

A World Chronicle for Philip the Fair

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In the illustrious history of the Burgundian Library, Philip the Fair (1478–1506) plays a lesser role than his namesake ancestors, Philip the Bold (1342–1404), founder of the library, and Philip the Good (1396–1467), who tripled the number of manuscripts. While recent studies by *Hanno Wijsman* have considerably clarified our view of Philip the Fair's ownership and usage of books, his premature death and the general decline in the production of manuscripts towards the end of the fifteenth century mean that his contribution to the stock of the library fell behind those of his predecessors.¹ One book that was produced for him, however, is unequalled among his ancestors' manuscripts: a giant tome kept in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna under shelf mark Cod. 325, containing the only extant copy of a universal chronicle by an otherwise unknown author, who introduces himself in the preface as Johannes de Vico from Douai (fol. 1v). Besides its unique content and immense dimensions (660 × 430 mm), the complexity of its layout and the richness of its illumination also make the Viennese manuscript worthy of attention. Despite all these remarkable features, no detailed study has yet been dedicated to this book, and its bibliography consists mainly of brief catalogue entries.²

¹) This paper was prepared within the frames of the *Court Culture and Power Representation in Late Medieval and Early Modern Hungary* research project (NKFIH K-129362). A version of it was published in Hungarian: *E. Nagy*, Bács, Buda, Brüssel? A Mátyás-Graduale flamand miniátorának vándorlása [Vienna, Buda, Brussels? The peregrinations of the Flemish illuminator of the Gradual of King Matthias], *Ars Hungarica* 4 (2018) 261–81. My research trips to Vienna were supported by the András Péter Grant and the Alfred and Isabel Bader Scholarship. I wish to express my gratitude to *Dániel Pócs* for his helpful comments and to *Steve Kane* and *Mária Árvai* for language proofreading.

H. Wijsman, Philippe le Beau et les livres: rencontre entre une époque et une personnalité, in *H. Wijsman*, *A. Kelders*, and *S. Speakman Sutch* (eds.), *Books in transition at the time of Philip the Fair: manuscripts and printed books in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century Low Countries*, Turnhout 2010, 17–92.

²) *F. Unterkircher* (ed.), exhib. cat. Maximilian I., 1459–1519, Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) 1959, 44,

By way of beginning to address this gap, below I present the initial results of my codicological, palaeographical and philological examination of the Viennese universal chronicle, which has proven to be the product of an unconventional process: the normally distinct phases of production – compiling the text, setting the layout, copying and illuminating – are here inseparably interwoven. While this may lead us to suppose that Johannes de Vico was both the author and the scribe of the text, he could not have been responsible for the decoration. Stylistic analysis of the miniatures points towards an illuminator who, a few years earlier, in the 1480s, was working hundreds of miles away from the Netherlands, decorating a gradual for King Matthias of Hungary (1443–1490). The hitherto unnoticed, but surprisingly close stylistic connection between the gradual and the Viennese universal chronicle shines a light on the unusual career of a still anonymous, but exceptionally mobile and adventurous Flemish illuminator. His journey across Europe also reveals new clues regarding the matter of the commissioner. Although the present paper cannot provide a conclusive answer to this question, it does attempt to point the way for further research.

Structure, layout and iconography

In the preface, Johannes de Vico introduces his work as the history of famous kings, princes, and other nobilities from the creation of the world until the “present”, which he specifies as

nr. 133; *F. Unterkircher* (ed.), exhib. cat. Bibliothèque Nationale d'Autriche: manuscrits et livres imprimés concernant l'histoire des Pays-Bas: 1474–1600, Brussels (Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier) 1962, 15–16, nr. 24; *D. Thoss*, exhib. cat. Flämische Buchmalerei. Handschriftenschatze aus dem Burgunderreich, Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) 1987, 91–93, nr. 57; *D. Thoss* in *H. Petschar* (ed.), exhib. cat. Alpha & Omega: Geschichten vom Ende und Anfang der Welt, Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) 2000, 196–97. The manuscript is now accessible online: <http://data.onb.ac.at/rep/102658C1> (accessed 17 December 2019).

12 April 1495.³ The chronicle itself, however, only begins on folio 17v, well beyond the first third of the 49-folio manuscript. The first pages are filled with a summary of cosmography, followed by an alphabetical index of names and a short discussion on chronology. These sections are also separated from each other from a codicological point of view, and the order of their creation seems to be the reverse of their order in the volume. The universal chronicle starts on the verso of the first folio of the fifth quire (fol. 17v), while the index of names, evidently compiled after the chronicle was completed, was copied into a separate quire (fols. 13r–16v) and bound in front of it. The folio numbers in the index refer to the Roman numerals in the upper margin of the versos in the chronicle part. The discussion on chronology was subsequently copied onto the blank half page after the index of names and the blank recto of the following quire (fols. 16v–17r). Finally, the preface and the cosmographical part were written onto a separate bifolio (fols. 1r–2v) and two quires (fols. 3r–6v and 7r–12v). The blank verso of fol. 12 indicates that these quires were the last to be attached in front of the other sections of the manuscript.

The most striking feature of the manuscript is the complexity of the layout (fig. 1). Instead of being read from top to bottom, the text runs parallel with the gutter and is arranged along the family tree of humankind. The main branch, originating from a miniature depicting the Creation of Adam and Eve (fig. 2), leads to the birth of Christ (fig. 3), while side-branches represent the genealogies of rulers, including not only ancient empires and medieval European kingdoms, but also several duchies and counties. This layout breaks the linearity of textual narratives, allowing the reader to perceive the synchronicity and diachronicity of events simultaneously. The coherence of the multi-narrative history of humankind is thus visualized in the manuscript.

By the end of the fifteenth century, such diagrammatic chronicles had been around for several centuries.⁴ They became widespread

towards the end of the twelfth century, as French noble families took increasing interest in their genealogy.⁵ Probably the most significant single influence on the development of the genre was the *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* by Peter of Poitiers (c. 1125/30–1205). In his work, all ancient dynasties are arranged along the genealogy of Christ, functioning as a timeline of universal history.⁶ Following the concept of the *Compendium*, several diagrammatic chronicles were created over the following centuries, which, depending on the context of their production, extended the historical material of their model both chronologically and geographically. Their popularity did not wane even with the advent of printing, although the combination of textual and graphic elements posed a challenge to the new technique. The *Fasciculus temporum omnes antiquorum cronicas complectens* by Werner Rolevinck, first published in 1473 in Cologne, reached more than thirty editions before the death of its author in 1502.⁷ Similarly to the *Compendium*, the main axis of world history is once again Christ's genealogy, continuing with the list of popes after his birth. Rolevinck's easily accessible work served as the primary model for Johannes de Vico when he created the Viennese manuscript.⁸ The Flemish author not only borrowed extensively from Rolevinck's text, he also followed the structure of the *Fasciculus temporum*, especially in the first part of the chronicle, dealing with history before the birth of Christ.

The unusual, cross-wise orientation of the text in the Viennese manuscript also originates in the tradition of diagrammatic chronicles: it goes back to the scroll format that was especially popular in this genre, since it ensured visual

³) Fol. 17v: "a principio mundy usque presentem annum et diem videlicet m. cccc. iiii.^{xx} xv. xii die aprilis".

⁴) For the development of diagrammatic chronicles, see G. Melville, *Geschichte in graphischer Gestalt. Vorträge und Forschungen* 31 (1987) 57–148.

⁵) G. M. Spiegel, *Genealogy: form and function in medieval historiography*, in *idem*, *The past as text: the theory and practice of medieval historiography*. Baltimore 1997, 99–110.

⁶) Melville, *op. cit.* (note 4), pp. 68–73, and A. Worm, *Diagrammatic Chronicles*, in G. Dunphy (ed.), *The encyclopedia of the medieval chronicle*. Leiden & Boston 2010, 524.

⁷) A. Worm, *Rolevinck, Werner*, in Dunphy, *op. cit.* (note 6), 1293.

⁸) It is not yet clear which edition he used. I will refer to the Leuven edition: W. Rolevinck, *Fasciculus temporum omnes antiquorum cronicas complectens*, Leuven 1476.

continuity for the diagrammatically structured text.⁹ This effect is best converted into book format when the text runs parallel with the gutter. A few examples from the Burgundian Library testify that this solution was not unprecedented among the manuscripts produced for Philip the Fair's ancestors. Jean Miélot opted for this solution when preparing a French translation of John of Udine's world chronicle for Philip the Good, arranging the parallel histories of France, England, the Holy Roman Empire, and the Papacy in four columns.¹⁰ Miélot might also have been the originator of the similarly horizontal but even more complex layout of Philip the Good's copy of the *Chroniques de Jérusalem*.¹¹

In contrast with its layout and format, the pictorial cycle of the Viennese manuscript diverges from the usual iconography of universal chronicles, including diagrammatical ones. The small medallions depicting the seven days of Creation (fig. 24), the six large miniatures dedicated to the Nativity (fig. 3) and to the main ancestors of Christ (Adam and Eve [fig. 2], Noah [fig. 13], Abraham and Isaac [fig. 4], David, Zedekiah), and the representations of cities (figs. 1 and 6) are subjects often found in world chronicles, but to the best of my knowledge, the set of small-size historical figures, numbering more than

eighty in total, is without precedent, as are the selection criteria, for they represent the first person of each dynasty.¹² The pictorial program is therefore perfectly harmonized with the general concept, where the structure of the manuscript and the narration of world history are organized around dynastic filiation. The series of *first rulers* is only completed by eight out of the Nine Worthies, who are distinguished by holding a shield in their hands (fig. 25); the ninth, King David, features in a large miniature. Popular historical figures were only included in this original, but rigid pictorial program if they happened to be the founding father of a new dynasty, like Hercules, presented here as the first king of Hispania (fig. 5). Neither Louis IX of France, a recurrent figure in fifteenth-century French universal chronicles, nor any of Philip the Fair's direct ancestors, can be found in the Viennese manuscript. The chronicle does, however, feature such obscure figures as Siculus, the first, legendary king of Sicily (fol. 44v), and Abraham, the first margrave of Austria (fol. 42r).

The creative process

The manuscript, including all its special features, seems to have been conceived by the author, Johannes de Vico. The first results of philological analysis and the comparison of handwriting throughout the text suggest that the compilation of the text and the process of copying took place simultaneously, at least in part, implying that the author himself was also responsible for the complex layout. In the first third of the chronicle, the main text is written on carefully ruled parchment in a tidy *bastarda* script. The main text is completed by several later, less carefully written insertions, using smaller letters and often an ink of different color (fig. 7). These insertions include passages on the history of cities (fols. 20v–26v), additional information on historical

⁹) Several copies of the *Compendium* were written on scrolls (see Melville, op. cit. [note 4], 71, note 52), and John of Udine (†1363) most probably also conceived his famous world chronicle in this format (See A. Vizkelety, Johannes de Utino Világkrónikájának szöveggyománnyozása [The textual tradition of the World Chronicle by John of Udine], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 101 (1985) 195–209, esp. 195, 201, 205). The scroll format was also frequently used for illustrated world chronicles in the second half of the fifteenth century in France, see F. Fossier, *Chroniques universelles en forme de rouleau à la fin du Moyen-Âge*, *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* (1980–81) 182, and N. Hurel, *Les chroniques universelles en rouleaux (1457–1521): une source pour l'iconographie religieuse*, *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 80 (1994) 303–14.

¹⁰) Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, II 239, see E. J. Mooney, *Illuminated crusader histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy*. Turnhout 2012, 183–85.

¹¹) Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek [hereafter ÖNB], Cod. 2533, see O. Pächt, U. Jenni, and D. Thoss, *Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Flämische Schule I*. Textband, Vienna 1983, 61–77, and Mooney, op. cit. (note 10), 175–208.

¹²) For the iconography of world chronicles, see N. H. Ott, *Typen der Weltchronik-Ikonographie: Bemerkungen zu Illustration, Anspruch und Gebrauchssituation volkssprachlicher Chronistik aus überlieferungsgeschichtlicher Sicht*. *Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein-Gesellschaft* 1 (1980–81) 29–55; Fossier, op. cit. (note 9), 178–81; Hurel, op. cit. (note 9), 306–11. The placement of the townscapes in the Viennese manuscript follows the printed editions of Rolevinck's *Fasciculus temporum*.

figures, or longer texts, such as a paragraph on the realm of the Amazons (fol. 19r). The textual sources of the later additions and the main text are not the same. While the main text derives primarily from Rolevinck's *Fasciculus temporum*, most of the insertions are borrowed from the *Supplementum chronicarum orbis ab initio mundi* by Jacopo Filippo Foresti da Bergamo, first published in 1483.¹³

These observations, taken alone, may suggest that the main text was completed at a later stage, by a different hand. However, comparing the handwriting of the insertions with the less tidy, hastier handwriting at the end of the chronicle allows us to attribute the copying to just one scribe. Other observations also confirm that the insertions were added during the process of compilation, before the manuscript was completed. Firstly, the index of names contains references to the insertions, e.g. to the descriptions of Viterbo and Verona (fol. 16v), while the table of contents includes the subsequently added story of the Amazons. Secondly, the text blocks of two later insertions that surround the miniatures do not follow the painted version of the figures, but their underdrawings. The figure of Troyus, shown holding a flower in the finished miniature, was originally depicted holding a scepter, whose pen-and-ink underdrawing is still visible to the left of Troyus's head. The lines do not closely surround his head, as they do his body, but stop at the faint lines of the scepter (fig. 8). The situation is the same in the case of Arbaces, where the text runs only as far as the underdrawing of the scepter, whose position was later modified by the illuminator (fig. 9). The scribe must therefore have inserted these passages before the figures were painted by the illuminator.¹⁴

On the other hand, the insertions cannot be regarded as the scribe's later additions to the

already existing text by Johannes de Vico. An examination of the last two thirds of the text proves that the apparently later additions actually form part of the compilation by the author. As the chronicle unfolds, the insertions decrease, and passages derived from different sources can no longer be visually separated. Texts from Foresti's *Supplementum chronicarum*, which was the main source of the insertions in the first third of the chronicle, are later incorporated into the main text.¹⁵ For example, towards the end of the manuscript, in the lengthy section about Frederick III, Holy Roman Emperor, passages taken from the *Fasciculus temporum* by Rolevinck are followed by two paragraphs borrowed from Foresti, without any inconsistency in the handwriting (fols. 46r–v).¹⁶ This may suggest that Johannes de Vico initially used Foresti's text for the second half of his compilation, and only later supplemented the first part of his chronicle with passages from Foresti's work. At the same time, from the second third of the chronicle onwards, the letters decrease in size and the handwriting becomes denser and more hasty. It is as though the author gave up ruling and tidy handwriting in order to work more flexibly and to compile texts and information from different sources more easily.

In the case of the Viennese world chronicle, the tasks of compilation, designing the layout and writing the text cannot be separated from each other. This means that the date given as the "present" at the beginning of the chronicle, 12 April 1495, not only marks the start of the text's creation, but also that of its copying, i.e. the start of producing the manuscript itself. What is more, the illuminator must also have begun his work on the chronicle around this time.

The illuminator

In the Viennese chronicle, the way in which the images are arranged within the text indicates that the illuminator's work advanced simultaneously with the copying of the text. Ordinarily,

¹³) Foresti's work was published five times by 1495, four times in Venice and once in Brescia, see Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke: M10.965, M10.969, M10.971, M10.974, M10.980, <https://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/> (accessed 17 December 2019). I will refer to the 1486 edition: Jacopo Filippo Foresti: *Supplementum chronicarum orbis ab initio mundi*, Venice 1486 (M10971).

¹⁴) The text about Troy on the left of Troyus was taken from Foresti, op. cit. (note 13), fol. 55v, and the passage about Alexandria on the left of Arbaces is quoted from *ibid.*, fol. 110r.

¹⁵) E.g. the introduction to the genealogy of the Gonzaga family (fol. 42v) was taken from Foresti, op. cit. (note 13), fol. 249r, the chapter titled *Cronica othomanorum seu turcorum* on fol. 47r from *ibid.*, fol. 250r.

¹⁶) Rolevinck, op. cit. (note 8), fols. 63v–64r, and Foresti, op. cit. (note 13), fols. 211v, 279v.

illuminators inserted the miniatures after the copying of the text, into spaces left blank by the scribe. Even in the case of diagrammatic chronicles, where the placement of the passages is defined by the genealogical tree, the images were drawn and painted into the medallions only after the scribe had finished his work. Contrary to this practice, in the Viennese manuscript the figures are not depicted within the medallions, but are emerging from them or, in some cases, sitting or standing on them. The text often envelops the figures so tightly and follows their irregular silhouettes so precisely that the figures must have been sketched before the text was written in. For example, on fol. 20r, in the paragraph on the left of the first pharaoh of Thebes, the end of the lines is aligned with the preliminarily drawn guideline, except for the tenth line, which stops much sooner because of the projecting silhouette of the sword (fig. 10). In the case of Brutus, both the later insertion about Naples and the carefully written main text follow the capricious outline of the figure with the same precision (fig. 7). A third telling example can be found on fol. 19v, where at the top of the page, in the second line of the paragraph to the right of the illusionistic branch, the word *tenuati* is split so as to avoid the scepter of the first Egyptian king.

While these observations prove that the figures were applied to the parchment before the surrounding texts, this is true only for the underdrawing and not for the painting, as the painted surfaces could have suffered damage during the copying process. The aforementioned figures of Troyus and Arbaces (figs. 8–9), where the text was aligned with the drawn version, not the painted one, also confirm that the illuminator first drew the figures in pen-and-ink, after which the scribe added the surrounding text. Finally, perhaps only after the whole text had been completed, the illuminator painted the figures and all the other decorations. Since the locations of the figures are determined by the medallions, whose distribution throughout the genealogical tree depends more or less on the length of the related text, Johannes de Vico and the illuminator must have taken turns working on the manuscript.

Moreover, in absence of the text, the illuminator must have relied on the author's instructions when sketching the figures. The clearest example

is Romulus, who is represented at the moment of being struck by lightning (fig. 11). The passage introducing him does mention this incident,¹⁷ but the text that closely surrounds the figure was written down only after the illuminator had drawn the figure of Romulus, together with the cloud and lightning bolt above his head. Even if the illuminator could read Latin – unlikely in the case of artisans –, he could not have relied on the text, because it was not there. This solution was probably not derived from iconographic tradition either, as no other contemporary depiction of this episode is known to me. The author himself must have told the illuminator how to represent the founder of Rome. Such specific iconography, however, is rather the exception than the rule in the Viennese manuscript.

At this point, it may be justified to wonder whether the author himself could have produced the rough sketches of the figures, with a professional illuminator executing them in full at a later stage. However, the outlines of the figures are so complex and diverse, and the underdrawing is so carefully drawn and rich in detail,¹⁸ that the preliminary pen-and-ink sketches must also be attributed to a professional illuminator. It seems unlikely that Johannes de Vico, compiler of a complex and thorough historical work, would also have been a well-trained illuminator. This is not only because such a combination of competences was rare,¹⁹ but primarily because the illuminator's hand appears in another manuscript of

¹⁷) This passage was also taken from Rolevinck, op. cit. (note 8), fol. 13v.

¹⁸) This is clear in those rare instances where the underdrawing becomes visible because of small modifications in the painted versions. The underdrawing defined the shape of the hat worn by Saint Vincent, first count of Hainaut (fol. 33r), and the folds of the sleeve of John, vice-count of Milan (fol. 39r), and even indicated the cross on the top of Saint Peter's papal tiara (fol. 28r).

¹⁹) Although the versatile author and translator Jean Miélot was once paid not only for the translation and copying of works, but also for their illustration, he was not a trained illuminator, and he "seems never to have worked on anything more ambitious than sketches for miniatures", see C. Reynolds, *Illuminators and the painters' guilds*, in T. Kren and S. McKendrick (eds.), exhib. cat. *Illuminating the Renaissance: the triumph of Flemish manuscript painting in Europe*. Los Angeles (The J. Paul Getty Museum) 2003, 19, and A. Pinchart, *Archives des arts, sciences et lettres: documents inédits III*. Ghent 1881, 46.

a completely different genre, produced hundreds of miles away from the Netherlands.

No other work has been attributed to the illuminator of the Viennese chronicle, even though his style is very distinctive.²⁰ He executed more than eighty historical figures in incredible variety, with clothes, postures, and physiognomies varying from figure to figure, revealing enormous powers of imagination and inventiveness. However, his anatomical details are often awkwardly drawn, not only in his nudes, which follow medieval conventions of representing the body (fol. 8r), but also in his fully dressed figures. Hands and arms often bend and join unnaturally (for example, Moses [fol. 21r] and Hector [fol. 21v]), while in the case of Hercules, the connection between his arms and his body seems abnormal (fig. 5). The illuminator sometimes also failed in his depictions of limbs in foreshortening.

Buildings and townscapes are likewise characterized by great variety, inventiveness and an abundance of details. The façade of the palace on the dedication miniature (fig. 26) and the Temple of Jerusalem on fol. 22v are richly decorated with moldings and statues, while in Nineveh (fol. 19r) and Rome, no two buildings are alike (fig. 6). However, the spatial relationships between buildings, architectural details, interiors and exteriors are often confusing, and they are represented with little regard for the rules of perspective. In complex compositions, integrating the figures into their settings also posed problems for the illuminator.

These features recall the illumination of a gradual created for King Matthias of Hungary, and a meticulous comparison between the two works reinforces their proposed attribution to the same master.²¹ Townscapes are not only similar in having diverse buildings grouped together

without obeying the rules of perspective, some of the architectural details found on the pages of the two manuscripts are also identical. Both books include, for example, a special apse-like form crowned with a balustrade, and a row of cuboid houses with a ball-like chimney at the top (figs. 6 and 12). Landscapes are also very similar in the two manuscripts: beneath a raised horizon, a variety of scenery emerges, divided by trees, bushes, cliffs, roads and rivers. The same distinctive landscape elements appear in both codices, such as conical cliffs with drawn demarcations and blue trees lined up along the mountains on the horizon. Atmospheric effects and mirroring water surfaces, which constitute the most attractive aspects of the miniatures in the gradual, are conveyed with the same refinement in the world chronicle, especially in the depiction of the Deluge (figs. 13–14).

Despite the great diversity among the figures, there are also some close similarities in physiognomic types. The faces of Cain, Abel and their sister Calmana, as depicted in the chronicle, resemble those of the acolytes in the gradual: the oval heads narrow towards the chin, the long, straight noses are connected to the arched eyebrows, the mouths are formed with a thin, straight upper lip and a small, thick, dot-like lower lip (figs. 15–16). The facial features of Brutus recall the choir-singers from the gradual (fig. 17), while Othomanus, with his rounded face and brush-like moustache, could be the twin brother of the figure dressed in pink and raising a golden cup in the miniature representing the Fall of Manna (fig. 18). The bearded facial types from the chronicle also have analogies in the gradual. With short, thick beards and drooping mouths, the faces of Aaron and Joshua resemble those of the apostles in the Ascension miniature in the gradual (fig. 19), while the broad face of Ludovico Gonzaga, first margrave of Mantua, is very close to the physiognomy of the old man in blue in the miniature of a baptism (fig. 20). Drapery is also handled similarly in the gradual and the chronicle, with both manuscripts recurrently featuring cylindrical shoulder-pieces modelled with parallel hatching, V-shaped folds

²⁰) Dagmar Thoss expressed a similar opinion: Thoss, *Flämische Buchmalerei*, cit. (note 2), 92.

²¹) Budapest, National Széchényi Library (hereafter NSZL), Cod. Lat. 424. The manuscript is accessible online: <https://corvina.hu/en/corvina/virtual-corvinas/codlat424-en/> (accessed 31 December 2019). For a general discussion of the manuscript, see E. Soltész, *Das Corvinus Graduale*, Hanau & Budapest 1982; for a more recent study on its production, see E. Nagy, On the creation of the Gradual of King Matthias, *Acta Historiae Artium* 57 (2016) 23–82, with previous bibliography.

in the clothing, tucked in at the waist, and baggy sleeves.²²

Similarities in the secondary decoration also connect the illumination of the Viennese chronicle to that of the Gradual of King Matthias. The borders in both manuscripts are created from the same type of acanthus tendrils, consisting of longer leaves extending like funnels from a thin stem, and suddenly protruding smaller, fleshier leaves. An illusionistic effect is achieved by the depiction of cast shadows on the silver or golden base (figs. 2 and 21). In addition, the geometrical ornamentation of some of the gradual's initials recalls the frames of the miniatures representing the Sacrifice of Isaac and the Deluge in the world chronicle (figs. 4, 13, and 22).

The style of the chronicle's illumination is also close to the only other work hitherto attributed to the master of the Gradual of King Matthias, the frontispiece of an incunabulum kept in the monastery in Klosterneuburg (fig. 23).²³ The physiognomy of Saint Leopold in the printed book resembles God the Father in the chronicle (fig. 24), while his posture recalls Alexander the Great (fig. 25). The landscape elements of the Klosterneuburg miniature, such as the conical cliffs and the blue trees along the distant mountains, are also familiar from the chronicle.

As far as the style of the gradual's illumination is concerned, its Netherlandish connections have never been disputed. However, the long-standing debate about the origins of the illuminator and the place of the manuscript's creation has only recently been settled. In the last hundred years

there were two competing opinions: the manuscript was either regarded as a Netherlandish (or French) import,²⁴ or was considered to have been illuminated in Buda, by a master working after or trained on Netherlandish models.²⁵ However, the stylistic similarity between the gradual's illuminator and the so-called Master of the Turin Augustin, whose works are dated to the 1460s and 1470s, has recently confirmed the Flemish origins of the illuminator.²⁶ Although the connection is not strong enough to identify the two illuminators, a master-apprentice relationship still seems feasible.²⁷ At the very least, it is now beyond doubt that the master of the Gradual of King Matthias was trained in the Southern Netherlands, probably in Lille or Tournai.

Despite the illuminator's Flemish origins, both the gradual and the Klosterneuburg miniature were produced in Central Europe, most probably in Buda and Vienna in the 1480s. In the case of the Klosterneuburg miniature, the commissioner and the iconography suggest its localization to Vienna. The book, containing a work by Franciscus de Pavinis that argues for

²²) Cf. the shoulder-piece of Moses (ÖNB, Cod. 325, fol. 21r) and the acolyte dressed in purple (fig. 15), the waist on the clothes of Hengistus (ÖNB, Cod. 325, fol. 30r) and King David (NSZL, Cod. Lat. 424, fol. 86r), the sleeve of Jeroboam (ÖNB, Cod. 325, fol. 23r) and the man dressed in red on fol. 176r of the gradual.

²³) The frontispiece was attributed to the master of the Gradual of King Matthias by *Hinrich Sieveking*: *H. Sieveking, Der Meister des Wolfgang-Missale von Rein: Zur österreichischen Buchmalerei zwischen Spätgotik und Renaissance*. Munich 1986, 142. For the incunabulum, see *S. Rischpler* in *M. Theisen* and *M. Haltrich* (eds.), exhib. cat. Kloster, Kaiser und Gelehrte: Skriptorium und Bibliothek des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes Klosterneuburg im 15. Jahrhundert. Klosterneuburg (Stiftsmuseum) 2015, 54, nr. 17. For a detailed comparison between the styles of the gradual and the Klosterneuburg incunabulum, see *Nagy*, op. cit. (note 21), 53–56.

²⁴) *A. de Hevesy*, *La bibliothèque du roi Matthias Corvin*. Paris 1923, 32; *I. Berkovits*, *Illuminated manuscripts from the library of Matthias Corvinus*. Budapest 1964, 75–79; *J. Porcher*, *Review on Berkovits Ilona: Corvinen: Bilderhandschriften aus der Bibliothek des Königs Matthias Corvinus*, *Bulletin des Bibliothèques de la France* 9 (1964) 124; *E. Soltész*, *Zur Herkunft des Corvin-Graduals und zur Ikonographie seiner Miniaturen*. *Magyar Könyvszemle* 84 (1968) 334–42.

²⁵) *E. Hoffmann*, *Régi magyar bibliofilek [Hungarian bibliophiles of the past]*. Budapest 1929, 86; *H. J. Hermann*, *Die Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Italienischen Renaissance IV. Unteritalien: Neapel, Abruzzen, Apulien und Calabrien*, Leipzig 1933, 117–18; *J. Balogh*, *Die Anfänge der Renaissance in Ungarn: Matthias Corvinus und die Kunst*. Graz 1975, 235; *Gy. Török* in *P. Farbaky et al.* (eds.), exhib. cat. Matthias Corvinus, the king: tradition and renewal in the Hungarian royal court, 1458–1490, 426–28, nr. 10.12.

²⁶) The stylistic connection was first suggested by *Sandra Hindman*: *S. Hindman* in *idem et al.*, *The Robert Lehman Collection IV. Illuminations*. New York & Princeton 1997, 81–82, nr. 10. It was also accepted by *Hanno Wijsman*: *H. Wijsman*, *Luxury bound: illustrated manuscript production and noble and princely book ownership in the Burgundian Netherlands (1400–1550)*. Turnhout 2010, 469. For a more detailed discussion of attributions to the Master of the Turin Augustin, see *Nagy*, op. cit. (note 21), 27–53.

²⁷) *A. Komada*, *Les illustrations de la Bible historique: les manuscrits réalisés dans le Nord*. PhD thesis, Paris 2000, 128, and *Nagy*, op. cit. (note 21), 35.

the canonization of Leopold III, Margrave of Austria, was printed in Rome in 1483. The coats of arms of the town and monastery of Klosterneuburg inserted in the lower corners of the border indicate that the Flemish master decorated this copy for the monastery of Klosterneuburg. The composition of the miniature, with Leopold standing in the middle, holding the model of the monastery in his hands, follows the frontispiece of the copy made for Frederick III, Holy Roman Emperor, which was illuminated and bound in Rome.²⁸ The Flemish illuminator, however, must have had access to his model in Vienna. A detail in the background confirms that he visited the city, for a clearly recognizable rendition of Vienna's emblematic Stephansdom appears behind the saint.²⁹

Attempts made to identify topographic references in the miniatures of the gradual remained unconvincing.³⁰ The script of the gradual, however, excludes the possibility that the manuscript was imported from the Netherlands, whether as a gift or as a purchase, and points towards Buda as the probable place of its illumination. The gradual was written with *scriptura gotica textualis formata rotunda*, a script typically used in Southern Europe, including Italy, but from the second half of the fifteenth century it became widespread in Hungarian liturgical manuscripts as well. Although it also appears in manuscripts produced in the Netherlands, to the best of my knowledge, no choir books were copied there with this type of script. Furthermore, the calligraphic letters that follow the historiated initials suggest that the scribe was probably trained in

Lombardy, since their closest analogies can be found in the choir books donated to the Cathedral of San Bassano by Carlo Pallavicino, Bishop of Lodi.³¹ The Gradual of King Matthias, therefore, was either copied in Lombardy and sent to Buda for decoration, or was written in Buda by a scribe trained in Northern Italy.

The presence of a Northern Italian scribe in Buda is all the more plausible as several Lombard illuminators were active there in the 1480s. Two of them are even known by name: Francesco da Castello, who signed the breviary he illuminated for Domonkos Kálmáncsehi, provost of Székesfehérvár,³² and Giovanni Antonio Cattaneo da Mediolano, a Dominican friar and professional illuminator who arrived in Hungary in 1482 and was appointed abbot of Madocsa in 1487.³³ Moreover, one of the historiated initials (fol. 7r) and four small initials (fol. 1r) in the gradual also come from the hand of a still anonymous Lombard illuminator who was certainly active in Buda.³⁴ Since the gradual now kept in

²⁸) ÖNB, Ink 26.E.18, see R. Cermann, Widmungen an den Kaiser, in A. Fingernagel (ed.), exhib. cat. Goldene Zeiten: Meisterwerke der Buchkunst von der Gotik bis zur Renaissance. Vienna (ÖNB) 2015, 54–56, fig. 8.

²⁹) Sieveking, op. cit. (note 23).

³⁰) F.-J. Verspohl, "Kleinformat-Großformat: Italienisches Formgefühl und Ungarisches Anspruchsniveau: die Kunstentfaltung am Hof des Matthias Corvinus, in M. Seidel (ed.), L'Europa e l'arte italiana: Per i cento anni dalla fondazione del Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Venice 2000, 160, 170–72, 174, and Z. Á. Pataki, „nympha ad amoenum fontem dormiens”(CIL VI/5, 3*e): Ekphrasis oder Herrscherallegorese? Studien zu einen Nymphenbrunnen sowie zur Antikenrezeption und zur politischen Ikonographie am Hof des ungarischen Königs Matthias Corvinus I. Stuttgart 2005, 214–15, 224. For the refutation of their topographic identifications, see Nagy, op. cit. (note 21), 81, note 86.

³¹) Lodi, Biblioteca Comunale Laudense, Laud. 1–5, and New York, Morgan Library and Museum, M.682, M.684, M.686, M.687. For the manuscripts, see A. Novasconi, Le miniature di Lodi. Lodi 1976. For a detailed discussion of the script in the gradual, see Nagy, op. cit. (note 21), 58–64.

³²) NSZL, Cod. Lat. 446. For divergent opinions on his oeuvre, see most recently: T. Wehli, Influssi lombardi nella miniatura della corte di Mattia Corvino. *Arte Lombarda* 139 (2003) 81–86; M. Marubbi, Miniatura tra Lombardia e Ungheria: Riflessioni su Bartolomeo Gossi, Francesco da Castello e Giovanni Antonio Cattaneo. *Arte Lombarda* 139 (2003) 86–99; J. J. G. Alexander, Francesco da Castello in Lombardy and Hungary, in P. Farbaký and L. A. Waldman (eds.), Italy and Hungary: humanism and art in the early Renaissance. Milan 2011, 267–91.

³³) As for Giovanni Antonio Cattaneo, no manuscript has been convincingly attributed to him. For documents related to him, see F. Banfi, Fra Giovanni Cattaneo in Ungheria. *Memorie domenicane* 53 (1936) 305–15, and Marubbi, op. cit. (note 32), 96, 98–99.

³⁴) Árpád Mikó discovered that certain historiated initials in the Psalter of Queen Beatrix, wife of King Matthias, are stylistically very close to the Lombard miniature in the gradual (Á. Mikó, Beatrix királyné psalteriumának helye: kérdések a *Bibliotheca Corvina* könyvfestői és könyvkötői körül [The place of Queen Beatrix's Psalter: questions around the illuminators and bookbinders of the *Bibliotheca Corvina*]. *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 59 [2010] 265–66). As some of these initials were painted over the penwork initials that were definitely inserted into the manuscript in Buda, the Lombard illuminator must have worked on the manuscript in Hungary. For the creation of the Psalter, see E. Zsupán, Zur Genese des Beatrix-Psalteriums, in E. Zsupán and C. Heitzmann (eds.),

the National Széchényi Library in Budapest is only the second volume of a once larger series of choir books, it is conceivable that the Lombard master contributed more considerably to the now lost first volume. These threads converge on Buda, where a stylistically heterogeneous illuminator workshop was active in the 1480s. The Flemish illuminator could also have worked on the gradual there, although the possibility remains that he did not leave Vienna and was assigned to the job after King Matthias occupied the city in 1485.³⁵

Of the two Central European projects by the Flemish illuminator, the frontispiece of the Klosterneuburg incunabulum can be dated with greater precision. The text propagating the canonization of Leopold III was published in Rome after being presented before the College of Cardinals in summer 1483. The frontispiece of the Klosterneuburg copy was probably decorated within a year, since Pope Sixtus IV, whose coat of arms appears in the upper left corner, died on 12 August 1484 (fig. 23).³⁶ The gradual, meanwhile, can only be dated more vaguely, between 1476, the year of the marriage between Matthias and Beatrice of Aragon, whose coats of arms appear together on the frontispiece (fig. 21), and Matthias's death in 1490, though a dating to the 1480s is generally accepted, because Matthias's commissions for luxury books were almost exclusively in the last ten years of his reign. Work on the world chronicle started, however, well after these projects, in 1495, given as the "present" by Johannes de Vico at the beginning of the chronicle part.

Despite the uncertainties that remain regarding the dating and localization of the Gradual of King Matthias, it is beyond doubt that in the middle of the 1480s its Flemish illuminator was active in Central Europe – certainly in Vienna, and possibly in Buda as well. This fact compels us to reconsider the commissioning and place of production of the universal chronicle.

Corvina Augusta: die Handschriften des Königs Matthias Corvinus in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel. Budapest 2014, 179–211.

³⁵) For a more detailed discussion of the localization of the gradual, see Nagy, op. cit. (note 21), 68–70.

³⁶) Cf. Cermann, op. cit. (note 28).

The question of the commissioner

The blond youth of the dedication miniature, who is wearing a purple mantle and the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, has always been identified as Philip the Fair and the first owner of the Viennese universal chronicle (fig. 26).³⁷ Oddly, this only known copy of the text does not contain any dedication to the young prince, and his position at the end of the lineage of the Dukes of Burgundy is not highlighted in any way. The inscription next to the medallion simply states, "This is Philip, Archduke of Austria and Duke of Burgundy, the son of Emperor Maximilian and Mary [of Burgundy]".³⁸ The shield beneath the dedication miniature is encircled by the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, but it was left blank. Only the coat of arms of the Dukes of Burgundy on fol. 17v,³⁹ together with the date of the manuscript, suggests that the manuscript was intended for Philip the Fair (fig. 2).⁴⁰ However,

³⁷) The identification was already made by Giovanni Benedetto Gentilotti, librarian of the Hofbibliothek in Vienna, who first registered the manuscript in the catalogue he drew up between 1721 and 1723: G. B. Gentilotti, *Catalogus manusccriptorum codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis*. II 1721–23, ÖNB, Cod. 2216, fol. 1r–4v. Although the representation of the youth cannot be considered a portrait, the long blond hair matches the iconography of the prince, see M. J. Onghena, *De Iconografie van Philips de Schone*. Brussels 1952. Only Pascal Schandel offered a different identification: he considered the youth as Philip's father, Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor: P. Schandel, Jean Hennecart, premier peintre du jardin du Coudenberg. *Revue de l'Art* 139 (2003) 43. His involvement in the commission of the manuscript, however, can be excluded, as I will argue further in this chapter.

³⁸) Fol. 49v: *Iste Philippus arcedux Austrie et burgondie dux filius maximiliani imperatoris et marie*.

³⁹) It is not Philip the Fair's personal coat of arms, since it does not contain the blazon of Austria that would indicate his title of Archduke of Austria. Instead, it is the same coat of arms used by his grandfather, Charles the Bold, and his great-grandfather, Philip the Good.

⁴⁰) There is no trace of the manuscript in the sixteenth-century inventories of the Burgundian Library, but it is not the only one among the books of Philip the Fair that was not registered. A Cicero manuscript (now in the El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, h IV 23), which he received as a present, is also missing from the library catalogues, see H. Wijsman, *Book collections and their use: the example of the library of the Dukes of Burgundy*. *Queeste. Journal of Medieval Literature in the Low Countries* 20 (2013) 92.

he was not necessarily the person who commissioned it.

Although Philip the Fair never visited Vienna, his father, Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor, stayed there several times,⁴¹ and the illuminator's presence in the city raises the possibility that the manuscript was commissioned in Vienna by the emperor for his son. The Douai origin of the otherwise unknown author, Johannes de Vico, with whom the illuminator cooperated closely, would not necessarily contradict such a scenario. The heraldic representation on fol. 17v, however, excludes Maximilian's role in the commission, since besides the coats of arms of the Dukes of Burgundy and the Papacy, the border decoration does not feature the imperial eagle or the coat of arms of Austria, but that of Maximilian's archenemy, France (fig. 2). It is therefore not the Holy Roman Emperor but the French king who is referred to by the heraldic program as the representative of secular power. In addition, there is no reference to Maximilian in the dedication miniature, nor does the text devote any particular attention to him. Though his name appears at the end of the lineage of Holy Roman Emperors (fol. 49v), he is presented elsewhere, under the medallion of his first wife, Mary of Burgundy, where he is mentioned primarily as regent of the Burgundian Netherlands and guardian of Philip the Fair (fol. 49r). Maximilian does not appear in his own right, therefore, but through his close dynastic relation to the Dukes of Burgundy.

The unusual heraldic program of fol. 17v does not reveal the exact identity of the person behind the production of the manuscript, but it certainly reflects the intentions of the commissioner and might refer to a certain political situation, which may help us to narrow down the circle of possible patrons. The coat of arms of France suggests that the commission of the manuscript might have had something to do with Philip the Fair's foreign policy towards the French Kingdom. The young prince, who gradually took over control of the Netherlands from Maximilian around 1495, was reluctant to support his father's plans

for a military campaign against France.⁴² The growing tension between father and son culminated after the death of Charles VIII, King of France in April 1498. In summer, while Maximilian was still preparing to attack France, an idea was put forward in diplomatic circles of arranging a double marriage, which would have settled the conflict peacefully. According to this plan, Maximilian would marry the widow of Charles VIII, Anne de Bretagne, while Maximilian's daughter, Margaret of Austria, would wed Charles VIII's successor, Louis XII. The idea was supported not only by Philip, but also by Pope Alexander VI, a former ally of Maximilian against France. Maximilian, however, rejected this solution, and continued his military preparations against France. Philip, meanwhile, against his father's wishes, signed a treaty with Louis XII on 2 August 1498 in Paris, confirming peace between the King of France and the Dukes of Burgundy. The Paris treaty was also welcomed by the pope.⁴³ This political situation, in which France, the Burgundian Netherlands and the Papacy sided against Maximilian, seems to correspond to the heraldic program of the Viennese universal chronicle.

At this point, the precise date of the manuscript's production becomes crucial. 12 April 1495, referred to in the introduction of the chronicle part (fol. 17v) as the "present" date, only designates the beginning of the compilation and copying, and it allows us to assume that it was completed only several years later, which should not surprise us at all, considering the amount of work required to produce the manuscript. One small detail may indeed corroborate that the copying was completed only after April 1498. Although the last king in the lineage of French rulers is not Louis XII, with whom Philip signed the Paris treaty, but his predecessor, Charles VIII, the use of the past tense in his presentation implies that Charles VIII had already died by the time the manuscript was completed.⁴⁴ The

⁴¹) The visits that were closest in time to the creation of the manuscript were in October and December 1493, see *G. Benecke*, Maximilian I (1459–1519): an analytical biography. London 1982, 131.

⁴²) *J.-M. Cauchies*, Philippe le Beau: le dernier duc de Bourgogne. Turnhout 2003, 88–89, 92–93, 112–15.

⁴³) *Cauchies*, op. cit. (note 42), 93–97.

⁴⁴) Fol. 49v: *Iste Karolus 7us nomine filius lodowicy regis francie fuit Rex francie*. Although the text states Charles VII, the genealogy confirms that this is the king known in modern historiography as Charles VIII.

close cooperation between the author, Johannes de Vico, and the illuminator does not rule out the possibility that the heraldic program was added to fol. 17v only years after the text on the same page – which was actually the first to be put down on parchment –, because unlike the historical figures, the execution of the border decoration, including the coats of arms, was independent from the process of copying. Thus, the idea of the heraldic program might have been conceived amidst the political situation that led to the Paris treaty, while the manuscript itself had already been commissioned three years earlier.

Excursus: the descent of the Croÿ family in the Viennese world chronicle

Taking into consideration the heraldic program and its possible political context, the manuscript might have been commissioned by one of Philip the Fair's Francophile counselors. A thorough analysis of the text – a task still to be done – might bring us closer to the patron. In this regard, a passage in the history of Hungarian Kings may be of interest, as it discusses the origins of the Croÿ family.⁴⁵ According to the story, Andrew, the youngest son of King Charles I of Hungary, was forced to flee Hungary, and he

reached Picardy, where he married the daughter of the Lord of Croÿ and Araines, the heiress of the title and territory.⁴⁶ Arguing in favor of the connection between the Hungarian royal dynasty and the House of Croÿ, the author points out the similarity of their coats of arms (barry of eight gules and argent vs argent, three bars gules). Of course, a detailed study of the chronicle's text is needed in order to understand whether this kind of reference to a prominent family of the political elite of the Burgundian Netherlands is exceptional within the manuscript or not. However, if it proves to be unique, then it might offer a clue to the identity of the commissioner.

The possible textual sources of this passage can also be decisive in this matter. The closest variant of the lineage of Hungarian kings is preserved in a manuscript now in Paris.⁴⁷ Except for the passage about the origins of the Croÿ family and the introduction of the last two rulers, governor John Hunyadi and his son, King Matthias, there are only minor differences between the two texts, so they probably derive from the same source. The Paris variant was dated by *Emma Bartoniek* to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century,⁴⁸ but it must have been copied a century later, since the handwriting is very similar to that of another text in the same manuscript (fols. 27r–74r), which is dated to the seventeenth century.⁴⁹ The Paris manuscript comes from the

⁴⁵) ÖNB, Cod. 325, fols. 39r–v: “De isto andrea ultimi filii karoly regis ungarie supradicti patris post patrem lites maximas habuit cum fratribus suis causa parti et dominis regni. Unde fugitivus fuit a regno ungarie, et ipse veniens circa partes picardie in quadam nobili domo de croy et arenes nominata ubi honorabiliter ab illo domino suceptus fuit, qui dominus habebat unam filiam hereditariam. Videns autem iste andreas supradictus modum et mores dicte filie multum sibi placuit etc. Post modicum temporis dictus andreas accepta licencia a domino supradicto fecit se conducere circa regem philippum francie tercium nomine filium sancti lodowi regis in quadam guerra vel exercitu, ubi dictus andreas laudabiliter valenterque in dicta guerra vel exercitu se rexit qui quidam philippus rex supradictus dicti andree multum gratulabatur et in suo regressu dictus rex fecit matrimonium inter dictam filiam hereditariam domini de croy unde de sua dicta uxore plures filios habuit de quibus filiis descenderunt de linea in lineam omnes domini nomine et armis de croy et darenis sicut patet in armis ungarie et eorum armis. Iste sciendum est quod dictus andreas supradictus millas possessiones aut terras habebat ex parte sui sed ex parte uxoris autem dum taxat eorum filii. Reciperunt nomen et titulum matris reservando ac retinendo propria arma patris usque in presentem diem sicut in eorum genealogia plus ample declaratum est.” I am thankful for *Dániel Bácsatyai* for discussing with me the passages about the Hungarian kings.

⁴⁶) Actually Andrew (1327–45), son of Charles I, was sent to the Court of Naples at the age of six, and later married Joanna I of Naples. Johannes de Vico's story is not only historically erroneous, but even chronologically inconsistent, since Philip III, King of France, whom Andrew served, according to Johannes de Vico, reigned much earlier, in 1270–85. Later genealogies identify Andrew as another Hungarian prince, the third son of King Andrew II (1210/12–34), see *Généalogie de l'ancienne et noble maison de Croÿ, depuis l'an 1173 jusques à l'an 1568*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France [hereafter BnF], fr. 23.984, fol. 1r–v; *J. Scohier*, *La généalogie et descende de la très-illustre Maison de Croy*. Douai 1589, 2; *P. H. Delfius*, *Rerum Burgundicarum VI*. Antwerp 1483, 49.

⁴⁷) BnF, lat. 5941A, fols. 75r–78v. For its modern edition, see *E. Bartoniek* (ed.), *Chronicon Knauzianum et Chronica minora eidem coniuncta*, in *I. Szentpétery* (ed.), *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum: tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum II*. Budapest 1937–38, 323–45.

⁴⁸) *Bartoniek*, op. cit. (note 47), 326.

⁴⁹) The text in question is a copy of the *Gesta Caroli Magni* by Notker the Stammer and a *Tractatus de investiture episcoporum*, for which see most recently *M. M. Tischler*,

Colbert family library, the bulk of which was amassed by Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683) in the last twenty years of his life. The provenance of the Paris manuscript and the place of production of the Viennese chronicle suggest that a version – or versions – of the text may have been available in this region from the late fifteenth century at the latest.

Since the descent of the Croÿ family is part of neither the Paris manuscript nor any other chronicle of Hungary, it must come from a different source. Johannes de Vico refers to a genealogy of the family, but at present, such texts are known only from the sixteenth century.⁵⁰ The only earlier written testimony of the Croÿs' Hungarian royal origins is a charter issued by Emperor Maximilian I in 1486, in which Charles de Croÿ was granted the title of Duke of Chimay.⁵¹ However, it mentions their descent only in passing, and could not have served as a source for Johannes de Vico. The lack of pre-sixteenth-century sources may suggest that Johannes de Vico had access to a genealogy of the Croÿs through the family itself, which would provide an argument supporting their involvement in the

commission of the Viennese world chronicle. Similarly, the author of a mid-sixteenth-century genealogy of the Croÿs refers to a – now lost or yet unidentified – scroll (*rolet*) in Latin, which was in the family's possession.⁵² The exploration of possible fifteenth-century or earlier sources might shed more light on this question. Nonetheless, it is worth mentioning here that a member of the Croÿ family, Guillaume, lord of Chièvres (1458–1521), was a leading figure of the Francophile faction in the Burgundian court. It is the task of future research to determine whether or not he or another member of the Croÿ family had anything to do with the commission of the Viennese world chronicle.

Even if Guillaume de Croÿ had been involved in the commission, he cannot be the presenter of the manuscript depicted in the dedication miniature, as the figure is not wearing the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, of which he had been a member since 1491.⁵³ The presenter of the book, however, is not necessarily identical with the commissioner, he could be – just like in several other dedication miniatures – the author. In this case, the representation may provide us with some information about the otherwise unknown chronicler. His clothes and hairstyle suggest that he was a layman, and not a clerk, while his elegant attire is a marker of higher social status. The black garment is similar to the one that Olivier de La Marche is wearing in the dedication miniature of his *Introduction aux Mémoires*, the ermine-trimmed neckline and sleeve being even more sumptuous than La Marche's robe.⁵⁴ Could Johannes de Vico have been of similar social rank as Olivier de La Marche, instructor and later *maître d'hôtel* of Philip the Fair? Did he have any function at the ducal court? Further archival research may answer these questions; and knowing more about the author and scribe of this manuscript will also help us to better understand the circumstances of its commission.

Einhalts Vita Karoli: Studien zur Entstehung, Überlieferung und Rezeption I. Hannover 2001, 745. The manuscript also contains a third, much earlier text, the *Annales Francorum ab anno 742. ad annum 813*, which dates from the eleventh century.

⁵⁰) Manuscripts: Paris, BnF, fr. 6057 and fr. 23.984; printed versions: *Scohier*, op. cit. (note 46), *Delfius*, op. cit. (note 46), 48–51.

⁵¹) The text of the charter was published in *Scohier*, op. cit. (note 46), 51–52. I have not taken earlier sources into consideration because of their contested authenticity. They consist of thirteenth-century charters and entries in the obituary of Amiens cathedral, all recorded in the cartulary of the cathedral, see *J. Roux and E. Soyez* (eds.), *Cartulaire du chapitre de la cathédrale d'Amiens II*. Amiens & Paris 1912, 28, nr. 485 (February 1284), 37–38, nr. 494 (28 June 1290), 42–43, nr. 498; *J.-B. Roze* (ed.), *Nécrologe de l'église d'Amiens suivi des distributions aux fêtes. Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie* 8 (1885) 292, 351, 364–65, 374–75. While *Jean-Baptiste Roze*, the editor of the obituary, argues that these early sources related to the Hungarian royal descent of the Croÿ family are all forgeries (*Roze*, op. cit., 300–1), Hungarian historians accept them as authentic based exclusively on their nineteenth-century printed editions and seem not to be aware of *Roze's* opinion (see *D. Bácsatyai*, A 13. századi francia-magyar kapcsolatok néhány kérdése [France and Hungary in the 13th century: contacts, questions and observations]. *Századok* 151 [2017] 274–75, with previous literature).

⁵²) Paris, BnF, fr. 23.984, fol. 1r.

⁵³) I am thankful for *Ruben Suykerbuyk* for calling this into my attention.

⁵⁴) *Olivier de La Marche*, *Introduction aux Mémoires*, c. 1490, Paris, BnF, fr. 2868, fol. 5r.

The localization of the manuscript's production

Even if the commissioner cannot be identified with certainty for the present, without Maximilian's involvement, it is unlikely that the manuscript was produced in Vienna. Its creation can therefore be localized to the Netherlands, similarly to all other manuscripts commissioned by or presented to Philip the Fair. One detail in the dedication miniature may allow an even more precise localization. *Marie José Onghena* identified the church in the middle of the townscape as Saint Gudula collegiate church in Brussels (fig. 26).⁵⁵ With the depiction of Stephansdom on the frontispiece of the Klosterneuburg incunabulum, the illuminator had already proved his skill at faithfully rendering actual buildings. Likewise, in the Viennese chronicle, the depiction of the church matches the main outlines of the original building, especially the massive, projecting southern tower and the transept. The church appears in a similar form in a tapestry from around 1550, representing King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, with a view of Brussels and Coudenberg Palace in the background (fig. 27).

There is, however, one perplexing detail: the northern tower seems to be lower than the other, despite that both were completed by c. 1480.⁵⁶ Can we attribute this anomaly to the illuminator's clumsiness in rendering perspective? In this case, the blue rooftop might correspond to the structure that covers the northern tower of the church in the tapestry as well.⁵⁷ However, no such roof is depicted in the tapestry of *March*, from the series of *Hunts of Maximilian*, which was made two decades earlier, suggesting that

it might have been only a later addition.⁵⁸ Moreover, no matter how clumsy the illuminator was, he was able to represent towers of same height in a much more convincing way in several other instances.⁵⁹ If we accept that the dedication miniature depicts Saint Gudula church with a yet unfinished northern tower, then the illuminator must have relied on an earlier visual source or his memory. This would imply that although the dedication miniature may still depict Brussels, it cannot be used as an argument for localizing the manuscript's production to that city. However, this explanation is not without problems either. As I will discuss later, the onion-domed tower that emerges behind the palace can be identified as one of the towers of the Nassau Palace, whose extension started in the 1480s. The construction of its towers is also dated to this phase of the building history, thus clearly after the completion of the towers of Saint Gudula church.⁶⁰ Besides, the blue rooftop on the northern tower does not correspond to the image of the unfinished church as it appears in the eponymous painting of the Master of the View of Saint Gudula.⁶¹ There is a third explanation, which at first glance might seem odd, but resolves the chronological problem. When examined carefully, the structure that has been so far considered as the northern tower does not resemble a tower at all. The elongated rooftop and the spire further to the left suggest that they belong to a different type of building, probably to another church, while the northern tower of the Saint Gudula church is out of sight hidden by the southern tower. Such an accumulation of buildings – with unclear spatial relations – is typical for the miniatures of the illuminator.

⁵⁵) *Onghena*, op. cit. (note 37), 177.

⁵⁶) *M. Comblen-Sonkes and P. Lorentz*, *Corpus de la peinture des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux et de la principauté de Liège au quinzième siècle*, XIX, Musée du Louvre, Paris, III, Brussels 2001, 242, 247.

⁵⁷) A similar rooftop covers the northern tower of the church in a drawing by Anton van den Wyngaerde, dated c. 1558 (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. no. L.IV.46b [r]). For the two representations, see *Véronique Van de Kerckhof, Helena Bussers*, and *Véronique Bücken* (eds.), exhib. cat. *Le peintre et l'arpenteur: Images de Bruxelles et de l'ancien duché de Brabant*. Bruxelles (Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique) 2000, nr. 125 and nr. 161.

⁵⁸) Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. OA 7314. The left edge of Barend van Orley's design seems to have been trimmed, and therefore the northern tower is not visible (see note 64).

⁵⁹) ÖNB, Cod. 325, fols. 20r and 25r; NSZL, Cod. Lat. 424, fols. 99r and 176r.

⁶⁰) *M. Grappasonni*, *Nouvelles considerations sur l'ancien palais Nassau à Bruxelles*. *Annales de la Société royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* 75 (2018–2019) 101–6. For a detailed discussion of archival sources concerning the expansion of the Nassau residence, see *B. Vannieuwenhuyze and S. Meijering*, *Het Brusselse hof van Nassau: De oprichting van een laatmiddeleeuwse stadsresidentie*. *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 88 (2010) 349–76.

⁶¹) Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 1991.

There is an even more intricate relationship between reality and image in the case of the most dominant building of the dedication miniature, the palace. It has been tentatively identified by *Onghena* as Coudenberg Palace in Brussels, and scholars have agreed with her that although it cannot be taken as a documentary representation, it does evoke the ducal palace.⁶² *Arlette Smolar-Meynart* pointed out the painted architecture's similarities with the forecourt (the so-called *bailles*) and the portal of the palace, while *Pascal Schandel* noticed the miniature's resemblance with the enclosed garden and its spatial relation to the palace's chapel and the Saint Gudula church.⁶³ It is not easy to judge how faithfully the miniature reflects the late fifteenth-century state of the building. The earliest known authentic representations, produced in the mid-sixteenth century, record a later stage of its building history, after the palace was rebuilt by Charles V and Mary of Hungary.⁶⁴ Compounding our uncertainty is the fact that the palace was destroyed by fire in 1731. As far as reconstruction is possible, the illuminator seems to have followed his imagination rather than reality: in contrast with the miniature, the four wings of the palace almost fully enclosed the court and it had no L-shaped structures protruding into the *bailles* either. Still, it is tempting to identify some details with elements of the actual building: the gilded statues of lions in the miniature recall the decoration of the *bailles*.⁶⁵ Caution is needed even in this case, though, because the motif, belonging to the general visual repertory

of representation of power, was not necessarily directly inspired by reality.⁶⁶

While the form of the painted architecture does not provide firm basis for its identification with Coudenberg Palace, its topographical relation to other elements of the townscape corresponds closely enough to the actual location of the building to consider the miniature a representation of Brussels, no matter how fictitious or realistic the details are. The view is taken from south-east, thus the enclosed garden on the right is situated east of the palace, with the chapel next to it, while the Saint Gudula church lies north of the ducal residence.⁶⁷ The onion-domed tower emerging behind the palace also fits into the picture, as it can be identified as one of the emblematic towers of Nassau Palace, that was located north-west of Coudenberg Palace. In addition to the onion dome, its hexagonal shape and double gallery also resemble the actual structure. The tower depicted on the right behind the ducal residence is probably the other, yet unfinished tower of the Nassau Palace, which was erected in the south-west corner of the aristocratic house.⁶⁸ Construction works of the Nassau Palace must have started after Engelbert II of Nassau received financial support from the city of Brussels in the 1480s, and it is possible that by the time the dedication miniature was executed (i.e. c. 1498), one of the towers had already been completed, while the other was still under construction. All in all, the miniature represents, with most probability, Brussels with Coudenberg Palace in the foreground, but it is a creative and intricate mixture of fiction and reality; and it is not possible to determine, from where and when the illuminator gathered visual information about

⁶²) *Onghena*, op. cit. (note 37), 177.

⁶³) *A. Smolar-Meynart*, *Des origines à Charles Quint*, in *idem et al.*, *Le Palais de Bruxelles: huit siècles d'art et d'histoire*. Brussels 1991, 41; *Schandel*, op. cit. (note 37), 43–44.

⁶⁴) *Bernard van Orley*, *March: Departure for the Hunt*, pen and ink, c. 1530, Leiden, Prentenkabinet van de Universiteit, inv. PK 2047, and Bartholomeus de Mompere (publisher), *View of Brussels Palace*, engraving, c. 1540 or c. 1560. For the images, see *Van de Kerckhof*, *Bussers* and *Bücken*, op. cit. (note 56), nr. 154 and nr. 159. For further visual sources and building history, see *K. De Jonge*, *Der herzogliche und kaiserliche Palast zu Brüssel und die Entwicklung des höfischen Zeremoniells im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*. *Jahrbuch des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte* 5–6 (1989–90) 253–82, and *Smolar-Meynart*, op. cit. (note 63), 15–90.

⁶⁵) *Smolar-Meynart*, op. cit. (note 63), 32 and 48.

⁶⁶) Similar lions appear in the pages of the Gradual, in the depiction of King David's court (NSZL, Cod. Lat. 424, fol. 103r), or on the throne of Charles the Bold in the dedication miniature of the *Faits des gestes d'Alexandre* by Quintus Curtius (Paris, BnF, fr. 22.547, fol. 1r).

⁶⁷) Cf. with *Frans Hogenberg*, *Plan of Brussels*, engraving, from *Georg Braun* and *Frans Hogenberg*, *Civitates orbis terrarum*. Antwerp and Cologne 1572.

⁶⁸) Cf. with building D in the engraving published by *Bartholomeus de Mompere*, op. cit. (note 64), and the painting by Willem van Schoor (*View of the Nassau Palace*, 1658, Brussels, Musée royal des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, inv. 224). For visual sources about the Nassau Palace, see *Grappasonni*, op. cit. (note 60).

the city.⁶⁹ Therefore, the image can be used only with much caution as an argument for localizing the manuscript's production to Brussels.

Concluding remarks – an adventurous illuminator

Despite the uncertainties surrounding the identity of the commissioner and the exact localization of the manuscript's production, the Viennese manuscript provides clear evidence of the illuminator's return to the Netherlands. His still quite small oeuvre therefore traces out a unique career: a master trained in the Netherlands travelled to Vienna in the 1480s, worked for King Matthias of Hungary, perhaps in Buda, and then returned to the Netherlands where, from 1495, he decorated a world chronicle for Philip the Fair in unusually close cooperation with the author and scribe of the manuscript, Johannes de Vico. Statistics prove that there was considerable demand for Netherlandish illuminated manuscripts, especially for books of hours, in foreign markets as well (approximately one tenth of the output was intended for export),⁷⁰ but information on Netherlandish illuminators working abroad is still scarce,⁷¹ and the career of the master of the

Gradual of King Matthias and the Viennese world chronicle seems exceptional among fifteenth-century Netherlandish illuminators.

Conversely, if we consider the case of the Flemish master in the context of art in the court of King Matthias, it is less extraordinary. We know two Italian illuminators by name, who appeared in Buda around 1480: Francesco da Castello from Lombardy and Francesco Rosselli from Florence. A few years later, another illuminator, the Dominican friar Giovanni Antonio Cattaneo da Mediolano also arrived in Hungary. The court of Matthias probably promised high-paying commissions: the previously indebted Francesco Rosselli, for example, could buy a house and land when he returned home after his two-year sojourn in Hungary.⁷² Following the death of Matthias in April 1490, commissions for illuminated books declined significantly. We know that the Italian bookbinder who prepared the gilded leather bindings of the manuscripts left Buda soon afterwards,⁷³ and the Flemish illuminator might also have returned to his homeland due to a lack of paid work. In absence of written sources, we can only guess at the motivations behind his long journey across Europe and back. However, even such fragmentary information about the career of this anonymous master can contribute to our knowledge about the mobility of Netherlandish illuminators.

⁶⁹) *Ruben Suykerbuyk* has cleverly suggested that the miniature might represent an aristocratic residence in Brussels, a possibility that is certainly worth of investigation. I have examined first of all the Croÿ Palace, then the Nassau and Ravenstein residences, but based on available visual sources and descriptions, none of them resembled more closely the painted building, while the topography in the miniature still corresponds better to the location of the ducal palace. For the Nassau Palace, see literature in note 60, for the Croÿ Palace, see *J.-M. Duvosquel*, *Documents relatifs à l'hôtel de Croÿ sur la place des Bailles à Bruxelles (1315–1597)*, in *F. Daelemans and A. Vanrie* (eds.), *Bruxelles et la vie urbaine: Archive – art – histoire*. Brussels 2001, 115–62, and *J.-M. Duvosquel*, *Het hof van Croy-Arenberg aan het Balieplein te Brussel*, in *M. Derez et al.* (eds.), *Arenberg in den Lage Landen: Een hoogadellijk huis in Vlaanderen & Nederland*. Leuven 2002, 262–66. For the Ravenstein Palace, see *G. Des Marex*, *La maison de David Teniers II et l'hôtel Ravenstein*. *Annales de la Société d'archéologie de Bruxelles* 26 (1912) 5–43. I am thankful for *Ruben Suykerbuyk* for calling my attention to this possibility and providing me with relevant literature.

⁷⁰) *Wijsman*, op. cit. (note 26), 138.

⁷¹) We know about illuminators travelling or moving to England. Gerard Horenbout, who was active both as a painter and an illuminator, worked for Henry VIII in England between 1528 and 1531, or probably even longer, see *T. Kren and R. Gay*, Gerard Horenbout, in *Kren and McKendrick*, op. cit. (note 19), 427. *Hanno Wijsman*

argues that the Master of the Prayer Books of around 1500 also went to England c. 1496, see *Wijsman*, op. cit. (note 26), 535–36, cf. *S. McKendrick* in *Kren and McKendrick*, op. cit. (note 19), 403, nr. 121.

⁷²) *L. A. Waldman*, Commissioning art in Florence for Matthias Corvinus: the painter and agent Alexander Formoser and his sons, Jacopo and Raffaello del Tedesco, in *Farbaky and Waldman*, op. cit. (note 32), 452–53.

⁷³) For the Italian bookbinder, see *M. Rozsondai*, *Sulle legature in cuoio dorato per Mattia Corvino*, in *P. Di Pietro Lombardi and M. Ricci* (eds.), exhib. cat. *Nel segno del corvo: libri e miniature della biblioteca di Mattia Corvino re d'Ungheria (1443–1490)*. Modena (Biblioteca Estense) 2002, 254–55.

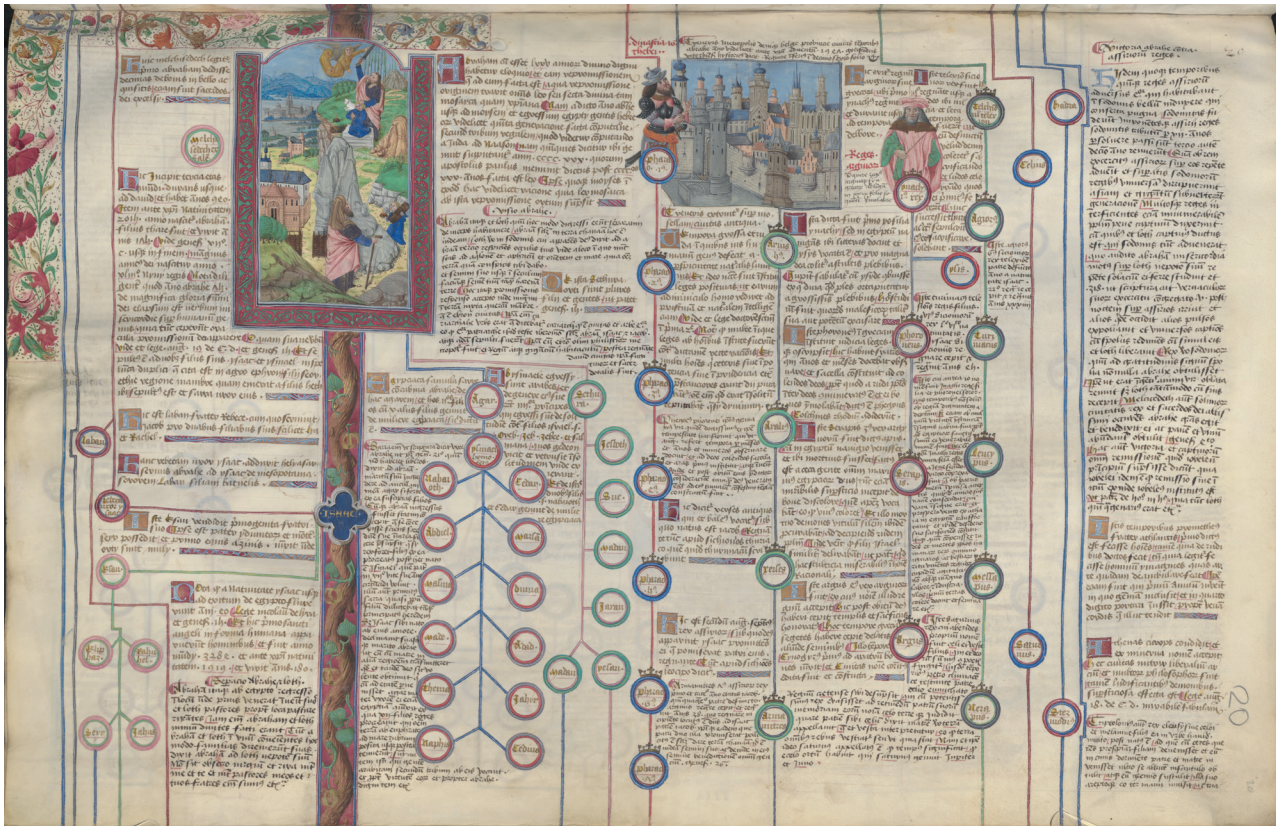


Fig. 1: Fol. 20r in Johannes de Vico, *Chronicon*, 1495–98. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 325



Fig. 2: Creation of Adam and Eve, 1495–98, detail of fol. 17v in Johannes de Vico, *Chronicon*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 325



Fig. 3: Nativity, 1495–98, detail of fol. 27v in Johannes de Vico, *Chronicon*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 325



Fig. 4: Sacrifice of Isaac, 1495–98, detail of fol. 20r in Johannes de Vico, *Chronicon*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 325



Fig. 5: Hercules, 1495–98, detail of fol. 21r in Johannes de Vico, *Chronicon*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 325



Fig. 6: Rome and Merodach, 1495–98, detail of fol. 24v in Johannes de Vico, *Chronicon*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 325



Fig. 7: Brutus, 1495–98, detail of fol. 22r in Johannes de Vico, *Chronicon*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 325



Fig. 8: Troyus, 1495–98, detail of fol. 21r in Johannes de Vico, *Chronicon*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 325



Fig. 9: Arbaces, 1495–98, detail of fol. 24v in Johannes de Vico, *Chronicon*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 325



Fig. 10: First pharaoh of Thebes and Trier, 1495–98, detail of fol. 20r in Johannes de Vico, *Chronicon*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 325



Fig. 11: Romulus, 1495–98, detail of fol. 24v in Johannes de Vico, *Chronicon*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 325



Fig. 12: King David in Prayer, 1480s, detail of fol. 86r in *Graduale romanum*. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 424 (Photo: Máté Török)



Fig. 13: Deluge, 1495–98, detail of fol. 18v in Johannes de Vico, *Chronicon*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 325



Fig. 14: Water of wisdom, 1480s, detail of fol. 10r in *Graduale romanum*. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 424



Fig. 15: Procession, 1480s, detail of fol. 50r in *Graduale romanum*. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 424 (Photo: Máté Török)



Fig. 16: Calmana and Abel, 1495–98, detail of fol. 18r in Johannes de Vico, *Chronicon*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 325



Fig. 18: Detail of the Fall of Manna, 1480s, fol. 90r in *Graduale romanum*. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 424 (Photo: Máté Török); Othomanus, 1495–98, detail of fol. 47r in Johannes de Vico, *Chronicon*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 325

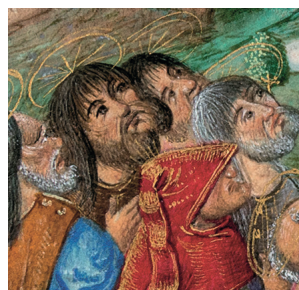


Fig. 19: Apostles, 1480s, detail of fol. 54r in *Graduale romanum*. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 424 (Photo: Máté Török); Aaron, 1495–98, detail of fol. 21r in Johannes de Vico, *Chronicon*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 325



Fig. 17: Choir-singers, 1480s, detail of fol. 41r in *Graduale romanum*. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 424 (Photo: Máté Török); Brutus, detail of fol. 22r in Johannes de Vico, *Chronicon*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 325



Fig. 20: Detail of Baptism, 1480s, fol. 30r in *Graduale romanum*. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 424; Ludovico Gonzaga, 1495–98, detail of fol. 42v in Johannes de Vico, *Chronicon*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 325



Fig. 21: Resurrection, 1480s, fol. 3r in *Graduale romanum*. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 424



Fig. 23: Fol. 2r in Johannes Franciscus de Pavinis, *Relatio de beato Leopoldo in processu canonizationis eius*, 1483–84. Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift, Bibliothek, Cod. Typ. 814



Fig. 22: Moses and the Jews wandering in the desert, detail of fol. 168r in *Graduale romanum*. Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Cod. Lat. 424



Fig. 24: God the Father, 1495–98, detail of fol. 17v in Johannes de Vico, *Chronicon*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 325



Fig. 25: Alexander the Great, 1495–98, detail of fol. 26r in Johannes de Vico, *Chronicon*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 325



Fig. 26: Dedication miniature, 1495–98, detail of fol. 1v in Johannes de Vico, *Chronicon*. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 325



Fig. 27: Jean de Buck (weaver), Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (detail), c. 1550. Brussels, Collection de la Banque Nationale de Belgique, inv. I.13.727 (© KIK-IRPA, Brussels)