims’ badges seen in the margins of fol. 122v [fig. 67]. 627 Surrounding an image of St. Sebastian’s martyrdom, twenty-two gold and silver badges and a Vera Icon surround three sides of the blue-violet border. While some iconography is identifiable (such as the Vera Icon, St. Adrian, St. Cornelius, and Notre-Dame from Boulogne-sur-Mer), other badges have indistinct iconography. Several badge compositions are repeated, such as Christ’s Holy Robe souvenir three times (from the pilgrimage at Trier); a Cornelius badge twice, and five Virgin and Child badges in varying sizes. Eleven badges carry fabricated inscriptions or the initials of saints. Shadows and dark strings are visible on the badges, with larger strings on the Vera Icon at the corners. Köster’s specific observation of three bracteate badges depicting the Holy Robe from Trier, the first representation of this souvenir, lends to the 1512 **terminus post quem** date for the manuscript (since many extant examples date to the first decades of the sixteenth century). 628

Besides fol. 112v, adjacent pages also have pilgrim souvenirs in their borders. For example, the border on fol. 111v, surrounding the Suffrage of St. James, is appropriately filled with alternating gold and silver scallop shells. They are similar to the Munich book of hours (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek MS clm 28345, fol. 265r), though here, the scallops are hung in horizontal rows across narrow wooden beams. On fol. 115, surrounding a Noli me tangere scene, the border is horizontally divided and filled with a variety of religious objects and church

---

625 *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 443.
626 209x142mm, (175 + 5 folios), with 78 miniatures and diverse borders. The original patron is unknown.
A date of ca. 1500 was originally suggested for the **Soane Hours**, since its style and contents are comparable with London British Museum Add. MS 35313, an early work by the Master of James IV dating to the turn of the sixteenth century. However, the compositions borrow from many other manuscripts completed by the Master of James IV manuscripts, including some that are perhaps as late as 1525, which may suggest an even later dating for the codex. The **Soane Hours**’ miniatures and borders appear to be closely related to three volumes of a Psalter-Hours now in the Vatican Library, (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. Lat. 3770/3769/3768). It also can be compared to compositions in London, British Library Add. MS 38126 and the **Grimani Breviary** in Venice. See *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 445.
628 Köster, p. 473.
vessels, wreaths of roses, and several religious medals (though none are pilgrimage medals). Hence, it seems the Soane Master was working with similar decorative border themes within a particular section or gathering of the book.

6.13: Simon Bening

Simon Bening is considered one of the last great Flemish illuminators. He appears to have a long career, working from around 1500, when he registered his illuminator’s mark at the painters’ hall in Bruges, until 1558, the year of his final dated work, a self-portrait. His earliest manuscripts date to the 1510s, and he produced books for at least the next three decades, until the early 1550s.629

Bening probably studied, apprenticed, and worked under his father, Alexander, who has been connected to the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian. Moreover, he may have also inherited his father’s shop, according to the common contemporary practice.630 As previously discussed, the Maximilian Master’s work drew heavily upon a large body of illuminators’ patterns and models that had appeared by the 1470s and 1480s. Thus, Simon may have inherited this group of patterns from his father, as he used them over and over again for miniatures throughout his career. That Simon Bening repeatedly used compositional models of the Maximilian Master supports the hypothesis that the Maximilian Master and Alexander Bening was the same individual.

Bening’s patrons included the Hapsburg imperial family (including a book of Hours for Isabella of Castile, now in San Marino) and other wealthy European clientele. One such client, Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg, owned a set of hours completed by Bening (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum MS Ludwig IX 19).631 Like many of his Flemish predecessors, Bening completed a scallop shell badge border, comprised of semi-large shells within diamond pattern, around the Suffrage of St. James on fol. 61r. In addition, on fol. 148r, a small einzelmotive

631 This manuscript borrows from patterns seen in Berlin MS 78 B 12, discussed earlier in this chapter.
border image of Veronica holding the vernicle appears around an illustration of Christ being led to Herod. Another Veronica appears on fol. 162v.

Several other manuscripts by Simon Bening and his workshop reproduce painted pilgrim’s souvenirs in the *einzelmotive* format, similar to the work of the Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary. Examples include the *Da Costa Hours* (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS 399), ca. 1515, with two badges surrounding an image of St. George and the Dragon on fol. 293v. He and/or his workshop also worked on a book of hours, ca. 1510-9, now in Rouen (Bibliothèque Municipale MS 3028). The codex contains several *einzelmotive* badges in the outer margins, such as on fols. 162r and 162v (which depict badges of Notre-Dame at Boulogne-sur-Mer and a Vera Icon); fols. 184r and 184v (also with Virgin badges on the outer and upper margins, including a large round souvenir perhaps representing Notre-Dame at Halle); and on fol. 231v (showing a Christomonogram “IHS” badge ‘pinned’ onto parchment). The depictions of badges on the recto and verso of individual folios suggest that Bening traced the badge pattern on either side of folio for ease of execution.

Bening also collaborated with the Master of the Prayer Book of James IV of Scotland and his workshop on a book of hours now in Lisbon (Museu Calouste Gulbenkian MS LA 210) dating to the early sixteenth century. The Master of James IV also contributed illuminations, but only to the front of the book, including the portrait, the calendar, and the table for calculating the date of Easter. The remainder of the book’s miniatures, based on patterns, is by Simon Bening also collaborated with the Master of the Prayer Book of James IV of Scotland and his workshop on a book of hours now in Lisbon (Museu Calouste Gulbenkian MS LA 210) dating to the early sixteenth century. The Master of James IV also contributed illuminations, but only to the front of the book, including the portrait, the calendar, and the table for calculating the date of Easter. The remainder of the book’s miniatures, based on patterns, is by Simon

---

632 However, As-Vijvers argues that Bening’s workshop did not have access to the characteristic *einzelmotive* repertory. Instead, she suggests that any *einzelmotive* s in codices from Bening’s workshop were painted by his “first” collaborator; the Master with the Garish Features; and/or a third illuminator who also did the complete borders of the calendar of the Rouen Hours. As-Vijvers, Dissertation summary, p. 8.

633 *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 450.

634 As Thomas Kren demonstrates, this manuscript, along with others, borrowed from previous manuscript models; see *Illuminating the Renaissance*, pp. 146-147, and n. 3.

635 In addition, Bening depicted boards with the ‘IHS’ monogram “hanging” from the bottom margins of fols. 107-107v.

636 The provenance of this manuscript has been linked to a family named Rein, who perhaps lived in Portugal. However, the armorials of the book have not been securely identified. Related armorials were held by the Swabian family Rein and the Bruges family Kokelare, but neither corresponds in all details to those depicted. At Nones in the Hours of the Virgin (fol. 48), the *bas-de-page* features the Burgundian badge of a briquette on two crossed boughs, flanked by a griffin and a lion, symbols that were taken up by Charles V and evidence that the book’s armorials belong to a Hapsburg subject, perhaps a courtier. Coincidentally, Charles V also sewed badges in his prayer books, discussed in the previous chapter.
Therefore, it seems likely that Bening completed two facing painted badge borders, surrounding a prayer and full-page image of the Flight into Egypt (fols. 55v/56r) [fig. 54]. While some of the badges’ iconography is familiar, such as St. Adrian, the Crucifixion, and two Vera Icons (the Veronica and the vernicle alone), some of the selected iconography is atypical compared to prior painted badge borders: a double-armed cross (perhaps alluding to the pilgrimage site of Zande in the Low Countries), a Pietà image in a Gothic dais, similar to Notre-Dame at Halle badges, John the Baptist’s head on a plate, and St. Hubert. A jewel and braided rope are also included on the folios’ collection.

Not only one of the last great Flemish manuscript illuminators, Simon Bening was also perhaps the last artist to continue to use the models and patterns of miniatures first developed nearly a half century earlier by his predecessors, among whom likely was his father. With his artistic production ending sometime in the late 1550s, the great era of Flemish illuminated manuscripts drew to a close. The careful, detailed representation of pilgrims’ souvenirs in these codices, mimicking a popular devotional practice begun a century and half earlier, also ceased.

6.14: Conclusion

The depiction of painted pilgrims’ badges in the borders of illuminated manuscripts grew in popularity soon after the practice of affixing actual souvenirs in the margins of prayer books became a common practice in the second half of the fifteenth century. These trompe l’oeil souvenirs first regularly appeared in the 1470s and 1480s, and remained a popular border motif until the mid-sixteenth century.

Some painted badges have clearly identifiable metal precedents, and many of these were based on actual souvenirs from popular shrines in the Low Countries and Germany. Examples included Notre-Dame at Halle, Notre-Dame at Boulogne-sur-Mer, St. Adrian at Geraardsbergen, and the Vera Icon, among many others. Whether pure coincidence or a borrowed idea, many of these badges were from shrines popular with the Burgundian ducal family. In turn, these artists likely developed and passed down models for badge-filled borders for subsequent artists to borrow and share. Other painted pilgrim’s souvenirs have less defined, more schematic iconography that cannot be readily identified with a specific pilgrimage site. The imagery

---

637 *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 424.
selected for these painted pilgrims’ badges and their repeated use through several decades of
Flemish manuscript illumination suggests that a body of workshop patterns or models were
developed (perhaps in the 1470s and 80s), frequently used, copied, and passed through several
generations of manuscript artists.

With the exception of two anomalous manuscripts produced by the Northern
Netherlandish artist the Master of Catherine of Cleves, manuscripts with trompe l’oeil badge
borders were primarily executed by artists based in or near Ghent and Bruges. Artists who likely
created or were associated with painted pilgrim badge borders include the Vienna Master of
Mary of Burgundy; The Ghent Associates, The Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian;
The Master of James IV of Scotland; The Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary,
The Master of the Prayer Books of 1500; The Master of the Soane Hours; and Simon Bening.

The appearance of the badge borders probably began with the Vienna Master of Mary of
Burgundy. The Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian inherited and proliferated these
border designs from the Vienna Master. Those that worked closely with the Maximilian Master
included The Master of James IV, who, in turn, probably had several illuminators working under
him, including the Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary and the Soanes Master.
Simon Bening likely inherited the patterns from his father, Alexander, who has been identified as
the Maximilian Master. Many of these artists collaborated with each other and/or worked or
were apprenticed in their colleagues’ workshops [see Appendix D]. This may have caused a
cross-fertilization of artistic ideas and models, leading to a certain codification of pilgrim badge
borders, specifically the choice of pilgrimage sites represented within the badges and the creation
of a repertoire of generic religious iconographic motifs that found their place among the
identifiable painted badges. Furthermore, within these workshops, stylistic commonalities in the
badge border are apparent, indicating that one artist (either a master or a workshop member) was
responsible for multiple borders containing pilgrim’s badges.

Among the iconographic repertoire for Flemish trompe l’oeil border imagery, painted
pilgrim’s badges are noteworthy not only for their identifiable and localizable imagery, but also
their cultural and historical relevance. They further highlight the prevalent late medieval practice
of affixing souvenirs in prayer books, and provide further visual evidence of late medieval
hagiographic imagery and the popularity of particular pilgrimages in the Low Countries. The
repeated badge motifs emphasize not only specific and widely recognized pilgrimage shrines, but also perhaps their universal reputation within this region.\(^\text{638}\)

\(^{638}\) Köster described these collections of painted badges as “characteristic” and at the same time “universal” in their appearance. “Religiöse Medaillen und Wallfahrts-Devotionalien,” p. 463.
Chapter 7: Travelling Across Borders: The Use and Reception of Painted Pilgrim’s Badges in the Margins of Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts

7.1: Introduction

After leaving the manuscript workshop and entering the hands of an owner, a devotional book assumed a new life. As he or she thumbed through its folios and meditated on its prayers and images, many of the book’s illustrations would give the reader pause and enjoyment, particularly the borders painted in the new Flemish trompe l’oeil style. These margins were visually striking for their illusionistic detail, displaying the high level of craftsmanship of the illuminators. While the naturalistic borders depicting flowers, fruit, and acanthus leaves were commonly repeated throughout the book, other border types, such as those depicting pottery, jewels, and pilgrim’s badges, were less frequent, often seen on only a few folios. Hence, their rarity would likely cause the reader to linger on these images while paging through the manuscript. Moreover, as with the modern reader, the detailed iconography of the pilgrim badge borders would undoubtedly provoke the reader to further examine the individual souvenirs, perhaps testing his knowledge of the saints and holy figures depicted. In turn, the reader may choose to ponder the devotional significance of these painted badges and what meaning they may have for the devotee’s personal faith.

Scholars accept that painted pilgrim badges directly refer to the actual practice of sewing pilgrim badges in manuscripts. In fact, they may have been part of a larger repertoire of objects collected during pilgrimages and kept in a manuscript, such as pressed flowers, peacock feathers, and insects. This may explain their appearance in later Flemish marginal imagery.


Despite the small portable size of many books of hours, it is often difficult to prove whether books went with pilgrims on their journeys—and badges were thus sewn in as they went—or whether badges were collected and then assembled in the manuscript upon returning home (perhaps with additional blank folia inserted for the purpose of mounting badges). Thomas and Virginia Kaufmann suggested that devotional books were taken on pilgrimages, and through the book’s travel thus became repositories not only for pilgrims’ badges, but other devotionalia and other ephemera found along the journey, such as dirt, stones, plants, and flowers. They cite unpublished discoveries by James Marrow of flowers and insects in manuscripts. In response to a March 20, 2003 e-mail query by the author, Dr. Marrow wrote that while he did not record the specific examples of manuscripts with such ephemera during his research, he recalled that there were only one or two insertions in a manuscript, rather than an assembling of a large collection of these objects. Kaufmann and Kaufmann, “The Sanctification of Nature,” pp. 57-59.
While a focus on painted pilgrim’s badges over other marginal iconography in Flemish illumination may demonstrate a particular bias, the painted pilgrim badges are historically relevant because, like their actual counterparts, they not only represent geographically identifiable locales but likewise allude to the popular contemporary devotional practice of pilgrimage.⁶⁴¹

Scholars also have suggested that some of the other objects depicted in the Flemish panel borders have possible religious symbolism. Certain flowers, such as irises, roses, violets, columbine, and lilies signify the Virgin and her feast days. Other flowers, such as the red carnation, are associated with Christ and his Passion. Pansies are also associated with memory (the French term for pansy, “pensée” also meaning “thought”).⁶⁴² Border decoration also included rosaries, often encircling images of the Virgin. Kate Challis has commented on the possible religious meanings in the representations of jewelry in border margins, aside from their indication of rank and wealth in late medieval society.⁶⁴³ For example, some jewelry depicted in manuscript margins reflects obvious religious references, including crucifixes or Christ’s monogram ‘IHS’.

At issue is whether painted badges were valued in a manner similar to real badges sewn in other, earlier manuscripts. In other words, were the painted badges used like the actual badges to help the viewer experience imaginative pilgrimage?

### 7.2: Beyond the Borders: The Relationship of Pilgrim’s Badge Borders and their Surrounding Texts and Illustrations


⁶⁴² In one instance, the *Book of Hours for Philip of Cleves* (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS IV 40, fol. 136r), depicted pansies in a flat basket were the emblems of the owner. See Anja Grebe, “The Art of the Edge: Frames and Page-Design in Manuscripts of the Ghent-Bruges-School,” *The Metamorphosis of Marginal Images; From Antiquity to Present Time* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2001), p. 96.

The manuscript border’s function as both a framing object and as a space for greater naturalistic illusionism grew increasingly important in late medieval Flemish illumination. As illuminators begin to expand their repertoire of marginalia motifs, the border, in effect, became increasingly “materialised,” treated as a three-dimensional space on which different kinds of collected objects—flowers, jewels, rosaries, and pilgrims’ badges—were displayed as though attached to the page.

Understanding the possible interpretations of pilgrim badge borders must acknowledge two aspects of the reader’s interaction with a manuscript. First, patrons would actively and conscientiously observe and reflect on the physical space of the margin and the objects portrayed within. Here, the border space would be considered simply as a decorative frame with illustrated objects, surrounding the main body of the folio. Secondly, the reader may choose to go one step further, visually (and perhaps, in turn, devotionally) contemplating the objects depicted in the border in relation to the contents they surround, specifically the main illuminations and/or texts on the central portion of the folio. In other words, the marginalia decoration draws the reader to interact with the whole page, beyond the central text or illumination on the folio.

There is no single visual experience of a late medieval border, and attempts to explain the possible perceived spatial relationships between border frame and the folio’s main contents are complex, as perceptions can fluctuate from reader to reader. Anja Grebe suggests that the folio’s center, containing either text and/or miniature, can be treated as a three-dimensional panel which lies on the background border; this panel can sometimes even cast shadows. In her analysis of the Mayer van den Bergh Breviary, Brigitte Dekeyzer similarly notes the difficulties of relating border to the main body of the page: “it is not always clear whether or not the borders are meant to be in front of the scene, creating a window effect. Often, regardless of their ornamentation, precisely the opposite impression has been created, with the miniatures seeming

---

644 Anja Grebe points out in her analyses of Flemish border decoration, within each individual manuscript, the relationship between the page’s border and the center text and/or image varies, rather than remaining fixed. See Grebe, “The Art of the Edge: Frames and Page-Design in Manuscripts of the Ghent-Bruges-School.” The Metamorphosis of Marginal Images; From Antiquity to Present Time (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2001), pp. 98-99.

645 Grebe further argues that the miniatures, surrounded by the framing borders, appear as small panel paintings inside the book; therefore, they are not just illustrations, and become objects of devotion. The formerly distinct elements of the page are unified in a single perspective. See “Frames and Illusion: The Functions of Borders in Late Medieval Book Illumination,” Framing Borders in Literature and Other Media. (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), p. 53.
to hang like pictures against or in front of the borders.

Kate Challis argues for the opposite visual effect, perceiving the frame as “hanging in front of the main body” of the folio. She goes on to describe that objects such as jewels and pilgrim’s badges painted in the colored border around the main miniature “seem to exist in front of the folio, aided by the trompe l’oeil effects such as painting shadows or “pinning” the badges to the surface, creating the illusion of an intimate and accessible reality.

The degree to which we can assign meaning to border objects is an equally thorny topic for scholars. Do the border objects simply provide ornamentation for the page? Or can there be a shift from purely decorative to a greater symbolic or theological interpretation of these marginalia? Moreover, can both coexist without being mutually exclusive?

Rather than presupposing that the relationship between specific border objects and main text/illumination follows a prescribed one-size-fits-all interpretation, Anja Grebe argues that decorative and symbolic modes could coexist on many different levels throughout the Middle Ages. In turn, she suggests that their relationship between these modes varies from manuscript to manuscript and even within an individual book. A motif can have a devotional, critical, supplementary, commentary, or even humorous purpose. For margins’ design, the choice of border motifs was not tied to specific rules stipulating a certain symbolic or iconographic relationship between the center and the border in a manuscript. Rather, establishing connection between the components of a page as a compositional “whole” was more important. This could allow for both “canonic” and “meaningless” combinations.

But what of pilgrim badges, which have specific iconography and a role in contemporary religious practices? Scholars are unresolved on the symbolic interpretation of painted pilgrims’ badges and their relationship between to the main texts and illuminations. Kurt Köster upheld that, for the most part, the painted collections of devotional souvenirs had no connection whatsoever with either the main miniature or the text, but occurred in various textual and pictorial contexts. Köster also dismissed the notion that the painted pilgrim’s badges were

---

647 Challis, p. 254.
created for or tied to a particular subject or patron. Thus for him, the badges’ “religious connection is less important than the artistic intent and . . . virtuosity.” Köster does make an exception for the scallop shell border that was often (though not exclusively) found accompanying depictions of St. James the Great, in reference to both the saint’s attribute and the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela.

For the most part, Anne Margreet As-Vijvers tends to follow a similar interpretation as Köster. While As-Vijvers acknowledges the possibility that painted badges and other devotionalia have additional functions, she urges caution in ascribing too much interpretative meaning to the borders: “the illustrative function of marginal representation proves difficult to unite with the decorative role of marginal decoration.” She leans towards the notion that little room exists for symbolic interpretation of the badges’ iconography in relation to the rest of the folio’s contents. For her, full badge borders as well as einzelmotive badges generally do not have any relationship with the text or miniature. Moreover, pilgrim badges accompany widely differing texts and illustrations in books of hours, ranging from the Hours of the Virgin and the Hours of the Holy Spirit to the Gospel Lessons and Suffrages to the Saints, including those of James, Sebastian, and Christopher. Thus, making any direct link between the saints depicted in the badges and the specific texts or illuminations they surround is often difficult.

This lack of correlation between marginal decoration and the main text or illumination may be due to the artist’s practice. An illuminator may have chosen a border motif such as a pilgrim badge from a model sheet, with little regard towards the structure of the gathering, folio, or theme of the contents on a folio (whether text or illumination). The marginal motif would be

651 Grebe, “The Art of the Edge,” p. 98.
654 As-Vijvers, “More Than Marginal Meaning?”, pp. 8-10. In some instances, the painted badge borders surround relevant illuminations and prayers, such as St. James (commonly associated with pilgrimage), and St. Christopher and the Flight into Egypt, both alluding to long journeys, though these account for only a half dozen of the forty-plus extant examples of painted badges. The iconography of miniatures surrounded by painted badges is varied, including the Virgin and Child, the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Prayer in the Garden of Gesthemane, the Mocking of Christ, the Descent of the Holy Spirit; and saints such as Sebastian, Andrew, and Luke.
655 As-Vijvers suggests that painted pilgrims’ badges should not be interpreted in relationship to their specific contexts, although their general religious meaning within the book of hours is certainly valid. “More than Marginal Meaning?,” pp. 9-10. Again, the notable exception is the scallop shell border surrounding the Suffrage Prayers to St. James.
added primarily for decorative reasons, regardless of the original context. Thus, for As-Vijvers, identifying trends in fixed combinations of text and image occur neither with the full borders motifs nor the independent einzelmotive.  

However, As-Vijvers points out that if a text is finished and the illustrator recognizes a passage, he may make the mental link to place a badge-filled border around the text. They may have even recognized the practice of badges being placed around Suffrages, devotions to the Virgin, or incipits to major prayers. In instances in which einzelmotive souvenirs are used, the deliberate placement of particular independent badges next to a given text or illumination is more likely. The artist may have used an available model sheet containing either scallop shells or pilgrims’ badges, choosing one item at random for decorating the open text borders of the codex.

Moreover, given that many images in books of hours are not necessarily direct illustrations of adjacent prayers, the need to find direct correlations between visual (and particularly the visual in the borders) and textual may not be as imperative. In her historiographic examination of marginalia, Lucy Freeman Sandler notes that main miniatures and/or historiated initials often did not directly illustrate the contents of psalters and books of hours (i.e., the Psalms, devotions to God and the Virgin, and so forth). She adds “the dichotomy between texts and these images in psalters and books of hours is comparable to that between text and marginalia,” further suggesting that it might be significant that texts that did not lend themselves easily to direct illustration were so enhanced with marginalia. In examining the relationship between main miniature and border illustration, she notes that “marginal images may appear to be totally unrelated in meaning to the main pictorial material on the page . . .

657 She cites specific examples from the Hours of Joanna of Castile. An independent Veronica pendant can be found on one of the pages of the Terce of the Hours of the Cross, next to the hymn “Crucifige clamitant hora tertiarum”. In the Terce of the Hours of the Cross, the crowning of Christ’s head with the thorns is commemorated; Christ’s crowned head, of course, is seen on Veronica’s veil. Introducing the incipit of Terce on the recto of the same page is a half-page miniature of the Crowning with Thorns with ancillary scenes of the Ecce homo and the Carrying of the Cross in the background (albeit without Veronica). In addition, a Madonna on the Crescent Moon that appears next the Suffrage to St. James in Joanna’s Hours was likely prompted by the scallop border around the incipit of the prayer on the preceding page. Elsewhere in the manuscript is an einzelmotive badge of St. Mauront of Douai, which was simply traced from the four-sided border with a large collection of pilgrim badges on the recto. St. Mauront appears nowhere else in the manuscript, neither the text nor the miniature. Thus, it seems likely that the choice of the St. Mauront badge was determined by the ease of working method for the illuminator of the margins (i.e., tracing). See “More Than Marginal Meaning?”, p. 9.
658 For example, the Hours of the Virgin could be illustrated with a cycle of miniatures depicting the Life of the Virgin or the Life of Christ.
[however], the marginal images may nevertheless take the pictures into account thematically, serving as pictorial footnotes, commentaries, exempla, antitheses—in other words fulfilling all the roles generally played by images in the margins of the pages”. 659 She concludes that “however related or unrelated to the devotional text, marginalia must be reckoned as playing and important part in the process of shaping the reader’s experience and underscoring his or her ideology.” 660

Indeed, despite downplaying any possible symbolic interpretations between painted badges and the main miniatures and/or texts of a manuscript folio, Anne Margreet As-Vijvers does not exclude the possibility of the reader assigning devotional meaning to the painted badges, even though she insists that they were painted without any purposeful devotional intentions. Noting that Ghent-Bruges marginal decoration contains a symbolic element always implicitly present for the reader, she recognizes that a badge collection can have a general religious value. This devotional worth surpasses the iconographic significance of any individual badge, its represented pilgrimage site, and its relationship to adjacent texts or images: “The fact that these badges were avidly preserved in books of hours reinforces the general relationship between the painted pilgrim badges and the devotional context in which they were depicted.” 661

As-Vijvers further acknowledges that if a reader “believes that the depiction of devotional images was primarily intended to function as a substitute for an actual collection, they could be understood as such by the reader-beholder.” In this way, she concludes, the painted badges can assume the apotropaic and amulet-like functions of real souvenirs, as previously suggested by Tom and Virginia Kaufmann. 662 Particularly in the instances of einzelmotives in a manuscript, a pilgrim badge could be used “as an independent motif . . . a suitable accompaniment to a prayer directed at the saint whose image it bears. 663

660 Sandler, pp. 26-27. Sandler also suggests scholars take into account the way texts were used, and by whom. She maintains that manuscripts like books of hours and psalters not only served as devotional literature and aids to meditation, but also as a literary tool for the laity to learn how to read, as well as to recite and/or memorize prayers. They were also talisman, as overt demonstrations of piety, and as documents of economic, social, or intellectual status.
661 As-Vijvers, “More Than Marginal Meaning?”, p. 9. She acknowledges that marginal pilgrim’s signs might be considered as painted souvenirs as well, but dismisses Tom and Virginia’ Kaufmann’s suggestion that this devotional interpretation can be can be extended to the flowers in the borders.
7.3: A spiritual journey through the mind: Pilgrim’s badge borders as a springboard to mental pilgrimage

Despite the frequent lack of correlation between pilgrim badges borders and the main text and illustrations, as well as the artists’ use of model books and their tendency to copy, it is feasible that painted badges could be construed as devotional objects and used in the same way as actual badges. In contrast to Köster and As-Vijvers, Jos Koldweij suggests that painted souvenirs could be given some sort of intrinsic value, exceeding that associated with other marginal objects, such as flowers, insects, or animals. He further argues that the painted badges were valued in much the same way as actual sewn souvenirs in other manuscripts.

Like the actual souvenirs, a painted pilgrim’s badge brought the recollection of a pilgrimage site(s) to the readers. Further, it potentially could create and embody a pilgrimage journey for the book’s owner. Each painted badge allowed the reader to go on an imaginative pilgrimage, serving as a memento of that pilgrimage for the book’s owner. By partaking in an imagined pilgrimage experience, those who chose not to or were unable to go on pilgrimage could earn indulgences by undertaking a mental pilgrimage for their soul’s salvation. With the badges’ detailed iconography, the owners could mentally revisit the shrines depicted, picturing themselves travelling along the route, visiting the church, and standing in the presence of the holy shrine. Later re-visitations within the pages of the book allowed for a memory of the journey to recreate and re-imagine the events. For the book’s owner, multiple depictions of a badge in a border might evoke repeated journeys to popular pilgrimage shrines for repeated entreaty to a particular saint, just as a pilgrim who visited a shrine several times may have acquired multiple badges from the same shrine in the manuscript.

These armchair pilgrims could also obtain some of the souvenirs’ holy benefits, specifically their protective miraculous power. For many owners, painted souvenirs could protect the book, its contents, and the owner themselves from ills or difficulties, as real badges

---

664 Koldweij, “Pilgrim Badges Painted in Manuscripts: A North Netherlandish Example,” p. 211. He calls these the ‘still-life’ paintings that frequently appeared in the manuscripts of the so-called Ghent-Bruges group.
665 Weekes, p. 183.
Ruth Mellinkoff has examined possible apotropaic functions in border decoration featuring grotesque images. She argues that, similar to obscene and monstrous imagery in public spaces (such as gates and churches), the images have a primary (though not exclusively) apotropaic function, warding off evil and danger and protecting and preserving the book and its texts. Moreover, she points out that talismanic protection—a practice seen throughout history—reveals a universal belief that multiple amuletic objects, and repetition of the same ones, provide better and more powerful protection. She states “in many cases, repetition does not mean dilution, but rather an intent to multiply the power of the sign, and thus render it more effective, rather than less.” Thus, multiple representations of pilgrims’ badges on a folio (sometimes even repeating the same iconographic motifs) would amplify their protective power.

Painted badges also could allude to indulgenced pilgrimages, both real and imagined. By the fifteenth century, various devotional devices, such as architectural models or painted plaques, were available to simulate the progression of an indulgenced pilgrimage without having to experience (or re-experience) the long travels. Devotional texts also provided a reader the chance to spiritually travel to famed holy sites and gain indulgences.

---

667 This was suggested by Kaufmann and Kaufmann, p. 56. Andre Vauchez describes the autonomous thaumaturgical power of images — similar to the powers seen in relics — in which the owner placed the image on a diseased or damaged part of the body after invoking the same of the saint. Sainthood and the Later Middle Ages (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 452.

668 Mellinkoff, p. 41.

669 Mellinkoff, p. 44. Mellinkoff bases this idea on work by Henry Maguire originally found in “Magic and Geometry in Early Christian Floor Mosaics and Textiles,” Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik (1994), pp. 269-270. See also my discussion of apotropaic powers of pilgrim’s badges in Chapter 3.


671 Some pilgrims returning to the Low Countries from the Holy Land recreated the landscape of the Holy Land with small-scale architectural models, crosses, or carvings, spaced at certain intervals in order to recreate the experience of the pilgrimage. Hull, p. 30.

672 Kathryn Rudy describes a pilgrim’s guide from the 1470s which lists important sites in the Holy Land where pilgrims received plenary indulgences. The book is meant for private devotion as a mental guide for pilgrimage. The book also contains other illuminations which could provide indulgences for the reader, including the vernicle (held by Veronica), the Arma Christi, and the Host-as-Relic. See “A Guide to Mental Pilgrimage,” pp. 494-515.
In a similar manner, indulgenced pilgrimages to places such as the Holy Land, Rome, and Aachen could be mentally performed, with the “proof” of that internal journey—the painted badge—already present in the prayer book. Painted badges of the Vera Icon allude to various indulgences associated with the holy image. The depicted vernicle could certainly refer to the indulgenced pilgrimage to Rome to view the relic. Yet it could also be used as an image for meditation while reciting the *Salve Sancta Facies* prayer, another means of lessening time in Purgatory. The viewer thus could “choose” the types of indulgences to be earned while contemplating the painted Vera Icon pilgrim badge. In at least one manuscript, Parma Biblioteca Palatina MS pal. 195, fols. 113v/114r, a border containing painted pilgrims’ badges and a vernicle (along with a rosary and pearls) surrounds an illumination of the *Salvator Mundi*. The Vera Icon is next to the illumination, providing a direct correlation between the miniature and the painted badge, although the accompanying English prayer is not the *Salve Sancta Facies*.

Just as actual badges were souvenirs of a pilgrimage journey or journeys, the painted pilgrim badges allowed devotees to mentally create their own internal spiritual pilgrimage route. In some ways, these painted replicas provided an even greater pilgrimage range beyond the scope of a pilgrimage path. 673 When studied as a group, many of the badges’ shrines are spread over a wide geographic area. The *Hours of Louis Quarré* (Oxford Bodleian Library MS Douce 311), for example, depicts locales ranging from Rome, Halle, Geraardsbergen, St. Cornelius in Ninove, and Aachen. 674 The badges in the *Breviary of Eleanor of Portugal* (New York, Pierpont

---

673 Andre Vauchez explores the dispersal of saintly images and its affect on the devotion to saints in the late Middle Ages. He argues that the spread of images was crucial in dissociating the cult of saints from pilgrimages to their shrines and tombs. Devotion to the saints “tended to be distanced from the cult of relics, even though a concrete topographical reference always persisted.” In turn, “[i]mages of saints began to acquire an autonomy, and a mobility which made them prime instruments in the diffusion of their cults.” Thus, devotees may not need to undertake a physical pilgrimage to a holy shrine in order to have a pious interest in a particular saint. *Sainthood and the later Middle Ages*, pp. 448-450.

674 This geographic range covered by the pilgrims’ badges is comparable to the sacred topography in the Holy Land tableaus of Hans Memling. In turn, these compositions enabled their viewers to go on a mental pilgrimage. In her analysis of the topographical paintings of Hans Memling, Vida Hull argues that Memling’s representations “engaged the mental and emotional participation of the devout viewer.” “Spiritual Pilgrimage in the Paintings of Hans Memling,” p. 50. She specifically describes Memling’s paintings *The Passion of Christ* and *The Seven Joys of the Virgin* as a “single composition in a continuous, expansive space, combining many episodes of Christ’s or the Virgin’s life.” These scenes add both “geographic and temporal breadth” to the spiritual pilgrimage. Traveling on a visual journey through time and space, the viewer goes back to the past and relives the journey with Christ or the Virgin through the episodes of their lives depicted in the paintings: “[e]ach event, isolated in its own space by landscape or architecture, could be a focus for meditation as the devout viewer becomes a witness to all the occurrences of Holy Week.” p. 41. Hull also suggests that in the landscape, “the apparent reality of place and
Morgan Library MS 52) include sites such as Geraardsbergen, Halle, Aachen, Gheel, and Walsingham. By examining one’s badge collection, the reader could imagine travelling great distances to visit some of the most popular shrines in Western Europe in the late Middle Ages. It is unlikely that one specific imagined pilgrimage route was devised for the owner’s spiritual edification, although the reader could interpret the collection as an accumulation of multiple pilgrimages, as the D’Oiselet Hours’ badges were for Claude de la Chambre.

Ultimately, the painted badges comprise a constructed pilgrimage because the manuscript artist and/or workshop chose which specific sites to illustrate. As discussed in the last chapter, illuminators often reused or copied particular badge motifs, possibly borrowing from previously developed patterns. In particular, the repeated depictions of badges from popular sites in the southern Netherlands and Germany (and further afield in Rome) reinforced their popularity as pilgrimage sites. It became a best-of listing of shrines that pilgrims would likely recognize and perhaps wish to visit. Although they may not have the opportunity to partake in the physical journey to these sites, they could do so thanks to their book’s marginal decoration. By contemplating a conventional collection of badges, readers could visualize themselves as part of a larger community of pilgrims partaking in shared mental pilgrimage, similar to an actual pilgrimage.

As subsequent marginal painted badges become more indistinguishable, reduced to geometric shapes, a badge may have served as shorthand for any number of well-known sites and souvenirs, or simply a generic symbol for a pilgrim badge (see, for example, Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 10555, fol. 50r; Brussels Bibliothèque Royale MS II 5941, fol. 95v; or Brussels Bibliothèque Royale MS IV 280, fol. 211v). This vague and rudimentary iconography ultimately allowed the reader to select a preferred pilgrimage site. In her analysis of early pilgrim ampullae with unidentifiable motifs, Sheila Campbell suggests that the generic, non-specific quality of the iconography allows for multiple interpretations. In turn, viewers could identify the image or figure depending on the attributes—martyr’s palm, monk’s tonsure, bishop’s mitre, etc.—as whichever saint or holy figure the reader wished. Hence, in the case of a movement, of an environment through which a visual traveler may pause or traverse, enhances the sense of pilgrimage, the journey from sacred site to site, following Christ’s steps.” p. 39.

Sheila Campbell, p. 545.
badge depicting Christ or Mary, the patron could choose the particular Christological or Marian site they wished to visit on their mental pilgrimage. Moreover, the patron’s choice of provenance for the painted badge could change each time the book is opened. The destination becomes open to interpretation, free from the constraints of geography, distance, time and money spent, or danger along the route.

This malleability of painted pilgrims’ badges—the means to select, recall, and/or change the shrines and saints represented in the souvenirs—provides the reader an opportunity to further hone and refine these devotional objects according to his or her spiritual needs. Mary Carruthers and Jan Ziolkowski have suggested that the process of both collecting and recalling memories was an active process rather than merely passive retention: “recollection was essentially a task of composition, literally bringing together matters found in the various places where they are stored to be reassembled in a new place.” In the Middle Ages, the creative and inventive function of memory was emphasized, allowing one to make new prayers, meditations, and so forth. If the iconography of the painted badges was flexible, so were the invented memories and devotions behind those badges. As Carruthers and Ziolkowski further explain, the visual sense was the easiest to recollect, and memories were thought to be carried in intense images: “memory depended on imagination, the image-making power of the soul.” By using a visual tool such as the painted pilgrim badge borders, the reader could actively formulate a “memory of pilgrimage” based on the depicted souvenirs, including the shrines, the saints, and the journey never physically undertaken. In doing so, new devotions were fabricated based on the reader’s intentions, and could be recalled for future spiritual exercises.

In the end, the reader may not have considered it crucial or relevant to identify the specific saint or site each painted badge illustrated. Rather, the pilgrim badge collection itself and its symbolic value are most significant; the prayer book is simply the place for them to be

---

676 As Mary Carruthers and Jan M. Ziolkowski suggest, “[b]ecause memoria is to such an extent an art of composition, the primary goals in preparing material for memory are flexibility, security, and ease of recombining matters into new patterns and forms.” See “General Introduction” in *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), p. 4.


678 Carruthers and Ziolkowski, *The Medieval Craft of Memory*, p. 3.

679 p. 11. Carruthers and Ziolkowski describe the meditative practices of monks, who would murmur pieces of sacred text, and contemplate pictures (both mental and actual) in order to induce a prescribed way of emotionally marked-out stages toward divine enlightenment, a way of “seeing,” p. 2.
stored. Mary Carruthers observes that medieval trained memory could be seen as a storehouse, a treasure-chest, a vessel into which objects depicted in margins, such as jewels, coins, flowers, fruits, and perhaps even the pilgrim badges could be placed:

They serve the basic function of all page decoration, to make each page memorable, but they also serve to remind readers of the purpose of books as a whole: that they contain matter to be laid away in their memorial storehouse [or] shrine . . . a task especially suitable in connection with the sorts of books these images most often accompany, [such as] Bibles [and] prayer books.

The prayer book preserves the precious collection that may not have been physically gathered by the patron, but nonetheless is possessed by him or her within its pages. Specifically, the margin of the page is the area that invites and gives scope to a reader’s memory.

The depictions of pilgrim badges in illuminated margins are historically relevant since, like their actual counterparts, they not only represent geographically identifiable locales but also allude to the popular contemporary devotional practice of pilgrimage. With badge iconography thus recognizable and traceable to specific pilgrimage sites—many of them from the Low Countries—one asks how, if at all, did the book owners interact with these badges? Was their iconography—and in turn the shrine—readily familiar to the reader, or were they from shrines previously unknown to the patron? If they were unknown, could the badges serve to instruct the reader about popular pilgrimages outside the scope of their local devotional customs and interests? The second half of this chapter examines two groups of patrons originating from two

---

680 This is appropriate given the other precious marginal objects illustrated on other folia in these manuscripts, including rosaries, jewels, cameos, and flowers. In some manuscripts, such as Brussels Bibliothèque Royale MS II 5941, fol. 95v, badges are depicted next to jewels and pearls. Challis, “Marginalized Jewels,” pp. 253-289.


682 Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*, p. 161, suggests this in her analysis of the marginal decorations of the *Rutland Psalter* and the *Hours of Catherine Cleves*. In her analysis of Carruthers, Myra Orth highlights Carruthers’s analysis of the interaction of the manuscript borders and main texts. The borders reflected medieval memory systems, which depended on visual cues. The design of the page thus prompts the workings of memory in storing text and meaning. The text does not float free; rather, it is anchored by its decoration. Orth, “What Goes Around,” p. 191. However, in her state-of-research analysis on marginal imagery, Lucy Freeman Sandler is wary of assigning a mnemonic meaning behind specific border illustrations. For her, “images of things to be remembered were to be fashion by the individual for himself. This would make it unlikely that the marginal images created by an artist be used effectively for mnemonic purposes by someone else.” Sandler, “The Study of Marginal Imagery,” p. 40.
distinct regions of Europe. In the first, the patrons primarily resided in the Low Countries, and likely would have known the regional shrines and perhaps even the particular souvenirs from those locales. The patrons in the second group originated from Spain and Portugal, regions far from the souvenirs’ depicted pilgrimage sites. Examining these two groups provides an opportunity to speculate how the books’ owners may have interpreted the painted badges.

7.4: Manuscripts with painted pilgrim’s badges for the Burgundians and their courtiers

While the Burgundian ducal family and their court acquired many elaborate and opulent illuminated Flemish manuscripts in the late Middle Ages, the growing local aristocracy also began to increasingly patronize the Flemish book industry from the mid-fifteenth century onward.683 This wealthy class, particularly individuals affiliated with the Burgundian and Hapsburg courts, wished to imitate the Burgundian dukes and their artistic patronage. One means was to commission luxury objects such as illuminated manuscripts. In fact, Thomas Kren notes that courtiers and nobles affiliated with the Burgundians may have actually helped to sustain Flemish manuscript production, as Burgundian ducal patronage declined in the last decades of the fifteenth century (particularly after Archduke Maximilian of Austria assumed power).684 These lavish manuscripts often were extensively illustrated, containing richly decorated borders.685 Elaborate devotional manuscripts, in particular, served a dual purpose, for both daily personal use as well as status symbols.686

Among the notable patrons owning Flemish illuminated manuscripts, including those with painted pilgrim’s badge borders, were individuals affiliated with the Order of the Golden Fleece. This knightly Order, still in existence, was formed in 1430 in Bruges by Duke Philip the

684 Much of this patronage occurred after the southern Netherlands had regained some political and economic stability following the death of Charles the Bold in 1477 and the subsequent dismantling of the Burgundian-held territories. These patrons include several lieutenants of the Burgundian realm, such as Engelbert of Nassau and Louis of Gruuthuse, who commissioned some of the most lavishly illuminated extant manuscripts. Other courtiers, such as Baudouin II de Lannoy (a member of the Order of the Golden Fleece), John II of Oettingen and Flobecq, and Antoine Rolin also continued the Burgundian court tradition of bibliophile patronage. See Illuminating the Renaissance, p. 224, 314.
685 Challis, p. 255.
686 Smeyers and van der Stock, p. 13.
Good, soon after his marriage to Isabelle of Portugal. Its primary purpose was to serve and defend the Church (and for this reason was protected by papal privileges), although it maintained a secondary goal of defending distant Christian land holdings, particularly under the rising threat of the Turks. The Order also could be seen as a political alliance honoring Philip’s territories, which stretched from the many recently-acquired areas in the Low Countries and Flanders to Burgundy and Switzerland. Above all else, it was created as a knightly brotherhood and friendly alliance of noblemen, in order to preserve a chivalric ideal which had waned throughout Europe in previous centuries. The Order was closely controlled by the Burgundians and then later by their Habsburg successors. Interestingly, several of its members were known to have gone on religious pilgrimages, though precise details about these journeys are unknown. While it is unknown whether every Golden Fleece member possessed a luxuriously illuminated Flemish prayer book, the following three owners all owned manuscripts with painted badge borders, and for this reason have been singled out for discussion.

7.4.1: Engelbert of Nassau and his Hours (Oxford Bodleian Library MS Douce 219-220)

Those who received the honor of membership to the Order of the Golden Fleece were usually high-ranking nobles. Among these was Engelbert II, count of Nassau and Vianden (1451-1504). Engelbert was Lieutenant of the Realm at the Burgundian court under Charles the Bold. He was a loyal supporter and administrator in the Netherlands for the dukes of Burgundy, later for Emperor Maximilian I, and he maintained close ties with the Burgundian descendants from Maximilian to Philip the Handsome. By 1473, he had become a knight in the Order of the Golden Fleece, during Maximilian’s reign as emperor.

687 Philip initially had been invited to join the Order of the Garter in England, but declined, as joining would have implied his allegiance with and willingness to serve under the King of England. The Order of the Golden Fleece was dedicated to St. Andrew. Its insignia, a pendant depicting a sheep's fleece, represented the fleece sought by the legendary hero Jason and the Argonauts. This insignia was usually worn on an elaborate jeweled, gold collar by members of the Order. The Order’s first chapter meeting was held at Lille in 1431, and in 1432 the Order’s seat was fixed at Dijon.

688 Unfortunately, no information on specific pilgrimages by Order members is documented, although the Order discussed (never fulfilled) pilgrimages to Jerusalem and the Holy Land.

689 Smeyers and van der Stock, p. 35; Kaufmann, p. 33. In 1468 he married Cimburga van Baden (1450-1501), the niece of Maximilian I. During Maximilian’s disputes with the Netherlandish territories in the 1480s, Engelbert stood by the Austrian ruler and was consequently appointed as his primary chamberlain.
An avid bibliophile, Engelbert collected many illuminated manuscripts, including his famous volume of Hours now in Oxford’s Bodleian Library (MS Douce 219-220). It was made in Ghent between the mid 1470s and early 1480s almost single-handedly by the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy. Originally owned by Engelbert, it eventually was passed on to his liege, Philip the Fair (or the Handsome), Duke of Burgundy (1478-1506). Philip was the son of Emperor Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy, and a descendant of Philip the Good. He later became the husband of Joanna of Castile.

The manuscript’s current border decoration is not part of the original campaign of the book’s production. Rather, it appears that the borders were systematically repainted over the original marginal decoration using the new illusionistic trompe l’oeil style. The new borders

---

690 The manuscript is now divided in two parts.
Another book that was perhaps owned by Engelbert is the Hours of Mary of Maximilian (Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 12), which contains a page of painted scallop shells on fols. 90v-91r) was owned by Mary, duchess of Burgundy and Emperor Maximilian I. It was likely under production at the time of Mary’s death in 1482. This book was later signed by Maximilian, Engelbert of Nassau, and perhaps Louis of Gruthuse, on fol. 13. See Illuminating the Renaissance, p. 183.
691 Manuscript: iii + 286 folios in two continuously foliated volumes (vol. 1, 158 folios; vol. 2, 127 folios). These were divided probably at a later date—perhaps as late as the eighteenth century—but the manuscript was likely produced as a single volume. 13.8 x 9.7 cm. Bastarda handwriting by Nicholas Spierinc. 7 full-page miniatures, 31 half-page miniatures, 1 full-page hunting scene, and marginal vignettes. The pictorial narratives include a Passion cycle of eight miniatures, a Life of the Virgin cycle of sixteen miniatures, a King David cycle of seven miniatures, and in the bas-de-pages, separate extended cycles illustrating falconing and jousting. Illuminating the Renaissance, p. 134.
692 It has been suggested that the book may have originally been commissioned by Philip the Fair, rather than Engelbert of Nassau; this cannot be proven.
Joanna also owned a book of hours with painted pilgrims’ badges, discussed later in this chapter (British Library, Add. MS 18852).
Philip was also the brother of Margaret of Austria, who became regent of the Netherlands and was guardian of Charles V and Ferdinand I. See Chapter 5.
All of the Psalm openings had Engelbert’s arms on the initials; these have since been painted over with those of Philip the Fair’s (some of which are crowned with a helmet and archducal coronet and encircled by the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece), on fols. 19v, 36, 42v, and other folios. Illuminating the Renaissance, p. 134.
Additionally, a previous owner may have had the book, as is evidenced by small coats of arms on the collars of three illustrated hounds on fols. 50, 53, and 56. Additionally, several sets of paired G’s (on fols. 151v and 158v) might be a set of initials of this mysterious first owner, although it might also refer to Engelbert in another way, as the opposed letter E refers to Philip the Good. See Illuminating the Renaissance, p. 137 n. 11; Anne van Buren, “The Master of Mary of Burgundy and his Colleagues: The State of Research and Questions of Method.” Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 38:3/4 (1975), p. 289.
694 Anne van Buren, “The Master of Mary of Burgundy and his Colleagues,” p. 288-289. J.G. Alexander was the first to make the discovery that all the borders but the very last were painted over older ones. If the folios are held up to light, elements of the older borders, such as spots of color, acanthus, line work, and marks of erased motifs are visible. However, Alexander implies that the Master redid the borders before painting the miniatures.
feature colored or gold backgrounds filled with naturalistically painted flowers, insects, jewelry, seashells, patterns of initials, architectural niches with majolica pottery or skulls, peacock feathers (Engelbert’s emblem), and pilgrim’s badges.

The repainted margins were probably completed for Engelbert at his request in the early 1480s. Whether he ordered the new borders for his own personal use and enjoyment, or he requested them when the manuscript was given to Philip the Fair, is uncertain. His motto, Ce sera moy, appears in an architectural border of the added type at the Office of the Dead, along with his initial e, repeated in a checkerboard pattern, in a border added to the suffrage of Saint Sebastian. However, on other pages, Engelbert’s arms were overpainted; these include fols.182, 194, 197v, 200, and 16v, the latter page displaying the painted pilgrim’s badges.

Fol. 16v [fig. 56] contains a total of twenty depicted badges, including ten gold, nine silver, and one cloth or parchment souvenir (a Vera Icon), on a green panel background. Ten round souvenirs appear, along with five oval, one quatrefoil, and two arched rectangular badges. The gold souvenirs include images of busts of bishops, Veronica, St. Michael, St. Hubert (kneeling before the stag), a Virgin and Child on the crescent moon, and St. Godelieve (Godelina) being strangled in the large gold badge in the lower center of the margin (a Gothic inscription above the saint’s head reads “s. godelieve”; another fabricated inscription encircles the badge). The recognizable silver badges include a souvenir of St. Adrian; however many of the other silver souvenirs are unidentifiable due to oxidation of the paint. Thus, the identifiable pilgrimage shrines represented here include Aachen, Geraardsbergen, Mont-St.-Michel, Gistel for St. Godelieve, Saint-Hubert-en-Ardenne, and Rome for both the Vera Icon and Veronica souvenirs.

---

695 *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 136. The original borders were from the 1470s, consisting of blue and gold acanthus with spray, raised gold dots, flowers, and birds. The new borders are comparable to those in the Berlin Hours of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78 B 12), which perhaps was also owned by Engelbert.

696 The outer and lower margins of fol. 16v were trimmed and replaced before border was repainted.

697 Several of these souvenirs also appear in Philip the Good’s manuscripts as affixed souvenirs, although this book was completed nearly a decade after Philip’s death. The prayers which begin Engelbert’s hours are devotions to holy images and saints that were especially revered by Engelbert or his patrons from the Burgundian ducal family. One might speculate as to whether either of Philip the Fair’s sons, Ferdinand I or Charles V—both of whom owned badge-filled prayer books, as discussed in Chapter 5—saw and/or inherited this book after Philip’s death.
Virginia Kaufmann has noted other themes of pilgrimage, travel, and religious devotion running throughout Engelbert’s Hours. Besides the pilgrim badge margins on fol. 16v, fol. 84v depicts a checkerboard scallop badge border surrounding a miniature of Christ’s Deposition [fig. 44]. Additionally, depictions of St. Christopher crossing the river, the Visitation (showing an elegantly-dressed Mary traveling to visit Elizabeth), and Mary and Joseph at the inn in Bethlehem (showing the biblical figures as travelers in fifteenth-century surroundings) also allude to themes of traveling and journeys. Kaufmann further suggests the illumination of the Virgin and Child on fol. 16v evokes a cult image. The figures appear as a painted picture within the miniature. The image is not distinctive enough to be identified with a specific cult site, but as Kaufmann posits, it may allude to a more general practice of devotions to such images. The illustration also recalls various pilgrimages sites in Northern Europe which preserved popular miraculous images of the Virgin and Child.

Since it is uncertain how long Engelbert kept the manuscript with its repainted borders before passing it to Philip the Fair, the extent of his appreciation of the pilgrimage sites depicted here is uncertain. However, the collection of painted souvenirs, primarily from pilgrimage sites in Flanders and northern France, likely would have been easily recognizable to the count, who served as administrator and regent over these territories during the next two decades. The shrines were within lands owned by the Burgundian family, and as such would also have been familiar to Engelbert. Although Philip was not the original commissioner of the new borders, it is plausible that after inheriting the book and viewing the borders, he might have recalled his great-grandfather’s practice of affixing badges into manuscripts—in particular, badges from Flemish pilgrimage sites placed around images of the Virgin, as Philip the Good did. He may have encountered manuscripts owned by Philip the Good in the ducal library, particularly during his early years spent in Flemish-Burgundian territories (first under the guardianship of his father,

---

699 Kaufmann, “The Theme of Pilgrimage,” p. 34.
700 In addition to inheriting the lordship of Breda after his father’s death, he served as bailiff of Brabant beginning in 1475; as warden of Turnhout, Heusden, Geertruidenberg and Gouda; and later as regent of all the Netherlands (having been appointed so by Philip the Fair himself in 1496, perhaps in recognition of his loyalty to Philip’s father, Maximilian).

The owner of the book immediately after Philip the Fair’s death is unknown, although it is plausible that the manuscript was kept within the family, perhaps kept by Joanna or one of their children (such as Charles V, Ferdinand I, or one of the other four children of Philip and Joanna.)
Maximilian, after the early death of his mother, Mary of Burgundy; and then after 1494, when Maximilian relinquished his regency and a sixteen-year-old Philip took over the rule of the Burgundian lands himself).

7.4.2: Louis Quarré and his Hours (Oxford Bodleian Library MS Douce 311)

Louis Quarré was yet another member of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Little is known of Louis’s life, although he was Seigneur de La Haye and had been the general tax collector in the Netherlands since 1482. By 1484, he held the prestigious position of treasurer within the Order of the Golden Fleece. In 1491 he became Master of the Chambre des Comptes de Luxembourg in Brussels and was knighted in 1506. He died in 1520.701

Around the time that Louis became active in the Order, he commissioned his book of hours (Oxford Bodleian Library MS Douce 311), which was mostly likely executed by the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian.702 Louis’s coat of arms can be seen on fol. 125r; other coats of arms have been erased on fols. 119r and 122v. Among other decorative borders containing flowers, fruits, insects, jewels, and genre scenes, a painted pilgrim badge border occurs on fol. 21v [fig. 52a]. It surrounds the opening to the codex’s Hours of the Holy Spirit, with a full-page miniature of Pentecost (with Mary in the foreground and the twelve apostles behind her) within the architectural space of a church. Twenty-three badges—fourteen gold, eight silver, and one parchment or cloth Veronica—are represented in the lavender panel. They include souvenirs of St. Adrian of Geraardsbergen, Notre-Dame at Boulogne-sur-Mer, St. Servatius from Maastricht, St. Cornelius, St. Josse-sur-Mer, St. Dymphna at Gheel, the Three Kings at Cologne, the Veronica (perhaps from Rome), the Holy Cross (perhaps from Asse), and three badges of Notre-Dame at Halle.703

As with Engelbert, Louis’s ties to the Order of the Golden Fleece and his residency in Flanders would have given him the predisposition to recognize the many Flemish shrines depicted in his badge collection.

702 ca. 1488. 2 +152 folios, 237x165mm, 13 full-page miniatures, smaller illuminations, some folios lost.
703 Badges depicting the Crucifixion, the Annunciation (from s’-Gravenzande?), a pyx reliquary, and other saintly figures are also represented. Köster, “Religiöse Medaillen,” p. 466.
7.4.3: Philip of Cleves and his Hours (Brussels Bibliothèque Royale MS IV 40)

Philip of Cleves (1456-1528), Marck and lord of Ravenstein, was a relative of the Burgundian family: his father, Adolph of Cleves was the nephew of Duke Philip of Good (Adolph’s mother Marie was Philip’s sister), making the younger Philip the duke’s grandnephew.

Although his father and uncle were members of the Order of the Golden Fleece, Philip of Cleves never became a member. He had a rapid but turbulent rise to prominence, having been appointed governor-general of the Low Countries by Maximilian and was the archduke’s close confidant. However, his personal ambitions soon brought him into conflict with Maximilian and he rebelled against the archduke in 1488, quashing any hopes for his advancement. In the face of growing animosity, he decided to leave his residence in Ghent and retire in Enghien, where he died heirless in 1528.704

Philip commissioned The Hours of Philip of Cleves (Brussels Bibliothèque Royale MS IV 40), likely completed by the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian around 1483.705

On fol. 42r, a collection of twenty-three pilgrim’s badges appear within all four sides of a pink panel border [fig. 58]. They surround an illumination of a seated half-figure Virgin and Child; John the Baptist, holding a dove, stands to the left of Christ, and an angel with a prayer book sits on the right. The badges include seventeen gold and five silver souvenirs, the latter discolored due to oxidation of the paint, and one parchment badge of the Vera Icon. On five of the badges, nonsensical inscriptions are clearly visible. Some pilgrimage sites represented in the badges are identifiable, including a Vera Icon (Rome?) in the lower center, the Three Kings from Cologne in the upper right, the Annunciation from ‘s-Gravenzande in the center right, and Notre-Dame at Boulogne-sur-Mer in the lower right. However, much of the badges’ iconography cannot be linked to any particular pilgrimage shrine; these include an Annunciation scene in the upper left,

704 Smeyers and van der Stock, p. 136. Philip of Cleves’s library ran to almost 160 books by the time of his death, thirty of which survive today.
705 146 fols., 127x91mm. Twenty-four calendar pictures, 36 full-page miniatures. Phillip himself is represented on fol. 121v as a young man accompanied by his namesake patron saint. Additionally, his coat of arms appears at several points in the manuscript, such as in the margin of fol. 15, where two angels hold his blazon surmounted by his helmet and a bulls-head crest, while a third angel carefully draws back a curtain. His emblem, a basket, also appears in several initials throughout the codex.
a Crucifixion, possible depictions of Saints Barbara and Catherine, three fish (likely alluding to Christ); a bishop saint, Marian souvenirs such as the Virgin and Child and a Pietà, and other figures.706

The pilgrim badge borders in the three books discussed here, owned by Philip of Cleves, Louis Quarré, and Engelbert of Nassau, were produced within several years of each other during the 1480s. While Engelbert’s book of hours, with its repainted borders (including the badge-filled frames) was likely completed by the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy, both Louis’s and Philips’ books were probably executed by Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian. Some motifs recur throughout all three sets of panel borders: all surround images of the Virgin and they repeat particular badge iconography, including St. Adrian at Geraardsbergen, Notre-Dame at Boulogne-sur-Mer, Notre-Dame at Halle, The Three Kings from Cologne, and the Vera Icon. While this certainly may be due to ease of workshop practices (in particular, the copying of models, as discussed in the previous chapter), they potentially provide a common devotional foundation for all three owners with which to respond, identify, and interact. Since all three patrons primarily resided in the Low Countries, most of these sites would have been readily familiar, be they in Flanders or parts of northern France and Germany (most of which were part of the Burgundian territories that were upheld by the Order of the Golden Fleece). Indeed, although no travel records exist for Philip, Louis, or Engelbert, it is feasible that some of the shrines depicted may have been visited by them. Given that many pilgrimages completed during the late Middle Ages were local, the depiction of these badges would have reinforced their popularity for the books’ owners.707 In such cases, contemplating these badges revisits local pilgrimage sites. Furthermore, meditation on these painted badge borders might be seen as emulating the Burgundian and Hapsburg families by the ownership of “badge-filled books”. As protectors of the Burgundian realm by their membership in the Order of the Golden Fleece, their

706 See the pilgrim badge database Kunera: http://www.kunera.nl
707 While many pilgrims traveled long distances to famous religious sites, by the late Middle Ages, many pilgrimage cults reflected strong popularity on a more local level. In Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England (New York, St. Martin’s Press, 1995), Ronald C. Finucane writes that pilgrims visiting most cults of English saints came from places less than 40 miles from the shrine (the primary exception being the cult of Thomas Becket in Canterbury). However, he goes on to state that while saints attracted the local devout and the start of their miracle-working careers, eventually more outside pilgrims were recorded visiting the site as local enthusiasm for the cult declined. pp. 169-171. See also “Introduction” in Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage in Northern Europe and the British Isles (Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe, eds.), p. xxi.
fealty did not just extend to a secular level, but to a devotional one. These patrons had a collection of their own with which to pray, without having to make the journey to the shrine or purchase the badge. The miraculous rewards of local pilgrimage travels are provided for them within the pages of their book, without the necessary arduous effort to achieve them. Pilgrimage devotion could occur without ever leaving the comforts of one’s home or private chapel.

7.5: Manuscripts made for Spanish and Portuguese patrons: making “long distance” devotional journeys “local”?  

By the middle of the fifteenth century, the Burgundian court’s strong interest in and patronage of Flemish visual culture began to influence the royal and noble houses of Spain. The Burgundian/Hapsburg ducal family’s strong support of local art provided Spanish nobility a model of artistic patronage and an appreciation for Flemish art, be it panel painting, tapestries, or manuscripts. Their marriages with the Spanish ruling families amplified this patronage. In particular, the double marriage of the children of the Spanish King Ferdinand of Aragon and Queen Isabella of Castile (Joanna and Juan) to those of Emperor Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy (Philip the Handsome and Margaret of Austria), which took place in 1496, strengthened the dynastic and political ties between the two regions. This provided a ready channel for art works to travel between the Low Countries and the Iberian Peninsula, particularly after Hapsburg rule moved to Spain. In the years that followed the alliance between the Burgundians and Spanish Hapsburgs, they continued the strong patronage of Flemish illuminated manuscripts for their successors as well as their courtiers. In fact, during the early sixteenth century, most commissions for Flemish illuminated manuscripts came from Spain and Portugal rather than Flanders.

---

708 In an interesting coincidence, a painting ascribed to the Master of Portraits of Princes, The Marriage at Cana (c. 1493) (National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne), not only contains portraits of the Burgundian-Habsburg kings, but also Adolph and Philip of Cleves and probably Engelbert II of Nassau in the foreground. See Ursula Hoff, European Paintings before 1800 in the National Gallery of Victoria. (Melbourne: The National Gallery of Victoria, 1995), pp. 111-112 and specifically the color plate on p. 111.
709 Illuminating the Renaissance, pp. 2, 8; Smeyers and van der Stock, p. 37.
710 Illuminating the Renaissance, p. 314.
711 Flemish artists had achieved such international status that rulers and nobles across Europe preferred Flemish creations to those produced by their own local illuminators. By the mid-to-late fifteenth century, Castile had become an artistic province of Flanders; several illuminators, in fact, had moved to Spain and were listed in Spanish royal accounts as illustrators for books in the royal library. Illuminating the Renaissance, pp. 9, 413.
Within a few years of each other, a series of lavish Flemish illuminated manuscripts were produced for the female members of the Spanish/Hapsburg monarchy. The Spanish Queen Isabella of Castile was particularly fond of Flemish manuscripts, textiles, and paintings. Among many commissioned manuscripts she owned were two sumptuous prayer books, both from around 1500. One, now in London’s British Library (Add. MS 18851), is considered a great masterpiece of Flemish illumination. The other, made soon after, was an equally lavish book of hours, perhaps also commissioned for presentation to Isabella (Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art 1963.256). The latter contains a full panel border of painted pilgrim’s badges.712

Additionally, a number of lavish books of hours were produced around the turn of the sixteenth century for Isabella’s daughter, Joanna of Castile, who had moved to Flanders following her marriage to Philip the Fair. They include a manuscript with a painted pilgrim badge border, also in London’s British Library (Add. MS 18852).

7.5.1: Isabella of Castile and her Hours (Cleveland Cleveland Museum of Art MS 1963.256):

Queen Isabella’s taste for Flemish art was certainly facilitated by her family connections in the region. She acquired several important paintings by northern masters.713 Her small but choice collection of illuminated manuscripts featured several exquisite examples from Flemish workshops.714 These include a book of hours now in Madrid (Biblioteca de Palacio, no shelf number), the Breviary of Isabella of Castile (London, British Library Add MS 18851), and the Book of Hours now in Cleveland.715

---

712 Another book of hours in London’s British Library (Add. MS 35313) likely was made for either Joanna the Mad or Margaret of Austria. This manuscript contains a border of scallop shells hanging on a trellis, surrounding a miniature of St. James. See Illuminating the Renaissance, pp. 370-371. Still another lavish book made for as-yet unidentified Spanish patrons include the Rothschild Book of Hours, (private collection, formerly Vienna ONB MS ser. nov. 2844), with a painted pilgrim’s badge border on fol. 125r.

713 These comprised the majority of her collection of more than two hundred paintings. See Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration. Jay A. Levenson, ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), p. 44.

714 Over time, Isabella had amassed a library of 393 manuscripts and books, most kept in the Alcazar of Segovia. The majority of them were religious texts, but the collection included several grammars as well as romances, chronicles, histories and juridical treatises.

715 For the Madrid Hours: 1450-1499. Vellum, 365 folios [+7]. 217x140 mm. The Biblioteca Palacio’s online description claims that the illuminations have been attributed to William Vrelant (attribution by Paul Durrieu), and by the “Master of the Arsenal 575” (by James Douglas Farquhar). It was a wedding gift from the city of Zaragoza to the Queen of Castile. (See “Real Biblioteca—Libro de Horas de Isabel la Católica” [http://www.realbiblioteca.es/j1.0/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=167&Itemid=138, accessed early
The 1496 double wedding of Ferdinand and Isabella along with Maximilian and Mary likely occasioned the production of the London breviary. Made in Bruges, it was apparently commissioned by and presented to her in 1497 by Francisco de Rojas, the queen’s Spanish ambassador and himself an avid art patron. The London manuscript can be identified with her, based on the arms and mottos of Isabella, her son Juan, and daughter Johanna on fol. 436v.

The original commissioner the Cleveland Hours is unrecorded, although the book was offered to Isabella in or just after 1492. It has been suggested that the manuscript was given to Isabella by her daughter, Joanna (who had certainly given her mother the London Breviary, as well as a set of Flemish tapestries, now preserved in Madrid), as Joanna had lived in Flanders for several years. However, Joanna did not begin residing in the Low Countries until after her marriage in 1496, and the manuscript was likely produced before this time. Meanwhile, Francisco de Rojas was staying in Flanders for prolonged periods beginning in 1492; in fact, one of his missions in the Low Countries was the negotiation of the 1496 double marriage between the Spanish and Burgundian/Hapsburg children. Thus, the Spanish ambassador seems more likely the primary gift giver of this codex—perhaps, as Patrick de Winter describes, a “calculated gift” to the queen.

Fol. 1v, with Isabella’s coat of arms, provides a terminus ante quem of 1504, the year that Isabella died.

Francisco also presented the Breviary of Isabella of Castile (London British Library Add. MS 18851) to the queen in or shortly before 1497. His coat of arms appears on fol. 437 of the breviary, along with an added inscription documenting his presentation of the book. Isabella’s arms were added opposite Rojas, along with arms of her children and their new spouses: Joanna and her husband Philip the Handsome, and Juan and his wife Margaret of Austria. Francisco de Rojas acted as proxy for Juan and Joanna during the double wedding, due to their absence in Flanders. This book likely commemorated the important double marriage. Illuminating the Renaissance, p. 350.

Neither this volume nor the London Breviary (British Library Add. MS 18851) can be identified in the incomplete inventory of the Queen upon her death. De Winter, “Book of Hours”, p. 346.

Rojas had the two marriage contracts illuminated in Bruges in 1495 by the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian. They are also commemorated at the back of British Library Add. MS 18851, on fol. 437, which shows Francisco’s arms and a gold dedicatory inscription (previously mentioned) under a half-page illumination of the Coronation of the Virgin, probably an indirect reference to the earthly queen Isabella. De Winter, p. 347.

De Winter, p. 347.

No portrait of the queen is included in the book.
While the codex may have eventually been designed as a gift for the queen, its decoration suggests that it might have been originally begun for another female patron, rather than Isabella. This patron may have originally commissioned the book either for her own use, for presentation to Isabella, or perhaps initially for herself, but ultimately refashioned for Isabella.

The Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian completed the majority of the Cleveland Hours’ illuminations, likely producing forty-two out of the fifty larger miniatures, many of which borrowed from earlier patterns. The Maximilian Master also worked on the borders, and is most probably responsible for the design of the shorter borders on the text pages produced by his assistants.

In the Cleveland Hours, thirty-five badges on a blue panel ground surround a Suffrage prayer to St. Nicholas on fol. 184r; these include twenty-one gold souvenirs, thirteen silver badges, and one textile or parchment Veronica [fig. 59]. They cast slight shadows on the background but, with the exception of a needle through the Veronica, do not display any painted threads. Opposite is a full-page illumination of the saint on fol. 183v, which is surrounded by a pseudo-text border in diagonal bands. The collection includes a wide range of saints from pilgrimage sites mainly from the Low Countries and northern France, including Notre-Dame at Halle (two souvenirs, in the upper right and lower center margins), St. Adrian at Geraardsbergen (in the central right margin), St.-Nicholas-de-Port in Lorraine (in the lower left), St. Servatius at Maastricht (in the upper right), and a Crucifixion, perhaps from Asse (in the lower left). Others have more generic iconography or are more difficult to identify, and in particular the silver badges, which have heavily oxidized making them difficult to read. The Veronica badge in the lower right corner—nearly identical to that found in the Hours of Louis Quarré—further reiterates that both manuscripts were completed by the Maximilian Master.

How often Isabella used the book is unclear; it is in pristine condition, suggesting that it was not often read. Furthermore, if the manuscript was originally intended for a different female

---

721 De Winter, p. 347. As he notes, there are elaborate heraldic arms on banners and lozenges in the miniature for the Office of the Dead (including a banner with the initials H and R), which may be the arms of the book’s original female patron. The woman may have been from the Nassau or Cleves families, both of which were prominent courtiers of Maximilian. However, she then may have died before the manuscript was completed, and then Isabella’s arms were placed at the very beginning, before the manuscript was bound.

722 Patrick de Winter also suggested that other miniatures in the Hours of Isabella were completed by Gerard Horenbout, the Master of the Prayerbook of 1500, and the Master of the Dresden Prayerbook. See de Winter, pp. 342-343, 361; Circa 1492, p. 156.
patron (perhaps a more “local” individual), then the badges would not have been painted not with Isabella in mind. But, as the subsequent owner of the manuscript, Isabella would have appreciated the painted badge margin on several levels. Firstly, the decorative trompe l’oeil margins were just one aspect of the Flemish art that she had admired and collected. On a second level, the badges had the potential to enlighten Isabella about pilgrimage sites within regions around the Low Countries and northern France, a region Isabella never visited during her lifetime but which was part of her family’s territorial gains through marriage. The depicted souvenirs could thus educate the Spanish queen about popular religious shrines in lands ruled by her son-in-law and inherited by her daughter and their descendants.

7.5.2: Joanna of Castile and her Hours (London British Library, Add. MS 18852)

An admirer of Flemish art like her mother, Joanna (1482-1555) had stronger ties to Flanders: she spent several years there after her marriage to Duke Philip the Fair (the Handsome) in 1496. She had left northern Spain in August of that year, and spent several months in Flanders before their wedding on 20 October, and then remained in the region from 1497 to 1504 with Philip, who had assumed rule of the Netherlands upon his father’s return to Germany.723

The sumptuous Hours of Joanna of Castile is datable to the years of their relatively short marriage between 1496 and 1506.724 This is confirmed by the escutcheons displaying the arms of both Joanna of Castile and Philip the Handsome, surmounted by archducal coronet on the opening folio. Philip’s mottoes Qui vouldra and je le veus, as well as the linked initials PI en lac, can be seen on fol. 26. Thus, the book may have been a present at the occasion of their wedding, or it may have been produced in the following years, but before Philip’s death in 1506. The manuscript also features two portraits of Joanna. One accompanies a somewhat rare set of

723 Philip and Joanna’s marriage was designed to further strengthen their political power against the French. Philip had a Joyous Entry into Louvain; Joanna’s entry was into Brussels. To commemorate the latter, a series of fifty-three colored pen drawings were made, illustrating the Latin account of the entry into Brussels in 1496. Several tapestries were also executed, depicting the same subject. See Wim Blockmans and Walter Prevenier, The Promised Lands: The Low Countries Under Burgundian Rule, 1369-1530, translated by Elizabeth Fackelman, edited by Edward Peters (Philadelphia, 1999), p. 218; and Wim Blockmans, “The Devotion of a Lonely Duchess,” in Thomas Kren, ed., Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and the Visions of Tondal (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1992), p. 30.

724 Parchment, 108x 79mm, 424 plus 2 folios, 14 lines of text. Roman use. Made in Bruges or Ghent.
Office prayers, dedicated to a Guardian Angel. The other portrait, on fol. 288, shows Joanna presented by John the Evangelist to the Virgin and Child on the facing folio, accompanying a prayer to the Virgin that Joanna must have specifically requested.\(^{725}\)

Like Isabella’s Hours, this codex may have been presented to Joanna by Francisco de Rojas, the Spanish ambassador. It was primarily the work of the Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary, discussed in the previous chapter, perhaps one of the artist’s few known royal commissions. Because of this, it was designed to be an extremely personalized manuscript for its owner.\(^{726}\)

Among the twenty-eight full-page illustrations produced for this book is a miniature of St. Luke transcribing the gospel at his desk, on fol. 184r [fig. 55]. On all four sides of the green panel background is a collection of eighteen objects, including seventeen badges (eleven gold and six silver), as well as a red jewel in the upper center margin. The objects are depicted with very faint shadows underneath, and with two to five red strings “sewn” onto the objects. Five pieces have false inscriptions. While many are difficult to conclusively localize, those that are identifiable include St. Maurontius of Douai, a Holy Tunic or Coat (perhaps from either Aachen or Trier), both of which are seen in the lower margin. A Crucifixion badge in the lower right, with an inscription “de assim”, may allude to the pilgrimage at Asse. As mentioned, most of the badges’ iconography is generic in theme: busts of saints, the dove of the Holy Spirit, the Virgin and Child, the Virgin and Child on a crescent moon, crosses, and the monogram of Christ ‘IHS’.

Facing this painted badge border, in the left margin of fol. 183v, is an einzelmotive depiction of a pilgrim’s staff and scallop shell. In addition, the manuscript contains other einzelmotives pilgrim’s souvenirs and devotional objects along the folios’ outer borders, including fols. 50v (a “sewn-in” badge of standing saint with a false inscription), 53r (a bust of an unknown saint), 53v (Virgin and Child), 54v, 57v (a “sewn-in” badge of the Annunciation), 58v (Veronica), 61v (St. Catherine), 156v (Virgin and Child), 184v (the verso of the full painted

\(^{725}\) *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 385. Interestingly, the Virgin and Child illumination facing Joanna on fol. 287v was likely copied from a Rogier van der Weyden painting already in her collection.

\(^{726}\) The manuscript contains several unusual texts, including several that might have been judged appropriate for a young wife; the Office of a Guardian Angel; three elaborate sets of texts and illuminations for the Passion of Christ; and an uncommon prayer to the Virgin, accompanied by a second portrait of the archduchess. *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 385.
badge border), 344r (Vera Icon), 344v (the Virgin), 395r (Veronica), 395v (two objects), and 412v (Virgin and Child).\footnote{These can also be seen in the borders of other books of hours, such as Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt, MS 4° Ms. math. et art. 50; the Hours of Albrecht von Mecklenburg, fol. 5r (scallop shell and staff); and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 1166, Fol. 21 (with gems and other objects).}

Besides fol. 184, a full-page scallop shell border, interspersed with crisscrossed pilgrim staffs, surrounds the Suffrage of St. James on fol. 412r. Scallop shell \textit{einzelmotive} can be seen on fols. 67v, 234v, and fol. 248v, along with a mussel’s shell on fol. 343v.\footnote{There are also numerous folios containing \textit{einzelmotive} jewelry throughout the manuscript.}

Residing in the Low Countries with Philip, Joanna likely would have an interest in recognizing pilgrimage sites from the ‘homeland’ of her spouse. Thus, among the few identifiable depicted badges, such as St. Maurontius of Douai or the Holy Coat from Trier or Aachen, the souvenirs potentially may have served an instructive function for the young queen, to acquaint her with famous pilgrimage shrines in the Burgundian territories owned and ruled by her husband. They would assist her in melding with the family and its tradition of devotion to these shrines. She also could claim “ownership” of a pilgrimage souvenir collection in a prayer book, similar to those owned by her husband’s ancestors, which would serve as a Burgundian devotional model. What is more, since Philip the Fair was the eventual owner of the \textit{Hours of Engelbert of Nassau}, previously discussed, at some point, the royal couple both would have owned manuscripts with painted badge borders.

\section*{7.6: Conclusion}

As Chapters 4 and 5 showed, the Burgundians and Hapsburgs collected devotional manuscripts filled with pilgrim’s souvenirs. However, “badge-filled” books in the form of manuscripts with painted badge borders were also owned by their closest circle of associates. Among these patrons were those affiliated with the Burgundian and/or Hapsburg courts [see Appendix E]. Several of these also were members of the Order of the Golden Fleece, including Engelbert of Nassau and Louis Quarré.\footnote{Virginia Kaufmann, “The Theme of Pilgrimage,” p. 40.} The badge borders of their books may have provided a means to contemplate popular local pilgrimage sites and to emulate the ducal families to whom they swore fealty. Later generations of Spanish and Portuguese families who married into the
Burgundian and Hapsburg lines also owned books with pilgrim badges painted into the margins. For them, the badges may have served a didactic function, assisting their owners in learning about the popular shrines in the Low Countries represented in these souvenirs. They also provided their owners with a “ready-made” collection of souvenirs already “affixed” in their book, similar to those in their spouses’ ancestors’ collections.

It is impossible to know the extent to which a book’s owner actively interacted with a pilgrim badge border or had a sense of a book’s provenance. No conclusive archival or codicological evidence regarding patrons’ reactions to these depicted souvenirs exists. However, more than any other marginal motif in Flemish illumination, painted pilgrims’ badges enhanced not only the decorative character of the manuscript, but also the book’s devotional aspect. The collection of depicted souvenirs allowed the reader to pursue an imagined pilgrimage, following a mental path of holy shrines to be visited and revisited in any order and frequency that (s)he chooses. Painted souvenirs are open to interpretation, becoming any religious shrine that the reader desires. In addition, the depicted badges as a group have symbolic value as a collection to be “owned”. While obvious and direct correlations between the badge borders and the text and/or illumination are sometimes tenuous, obvious correlations between the margin and main body of the folio can occur (scallop shells around images of St. James, for example). Despite any thematic disparities between marginalia and texts in books of hours, border decoration such as painted pilgrim’s badges should be considered as playing a role in shaping the reader’s experience while using the devotional manuscript. Using the painted souvenirs as devices of spiritual meditation allies them with the rest of the book’s contents, such as prayers, devotions, and holy images. Doing so helps the reader further along their path to achieving eternal life in Heaven.
Chapter 8: Conclusion

In the late Middle Ages, the wish to achieve a more intimate and personalized devotional experience led many lay Christians to pray using books of hours. Not surprisingly, production of this form of prayer book dramatically increased. In addition, many pilgrims flocked to key shrines throughout Europe. A number of these faithful purchased small souvenir badges to remember their journey. These two facets of late medieval devotion inevitably overlapped, with owners of prayer books and pilgrim badges combining the two throughout the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. This practice eventually influenced subsequent manuscript illumination, leading Flemish manuscript artists to depict pilgrims’ souvenirs in the borders of prayer books. These trompe l’oeil souvenirs remained prevalent from the last quarter of the fifteenth century until the mid-sixteenth century.

This dissertation investigated the phenomena of pilgrims’ badges in prayer books, shedding light on an intriguing facet of late medieval devotion that was popular for less than two centuries. It examined the reasons and implications for preserving and using these souvenirs in this manner; looked at the various types of badges kept in manuscripts, based on iconography and provenance; considered several famous patrons known to have kept badges in their prayer books, and examined these objects vis-à-vis their devotional practices, the possible pilgrimages undertaken, and their owners’ personal and political reputations. It also analyzed Flemish illuminated manuscript borders displaying painted pilgrim’s badges, detailing the types of badge iconography depicted and how they were dispersed across Flemish illuminators’ workshops, and cited the possible interpretations these badge borders could have for the books’ owners.

This study of pilgrims’ badges in late medieval devotional manuscripts drew from two areas of scholarly discipline: medieval pilgrim souvenirs and medieval Flemish manuscript illumination. While scholarship has expanded in both fields of research in recent decades, discussion on the topic of pilgrim souvenirs in manuscripts is usually brief. This project aimed to shed light on a practice that has previously been overlooked or disregarded, yet was clearly an important aspect of the laity’s faith.

This dissertation was roughly divided into two portions, based on discussions of actual pilgrims’ souvenirs and painted representations of badges in illuminated borders of Flemish
manuscripts. Throughout the analyses of both portions, several common research issues emerged.

This study was primarily grounded in iconographic studies. Identifying and assigning provenance to the iconography of actual and painted pilgrims’ badges promotes a better understanding of the types of pilgrims’ souvenirs that were valued by the faithful. In the case of actual souvenirs, we can ascertain which saints and shrines were repeatedly purchased and preserved in books, as opposed to other extant souvenirs. Many of the badges assessed here were from popular shrines in the Low Countries and Germany.

Correlations between the surviving affixed badges and the painted souvenirs executed by manuscript artists in subsequent decades exist, even though some painted badges have vague iconography. The imagery selected for these painted pilgrims’ badges and their repeated use through several decades of Flemish manuscript illumination suggests that a body of workshop patterns or models was developed (perhaps in the 1470s and 80s), frequently used, copied, and passed through several generations of manuscript artists. These artists (including the Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy; The Ghent Associates; The Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian; The Master of James IV of Scotland; The Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary, The Master of the Prayer Books of 1500; The Master of the Soane Hours; and Simon Bening) collaborated with each other and/or worked or were apprenticed in their colleagues’ workshops, resulting in a cross-pollination of artistic ideas, models, and stylistic commonalities. This likely led to a systemized means of producing pilgrim badge borders, in particular the choice of depicted pilgrimage sites within the badges and the creation of a repertoire of generic religious iconographic badge motifs.

Yet another key issue for actual and painted souvenirs was the placement and arrangement of pilgrim’s badges, both within the book and on the page. Carefully analysing particular souvenirs collected in relation to the manuscript and its contents offers insight into how owners personally regarded these private devotional objects and how readers believed badges and book should interact with each other for optimal spiritual benefit. In many extant codices, pilgrim’s badges were grouped together, often on the opening or final folios, for devotional and visual effect. In The Hague’s D’Oiselet Hours, discussed in Chapter 3, the owner, Claude de la Chambre, probably kept his collection of accumulated badges on one or two
folios, perhaps similar to their current arrangement. By doing so, the badge collection became one large, integrated religious journey assembled in one place for easy and immediate re-visititation and reflection through all of the holy sites Claude de la Chambre visited. Moreover, by being clustered together, the badges’ spiritual efficacy is concentrated in one place, in order to call on the saints for their blessings and aid more effectively.

In other instances, badges were distributed throughout the book, creating close visual and devotional links with specific prayers and illuminations. Oxford Bodleian Library’s MS Douce 51, also discussed in Chapter 3, clearly demonstrates that phenomenon. Here, the book’s owner determined not only which badges were important enough to be preserved in the codex, but also which prayers were significant enough to be supplemented with the badges and their associated talismanic powers. In MS Douce 51, the extant badges provide additional devotional significance to the texts and illuminations directed to the Virgin, focusing the owner’s prayers calling for Mary’s intervention and aid. In doing so, the pilgrimage experience was intrinsically linked to the book’s texts and illustrations.

At the heart of this dissertation is a concern with the reader response and interpretation of pilgrims’ badges within manuscripts; in other words, how do the badges function within the codex? Ultimately, this issue is fraught with uncertainties. On one hand, it is impossible to be fully sure of an owner’s reading habits, how often a prayer book was used, which texts and images were preferred, and how the book was modified over subsequent generations, although codicological analyses of manuscripts can offer insight into these topics. Likewise, a pilgrim’s motivations for undertaking a pilgrimage and acquiring badges can be equally unclear. Pilgrimages may have been completed for genuinely devout reasons, but also may have occurred under more pragmatic circumstances, such as bolstering familial or territorial interests. Pilgrim’s badges may not have even been acquired on pilgrimage; they could have been acquired as gifts or passed down through generations. Consideration of such scenarios allow us to better appreciate the reasons behind this late medieval devotional practice and how it resonated during the late Middle Ages.

While a prayer book was an object meant for ordinary daily use (often in one’s home, chapel, or church), the pilgrim’s badge was a memento from the extraordinary experience of a pilgrimage. Adding a souvenir of a special event to a frequently-used object allowed the badge to
be accessible on a more quotidian level. The protective apotropaic function of pilgrim’s badges could shift to the manuscript when placed within its pages. Moreover, pilgrim’s badges may relate to the acquisition of indulgences, including the use prayers and images depicting the Vera Icon. A manuscript held and protected a collection of pilgrim’s badges; in turn, the badges became part of the book’s fabric and an integral part of its structure. The book also became the matrix in which the reader could revisit and re-experience the pilgrimage. The badges could be reviewed either privately, in order to relive the physical and emotional aspects of the journey, or exhibited display to others, giving evidence to both faith and the accomplishment of a pilgrimage. Thus, the act of turning the pages of the prayer book containing pilgrim’s badges became another form of pilgrimage.

Painted pilgrims’ badges enhanced not only the decorative character of the manuscript, but also the book’s religious aspect. Despite any thematic disparities between marginalia and texts in books of hours, border decoration such as painted pilgrim’s badges had the potential to play a role in shaping readers’ experiences of the devotional manuscript. These depicted souvenirs were open to interpretation, becoming any religious shrine that the reader wished. Like real badges, painted souvenirs could have talismanic qualities, protecting the book’s contents and its owner from ills or difficulties. They also could allude to indulgenced pilgrimages. A group of painted depicted badges also could have a symbolic value as a collection to be cherished.

Among the various functions that both real and painted badges held for the owner, whether the recollection of a pilgrimage memory or the possibility of journeying on a “mental pilgrimage” (either an actual voyage or one never fulfilled) triggered by the reader’s repeated interaction with badges in manuscripts, was a key focus of this dissertation. Whether dispersed throughout the book or concentrated on one or two folios, real pilgrims’ badges served a mnemonic purpose, as a device of pilgrimage that evoked a devotional memory and a reminder of the pilgrimage experience whenever the book was opened. Badges primarily displayed on one folio allowed the reader to either survey the visual impact of the entire “pilgrimage career” on one page, or to focus on individual badges and the separate shrines and saints represented. Badges placed next to specific prayers and illustrations allowed memories of both the journey
and the destination to be directly linked to meditations upon the book’s contents. In both cases, the badges had personal significance to the owner long after the pilgrimage’s completion.

Painted representations of pilgrim’s badges in Flemish illuminated manuscripts could serve as surrogate souvenirs for an imaginative pilgrimage, allowing a book’s owner to follow a pilgrimage in the mind if a physical journey was not possible. Badges with detailed iconography allowed reader to spiritually visit the specific shrines depicted; badges with less specific iconography provided more flexibility for the reader to assign a preferred shrine or saint, or to simply appreciate the “collection” of badges as a whole. The malleability of painted pilgrims’ badges—the potential to choose and change their “provenances,” even beyond the scope of a physical pilgrimage route—gave the reader the opportunity to follow a mental path of holy shrines in any order and frequency that the reader wished.

Identifying patrons of badge-filled manuscripts (be they real or represented souvenirs) was also an important facet of this project. Although the provenances of manuscripts are unknown, the examples where patrons could be identified allowed us to better understand the original owners’ intentions and uses for their badges within their prayer books.

The patrons who received the most attention in this dissertation were the Burgundian ducal family, specifically Philip the Good, their Hapsburg descendants, and courtiers affiliated with the Burgundians. While others have noted that the custom of collecting and sewing pilgrims’ souvenirs into prayer books was perhaps established by the Burgundian dukes and passed on to the Austrian and Spanish Hapsburgs who married into the family, this dissertation sought to analyze the specific manuscripts owned by these patrons closely, noting the badges that are or were contained in the manuscript and their relation to the books’ contents.

For the patrons examined in Chapters 3, 4, 5, and 7, the shrines represented in both actual and painted pilgrim’s badges in manuscripts suggest both a spiritual and earthly concern in shrines in the Low Countries and Germany. Many of these reflect an interest in visiting regional pilgrimage sites close to home, which was increasingly popular in the late medieval Europe. Badges in the D’Oiselet Hours represent mostly local sites close to the origin of its owner, Claude de la Chambre. The collections of locally-acquired pilgrim’s souvenirs in the four manuscripts owned by Duke Philip the Good highlight a period of not only increasing piety for

---

730 See Köster’s publications; Kaufmann and Kaufmann; and Kaufmann, “Engilbert”, pp. 40, 42.
the duke, but also increasing secular concerns over his newly acquired territories in the Low Countries. The badges in the three manuscripts owned by the Hapsburg descendants of Duke Philip, the Holy Roman Emperors Charles V and Ferdinand I, also primarily originated from shrines in the Low Countries and Germany. Affixing badges into the brothers’ prayer books suggest both a concern for their piety as young men (under the tutelage of their aunt, Margaret of Austria), as well as an interest to carry on the religious traditions of previous generations into the early decades of the sixteenth century.

Manuscripts with badge-filled borders were also owned by individuals affiliated with the Burgundian and Hapsburg courts, suggesting a desire to emulate the devotional practices of the ducal family. Gillette van der Ee, the daughter and granddaughter of the Burgundian Chambres des Comptes, possessed a book filled with sewn-in pilgrim’s souvenirs. Manuscripts with painted pilgrim’s badges were owned by Burgundian courtiers including Engelbert of Nassau and Louis Quarré, as well as Spanish and Portuguese royalty who married into the Burgundian/Hapsburg family, such as Isabella of Castile and Joanna of Castile. In many of these manuscripts, the badges’ iconographic precedents were similar to actual souvenirs from shrines popular with the Burgundian ducal family. In the case of the courtiers, the badge borders provided a way to contemplate popular local pilgrimage sites and to emulate the ducal families to whom they swore fealty. For the members of the Spanish royal family, painted badge borders may have served a didactic function, familiarizing their owners with the popular shrines in the Low Countries represented in these souvenirs. In all cases, the badges borders served as a ready-made collection of souvenirs already affixed in their book, similar to those in their spouses’ ancestors’ collections.

While this dissertation was broad in its scope, I hope that it will facilitate further research on the topic of pilgrims’ badges in manuscripts. This study provided detailed analyses of close to sixteen manuscripts with actual or painted badges. Yet even with nearly sixty manuscripts with actual pilgrim badges and forty-five manuscripts with painted souvenirs, all of which survive in libraries, archives, and private collections, many more have yet to receive such thorough treatment. Undoubtedly, more codices with evidence of pilgrims’ badges will be discovered and
will require further study. Furthermore, these analyses of books with pilgrim’s badges will further benefit from new technologies, such as x-ray fluorescence and densitometers. These devices may help with our assessments of offsets from missing pilgrim’s badges, so that we can better decipher their faint markings and, in turn, perhaps identify the now-lost souvenirs based on extant badges in other collections.

Scholarship of manuscripts with both actual and painted pilgrim’s souvenirs will profit from tracing the development and evolution of specific local saintly cults in Western Europe, their shrines, pilgrimages to those shrines, and souvenirs sold there. While some shrines have been examined in detail, including those at Canterbury, Chartres, Paris, Geraardsbergen, Maastricht, and Aachen, among others, tracking the rise in popularity of individual holy cults may help us better understand how medieval laity spiritually valued pilgrimages to particular saints’ shrines, and why some pilgrim’s badges were later preserved or depicted in prayer books.

In the area of manuscripts with painted badges, research continues in the area of connoisseurship studies, as attributions of manuscript artists and their workshops around Ghent and Bruges are further identified and reassessed. This dissertation presented stylistic comparisons across several manuscripts to determine specific artistic hands that executed painted pilgrim’s badge borders. As artists and artistic hands are identified not only through full-page miniatures but also marginal decoration, the assessments made in Chapter 6 will be further clarified and honed. The dissertation also traced the iconographic and compositional transmission of badge borders through several artists and workshops through the end of the fifteenth century and into the sixteenth century. By distinguishing the collaborative interactions of individual Flemish manuscript artists and their workshops (both among artists working concurrently as well as through subsequent generations of artists), we can recognize how models and patterns were transferred, particularly with marginal decoration.

During the completion of this dissertation, Kathryn M. Rudy alerted me to several codices with offsets of now-lost badges. They include London British Library Harley MS 3828; Leeds University Library MS Brotherton 7, fol. 5r; New York Pierpont Morgan Library MS Wightman 2, fol. 1; The Hague Koninklijke Bibliotheek MS 74 G 35, fols. 13v-14r; The Hague Koninklijke Bibliotheek 130 E 18, The Hague Koninklijke Bibliotheek MS 132 G 38, fol. 124; Liège Université Bibliotheque MS Wittert 32; Utrecht Museum Catharijneconvent MS BMH h 160, and Utrecht Museum Catharijneconvent MS BMH 1387.
The occurrence of pilgrim’s badges in late medieval devotional manuscripts illustrates one facet of pious use and response by the book’s owner. Using pilgrim’s souvenirs as devices of spiritual meditation allies them with the rest of the book’s contents, such as prayers, devotions, and holy images. Understanding actual and painted pilgrims’ souvenirs not simply as objects on individual manuscript pages but also within the larger context of the entire book inspires a greater understanding of how these were experienced by their owners. In turn, we can better appreciate how this fusion of souvenir and book fostered particular private devotional interests in late medieval society.
APPENDIX A: LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING PILGRIM’S BADGES

Listed by archive and manuscript accession number; description and date (where known); folios containing pilgrim’s badges and a brief physical description (where known)

MANUSCRIPTS WITH ACTUAL (REAL) BADGES:

Bad Godesberg (Bonn), Collection of Bishop D. Dr. Hermann Kunst, MS 5
Hours, *Book of Gillette van der Ee*, c. 1460-70
fols. 2v (badges affixed on pages, with many needle holes from missing badges; several paper/parchment badges); three prints on last page

Berkeley (CA), Huntington Library, HM 1136
fol. 1 (offsets of missing badges by calendar)

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 11035-37
*Prayer book of Philip the Bold*, ca. 1370 (but used in 15th and 16th centuries)
fols. 6r, 6v, 7r, 34v (not 34r), 87v (metal badge offsets); 96r (Veronica parchment badges)

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 2895
Hours, French, 15th century
fol. 1r, (5-6 offsets above the January calendar’s text)

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 5163-5164
Hours, originally 13th century
fol. 8r, with Vera Icon souvenir (also depicting Peter with key and Paul with sword)

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 8645
Hours, 15th century
fols. 6v, 9v (perhaps a large image glued to the page), 23v, 30r, 35r, 38r, 71v, (badges at the opening of Holy Cross and a prayer to Virgin, but also scattered through the Offices of the Virgin and the Passion, and amid the Psalms)

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 9785
Hours, 15th century
fol. B: between 24 and 26 badge offsets

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 2895
fol. 1r (6 or 7 offsets)

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 4917
Hours, 15th century
fol. 38v: four offsets (three circular, one rectangular)
Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 10541
Hours
Unfoliated flyleaf and on fols. 10v, 13v, 17v(?), 64v(?) (offsets)

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 11060-61
Hours, early 15th century
fol. 8 (Vera Icon)

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 10770
Hours
fol. 52v, 3 badges lined up vertically, after a French vernacular prayer to the Virgin ("say 5 Hail Marys", etc.) but closer to the beginning of the Office of the Virgin (an Annunciation scene appears on fol. 53r)

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS IV 497
Hours
fols. 90v and 91v, the Suffrages of Mary Magdalene and St. Barbara: the owner placed (now-lost) badges where the miniatures would have been located. Based on offsets, a now-lost collection of approximately 7 to 9 badges also was located on fol. 103v.

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 3-1954
Prayer Book of Philip the Bold
ca. 1370 (but used in 15th and 16th centuries)
fols. 13r, 226v, 227v, 237r, 237v, 239r, 240r, 241r, 243r, 244r, 246v, 250v, 251r, 252r, 252v, 263r, 274v/275r (badges along suffrages to saints [lost]; a few pages sewn together)

Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertine MS. 59
Hours of Antoine Bourdin, ca. 1485-90
fol. 110 (last folio) (Veronica badge; 5 badges now lost, though strong offsets remain), offsets also on verso of December calendar page, fol. 7v)

Chantilly, Bibliothèque Musée Condé XIV, C. 3
Hours
fols. 1v, 7 (both metal and printed badges)

Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliothek, MS Thott 117
Cistercian Psalter
fol. iv (sheet of 4 Veronicas)

Fritzlar (Germany), Dombibliothek, nr. 83, 15th c.
Breviary (Breviary of Johannes Hubstricker?)
fol. 1v (Vera Icon)
The Hague, Royal Library (Netherlands) MS 77 L 60
*The D’Oiselet Hours*
fol. 98 (23 affixed badges; offsets on other pages)

The Hague, Royal Library, MS 130 E 18
fol. ? (offsets of three large round badges)

The Hague, Royal Library, MS 132 G 38
fol. 124 (6 badge offsets on blank folio facing prayers to the Virgin)

The Hague, Royal Library, MS 74 G 5
Opening flyleaf, with offsets of at least six badges

The Hague, Royal Library, MS 74 G 35
fols. V, VI, 13v, 14) (blank pages with offsets of several large badges)

The Hague, Royal Library, MS 135 E 36
(folio unknown) (at least 11 offsets)

Leeds, University Library Brotherton Collection MS 7
Hours, Dutch use, ca. 1490 and again ca. 1500-1510
fol. 5 (offsets)

Liège, Universitaire Bibliothèque MS Wittert 32
fol.A, (offsets of several badges)

London, British Library MS Harley 3828
Prayer book (with alphabet) for a young girl
fol iii (offsets of 20 badges)

London, The Lambeth Palace Library, MS 545
“The Lewkenor Hours”
fol. 78v, with sewn-in parchment image of Christ’s side wound; fol. 185, pilgrim’s card of the Holy Cross at Bromholm (other devotional images attached throughout the manuscript)

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum
MS 101
(fol. ?) (parchment badge with five wounds of Christ)

Meaux, Bibliothèque Municipale/Mediathèque Luxembourg, MS 7
Psalter for Celestine monastery (in eastern France), end of 15th century/early 16th century
fols. 1r, 2v, 3r, 193v, 196r, 197v, 201v, 214v, 238 (14 engravings of saints; also on binding)

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS Wightman 2
fol. 1 (offsets from at least 3 pilgrims' badges in the calendar page for January)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art/The Cloisters, Acc. No. 54.1.1
*The Belles Heures of Jean de Berry*
fol. 21 (two offsets of pilgrim’s badges)

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 51
Hours, c. 1490
fols. 45v, 58r, 59r, 74r

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS nov. acq. fr. 16428
*Prayer book of Philip the Good*, last quarter of 15th century
fols. 3r, 7r (?), 13r, 19r, 28v, 94v (badges now lost; offset on folio)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 1370
*Hours of Charles VIII*, end of 15th century
fol. 32v (one circular badge, now lost)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 1394
Hours, Picardy or Flanders use, 1330-40
fol. 1 (traces of two badges); second folio has badge offsets

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 1159
*Hours of Pierre II, Duke of Bretagne*, between 1455-57
fol. Iv (traces of perforations from badges of varying shapes); fol. II (badge offsets)

Paris, Bibliothèque Arsenal, MS 1176A
Hours
fol. Av (badges of Martha, Passion, Veronica(keys); offsets on fols. Cv, 156v, unnumbered opening flyleaf

Princeton University, Firestone Library Garrett 59
Hours
fols. 2v, 3 (offsets of missing badges)

Utrecht, Rijkmuseum Het Catharijneconvent RMCC MS. 1
fol. 1r (Vera Icon and imprint of Saint Cunera)

Utrecht, Rijkmuseum Het Catharijneconvent RMCC MS BMH h 160
Hours, ca. 1450-90
fol. 79 (14 offsets of badges after Vigil prayers)

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1800
*Prayer Book and Diptych of Philip the Good*
fols. II, 32 (offsets)

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 1859
*Prayer Book of Emperor Charles V*, 1516-19
fols. 131v, 209v, 250r

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS s.n. 2596
*Hours and Psalter of Emperor Ferdinand I*, originally 14th century but refurbished in the early 16th century
fols. 1v, 371v

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS s.n. 2624
*Hours of Emperor Ferdinand I*, 1520
fol. 253r (several badges, including paper badge; some offsets)

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 12897
fols. 1v, 185v

Wheaton College, Wheaton, MA, ND3363A1B66977B
*Du Bourg Hours*, c. 1475-90
fol. 1 (offsets of missing badges)

Christie’s Sale, June 3, 2009
Hours, c. 1430-40
(Vera Icon and St.Mathurin badge on final calendar leaf; with nine additional offsets on this and other folios)

Sotheby’s sale, London, 1985
Hours, 1460-80
(offsets of missing badges)

Venator & Hanstein auction sale: no. 81, March 2000
Veronica holding image of Christ’s face, with crossed keys of St. Peter (folio unknown)

**MANUSCRIPTS WITH PAINTED (REPRESENTED) BADGES:**

Alnwick Castle, Percy MS 482
*Hours of Charlotte de Bourbon-Montpensier*, before 1478
fol. 46 (shells in diamond pattern around Annunciation miniature)

Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery MS 782
*The Van Alphen Hours*, ca. 1440's
fol. 113r (border with seafood shells; one scallop shell with painted metal badge, around image of Mouth of Hell)

Berlin, Museen Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78 B 14
*Hours*, ca. 1500
fols. 18v-19r (approximately 50 painted badges in opening prayer to Virgin)

Berlin, Museen Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78 B 12
*Hours of Mary and Maximilian*
fol. 90v-91r (shell badges within geometric diamond pattern, surrounding Prayer at Gethsemane)

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS IV 480
*Borgia Hours*, ca. 1500
fol. 163v (around initial of St. James as a pilgrim), fol. 164r (around initial of Sebastian)

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS IV 441
fol. 22r (in margins of opening of Hours to the Virgin; initial cut out)

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS IV 280
*Hours*, c. 1500
fol. 211v (around Suffrage to Andrew)

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS IV 40
*Hours of Philip of Cleves*, 1483
fol. 42r (surrounding Virgin and Child)

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS II 5941
*Hours*, c. 1530
fol. 95v (around initial of Christopher and Christ child)

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS IV 1066
Psalter, second half of the 13th century
fols. 14/15

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS IV 456
fol. 52v, (scallop shells, and staffs against gilt background surrounding Suffrage of St. James)

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS IV 167
fol. 47r (scallop shells with staffs against pink background)

Cambridge (Mass.), The Houghton Library, MS Typ. 443
The Emerson-White Hours
fol. 132, scallop shells in diamond diaper pattern, surrounding Hours of Virgin

Chantilly, Bibliothèque Musée Condé MS 77 (formerly MS 1595)
Hours
fol. 29v/30 (around V/C with angels, Incipit to the Mass of the Virgin)

Cleveland Museum of Art, CMA 1963.256 (also listed as CMA 63256)
Hours of Isabella of Castile
fol. 184r (assorted badges around Suffrage of St. Nicholas)

Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliothek G.K.S. 1605/4º
Prayer Book, c. 1515-20
fol. 100r, three gold einzelmotive badges in outer margins (dove, saint with shield, bust of female saint with initials), around end of psalms
fol. 100v, same (dove, Adrian, Aachen Holy Tunic)
fol. 249r, 2 einzelmotive badges (Halle-inspired composition with saint, and Agnus Dei)
fol. 249v, same (standing saint and Agnus Dei)

The Hague, Rijksmuseum MS 10 E 3
Hours, c. 1520
fol. 90v (12 badges around Nativity image) (also an image of saint [James?] with Vera Icon and other badge on hat, fol. 208r)

Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt, MS 4º Ms. math. et art. 50
Hours of Duke Johann Albrecht von Mecklenburg
fol. 5r (scallop shell and staff)

Lisbon, Oeiras, Museu Gulbenkian Ms. LA 210
The Holford Hours (likely made for member of Rein family), first quarter of 16th century
fols. 55v, 56r (surround Flight into Egypt image and text)

London, British Library, Add. MS 18852
Hours of Joanna of Castile (Joanna the Mad)
fols. 183v (small scallop with pilgrim staff in margin), 184r (badges round image of St. Luke); 412r (scallops and staffs arranged in scattered decorative pattern around Feast of St. James einzelmotives on fols. 50v, 53r, 53v, 54v, 57v, 58v, 61v, 156v, 184v, 344r, 344v, 395r, 395v, and 412v

London, British Library, Add. MS 35313
Hours
fol. 215v, around illumination of St. James (scallop shells hanging by strings on trellis)

London, British Library, MS 4379

London, British Library, Add. MS 38126
The Huth Hours, early 1480s (before 1489)
fol. 92 (scallop shells in diamond pattern around beginning of Vespers on red background); fol. 67v (miscellaneous badges border)

London, British Museum, M&LA 56, 7-1, 202

London, Sir John Soane’s Museum, MS 4
Hours (post-1512)
fol. 122v (around image of Sebastian’s martyrdom), fol. 111v (around Suffrage of St. James, scallops hanging in rows)

Los Angeles, The Getty Museum, MS Ludwig IX 19
Hours of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg
fol. 61, around Suffrage of St. James with semi-large shell badges within diamond pattern; fol. 148, around text of Christ being led to Herod--small border image of Veronica holding the cloth with Christ’s face

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, S.P. II. 189
Hours, 1510-1530
fol. 267r (collection of badges around indulgenced prayer)

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek CLM 28345
Hours
fol. 265r (scallop pattern in margin, around prayer to St. James)

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS I.B.51
La Flora Hours
fol. 38r (miscellaneous badges around Mocking of Christ image); fol. 151 (scallop border)

New Haven, Yale University Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 287
fol. 167r

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS 917, 945
Hours of Catherine of Cleves
fol. 240r (gold and silver medals, some with saints’ figures, surrounding image of Gregory)
fol. 244r (mussels and crab shells around image of Ambrose; illustration of James has priest blessing woman pilgrim)

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS 52
Breviary for Queen Eleanor of Portugal, c. 1490
fol. 353r (around text)

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.399
Da Costa Hours
fol. 280r (Suffrage of St. James, with decorative scallops in green/pink diamond pattern)
fol. 293v (St. George and the Dragon, with two souvenirs, Crucifixion and bust of Christ [blue and white] amid flowers/garland border)

Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, MS 143
fol. ?, with painted Vera Icon

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 311
_Hours of Louis Quarré_, after 1488
fols. 21v (around Descent of Holy Spirit image)

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 219-220
_Hours of Engelbert of Nassau_, ca. 1470s/80s
fol. 16v (around Virgin and Child image); 84v (geometric grid/checkerboard border with scallop shells)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 10555
Hours, late 15th century/early 16th century
fol. 50r (with jewelry, around image of St. Luke)

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 1166
fol. 21 (with gems and other objects)

Parma, Biblioteca Palatina MS pal. 165
Hours, c. 1490-1500
fols. 36v/37r (miscellaneous badges/4 rings/44 pearls surrounding Annunciation)

Parma, Biblioteca Palatina MS pal. 195
Hours, 1502
fols. 113v/144r (miscellaneous badges)

Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 3028
Hours, c. 1510-9
fol. 162r and 162v (einzelmotive badges in outer and lower margins, including one of Boulogne-sur-Mer and Vera Icon); fols. 184 and 184v (same, with Virgin badges on outer and upper margins—larger round one Halle?); fol. 231v (‘IHS’ badge ‘pinned’ onto parchment)

Sibiu, Muzeu National Brukenthal Biblioteca Ms 761
_The Brukenthal Breviary_
page 4 (collection of pilgrim badges sewn onto a grey background on opening folio; collection gathered within a wooden frame, depicted if it were hung with a hook on a nail protruding from the parchment)
einzelmotive badges on pp. 78, 79; one-sided panel border of badges on p. 259; painted shell badge border on a red ground, p. 589, surrounding a prayer to St. James

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Lat. I, 99 (2138)
The Breviary of Cardinal Domenico Grimani (a.k.a. The Grimani Breviary) ca. 1515-1520
fol. 740v (badges in outer edge of margin)

Vic, Museo Episcopal (Episcopal Museum) s.n.
fol. 49r (badge collection)

Vienna, Österreichische Bibliothek MS 1979
Hours, 1510-20
fol. 108r (badges with trompe l’oeil flies around text)

private collection, Cologne
fol. 206r

private collection (formerly Vienna, Österreichische Bibliothek MS ser. nov. 2844)
The Rothschild Prayer Book
fol. 125r
APPENDIX B: LIST OF PILGRIMAGE SITES REPRESENTED IN "THE D’OISELET HOURS’ PILGRIM’S BADGES"

APPENDIX C: MAP OF PILGRIMAGE SITES ASSOCIATED WITH DUKE PHILIP THE GOOD OF BURGUNDY

APPENDIX D: COLLABORATIONS AMONG FLEMISH ARTISTS ON MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING PAINTED PILGRIM’S BADGE BORDERS

BY ARTISTS:

The Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy:
- Oxford Bodleian Library MS Douce 219-220 (the Hours of Engelbert of Nassau)
- Berlin Museen Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz Kupferstichkabinett 78 B 12 (the Hours of Mary and Maximilian)

The Ghent Associates
- Berlin Museen Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz Kupferstichkabinett 78 B 12 (the Hours of Mary and Maximilian)

The Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian
- Brussels KBR MS IV 40 (The Hours of Philip of Cleves)
- Oxford Bodleian Library MS Douce 311 (The Hours of Louis Quarré)
- Venice Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Lat. I, 99 (2138) (The Grimani Breviary)
- Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art MS 63.256
- Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS I.B.51 (La Flora Hours)
- Alnwick Castle MS 482 (Hours of Charlotte Bourbon-Montpensier)
- New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 52 (The Breviary of Eleanor of Portugal)
- Munich BSB MS 28345
- Private collection, Cologne

The Master of James IV of Scotland
- New York Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 52
- Lisbon, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian MS LA 210 (Holford Hours)
- Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art MS 1963.256 (Hours of Isabella of Castile)
- Venice Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Lat. I, 99 (2138) (The Grimani Breviary)

The Master of the Prayer Books of Around 1500
- Brussels KBR MS IV 280
- Cleveland (collaborated)
- Private Collection, The Rothschild Hours (formerly Vienna ÖNB MS 2844)
- Munich, BSB MS 28345
- Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS I.B.51 (La Flora Hours)
- Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art MS 1963.256 (The Hours of Isabella of Castile)
- New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.399 (Da Costa Hours) (Circle of the Master)

---

732 It should be noted that these artists collaborated on other manuscripts that did not contain painted pilgrim’s badge borders. However, these are not listed here. Attributions are primarily based on catalog entries in Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, *Illuminating the Renaissance.*
The Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary
- Venice Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Lat. I, 99 (2138) (The Grimani Breviary)
- Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art MS 1963.256 (The Hours of Isabella of Castile)
- London, British Library, Add. MS 18852 (Hours of Joanna of Castile)
- Sibiu, Museu Brukenthal (The Brukenthal Breviary)
- Brussels KBR MS IV 480
- Vic, Museo Episcopal (Episcopal Museum), s.n.
- Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. Kgl. Saml. 1605, 4°
- Chantilly, Musée Condé MS 77
- Parma Biblioteca Palatina MS pal. 165

The Master of the Soane Hours
- London, Sir John Soane’s Library MS 4

Simon Bening
- Lisbon, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian MS LA 210 (The Holford Hours)
- Venice Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Lat. I, 99 (2138) (The Grimani Breviary)
- New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.399 (Da Costa Hours)
- Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, MS Ludwig IX 19 (Hours of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg)

BY MANUSCRIPT:

Alnwick Castle, MS 482 (Hours of Charlotte Bourbon-Montpensier)
- The Master of the Dresden Prayer Book
- Simon Marmion
- The Workshop of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian
- Other artists

Berlin, Museen Stiftung Preussicher Kulturbesitz Kupferstichkabinett 78 B 12 (The Hours of Mary and Maximilian)
- The Ghent Associates

Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. Kgl. Saml. 1605, 4°
- The Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary

Cambridge (Mass.), Houghton Library, MS Typ. 443 (The Emerson-White Hours)
- Simon Marmion
- The Master of the Dresden Prayer Book
- The Master of the Houghton Miniatures
- The Ghent Associates
- Another artist
Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art MS 1963.256 (*Hours of Isabella of Castile*)
- Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian and workshop
- Master of the David Scenes and workshop
- Master of the Prayer Books of around 1500 and workshop
- Gerard David
- Master of James IV of Scotland
- Another artist

Lisbon, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian MS LA 210 (*Holford Hours*)
- Master of the James IV of Scotland and workshop
- Simon Bening

London, British Library, Add. MS 18852 (*Hours of Joanna of Castile*)
- Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary and workshop

London, Sir John Soane’s Library MS 4
- The Master of the Soane Hours (and another artist)

Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, MS Ludwig IX 19 (*Hours of Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg*)
- Simon Bening

Munich, BSB MS 28345
- The Workshop of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian
- Master of the Prayer Books of 1500
- Simon Marmion
- Another artist

Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS I.B.51 (*La Flora Hours*)
- Simon Marmion
- The Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian and his workshop
- The Master of the Dresden Prayer Book
- The Master of the Prayer Books of 1500

New York Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 52 (*The Breviary of Eleanor of Portugal*)
- The Workshop of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian
- The Master of James IV and/or his workshop

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.399 (*Da Costa Hours*)
- Simon Bening
- The Circle of the Master of the Prayer Books of Around 1500

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 219-220 (*The Hours of Engelbert of Nassau*)
- The Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy
Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 311, *Hours of Louis Quarré*
- The Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian

Venice Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Lat. I, 99 (2138) (The *Grimani Breviary*)
- The Master of the David Scenes in the Grimani Breviary
- The Master of James IV of Scotland
- The Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian (Alexander Bening’s signature in manuscript)
- Simon Bening
- Gerard David
APPENDIX E: PROVENANCES OF PILGRIM’S BADGE-FILLED MANUSCRIPTS WITH AFFILIATIONS TO THE LATE MEDIEVAL BURGUNDIAN AND HAPSBURG DYNASTIES

Manuscripts with actual pilgrim’s badges:

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 11035-37
*Prayer Book of Philip the Bold*, 1370, with alterations in the mid-fifteenth century
fols. 6r, 6v, 7r, 34v (not 34r), 87v (metal badge imprints); 96r (veronica parchment badges)
Provenance: used by Philip the Bold, perhaps his wife; used by [wife of John the Fearless];
Philip the Good; Charles the Bold (?); Margaret of Austria?

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 3-1954
*Prayer Book of Philip the Bold*
originally second half of the 14th c., with alterations in the mid-fifteenth century
fols. 226v, 227v, 237r, 237v, 239r, 240r, 214r, 243r, 244r, 246v, 250v, 251r, 252r, 252v, 263r,
274v/275r (badges along suffrages to saints [lost]; a few pages sewn together)
Provenance: used by Philip the Bold, perhaps his wife; used by [wife of John the Fearless];
Philip the Good; Charles the Bold (?); Margaret of Austria?

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS nov. acq. fr. 16428
*Prayer book of Philip the Good*, last quarter of 15th c.
Fols. 3r, 7r (?), 13r, 19r, 28v, 94v (badges now lost; imprint on folio)
Provenance: Philip the Good

Vienna, Österreichische Bibliothek, MS 1800
*Prayer Book and Diptych of Philip the Good*
fols. II, 32
Provenance: Philip the Good

Vienna, Österreichische Bibliothek MS 1859
*Prayer Book for Emperor Charles V*, 1516-19
fols. 131v, 209v, 250r
Provenance: Emperor Charles V

Vienna, Österreichische Bibliothek MS 2596
*Hours and Psalter of Ferdinand I*, 14th c.
fols. 1v, 371v
Provenance: Margaret of Austria (?); Emperor Ferdinand I

Vienna, Österreichische Bibliothek MS s.n. 2624
*Hours of Emperor Ferdinand I*, 1520
fol. 253r (several badges, including paper badge; some lost)
Provenance: Emperor Ferdinand I

Bad Godesberg (Bonn), Collection of Bishop D. Dr. Hermann Kunst, MS
Hours of Gillette van der Ee, c. 1460-70
fols. 2v (badges affixed on pgs., many holes of missing badges; several paper/parchment badges); three prints on last page
Provenance: Gillette van der Ee, the granddaughter of a secretary to the Burgundian Duke

Manuscripts with painted pilgrim’s badges:

London, British Library, Add. MS 18852
Hours of Joanna of Castile
fols. 183v (small scallop with pilgrim staff in margin), 184r (around image of St. Luke); 412r (scallops and staffs arranged in scattered decorative pattern around Feast of St. James)
fols. 50v, 53r, 53v, 54v, 57v, 58v, 61v, 156v, 184v, 344r, 344v, 395r, 395v, and 412v: einzelmotives

London, British Library, Add MS 35313
Hours
fol. 215v, around illumination of St. James (scallop shells hanging by strings on trellis)
Provenance: for a Spanish patron, perhaps Joanna of Castile. Margaret of Austria perhaps may be the patron
(The miniature in Office of the Dead copies an image of Duchess Mary of Burgundy, and perhaps the patron wanted to memorialize her. Perhaps the book was made for Mary’s daughter, Margaret of Austria, who also inherited the Berlin Hours of Mary from her mother. Another possible first owner is Joanna of Castile, who married Mary’s son Philip the Handsome.). (See Illuminating the Renaissance, p. 370 and 371, n. 7.)

London, British Library, Add. MS 38126
The Huth Hours, before 1489
Provenance: an individual at the Hapsburg court

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 311
Hours of Louis Quarré, after 1488
fols. 21v (around Decent of Holy Spirit image); 21r
Provenance: Louis Quarré

Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 219/220
Hours of Engelbert of Nassau, c. 1470s/80s
fol. 16v (around Virgin and Child image); 84v (geometric grid/checkerboard border with scallop shells)
Provenance: Engelbert of Nassau; then passed to Philip the Fair

Alnwick Castle, Percy MS 482
Hours of Charlotte de Bourbon-Montpensier, before 1478
fol. 46 (shells in diamond pattern around Annunciation image)
Provenance: Charlotte de Bourbon-Montpensier. Charlotte was the daughter of Louis of Bourgon and Gabrielle de la Tour, count and countess of Montpensier. Charlotte was the wife of a
prominent Burgundian courtier, Wolfart von Borssele, and cousin of Isabelle of Bourbon, a consort of Charles the Bold. (her father-in-law had been a stadholder general and a captain in the Burgundian naval forces. He was also the member of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Wolfart’s brother-in-law was the Burgundian courtier and bibliophile, Louis of Gruuthuse. (See *Illuminating the Renaissance*, pp. 123 and 125, n. 10; p. 200)

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS IV 40
*Hours of Philip of Cleves*, 1483
fol. 42r (surrounding Virgin and Child)
Provenance: Duke Philip of Cleves

New York, PML MS 52
*Breviary for Queen Eleanor of Portugal*, c. 1490
Provenance: Eleanor of Portugal, wife of John II of Portugal

Berlin, Museen Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78 B 12
*Hours of Mary and Maximilian*
fol. 90v, 91r (shell badges within geometric diamond pattern, surrounding Prayer at Gethsemane)
Provenance: Emperor Maximilian I and his wife Mary of Burgundy

Lisbon, Oeiras, Museu Gulbenkian MS LA 210
*Holford Hours*
fols. 55v, 56r (surround Flight into Egypt image, text)
Provenance: based on coat of arms on fol. I, either for the Swabian family Rein or the Bruges family Kokelaere, or the Aloy family of Namur. In addition, the Nones in the Hours of the Virgin on fol. 48 features the Burgundian badge of a briquette on two crossed boughs flanked by a griffin and a lion, symbols that were taken up by Charles V and likely evidence that the book’s armorials belong to a Hapsburg subject, perhaps also a courtier. (see *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 425)

Cleveland Museum of Art, CMA 1963.256 (also listed as 63256)
*Hours of Isabella of Castile*
fol. 184r (assorted badges around Suffrage of St. Nicholas)
Provenance: Queen Isabella of Castile

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Ms. Lat. I, 99 (2138)
The Grimani Breviary
Original patron was Antonio Siciliano (chamberlain of Massimiliano Sforza, duke of Milan), who spent time at the court of Margaret of Austria in 1513 (see *Illuminating the Renaissance*, p. 423)
BIBLIOGRAPHY


*Art from the Court of Burgundy: The Patronage of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless 1364-1419.* Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 2004.


*The Hours of Catherine of Cleves* (website):


_______. “Pelgrimsinsignes in het Getijdenboek ‘D’Oiselet’.” *Heilig en Profaan: 1000 Laatmiddeleeuwse Insignes uit de Collectie H.J.E. van Beuningen.* H.J.E. Van Beuningen and


_________. “Kollektionen Metallener Wallfahrts-Devotionalien und Kleiner Andachtsbilder, Eingenäht in Spätmittelalterliche Gebetbuch-Handschriften.” Das Buch und Sein Haus:


Rey, Fabrice. “Princely Piety: the Devotions of the Duchesses, Margaret of Flanders and Margaret of Bavaria.” Art from the Court of Burgundy: The Patronage of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless 1364-1419. (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 2004): 74-76.


Schnerb, Bertrand. “The Piety and Worship of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless.” Art from the Court of Burgundy: The Patronage of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless 1364-1419. (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 2004): 71-74.

Schnitker, Harry. “Margaret of York on Pilgrimage: The Exercise of Devotion and the


Van Asperen, Hanneke. “Gebed, geboorte, en bedevaart Genealogie en pelgrims tekens


__________. “Philip the Good’s Manuscripts as Documents of his Relations with the Empire,” Publication du Centre europeen d’etudes bourguignonnes 36 (1996), 49-69.


Van der Linden, Herman. Itinéraires de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne (1419-1467) et de Charles, comte de Charolais (1433-1467). Brussels, 1940.


Figure 1. Paris, Bibliothèque Arsenal, MS 1176A, fol. Av
Figure 2. London, Sotheby’s Auction 1985.
Figure 3. Bad Godesberg (Bonn), Collection of Bishop D. Dr. Hermann Kunst, MS 5, Hours of Gillette van der Ee, fol. 2v
Figure 4. The Hague, Royal Library (Netherlands) MS 77 L 60
_The D’Oiselet Hours_, fol. 98.
Figure 5. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 51, fol. 45v-46r
Figure 6. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 51, fols. 58v-59r
Figure 7a. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 51, fol. 59r (detail).
Figure 7b. Pilgrim’s badge of Notre-Dame, Halle.
Figure 8a. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 51, fols. 73v-74r
Figure 8b. Pilgrim’s badge of Mary Magdalen, St.-Maximin-la-St.-Baume
(from The D’Oiselet Hours)
Figure 9. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 11035-37, fol. 6v
Figure 10. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 11035-37, fol. 96r
Figure 11. Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum MS 3-1954, fols. 12v-13r (offset indicated).
Figure 12. Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum MS 3-1954, fols. 227v-228r.
Figure 13. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 3-1954, fols. 236v-237r (offset indicated).
Figure 14. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 3-1954, fols. 237v-238r (offset indicated).
Figure 15. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 3-1954, fols. 238v-239r.
Figure 16. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 3-1954, fols. 239v-240r (offset indicated).
Figure 17. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 3-1954, fols. 242v-243r (offsets indicated).
Figure 18a. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 3-1954, fols. 246v-247r.
Figure 18b. Pilgrim’s badge of St. Anthony, from Saint-Antoine-l’Abbaye, Rhône-Alpes
Figure 19. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 3-1954, fols. 251v-252r.
Figure 20. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 3-1954, fols. 262v-263r.
Figure 21. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 3-1954, fols. 274v-275r.
Figure 22. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1800, upper diptych and manuscript open to fols. 13v-14r
Figure 23. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1800, fol. 32
Figure 24. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1800, fol. II
Figure 25. Paris Bibliothèque Nationale nov. acq. fr. 16428, fol. 3r (offset indicated).
Figure 26. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale nov. acq. fr. 16428, fol.13r (offset indicated).
Figure 27. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale nov. acq. fr. 16428, fol. 19r
Figure 28. Paris Bibliothèque Nationale nov. acq. fr. 16428, fol.28r

mon dieu mon créateur et mon redép
teur... au tour de huy le vous fai sacrifi
té offrande et present de ma pouvo a
me de mon corps de tout ce qui est en
moi. et de tous les biens de fortune
que me auez preste. Je vous prè mer
chi des pechies que ce a fost dit et en
fe aulcre fait faire due et penser
Je vous donne loange pour tout que
vous estes dignie de estre loe. Je vous
renf graces des benefites que me
auez fait. principalement du benefite
de vostre benouille passion. et de ce que
me auez avec a vostre maine et main
blante. Je vous prè par vostre insin
e bonne que il vous plaiz a moy don
Figure 29a. Paris Bibliothèque Nationale nov. acq. fr. 16428, fol. 94v
Figure 29b. Pilgrim’s badge depicting St. Peter holding key
Figure 30. Statue of the Virgin Carried into the Church, from *Legend of Notre Dame du Sablon*. Brussels, 1516. (Musees Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, Belgium)
Figure 31. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1859, fol. 131v (offsets indicated).
Figure 32. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1859, fol. 210r (offset indicated).
Figure 33. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1859, fols. 235v-236r
Figure 34. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1859, fols. 250v-251r
Figure 35. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS s.n. 2596, fol. 1v
Figure 36. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS s.n. 2596, fol. 371r
Figure 37. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS s.n. 2596, fols. 2v-3r
Figure 38. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS s.n. 2624, fol. 253r
Figure 39. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 1979, fol. 108r
Figure 40. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS 917, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, fol. 244r
Figure 41. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS 917, *The Hours of Catherine of Cleves*, fol. 240r
Figure 42. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery MS W 782, The Van Alphen Hours, fol. 113r.
Figure 43: London, Sir John Soane’s Museum MS 4, fol. 111v
Figure 44. Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Douce 219/220, *The Hours of Engelbert of Nassau*, fol. 84v
Figure 45. Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek CLM 28345, fol. 265r
Figure 46. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78 B 12, *The Hours of Mary and Maximilian*, fols. 90v-91r
Figure 48. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, MS. Lat. I, 99 [2138], *The Grimani Breviary*, fol. 740v
Figure 49. Muzeul National Brukenthal, Biblioteca MS 761, *The Brukenthal Breviary*, p. 4
Figure 50a. Brussels Bibliothèque Royale, MS IV 441, fol. 22r
Figure 50b. Pilgrim’s badge from Notre-Dame, Halle
Figure 51: Copenhagen MS GKS 1605/4°, fol. 100r.
Figure 52a. Oxford Bodleian Library MS Douce 311, *The Hours of Louis Quarré*, fol. 21v
Figure 52b. Pilgrim’s badge of St. Adrian, Geraardsbergen; Figure 52c. Pilgrim’s badge of St. Servatius, Maastricht; Figure 52d. Pilgrim’s badge of St. Dymphna, Geel (badge cast on a bell); Figure 52e: Pilgrim’s badge of St. Cornelius, Ninove
Figure 53a. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (MS lat. 10555), fol. 50r
Figures 53 b, c, d: Pilgrim’s badges of St. Quentin, St. Adrian at Geraardsbergen, St. Barbara
Figure 54. Lisbon Oeiras, Museu Gulbenkian Ms. LA 210 (The Holford Hours), fols. 55v-56r
Figure 55. London British Library Add. MS 18852, *The Hours of Joanna of Castile*, fols. 183v-184r
Figure 56. Oxford Bodleian Library MS Douce 219-220, *The Hours of Engelbert of Nassau*, fol. 16v
Figure 57. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS s.n. 2619, *Legende de Saint Adrien*, fol. 3v
Figure 58. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS IV 40, *The Hours of Philip of Cleves*, fol. 42r
Figure 59. Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art inv. 1963.256, The *Hours of Isabella of Castile*, fols. 183v-184r
Figure 60. Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS I.B.51, *La Flora Hours*, fol. 38r
Figure 61. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS 52, The Breviary of Eleanor of Portugal, fol. 353r.
Figure 62. Cologne, Private Collection, fol. 206r
Figure 63. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS IV 480, fols. 163v-164r
Figure 64. Chantilly, Musée Condé MS 77, fols. 29v-30r
Figure 65. Parma Biblioteca Palatina MS pal. 165, fols. 36v-37r
Figure 66. Brussels Bibliothèque Royale, MS IV 280, fol. 211r
Figure 67. London, Sir John Soane’s Museum, The Soane Hours, MS 4, fol. 122v