

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
Santa Barbara

**Artistic Patronage in Bruges Institutions,
ca. 1440-1482**

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Art History

by

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March 1992

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ABSTRACT

Artistic Patronage in Bruges Institutions, ca. 1440-1482

by

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Between 1440 and the early 1480s, Bruges experienced a stable political and economic climate, which created favorable conditions for artistic patronage.

As a favorite ducal residence where many important events were held, and an international center of commerce, Bruges counted many potential patrons of art amongst its residents. This attracted first-rate artists from all over the Burgundian lands.

The Burgundian dukes stimulated artistic production by commissioning works of art, such as illuminated manuscripts and decorations for festivities.

The City magistrature and the Franc employed artists chiefly for decorative tasks. They often expressed their political aspirations through artistic means, as is seen in the decorations for triumphal entries of the duke.

Artistic patronage in churches derived from three different sources: the church itself, individuals and foundations of social groups. The social prestige of a church determined the artistic patronage it enjoyed. The churches employed artists for various decorative and maintenance tasks. Guilds and confraternities endowed chapels and held religious services at the altars of Bruges churches, which they furnished with all sorts of precious sacerdotal garb, ritual ornaments, liturgical manuscripts, and sometimes altarpieces, stained glass windows and sculptures.

Some wealthy citizens, who usually belonged to the city's upper class, financed the foundation of such chapels with their own private funds. Often these chapels also had a funerary function.

The cloister churches of the mendicant orders attracted the patronage of the foreign merchants. Some abbots and priors had a prominent influence on the cultural life in the abbeys or cloisters they headed.

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M.P.J.M.
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Between 1440 and the early 1480s, Bruges experienced a stable political and economic climate, which created favorable conditions for artistic patronage.

As a favorite ducal residence where many important events were held, and an international center of commerce, Bruges counted many potential patrons of art amongst its residents. This attracted first-rate artists from all over the Burgundian lands.

The Burgundian dukes stimulated artistic production by commissioning works of art, such as illuminated manuscripts and decorations for festivities.

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M.P.J. Martens
February 1992

INTRODUCTION

" A study of almost any aspect of early Netherlandish art should begin with a lament that the documentary evidence available is sufficient to support only the vaguest of general statements. Paradoxically, what documentary evidence is available has been insufficiently exploited by art historians."

-- Lorne Campbell

"Our task is one of recovery (...) of the institutional context of art production."

-- Larry Silver

During the fifteenth century, Bruges became an important center for the production of works of art and other luxury goods. The regular presence of the Burgundian court stimulated this development as well as the character of the town, which as a nucleus of international commercial activity attracted wealthy merchants and financiers from all over Europe. Many artists and artisans immigrated to Bruges, lured by the city's high potential of affluent patrons.

After the revolt of 1436-38, and its attendant horrors of famine and pestilence, Bruges started to rebuild its economy from about 1440 on. Supported by favorable political circumstances, the city experienced a period of prosperity for about 40 years. In 1482, Mary of Burgundy died in a tragic accident. During the following years, Bruges and other cities in Flanders turned against her husband, the Habsburg Archduke Maximilian of Austria. This conduct caused a long period of political and economic crisis. These historical facts define the period explored in this study.

The enormous amount of available material on artistic patronage in Bruges during this period necessitated still other limitations of the topic.¹ Artistic patronage evolved under diverse circumstances: a work could be commissioned for public display by an institution, an affiliated organization, or an individual patron. For example, an altarpiece in a church could be commissioned by the administration of the church itself, by a guild or confraternity that held its services and meetings in the church, or by an individual who generously offered it to the institution or who installed it in a family chapel.

An individual could also commission a work of art merely for his private use. Someone could have commissioned, for instance, an illuminated book of hours, a portrait or a piece of silverware for use in his own home. This study concentrates on the first categories: the works commissioned for public use and display within the civic cultural realm of Bruges.

Two important groups of sources are available for this study: the material evidence, and the documentary evidence preserved in diverse archives. A thorough critical analysis of the historical source material results in a nuanced view of the subject: the modalities of artistic patronage of works of art commissioned for public use and display in Bruges institutions between c. 1440 and 1482.

The chronological limitations of this study are not only justified by historical evidence, but also by artistic factors. Jan van Eyck died in 1441. Around 1480, Hans Memling reached "*the midpoint and pinnacle of his work in Bruges*," as Friedländer stated.² Moreover, in 1484, Gerard David acquired citizenship in Bruges. The period in between these dates has been

1 With 'the city of Bruges,' I mean the medieval urban territory as it was established in charters of 1275, 1303 and 1305. This territory, bordered by the castellany of the Bruges Franc remained largely unaltered until the nineteenth century. With 'Flanders,' I mean the medieval county, and not the larger northern part of present-day Belgium, which includes much of the historical duchies of Brabant and of Limbourg. In other words, all geographic names used in this work, refer to the historical situation in the fifteenth century and not to the present one.

2 M.J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting, VIa: Hans Memling and Gerard David*, (comments and notes by N. Veronée-Verhaegen), Brussels, Leiden, 1971, 21.

traditionally considered as one of artistic decline. According to Friedländer "*Bruges art in the second third of the century appears to us as the aftermath of the Van Eyck tradition, whether Christus was a pupil of Jan or not,*" while Panofsky spoke of a *détante* in Flemish painting as a whole after Jan Van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden (with the exception of Hugo Van der Goes).³

Based on criteria of artistic quality, this opinion is correct. The genius of Jan van Eyck was indeed difficult to match. On the other hand, when the artistic production and patronage are considered in quantitative terms, this traditional view can no longer be accepted. The dozens of works discussed in this study amply prove that, at least quantitatively, a decline did not take place.

Between 1440 and 1480, important conditions contributed to the stature of Bruges as a center of artistic predominance. About 1445, Duke Philip the Good began his active patronage, concentrating on manuscripts, tapestries, and goldwork. Bruges artists regularly worked for the court. Another important phenomenon was the development in the structural organization of artists. In 1454, a guild was founded in Bruges that assembled every one involved in the production and trade of books. This 'guild of the librarians,' as they called themselves, was the very first of its sort in the Netherlands. It coexisted with the regular corporation of the image makers, that assembled, amongst others, the painters, sculptors, and glaziers.

All important artists established in Bruges during this period came from outside the city: Petrus Christus who came from Baarle, a village in Brabant, acquired citizenship in Bruges in 1444; Willem Vrelant moved in 1454 from Utrecht to Bruges; Hans Memling from Seligenstadt arrived in the city in 1465; the illuminators Philippe de Mazerolles and Loyset Liédet, both from northern France, established their ateliers in Bruges between 1467 and 1469.

Toward the end of the period under discussion, several elements indicate a major shift in the marketing of works of art. Increasingly more

³ M.J. Friedländer, *From Van Eyck to Bruegel*, London, 1956, 14; E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character*, I, Cambridge, MA, 1953, 347.

works were produced for the open market, *i.e.*, not commissioned by any specific patron, but for unknown potential buyers.

The structured organization of the artists, the immigration to Bruges of important artists from all over the Burgundian lands, and the flexibility in the marketing process of artistic products, indicate how important Bruges was as an artistic center in this period.

The limitation in time of the subject of this study does not suggest that artistic patronage in Bruges before or after this period was any less important. The studies by Carlvant on Bruges psalters of the thirteenth century, by Van Miegroet on Gerard David, by Marlier on Ambrosius Benson and Bruges painting during the reign of Charles V, and by Huvenne on Pieter Pourbus, amply prove that there already existed a strong tradition of artistic patronage, and that it continued to exist after the death of Mary of Burgundy.⁴

During my research, I came to the conclusion that a detailed critical analysis of each document and each preserved work of art was incompatible with an attempt to be comprehensive. I believe that it is more productive in historical research to draw conclusions from a selected group of reliable and representative data, rather than to try to discover every last bit of a puzzle from which most of the pieces are lost anyway. I considered only those objects that were undoubtedly made for known Bruges institutions.

For the same reasons, I restricted the archival research to inventoried depositories in Bruges: the Municipal Archives (Stadsarchief Brugge, abbreviated throughout this study as SAB), the State Archives (Rijksarchief Brugge, RAB), and the Episcopal Archives (Bischoppelijk Archief Brugge, BAB). Perhaps more data exists in less organized collections in the same depositories, or in archives in other locations, such as the General State Archives in Brussels (Algemeen Rijksarchief Brussel), or the Archives

⁴ K. Carlvant, *Thirteenth-Century Illumination in Bruges and Ghent*, Ph.D dissertation, Columbia University, 1978; see also *Id.*, "De verluchte boeken van de gegoede stand in 13de-eeuws Brugge," *Vlaamse Kunst op Perkament*, [exh.cat.] Bruges, 1981, 141-175; H. Van Miegroet, *Gerard David*, Antwerp, 1989; G. Marlier, *Ambrosius Benson et la peinture à Bruges au temps de Charles Quint*, Damme, 1957; P. Huvenne, *Pieter Pourbus, meester-schilder 1524-1584*, [exh. cat.] Bruges, 1984.

départementales du Nord in Lille. But the likely prospect of meager results did not justify the certainty of having to spend more months of systematic research in the latter collections.

As a last restriction, I concentrated on the important institutions in Bruges, and discussed the patronage in smaller establishments only when it complemented the total picture that evolved from the available data. Some churches (like St. Giles or St. Walburga), cloisters (like the Willemites or the Urbanists), charitable institutions (like the Potterie or the hospice of St. Joos), or civic associations (like the archers' guilds) in Bruges, for which nothing or very sparse data were found, were eventually excluded. I did include material and archival data from the 1430s and 1480s that added important information. Wherever it was helpful, I also relied upon secondary sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth century sources, both original and published ones.

The systematic study of the archives of Netherlandish institutions began in the 1860s. In Bruges, people like the city archivist L. Gilliodts-van Severen and the immigrant English art historian W. H. James Weale literarily spent the best years of their lives classifying and excerpting massive amounts of raw material.

In his annotated inventory of the charters preserved in the municipal archives, Gilliodts-van Severen published extensive excerpts from the municipal accounts, some of which pertain to artistic production in the city or to the patronage of the city magistrature.⁵ This material was more recently complemented by J. Duverger and Schouteet.⁶

Weale focussed more on art historical information. Beside his ground-breaking monographs on Jan Van Eyck, Petrus Christus, and Hans

⁵ L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire des Archives de la ville de Bruges*, 8 vol., Bruges, 1871-1885.

⁶ J. Duverger, "Brugse schilders ten tijde van Jan Van Eyck," *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België (Miscellanea Erwin Panofsky)*, IV (1955), 83-120; A. Schouteet, *De Vlaamse Primitieven te Brugge. Bronnen voor de schilderkunst te Brugge tot de dood van Gerard David, I*, (*Fontes Historiae Artis Neerlandicae, Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België*), Brussels, 1989.

Memling,⁷ he published important excerpts from the archives of the corporation of the image makers, of the guild of the librarians, and several inventories of art treasurers of Bruges institutions.⁸ Other studies on the corporative organization of the artists were published by Van de Castele, Carton, and Vanden Haute.⁹ Pinchart, Versyp, and recently Delmarcel and E. Duverger, published documents relative to the Bruges tapestry makers.¹⁰

⁷ W.H.J. Weale, *Hubert and John van Eyck, Their Life and Work*, London, 1908; W.H.J. Weale, M. Brockwell, *The Van Eycks and Their Art*, London, 1912; W.H.J. Weale, "Pierre et Sébastien Christus," *Le Beffroi*, I (1863), 235-242; *Id.*, "Peintres Brugeois : les Christus," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, 2e série, LIX (1909), 97-120; *Id.*, *Hans Memlinc, Bruges*, 1871; *Id.*, *Hans Memlinc. Biographie. Tableaux conservés à Bruges*, Bruges, 1901.

⁸ W.H.J. Weale, "Inventaire des chartes et documents appartenant aux archives de la corporation de Saint Luc et Saint Eloi à Bruges," *Le Beffroi*, I (1863), 112-118, 145-152, 201-222, 290-295; II (1864-5), 241-263; *Id.*, "Documents inédits sur les peintres brugeois," *Le Beffroi*, III (1866-70), 231-245; *Id.*, "Documents inédits sur les enlumineurs de Bruges," *Le Beffroi*, II (1864-65), 298-319; IV (1872-73), 111-9, 238-337; *Id.*, "Le Palais du Franc à Bruges," *Le Beffroi*, IV (1872-73), 46-92; *Id.*, "Inventaires du trésor de la Collégiale de Saint Donatien à Bruges, 1347-1539," *Le Beffroi*, I (1863), 323-337; II (1864-65), 9-30, 104-138; *Id.*, "Inventaire du mobilier de le Corporation des Tanneurs de Bruges," *Le Beffroi*, II (1864-5), 264-268.

⁹ D. van de Castele, "Documents divers de la société S. Luc à Bruges," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, 2e série, XVIII (1866), 5-60; Carton, "Obituaire de la Société de St. Luc," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, 2e série, XII (1862-1863), 1-56; C. Vanden Haute, *La Corporation des Peintres de Bruges*, Courtrai, 1913; *Id.*, "Documents inédits concernant les libraires et maîtres d'école de Bruges," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, LIX (1909), 18-40. Schouteet published a summary inventory of the librarians' archives; see A. Schouteet, "Inventaris van het archief van de voormalige gilde van de Librariërs en van de vereniging van schoolmeesters te Brugge," *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis 'Société d'Emulation'*, C (1963), 228-269. Some documents relative to this guild were recently also discussed by A. Vandewalle, "Het librariërs-gilde te Brugge in zijn vroege periode," in *Vlaamse Kunst op Perkament*, [exh.cat.] Bruges, 1981, 39-43.

¹⁰ A. Pinchart, *Histoire générale de la tapisserie, III. Pays-Bas*, (completed by Jules Guiffrey), Paris, 1884; J. Versyp, *De Geschiedenis van de Tapijtkunst te Brugge*, (*Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Schone Kunsten*, 8), Brussels, 1954; G. Delmarcel, E. Duverger, *Brugge en de tapijtkunst*, [exh.cat.] Bruges, Gruuthuuseum, 1987.

Payment records to artists and other information from the archives of the Burgundian court were studied by Laborde, Pinchart, and Dehaisnes.¹¹

Derolez and Dewitte published archival information on libraries in Bruges during the fifteenth century.¹² Other data on artistic production can be found in monographs on Bruges historical monuments or institutions.¹³

11 L. de Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne. Etudes sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XVe siècle, Preuves*, 2 vols., Paris, 1851; A. Pinchart, *Archives des Arts, Sciences et Lettres, Documents Inédits*, 3 vols., Ghent, 1860-81; *Id.*, "Miniaturistes, Enlumineurs et Calligraphes employés par Philippe le Bon et Charles les Téméraire et leurs oeuvres," *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'Art et d'Archéologie*, IV (1865), 474-510; V (1866), 114-136; C. Dehaisnes, "Documents inédits concernant Jean le Tavernier et Louis Liédet, miniaturistes des ducs de Bourgogne," *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Art et d'Archéologie*, XXI (1882), 20-38.

12 A. Derolez, "De Bibliotheek van het kapittel van Sint Donatiaan te Brugge in de middeleeuwen," *Handelingen Koninklijke Zuidnederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, XV (1961), 159-173; A. Derolez, *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii. De Middeleeuwse bibliotheekscatalogi der Zuidelijke Nederlanden. I Provincie West-Vlaanderen (Verhandelingen Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten, Klasse der Letteren, XXVIII/61)*, Brussels, 1966; A. Dewitte, "Boek- en bibliotheekwezen in de Brugse Sint-Donaaskerk XIIIe-XVe eeuw," *Sint-Donaas en de voormalige Brugse Katedraal*, Bruges, 1978, 61-95.

13 Very little systematic research has been done on the archives of Bruges churches and cloisters. Exceptions include A. De Schodt, "Confrérie de Notre-Dame de l'Arbre Sec," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, XXVIII (1876-1877), 141-187; A. Keelhoff, *Histoire de l'ancien couvent des ermites de Saint Augustin à Bruges*, Bruges, 1869, passim; H.J.J. Scholtens, "Het Kartuizerklooster Dal van Graciën buiten Brugge," *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis, gesticht onder de benaming Société d'Emulation te Brugge*, LXXXIII (1940-46), 133-201; L. Devliegher, *De Sint-Salvatorskatedraal te Brugge. Geschiedenis en architectuur (Kunstpatrimonium van West-Vlaanderen, 7)*, Tielt, Bussum, 1981. The archives of the churches of Our Lady and St. James were only recently made accessible through inventories; see J. Vandermaesen *Inventaris van het oud archief der kerkfabriek van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw te Brugge*, Brussels, 1984, and W. Rombauts, *Het oud archief van de kerkfabriek van Sint-Jacob te Brugge (XIIIde-XIXde eeuw)*, 2 vols, Brussels, 1986. Those of the hospital of St. John were described by A. Vandewalle, "Archivalia betreffende het Sint-Janshospitaal en de medische corporaties te Brugge," *Sint-Janshospitaal Brugge, 1188-1976*, [exh.cat.], I, Bruges, 1976, 31-40. On the archives of the hospital of St. Julian, see Geldhof. J. Geldhof, *Pelgrims, dulle lieden en vondelingen te Brugge, 1275-1975. Zeven eeuwen*

As most publications primarily based on archival research date from the second half of the nineteenth century, they are evidently strongly determined by the interests, opinions, and methodological standards of that time.¹⁴ Where most of their colleague archivists were primarily interested in gathering biographical data on well known artists and on important works of art, Gilliodts-Van Severen and Weale clearly had a much broader interest in a wide range of cultural and social aspects of Bruges history. Nevertheless, their work differs very much from the interests of current scholarship. They did not conceive the artistic production in a center as a whole, and were not interested in its socio-economic background. They did not really interpret the archival data, but rather, published it as raw material.

Another important difference with current scholarship is their methodological standards in transcriptions. Transcriptions were often very liberal where names, dates and the interpretation of abbreviations are concerned, while prices, sums and currencies in accounts were often omitted. Documents were almost never published completely. This is not only the case for longer documents like charters, but also for entries in accounts where usually the rubrics were omitted. Lastly, the references to the original documents in these publications are often inaccurate or outdated.

In the appendix, I have attempted to gather all relevant data from Bruges archives on artistic patronage in the period of 1440-82. All transcriptions were made anew, completing and correcting older ones; some documents are published here for the first time. I have largely

geschiedenis van het Sint-Juliaansgasthuis en van de Psychiatrische Kliniek O.-L.-Vrouw te Brugge-Sint-Michiels, Bruges, 1975.

¹⁴ On evolution of interests in archival research in the Low Countries, see M.J. Montias, "Socio-Economic Aspects of Netherlandish Art from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century: A Survey," *Art Bulletin*, LXXII/3 (1990), 358-373.

followed the guidelines for publication of archival sources by the Royal Historical Commission of Belgium.¹⁵

By making more complete and accurate transcriptions, the context of the data becomes more obvious. Moreover, each document has been translated into English, making them more accessible. Naturally, such translations raise enormous problems, both philological as well as methodological. Each translation implies *nolens volens* an interpretation, which is in complete contradiction with the modern standards of the publication of archival sources. In the translations, I have tried to preserve something of the archaic and often ambiguous nature of the original Middle Netherlandish, Old French or Medieval Latin. I wish to emphasize that these translations are only meant for an easier accessibility of the sources, but that the original transcriptions should be used for further reference, interpretation or evaluation.

The results of this study are largely determined by the types of archival sources that have been preserved, sometimes solely by coincidence. Although this limitation offers much material for epistemological reflection on the scholarly discipline of history, I will restrict the discussion of its consequences to one observation.

There are very few contracts between artists and patrons preserved in Bruges for the period in question. Most information must be gathered from payment records, or from charters in which works of art are usually only parenthetically mentioned. If the original contracts had been preserved, much more would have been known about the conditions in which a commission originated; more details would have been available about the iconography of the works, the materials that were used, the examples that had to be followed, and the working conditions of the artists. In the payment records the objects are usually described in vague and general terms.

The reason for this lack of contracts is related to procedures of the administrative organization of the municipal government. All private

¹⁵ Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis, *Voorschriften voor het uitgeven van historische teksten en van de Akten der Belgische vorsten*, Brussels, Koninklijke Belgische Academie, 1940.

contracts concluded in Ghent were legally confirmed by the aldermen of that city.¹⁶ In Bruges, however, this task was delegated to the clerks of the municipal courtroom, and preservation of their archives did not begin until 1484.¹⁷ The few contracts that do survive are client copies.

A last remark about the processing of archival material should be made. Montias recently noted that

We are now reaching the stage [in studying the socio-economic background of artistic production] where statistical regularities may be established and causal analysis attempted.¹⁸

Regarding the material available on the artistic production in Bruges in the fifteenth century this kind of advanced interpretation is only partially possible. Large gaps in the records hamper systematic statistical analysis of the data. Where it was possible, I have attempted it, especially with respect to the distribution of apprentices in workshops, and to the evolution of the price of processed silver.

Artistic production and patronage in Bruges in the period of 1440-82, has been generally neglected in art historical studies, which have focused almost exclusively on Petrus Christus and Hans Memling.¹⁹ These monographs, as well as articles on the artists, have dealt chiefly with problems of style, chronology and iconography. Except for some attempts

¹⁶ J. Decavele (ed.), *Keizer tussen stropdragers. Karel V, 1500-1558*, Louvain, 1990, 59.

¹⁷ See A. Schouteet, *De klerken van de vierschaar te Brugge met inventaris van hun protocollen bewaard op het Brugse Stadsarchief*, Bruges, 1973; A. Vandewalle, *Beknopte Inventaris van het Stadsarchief van Brugge, deel I: Oud Archief*, Bruges, 1979, 93.

¹⁸ Montias (as in n. 14), 361.

¹⁹ Weale (as in n. 8), 1871; *Id.* (as in n. 8), 1901; L. Von Baldass, *Hans Memling*, Vienna, 1942; M. J. Friedländer, *Hans Memling, (Palet Series)*, Amsterdam, 1949; *Id.*, *Early Netherlandish Painting, I : The van Eycks - Petrus Christus*, (comments and notes by N. Veronée-Verhaegen), Brussels, Leiden, 1967; *Id.* (as in n. 2), 1971; K.B. McFarlane, *Hans Memling*, Oxford, 1971; J. Foucart, G.T. Faggin, *Tout l'oeuvre peint de Memling*, Paris, 1973; P. Schabacker, *Petrus Christus*, Utrecht, 1974; U. Panhans-Bühler, *Eklektizismus und Originalität im Werk Petrus Christus*, Vienna, 1978; J. Upton, *Petrus Christus. His Place in Fifteenth-Century Flemish Painting*, University Park, London, 1990.

to identify the patrons represented on these artists' works, little or no attention was paid to broader issues of patronage. No comprehensive study has ever been made of the cultural context in which Christus's and Memling's works were situated.

Richard Strohm's analysis of musicians in Bruges with its thorough treatment of the function of music within the evolving structure of civic culture, provided a challenging model for research into patterns of artistic patronage in this close-knit, highly productive environment.²⁰ Although focusing on another place and time, Michael Montias's study on artists in seventeenth century Delft, and its pioneering ways of questioning the sources, has also been an important inspiration for this present work.²¹

Several other studies have been used here intensively, although their emphasis was usually far removed from artistic patronage. Duclos's *Bruges, Histoire et Souvenirs*, is still a standard reference for the history of Bruges, owing to its richness of factual data.²² Van Houtte's more recent history of Bruges is better organized, but less detailed.²³ Diverse articles in *Algemene Geschiedenis van de Nederlanden*, and the survey by Walter Prevenier and Wim Blockmans, offer thorough information on most aspects of political, economic, social and cultural history of the Burgundian Netherlands.²⁴

The first publication on early Netherlandish painting claiming to study artistic patronage, is S. Neilson Blum's *Early Netherlandish Triptychs. A Study on Patronage*.²⁵ Although it offers some interesting information, this

20 R. Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, Oxford, 1983.

21 J. M. Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A socio-economic Study of the Seventeenth Century*, Princeton, 1982.

22 A. Duclos, *Bruges, Histoire et Souvenirs*, Bruges, 1913 (anastatic reprint, Bruges, 1976).

23 J.A. Van Houtte, *De Geschiedenis van Brugge*, Tielt, Bussum, 1982.

24 *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, IV, Haarlem, 1980; W. Prevenier, W. Blockmans, *De Bourgondische Nederlanden*, Antwerp, 1983.

25 S. Neilson Blum, *Early Netherlandish Triptychs. A Study on Patronage*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1969.

book focuses mainly on the evolution of the format of the triptych, based on very limited selection of about ten masterpieces.

The first systematic and comprehensive study of an artistic discipline in Bruges during the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance was Valentin Vermeersch's work on sepulchral monuments.²⁶ Although it is useful for its factual data on patrons, this work is mainly a typological study, and its treatment of patronage remains secondary. But it does set an example in its use of seventeenth and eighteenth century source material.

By exploring the origins of the art market in the Netherlands, Lorne Campbell was one of the first to touch upon the importance of studying the socio-economic background of artistic production.²⁷

In his study of the artistic patronage of Philip the Good, Jeffrey C. Smith classified works of art made for the duke in categories inspired by aspects of the duke's patronage, in relation to his image as sovereign ruler and his political ideals.²⁸

Vermeersch's *Brugge, Duizend jaar Kunst*, is not meant as a thorough study of patronage or artistic production, but due to the massive amount of material, it provides a lively suggestion of the richness of civic culture in Bruges.²⁹

Some exhibition catalogues are also important reference sources. The 1902 Bruges exhibition of Flemish art was a pioneering endeavor, which largely stimulated international scholarly interest in late-Medieval Flemish culture.³⁰ It should, however, be seen in the context of the Gothic

26 V. Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge voor 1578*, 3 vol., Bruges, 1976.

27 L. Campbell, "The Art Market in the Southern Netherlands in the Fifteenth Century," *Burlington Magazine*, CXVIII, 1976, 188-198.

28 J. C. Smith, *The Artistic Patronage of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy (1419-1467)*, Ph.D., Columbia University, 1979.

29 V. Vermeersch, *Brugge, Duizend jaar Kunst. Van Karolingisch tot Neogotisch, 875-1875*, Antwerp, 1981.

30 G. Hulin de Loo, *Bruges 1902. Exposition de tableaux flamands des XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles. Catalogue critique*, [exh.cat.], Ghent, 1902; W.H.J. Weale, *Catalogue Exposition des Primitifs flamands et d'Art ancien. Première section : tableaux*, [exh. cat.] Bruges, 1902; M.J.

revival in Flanders, and especially as a political expression of the Catholic revival at the turn of the century.

Except for the 1960 exhibition held in both Bruges and Detroit,³¹ most exhibitions since 1902 on Bruges art of the fifteenth century, usually focused on one medium: paintings,³² manuscripts,³³ or tapestries.³⁴

In the manuscript shows, aspects of patronage were highly emphasized. The 1959 exhibition on the Burgundian library stressed the importance of Philip the Good's patronage as a stimulation for manuscript production in diverse centers.³⁵ Bruges as the main center of production in the Netherlands, received most attention in the catalogue. Two later shows on Philip the Good and Charles the Bold as bibliophiles focussed more on the different literary genres represented in the ducal library than on their active patronage.³⁶ The most recent exhibition focussed on Bruges as a

Friedländer, *Meisterwerke der niederländische Malerei des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts auf der Ausstellung zu Brügge 1902*, Munich, 1903.

31 L. Ninane, J. Folie (et al.), *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization. Catalogue of the Exhibition Masterpieces of Flemish Art: van Eyck to Bosch*, [exh.cat.] Detroit, The Institute of Arts, 1960; H. Pauwels (et al.), *De Eeuw van de Vlaamse Primitieven*, [exh.cat.] Bruges, Groeningemuseum, 1960.

32 A. Janssens de Bisthoven, D. De Vos, M. Baes-Dondeyne (et al.), *Anonieme Vlaamse Primitieven*, exh.cat., Bruges, 1969.

33 *Tentoonstelling van miniaturen en boekbanden*, [exh.cat.] 2 vols., Bruges, 1927; L.M.J. Delaissé, *La Miniature flamande: Le mécénat de Philippe le Bon*, [exh. cat.], Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 1959; G. Dogaer, M. Debae, *La librairie de Philippe le Bon*, [exh.cat.] Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 1967; P. Cockshaw (et al.), *Charles le Téméraire 1433-1477*, [exh. cat.] Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 1977; *Vlaamse Kunst op Perkament*, [exh.cat.] Bruges, Gruuthusemuseum, 1981.

34 Delmarcel, E. Duverger (as in n. 10). An exhibition on Bruges silver is being prepared by Prof. F. Van Molle (University of Louvain), to be held in 1993.

35 Delaissé (as in n. 33).

36 Dogaer, Debae (as in n. 33); Cockshaw (as in n. 33).

production center, but surprisingly, it did not mention the importance of ducal commissions.³⁷

This study is divided into five chapters. In the 'Historical Context,' the main events and protagonists of the political and socio-economic life in Bruges are sketched, and the cut-off dates of this study are justified. Some aspects of the relationship between artists and patrons are discussed in the context of the corporative system. A recently formulated hypothesis that the role of patrons diminished toward the end of the fifteenth century is critically evaluated.

The crucial role of the Burgundian court as a source of artistic patronage in Bruges is surveyed in the second chapter. The court considerably stimulated artistic production in town and clearly formed one of the main attractions for foreign artists to establish their workshops in Bruges.

The patronage of the Burgundian dukes has been a subject of intensive study for more than a century.³⁸ I conceived this chapter as a presentation of the state of research on ducal patronage in Bruges. It is meant to draw the attention to the crucial role of the dukes, and not as a comprehensive discussion of this phenomenon, which is inconceivable in the present context.

37 *Vlaamse Kunst op Perkament*, [exh.cat.] Bruges, Gruuthusemuseum, 1981.

38 See amongst others, Laborde (as in n. 11); Lyna, F., *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, III, 2 parts (ed. C. Pantens), Brussels, 1989; Delaissé (as in n. 33); A. de Schryver, "Nicolas Spierinc, calligraphe et enlumineur des Ordonnances des états de l'hôtel de Charles le Téméraire," *Scriptorium*, XXIII (1969) (*Miscellanea F. Lyna*), 434-458; *Id.*, "Pour une meilleure orientation des recherches à propos du maître de Girart de Roussillon," *Internatiaal Colloquium Rogier van der Weyden en zijn tijd*, 11/12 June 1974, *Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten, Klasse der Schone Kunsten*, 1974, 43-82; *Id.*, "L'oeuvre authentique de Philippe de Mazerolles, enlumineur de Charles le Téméraire," *Cinq-Centième Anniversaire de la Bataille de Nancy (1477)*, *Actes du colloque organisé par l'Institut de recherche régionale en sciences sociales, humaines et économiques de l'Université de Nancy II*, Nancy, 1977, 135-144; F. Unterkircher, A. de Schryver, *Gebetbuch Karls des Kühnen vel potius Stundunbuch der Maria von Burgund (Codex Vindobonensis 1857 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek)*, Graz, 1969; Dogaer, Debae (as in n. 33); Cockshaw (as in n. 33); Smith (as in n. 28).

Following a survey of ducal commissions from Bruges artists, some basic characteristics of ducal manuscripts are enumerated, and the main protagonists of Bruges manuscript illumination introduced. Lastly, the importance of ephemeral decorations for festive events is illustrated by an evocation of the decorations made for the wedding of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York in 1468, which was undoubtedly the most important cultural event in the city during the period of our interest.

In chapter three, the patronage of the two main secular institutions in Bruges is investigated: the city magistrature and the Bruges Franc.³⁹ The areas of artistic production in which these institutions were active as patrons are surveyed, concentrating on the function of the works that they commissioned. These areas cover a wide range from heraldic decorations to decorative tapestries and silverware commissioned to present as gifts.

The accounts of these institutions provide the main source material for the study of their patronage. Therefore, many data are available on the prices paid for diverse works, and thus on the income of the artists in their employ. Some aspects of this hitherto largely unexplored topic are discussed, while the documentary value of civic accounts for this investigation is evaluated.

The *tableaux vivants* staged for triumphal entries of the duke, shed some light on the city's political aspirations. This type of decoration is studied through a critical comparison of different chronicles describing the same events. Lastly, a silver bust made for the Franc is identified based on documentary evidence, as a work by Jan van der Toolne, a hitherto unknown Bruges silversmith.

Chapter four concentrates on artistic patronage in the main churches in town: the two collegiate churches of St. Donatian and Our Lady, and the parish churches of St. Savior and St. James. The Jerusalem chapel is included as an example of an important private foundation. The discussion of the patronage in each church is preceded by a short introduction to the history of both the institution and the building. Important instances of artistic patronage are treated in detail by analyzing the efforts of the

³⁹ The *Franc* was the autonomous chatelainship comprising most of the countryside around Bruges. For a more detailed discussion, see chapter III.B.

institutions themselves, those of affiliated organizations, and those of individual patrons.

Artistic patronage in other religious institutions is examined along the same lines in chapter five. This group includes the convents of the mendicant orders, some abbeys located in the city, and three hospitals. This chapter is followed by some tentative conclusions that can be drawn from the corpus of this work. The appendices follow, with transcriptions and English translations of original archival documents, all arranged chronologically. The plates conclude the dissertation.

Throughout these chapters some topics of special interest are discussed in as far as the available data are sufficient to justify conclusions. First of all, I have attempted to provide an overview on what types of works of art the institutions commissioned, and what their function was. In case the institution experienced the patronage of affiliated organizations or individuals, the conditions under which their patronage took place are investigated, as well as relevant aspects of the relationship between patron and institution. In some instances the relation between the patron and the artist who worked for him can also be established.

Another topic of particular interest is the underlying intentions of patronage. Regarding religious art, these intentions are traditionally considered to be merely devotional. However, other elements may have often played a role, such as social prestige, or political calculation. Clearly, this aspect of patronage is never explicitly stated, and can only be deduced from the context of the commission. Therefore, it remains speculative.

Another issue that needs mentioning here deals with the interpretation of historical documents. Throughout the Middle Ages until 1582, the Easter style was used for dating in Flanders.⁴⁰ This means that the beginning of the year was not 1 January, but Easter. Therefore, 1467 started on 29 March and ended on 16 April of the following year. Clearly this system had disadvantages. The years had varying lengths: it was

⁴⁰ On problems of chronology, see E.I. Strubbe, L. Voet, *De Chronologie van de Middeleeuwen en de Moderne Tijden in de Nederlanden*, Antwerp, Amsterdam, 1960, 55-58 (Easter style), 95-141 (conversion tables).

impossible to know when the year started without checking a reference list, and some years the same dates appeared twice. Aware of this problem, the scribes of documents usually added *post* or *ante Pasche* to the date during the critical period, *i.e.*, between 22 March and 25 April, or the earliest and latest possible date of Easter. Throughout this study, Easter styles, or old styles (o.s.), have been converted to modern dating or new style (n.s.).

Another issue is the use of administrative years in accounts. The administrative year started in each institution on a different date, and ended when the accounts of the previous year were checked. During the fifteenth century, for example, the municipal accounts started varying in the beginning or around the middle of September. Therefore, dates in the text such as 1465-66, indicate an unspecified date within the administrative year of a specific institution.

A notorious source of confusion in the interpretation of archival documents is the simultaneous use of different currencies and measurements. One pound Flemish groats (£1 gr) = 20 shilling (s) = 240 pennies or groats (d).⁴¹ The Parisian pound, had a similar division, but was worth only one twelfth of the Flemish one (£1 gr = £12 par). The money of account used in the Burgundian administration is the pound of 40 groats. It had the same division as the previous currencies, and was worth one sixth of the Flemish pound (£1 gr = £6 of 40 gr). Throughout this study I have always indicated which currency is used, and sometimes for the sake of comparison of prices, I converted the amounts to the lowest common denominator: Parisian pennies (d par).

Troy weight is still used in Anglo-Saxon countries for precious metals and stones; however its intrinsic value was slightly different in the fifteenth century: 1 mark (m) = 8 ounce (oz) = 160 engels (en), with 1 en = 1.538 grams.⁴²

⁴¹ On the different currencies used in the Burgundian Netherlands, see P. Spufford, *Monetary Problems and Policies in the Burgundian Netherlands 1433-1496*, Leiden, 1970.

⁴² On old Flemish weights and measurements see amongst others K. Stallaert, *Glossarium van verouderde rechtstermen. kunstwoorden en andere uitdrukkingen uit Vlaamsche, Brabantsche en Limburgsche Oorkonden*, II, Leiden, 1880, 190, s.v. *marck*.

All names of known individuals are spelled as they are generally found in modern historical and art historical literature. The names of unknown persons, are given as they appear in the documents. In case of multiple appearance, a preference for the orthography closest to modern Dutch is used.

Names of locations and buildings in Bruges are usually translated into English, as they are commonly known to the public and found in tourist publications. Most buildings that have disappeared, and which are therefore less well known, are usually indicated with their most common name in historical publications.

Specific or confusing Middle Netherlandish or Old French terms, for which no accurate modern equivalents exist, are explained, after which they are referred to with a close approximate term, or with the original Middle Netherlandish or Old French term. As an example, the foreign merchants in Bruges were organized in groups according to their places of origin. They were called '*vreemde naties*.' I translate this literally as *foreign nations*, realizing very well that this term is confusing, unless it is explicitly explained.

I would also like to emphasize the crucial difference between a *corporation* and a *guild*, two terms that are most often used interchangeably.⁴³ A corporation is a legally recognized association of craftsmen with more or less the same specialization. A guild is a religious confraternity, often, but not always, affiliated with a corporation.

⁴³ See Schouteet (as in n. 6), 14, 16.

CHAPTER I:

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

A. The political and economic situation: from the Treaty of Arras (1435) to the death of Mary of Burgundy (1482)

Around 1435, the policy of territorial expansion of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy (rule, 1419-67) reached a summit.¹ The treaty of Arras concluded in that year, brought an end to the hostilities between the Burgundians and the French court. In exchange for ceasing his alliance with the English crown, Philip the Good was exempted from his feudal responsibilities toward Charles VII of France, while he also received the counties of Picardy, Ponthieu, and Boulogne, and some cities along the Somme river.

From then on, Philip radically altered his policy and concentrated more on the development of strong central governmental institutions. This process implied a steady limitation of the power of the large cities in the Burgundian territories. Philip's son and heir, Charles the Bold (1467-77), continued this 'process of Burgundization,'² that culminated in the institution of a central court, the Parliament of Mechlin, and a central financial administration, the Chamber of Finances, in 1473.

The gradual corrosion of age-old privileges often incited revolts in the traditionally strongly independent cities of the Burgundian Netherlands. The dukes repeatedly resorted to bloody repression to put down conflicts in Bruges (1436-38), Ghent (1449-1453), Utrecht (1455-56), Dinant (1466), Ghent (1467) and Liège (1465-68).

In June and July 1436, Philip besieged Calais, which was in English hands. Like other Flemish cities, Bruges delegated troops and made

¹ On the Burgundian dukes, see R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy*, London, 1970; Id., *Charles the Bold: The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy*, New York, Glasgow, 1975; Id., *Valois Burgundy*, London, 1975; W. Prevenier, W. Blockmans, *De Bourgondische Nederlanden*, Antwerp, 1983. For the history of Bruges during the period under consideration, see L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire des Archives de la ville de Bruges*, 8 vol., Bruges, 1871-1885, especially vols. IV, V, and VI; A. Duclos, *Bruges, Histoire et Souvenirs*, Bruges, 1913 (anastatic reprint, Bruges, 1976); T. Luykx, J.L. Broeckx, *Brugge (Steden en Landschappen, IX)*, Antwerp, 1943; *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, IV, Haarlem, 1980; J. A. Van Houtte, *De Geschiedenis van Brugge, Tielt, Bussum*, 1982.

² Term derived from Prevenier, Blockmans (as in n. 1), 198-213.

considerable financial contributions toward the operation. Meanwhile in Sluis, the pre-port of Bruges, some Hanseatic merchants were killed on suspicion of sympathy for the English. As a result, the Hanseatic League left Bruges, an action that had the most serious consequences.³ The Hanseatics were the most important trade partners of the Netherlands. They supplied English wool to the Flemish textile industry and imported indispensable grain provisions from the Baltic region to Flanders. The alliance against England and the departure of the Hanseatics from Bruges immediately caused unemployment and grain shortage.

Growing dissatisfaction and frustration over the failure of the Calais expedition provoked the city of Bruges to assume aggressive domination over its subject cities. The armed forces that had just returned from Calais threatened Sluis and other places in the Bruges Franc --i.e., the large countryside around the city-- with military action if they would not recognize the city's authority.

On 22 May 1437, Philip the Good arrived at Bruges with an army, hoping to call the city to order. Furious Bruges citizens surrounded the duke, threatening to kill him. Jean de Villers, Lord of l'Ile-Adam, the officer who covered the duke's desperate flight through the Boeveriepoort, was killed in action.⁴ Enraged by so much insubordination, Philip besieged the city. The massive failure of the grain harvests throughout Europe that summer led to a dramatic famine within the walls of the isolated city. Utter despair struck the rebellious town when the plague broke out between 1 June and 11 November 1437. About one fifth of Bruges's population perished.⁵

Totally weakened the city surrendered in March 1438. The duke punished Bruges severely and set an example for future rebels. The city's control over its subaltern cities was restricted; the privileges of the corporations were revised; huge fines were imposed; the Boeveriepoort was closed off, and the city was forced to fund an annual mass for the Lord of l'Ile-Adam.⁶ Only on 11 December 1440, the duke publicly forgave the city. With much splendor Bruges pledged its allegiance to Philip the Good.

³ P. Dollinger, *La Hanse, XIIe-XVIIe siècles*, Paris, 1964, 368; W.P. Blockmans, "Politieke Ontwikkeling: Vlaanderen 1384-1482," *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, IV, Haarlem, 1980, 217-220.

⁴ On the Lord of l'Ile-Adam, see A. Viaene, "Mijn Heere van Lelidam," *Biekorf*, LIX (1958), 225-245.

⁵ Blockmans (as in n. 3), 213. The population of Bruges was about 46,000 around the middle of the fourteenth century, and may have dropped a little during the fifteenth century, see Prevenier, Blockmans (as in n. 1), 32.

⁶ Gilliodts-Van Severen (as in n. 1), V, 231-235; J.P. Sosson, *Les travaux publics de la ville de Bruges XIVe-XVe siècles. Les matériaux, les hommes* (Collection Histoire Pro Civitate, série in-8, no. 48), Brussels, 1977, 58-59, 133; Blockmans (as in n. 3), 217.

After these dramatic events, the city of Bruges remained loyal to its sovereign for about 40 years. It did not even intervene in the Ghent crisis of 1449-53. On 26 May 1452, Louis of Gruuthuse and Pieter Bladelin had the city gates locked when 8,000 Ghent citizens came to seek Bruges's assistance in their revolt.⁷

After the peace treaty of Arras, the power of local and regional institutions gradually diminished, while the central governmental agencies became more specialized, efficient, and thus more powerful. The duke was assisted in matters of jurisdiction, politics and finances by the Court Council, a group of aristocratic advisors and protégés, headed by the chancellor. From 1445, the judicial activities of the Court Council were delegated to a group of lawyers, assembled in the Great Council.⁸ This became the highest court of appeal in the Burgundian lands, only exceeded by the Parliament of Paris. The Council of Flanders, which was the highest regional court, was placed under the authority of the Great Council. In 1473, Charles the Bold reformed this Great Council into a completely autonomous supreme court, called the Parliament of Mechlin.

Under Philip the Good, some advisors of the Court Council were charged with financial management and the supervision of the general receiver. The Chamber of Accounts in Lille controlled the financial management of all local receivers in the county. Charles the Bold completely reorganized the financial administration, first in 1468, and then ultimately in 1473, when he installed the central Chamber of Finances. This chamber was also established in Mechlin and replaced all regional chambers of accounts.

The Four Members was the highest representation of the Flemish people.⁹ It was divided in four districts, headed by the three large cities: Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres; the fourth member was the large countryside in northwest Flanders, the Bruges Franc. Conflicts between the members were repeatedly utilized by the Burgundian dukes to strengthen their position.

⁷ Luykx, Broeckx (as in n. 1), 106.

⁸ For the evolution of central and regional administrations, see W.P. Blockmans, "Instellingen en Recht, 1384-1484: De Bourgondische staatsinstellingen," *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, IV, Haarlem, 1980, 142-155. On the judicial and financial councillors of the dukes, see J. Bartier, *Légistes et Gens de Finances au XVe siècle - Les Conseillers des Ducs de Bourgogne, Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire*, (Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, Mémoires in-8, L fasc.2), Brussels, 1955. On the Great Council and the Parliament of Mechlin, see J. Van Rompaey, *De Grote Raad van de Hertogen van Boergondië en het Parlement van Mechelen* (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten, Klasse der Letteren), Brussels, 1973.

⁹ See W.P. Blockmans, *De volksvertegenwoordiging in Vlaanderen in de overgang van middeleeuwen naar nieuwe tijden (1384-1506)*, Brussels, 1978.

Not only the reform of the institutions, but also the systematic appointment of protégés in the highest offices, contributed to the steadily increasing power and influence of the dukes of Burgundy.¹⁰ Around 1455, Philip the Good succeeded in nominating confidants, often relatives, to all the highest ecclesiastic functions in the Burgundian lands: the Bishops of Tournai, Cambrai, Utrecht, Liège, Valenciennes, and other bishoprics, the abbot of the St. Peter's Abbey in Ghent, and the dean of the chapter of St. Donatian in Bruges. These dignitaries systematically gained influence in local ecclesiastic and charitable institutions.

This comprehensive centralization of ducal power, sustained by fierce repression of local revolts, was obviously unacceptable to the large Flemish cities. However, the times changed. Charles the Bold engaged in a series of wars which drastically drained his financial resources. In 1473, the duke had to make important concessions to the cities in exchange for money, collected through special taxes.¹¹ One year later, he enraged the ecclesiastic institutions when, contrary to their traditional status of exemption, he taxed all the real estate they had acquired over the last 60 years. Eventually, Charles became a victim of the successive wars he had to fight. He died in the battle of Nancy on 5 January 1477. The homelands, Burgundy and Franche-Comté, were immediately occupied by the troops of the French King Louis XI.

On 24 January the news of the duke's death was confirmed in the Netherlands. Only eighteen days later, on 11 February 1477, the Flemish cities extorted the Great Privilege from Mary of Burgundy, the young and unexperienced daughter of Charles.¹² All the old civil privileges of before 1438 were restored. The Parliament of Mechlin and the Central Chamber of Finances were abolished, and the regional institutions which existed before 1473 resumed their activities. The General States, i.e., the assembly of all regional representations, was granted a limited form of governmental participation.

Immediately after the Great Privilege, Mary also granted separate charters to the diverse cities. For Bruges specifically the charter stipulated that the ducal representatives were banned from the city magistrature; that Sluis recognized Bruges as district head and that the Franc lost its position as fourth member of Flanders, and became subordinate to Bruges.

During the two years following, a French invasion into Artois, Hainaut and southern Flanders was constantly threatened. Mary sought protection in her fiancé, Archduke Maximilian of Austria, the son of the Holy Roman Emperor Frederik III. The princely couple was married by proxy

¹⁰ Prevenier, Blockmans (as in n. 1), 141-155, 242-251.

¹¹ Gilliodts-Van Severen (as in n. 1), VI, 51-59; Blockmans (as in n. 3), 220.

¹² Blockmans (as in n. 3), 221-223; Id. (ed.), 1477. *Het algemene en de gewestelijke privilegiën van Maria van Bourgondië voor de Nederlanden, Standen en Landen*, LXXX, Courtrai, Heule, 1985.

on 21 April 1477. Four months later, the archduke arrived in the Netherlands, and a year later, on 22 June 1478, the heir Philip the Fair was born. Maximilian, supported by Flemish troops, defeated the French army in the battle of Guinegate on 7 August 1479.

On 27 March 1482, Mary of Burgundy fell off her horse during a hunting party. She died at the age of 25. Maximilian was acknowledged as regent by most Burgundian lands, except by Flanders, which wanted the four-year old Philip as its sovereign. The Flemings recognized Maximilian only as guardian (mambour) of his children. This attitude inaugurated an escalating conflict between the Flemish cities and the archduke, which would determine the history of the Low Countries for the next ten years.¹³

The Burgundian court was itinerant, as the dukes liked to travel from one residence to the other.¹⁴ Bruges was one of their favorite cities. Philip the Good continuously expanded and remodelled the Prinsenhof, his castle in the city.

Some of the most important festive events of the Burgundian era were held in Bruges.¹⁵ On these occasions, both the court and the city magistrature outdid themselves to organize the most splendid festivities. On 7 January 1430, Philip the Good married his third wife, Isabella of Portugal, in Bruges. He founded the famous Order of the Golden Fleece on this occasion. Two years later, the knights of this honorable order were again assembled in Bruges for the second chapter meeting, which was held in the Church of St. Donatian. In 1468 and in 1478 more chapter meetings were held in Bruges, the former in the Church of Our Lady, the latter in St. Savior's.

Charles the Bold married Margaret of York, the sister of the English king, Edward IV, in Bruges on 3 July 1468. The festivities for this wedding were the most lavish staged during the fifteenth century. The

¹³ On this tumultuous period in Flemish history, see W.P. Blockmans, "Autocratie ou polyarchie? La lutte pour le pouvoir politique en Flandre, d'après des documents inédits, 1482-1492," *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis*, CXL (1974), 257-368. Recently the effects of these historical developments on artistic production in Bruges was discussed in H.J. Van Miegroet, *Gerard David, Antwerp, 1989*, *passim*.

¹⁴ A day-by-day calendar of the whereabouts of the Burgundian court is found in H. vander Linden, *Itinéraires de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne (1419-1467), et de Charles, Comte de Charolais (1433-1467)*, Brussels, 1940; *Id.*, *Itinéraires de Charles, duc de Bourgogne, Marguerite d'York et Marie de Bourgogne (1467-77)*, Brussels, 1936; *Id.*, *Itinéraires de Marie de Bourgogne et Maximilien d'Autriche (1477-1482)*, Brussels, 1934.

¹⁵ Many of these were described by contemporary or non-contemporary chroniclers, see Kervyn de Lettenhove (ed.), *Georges Chastellain, Oeuvres*, 8 vols., Brussels, 1863-66; H. Beaune, J. d'Arbaumont (ed.), *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche, Maître d'Hôtel et Capitaine des Gardes de Charles le Téméraire*, 4 vols., Paris, 1883-88; J. Calmette, G. Durville (ed.), *Philippe de Comynnes, Mémoires (1464-1498)*, 3 vols. Paris, 1924-25; J. de Jonghe (ed.), N. Despars, *Chronijcke van den lande ende graefscpe van Vlaenderen (405-1492)*, 4 vols., Bruges, 1842.

banquets, tournaments, and parties lasted for ten days. More than 150 artists were invited to make the decorations for this event.

The dukes were often festively welcomed in the city. Sometimes distinguished guests accompanied them on these triumphal entries. In 1457, for instance, Philip the Good brought the French dauphin, the future Louis XI, to Bruges, and in 1463, he was accompanied by the fugitive Queen of England.

Both Philip and his grand-daughter died in Bruges. The duke was temporarily buried in the Church of St. Donatian, after a solemn funeral procession; Duchess Mary was permanently interred at Our Lady's.

By the middle of the twelfth century, Bruges had evolved as one of the most important commercial centers north of the Alps.¹⁶ Although during an uninterrupted period from the 1440s to the 1470s the city was booming, its commercial importance was on the wane, and soon Antwerp was to take over as the most prominent center of commerce and finance.¹⁷ The gradual sanding of the Zwin, the connection between Bruges and the North Sea, played a serious role in this development. Repeatedly, grand but ineffective water works were undertaken to remedy this dramatic geographical evolution.¹⁸

Another reason for the increasing vulnerability of the city's economy was the lack of industrial and economic diversification. International trade, financing, and the production of luxury goods like fine cloth, were naturally lucrative activities, but highly interdependent. Unlike Antwerp, the Bruges market was apparently not flexible enough to convert its activities toward the trade of colonial commodities, which gradually became more important.

The foreign merchants in Bruges were all grouped in colonies or nations according to their nationality or city of origin. These foreign nations all had their offices or loggias in the city, which often served as their

¹⁶ J.A. Van Houtte, "The Rise and Decline of the Market of Bruges," *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser., XIX (1966), 29-47; Id., (as in n. 1), 79-105, 163-192.

¹⁷ On this evolving position, see Gilliodts-Van Severen (as in n. 1), vol. IV-VI, passim; Id., *Cartulaire de l'ancienne Estaple de Bruges; Recueil de documents concernant le commerce intérieur et maritime, les relations internationales et l'histoire économique de cette ville*, 4 vols., Bruges, 1904-1906; Id., *Cartulaire du Grand Tonlieu de Bruges*, 2 vols., Bruges, 1908-1909; H. Van Werveke, *Brugge en Antwerpen. Acht eeuwen Vlaamsche Handel*, Ghent, 1941; Van Houtte (as in n. 16), 29-47; H. Van der Wee, *The Growth of the Antwerp Market, II*, The Hague, 1963, 3-282; W. Brulez, "Brugge en Antwerpen in de 15e en 16e eeuw: een tegenstelling?" *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, LXXXIII (1970), 15-37; Id., "Bruges and Antwerp in the 15th and 16th centuries: an antithesis?," *Acta Historiae Neerlandicae*, VI (1973), 1-26 (English translation of previous article); J. A. Van Houtte, R. van Uytven, "Het sociaal-economisch leven, 1300-1482: Nijverheid en handel," *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, IV, Haarlem, 1980, 87-111; Van Houtte (as in n. 1), 163-192.

¹⁸ M. Ryckaert, A. Vandewalle, "De Strijd voor het behoud van het Zwin," in V. Vermeersch, *Brugge en de Zee, van Bryggia tot Zeebrugge*, Antwerp, 1982, 51-70; Prevenier, *Blockmans* (as in n. 1), 18-20.

consulates.¹⁹ They held their religious services in the convents of the mendicant orders. Four loggias were located in the Vlamingstraat: that of the Genoese, which still exists (Pl. 1), and those of the Florentines, the Venetians and the Lucchese.

The merchants of the Hanseatic League (also called Easterlings) had one of their four headquarters in Bruges.²⁰ They imported mainly organic products, such as grain, charcoal, wood, tar, and fur, and shipped luxury textiles back to Prussia, the Baltic, and the western part of Russia. During the fifteenth century, the business relationship between Bruges and the Hanseatics was disturbed several times by unrest in Flanders, disputes of increased taxes, and piracy. The Hanseatics moved their office four times and blocked off all trade with Flanders in 1436-38, 1451-57, 1484, and 1488-93.

The English merchants were assembled in the Merchant Adventurers.²¹ They traded mainly in wool, which they first stocked in Calais. From there, large amounts of English wool were shipped to Bruges.

The commercial contacts with the Mediterranean markets were also extensive in Bruges.²² The Catalan nation was already established there by 1330. Castilians received business privileges in 1348, and about 40 years later the Portuguese were officially established in the city. The Spanish nations mainly traded in fruit and Spanish wool.

¹⁹ The activity and organization of foreign merchants in Bruges has been discussed in J. Marechal, *Europese aanwezigheid te Brugge (XIVe-XIXe eeuw)*, Bruges, 1985.

²⁰ On the Hanse, see Dollinger, (as in n. 3); J. Marechal, "De betrekkingen tussen karmelieten en Hanzeaten te Brugge van 1347 tot 1523," *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis*, gesticht onder de benaming Société d'Emulation te Brugge, C (1963), 206-227; *Die Hanse: Lebenswirklichkeit und Mythos*, [exh.cat.], 2 vols., Hamburg, Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte, 1989.

²¹ On political and economic relations between England and the Low Countries, see M.R. Thielemans, *Bourgogne et Angleterre: Relations politiques et économiques entre les Pays-Bas bourguignons et l'Angleterre 1435-1467*, Brussels, 1966; J.H. Munro, *Wool, Cloth and Gold. The Struggle for Bullion in Anglo-Burgundian Trade, 1340-1478*, Brussels, Toronto, 1973. The Merchant Adventurers were studied by W.E. Lingelbach, *The Merchant Adventurers of England, 1902* (reprint New York, 1971); E. Carus-Wilson, "The Origins and Early Development of the Merchant Adventurers," *Economic History Review*, IV (1932-34), 147-176; L. Lyell, F.D. Watney, *Acts of Court of the Mercer's Company 1453-1527*, Cambridge, 1936.

²² On Hispano-Flemish commercial contacts, see J. Finot, "Etude historique sur les relations commerciales entre la Flandre et l'Espagne au moyen âge," *Annales du Comité flamand de France*, XXV (1899), 1-360; L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Cartulaire de l'ancien Consulat d'Espagne à Bruges*, 2 vols., Bruges, 1901-1902; J. Marechal, "La Colonie Espagnole de Bruges du XIVe au XVe siècle," *Revue du Nord*, XXXV (1953), 5-40. For trade with Portugal, see E. van den Bussche, *Flandre et Portugal. Mémoires sur les relations qui existèrent autrefois entre les Flamands de Flandre particulièrement ceux de Bruges et les Portugais*, Bruges, 1874; O. Mus, "De Brugse compagnie Despars op het einde van de 15de eeuw," *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis*, gesticht onder de benaming Société d'Emulation te Brugge, CI (1964), 5-118.

The Italian nations, especially the Genoese, the Lucchese and the Venetians, played a prominent role in Bruges. They imported silk, oriental spices and sugar-cane.²³ They were known first as specialists in finance and monetary trade.²⁴ The Florentine Medici bank had its most important foreign branch in Bruges between 1439 and 1490.²⁵ Until 1464, Angelo Tani headed it; later Tommaso Portinari took over this position. The presence of this bank in Bruges was a significant financial support for the Burgundian dukes.

Already by the end of the thirteenth century, northern Italians contributed to the development of a money market of European preeminence in Bruges. Many financial techniques of exchange and credit were introduced here. The first stock exchange in the world was established in the house of the De Beurze family on Vlamingstraat, next to the Genoese Loggia (Pl. 1). The amount of money involved in the financial trade exceeded that of the trade in commodities by far.

How was the economic climate during the period considered here? The general standard of living was much higher between 1440 and 1470 than before or after.²⁶ Large sections of the population were able to afford meat, dairy products and grain on a regular basis. The price of grain was always subject to fluctuation due to variations of the harvest.²⁷

²³ On commercial relationships between Flanders and Italy in the fifteenth century, see J. Finot, "Etudes historiques sur les relations commerciales entre la Flandre et la république de Gênes au moyen âge," *Annales du Comité flamand de France*, XXVIII (1906), 1-384; R. de Roover, "La communauté des marchands Lucquois à Bruges de 1377 à 1404," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, LXXXVI (1949), 23-89; W.B. Watson, "The Structure of Florentine Galley Trade with Flanders and England in the Fifteenth Century," *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Philologie en Geschiedenis*, XXXIX (1961), 1073-1091; XL (1962), 317-347.

²⁴ Prevenier, Blockmans (as in n. 1), 100-103; R. de Roover, *The Bruges Money Market around 1400*, Brussels, 1968.

²⁵ A. Grünzweig, *Correspondance de la filiale de Bruges des Medici*, 2 vols., Brussels, 1931; R. de Roover, *Money, Banking and Credit in Mediaeval Bruges. Italian Merchant-Bankers, Lombards and Money-Changers. A Study in the Origins of Banking (The Mediaeval Academy of America, LI)*, Cambridge, Mass., 1948; Id., *Oprichting en liquidatie van het Brugs filiaal van het bankiershuis der Medici*, (*Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten, Klasse der Letteren*, XV, no. 7), Brussels, 1953; Id., *The Rise and Decline of the Medici Bank*, (*Harvard Studies in Business History*, XXI), Cambridge, Mass., 1963.

²⁶ For a detailed discussion of the standard of living between the 1440s and 1480s, see W.P. Blockmans, G. Pieters, W. Prevenier, R.W.M. van Schaek, "Het sociaal-economisch leven, 1300-1482: Tussen crisis en welvaart, sociale veranderingen 1300-1500," *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, IV, Haarlem, 1980, 56-86; Prevenier, Blockmans (as in n. 1), 191-196.

²⁷ For agriculture in Flanders during this period, and for the evolution of food prices, see A. Verhulst, "De prijzen van graan, boter en kaas te Brugge," *Dokumenten voor de Geschiedenis van Prijzen en Lonen in Brabant en Vlaanderen*, I, Bruges, 1959; IIA, Bruges, 1965; Id., *Bronnen en problemen betreffende de Vlaamse landbouw in de late middeleeuwen (XIIIde-XVde eeuw)*, (*Studia Historica Gandensia*, no. 17), Ghent,

Nevertheless, in the period 1439-1477 only once, in 1456-57, were the prices unusually high. Between 1478-1492, food prices inflated to an unprecedented height, while wages did not follow the same upward movement. The period of 1440-1470 was the only time throughout the Burgundian era that lower social classes were able to recuperate from periods of shortage.²⁸

The favorable economic climate of the period of 1440-1470 was sustained by a strong currency and mild taxation. The former was a result of the unification of the monetary system in the Burgundian Netherlands by Philip the Good in 1433.²⁹ During the period of 1416-33, prior to the reform, the currency was repeatedly devalued. Due to increasing external conflicts and a deterioration of the general economic climate, the currency was again subject to frequent devaluation between 1474-96.

The tax load followed a similar pattern.³⁰ During the years between 1456 and 1471, taxes increased by about 30% in comparison to the period of 1439-55. However, between 1472 and 1494, the tax burden was augmented by 300%. Evidently, this increase was related to the huge costs involved in the ongoing military campaigns and the formation of a permanent professional standing army under Charles the Bold.

The thriving economy of the years between 1440-1473 created a favorable climate for the production and consumption of luxury goods in Flanders. In comparison to the beginning of the century, the trade volume had doubled in the Netherlands.³¹ Evidently, since much money was circulating, the demand for new possibilities of investment emerged.

Bruges attracted many artists and artisans from all over the Netherlands and abroad. A rich variety of highly specialized craftsmen, such as furriers, hatters, jewelers and goldsmiths practised their trade here.³² Leather of Cordoba and Prussian amber were processed in the city. Around the middle of the century, the Bruges jeweler, Jan van Berchem, developed a new method of cutting diamonds, which enhanced their brilliance spectacularly.³³

1964; M.J. Tits-Dieuaide, *La formation des prix céréalières en Brabant et en Flandre au XVe siècle*, Brussels, 1975.

²⁸ Prevenier, Blockmans (as in n. 1), 196.

²⁹ P. Spufford, "Coinage, Taxation and the Estates General of the Burgundian Netherlands," *Anciens pays et assemblées d'états. Standen en Landen*, XL (1966) 63-88; Id., *Monetary Problems and Policies in the Burgundian Netherlands 1433-1496*, Leiden, 1970; J. A. Van Houtte, R. van Uytven, *Het sociaal-economisch leven, 1300-1482: Financiën*, "Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden, IV", Haarlem, 1980, 112-127.

³⁰ Prevenier, Blockmans (as in n. 1), 193.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 282.

³² *Ibid.*, 88-91.

³³ *Ibid.*, 91.

Not only was the city a commercial center of European stature, that counted many potential patrons amongst its wealthy merchants, financiers and specialized craftsmen, it was also a favorite dwelling of the Burgundians, one of the most luxury minded courts of the Western world.

The loss of economic momentum in the middle of the 1470s was not immediately followed by a decrease in the production of works of art in Bruges. On the contrary, gauged from what is preserved, one gets the impression that artistic production even increased toward the end of the century, the demand for works of art being determined not by economic factors alone but by a broader cultural and social context. The market for illuminated devotional manuscripts, for instance, is closely linked to the degree of literacy and to the social diffusion of devotional practices. Moreover, the economic crisis first affected the weakest social classes, while the number of potential patrons did not immediately drop.³⁴ Other aspects of this apparent paradox between a declining economy and expanding production must be studied in a socio-economic context, and will be discussed in the following section.

The Burgundian policy of centralization was only reluctantly accepted by most Flemish cities. Nonetheless, due to the favorable economic climate, Philip the Good found a solid basis of support for his government. Especially in a commercial center like Bruges, where so many people profited financially from the prosperous tides, all resistance against the regime was soon overwhelmed by broad and loyal support. Therefore, it is not surprising that the luxurious court style was adapted and emulated by groups and individuals who owed their prosperity to the favorable political and economic climate.

³⁴ The latter would only be the case when Maximilian forced all foreign merchants to leave the city in 1484 and 1488; see J. Maréchal, "Le départ de Bruges des marchands étrangers (XVe et XVIe siècle)," *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis, gesticht onder de benaming Société d'Emulation te Brugge, LXXXVIII* (1951), 26-74. For the effects on artistic production in Bruges of this drastic drain of potential patrons, see Van Miegroet (as in n. 13), 95-141.

B. Socio-economic context: the Artist-client Relationship In The Corporative system

A rich source of artistic patronage in Bruges was obviously the ducal court. The large majority of the patrons who donated works of art to secular and ecclesiastic institutions belonged to what we would now call the city's upper and upper middle classes. They endowed religious services, made endowments, obtained sepulchral concessions and financed the decoration of churches and chapels. This financial elite consisted mainly of families whose members built up a respectable tradition of success in trade or corporative life. Many of them also played a prominent role in local politics as mayors, aldermen or councillors.³⁵ They often served on the board of charitable institutions, religious guilds and confraternities, and secular associations. Typical of this category of prominent Bruges citizens were Pieter Bultynck, Donaes de Moor and Willem Moreel. The Beurze, Biese, Dault, de Visch, de Vleeschauwer, De Witte, Metteneye, and Van Nieuwenhove families, amongst many others, were also part of this social class. Members of these families were the prolific patrons of the arts in the city. Their commissions will be discussed in the following chapters.

A few local aristocrats made remarkable careers at the court. The most famous of these is undoubtedly Louis of Bruges, Lord of Gruuthuse (c. 1420-92), who acted as councillor of the dukes, and who was a knight in the Order of the Golden Fleece. He became stadholder of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland between 1463-77, and from 1472, Earl of Winchester. He built one of the most splendid libraries of his time.

Also burghers, like Anselmus Adornes, Jan III de Baenst, and Paul van Overtvelt, made careers at the court. Adornes became a ducal advisor and was sent repeatedly on diplomatic missions to Scotland. Jan de Baenst became bailiff of Bruges. He was also a member of the Great Council by 1460, and in 1470 mayor of Bruges. Paul van Overtvelt started his career as secretary to Isabella of Portugal, became receiver of finances in 1442, and later a member of the Council of Flanders, and bailiff of Bruges.

³⁵ No systematic research has been done on the social stratification of the Bruges population in the fifteenth century. Initial research has been completed on this aspect of social history for the fourteenth century; see I. De Meyer, "De sociale structuren te Brugge in de 14e eeuw," in J.A. Van Houtte, H. Van Werveke, *Studiën betreffende de sociale structuren te Brugge, Kortrijk en Gent in de 14e en 15e eeuw* (Standen en Landen, LIV), Heule, 1971. For a generic approach of social stratification in Brabantine cities in the fifteenth century, see H. De Ridder-Symoens, "Beschavingsoffensief of verraad van de middenklassen? Discussie over H. Pleij, 'De sneeuwpoppen van 1511. Literatuur en stadscultuur tussen middeleeuwen en moderne tijd,'" *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, CVI/3 (1991), 426-429. Biographical and genealogical data have been collected about the social elite of Bruges; see J. Gailliard, *Bruges et le Franc*, 6 vol., Bruges, 1857-64.

Gruuthuse, Adornes, De Baenst, and Van Overtvelt, were all prominent patrons in Bruges. Their position was only rivaled by people like Tommaso Portinari, Hippolyte Berthoz, and to a lesser degree by Jan Vasquez. The latter three were foreigners residing in Bruges, all affiliated with the court: Portinari as representative of the Medici bank was one of the dukes' most important financiers; Berthoz as a financial advisor, and Vasquez as secretary of Isabella of Portugal.

Other foreigners in Bruges were usually involved in trade. Most of them contributed to the decoration of their nation's chapel. However, a few others, like Baptiste del Agnelli, and the brothers Giovanni and Michele Arnolfini, financed their own private foundations.

Evidently, the higher clerics often played a role as patrons of the arts in the institution to which they were attached. Canon Joris Van der Paele, Prior Jan Vos, or Abbot Jan Crabbe, are prominent examples of this group of patrons.

A last group of art patrons are brethren and nuns of charitable institutions, like Anthuenis Seghers, Agnes Casembrood, Jan Floreins, Adriaen Reins, and Jacquemine van Ossenbrugghe. Little is known about the social origin of these people; however, it is probably safe to assume that they had brought substantial personal possessions into their communities.

The social origin of artists in Bruges during the fifteenth century is even less documented. No systematic research has been done on this problem.

There was a tendency in most Flemish corporations to make the status of free master inheritable.³⁶ The corporative regulations usually stipulated that children of free masters had to pay only a fraction of the dues paid by the others. The Bruges corporation of the image-makers and the saddlers, reunited the painters, sculptors, cloth painters, glaziers, mirror makers, saddlers, and horse collar makers. The entrance fees in this corporation were established at £3 gr for foreigners (who first had to acquire citizenship), and £2 gr for Bruges citizens.³⁷ In addition, one had to give 12d to the religious guild, 12d to the dean and the inspectors, and 2d to the clerk. At the beginning of the apprenticeship one paid £1 gr and 26d. The remaining one pound was paid when free mastership was obtained. Children of free masters had to pay only the 26d to the guild, the dean, the inspectors, and the clerk.

³⁶ The pioneering study on this phenomenon is H. Van Werveke, *Ambachten en Erfelijkheid* (Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten, Klasse der Letteren) Brussels, 1942. See also Id., *Gent, Schets van een Sociale Geschiedenis*, Ghent, 1947, 50-52.

³⁷ For the regulations of the Bruges corporation of the image-makers, see D. van de Castele, "Documents divers de la société S. Luc à Bruges," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, 2e s,rie, XVIII (1866), 5-60.

During the fifteenth century, only about 24% of the newly accepted masters in the corporation of the image-makers were sons of members.³⁸ About 40% of the new members were half-free, which means that they had been apprenticed in Bruges. Somewhat more than 31% came from outside Bruges, and the origin of less than 5 % of the newly accepted masters is unknown.³⁹

In the annual lists of apprentices, often patronyms are given, and rarely also the profession of the apprentice's father.⁴⁰ One may deduce from these data that many apprentices were children of skilled workers, such as carpenters, brewers, butchers, leather workers, or barrel makers. Others were children of small retailers, like fruit vendors.⁴¹ Exceptions include Adriaan de Beelcke, who was the son of a scribe, Michiel Huszone and Joris Sprutenhove whose fathers were goldsmiths.⁴²

The social status of most artists must have been similar to that of other skilled workers. When active in public service, artists made roughly the same wages as construction workers, i.e., about 10d gr a day.⁴³ Nevertheless, successful artists, and certainly those who worked for the court, succeeded in obtaining a respectable position in society. In official documents some of them were called 'master.'

Two rare examples are known in Bruges of artists who became patrons themselves. In 1473, the painter Cornelis Bollaert and his wife Elisabeth obtained a sepulchral concession in the church of St. Giles.⁴⁴ Four years later they endowed an annual mass in the same church. In 1478, the famous illuminator Willem Vrelant, commissioned an altarpiece from his colleague Hans Memling, for the chapel of his guild.

³⁸ In some corporations the proportion of sons of members was as high as 80%, for instance, in the Ghent corporation of the brewers; see Van Werveke (as in n. 36), 1947, 52.

³⁹ Only from 1466-67 on, the admission lists of the corporation record whether newly accepted masters were sons of members, half-free, or foreigners. The total number of masters admitted in the corporation between that year and 1500 is 169 (40 sons of masters, 68 half-free, 53 foreigners, and the status of 8 is unknown); see A. Schouteet, *De Vlaamse Primitieven te Brugge. Bronnen voor de schilderkunst te Brugge tot de dood van Gerard David, I*, (Fontes Historiae Artis Neerlandicae, Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België), Brussels, 1989, 9. Schouteet's computation of the percentages is imprecise.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Van de Castele (as in n. 37), 90, 100, 114.

⁴² In chapter III, section A.2, a preliminary attempt is made to establish the wages of artists, as well as the prices of decorative and figurative painted, sculpted and embroidered works, and silverware.

⁴³ On Cornelis Bollaert, see Schouteet (as in n. 39), 55-64.

⁴⁴ As explained earlier, the scarcity of this type of documentation is due to specific practices of the local administration.

Various sources can be used in studying the artist-client relationship. First of all, the keuren or corporative regulations provide some indications, mainly about how artists were allowed to exhibit and sell their works. However, these sources are usually rather vague and unspecific. The many conflicts between the painters and the cloth painters, illuminators, glaziers and others, prove that they did not always comply with these regulations.

Other important sources are, of course, contracts made between artists and their clients. Very few of these have been preserved in Bruges for the period that interests us here.⁴⁵ Finally, legal proceedings will be consulted, and more specifically, the verdicts of the aldermen in these conflicts. For the period covering 1440-82, legal proceedings of major conflicts have been preserved for the years 1447-61, and 1465-70; those of minor conflicts only for 1473-74.⁴⁶

Corporative regulations were privileges granted by the city magistrature. They were meant to protect the interests of the members, mainly to assure the monopolies of the corporation as a whole and of its diverse divisions separately.⁴⁷ In addition, they restricted competition amongst members. Each Bruges image-maker was allowed to have one shop only.⁴⁸ No work could be sold on the street, and art dealers could only sell works in their inns, after approval of the corporation.⁴⁹

On 20 February 1459 (n.s.), the painters sued the cloth painters Berthelmeeuse Dringhenbeerch and Janne Vanden Gouden because they exhibited paintings.⁵⁰ The cloth painters were formally prohibited from keeping shops or counters. They could only sell works that had been commissioned from them, and even those could no longer be publicly exhibited.

⁴⁵ Corporative regulations, contracts, and legal proceedings were also used in the study of the emergence of the art market; see L. Campbell, "The Art Market in the Southern Netherlands in the 15th century," *Burlington Magazine*, CXVIII (1976), 188-198.

⁴⁶ See A. Vandewalle, *Beknopte Inventaris van het Stadsarchief van Brugge*, dl. I: Oud Archief, Bruges, 1979, 83, 85, no. 157 (Civiele Sentenciën Vierschaar), and no. 165 (Civiele Sentenciën Kamer).

⁴⁷ Campbell Article VI of the regulations, see Van de Castele (as in n. 37), 20. (as in n. 45), 191.

⁴⁸ Van de Castele (as in n. 37), 90, 100, 114.

⁴⁹ Van de Castele (as in n. 37), 20, no. VII and VIII.

⁵⁰ Van de Castele (as in n. 37), 28-30, no. XLV. The conflicts between the painters and the cloth painters were also discussed in D. Wolfthal, *The Beginnings of Netherlandish Canvas Painting: 1400-1530*, Cambridge, 1989, 6-8. Neglecting to take the Easter style into consideration, Wolfthal dated this document 1458.

In a new lawsuit of 31 August 1463, brought by the cloth painters and mirror makers against the painters, the aldermen revised this verdict.⁵¹ From now on all members were allowed to have a shop or a counter. The cloth painters could not work with oil paint.

On 3 February 1466 (n.s.), the Bruges magistrature ordered that all the image-makers restrict their exhibition space to one counter.⁵² Those who had no counter on the street side of their atelier were allowed to install one elsewhere, individually or with others. The cloth painters were allowed to display their work on or near the Sint-Jansbrug, a practice to which they were apparently accustomed.

Another issue upon which the aldermen had to make several decisions was the monopoly of making images, and the question whether miniatures could be imported from other cities. On 2 March 1403, they decreed that painting miniatures was not a monopoly of the image-makers, but that it was permitted to every one in the city who was able to do it.⁵³ Illuminated books and rolls could be imported and sold in Bruges, but the import of single leaf miniatures was prohibited. Apparently, many single leaves were imported from Utrecht and elsewhere. The aldermen prohibited this import again on 1 April 1426.⁵⁴ If books or rolls were written in Bruges, they also had to be illuminated there.

Although painting miniatures was still allowed to non-citizens, every illuminator had to sign his work with a housemark, which he had to submit to the dean of the image-makers. Clearly, through this measure the illuminators were placed under the guardianship of the image-makers.

On 17 August 1447, the application of oils, gold and silver with brushes was restricted to the image-makers.⁵⁵ Others were only allowed to use watercolors.

The earliest preserved accounts of the guild of the librarians (librariers) date from 1454. This was no corporation (ambacht), but a religious association (gilde), dedicated to St. John, which held its services in the

⁵¹ Van de Castele (as in n. 37), 32-33, no. L; Wolfthal (as in n. 50), 7.

⁵² Cf. doc. 75 in appendix. This document was unknown to previous authors.

⁵³ The conflicts between illuminators and others involved in production and trade of books were studied by W.H.J. Weale "Documents inédits sur les enlumineurs de Bruges," *Le Beffroi*, II (1864-65), 298-319; IV (1872-73), 111-9, 238-337; C. Vanden Haute, "Documents inédits concernant les libraires et maîtres d'école de Bruges," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, LIX (1909), 18-40; A. Schouteet, "Inventaris van het archief van de voormalige gilde van de Librariërs en van de vereniging van schoolmeesters te Brugge," *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis 'Société d'Emulation'*, C (1963), 228-269; A. Vandewalle, "Het librariërs-gilde te Brugge in zijn vroege periode," in *Vlaamse Kunst op Perkament*, [exh.cat.] Bruges, 1981, 39-43.

⁵⁴ Weale (as in n. 53), 238-244; Vandewalle (as in n. 53), 40.

⁵⁵ Cf. doc. 33 in appendix.

abbey of Eekhout.⁵⁶ This guild assembled every one involved in the production and trade of books.

On 27 June 1457 the aldermen emphasized the dependance of the guild to the corporation of the image-makers, and thus made their rules stricter.⁵⁷ Henceforth, all librarians had to be citizens. They had to submit a housemark, and pay a single contribution to the image-makers of 40s par. The sale of imported miniatures was prohibited unless they were bound in imported books. They were allowed to exhibit their work on a counter, provided it was marked. Membership in the librarians' guild became mandatory for every one involved in manuscript business. Upon admittance to the guild one had to give 2 pounds of wax, and 1d gr to the clerk. The annual contribution was 6d gr for a man, and 3d gr for a woman.

The corporation of the image-makers limited competition amongst its members by restricting the exhibition space in shops and counters. They deterred external competition by prohibiting the import of works that were competitive to those made in Bruges. In fact, through these measures the corporation interfered in the relationship between the artists and their clients. The customer was also protected by the corporation's control of the quality of the work and the materials that were used. The members of the image-makers and the librarians were free to sell their work to whomever they wanted, provided they complied with the keuren.

The only persons who were exempted from all municipal and corporative restrictions were court artists. A verdict of 19 March 1472 in a conflict between the image-makers, as plaintiffs, and the court painter Pierre Coustain and his assistant Jan de Hervy, as defendants, provides more details about this exceptional status.⁵⁸ The image-makers accused Jan de Hervy of having worked for people who were not affiliated with the court, which was an infringement upon the keuren of the corporation. The aldermen decided that according to his status of "servant and courtier of my very redoubtable lord," Pierre Coustain and his servants, could work for the duke, the aristocrats at the court and all other courtiers, without violating the corporation's privileges. Jan de Hervy, who worked for people other than courtiers, had to become a member of the corporation and pay an admission fee of œ6 gr.

The rarity of contracts between Bruges artists and their clients for the period between 1440-82, is demonstrated by the fact that not one single example of an legal contract drawn up by a notary in the presence of witnesses has surfaced. Furthermore, there are only a few unilateral

⁵⁶ Vandewalle (as in n. 53), 41-43.

⁵⁷ Cf. doc. 54 in appendix.

⁵⁸ Cf. doc. 105 in appendix.

contracts, or statements by artists in which they committed themselves to execute a work.⁵⁹ Often, artists signed these with their housemark.

In such a document, the nature of the work as well as its destination were specified in rather generic terms. The dimensions were sometimes given. A verdict of 1449 in a conflict between the painter Daneel Martins and his client, Alfonse de les Baros, for instance, refers to dimensions given in the original contract.⁶⁰

Occasionally, a contract specified the iconography of the work to be executed, and also referred to other work by the artist, to a model he had submitted, or to an existing work which he had to follow. The glazier Pieter van den Dike promised in 1474 that he would execute stained glass windows for the Spanish merchants in the Church of the Observants that would be as good as those he had done some time before for Chancellor Hugonet.⁶¹

In 1482, Jan Hughezuene was to gild a crucifix and some other objects according to a design he had submitted, and promised he would carry out the work as well or better than an altar rail he had gilded for Maarten Lem.⁶²

Sometimes the contract emphasized the necessity of using materials of excellent quality. Van den Dike had to use "the most beautiful colors that are available."⁶³ In some instances, the patron promised to supply the necessary material to the artist. In 1470, the Church of Our Lady agreed to provide the goldsmiths Claes van Delft and Joris Huughzuene with gold for a reliquary of Saint Boniface.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Cf. doc. 116, 151, and 153 in appendix. The contents of contracts between artists and clients has also been studied by Campbell (as in n. 45), 192-194. This study is not based upon original archival research, but is a valuable collection of previously published material. However, some statements or remarks are disputable or ambiguous. For instance, there is no distinction made between types of documents or their origin. Administrative procedures were not the same everywhere in the southern Netherlands. Most of the material used in this publication to reconstruct a typical contract were charters passed before the Ghent aldermen of the Keure (published by E. de Busscher, *Recherches sur les peintres gantois du XIVE et XVe siècles*, Ghent, 1859), and therefore typical for specifically Ghent contracts only. Furthermore, Campbell stated that "it seems highly improbable that a contract was drawn up and registered every time a commission was placed. Private arrangements were assuredly made, and in such instances the artist would sometimes have had to send in an invoice when the work was completed"(p. 194). Concluding a contract is a private matter. Perhaps the author by private arrangements meant oral agreements or unilateral contracts, like those discussed here. No invoices have been preserved in Bruges. To my knowledge this practice was restricted to the financial administration of the court.

⁶⁰ See doc. 36 in appendix. This document will be discussed in more detail further on.

⁶¹ Cf. doc. 116 in appendix, in which the subjects of the stained glass windows are listed at the end of the contract.

⁶² Cf. doc. 151 in appendix.

⁶³ Cf. doc. 116 in appendix.

⁶⁴ Cf. doc. 96 in appendix.

The price of the work and the terms of payment were usually carefully stipulated. Payments could be made in installments, and from time to time part of the total sum was paid in kind, as when the painter Martins was partly paid in cloth and wool.⁶⁵

The deadlines for delivery were usually strict. The artist may have been paid less if he did not deliver his work on time.⁶⁶ Depending upon the size of the commission, the contract could specify subsequent deadlines for different parts. In these cases, payments were usually made in installments upon delivery. If a deadline was not met, the artist risked being sued. In this case, the aldermen often set a new deadline. They also established fines that were to be paid if the new terms were not met. Fines were generally divided between the duke, the city, and the patron.⁶⁷ When penalties were demanded, the artist had to put up his possessions as collateral or had to find a guarantor. On 3 October 1455, the painters Arnoud van Oppenbrouc and Jan de Momt promised before the Bruges aldermen that they would deliver an altarpiece to the Church of Westkapelle by Christmas, and a set of sculpted angels by 2 February 1456. On 10 March 1456, they were still not finished. They received another extension until Pentecost (16 May) for the angels, and until the feast of St. John (24 June) for the rest.⁶⁸

In contracts for very important and expensive works, the artist was asked to guarantee his work. In a contract between the provost and representatives of the chapter of Our Lady, and Marc Sproncholf, for the installation of a large organ in the church, the organ builder promised to guarantee the work as long as he lived.

Sometimes, differences between artists and clients turned into serious legal conflicts. On 7 October 1441, the aldermen of Bruges settled a dispute between the Bruges carpenter Cornelis van Aelter and representatives of the Abbey of Melrose in Scotland.⁶⁹ John Crowfort, representative of Melrose Abbey, and William Carebis, Scottish merchant residing in Bruges, accused Cornelis van Aelter of having broken a contract, which had been concluded several years prior. The carpenter was contracted for the installation of choir stalls in the church of the Scottish abbey. These had to be modeled after those in the Cistercian Abbey De Duinen near Koksijde. The misericords had to be fashioned after those in the abbey of Ter Doest. Van Aelter had been paid in full in advance, and the monks of Melrose insisted on the

⁶⁵ See doc. 36 in appendix.

⁶⁶ Cf. doc. 152 in appendix, for instance.

⁶⁷ Cf. doc. 94, for instance.

⁶⁸ Cf. doc. 50 in appendix.

⁶⁹ O. Delepierre, "Stalles de l'Abbaye de Melrose faits à Bruges," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, III (1841), 402-410; *Ibid.*, "Document from the Records of West Flanders, relative to the Stalls of Melrose Abbey," *Archaeologia*, XXXI (1846), 346-349; J. Steppe, M. Smeyers, J. Lauwerys, *Wereld van Vroomheid en Satire. Laatgotische Koorbanken in Vlaanderen*, Kasterlee, 1973, 36-37.

immediate completion and installation of the stalls in the choir of their church.

In his defense, Cornelis van Aelter stated that the contract had been drawn up just before the monetary reform of 1433, and that he had been paid in the old currency. However, he had paid for his employees and his materials in the new currency. Moreover, it had been necessary to use stronger and more expensive wood than originally planned. When he had started the work, the revolt of 1436-38 broke out in Bruges. All his employees ran off with their pay, leaving him in debt. Through these circumstances, he had been impoverished, and could no longer support his wife and children. Therefore, he was unable to finish the work if the Scottish monastery did not help him.

The stalls had been stored in the refectory of the Franciscan convent. It prevented the friars to use this space for several years. Cornelis offered to inspect the work in its present state of completion, so the plaintiffs would be convinced of its quality.

After this control took place, the aldermen reached a decision. First of all, the Scottish representatives had to pay £4 gr of rent to the guardian of the convent of the Franciscans. Furthermore, they had to pay for the transportation of the unfinished stalls to Sluis, and from there by boat to Scotland. Cornelis and his wood sculptor were to receive a safe-conduct that would enable them to travel to the abbey, to complete the work, install it, and return home without running the risk of being detained in Scotland. The Scottish had to give £2 gr to Cornelis's wife and children for their maintenance during the carpenter's absence. The plaintiffs also had to pay Cornelis's and his sculptor's travel expenses, food, and any damages they would suffer throughout their absence. The abbey of Melrose also had to provide workmen who would assist Cornelis van Aelter with the installation of the work. The carpenter had to avow before the aldermen that he would carry out the work under these conditions.

The dispute of 9 September 1449 between the painter Daneel Martins and the Spanish brother Alfonse de les Baros is another telling example of a severe legal conflict between an artist and his client.⁷⁰ The brother refused to accept a painting Martins had made for him. The plaintiff argued that the sizes were wrong and that the work was not made according to the stipulations of the contract. The aldermen appointed some advisors to visit the work and to make a report. They declared that Daneel had accomplished his work properly. Brother Alfonse was given

⁷⁰ Cf. doc Cf. doc. 71, 80, and 84. This case is not mentioned by J. Versyp, *De Geschiedenis van de Tapijtkunst te Brugge*, (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Schone Kunsten, 8), Brussels, 1954. Versyp does mention a certain Urbain du Gardin, active in Bruges in 1450 as tapestry merchant or maker, who may have been related to Camus; see *Ibid.*, 122. Camus du Gardin worked also for the court; see L. de Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne. Etudes sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XVe siècle*, Preuves, I, Paris, 1851, 500, no. 1947.. 36 in appendix.

until 14 October to accept the painting and to pay what he still owed to Daneel Martins. This payment was also a problem, since some of the amount had been paid in cloth and wool, the value of which was disputed. The aldermen decided that if De les Baros would still not accept the painting, that Martins could sell it to someone else, and that he would be allowed to keep all payments that had already been made. As a matter of fact, the brother did refuse the painting. On 11 November, the case appeared again before the Bruges aldermen. The plaintiff must have come up with new arguments, because the aldermen changed their verdict. They confiscated the painting and decreed that Daneel was to return £3 gr to De Les Baros. He was allowed to keep the other payments. After having reimbursed this sum, Daneel would receive the disputed painting back, and would be allowed to sell it to someone else. The case was probably settled, as no further trace is found in the court records.

Another lasting conflict was a dispute over tapestries between a certain Joos de Bul and Camus du Gardin, a tapestry maker from Lille.⁷¹ It is not known what exactly the problem was, but presumably Joos de Bul had commissioned tapestries from Camus, and the latter delivered him pieces that did not comply at all with Joos's desires. De Bul sued the tapestry maker for damages. On 12 December 1465, the aldermen confiscated the disputed tapestries. Two years later, on 22 September 1467, the tapestries were mentioned again. A certain Janne de Solier, to whom the confiscated tapestries apparently had been given, was prohibited to rent them out without the court's consent.⁷² By 24 March 1468, a settlement in Joos de Bul's favor was to be expected. In any case, Camus du Gardin officially declared at that time that he found two persons who would act as his guarantors in indemnifying the plaintiff. It is not known how this dispute was eventually settled.

More details are available on a conflict between the painter Cornelis Bollaert and the corporation of the blacksmiths.⁷³ The corporation had made a contract with Bollaert for a painting, but eventually they gave the commission to someone else, who started the work. Bollaert protested, and the board of the image-makers ordered the other painter to cease his work. The case was brought before the Bruges aldermen on 17 March 1470. They decided that the other painter should proceed with

⁷¹ Janne de Sollier may have been a dealer, although he is also not mentioned by Versyp (as in n. 71). He may have been related to Aquinet and Philippe Sellier (mentioned in 1480 and 1478 respectively; see *Ibid.*, 140).

⁷² Cf. doc. 95 in appendix. The case was also mentioned by J.P. Sosson, "Une approche des structures économiques d'un métier d'art: La corporation des Peintres et Selliers de Bruges (XVe-XVIe siècles)," *Revue des archéologues et historiens d'art de Louvain*, III (1970), 92, and Campbell (as in n. 45), 193, n. 60. On Bollaert see also, above n. 43.

⁷³ Cf. doc. 89 in appendix, and A. de Schrevel, "Fondation de Montbléru en la chapelle de St. Luc et St. Eloi, dite chapelle des peintres, à Bruges," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, XLVI (1896), 139-140.

his work, and they granted Cornelis permission to claim indemnities from the corporation of the blacksmiths.

Probably, conflicts between artists and their clients were fairly rare, as is suggested by the few instances found in archival sources.

The generous endowment of Willem, Lord of Montbleru, to the chapel of the image-makers illustrates a totally different aspect of the artist-patron relationship.⁷⁴ This chapel was built in 1450 in the Zilverstraat and dedicated to St. Luke.⁷⁵ In 1466, the Lord of Montbleru received fiefs and annuities from Philip the Good for a total value of £120 of 40 gr. (i.e., $\text{œ}20$ gr). With half of this sum he had to endow masses. Why Montbleru chose the chapel of the painters for this purpose is unknown. Perhaps he made this choice because by 1455 the eternal masses for the Lord of Isle-d'Adam were held here on the ordinance of the duke.

In his will, Montbleru bequeathed several ecclesiastic implements: a choir cope, four chasubles, two dalmatics, a chalice, albs, stoles, maniples and girdles, all decorated with his coat of arms. The legacy also included a missal, three velvet pillows, a silver gilt chalice with patens, two silver ampullas, a silver gilt easter board and two silver chandeliers. The masses that he endowed were financed through an endowment consisting of the annual revenue yielded by land in Walcheren, Zeeland, which Montbleru had obtained from Boudewijn of Burgundy, Lord of Lovendegem and Zomergem. He also had his tomb monument erected in the chapel.⁷⁶ In exchange for his generosity, Montbleru asked the corporation to erect an epitaph to commemorate him.

Recently, it has been suggested that the role of patrons was less important than one would think: to quote Campbell "probably a very small proportion of pictures were commissioned. Most, perhaps, were chosen by the patron from the artist's or dealer's stock".⁷⁷ Furthermore, the proportion of commissioned pictures would have been in a constant decline.⁷⁸ This tendency would be the main characteristic of an evolving

⁷⁴ Duclos (as in n. 1), 335, 516. The erroneous date 1452 (p. 335), was corrected in the corrigenda (p. 590).

⁷⁵ On this monument, see V. Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge voor 1578*, II, Bruges, 1976, 249-251, pl.117. In 1887, tomb paintings were discovered in this sepulcher, which is now entirely lost.

⁷⁶ Campbell (as in n. 45), 194.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 198.

⁷⁸ Specific aspects of the evolving commercialization of the Netherlandish art market were studied by J.C. Wilson, "The participation of painters in the Bruges 'pandt' market, 1512-1550," *Burlington Magazine*, CXXV/965 (1983), 476-479, and by L.F. Jacobs, "The Marketing and Standardization of South Netherlandish Carved Altarpieces: Limits on the Role of the Patron," *Art Bulletin*, LXXI/2 (1989), 208. Recently, study in this area of Netherlandish art has been evaluated by J.M. Montias, "Socio-Economic Aspects of Netherlandish Art from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century: A Survey," *Art Bulletin*, LXXII/3 (1990), 369.

commercialization of the art market. Related would be increasing specialization and extensive collaboration amongst artists. All of these developments would have been possible because the corporations began to relax some of their monopolies.⁷⁹

When these hypotheses are applied to the specific situation in Bruges during the fifteenth century, some seem correct, while others are open to question.

First, the corporations did not loosen their grip on their members; they increasingly assumed more power. As mentioned earlier, their unrealistic claims to greater monopolization often had to be limited by the Bruges aldermen in court verdicts.

Secondly, there are a few cases known in Bruges of collaboration between artists, mostly on large commissions.⁸⁰ Jan van Eyck, Willem van Tonghere and Jan van den Driessche worked together on the polychromy of statues on the façade of the city hall in 1434-35.⁸¹ Arnoud van Oppenbrouc and Jan de Momt worked for the Church of Westkapelle in 1455-56.⁸² Christiaen van den Brande and Jan Raes made an altarpiece for the chapel of the Bruges Franc in 1463.⁸³ Petrus Christus and Pieter Nachtegale supervised the construction of tableaux vivants in the streets of Bruges in the same year.⁸⁴ In 1470, the goldsmiths Claes van Delft and Joris Huughzuene worked jointly on a reliquary for the Church of Our Lady. These examples show that collaboration between artists indeed existed, and that it was not restricted to one specific medium. Yet, there is not enough available documentation to conclude that this phenomenon increased during the fifteenth century.

While it was "impossible to produce even approximate statistics" of the proportion of works produced for the open market versus those commissioned by patrons, nonetheless the suggestion has been made that works made for the open market by far outnumbered the others.⁸⁵ Where Bruges is concerned, not one available document exists which corroborates such a view. Nothing is known about the trade of works of

⁷⁹ Also Sosson (as in n. 73), 92, pointed this out.

⁸⁰ Cf. doc. 6 in appendix.

⁸¹ These two artists do not appear in the list of the corporation of the image-makers. It is not clear why Sosson (as in n. 73), 92, changed the orthography of their names to Arnoud van Nockenbrouck and Jan de Muenic, respectively. Campbell (as in n. 45), 193, who did not consult the originals of the documents he used in his article, followed this transcription.

⁸² Cf. doc. 66 in appendix.

⁸³ Cf. doc. 65 in appendix.

⁸⁴ Campbell (as in n. 45), 198.

⁸⁵ On the dissemination of Virgin and Child types, see D. De Vos, "De Madonna- en Kindtypologie bij Rogier van der Weyden en enkele minder gekende flemallegeske voorlopers," *Jahrbuch Berliner Museen*, XIII (1971), 60-161.

art on the annual markets in Bruges during the fifteenth century, for instance, except that only during these markets the import of works from outside the city was permitted.

It is true that regulations concerning the counters in the artists' workshops were constantly changing. While the existence of these counters suggests that there was indeed a production for the open market, it does not tell us anything about the magnitude of it, nor about its proportion in the total artistic production. Moreover, we do not know what was exhibited in these counters. Beside works for sale, there may have been models for people to choose from when they commissioned a popular scene, like a Virgin and Child.⁸⁶

Other socio-economic studies dealing with the origins of the art market in the Southern Netherlands do not use fifteenth century Bruges sources, or focus on other artistic centers altogether. Sosson, for instance, relied on documents postdating 1550 for considering the mass production of artistic work for the export to Spain.⁸⁷ Jean Wilson published important data on the organization of the free art trade in the Bruges pandt during the annual markets.⁸⁸ It is indicative that artists started to rent stalls in the pandt only in 1512, which suggests that no such form of organization existed before.⁸⁹

Probably Brabantine retables were largely made for the open market, and the role of the patrons of these works was limited.⁹⁰ But the mechanics of marketing sculpted retables in Brabant cannot be applied to the art market in the Southern Netherlands in general, or to the Bruges situation more specifically.

Furthermore, in the present discussion of the evolving art market, one should consider that several artists worked repeatedly for the same institutions, such as the city magistrature. Similarly, some artists, more than others, may have worked for the open market. Consequently, specific artists may have specialized in working for a specific type of clientèle. These hypotheses are formal logical deductions rather than proven historical facts.

⁸⁶ Sosson (as in n. 73), 91.

⁸⁷ Wilson (as in n. 79), 476-479.

⁸⁸ The renting of stalls did exist in Antwerp during the fifteenth century (see D. Ewing, "Marketing Art in Antwerp, 1460-1560: Our Lady's Pandt," *Art Bulletin*, LXXII/4 (1990), 558-584). This fact must be viewed in the context of the different situation of the Bruges and the Antwerp market; see above, n. 17.

⁸⁹ Jacobs (as in n. 79), 208-229.

⁹⁰ See, for instance, the substantial lists of books of hours produced in Bruges workshops such as those of the Masters of the Gold Scrolls, Willem Vrelant, and the Master of the Dresden Prayerbook, see G. Dogaer, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the 15th and 16th Centuries*, Amsterdam, 1987, 31, 103-105, 131. On the standardization of the production of Bruges books of hours, see L.M.J. Delaissé, "The Importance of Books of Hours for the History of the Medieval Book," *Gatherings in honor of Dorothy E. Miner*, Baltimore, 1974, 203-225.

It seems likely that three elements played a crucial role in the initial commercialization of the art market: the size of the object, its utilitarian function, and the medium in which it was made. It seems logical that the smaller a work, the more likely it would be sold on the open market. Objects that were used daily by many, such as books of hours and silver objects, were obviously produced in larger quantity than others. They were much more likely to sell than less utilitarian objects. Thus, the more frequently an object was used, the more likely it could be made without any specific patron in mind.

For books of hours this mechanism is obvious. Dozens of these devotional manuscripts were produced in Bruges during the fifteenth century, and this production became increasingly standardized.⁹¹ The texts that are sometimes personalized, such as the Marian prayers *Obsecro Te* and *O Intemerata*, are generally written in the masculine form, and instead of a name, the generic .N. is usually encountered.⁹² This way, they could be used by anyone. The calendar and the Office of the Virgin of these Bruges manuscripts were often written for the liturgical use of another city or diocese.⁹³ By the fourteenth century many books of hours written and illuminated in Bruges, were produced for the use of Sarum (i.e., Salisbury), for instance.⁹⁴ They were made for

⁹¹ I refer specifically to the words "ego sum facturus, locuturus aut cognitaturus" and "et michi famulo tuo .N." in the *Obsecro Te*, and "et esto michi misserimo peccatori" in the *O Intemerata*. On these prayers, see V. Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, II, Paris, 1927, 346-347; A. Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels et textes d'vots du moyen age latin. (Etudes d'histoire littéraire)*, Paris, 1932 (anastatic reprint, Paris, 1971), 488-490; R. S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified. The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, [exh. cat.], Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 1988, 94-96, 163-164.

⁹² On liturgical use of books of hours, see M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge, 1895, xxviii-xxxviii; F. M[adan], "Documents and Records: A Hours of the Virgin Mary (Tests for Localization)," *The Bodleian Quarterly Record*, III/no.25-36 (1920-22), Oxford, 1923, 40-44; Id., "The Localization of Manuscripts," *Essays in History Presented to Reginald Lane Poole*, (ed. H.W.C. Davis), Oxford, 1927, 5-29; E. K'nig, "Zur Lokalisierung von Stundenbüchern mit überregional verbreiteten liturgischem Gebrauch," *Das Münster*, XXXI (1978), 346-348; J. Plummer, "'Use' and 'Beyond Use,'" in Wieck (as in n. 92), 149-156.

⁹³ Late fourteenth and early fifteenth century examples of books of hours with Sarum Use were discussed in a paper read by M. Smeyers, "Pre-Eyckian Manuscripts: Mass Production and Workshop Practices, I," in *Colloque IX pour l'étude du dessin sous-jacent dans la Peinture*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 12-14 September 1991 (publication forthcoming); and by K. Smeyers, S. Vertongen, "Les manuscrits pré-eyckiens: production de masse et pratiques d'atelier, II," in *Ibid.* Later in the century, the Bruges workshop which Delaissé called "the Workshop of the Master of the Slit Eyes," seems to have illuminated many books of hours with Use of Sarum. Examples include The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 76F7; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. 10776, and New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 25; see L.M.J. Delaissé, *La Miniature flamande: Le mécénat de Philippe le Bon*, [exh. cat.], Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 1959, 104, 116, 164, nos. 100, 127 and 213.

⁹⁴ More substantial evidence for this statement is presented in chapter III, section A.1.

the English market or for Englishmen who stayed in Bruges. Consequently, this production was geared toward a specific group of clients and not produced for specific individuals.

The same probably holds true for silver objects. The wording of payments to silversmiths in the municipal accounts suggests that these artists were not always placed under contract, but that city officials often bought finished objects made for the open market, in their shops.⁹⁵

Another determining element in the commercialization of artistic production, was obviously the price of the materials in which works were made. It is noteworthy that cloth painters insisted fervently on obtaining the permission to have a counter upon which to exhibit their work.⁹⁶ The vivid discussions regarding the sale of single leaf miniatures indicate that this type of work was also sold in considerable quantities on the market. Evidently, also prints were sold in great numbers on the open market, as they became increasingly popular beginning in the 1470s.⁹⁷

The evolution of the Bruges economy, as described in the beginning of this chapter, suggests that the situation on the art market may have changed slowly after c. 1475, and more radically after 1482. It is logical to assume that these turning points in the general economic climate were also felt in the micro-economic environment of the Bruges art market, although confirmation in archival documentation is lacking.

A last hypothesis must be reviewed in the present context. Sosson formulated important ideas about the evolving art market in Bruges during the fifteenth century.⁹⁸ He believed that there was a steadily increasing mass-production, which stimulated the development of the open art market. This evolution seems to have been characterized by a concentration of labor force in fewer but larger workshops, while the number of masters and apprentices stagnated in Bruges.⁹⁹ This stagnation was partly caused by a regression in the immigration of for-

⁹⁵ See the aldermen's verdict of 31 August 1463 and doc. 75, both discussed above. The issue of canvas painting for the open market was, surprisingly enough, not dealt with by Wolfthal (as in n. 50).

⁹⁶ The production of prints in Bruges during the fifteenth century is a largely unexplored field. The most important printers in the city were William Caxton, Colard Mansion, and Jan Brito. For Caxton see more in chapter V, section A.4; on Mansion, see J. Van Praet, *Notice sur Colard Mansion*, Paris, 1829, and on Brito, see L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, "L'Oeuvre de Jean Brito, Prototypographe brugeois," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, XLVII (1897).

⁹⁷ Sosson (as in n. 73), 91-100.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 93-96, graph. 1.

⁹⁹ On immigration in Bruges, see R.A. Parmentier, *Indices op de Brugsche Poorterboeken*, 2 vols., Bruges, 1938; A. Jamees, *Brugse Poorters, opgetekend uit de Stadsrekeningen*, 3 vols., Handzame, 1874-1980. With this regression, the origin of the immigrants simultaneously shifted from a wide variety of places in the Netherlands and abroad to closer origins in Flanders; see Sosson (as in n. 73), 96; Blockmans, Pieters, Prevenier, Van Schaek (as in n. 26), 51-56.

eigners.¹⁰⁰ Sosson argued that the presumed concentration could be demonstrated by computing the distribution of apprentices amongst masters. This concentration would have been stimulated by an increasing demand for works of art.

Montias evaluated Sosson's hypothesis as a "pioneering and valuable contribution" but added some methodological comments.¹⁰¹ First, he doubted that the lists of masters of the corporation of the image-makers was as complete as that of the apprentices. I do not think that there are any serious gaps in these lists for the period between 1454 (when the lists start) and 1490. Most names that figure in these lists are also encountered in other archival sources, for instance, in the obituary of the guild.¹⁰² Moreover, only very few artists have been found whose activity is recorded in other sources, but who do not figure in these lists.¹⁰³

More fundamental is Montias's critique of Sosson's conclusions:

*Why should demand (that is, the number of panels demanded on the Bruges market at any price) have increased in a town that was suffering a contraction, if anything, in its business activity.*¹⁰⁴

The only possible explanation for this apparent contradiction can be found when one makes a distinction between an outward shift in the demand schedule (a true increase in demand) and a movement along the schedule (an increase in the quantity demanded as the price falls).¹⁰⁵

Assuming the hypothesis is correct, the enhanced production may not only have necessitated a concentration of labor. Eventually, it may also have caused a decrease in prices through which the demand for works of art increased. This mechanism would have allowed the artists to stabilize their incomes.

Montias also asked what happened to all the masters who did not have any apprentices? He assumed that these masters also worked in the other large studios, which is improbable.¹⁰⁶ Petrus Christus never had any other pupils than his own son Sebastiaen, who was not listed amongst the apprentices since he was a master's son.¹⁰⁷ Hans Memling accepted his first pupil, Jan Verhanneman, only in 1480, i.e., 15 years after he

¹⁰⁰ Montias (as in n. 79), 368.

¹⁰¹ Schouteet (as in n. 39).

¹⁰² Schouteet discovered only eight names in other sources; Ibid., 7.

¹⁰³ Montias (as in n. 79), 368.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., n.81.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., n.77.

¹⁰⁶ On Sebastiaen Christus, see Schouteet (as in n. 39), 163-168.

¹⁰⁷ Van de Castele (as in n. 37), 106, 392; ; C. Vanden Haute, *La Corporation des Peintres de Bruges*, Courtrai, 1913, 28.

settled in Bruges.¹⁰⁸ It is very unlikely that Petrus Christus and Hans Memling would have worked in the studios of other masters in Bruges before they had any apprentices.

Beside all these reservations, some other remarks must be made concerning Sosson's hypothesis. He studied the concentration of apprentices in workshops between 1454 and 1530, but did not take the constantly evolving character of this phenomenon into consideration. One apprentice entered a workshop, while another one having ended his apprenticeship may have left to become a free master in his own right, and may have accepted apprentices himself. What Sosson considered to be a workshop with five apprentices, may actually have been a workshop which had that many apprentices during its entire existence, but never simultaneously.

A crucial factor that has been overlooked thus far are the journeymen.¹⁰⁹ These were pupils who stayed in the workshop after their apprenticeship, because they were not able to become free masters or preferred not to. They are not separately listed in the archives of the corporation, but their number can be estimated. We have seen that about 40% of the free masters were people who were half-free, i.e., who had been apprenticed in Bruges, but were not sons of free masters. If one takes 40% of the newly accepted masters for a given period, and subtracts this amount from the total number of apprentices for the same period, one gets the number of people who never became free masters. The latter group is the estimated number of journeymen. For the well-documented period of 1454-90, the percentage of apprentices who remained journeymen was about 71%.

These journeymen were likely to stay in their workshop for a long period of time. Consequently, they represent a significant group in Sosson's proposed distribution of apprentices.

A last problem is again methodological in nature. Sosson claimed to discern an evolution toward larger workshops.¹¹⁰ Nevertheless he included all the available data for the period of 1454-1530 in one graph. An evolution can only be seen when this graph is compared to the distribution of apprentices in workshops during a segment of this period. I assumed earlier that the economic crisis that started c. 1475 must have had an influence on the development of the art market. Therefore it is significant to compare the distribution of apprentices over workshops during the period 1454-75 with that during the whole period 1454-1530. This comparison yields following results:

¹⁰⁸ For the relationship between the number of guild masters and the number of their apprentices and journeymen in another context, see Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century*, Princeton, 1982, 106-111.

¹⁰⁹ Sosson (as in n. 73), 99.

¹¹⁰ I would like to thank Joost Vander Auwera for discussing the statistical aspects of this issue.

A. Distribution of apprentices, 1454-75

	appr./ cumulative			cumulative			
	master	masters	%	%	apprentices	%	%
0	71		40.1	40.1	0	0	0
1	51		28.8	68.9	51	23.7	23.7
2	30		16.9	85.8	60	27.9	51.6
3	12		6.8	92.6	36	16.8	68.4
4	4		2.3	94.9	16	7.4	75.8
5	4		2.3	97.2	20	9.3	85.1
6	3		1.7	98.9	18	8.4	93.5
7	2		1.1	100.0	14	6.5	100.0
Total:	177				215		

B. Distribution of apprentices, 1454-1530 (after Sosson)

	appr./ cumulative			cumulative			
	master	masters	%	%	apprentices	%	%
0	246		61.3	61.3	0	0	0
1	73		18	79.3	73	19	19
2	33		8.1	87.4	66	16.1	35.1
3	19		4.6	92	57	14.8	49.9
4	12		2.9	94.9	48	12.5	62.4
5	6		1.7	96.6	30	7.8	70.2
6	4		0.9	97.5	24	6.5	76.7
7	4		0.9	98.4	28	7.2	83.9
8	5		1.2	99.6	40	10.4	94.3
9	2		0.4	100	18	4.6	100
Total:	404				384		

These data can be plotted in a graph:

.G.SOSSON.PIC;6";4.333";Lotus PIC

The charts and the graph show that there was indeed an evolution toward larger and fewer workshops. Both evolutions are statistically significant. Although the period in chart B (1454-1530) is 3.45 times longer than that in chart A (1454-75), the total number of masters in B is only 2.28 times larger than in A, while the total number of apprentices is only 1.79 times. This discrepancy means that in comparison with period A, the number of masters decreased with factor 1.17, and the total number of apprentices dropped with factor 1.66. As there were less masters, there were also fewer workshops. The assumption that the number of masters and apprentices stagnated is therefore incorrect. The tendency to larger workshops, or to a greater concentration of apprentices, is proven by the following: The average workshop had three apprentices during period B, but only two during period A (see 50% limit). It is also important to note that during period A, 95% of the workshops in Bruges had six apprentices or less. This number increased significantly to eight or less for period B. Only after 1475 were there workshops that had eight or nine apprentices. Moreover, as the concentration of apprentices in workshops was smaller between 1454-75 than over the period 1454-1530, this evolution occurred especially after 1475. It must be noted that throughout the period 1454-1530, the number of workshops without any apprentices remained significantly high.

Although much more research still needs to be done on these socio-economic aspects of the history of Flemish art, especially for other centers of artistic production, some tentative conclusions can be drawn. During the period of c. 1440-82, most patrons of works of art in Bruges institutions belonged to the city's upper and upper middle classes. The artists who worked for them were generally people with a social status comparable to that of other skilled workers. About 24% of them were sons of members; 40% were others trained in Bruges, and about 31% were foreigners, attracted to the city for its high potential of clients. The working conditions of the artists were strongly determined by local political and economic circumstances, and by a series of corporative regulations. Only court painters were exempted from local restrictions. Other artists were allowed to have one shop, and exhibited part of their work in counters. External competition was deterred by prohibiting import of works similar to those made locally. The customer was protected by the corporation's control of the quality of the work and the materials that were used.

When someone commissioned a work from an artist, often a contract was drawn up. Although no such contracts have been found, we are informed through other sources about their content. They stipulated the nature of the work, its destination, and sometimes iconographical details and the dimensions. Occasionally, a model was submitted to which the contract would refer. Often the necessity of using materials of high quality was stressed. Each contract stipulated the price of the work and

the terms of payment, as well as the deadlines for delivery, and possible fines if the artist did not meet the stipulations of the contract. Serious conflicts between artists and their clients seem to have been quite rare. Recent suggestions that the role of patrons was increasingly less important, and that artists worked chiefly for the open market, can be accepted although with some revisions. Explicit documentary evidence for change is lacking, but statistical analysis of the available sources seems to indicate that the art market was indeed undergoing transformation, especially during the last quarter of the century. A turning point may perhaps be situated c. 1475. Clearly the declining economy in the Southern Netherlands at that time contributed to this change.

Another aspect of this process toward a higher production for the open market was an increasing concentration of the labor force in fewer but larger workshops. First, this concentration allowed an enhanced production, but eventually also caused a decrease in the prices, which stimulated the demand for works of art.

Even though the open art market was increasingly significant during the second half of the fifteenth century, the importance of institutional and private patronage should certainly not be underestimated. Many works were still commissioned, especially those serving a public function. In the following chapters numerous examples of such commissions will be discussed.

CHAPTER II:

THE BURGUNDIAN COURT: State of Research

A. Bruges Artists in the Service of the Burgundian Court: the Documentary Evidence

In the early 1430s, Bruges became one of the favorite residences of the itinerant Burgundian court. Often the dukes chose the city as the site for such important festivities as weddings and chapter meetings of the Order of the Golden Fleece.

Evidently, Bruges artists profited from the regular presence of the ducal court. It stimulated the immigration of many foreign artists to Bruges, who were attracted by the possibilities of finding patrons. Moreover, the activity of court artists in the city created potential artistic exchange.

Philip the Good started his active patronage only when he attained the height of his political power, *i.e.*, around the middle of the 1440s.¹ From then on, he employed artists who developed an iconographical visualization of his personal myth, especially in manuscript illuminations and tapestries.²

Philip the Good, and his wife Isabella of Portugal, realized that the sumptuousness of their residences helped to consolidate their political power. Between 1446 and 1460, the duke expanded and remodeled the

¹ L.M.J. Delaissé, *La Miniature flamande: Le mécénat de Philippe le Bon*, [exh. cat.], Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 1959, 15; J.C. Smith, *The Artistic Patronage of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy (1419-1467)*, Ph.D. Columbia University, 1979, 21.

² *Ibid.*, 26-159. Smith discussed thoroughly very the diversity of this iconography and its political meaning.

Prinsenhof (Pl. 51).³ Some of the decorative work was entrusted to Bruges artists. The Bruges glazer, Antoon Ruyle installed stained glass windows in the gallery of the ducal apartments.⁴ His colleague, Jacob van Belle, sculpted decorative motifs in the ducal oratory, which was situated adjacent to the chapel.⁵ Tideman Maes delivered a statue of St. Anthony that was installed in a niche on the inner courtyard above the entrance to the baths.⁶

The niche above the main entrance of the ducal palace at Noordzandstraat, was decorated with a seated Madonna surrounded by angels. This sculpture can be seen in an engraving of the ducal palace in Sanderus's *Flandria Illustrata*.⁷ The sculpture had been installed by 1394-96, if not before.⁸ During Philip the Good's reign, a bust of the duke, accompanied by his coat of arms and the banners of the Burgundian lands, was placed on top of it. Later, Charles the Bold's motto, '*Je lay emprins*,' was added to it, as well as the two flanking statues representing St. Andrew and St. George.⁹

³ A. Zuylen van Nyevelt, *Episodes de la Vie des Ducs de Bourgogne à Bruges*, Bruges, 1937, 256-286.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 266-267; Smith (as in n. 1), 308, n.69.

⁵ Zuylen van Nyevelt (as in n. 3), 275.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 281.

⁷ A. Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata*, I, Cologne, 1641-44, 188; see also C. Butkens, *Trophées Sacrés et Prophanes du Duché de Brabant*, supplement I, The Hague, 1726, 22-23; L. Détrez, "Sanderus (1586-1644) et ses dessinateurs de la Flandria Illustrata," *Annales du Comité Flamand de France*, XLV (1954), 375-90.

⁸ Zuylen van Nyevelt (as in n. 3), 255.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 245-246, 288; Smith (as in n. 1), 313. This configuration of the duke's coat of arms, of all his territories and the two statues of St. Andrew and St. Georges, is also found in an engraving, preserved at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, Brussels, and attributed to the monogramist Master W.A. On this engraving, see M. Lehrs, *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstichs im XV. Jahrhundert*, Vienna, VII (1930), 72-76, no. 48; J.G. De Brouwere, "Les Grandes Armoiries de Charles le

Between 1456 and 1459, the chapel of the *Prinsenhof*, dedicated to St. Christopher, was remodeled and redecorated. The entrance wall, that of the apse, and the walls dividing the chapel from the private apartments were demolished and rebuilt.¹⁰ The construction of several windows made it possible to see the altar from the duke's living quarters.

Antoon Gossin carved a pulpit and an altarpiece for it.¹¹ During his 1521 visit to the Netherlands, Albrecht Dürer visited the chapel. He wrote in his diary that it was decorated by Rogier Van der Weyden, and that there was also work by "*ein groszen alten Meister*," about whom nothing else is known.¹²

Panofsky assumed that Rogier made this decoration in the "*dark interval*" of his career between 1 August 1432, when he left Tournai, and 20 May 1436, when he was officially appointed as city painter of Brussels.¹³ J. Duverger objected to this point of view, and remarked that Van der Weyden's appointment may have occurred earlier, and that his residence in

Téméraire ou de l'usage des estampes à sujet héraldique au XVe siècle," *Annuaire de la Société héraldique luxembourgeoise*, II (1949), 1-14; *Rijkdom van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België*, [exh.cat.] Brussels, 1958, cat. 72, 132-135.

¹⁰ Zuylen van Nyevelt (as in n. 3), 274.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 268; Smith (as in n. 1), 239.

¹² See J. Veth, S. Müller, *Albrechts Dürers Niederländische Reise*, I, Berlin, Utrecht, 1918, 77. These authors assumed that the paintings by Rogier mentioned here referred to the so-called *Miraflores Altarpiece* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen). For more on Dürer's visit to Bruges, see *Ibid.*, II, 113-117; J.A. Goris, G. Marlier, *Albrecht Dürer. Diary of His Journey to the Netherlands, 1520-1521*, London, Greenwich (Conn.), 1971, 86; *Albrecht Dürer aux Pays-Bas. Son voyage (1520-21), son influence*, [exh.cat.], Brussels, Paleis voor Schone Kunsten, 1977; Smith (as in n. 1), 241-243; see also chapter IV, section D.

¹³ E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character*, 2 vol., Cambridge, MA, 1953, 253. Smith (as in n. 1), agreed with this tentative dating, but admitted that Rogier may also have made this work in the context of the chapel's renovation of 1456-59.

Brussels is documented at least since 21 April 1435.¹⁴ Rogier must have lived for quite some time in Brussels before he was appointed to this office.

It is likely that "*Rudigers gemalt Cappeln*," as Dürer described it, was a mural decoration. If this supposition is true, Rogier could not have made this decoration before the renovation of the chapel in 1456-59, as most of the walls were demolished and rebuilt at that time.¹⁵ Similar mural decorations also appeared in other ducal residences. During the winter of 1432-33, Jan van Eyck executed wall paintings in a ducal palace, probably on the Coudenberg in Brussels.¹⁶ Colard le Voleur and some assistants painted an impressive cycle representing the *History of Jason* on the walls of the castle at Hesdin, which was later described by William Caxton.¹⁷

Some other paintings were kept in the ducal palace at Bruges. In 1515, an inventory was drawn up of the furnishings of the personal quarters of the duke, which was known as the *Hôtel Vert*.¹⁸ Thirty-one coats of arms

¹⁴ J. Duverger, "Enkele gegevens betreffende Rogier van der Weyden en zijn kring," *Internatiaal Colloquium Rogier van der Weyden en zijn tijd, 11/12 June 1974, Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten, Klasse der Schone Kunsten*, 1974, 93. Smith (as in n. 1), 243, n. 776, assumed incorrectly that Duverger concurred with Panofsky's hypothesis.

¹⁵ The hypothesis formulated by Smith (as in n. 1), 242, that Rogier's works "*were on canvas or on portable panels since they must have been removed, or carefully protected, during the structural renovations*," is unfounded. The totally altered disposition of the walls would have made reinstallation of such panels or canvasses impossible.

¹⁶ Duverger (as in n. 14), 96.

¹⁷ J. Munro (ed.), *The History of Jason. Translated from the French of Raoul Le Fevre by William Caxton*, London, 1913, 2. For this cycle, see also G. Troescher, *Burgundische Malerei*, I, Berlin, 1966, 105-106; inv. 14721 a-e; Smith (as in n. 1), 267; A.H. Van Buren, "The Model Role of the Golden Fleece," *Art Bulletin*, LXI/3 (1979), 359-376. Five drawings in Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, have been related to this cycle. They were attributed by Van Buren to Colard le Voleur.

¹⁸ Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, 1334514, no. 123974; published by J. Duverger, A. de Groote, "Werk van Hugo van der Goes en van Antoon van Dyck te Brugge," *Miscellanea Gessleriana*, Antwerp, 1948, 440, doc. II; E. Duverger, R. Hoozee,

of the knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece are mentioned, together with a large grisaille painting of the *Annunciation* by Hugo van der Goes.¹⁹ This painting can also be found in inventories of 1502 and 1504, but without the attribution to the famous Ghent master.²⁰ J. Duverger assumed that Hugo executed this grisaille *Annunciation* while he was in Bruges for the decorations of the wedding of Charles the Bold in 1468.²¹ This supposition is possible but absolutely not certain.

In the inventories of 1502 and 1504, some other paintings are mentioned, most of them on canvas: an image of the *Virgin with Two Angels*, a canvas representing *Three Goddesses*, and a painting with birds.²²

More pictures must have been kept in the residence at Bruges; however none of them has been preserved, and even the archival documentation on them is scarce. In 1467-68, the ducal treasurer, Jacques de Brégilles, moved several trunks filled with paintings and ecclesiastic implements from the treasury of the *Prinsenhof* to the Church of Our Lady.²³ Perhaps these objects were used during the ceremonies of the eleventh chapter meeting of the Golden Fleece.

Imaginair Museum Hugo van der Goes, [exh.cat.] Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 1982-83, 69, doc. XXVII.

¹⁹ This painting had been restored just before the inventory was made.

²⁰ Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, B 20158, nr. 155969-155970; see J. Duverger, de Groote (as in n. 18), 441-442, doc. III and IV; E. Duverger, Hoozee (as in n. 18), 71-72, doc. XXXIX-XL.

²¹ J. Duverger, de Groote (as in n. 18), 438-439.

²² *Ibid.*, 441-442. The heirs of the court painter Pierre Coustain claimed that these paintings belonged to them. They filed several requests to Archduke Philip the Fair, and to the Great Council, hoping to get their alleged property back. The verdict in this case is unknown.

²³ L. de Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne. Etudes sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XV^e siècle*, *Preuves*, I, Paris, 1851, 501, no. 1950.

For the funeral service of Philip the Good, held in the Church of St. Donatian in 1467, the court painters Jehan Hennecart and Pierre Coustain delivered 26 coats of arms of the late duke.²⁴ They were also paid for

*a panel of Denmark, on which the images of Our Lady and Saint John were painted in gold and fine colors, and for another panel with the arms of the said deceased, and for writing the epitaph, inscribed on the small frame between the two panels, £6 [of 40 gr.]*²⁵

No other data on paintings commissioned by the dukes in Bruges have surfaced.²⁶ Most work by painters recorded in the *recette générale des finances* of the chamber of accounts was purely decorative and heraldic. Pierre Coustain delivered, for instance, dozens of coats of arms for funerals of distinguished members of the court and other solemn occasions.²⁷

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 500, no. 1943. On the funeral of Philip the Good, see E.L. Lory, *Les Obsèques de Philippe le Bon, Duc de Bourgogne mort à Bruges en 1467*, Dijon, 1869; L. Lemaire, "La mort de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne," *Revue du Nord*, I (1910), 321-326.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 500, no. 1944.

²⁶ The panel representing *Isabella of Portugal with St. Elisabeth* (Bruges, Groeningemuseum, inv. 0.1614)(Pl. 2), attributed to Petrus Christus, is perhaps an exception. It has been related to an entry in the 1526 inventory of the collection of Margaret of Austria (see A. le Glay, *Correspondance de Maximilian I et de Marguerite d'Autriche*, II, Paris, 1839, 480). On this painting, see also M.J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting, I: The van Eycks - Petrus Christus*, (comments and notes by N. Veronée-Verhaegen), Brussels, Leiden, 1967, 108; P.H. Schabacker, *Petrus Christus*, Utrecht, 1974, 135-136, no.5; C. Eisler, "Petrus Christus by Peter H. Schabacker," *Art Bulletin*, LIX/1 (1977), 141; D. De Vos, *Catalogus Schilderijen 15de en 16de eeuw. Stedelijke Musea Brugge*, Bruges, 1979, 96-98; Smith (as in n. 1), 253-254; A. Janssens de Bisthoven, *Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeningemuseum). Brugge (De Vlaamse Primitieven, I. Corpus van de vijftiende-eeuwse schilderkunst in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, 1)*, I, 2nd revised ed. Brussels, 1981, 85-101, no.138. Smith correctly pointed out that the *St. Catherine*, also attributed to Petrus Christus (Brussels, private collection)(Pl. 3), cannot have belonged to the same triptych (amongst others suggested by De Vos, *Ibid.*, 96), as the latter painting is 20 cm shorter than the panel in Bruges.

²⁷ See, for instance, *Ibid.*, 481, 493, 510, nos. 1874, 1893, 1985.

Sometimes local painters were also employed for this type of work. In 1454, the Bruges painter, Jan Malkin, was paid for 50 shields for the funeral of Margaret of Burgundy, who was one of the duke's illegitimate daughters.²⁸ He was also asked to make 24 little shields that were hung on torches. He also decorated the interior sides of Margaret's tomb with fresco paintings: at the head, a *Crucifixion*; at the feet, a *Madonna and Child*, and at the sides, angels.²⁹

There are various reasons why relatively few paintings are known to have been commissioned by the Burgundian dukes.³⁰ First, the need for panel paintings was probably less substantial than might be expected.³¹ Once the altars in the chapels of the ducal residences had been decorated

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 438, no. 1608. On Jan Malkin, see also D. van de Castele, "Documents divers de la société S. Luc à Bruges," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, 2e série, XVIII (1866), 338.

²⁹ Laborde (as in n. 23), 438, no. 1609-1611. This iconography was standard for painted tombs, which remained largely unaltered from the twelfth until the sixteenth century. On this iconography, see W.P. Dezutter, "Grafchilderingen: Iconografie en religieuze spiritualiteit," in H. De Witte, P. Janssens, W. Dezutter (et al.), *Maria van Bourgondië Brugge. Een archeologisch-historisch onderzoek in de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk*, Bruges, 1982, 179-204.

³⁰ I am grateful to Prof. Anne H. van Buren, Prof. Antoine de Schryver, and Dr. Roger H. Marijnissen for discussing this issue with me. The conclusions, and possible misconceptions, are, of course, mine.

³¹ Smith (as in n. 1), 215-216, refuted the opinion that painting was less important at the court. In his discussion of this topic, he included all paintings which hypothetically may have been commissioned by the court. However, many of these hypotheses are unfounded. Examples of this include Jan van Eyck's *Tymotheos* (which Smith included in his list, but which he admitted was not necessarily a ducal commission), Van Eyck's Washington *Annunciation*, the fake *St. Jerome* in Detroit (on this, see R.H. Marijnissen, "On Scholarship. Some Reflections on the Study of Early Netherlandish Painting," *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten, Klasse der Schone Kunsten*, XL/4 (1978), 3-14), the lost painting of *St. Christopher* for which a drawing in the Louvre may be a study (on this drawing, see F. Lugt, *Musée du Louvre. Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du nord. Maîtres des anciens Pays-bas nés avant 1550*, Paris, 1968, 3-4, no. 5, pl. 3), and Petrus Christus's *Madonna of the Dry Tree* (see more about this painting in chapter V, section A.1).

with altarpieces, very few if any other large devotional paintings were needed.³²

Court artists and others, like Rogier van der Weyden, made portraits of the dukes and members of their family.³³ It must be noted that very few of these paintings can be related to archival documents, nor do they appear in the ducal inventories. The lost portrait of the Infante Isabella which Jan van Eyck made during his diplomatic mission to Portugal is about the only one that can be related to a document.³⁴ Nevertheless, it is obvious that many of these portraits must have been commissioned by the court. Others may have been made for city magistrates, or for local institutions.³⁵

Since the court was itinerant, it would have been impractical to carry many large paintings. Tapestries and other textiles, metalworks and illuminated manuscripts, on the other hand, were taken everywhere the dukes and their entourage went. It should be noted, however, that Philip the

³² The so-called lost *Batalha Altarpiece*, attributed to Rogier van der Weyden, may have been an exception. The ducal family possibly donated this triptych to the funerary chapel of John I, King of Portugal, and father of the duchess. On this painting, see J. de Figueiredo, "Un panneau inconnu de Roger van der Weyden?" *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, comptes rendus des séances de l'année*, (1913), 717-721; M. Sonkes, *Dessins du XVe siècle : Groupe Van der Weyden (Les Primitifs flamands, III. Contributions à l'étude des Primitifs flamands*, Brussels, 1969, 109-112; M. Davies, *Rogier van der Weyden - An Essay*, London, 1972, 197; Smith (as in n. 1), 246-247.

³³ For a typology of ducal portraiture, see Smith (as in n. 1), 279-331. Again, many of the portraits discussed here were not commissioned by the court: for instance, the wall painting in the chapel of the Groot Vleeshuis at Ghent (see *Ibid.*, 303-304; for more on this painting, see M.P.J. Martens, *De Muurschilderkunst te Gent. XIIde tot XVIde eeuw, (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Schone Kunsten*, 51, no. 46), Brussels, 1989, 138-149).

³⁴ W.H.J. Weale, *Hubert and John van Eyck, Their Life and Work*, London, 1908, lix-lx.

³⁵ Duverger (as in n. 14), 98. Although this is a very plausible hypothesis, documented examples of ducal portraiture made for local institutions are unknown.

Good owned at least one portable painting, which he kept in a leather container.³⁶

A last reason for the limited number of documented ducal paintings is merely heuristic. The apparent anomaly that no pictures are mentioned in inventories of the ducal collections, can be better understood considering the function of most of these inventories.³⁷ They listed metalwork and textiles, *i.e.*, smaller objects that could easily be moved or be stolen.³⁸ Moreover, objects made in precious metals were a source of immediately available capital: they could be easily melted down. Therefore, the weight of these objects is nearly always mentioned in the inventories. When a new treasurer was appointed, he could check the holdings in the collection against these inventories.

Large paintings were generally affixed, and thus generally considered as immobile objects, belonging to the interior where they had been installed. There was no need to include them in lists that enumerated easily movable and salable objects.

Although tapestries were made in Bruges during the fifteenth century, the city could not compete with such large production centers of luxury tapestries as Arras, Tournai, Brussels, and Oudenaarde.³⁹ However,

³⁶ J.M. Soyez, J. Gardelles, "L'activité artistique à Lille dans la première moitié du XVe siècle," *Revue du Nord*, LII (1970), 459; Smith (as in n. 1), 223.

³⁷ For inventories of the ducal collections, see Laborde (as in n. 23), II, 1-202, 235-278, 400-412. Not one painting is mentioned in these inventories.

³⁸ These remarks also hold true for inventories of ecclesiastic implements in the treasuries of churches and chapels, see mainly chapter IV and V, *passim*.

³⁹ On Bruges tapestries, see A. Pinchart, *Histoire générale de la tapisserie*, III. *Pays-Bas*, (completed by Jules Guiffrey), Paris, 1884; J. Versyp, *De Geschiedenis van de Tapijtkunst te Brugge*, (*Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Schone Kunsten*, 8), Brussels, 1954; G. Delmarcel, E. Duverger, *Brugge en de tapijtkunst*, [exh.cat.] Bruges, Gruuthuuseum, 1987. For fifteenth century Flemish tapestries in general, see amongst others R.A. d'Hulst, *Vlaamse wandtapijten van de XIVde tot de XVIIIde eeuw*, Brussels, 1960, 7-114; E. Duverger, "Wandtapijten en textiele kunsten," in H. Liebaers, et al. (ed.), *Vlaamse Kunst van de oorsprong tot heden*, Antwerp, 1985, 189-205.

Bruges was an important market for tapestries from these centers. Some tapestry merchants resided here, from whom the Burgundian dukes bought important tapestries, which they often presented as gifts.⁴⁰ In 1442, for instance, the Bishop of Nevers and Jehan Tronson bought a tapestry for the duke from Gregoire de Couchiz. It was "*historiated with three moralizing histories of the pope, the emperor and the aristocracy.*"⁴¹ Philip the Good presented this tapestry, which he bought for 918 francs and 15 shilling, to Pope Eugene IV.

On 18 October 1478, the Bruges tapestry merchant Philippe Selier sold five tapestries to Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy.⁴² Selier received the substantial sum of £1,014 12s of 40 gr. The lot included two tapestries with the story of the

Emperor Maximien, the first being thirteen yards long and six yards one quart and a half wide; and the other one eleven yards long and six yards one quarter and a half wide.

They were sold at a rate of 48s of 2d gr per yard. A third tapestry represented the *Magi*, and was meant to be hung in a church. It measured 35 3/4 yards. Neither the subject nor the dimensions of the fourth piece are mentioned in the document. The fifth showed the *Story of Absolon*, and measured 33 yards. The archducal advisor and chamberlain, the Lord of Yllain, accompanied these treasures to England, where he transferred them to the great chamberlain of the King.

The most important work that the court commissioned from Bruges sculptors, was the tomb monument of Philip the Good's first wife, Michèle of France, who died on 8 July 1422. This monument was erected in the

⁴⁰ On Bruges tapestry merchants, see Versyp (as in n. 39), 56-59.

⁴¹ Laborde (as in n. 23), 383, no. 1364; Smith (as in n. 1), 210-213. The latter author stated that perhaps a later version of this tapestry is now in the Cathedral of Tarragona.

⁴² A. Pinchart, *Archives des Arts, Sciences et Lettres, Documents Inédits*, I, Ghent, 1860, 20-21; Versyp (as in n. 39), 161.

abbey church of St. Bavo in Ghent.⁴³ The Bruges sculptor Gillis de Blackere started the project in 1433 and was repeatedly paid for purchasing materials until 1436, when he died. Gillis's colleague Tideman Maes, continued the task.

In 1443, the general receiver Gaultier Poulain, and the goldsmith Jean Peutin, visited Maes's workshop to check the progress of the work.⁴⁴ They ascertained that only the alabaster effigy of the duchess and four of the twenty pleurants had been finished. Some work had been done on the tabernacles that would be placed above the effigy and the pleurants. The actual marble sarcophagus, the epitaph inscriptions, two angels, and sixteen pleurants still needed to be made.⁴⁵ Based on these data, the monument must have closely resembled those of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless, made by Claus Sluter and his assistants at the Charterhouse of Champmol near Dijon. It is not known when Tideman Maes eventually finished the monument.

The dukes accumulated an impressive collection of jewelry, gold and silversmiths' work.⁴⁶ Many of these objects were given to the rulers by their subjects.⁴⁷ Others were made on commission by goldsmiths and other metal workers.

⁴³ On this monument, see Pinchart (as in n. 42), I, 120; Laborde (as in n. 23), 340-341, 352-353, 385-387, no. 1143, 1196, 1373; Smith (as in n. 1), 376-378. A small fragment of this tomb is preserved in the crypt of St. Bavon's Cathedral in Ghent; see A. van Lokeren, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Bavon et de la Crypte de Saint-Jean*, Ghent, 1855, 147, 178; F. de Potter, *Gent van den oudsten tijd tot heden*, V, Ghent, s.d. (1889), 371; E. Dhanens, *Inventaris van het Kunstpatrimonium van Oostvlaanderen, V. St.-Baafskathedraal*, Ghent, 1965, 115, no. 232.

⁴⁴ Smith (as in n. 1), 377, situated this event in 1442-43, as he neglected to take the easter style of the date of these ducal documents into consideration.

⁴⁵ Smith (*Ibid.*), assumed that the angels had been finished, and that they probably held coats of arms, a detail not mentioned in the document.

⁴⁶ See the inventories, quoted above, n. 35.

⁴⁷ Gifts to the dukes by the Bruges magistrature are amply discussed in chapter III, section A.

The goldsmith Jehan Peutin, who lived in Bruges, worked on several occasions for the duke and other notables of the court during the period between the 1420s and '40s. He made, for instance, six silver mugs that the duke gave in 1433 to Jan van Eyck at the baptism of his son.⁴⁸ The oldest preserved chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece, probably belonging to first chamberlain, Antoine de Croy, was most likely made by him.⁴⁹ Peutin also designed coins and seals for the duke.⁵⁰

Gerard Loyet, another celebrated goldsmith who lived in Bruges, became a court artist under Charles the Bold.⁵¹ He was mainly active in the 1460s and 1470s. His best known work is undoubtedly the *Reliquary of Charles the Bold* (Liège, Musée diocésain)(Pl. 4).⁵² This reliquary in chiselled

⁴⁸ Laborde (as in n. 23), I, 341-342, no. 1149. For other references to Peutin the ducal accounts, see *Ibid.*, I, 199, 201-204, 243, 263-265, 354, no. 676, 690, 820, 921-933, 1205; II, 212, 388, no. 4010, 4930.

⁴⁹ Roelx, Collection of Prince de Croy Roelx; A. J[ansen], in *De eeuw der Vlaamse Primitieven*, [exh.cat.] Bruges, Groeningemuseum, 1960, 215, no. 112; W. Prevenier, W. Blockmans, *De Bourgondische Nederlanden*, Antwerp, 1983, 136-137, pl. 107.

⁵⁰ H. Enno van Gelder, M. Hoc, *Les monnaies des Pays-Bas Bourguignons et Espagnols 1434-1713*, Amsterdam, 1960, 6-17; M. Hoc, "Het Gulden Vlies in de Munt-en Penningkunde," *West-Vlaanderen*, no. 65, XI (1962), 330-7; Smith (as in n. 1), 315. On coins minted during the Burgundian era, see also J. Taelman, *Munten en Penningen in Bourgondisch Vlaanderen. Van Filips de Stoute tot Maria van Bourgondië*, [exh.cat.] Bruges, Gruuthusemuseum, 1982.

⁵¹ A. Wauters, "Loyet, (Gérard)," *Biographie Nationale*, XII, Brussels, 1892-93, 535-536; "Loyet, (Gérard)," in U. Thieme, F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, XXIII, Leipzig, 1929, 423. For some new information of Loyet's later years, see H.J. Van Miegroet, "More News about Gerard David, Gerard Loyet and the Enigmatic Antheunis Huyghe," *Academiae Analecta*, XLVII/1 (1986), 79; *Id.*, "New Documents Concerning Gerard David," *Art Bulletin*, LXIX/1 (1987), 37.

⁵² On this reliquary, see Jean de Los, *Chronicarum rerum gestarum ab anno MCCCCLV ad annum MDXIV. Accadunt Henrici de Merica et Theodorici Pauli historiae de cladibus leoniensium an. MCCCCLXV-MCCCCLXVII, cum collectione documentarum ad res Ludovici Borbonii et Joannis Hornaci temporibus gestas. Edidit P.F.X. De Ram (Collection de chroniques belges inédites)*, Brussels, 1844, 66; Van den Steen de Jehan, *Essay historique sur l'ancienne cathédrale de Saint-Lambert à Liège et sur son chapitre de Chanoines-Tréfonciers*, Liège,

gold with enameled parts, represents Charles the Bold kneeling and holding the relic, a finger bone of St. Lambert. The duke is presented by St. Georges. The group is placed on a hexagonal silver gilt pedestal inscribed with the duke's motto *Je lay Empri[ns]*. Charles the Bold paid £1,200 of 40 gr for it to Gerard Loyet in 1466-67.⁵³

In 1471, Charles offered this reliquary to the Cathedral of St. Lambert in Liège --where it is still kept-- as a gesture of forgiveness of the city, which he had destroyed in 1468 after a rebellion. It has been noted that the figure of St. Georges is derived from the same saint in Jan van Eyck's *Madonna with Canon Van der Paele* (Pl. 16).⁵⁴ In 1469, Lieven van Lathem copied the whole

1846, 199-200; [O.J. Thimister], *Essai historique sur l'église de St.-Paul, ci-devant collégiale, aujourd'hui cathédrale de Liège*, Liège, 1867, 233-235, 366; Van de Steen de Jehay, *La Cathédrale Saint-Lambert à Liège et son chapitre de tréfonciers*, 2nd ed., Liège, 1880, 304 ff.; *Exposition de l'art ancien du pays de Liège. Catalogue officiel*, [exh.cat.], Liège, 1881, no.40; J. Helbig, "Une Oeuvre de Gérard Loyet, graveur de sceaux, orfèvre et valet de chambre du duc Charles de Bourgogne," *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, XXXI (1883), 271-278; J. Helbig, "Les Châsses de saint Domitian et de saint Mengold de l'ancienne collégiale de Huy. Le reliquaire offert en don expiatoire à la cathédrale de Saint-Lambert de Liège. Les auteurs et l'histoire de ces reliquaires," *Bulletin de l'institut archéologique liégeois*, XIII (1877), 238-244; *Exposition rétrospective d'art industriel organisée par le gouvernement (...)*, [exh.cat.], Brussels, 1888, no. 139; Cat.Bruges, 1902, no.44; *Exposition de l'art ancien au pays de Liège*, [exh.cat.], Liège, 1905, no.33; P. Durrieu, "Livre de prières peint pour Charles le Téméraire par son enlumineur en titre Philippe de Mazerolles (le Maître de 'la Conquête de la Toison d'Or')," *Fondation Eugène Piot. Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XXII (1916), 118-122; *Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art 1300-1900*, [exh.cat.], London, Royal Academy, 1927, no. 495; W. Burger, *Abendländische Schmelzarbeiten*, (*Bibliothek für Kunst- und Antiquitätensammler*, XXXIII), Berlin, 1930, 149; M. Devigne, *La Sculpture mosane du XIIIe au XVIe siècles*, Paris, Brussels, 1932, 109-110, pl. xxiv, fig. 108; *Art mosan et arts anciens du pays de Liège*, [exh.cat.], Liège, 1951, no.148b; *Le Grand Siècle des Ducs de Bourgogne*, [exh.cat.], Musée de Dijon, 1951, no. 175; *Bourgondische Pracht van Philips de Stoute tot Philips de Schone*, [exh.cat.], Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1951, no.253; *Le Siècle de Bourgogne*, [exh.cat.], Brussels, Paleis voor Schone Kunsten, 1951, no.232; S. Collon-Gevaert, *Histoire des Arts du Métal en Belgique*, Brussels, 1951, 344-345, pl. 89; J[ansen] (as in n. 49), 212, no. 109; *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization*, [exh.cat.], Detroit, The Institute of Arts, 1960, 298-300, no. 133; Van Miegroet, (as in n. 51), 1986, 79.

⁵³ Laborde (as in n. 23), 497-498, no. 1929.

⁵⁴ Helbig (as in n. 52), 1883, 271-278.

group in a miniature of the *Prayerbook of Charles the Bold* (Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, ms. 37, fol. 6).⁵⁵

In 1477, Gerard Loyet received payments of the arrears on his honorarium for four silver portrait figurines of Charles the Bold, who had just died.⁵⁶ The first two represented the duke in full armor kneeling on a pillow. One of them was donated to the Church of Our Lady at Aardenburg, the other one to the Church of Notre Dame de Grace in Brussels. Together these two silver figurines weighed 173 marks 1 ounce and 24.5 engels (*i.e.*, more than 42 kilograms).

Loyet was also paid for two portrait busts of the duke, the first of which had been donated to the Church of Saint Adrian in Geraardsbergen; the second one to Saint Sebastian's in Brussels. Like the figurines, these busts showed the duke dressed in armor, wearing a hat and his Golden Fleece chain. These works weighed together 78 marks 3 ounces and 21 engels (or somewhat more than nineteen kilograms).

B. The Contribution of Bruges Artists to the Production of Ducal Manuscripts

The Burgundian dukes were more active in collecting illuminated manuscripts than any other art form.⁵⁷ John the Fearless had left his son, Philip the Good, about 250 manuscripts, which the latter expanded to

⁵⁵ Durrieu (as in n. 52), 121. The *Prayerbook of Charles the Bold* will be discussed in a forthcoming article by A. de Schryver in the *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*.

⁵⁶ Laborde, (as in n. 23), 507-509, no. 1976-1977.

⁵⁷ For general information on the Burgundian library, see Delaissé (as in n. 1), 11-20, 44-46; G. Dogaer, M. Debae, *La librairie de Philippe le Bon*, [exh.cat.] Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 1967, 1-7; P. Cockshaw, et al., *Charles le Téméraire 1433-1477*, [exh. cat.] Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 1977, 3-18; T. Kren, *The Visions of Tondal from the Library of Margaret of York*, Malibu, 1990, 8-18.

nearly 900 titles, one of the largest libraries of the fifteenth century.⁵⁸ Many of these manuscripts entered the ducal collection as gifts; others were purchased. A considerable number of them were commissioned by the duke. These manuscripts were explicitly dedicated to him in the prologue, and often the frontispiece shows the author or editor of the text offering a copy to the duke.

Philip's library included a wide variety of literary genres: biblical and liturgical texts, theological and devotional treatises, didactic texts, chivalric literature, historical accounts and chronicles, and texts of classical authors.

Around the middle of the century, important changes took place in the production of ducal manuscripts. From then on, they were usually written in the typical Burgundian *littera bastarda*, a large elegant book type. This type required wider spacing in the ruling of the folios. As a direct result, large volumes became fashionable: there were fewer lines on a page, more pages in a volume, and often several volumes per title. With the illumination, this format and script are the main characteristics of Burgundian manuscripts. From about 1445 on, the duke also started to commission more literary manuscripts and fewer devotional texts. He ordered especially French translations of Latin texts.

⁵⁸ Dogaer, Debae (as in n. 57), 3. According to G. Doutrepoint, *La Littérature française à la Cour des Ducs de Bourgogne*, Paris, 1909, xlv, the duke's collection amounted to 876 codices. About 350 manuscripts have been preserved, 247 of which in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I in Brussels. These estimates are based on the preserved inventories of the Burgundian library. The most important of these inventories is that of 1420 (published by G. Doutrepoint, *Inventaire de la 'Librairie' de Philippe le Bon (1420)*, Brussels, 1906), and the one made after Philip the Good's death, see J.B.J. Barrois, *Bibliothèque prototypographique, ou Librairies des fils du Roi Jean, Charles V, Jean de Berri, Philippe de Bourgogne et les siens*, Paris, 1830, nos. 705-1612. The latter inventory is often incorrectly dated c. 1467. A more correct date for it is 1469, see P. Graz, "A propos du Trésor de Bourgogne," *Annales de Bourgogne*, XXI (1949), 81-87; A. de Schryver, "Notes pour servir à l'histoire du costume au XVe siècle dans les anciens Pays-Bas et en Bourgogne," *Annales de Bourgogne*, XXIX (1957), 31, n. 3.

Literature at the Burgundian court was chiefly a legitimation of the duke's privileged position as sovereign ruler of the Burgundian lands.⁵⁹ It was political propaganda based upon metaphors and analogies of the duke with the alleged founding fathers of the Burgundian dynasty, the counts of Flanders or the dukes of Brabant: Hercules, Clovis and Girart de Roussillon, and heroes of Classical Antiquity, like Alexander the Great, or Julius Caesar. Like Girart de Roussillon who opposed his feudal lord, Charles the Bald, Philip also fought for independence from the French king, against whom he held a grudge for the murder of his father. A typical example of this genre is the four volume *Histoire de Charles Martel* (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. 6-9).

Not all literature was plain propaganda. Some manuscripts were collected for the political value of the information they contained. Philip eagerly read travel descriptions of the middle east, like Jean Miélot's edition of the *Avis pour faire le passage d'outre-mer* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.fr. 9087). These *outre-mer* manuscripts, as this category is called in the 1469 inventory, were made in the context of the dukes's ambitious crusading plans.⁶⁰

Charles the Bold, driven by his interests in history and literature, continued to expand the magnificent collection of his father, but with less vigor, due to the political circumstances.⁶¹ As Count of Charolais, Charles already owned some manuscripts.

⁵⁹ The standard reference work on Burgundian literature remains G. Doutrepoint (as in n. 58), 1909.

⁶⁰ Doutrepoint (as in n. 58), 1909, 244-265; Barrois (as in n. 58), nos. 1520-1594; G. Dogaer, "Handschriften over de Kruistochten in de librije der hertogen van Bourgondië," *Spiegel Historiae*, II (1967), 457-465; Smith (as in n. 1), 112-159.

⁶¹ On Charles the Bold's manuscripts, see P. Cockshaw (as in n. 57). The doctorate of A. de Schryver, *De miniaturisten in dienst van Karel de Stoute*, Ph.D University of Ghent, 1957, has unfortunately never been published. Major parts of it can be found in *Id.*, "Lieven van Lathem, een onbekend grootmeester van de Vlaamse miniatuurschilderkunst," *Handelingen van het XXIIe Vlaamse Philologencongres*, Ghent, 1957, 338-342; F. Unterkircher, A. de Schryver, *Gebetbuch Karls des Kühnen vel potius Stundunbuch der Maria von Burgund (Codex Vindobonensis 1857 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek)*, Graz, 1969; A. de

Some codices that had remained unfinished after the death of Philip the Good, were completed under Charles the Bold. He also had new manuscripts made, and under his patronage, an entirely new genre evolved: the ducal ordinances. These were lavishly illuminated regulations of the ducal household and military levies.⁶²

The bibliophile interests of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold were widely emulated by other members of the court. The duchesses, Margaret of York and Mary of Burgundy, played a prominent role in the further evolution of the production of deluxe manuscripts in Flanders during the last quarter of the century.⁶³

Schryver, "Nicolas Spierinc, calligraphe et enlumineur des Ordonnances des états de l'hôtel de Charles le Téméraire," *Scriptorium*, XXIII (1969) (*Miscellanea F. Lyna*), 434-458; *Id.*, "Pour une meilleure orientation des recherches à propos du maître de Girart de Roussillon," *Internatiaal Colloquium Rogier van der Weyden en zijn tijd, 11/12 June 1974, Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten, Klasse der Schone Kunsten*, 1974, 43-82; *Id.*, "L'oeuvre authentique de Philippe de Mazerolles, enlumineur de Charles le Téméraire," *Cinq-Centième Anniversaire de la Bataille de Nancy (1477), Actes du colloque organisé par l'Institut de recherche régionale en sciences sociales, humaines et économiques de l'Université de Nancy II*, Nancy, 1977, 135-144; *Id.*, "Prix de l'enluminure et Codicologie. Le point comme unité de calcul de l'enlumineur dans 'Le Songe du viel pellerin' et 'Les faitz et gestes d'Alexandre' (Paris, B.N., fr. 9200-9201 et fr. 22547)," *Miscellanea Codicologica F. Masai dicata MCMLXXIX*, II, Ghent, 1979, 469-479.

⁶² De Schryver (as in n. 61), 1969 (*Miscellanea F. Lyna*), 434-458; T. Kren (ed.), *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts. Treasures from the British Library*, New York, 1983, 13-16, cat. 1.

⁶³ For Margaret of York as a collector of manuscripts, see K. Chesney, "Notes on Some Treatises of Devotion intended for Margaret of York (Ms. Douce 365)" *Medium Aevum*, XX (1951), 11-39; L.M.J. Delaissé, "K. Chesney, Notes on some treatises of Devotion intended for Margaret of York," *Scriptorium*, VII (1953), 174ff; *Marguerite d'York et Son Temps*, [exh.cat] Brussels, Banque de Bruxelles, 1967; G. Dogaer, "Margaretha van York, bibliofiele," *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Kring voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen*, LXXIX (1975), 99-111; Cockshaw, et al. (as in n. 57), 17-18, 98-102; M.J. Hughes, "Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy: Diplomat, Patroness, Bibliophile, and Benefactress," *The Private Library*, 3rd ser., VII (1984), 2-17, 53-78; C. Weightman, *Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, 1446-1503*, Gloucester, New York, 1989; Kren (as in n. 57), 8-18; *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and "The Visions of Tondal"*, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, forthcoming publication of the papers read on the symposium held in June 1990. Mary of Burgundy's patronage has not been the subject of a scholarly contribution, but it

Other courtiers also followed this example. Anthony, the Great Bastard of Burgundy, commissioned some very fine manuscripts, amongst which the so-called *Breslau Froissart* and the *Leipziger Valerius Maximus*, are the most famous.⁶⁴

Beside the dukes, Louis of Bruges, Lord of Gruuthuse was undoubtedly the greatest bibliophile in Flanders. He built a collection of which 129 codices have been preserved.⁶⁵ Some of these, like his version of the *Chroniques de Froissart*, must be counted amongst the finest manuscripts produced during the Burgundian era.⁶⁶

The patronage of the Burgundian dukes stimulated an unprecedented flowering of manuscript production in different centers of the Burgundian Netherlands, such as Bruges, Brussels, Ghent, Oudenaarde, Mons, Valenciennes, Hesdin, and Lille. Many editors, translators, scribes, miniaturists, and binders were involved in this intensive production. Jean Wauquelin, Jean Miélot, and David Aubert were prolific editors under

is mainly been discussed in the context of monographs on the illuminator named after her, see for instance, O. Pächt, *The Master of Mary of Burgundy*, London, 1948; G.I. Lieftinck, *Boekverluchters uit de Omgeving van Maria van Bourgondië*, 2 vols., Brussels, 1969.

⁶⁴ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Depot Breslau, ms. I; and Depot Breslau, ms. II. On these manuscripts, see F. Winkler, *Die Flämische Buchmalerei des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts*, 2nd revised edition, Amsterdam, 1978, 161. The role of Anthony of Burgundy as a patron of the arts still needs to be studied.

⁶⁵ The most important reference work on Louis of Gruuthuse's collection is still J. Van Praet, *Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, seigneur de la Gruuthuyse...*, Paris, 1831. Recently, a brief study of this collection was made by C. Lemaire, A. de Schryver, "De bibliotheek van Lodewijk van Gruuthuse," in *Vlaamse Kunst op Perkament*, [exh. cat], Bruges, Gruuthusemuseum, 1981, 207-272. I am collaborating on an exhibition which will be held in Bruges, Gruuthusemuseum at the end of 1992, in commemoration of the 500th anniversary of Louis of Gruuthuse's death. In this exhibition, questions related to the library of the famous Bruges bibliophile will be amply discussed.

⁶⁶ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.fr. 2643-2646; see *Vlaamse Kunst op Perkament*, [exh. cat], Bruges, Gruuthusemuseum, 1981, 249-252, no. 109.

Philip the Good.⁶⁷ Charles Saillot, Vasco de Lucena and Jean du Quesne translated classical texts into French for Charles the Bold.⁶⁸

Important miniaturists who worked for the court included Dreux Jehan, Jean Hennecart, Willem Vrelant, Loyset Liédet, Jan de Tavernier, Philippe de Mazerolles, Lieven van Lathem, and Nicolaes Spierinc.⁶⁹ Many of them remained anonymous: the Master of Girart de Roussillon, the Master of Wavrin, the Master of Margaret of York, and the Master of Mary of Burgundy.

⁶⁷ Delaissé (as in n. 1), attached much importance to the role of these 'editors' in the production of manuscripts. This view was questioned by De Schryver (as in n. 61), 1974, 63, and by P. Cockshaw, "De miniatuurkunst te Brussel tijdens de regering van Filips de Goede," *Rogier van der Weyden - Rogier de le Pasture. Officiële schilder van de Stad Brussel. Portretschilder aan het Hof van Bourgondië*, [exh.cat.] Brussels, Stedelijk Museum Broodhuis, 1979, 68. On Wauquelin, see E. Matthieu, "Un artiste picard à l'étranger, Jean Wauquelin, traducteur, historien et littérateur," *Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de Picardie*, 3 ser., X (1889), 333 ff.; L.M.J. Delaissé, "Les Chroniques de Hainaut et l'atelier de Jean Wauquelin à Mons, dans l'histoire de la miniature flamande," *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België*, IV (1955) (*Miscellanea Erwin Panofsky*), 21-56; A.H. Van Buren, "New Evidence for Jean Wauquelin's activity in the Chroniques du Hainaut and for the Date of the Miniatures," *Scriptorium*, XXVI (1972), 251-268. On Jean Miélot, see P. Perdrizet, "Jean Miélot, l'un des traducteurs de Philippe le Bon," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, XIV (1907), 472-482; G. Dogaer, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the 15th and 16th Centuries*, Amsterdam, 1987, 87-89. On David Aubert, see P. Cockshaw, "La famille du copiste David Aubert," *Scriptorium*, XXII (1968), 279-287.

⁶⁸ On Charles Saillot, see J. Bartier, *Légistes et Gens de Finances au XVe siècle - Les Conseillers des Ducs de Bourgogne, Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire*, (*Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, Mémoires in-8*), L fasc.2), Brussels, 1955, *passim*. On Vasco de Lucena, see C. Samaran, "Vasco de Lucena à la Cour de Bourgogne," *Bulletin des études portugaises et de l'Institut français au Portugal*, (1938), 13-26; R. Bossuat, "Vasque de Lucène, traducteur de Quinte Curce," *Bibliothèque de humanisme et renaissance*, VIII (1946), 197 ff; D. Gallet-Guerne, *Vasque de Lucène et la Cyropédie à la cour de Bourgogne, 1470, le traité de Xénophon mis en français (...)*, Geneva, 1947.

⁶⁹ Biographical entries with an up-to-date bibliography on all these artists can be found in Dogaer (as in n. 67). This reference work complements Winkler (as in n. 64), in which most of these artists are also discussed.

The contribution of Bruges artists to the production of ducal manuscripts was substantial. Of all the centers in the Netherlands, Bruges produced the most illuminated codices during the fifteenth century.⁷⁰ It was also the only city where all the craftsmen involved in the book trade were assembled in a guild, at least after 1454.

Bruges manuscripts are heterogeneous in appearance, due to the large production of different workshops, the great diversity of texts that were illuminated, and a variety of stylistic influences. However, a group of the best documented works by the most important illuminators active in Bruges provides an essential core for the study of manuscript production in Bruges.⁷¹

Some time before 1454, Willem Vrelant immigrated from Utrecht to Bruges, where he played a prominent role in the foundation of the librarians' guild.⁷² He spent the rest of his career in the city, and died there in 1481. He is generally identified --and I believe correctly-- as the enigmatic illuminator, called *Guillaume Wyelant*,⁷³ who was paid £72 of 40 gr in 1468 by the ducal financial administration for

⁷⁰ Delaissé (as in n. 1), 99.

⁷¹ Thus far only Delaissé (as in n. 1), 99-134, discussed the Bruges production for the duke. Somehow, this most prominent aspect of local manuscript illumination was ignored in the catalogue *Tentoonstelling van miniaturen en boekbanden*, [exh.cat], 2 vols., Bruges, 1927, and in the recent catalogue *Vlaamse Kunst op Perkament*, [exh. cat], Bruges, Gruuthusemuseum, 1981.

⁷² Most data pertaining to Vrelant's biography were published by W.H.J. Weale, "Documents inédits sur les enlumineurs de Bruges," *Le Beffroi*, II (1864-65), 301-302; IV (1872-73), 117, 253-328. His biography and work was discussed by V. Leroquais, *Le Bréviaire de Philippe le Bon. Bréviaire parisien du XVe siècle*, 2 vols., Paris, Brussels, 1929; J.D. Farquhar, "The Vrelant Enigma: is the style the man," *Quaerendo*, IV/2 (1974), 100-108; *Id.*, *Creation and Imitation. The Work of a fifteenth-century Manuscript Illuminator (Nova University Studies in the Humanities, I)*, Fort Lauderdale (FL), 1976; Dogaer (as in n. 67), 99-105 (with extensive bibliography). Some new documents pertaining to Willem Vrelant are discussed in chapter IV, section B.

⁷³ The misspelling of his name is easily understandable. Flemish names were often bastardized in French documents. The Bruges silversmith Jan van der Toolne, for instance, was called Jehan de la Tonne in the same ducal accounts (see Laborde (as in n. 23), 472, no.

*60 miniatures in different colors, that he has made in the second volume of the History of the Noble Princes of Hainaut, at the average price of 24s a miniature.*⁷⁴

The manuscript mentioned in this document is, beyond any doubt, the second volume of Jean Wauquelin's celebrated translation the *Chroniques de Hainaut* (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. 9243).

Philip the Good had commissioned this translation as early as 1446.⁷⁵ In 1448, Jean Wauquelin and the scribe, Jacotin du Bois of Mons, were paid for copying the first volume (ms. 9242). The second and third volumes (mss. 9243-9244) were written between 1448 and 1453. The illumination of the first volume, with the famous frontispiece miniature often attributed to Rogier van der Weyden, was probably executed around the same time. However, the second and third volumes remained unfinished when Charles the Bold inherited his father's library.⁷⁶

1831; chapter III, section B.2). Farquhar argues that 'Wye-' and 'Vre-' are totally different phonetic patterns (Farquhar (as in n. 72), 1976, 31). This remark is correct in Flemish, but not with respect to French pronunciation: a beginning-W is always pronounced 'V.' Vrelant's name is often found in Flemish archives as 'Vreylant' and variations of that (*Ibid.*, 31). The pronunciation of the Flemish 'Vrey-' (vowel as in *hair*) by a French-speaking person as 'Wry-' (vowel as in *near*) is natural. Moreover, the name *Wielant* must have sounded more familiar to the clerk of the ducal administration than the Netherlandish *Vrelant*. Jehan Wielant was the *greffier* of the Council of Flanders since 1439, and thus a well known figure at the court. His son, Philippe Wielant, became one of the most prominent members of the ducal Council from 1474 on; see E.I. Strubbe, "Philippe Wielant," *Biographie nationale*, XXVII (1938), 279; Farquhar (as in n. 72), 1976, 173, n. 46.

⁷⁴ Laborde (as in n. 23), I, 503, no. 1966.

⁷⁵ On this manuscript, see Winkler (as in n. 64), 24, 41, 44, 69, 165; Delaissé (as in n. 67), 21-56; Van Buren (as in n. 67), 251-268; P. Cockshaw (preface), *Les miniatures des chroniques de Hainaut (15ème siècle)*, s.l., 1979; Dogaer (as in n. 67), 63-67; F. Lyna, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, III/1 (ed. C. Pantens), Brussels, 1989, 9-25 (with complete bibliography).

⁷⁶ It is remarkable that they were not mentioned as such in the 1469 inventory; see Cockshaw, et al. (as in n. 57), 5.

Vrelant was employed for the illumination of several ducal manuscripts. However, only one other documented payment to him is known: the honorarium of £33 of 40 gr he received in June 1469 for 55 miniatures in a *Vita Christi*, i.e., at a rate of 12s per miniature.⁷⁷ Unfortunately, this manuscript has not been preserved. Therefore, the miniatures in the second volume of the *Chroniques de Hainaut* provide the only basis upon which all attributions to Vrelant can be made.

Since the publication of these two documents by Count de Laborde and Pinchart, a very large oeuvre has been attributed to Willem Vrelant.⁷⁸ Clearly many of these are works by his studio, others by followers or imitators of the Vrelant style, some of which were even active in centers other than Bruges.⁷⁹ Much more research needs to be done on this evolved heterogeneous group, especially on their codicological idiosyncrasies.

The frontispiece miniature of ms. 9243 (fol. 1) represents Philip the Good and his son Charles the Bold, accompanied by courtiers listening to someone reading from a book, presumably the *Chroniques de Hainaut* (Pl. 5). The duke, his son, and some of the courtiers wear the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece. A wall-hanging is suspended behind Philip's throne, decorated with flints and firestones, the duke's device.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ A. Pinchart, "Miniaturistes, Enlumineurs et Calligraphes employés par Philippe le Bon et Charles les Téméraire et leurs oeuvres," *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'Art et d'Archéologie*, IV (1865), 477.

⁷⁸ Dogaer (as in n. 67), 103-105, listed 95 manuscripts, amongst which 59 books of hours, which have been attributed to this group. Some mistakes in this list should be noted: Chicago, U.L., ms. 184, and Chicago, U.L., Ms. RBR.BX 2160-AI.14 are one and the same; London, B.L., Harley 2900, does not belong to this group, as it was made before c. 1435; the correct call numbers for Jacobus de Voragine, *La Légende dorée* are: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 672-675, and Mâcon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 3. Plate 64 in this book shows the frontispiece of ms. 9243, fol. 1, which is the work of Vrelant, and not of Loyset Liédet, as stated in the caption.

⁷⁹ Farquhar (as in n. 72), 1976, split off a number of manuscripts from the 'Vrelant-group,' based on codicological and stylistic characteristics, and situated their origin in northern France.

⁸⁰ On ducal heraldry and devices, see Smith (as in n. 1), 362-368.

It is puzzling why Vrelant, painting this miniature just before 1468, represented Duke Philip who died the previous year. And why did he show Charles as an adolescent, at a moment when he was already a man of 35 years old? Apparently, Vrelant situated this miniature around the time when the first volume of the *Chroniques* was completed, *i.e.*, c. 1450.⁸¹

Ms. 9243 was certainly not the first codex that Vrelant illuminated for the court. The same hand as that in the second volume of the *Chroniques de Hainaut* can be found in other manuscripts of the Burgundian library. Some of these may have originated before ms. 9243, for instance, the *Traité sur la Salutation Angélique* (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. 9270).⁸² According to the colophon of this manuscript (fol. 395v), it was translated into French by Jean Miélot, and copied by David Aubert in 1461.

The only miniature in this book was probably finished shortly later.⁸³ It represents Philip the Good kneeling in front of an *Annunciation*, situated in an open portico (Pl. 6). His *prieu-dieu* is decorated with his coat of arms. The tent behind him is embellished with the usual ducal devices: the flint and firestones, the Andrew cross, and the interlaced letters *EE* (*Eques Ecclesiae*).⁸⁴

Vrelant represented the duke here much younger than he actually was in 1461, apparently basing the likeness on a portrait that he had made

⁸¹ Lyna (as in n. 75), 17, assumed that this miniature was made while Philip the Good was still alive. If this supposition were true, the question remains why Charles is shown as a child.

⁸² Doutrepont (as in n. 58), 1909, 216; Winkler (as in n. 64), 71, 165; Leroquais (as in n. 72), I, 155; Delaissé (as in n. 1), 122, no. 141, pl. 48; Dogaer, Debae (as in n. 57), 50, no. 66; F. Masai, M. Wittek (eds.), *Manuscrits datés conservés en Belgique, Tome III: 1441-1460, Manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Bruxelles*, III, Brussels, Ghent, 1978, no. A 262, A 264; Dogaer (as in n. 67), 100, 105, 112; Lyna (as in n. 75), 321-324, no. 323, pl. XCI.

⁸³ This manuscript is mentioned in the 1469 inventory of the Burgundian library; see Barrois (as in n. 58), 127, 241, no. 741, 1683.

⁸⁴ On the meaning of the letters *EE*, see F. Deuchler, *Die Burgunderbeute. Inventar der Beutestücke aus den Schlachten von Grandson, Murten und Nancy 1476/1477*, Bern, 1963, 362; Smith (as in n. 1), 366-367.

some years earlier in the first volume of the *Breviary of Philip the Good* (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. 9511, fol. 398)(Pl. 7).⁸⁵ The latter miniature also shows the duke kneeling in front of a tent, in adoration of St. Andrew, the patron saint of Burgundy.

Beside these codices, the *Vie de Sainte Cathérine* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.fr. 6449), was also probably one of the earliest works illuminated by Willem Vrelant for the duke. He may have executed the illumination of this manuscript shortly after Jean Miélot finished the translation in 1457.⁸⁶

A reassessment of Willem Vrelant's work should begin with a thorough codicological and stylistic study of these ducal manuscripts. This study would undoubtedly clarify much of the complex nature of workshop procedures and the division of labor used by Vrelant during the 27 years of his long successful and influential career in Bruges.

In 1469, Loyset Liédet became a member of the Bruges librarians.⁸⁷ Before, he had been active in Hesdin, where he was strongly influenced by

⁸⁵ Noted by Lyna (as in n. 75), 322, who dates the portrait in ms. 9511 "*une quainzaine années plus tôt*," which seems to contradict his own dating of the Breviary, as c. 1460 (p. 309). On ms. 9511 and ms. 9026 (the Summer part of the same breviary), see Barrois (as in n. 58), 288, no. 2026-2027; Doutrepoint (as in n. 58), 1909, 212; Van den Gheyn, *Le bréviaire de Philippe le Bon. Reproduction des miniatures des mss. 9511 et 9026*, Brussels, 1909; Winkler (as in n. 64), 1925, 60, 166; Leroquais (as in n. 72); Delaissé (as in n. 1), 168-169, no. 224-225; Dogaer, Debae (as in n. 57), 22, no. 19; Dogaer (as in n. 67), 105; Lyna (as in n. 75), 305-311, no. 319. 319.2.

⁸⁶ See the colophon on fol. 110v. On this manuscript, see Barrois (as in n. 58), 179, no. 1212; P. Durrieu, *La miniature flamande au temps de la cour de Bourgogne*, Brussels, Paris, 1921 (2nd ed., 1927), 45-46; Winkler (as in n. 64), 71, 192; Delaissé (as in n. 1), 121, no. 139; Dogaer (as in n. 67), 103, 105.

⁸⁷ Weale (as in n. 72), IV, 278. The main studies on this prominent illuminator, are C. Dehaisnes, "Documents inédits concernant Jean le Tavernier et Louis Liédet, miniaturistes des ducs de Bourgogne," *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Art et d'Archéologie*, XXI (1882), 20-38; P. Durrieu, "Découverte de deux importants manuscrits de la 'Librairie' des Ducs de Bourgogne," *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes*, LXXI (1910), 58-71; F. Winkler, "Loyset Liédet, der Meister des goldenen Vliesses und der Breslauer Froissart," *Repertorium*

the Mansel Master and by Simon Marmion. He repeatedly worked for the court at least since 1460, when he was paid for the illumination of Jean Mansel's *Histoires romaines* (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 5087-88).⁸⁸ The reason that he established his workshop in Bruges is clear. Judging from archival documentation and from datable manuscripts, Liédet was overwhelmed with ducal commissions in the period from 1468 to 1472.

During this period, Charles the Bold sent the following unfinished manuscripts to Loyset's studio for illumination: the five volumes of *Renaud de Montauban*,⁸⁹ *La Vengeance de Nostre Seigneur Jésus Christ* in two volumes,⁹⁰ the third volume of the *Chroniques de Hainaut*,⁹¹ the two volumes of Philippe de Mazière's *Songe du Vieil Pelerin*,⁹² and the four volumes of David Aubert's

für Kunstwissenschaft, XXXIV (1911), 224-231; A. Lindner, *Der Breslauer Froissart*, Berlin, 1912; J. Van den Gheyn, *Christine de Pisan. Épître d'Othéa, déesse de la prudence à Hector, chef des Tryens. Reproduction des 100 miniatures du manuscrit 9392 de Jean Miélot*, Brussels, 1913; *Id.*, *L'Ystoire de Helayne. Reproduction des 26 miniatures du ms. 9967 de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, Brussels, 1913; Durrieu (as in n. 86), 21-22; Winkler (as in n. 64), 75, 78, 157, 161-173, 179, 186, 191-195, 198, 200, 209; L. Baer, "Liédet, Loyset," in U. Thieme, F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildende Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, XXIII, Leipzig, 1929, 204-205; F. Lyna, "Nog onbekende miniaturen van Liédet, van den Girartmeester, van Mazerolles en van Marmion, *Het Boek*, XVIII (1929) 33-48; *Id.*, Lyna, F., *De Vlaamsche Miniatuur van 1200 tot 1530*, Amsterdam, Brussels, 1933, 106-108; C. Gaspar, F. Lyna, *Philippe le Bon et ses beaux livres*, Brussels, 1944, 30; Delaissé (as in n. 1), nos. 63-70, 143-148, 150-157; *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization*, [exh.cat], Detroit, The Institute of Arts, 1960, nos. 202, 207; Dogaer, Debae (as in n. 57), nos. 32, 63-65, 108, 121, 131, 135, 169, 176, 198; Dogaer (as in n. 67), 107-112; A. de Schryver (as in n. 61), 1979, 469-479; A. de Schryver, et al., *Le Pontifical de Ferry de Clugny, Cardinal et Evêque de Tournai (Collezione Paleografica Vaticana, III)*, Vatican City, 1989, 24-80.

⁸⁸ H. Martin, *Les histoires romaines de Jean Mansel, illustrées par Loyset Liédet*, Paris, 1914; G. de Poerck, *Introduction à la Fleur des Histoires de Jean Mansel*, Mons, Frameries, 1936, *passim*.

⁸⁹ Vol. I-IV: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 5072-5075; vol. V: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, codex Gall.7.

⁹⁰ Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire Coll., ms.7310.

⁹¹ Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. 9244.

⁹² Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.fr. 9200-9201.

Histoire de Charles Martel.⁹³ Payment documents exist for all these manuscripts.⁹⁴

Some other unfinished books that Charles had inherited were illuminated by Loyset Liédet; however, no related documentary evidence has survived. These include the *Histoire de Troie* by Raoul Lefèvre,⁹⁵ the *Histoire d'Olivier de Castille*,⁹⁶ the *Roman de Gérard de Nevers*,⁹⁷ and several others.

Liédet also worked on new projects for Charles the Bold, some of which are documented. In 1468, he was paid for illustrating a *Bible Moralisé*.⁹⁸ In February 1470, he was remunerated for the illumination of the *Grandes Chroniques de France*,⁹⁹ and nine months later for a copy of Vasco da

⁹³ Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. 6-9. Fifteen leaves, detached from this manuscript, probably between 1796 and 1815, are now in Malibu, J.Paul Getty Museum, ms.Ludwig XIII.6. Another detached leaf is in Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, nr. 1345. On these volumes, see J. Van den Gheyn, *Histoire de Charles Martel. Réproduction des 102 miniatures de Loyset Liédet (1470)*, Brussels, 1910; Winkler (as in n. 87), 1911, 227; Winkler (as in n. 64), 75; Durrieu (as in n. 86), 1927, 25 ff.; Delaissé (as in n. 1), 124-126, no. 144-147; Dogaer, Debae (as in n. 57), 107, no. 161; Cockshaw, et al. (as in n. 57), 83-85, no. 6; Masai, Wittek (as in n. 82), IV, 20; A. Von Euw, J.M. Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, III, Cologne, 1982, 250-265.

⁹⁴ They were published by Laborde (as in n. 23), 501-502, 1951-1962; Pinchart (as in n. 77), 474-510; Durrieu (as in n. 87), 1910, 58-71.

⁹⁵ Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. 9261.

⁹⁶ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.fr. 12574; see M. Van Outryve, "Un manuscrit d'Olivier de Castille enluminé par Liédet (Paris, Bibl. Nat., fr. 12574)," *Scriptorium*, IV (1950), 240-243.

⁹⁷ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.fr. 24378.

⁹⁸ Laborde (as in n. 23), 501, no. 1954; Pinchart (as in n. 77), 475-476.

⁹⁹ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.fr. 2643; Pinchart (as in n. 77), 479; De Schryver (as in n. 61), 477-478, nos. 2.

Lucena's translation of Quintus Curtius Rufus's *Faictz et gestes d'Alexandre le Grand*.¹⁰⁰

Most of these books were historical accounts and chivalrous tales. Loyset Liédet usually illustrated them with a large number of miniatures. In the five volumes of *Renaud de Montauban*, for instance, he painted no less than 243 miniatures.

The *Histoire de Charles Martel* (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. 6) may exemplify his *oeuvre*. The prologue of this first volume mentions on fol. 9v that

Par le commandement et ordonnance ... de Phelippe ... duc de Bourgoingne ... cestuy volume et trois autres ensieuvans ont este grossez par D Aubert lan de grace mil xxxx lxiiij (1463)

Two years later, Aubert finished the calligraphy of the fourth volume. In 1469 this manuscript was still "*non lyés, ne historiés*."¹⁰¹ By then, Charles the Bold had already requested it to be illuminated.

In July 1468 a certain Pol Fruit received £6 2s for the illumination of decorative initials, paragraph marks and linefillers of the third volume.¹⁰² He was paid for two decorative initials on a golden ground of three lines in height, for 52 similar ones of four lines; for fifteen ones of five lines; 662 of two lines, and 1000 initials, paragraph marks and linefillers of one line.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.fr. 22547. Pinchart (as in n. 77), 480-481; De Schryver (as in n. 61), 478-479, nos. 3.

¹⁰¹ Barrois (as in n. 58), 225, no. 1596-1599.

¹⁰² Pinchart (as in n. 77), 476-477. Nothing else is known about Pol Fruit. He was not a member of the Bruges librarians' guild, and was thus most likely not a Bruges illuminator, as is usually stated in the literature (see n. 93).

¹⁰³ On prices for the illumination of decorative initials, see De Schryver (as in n. 61), 1979, 469-479.

The miniature on fol. 7 of the fourth volume is signed "Loyset L," a rare example of an artist's signature in a Flemish manuscript.¹⁰⁴ On 31 March 1472, the *garde des joyaux*, Jacques de Brégilles, was reimbursed after having paid for the illumination of the 43 miniatures in volumes III and IV.¹⁰⁵ In other words, the illumination of the *Histoire de Charles Martel* began between July 1468 and March 1472.

The opening miniature of the first volume (fol. 9) is a typical example of Loyset Liédet's work (Pl. 8). It shows *Philip the Good Visiting David Aubert's Scriptorium*. The main figures are situated in a building of which the front wall is removed. The protagonists are emphasized, giving clarity to the composition. Many more figures are situated outside in a sketchy landscape. Liédet's figures resemble wooden dolls or cartoon characters. Their expressions are stereotyped and blunt, while their gestures are unrestrained. A very striking stylistic characteristic is the lively use of contrasting saturated colors.

Despite the subject matter, most scenes in his work are situated in Flanders during the 1460s or 1470s. Therefore, these miniatures are a rich source of interesting details of architecture, interior design, costume, and other aspects of social life, such as dance, banquets, and so forth.

The miniatures in the codices illuminated by Loyset Liédet show great discrepancies in quality, obviously the result of collaboration of

¹⁰⁴ De Schryver (as in n. 87), 24-25, n. 34, states that this signature is the only example in Liédet's work. It is not clear why he does not consider the *LOYZIT*-inscription in the *Légende dorée* (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 672, fol. 88) as another example of Loyset Liédet's signature; see *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization*, [exh.cat], Detroit, The Institute of Arts, 1960, 379, no. 198. On the latter manuscript, see also J.M. Caswell, "A Double Signing system in the Morgan-Mâcon Golden Legend," *Quaerendo*, X/2 (1980), 97-112; *Id.*, "The Wildenstein Nativity, a Miniature from the Morgan-Mâcon Golden Legend," *Art Bulletin*, LXVII (1985), 311-316.

¹⁰⁵ Cockshaw (as in n. 75), 12. The date of this document is problematic. It may be 31 March 1472 (n.s.), *i.e.*, 2 days after Easter 1472, or 31 March 1472 (o.s.), *i.e.*, 18 days before Easter 1473; Cockshaw suggested that it must have been 1472, since the scribes of the Burgundian chancellery usually added "*avant Pâques*" when the date was situated in the critical period between 21 March (earliest possible date for Easter) and 25 April (last possible day). See E.I. Strubbe, L. Voet, *De Chronologie van de Middeleeuwen en de Moderne Tijden in de Nederlanden*, Antwerp, Amsterdam, 1960, 34, 126.

workshop assistants. Lyna pointed out that the lesser quality of some miniatures may have been a result of the enormous amount of work which the studio had, and the haste in which it had to have been executed.¹⁰⁶

These conditions also led to a simplification of the decoration. Liédet often omitted decorative borders in his work, which saved time and reduced the costs of manuscript illumination.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, by dropping marginal decorations, Liédet created a totally new esthetic of the illuminated page.

The omission of decorative borders may have been the result of Liédet's need to simplify his work. This simplification may also have been the reason why Liédet was so often employed. His work was cheaper than that of many of his colleagues and competitors. As mentioned earlier, Willem Vrelant received 24s per miniature for the second volume of the *Chroniques de Hainaut*. Although those executed by Liédet in the third volume of the same manuscript are usually somewhat larger, he was only paid at a rate of 18s per miniature. Often the average price of his work was even lower. The miniatures in the two first volumes of *Renaut de Montauban* all cost 18s apiece; those in volumes III, IV, and V only 16s.¹⁰⁸ In comparison, the court illuminator and *valet de chambre*, Dreux Jehan, received a pension of 12s per day until 1454, when his daily wages dropped to 8s.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Lyna (as in n. 75), 87.

¹⁰⁷ Delaissé (as in n. 1), 101, attributed this innovation to David Aubert. Dogaer (as in n. 67), 107, claimed that the omission of decorative borders is typical of Loyset Liédet's work produced in Bruges. This statement is not entirely correct. Some manuscripts which he decorated in Bruges do have decorative borders. I believe this issue must have been determined by the preference of the patron. In the manuscripts which he made for Louis of Gruuthuse, such as the two first volumes of the famous *Chroniques de Froissart* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.fr. 2643-2644), for instance, Liédet did include decorative borders.

¹⁰⁸ Pinchart (as in n. 77), 475-479. All these prices quoted from the accounts of the court are expressed in pounds of 40 groats (value= 1/6 of £ gr.)

¹⁰⁹ Laborde (as in n. 23), 437, no. 1604.

Another prominent miniaturist was Philippe de Mazerolles.¹¹⁰ Like Loyset Liédet, he too was of French origin. He probably settled in Bruges in 1467, when Charles the Bold appointed him as *valet de chambre*. In 1469, he became a member of the Bruges librarians' guild. He remained active in the city for the duke and other courtiers until his death in 1479.

In 1466, the Bruges Franc offered an unfinished Book of Hours written in gold and silver on black vellum to Charles, then still Count of Charolais. The following year, the magistrature of the Bruges Franc paid £120 par to Philippe de Mazerolles for the decoration of this manuscript.¹¹¹ In 1467-68, another payment of £300 par was inscribed in the accounts of the Franc for the illumination of this work.¹¹²

First published by James Weale, these documents were mistakenly thought to refer to a portion of the Viennese *Hours of Mary of Burgundy*.¹¹³ This misconception had serious consequences for later art historical research. Winkler, and many others after him, attributed the authentic *oeuvre* of Mazerolles to the "*Meister Antons von Burgund*," while he attached the name *Mazerolles* to what is in fact the work of Lieven van Lathem.¹¹⁴ In 1969, De Schryver rectified the error.¹¹⁵ He persuasively argued that the documents had to be related to the so-called *Sforza Hours*, which is also preserved in Vienna.¹¹⁶ The author reconstructed the biography and the

¹¹⁰ On this artist, see De Schryver (as in n. 61), 1969, 23 ff.; *Id.*, (as in n. 61), 1977, 135-144; *Id.*, in *Vlaamse Kunst op Perkament*, [exh.cat.] Bruges, Gruuthusemuseum, 1981, 249-258, nos. 109-110; Dogaer (as in n. 67), 120-124.

¹¹¹ Cf. doc. 74 and 78 in appendix.

¹¹² Cf. doc. 83 in appendix.

¹¹³ Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 1857; see Weale (as in n. 72), IV, 111-118.

¹¹⁴ Winkler (as in n. 64), 79-85, 88-93, 157, 161, 169, 172, 178, 186, 192, 195-197, 203, 208.

¹¹⁵ De Schryver (as in n. 61), 1969.

¹¹⁶ Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 1856; see n. 111.

work of Philippe de Mazerolles, and stressed the importance of French influence in his work, especially of Jean Fouquet. On documentary grounds, he also demonstrated that the work of exceptionally high quality that Winkler had attributed to Mazerolles was in fact the *oeuvre* of the influential Ghent illuminator, Lieven van Lathem.

In 1475, Mazerolles was paid for twenty-one copies of military ordinances issued by the duke two years earlier.¹¹⁷ Of the twenty copies that were distributed to the captains of the Burgundian army, five have been preserved.¹¹⁸ A sixth copy in the British Library has been tentatively identified as the duke's original; however, no firm evidence supports this assumption.¹¹⁹

The frontispiece miniature shows the ceremony of the appointment of the captains, presided by Charles the Bold (Pl. 9). In the decorative border, the arms of the duke's lands appear. His personal coat of arms is represented fully blazoned in the *bas-de-page*, as well as in a carpet in front of the throne. This miniature can certainly not be attributed to Philippe de Mazerolles. He must have delegated the execution of this work to an assistant, who is known as the Master of Margaret of York.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ De Schryver (as in n. 61), 1969, 23 ff.; *Id.*, (as in n. 61), 1977, 135-144; Kren (as in n. 62), 13-16, cat. 1; Dogaer (as in n. 67), 121.

¹¹⁸ Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliothek, ms. 113-2^o; The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, ms. 10 C 3; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. Gall. 18; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.fr. 23963; Vienna, Haus Hof und Staatsarchiv, ms. Böhm suppl. 1332.

¹¹⁹ London, British Library, Add.ms. 36619; see De Schryver (as in n. 61), 1977, 142. In a seminar held at the University of Ghent in 1981, Prof. de Schryver, pointed out some codicological elements that may support this identification. On the London manuscript, see Kren (as in n. 62), 13-16, cat. 1 (with complete bibliography).

¹²⁰ De Schryver (as in n. 61), 1977, 143; Kren (as in n. 62), 15, did not follow this attribution explicitly, but compared the hand of the frontispiece in the London volume to the master who illuminated the *Vie de Sainte Colette* (Ghent, Cloister of the Poor Clares, ms.8), a manuscript which is generally attributed to the Master of Margaret of York. On the latter manuscript, see C. Van Corstanje, Y. Cazaux, J. Decavele, A. Derolez, *Vita Sancta*

Vrelant, Liédet and Mazerolles were not the only Bruges illuminators who worked for the court, yet only works by these three can be related to archival documents.

Coletae (1381-1447), Tielt, 1982. On the Master of Margaret of York, see Dogaer (as in n. 67), 113.

C. Decorations for the Wedding of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York, 1468.

The most spectacular and extravagant event staged in Bruges during the Burgundian era was the wedding of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York, sister of Edward IV, King of England. By choosing the English princess as his third wife, Charles forged a firm coalition with the House of York against Louis XI of France.¹²¹

On 19 April 1468, Charles the Bold made his triumphal entry into Bruges. Between 8 and 10 May, the duke presided over his first chapter meeting as sovereign of the Order of the Golden Fleece at Our Lady's.¹²² For Bruges these events were grand preludes to the pageantry that the city would witness two months later.

Charles wanted his wedding to be the most splendid and grand celebration ever contrived in the Burgundian lands. The festivities started on Sunday, 3 July 1468, the actual day of the wedding, and lasted for ten days until Tuesday, 12 July. The court chronicler and *maître d'hôtel*, Olivier de la Marche, devised the plays and *entremets* that were held during the

¹²¹ On the political implications of this marriage, as well as on the diplomatic negotiations that preceded it, see J. Calmette, "Le mariage de Charles le Téméraire avec Marguerite de York," *Annales de Bourgogne*, I (1929), 193-214; R. Vaughan, *Charles the Bold: the Last Valois Duke of Burgundy*, New York, Glasgow, 1975, 44-53. On the wedding itself, see also P. de Ram, "Détails concernant le mariage de Charles le Téméraire avec Marguerite d'York en 1468," *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'Histoire*, I (1842), 168-174; T. Phillipps, "Account of the marriage of Margaret, sister of King Edward IV, to Charles duke of Burgundy, in 1468," *Archaeologia*, XXXI (1846), 326-338; A.J. Enschedé, "Huwelijksplechtigheden van Karel van Bourgondië en Margaretha van York," *Kronijk van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht*, V/2 (1866), 17-71; Kervyn de Lettenhove, "Relations du mariage de duc Charles de Bourgogne et de Marguerite d'York," *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 3e série, X (1867-69), 245-266; O. Cartellieri, "Theaterspiele am Hofe Karls des Kühnen von Burgund," *Germanisch-Romanische Monatschrift*, IX (1921), 168-179; Zuylen van Nyevelt (as in n. 3), 287-294.

¹²² On Charles's triumphal entry in 1468, see A. Zuylen van Nyevelt, "Joyeuse entrée de Charles le Téméraire à Bruges (1468)," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, LVII (1907), 380-392.

banquets. He was assisted by Jacques de Villers, equerry of the dowager Duchess, Isabella of Portugal. Banquets were held every day, except Wednesday, Friday and Saturday.

Anthony, the Great Bastard of Burgundy, organized the 'tournament of the Golden Tree,' a fusion of jousts and symbolic performances full of pomp and splendor, held on the Market, every day of the festivities in the afternoon.

Olivier de la Marche gave the most detailed report of the event in his *Mémoires*.¹²³ Sir John Paston, a courtier in Margaret's following, dazzled by so much opulence, wrote "*I hert never of non lyek to it, save King Artourys court.*"¹²⁴

Other primary sources are the accounts of the expenses for the decorations of the wedding. These were recorded by Fastre Hollet, inspector of the ordinary expenditure of the ducal household.¹²⁵

More than 150 artists from all over the Burgundian lands were invited to collaborate on the decorations for the *entremets* and the tournaments. Amongst them were the most talented and respected artists of the time: Jacques Daret from Tournai, and Hugo van der Goes and Lieven van Lathem from Ghent. Jean Hennecart and Pierre Coustain, both court painters and *valets de chambre*, were in charge of the painters, sculptors, embroiderers, and others. Jehan Scalkin, canon of the chapter of St. Pierre at Lille and *valet de chambre*, was responsible for some mechanical devices.

¹²³ H. Beaune, J. d'Arbaumont (eds.), *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche, Maître d'Hôtel et Capitaine des Gardes de Charles le Téméraire*, 4 vols., Paris, 1883-1888, especially III, 101-201; IV, 95-144. Other chronicles include *Dits die Excellente Cronike van Vlaenderen (...)*, Antwerp, Lucas Vorsterman, 1531, fol. 134-156v; *Cronicke van Vlaenderen* (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.435, fols. 245v - 250v); Kervyn de Lettenhove (ed.), *A. de But, Chroniques relatives à l'histoire de la Belgique sous la domination des ducs de Bourgogne. Textes latins. Chroniques des religieux des Dunes*, Brussels, 1870, 489-490; W. Hardy (ed.), *J. de Wavrin, Recueil des croniques*, V, London, 1891, 559-562; D.D. Brouwers, *Jehan de Haynin, Mémoires, 1465-1477*, Liège, 1905-1906, 17-62.

¹²⁴ N. Davis (ed.), *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century*, Oxford, 1971, 538; quoted without reference by Hughes (as in n. 63), 4.

¹²⁵ Published by Laborde (as in n. 23), II, 293-381, nos. 4410-4899.

Sixteen heavily loaded ships brought Margaret of York and her following to Sluis on 25 June.¹²⁶ On 2 July the party arrived in Damme, where the Bishop of Salisbury consecrated the princely matrimony the next day.¹²⁷ After this ceremony, Margaret was brought to Bruges in a carriage, luxuriously decorated with C-M monogram (Charles-Margaret), and golden daisies, alluding to her name (French: *marguerite*) on the cloth, and a tree in goldwork.¹²⁸ At the Kruispoort she was welcomed by worldly and spiritual dignitaries, and by representatives of the foreign nations. Along the way, in the crowded and festively decorated streets from the city gate to the *Prinsenhof*, several *tableaux vivants* were performed in honor of the bride.¹²⁹ They were financed by the city magistrature and some corporations. The actors in these *tableaux* played scenes such as *Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden*, *Alexander and Cleopatra*, *A Young Couple at the Fountain of Love*, *the Marriage of Cana*, *the Mystic Marriage of Christ with the Church*, *A Virgin with a Lion and a Leopard*, and *Esther and Ahasuerus*. Every performance was accompanied by music, and when the princess passed by a stage, little girls strew rose petals on her head.

The entrance of the ducal palace was richly decorated with Charles's coat of arms supported by two lions, and surrounded by the arms of his dominions. Two fountains at the entrance issuing wine, were embellished with mannequins representing archers; on the courtyard a third fountain in the form of a pelican picking its breast gave spicy wine.

At the east side of the courtyard, where usually *jeu de paume* was played, a large wooden building was erected, which served as a banquet

¹²⁶ J. de Jonghe (ed.), *Nicolaes Despars, Chronijcke van den lande ende graefscpe van Vlaenderen (405-1492)*, IV, Bruges, 1840, 22.

¹²⁷ L. Devliegher, "De Blijde Inkomst van Karel de Stoute en Margaretha van York te Damme in 1468," *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis gesticht onder de benaming Société d'Emulation te Brugge*, CI (1964), 232-236.

¹²⁸ *Dits die Excellente...* (as in n. 123), fol. 137.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 137v-138v; De Jonghe (as in n. 126), 24-29; Beaune, d'Arbaumont (as in n. 123), IV, 101-103. Some of these *tableaux vivants* will be discussed in chapter III, section A.3.

hall. Prefabricated in Brussels, it was shipped to Bruges to be assembled. This huge hall, 140 ft long, 70 wide and 62 high, was abundantly illuminated by nineteen windows. On either short side was a platform: one for the minstrels, the other for dancers and courtesans.

The bride and groom, the dowager duchess and some honorary guests, like the papal legate, bishops, the Duchess of Norfolk, and others sat on one table; the other guests at tables along the long sides of the hall.

The ceiling was lined with white and blue silk, and on the walls hung luxurious tapestries, representing the *Story of Gideon*, and gold, red, blue and green heraldic tapestries with the duke's arms. Gold and silverware, tabletop and dining utensils were displayed on large dressers decorated with golden cloth and carpets. According to the *Excellente Cronike van Vlaenderen*, 1000 marks of silver (246 kg) and 24,000 marks (about 5900 kg) of pewter were used for new silverware and utensils.¹³⁰

Two giant turning mechanical chandeliers, designed by Jehan Scalkin, hung from the ceiling. Each of these state-of-the-art pieces of engineering consisted of a platform with eight painted arms, on which wax candles burned. On the central platform was a mountain with a castle, rocks, roads, trees, moving figures and animals. Occasionally, a dragon came out of the castle and spit fire. Underneath these platforms were seven large mirrors that reflected the busy movement in the hall. The servants inside these chandeliers kept the mechanical parts moving throughout the evening.

The banquet hall was connected to the ducal quarters by a stairway, which was decorated with tapestries and colorful wall-hangings. Many other luxurious tapestries hung in the palace. One hall was decorated with a tapestry representing the *Battle of John the Fearless against those of Liège*, another room with the *Coronation of Clovis*. In the room located next to the chapel hung the *Meeting of Esther and Ahasuerus*. The chapel itself was decorated with a tapestry Passion series; the duke's oratory with altarcloths of the *Seven Sacraments*. In the duke's bedroom were *verdures*, while Margaret's quarters were adorned with the *Story of Lucretia*.

¹³⁰ *Dits die Excellente...* (as in n. 123), fol. 134v. Despars mentions 2000 marks of silver; see De Jonghe (as in n. 126), 30.

The most spectacular decorations of the wedding were undoubtedly the tablepieces and *entremets* that were performed during the banquets. During the first evening banquet, the meat was served in 30 plates seven feet long in the form of boats, painted in blue and gold, with silk masts and gilded rigging. Each of these boats was decorated with the banner of one of the duke's lands, with his personal coat of arms, and with a purple pennon with golden embroidered flint and firestones, as well as his motto *Je lay Emprins*. Little sculpted sailors and soldiers swarmed over the boats. Miniature painted and gilt barges filled with spices, capers, olives and southern fruit garnished the boats. Imitation rocks, seaweed and sea-monsters made of wax completed this display. Thirty different wooden towers, gilded and painted in diverse colors, represented cities of the Burgundian lands. They were used to serve the *pâtés*.

The first *entremet* that evening represented a unicorn covered with a silk quilt decorated with the arms of England. A leopard sitting on the unicorn's back, held the English banner and a daisy. A servant gave the daisy to the duke and solemnly declared that the proud and redoubtable leopard of England offered his noble '*marguerite*.'

Then a golden lion, covered with the arms of Burgundy, was brought into the room. On its back sat Madame de Beaugrant, Mary of Burgundy's governess. She was dressed like a shepherdess and held a golden daisy and a Burgundian banner in her hands. The lion sang a song that referred to the new alliance with England, and Margaret of York was welcomed as the new Duchess of Burgundy.

After these heraldic *entremets*, a dromedary was led into the room. It carried two baskets and a buffoon in oriental dress. The buffoon opened the baskets, and at the sound of trumpets and shawns he threw richly painted oriental birds to the ladies. After dinner, the guests danced until 3 a.m.

Similar *entremets* were shown on the other evenings. Some evenings, plays were performed, such as the *Works of Hercules*: fighting scenes between the hero and mythical monsters.

On Thursday 7 July, fifteen gilded peacocks and sixteen silver swans were placed on the tables. Each bird sat in a little garden filled with wax flowers and plants, and enclosed with a gilded hedge. They were covered

with silk mantles embroidered with the arms of the 31 knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and around their necks hung the order's chain.

Other tablepieces represented elephants bearing soldiers, and camels, deer and unicorns, all carrying baskets with fruit and spices. They were covered with silk cloths with the coats of arms of ducal vassals.

The most exuberant *entremets* were reserved for Monday, 11 July, the last evening of the festivities. Diner that night was served on 30 giant plates in the form of silver and golden gardens, each with a golden tree of about eight feet high in the middle. The leaves, flowers, and different sorts of fruit, like oranges or apples, were made of wax, and looked extremely lifelike. Around the trunk of each tree was a scroll with the name of an important abbey in the Burgundian lands, such as Clugny or Cîteaux. One hundred and twenty servants, dressed up in expensive costumes from different parts of the world assembled the fruit in straw hats and brought more exotic fruit and spices to the guests. The pâtés were served in hats, covered with artificial vine leaves and grapes.

In front of the duke and the duchess, a table fountain was placed. This fountain, designed by Jehan Scalkin, was in the form of a crystal castle resting on pillars placed in a pool, filled with fish. In front of the palace was a small figure of St. John, from whose finger came rose-water. Another figure held a banner with the duke's coat of arms. At the foot of the castle were rocks, trees with leaves, and flowers. In between these were Morris-dancing figures.¹³¹ On top of this construction, a mirror was placed that reflected the movement of the dancers and the fish swimming in the water underneath.

During the meal, two giants dressed in bizarre armor, and two horsemen, brought a lavishly painted whale of about 60 feet long into the room. The animal's fins and tail were moving, and so were its eyes, made of huge mirrors. At the sound of the trumpets and shawns, the whale circled around the room, and when it arrived at the duke's table, it opened its mouth. Two singing sirens came out, followed by twelve Morris-

¹³¹ The Morris-dance was a wild and unsophisticated dance. On the origins of this dance and representations of it in Netherlandish art, see P. Vandenbroeck, *Jheronimus Bosch: Tussen Volksleven en Stadscultuur*, Berchem, 1987, 319-333.

dancing sea-knights, dressed in costumes of feathers and gilded and silver seashells.

The total cost of the festivities was £13,086 12s 1d of 40 gr.¹³² This sum included the construction in the palace, such as the building of the banquet hall, several kitchens, wine cellars, and ovens; the costs of the tournaments, works in the convent of the Carmelites, where all the English guests stayed; and food and wages of the artists and craftsmen involved in the construction and decorations, as well as the materials that were used for all these works. The expenses also included the clothing of all servants and courtiers, as well as the food that was served during the banquets.

The value of this large sum can only be grasped by comparing it to other considerable expenses. It is about 62 times what Loyset Liédet received for 243 miniatures in the five volumes of *Renaud de Montauban*, and it is more than the daily wages of 52,000 skilled craftsmen.¹³³

The accounts of the ducal wedding of 1468 are a very important art historical source. They list dozens of names of artists, often with their specific occupation and their place of origin. The number of days an artist worked in Bruges, and how much he was paid per day was always recorded. From these data it is possible to deduce the social status and the fame of certain artists. Jacques Daret received 27s (of 40 gr) during sixteen days, while one of his assistants, Massin de Tournai, was paid at a rate of only 8s per day.¹³⁴ The accounts also show, for instance, that in 1468, Daniël de Rycke was a much more important painter in Ghent than Hugo van der Goes. They were paid 23s and 14s per day respectively.¹³⁵

¹³² Laborde (as in n. 23), II, 294.

¹³³ For the payments to Loyset Liédet, see Pinchart (as in n. 78), 475-478; Dehaisnes (as in n. 88), 20-38. As will be discussed in the following chapters, during the entire fifteenth century a schooled craftsman earned about 10d gr. per day.

¹³⁴ Laborde (as in n. 23), II, 332-333, nos. 4443-4444.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 337-338, nos. 4496, 4505. On this Daniël de Rycke, of whom unfortunately nothing is preserved, see A. Van der Haeghen, *Mémoire sur des documents faux relatifs aux anciens peintres, sculpteurs et graveurs flamands*, Ghent, 1899, 18, 19, 42, 45-46, 53; A. de

The accounts are also of considerable importance for the study of artists' materials. The payments are very detailed in listing the kinds of varnishes, pigments, glues, papers, and so forth, that were used for the execution of the *entremets* and other decorations.¹³⁶

The first payment for the decorations to a substantial group of artists was made on 16 April 1468.¹³⁷ Some artists had already begun work earlier that month. Between April and 12 July, repeat payments were recorded. This chronology means that for nearly three and a half months dozens of people were working uninterruptedly on the decorations for the wedding.

A puzzling phenomenon is the complete absence of Bruges artists in these accounts. Where were the members of the Bruges corporation of the image-makers during this entire period of hectic artistic activity? Why were famous Bruges painters, like Hans Memling and Petrus Christus not recorded in the ducal accounts? Were they not involved at all in this prestigious project, unlike the important masters of other artistic centers? These questions have not yet been raised in art historical literature.

Perhaps the clue to some answers can be found in the chronology of the festive events in Bruges itself. Charles the Bold already made his entry into the city on 19 April. Between 8 and 10 May, the Order of the Golden Fleece held its chapter meeting. This event coincided with the annual May fair, during which the traditional procession of the Holy Blood occurred. Eventually, on the day of the princely wedding and the entry of Margaret of York, 3 July 1468, the Kruispoort and other municipal buildings had to be decorated, and several *tableaux vivants* performed. For all these occasions, the decorations were made by the artists of the Bruges corporation.

Schryver, "La peinture gantoise après les Van Eyck," *Juste de Gand, Berruguete et la Cour d'Urbino*, [exh.cat.] Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 1957, 21-29.

¹³⁶ To the best of my knowledge, these data have thus far not been used in studies of materials and techniques of Early Netherlandish art.

¹³⁷ Laborde (as in n. 23), II, 332-353.

This statement is corroborated by payments recorded in the municipal accounts of that year.¹³⁸ Although only a few artists are mentioned explicitly by name in these accounts, it can hardly be doubted that nearly every artist in town must have been involved in the execution of so many decorations for so many occasions during so brief a period. The next chapter will focus more upon the role of local painters in the decorations for public festivities.

¹³⁸ Cf. doc. 82 in appendix. These accounts include, amongst others, a payment to Petrus Christus for restoring props for the procession of the Holy Blood.

CHAPTER III:

PATRONAGE OF SECULAR INSTITUTIONS

A. The City Magistrature

After the glorious victory of the Flemish people against the French cavalry in the Battle of the Golden Spurs in 1302, the Flemish cities adopted a new form of local government. The *kluwaerts*, or representatives of the people, assumed more power, while the *leliaerts*, the supporters of the French crown, were forced out.¹

Until 1399, Bruges was locally governed by the city magistrature, which consisted of two groups: thirteen aldermen of whom one was elected as mayor (*i.e.*, 'mayor of the aldermen'), and thirteen councillors, who were headed by a mayor chosen amongst them ('mayor of the council').² Both groups served for one year. Nine of the thirteen aldermen, and nine of the councillors were elected by the corporations. The other four officials of each group were chosen two each by the burghers (*poorters*), and two were appointed by the count. From 1383, the renewal of the magistrature took place each year on 2 September. The aldermen were responsible for the legislature, but they also had executive and judicial power.

But in 1399, in his efforts to gain efficient control over the Flemish cities, the Burgundian Duke Philip the Bold imposed a new system of local government. From then on, each year the duke chose thirteen aldermen (of

¹ On this famous episode of Flemish history, see M. Vandermaesen, "Vlaanderen en Henegouwen onder het Huis van Dampierre, 1244-1384," in *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, II, Haarlem, 1982, 409-419.

² See A. Duclos, *Bruges, Histoire et Souvenirs*, Bruges, 1913, 159; J.A. Van Houtte, *De Geschiedenis van Brugge*, Tielt, 1982, 297-299.

whom one was designated as mayor), and thirteen councillors. However, the aldermen were allowed to elect an alternative group of thirteen the same day. The duke then appointed one of the councillors as mayor of the council; and he also chose two treasurers and six captains (or heads (*hooftmannen*) of the six districts of the city (*zestendelen*)). The aldermen in turn were allowed to appoint two other treasurers, but could nominate other captains, only if they disagreed with the duke's choice. This system, heavily disputed by the cities, was replaced only when local political forces were able to take advantage of Mary of Burgundy's weak government. In her Great Privilege of 13 March 1477, the duchess instituted a new system, largely inspired by the pre-1399 one. In this system, each year the six captains and the deans of the corporations elected four aldermen from amongst the burghers, and nine from the corporations. This group of thirteen elected a mayor amongst themselves, and thirteen councillors. Then, all 26 elected a mayor of the council. In 1488, the Archduke Maximilian changed the system again. His representatives appointed all city officials. This last form of local government stayed largely unaltered until the end of the *Ancien Régime* in the late eighteenth century.

The main source for studying the artistic patronage of the city and the employment of artists by the civic authorities in Bruges is the municipal accounts (*Stadsrekeningen*). These have been preserved since 1407. From that date forward, duplicates of the municipal accounts were made for verification by the court. In other words, those registers that have not been preserved in the municipal archives, can still be consulted in the general state archives in Brussels.³

Most entries related to artistic endeavors are listed under the following headings in these accounts: 'Expenditure for works' (*Uutgheven van werke*), or under 'Expenditure of diverse nature' (*Uutgheven van diverschen costen*), also called sometimes 'Expenditure for common things'

³ A. Vandewalle, *Beknopte Inventaris van het stadsarchief van Brugge, I: Oud Archief, Bruges, 1979, 100, 206-207*. For the period from 1440 to 1482, the following original accounts have been lost: 1448-49, 1450-51, 1458-59, 1459-60, 1460-61, and 1462-63. Xeroxes of the copies of these accounts, kept at Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief van België (ARAB), can also be consulted at the Stadsarchief of Bruges (SAB).

(*Utgheven van ghemeene zaken*). Expenses related to special occasions, such as triumphal entries of the duke, are usually listed under the heading 'Expenditure for exceptional things' (*Utgheven van extraordinaire zaken*).

In 1467-68, the magistrature made the decision to describe the expenditure for public works in more detail in a separate volume, called the 'Register of municipal works' (*register van stadswerken*).⁴ Unfortunately, these registers have been preserved only for the years from 1476 to 1487, and the municipal accounts from 1467 on list only a summary of the expenditure for public works.

In other words, where the period from 1440 to 1487 is concerned, our knowledge of the employment of artists by the city of Bruges is complete, except for the works executed in public buildings between 1467 and 1476. Furthermore, all receipts or other possible means of verification of these accounts have been lost.

There has been no systematic and comprehensive analysis of the municipal accounts of Bruges, except for the period from 1280 to 1302.⁵ Nevertheless, an enormous amount of data related to artists found in the accounts have been quoted or cited in Gilliodts-Van Severen's *Inventaire des archives de la Ville de Bruges*.⁶ This study is actually a heavily annotated inventory of the political charters kept at the Bruges Municipal archives.

⁴ J.P. Sosson, *Les travaux publics de la ville de Bruges XIVe-XVe siècles. Les matériaux, les hommes*, (Collection *Histoire Pro Civitate*, série in-8, no. 48), Brussels, 1977, 15, 53.

⁵ C. Wyffels, J. de Smet, *De rekeningen van de stad Brugge, 1280-1319. I: 1280-1302* (Commission royale d'Histoire. Collection de chroniques belges inédites et de documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Belgique, LII), Brussels, 1965. The situation differs for other Flemish cities. The Ghent accounts were already the object of analytical scrutiny in H. van Werveke, *De Gentsche stadsfinanciën in de middeleeuwen* (Memories van de Koninklijke Academie van België, Afdeling Letteren, 2nd series, no. XXXIV), Brussels, 1934, who studied the origins of the different rubrics. More recently, a quantitative analysis of the fifteenth century accounts was undertaken by M. Boone, *Geld en Macht. De Gentse stadsfinanciën en de Bourgondische staatsvorming (1384-1453)*, (Verhandelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent, XV), Ghent, 1990.

⁶ L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire des Archives de la ville de Bruges*, 8 vol., Bruges, 1871-1885.

The discussions of diverse subjects related to these charters are illustrated with quotes from the municipal accounts. Often, though, these quotations are incomplete; the references to the original documents are inadequate, and related items are spread out over all the eight volumes.

In 1955, J. Duverger published an article on Bruges painters contemporary to Jan van Eyck, based on excerpts from the Bruges accounts.⁷ Although the author discussed the most prominent issues related to the artistic activity in the city, his survey was admittedly incomplete. He also restricted his focus to the period 1406-1457.

Sosson's statistical study of public works at Bruges during the fourteenth and fifteenth century is very exhaustive within the boundaries of its subject: the social and economic reality of construction workers in public service at Bruges during the late Middle Ages.⁸ However, the study does not include data related to the decoration or embellishment of public buildings.

Recently, Schouteet published the first volume of a documentary study on painting in Bruges during the fifteenth century.⁹ Useful as this work is, it has limitations, specifically the omission of the many documents on artistic activity in which no artist is mentioned explicitly by name, and of artists who worked on canvas (*cleerscrivers*).¹⁰

In the appendix of this study, I have made an attempt to include all references to artists in the municipal accounts during the period of 1440-82. Nevertheless, the picture emerging from this documentation remains rather restricted. The documents are disparate, and all too often inaccurate with respect to the precise nature of the work, the names of the artists, and the

⁷ J. Duverger, "Brugse schilders ten tijde van Jan Van Eyck," *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België (Miscellanea Erwin Panofsky)*, IV (1955), 83-120.

⁸ Sosson (as in n. 4).

⁹ A. Schouteet, *De Vlaamse Primitieven te Brugge. Bronnen voor de schilderkunst te Brugge tot de dood van Gerard David*, I (A-L), Brussels, 1989.

¹⁰ For more on this study, see my forthcoming review.

manner of payment. Therefore, most of them cannot be used for statistical analysis.

Sosson demonstrated that a clear correlation exists between the economic situation of a particular time and the extent of public works.¹¹ In periods of economic crisis, when prices increased, fewer public works were carried out.¹² One may assume that this statement also holds true for the works realized by visual artists for the city; however the documentation is far too sparse to draw definite conclusions.

In the following pages, the different tasks for which artists were employed in public service in Bruges are described; the artists who worked frequently for the magistrature are identified, and their specialties discussed. Furthermore, an attempt is made to analyze the cost of works made for public use, and finally the nature and iconography of ephemeral decorations made for triumphal entries are presented.

1. Artistic Patronage of the City Magistrature

The magistrature was housed in the city hall, then called the aldermen's house or *ghiselhuus* (Pl. 10).¹³ The oldest part of this building, with its façade on the Burg, was constructed between 1376 and c. 1420. During the following hundred years, no large scale construction was

¹¹ Sosson (as in n. 4), 123-126.

¹² Sosson also pointed out that the amount of data on public works --infinitely much larger than for artistic works-- is too restricted to determine social aspects, for instance, whether the magistrature took the prospect of higher prices into account in accelerating or slowing down public works in order to fight unemployment; see Sosson (as in n. 4), 126.

¹³ On the city hall, see Duclos (as in n. 2), 346-352; L. Devliegheer, *Beeld van het Kunstbezit (Kunstpatrimonium van West-Vlaanderen, 1)*, Tielt, The Hague, 1965, 41-43. The name *giselhuus* (literally 'house of hostages') was the old name of the building which was previously located there, namely the prison attached to the residence of the count, which was transferred to the aldermen in 1280; see Duclos (as in n. 2), 111.

undertaken at the city hall. Only at the beginning of the fifteenth century was the building enlarged, with a wing at the south side. In 1523, Jan de Maech added another wing to it.

The most important artistic work that was undertaken at the city hall during the late middle ages, was the addition to the façade of a series of polychromed stone sculptures, representing saints and the counts of Flanders.¹⁴ In 1379, or perhaps earlier, the first statues were installed, most likely under the supervision of Jan van Valenciennes. This sculptural series was completed over a period of centuries.¹⁵ In 1433-34, Willem van Tonghere was paid £8 gr for polychromy and gilding of two statues, which presumably had been carved by Gilis Paneel.¹⁶

The following year, eight new stone statues were commissioned from the sculptors Jacob van Oost, Gerard Mettertee and Jan Cutseghem. The three colleagues received the sum of £44 gr for their work, the material they used, and for the installation of the statues in the niches of the façade.¹⁷ During the same year, Willem van Tonghere and Jan van den Driessche, were paid for the polychromy and gilding of two of these statues.¹⁸ Jan van Eyck painted and gilded the six others. The choice of the most famous artist in the Netherlands for this commission is a clear indication of its importance.

¹⁴ On these sculptures, see mainly A. Janssens de Bisthoven, "Het beeldhouwwerk van het Brugsche stadhuis," *Gentsche Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, X (1944), 7-81.

¹⁵ The last statue was placed in 1786. Six years later, in 1792, they were all removed and destroyed. In the 1970s, highly controversial modern sculptures were placed in the niches of the city hall.

¹⁶ Cf. doc. 4 in appendix. According to Gilliodts-Van Severen (as in n. 6), V, 337, and W.H.J. Weale, *Bruges et ses Environs*, 3rd ed., Bruges, 1875, 21, a certain master Uten Zwane sculpted during the same year the archangel Gabriel with a pedestal and a baldacchino; Willem van Beringhen painted this statue and another one of the Virgin. Neither author cited a source.

¹⁷ Cf. doc. 6 in appendix.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

The comparison of the payments to Jan van Eyck and his lesser known colleagues, Willem van Tonghere and Jan van den Driessche, is revealing. Initially, Jan was paid on an equal basis: at a rate of £5 gr for the polychromy and gilding of one statue. However, he did receive a supplementary £3 12s gr for "*overtime and as supplement out of sympathy*."¹⁹ This extra payment means that eventually he was paid 12 % more per statue than the others. Most likely, the word '*overtime*' refers to the high quality of Jan's part in the commission. Moreover, the considerable supplement that was added to his payment is clearly an expression of the appreciation of the city officials for the work of the great master.

An artist whose name is not mentioned was paid £1 gr for the design of the eight statues. Whether or not this person was Jan van Eyck, is unknown.²⁰

The accounts also provide an indication of the working process. The expenditure for the polychromy of the statues includes the rental of scaffoldings and of large pieces of canvas used to cover them for a total cost of £91 10s gr.²¹

Arnoud de Mol, a painter frequently mentioned in the municipal accounts, cleaned and polychromed a statue of Our Lady on the façade of

¹⁹ "*van overwerke ende in hoefscheden te verdrinckene*;" see *ibid*.

²⁰ One may assume that it was Jan van Eyck, since later designs were also delivered by painters, and because he is the only one amongst the painters who is called 'master;' see Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 14), 30-33. Duverger (as in n. 7), 101, stated that evidence was insufficient to attribute these designs to Jan. Janssens de Bisthoven speculated that the eight statues represented the following persons: Margaret of Constantinople, Gwijde of Dampierre, Robrecht of Bethune, Louis of Nevers, Louis of Male, Philip the Bold, Margaret of Male (a.k.a. Margaret of Flanders), and John the Fearless; see *Ibid.*, 80.

²¹ Four people of Sluis contributed £50 gr in fines to this amount. They were obliged to make this payment for infringement on the city's staple right of fur. Cf. doc. 4 in appendix. Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 14), 12-13, assumed that a man by the name of *van der Sluus* (sic) was sentenced to pay this sum.

the city hall in 1457-58.²² In 1474, a delegation of city officials, consisting of the two mayors, the two city treasurers and others, visited Pierre Coustain's studio to discuss the model for a new statue for the façade of the city hall. It was to represent the effigy of Philip the Good, who had died seven years earlier,²³ following a tradition, also honored in other Flemish cities, to have a portrait series made of the counts of Flanders in the city hall. In Ghent, for instance, the painters Willem van Axpoele and Jan Martins painted such a series on the walls of the aldermen's House of the *Keure* in 1419.²⁴ When a count died, his portrait was added to the series. In December 1478, the statues of Philip the Bold, his wife Margaret of Flanders, and of John the Fearless, were taken down, restored, and their respective baldacchinos replaced.²⁵ Simultaneously, the statue of Philip the Good was installed, and all of them were polychromed. Pierre Coustain was paid for this polychromy "of five figures and statues above the western entrance of the aldermen's house," and for the decorative embellishment of this entrance itself, in 1479-80.²⁶ The polychromed figures of John the Fearless and Philip the Good were shown to the public for the first time on 14 April 1479, and a new *Annunciation* group was inaugurated on 2 October of the same year.²⁷ This work must have been quite considerable. A Bruges chronicle states

²² Cf. doc. 56 in appendix. In this document the city hall is still called *giselhuus*; see n. 13.

²³ Cf. doc. 114 in appendix.

²⁴ On this series of portraits of the counts at Ghent, see M.P.J. Martens, *De Muurschilderkunst te Gent. XIIde tot XVIde eeuw, (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Schone Kunsten, LI, no. 46)*, Brussels, 1989, 164-169, 250.

²⁵ *Excellente Chronicke van Vlaenderen*, Antwerp, 1531, fol. 211 (see Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 14), 75-76, doc. XLI).

²⁶ Cf. doc. 141 in appendix.

²⁷ According to a chronicle entitled *Het Boeck van al 't gene datter gheschiedt is binnen Brugghe, sichtent jaer 1477, 14 februaru, tot 1491* (ed. Maetschappy der Vlaemsche Bibliophilen, 3 ser., no.2), 8.

that the painters worked on it during 23 weeks.²⁸ The following year, six more statues were installed on the southeastern corner of the building, and eight on the center of the façade.²⁹ One of these statues represented Charles the Bold. This one and eleven others were painted and gilded by François van de Pitte. In 1483, he decorated another eight statues, and in 1485, he designed the new statues of Mary of Burgundy and a Virgin.³⁰ These were executed by Lieven van Beughem of Brussels, and in 1487, Van de Pitte polychromed them.³¹

The aldermen's room was rather modestly decorated with tapestries. In 1441-42, Rijkaard Heyns, a merchant in tapestries, was paid for a piece of two yards, used to extend the upholstery of the bench in the aldermen's room.³² Presumably most benches had, by that time, been embellished with woven textiles. In 1472-73, Willem Moreel had new tapestries and bench upholstery made, which the magistrature borrowed from him to decorate the aldermen's room.³³ These textiles were probably used until 1479-80,

²⁸ *Ibid.* "de voors. stellinghe ghestond dry ende twintich weken" (the said scaffolding stood twenty three weeks).

²⁹ Cf. doc. 145 in appendix.

³⁰ Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 14), 13-14, assumed that there was also a statue of Charles the Bold among these new designs of 1485. However, the statue of Charles was made five years earlier; see doc. 145.

³¹ *Ibid.* The author discussed the contribution of Jan de Hervy at the end of the fifteenth century. He called him *Jan Dhenry* (sic).

³² Cf. doc. 17 in appendix. Rijkaard Heyns also delivered tapestries to the court; see J. Versyp, *De Geschiedenis van de Tapijtkunst te Brugge, (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Schone Kunsten, 8)*, Brussels, 1954, 56.

³³ Cf. doc. 110 in appendix. On Willem Moreel and his artistic patronage, see chapter IV, section D.

when the municipal government had new ones made by Jan Lancbaert.³⁴ This Bruges tapestry maker first wove 81 yards of upholstery cloth, and later 32 yards of tapestries with floral motifs that hung in the courtroom when court was in session.³⁵ In 1483-84, he made an additional tapestry with the coat of arms of Maximilian to be hung in the courtroom.³⁶

When other rooms required decoration, tapestries were often rented, as in 1472, when a delegation of English ambassadors met representatives of Flanders to discuss trade between the two countries.³⁷ This important meeting was held in the orphans' chamber of city hall, which was decorated for the occasion with floral tapestries rented from the tapestry merchant, Colaerd de Labye. When the treasurers paid him, they complained that the tapestries had been damaged by rats.

The city magistrature of Bruges commissioned remarkably few figurative paintings in the fifteenth century. Jan Coene painted a "*Judgment*" for the courtroom of the city hall in 1388, and in 1421, Pieter de Deckere made the altarpiece for the chapel, representing a *Nativity*, *Circumcision*, and other scenes.³⁸ In 1488, Gerard David was paid by the aldermen for a "*Judgment and sentence of our dear Lord*," and a decade later for "*a large panel*

³⁴ Cf. doc. 141 in appendix. The magistrature of Oudenburg also commissioned upholstery for the benches in its aldermen's room in Bruges. Versyp (as in n. 32), 160, doc. XXIV, assumed that this work was made for the Bruges magistrature.

³⁵ Cf. doc. 145 in appendix.

³⁶ SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, 1483-1484, no. 216, fol. 167v; published by Versyp (as in n. 32), 163, doc. XXXV.

³⁷ Cf. doc. 103 in appendix.

³⁸ Duclos (as in n. 2), 366. As Duverger (as in n. 7), 89, pointed out, the *Judgment* made by Jan Coene was not necessarily a Last Judgment, but may have been any scene of Justice. On justice scenes in Flemish city halls and courtrooms, see J.H.A. de Ridder, *Gerechtigheidsstaferelen voor schepenuizen in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden in de 14de, 15de en 16de eeuw* (*Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Schone Kunsten*, LI/45), Brussel, 1989.

with portraits placed in the aldermen's room."³⁹ From the preserved archival documentation one may deduce that no other figurative paintings were commissioned for the city hall in the meantime. For a city with such a high concentration of famous painters amongst its citizens, this is surprising. Moreover, there are only two entries in the municipal accounts of this period that refer to figurative paintings outside the context of the city hall. Both references are part of the expenditure made for the decorations for the triumphal entries of Mary of Burgundy and Archduke Maximilian in 1477.⁴⁰ Pierre Coustain painted "*the figure of a beautiful virgin on horseback, delightfully decorated.*" Since he received only £6 gr for this painting, and for coats of arms of the duchess, four large shields, two large silk banners and many small escutcheons, one may assume that the painting of the virgin on horseback was done on canvas. It was hung on the Kruispoort along with heraldic work, as part of the sumptuous decoration of this gate through which the duchess made her solemn entry into the city.

François van de Pitte painted the portraits of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy for the entry of the Archduke. Although these portraits were considered in the accounts as "*very elevated work,*" they were most probably only made for this one particular event, and not with the purpose of keeping them for posterity. This assumption may be deduced from the modest £3 15s 10d gr which Van de Pitte received from the aldermen for this work; for four large shields with the coat of arms of Maximilian, Mary, the county of Flanders, and the city; as well as the 25 small escutcheons that were sewn on pieces of cloth.

Meanwhile Bruges painters were commissioned for figurative work outside of the city. In 1453-54, for instance, an anonymous painter from

³⁹ On these important payments, see H.J. Van Miegroet, *Gerard David*, Antwerp, 1989, 145-146, 332 (doc. 2), 334 (doc. 9).

⁴⁰ Cf. doc. 125 in appendix.

Bruges, painted the figure of St. Christopher on the Brugse Poort, a city gate of Damme.⁴¹

From this evidence, one may conclude that the city magistrature's need for panel paintings in the fifteenth century was still very limited. Like the court, the city government did not commission more paintings than were strictly necessary: an altarpiece for the chapel and a scene of justice for the court room. The use of canvas paintings by the city officials was apparently restricted to ephemeral decorations.

The lack of commissions of figurative paintings by the municipal government is largely compensated by an almost constant employment of artists for decorative work. All over the city, statues, fountains, and other objects were installed, many of which to be decorated with colors or gold. In 1434-35, Jan van den Driessche painted and gilded panels and boards in the city hall and a pole in the Market.⁴² In 1461-62, a fountain embellished with ten lions holding escutcheons and pillars covered with foliage was installed in the market.⁴³ Jan van Cutseghem and Cornelis Dierman were responsible for these sculptures; Govard van Cutseghem was paid for sculpting an inscription in an iron frame around the fountain.⁴⁴ In 1444-45, Jan Caillet of Ecaussines delivered four stone niches to the city, which were

⁴¹ Cf. doc. 45 in appendix. St. Christopher was often represented on the city walls in the Northern Europe, as guidance and protection for traveling pilgrims, see Martens (as in n. 24), 59, n.28.

⁴² Cf. doc. 6 in appendix.

⁴³ Cf. doc. 63 in appendix.

⁴⁴ It is not known whether this Jan van Cutseghem is the same person as the one who worked on the sculptures of the city hall in 1434-35 (cf. supra), or whether it is his son or another relative. There were more Van Cutseghems beside Jan active as sculptors in Bruges: Govard, who is mentioned here in the same account; Hendrik van Cutseghem, who worked at Damme in 1453-1454 (cf. doc. 45 in appendix), and Joos van Cutseghem, who is mentioned as a stonemason active at the Hospital of St. Joost in 1458-60 (see H. Lobelle-Caluwé, "Het Sint-Joosgodshuis: schenkingen vermeld in een 15de-eeuws register," *Liber Amicorum André Vanhoutryve*, Bruges, 1990, 132).

placed on the Saint John's bridge.⁴⁵ Two years later, the aldermen paid £69 4s gr to an anonymous sculptor for four large metal sculptures, which together weighed no less than 2,768 pounds. These statues were installed in the niches on the same bridge.⁴⁶ They were replaced in 1468 by statues of St. John, St. George, and St. Lambert, which Charles the Bold had brought from Liège.⁴⁷

Artists were always involved in the manufacture and decoration of clocks on public buildings. In 1449-50, Anthuenis Goessins made a hand for the belfry clock.⁴⁸ He was paid for making a model, executing the hand and for the materials he used. Meanwhile, the city treasurers made an agreement with the painter Arnoud de Mol for maintenance of this clock for ten years. The painter gilded parts of it, and painted the rest blue. During the following years, he did indeed keep up this work.⁴⁹ His colleague, Jacob de Jonghe, repainted the clock in 1467.⁵⁰ A couple of years earlier, in 1463-64, the same Jacob had polychromed a sculpture that was placed at the belfry, and a stone lion, installed at the south side of the water hall.⁵¹

⁴⁵ Cf. doc. 27 in appendix. This was the bridge near the Poortersloge (now Jan van Eyckplein). On the 1562 map by Marcus Gerard, these sculpted niches are still visible. Two niches figured on each side of the bridge.

⁴⁶ Cf. doc. 32 in appendix.

⁴⁷ Duclos (as in n. 2), 285, 528.

⁴⁸ Cf. doc. 37 in appendix. The document refers to the 'old hall' by which the storage facilities at the Belfry were meant.

⁴⁹ Cf. doc. 39 in appendix.

⁵⁰ Cf. doc. 79 in appendix. Simultaneously, Jacob de Jonghe was paid for "*a carved stone with the arms of the city*," which was placed in the City Hall of Damme. The employ of Bruges artists at Damme, Sluis, and other nearby cities, was not exceptional. In 1442, Jan van der Donc was paid for two escutcheons with the Bruges arms, which were installed at the Spuihuis in Damme; cf. doc. 18 in appendix.

⁵¹ Cf. doc. 68 in appendix. The water hall, which was located on the east side of the market, was considered as one of the Seven Wonders of Bruges. Actually, in fifteenth

The city hall, the belfry and the water hall were decorated with the coats of arms of Flanders (*or, a rampant lion of sable*) and Bruges (*barry of eight silver and azure, a lion rampant gules*).⁵² The city gates were also decorated in a similar fashion. Banners and pennons with the arms of the city and county were hung on painted and gilded poles on the Koolkerkse Poort, the Kruispoort, Spuipoort, St. Leonarduspoort, Gentpoort, the Kathelijnepoort, and on the two towers at the Minnewater.⁵³

In 1480-81, the aldermen paid for a large plaque decorated with 88 escutcheons with the armorial bearings of all the deans of the illustrious jousting society of the White Bear, and victors of the annual contests.⁵⁴ François van de Pitte painted the escutcheons and a certain Reynaut Tilly wrote all the names on it in beautiful calligraphy,⁵⁵ after which the plaque was installed at the Poortersloge (Burghers' Loggia), the seat of the jousting society. It was kept in this place until the eighteenth century.⁵⁶

century (and earlier) documents, this building is usually called 'new hall.' From the fifteenth century, it was also called the 'cloth hall.' The name 'water hall' was given to it only in the sixteenth century. This building was demolished in 1786. The architects Delacensserie and R. Buyck built the Palace of the Province of West Flanders and the post office on this location in 1887; see Duclos (as in n. 2), 434.

⁵² Jan Hughezuene painted pennons for the city hall in 1478 (cf. doc. 134 in appendix). In 1439, Alexander Fraet painted the arms of Flanders and Bruges on the roof tiles of the belfry (cf. doc. 10 in appendix). Another one made a pennon with the Bruges coat of arms for the same building (*Ibid.*), and Arnoud de Mol made five shields for it in 1450-51. Jacob de Jonghe painted the city's arms on the water hall in 1463-64 (see doc. 68 in appendix).

⁵³ Cf. doc. 127, 131, 132, and 134 in appendix.

⁵⁴ Cf. doc. 145 in appendix. The deans or '*forestiers*' were those contestants who had won the lance (*spies*), the highest prize of the annual tournaments, on the second Sunday after Easter. Other prizes were the bear, the horn, and later also the falcon and the diamond. On the Society of the White Bear, see Gilliodts-Van Severen (as in n. 6), IV, 471-482.

⁵⁵ See Gilliodts-Van Severen (as in n. 6), VI, 479.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 471.

Heraldic decorations were not only made for public buildings alone. City employees wore the Bruges arms on their uniforms. In 1455-56, for instance, Jan vander Leye was paid for having made eight shields with the city's coat of arms, to be worn by the so-called city dog-beaters, men paid by the magistrature to kill stray dogs.⁵⁷ The arms were also painted on all sorts of official equipment. For example, the four mendicant orders received water buckets for fire prevention from the city in 1459-60.⁵⁸ These were decorated with the Bruges coat of arms by Arnoud de Mol. They were also painted on the pitchers in which the honorary wine was offered,⁵⁹ on the collars of the city's horses, and on ships owned by the city.⁶⁰

Times of war were busy periods for artists specialized in heraldic decoration. On 11 June 1436, Bruges, like other Flemish cities, sent a group of soldiers to Calais to support Philip the Good in his siege of this town, which was then in English hands. The total expenditure of this campaign for the city amounted to more than £3,000 gr.⁶¹ A fair part of this sum went to all sorts of heraldic decorations.⁶² The embroiderers Jacop Andries and Joris Cornvaile made banners with the arms of Flanders, Bruges, the arms of each of the city's six quarters, and also of St. George. They were paid 5s gr a piece for their work and the silk that they used. They also covered six tents, a stable and two pavilions with embroidered cloth and attached escutcheons with the city's arms to these tents and pavilions. They made pennons for trumpets, and embroidered the city's initial *B* on 98 coachmen's capes. Jan Glas, another embroiderer, embellished a large tent in which

⁵⁷ Cf. doc. 51 in appendix. On these dog-beaters, see Gilliodts-Van Severen (as in n. 6), V, 484.

⁵⁸ Cf. doc. 59 in appendix.

⁵⁹ Cf. doc. 61 and 136 in appendix.

⁶⁰ Cf. doc. 126 in appendix.

⁶¹ Gilliodts-Van Severen (as in n. 6), V, 116. Actually the accounts give this amount as £36,507 7s par. For the sake of comparison with sums mentioned earlier in this chapter, I have converted it to £ gr.

⁶² Cf. doc. 8 in appendix.

mass was celebrated with festive cloth, and sculptures of the Virgin and two saints. The painter Reynaud van Overtveld made two banners of Flanders, two of Bruges, three of St. Nicolas's quarter, three of Our Lady's quarter, and three of St. Donatian. Older pennons and banners were repaired. Hundreds of new pennons with the city's arms, and several banners with the arms of the duke, Flanders or the city were also made. Weapons like shields, catapults and others were decorated with the arms of the city.

In 1472, the city contributed a division of 150 lansquenets in support of Charles the Bold's siege of Beauvais. All wore tunics on which Jacob van den Driessche had embroidered a crowned initial *B*.⁶³ In addition, François van de Pitte decorated banners and pennons with the city's heraldic symbols. In 1474, Charles besieged the city of Neuss as part of a new offensive against the King of France.⁶⁴ Flemish cities once again proved their loyalty by sending troops of Bruges lansquenets, archers and gunmen. They were dressed in tunics with embroidered Andrew-crosses and crowned *B*'s.⁶⁵ François van de Pitte delivered heraldic paraphernalia. This scenario was repeated two years later, when the Flemish cities feared a French invasion, and Bruges citizens were sent out to defend the village of Spier near Tournai.⁶⁶ The city's artillery was heavily reinforced for the campaigns of Maximilian against King Louis XI in 1477, when François van de Pitte was paid for painting different kinds of newly acquired cannons, and Pierre Coustain received £10 gr for a silk standard bordered with fringe that was to be carried during the battle by the captain of the city's army, Louis of Gruuthuse.⁶⁷ The great diversity of these heraldic decorations in military campaigns is beautifully illustrated in the splendid miniatures by

⁶³ Cf. doc. 110 in appendix. On this campaign, see amongst others Gilliodts-Van Severen (as in n. 6), VI, 67-69.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, VI, 78-80.

⁶⁵ Cf. doc. 120 in appendix.

⁶⁶ Cf. doc. 125 in appendix.

⁶⁷ Cf. doc. 125 and 130 in appendix.

the Master of Girart de Roussillon in the *Chronique abrégée de Jérusalem* (Pl. 11).⁶⁸

The city's military equipment was, of course, always well maintained, and regularly repainted during times of peace as well. Arnoud de Mol, for instance, painted catapults in 1451-52, and Jacob de Jonghe was paid for painting cannons in 1463-64 and 1464-65.⁶⁹

Heraldic decorations appeared ubiquitously at all public events. Other typical occasions for a solemn display of coats of arms were, of course, the public funerals of rulers or other beloved members of the court, which always attracted great masses who watched these funerary processions "*en grant pleur, en grans lermes, en grant devocion.*"⁷⁰ On 3 January 1472, a funerary service was held at St. Donatian for the dowager, Isabella of Portugal. The city commissioned Jacob de Jonghe to make a series of heraldic decorations, which unfortunately are not further specified in the accounts.⁷¹ The choir of the church was illuminated by four huge funerary candles and 400 smaller ones.⁷² Twenty-four men standing next to the coffin, held as many torches. They wore black habits of the same fabric that veiled the bier. The altar was covered with black cloth, and rich draperies were hung all around the choir.

On 15 June 1467, Philip the Good died in his palace at Bruges. One week later, a funeral was held at St. Donatian, and he was temporarily

⁶⁸ This manuscript is in Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 2533; see A. de Schryver, "Pour une meilleure orientation des recherches à propos du maître de Girart de Roussillon," *Internatiaal Colloquium Rogier van der Weyden en zijn tijd, 11/12 June 1974, Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten, Klasse der Schone Kunsten*, 1974, 43-82.

⁶⁹ Cf. doc. 42, 68, and 70 in appendix.

⁷⁰ H. Beaune, J. d'Arbaumont (ed.), *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche, Maître d'Hôtel et Capitaine des Gardes de Charles le Téméraire*, II, Paris, 1883-88, 248; also quoted by J. Huizinga, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen. Studie over levens- en gedachtenvormen der veertiende en vijftiende eeuw in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden*, 13th ed., Groningen, 1975, 3.

⁷¹ Cf. doc. 103 in appendix.

⁷² Gilliodts-Van Severen (as in n. 6), VI, 64.

interred in a sepulchre in front of the altar.⁷³ The last will of the great duke of the West stipulated that his remains had to be transferred to Dijon, at his successor's earliest convenience. He wanted to be buried in the Carthusian cloister of Champmol, founded by his grandfather, Philip the Bold. Due to his many ambitious political plans, Charles waited until the last days of 1473 to fulfill his father's will. On 29 December, Jan de Baenst and Jacob de Voocht, mayors of Bruges, and some of the aldermen, accompanied Charles the Bold on the first stage of the procession that carried the corpses of his parents, Philip the Good and Isabella of Portugal, to their final resting place in Burgundy. The Bruges officials were dressed in black habits, while 30 servants wore shorter black shirts and capes. Heavy torches, hung with the city's coat of arms, lit up the procession. The mourning group went from Bruges first to Ghent, and then through Hainaut, Namur, Champagne and Lorraine, to reach their destination after 40 days.

The procession of the Holy Blood, today still a major touristic event in Bruges, was the highlight of the annual city festival that took place the first two weeks of May.⁷⁴ The relic of the Holy Blood was, and still is, the city's most important treasure. It was brought c. 1150 by Count Dirk of Alsace (ruled 1128-1168) from the crusades to Bruges where ever since it has been in the chapel of St. Basil's on the Burg.⁷⁵ Many religious orders organized processions during the festival, but the main one in which the

⁷³ *Ibid.*, VI, 71-73. E.L. Lory, *Les Obsèques de Philippe le Bon, Duc de Bourgogne mort à Bruges en 1467*, Dijon, 1869; C. Monget, *La Chartreuse de Dijon d'après les documents des archives de Bourgogne*, II, Montreuil-sur-Mer, Tournai, 1901, 420-425; L. Lemaire, "La mort de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne," *Revue du Nord*, I (1910), 321-326.

⁷⁴ On the procession and other events during the annual festival see *Ibid.*, IV, 462-470; R. Strohm, *Music in Late Medieval Bruges*, Oxford, 1985, 4-6.

⁷⁵ On the history of this relic and the chapel of St. Basil, see J. Gailliard, *Recherches historiques sur la chapelle du Saint-Sang à Bruges*, Bruges, 1846; J. Cuvelier, "Inventaire analytique des archives de la chapelle du Saint Sang à Bruges," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, L (1900), 23-30 (with complete bibliography up to 1900); N. Huyghebaert, "Iperius en de translatie van de Heilig-Bloedrelikwie naar Brugge," *Het Heilig Bloed te Brugge*, (ed. Jong Kristen Onthaal voor Tourisme), Bruges, 1990, 19-78 (with survey of recent bibliography); J. Van den Heuvel, "Aspekten van volksdevotie tot het Heilig Bloed," *Ibid.*, 265-323.

relic was carried through the city, was held on the Feast of the Invention of the Cross (3 May). While the mendicant orders and the beguines were in charge of its practical organization, all expenses for this *ommegang* were paid for by the magistrature, who supervised the event in collaboration with the chapter of St. Donatian. At the same time, the three day May Fair with its free market of imported goods, attracted foreign merchants and craftsmen from all over Flanders and the rest of Europe. All secular and religious authorities participated in the great procession: the aldermen and the captains of the city's six districts, preceded by delegates carrying torches decorated with the city's coat of arms, and banners with the arms of the neighborhoods they represented. They were also accompanied by minstrels, dressed in blue, playing silver trumpets and shawns, from which pennons with armorial bearings hung.⁷⁶ The ducal representatives, the bailiff and the sheriff, followed on horseback, accompanied by soldiers in full armor. Spiritual leaders, like the Bishop of Tournai, as well as worldly dignitaries from different parts of the Burgundian lands paraded in strict hierarchical order. The colorful costumes of the guild representatives contrasted with the habits of the religious and secular clergy. Many houses along the route of the procession were decorated with rich tapestries and a wide variety of colorful textiles. After 1396, floats with religious representations and small dramatic performances were added to the pomp and splendor of this visual feast. The aldermen had these floats made by the corporation of the image-makers.⁷⁷ One float, which appears in the accounts nearly every year, is a representation of the *Agony in the Garden*.⁷⁸ It was probably one of the most lavishly decorated ones, and apparently many actors were involved in it. Since visual evidence of parades during

⁷⁶ On the Bruges minstrels, see Strohm (as in n. 74), 74-79.

⁷⁷ Cf. doc. 27 in appendix (1444-45), doc. 32 in appendix (1446-47), and similar entries in SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1447-48 (fol. 45), 1448-49 (fol. 58), 1449-50 (fol. 62), 1450-51 (fol. 51v), 1451-52 (fol. 53v), 1452-53 (fol. 46v), 1453-54 (fol. 49v), 1454-55 (fol. 48v-49), 1455-56 (fol. 52). On the contribution of the painters to the annual procession of the Holy Blood, see also Gilliodts-Van Severen (as in n. 6), IV, 469.

⁷⁸ Cf. doc. 65 and 136 in appendix, for instance. See *Ibid.*; Schouteet (as in n. 9), 27-28. This scene is usually called 'the play of the little garden' (*spele van den hovekine*).

this period is almost non-existent, it is not known what this scene actually looked like.⁷⁹ Sometimes, other corporations received subventions for their performances of similar plays as well as for building floats.⁸⁰ The municipal government rewarded those groups who gave the best performance with silver plates, or other expensive gifts.⁸¹ Special floats, like the *Agony in the Garden*, or the *Tree of Jesse* originally designed by Petrus Christus, were often restored and reused for several occasions.⁸²

The foreign guests who were invited to these festivities were offered copious banquets, enlivened by performing minstrels.⁸³ The city organized banquets at other occasions as well. Whenever important diplomatic missions were welcomed in town, the large room on the second floor of the city hall was used as the setting for gastronomic festivities carried out in the best Burgundian tradition. On 16 December 1480, for instance, a lavish banquet was offered to Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy. It was attended by the ambassadors of the King of England, the ambassadors of the Duke of Brittany, and "*many other noble lords and women.*"⁸⁴ The painter François van de Pitte, was paid for "*having delightfully decorated with paintings in many ways certain entremets and other things shown at the said banquet.*" The document is not more specific about the nature of these decorations. On 6 June 1481, the city government organized another banquet, for the ambassadors of the German Emperor.⁸⁵ François van de Pitte was paid again for dec-

⁷⁹ In the following chapter, the iconography of representations of this sort, especially those shown in the *tableaux vivants* during the Triumphal entries of the duke, is analyzed.

⁸⁰ Cf. doc. 52 in appendix, for instance.

⁸¹ Cf. doc. 48, 52, 57 and 65 in appendix.

⁸² Cf. doc. 136 in appendix. Petrus Christus's participation in the design and construction of floats and *tableaux vivants* is amply discussed in the following chapter.

⁸³ On these banquets, see Gilliodts-Van Severen (as in n. 6), IV, 467.

⁸⁴ Cf. doc. 145 in appendix.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

orating the *entremets*. On this occasion, one of these was a scene of four young men jousting in the hall during the meal. These performances were strongly influenced by those performed at the court during major festivities.

Important visitors of the city also received gifts from the magistrature. These presents could include wine, wax, candy, and silverware. When Philip the Good and his court entered Bruges in 1440, Jean Puetin, a Bruges silversmith who often worked for the court, delivered two silver bottles, a goblet with gilt rims, and twelve silver platters to the municipal government.⁸⁶ These luxurious objects, for which the high price of £59 gr was paid, were presented to Catherine of France, Charles the Bold's first wife, on her first entry to the city.⁸⁷

In 1450-51, the magistrature offered four costly decorated swords to the duke.⁸⁸ Five years later, the dauphin, later Louis XI of France, received three silver gilt pitchers, which were delivered by the jeweler Huart du Vivier.⁸⁹ On 22 February 1463, Philip the Good and his sister, Agnes de Bourbon, entered the city, and were offered two barrels of Beaune wine and a huge piece of wax by the magistrature.⁹⁰ In addition, Boudewijn Hendricx was paid for two silver basins and two silver lionesses for them, of a sort that were often presented to honored visitors.

On 9 April 1468, Charles the Bold pledged his oath in Bruges, and confirmed the city's privileges, as part of the traditional ceremony of his official installation as duke of Burgundy.⁹¹ The city gave the new duke two

⁸⁶ On Jean Puetin, see chapter II, section A. See also Comte de Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne. Etudes sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XVe siècle, Preuves*, II, Paris, 1851, no. 4010, 4931, who transcribed the man's name as *Jehan Pentin* (sic).

⁸⁷ Cf. doc. 11 in appendix.

⁸⁸ Cf. doc. 39 in appendix.

⁸⁹ Cf. doc. 52 in appendix.

⁹⁰ Cf. doc. 65 in appendix.

⁹¹ Cf. doc. 82 in appendix.

silver gilt statues, representing SS. George and Barbara. These were made by the silversmith Pieter de Grutere, who received the considerable amount of £151 15s 9d gr for them. Adriaen Scut made two leather containers for them.

During the festivities of the duke's wedding with Margaret of York a few of months later, the city offered a similar statue to the new duchess.⁹² It represented the duchess's patron saint, St. Margaret, was also made by Pieter de Grutere, and weighed about the same as the statues of SS. George and Barbara.

At the baptism of Philip the Fair in June 1478, the aldermen offered four large silver pitchers, four silver bottles and a large goblet.⁹³ This goblet was decorated with a golden lion by François van de Pitte. When Philip's sister, Margaret of Austria, later the Governess of the Netherlands, was born (10 January 1480), a silver plate, a powder-box and two spoons were given to the company that presented the best performance in the streets of Bruges.⁹⁴

At the banquet of 16 December 1480, mentioned earlier, a silver plate made by Maarten Reyngoot was given to Maximilian of Austria and Mary of Burgundy.⁹⁵ The following year, on 13 January 1481, they were offered three silver mugs, made by Gerard Haec, on a similar occasion.⁹⁶

Other visitors or notable persons also received silver as gifts from the city magistrature. The abbot of the Dunes Abbey received a silver gilt cup with lid in 1442-43, for instance.⁹⁷ In 1459-60, Pieter Bladelin was presented two silver basins at the consecration of his new church at Middelburg, while Mattheus van Bracle received a silver water pitcher with

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Cf. doc. 130 in appendix.

⁹⁴ Cf. doc. 148 in appendix.

⁹⁵ Cf. doc. 145 in appendix.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Cf. doc. 20 in appendix.

six mugs when he became dean of the chapter of Our Lady in the same year.⁹⁸ Also during that year, the municipal government remunerated the silversmith Jan van der Toolne for a silver cup, which was offered to Simon du Carrest, secretary and registrar of the Council of Flanders.⁹⁹

Guillaume Filastre became bishop of Tournai on 1 September 1460, and kept this office until 1473. When he entered the city of Bruges for the first time in this capacity, the aldermen presented him with a barrel of Rhine wine, a barrel of Beaune wine, 50 pounds of wax, two boxes of candy, and a gilt mug.¹⁰⁰ His successor, Ferry de Clugny (episcopate 1473-83), besides wine, received wax, spices, and two silver pitchers with the arms of the city enameled on the bottom.¹⁰¹

When Pierre de Goux entered the city for the first time on 24 July 1466 as the new chancellor, he was given jewelry valued at £30 gr.¹⁰² In 1471-72, his successor, Guillaume Hugonet, received a similar gift from the city, which was worth over £36 gr.¹⁰³

Adolph of Cleves, Lord of Ravenstein, was appointed by Mary of Burgundy as lieutenant-general and governor of the Burgundian provinces on 28 January 1477.¹⁰⁴ Both Adolph and his son, Philip of Cleves, played a crucial role in the Great Privilege that Mary granted to the Flemish cities. In recognition of their vital mediation, the Bruges magistrature offered Adolph and Philip each two silver pitchers.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁸ Cf. doc. 59 in appendix.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Cf. doc. 63 in appendix.

¹⁰¹ Cf. doc. 114 in appendix.

¹⁰² Cf. doc. 73 in appendix.

¹⁰³ Cf. doc. 103 in appendix.

¹⁰⁴ Gilliodts-Van Severen (as in n. 6), VI, 162, n.1.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. doc. 125 in appendix.

When city officials, important citizens, or their children were married, the aldermen usually gave them a similar gift. Louis Metteneeye received two silver containers while Jan Tsolle's daughter got six silver mugs, and Maarten Lem, captain of the city militia, was given a silver gilt cup for his wedding.¹⁰⁶ When Klaas Utenhove's son celebrated his first mass, the city officials who were invited to the event offered the young priest a silver gilt mug with lid, made by Jan Puetin.¹⁰⁷ Puetin also made twelve silver plates with gilt rims bearing the city's arms which were enameled on the bottom.¹⁰⁸ These were made for the magistrature's own use.

Sometimes, on very special occasions, tapestries were given as presents. When Adolph of Cleves was married in 1452, the duchess Isabella of Portugal urged the city to give him tapestries.¹⁰⁹ These were purchased for £40 gr from Michiel Lootin, a dealer who often delivered tapestries to the court between 1452 and 1469.¹¹⁰ The most spectacular gift of tapestries donated in this period was a series representing the Destruction of Troy. These were bought from Pasquier Grenier, an important merchant from Tournai, and offered by the city and the Franc to Charles the Bold in 1467, when he became Duke of Burgundy.¹¹¹

Another purpose for which the city employed artists, was the design and the execution of topographical documents. The magistrature needed

¹⁰⁶ Cf. doc. 32, 59, and 82 in appendix.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. doc. 24 in appendix.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. doc. 27 in appendix.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. doc. 43 in appendix.

¹¹⁰ Versyp (as in n. 32), 56.

¹¹¹ Cf. doc. 103 in appendix. On Pasquier Grenier see, amongst others, E. Duverger, "Wandtapijten en textiele kunsten," H. Liebaers, et al. (ed.), *Vlaamse Kunst van de oorsprong tot heden*, Antwerp, 1985, 199-200, 202. On the *Destruction of Troy*-tapestry series, see J.-P. Asselberghs, "Les tapisseries tournaisiennes de la Guerre de Troie," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, XXXIX (1970), 93-183.

maps as legal documents, illustrating resolutions that affected certain parts of town, or the waterworks, dams and sluices, the canals or the harbor.¹¹² On 12 April 1447, a few people, including the painter Jan van der Donc, were sent out to inspect the harbor of Ostend. Jan was paid for two sketches of the harbor painted on paper.¹¹³ In 1454-55, Jacob Ynghele received 4s 2d gr from the city for having made "*a figure of the Flemish river.*"¹¹⁴ The silting of the Zwin was a constant concern for the Bruges aldermen in this period, as it was a major threat to the city's prosperity.¹¹⁵ In 1469-70, the painter Pieter de Visschere was paid for a map of the land of Oostburg, with the village of Cadzand and "*the situation of Zwartegat.*"¹¹⁶ This was a mud flat through which it was hoped a new connection could be made with the North Sea.¹¹⁷ Cornelis Bollaert made a map of another mud flat on the isle of Cadzand, called the *plate*, in 1480-81.¹¹⁸ The function of this map is not

¹¹² On this issue see the recent contribution by A. Roberts, "The landscape as legal document: Jan de Hervy's 'View of the Zwin,'" *Burlington Magazine*, CXXXIII/1055 (1991), 82-86.

¹¹³ Cf. doc. 32 in appendix.

¹¹⁴ Cf. doc. 48 in appendix. For no apparent reason, Duverger (as in n. 7), 89, assumed that it was the river Honte, a branch of the Zwin, which was meant here.

¹¹⁵ On this constant threat of silting of the Zwin, see L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Bruges, Port de Mer. Etude historique sur l'état de cette question*, Bruges, 1895; M. Ryckaert, A. Vandewalle, "De Strijd voor het behoud van het Zwin," in V. Vermeersch, *Brugge en de Zee, van Bryggia tot Zeebrugge*, Antwerp, 1982, 51-70; Roberts (as in n. 112), 82-86, which deals mainly with the situation c. 1500.

¹¹⁶ Cf. doc. 91 in appendix.

¹¹⁷ Duclos (as in n. 2), 206; Ryckaert, Vandewalle (as in n. 115), 58.

¹¹⁸ Cf. doc. 145 in appendix. In this document, the artist is called Cornelis Beelaert (sic). Schouteet pointed out correctly that this must be the Bruges painter Cornelis Bollaert who is known in documents since 1458-59; see Schouteet (as in n. 9), 55-64. On this *plate* or *plaatpolder*, see K. de Flou, *Woordenboek der toponymie van Westelijk Vlaanderen...*, XII, kol. 839; M.K.E. Gottschalk, *Historische geografie van Westelijk Zeeuws-Vlaanderen*, Assen, 1958, I, 109; II, 33-34, 82.

mentioned in the document, but is also clearly related to the magistrature's concern for the accessibility of the harbor. Some examples of maps of the Zwin have been preserved, but all postdate the period that concerns us here. Nevertheless, the map of 1501 (Bruges, Arentshuis), recently attributed to Jan de Hervy, is certainly worth mentioning as it was made in the same context of the silting of the Zwin.¹¹⁹

Maps were also obviously needed in jurisdiction. When conflicts concerning real estate arose between different parties, the aldermen needed topographical documents as references in the legal proceedings.¹²⁰

A striking phenomenon in the municipal accounts is the recurring names of artists. Although no artist in this period was ever officially appointed as painter of the city of Bruges, several painters, specialized in heraldic and other decorative work, seem to have succeeded one another as city painter *de facto*. Alexander Fraet, a painter who immigrated from Dordrecht, and who became a Bruges citizen on 17 February 1420, was employed regularly by the municipal government from c. 1425 until the late 1430s.¹²¹ During the 1440s no artist was employed regularly. From 1449-50 on, Arnoud de Mol seems to have assumed the position. Until 1462-63, he painted and gilded objects in public buildings. He was even contracted for the maintenance of the clock on the belfry for a period of ten years.¹²² Arnoud de Mol had at least seven apprentices, and served nine times on the

¹¹⁹ Roberts (as in n. 112), 82-86. Pieter Pourbus made a map of the same region in 1561; see P. Huvenne, *Pieter Pourbus, meester-schilder 1524-1584*, [exh.cat.] Bruges, 1984, 41.

¹²⁰ On the subject of the use of maps in jurisdiction, see amongst others, A. H. Hussen, *Jurisprudentie en Kartografie*, Brussels, 1974; P.D.A. Harvey, "Local and Regional Cartography in Medieval Europe," in J.B. Harley, D. Woodward, *A History of Cartography. I. Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient and Medieval Europe*, Chicago, London, 1987, 489-493.

¹²¹ On this artist, see D. van de Castele, "Documents divers de la société S. Luc à Bruges," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, 2e série, XVIII (1866), 311; C. Vanden Haute, *La corporation des peintres de Bruges*, Bruges, Courtrai, s.d. (1913), 196; Schouteet (as in n. 9), 198-201.

¹²² Cf. doc. 37 in appendix. On Arnoud de Mol, see Van de Castele (as in n. 121), 294-295; Vanden Haute (as in n. 121), 3-4, 6-10, 12, 14, 19, 197.

board of the corporation between 1453-54 and 1469-70. He was dean of the image-makers in 1457-58. Jacob de Jonghe, who succeeded him, worked repeatedly during the period from 1463-64 to 1472-73 on decorations for triumphal entries, and for other important public events, such as the illustrious wedding of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York.¹²³ In 1465-66 and 1468-69, he was a board member of the corporation of the image-makers. After 1472, he probably left the city, as any further trace of him is missing in the Bruges archives.¹²⁴ On 11 May 1468, he worked with François van de Pitte on the restoration of theater props that were used for a *tableau vivant* representing the Tree of Jesse.¹²⁵ When Jacob de Jonghe left Bruges, Van de Pitte succeeded him, from 1472-73 until 1480-81, receiving commissions for all the major decorative work for the aldermen.¹²⁶ During the last years of the 1470s, Jan Hughenzone also received some official commissions: mostly banners installed on the city gates.¹²⁷ Jan, originating from Eeklo, had become a Bruges citizen on 29 October 1454. He served on the board of the corporation in the years 1460-61, 1467-68, 1475-76, 1477-78 and 1480-81. He is the only Bruges painter of the fifteenth century whose holograph has been preserved.¹²⁸ This unique document is legible and rather elegantly written, and thus informs us to a certain degree about the level of literacy amongst artists of this period.

¹²³ On Jacob de Jonghe, see Van de Castele (as in n. 121), 289; Vanden Haute (as in n. 121), 3, 9, 12; Schouteet (as in n. 9), 282-286.

¹²⁴ Schouteet (as in n. 9), 284.

¹²⁵ Cf. doc. 82 in appendix.

¹²⁶ On Van de Pitte, see Van de Castele (as in n. 121), 372; Vanden Haute (as in n. 121), 24-25, 46, 49, 199.

¹²⁷ On Jan Hughenzone, see Van de Castele (as in n. 121), 322 (who confuses him with Hugo van der Goes); Vanden Haute (as in n. 121), 3, 6, 11, 21, 24, 25, 29, 198; Schouteet (as in n. 9), 269-274.

¹²⁸ Cf. doc. 151 in appendix. For a fac-simile of this document, see Schouteet (as in n. 9), 274.

The magistrature benefited from the regular presence of court artists in the city. As noted above, Jan van Eyck collaborated on the decoration of the series of statues on the City Hall façade. His successor, Pierre Coustain, worked on this series as well, and was employed by the aldermen at several other occasions.

As for the sculptors and embroiderers, no such succession of artists frequently employed by the city is to be found. The situation of the silversmiths was slightly different. Only Jan Puetin and Jan van der Toolne are mentioned more than once in the municipal accounts, but their activity for the city seems to have been restricted to very short periods. On three different occasions the aldermen bought silver objects from Jan Puetin between 1439 and 1445.¹²⁹ His colleague Jan van der Toolne occurs four times in the accounts between 1459 and 1462. It is probably no coincidence that both artists were also active for the court.

Other silversmiths, such as Lodewijk den Blasere, Maarten Breicstilt, Marc le Bunguetuer, Claas van Delft, Jacob Gorreel, Gerard Haec, Boudewijn Hendricx, Jan de Leeuw, Colinet de May, Marcelis van Millom, Lodewijk Utervuerst, and Huart du Vivier, worked only on exceptional occasions for the municipal government. Jan de Leeuw was the silversmith whom Jan van Eyck portrayed by in 1436.¹³⁰ Born in 1401, Jan de Leeuw held minor offices in the corporation of the silversmiths in 1430-31 and 1435-36 and was chosen dean in 1441.¹³¹ He made the silver prizes which were given to the owners of the houses with the best façade decorations when Philip the Good made his triumphal entry into the city in 1455.¹³² He is last mentioned in the 1459 accounts of Damme.

¹²⁹ Cf. doc. 11, 24, and 27 in appendix.

¹³⁰ Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv.no.625; oil and tempera on panel, 33.3 x 27.5 (frame included); see E. Dhanens, *Hubert en Jan Van Eyck*, Antwerp, 1980, 238-241, 385.

¹³¹ W.H.J. Weale, M. Brockwell, *The Van Eycks and Their Art*, London, 1912, 127-128.

¹³² Cf. doc. 48 in appendix.

Who gave official commissions to artists? Only two documents, discussed earlier in this chapter, shed light on this question. When in 1449-50, Arnoud de Mol was approached to maintain the clock on the belfry, the city treasurers negotiated the conditions of the contract with the artist.¹³³ In 1474, an official delegation consisting of the two mayors, the city treasurers and some others held a meeting at Pierre Coustain's house to discuss the artist's design for a statue of Philip the Good for the façade of the city hall.¹³⁴ The presence of the mayors in this meeting indicates the importance of this commission. Both events demonstrate that the city treasurers acted as the official representatives of the magistrature in negotiations with artists. Although all commissions issued unquestionably from the aldermen, it seems to have been the treasurers who acted as liaisons between them and the artists. This assumption is also confirmed by the fact that the treasurers acted in the same capacity in negotiations with craftsmen who worked on public construction sites.¹³⁵

The relationship between the silversmiths and the city officials was probably somewhat different. Very often, the documents that relate to their trade state explicitly that works were bought (*gecocht*) from them.¹³⁶ This documentation may suggest that silversmiths were not always contracted for specific works, but that finished objects made for the open market, were often bought at their shops or workshops. The implication is that the city officials --possibly again the treasurers-- shopped around when they needed silverware for presentations. Perhaps it also explains why so rarely the same silversmiths appear in the accounts.

The quality control of materials and work on construction sites was in the hands of officials who were called *stedemeesters*.¹³⁷ These civil servants were chosen by the magistrature amongst all professions who

¹³³ Cf. doc. 37 in appendix.

¹³⁴ Cf. doc. 114 in appendix.

¹³⁵ Sosson (as in n. 4), 162-163.

¹³⁶ See amongst others doc. 11, 20, 24, 27, and 32 in appendix.

¹³⁷ Sosson (as in n. 4), 161-166.

were active in construction on a regular basis: carpenters, masons, smiths, tilers, plumbers, and so forth. Because no artists' names are found among the *stedemeesters*, apparently quality control of works of art, even those for public use, was the responsibility of the deans and the board of the appropriate corporations.

2. The Price of Works of Art

An issue that needs to be discussed here in more detail is the cost of artistic work. How much were artists paid when they were employed by the city, and how were they paid? This problem has not been addressed in scholarly literature where fifteenth century Bruges is concerned. As indicated earlier, almost no contracts with artists are preserved in Bruges for the period that interests us, so the only documentation consists almost exclusively of payment records. The ambiguous nature and customary inaccurate phrasing of this type of archival source considerably complicate a systematic study of prices of art and remuneration of its producers. It is not always clear, for instance, who delivered the materials used for certain works, and consequently whether the payment always included the price of the materials.

Another problem repeatedly encountered concerns the terminology in these records used to indicate specific objects. Different sizes and forms of flags have different names: standards, banners, guidons, pennons, and so forth (*standart, baniere, guydon, pingoene*). Often the more generic term 'flag' (*vane*) is found in payments, or these specific terms are used inaccurately. Often, an artist was paid for diverse objects in a single payment, and specifics such as the amount and the standard unit price are lacking or imprecise. Phrasing like "*as well as many small pennons*" (*metgaders vele cleene wimpelkins*), is not exceptional in the municipal accounts.¹³⁸ Clearly such documents are of little use for our purposes.

The use of different currencies and units of weight in the documents further hampers the comparison of prices. However, this problem can be easily solved by converting everything to the smallest common denominator: *i.e.*, all amounts to Parisian pennies (d par) and all weights to Troy pennyweight or engels (en).¹³⁹

¹³⁸ Cf. doc. 65 in appendix.

¹³⁹ For the different currencies in use in Flanders during the fifteenth century, see the introduction, n. 32.

The price of polychromy and gilding of sculpture has already been discussed parenthetically above. Jan van Eyck, Willem van Tonghere and Jan van den Driessche were all paid £5 gr (14,400d par) for the polychromy and gilding of one statue with its baldacchino in 1434-35.¹⁴⁰ Nevertheless, Jan van Eyck received an extra £3 12s gr (10,368d par) as a reward, probably out of appreciation. Why Willem van Tonghere was only paid £4 gr (11,520d par) per piece the year before is not clear. Maybe he did not execute the baldacchinos in that year.¹⁴¹ During the same phase of this work, an anonymous master, possibly Jan van Eyck, received 20s gr (2,880d par) for the models of 8 statues, or 360d par per model. When Pierre Coustain decorated 5 other statues of the same series in 1479-80, he was paid £54 gr, or 31,104d par per piece, which is more than double what Jan van Eyck and his colleagues received about 45 years earlier.¹⁴² This substantial discrepancy is difficult to explain especially since the nominal wages of other skilled master-craftsmen remained unchanged during the period 1400-1485: namely at an average of about 10d gr (120d par) per day.¹⁴³ On the other hand, prices of primary provisions, such as grain and dairy products fluctuated considerably. Between 1435 and 1480, the average price of rye increased about 48% and wheat about 33%.¹⁴⁴ Before we draw any further conclusions, let us first look at some other prices.

The data regarding gilding and polychromy in general are vague and confusing, since the amount of gold used is seldom mentioned, even though the amount of gold influenced the total price of a work radically.

More data are available on the price of decorated flags. However, many of the documents are imprecise, and the remarks made above

¹⁴⁰ Cf. doc. 6 in appendix.

¹⁴¹ Cf. doc. 4 in appendix.

¹⁴² Cf. doc. 141 in appendix.

¹⁴³ See, for instance, the wages of masons, limestone-workers, and thachers, Sosson (as in n. 4), 300-301. It should be noted, though, that from about 1455, a differentiation is made between summer and winter wages in construction.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 294.

regarding the methodological problems this inaccuracy imposes are especially true for this category of decorative work. In 1477-78, Pierre Coustain was paid for a large standard and a guidon, made of ten yards of silk and decorated with 30 yards of silk fringe.¹⁴⁵ For his work and materials, he received £10 gr (28,800d par). This high sum is striking, especially when compared to other prices of decorated flags. The following chart lists prices for diverse types of small flags:

type	doc.(year)	price / piece (in d par)
banner (<i>baniere</i>)	127 (1477)	360
little flag (<i>vaneken</i>)	10 (1439)	240
flag (<i>vane</i>)	132 (1478)	192
flag (<i>vane</i>)	134 (1478)	432
flag (<i>vane</i>)	134 (1478)	504
flag (<i>vane</i>)	134 (1478)	576
pennon (<i>pingoen</i>)	8 (1435)	72
pennon (<i>pingoen</i>)	120 (1474-75)	276

The wide diversity of prices paid for flags in 1478, ranging from 192 to 576d par, indicates that different sizes are all cited with the same term. The little flag mentioned in the 1439 account, was probably bigger than the cheapest one of those mentioned in 1478. The reason for the substantial difference in price of the pennons made in 1435 and those in 1474-75 (ratio 1/3.83) remains unclear, especially since all were made for military use. It may be due to an imprecise use of terminology.

The following chart lists prices for diverse types of shields decorated with heraldic bearings:

¹⁴⁵ Cf. doc. 130 in appendix.

type	doc.(year)	price /piece (in d par)
combat shield (<i>targe</i>)	8 (1435)	48
shield (<i>scilde</i>)	10 (1439)	1296
shield (<i>scilde</i>)	18 (1442)	1152
shield (<i>scilde</i>)	39 (1450-51)	4032
small shields (<i>scildekens</i>)	120 (1474-75)	24
small shields (<i>scildekens</i>)	125 (1476-77)	24
small shields (<i>scildekens</i>)	145 (1480-81)	96
small shields (<i>scildekens</i>)	145 (1480-81)	144

Alexander Fraet was paid in 1435 for the decoration of 1050 combat shields, used in the military campaign at Calais. The large number of these shields, their function, and also the low price per piece, suggests that this decoration was very basic. The *scilden* mentioned in 1439, 1442, and 1450-51 were all painted on public buildings. The different prices must be due mainly to variations in size. The same explanation probably holds true for the *scildekens*, which were the smallest form of heraldic decorations, like the badges worn by some public servants or those attached to torches.

These prices might be compared with those for similar work in embroidery. Unfortunately only one payment to the embroiderers Jacop Andries and Joris Cornvaille of 1435-36 offers substantial information.¹⁴⁶ They were paid the following prices per unit:

type	doc.(year)	price/ piece (in d par)
banner (<i>baniere</i>)	8 (1435)	720
banner (<i>baniere</i>)		432

¹⁴⁶ Cf. doc. 8 in appendix.

repairing a banner	1,152
banner with arms city	1,152
banner with arms duke	3,456
tent-covers	864
pavilions	432
altar cloth	2,404
shield (<i>scilde</i>)	144
trumpet pennon (<i>trompignoen</i>)	864
pennon (<i>pingoen</i>)	864
pennon (<i>pingoen</i>)	60
initial <i>B</i>	12

Differences in prices for similar objects are once again clearly due to their respective size. The restoration of a banner was expensive because much silver and gold thread was used. The difference in price between an embroidered banner with the coat of arms of the city and that of the duke, was affected by their heraldic complexity and by the use of gold thread in the duke's (amongst others for the fields of Flanders and Burgundy). The tent covers must have been rather crude and it is most likely that they only had some basic heraldic decoration. The altar cloth was obviously made of much higher quality material, and embellished with fine embroidery. The *scilden* mentioned in this account were meant to be attached to the tents of the officers. Their low price of 144d par per piece indicates that they were modest in comparison with the painted shields, mentioned in the previous list. Again a large discrepancy is noted between the cheapest and most expensive pennons mentioned in this payment record (ratio 1/14.4). This observation corroborates the hypothesis that some of the terminology in these documents is used rather inaccurately.

The price of cartographic work was logically influenced by the specific complexity of each commission. When Jan de Hervy was asked in 1501 to make a map in tempera and oil on canvas of the whole area of the Zwin, with all canals, sluices, windmills and waterways, and with summary indications of all landmarks, towns and villages in the neighborhood, he clearly had to travel extensively through a rather large area to

make sketches and to take measurements.¹⁴⁷ For their travels, he and his assistants were paid a total of £3 16s 10d gr (11,064d par).¹⁴⁸ The sums paid to Cornelis Bollaert for his map of the *plate* at Cadzand (288d par), to Jacob Ynghele for that of a river (600d par), or to Pieter de Visschere for a map of Oostburg (1,728d par), indicate that these commissions were all rather modest in comparison.¹⁴⁹ Indeed, they mapped much smaller areas. Moreover, these maps had merely a practical function as legal documents, or for dredging-work or navigation.

Few data concerning the price of sculpture are available. In 1434-35, eight statues for the façade of the city hall cost £5 10s gr (15,840d par) per piece.¹⁵⁰ In 1480-81, the price for statues of the same series had dropped slightly to £5 gr (14,400d par) apiece.¹⁵¹ This relative stability in price is remarkable, especially when compared to the price paid for the polychromy of these sculptures, which in 1480-81 had more than doubled. Apparently, throughout the whole period of more than 40 years, the cost of a life-sized statue of a person was stable at about £5 gr (14,400d par).

An unknown artist was paid 54s par (648d par) in 1453-54 for a polychromed lion holding a banner and placed on a city gate in Damme.¹⁵² The lions placed around a fountain on the market in 1460-61 cost four and a half times more (2,952d par) per piece.¹⁵³ When these amounts are compared to those paid for the statues of the city hall, one gets a rough idea of the dimensions of these lions. However, it must be noted that evidently

¹⁴⁷ Roberts (as in n. 112), 82-86.

¹⁴⁸ This is £3 10s gr for Hervy's work, 3s 2d gr to his assistants for calligraphy, and finally 3s 8d gr for the canvas; see *Ibid.*, 83, n. 7-9.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. doc. 48, 91, and 145 in appendix.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. doc. 6 in appendix.

¹⁵¹ Cf. doc. 145 in appendix.

¹⁵² Cf. doc. 45 in appendix.

¹⁵³ Cf. doc. 63 in appendix.

the quality of the materials used for these works would have determined the price.

Metal sculptures were, of course, more valuable. The four metal statues that were installed on St. John's bridge in 1446-47, cost £69 4s gr (*i.e.*, 49,824d par per piece).¹⁵⁴ This amount is almost three and a half times as much as the stone statues of the city hall. The silver gilt sculptures, which were given to Charles the Bold in 1467-68, were even more expensive.¹⁵⁵ Pieter de Grutere received no less than £151 15s 9d gr for them, which corresponds roughly with what a master mason made in ten years. Only a few months later, Charles's new wife, Margaret of York, received a similar silver statue. Of course, such expensive gifts must have been heavy burdens on the city's treasury, but they were obviously offered with political intentions. It was absolutely necessary for the city of Bruges to gain the new duke's confidence and favor.

Presents to other dignitaries were often made of silver, yet the amounts the magistrature paid for them were much more modest. Documents pertaining to silver objects are usually more accurate than those dealing with other artistic work. Very often, not only the description of the object and its price are given in the payment records, but also its weight, and the price of silver. The following list includes silver objects mentioned in Bruges municipal and other records of payment, with their respective weight (converted to engels), and their price per piece (expressed in Parisian pennies):

¹⁵⁴ Cf. doc. 32 in appendix.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. doc. 82 in appendix.

type	doc. (year)	weight (in en.)	price / piece in d par
plate (<i>scale</i>), gilt, enamel	27 (1444)		213.33 4,736
plate (<i>scale</i>)	57 (1458)		140.25 3,456
plate (<i>scale</i>)	65 (1462)		119.3 3,006
plate (<i>scale</i>)	65 (1462)		? 2,880
platter (<i>plat</i>)	15 (1441)		? 18,780
platter (<i>plateele</i>)	11 (1439)		322.5 7,546
cup (<i>cop</i>)	63 (1461)		960 31,680
cup (<i>cop</i>), gilt with lid	20 (1442)		? 31,428
cup (<i>cop</i>)	59 (1459)		785 22,464
cup (<i>cop</i>), gilt	82 (1467)		? 19,008
large goblet (<i>cop</i>), gilt	125 (1476)		2880 111,888
mug (<i>croes</i>), gilt with lid	24 (1443)		270 9,240
mug (<i>croes</i>)	59 (1459)		61.43 1,618
pot (<i>pot</i>)	32 (1446)		? 14,400
pitcher (<i>stoop</i>)	52 (1456)		2058.33 66,696
pitcher (<i>kan</i>)	125 (1476)		1280 36,864
pitcher (<i>kan</i>)	125 (1476)		712.5 20,520
pitcher (<i>stoop</i>)	114 (1473)		1183 31,020
basin (<i>becken</i>)	59 (1459)		574 16,782
water pitcher and 6 mugs (<i>fonteyne pot met 6 croesen</i>)	59 (1459)		? 24,000
horn decorated with gilt silver and silk	52 (1456)		? 4,428

Evidently, the price of silver objects was determined first by their weight and size, and secondly by the degree of finish as well as by the level of decoration. Some objects had gold-plated details: others painted or enameled heraldic decoration. A silver plate with gilt rims and decorated with an enameled coat of arms of the city, logically cost more than a simple unadorned plate. The kind of cup (*cop*) that was often given by the city to

important visitors was a rather expensive object. Its weight varied from about 700 to more than 1000 en (*i.e.*, about 1 to 1.5 kg). Usually, these cups had a lid and were entirely gold-plated. The one presented to Maximilian by the magistrature in 1477 was exceptionally large and heavily decorated, which explains its high price of £38 17s gr (111,888d par)..¹⁵⁶ Mugs, pots, pitchers, and basins were also made in a great variety of sizes and weights, and decorated in different ways. Sometimes more unusual objects were given, such as a horn decorated with silver gilt and silk, mentioned in 1456-57.¹⁵⁷

In the documents pertaining to silverware, the price for work and silver is usually expressed in shilling groats per mark. It is very important in the analysis of these documents to note that often, but not always, this price per unit includes the work, even if the document mentions separately how much is paid for labor. This means that in the latter case, the price for processed silver is given.¹⁵⁸ Sometimes, though, the documents state the price for pure silver,¹⁵⁹ or in other instances, for processed silver with gold, enamel, and other decoration.¹⁶⁰ All these possibilities may occur in the accounts of the same year.¹⁶¹ When one studies the fluctuations in the price of silverware during the period of 1440-82, it is necessary to convert all amounts to the same standard. Where possible, the price of processed silver

¹⁵⁶ Cf. doc. 125 in appendix.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. doc. 52 in appendix. This was one of the prices of the annual tournament of the Society of the White Bear, see above, n. 54.

¹⁵⁸ See for instance doc. 11 in appendix: *cost the work included for each mark, 26s gr* ("*costen metten facoene elc maerc xxvj s.gr*").

¹⁵⁹ See for instance doc. 59 in appendix, and more specifically the entry in which Jan van der Toolne is paid £11 13s 1d gr for the silver basins. The 26s 8d gr in this accounts is the price for pure unprocessed silver.

¹⁶⁰ See doc. 27 in appendix. The 24s 8d gr mentioned here includes silver, work, goldleaf and enamel, although the price for these last items is also separately mentioned.

¹⁶¹ See doc. 65 in appendix. In the payment to Boudewijn Hendricx the price of processed silver is given; in that to Jacob Goreel, the price of pure silver.

has been computed in the municipal payment records discussed above. In the following list the total price of finished silverware is also given. This price may include gold leaf, the application and further decoration of gold leaf, enamel, and painted coats of arms. All amounts are expressed in Parisian pennies per engels:

year	processed silver (d par/en.)	total price silverware (d par/en.)
1439-40	23.40	25.20
1443-44		34.22
1444-45	22.20	22.20
1456-57	23.72	32.40
1458-59	24.64	24.64
1459-60	29.24	29.24
	28.80	28.80
1461-62		33.00
1462-63	27.00	27.00
	25.20	25.20
1463-64	30.70	30.70 (fig.)
1467-68	25.61	38.16 (fig.)
		37.64 (fig.)
1470-71	32.40	36.73 (fig.)
1473-74	26.10	26.22
1476-77	28.80	28.80
		38.85
		36.00
1481-82	32.40	34.76

The first conclusion that may be drawn from this list, is that the price of finished figurative work (here above as fig.), and the price for processed silver of figurative work, are notably higher than both prices for other silver objects.

The results of this research may also be plotted in a graph. For those years for which data are lacking, average amounts of previous and following years are given. Since no data regarding the price of processed silver are available for the 1445-57, those years have been left blank. Furthermore, the peak prices for figurative work are excluded as they would distort the curve of the price of processed silver in regular silverware.

This curve shows that silversmiths' earnings increased progressively with a total of about 38.4% between 1440 and 1482. This increase can be partially explained by the upward movement of the price of silver. It also reflects the general increase in the cost of living during this period. The upward tendency in 1457-58 follows the same pattern as grain prices, which showed a dramatic increase during these years due to bad harvests and the blockade of supplies from eastern Europe by the Hanseatic League.¹⁶² The decrease in the curve for the years 1459-62, followed by a decade of stable prices, reflects a normalization and the subsequent economic stability. The steady incline of the curve from about 1472 on, must be related to an overall

¹⁶² See Sosson (as in n. 4), 294; W. Prevenier, W. Blockmans, *De Bourgondische Nederlanden*, Antwerp, 1983, 195, 393.

inflationary tendency and a general weakening of the economy in the Burgundian lands.¹⁶³

Based on the summary information that is presented here, one may conclude that Bruges silversmiths seem to have been able to adjust their earnings during the period 1440-82 to the general economic climate, by calculating the fluctuations of the materials they used in the price of their work, and by adjusting this price to the general cost of living. Most other craftsmen were not able to do this. As stated earlier, the nominal wages of craftsmen remained unchanged at an average of 10d gr (120d par) per day during the period 1400-85. This means that craftsmen were always very vulnerable to inflation, and consequently, that their buying power changed constantly.¹⁶⁴

In the discussion of the price of sculpture, we have seen that Pierre Coustain received more than twice as much in 1479-80 as Jan van Eyck and his contemporaries for similar work 45 years earlier. Does this observation mean that court artists also succeeded in resisting to this economic vulnerability? Much more research needs to be done about this. Data must be gathered for other centers of artistic production. Only then more definite conclusions may be drawn about this supposed correlation between the earnings of specific groups of artists and the economic context in which they worked. For the moment, we can only ascertain that both court artists and silversmiths held a special place within the framework of artistic creation. The former group was highly privileged and independent of local professional restrictions. The latter made extremely luxurious goods in precious materials for prosperous clients. With more corroborative evidence, it would not be surprising to discover that these artists had been the first to achieve a position in society that was less vulnerable to economic fluctuations than that of the average late medieval artist-craftsman.

¹⁶³ Prevenier, Blockmans (as in n. 162), 191-193.

¹⁶⁴ See Sosson (as in n. 4), 305-309 (graph 17-19).

3. The Iconography of Triumphal Entries

The most spectacular public display of pomp and pageantry during the late middle ages, was staged for triumphal entries of the ruler.¹⁶⁵ During these highly symbolic events, which derived from a Roman antique custom, the magistrature delivered the keys of the city to the sovereign, expressing the loyalty of his subjects. In a solemn procession, the duke entered the city through one of the main gates, and proceeded to his palace, followed by representatives from all sectors of society. Along the route, the houses were decorated with tapestries and other rich textiles, and at several places theatrical performances with mute personages, called *tableaux vivants*, were staged on lavishly decorated scaffolds.¹⁶⁶ Once arrived at his residence, the Prinsenhof, the duke confirmed the civic rights and privileges of the town.

¹⁶⁵ On triumphal entries in general see A.M. Drabek, *Reisen und Reisezeremoniell der römisch-deutschen Herrscher*, Vienna, 1964; B. Guenée, F. Lehoux, *Les Entrées Royales Françaises (1320-1515)*, Paris, 1968; R. Strong, *Splendor at Court - Renaissance Spectacle and the Theater of Power*, Boston, 1973; E. Königson, J. Jacquot, *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance*, III, Paris, 1975; W. Dotzauer, "Die Ankunft des Herrschers. Der fürstliche "Einzug" in die Stadt," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, LV (1973), 245-288. Studies that focus on one particular event include I. Diegerick, "Joyeuse entrée de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne, dans sa bonne ville d'Ypres," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, XIII (1851-1854), 265-286; H. Chabeuf, "Entrée de Charles le Téméraire et les funérailles de Philippe le Bon," *Mémoires de la Société bourguignonne de Géographie et d'Histoire*, XVIII (1902), 257-336; E. Kantorowicz, "The King's Advent and the enigmatic panels in the doors of Santa Sabina," *Art Bulletin*, XXVI (1944), 207-231; A.-M. Lecoq, "La 'Citta festiggante'," *Revue de l'Art*, XXXIII (1976), 83-100; Remy du Puys, *La tryumphant et solemnelle entree faite sur le nouvel et joyeux advenement de treshault trespuissant et tres excellent prince Monsieur Charles prince des Hespaignes Archidux daustrice duc de Bourgongne...en la ville de Bruges l'an 1515*, (ed. Société d'Emulation de Bruges, *Recueil de chroniques, chartes et autres documents concernant l'histoire et les antiquité de la Flandre occidentale*, III ser.), Bruges, s.d.; S. Anglo, *La tryumphant Entree de Charles Prince des Espagnes en Bruges 1515*, Amsterdam, New York, 1975; E. Dhanens, "Actum Gandavi. Zeven bijdragen in verband met de Oude Kunst te Gent, V: De Blijde Inkomst van Filips de Goede in 1458 en de Plastische Kunsten te Gent," *Academiae Analecta*, XLVIII/2 (1987), 54-89.

¹⁶⁶ Beside the literature referred to in the previous note, for theatrical performances and artistic decorations also see L. Van Puyvelde, *Schilderkunst en Tooneelvertooningen op het einde van de Middeleeuwen. Een Bijdrage tot de Kunstgeschiedenis vooral van de Nederlanden*,

Diverse sources provide information about the lavish decorations and the public musical and theatrical performances that were held at these occasions. As the magistrature financed the lion's share of these events, the expenditure was written in the municipal accounts. These inform us about the artists who collaborated on the decorations, about the type of decorations that were made, and the materials that were used. Often, court historians, like Enguerrand de Monstrelet, Georges Chastellain, and Olivier de la Marche, but also local chroniclers, wrote careful descriptions of the splendor with which the ruler was welcomed by his subjects.¹⁶⁷ The latter sources usually provide more information on the iconography and the programmatic aspects of festive decorations than the accounts. Visual sources of triumphal entries and *tableaux vivants* at Bruges during the period of 1440-82 are unfortunately non-existent.¹⁶⁸

The expenditure for the staging of the *tableaux vivants* and for all other decorative embellishment of these triumphal entries, was usually substantial. This outlay was meaningful, as there was more to it than mere praise or flattery of the duke, or public entertainment. The *tableau vivant*

Ghent, 1912; O. Cartellieri, "Theaterspiele am Hofe Herzog Karls des Kühnen von Burgund," *Germanisch-romanische Monatszeitschrift*, IX (1921), 168-179; G. Cohen, *Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du moyen-âge*, Paris, 1926; A. de Poorter, *Prachtstoeten en betoogingen te Brugge in den loop der XVe eeuw*, s.l. (Bruges), 1934; I. von Hoeder-Baumbach, H. Gerhard Evers, *Versieringen bij blijde inkomsten*, (Maerlantbibliotheek, XIII), Antwerp, 1943; G.R. Kernodle, *From Art to Theatre*, Chicago, 1944, 63-76; E. Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen age en France. Etude sur l'iconographie du moyen age et sur ses sources d'inspiration*, Paris, 1925, 35-84; D. Eichberger, "The Tableau Vivant - an Ephemeral Art Form in Burgundian Civic Festivities," *Parergon. Bulletin of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, VIa (1988), 37-64; Strohm (as in n. 74), 6-7, 79-85.

¹⁶⁷ For court chroniclers and historiography at the Burgundian court, see G. Doutrepoint, *La Littérature française à la Cour des Ducs de Bourgogne*, Paris, 1909, 403-455.

¹⁶⁸ One of the earliest visual sources of *tableaux vivants* in the Netherlands is a series of drawings of the triumphal entry of Joanna of Castile into Brussels in 1496. These are found in Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, ms.78 D5; see P. Wescher, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturen, Handschriften und Einzelblätter des Kupferstichkabinetts der Staatlichen Museen Berlin*, Leipzig, 1931, 179-181; Kernodle (as in n. 166), 65; Eichberger (as in n. 166), 51, fig. 6.

was an especially excellent medium for the city to convey ideological messages to the guest and to the rest of the public. The study of the iconography of these performances is extremely important in the context of civic patronage, as it reveals much of the city's political aspirations. Furthermore, the descriptions and iconographical explanations of *tableaux vivants* found in chronicles are rare examples of contemporary hermeneutic sources.

In this chapter, two triumphal entries of Philip the Good into Bruges are discussed in more detail: one of 1440, and one organized in 1463.

The first of these, the triumphal entry on 11 December 1440, is very well documented. At this occasion, the duke publicly forgave the city of Bruges for their rebellion in the previous years. The entry and the decorations are described in the *Cronicke van Vlaenderen*. A copy of this chronicle, preserved in the Municipal Library of Bruges (ms. 436), includes a more detailed description of the events than that found in better known copies of this important historical source, such as its illustrated counterpart in the same collection (ms. 437), the 1531 printed edition by Lucas Vorsterman, or the copy kept at the Library of the University of Ghent (ms. 590).¹⁶⁹ Very closely related to the Bruges manuscript ms. 436, is a little studied illuminated copy of the *Cronicke van Vlaenderen* in New York.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ See Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, ms. 436, fols. 208v-214v (further as SBB, ms. 436). On this manuscript see O. Delepierre, "Bibliothèque manuscrite de la Ville de Bruges," *Messenger des sciences historiques de Belgique*, 1839, 165-166; A. de Poorter, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque publique de la ville de Bruges*, Paris, 1934, 491-492. The other main versions are Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, ms. 437; Rijksuniversiteit Gent, Handschriftenkabinet, ms. 590 (further as RUG, ms. 590; published by C.A. Serrure, Ph. Blommaert (eds.), *Kronyk van Vlaenderen van 580 tot 1467*, Ghent, 1839-40, especially II, 105-111); and *Dits die Excellente Cronike van Vlaenderen (...)*, Antwerp, Lucas Vorsterman, 1531 (further as Vorsterman). For the relationship between the different versions of this text, see V. Fris, "Ontleding van drie Vlaamsche Kronijken," *Handelingen der Maatschappij van Geschied- en Oudheidkunde te Gent*, III (1898), 135-171. Strohm (as in n. 74), 79-83, also gave a summary description of this event exclusively based on ms. 436. Due to the nature of his investigations, he was more interested in the music performed at this occasion, than in the iconography of the decoration.

¹⁷⁰ New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.435 (further as PML, M.435). The 1440 events are described on fols. 153-165. This passage of the text is remarkably close to Bruges,

Philip's entry into Bruges is also described by Nicolas Despars in his *Chronijcke*.¹⁷¹ Last, some data relative to this event can be found in the municipal accounts.¹⁷²

On 11 December 1440, Gillis vanden Vlamincoorte and Jan Losschaert, mayors of Bruges, went to meet the duke outside the Kruispoort, one of the city gates.¹⁷³ They were accompanied by the aldermen, councillors, treasurers, and other city officials, such as the captains of the six districts, the deans and board members of the corporations, each with a delegation of their people.

About 1,300 people awaited the exalted visitor.¹⁷⁴ All of them, amongst whom the most respected notables of the city, wore white shirts without girdles;¹⁷⁵ were barefoot and wore no hats. When the duke and his

Stadsbibliotheek, ms. 436, fols. 208v-214v. Judged from the watermarks of the paper, the Bruges version is probably slightly older. Briquet no. 8529 (Bruges, 1473) appears on fols. 130-238 of Bruges, ms. 436, while the New York copy is written on paper marked with Briquet no. 1654 (Bruges, 1494). The Pierpont Morgan manuscript was unknown to Fris (as in n. 169). It is illustrated by the so-called Master of the Bruges Chronicle of Flanders, who was also responsible for the illumination of SBB, ms. 437. On this illuminator, see E. Schenk zu Schweinsberg, *Die Illustrationen der Chronik von Flandern, Handschrift nr. 437 - der Stadsbibliothek zu Brügge in Verhältnis zu Hans Memling*, Strasbourg, 1922; G. Dogaer, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the 15th and 16th Centuries*, Amsterdam, 1987, 118-119.

¹⁷¹ J. de Jonghe (ed.), *Chronijcke van den lande ende graefscpe van Vlaenderen, gemaect door jo. Nicolaes Despars, poortere ende inboorlinck der stede van Brugghe, bacelier in die rechten, van de jaeren 405 tot 1492*, III, Bruges, 1839, 429-443 (further abbreviated as Despars).

¹⁷² Cf. doc. 11 in appendix.

¹⁷³ The names of the mayors are only mentioned in PML, M. 435, fol. 153.

¹⁷⁴ According to RUG, ms. 590, 105, there were a 1,000 people in attendance. Despars, 429, established their number at about 1,400.

¹⁷⁵ According to Despars, 430, they wore black girdles. In the famous miniature by the Master of the Privileges of Ghent and Flanders, which shows the burghers of Ghent imploring Philip the Good's pardon (Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 2583, fol. 349v), the supplicants do not wear girdles. On this manuscript see Dogaer (as in n. 170), 57-59; E. Dhanens, "Het Boek der Privilegiën te Gent," *Academiae Analecta*, XLVIII/2 (1987), 91-112.

following arrived, every one kneeled and folded their hands, begging the duke to forgive the city's bloody rebellion of the past year.

Philip the Good was accompanied by Charles, Duke of Orléans, whose release from a 25 year long captivity in England he had just succeeded in obtaining. In the following of the duke were also Charles, count of Nevers, Jean, count of Estampes, Adolph of Cleves, Jean de Luxembourg, count of Ligny, his brother Louis de Saint-Pol, the chancellor Nicolas Rolin, and the Bishop of Tournai, Jean Chevrot.

After having asked to be forgiven, the mayors offered the duke the keys of the city. Then, the beguines started to sing *Te deum Laudamus*, and all those present shouted "Noel! Noel!"¹⁷⁶ Now the duke's representatives in the city, bailiff Jan III de Baenst, and sheriff Jacob Schaeck, and many other knights and notables greeted Philip the Good. The abbots of the abbey of Ter Doest, of the Eekhout abbey, and of Zoetendale, and other ecclesiastics were also present. Some even brought relics with them.

Then, about 200 representatives of the foreign nations paid their honors. Those of the Hanseatic League, all on horseback, wore red habits and black capes and hats. In front of their ambassador, two squires carried a large shield with the arms of the German emperor. The Spanish merchants were dressed in red and green. Those of Milan wore pink; their herald held the arms of the Duke of Milan. The Venetians wore expensive purple silk damasks. All horses were decked with cloth in the same colors. The representatives of Lucca and Genova wore grey damask; those of Florence blue. In front of the Catalans, dressed in pink wool, a black youth dressed as a herald, carried the arms of Aragon.

This colorful mass, having hurried back through the gates to await the duke, lined up in front of their houses on the market and in the streets of Bruges, which were festively decorated with their coats of arms. All houses along the duke's route, from the Kruispoort to the ducal palace,

¹⁷⁶ "Noel! Noel!" was shouted at various public festivities, for instance at the baptism of Charles VI, and during the triumphal entry of Charles VII in Paris in 1437. The Old-French expression *On chante tant Noel, qu'il vient*, meant that someone long expected had arrived. See A. Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel, contenant généralement tous les mots françois tant vieux que modernes (...)*, II, The Hague, Amsterdam, 1690 (anastatic reprint Paris, 1978), s.v. Noël.

were embellished with red cloth and lavish tapestries. On the façade of the Waterhall hung red, blue and white cloths.

From the moment the duke came at the city gate, until he arrived in his palace, all bells in town were sounded. Eighty minstrels at the Kruispoort, played their trumpets and shawns. When he disappeared from their sight, they hurried to the market, where they lined up near the belfry.

At each corner of the streets between the Kruispoort and the ducal palace, a total of twenty-two *tableaux vivants* were performed. On most of these, minstrels played their instruments. At the Kruispoort, a stage was build on a huge wagon with four wheels. It represented a green forest in which St. John the Baptist stood, dressed in a sheep's skin. On a sign the text *Ecce vox clamantis in deserto, parate viam domino* was written (Hear the voice that cries out in the desert, preparing the road for the Lord).¹⁷⁷ This wagon preceded the procession, while the man playing St. John shouted *Parate viam domino*.¹⁷⁸ According to the chronicles this signified "*that our redoubtable lord made his entry, and every one was prepared to welcome him.*"¹⁷⁹

In front of the Kruispoort,¹⁸⁰ another scene "*with living personages*" was shown on a fixed stage, representing the story of Job. On a pile of manure, Job sat naked and chained. Beside him stood three of his friends, at the other side his wife. While Job was praising the Lord, they all mocked him. The text *Dominus dedit, dominus abstulit sicut domino placuit ita factum est* (The Lord gave, the Lord took; whatever the Lord wished, has been done), was attached to the stage. And this meant "*that the city of Bruges had*

¹⁷⁷ The copyist of SBB, ms. 436, made many mistakes in the Latin quotes; here *in deserta* (sic); see fol. 210v.

¹⁷⁸ This last element is only mentioned in RUG, ms. 590, 107.

¹⁷⁹ "*dat ons gheduchtich heere in quam, te dien hende dat elc ware bereet te ontfanen;*" see SBB, ms. 436, fol. 210v.

¹⁸⁰ Erroneously situated at the Boeveriepoort in RUG, ms. 590, 107.

been in chains," but that it had persevered in its faith in the Lord.¹⁸¹ Two harp-players enlivened this scene.

The procession went through the Langestraat. On the corner of the Peperstraat, a stage was installed with four prophets, each holding a scroll. On the first was written *Plebs tua letabitur in te* (Your people rejoice in You). The second prophet held a scroll with the text *Princeps dei est apud nos*. (The sovereign chosen by God is with us). On the third one was written *Omnia que locutus est dominus faciemus* (Everything that has been created, we have done for the Lord), and on the fourth one *Venite et revertamur ad dominum* (Come and convert us to the Lord). The prophets wore long robes and hats, and all four of them sang beautifully when the honored guests passed by. At the stage a sign hung with the text *Hec est dies quam fecit dominus exultemus et letemur in ea* (This is the day the Lord has made, let us rejoice and be glad).¹⁸²

Somewhat further, in front of the Hospital of St. Aubert, the Sacrifice of Abraham was shown on a stage. Three minstrels brightened the scene with music. Abraham was about to chop off the head of his unfortunate son, who sat on an altar. But an angel prevented this offer by holding Abraham's sword, and said the words that were written on this stage: *Nunc cognovi quia times Deum* (Now I have known that you fear the Lord). This *tableau vivant* meant "that the city of Bruges had docilely surrendered and obeyed to our redoubtable lord's command."¹⁸³

On the corner of the Rodestraat, another stage with four prophets was installed. All of them held scrolls and on the first one was written

¹⁸¹ "dat de stede van Brucghe in kettinichede gheweist hadde;" see SBB, ms. 436, fol. 210v. Despars, 433, states that this scene symbolized the lonely state of Bruges during the previous years, and the city's ascertainment that it could not trust anyone, except for its "natural lord and prince."

¹⁸² On this scene, the description in RUG, ms. 590, 108, is restricted to the quote of this text, as *Haec dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus laetemur in ea*.

¹⁸³ "dat de stede van Brucghe ghewillich gheweist hadden ende gheobegart ten bevelene van onsen gheduchten heere;" see SBB, ms. 436, fol. 210v. The text is quoted incorrectly in the latter source as *Nunc cognovimus quia timeas dominum*. In RUG, ms. 590, 108, this scene is situated after the *tableaux vivants* with prophets.

Miseraciones eius super omnia opera eius (His lamentations over all his work).¹⁸⁴ The second one said *Yratus est dominus et misericordis* (The Lord is wrathful and merciful), while the third one *Qui probus est misericordiam benedicetur* (He who is approved of is granted mercy). On the fourth one was written *Miseracionum recordabatur* (He was remembered with compassion). The prophets were dressed and sang like the others. On their stage was written again written *Hec est dies*

At the corner of the Langestraat and the present Ooievaarsstraat (then called Sheer Seghersstraat), a scene representing the Tree of Jesse was shown. A man lay on a bed, and from his stomach issued a tree with on each branch a little child, dressed in white and wearing a crown. In the center of the tree sat a young girl. According to Despars, the Tree of Jesse was "*painted so realistically, as if it were a miracle.*"¹⁸⁵ The same chronicler also stated that it had been done by the people of this neighborhood.¹⁸⁶

At the end of the Vulderstraat, another stage with four prophets was installed. Like the previous ones, they held scrolls, with following texts: *Diligite iusticiam quia indicatis terram* (Honor justice for it governs the world), *Facta est leticia magna in populo* (Great joy is brought over the people), *Letus moriar quia vidi faciem tuam* (I may die in peace for I have seen Your face), and *Querite faciem eius semper* (Seek always for His face).

On the corner of the Kerseboomstraat, a richly decorated scene showed how Esther had been elected amongst all women. "*And it were living people who stood there without moving, as if they were statues.*"¹⁸⁷ Three musicians played the organ, harp and lute on this stage. The scene was

¹⁸⁴ Quoted in RUG, ms. 590, 108, as *Miseraciones ejus super omnia opera ejus, facta est laetitia magna in populo, plebs tua laetabitur in te*, which is actually the text of the prophet in this scene, and that of an earlier one. Examples of this sort prove that this version of the text is not based on an accurate report of the event.

¹⁸⁵ "zo natuerelick ghecontrefeit als een wondere;" see Despars, 435. RUG, ms. 590, 108, situates this scene before the following stage with prophets.

¹⁸⁶ Despars, 434.

¹⁸⁷ "Ende waren levende personen staende zonder verporren als oft beelden ghezijn hadden;" *ibid.*, fol. 211.

explained with the text *Amavit eam rex plusquam omnes mulieres* (The king loved her much more than all the other women). This was a reference to the duke's love for Isabella of Portugal, and the oath he had sworn when he married her, *Autre Nauray* (I will have no other one).¹⁸⁸

In the *tableau vivant* on the next corner, at the Bilkske, the story of Esther was continued. It showed her asking King Ahasuerus's mercy for the people of Judea, and how he granted it out of love for her. Their text was written on scrolls: *Que est peticio tua Hester, ut detur tibi* (What is your wish, O Hester, and he granted it to her), and *Da michi populum meum pro quo obsecro* (Give my people what I beseech you). The scene was to flatter the duchess, as the chronicler tells us "*And this meant how our redoubtable Lady had intervened with our redoubtable Lord for the city of Bruges and its people.*"¹⁸⁹

The following scene showed how the Magdalen fell at the Lord's feet in the house of Simon, and how He forgave all her sins. This stage was installed on the corner of the Ganzestraat, and on the front hung a sign with the text *Dimittuntur ei peccata multa quia dilexit multum* (Your many sins are forgiven, for He loves you much).¹⁹⁰ This scene referred again to the duke's mercy for the city of Bruges.

Now the parade arrived at the Dominicans. In front of their cloister, next to a fountain, the Nativity of Christ and the Annunciation to the Shepherds were shown. On a scroll held by an angel was written *Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum, hodie scietis quod veniet Dominus* (I bring you great

¹⁸⁸ Although he took this oath as his personal motto, Philip never interpreted it too rigidly. Indeed, Isabella was Philip's third and last wife, but he left 26 bastard children. For a list of their names, see Prevenier, Blockmans (as in n. 162), 389. The first scene with Esther is not mentioned in RUG, ms. 590, 108.

¹⁸⁹ "*Ende was de beteekenesse hoe dat onse gheduchteghe vrouwe de stede van brucghe ende al toolc verbeden hadde tieghens ons gheduchten heere ende prinche;*" see SBB, ms. 436, fol. 211. The text is erroneously quoted in the latter source as *Da michi popillum* (sic) *meum pro quo obsero* (sic).

¹⁹⁰ The text is quoted here as in Despars, 436. In SBB, ms. 436, fol. 211v, it is given as *Dimittuntur tibi peccata multa quoniam dilexit multum*; in RUG, ms. 590, 108, as *Dimissa sunt ei peccata multa, quum dilexit multum*.

joy, for today you know that the Lord has come). And on the roof of the cloister, a throne was built, on which angels sat singing *Gloria in excelsis Deo*. A mechanical device popped out suggesting lightning. In the *Chronicke* (ms. 436), this scene is explained as the joy of Bruges for the arrival of the duke.¹⁹¹

Further along the wall of the Dominicans' cloister, a smaller scene represented St. Dominic and the Virgin, who prayed to her Son for the world.

Next to this scene, actors played out the story of Zacchaeus, who climbed a tree to get a better look at the Lord when he arrived at Jericho. Jesus' words were written on a scroll: *Sachee festinatus descende quia hodie in domo tua oportet me manere* (Zacchaeus, descend quickly, for today I must stay in your house). When Zacchaeus descended, Jesus accompanied him to a house, on which was written *Hodie huic domui salus facta est* (Today this house is blessed). This referred to the bliss that the city of Bruges enjoyed by the duke's coming.¹⁹²

At the Molenbrug, the Portuguese and Genovese merchants had a stage set, with painted props, which represented the city of Bruges.¹⁹³ On a throne, King David played his harp. On the wall was written *Misericordias domini in eternum cantabo* (I will sing about the Lord's mercy in eternity) and *Laetemur civitas quaerentium Dominum* (Rejoyce the city that seeks the Lord). When the duke passed along this scene, several beautiful and graceful girls came through the gates of this painted city, and shouted *Noel! Noel!*, to welcome the long expected lord. Meanwhile, many musicians played their instruments.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ SBB, ms. 436, fol. 211v. The text is quoted here as *Annunciabo vobis gaudium quia hodie sciatis quia venit dominus*.

¹⁹² "Ende beteckende dat de comste van ons gheduchten heere binnen zijnder stede van Brucghe was de salichede vander stede;" SBB, ms. 436, fol. 211v. In RUG, ms. 590, 109, the text is given as *Hodie salus facta est huic Domui*.

¹⁹³ Only Despars, 437, attributes the construction of this scaffold to the Portuguese and Genovese merchants. Other sources do not mention the patrons.

¹⁹⁴ Texts quoted here as in Despars, 437. According to RUG, ms. 590, 109, David held the scroll in his hand, and the text on it read *Laetemur cor quaerentium Dominum*,

The next four stages were related to the Acts of Mercy. The first two were divided into three separate scenes. The first scaffold was installed on the corner of the Boomgaardstraat and the Hoogstraat. The actors stood there motionless, "as if they were sculpted statues."¹⁹⁵ The first scene showed a wealthy man who fed the poor. It was annotated by the text *Erusiui* (sic) *et dedisti michi manducare* (I was hungry, and you fed me). The second scene showed a man who quenched the thirst of the poor, and the accompanying text said *Citiui* (sic) *et dedisti michi bibere* (I was thirsty, and you give me drink), while in the third the naked were clothed. *Nudus eram et coperuisti me* (I was naked, and you clothed me), explained the scroll.

On the following corner, at the Ridderstraat, a similar tripartite set of *tableaux vivants* was shown, representing tending the stranger, the prisoner and the sick. These acts were elucidated by the texts *Hospes eram et collegisti me* (I was a stranger, and you welcomed me), *In carcere eram et visitasti me* (I was in prison, and you came to visit me), *Infirmus sum et visitasti me* (I was sick, and you visited me).¹⁹⁶

The third stage of this series showed the Seventh Act, the burying the dead. On the construction was written *Dum orabas et sepeliebas obtuli oracionem tuam coram domino* (While you were praying and burying, the prayers of your heart were carried to God).

The scene on the following scaffold concluded the Acts of Mercy. It represented the mercy of God the Father, who was shown with a kneeling woman at his feet. On a text scroll was written *Venite benedicti patris mei, quod uni ex his fratribus meis minimis fecistis, mihi fecistis* (Come and praise my Father, whatsoever you do for the least of my brothers, that you do unto

miser ricordias Domini in eternum cantabo. According to SBB, ms. 436, fol. 211v, there were two texts of which the second is unlikely quoted as *Letemur corum querecuum dominum*.

¹⁹⁵ "als oft ghesneden beelden gheweist hadden;" SBB, ms. 436, fol. 211v. RUG, ms. 590, 109, situates this scaffold in the *Wijngaertstrate* (sic).

¹⁹⁶ In RUG, ms. 590, 109, and in Despars, 437, a third stage with the seventh act of mercy is mentioned, without any further description.

me). And this referred again to "*the mercy that our redoubtable Lord has had on the city of Bruges.*"¹⁹⁷

At the entrance gate of the Burg, the story of Joachim was shown on a scaffold, which was commissioned by the Florentine merchants.¹⁹⁸ The actors played out first how Joachim's offer was not accepted in the temple because his marriage had remained childless thus far. The next scene showed Joachim's vision of the angel, who said to him, *Noli timere ioachim, anna uxor tua concipiet et pariet filiam, et ergo tibi signo cum veneris ad portam auream habeas eam in tibi obuiam* (Do not fear me, Joachim, your wife Anna will conceive and bring to the world a daughter, and as a sign you will meet her when you go to the golden gate). Finally, the actual meeting of Joachim and Anna was represented. The Burg gate was entirely gilded, and on top were singing and music making children. The explanation given by the chronicler for this scene is mainly related to the disgrace Joachim experienced:

*This scene meant the conception of Our Lady. As our redoubtable Lord made his entry this day, it also referred to Bruges that had been devoid and out of the grace of our redoubtable Lord, and that had now been admitted into his mercy and grace.*¹⁹⁹

On the Burg, the duke and his company saw a remarkable fountain in the form of a miniature castle, set on top of a stone construction. In front

¹⁹⁷ "*De welke personen beteeckende de ontfaermichede die ons gheduchtich heere ghedaen hadde der stede van Brucghe;*" SBB, ms. 436, fol. 212. The text on this stage is quoted after Despars, 437. In SBB, ms. 436, fol. 212, it is given as *Venite benedicti patris mei quia diu hec nem ex hiis fratribus meis mimicis fecisti michi fecistis*; in RUG, ms. 590, 109, more likely as *Venite benedicti patris mei, quod fecistis uni ex his minimis fratribus meis mihi fecistis*.

¹⁹⁸ Only Despars, 437-438, provided information about the patronage of this *tableau vivant*.

¹⁹⁹ "*Welke ystorie beteeckende de conceptie van Onsen Vrouwen. Mids dat onse gheduchtich heere in dien dach in commen zoude. Ende was ooc ten propooste dat de stede van Brucghe die versteken ende uten gracie van onsen gheduchteghen heere gheweist hadde weder ghecommen was te zijnder ghenaden ende gracie;*" SBB, ms. 436, fol. 212-212v.

of this castle was a statue of a girl, urinating spiced wine, of which every one was allowed to partake freely most of the day.²⁰⁰

In front of the prison on the Burg, was a stage representing the dungeon, in which St. Peter was imprisoned, guarded by soldiers. An angel lead St. Peter out of his cell, and he started to sing the words *Nunc scio quia misit Dominus angelum suum et eripuit me* (Now I know that the Lord has sent his angel and has liberated me). This scene was specifically a reference to the liberation of the Duke of Orléans, but also "to the city of Bruges, which had also been in tears for a long time, that had been comforted and freed by the coming of our redoubtable Lord."²⁰¹

The honored guests walked from the Burg through the Breidelstraat to arrive on the market. In front of the belfry, another bizarre fountain was placed. It was a triangular column, with a statue on each side, set into a hexagonal basin. On top of the column stood a grotesque man, with a sword in one hand and a dagger in the other. On one side of the column was a statue of a woman from whose breasts came milk; on the other side stood a buffoon who urinated red wine, and on the third side a wild man, whose club issued white wine. Night and day, every one was free to drink from these fountains. Three seaknights and three mermaids floated in the basin. Singing children sat on six small stages installed at different heights of the fountain. On each corner of the basin, stood a lion with the arms of Flanders around its neck, and holding a banner with the arms of Bruges.

On the roof of the old hall, a rope-dancer performed risky stunts.²⁰² Meanwhile, in front of the Raashuis, next to the Church of St. Christopher, another *tableau vivant* was performed, representing the Resurrection of

²⁰⁰ Strohm (as in n. 74), 82, apparently confused this statue with the fountain on the market.

²⁰¹ "Ende was wel ten propooste vander stede van Brugghe die ooc langhe in verdriete ghezyn hadde, ende die bij der comste van onzen voors. gheduchten heeren ende prinche vertroost ende verlost was;" SBB, ms. 436, fol. 212v. The text of the inscription is again quoted from Despars, 438. SBB, ms. 436, fol. 212v, gives *Nunc scio vere quis misit deus angelum suum et eripuit me*; RUG, ms. 590, 109, as *Nunc scio vere quia misit Dominus angelum suum et eripuit me*

²⁰² This detail is not mentioned in SBB, ms. 436, but it is in the other sources.

Christ. This play had been commissioned by the Spanish merchants.²⁰³ On a text scroll was written *Ecce ego vobiscum sum usque ad consummacionem seculi* (I am with you until the end of time). The latter referred to the duke, in whose grace Bruges would hope to stay henceforth until the end of time.

The company now turned toward the Geldmuntstraat, the final part of their route to the Prinsenhof. In front of the guildhouse of the plumbers, was another fountain that poured Rhine wine, and two tubes sprayed water onto the street.²⁰⁴

In front of the entrance of the ducal palace a wooden wall was erected with a gate, lavishly decorated with paintings, and banners of Bruges on top. On the crenelated edge of this gate, the coats of arms of all the duke's lands were set. On either side of the entrance stood a big lion, one holding a banner with the arms of the duke, the other with the arms of the duchess. Many minstrels on top of this construction played their trumpets and shawns while the duke entered his residence through the gate.

Beside the entrance stood yet another fountain. This one was made in the form of a camel, with a black buffoon in oriental costume on its back, who held a flask, from which sweet wine issued.

A last *tableau vivant* was set on the other side of the street. It represented the Transfiguration of Christ. Next to Christ stood Moses and Elijah, and at their feet, SS Peter, John and James. Peter's words were written on the scroll: *Domine bonum est hic nos esse, faciamus hic tria tabernacula* (Lord, it is good to be here; let us make three tabernacles here). Despars gave the most likely interpretation of this scene, as expressing the desire of the people of Bruges that the duke would stay in the city.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ The information on the patronage is only found in Despars, 439.

²⁰⁴ According to Despars, 440, the wine was spilled onto the street.

²⁰⁵ Despars, 441. The slightly deviant interpretation given by the chronicler in SBB, ms. 436 is again a little forced and unclear: "And this was in memory of and as a warning that our redoubtable lord promised to stay within his city of Bruges and reside in his palace" (*Ende was een memorie ende een vermaen dat onsen gheduchten heere binnen zijnder stede van Brucghe gheloofde te blivene ende in zijn hof te houdene*); SBB, ms. 436, fol. 213v. This source does not quote the *faciamus hic tria tabernacula* from the inscription.

At the palace, the magistrature of Bruges joined the duke and his entourage inside, and the duke had the keys of the city returned to them by the bailiff. He expressed his gratitude and his confidence in the city, and every one present shouted in full joy "Noel! Noel!"

At night bonfires were made in the streets of Bruges. Huge parties were held especially near the Beurs, on the market and the Burg, in the Oude Burg, the Braambergstraat, the Huidevettersplaats, on the Koningsbrug, in the Hoogstraat, and the Sint-Jacobsstraat, but also elsewhere in the city. The fires took all sorts of forms. Some were like castles, others were built on wagons. The houses were decorated and illuminated by torches, and musicians played at several places. Everywhere women danced and offered their bodies.

The duke, the duchess, Charles of Orléans, his wife and some other aristocrats rode out at night and walked around to see the merry companies and the bonfires. The city offered prizes to those who celebrated best: those of the Beurs received a silver plate of three marks, and those of the Koningsbrug a plate of one mark.²⁰⁶

On the spires of the churches of Our Lady, St. Savior, St. James, St. Christopher, St. Walburga, and St. Giles, and on the belfry, huge lanterns were built, in which many candles burned throughout the night, "*which was extraordinary, strange and wonderful to see.*"²⁰⁷

The next three days, jousts were organized. The following Saturday, the count of Charolais, the young Charles the Bold, arrived in Bruges with his wife, Catherine of France.²⁰⁸ For them, all *tableaux vivants* were shown once again. This festive week was concluded with another joust on the market on Sunday.

²⁰⁶ RUG, ms. 590, 111, mentions two plates of two marks each, and Despars, 442, two plates of one mark each.

²⁰⁷ "twelke zeere eerlic, vreemde ende wonderlic om ziene;" SBB, ms. 436, fol. 214.

²⁰⁸ Strohm (as in n. 74), 83, situated Charles the Bold's entry two months later.

In the municipal accounts for the year 1440-41, the expenditure for all the decoration of these festivities is included.²⁰⁹ The carpenters who erected the scaffolds for the *tableaux vivants* and who worked on the gate at the entrance of the ducal palace were paid for their labor and the materials they used. The masons, stone-masons, plumbers, and pavers who installed the fountains on the Burg and on the market, were also remunerated for labor and materials. Together these craftsmen were paid £126 10s gr. The image-makers decorated all these installations with painting and gold.²¹⁰ The material they used included gold leaf, silver leaf and other foil, much of which was used to make the Golden Gate-stage at the entrance of the Burg. For all these materials, and also for the seaknights and mermaids in the fountain on the market, for all the banners on the gate in front of the ducal palace, and other parts of the decoration, they received £90 4s 6d gr, and another £52 16s gr in wages. For the materials and the manufacturing of sculptural decoration on the fountains, £22 15s gr was laid out. For the wine, milk, and spicy wine that issued from these fountains, the magistrature paid £6 16s gr. The expenses for diverse iron material, like nails and hooks, and the rent for canvas, amounted to £27 14s gr. Finally, £32 16s gr was paid in wages to the actors who performed the *tableaux vivants*. This means that the total expenditure for the *tableaux vivants* and the fountains amounted to £359 11s 6d gr (*i.e.*, 1,035,576d par).²¹¹ This huge amount is about the equivalent of what a master craftsman in Bruges made at that time in about 30 years, *i.e.* during a whole active career. Another comparison may be even more telling. Only five years earlier, in 1435, about one seventh of this amount was paid for sculpting, installation,

²⁰⁹ Cf. doc. 14 in appendix.

²¹⁰ According to Strohm (as in n. 74), 83, Jan van Eyck probably contributed to this work, "*in his role of an almost official city painter (sic)*" There is no evidence whatsoever to support this assumption. Nor can it be said that Jan van Eyck ever fulfilled this role of city painter, not even semi-officially. For the painters who were repeatedly employed by the city, see above.

²¹¹ Evidently, this was only part of the total cost of the whole event. Other expenses, not specified here in detail, were made for the banquets, receptions, and the tournaments; see Gilliodts-Van Severen (as in n. 6), V, 194-196.

polychromy and gilding of five statues on the façade of the city hall. The high expenditure for these ephemeral works, certainly in comparison to what the city spent on other more lasting forms of artistic expression, proves very clearly how significant these ephemera were.

It should be emphasized that not every triumphal entry of the duke caused such lavish pageantry. In 1455, for instance, the duke returned to Bruges after having been in Germany for many months. The future Charles the Bold accompanied his father and brought his second wife, Isabella of Bourbon, to Bruges for the first time. For this occasion, the painter Jan van der Leye made some heraldic decoration for the gate through which the duke was to enter the city.²¹² In April 1457, when the duke entered Bruges, now accompanied by the Dauphin of France, later Louis XI, the city had also *tableaux vivants* erected. Gaging from the municipal accounts, these tributes in 1455 and 1457 were rather modest in comparison to those that were installed in 1440.²¹³

Much more impressive must have been the decorations and *tableaux vivants* staged for the triumphal entry of Philip the Good and his sister Agnes, wife of Charles, Duke of Bourbon, on 22 February 1463 (n.s.).²¹⁴ The source material informing us about this event is limited in comparison to that of the 1440 entry. Actually, the payment records noted in the municipal

²¹² Cf. doc. 48 in appendix.

²¹³ Cf. doc. 52 in appendix. About these decorations, Despars, 542, only mentions that "*also diverse triumphal gates and lavish performances with strange subjects were shown*" (*ooc diversche poorten van triumphe ende costelicke spectaclen van vreimden bedietsele te ziene waren*).

²¹⁴ Gilliodts-Van Severen (as in n. 6), V, 531-532, stated that Margaret of Anjou, the fugitive queen of England and wife of Henry VI, and her son, the Prince of Wales, were simultaneously welcomed into Bruges. However, the latter party only arrived in July 1463, *i.e.*, five months later; see T. Luykx, J.L. Broeckx, *Brugge (Steden en Landschappen, IX)*, Antwerp, 1943, 106. The magistrature offered them wax and wine; see Gilliodts-Van Severen (as in n. 6), V, 531-532. Strohm (as in n. 74), 83, apparently not aware of this confusion, assumed also that it was Margaret of Anjou who made her entry at Philip's side in February 1463.

accounts of the year 1462-63, are the only available sources.²¹⁵ Nevertheless, they are as revealing as the iconography of the pageants was innovative.

Philip the Good and his sister came from Ghent and entered the city in a rather unusual fashion, namely by boat. The bailiff and the sheriff, the two mayors, the aldermen and the councillors, all sailed out to meet Philip. Their boat was decorated with pennons with the ducal arms, painted for the occasion by Arnoud de Mol. All the sailors and other personnel aboard wore red, white and blue tunics. The sides of the boat were illuminated by 66 wax torches. The magistrature offered many gifts to Agnes of Bourbon: she received two barrels of Beaune wine, and a huge quantity of wax. In addition, the duke's sister received two silver plates and two silver lions, which the silversmith Boudewijn Hendricx had sold to the city for £38 8s 9d gr.

A series of *tableaux vivants* was installed for the event on the banks of the Reie, or on floats on the river itself. For each, someone, usually a rhetorician, was in charge. This person was paid by the city treasurers for the expenses of the installation, such as the wages of the craftsmen and the material, as well as for the wages of the actors who performed the scene.

The honored company entered the city by boat at the northeast side. In front of the Hospital of Our Lady of the Potterie, on the banks of the river, a first *tableau vivant* representing the Seven Virtues, was installed by Anthuenis Vander Houbeke. Somewhat further, probably near the Snaggaardbrug,²¹⁶ a castle was erected on floats. In it a few girls played Venus and her maids of honor. Colaert Dault was responsible for this stage, which was "*elegantly and richly decorated*."²¹⁷

²¹⁵ Cf. doc. 65 in appendix.

²¹⁶ The document situates this *tableau vivant*, *in front of Bonneurs* ("*voor Bonneurs*"), a house which must have been situated near this bridge.

²¹⁷ "*chierlike ende ryckelike ghestoffeirt*." On Colaert Dault and his contacts with the rhetorician Antonius de Roovere, see also chapter IV, section D.

Near the Carmersbrug, then called the Thorrebrug,²¹⁸ another stage was built on boats floating on the water. It represented the Judgment of Paris. Bruges's most important rhetorician of that time, Antoon de Roovere, was responsible for this scene. The ducal guests disembarked near the Poortersloge, and proceeded through the present Academiestraat (then Zouterstraat). There another scaffold was erected in front of the statue of the little bear, symbol of the Honorable Jousting Society of the White Bear. The accounts mention only that Pieter van Bochoute had erected it, not what its theme was. When the ducal following arrived at the Vlamingstraat, they saw another stage in front of the house of the Beurse family, erected by Jan Tsolle with a *tableau vivant*, which is again not specified in the municipal records.

From there the route followed by the company is not clear. Probably it took a short-cut through the present Nicolas Desparsstraat or a parallel street to the Geldmuntstraat, thus avoiding the market. Apparently no scaffolds were erected on the market. In front of the ducal residence, two *tableaux vivants* were presented by Anthuenis van Dammast. As usual the ducal entry was celebrated by the Bruges population at night. The corporation of the fish merchants won the prize for the best party, and a huge bonfire was made on the Burg. The entry was the start of a long series of festive events. About two weeks later, on 6 March, a tournament was organized on the market. Philip the Good and Agnes de Bourbon watched this event, which was organized in their honor, from the house Cranenburg.²¹⁹ The mayors, aldermen and councillors had taken places at the windows of another house on the market, called Coolkerke.

On 24 April, the duke, his son Charles, Agnes of Bourbon and other noble courtiers were offered a lavish banquet in the city hall. About one week later, the annual festival started, and the procession of the Holy Blood went out as usual on 3 May. As the duke and his following were still in

²¹⁸ Or in some documents *the bridge next to which Jan van den Thorre lives* ("de brucghe daer Jan van den Thorre besiden woont"); see Duclos (as in n. 2), 533.

²¹⁹ The expenditure for this event immediately follows those for the *tableaux vivants*; see doc. 65 in appendix. It was in this same house, Cranenburg, that Maximilian was kept prisoner in 1488.

town, the procession was even more lavish than usual. The image-makers received £12 gr for repairing the props of a scene representing the *Agony in the Garden*, and they were rewarded for staging the best performance. Petrus Christus and master painter Pieter Nachtegale were paid for supervising the construction of two gigantic props installed in the streets of Bruges. These represented a Tree of Jesse and a scene, called Jerusalem.²²⁰ The long series of festivities, which had started on 22 February, was concluded with a feat of arms, organized by Philip de Lalaing on the market. Also at this occasion, Philip the Good, his son Charles, and Agnes de Bourbon were present. As in the tournament of a couple of weeks earlier, the courtiers were accommodated again in houses on the market. A wooden scaffold provided seating for the magistrature this time.

The payment to Petrus Christus and his colleague Pieter Nachtegale should be discussed here more fully, as the wording of this document has been the subject of some controversy. Moreover, some interesting remarks can be made about the iconography of the *tableaux vivants* that were made under the supervision of these artists.

The materials, carpenters' wages, and food for 72 people were included in the considerable amount of £40 8s gr that they received from the city treasurers. The props probably consisted of a wooden core with an

²²⁰ In 1466-67, Petrus Christus restored some of the painted elements on the *Tree of Jesse*, and the following year he received arrears on the payment for those repairs. In May 1468, François van den Pitte and Jacob de Jonghe were once again paid for repairing the same props. See doc. 77 and 82 in appendix. Master painter Pieter Nachtegale was *vinder* (i.e., sworn member or inspector) of the image-makers' corporation in 1457 and governor (or financial administrator) of the corporation in 1461 and 1462. He died between 29 August 1469 and 27 August 1470 (cf. doc. 90 in appendix). On this artist see amongst others: Carton, "Obituaire de la Société de St.Luc," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, 2e série, XII (1862-1863), 5; Van de Castele (as in n. 121), 63, 68-69, 245, 343. Misled by the confusing sequence of entries in the accounts of this year, all the authors who commented on this considered these *tableaux vivants* to be part of the pageantry of the entry on 22 February of that year. I made the same error in my "New Information on Petrus Christus' Biography and the Patronage of his Brussels 'Lamentation'" *Simiolus*, XX/1 (1991), 6, 8-12. I now believe that the revised chronology of the events, as they are presented here, is correct. Nevertheless, the confusion about the chronology does not effect the remarks about the iconography of the *tableaux vivants*, which have been presented in this article. They are repeated hereafter.

armature of iron-wire wrapped with canvas, which was then painted. The 72 people mentioned in the document may have been involved in the construction of the scenery, but it is more likely that they were actors in the *tableaux vivants*. First, the craftsmen were listed separately in the account (and daily wages of the carpenters), and secondly, the document states very specifically: "72 persons, all working on the day of the procession on the aforementioned Tree and Jerusalem," which seems to indicate that they were present during the procession. It is also logical that the construction would have been completed and installed by then.

The *tableaux* represented a Tree of Jesse and a scene, designated in the document with the abbreviation *Jhlem*. Most scholars misread this abbreviation as *Jhkin* and interpreted it as 'Jhesuskine' or baby Jesus, which makes little sense.²²¹ What would have been the iconographical relevance of a representation of the Christ Child during the procession of the Holy Blood and in the context of the ducal presence?

Gilliodts-Van Severen and Strohm were the only ones to read the abbreviation properly as *Jherusalem*.²²² Indeed, in most documents referring to the Jerusalem chapel in Bruges, for instance, the same abbreviation is constantly found. Strohm interpreted the term as a scene representing the City of Jerusalem. But how should one visualize such a scene, and how many people were involved?

If the assumption is correct that the 72 people mentioned in the document were actors in the *tableaux vivants*, one can tentatively deduce the number of people involved in each of the two scenes. Usually, about fifteen people were needed to represent a Tree of Jesse: Christ, the Virgin, Jesse, and about twelve ancestors of Christ, including King David.²²³ The number

²²¹ W.H.J. Weale, "Pierre et Sébastien Christus," *Le Beffroi*, I (1863), 237. All other scholars, except Gilliodts-Van Severen (as in n. 6), V, 534, relied upon Weale's transcription.

²²² Strohm (as in n. 74), 83.

²²³ According to L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien*, vol. II/2, Paris, 1957, 134, the number of ancestors fluctuated, but usually twelve of them were represented. An example is the *Tree of Jesse* in the *Breviary of Philip the Good*, sometimes attributed to Jan de Tavernier (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. 9511, fol. 15) (see V. Leroquais, *Le Bréviaire de Philippe le Bon. Bréviaire parisien du XVe siècle*, II, Brussels, 1929, pl. 1). In the

of actors in the *Jerusalem* can therefore be estimated at about 57. But what did the scene look like?

As discussed earlier, one of the *tableaux vivants* installed for the ducal entry in 1440, also represented a city. An actor dressed as King David played his harp and was surrounded by other musicians and girls who shouted "Noel! Noel!" when the ducal procession passed by. Here, the city symbolized the remorseful city of Bruges and the duke was hailed as one who had been long expected.

Although this *tableau* is an obvious precedent for the 1463 staging by Petrus Christus and his colleague Pieter Nachtegale, it is certainly not the only possible way one could interpret the term *Jerusalem* in the municipal document.²²⁴ The scene might have been based upon a miniature found in one of the many illuminated copies of St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* that were kept in Flemish collections.²²⁵ However, the iconographical aptness of the Church Father's description of the Heavenly and Earthly Jerusalem remains obscure in the present context.

Christ's Entry into Jerusalem would have been an appropriate theme for a *tableau vivant* festively honoring the duke. It is conceivable that any

Tree of Jesse (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum), attributed by Châtelet to Jacob Jansz., the Virgin and Child, Jesse, twelve ancestors, two prophets and a donatrix are shown (see A. Châtelet, *Early Dutch Painting. Painting in the northern Netherlands in the fifteenth century*, New York, 1981, pl. 106, cat. 93).

²²⁴ Since one may assume an identification of the city of Bruges with the scene, it is highly unlikely that the iconography of the *tableau vivant* was the *Siege and Conquest of Jerusalem by Titus in 70 A.D.* as represented on the predella of the *Ghent Crucifixion triptych* (Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten). In 1463, no recent political event could have caused such a program. Moreover, it would have been inconceivable in the context of the city's flattering and praise for the duke. On the *Ghent Crucifixion triptych* and its predella see *Gent 1000 Jaar Kunst en Cultuur*, vol. I, [exh.cat], Ghent, 1975, 176-177 (with more bibliography); E. Dhanens, "De artistieke uitrusting van de Sint-Janskerk te Gent in de 15de eeuw," *Academiae Analecta*, XLIV/1 (1983), 64).

²²⁵ Not only the original Latin version, but also Raoul de Presles's French translation of this text was widespread at the time. See A. de Laborde, *Les manuscrits à peintures de la Cité de Dieu de Saint Augustin*, 2 vols., Paris, 1909, *passim*. In his survey of Flemish manuscript illumination, Dogaer (as in n. 170), 36, 42, 59, 76, 103, 136, lists six prominent examples of Flemish illuminated versions of this text.

other scene from Christ's Passion could have been labeled *Jherusalem* in a contemporary document. Often places of devotion dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre were generically called *Jerusalem*. For instance, the Jerusalem Chapel at Bruges -- where a fifteenth century reconstruction of Christ's tomb is still preserved ²²⁶ -- was so called, as was the crypt of St. Bavo's Cathedral in Ghent, which was the most prominent location of devotion in that city of pilgrims to Jerusalem.²²⁷

The *Jherusalem* constructed under the supervision of Petrus Christus and Pieter Nachtgale was not necessarily restricted to one scene. One could even imagine a staging of the whole Passion cycle situated in a cityscape, as in Hans Memling's *Turin Passion of Christ* (Pl. 12-13).²²⁸ Of course, the construction would have been a simplified version of the theme. In the *Turin Passion*, commissioned c. 1470 by Tommaso Portinari, representative of the Medici bank in Flanders, and his wife, Maria Baroncelli, Memling depicted Christ's Passion in twenty-one simultaneous scenes. A complex, ingeniously constructed network of architectural elements formed the stage for these scenes, each represented by a handful of

²²⁶ For more about the Jerusalem chapel, see chapter IV, section E.

²²⁷ Dhanens (as in n. 224), 59-63. Referring to the most significant sculpture group in this crypt, carved by Willem Hughe between 1475 and 1485, the Ghent chronicler, Marcus van Vaernewyck (1518-1569) wrote: "*dat constich gesneden weerck ghedaen van meester Willem Hughe met beelden zoo groot alsleven ende was een begravynghe ons Heeren staende in de zelve keercke, in de crocht in een doncker afghesloten plaetse ghenaempt Jherusalem*" (*this artistically carved work done by master Willem Hughe with life-size sculptures, was an Entombment of Our Lord, situated in the same church in the crypt in a dark and secluded place called Jerusalem*). See Marcus van Vaernewyck, *Van die beroerlicke Tyden in de Nederlanden en voornamelijk in Ghent, 1566-1568* (ed. F. Vanderhaeghen, vol. I, Ghent 1872, 146). The late fifteenth-century mural compositions in the crypt of St. Bavo's cathedral represent saints and scenes from Christ's Passion (see Martens (as in n. 24), 86-103, 226-232.)

²²⁸ Turin, Galleria Sabauda; see C. Aru & E. de Geradon, *La Galerie Sabauda de Turin (Les Primitifs flamands. I. Corpus de la Peinture des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux au quinzième siècle, 2)*, Antwerp, 1952, 14-20, pl. XXII-XL; M. J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. 6/1: *Hans Memling and Gerard David*, (comments and notes by N. Veronée-Verhaegen), Leiden, Brussels, 1971, 50, pl. 34; E. Kluckert, "Die Simultanbilder Memlings, Ihre Wurzeln und Wirkungen," *Das Münster*, XXVII (1974), 284-295.

figures. Diverse visual sources for these *Simultanbilder* have been proposed, such as miniatures from fourteenth and early fifteenth century *Weltchroniken* and historiated bibles.²²⁹ Ephemeral constructions such as *tableaux vivants* and other forms of late medieval street theater, frequently staged during Burgundian civic festivities, are even more obvious visual sources for Memling's intricate Turin composition.

Petrus Christus and Pieter Nachtegale could have made use of topographically correct sources for their depiction of Jerusalem. Some authors have speculated about the existence of a lost *View of Jerusalem* by Jan van Eyck.²³⁰ Some miniatures from the Burgundian library with views of the Holy City imply that there may have even been a model at the court.²³¹ Margaret of Austria's collection certainly included a view of

²²⁹ Kluckert (as in n. 228), 288-290.

²³⁰ This Eyckian *View of Jerusalem* was probably kept in the Ducal Palace at Dijon as early as 1435-36. The backgrounds of several paintings, such as the *Three Maries at the Tomb* (Rotterdam, Boymans-Van Beuningen Museum), the *Crucifixion*-miniature in the Turin-Milan Hours, and copies of lost Eyckian paintings, such as the *Crucifixion* (Venice, Ca d'Oro; Berlin, Gemäldegalerie) and *Christ Carrying the Cross* (Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum), all seem to indicate that Jan made an accurate view of the city. See C. Sterling, "Jan van Eyck avant 1432," *Revue de l'Art*, XXXIII (1976), 29-30; C. H. Krinsky, "Representations of the Temple of Jerusalem before 1500," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXIII (1970), 14-16; O. Pächt, "René d'Anjou et les Van Eyck," *Cahiers de l'Association Internationale des Etudes françaises*, VIII (1956), 46-47; Idem, "René d'Anjou Studien, I," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorische Sammlungen in Wien*, LXIX (1973), 93-95; J.C. Smith, *The Artistic Patronage of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy (1419-1467)*, Ph.D., Columbia University, 1979, 118-122. On the paintings mentioned here see also M. J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, vol. 1: *The van Eycks - Petrus Christus*, (comments and notes by N. Veronée-Verhaegen), Brussels, Leiden, 1967, pl. 37, 43, 38a-b, 65a; *Picture Gallery Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, Catalogue of Paintings 13th-18th century*, (2nd revised ed.) Berlin, 1978, 156, no. 525.F; S. Urbach, *Maitres des Anciens Pays-Bas*, Budapest, 1971, 1-4.

²³¹ At least two miniatures from the Burgundian library with more or less accurate views of Jerusalem are known: *Avis Pour Faire le Passage d'Outre-Mer* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 9087, fol. 85v); *Chroniques et Conquêtes de Charlemagne* (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. 9066, fol. 146v). See Krinsky (as in n. 230), 14-16; Smith (as in n. 230), 120-121.

Jerusalem painted on paper, as well as a printed version.²³² One of these examples or their prototypes could have been used by Petrus Christus and Pieter Nachtegale as topographically correct visual sources for their representation of the city of Jerusalem.

Until a more detailed description of the *tableaux vivants* at Bruges in 1463 is discovered, it remains impossible to formulate their appearance decisely. Their meaning in the context of Philip the Good's visit to Bruges can be established nonetheless. For many years the duke had cherished the ambitious dream of mounting a new crusade, a plan that had determined much of his politics.²³³ Many of the works of art he commissioned alluded to this ambition,²³⁴ and the famous *Banquet du Faisan*, with its exuberant pageants, organized in 1454 at Lille, culminated in the Duke's vow to fight the Moslems in the Holy Lands.²³⁵ Clearly the Jerusalem set up in the streets

²³² H. Zimerman, J. von Fiedler, "Urkunden und Regesten aus dem K. u. K. Haus-Hof- und Staats-Archiv in Wien," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses Wien*, III (1885), no. 2979, no. 193; Smith (as in n. 230), 121-122.

²³³ J. Hintzen, *De kruistochtplanen van Philip den Goede*, Rotterdam, 1918; A.S. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, London, 1938, 187-230; C. Marinesco, "Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne et la croisade, 2ième partie (1453-1467)," *Bulletin des études portugaises et de l'institut français au Portugal*, n.s. XIII (1949), 3-28; J. Richard, "La croisade bourguignonne dans la politique européenne," *Publications du centre européen d'études Bourgondo-Médianes*, X (1968), 41-44; Y. Lacaze, "Politique méditerranéenne et projets de croisade chez Philippe le Bon: de la chute de Byzance à la victoire chrétienne de Belgrade (mai 1453-juillet 1456)," *Annales de Bourgognes*, XLI (1969), 5-42.

²³⁴ See, amongst others, G. Dogaer, "Handschriften over de Kruistochten in de librije der hertogen van Bourgondië," *Spiegel Historiae*, II (1967), 457-465; Smith (as in n. 230), 112-159.

²³⁵ On the *Banquet du Faisan* see H. Beaune & J. d'Arbaumont (ed.), *Olivier de la Marche, Mémoires*, vol. 2, Paris, 1883-88, 340-381; G. Doutrepoint, "A la cour de Philippe le Bon: le Banquet du Faisan et la littérature de Bourgogne," *Revue Générale*, LXX (1899), 787-806; Idem, "Les Historiens du 'Banquet des voeux du Faisan,'" *Mélanges d'Histoire Offerts à Charles Moeller*, I, Louvain, Paris, 1914, 654-70; O. Cartellieri, "Das Fasanenfest. Am hofe der Herzöge von Burgund, 1454," *Historisch-Politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland*, CLXVIII (1921), 65-80, 141-58; R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy*, London, 1970, 143-145.

of Bruges was designed to foster associations with the duke's crusading ambition.

Of course, there were several other occasions for which pageantry was devised. On 9 April 1468, in Bruges, Charles the Bold was sworn in as the new duke in succession to his father. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the magistrature offered him two silver statues, and shared, together with the Franc, in the expenses of a costly tapestry series. The room upstairs in the city hall, where the ceremony was held, was entirely decorated with tapestries, especially rented for the occasion.²³⁶ Antoon de Roovere was asked again to set up *tableaux vivants*: one at the Kruispoort, one at the entrance gate of the Burg, and one in front of the belfry.²³⁷ It is not known what was represented.

As we have seen, Antoon de Roovere (c.1430?-82) was put in charge of such a construction for the first time in 1463.²³⁸ This Bruges poet is considered as one of the main protagonists of Flemish literature of the fifteenth century. His father, Jan de Roovere, was a founder of the Holy Ghost, the first chamber of rhetoricians in Bruges, in 1428. His work mainly consists of allegorical moralizing poems and plays, amongst which the most celebrated are *Lof vanden heyligen Sacramente* (Eulogy of the Holy Sacrament), *Vander Mollenfeeste* (Feast of the Moles, a Dance of the Dead), and *Sotte Amouresheyt* (Foolish Love).²³⁹ From 1466 on, Antoon de Roovere

²³⁶ Cf. doc. 82 in appendix.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

²³⁸ On Antoon de Roovere, see G.C. van 't Hoog, *Anthonis de Roovere*, Ph.D. University of Amsterdam, 1918; J. Van Mierlo, *De Middelnederlandsche Letterkunde van omstreeks 1300 tot de Renaissance* (F. Baur, et.al. (ed.), *Geschiedenis van de Letterkunde der Nederlanden*), II, Antwerp, Brussels, 's Hertoghenbosch, 1940, 249-250, 274-276, 312; A. Viaene, "Anthonis de Roovere, stadsdichter van Brugge (1466-1482)," *Ad Harenas. Gedenkboek van de Jubelvoering Sint-Lodewijkscollege Brugge*, Bruges, 1960, 343-366; W. van Eeghem, "Roovere (Antoine de)," *Biographie nationale*, XXXII (1964), col. 633-638.

²³⁹ In 1562, the rhetorician Edward de Deene published a selection of his works under the title *Rethoricale Wercken* (Rhetorical Works) (Antwerp, 1562).

received an annual pension of £6 gr from the city through the mediation of Charles the Bold.²⁴⁰ When Charles had returned in November 1465 from the siege of Liège, he was welcomed in Ghent, Bruges and St. Omer. The Bruges aldermen sent messengers to Ghent to see how the duke's son was honored there. On Fat Tuesday (26 February 1466), Charles made his entry into Bruges, and was honored with pageants devised by Antoon. The support of the pension by the future count must be interpreted as an expression of his gratitude for the festive honors he had enjoyed.

On 3 July 1468, the celebrations for the wedding of the duke with Margaret of York started with the triumphal entry of the new duchess into the city. Antoon de Roovere devised again a scaffold, which was constructed on the Northeastern side of the belfry.²⁴¹ Moreover, he is most probably also the author of the rather elaborate description of this pageant in the *Excellente Chronicke*.²⁴² The scene showed

*an extraordinary beautiful girl, very lavishly dressed, with costly jewels on her head and around her neck, and above her head hung a golden lily, and on her lap laid a lion and a leopard, as if they had embraced each other, and there was written in golden letters 'The Lion and the Leopard have embraced each other on the lap of the blossom, under the lily.'*²⁴³

²⁴⁰ On the importance of this pension, see Viaene (as in n. 238), 344-351. This author pointed out that £6 gr was the equivalent of the income of a chaplaincy in 1466, or the annual salary of the official city inspector of weights and measures, or of a captain of one of the six city districts; *Ibid.*, 351.

²⁴¹ Cf. doc. 82 in appendix.

²⁴² A part of this chronicle, more precisely the chapters dealing with Margaret's entry until the death of Mary of Burgundy, as they appear in the Vorsterman edition of 1531, is most likely based on a text written by Antoon de Roovere; see Van Mierlo (as in n. 238), 312.

²⁴³ "een huytnemende schone maecht, seere costelick ghehabitueirt, met rijckelicke yuweelen up het hooft, ende aen hueren hals, ende si hadde hanghende boven hueren hoofde een lelye van goude, ende up hueren schoot laghen eenen Leeu ende eenen Lupaert, ghelijc of si malcanderen

Behind the lion and the leopard were more lions, and on either side of the stage stood a woman, one holding the arms of Flanders and a book showing a pierced through heart, the other holding the arms of Bruges and an illustration of a golden crown.

The author explained the iconography of this scene. The political allegory is presented here in purely heraldic form. The girl represented, of course, the duchess. The black lion and the leopard embracing each other on her lap, stood for the friendly relationship between Flanders and England, strengthened through the marriage. The golden lily symbolized the house of Valois, while the other lions represented the other lands ruled by the Burgundian dukes: Brabant, Luxembourg, Aquitania, and Normandy.

It was of course no coincidence that this *tableau* was installed at the foot of the belfry, the most impressive symbol of civic pride and power. The alliance between Flanders and England, symbolized by the *tableau vivant*, placed against a backdrop of local civic power, materialized by the architecture of the belfry, must have fostered a powerful visual association.

In this context, it should be remembered how vital a good relationship with England was for the Flemish cities. The main pillar of their economy, the textile industry, was largely dependent from the import of English wool. For centuries this issue has determined Flemish politics. Therefore, it is no surprise that precisely Margaret's role in assuring this bilateral bond was chosen by the city of Bruges as the central theme for the main *tableau vivant* in 1468.

When Charles the Bold entered the city after his military campaign in Neuss on 11 July 1475, Antoon de Roovere was again in charge of *tableaux vivants*, erected in front of the ducal palace.²⁴⁴

On 5 April 1477, Mary of Burgundy made her triumphal entry for the first time as the new duchess. Again, De Roovere built three *tableaux vivants*: one at the Molenbrug, one in front of the house *De Zonne* at the

ghecust hadden, ende daer stont ghescreven in gulden letteren Leo et pardus in gremio flosculi se amplexi sunt sub lilio;" Vorsterman, fol. 138.

²⁴⁴ Cf. doc. 120 in appendix.

entrance gate of the Burg, and the third in front of the ducal palace.²⁴⁵ For these pageants, the rhetorician selected stories of the Old Testament and Classical Antiquity, in which women played primary roles.²⁴⁶ The first one represented Tremit, daughter of the Pharaoh, saving Moses from the Nile; the second one Axa blessed by her father; and the last one, King Priam welcoming Penthesilea at Troy.

Clearly, these stories referred to the young duchess, and expressed the city's hope or conviction that she would tread into the footsteps of these glorious women of the past. By saving Moses, Tremit had indirectly saved the Jewish people, as the duchess would save the Burgundian dynasty by succeeding her father to the throne, notwithstanding her young age. Mary was to take over command after her father's death, like the Amazon Penthesilea, who had gone to Troy to help Priam after the death of Hector.²⁴⁷

The Kruispoort, the gate through which Mary entered the city, was covered with linen, and decorated with banners and large shields with the arms of all the domains over which the duchess would rule henceforth. A painting of a "*beautiful virgin on horseback*" by Pierre Coustain, also hung on the gate. While Mary entered, flowers and scented herbs were strewn where she walked.

When Maximilian made his first entry into Bruges during the same year, Antoon de Roovere set up *tableaux vivants* at the same places: at the Molenbrug, near the gate of the Burg and at the entrance of the ducal residence.²⁴⁸ It is unknown what was shown, but evidently the themes must have been different from those he devised earlier for Mary.

The scenes performed during the 1440 entry were all biblical. Throughout the twenty-two *tableaux*, well known stories from the Old and the New Testaments symbolized one central idea: the mercy of Duke Philip

²⁴⁵ Cf. doc. 125 in appendix.

²⁴⁶ Vorsterman, fol. 182.

²⁴⁷ P. Grimal, *The Dictionary of Classical Mythology*, Oxford, New York, 1985, 356-357. I did not find any iconographical source for the story of Axa, which is not mentioned in the iconographical classification system of Iconoclass.

²⁴⁸ Cf. doc. 125 in appendix.

on his remorseful city of Bruges. In all scenes, the duke was associated with God, Jesus, or the wise ruler (*in casu* Ahasuerus), who showed mercy and who forgave the sinners. This association was conceived around the ambiguity of the word 'lord', meaning sovereign or God. This play upon words is very well illustrated by the example of the figure of John the Baptist on a cart, pulled in front of the procession, who shouted continuously "*Parate viam domino!*" People from the Old Testament, put to the test by God (Job, Abraham, Joachim), or sinners (Magdalen, Zacchaeus) were presented as recognizable personifications of the city of Bruges, and more specifically, of the state the city had been in during the revolt, or its remorseful attitude afterwards.

In only two scenes the mediating role of the duchess was illuminated by paralleling her to Queen Esther or to the Virgin. A last association is very remarkable: St. Peter freed from the dungeon by an angel was related to the recent release of the Duke of Orléans from his captivity in England. The chronicler explicitly stated that there was a second possible level of interpretation: the imprisoned St. Peter also personified the isolated position of the city of Bruges during the years of rebellion. In other words, the city did not only attempt to flatter the sovereign; it also presented through these *tableaux vivants* its hopes for a renewed relationship with the duke by visualizing gratitude and promises of loyalty.

Antoon de Roovere played an important role in the development of the iconography of these *tableaux vivants*. In 1463, rhetoricians were responsible for the conception and supervision of the pageantry. For the first time, scenes and figures of classical mythology, like Venus and her maids of honor or the Judgment of Paris, were introduced. Notwithstanding this new iconographical source, the main concept remains unchanged. The scenes still personify qualities that the city attributes in a flattering fashion to the honored guest. Obviously, by showing the Seven Virtues and the beauty of Venus, reference is made to Agnes de Bourbon.

The presence of the duke at festive occasions largely determined the iconography of the pageantry. The Jerusalem built by Petrus Christus in 1463, was a likely reference to the duke's crusading ambitions, while the Tree of Jesse must have been interpreted as a reference to his noble descent.

In 1468, Antoon de Roovere visualized a political allegory simply in a heraldic format. The wedding of Charles the Bold with Margaret of York

was a decisive step in the bilateral relations between the Netherlands and England, or more precisely between the Burgundian branch of the House of Valois and the House of York.

When Mary of Burgundy succeeded her father to the throne in 1477, Antoon de Roovere selected rather obscure themes of the Old Testament and Classical Antiquity, to express the hope the city put in the young duchess.

Through the impetus of Antoon de Roovere, new iconographical sources were employed in the ephemeral art of *tableaux vivants*, which provided new themes for the city to pay homage to its sovereign, and to express simultaneously its political desires and aspirations.

B. The Bruges Franc

1. Expenses for Decorations and Gifts

The Bruges Franc (*Brugse Vrije*) was a chatelainship (*kasselrij*), known under this name from about 1235, which was governed by its own magistrature, composed of a bailiff, and a fixed number of mayors and aldermen. From 1330 on, there were four mayors, one of which was the mayor of the community; the three others headed each one of the three sections of the territory. In 1414, the number of aldermen was established as 27. From the end of the fourteenth century on, the Franc was part of the Four Members of Flanders (*Vier Leden van Vlaanderen*), next to the three largest Flemish cities: Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres.²⁴⁹ The territory of the Bruges Franc stretched around the city walls of Bruges, and was bordered by the North Sea, the river Yzer, and the Wester-Scheldt. It roughly corresponded to the northern part of the present-day Belgian province of Western Flanders and the cities and villages in the western part of present-day Eastern Flanders (e.g., Eeklo and Maldegem).

The palace of the Franc was located on the Burg in the heart of the city (Pl. 10). This wooden building, to the left of the city hall, and adjacent to the south wall of the former residence of the counts of Flanders (the so-called *Loove*), was often rebuilt, enlarged, or remodeled.²⁵⁰ It included a meeting room for the council (*raedcamere*, or *camere van den Vryen*) and a courtroom (*vierscare*), both located on the second floor. Since 1289, the Franc owned also another building on the Burg. This building, called 'the

²⁴⁹ On the complex division of castellanies within the confines of the Bruges territory, cf. Duclos (as in n. 2), 92-94. On the history of the institution of the Bruges Franc, see *Id.*, 154-155; W.H.J. Weale, "Le Palais du Franc à Bruges," *Le Beffroi*, IV (1872-73), 46; J. Geldhof, "De politieke en religieuze situatie in het Brugse Vrije, 1578-1584," *Brugge in de Geuzentijd. Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Hervorming te Brugge en in het Brugse Vrije tijdens de 16de eeuw*, Bruges, 1982, 69, n. 1, map on 232-233.

²⁵⁰ On the building history of the palace of the Franc see Weale (as in n. 249), 46-92; Duclos (as in n. 2), 446. On the parts of the building which are still preserved, i.e., those built after c.1520, see *Id.*, 351-352.

land's house' (*Landshuus*), was located on the west side of the square (*i.e.*, on the side of St. Basile's Chapel). Other facilities of the magistrature were located there, including the room of the receiver of the land, the room of the clerks of the court, the orphans' chamber, a dining room for the aldermen, and some other offices.²⁵¹

The artistic patronage of the Franc was rather modest in comparison to that of the municipal magistrature of the city of Bruges. Commissions to artists were almost exclusively related to the decoration of the buildings on the Burg.

After remodelling works in 1415, the palace was entirely rebuilt from 1434 on. In order to solve the problem of the lack of space, the aldermen of the Franc received a part of the *Loove*, which was then residence of the sheriff (*schoutet*) of Bruges, from the duke.²⁵² The master sculptor, Tideman Maes, was charged with the design of the plans. Jan Goetghebuer and Jan Odevaere were appointed as master masons supervizing the stone works; master carpenters Jan de Yuede and Willem Heindricx for those in wood. Beside the courtroom and meeting room, the new building, constructed between 1435 and 1440, included a chapel and some accessory buildings. The meeting room of the aldermen was crowned by a cylindrical tower. Very early in this campaign, a sculptor was paid £24 par for "*all the carved work in the courtroom*", *i.e.*, most likely decorative work and moldings on fixed furniture such as benches.²⁵³ The accounts of 1439-1440 include a payment to Morissis van Overtvelt of about one third of this amount (£8 8s

²⁵¹ On the *Landshuus*, see also Duclos (as in n. 2), 443, 446, 448. In the back there was more room, which stretched out under the old prison (*Ghiselhuus*), up to the canal, which included, amongst others: some smaller houses of the cook and the messengers, and stables.

²⁵² On the *Loove*, see Duclos (as in n. 2), 100-101, 339, 445-446. This transfer of property was approved by Philip the Good by a charter of 28 April 1434 (published by Weale (as in n. 249), 49-53.), and ratified by the city magistrature in a charter of 28 August 1434 (*Ibidem*, 53-54).

²⁵³ Cf. doc. 7 in appendix.

par) for similar work in the meeting room.²⁵⁴ In the same year, the painter Jan Moens was paid £12 par probably for decorating the meeting room with the coats of arms of Burgundy, Flanders, and the Franc, and for gilding the crockets on the tower.²⁵⁵

Undoubtedly the two sculptors worked under the direct supervision of the two master carpenters Jan de Yuede and Willem Heindricx. However, it is not clear if they were also responsible for the supervision of the painter. All workmen were also directly supervised by a clerk of the Franc, Gerard van Meetkerke.²⁵⁶ He represented the mayors on the building site during his daily visits, and had to take care of the administration of materials and wages for supplementary work, or those tasks that were not explicitly stipulated in contracts made in advance. The four mayors and the general receiver of the Franc visited the site regularly to examine the progress of the works on their new building.²⁵⁷

On what basis were these artists remunerated for their work? At first glance, it may seem that Jan Moens and Morisses van Overtvelt were paid a specific amount per performance. However, the accounts do not specify how these amounts were determined. When their wages are compared to the amounts paid to other workmen on the site, one may conclude that the artists were paid an invariable amount per day, like all other workmen. The tilers Hene van den Bogaerde and Willem, his assistant, for instance, were paid £17 4s par for 19 days of work, or respectively 12d gr and 6d gr per day.²⁵⁸ Jan de Keit and his assistant, both masons, were paid £4 10s par for 5 days of work, which means that they received 12 and 6d gr per day

²⁵⁴ Cf. doc. 12 in appendix.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁶ He was paid £60 par for these tasks in 1439-40. Cf. also doc. 12 in appendix.

²⁵⁷ The four mayors were each paid £60 par for these visits, and in compensation of travel expenses; the receiver got £80 par since he was required to go more often to the building site. cf. doc. 12 in appendix.

²⁵⁸ Weale (as in n. 249), 74.

respectively.²⁵⁹ In other words, all workmen were apparently paid at a rate of 12d gr for masters, and half of that amount for assistants.²⁶⁰ If the artists were also paid at this same rate, one can conclude that the painter Jan Moens received £12 par (2880d par) for twenty working days, and the sculptor £8 8s par (2016d par) for 14 days. The description of their tasks supports this hypothesis. It is indeed possible that the painter worked twenty days on three coats of arms and the gilding of the crockets on the tower, while the sculptor may have completed the carving of moldings on the benches in the meeting room of the aldermen in fourteen working days.

Although the new building of the Franc was finished in 1440, costs for further decoration of the different rooms were spread over the next decades. A sculptor, called Pieter, was paid in 1442-43 for carving roses on the cabinets in the aldermen's meeting room.²⁶¹

In this room a panel painting representing a *Last Judgment* was kept. In 1459-60, the painter Jan van der Leye, was paid for having varnished and cleaned this panel.²⁶² In 1475-76, the aldermen commissioned another *Last Judgment* for the courtroom from Gilbert Wallin.²⁶³ The choice of Last Judgment scenes for these rooms is not at all surprising. The Last Judgment was one of the most traditional iconographies for justice panels, and thus very appropriate in courtrooms or where officials entrusted with

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.* £4 10s par (1080d par) or 90d gr. They were paid for 5 days, receiving 18d gr together, which is the sum of the daily wages for the master (12d gr) and that of his assistant (6d gr).

²⁶⁰ These wages are relatively high in comparison to the average income of most construction workers at that time; see n. 145.

²⁶¹ Cf. doc. 21 in appendix.

²⁶² Cf. doc. 60 in appendix.

²⁶³ Cf. doc. 123 in appendix. On the Wallin family of artists from Bruges, see W.H.J. Weale, "Documents inédits sur les peintres brugeois," *Le Beffroi*, III (1866-70), 231-245 and Van de Castele (as in n. 121), 408. This painting was restored in 1528 by Simon Pieters (see *Ibid.*, 235, 237).

jurisprudence met.²⁶⁴ As Wallin was only paid £24 par for his painting, one may assume that its dimensions were rather modest. This amount may be compared to what Christiaen van den Brande and Jan Raes received in 1462-63 for an altarpiece for the chapel of the palace of the Franc.²⁶⁵ Together they were paid £120 par. Jan Raes was clearly the first in charge of this enterprise, as he alone received £72 par.²⁶⁶ The accounts do not mention what the subject was. Most likely it was executed in the format of a triptych, since a certain Anthuenis van Boneem was reimbursed £3 par, which he had spent for locks of this altarpiece.

The officials of the Franc also commissioned tapestries and other textiles at several occasions. An interesting set of tapestries was the one that Jacob Apans, a Bruges tapestry maker who lived at the Vlamingdam, made for the courtroom of the Franc in 1478-79.²⁶⁷ He worked after cartoons, commissioned by the aldermen to the painter Jan Fabiaen for £3 par.²⁶⁸ The series existed of three pieces with a total length of 44 yards.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁴ See also n. 38.

²⁶⁵ Cf. doc. 66 in appendix. Neither one of them was member of the Bruges corporation of the image-makers (they are not mentioned in the lists composed by Van de Castele (as in n. 121), nor in the recent compilation by Schouteet (as in n. 9). Duverger (as in n. 7), 84, pointed out that it is remarkable that the aldermen of the Franc often employed artists from outside the city.

²⁶⁶ Christiaen van den Brande evidently received £48 par, and not 42 as Weale stated; cf. Weale (as in n. 249), 77.

²⁶⁷ Cf. doc. 137 in appendix. This commission has also been mentioned by A. Pinchart, *Histoire de la Tapisserie dans les Flandres*, Paris, 1878-85, 62; Versyp (as in n. 32), 162, doc. XXIX; G. Delmarcel, E. Duverger, [exh.cat.] *Brugge en de Tapijtkunst*, Bruges, Gruuthusemuseum, 1987, 30. None of these authors related this work to the rest of the courtroom decoration.

²⁶⁸ Cf. also doc. 137. On Jan Fabiaen, see Van de Castele (as in n. 121), 309; Schouteet (as in n. 9), 190.

²⁶⁹ A Bruges 'elle' was 701 mm long (cf. J.A.N. Knuttel (ed.), *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, III/2, The Hague, Leiden, 1906, col. 4055). This means that the total length of Apans' tapestries was 30.844 meter (or somewhat more than 101 feet).

Apans was paid in two installments, at a rate of 36d gr a yard. In 1478-79, he delivered the middle piece and was paid £30 par. In 1480-81 his widow, Lisbette Wouters, received the remainder of the amount due to him: £47 8s par.²⁷⁰ Jacob Apans had apparently died in the meantime, but, fortunately for the commissioners of the work (and clearly also for his widow), he had been able to finish the two remaining pieces. The subject of these tapestries is not mentioned in the documents, but there is a fair chance that they were decorative or heraldic in nature.²⁷¹ The same year Apans delivered his first piece, the painter Cornelis van Scriecke executed "*35 escutcheons with the arms of the territories in the Franc, [which are] placed in the front of the court room of the said land.*"²⁷² Still in 1478-79, another tapestry maker, Pieter van Borselaere, living in Ghent, received £15 18s par "*for a piece of tapestry, made by him with the arms of Flanders.*"²⁷³ The year Jacob Apans's widow received the second installment on the payment for his tapestries, Jan Fabiaen was paid £4 16s par for having made "*certain models of a wild man and a wild woman, after which the tapestry for the courtroom of the Franc was made.*"²⁷⁴ It is conceivable that all these documents refer to parts of the same decorative set, which adorned all four sides of the courtroom.

How can one visualize this decoration? One document states explicitly that the heraldic paintings by Van Schriecke hung in the front of the room. In 1469-70, the carpenter Jan van den Broucke, had already delivered six frames for

²⁷⁰ Cf. doc. 146 in appendix.

²⁷¹ Weale (as in n. 249), 80, stated that these tapestries were "*ornées des armoiries du Franc,*" did not indicate any source for this information.

²⁷² Cf. doc. 137 in appendix.

²⁷³ *Ibid.* Van Borselaere was indeed paid in 1478-79, and not in 1480 as stated in Weale (as in n. 249), 81. This commission is also mentioned by F. de Potter, *Gent van den oudsten tijd tot heden*, VII, Ghent, s.d., 120; Delmarcel, Duverger (as in n. 267), 30, 46. In these publications the Ghent tapestry maker is referred to as *Van Boxelaere* (sic). Apparently his name was spelled with this orthography in Ghent sources.

²⁷⁴ Cf. doc. 146 in appendix.

*the courtroom of the land to place the arms of our redoubtable lord and prince in, and the arms of his land of Flanders, and the arms of all the territories of his said land of the Franc.*²⁷⁵

The frames were for the tapestry with the arms of Flanders by Van Borselaere, the coat of arms of Burgundy --possibly identical with the 'middle piece' that Apans delivered first-- as well as the 35 arms of the Franc's domains, painted by Van Schriecke.²⁷⁶ The two remaining tapestries by Apans were presented differently in the room. The tailor, Dirk Stijl, was paid for lining the two tapestries.²⁷⁷ He also delivered ribbons and the rings, which were attached to them. Obviously, the pieces were hung on the walls by means of a rod that slid through these ribbons. Possibly these two tapestries hung on the side walls of the room, and were merely decorative. They may have been *verdures*. The figures of a wild man and woman,²⁷⁸ for which Fabiaen made the model, were most likely incorporated as shield bearers in the tapestry with the heraldic symbols of the Franc.²⁷⁹ The total

²⁷⁵ Cf. doc. 92 in appendix. It is surprising that it took almost a decade before the whole set of armorial bearings were delivered and paid for.

²⁷⁶ The document on the frames explicitly states "*the arms of our redoubtable lord and prince.*" In 1469-70, this was, of course, still Charles the Bold. By the times the frames were actually used it would have been Mary of Burgundy's arms that were displayed here.

²⁷⁷ Cf. doc. 137 in appendix.

²⁷⁸ On the iconography of wild men and women in the North, see T. Husband, *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism*, New York, 1980-81.

²⁷⁹ The Franc's arms are usually accompanied by a wild man and woman as shield bearers. see e.g., the engraving reproduced in Duclos (as in n. 2), 92. The wild man and woman as shield bearers of the Franc's arms appear also on the fire-screen of the Renaissance mantel-piece in the Palace of the Franc, made after the designs of Lancelot Blondeel and Pieter Pourbus (cf. Duclos (as in n. 2), 314, 383, 447-448; P. Huvenne, *Pieter Pourbus, meester-schilder 1524-1584*, [exh.cat.] Bruges, 1984, 264-265. For a good photographic reproduction of the entire mantle-piece see V. Vermeersch, *Brugge. Duizend jaar Kunst. Van Karolingisch tot Neogotisch, 875-1875*, Antwerp, 1981, 248-249).

price of £103 13s par paid for the tapestries, albeit considerable, suggests that they were decorative in nature.²⁸⁰

The *Landshuus* on the other side of the Burg was systematically beautified. In 1444-45, the embroiderer Pieter van Meessene had delivered 29 large embroidered coats of arms inscribed in medaillons, and he had sewn 600 flowers on pieces of cloth.²⁸¹ These were used for upholstering the seats in the dining room of the *Landshuus*. The models for this embroidery were made by the painter Alexander Fraet.²⁸² The same Pieter van Meessene also embellished cloth that was draped around the cupboard in the dining room. In 1458-59, the painter Jan van der Leye, previously mentioned in relation to the cleaning of the *Last Judgment*, delivered 35 coats of arms for the dining room and the same number for the room of the receiver.²⁸³ Apparently, the series that was kept in this room was in such a ruinous state that it had to be replaced. Beside these coats of arms, he also delivered 38 larger ones for the meeting room of the aldermen in the main palace. It is not known what happened to Van der Leye's series in the room of the receiver, but supposedly they were not very durable, or the conditions of preservation in this room were unfavorable. After only twenty-two years, they had to be replaced. The painter Cornelis van Strieke

²⁸⁰ I take here the price of Apans's and Van Borselaere's tapestries into consideration, as well as what was paid for cartoons and to the tailor. It is sufficient to compare this amount to the total of £800 gr (which equals £9600 par) that was paid for the luxurious tapestries series representing the *Destruction of Troy*, to realize that the tapestries in the Franc's courtroom could not have been historiated.

²⁸¹ Cf. doc. 28 in appendix.

²⁸² Cf. doc. 30 in appendix. Actually, the document mentions a painter 'Sanders.' I agree with Weale who interpreted the name 'Sanders' as an abbreviated form for 'Alexander,' and thus identified the man with the painter Alexander Fraet, who is often encountered in the accounts of the Bruges Franc; cf. Weale (as in n. 249), 76, n. 19. This interpretation was given by Versyp (as in n. 32), 38, n. 6, and Schouteet (as in n. 9), 201).

²⁸³ Cf. doc. 58 in appendix.

was paid £12 par in 1480-81, "for having made 36 escutcheons with the arms of the territories of the Franc, placed in the small room of the receiver."²⁸⁴

One of the most remarkable works of art commissioned by the Bruges Franc in the Burgundian period was apparently a statue of the Madonna by the Brussels sculptor Pieter Voghele.²⁸⁵ The arrangements for this commission were made by correspondence. Messengers were sent to the sculptor at least three times between December 1478 and May 1479. The costs involved in this work were rather considerable. He was paid £72 par for his work and for the material he used. His assistants, Theeus Wils and some others, received £5 12s par for helping carve the statue, for installing it in the meeting room, for their travel expenses from Brussels to Bruges, and in tips. Meanwhile, the mason Boudin Zoete, two other masons, and their assistants, had painted the walls of the meeting room and the courtroom white, and were also paid for their assistance in installing the statue on the south side of the room.²⁸⁶ The costs for shipping the statue from Brussels by boat amounted to £3 12s par. Finally, a few others received 16s par. for disembarking the work "and the parts that belong to it" (a pedestal, a baldacchino ?) and for transporting it to the palace of the Franc. Surprisingly the largest expense was the polychromy and gilding of the sculpture. The painter François van den Pitte received no less than £84 par

²⁸⁴ Cf. doc. 146 in appendix.

²⁸⁵ cf. doc. 137. Pieter Voghele or de Vogel was along with Jan Borreman, one of the most prominent sculptors in Brabant during the fifteenth century. He was responsible, for example, for the choir stalls at Val des Ecoliers in Mons (Hainaut). On this artist see E. Marchal, *La sculpture et les chefs-d'oeuvres de l'orfèvererie belges*, Brussels, 1895, 181, 225; J. Destree, "Etudes sur la sculpture brabançonne du Moyen-Age," *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, XII (1899), 306-308; J. Duverger, *De Brusselsche steenbickeleren, beeldhouwers, bouwmeesters, metselaars, enz. der XIVe en XVe eeuw, met een aanhangsel over Klaas Sluter en zijn Brusselsche medewerkers te Dijon*, Ghent, 1933, 45 (n.1), 59 (n.4), 65, 69, 70, 125; J. Steppe, M. Smeyers, J. Lauwerys, *Wereld van Vroomheid en Satire. Laat-gotische Koorbanken in Vlaanderen*, Kasterlee, 1973, 11.

²⁸⁶ The precise location of the statue can be deduced from a payment record to a carpenter, who is paid for making a window and a window sill, "in the south side of the same room next to the statue of Our Lady." (cf. doc. 152 in appendix).

for this job in 1482.²⁸⁷ Van de Pitte possibly used much gold leaf. Anyhow, this means that the total cost of this work amounted to more than £166 par (39,840d par). This amount is 34 % more than what was paid for a polychromed stone statue on façade of city hall in 1434-35, and 28 % more than what Pierre Coustain received for polychromy of one of these latter statues in 1479-80. Unfortunately any trace of the whereabouts of this Madonna in later periods is lost.

In 1460-61, a clock was installed in the meeting room of the aldermen. The clockmaker Symon Lodewijcx received £36 par for the mechanism of this object.²⁸⁸ A bellcaster made a small bell for it, and a plumber was paid for two leaden weights. The painter Christiaen van den Brande received £12 par for delivery of two painted wooden boards, to be used as faces of the clock.²⁸⁹ One was installed in the meeting room, the other one on the other side of the wall in the chapel. He also painted the clock's arms.

In 1473-74, the officials of the Franc had another clock made. This one was installed in the tower on top of their meeting room.²⁹⁰ Apparently, this work by the Bruges clockmaker Jos van den Divre was not functioning as it should have been. One year after its installation, the Franc had a clockmaker from Ghent come to repair and adjust the new clock. This clock was installed on two lateral metal bars, supported by six small metal pillars, all delivered by the smith Thomas Baille. All this was placed in a wooden container custom made for it by the carpenter Joris Hornewedre. The same man also delivered a wooden mannequin, that was to ring the hours by

²⁸⁷ Cf. doc. 150 in appendix. Problems of the technique of polychromy are thoroughly discussed in E. Vandamme, *De Polychromie van gotische houtsculptuur in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, Materialen en Technieken*, (*Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Schone Kunsten*, 35), Brussels, 1982.

²⁸⁸ Cf. doc. 62 in appendix.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁰ Cf. doc. 113 in appendix.

hitting a bell. François van den Pitte painted and gilded the arms and the mannequin for £28 16s par.

Like the city magistrature, the Franc also employed artists for heraldic decorations on their ceremonial utensils and at public ceremonies. In 1448-49, for instance, Alexander Fraet painted the Franc's coat of arms on 27 donation pitchers, for which he received 2.5d gr a pitcher.²⁹¹ He also painted this coat of arms on the stage installed at the Vrijdagmarkt for the Deed of Arms that took place that year.²⁹² When Sir Jan of Vichte, mayor of the Franc, was buried in 1481-82, the painter Jan Hughezoon painted twelve coats of arms of the Franc, used as decoration in the funeral procession.²⁹³

In relation to its judicial functions, occasionally the government of the Franc also had to employ artists. Sometimes, in cases of differences and disputes artists were needed to make maps.

An interesting example is a dispute about the inheritance of the estate of a certain Arnoud Janszoon Wouters.²⁹⁴ As the Franc was one of the authorities involved in this case, it was brought before the Council of Flanders. In this law suit, the Franc, and more specifically the representatives of Oostburg, one of the Franc's domains, faced the *Proose*, *i.e.*, the committee of canons that governed over the independent territories belonging to the chapter of St. Donatian. These two institutions disputed each others right of *exue* in this case.²⁹⁵ The controversial land was situated in Wulpen, a hamlet of Cadzand at the coast in the north of the Bruges

²⁹¹ Cf. doc. 35 in appendix.

²⁹² *Ibid.*

²⁹³ Cf. doc. 149 in appendix.

²⁹⁴ Cf. doc. 99, 113 and 119 in appendix.

²⁹⁵ The right of *Exue* is the taxation imposed on a non-citizen inheriting from the estate of a citizen. cf. J. Verdam, *Middelnederlandsch Handwoordenboek*, The Hague, 1932 (anastatic reprint 1981), 171, s.v. *Exue (issue)*.

Franc.²⁹⁶ In 1470-71, Rutger Hazinore, a painter living at Aardenburg,²⁹⁷ was paid for making a map of the houses and hearths in Wulpen that were part of Arnoud Wouters's estate. This map was presented to the commission in charge with the investigation; however after some time the map was lost. On 8 May 1474, a delegation of the Franc was sent to Wulpen to visit the estate under dispute, to see Rutger Hazinore, and to verify the exactness of the sketches that the painter had made for his map. Based on this verification, Rutger was asked to make a new version of his map. For the first map, he received £5 par. The second one was probably more detailed as he got £8 par for it.

There exist two important known examples of works of art that were commissioned by the Franc to present as gifts to the duke. In 1465, they presented an unfinished Book of Hours on black parchment to Charles the Bold, then still Count of Charolais. As discussed above, this manuscript was later finished by the important illuminator Philip de Mazerolles. In 1471-72, the Franc paid £100 gr as down payment on £400 gr, as their part in the expenses involved in a remarkable present that the city and the Franc had offered to Duke Charles the Bold in 1467, when he succeeded his father. This present was a luxurious tapestry series, representing the story of the destruction of Troy. These tapestries were bought from the tapestry dealer Pasquier Grenier.

An interesting aspect of the artistic patronage of the Bruges Franc is the commission of objects of justice, which will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

²⁹⁶ Today, Cadzand lies in the southwestern most part of the Netherlands.

²⁹⁷ Aardenburg is a village a couple miles southeast of Cadzand.

2. A Head of Justice Commissioned by the Magistrature of the Bruges Franc from the Bruges Goldsmith, Jan van der Toolne.

The Gruuthuse Museum at Bruges owns a small bust of a man, made of embossed silver, measuring about 17.5 cm in height (Pl. 14).²⁹⁸ His facial features are pronounced and realistic, while incised lines suggest wavy hair. His eyelids and irises are also accentuated by similar incisions. The bottom side of the bust is framed by a pearl list. At the height of the collar bone, two rectangular holes of about 1 cm long appear. Somewhat lower, against the pearl list, four irregular perforations, two at the front and two at the back, reveal that the bust must have been attached to a pedestal, probably with pins inserted in these places.

Based on its stylistic features, the bust is generally considered as a Flemish work from the fifteenth century, and often described as a so-called *head of justice*.²⁹⁹ A head of justice is a typical Netherlandish expiatory

²⁹⁸ Bruges, Gruuthuse Museum, Inv.no.0.1.X. Little is known about the provenance of this bust, except that it was acquired by the *Société Archéologique de Bruges* at an indetermined date between 1865, when the *Société* was founded, and 1955, when they transferred their collection to the municipal government of the city of Bruges. When it was still owned by the *Société*, no inventory file was made, so every possible reference to earlier provenance, manner and time of acquisition, was lost. (On the *Société*, see J. de Smet, "Het oudheidkundig genootschap van Brugge," *West-Vlaanderen*, VI/1 (1957), 14; on the formation of the collection of the Gruuthusemuseum, see S. Vandenberghe, *Gruuthuse Museum, Bruges: A Survey*, Bruges, 1984, 7-9). In the Municipal Archives in Bruges, there is a list of objects that the *Société Archéologique* had on permanent loan from the archives. The object is not mentioned in this list either. I am grateful to the archivists Dr. A. Vandewalle en N. Geirnaert, for drawing my attention to this list.

²⁹⁹ E. Dhanens, "Edelsmeedwerk," *West-Vlaanderen*, VI/1 (1957), 17; A. Janssens de Bisthoven (ed.), *Aanwijzende fotografische inventaris van de drie rechterlijke kantons Brugge* (Koninklijk Instituut voor het Kunstpatrimonium, Brussels), Antwerp, 1965, 192; F. Van Molle, "Koperen koppen en vuisten in het oude Vlaamse strafrecht," *Antiek*, IX/2 (1974-1975), 165, n.35; V. Vermeersch, *Gids Gruuthusemuseum*, 3rd ed., Bruges, 1979, 92, 131, no.

symbol that was made at the expense of condemned people.³⁰⁰ However, all other known examples of heads of justice are representations of heads in the restricted sense of the word or masks, and no busts. Moreover, they are usually in brass or sometimes in more banal materials such as iron.³⁰¹ The head in the Gruuthuse museum is the only known example made in silver.

Nevertheless, the hypothetical function of this bust as an object of justice turns out to be correct. The bust can be related to an archival document in the accounts of the Bruges Franc, that attests to its original function.³⁰² Already published in 1872-1873 by W.H. James Weale,³⁰³ it is rather surprising that the document has not been related to the Gruuthuse head until now. The correlation between text and object is very striking: it proves that between 17 September 1463 and 14 September 1464, the Bruges goldsmith Jan vander Toolne was paid for a silver head, weighing '2 marks 1.5 engels.'³⁰⁴ On a small silver tube, attached to the head, a text was inscribed explaining the circumstances under which this head was made: a certain Pieter van der Gote, a resident of Dudsele near Bruges, had been expelled from Flanders by the court of the Bruges Franc, and was also

745; V. Vermeersch, *Zilver en Wandtapijten. Catalogus Gruuthusemuseum Brugge Bruges*, 1980, 10; *Id.* (as in n. 279), 159, pl. 195; Prevenier, Blockmans (as in n. 162), 178-179, pl. 149; Vandenberghe, (as in n. 298), 35-36.

³⁰⁰ On Flemish justice objects see especially *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century. Art and Civilization*, [exh.cat], Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1960, 285-286, nos.124-126; Van Molle (as in n. 299), 141-167 (with comprehensive bibliography); J. Schimmer, "Een merkwaardig rechtsgebruik: Middeleeuwse gerechtshanden," *Spiegel Historiae*, IX/5 (mei 1974), 294-299. These objects will also be discussed at large in a forthcoming comprehensive historical study on Netherlandish objects related to punishments of infamy by Dr. Paul de Win.

³⁰¹ For brass examples see previous note. An iron example is still preserved in the City Hall of Bruges, see M. Van Coppenholle, "De Legende van het Doodshoofd aan de Smedenpoort," *Heemkundige Bijdragen voor Brugge en Ommeland*, XVII/5-6 (1986), 30-31.

³⁰² Cf. doc. 69 in appendix.

³⁰³ Weale (as in n. 249), 77-78, n.26.

³⁰⁴ For the subdivision of the mark see the introduction.

sentenced to having this bust made at his own expense. He had also paid a fine of £12 par, which was already inscribed in the accounts of the previous year.³⁰⁵ The payment to Jan vander Toolne appearing in the account book of the same year only two folios ahead offers more specifications about the way the silver head was installed in the courtroom of the Franc. The painter Christiaen van den Brande was paid £9 par for gilding an iron railing installed around the silver head.³⁰⁶

Some elements in these documents are crucial in identifying the bust in the Gruuthuse museum with the silver head made by Jan vander Toolne. First, the weight corresponds perfectly: the 2 marks 1.5 engels mentioned in the document equal 494.467 g. The Gruuthuse bust weighs 488.400 g.³⁰⁷ This difference of only 6.075 g of silver can easily be explained. As mentioned above, four perforations were made in the bust, most probably to attach it to a pedestal with four pins. The loss of silver due to this intervention, as well as some possible wear, can account for this minimal difference in weight.

Yet there is more. The date of the document, 1463-1464, confirms the approximate stylistic dating of the Gruuthuse bust. However, a more accurate date can not be deduced from the archives. The Gruuthuse head is also the only silver head of justice preserved in the Netherlands. Of course, other examples may have been lost. As stated earlier, all other known ones are in brass, or iron.³⁰⁸ Moreover, no other known Bruges documents refer to a silver head of justice.

The rectangular holes at the height of the collar bones of the bust were most likely the places where the silver tube with an inscription was attached '*on the said head,*' as it is mentioned in the document. Other objects

³⁰⁵ Cf. doc. 69, n.2 in appendix.

³⁰⁶ Cf. doc. 69 in appendix.

³⁰⁷ Since 1 mark equals 160 engels and 1 engels is 1.538 g, the 2 marks 1.5 engels mentioned in the document equal $[(1.538 \times 160)2] + (1.538 \times 1.5) = 494.467$ g. I am grateful to Stephan Vandenberghe, curator of the Gruuthuse Museum, for verifying the weight of the bust.

³⁰⁸ See n. 312.

of justice were usually exhibited with an elucidating inscription on a separate bronze placard.³⁰⁹

The documents do not mention explicitly the nature of Pieter van der Gote's crime.³¹⁰ Based on his penalty, one may assume that he insulted or attacked a government official of the Franc. His case can be compared to some others. Pieter de Beert, for instance, a resident of Veurne Ambacht (*i.e.*, the conglomerate of villages in the region around the city of Veurne) was condemned in 1499 to having a bronze head and a placard made after he had threatened to throw some officials through the window.³¹¹ Both this head and placard are still preserved in the city hall of Veurne.³¹² In 1481, the Ghent aldermen expelled a certain Willem van der Schage, but some time later he was located in Bruges, where he had found shelter.³¹³ For this infringement on the privileges and rights of the city of Ghent, he was sentenced again to having two bronze heads made. One of these would be installed on the façade of the aldermen's house of the *Keure*,³¹⁴ and the

³⁰⁹ Several examples of these placards have been preserved. The City Hall of Veurne has, for instance, no less than seven examples, dating from 1499 to 1623; see Van Molle (as in n. 299), 142-147, pl. 1-7.

³¹⁰ The so-called *Crimboucken* (Books of Crime) of the Bruges Franc are not preserved for this period. The oldest document in this series goes back to 1561 (cf. E. vanden Brande, *Inventaire des Archives de l'Etat à Bruges. Section première: Franc de Bruges, ancien quatrième membre de Flandre*, II, Brugge, 1884, 601-604).

³¹¹ Van Molle (as in n. 299), 142, pl. 1.

³¹² *Ibid.*, 149, pl. 10-11. The head of Pieter de Beert is one of the two examples preserved in the city hall of Veurne.

³¹³ J.B. Canaert, *Bydragen tot de kennis van het oude strafrecht in Vlaenderen (...)*, 3rd ed., Ghent, 1835, 127-129; Van Molle (as in n. 299), 153.

³¹⁴ On the different aldermen's houses in Ghent see F. Van Tyghem, *Het Stadhuis van Gent. Voorgeschiedenis, bouwgeschiedenis, veranderingswerken, restauraties, beschrijving, stijlanalyse (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Schone Kunsten, XL/31)*, 2 vol., Brussel, 1978.

another one would be exhibited in the meeting room of the aldermen with a text in verse.

These two similar cases suggest that Pieter van der Gote's felony must have been related to resistance against the judicial authorities. He had probably insulted or injured an official of the Franc. Moreover, one may assume that his crime was quite serious. He was not only convicted to having the head made, but was also required to pay £12 par in fine. This sum is high in comparison to what the other exiles mentioned in the same document had to pay: Pieter paid twice as much as Passcharis filius Jans, and even four times as much as Andries filius Ryquart Muenicx.³¹⁵ Undoubtedly, the most severe part of his sentence was to be expelled from Flanders. Because the actual verdict of Van der Gote's trial is lacking, we are ignorant about the precise stipulations of this expulsion. Other similar cases may provide a better understanding. On 6 October 1514, the Council of Flanders sentenced a certain Lieven Mulaert because he had resisted the bailiff of St. Bavo's village.³¹⁶ He had grabbed the bailiff's justice rod, the symbol of his authority, and broken it into three pieces. He also kicked the official's leg and injured one of his assistants with a knife. This rebellious man was expelled from Flanders for 50 years, after being tortured and forced to a so-called '*eerlijke beeteringhe*,' an honest correction. This means that he had to beg forgiveness in the courtroom, kneeling and holding a wax torch of 6 pounds, to which a wax fist was attached. Finally, he also had to give a metal fist and a bronze placard explaining what had happened. These objects would be exhibited in the courtroom of the Count's Castle at Ghent. The expulsion and the mandatory donation of a metal object are similar to Van der Gote's case. He too may have been exiled for a long period in consequence of his crime. Pieter van der Gote was expelled "*on his head*." This terminology does not necessarily prove that the sentence of having to give a silver head implied the ransom of a decapitation, as has

³¹⁵ See n. 316.

³¹⁶ For this case, see Cannaert (as in n. 313), 68; Van Molle (as in n. 299), 153, n.30.

also been suggested.³¹⁷ Since it was exhibited in the courtroom of the Bruges Franc, it was obviously meant to function as an *exemplum*. Moreover, the inscription eternally commemorated the dishonor of the criminal.

The courtroom of the Bruges Franc can thus be considered as the earliest location in the provenance of the Gruuthuse bust.³¹⁸ The question should now be asked whether the silver fist of justice in the same museum (Pl. 15) also comes from the Franc.³¹⁹ This fist is in a less pristine condition than the extremely well preserved bust. Its surface has been scratched and it has been cracked a little. It was also perforated at both sides at the height of the joint of the thumb. As all other preserved examples, the Gruuthuse fist of justice is a representation of a right hand.³²⁰

³¹⁷ Van Molle (as in n. 299), 162. This theory was recently proposed by Prevenier, Blockmans (as in n. 162), 179, pl. 149. I am grateful to Dr. P. De Win for his constructive suggestions regarding this interpretation. Weale (as in n. 249), 77, interpreted it still differently: he stated that Pieter van der Ghote had bought off his expulsion by paying a fine, and that this was commemorated by the magistrature with the commission of a silver head.

³¹⁸ As mentioned earlier, all other later data concerning this bust's provenance remain unclear (cf. n. 256). It is not mentioned, for instance, in a list of art objects originating from the Franc, drawn up on 27 Floréal VIII (*i.e.*, 17 May 1800). In this list '*Trois têtes de cuivres qui étaient exposées autrefois au vierschaere*' are mentioned (see, L. Devlieghe, "Inventarissen van het museum van de Ecole Centrale te Brugge," *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis, gesticht onder de benaming Société d'Emulation te Brugge*, CXIX/1-2 (1982), 78, no. 24).

³¹⁹ Bruges, Gruuthuse museum, Inv.no. 0.2.X. This fist was also embossed. It is about 17.5 cm high and 10.5 cm wide, and weighs 520.530 g. Expressed in old measurements this is precisely 2 marks 18.5 engels (minus 83 mg). The remarks that were made above (cf. n. 309) concerning the more recent whereabouts of the bust also hold true for this fist. It is not exactly known when it was acquired by the *Société Archéologique*. For this fist, see Dhanens (as in n. 299), 17; Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 299), 295; Van Molle (as in n. 299), 154, afb.15; Vermeersch (as in n. 299), 1979, 92, no. 744; Vermeersch (as in n. 299), 1980, 12; Vermeersch (as in n. 299), 1981, p.152; Vandenberghe, (as in n. 298), 35.

³²⁰ All other known examples are also right hands (cf. Van Molle (as in n. 299), pl. 8, 9, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 26). No doubt, this was a juridical tradition, which probably implied a reference to the hand the actual crime that had been committed with (*Ibid.*, 162).

In the late-medieval accounts of the Bruges Franc, two references to fists of justice can be found. In 1417-1418 the Bruges lock maker Claise van Steenackere was paid £9 par for an iron railing coated with tin "*that is placed around the silver fist in the courtroom*"³²¹ The archival documents do not reveal the author of this fist, nor the circumstances under which it was made. Almost one century later, another fist of justice is mentioned, about which more details are provided.³²² Cornelis Jacobszoon Gillis, a resident of Zedelgem, had injured Simon de Commandere, clerk of the Bruges Franc Court, when the latter wanted to arrest Cornelis. The Council of Flanders sentenced him to the donation of a fist, for which he paid £12 par in 1504-1505. On 2 August 1505, the lock maker Michiel Villars was paid £10 16s par for delivery of an iron fist, and for installing it with a railing in the courtroom of the Franc. Somewhat later the painter Joris de Meyere received 10s par for plating this fist with silver.

Since the Gruuthuse fist is made entirely of silver, rather than silver plate, it might be related to the first document. The document does not mention its weight, which could be verified, nor does it give any further indication. It is perforated at the sides which may indicate that it was attached to the tin-coated iron fence, mentioned in the document. If additional data were to prove the relation between the silver fist and the document, its origin in the courtroom of the Bruges Franc would be established; secondly, a *terminus ante quem* would be provided: it would have been made (shortly) before 1417-1418.

Fortunately, other documents complete the biography of Jan vander Toolne, the author of the bust in the Gruuthuse Museum. In 1458, he is mentioned in the general accounts of the dukes of Burgundy as '*Jehan de la Tonne* (sic), *orfèvre demourant à Bruges*'³²³ He received 119 francs for two silver basins that Philip the Good ordered from him as a present for the

³²¹ Cf. doc. 1 in appendix.

³²² Cf. doc. 161 in appendix.

³²³ Laborde (as in n. 86), I, 472, no. 1831.

baptism of his godchild, the son of his famous Bruges advisor, Louis of Gruuthuse.

Between 2 September 1459 and 2 September 1460, Jan vander Toolne delivered two silver basins, now to the city government of Bruges, for the considerable amount of £115 17s par.³²⁴ They were presented by the city to Pieter Bladelin, *receveur général* of the Burgundian court, on the occasion of the consecration of on the occasion of the consecration of the church in the town of Middelburg, which he had founded.³²⁵ In the same year, Jan vander Toolne also made a silver cup for the city, which they gave to Simon du Carrest, secretary and registrar of the Council of Flanders.³²⁶

One year later, in 1460-1461, Jan was paid for having repaired some metal ritual objects from the aldermen's chapel of the city.³²⁷ In 1461-1462, the city commissioned a gilt mug from him. It was offered together with wine, wax and candy, to Guillaume Filastre, on the occasion of his first official visit to Bruges as the new bishop of the diocese of Tournai.³²⁸

³²⁴ Cf. doc. 59 in appendix.

³²⁵ On Pieter Bladelin and his foundation of the town of Middelburg and its church, see J.J. de Smet, "Notice sur Middelbourg en Flandre," *Messenger des Sciences et des Arts de la Belgique*, IV (1836), 333 ff.; *Id.*, "Bladelin (le chevalier Pierre)," *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, II (1868), col.445-447; H. Brugmans, C.H. Peters, *Oud Nederlandsche Steden*, I, Leiden, 1909, 198 ff.; G. Milis-Proost, "Pieter Bladelin," *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, II (1966), 61-63.

³²⁶ Cf. doc. 59 in appendix.

³²⁷ Cf. doc. 61 in appendix.

³²⁸ Cf. doc. 63 in appendix. Guillaume Filastre was Bishop of Tournai from 1 September 1460 until his death on 21 August 1473 (see E.I. Strubbe, L. Voet, *De Chronologie van de Middeleeuwen en de Moderne Tijden in de Nederlanden*, Antwerpen, Amsterdam, 1960, 250). Consequently, the document clearly refers to him. On 3 February 1462 a man by the name of Jan van der Thoole, originating from Sluis, is inscribed in the *Poorterboeken* of Bruges (cf. R.A. Parmentier, *Indices op de Brugsche Poorterboeken*, II, Bruges, 1938, 690; A. Jamees, *Brugse Poorters, opgetekend uit de Stadsrekeningen*, II, Handzame, 1980, 309). Based on the data discussed above, this man must be considered a namesake, since the silver-smith is already mentioned in 1458 as '*demourant à Bruges*' (see n. 334). Moreover, he had already worked on official public commissions for the municipal government in 1462,

Jan van der Toolne seems to have been active mainly as a silversmith, and according to the archival documents, he specialized mainly in the fabrication of luxury utensils. It is a fortunate coincidence that a representational work has been preserved. The bust in the Gruuthuse Museum is of historical value for the history of justice and the history of Bruges institutions. Moreover, it also gives a clear view of the talent and craftsmanship of the hitherto forgotten Bruges silversmith Jan van der Toolne.

which were highly unlikely for someone who would have lived within the city walls without becoming a resident.

CHAPTER IV:

CHURCHES

Around the middle of the sixteenth century, Ludovico Guicciardini counted more than 60 churches and chapels in Bruges.¹ A glance at Marcus Gerards's 1562 city map shows that this surprisingly high number of places of worship is anything but exaggerated.

Already by Burgundian times, many ecclesiastic buildings in the city looked back on a history of several centuries. The legendary foundation of two of the oldest, St. Savior's and St. Donatian's, goes back to the first wave of evangelization in the Low Countries during the seventh century A.D.² Both were allegedly founded by St. Eloy, Bishop of Noyon-Tournai. The first written sources about these Bruges religious institutions date from the ninth century. Before 1089, the churches of St. Donatian, St. Savior and Our Lady were promoted to the status of parish church. The city's territory was

¹ L. Guicciardini, *Descrittione dei tutti i Paesi Bassi*, Amsterdam, 1612, 298 (1st edition, Antwerp, 1567).

² On the early ecclesiastic history of Bruges, see amongst others C. Callewaert, "Les origines de la collégiale Saint-Donatien à Bruges," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, LVI (1906), 165-173; 401-405, *Ibid.*, LVIII (1908), 204-206; E. de Moreau, "Bruges," in A. Baudrillart, A. de Meyer, E. van Cauwenbergh, *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastiques*, X, Paris, 1938, col. 889; E. Strubbe, "De parochies te Brugge voor de XIIe eeuw," *Album English*, Bruges, 1952, 376; L. Devliegheer, "Bruges (Brugge)," *Dictionnaire des Eglises: Belgique-Luxembourg*, Vc, Paris, 1971, 20; J. Noterdaeme, "Studiën over de vroegste kerkgeschiedenis van Brugge, I: Ouderdom en Herkomst van de Sint-Salvatorskerk," *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis, gesticht onder de benaming Société d'Emulation te Brugge*, CXII (1975), 5-30; J. Noterdaeme, "Studiën over de vroegste kerkgeschiedenis van Brugge, II: Ouderdom en Herkomst van de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk," *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis, gesticht onder de benaming Société d'Emulation te Brugge*, CXII (1975), 31-59.

originally divided between the dioceses of Tournai and Utrecht, but in 1222, the whole city was placed under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Tournai.

Owing to the prodigious economy, the demographic explosion and the expansion of the city's territory in the thirteenth century, new parishes had to be created: around 1240, Walter de Marvis, bishop of Tournai (1219-52) split off the St. James's and St. Walburga's parishes from the territory of St. Savior's.³ Around the same time, a chapel dedicated to St. Gilles was built within the boundaries of Our Lady's parish. This chapel would become a parish church in its own right from 1386 on. Around 1270, the parish of St. Catherine's --after 1809 known as St. Mary Magdalen's-- was also separated from Our Lady's. In 1497, St. Anne's was split off from the Holy Cross parish outside the city walls.

There were three main forms of ecclesiastic patronage in Bruges during the fifteenth century: first, the building campaigns and decoration of the churches, which were financed by the offices of the works (the church '*fabrica*') with resources drawn from the whole community of the parishioners, often increased with special incentives by rich and notable members of this community; secondly, the patronage of guilds, confraternities, other associations and private persons who endowed chapels and religious services at altars and who furnished these foundations with all sorts of precious gifts, such as jewels, ritual ornaments and textiles; and thirdly, individuals who purchased sepulchral concessions in a church and decorated their (family)tombs with stone and/or brazen slabs, and sometimes with epitaphs.

The individual undertakings differentiate from the installation of a small sepulchral slab to the foundation of an entire village, like Pieter Bladelin's foundation of Middelburg.

The main sources for the study of ecclesiastic patronage are the preserved artifacts, often still kept in the places for which they were originally made. Next to those, the archives inform us about still other

³ For the origins of new parishes in the thirteenth century, see also W. Rombauts, *Inventaris van het Archief der kerkfabriek van St.-Walburga te Brugge (XIIIde-XXste eeuw)*, Brussels, 1977, 11-12; *Id.*, *Het oud archief van de kerkfabriek van Sint-Jacob te Brugge (XIIIde-XIXde eeuw)*, I, Brussels, 1986, 8.

items, unfortunately often lost. At first view, it seems odd that the items mentioned in these written sources seldom match those that are still preserved. Usually, the descriptions in inventories are far too general to identify a listed item with a preserved work. Furthermore, the archives do not always yield the kind of information that one would like to find. The historian is, for instance, informed in the most detailed fashion in no less than eight charters how Donaes de Moor bought pieces of land, interests, and tributes to increase the value of his foundation in his chapel in St. James's.⁴ However, not even the faintest allusion is made in the preserved archives to the patron of one of Hugo van der Goes's most important paintings, which was installed in that same church.⁵ There are reasons for this kind of discrepancy. A charter usually stipulated the different financial and practical responsibilities of an endowment. Moreover, it enumerated all the duties of those involved in maintenance and regularly reoccurring services. These obligations included the responsibilities of the chaplain charged with the services at an altar, the liturgical specifications which had to be followed, the interest yielded by an endowment that paid for the continuous supply of candles, and the person who would collect that type of revenue. The charter was a document with legal authority in case of later dispute. There usually was no need to draw up so detailed a document when someone donated a work of art, such as an altarpiece, a statue, liturgical manuscripts, or other treasures, to a church, unless of course, the gift was conditional. Furthermore, paintings and large pieces of sculpture were seldom included in chapel inventories, which were usually restricted to what are called in the documents, the *jocalia*, *i.e.* portable church treasures such as ritual implements and textiles. Apparently, inventories included only objects that could easily be moved, such as reliquaries, chalices, chasubles, choir copes, altar cloths, and liturgical books.

Systematic research in the preserved fifteenth century archives of Bruges churches, has yielded information mainly on the artistic patronage of the largest institutions, *i.e.* the two collegiate churches (St. Donatian's and

⁴ Rombauts (as in n. 3), 1986, 159.

⁵ For more about this, see section D of this chapter.

Our Lady's), and the two most important parish churches (St. Savior's and St. James's). Therefore, the following discussion will be restricted to the analysis of the archives and the preserved artifacts of these important institutions. In addition, the Jerusalem chapel will also be treated, for its special status as a private foundation, and the hitherto unknown importance for Flemish art history of its patrons, the Adornes family.

A. The Collegiate Church of St. Donatian

The church of the Holy Virgin Mary attached to the Bruges residence of the count (Pl. 10) was re-dedicated to St. Donatian in A.D. 842, when the relics of this bishop of Reims were translated to Bruges.⁶ From then on, St. Donatian would be the city's main patron.

In 1089, Robrecht I, Count of Flanders (1071-1093), confirmed the rights and possessions of the chapter, and invested the provost with the title of chancellor of Flanders, receiver of the county and head of the *notarii*, the chaplains and *clerici* of the count's court. The count, on his side, assumed the right to approve the chapter's nomination of one of its canons as its provost.

The provost was also the head of the *Proosdij*, i.e. a large seigniory, received in fief from the count of Flanders, situated as an enclave within the borders of nine Flemish castellanies. In Bruges itself, this fief was subdivided into two parts: the *Proosse*, governed by the provost assisted in the execution of his power by 28 hereditary magistrates (called *redenaars*),

⁶ J. Van den Heuvel, "Sint-Donaas, legende en geschiedschrijving," *St. Donaas en de Voormalige Brugse Kathedraal*, Bruges, 1978, 7-31; B. Janssens de Bisthoven, "Het kapittel van Sint-Donatiaan te Brugge," *Idem*, 51-59; R. Strohm, *Music in late Medieval Bruges*, Oxford, 1983, 10-12.

and the *Kannunikse*, headed by the chapter of 31 canons.⁷ These canons held much desired prebends.

There were also several chaplaincies attached to the chapter: the chaplains *de gremio chori* who took part in choir service, for which they were remunerated; the chaplains *extra chorum* who did not take part in the choir service, and who were responsible only for the ceremonies at their altar; and four more chaplains who were detached to St. Basile's, the chapel on the Burg where Bruges's most precious relic was kept: the Holy Blood of Christ. The latter chaplains also participated in the choir service. The nearby dependent chapels of St. Christopher on the Market and of St. John were also served by members of the chapter of St. Donatian.

The parish of St. Donatian was headed by a priest. All the people who worked in the service of the chapter, the *Proosdij* or the count's court were its parishioners.

St. Donatian's became the cathedral of the diocese of Bruges in 1559. Amidst the revolutionary chaos, this diocese was abolished in 1797. The romanesque collegiate church was demolished in 1799-1800.⁸

The most famous art treasure of St. Donatian is doubtlessly the *Madonna with Canon van der Paele*, a painting completed by Jan van Eyck in 1436 (Pl. 16).⁹ Attribution, date and identification of the patron of this work are based on an inscription on the lower border of the frame, that reads:

⁷ On the structure of the chapter of St. Donatian and its worldly authority, see also J. Marechal, *Inventaris der Proosdij van Sint-Donaas te Brugge*, Brussels, 1960, v-vi.

⁸ And not in 1797 as Strohm writes (as in n. 6), 12. See A. Viaene, "Het einde van een Kathedraal. De Sint-Donaaskerk te Brugge verkocht en afgebroken," *Biekorf*, L (1949), 169-180; F. Suys, "Dood van een kathedraal," *St. Donaas en de Voormalige Brugse Kathedraal*, Bruges, 1978, 47-50.

⁹ Bruges, Groeningemuseum, inv.0.161; oil and tempera on panel, 122.1 x 157.8; on this painting see A. Janssens de Bisthoven, *Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeningemuseum). Brugge (De Vlaamse Primitieven, I. Corpus van de vijftiende-eeuwse schilderkunst in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, 1)*, I (2nd revised ed.), Brussels, 1981, 194-233 (with complete bibliography).

*hoc op[us] fecit fieri mag[iste]r georgi[us] de pala hui[us] ecclesie
canoni[cus] p[er] johanne[m] de eijck pictore[m], et fundavit hic
duas capell[an]ias de gr[em]io chori domini m.cccc.xxxiiij.
[com]p[le]-t[um] au[tem] 1436.¹⁰*

This inscription includes an anachronism. Canon Joris van der Paele founded two chaplaincies at St. Donatian's, the second only in 1443, or 7 years after the painting had been completed.¹¹ The X-ray of the inscription shows that major parts are not original and have been retraced.¹² Only the following text is genuine:

*hoc op' fecit fieri magr georgi' de pa[...] hui' [...] eyck pictore [...]
domini. m.ccc. xxxiiij. 9pt au. 1436.*

¹⁰ "Master Joris van der Paele, canon of this church, had this work made by the painter Jan van Eyck, and he founded here two chaplaincies [to be serviced by] the clergy of the choir, [in the year] of our Lord 1434, yet the work was completed in 1436." The patron is further identified by his own coat of arms, as well as that of his mother's family. His arms are blazoned *Sable, two peels in saltire or between four loaves argent*, Van der Paele; those of his mother *Argent, on three chevrons azure, twelve fleurs-de-lys 5, 5 and 2 or, within a bordure engrailed gules*, Carlins.

¹¹ And not in 1441 as most authors think, see amongst others W.H.J. Weale, M.W. Brockwell, *The Van Eycks and their Art*, London, 1912, 122; also not in 1442 as stated by E. Dhanens, *Hubert en Jan Van Eyck*, Antwerp, 1980, 212, and by A. Viaene, "Het grafpaneel van kanunnik van der Paele, voltooid in 1436 door Jan van Eyck (Groeningemuseum Brugge)," *Biekorf*, LXVI (1965), 260. In 1441, he only received the permission for such a foundation, see A. Dewitte, "De Kapelanie-stichtingen van Kanunnik van der Paele, Brugge 1434 en 1443," *Biekorf*, LXXII (1971), 18; Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 9), 204. W.H.J. Weale was the first to point out this incongruity in the inscription ("Le n° 1 du musée de l'Académie, à Bruges (Tableau de van Eyck)," *La Flandre*, 1873, 101); *Idem*, "Quelques notes sur les van Eycks," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, LXII (1912), 140. The issue is thoroughly discussed by Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 9), 195, 202-203, 214.

¹² Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 9), 195. This author speculates that the text was retraced in the 18th century, based on a note found in the *Compendium ... Episcoporum Brugensis* of 1731, since the mistake found in this source is taken over literally (*Ibidem*, 214). However, the reversed situation is also imaginable: the author of the *Compendium* may have copied the mistake from the inscription.

Some fundamental questions concerning the historical context in which this important commission took place should be asked. What may have been the patron's intention, and what was the original function of the painting?

Joris van der Paele was probably born c. 1370 and died in Bruges on 25 August 1443.¹³ He was a bastard son of Jan van der Paele with a woman of the Hainaut Carlins family. The Roman Pope Urban VI (1370-89) appointed him to a canonic prebend at St. Donatian's in 1387. His uncle, Judocus van der Paele, was also a canon there from 1364 until his death in 1402; and his brother, also Judocus, was a chaplain and candidate-canon of the same church until he died in 1413. Joris's nephew, Jan Debbaut, was also a canon of St. Donatian's during the period from 1414 to 1430. In 1394, Joris van der Paele lost this revenue through his obedience to the Roman See, at a time when Bruges followed Duke Philip the Bold in his recognition of the pope of Avignon. Although Van der Paele never received any higher preferments --he apparently remained a sub-deacon his whole life-- and notwithstanding the fact that he never obtained an academic degree, nonetheless he made a prosperous career in Rome as *scriptor* at the papal curia beginning in 1396.¹⁴ This function yielded a considerable number of benefices and prebends, many of the revenues of which he enjoyed simultaneously and without fulfilling the requirements of residency at the places that they were attached to. He clearly learned a lesson from losing his Bruges prebend. Since then he seems to have been very successful in opportunistic maneuvering in the ever-changing political situation during the Western Schism. He was often rewarded, which added to his accumulating wealth. By 1410, he enjoyed or had enjoyed prebends in Carnia, Cassel, Utrecht, Maastricht, Strasbourg, Cologne, Surburg and Huy, and other

¹³ Biographical data of Van der Paele are based on W.H.J. Weale, "Inventaires du trésor de la Collégiale de Saint Donatien à Bruges, 1347-1539," *Le Beffroi*, II (1864-65), 28-29, n.31; A. Viaene (as in n. 11), 257-264; R. de Keyser, "De Kanunnik van der Paele," *Spiegel historial*, VI/6 (1971), 336-343; *Idem*, "Paele, Joris Van der," *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, V, Brussels, 1972, col. 673-677.

¹⁴ He was allowed to use the academic *magister*-title through this function; see De Keyser (as in n. 13), 1971, 338.

benefices in Tournai and Surburg.¹⁵ On 20 August 1410, the council Pope John XXIII (1410-15) installed him again as canon of the Bruges church of St. Donatian. In July 1418, a couple of months after the major conflict in the church was resolved and Pope Martin V (1417-31) was recognized by the whole Western world, Joris van der Paele left Rome at the height of his career to live a quiet life in Bruges. Perhaps his physical condition played a decisive role in this choice. In any case, in 1434 he was so ill that the chapter relieved him of choir service, without his losing revenues.¹⁶ From then on, his age and declining health apparently made him think about his salvation. On 13 September 1434, he endowed a chaplaincy at the altar of SS Peter and Paul in the south aisle of the church.¹⁷ This foundation consisted of three weekly masses: a Requiem mass on Mondays, a mass on Wednesdays, and a mass of the Holy Cross on Fridays. After his death, the chaplain had to sprinkle his tomb after each mass and had to read a *Miserere Mei* or a *De Profundis* for his salvation. Van der Paele was granted the right to appoint the chaplain himself by papal bull.¹⁸ This chaplain would receive £3 gr annually from a trust fund of £72 Flemish groats. The canon further donated £125 gr for the works and usage of the church.¹⁹ He also promised to furnish his chaplaincy with a missal, a chalice, ritual vestments and altar

¹⁵ De Keyser pointed out that nothing is known about the effectiveness of these appointments, since many papal orders were neglected during the schism. Moreover, he did not enjoy all this benefices simulatiously, but often traded some for others; see De Keyser (as in n. 13), 1971, 339.

¹⁶ See the excerpt from the *Acta Capituli* of St. Donatian's published by W.H.J. Weale, *Hubert and John van Eyck. Their Life and Work*, London, New York, 1908, 84; Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 9), 222, doc. 1.

¹⁷ See Weale (as in n. 13), 28, n.31; Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 9), 222-223, doc. 2.

¹⁸ See Dewitte (as in n. 11), 16-17, doc. 2-3. After his death, this privilege was transferred to the chapter.

¹⁹ And not £25 as transcribed by Weale (as in n. 13), 28, n. 31 and by Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 9), 222. See Dewitte (as in n. 11), 16.

cloths. Shortly after this foundation, he must have commissioned the painting from Jan van Eyck.

On 13 September 1440, the canon provided a complementary fund of £100 gr from which each year on the anniversaries of his funeral and of his brother Judocus's death, his colleague canons and chaplains of the choir were given a breakfast.²⁰ In the same document, we learn where his sepulchre is located: "*in the nave of the church on the north side of the altar of SS Peter and Paul, at which he founded a perpetual chaplaincy.*"²¹ His uncle and his brother were also buried in the same chapel, which was the second one from the transept in the south aisle of the nave.²² Joris van der Paele's tomb was covered with a stone slab, decorated with an incised figure in sacerdotal attire, and the symbols of the evangelists at the corners.²³ According to Gailliard --the main epigraphic source for monuments in St. Donatian's-- the slab was also decorated with the coat of arms of Van der Paele himself, and that of his mother, similar to the heraldic signs on the painting.²⁴ The date the canon died was apparently not carved on the

²⁰ See excerpt from the *Acta Capituli* transcribed by Weale (as in n. 13), 28, n.31; Viaene (as in n. 11), 260.

²¹ "*In navi ecclesie ad latus septentrionale altaris sanctorum Petri et Pauli, ad quod ipse perpetuam cappellaniam fundavit;*" see Weale (as in n. 13), 28, n.31.

²² He was granted permission to install a funeral slab in commemoration of his brother Judocus, in between the slabs of his uncle and of Margaret of Flanders, granddaughter of Count Louis of Nevers ("*item, consesserunt eidem quod posset ponere unum lapidem iuxta sepulturam magistri Judoci de Pala, auunculi sui, inter eadem et sepulturam comitisse Margarete, in memoriam domini Judoci fratris sui*"); see Weale (as in n. 13), 28, n.31. In other words, Joris van der Paele was not buried in the same tomb as his brother, as stated by Weale, Brockwell (as in n. 11), 122. For the exact location of the chapel see Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 9), 204. For the tomb of Margaret of Flanders see V. Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge voor 1578*, II, Bruges, 1976, 109, no.115.

²³ Weale, Brockwell (as in n. 11), 122; Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 171, no. 180. The iconography of this tomb is very standard for clergymen, see *Idem*, I, 142.

²⁴ J. Gailliard, *Inscriptions funéraires et monumentales de la Flandre Occidentale avec des données historiques et archéologiques*, I, Bruges, 1861, 184.

tombstone.²⁵ This omission may indicate that the slab was already made during Van der Paele's lifetime.²⁶

On 11 September 1441, Van der Paele offered a solemn reliquary with relics of SS Christopher and Ursula to the church.²⁷ The inventories of the church's treasures offer detailed descriptions of this object: a tower-like construction in silver gilt with rock-crystal, a little statue of St. George, the canon's patron saint, within the center, and topped by a crucifix.²⁸ The reliquary was adorned with his coat of arms and weighed three marks and one ounce.²⁹

In May 1441, Van der Paele was granted permission to endow a second chaplaincy, which he eventually did by a charter dated 30 January 1443.³⁰ This new foundation was clearly complementary and similar in format to the one of 1434. It provided the funds for 4 weekly masses: on Sundays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. The capital for this endowment derived from real estate yielding an annual interest of £4 gr for the chaplain and £7 10s gr for the use of the church.

²⁵ *Ibidem*. Weale and Brockwell, on the other hand do give the date *m.cccc.xliij* (1443) in quoting the inscription on the tomb (see Weale, Brockwell (as in n. 11), 123). Vermeersch wondered whether these authors had used another source than Gailliard; see Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 171.

²⁶ *Ibidem*.

²⁷ cf. doc. 16 in appendix.

²⁸ cf. doc. 2 and 158 in appendix.

²⁹ *I.e.*, 769 grams. In the 1578 inventory drawn up when all ecclesiastic silver was claimed by the General States, the weight of the reliquary without the glass and the actual relics was also given: 2 marks 4 ounces and 17.5 engels (about 642 grams); see A.C. De Schrevel, "Comment disparut le trésor de la cathédrale de Saint Donatien à Bruges en 1578-79," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, LIX (1909), 326, 332.

³⁰ As stated above, most authors have mixed up the chronology of the events here; see n. 13. For the permission see excerpt from the *Acta Capituli* published by Weale (as in n. 13), 28-29, n.31; a summary of the foundation charter is given by Dewitte (as in n. 11), 18, doc. 5.

Either after the first foundation, or perhaps only after the second, an inventory was drawn up of the objects which Van der Paele donated for the celebration of the services.³¹ He provided a missal, a portable stone altar, a silver gilt chalice adorned with his coat of arms, a gilt paten and a small gilt spoon, both of silver, and a small container to put them in; further two silver ampullas, with a leather container, and two small metal chandeliers. Amongst the sacerdotal textiles were two pairs of altar cloths, two corporalia with containers, two albs, two amices, two stoles, two maniples, two singles, and two silk chasubles: one red and one black. Two pairs of altar curtains, one in black and red silk, the other in white and red cloth; and also two antependia in colors similar to the curtains. The double sets of ritual textiles were needed because one of the masses was a Requiem. All these treasures could be stored in a chest specially made for them.³²

Through his last foundation, Van der Paele made certain that each day of the week, a chaplain would read a mass for him and sprinkle his tomb with holy water in perpetuity after his death. How could he better have safeguarded the salvation of his soul? Van der Paele seems to have also taken care of some of his family members. He traded, for instance, his prebend at Utrecht for the less remunerative chaplaincy of his nephew Jacob Debbout, and he provided his fellow canon Jan Debbout with a second prebend at the church of Our Lady in Bruges.³³ He also foresaw in his foundations that his uncle and his brother, both former colleague-canons at St. Donatian's, would be commemorated and their tombs sprinkled.

Beside these signs of loyalty to his family, he seems to have spent his entire estate during the last few years of his life to the endowment of masses

³¹ cf. doc. 64 in appendix, and BAB, *St. Donaas, Testamenten en Fundaties*, 1434, unnumbered charter.

³² It seems strange that the painting is not mentioned in this inventory, but this omission is probably because the inventory is restricted to what was used during the services. For the missal donated by Van der Paele, see doc. 64 in appendix.

³³ See De Keyser (as in n. 13), 1971, 341; *Idem* (as in n. 13), 1972, col. 676.

and on donations.³⁴ Crowning this effort was his commission of a fairly large painting from one of the most respected artists of the era, an act which must have caused quite some surprise amongst his colleagues. What could have driven this man to go to such lengths, incomparable to the acts any other clergyman in Flanders at this time? Considering what we know of him, it is unlikely that he acted out of pure unselfish generosity. Perhaps the answer to this question may be found in his particular situation as a bastard, who owing to a prosperous career, had accumulated a considerable fortune. The chapter of St. Donatian was accustomed to confiscate the household effects of its members of natural descent after they had died.³⁵ This practice probably meant that if Van der Paele had not invested in foundations, commissions and donations that he believed would contribute to his commemoration and his well-being in the afterlife --and from which the chapter profited as well-- the chapter would have expropriated large parts of his estate anyway.

Another question raised by the painting concerns its original location and function. Not one document mentions unequivocally the exact original place where it was installed.³⁶ However, as I have tried to demonstrate, everything seems to indicate that Van der Paele's foundations, his donations, and the painting were all part of one comprehensive and well devised plan. It is inconceivable that his painting would have been installed any where else in the church than the chapel where he had spent his fortune. Every day a mass was celebrated for him in this chapel; he and two members of his family were buried there, and he had donated all ritual vessels and sacerdotal vestments to it. Therefore one may safely assume

³⁴ This expenditure is suggested by the fact that already in 1447 the revenue of the real estate was not sufficient to cover the expenses of the second foundation; see Dewitte (as in n. 11), 20, with reference to BAB, *St. Donaas, Acta Capituli*, no.A.51, fol. 185v.

³⁵ See De Keyser (as in n. 13), 1971, 337.

³⁶ Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 9), 204.

that the *Madonna with Canon van der Paele* was installed in the chapel of SS Peter and Paul.³⁷

Some authors considered the painting to be an altarpiece,³⁸ others have defended the opinion that it was an epitaph, or in other words, that it had a memorial function.³⁹ Together with the sepulchral slab, it would have been part of Van der Paele's funeral monument. A strong argument in favor of this last hypothesis is the eschatological nature of the inscriptions on the painting alluding to St. Donatian and St. George.⁴⁰ They can be interpreted

³⁷ This has been taken for granted by many authors, amongst others Weale, Brockwell (as in n. 11), 120; De Keyser (as in n. 13), 1972, col.676; H. Pauwels, "Van Eycks Madonna Van der Paele opnieuw bekeken," *Jaarboek 1983-1984 Stad Brugge. Stedelijke Musea*, II (1985), 224. Viaene supposed that the painting was installed in the chapel of SS Peter and Paul only after Van der Paele's death; see Viaene (as in n. 11), 263. Since the *donatio* of the painting is not mentioned in the *Acta Capituli* as is the case for other donations, Viaene speculated that Van der Paele transferred it through a stipulation in his testament. This hypothesis is hard to prove since Van der Paele's testament has not been found.

³⁸ See amongst others M.J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting, I : The van Eycks - Petrus Christus*, (translation H. Norden; comments and notes by N. Veronée-Verhaegen), Brussels, Leiden, 1967, 42-43.

³⁹ Viaene (as in n. 11), 257-264; R. Terner, "Bemerkungen zur "Madonna des Kanonikus van der Paele", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XLII/2-3 (1979), 83-91. Viaene indicates that the painting commemorated the deceased canon and also constantly reminded of the duties of the community deriving from his foundations (*Ibid.*, 161). It is doubtful that such a painting was called *memorie* or *epitaphye* in the fifteenth century, as he stated. Only with the emergence of humanism in the sixteenth century, did the word *epitaph* come to mean a memorial sculpture or painting, beside its original and more restricted meaning of funeral inscription; see P. Schoenen, "Epitaph," *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, V, Stuttgart, 1967, col.872-873.

⁴⁰ Terner (as in n. 39), 85, 88. The inscription referring to St. Donatian reads: *Solo p[ar]tu non[us] fr[atru]m, mers[us] viv[us] reddit[ur], renat[us] arch[iepisc]o[pu]s pr[i]m[us], remis constituitur, qui nu[n]c deo fruitur* (Born as one of nine brothers; reborn after being thrown in water, he became the first Archbishop of Reims, and enjoyed God's mercy ever since); the one referring to St. George: *Natus Capadocia Xp[ist]o militavit, mundi fuge[n]s ocia, cesus triumphavit hic draconem stravit*" (Born in Cappadocia, he fought for Christ, fled the pleasures of the world, triumphed in death and conquered the dragon). Terner suggested

as references to death, resurrection and eternal life, obviously appropriate concepts in the context of a memorial. Furthermore, the painting represents an iconographical type often used for epitaphs: a donor presented by his patron saint to the Virgin and Christ Child.⁴¹ There is indeed a strong correlation between the painting by Van Eyck and memorials such as the *Epitaph of Joos Brids and His Wife Yolente Belle* in the Belle hospital at Ypres, and some memorial reliefs from c. 1490-1500 at Our Lady's in Bruges: the *Epitaph of Lodewijk de Baenst Sr. and His Wife Clara Losschaert*, and the *Epitaph of Jacob van den Velde and His Family* in the same church.⁴² A monument not yet mentioned in connection with the *Madonna with Canon van der Paele* is the *Memorial of Canon Willem de Niepa*, a stone epitaph of c.1460 formerly

further that the white surplice Van der Paele is wearing would also be a reference to the here-after as it resembles the shirt the resurrected receive at entering heaven (*Ibid.*, 88). This last argument is far-fetched, to say the least. Van der Paele is simply dressed in his canonical attire for choir service.

⁴¹ Viaene (as in n. 11), 262; Turner (as in n. 39), 84-85.

⁴² For the *Epitaph of Joos Brids and His Wife Yolente Belle* see L. Devlieghe, *Beeld van het Kunstbezit (Kunstpatrimonium van West-Vlaanderen, 1)*, Tielt, The Hague, 1965, 77, no.109; Viaene (as in n. 11), 262; for the *Epitaph of Lodewijk de Baenst sr. and his wife Clara Losschaert*, see *Ibid.*; Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 350-353; for the *Epitaph of Jacob van den Velde sr. and his family* see Turner (as in n. 39), 90; Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 358-361. Also the *Epitaph of Lodewijk de Baenst jr. and his wife Margaretha Boulangier*, and the *Epitaph of Jacob van den Velde jr. and Anthonyne van de Gheenste*, both in the same church (see Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 354-357, 362-366) should be added to this list. Viaene and Turner referred also to works that are geographically further removed from the *Van der Paele Madonna*, such as the *Epitaph of Jean de Bos and Cathérine Bernard* (Tournai, Cathedral) and other memorial relief sculpture by workshops of Tournai and Mons (Viaene (as in n. 11), 262; Turner (as in n. 39), 85, for these works see also G. Ring, "Beiträge zur Plastik von Tournai im 15.Jahrhundert," *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler*, I, Munich, 1923, 269-291; P. Rolland, *Les Primitifs tournaisiens, peintres et sculpteurs*, Brussels, Paris, 1932; K. Bauch, *Das mittelalterliche Grabbild*, Berlin, New York, 1976, 202-205; Vermeersch (as in n. 22), I, 115-117). Turner related the iconographical type of the *Madonna with Canon Van der Paele* also to drawings from the circle of Robert Campin-Rogier van der Weyden (Turner (as in n. 39), 85; M. Sonkes, *Dessins du XVe siècle : Groupe Van der Weyden (Les Primitifs Flamands. III Contributions à l'Etude des Primitifs Flamands)*, Brussels, 1969, 98-103, nos. C7, C8.)

also in St. Donatian's (Pl. 18).⁴³ There is much more than only an iconographical connection between these two works. Willem de Niepa was a colleague of Joris van der Paele, and even one of the executors of his testament.⁴⁴ Obviously, his memorial was a modest attempt to emulate Van der Paele's example. It should be emphasized that the iconographical type under discussion here, was certainly not restricted to epitaphs,⁴⁵ nor are patrons of epitaphs always presented to the Madonna and Child.⁴⁶

In short, a good argument can be made for the interpretation of the *Madonna with Canon Van der Paele* as an epitaph. One wonders whether it was necessarily placed just above the canon's tomb, *i.e.*, to the left of the altar in the chapel of SS Peter and Paul. Although the exact dimensions of this chapel remain uncertain, there does not seem to have been enough

⁴³ This lost memorial is only known from a drawing in a late seventeenth century manuscript describing Bruges funeral monuments and inscriptions: Ignace De Hooghe, *Versaemelinghe van alle de sepulturen, epitaphien, besetten, waepens ende blasoenen, die gevonden worden in alle de kercken, kloosters, abdyen, capellen ende godshuysen, binnen de stad van Brugge (...)*, I, Bruges, 1698-1707, fol. 33 (Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, ms. 449), see Vermeersch (as in n. 22), 224-226, no.230, pl.102-103. An engraved copy of this drawing was published by Gailliard (as in n. 24), pl. XLV. The Nieppa monument counters Viaene's statement that in epitaphs of priests the patron saint of the patron's church is always represented; see Viaene (as in n. 11), 262. He is presented here to the Madonna with child and an angel by St. Nicolas of Tolentina. The connection between the patron and this saint is unclear.

⁴⁴ See De Keyser (as in n. 13), 1972, col.676. Willem van Nieppa was even indicted for irregularities in the execution of Van der Paele's testament, see Dewitte (as in n. 11), 20. He died on 6 December 1460.

⁴⁵ It is sufficient to recall that the so-called *Dresden Triptych* by Van Eyck, for instance, also shows a donor being presented by his patron saint to the Madonna with Child (see E. Dhanens (as in n. 11), 241-251). Because its small dimensions, this painting is usually considered a portable altarpiece. A memorial function is out of the question in this case. Moreover, the very same iconography is often encountered in miniatures illustrating the prayer *Obsecro Te* in Books of Hours (see R. Wieck, *Time Sanctified. The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life*, exhib. cat., Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 1988, 94).

⁴⁶ See for instance, a memorial relief at Our Lady's representing a patron presented by St. Jerome to the Coronation of the Virgin or another one in the same chapel, representing two male and two female patrons in adoration of the Trinity (Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 181-185, no.198-199, pl. 77-79; cf. *infra*).

space beside the altar for a painting of such dimensions.⁴⁷ Van Eyck's painting was apparently not placed on the altar itself, as this place was probably taken up by another altarpiece. This possibility may be deduced from a hitherto overlooked entry in the 1439 accounts of St. Donatian's:

*Item pro mundatione tabule exterioris ad altare apostolorum petri et pauli vj s par.*⁴⁸

It is unlikely that the *tabule* mentioned in this document refers to the painting by Van Eyck, since the word *exterioris* would remain inexplicable. This latter indication seems to refer to the wings of a triptych. If this interpretation is correct, then the *Madonna with Canon van der Paele*, must have hung either on the south or west wall of the chapel. The lighting of the painting from the left may suggest that it hung on the west wall. If so, sunlight coming into the chapel from the window in the south wall, would have lighted the figures in the painting.

There may also have been a memorial plaque in the chapel of St. Peter and Paul, similar to that of Jan Vasquez in St. Savior's, for instance, with a text that linked the painting, Joris van der Paele's tomb, the tombs of

⁴⁷ The dimensions of the chapel can be gauged from the floorplan of the church included in Pierre de Molo, *Recueil de tous les tombeaux, épitaphes et pierres sépulchrales qui ont existé dans la ci-devant église cathédrale de S. Donas à Bruges (...)*, II, annexes, fol. 19 (Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, ms. 595; published in B. Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 6), 52, fig.22). As the scale of the floorplan in de Molo is not given, the exact dimensions of the chapel remain unknown.

⁴⁸ "Item for cleaning the exterior side of the panel on the altar of the apostles Peter and Paul 6s par"; cf. doc. 11 in appendix. It should be noted, though, that later the painting was used as an altarpiece. About 1588, the painting was put into an elaborate sculpted frame, and installed on the high altar; see Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 9), 205, 224, doc. 7. This was done after the silver retable on the high altar, given to the church by Countess Margaret of Artois, had been confiscated by the General States. On this altar, see Weale (as in n. 13), I, 328-331; on its confication, see De Schrevel (as in n. 29), 322-343. Later, in 1643, the painting by Van Eyck was moved again to the new altar of St. Macaire in the chapel of SS Peter and Paul (Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 9), 205, 225, doc. 11).

his family, and his foundations.⁴⁹ The existence of such a plaque would explain why the date Van der Paele died is not mentioned on the painting, or on his tomb.⁵⁰

Some elements in the picture hint of the relationship between the patron and the painter. One detail may even suggest that this relationship was more personal than one would normally expect between an artist and any of his clients. I refer to the well known reflection of the portrait of Jan van Eyck in the armor of St. George.⁵¹ The precise meaning of this detail remains unclear. Whether or not he was personally involved, Van Eyck must have clearly made a thorough study of the personality of his client. The strongly individualized portrait of Van der Paele is so accurately painted that physicians have felt able to make a diagnosis of his condition (Pl. 17).⁵² The painter included very personal details such as Van der Paele's

⁴⁹ For the memorial plaque of Jan Vasquez, cf. *infra* and Vermeersch (as in n. 22), 245-247, pl. 115.

⁵⁰ See, for instance, on all the memorials mentioned above, n. 44; see also the inscription on the *Epitaph of Anna van Nieuwenhove*, cf. *infra*. Turner's explanation that this reference is missing because the painting was finished seven years before Van der Paele died, and also because the canon survived the painter by two years, makes no sense as it implies that the inscription on the painting must be original (Turner (as in n. 39), 90-91). As mentioned above, this is not the case. The actual inscription was applied on the painting years after it was completed.

⁵¹ D.G. Carter, "Reflections in Armor in the Canon van de Paele Madonna," *Art Bulletin*, XXXVI (1954), 60-62; D. Farmer, "Further Reflections on a Van Eyck Self-Portrait," *Oud Holland*, LXXXIII (1968), 156-160.

⁵² J. Desneux, "Diagnostic dermatologique sur un tableaux de Jean van Eyck (1436)," *La Presse médicale*, LVIII/38 (1950), 708; H.T. Deelman, "Jan van Eyck, de Dermatoloog en de Patholoog-Anatoom," *Nederlandsch Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde*, XCV/38 (1951), 2787-2791; J. Desneux, *Rigueur de Jean van Eyck. A propos d'un diagnostic médical sur un tableaux de 1436*, Brussels, 1951; *Id.*, "Antwoord op de Critiek van Prof. Deelman ten aanzien van de huidafwijkingen op het schilderij van Jan van Eyck," *Nederlandsch Tijdschrift voor Geneeskunde*, XCVI/39 (1952), 2436-2438.

glasses, or his pudgy hands, deformed by rheumatism.⁵³ Other details may refer to the canon's personal environment. The blue brocade cope with embroidered images of the apostles on the orphreys, worn by St. Donatian could be one of those mentioned in the inventories of the church's treasures.⁵⁴

Two other cases of donations by members of the chapter can be studied in a number of related documents. Simon Coene (died c.1460), a priest attached to St. Donatian's from 1419, and appointed as chaplain *de gremio chori* on 5 October 1433, donated a silver gilt statue representing St. Donatian to the church in 1445.⁵⁵ This gift is described in the inventories of the church.⁵⁶ The saint was represented with a cross and a wheel, his traditional attributes. The statue weighed seven marks, two ounces and fourteen engels (about 1.8 kg). In exchange for this gift, he was promised the concession of a sepulchre, situated just outside the chapel of St. Anthony, where he served as a chaplain, and near the baptismal font of the church. It is not known what happened with this concession, but 6 years later Simon Coene made another donation, again in order to obtain a sepulchral location, which is now specified as situated "*under the organ, or near it.*"⁵⁷ The last gift was a "*beautiful psalter*" to be used by the senior chaplains in the choir, where it was chained to the furniture. Was the rather heavy gilt coated silver statue not considered to be valuable enough for the

⁵³ The heavily pronounced veins at Van der Paele's temples show that he suffered from *arteritis ophtalmica*, a rheumatic affliction that causes deterioration of the sight. I am grateful to Peter de Naeyer, M.D., for drawing my attention to this condition.

⁵⁴ Weale (as in n. 13), 105, nos. XLVI and XLVII; also referred to by Viaene (as in n. 11), 264 and by Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 9), 197. Pauwels believes the cope was an imaginary design by Van Eyck because known examples are never seamless like the one shown in the painting; see Pauwels (as in n. 37), 224.

⁵⁵ cf. doc. 29 in appendix. On Simon Coene see also Weale (as in n. 13), 23-24, n.26.

⁵⁶ cf. doc. 2, 64, 158 in appendix.

⁵⁷ cf. doc. 40 in appendix.

concession? Did the church not keep its promise for some reason, or did Simon Coene lose or sell his first concession? We do not know. The documents do not reveal the reasons for these transactions.

Another series of documents concerns a donation by Hendrik Clapdorp, canon from 1429 until his death in 1462.⁵⁸ In 1443, the members of the chapter secured the acquisition of a very lavish and precious chalice by their colleague Clapdorp.⁵⁹ They explicitly insisted on having unambiguous proof in writing of their action. One year later, it became clear why the chapter was so eager to help Clapdorp: he donated the chalice to the church on 7 September 1444.⁶⁰ In the inventories, the object is described as made of silver gilt with a silver lid, decorated with the coat of arms of Hendrik Clapdorp, the foot set with green semi-precious serpentine stones and rock-crystal, and the handle embellished with an image of Christ, and weighing, without the lid, 5 marks and 4 ounces, or about 1.35 kilogram.⁶¹ Beside the chalice, the donation consisted of a silver gilt chain in two pieces and a silver paten. These objects were to be used during Thursday services. Although Hendrik offered these objects to the church, he retained their custody. He agreed that in case he were to lose them, or his heirs to claim them, he (or his heirs) would pay £16 gr in compensation. A couple of years later, on 24 March 1457, Clapdorp's gift was again a matter of debate in the meeting of the chapter.⁶² After he had long insisted that the chalice he had offered would be used for communion at the feast before Easter, and be placed on the high altar on the feast of Epiphany, the chapter promised to do so. He was further granted permission to recover glass-

⁵⁸ On canon Clapdorp see Weale (as in n. 13), 21-22, n.24.

⁵⁹ cf. doc. 22 in appendix.

⁶⁰ cf. doc. 25 in appendix.

⁶¹ cf. doc. 2, 64, and 158 in appendix.

⁶² cf. doc. 55 in appendix.

work he apparently had donated for use at the altar of the Immaculate Virgin.⁶³

At the same time, Hendrik Clapdorp apparently regretted having given his precious chalice to the church. He proposed to exchange the chalice for a statue of St. Livine or any other saint, similar to the one donated by Simon Coene. The chapter agreed, and in case he were indeed to offer such a statue, they allowed him to put his coat of arms on it. They also promised to provide him with relics to put in the statue if he so desired. Since the chalice is found in all fifteenth century inventories of the church, one may assume that this proposed exchange never came about.⁶⁴

These examples reveal that gifts to the church were often made in the hope of obtaining favors, such as a funeral concession. These gifts could be any object of devotion or item used in the liturgy. Beside paintings, sculpture, manuscripts and goldsmiths' work, relics and sacerdotal vestments were also donated.⁶⁵ Clearly, precious objects may sometimes have been given out of pure generosity, but the hidden intentions of these recorded donations are not always evident to the modern scholar. Why, for instance, did Willem Moreel, a parishioner of St. James's, who was an active patron of this latter church, also give a monstrance to the parish altar at St. Donatian's, to be used on the feast of Corpus Christi?⁶⁶ The case of Hendrik Clapdorp shows what could happen to a donation after it had been made. The responsibility for custody of the object was established and the

⁶³ The word *vitra* in the document is rather vague. It may mean any object made of glass, so it could refer to glass vases, cups, or even stained glass windows. The context does not allow to get a more specific idea of what is meant.

⁶⁴ In 1450, the same Hendrik Clapdorp endowed two annual masses of the Holy Spirit for which he obtained a sepulchral concession (see Weale (as in n. 13), 21-22, n.24.) In the 1457 document, these masses are also discussed again. Apparently they had not been celebrated for two years, for which Clapdorp receives £8 par as indemnification. The chapter also proposes to alter these annual masses in one annual mass with vigils or a perpetual annual Requiem mass for his parents and other relatives. Whatever choice he decided to make, during these services 4 heavy candles would be burned on his tomb.

⁶⁵ For donations of copes see, for instance, doc. 2 in appendix.

⁶⁶ cf. doc. 64 in appendix. On Willem Moreel, see more in section D of this chapter.

punishment for losing it determined. Clapdorp was assured that his chalice was used at important liturgical occasions. Also the issue of patrons' marks was clearly important. The chalice beared the donor's coat of arms. The fact that he was given permission to have his armorial bearings applied on a statue he was considering offering may be very significant.

Another canon of St. Donatian's who should be mentioned here is Gilles Joye.⁶⁷ This important composer and colorful figure of the chapter, had his portrait painted by Hans Memling in 1472 (Pl. 19).⁶⁸ It represents a man against a bluish green background. He is slightly turned toward the viewer's left, and is folding his hands. The original frame bears an inscription revealing the date of the painting and the sitter's age: ANNO

⁶⁷ Following biographical data of Gilles Joye are based on R. Eitner, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker ...*, V, Leipzig, 1901, 306-307; G. Van Doorslaer, "La chapelle musicale de Philippe le Beau," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, IV (1934), 23; J. Marix, *Les musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne au XVe siècle (1420-1467)(...)*, Paris, 1937, xvi; *Id.*, *Histoire de la musique et des musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne sous le règne de Philippe le Bon (1420-1467)(Collection d'études musicologiques fondée par Karl Nef, XXIX)*, Strasbourg, 1939, 213, 255-261; A. Pirro, *Histoire de la musique de la fin du XVe siècle à la fin du XVIe*, Paris, 1940, 119; R. Vannes, *Dictionnaire des musiciens (compositeurs)*, Brussels, 1947, 218; C. Van den Borren, *Geschiedenis van de muziek in de Nederlanden*, I, Antwerp, 1948, 152-153; G. Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, New York, 1954, 98; N. Pirritta, "Music and Cultural Tendencies in Fifteenth-Century Italy," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, XIX (1966), 131; R. Strohm (as in n. 6), 27-29.

⁶⁸ The Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown (MA); Oil and tempera on panel, painted surface 30.5 x 22.4. This work was first attributed by Friedländer to Hans Memling; see M.J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, VIa, Leiden, Brussels, 1971, cat. 71, pl. 114. On the painting see also M.J. Friedländer, *Hans Memling*, Amsterdam, s.d., 31, 33; *Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute. Exhibit Eight, 15th and 16th Century Paintings, September 28th, 1957*, Williamstown (MA), 1957, no. 408; F. van Molle, *Identification d'un portrait de Gilles Joye attribué à Memlinc (Les Primitifs flamands. III. Contributions à l'étude des primitifs flamands)*, Brussels, 1960; C. Eisler, *New England Museums (Les Primitifs flamands. I. Corpus de la Peinture des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux au quinzième siècle, 4)*, Brussels, 1961, 66-70; K.B. McFarlane, *Hans Memling*, Oxford, 1971, 42-43, n.54. Only McFarlane questioned the attribution to Memling, however, without any explanation. Personally, I agree with Eisler that there is no reason to doubt Friedländer's attribution, especially when the abraded condition and overpaint of the surface is taken into consideration (see Eisler, 66, 69).

DOMINI 1472 / ETATIS SVE 47. A coat of arms appears at the left side of the frame, repeating the armorial bearings on one of the two rings worn by the sitter.⁶⁹ At the right side of the frame, an enigmatic device is painted: a lozenge formed by a silver chain, with letters on the corners, and a spiral-shaped gilt object in the center.⁷⁰ A small slip of paper with text is pasted on the reverse of the panel. Although the ink has faded, the text has been successfully deciphered under UV-light, and translates as follows:⁷¹

The effigy of the honorable man, sir Egidius Joye, priest ... of the church of Saint Donatian at Bruges and pastor of the church of Saint Ypolite at Delft, buried in the sanctuary of the said church of Saint Donatian in the year of Our Lord 1473, the last day of September. May he rest in peace.

The identification given in this text as Egidius or Gilles Joye, is corroborated by the arms on the frame and ring of the sitter, and by evidence found in the archives of St. Donatian's and the church of St. Hippolyte at Delft.

Gilles Joye was a musician whose name is first found at St. Donatian's in records of the early 1450s, which characterize him as a jolly, rebellious young man. He was reprimanded for reciting bawdy rhymes at a Christmas dinner, for taking part in a street fight, and for protesting

⁶⁹ *Argent, a chevron gules between three billets or.*

⁷⁰ Van Molle (as in n. 68), 13, reads the letters as I, O (and maybe Y and E); Eisler (as in n. 68), 68, reads a D (?) and two I's. Having seen the painting only in photographs, I am reluctant to decipher these letters. The enigmatic object was identified by Lynn White, Jr., in a letter to Eisler as a minting press, while G. de Schoutheete de Tervarent thought the device was a burning candle (*Ibid.*, 68.)

⁷¹ *Effigies venerabilis viri domini Egidij Joye, sacerdotis .../ ecclesie Sancti Donatiani Brugensis et pastoris ecclesie Sancti / Ypolitii Dell[fe]n[si]s, sepulti in sanctuario dicte ecclesie / Sancti Donatiani anno Domini 1473, ultima decembris. Resquiscat / in Pace; see Van Molle (as in n. 68), 8, pl. IIIa.*

against the pending cancellation of the popular 'Feast of Asses.'⁷² When he applied for a seat in the choir in 1454, he was urged to live a more pious life, and to discontinue his relationship with Rosabelle, his concubine of ill repute.⁷³ About the same time he was appointed to a prebend at the collegiate church of Our Lady at Cleves. In 1458, he applied for a canonry at St. Donatian's, which he eventually obtained in 1463. From 1462 until about 1468, he was a member of the ducal music chapel, and honorary chaplain of Philip the Good, and later Charles the Bold. Beside all these activities, he was also pastor of St. Hippolyte in Delft.⁷⁴ By the end of the 1460s, he quit his office at the ducal court, probably owing to illness, and fulfilled special offices in the chapter, such as master of the works (*magister fabricae*) in 1468-70.⁷⁵ Several of his compositions have survived.⁷⁶ In a eulogy for Johannes Ockeghem, written by Guillaume Crétin between 1496 and 1499, Gilles Joye is mentioned together with other famous Netherlandish composers such as Guillaume Dufay, Gilles Binchois and John Dunstable.

Contrary to what the text on the reverse of the painting says, Gilles Joye died on 31 December 1483.⁷⁷ He was buried in the sacristy of the

⁷² See Strohm (as in n. 6), 27-28. On the 'Feast of Asses,' the election and parade of the youngest chaplain as the *papa asinorum* in the week of Epiphany; see *Ibid.*, 33.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁷⁴ A seal on a charter of St. Hippolyte of 2 August 1469 shows St. Hippolyte, holding two shields: one with the same coat of arms that appears on the frame of the painting (Joye); another with a carboncle (arms of the Lords of Cleves?); see Van Molle (as in n. 68), 13, pl. III.b.

⁷⁵ The accounts of these years are written by him, see BAB, *St. Donaas, Rekeningen van de Kerkfabriek*, no. G.5.

⁷⁶ See Strohm (as in n. 6), 27, 126.

⁷⁷ The text states that he was buried (*sepulti*) on 31 December 1473, see n. 73, where as a matter of fact, he died exactly 10 years later. See also Van Molle (as in n. 68), 11. The same mistake is also found in de Molo (as in n. 47), I, 144. Other collections of epitaphs, such as Foppens (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. 6055: J.F. Foppens, *Epitaphia Brugensia (...)*, 43), and Gailliard (as in n. 24), 158, mention the correct date.

church of St. Donatian.⁷⁸ His tomb, in blue stone, surviving only in a drawing, was decorated with an inlaid brass plate, representing a figure in sacerdotal attire, and surrounded by a brass frame with text, interrupted by six quatrefoils, depicting the symbols of the evangelists at the corners, and an hourglass and a scythe and shovel at the sides (Pl. 20).⁷⁹ At the request of the executors of Gilles Joye's testament, a painting was hung above his tomb. Most likely, this painting is the portrait painted by Hans Memling.⁸⁰ It thus formed an integral part of Joye's commemorative monument.

Evidently not only the canons commissioned works from artists to present to the church. The office of the works of the church itself also employed artists for various tasks. The largest part of these tasks were decorative embellishments of diverse objects and maintenance or repairs of the artistic patrimony.

In 1454, an anonymous painter was paid £12 par for painting the image of the Virgin in the refectory of Saint Donatian.⁸¹ Arnoud de Mol received £5 4s par in 1471 for painting an image of the Virgin or a saint

⁷⁸ Van Molle (as in n. 68), 9. "*sepulti in sanctuario dicte ecclesie / Sancti Donatiani*," says the text on the reverse of the painting (see n. 72). Foppens saw his tomb in the *sacristia inferiore* (Foppens (as in n. 77), 43); and de Molo specified the location of his sepulcher as the *sacristie des chapelains*; see De Molo (as in n. 47), I, 144.

⁷⁹ On this tomb monument, which probably disappeared during the French Revolution, see De Molo (as in n. 47), I, 144; Van Molle (as in n. 68), 9-11; Vermeersch (as in n. 22), 303, 305, no. 309, pl. 141. The coat of arms on this funeral plate was nearly identical to that found on the frame of the painting, except that the billets were replaced by sheaves of wheat.

⁸⁰ Cf. doc. 155 in appendix; and also Eisler (as in n. 68), 70 (without reference to the document); Strohm (as in n. 6), 29. Eisler (*Ibid.*, 69) speculated that the portrait may have had a counterpiece, perhaps representing a Madonna and Child. Strohm (*Ibid.*, 154, n. 62) pointed out that Foppens didn't probably draw his information (cf. supra) from the tombstone alone, but also from the inscription on this painting.

⁸¹ cf. doc. 47 in appendix. It is not clear why Dewitte speculated that this painter may be identified with Johannes vander Leyen; see A. Dewitte, "Boek- en bibliotheekwezen in de Brugse Sint-Donaaskerk XIIIe-XVe eeuw," *Sint-Donaas en de voormalige Brugse Katedraal*, Bruges, 1978, 80.

somewhere in the church above a doorway.⁸² The wording in neither of these payments indicates whether these men were paid for painting images on the wall (*al secco* mural paintings), or whether they polychromed statues.⁸³ Somewhat less ambiguous is the record of a payment of 1477 to Johannes the painter who received £24 par for "*painting and gilding of the image of the Blessed Mary in the nave of the church, with its tabernacle and case.*"⁸⁴ This *tabernacle* was obviously an architectural construction in which a statue was placed. The very same word is used in a payment to the sculptor Hendrik Michiels who earned £14 8s par in 1481 for a wooden statue of St. Donatian and its *tabernacle*.⁸⁵

In 1478, the painter Johannes Michiels was remunerated £7 4s par for varnishing the rood-screen in the choir and for a painting hung above the choir stalls; two years later, he received £6 par for painting and gilding the crucifix above the parish altar.⁸⁶ He also installed two paintings on this altar, for which he was £9 12s par. Whether all these were new paintings or restored works that were simply replaced cannot be determined from the sparse data in the documents.

⁸² cf. doc. 101 in appendix.

⁸³ The same ambiguity in terminology appears also in other cities, as for instance, in Ghent; see M.P.J. Martens, *De Muurschilderkunst te Gent. XIIde tot XVIde eeuw*, (*Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Schone Kunsten*, 51, no. 46), Brussels, 1989, 116-119, 158-160.

⁸⁴ cf. doc. 129 in appendix.

⁸⁵ cf. doc. 147 in appendix. This sculptor may be related to the painter Johannes Michiels; see following note.

⁸⁶ cf. doc. 135 and 142 in appendix. Johannes Michiels's servants are given tips when they assisted with these works. Although he apparently headed a studio, Michiels was not found amongst the members of the corporation of the image-makers, so he must have been from outside Bruges. For similar work on cruxifixes see also e.g. doc. 3 and 67.

In 1443, Johannes de Crane built a new organ in St. Donatian's.⁸⁷ The sculptor Jacob van Belle was commissioned to make the sculptural decoration of this instrument, and was paid £85 4s par for it.⁸⁸ Three statues representing the Virgin, St. Donatian and St. Basile crowned the organ. It was further embellished with an Annunciation and floral and vegetal decoration in tracery. All sculptural elements are listed separately in the payment record, with their price per piece.⁸⁹ In 1455, a painter decorated the doors of the organ, for which he was paid £26 8s par.⁹⁰ The iconography of the images on the organ doors is not mentioned, but may have been singing or music-making angels.⁹¹

Some payments pertain to the coloring of parts of reliquaries. In 1433, the painter Johannes was paid for polychromy of the shrine of the reliquary of St. Donatian,⁹² and one year later for painting the stretcher on which the reliquary is placed when it is taken around in processions.⁹³ In

⁸⁷ For this and other Bruges organs see A. Dewitte, "Gegevens betreffende het muziekleven in de voormalige Sint-Donaaskerk te Brugge," *Handelingen van het Historisch Genootschap, gesticht onder de benaming Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, CXI (1974), 134, 138, 141-144, 169-174.

⁸⁸ cf. doc. 23 in appendix.

⁸⁹ This specifying of each element with its price resembles payments to illuminators in the service of the court, see L. de Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne. Etudes sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XVe siècle, Preuves*, 2 vols., Paris, 1851, passim.

⁹⁰ cf. doc. 49 in appendix.

⁹¹ The function of organ doors has been attributed to some painting with representations of singing or music-making angels, the most famous of which are the panels of the Ghent altarpiece with this subject; see E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1953, 221. Another example is Memling's *Christ with singing and music-making angels* (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. nos. 778-780); see P. Vandenbroeck, *Catalogus schilderijen 14e en 15e eeuw. Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, Antwerp, 1985, 138-143.

⁹² cf. doc. 3 in appendix.

⁹³ cf. doc. 5 in appendix.

1444, another un-named artist painted the stretcher on which a silver reliquary in the form of St. John's head was carried.⁹⁴ He was also paid for painting flowers on the walls of the sacristy.⁹⁵ In 1446, the stretcher of reliquary of St. Basile was repaired and painted.⁹⁶

Another series of payments concerns the manufacture and polychromy of props used in the liturgical plays.⁹⁷ For the play performed since 1365 on Easter night, for instance, payments are recorded for things such as trees, angel wigs, and clothes for dressing up statues.⁹⁸ A representative entry is a payment to the *succentor* or assistant choir-master, Johannes Boubert, for a painting representing the wound in Christ's flank.⁹⁹

Much of the work executed by artists at St. Donatian was maintenance and restoration of existing objects. Damaged statues needed to be repaired. In 1439, payments were made for repair of the statues of Christ and the Virgin in the sacristy.¹⁰⁰ The following year, a painter called

⁹⁴ cf. doc. 26 in appendix. This silver head of St. John, was supported by four gilt lions. The object appeared already in the 1417 inventory (cf. doc. 2, 158). It weighed about 5.5 kg (22 marks, 1 oz, 18 engels); for this silver head see Weale (as in n. 13), 12.

⁹⁵ Or perhaps for polychromy of floral architectural decoration; cf. n. 83. For other examples of polychromy of architectural elements, see doc. 44 and 76.

⁹⁶ cf. doc. 31 in appendix.

⁹⁷ For liturgical plays in the church of St. Donatian, see Dewitte (as in n. 87), 136-138, 145; Strohm (as in n. 6), 34; for more general data on liturgical plays see, amongst others, L. Van Puyvelde, *Schilderkunst en toneelvoortooningen op het einde van de middeleeuwen*, Ghent, 1912; J. Van Mierlo, *De Middelnederlandsche Letterkunde van omstreeks 1300 tot de Renaissance* (F. Baur, et.al. (ed.), *Geschiedenis van de Letterkunde der Nederlanden*), II, Antwerp, Brussels, 's Hertoghenbosch, 1940, 226-240; G. Cohen, *Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du moyen âge*, Paris, 1951; *Id.*, *Anthologie du drame liturgique en France au moyen-âge*, Paris, 1955.

⁹⁸ cf. doc. 23, 41, and 135 in appendix.

⁹⁹ cf. doc. 47 in appendix.

¹⁰⁰ cf. doc. 11, in appendix. Simultaneously a tabernacle and the easter candle were repaired, and the pedestal of three aspersories painted.

Peter was paid for taking down and later reinstalling a series of apostles.¹⁰¹ What was done with them is not known. In 1450, Cornelis Tielman repaired the fingers of the statue of the Virgin in the nave,¹⁰² and a year later, the statue of the Madonna on the high altar was restored.¹⁰³ The sculptor Johannes Noblet received £5 8s par in 1475 for restoring an ivory statue of the Virgin in the sacristy.¹⁰⁴ Johannes Michiels repaired, gilded, polychromed and varnished the tabernacle of this statue. In 1478, the same artist made a new tabernacle for a statue of St. Donatian, repaired its hands and added a crucifix and a wheel to it.¹⁰⁵ The tabernacle and its doors were also gilded. He received £126 par, and his servants were tipped 12s.

In 1470, the silver retable of the high altar, given to the church by Countess Margaret of Artois, was restored.¹⁰⁶ After being first transported to the workshop of the goldsmith Pieter de Grutere and the painter Arnoud de Mol, it was re-gilded and polychromed, some statues were repaired, and others consolidated. The retable was also placed on a new pedestal.

Heraldic objects were also treated, often to be reused. The painter Cornelius van der Scrighe received 48 s in 1475 for repairing a banner, probably used in processions.¹⁰⁷ In 1478, the servants of the court painter Pierre Coustain varnished 8 panels with coats of arms of knights of the

¹⁰¹ cf. doc. 13 in appendix.

¹⁰² cf. doc. 38 in appendix.

¹⁰³ cf. doc. 41 in appendix. It is questionable that the chaplain Nicholas Lestourgion who was paid for this work actually executed it, as Dewitte thinks (Dewitte (as in n. 81), 78, n.12). He may also have been reimbursed for having paid an artisan.

¹⁰⁴ cf. doc. 122 in appendix. This statue may be identical with the one mentioned in 1439; see above, n. 100.

¹⁰⁵ cf. doc. 135 in appendix.

¹⁰⁶ cf. doc. 97 in appendix. For this retable see also n. 48.

¹⁰⁷ cf. doc. 122 in appendix.

Golden Fleece, that hung in the choir.¹⁰⁸ No doubt, these panels were restored on the occasion of the order's chapter meeting at St. Savior's in that year.

Obviously, the church also spent considerable sums on the fabrication and maintenance of ritual objects and reliquaries in all sorts of precious materials. Nearly every year, a goldsmith was paid for repairs on gold and silver objects such as thuribles, chandeliers, chalices, precious vessels, reliquaries, and other *jocalia* or ecclesiastic treasures. The office of the works repeatedly called on the same people. The goldsmith Victor Vindergoed, for instance, was paid in 1448 for repairs and cleaning of objects, as well as for fabrication of new ones. In 1450, he made a valuable crucifix in gold and silver, set with pearls and precious stones, for which he received £24 par.¹⁰⁹ Restoration of an object could mean making it completely anew. In 1470, one of the church's most valuable reliquaries, a silver arm containing a relic of St. Machute, needed to be repaired.¹¹⁰ Pieter de Grutere and Antoon Torreman received enough silver and gold to make and gild the entire object.¹¹¹ They were paid £223 18s par for manufacturing, chiselling, gilding, and polishing the rock crystals. In the same year, they also made a new silver crown for a statue of the Madonna. Antoon Torreman may have been in permanent service of the church. He certainly rented a room from the chapter, as his name appears several years in a row in the accounts under the heading *Receptum ex domibus et cameris*.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ cf. doc. 135 and 139 in appendix.

¹⁰⁹ cf. doc. 34 and 38 in appendix.

¹¹⁰ cf. doc. 97 in appendix. This object appeared in the 1417 inventory; see doc. 2 and Weale (as in n. 13), 14, no. XXV.

¹¹¹ cf. doc. 97 in appendix. They were given 9 marks, 1 ounce and 3 engels of silver (2.25 kg). In the 1488 inventory the object is described as weighing 9 marks and 7 ounces (2.43 kg), including the rock crystal and the relic itself; cf. doc. 158 in appendix.

¹¹² See for instance BAB., *St. Donaas, Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, no. G.6: 1478, fol. 6v: *Item ab Anthonis Torreman ex cellario sub refectorio, xij lb.*

Another very significant domain of artistic production and patronage at St. Donatian was the erection of funeral monuments. Many court officials and evidently the clergy of the church were buried here. Unfortunately, all these monuments disappeared when the church was demolished at the end of the eighteenth century. During the period discussed in this study, one prominent detached monument and one niche monument were installed in the church. The tomb of the first type was that of Jacques de Bourbon, grandson of John the Fearless and son of Charles of Bourbon, who died on 22 May 1468 (Pl. 21).¹¹³ According to the inscription on the trapezoidal right side of the sarcophagus, Jacques's niece, the Duchess Mary of Burgundy, had this monument erected in 1479. The opposite side of the sarcophagus bore coats of arms. On the short sides, wooden panels with genealogical information were set.¹¹⁴ On top of the actual tomb laid a brass *gisant* of the deceased, in armor and wearing a long coat and the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece. His head rested on a pillow, his hands were folded, and his eyes closed. He was guarded by a lion at his feet.

After Joos van Varsenaere, councillor of Duke Philip the Good, died on 4 December 1456, a niche monument was erected for him and his wife Elisabeth de Fever.¹¹⁵ It consisted of a sarcophagus decorated with coats of arms, placed against the wall.¹¹⁶ This was topped by an arch, supported by consoles with prophet figures, and embellished with tracery and vegetal

¹¹³ For this monument see Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 279-282, no.288, pl.10, 128-130. This monument was often described in travel accounts, amongst others by Münzer in 1495 (P. Ciselet, M. Delcourt, *Monetarius. Voyage aux Pays-Bas (1495)*, Brussels, 1942, 46), by Thomas Platter in 1599 (M. Letts, "Une description de Bruges en 1529," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, LXVII (1924), 45), and by Antonio de Succa in 1615 (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. II 1862, fol. 27v).

¹¹⁴ According to one source (Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, ms. 458, fol. 2), the painted panels at short sides were formerly the side wings of an altarpiece.

¹¹⁵ Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 215-219, no.219, pl. 96-98. His wife died only on 8 July 1472.

¹¹⁶ Beside the Van Varsenaere arms, also those of three related families: Bonin, Barbesaens, and de Rapondis.

motives, and a pinnacle on each side. The niche itself was filled with a large stone with a funeral inscription. If any *gisant* figures were ever part of this monument, they had already been lost by the eighteenth century.¹¹⁷

All other funeral monuments installed in the church of St. Donatian between the 1440s and the early 1480s were floor types. The sepulchre of Amand de Brevimonte, dean of the chapter, was covered with a brass plate after his death on 2 October 1439.¹¹⁸ This plate, the only one of its kind placed in St. Donatian's during this period, represented him as a *magister* teaching five students. The tomb of Charles de Rochefort, another councillor of the duke, who died in May 1458, was covered with a stone floor slab, decorated with a brass incised figure in armor.¹¹⁹

Clearly more popular were stone floor slabs with brass elements inlaid. Of this type, about 23 were installed in the church during the same period. Their decoration was either figurative, or merely heraldic.¹²⁰ At least nine inlaid floor slabs with a figurative decoration were installed.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ The memorial stone of canon Willem de Niepa, already discussed, should also be included in this list of funeral monuments.

¹¹⁸ Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 162, no. 172.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 219-220, no. 222, pl. 99.

¹²⁰ The nature of the decoration of four tombs with inlaid brass elements is unknown. These are the tombs of Joris van Vlaminpoorte (died 28 April 1462) and his wife Clemence Vrient (died 7 October 1456); of Jan van Aertrycke, dean of the *Proosse* (died 20 March 1459) and his wife Barbara Ferteyns; of Pieter Reyphins, official of the *Proosse* and councillor of the city (died 31 January 1472) and his wife Clara Bartoens (died 18 June 1469); and of Jean d'Avesnes, councillor of the duke (died 14 January 1473); see Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 213, 221, 257, 261-263, nos. 217, 225, 267, 272-273, pl. 121.

¹²¹ Amongst others, the the slabs of the alderman Simon van der Banck, (died September 1440) and his wife De Baenst of about 1440; Jan Sarsisners (died 10 December 1482) and his wife Margaretha Canneel, and of Adriaen Barnoet, clerk of the court (died 9 May 1503) and his wife Joanna de Rou (died 1 January 1483); see Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 163, 296, nos. 174, 304, 305.

Four of these were tombs of canons of St. Donatian's chapter,¹²² while at least two others covered the sepulchres of court officials.¹²³ About ten of these memorial inlaid slabs had heraldic decoration, as this was the case with the tomb of Jan van Eyck, amongst others.¹²⁴ Van Eyck was first buried in the graveyard outside the church of St. Donatian. At the request of his brother Lambert and by permission of the chapter of 21 March 1443, his body was moved to the interior of the church, where it was buried in a tomb covered with a slab.¹²⁵ The text on a plaque commemorating the genius painter included humanistic references to Apelles and other antique painters. Therefore, it is likely that it was added to the funeral monument

¹²² The monuments of canons Joris van der Paele (see above), Thomas Boone (died 20 September 1453), Jacob Balderan (died 19 May 1460) and Gilles Joye (see above); see Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 171-173, 195, 225, 305, nos.180, 195, 225, 309, pl. 85, 101, 141.

¹²³ Raoulet de Boussu, herald of Philip the Good, who died on 7 October 1449, and the chamberlain Jan van der Tenne (died 10 January 1467), who was buried with his wife, Clara Ghijs; see Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 178-180, 243-245, nos.193-194, 249, pl. 113.

¹²⁴ See Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 166-171, no.178. Other tombs with merely heraldic decoration in brass were the funeral slabs of Joris Gremme (died 15 November 1451) and his wife Marie Hevelbaers (died 15 April 1442 or 1443); Antoon Ghyselynck (died 27 April 1450) and his wife Clara d'Ault (died 2 March 1465); Jacob Braderycx, alderman (died 13 January 1451) and his wife Clara Metteneye (died 24 September 1458); Catherina van der Banck (died 13 January 1452), her son Jan de Hondt (died 6 February 1485) and his wife Nathalie Geeraert (died 13 January 1462); Olivier van der Banck (died 3 May 1460), his wife Jacqueline van Varsenare (died 3 January 1490), his son, Arnold, alderman (died 13 September 1526), Arnold's wife, Margaretha van Holmen (died 21 July 1540), his bastard son, Romain (died 15 June 1562); Jan de Hont, councillor of the city (died 6 February 1485) and his wife Nathalie Geeraert (died 13 January 1462); Pieter van de Vagheviere, clerk of the city's treasury (died 29 December 1462) and his wife Margaretha de Mil (died 3 October 1472); Catharina Despars (died 17 January 1466); and Boudewijn Heyndrickx, merchant (died 18 January 1477) and his wife Suzanna Offhuys (died 13 May 1490); see Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 164, 180-181, 187, 189, 221-225, 234, 236-239, 241, 277, nos.176, 196, 201, 203, 228, 238, 241, 245, 285, pl. 80, 82, 100, 106, 110, 112, 126.

¹²⁵ The attention to Jan's brother Lambert was first drawn by C. Carton, "Les trois frères van Eyck," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, IX (1847), 287. The most recent and comprehensive assessment of this figure is by J.K. Steppe, "Lambert van Eyck en het portret van Jacoba van Beieren," *Academiae Analecta*, XLIV/2 (1983), 55-86.

only in the sixteenth century. Both the tomb slab and the memorial plaque were destroyed, probably by the iconoclasts.

A last activity to be reviewed here is the production and patronage of manuscripts at St. Donatian's. In 1411, the chapter decided to build a new *liberaria*.¹²⁶ In this library, which was financed by the canons, about 100 manuscripts were chained on seven long double lecterns, organized according to the four *facultates* of the medieval universities: three lecterns were reserved for works on theology, two for law, one for medicine and another one for the liberal arts. In 1417, an inventory was drawn up of this chained library.¹²⁷ The classification method, as well as the method of identifying the manuscripts used in this catalogue, were both modelled after the example of the Sorbonne Library in Paris.¹²⁸ This French influence was most probably due to the inspiring presence of the famous Parisian theologian, Jean Gerson, who was dean of the chapter of St. Donatian's between 1394 and 1411.¹²⁹ There can be little doubt that it was his initiative to build this library.

¹²⁶ A. Derolez, "De Bibliotheek van het kapittel van Sint Donatiaan te Brugge in de middeleeuwen," *Handelingen Koninklijke Zuidnederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, XV (1961), 159-173.

¹²⁷ For a full transcription and a codicological analysis of this catalogue see A. Derolez, *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii. De Middeleeuwse bibliotheekscatalogi der Zuidelijke Nederlanden. I Provincie West-Vlaanderen (Verhandelingen Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten, Klasse der Letteren, XXVIII/61)*, Brussels, 1966, 40-48. Beside the books in the *chained library*, there were also other books in the chapter, many of which could even be checked out by the canons; cf. Derolez (as in n. 126), 167-168.

¹²⁸ Derolez (as in n. 126), 166-167. The manuscripts are identified in the catalogue by the incipits of the second folio, and by the last words of the penultimate folio.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 170. On Jean Gerson's stay at Bruges, see E. Van Steenberghe, "Jean Gerson à Bruges," *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, XXXI (1935), 5-52. Under his presidency, the members of the chapter were urged to obtain an academic degree. Consequently, many of them went to the Sorbonne, which also helps to explain the French influence in organizing the library.

Despite the considerable effort to develop this library with extensive holdings in the most important fields of learning of the day, only three decades later, in 1446-47, some 40 books were sold.¹³⁰ About ten of these were part of the chained library. Not only the sale itself, but more specifically the fact that important reference material was sold after only 35 years, may indicate that the concern for learning at St. Donatian was somewhat faltering. However, it should be pointed out that most books in the sale were bought by canons of the chapter. Apparently, the situation got worse with time, judging from Erasmus's complaint in the early sixteenth century, that some books at St. Donatian's were impossible to locate.¹³¹

Beside the reference books, the church evidently owned also a considerable number of liturgical manuscripts. In the choir psalters, antiphonaries, lectionaries and gospel books were kept on lecterns; on the high altar an epistolary was kept, and in the choir stalls psalters, processionals, and musical manuscripts, such as antiphonaries, motet books, graduals, and discant books were used for choir service.¹³² A 1462 inventory of liturgical manuscripts deposited in the sacristy includes another 36 codices.¹³³ Beside these, the church also owned the manuscripts used for the many services that were endowed at the altars, and those of the dependent chapels of St. John, St. Christopher and St. Basile.¹³⁴ Many of these books were donated merely as gifts, others as part of foundations, or in exchange for privileges or concessions. An epistolary which was preserved in the sacristy, was given by canon Willem de Niepa, for instance,

¹³⁰ On this sale see Dewitte (as in n. 81), 68-72.

¹³¹ A. Dewitte, "Schrijven rond de Brugse St.-Donaaskerk," *Vlaamse Kunst op Perkament*, [exh.cat.], Bruges, 1981, 69.

¹³² Dewitte (as in n. 131), 56; R. de Keyser, "Individueel en Collectief Boekenbezit bij de Kanunniken van het Sint-Donaaskapittel te Brugge tijdens de late Middeleeuwen (1350-1450)," *Archief- en Bibliotheekwezen in België*, XLII (1972), 169-173.

¹³³ Derolez (as in n. 127), 51-55.

¹³⁴ cf. doc. 64 in appendix; Dewitte (as in n. 131), 56.

and a psalter, chained to the choir stalls for the usage of the senior chaplains, was given by Simon Coene in an attempt to obtain a sepulchral concession.¹³⁵ Joris van der Paele provided a missal to be used at the altar of SS Peter and Paul.¹³⁶ Another missal was given to the same chapel by Pieter de Nayere. Before giving it, he had the clasps of the missal renewed and bosses attached to the boards.¹³⁷ Very few of these manuscripts are preserved or have been identified.¹³⁸ A missal of c. 1450 in the collections of St. Savior in Bruges bears the following inscription: "*Iste liber pertinet ad altare Sancti Livini in ecclesia Sancti Donatiani Brugensis*"¹³⁹ This manuscript is mentioned in the 1462 inventory as: "*Item unum parvuum missale in quo sunt alique misse peculiare dumtaxat.*" The illumination of this manuscript is rather modest. It has only one miniature in front of the canons (fol. 38v). It represents a *Crucifixion* with St. John and the Virgin at each side of the crucified Christ, and is situated against a diapered background. The scene is framed by an architectural construction with the symbols of the four evangelists at the corners. The rest of the book is modestly illuminated with some decorative initials.

¹³⁵ For the gifts of De Niepa see doc. 64 in appendix; for the one donated by Coene, cf. supra, and doc. 40 in appendix.

¹³⁶ See also doc. 64 in appendix.

¹³⁷ cf. doc. 11 and 64; document 64 lists also other objects donated by Pieter de Nayere.

¹³⁸ For a complete list of identified manuscripts thus far, see Dewitte (as in n. 81), 61-63. What fifteenth century illuminated manuscripts are concerned, these are restricted to: one breviary (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. 5852-53), an antiphonal in two parts and two graduals (all Bruges, Groot Seminarie), one missal (cf. following note), and parts of a *Planarius* (i.e. a book of foundations, 14th-16th centuries)(BAB, St. Donaas, no. A.141).

¹³⁹ "*This book belongs to the altar of St. Livinus in the church of St. Donatian at Bruges;*" Bruges, St. Savior's, Church treasure, ms., fol. 1; see *Exposition des Primitifs flamands, Section des manuscrits*, exhibit. cat., Bruges, 1902, 17, no.41; *Tentoonstelling van miniaturen en boekbanden*, I, exhibit. cat., Bruges, 1927, 63-64, no.67; J.L. Meulemeester, J. van Brugghe, "Kunstschaten uit de verdwenen kathedraal in St.Salvators te Brugge," *St. Donaas en de Voormalige Brugse Kathedraal*, Bruges, 1978, 123, no.V3.

Books at St. Donatian's were commissioned from lay workshops, as well as from beneficiaries of the chapter itself. From about 1354 on, evidence can be found in the archives for continuing library activity consisting of writing, illumination and book binding.¹⁴⁰

People engaged in the book trade were readily available for the chapter. At the south side of the church, facing the *Burg*, stalls were rented out to various scribes, such as notaries, clerks of the court house, and sworn copyists.¹⁴¹ They worked there for clients who needed legal documents, like transcripts, contracts, and agreements. The hectic activity must have been quite stunning, considering the great need for paperwork in such an important commercial center as Bruges. On the other side of the building, parchment was sold from 1306 on, paper from 1376, and from at least 1381 entire manuscripts. Starting in the 1450s printed works were also available.

The largest part of the library activity at St. Donatian itself was the restoration of existing books, and the production of musical scores.¹⁴² One can also deduce from the documents that most codices were not luxury objects, but meant for daily use in church or in the chapter school by the choir boys.¹⁴³ Like the producers of precious objects and jewelry, and the

¹⁴⁰ For the fourteenth century situation, see Dewitte (as in n. 131), 56; *Id.* (as in n. 81), 72-76. In 1953, Lieftinck developed an hypothesis concerning the existence of a scriptorium at St. Donatian's, and a chancellery with a school for clerks attached to it, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (G.I. Lieftinck, *de librijen en scriptoria der West-Vlaamse Cisterciënzerabdijen Ter Duinen en Ter Doest in de 12e en 13e eeuw en de betrekkingen tot de kapittelschool van Sint-Donatian te Brugge*, Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten, Klasse der Letteren, Brussels, XV/2, 1953, *passim*). This hypothesis is now largely rejected, owing to its lack of convincing archival evidence, and also because some of Lieftinck's codicological criteria for identifying this production, are dubious (Dewitte (as in n. 131), 55; Th. de Hemptinne, M. Vandermaesen, "De ambtenaren van de centrale administratie van het graafschap Vlaanderen van de 12de tot de 14de eeuw," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, XCIII (1980), 178).

¹⁴¹ Dewitte (as in n. 131), 57.

¹⁴² Dewitte (as in n. 81), 76-77.

¹⁴³ The importance of music at St. Donatian's is doubtlessly related to the strong connections with the Burgundian court. The duke had a forceful hand in the appointment

painters and sculptors, the same librarians were called upon time and again. Lubert de Ecclesia repaired two missals in 1442.¹⁴⁴ His colleague Bernard wrote seven quires of text in them, and illuminated the initials with gold. He was paid 34s par a quire for the text, parchment included, and 40s par for the illumination. A year later, the same Bernard repaired and adapted a missal of St. Christopher's.¹⁴⁵ He wrote two quires anew, inserted a *Crucifixion*-miniature in front of the canons, restored faded decorative initials, and added new ones. For the full-page miniature, he received 20s par, for new initials 16s par, and for the restored ones 8s par. His colleague, Lubert de Ecclesia, restored the parchment and bound this missal. During the same year Bernard was also paid for the restoration and binding of a heavily damaged missal of St. John's. In this last book, he wrote two and a half quires, inserted another *Crucifixion*-miniature in front of the canons, and painted some decorative initials. In 1444, Bernard repaired two other missals of the church and a book of St. John's.¹⁴⁶ In addition, he illuminated initials and added four quires of text to an antiphonary also belonging to St. John's. Last, he added another *Crucifixion*-miniature to a missal of St. Christopher's.

Goldsmiths were sometimes involved in book binding. In 1448, Victor Vindergoed was paid for making silver clasps on a new *passionalis*.¹⁴⁷ In 1450, Victor de Waghere received 24s par for binding two books and for painting initials for a canon, who is called in the document

of some of the most illustrious musicians of the time to benefices at the chapter: Gilles Binchois, Guillaume Dufay, Gilles Joye and Jacob Obrecht were attached to St. Donatian's at some point in their careers; see Dewitte (as in n. 81), 77. The most comprehensive study on music at St. Donatian's thus far is Strohm (as in n. 6), 10-41.

¹⁴⁴ cf. doc. 19 in appendix.

¹⁴⁵ cf. doc. 23 in appendix. Neither Lubert de Ecclesia nor Bernard are found in the archives of the librarians' guild. Most names in the accounts of St. Donatian's are latinized. De Ecclesia may be the latinized version of *Van der Kercke*. This is one of the reasons why it is often difficult to trace these people in documents of other archives.

¹⁴⁶ cf. doc. 26 in appendix.

¹⁴⁷ cf. doc. 34 in appendix.

magistrum Johannes.¹⁴⁸ It is not clear to what extent the *fabrica* paid canons' expenses for the books they used, but one may assume that the *fabrica* paid for liturgical books used in the choir service.

In 1453, chaplain Arnold de Fine did similar work as Bernard a couple of years earlier.¹⁴⁹ He wrote new canons in a missal of St. John's, and added a *Crucifixion* to it.¹⁵⁰ He also added missing feasts to a breviary that was usually kept near the rood-screen. In 1455, his colleague, Thomas le Canu, added text, illumination, and the musical score of a mass in a large motet book.¹⁵¹ Succentor Johannes Roberti ruled some books in 1463, restored some choir books and added illumination to an antiphonary, shelved in the choir to be used by Lambert Bloc and Arnold de Fine.¹⁵² In 1468, Johannes vander Moere added illumination to a copy of a devotional text with the title *Catholicon*, and two years later he illuminated a psalter used by the choir boys.¹⁵³ Martin Colins wrote a book in which several masses and motets were included in 1479.¹⁵⁴ An illuminator called Johannes added some initials in this work, and Anthonius de Gavere bound it. One of the most interesting documents pertaining to an illuminator, is a payment made in 1481 to Johannes de Vico. He was paid £14 8s par for

¹⁴⁸ cf. doc. 38 in appendix.

¹⁴⁹ This man may be a member of the famous Arnolfini family. Arnold de Fine may be the latinized version of a name like *Arnoud van den Eynde* (Dewitte (as in n. 81), 78).

¹⁵⁰ cf. doc. 44 in appendix.

¹⁵¹ cf. doc. 49 in appendix.

¹⁵² cf. doc. 67 in appendix.

¹⁵³ cf. doc. 86 and 97 in appendix. On *Catholicon*, see G. Doutrepoint, *La Littérature française à la Cour des Ducs de Bourgogne*, Paris, 1909, 199. Johannes vander Moere became a member of the librarians' guild only in 1485, see W.H.J. Weale, "Documents inédits sur les enlumineurs de Bruges," *Le Beffroi*, IV (1872-73), 299-301, 312.

¹⁵⁴ cf. doc. 139 in appendix.

twenty-one miniatures in a large discant book.¹⁵⁵ He also painted some thousand floral initials in this book, for which he was paid at a rate of 50s for hundred. He also added some other decorative initials to it, after having erased the ruling at the places where the initials were to be painted.

Donations of objects of devotion or items used in the liturgy were often made by the members of the chapter, who hoped to obtain privileges in exchange of favors, such as sepulchral concessions. Often, years after these donations had been made, the donors verified whether their gifts were respectfully used and kept in honorable places. Furthermore, it seems to have been of great importance to them that their coats of arms or other personal marks be applied to the objects they had endowed.

Since its foundation, the church of St. Donatian was attached to the court. For this reason, in addition to the beneficiaries of the chapter, a number of court officials were also buried there. As in other churches during the fifteenth century in Bruges, the types of tomb monuments were diverse, but there seems to have been a preference for stone floor slabs with inlaid brass elements.

The church itself employed artists for various tasks; however, documentary evidence proves that the largest part of these tasks concerned the decoration of various objects and the maintenance or restoration of the artistic patrimony. The situation for the production of manuscripts was similar. Although books of learning and liturgical manuscripts were present in considerable numbers in the church and the chapter, most of the relevant documents refer to the restoration and maintenance of the holdings, rather than to the making of new codices.

¹⁵⁵ cf. doc. 147 in appendix. It is most likely that these miniatures did not all have the same dimensions. Some must have been larger than others. This assumption can be derived from the fact that the amount De Vico is paid here, cannot easily be divided by 21, *i.e.*, the amount of miniatures. De Vico is not found among the members of the Bruges librarians. Up to now, the Flemish version of his latinized name is not known. It may be any variant of *Van den Dorpe, van der Steeghe, van der Straete*.

B. The Collegiate Church of Our Lady

The church of Our Lady (Pl. 22) in Bruges was founded in the second half of the ninth century, shortly after St. Donatian's and St. Savior's.¹⁵⁶ In the earliest texts, the church is called *Sancta Maria ad Roiam*, referring to its picturesque location on the shore of the Reie, the river whose many branches traverse the city.

For a long time, the patronage of this church had been a matter of vivid dispute between the bishops of Utrecht and Tournai. Situated within the boundaries of the parish of Sijsele, it was originally patronized by the chapter of St. Martin of Utrecht.¹⁵⁷ The Holy See confirmed Utrecht's patronage over Our Lady's in 1075. However, in 1091, Radbodo II, Bishop of Tournai (rule 1068-98), installed a chapter in the church, and thus promoted it to the status of collegiate church.¹⁵⁸ In 1116, Our Lady's became independent of the mother church in Sijsele and started to assume a more powerful position within the ecclesiastic establishment of western Flanders. From 1222 on, Our Lady's became entirely subsidiary to the diocese of Tournai.

¹⁵⁶ On the early history of the church, see mainly P. Beaucourt de Noortvelde, *Description historique de l'église collégiale et paroissiale de Notre-Dame à Bruges*, Bruges, 1773; J. Gailliard, *Inscriptions funéraires et monumentales de la Flandre Occidentale. I. Arrondissement de Bruges, 2. Bruges, Eglise de Notre Dame*, Bruges, 1866, ix-xvii; A. Duclos, *Bruges, Histoire et Souvenirs*, Bruges, 1913, 20, 29; E. de Moreau (as in n. 2), col. 890-891; Strubbe (as in n. 2), 376; J. de Borchgrave d'Altena, "L'église Notre Dame à Bruges," *Congrès archéologique de France Flandre*, CXX (1962), 29-44; L. Devliegher (as in n. 2), 22; J. Noterdaeme (as in n. 2), 1975, 31-59; M. Vandermaesen, *Inventaris van het oud archief der kerkfabriek van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw te Brugge*, Brussels, 1984, 5-7.

¹⁵⁷ Verdermaesen (as in n. 156), 5. Sijsele is a village to the East of Bruges.

¹⁵⁸ Originally the chapter consisted of a provost and eight canons with prebends; in 1358, a tenth prebend was endowed, and in 1483, an eleventh one. See Verdermaesen (as in n. 156), 5; Gailliard (as in n. 156), ix. Gailliard published a complete list of all provosts and prebendaries (*Ibidem*, x-xvi.) The parish of Our Lady's was divided in three parts, each headed by a priest. There were further four vicars in the church and 42 chaplains (twenty-two *de gremio chori* and twenty *extra chorum*). Thirty-six of these were founded before 1425; see *Ibidem*, ix, xvii.

The building consists of five aisles and a choir with radiating chapels.¹⁵⁹ The nave, the oldest existing part, was constructed in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. From about 1270-80, the Romanesque choir was replaced with a new one in the current Gothic style. The tower, adjacent to the north side of the nave, was completed in the first half of the fourteenth century. The buttresses and vaults of the nave were rebuilt c.1350, and later, toward the end of that century, a new north aisle was added to the existing construction. Around 1450, a new aisle was added to the south side of the church. Some years later, c.1465, a new entrance was made in the north side of the tower, commonly known as the *Paradise Portal* (Pl. 23).¹⁶⁰ Built in sandstone, and illuminated by large windows, which are lavishly decorated with elegant tracery, finials and crockets, this fifteenth century addition to Our Lady's is generally considered to be the most exquisite example of the influence of Brabantine Gothic in Bruges.¹⁶¹ Finally, during the second half of the fifteenth century some chapels, such as those of Paul van Overtvelt and Pieter Lanchals, were added to the north side of the choir.

During the fifteenth century, the church enjoyed the generous patronage of the ducal family, of a number of guilds and confraternities, and of some of Bruges's most honorable and affluent residents: first and foremost the Gruuthuse Family, that even built its palace adjacent to the

¹⁵⁹ On the building phases of Our Lady's, see Duclos (as in n. 156), 34, 335-336, 473-474; E. de Moreau (as in n. 2), col. 893; Devliegheer (as in n. 42), 1965; *Idem*, "De architectuur van de O.L.Vrouwekerk te Brugge," *West-Vlaanderen*, XIV (1965), 238-244. For a map of the church with a complete list of all the chapels, see Gailliard (as in n. 156), 43, pl. II.

¹⁶⁰ This date was suggested by Duclos (as in n. 156), 336, based on a comparison with the guildhall of the dockers, which was constructed in that year.

¹⁶¹ Devliegheer, (as in n. 42), 48. Most research on Brabantine Gothic architecture has been restricted to studies on the Keldermans family; see J.H. van Mosselveld (ed.), *Keldermans: een architectonisch netwerk in de Nederlanden*, The Hague, Bergen op Zoom, 1987. The influence of Brabantine Gothic outside Brabant has only been discussed parenthetically in monographic studies such as F. Van Tyghem, *Het Stadhuis van Gent. Voorgeschiedenis, bouwgeschiedenis, veranderingswerken, restauraties, beschrijving, stijlanalyse, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Schone Kunsten*, XL, nr.31, 2 vol., Brussels, 1978.

church. Notwithstanding these seemingly inexhaustible resources of patronage, the church itself also employed artists, but only on rare occasions.

In 1464, the church ordered an organ from the Bruges organ-builder Mark Spronkholf.¹⁶² The contract of this commission has been preserved.¹⁶³ There are no similar documents available for artistic commissions during this period in Bruges. The charter gives an idea of how a commission of such an expensive object came about, and some of the possible conditions to which the parties bound themselves. The contract was drafted by notary Gerard van Vlederzele, between Matheus van Brakel, provost of Our Lady's, and the church wardens, amongst whom were Jan de Baenst and bailiff Paul van Overtvelt, on the one side, and Mark Spronkholf on the other. After the provost had proposed to the wardens to having an organ made for the church, Spronkholf was approached. He submitted a design for the instrument. This design, marked with the signature of the notary, formed the basis for the contract. To avoid accusations of fraud and because "*he seeks nothing else than bliss and honor,*" the organ-builder insisted that the church appoint someone to assist him in buying all the materials needed for the construction of the instrument.¹⁶⁴ He also advanced all expenses until the work was finished. Spronkholf further asked that his work, once finished, be submitted to the examination of a team of experts, consisting of Flemings as well as foreigners.

¹⁶² For this organ see n. 87.

¹⁶³ RAB, *Fonds Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk, Oud Archief, charters*, prov. no.1364; unpublished.

¹⁶⁴ "*Item on dat niement meenen en soude dat de kerke by hem bedroghen soude sijn ende dat hy anders niet en souct dan zalichede ende eere te ghecrighene.*"

*And if it does not turn out to be a good work, sounding well, and as well harmonized as any other in the lands of our redoubtable lord, he would not accept a groat from the church.*¹⁶⁵

However, if the experts approved his work, he would have to be paid the price upon which they had agreed. Spronkholf also offered a warranty on his work: he would maintain it as long as he lived, and see that it always sounded like it did the first day. In addition, he promised to accept no other work until this one was completed.

In 1468, the church *fabrica* had Rutger Hazenhore paint and gild two organ pipes, and two years later, Jacob van Ghizeghem painted the doors of the instrument.¹⁶⁶ Van Ghizeghem was paid £4 gr for this work, which is almost twice as much as an anonymous colleague of his received for similar work at St. Donatian's in 1455.¹⁶⁷

On 2 October 1470, the Bruges magistrature set the conditions for delivery of a golden shrine for the relics of St. Boniface by the goldsmiths Claes van Delft and Joris Huughzuene to Our Lady's.¹⁶⁸ The goldsmiths had probably not complied with the terms of delivery set out earlier, so the church *fabrica* took them to court. The magistrates decided that the work which was in progress in their studio, had to be finished, placed on a wooden pedestal, and delivered by 2 February, or within the following eight days. If the goldsmiths did not comply with this schedule requiring delivery within four months, they would have to pay a £100 par fine, two

¹⁶⁵ "Ende wordet dan niet ghewyst dat een goet werc es, wel ludende, wel gheaccordeert alzo wel of bet dan eenich bin sgheduchts heere lande, hy en wil eenen groten vander kerke niet nemen."

¹⁶⁶ cf. doc. 85 and 98 in appendix. On Rutger Hazenhore see D. van de Castele, "Documents divers de la société S. Luc à Bruges," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, 2e série, XVIII (1866), 317, s.v. *Hasenhoere*; A. Schouteet, *De Vlaamse Primitieven te Brugge. Bronnen voor de schilderkunst te Brugge tot de dood van Gerard David*, I, Brussels, 1989, 231-234. On Van Ghizeghem, see Schouteet, *Idem*, 220-222.

¹⁶⁷ See above, n. 90. On the iconography of organ doors, see n. 91.

¹⁶⁸ cf. doc. 96 in appendix. On the relics of St. Boniface at Our Lady's, see J. Noterdaeme (as in n. 2), 31-59.

thirds of which would be remitted to the church of Our Lady, and one third to the duke. The church wardens from their side, were responsible for the supply of gold for this work. The artisans attested that they had sufficient silver at their disposal.

To a large extent, the history of the church of Our Lady has been determined by a constant power struggle between the chapter and the office of the works.¹⁶⁹ An agreement made on 6 June 1479 between Arnold de Lalaing, provost of the chapter and the canons, on the one side, and the church wardens on the other, reveals something of this ongoing conflict, especially with respect to the division of revenues.¹⁷⁰

The text also informs us about different forms of patronage, and the types of funds that were used for artistic purposes. In the document, both parties reach a gentlemen's agreement about the right to collect different types of revenue, in order to avoid further arguments and lawsuits. The disputed income issued first, from sepulchral concessions and seats granted outside the choir; secondly, from redemptions owed by parishioners who would not be buried in the church, half of which was rightfully due to the chapter; and thirdly, from voluntary donations that were collected at the relics and at the different altars and crucifixes in the church. The provost and the canons claimed that all these revenues were theirs since the time the chapter was instituted. However, their predecessors had deprived themselves of this income for some time, and they had relegated the right to collect it to the church wardens, because the church was in a ruinous state, and funds were needed for repairs and new construction works.

In 1479, this situation had changed, and the provost and chapter defended their rights to these resources by pointing out the legal basis for their claims. The church wardens were to abide by this, and were challenged to buttress their position with legal arguments. If indeed, they were able to prove their rights to collect the income, they also had to renew their promise to

¹⁶⁹ Verdermaesen (as in n. 156), 7.

¹⁷⁰ cf. doc. 138 in appendix.

maintain the church, do repairs, masonry work, carpentry, roofing and other necessary and honorable, expensive and decorative repairs of reliquaries, statues of saints, organs, books, ornaments, chalices, wax and other things, too much to list, and annually bear the huge increasing costs.

A committee consisting of lawyers and notable parishioners had to evaluate these facts and try to resolve the difference between the chapter and the wardens. They decided first, that from then on the church wardens were to collect all donations that parishioners made to obtain sepulchral concessions or seats outside the choir. However, the provost and canons maintained complete control over disposition of the sepulchres in the choir. Every one who obtained a sepulchre outside the choir used to give £10 par to the confraternity of the choir, and £10 par to the church wardens. Henceforth, the church wardens relinquished this income to the chapter, in compensation for the rights over the sepulchres outside the choir.

Secondly, the independent committee resolved the dispute over the income issuing from redemptions owed by parishioners who would not be buried in the church, and of all other voluntary donations raised at the altars, in the following manner: the church wardens would continue to collect this income to the profit of the office of the works, while the provost and chapter would obtain in exchange the fourth part of all bequests of parishioners in minted coins,

but in case someone bequeaths some non-minted gold or silver by testament or other jewels of gold or silver, such as chalices, statues or other jewels, be it books, gold or silk textiles to decorate the church at divine services, and from which no coins will be beaten, ... provost and chapter will have no rights nor make any claims to it.

The church wardens would continue to provide all necessary books, candles and ornaments in the church. Both parties promised to observe these arrangements, and a penalty of one hundred silver marks was established for each infringement of the agreement. The document was

forwarded for legalization to the bishop and eventually also to the pope. On 26 November 1479, an episcopal official approved this arrangement.¹⁷¹

As already mentioned, the church of Our Lady enjoyed to a certain extent the patronage of the Burgundian court. In 1451, Duke Philip the Good endowed £18 gr annually for a polyphonic mass, to be held at the high altar of Our Lady's on the feast of St. Arnulph (16 August).¹⁷² This endowment was confirmed by his son Charles the Bold. In 1468, Charles chose Our Lady's as the place for the eleventh solemn chapter meeting of the Order of the Golden Fleece. On this occasion, a series of coats of arms of the members of the Order, was painted.¹⁷³ They are still kept in the choir, and are probably the work of the court painters and *valets de chambres* Jehan Hennecart and Pierre Coustain. One of the arms is painted black. It was the armorial panel of the Count of Nevers, who was expelled from the Order on that meeting.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ RAB, *Fonds Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk, Oud Archief, charters*, prov.no. 1033.

¹⁷² Strohm (as in n. 6), 46.

¹⁷³ On these coats of arms, see amongst others C. van den Bergen-Pantens, "De wapenborden ter herinnering aan de kapittels van het Gulden Vlies. Plaats van de Mechelse reeks in hun evolutie," in *De Habsburgers en Mechelen*, [exh.cat.] Mechlin, 1987, 27. On the eleventh chapter of the order of the Golden Fleece see, amongst others F. Salet, "La fête de la Toison d'Or en 1468," *Annales de la société royale d'archéologie de Bruxelles*, LI (1962-66), 5-29.

¹⁷⁴ Gailliard (as in n. 156), 1, suggested that Charles the Bold also gave two stained glass windows with the images of himself and Margaret of York, which were installed in the choir. The author published an engraving of these windows, which are now lost. Based on details in this engraving, especially the dress worn by the duchess, I believe these stained glass windows originated only around the middle of the sixteenth century. They may have been given by King Philip II in 1558 when he ordered the tomb monument for his illustrious forefather, or in 1563, when the king endowed an annual mass at Our Lady's. On these windows see also V. Vermeersch, "Verloren schatten en ornamenten," *West-Vlaanderen*, XIV (1965), 280 (without any reference to origin, date, nor patronage).

In a charter of 1470, Charles placed the church under his special protection.¹⁷⁵ He was followed in this act by his daughter Mary who, seven years later, endowed £72 gr annually for solemn masses. The church also received its high altar from the duchess.¹⁷⁶ It was adorned with figurative sculpture. On her deathbed in 1482, she made another endowment of £108 gr annually for two daily masses, and chose Our Lady's as her burial place.¹⁷⁷ These foundations were later confirmed by Philip the Fair and Maximilian, and the annual revenue of the endowment was eventually established at £813 gr.

Mary of Burgundy's tomb is still preserved in the choir.¹⁷⁸ This sarcophagus with brazen *gisant* was made between c.1490 and 1502 by Renier van Thienen, Jan Borman, Pieter de Beckere and Jean de Hervy. In 1507, Philip the Fair's heart was interred in his mother's sepulchre. When Charles the Bold's skeleton was transported from Nancy to Bruges in 1553, it was also interred there, and a similar tomb monument was installed.¹⁷⁹

An embroidered chasuble, dalmatic and a tunica, all with historiated orphreys, still kept in the sacristy of the church, are called "the ornaments

¹⁷⁵ See RAB, *Fonds Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk, Oud Archief, charters*, prov.no. 999 (4 Apr 1470), prov. no. 1241 (18 Apr 1477). Vandermaesen (as in n. 156), p. 24, no. 19; Strohm (as in n. 6), 49.

¹⁷⁶ Vermeersch (as in n. 174), 276.

¹⁷⁷ Strohm (as in n. 6), 49.

¹⁷⁸ On this monument, see S. Collon-Gevaert, *Histoire des arts du métal en Belgique*, Brussels, 1951, 281-283; F. Salet, "De Graftomben van Maria van Bourgondië en Karel de Stoute," *West-Vlaanderen*, XIV (1965), 255-258; Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 369-389, no. 355; pl. 178-192 (with complete bibliography); H. de Witte, P. Janssens, W. Dezutter, e.a., *Maria van Bourgondië Brugge. Een archeologisch-historisch onderzoek in de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk, Bruges*, 1982; A. Roberts, "The Chronology and Political Significance of the Tomb of Mary of Burgundy," *Art Bulletin*, LXXI/3 (1989), 376-400.

¹⁷⁹ The tomb of Charles the Bold was made between 1558 and 1563 by Jacob Jonghelinck, Joos Aerts, Jan de Smet, Cornelis Floris, Cornelis Gaillaert, and Marcus Gerards; see Vermeersch (as in n. 22), III, 686-699, no. 611, pl. 178, 344-351 (with complete bibliography).

of Mary of Burgundy." According to a local legend the duchess made these ritual garments herself, and presented them to the church.¹⁸⁰ However, they were actually donated by Maximilian in memory of his wife, in May 1517.¹⁸¹

Although these foundations, gifts and other expressions of ducal patronage were considerable, they were mainly concentrated at the end, and after, the period under consideration here in this study. By that time, there was already a well-established tradition at Our Lady's of artistic patronage by wealthy citizens.

The donation of a relic of the True Cross to the church of Our Lady in 1473, inspired to the foundation of a chapel dedicated to the Holy Cross.¹⁸² Nicolas Schouteeten, a Dordrecht merchant who lived in Bruges, brought some pieces of wood --allegedly parts of Christ's Cross-- back from one of his business travels in Syria. He donated one piece to the church of Our Lady of Dordrecht, his place of birth. In 1457, half of this town burned down, the church included, but the piece remained intact. In 1459, the canons of the Dordrecht chapter required another piece of the Cross from a certain Wouter Utenhove, who had, in the meantime, married Schouteeten's widow, Margaretha Tristram.¹⁸³ Utenhove agreed to their

¹⁸⁰ Beaucourt de Noortvelde (as in n. 156), 54.

¹⁸¹ Gailliard (as in n. 156), 24-25; Duclos (as in n. 156), 480; J. Versyp, "Het parent van Maria van Boergondië in de O.L.V.-kerk te Brugge," *Artes Textiles*, V (1959-60), 134-148; Vermeersch (as in n. 174), 281; J. V[ersyp], "Tapijt- en Borduurkunst," *De Eeuw der Vlaamse Primitieven*, [exh.cat.], Bruges, 1960, 238, no. 140. Duclos erroneously stated that they were given by Maximilian in memory of his mother.

¹⁸² In his study on the history of the church, Beaucourt de Noortvelde, devoted a whole chapter to this event: "*Chapitre huitième. Dans lequel on traite par qu'el moïen l'Eglise à obtenu cette Pièce très-remarquable de la Sainte Croix, & comment on à fait la preuve qu'elle est véritablement de ce Bois Sacré auquel nôtre Seigneur à opéré le salut des hommes;*" see Beaucourt de Noortvelde (as in n. 156), 69-83). The events related to this gift of the relic of the True Cross were the subject of a series of paintings, made in 1632-34 by the Bruges painter Pieter de Bruyne, which still hang in the Chapel of the Holy Cross; see O. de Sloovere, "Schilderijen in de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk," *West-Vlaanderen*, XIV (1965), 260-273.

¹⁸³ According to J. Gailliard, *Ephémérides brugeoises ou relation chronologique des événements qui se sont passés dans la ville de Bruges, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos*

request, and in exchange, the chapter sent him sixteen yards of silk damask. Utenhove had chasubles made from this fabric, which he donated to Our Lady's in Bruges. In 1473, his son, Wouter, Jr., finally offered a piece of the relic to Our Lady's in Bruges, as Nicolas Schouteeten had stipulated in his will. The latter had the chapel of the Holy Cross erected for it, where he endowed a daily mass.¹⁸⁴ On 23 April 1474, the bishop of Tournai, Ferry de Clugny, had the piece investigated, since Our Lady's did not usually accept relics without legal confirmation of their authenticity. The relic once again miraculously withstood a test of fire.

Doubtlessly, Louis of Gruuthuse was the most prominent patron of Our Lady's. In January 1472, Louis reached an agreement with the chapter and the church wardens to have an oratory built for him which would connect his palace with the north-eastern side of the ambulatory of the choir.¹⁸⁵ This construction, lavishly decorated with sculpted elements, is still preserved *in situ*, and forms one of the few last tangible witnesses of Gruuthuse's grandeur (Pl. 24). The agreement was concluded with vicar Maerten Diericx, standing in for provost Arnoud de Lalaing, who was on a business trip at that time. The chapter was further represented by seven canons; and the church wardens delegated some notable citizens, including Jan de Baenst and Paul van Overtvelt --both of whom had acted before as representatives of the church wardens in the contract with Mark Spronkholf for the church's organ-- Jacob vanden Vagheviere, Clais van Nieuwenhove, Wouter Utenhove and Pieter de Labie. The merit of the Gruuthuse Family

jours, Bruges, 1847, 192-195, the Wouter Utenhove who married Margaretha Tristram, was the same person as the one who presented the relic to Our Lady's.

¹⁸⁴ This chapel is situated at the east side of the tower.

¹⁸⁵ cf. doc. 104 in appendix. On this oratory, see J. Van Praet, *Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, seigneur de la Gruuthuyse...*, Paris, 1831, 12-13; Gailliard (as in n. 156), 70-71; L. Devliegher, "De bidkapel van Gruuthuse te Brugge," *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, XVII (1957-58), 69-74; *Id.* (as in n. 42), 1965, 48-49, no. 22. Gailliard converted the Easter style of the date erroneously, and dated it 7 January 1470. However, since the document is dated at the end '*Dit was ghedaen int jaer duust vier hondert ende eenen tseventich upten zevensten dach van Laumaendt*,' the correct new style-date is unequivocally 1472.

as patrons of the church was explicitly stated, and actually used as an argument in favor of the approval of Gruuthuse's ambitious plan:

taken into consideration the great favors and loyal charity, to the honor of God and his loving mother Mary, that were bestowed upon our said church by the honorable worthy and powerful lord, Mylord Lodewyc of Bruges, Lord of Gruuthuse, Prince of Steenhuuse, etc... his father and his other generous forefathers whose soul God commemorates.

The document further described the formal aspects of this oratory and established some arrangements for its usage. It was foreseen that the oratory would be a two-story construction, with an unhampered view from each story into the choir of the church. Therefore, a sacrament's tower located between two pillars of the ambulatory, and the tomb of Louis's forefathers, also in front of the oratory, had to be removed.¹⁸⁶ The chapel was to be constructed in such a fashion that nobody would be able to enter the church unwanted from it, nor intrude into the palace from the church.

The oratory's lower story is covered with a stone vault, and is connected with the church by a window consisting of five lancets, and a door with a similar decoration. The lower zone of the door is decorated with an Andrew-cross, with between the bars Gruuthuse's device, two mortars, and the initials *L-M*, connected by a love-knot. Above the door appear Louis's and Margaret's coats of arms, both encompassed in a quatrefoil. A flight of five stairs leads up to this door on the church side. It was to be locked with the keys kept by the sexton of the church. Each time someone of the Gruuthuse family desired to attend a service from the chapel, the sexton was supposed to unlock this door. The maintenance of the locks remained Gruuthuse's duty.

The ground floor story is separated from the upper one by an elongated corbel, decorated with vine-leaves and bunches of grapes, and a cornice, bearing the inscription *L-M plus est en vous L-M*, i.e. Gruuthuse's personal motto and again his initials and his wife's.

¹⁸⁶ This may have been the tomb of Jan III van der Aa, Louis's grandfather. This possibility was also suggested by Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 135.

The upper story consists of a tri-partite protruding oriel, horizontally divided into a lower zone and a window-zone. Each of the three bays has three windows, separated by finials. The corresponding bays of the lower zone are separated by slender columns, adorned with a zigzag-line. The left and right bays are again subdivided into three blind niches; the middle one is decorated with Gruuthuse's coat of arms, supported by unicorns. To the right of these bays is another small section similarly divided, decorated in the lower zone with the Gruuthuse mortar. The whole upper story is crowned with a complex architectonic construction of finials, with intricate floral tracery. According to a reconstruction drawing, published in the nineteenth century by Gailliard, the crowning elements formed the stage for a figurative *Adoration of the Trinity by Louis of Gruuthuse and Margaretha van Borsssele*, again surmounted by the Gruuthuse arms, the mortars, and the motto *Plus est en vous* (Pl. 25).¹⁸⁷ All traces of this upper figurative decoration are now lost. The interior of the upper story is covered by a wooden barrel-vault, ending in a pentagonal enclosure. The ribs of this vault rest on corbels with sculpted angels. The vaults themselves are decorated with painted floral motives. Faint traces of a *Last Judgment* on this wooden vault are also still discernible.¹⁸⁸

The agreement stipulated that Gruuthuse's view should not be inconveniently limited by activities in neighboring chapels. The confraternity of Our Lady of the Snow, which had its chapel to the east of the oratory, for instance, had to be careful how they hung their ritual cloths.

In return for the approval, Louis of Gruuthuse made a series of donations. First of all, he relinquished the use of his former family chapel, which was dedicated to St. Agnes, and situated near the old south-western entrance. Secondly, he had two croziers made, inscribed with his coat of arms, valued at about £140 par, which he offered to the church. Thirdly, he contributed £600 par to the renovation of the shrine of Saint Boniface. He also had expensive tapestries made representing the legend and

¹⁸⁷ See Gailliard (as in n. 156), 70, pl. XVIII.

¹⁸⁸ For a more detailed description with measurements see Devlieghe (as in n. 27), 1957-58, 72-74.

martyrdom of Saint Boniface, to be hung in the choir on major feast days.¹⁸⁹ Last but not least, Louis also invested in a trust fund which would yield an annual interest of £14 8s par, payable every year on the feast of St. John (24 June). Of this sum, the church's sexton would receive 40s par annually for locking and unlocking the oratory, as specified in the document.

A private oratory in a church may doubtlessly be considered as an expression of exuberant luxury, as well as a blatant statement of social supremacy. Although buildings of this sort were evidently very rare, Gruuthuse's chapel is no isolated example. Toward the end of the fourteenth century, the *Oratoire de St. Louis* was built in the Ste Chapelle in Paris.¹⁹⁰ This example was emulated by the count of Flanders in Courtrai. In Bruges, the Adornes family had an oratory built in their own Jerusalem church.¹⁹¹ Similar in character, but more ephemeral were the tents from which members of the ducal family attended mass.¹⁹²

Louis of Gruuthuse also devised an impressive tomb monument for himself and his wife at Our Lady's. In the 1474 version of his will, Gruuthuse expressed the desire to have this monument erected, which

¹⁸⁹ On these tapestries see also J. Versyp, *De Geschiedenis van de Tapijtkunst te Brugge, (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Schone Kunsten, 8)*, Brussels, 1954, 160, doc. XXV. Versyp mistakenly assumed that this passage was mentioned in Gruuthuse's testament.

¹⁹⁰ For this and following examples see Devliegher (as in n. 27), 1957-58, 71.

¹⁹¹ On the Adornes family and the foundation the Jerusalem chapel, see further more.

¹⁹² There are numerous examples of representations of these tents, e.g. in Jean Miélot's *Traité sur l'Oraison dominicale* (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. 9092, fol.9), representing Philip the Good following mass, or in a miniature in a *Collection of Moral Treatises*, written by David Aubert, representing Margaret of York at prayer, attributed to an anonymous master from the circle of the Master of Mary of Burgundy (Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Douce 365, fol. 115); see A. de Schryver, "Miniatuurkunst," *Gent, 1000 Jaar Kunst en Cultuur*, II, [exh.cat.] Ghent, 1975, 369, no. 603; A. H. van Buren, "The Master of Mary of Burgundy and his Colleagues, The State of Research and Questions of Method," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXXVIII (1973), 289, n.21; A.C. de la Mare, "Development of the manuscript collection," *The Douce Legacy*, [exh.cat.] Oxford, 1984, 163, no. 234.

would replace the tomb of his parents.¹⁹³ The new monument was also conceived for use by descendants of the family. Free standing tomb monuments were not only rare because of the high expense involved, but also because they nearly always impeded circulation in the church. Permission to erect such monuments was granted only to the most prominent patrons.¹⁹⁴

To replace the his funeral monument of his parents, Louis had two large alabaster statues made, representing his father Jan IV of Bruges, Lord of Gruuthuse, and his mother Margaretha van Steenhuyse (Pl. 26).¹⁹⁵ When he wrote his testament, the models for these statues were ready, and the alabaster blocks were bought. They were probably executed shortly afterwards. The statues were installed on the pillars next to the reliquary of St. Boniface in the choir behind the high altar. In Gruuthuse's will, it is stipulated that the statues were supposed to be installed "*with their epitaphs with their coats of arms.*" This clause clearly refers to the funerary nature of these statues. Also, the armor worn by the man, the lion at his feet, and the dog at the feet of his wife, corresponds with iconographical details encountered in funeral statuary or *gisants*.¹⁹⁶ This correspondance explains why a number of seventeenth and eighteenth century collections of epitaphs erroneously stated that these statues originated from a tomb monument, which had been removed to make place for the monument of Mary of Burgundy.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ cf. doc. 115 in appendix. Although this document states that Louis's tomb replaced that of his father, both his parents were buried there; see Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 131.

¹⁹⁴ Vermeersch (as in n. 22), I, 110.

¹⁹⁵ For these statues see, Gailliard (as in n. 156), 72, pl. XX; Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 131-135, no. 142, pl. 53.

¹⁹⁶ Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 133.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.* This mistake is found in amongst others Cornelis Gaillaert, Jacques de Damhouder, *Superscriptien ende Memorien van alle de Tomben, Sepulturen ende Epitaphien van alle Gheestelicke, Edele ende Eersamen Personnagien die ligghen begraeven daer van memorie van is, binnen de Cathedrale kercke van St. Donaes der stede van Brugghe (...)*, Bruges, 1603 (BAB,

What the original tomb monument of Jan IV of Gruuthuse and his wife looked like, can only be guessed. Some authors have speculated that it had a *transi-type gisant*, i.e., a statue representing a corpse consumed by worms.¹⁹⁸ It may have been the same eerie statue that was integrated into the lower zone of Louis's own funeral monument.¹⁹⁹

This detached monument of Louis and his wife was probably destroyed during the French revolution (Pl. 27).²⁰⁰ It was an open-worked sarcophagus, supported by four lions carrying shields, a number of small columns, and tracery with the Gruuthuse monograms *L-M*, their coats of arms, and the motto *Plus est en Vous*. On top of the polished limestone slab lay two brass *gisants*, representing Louis in armor and Margaret in a long robe. They were both shown traditionally in prayer, their heads resting on a pillow, and at their feet, a lion and a dog. Under the slab, visible through the tracery, were the two alabaster *transi*-figures consumed by worms,

ms. 17, fol. 35v); I.A. Kerchof, *Graftonneel dat is aenwijsinghe van alle de sercken ligghe inde Collegiale Kercke van onse lieve Vrouwe in Brugghe (...)*, Bruges, 1669 (RAB, Fonds O.L.Vrouwekerck, ms. R.29, fol. 164v). E. Gailliard was the first to point out the tomb of Jan IV of Gruuthuse and his wife was removed by their son Louis; see Gailliard (as in n. 156), 72.

¹⁹⁸ Van Praet (as in n. 185), 39; A. de Behault de Dornon, "Etudes sur les seigneurs de Gruuthuse," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, LXXI (1928), 9.

¹⁹⁹ Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 135, 271.

²⁰⁰ On this tomb monument see amongst others Gaillaert, de Damhouder (as in n. 197), fol. 36; J. Gailliard, *Grafschriften van Vlaenderen*, VI, Bruges, s.d., fol. 4; I. de Hooghe, *Versaemelinghe van alle de sepulturen, epitaphien, besetten, waepens ende blasoenen, die gevonden worden in alle de kercken, kloosters, abdyen, capellen ende godshuysen binnen de stad van Brugge (...)*, II, Bruges, 1698-1707 (Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, ms. 449, II, fol. 118-119); Beaucourt de Noortvelde (as in n. 156), 49, 234-235; J. Van Tieghem, J. Gailliard, *Monumenten en Epitaphien der kerken der Hospitaelen, Godshuysen, Kapellen en Bidplaatsen binnen Brugge, VI. der Parochiaele kerke van O.L. Vrouwe Binnen Brugge*, Bruges, s.d. (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. II 3623), fol. 20; Van Praet (as in n. 185), 23, 33 35-40, 344-345; Gailliard (as in n. 156), 34, pl. XV; Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 265-273, no. 279, pl. 122-125. There are several iconographical sources for this monument. Vermeersch has shown that these sources can be divided into two groups, according to their ultimate source. Of these two groups, the representations given by J. Van Tieghem and J. Gailliard seem to be the most reliable ones.

which may have originated from the tomb of Louis's parents. The monument was surrounded at three sides by a brass fence. On each column framing the tomb was a brass angel. The one on the left carried a helmet, the one at the right the Gruuthuse arms and a cross.

As this monument was already referred to in the 1474 testament, one may assume that its construction was started at about the same time. By the time Louis died (26 November 1492) the monument must have been completed. The authors of this remarkable work are unknown.²⁰¹ The tomb monument with a double representation of the deceased --as *gisants* and as *transi*-figures-- was a type developed in England at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The Gruuthuse monument may be one of the very first examples of this type on the continent.²⁰²

In the chapel of St. Margaret, to the west of the Gruuthuse oratory, a niche monument was erected in 1449 for Margaretha Bladelin, daughter of Pieter Bladelin, Sr., and wife of Colard de Fevre, who had founded this chapel five years earlier.²⁰³ A foundation text inscribed on a stone, which originated from this tomb, is still preserved in fragments. About 1486, a freestanding tomb monument was erected in this chapel for Jan de Baenst and his wife, Margaretha de Fevre.²⁰⁴ The chapel was further decorated with a stained glass window, representing a Madonna and Child, venerated by Jan de Baenst and Margaretha de Fevre.²⁰⁵

²⁰¹ Vermeersch (as in n. 22), I, 202, suggested that the brass *gisants* of Gruuthuse and his wife may have been made by Brabantine artists, as this type of work was a specialty of sculptors and brass-founders of that region.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, I, 143.

²⁰³ Beaucourt de Noortvelde (as in n. 156), 241; Gailliard (as in n. 156), 326; Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 177-178, no.192, pl. 75. On the foundation of a chaplaincy by Margaretha Bladelin see Verdermaesen (as in n. 156), 203.

²⁰⁴ Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 325-328, no. 324, pl. 152-153.

²⁰⁵ Gailliard (as in n. 183), 1847, 196. Gailliard stated erroneously that it was Margaretha Bladelin who was represented in this window.

Another niche monument, which is partly preserved *in situ*, is that of Paul van Overtvelt, ducal councillor and bailiff of Bruges (died 19 November 1483), and his wife (Pl. 28).²⁰⁶ This tomb, which was also erected in a chapel founded by the deceased himself, consisted of a sarcophagus placed in a niche, beneath an arch. The top of this arch is decorated with sculpted acanthus leaves and with Van Overtvelt's fully blazoned coat of arms in the center. A stone with a funerary inscription is set into the wall. The two stone gisants, representing Paul van Overtvelt in armor with lion at his feet, and his wife Leonarde in long dress with a dog at her feet, were probably destroyed during the nineteenth century. Vermeersch argued that this monument was probably installed after Leonarde van Overtvelt died (29 May 1479).²⁰⁷ However, it is not clear whether the gisants were also commissioned at that time. In 1911, when the Chapel of Van Overtvelt was restored, enameled tiles were found with the monogram and emblem of the family.²⁰⁸

An even larger number of more modest funerary monuments were installed at Our Lady's during the period under review than at St. Donatian's. As in St. Donatian's, the largest group of tombs were floor monuments with inlaid brass elements. For the period of c. 1440-1480, traces have been found of twenty-one tombs of this type, only one of which has been preserved. Three of these certainly had a figurative decoration. They represented fully dressed couples,²⁰⁹ and in one instance a priest of the

²⁰⁶ On this monument see Gaillaert, de Damhouder (as in n. 197), fol. 45v; de Hooghe (as in n. 200), 175; Van Tieghem, J. Gailliard (as in n. 200), 21; Beaucourt de Noortvelde (as in n. 156), 249; W.H.J. Weale, *Bruges et ses environs*, 4th ed., Bruges, 1884, 119; E. Schelstraete, "De kapellen van Overtvelt en der Drie Sanctinnen," *Kunstkroniek*, III (1910-11), 49-53; Duclos (as in n. 156), 477; Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 283-286, no.291, pl. 131-132.

²⁰⁷ Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 286.

²⁰⁸ Vermeersch (as in n. 174), 280. Similar floor tiles with monograms can still be found in the Chapel of the Gros family at St. James's.

²⁰⁹ Tombs of Pieter de Bul (died 12 July 1449) and his wives Johanna Bonin and Marie van Ryssele; Jacob Metteneye, alderman (died 9 December 1484) and his wife

church.²¹⁰ Four tombs of this type had only heraldic decoration.²¹¹ Two tombs of provosts of the chapter of Our Lady's were covered with brass plates.²¹² One tomb was decorated with a brass frame with the symbols of the four evangelists at the corners.²¹³ Of thirteen tombs with brass inlay, the iconography can no longer be deciphered: in five tombs of single individuals, six of couples, and two of larger family groups.²¹⁴ Of the people who

Margaretha Biese (died 4 December 1466); see Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 177, 243, no. 191, 247.

²¹⁰ Tomb of Edmont Boot, (died 1456)(preserved, very worn, brass parts lost); see Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 213, no.218. pl. 95.

²¹¹ One of these was for a single man (Cornelis van Merendree (died 1454); see Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 195, no.208). Two were for couples (Joris van Vlaminckpoorte, alderman (died 28 April 1462) and his wife Clemence de Vriendt (died 8 October 1456); and Cornelis de Vlaminck (died 4 August 1488) and his wife Anna Donckers (died 19 February 1478); see Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 234-236, 293, no.239, 301 pl. 107, 135). And one was intended for a larger family group (Bernard van Halewyn Jr., mayor (died 4 May 1476), his wife Elsiabeth Mil (died 2 September 1491), his son Bernard (died 15 July 1591), and his daughter Michèle (died 28 December 1491); see Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 273-274, no.282).

²¹² The tombs of Richard de Visch van Capelle (died 30 April 1447) and of Wouter van der Mandere (died 26 August 1459). None of them has been preserved. See Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 174, 221, no.186, 226. Richard de Visch's coat of arms appear in relief sculpture on the spandrel above the third pillar on the north side of the central nave, just underneath the triforium. When these arms were overpainted by several chalk layers in the nineteenth century, they gave rise to a charming legend. Under the chalk, the helmet looked like a bowl turned upside down. It was said that it was the bowl with carrots that a mason got for lunch from his wife. Angry because he did not get anything else, he set his bowl into the wall he was working on. For this legend see A. Viaene, "De legende van de metselaarsketel in de O.L.Vrouwkerk te Brugge," *Biekorf*, LIX (1958), 193-197.

²¹³ Gillis de Kimpele (died 16 September 1481) and his wife Anna Steylin; see Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 291, no. 300.

²¹⁴ Tombs of single figures: Mattheus van Bracle, councillor of Philip the Good (died 2 May 1461); Hendrik van Melun (23 July died 1461); Jan Slys (died 26 August 1461); Jossine Hawye (died 6 August 1479); Jan Isenbaert (died 1 June 1480); see Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 231, 234, 286, 289, no. 235-237, 293, 295. Tombs of couples: Lodewijk de Baenst,

were buried in these tombs, little more is known than their names and dates of death. We do know that of those who chose tomb monuments with inlaid brass decoration, one was a ducal councillor, three were mayors of Bruges, three were aldermen, and one was a priest at Our Lady's.

There were also some epitaph paintings installed at Our Lady's during the period. The sepulchre of the Metteneye family was situated in the proximity of the Gruuthuse oratory.²¹⁵ A stone with an epitaph inscription and the family's coat of arms was set into the wall above the monument. On either side of the stone hung a painting: the one on the left represented Wouter Metteneye, the one on the right his wife, Margriete Canneel, each accompanied by children, no doubt the man with his sons, and the woman with her daughters. These paintings were probably installed shortly after 1 July 1448, when Wouter Metteneye died.

The fourth chapel from the west in the south aisle was owned by the Van Nieuwenhove family.²¹⁶ At the entrance, a family sepulchre in bluish Tournai limestone with brass inlay, was set in the floor.²¹⁷ Under this floor

Sr., mayor (died 12 July 1454) and his wife Clara Losschaert (died 27 August 1458); Jan van Nieuwenhove, mayor (died 30 May 1456) and his wife Margaretha van der Scheure (died 16 May 1456); Rogier van den Berghe (died 26 November 1482) and his wife Van der Vliete (died 3 June 1471); Lieven van der Meersch (died 27 August 1471) and his wife Jacqueline Reyphins (died 27 August 1471); Gerard de Kaluwe (died 27 October 1478) and his wife Margaretha Lootin (died 24 April 1494); Lieven de Clerck and his wife Margaretha van de Velde (died 24 August 1480); see Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 195, 213, 254, 256, 279, 291, no. 209, 216, 263, 265, 287, 297. Tombs of family groups: Colaert de labye Sr., alderman (died 4 June 1493), his wife Magdalena de Clercq (died 29 May 1473), his three sons and two daughters-in-law; Marc van de Velde (died 24 December 1510), his wife Godelieve Haghelincx (died 10 May 1481) and his daughter Barbara (died 9 June 1493); see Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 263, 291, no. 275, 299.

²¹⁵ Gailliard (as in n. 156), 73; Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 175, no.189.

²¹⁶ In the nineteenth century, this chapel was still commonly known as the Van Nieuwenhove chapel; see Gailliard (as in n. 183), 1847, 203-204. Nevertheless, no archives related to the original foundation of the chapel, nor to the acquisition of the sepulchral concession, have been preserved; see Vandermaesen (as in n. 156).

²¹⁷ It is not known whether these brass inlaid elements were only inscriptions, or whether they also represented the coats of arms or the effigies of the deceased. On this floor slab, see I. de Hooghe (as in n. 200), II, fol. 207; Beaucourt de Noortvelde (as in n. 156),

monument, which is now lost, six members of the family were buried: Michiel van Nieuwenhove;²¹⁸ Catharina van Belle, Michiel's wife;²¹⁹ Jan van Nieuwenhove, son of Michiel;²²⁰ his wife, Anna de Blasere;²²¹ Martinus van Nieuwenhove, Jan's brother;²²² and Margaretha Haultains, wife of Martinus.²²³ A memorial stone with the Van Nieuwenhove coat of arms

284 (litterally translated from de Hooghe); Gailliard (as in n. 183), 204; *Id.*, *Bruges et le Franc*, IV, Bruges, 1857-64, 94; *Id.* (as in n. 156), 389; Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 344-45, no. 341.

²¹⁸ During his lifetime, Michiel had been city councillor in 1449, 1456, 1461, treasurer of the city in 1455; district head in 1469 and 1471, and alderman in 1470 and 1472. In 1460 he was also chosen as provost of the Noble Confraternity of the Holy Blood. He died on 11 September 1474. For biographical data on the Nieuwenhove family and their relatives see Gailliard (as in n. 217), IV, 1857-64, 93.

²¹⁹ Catharina van Belle was the daughter of Barbara de Boodt from her first marriage with Laurent van Belle. Later, Barbara married a second time with Jan Jansz. Van Nieuwenhove, Michiel's brother.

²²⁰ Jan Michielszoon was councillor of the Archduke Maximilian. He was tortured and executed during the revolt against this sovereign on 29 November 1488. He also held the office of '*watergrave*' of Flanders, (*i.e.*, responsible for all rivers, canals, dikes, and sluices in the county), and was city councillor in 1473, 1476, and 1482, mayor of the community in 1466, and provost of the Noble Confraternity of the Holy Blood in 1485.

²²¹ This was the daughter of Jan de Blasere and Catherina Joncheere. She died on 5 October 1480. Jan and Anna had one daughter, Catherina (born 24 September 1479 - died 1521).

²²² Martinus (born 11 November 1463 - died 16 August 1500), best known from his famous portrait by Hans Memling of 1487 (Bruges, St. John's hospital), was city councillor in 1492 and 1494, district-head in 1495 and 1498, and mayor in 1497.

²²³ Margaretha died on 22 August 1522. She was related to Martinus's family: she was the great-granddaughter of Nicolas Jansz. Van Nieuwenhove, who was her husband's uncle. Vermeersch pointed out that this tomb monument has been confused in seventeenth and eighteenth century collections of funeral inscriptions, with the sepulchre of Jan's son, Jan van Nieuwenhove, Jr., who married Barbara de Boodt. Like his father, Jan Jr., served also as mayor of Bruges, and died after 1506. He was buried in a niche monument in the Nieuwenhove chapel; see Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 345; III, 443.)

was set into the south wall of the chapel itself.²²⁴ The inscription on it had faded by the late seventeenth century when epitaph inscriptions were first systematically recorded in Bruges. Today, no trace of it has been preserved. Doubtless, the inscription alluded to the foundation of the chapel, and as usual, to the masses that the Van Nieuwenhovés had endowed there.²²⁵

The likeness of Anna de Blasere, Jan van Nieuwenhove's wife, is preserved in a panel painting, now in the Lehman Collection in New York (Pl. 29).²²⁶ To the left, the woman kneels in prayer. Her prayer book lies on a hedge next to her. Behind her stands her patron saint, St. Anne, who introduces her with a gentle gesture of her right hand. St. Anne is placed in front of a cloth of honor with pineapple motifs. With her left arm, she shelters her daughter Mary. The Virgin, who holds her Child, is present rather as the attribute of St. Anne, than as a full-fledged personage in the scene.²²⁷ Not only her diminutive scale, but especially the odd representation of the Christ Child blessing the donor, who turns her back to Him, proves this point.

²²⁴ See De Hooghe (as in n. 200), fol. 207; Beaucourt de Noortvelde (as in n. 156), 284; Gailliard (as in n. 183), 204.

²²⁵ This foundation stone may be compared to, for instance, that of Margaretha Bladelin; cf. *supra*.

²²⁶ New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, no. 1975.1.114; oil and tempera on panel, 49.8 x 34.5; see F.J. Mather, "Three Early Flemish Tomb Pictures," *Art in America*, III/6 (Oct.1915), 261-272; R. Lehman, *Catalogue of the Philip Lehman Collection*, Paris, 1925; M.J. Friedländer, *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, VI: *Memling und Gerard David*, Berlin, 1928, no. 119, pl. LIV; P. Bautier, "Le Maître Brugeois de la Légende de Sainte Ursule," *Bulletin Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België*, V (1956), 4; G. Marlier, "Le Maître de la Légende sainte Ursule," *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1964, 5-42; M.J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting, VIa: Hans Memlinc and Gerard David*, (comments and notes by N. Veronée-Verhaegen), Brussels, Leiden, 1971, 39, 60, no. 119, pl. 142; G. Bauman, *Early Flemish Portraits 1425-1525*, New York, 1986, 22-25; M.P.J. Martens, "An Epitaph in Context: A Painting by the Master of the Saint Ursula Legend," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (forthcoming).

²²⁷ This observation was first made by Bauman (as in n. 226), 25.

The background of the picture is a hilly landscape with two castles on the right side, and on the left a cityscape, easily identifiable as Bruges. Clearly visible are two round towers of the Minnewater, of which the Poedertoren on the left, still exists. The city is dominated by three towers: the Belfry at the right, Our Lady's in the middle, and at the left, a third, which is probably St. Savior's. It is not accurately represented, St. Savior's roof having not been so steep in the fifteenth century.²²⁸ This specific configuration of the three Bruges towers would have been required a viewing point from north by northeast, *i.e.* somewhere in between the Ghent-gate and the Catherina-gate. Seen from the side of the Minnewater, as in the picture --which is more toward the east-- the tower of the belfry should appear in the middle.

The sitter is identified as Anna Van Nieuwenhove-de Blasere by her coats of arms and her husband's on the frame,²²⁹ and by the inscription (Pl. 30) on the lower side of the picture, which may be translated as:

*The companion and wife of Jan fs. Michiel van Nieuwenhove, born Anna, daughter of Johannes de Blasere, died in 1480, minus iota, the 5th of October; may she rest in peace. Amen.*²³⁰

The numerals in this inscription, *.m.c. quater .x. octo.* and *qui[n]ta* are written in red; the rest in white. The year is not 1488, as thought earlier.²³¹ *M.c. quater .x. octo.* should be read as 'thousand, hundred times four, ten

²²⁸ Compare to the tower in right background of Gerard David's *Portrait of an Ecclesiastic praying* (London, National Gallery); see H.J. Van Miegroet, *Gerard David*, Antwerp, 1989, 254, 301, no. 34, pl. 245, who doubts the identification of the tower as St. Savior's.

²²⁹ On the left, *azure, on an escallop argent an armlet, and issuant from the chief three pallets or*, Van Nieuwenhove; at the right *per pale, I, Van Nieuwenhove; II, gules, a chevron or, between three horns, sable and or*, de Blasere.

²³⁰ "*De nieuwenhove co[n]iunx domicella Johannis et michaelis / Obit de blasere nata Johanne Anna sub .m.c. quater / .x. octo. sed excipe Jotam octobris qui[n]ta pace quiescat Amen*"

²³¹ Friedländer (as in n. 226), 1928, no. 119; *Id.* (as in n. 226), 1971, no. 119; Bautier (as in n. 226), 4. This mistake was first hesitantly rectified by Marlier (as in n. 226), 13.

times eight,' *i.e.*, 1480.²³² The hitherto unexplained addition *sed excipe iotam*, inserted between the year and the day, is certainly the most puzzling element. Literally it means 'but subtract iota,' in which the Greek letter *iota* stands for one.²³³ In other words, the date in the inscription should be understood as 1480 minus 1: 1479. This date, 5 October 1479, is precisely eleven days after Anna gave birth to her daughter, Catherina.²³⁴ Like so many women during the late middle ages, she must have died from complications in childbirth.²³⁵

It has been suggested that the inscription was written before Anna's death, and that some space was left open for the date, which would have been filled out in red after her death.²³⁶ This hypothesis appears incorrect. In that case the word *octobris* would have also been written in red. On the contrary, one may deduce from this that either the painting was made after 5 October 1479, or at least that the inscription was added to the painting after that date.

The unusual format of the date and the use of two colors in the inscription may indicate that it hides a chronogram, similar to the famous

²³² A similar format for numerals is still used in French, for instance, in *quatre-vingts* for eighty (literally four times twenty). In Old French sources, more combinations of that sort are found, such as IX^{XX} for 180 or VII^{XX} for 140; see Laborde (as in n. 89), I, 256, 265, nos. 882, 932.

²³³ I am grateful to Drs. Kristoffel Demoen (Dept. Classical Philology, University of Ghent) for clarifying this puzzle to me.

²³⁴ Catherina was born on 24 September 1479 and died in 1521; see Gailliard (as in n. 217), IV, 1857-64, 93.

²³⁵ Before the seventeenth century, about 20% to 25% of female mortality in Flanders was due to complications in childbirth; see C. Vandenbroeke, "Zuigelingensterfte, bevallingsstoornissen en kraambedsterfte, 17de-19de eeuw," *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis*, L (1978), 133-163; A. Delva, *Vrouwengeneeskunde in Vlaanderen tijdens de late Middeleeuwen*, Bruges, 1983, 85.

²³⁶ Nicole Verhaegen communicated this observation to Marlier (as in n. 226), 13.

quatrain on the *Ghent Altarpiece*.²³⁷ Indeed, adding up the values of the significant letters in *qUater X octo ... qUinta*, gives twenty-one as a result. Judging from the apparent age of the woman in the picture, Anna may have been that young when she died. However, no archival documents have yet surfaced that corroborate this.

The date in the inscription, 1479, is a *terminus post quem* for the picture. On the other hand, the Bruges belfry in the background is represented the way it looked before it was rebuilt in 1483.²³⁸ Thus the painting originated between 1479 and 1483. Probably it was commissioned from the Master of the Saint Ursula Legend by Jan van Nieuwenhove in commemoration of his beloved wife, shortly after her premature death.

The inscription may have been retraced at some later date, which would explain the mistake *Johannis et michaelis* instead of *Johannis f[iliu]s michaelis*. However, there exists no reason to doubt its authenticity. It includes typical Middle-Netherlandish phrasing literally translated into Latin, as often found in documents of that period. *Coniunx domicella* is the

²³⁷ On the quatrain of the *Ghent Altarpiece*, see amongst others, J. Duverger, *Het Graftchrift van Hubert van Eyck en het Quatrain van het Gentsche Lam Gods Retabel* (Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten, Klasse der Schone Kunsten, VII/4), Antwerp, Utrecht, 1945; Panofsky (as in n. 91), 206, n. 1; P. Ampe, "De metamorfozen van het authentieke Jan van Eyckkwatrijn op het Lam Gods," *Jaarboek van het Museum voor Schone Kunsten van Antwerpen*, XXXII (1969), 7-60.

²³⁸ Marlier (as in n. 226), 13. Dating based on the different building phases of the belfry's tower was first introduced by Georges Hulin de Loo in a seminar-series on the followers of Memling (*Ibid.*). It was used by Marlier to construct a chronology of the *oeuvre* of the Master of the Ursula Legend. Later Nicole Verhaegen applied it to the works attributed to the Master of the Lucy Legend (N. Verhaegen, "Le Maître de la Légende de Sainte Lucie. Précisions sur son Oeuvre," *Bulletin van het Koninklijk Instituut voor het Kunstpatrimonium*, II (1959), 73-82). One could argue that the building phase of the belfry's tower is not necessarily a reliable indication for the date of this and other pictures on which this tower appears. Theoretically, these cityscapes may have been copied from older sketches. Nevertheless, it would have made little sense for a Bruges painter to represent a Bruges building the way it looked some years earlier. Beside, why then, would the Master of the Ursula Legend and the Master of the Lucy Legend have represented the belfry also in its later building phases?

literal translation of the Middle-Netherlandish *gheselnede ende huuswyf* (companion and wife).²³⁹

Thus far, only Marlier was inclined to doubt the attribution of the *Anna de Blasere Epitaph* to the Master of the Ursula Legend.²⁴⁰ I believe there is no reason for such doubts. The *naïveté* of the doll-like figures in this composition, and especially the portrait of Anna de Blasere is very typical of this master's manner (Pl. 31).²⁴¹ She could be a sister to the *Lady with a carnation* in Antwerp, who wears the same headdress and veil.²⁴² The chalky color of the flesh, the black eyes without highlights, the large closed mouth, and above all the blank expression of the face, are unmistakably by the same hand. The Virgin in the Lehman picture with her long hair, cascading on her shoulders and accentuated by golden highlights, resembles the figure of St. Ursula in the Bruges panels of the *Legend of St. Ursula*, from which this master takes his name.²⁴³ The upper half of the figure of St. Anne may be based on the same preparatory sketch that was used in reverse for this saint in the Brussels *Virgin and Child with St. Anne and Saints*.²⁴⁴ Finally, the rocks and shrubbery in front of the cityscape and this view of Bruges itself in the background of the epitaph are almost identical

²³⁹ J.W. Fuchs, O. Weijers, M. Gumbert-Hepp, *Lexikon Latinitatis Nederlandicae Medii Aevi. Woordenboek van het Middeleeuws Latijn van de Noorderlijke Nederlanden*, II, Leiden, 1981, 1007, s.v. *coniunx*; III, Leiden, 1986, 1574-1575, s.v. *domicella*.

²⁴⁰ Marlier (as in n. 226), 14.

²⁴¹ For an extremely accurate analysis of this master's style, see Friedländer (as in n. 226), 1971, 39.

²⁴² Antwerp, Museum Mayer Van den Bergh, no.355; see Marlier (as in n. 226), 22-23, pl. 16); Friedländer (as in n. 226), 1971, 61, no. 136, pl. 147; J. de Coo, *Museum Mayer Van den Bergh, Catalogus 1: Schilderijen, Verluchte Handschriften, Tekeningen*, 3rd ed., Antwerp, 1978, 102.

²⁴³ Bruges, Groeningemuseum, no. 0.1542-45; see D. de Vos, *Catalogus Schilderijen 15de en 16de eeuw. Stedelijke Musea Brugge*, Bruges, 1979, 151-155 (with complete bibliography).

²⁴⁴ Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, no. 1158; see Friedländer (as in n. 226), 1971, 60, no. 118, pl. 141.

to the *Portrait of Ludovico Portinari*, from which the tower of St. Savior's is missing, however.²⁴⁵

The reference to the date of Anna's death, and the words *pace quiescat* suggests that the picture was originally an epitaph, and may have been part of a funerary monument. There are no traces of hinges on the picture's frame. This indicates that it was not the right shutter of a diptych or a triptych, as one would expect, judged from Anna's position turned toward the viewer's left and looking at something outside the picture.²⁴⁶ The painting probably hung to the right of the foundation stone on the south wall of the chapel of the Nieuwenhove Family at Our Lady's. If so, the installation strongly resembled that of the lost *Epitaph of Wouter Metteneye*, discussed earlier. The foundation stone may very well have had some engraved figurative decoration, a Crucifixion for instance, under which the actual text was inscribed. This way, the painting would have matched the memorial stone compositionally, and Anna's gaze out of the picture would be more understandable.

In 1929, during restorations in the Holy Cross chapel, two stone reliefs were found, which can be dated to around the middle of the fifteenth century.²⁴⁷ The first one shows a *Coronation of the Virgin by God the Father and Christ*, with an anonymous patron accompanied by St. Jerome (Pl. 32). The second one represents two male patrons at the left and two female patrons at the right of the Trinity (Pl. 33). The identification of the patrons is no longer possible, since no coats of arms or any other personal references

²⁴⁵ Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection, no. 327; see Friedländer (as in n. 226), 1971, 61, no. 134, pl. 143; B. Sweeney, *John G. Johnson Collection. Catalogue of Flemish and Dutch Paintings*, Philadelphia, 1972, 59, no. 327.

²⁴⁶ Observed by Bauman (as in n. 226), 25. This author speculated that "It may have been intended for display beside an altarpiece, the object of Anna's devotion, near her grave."

²⁴⁷ Both were found underneath the seventeenth century paintings by De Bruyne (see n. 184); see Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 181-185, no. 198-199, pl. 77, 78. The convincing dating of these reliefs, suggested by Vermeersch, is based on comparisons with similar memorial reliefs from Tournai from that period; see G. Ring, "Beiträge zur Plastik von Tournai im 15. Jahrhunderts," *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler*, I, Munich, 1923, 269-291.

have been found on or in the vicinity of the memorials. Toward the end of the century, memorial reliefs seem to have been very much in favor amongst patrons of Our Lady's, judging from the presence of four examples, all datable between c.1490 and 1500.²⁴⁸ Three of these represent a couple with their children presented by their patron saints to the Madonna with Child; in the fourth, the patrons are presented to St. Anne.

The many guilds and confraternities which had their chapels at Our Lady's, were other prominent sources of artistic patronage for the church. Amongst the corporations which held their religious services at one of Our Lady's many altars, were the barbers, dyers, fullers, money-lenders, tailors, tanners and the wine merchants.²⁴⁹ The cult of the Virgin played a predominant role in their devotion. The corporation of the tailors, for example, founded the popular Confraternity of Our Lady of the Snow, which will be discussed further on.

In this context originated a painting by Hans Memling, traditionally called the *Seven Joys of the Virgin* (Pl. 34).²⁵⁰ According to an inscription on the lost original frame of this painting, it was presented in 1480 by Pieter Bultynck and his wife Katelijne van Riebecke to the guild of the tanners.

²⁴⁸ cf. supra, n. 42.

²⁴⁹ see Strohm (as in n. 6), 43.

²⁵⁰ Munich, Alte Pinakothek, W.A.F.668; oil and tempera on oak, 81 x 189 cm. On this painting, see amongst others W.H.J. Weale, "Inventaire du mobilier de le Corporation des Tanneurs de Bruges," *Le Beffroi*, II (1864-5), 264-268; F. Bock, *Memling-Studien*, Düsseldorf, 1900, 26-27, 37-38; W. H. J. Weale, *Hans Memlinc*, Bruges, 1901, 23-32; K. Voll, *Memling*, Stuttgart, Leipzig, 1909, xxv, 172, pl. 32-39; L. von Baldass, *Hans Memling*, Vienna, 1942, 24-25, 44, pl. 75-83; J. Folie, "Les oeuvres authentifiés des primitifs flamands," *Koninklijk Instituut voor het Kunstpatrimonium Bulletin*, VI (1963), 227; M.J. Friedländer (as in n. 226), 1971, cat. 33, pl. 82-85; K. B. McFarlane, *Hans Memling*, Oxford, 1971, 30 (n. 12-13), 32, 40-41 (n. 50), 42 (n. 51), 45 (n. 64), fig. 71, 77-81; N. Schneider, "Zur Ikonographie von Memlings 'Die sieben Freuden Mariens'," *Münchener Jahrbuch des bildenden Kunst*, XXIV (1973), 21-32; E. Kluckert, "Die Simultanbilder Memlings, Ihre Wurzeln und Wirkungen," *Das Münster*, XXVII (1974), 284-295; *Alte Pinakothek München*, [cat.] 3rd ed., Munich, 1986, 343-246.

They placed it in their chapel, which was the central one behind the choir at Our Lady's:

*In the year 1480, this work was given to the corporation of the tanners by sir Pieter Bultync, fs. Joos, tanner and merchant, and lady Katelyne, his wife, Godevaert van Riebeke's daughter; for this the priest of the corporation had to read a 'Miserere' and a 'De Profundis' for all souls after each mass.*²⁵¹

The painting also appears amongst the objects listed in the inventory of the treasures of this guild, but without a reference to the identity of its author.²⁵² Sanderus saw the *Seven Joys* in 1641 in the tanners' chapel, and recognized it as a work by Memling.²⁵³ In 1751, it was described as still in the same chapel and as a work by Memling.²⁵⁴ These correct seventeenth

²⁵¹ "Int iaer m. cccc. lxxx. zo was dit werc ghegheven de ambochte van de hueidevetters van dheer Pieter Bultync fs. Joos, hueidevetter ende coopman, ende joncvrouwe Katelyne syn wyf, Godevaert van Riebekes dochtere, dies moest de priestere van desen ambochte achter elcke misse leesen eenen miserere ende profundis voor aller zielen." This inscription was still visible at the end of the eighteenth century as it was copied by P. Ledoulx in his manuscript entitled *Levens der konstschilders, konstenaers en konstenaressen, soo in't schilderen, beeld-houwen als ander konsten, de welke van de stad van Brugge gebooren syn, ofte aldaer hunne konsten geoeffent hebben*, Bruges, 1795 (SAB, *Fonds Academie*, ms. 230, inserted page between 10 and 11), first published in W.H.J. Weale, "Sur un tableau perdu de Memlinc," *Journal des Beaux-Arts et de la Littérature*, II (1860), 153-154; Gailliard (as in n. 217), V, 162, 131; Weale (as in n. 250), 1864-65, 265.

²⁵² cf. doc. 143 in appendix; Weale (as in n. 250), 1864-65, 268.

²⁵³ "Visuntur imagines in ecclesia ab excellentibus penicilis, vita Christi et praecipua vitae mysteria per Joannem Hennelinck;" see A. Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata*, Cologne, 1641, 225.

²⁵⁴ The composition was experienced as awkward at that time: "Het stucken is geschildert door Joannes Hemmelinck verbeeldende differente historien op het leven Christi; de figuren maer ontrent een alven voet groot op den voorgrondt; ider deel van dit stuck op syn selven is perfect, maer het is een onnoosel tsaemen stellinghe van al die diversche historien, het geene te verwonderen is van desen grooten meester" (The piece is painted by Joannes Hemmelinck representing different histories of Christ's life; the figures on the foreground only about half a foot large; each part of this piece is perfect in itself, but it is a silly composition of all these

and eighteenth century attributions to Hans Memling may suggest that the painting was signed on the frame, in a fashion similar to his paintings in St. John's hospital. Removed from its original location c. 1764, it passed, amongst others, through the collections of the Austrian governor of Brabant at the end of the eighteenth century, and the famous Boisserée collection in the nineteenth, and eventually to the Alte Pinakothek at Munich.²⁵⁵

The painting is one of Memling's so-called *Simultanbilder*. Twenty-five episodes from the life of Christ and the Virgin appear simultaneously in a broad oblong panoramic landscape, separated from each other by architectural elements, rocks, hills, water and roads. In the lower left, the donor, Pieter Bultynck and his son Adriaan, are kneeling with their hands joined in prayer. Pieter's coat of arms, topped by a helmet, hangs on a broken marble column next to them.²⁵⁶ Katelijne van Riebeke genuflects in adoration of the *Pentecost* scene in the lower right corner of the painting. Her arms are held by a small monkey sitting on the ruins of a wall.²⁵⁷ The donors are both isolated from the sacred realm of the scene: Pieter and Adriaan are peeking through an iron-fenced window to witness the *Nativity of Christ*; Katelijne kneels on the grass of the garden outside the building

different histories, which is surprising for such a great master)(SSB, ms. 456, fol.145; published by Weale (as in n. 250), 1864-65, 265-266, n. 7).

²⁵⁵ The description given in 1769 by J.B. Descamps, *Voyage pittoresque de la Flandre et du Brabant (...)*, Paris, 1769, 281-282, is inaccurate where the iconography is concerned. For more details about the painting's provenance see especially Weale (as in n. 250), 1864-65, 264-266; *Alte Pinakothek* (as in n. 250), 346. On the collection of the Boisserée brothers see E. Firmenich-Richartz, *Die Brüder Boisserée*, Jena, 1916; S. Sulzberger, *Le Réhabilitation des Primitifs Flamands. 1802-1867 (Mémoires de l'Académie royale de Belgique, XII fasc.3)*, Brussels, 1961, *passim*. It was probably in the Boisserée Collection that the painting got its erroneous title, the *Seven Joys of the Virgin*. Already Weale noted that the traditional title is incorrect; see Weale (as in n. 250), 1864-65, 267. The same opinion is defended in *Alte Pinakothek* (as in n. 250), 346; Schneider (as in n. 250), 25.

²⁵⁶ *Argent, a chevron sable, between two estoiles in chief gules, and in base, a lion rampant of the second; crest on a helmet, wreathed and mantled argent and sable, an estoile gules between two wings erect sable*, Bultynck. Heraldic description in Weale (as in n. 250), 1901, 31.

²⁵⁷ *argent, a trefoil slipped vert between three chess rooks sable, 2 and 1*, Van Riebeke. Heraldic description in Weale (as in n. 250), 1901, 31.

where the Virgin and the apostles receive the Holy Spirit's divine inspiration.²⁵⁸

This painting was installed on the altar of the chapel, which was further adorned with two metal candle holders and a missal bound with red leather.²⁵⁹ In front of the altar, hung a cloth decorated with the corporation's coat of arms, held by two angels.²⁶⁰

The main idea of this picture can be discerned by reading its semantics. Of the twenty-five scenes, only four are predominantly set on the foreground: from left to right, the *Nativity*, the *Adoration of the Magi*, the *Resurrection of Christ*, and *Pentecost*. The first and third of these represent the beginning and end of Christ's life on earth. The second and fourth have three elements in common: first of all, the manifestation of light; secondly, the dissemination of Christendom or the concept of conversion; and thirdly, the prominent role of the Virgin. Led by a star in the East, the Magi came from the three known parts of the world to adore the Christ child and were thus the first pagans to be converted; at Pentecost the apostles were illuminated by the Holy Spirit and received the mission to convert the

²⁵⁸ According to Schneider (as in n. 250), 27-28, Katelijne's place in the enclosed garden means that she adheres to the Virgin's chastity. The monkey must be a symbol of matrimony or lust, while the ruinous wall on which it sits may stand for the devil's assaults on the Virgin's chastity.

²⁵⁹ For details on the interior decoration of the chapel, see doc. 143 in appendix. There were also two statues in the chapel, one of Our Lady, and one of St. Bavo. Around both statues curtains were draped, which had been given by the widow of a former member, Jacob Dienst. A metal holy water font with aspersion which was kept in the chapel had been given by Joris Beyts, most likely another member of the corporation.

²⁶⁰ Oddly enough this inventory does not mention the so-called *Calvary of the Tanners*, a panel painting from about 1400, still preserved at St. Savior's. On this painting see Panofsky (as in n. 91), 96-97, fig. 113; L. Devliegher, *De Sint-Salvatorskatedraal te Brugge. Inventaris (Kunstpatrimonium van West-Vlaanderen, 8)*, Tielt, Amsterdam, 1979, 168. The tanners owned at least still one other painting. It was kept in their house and represented the *Coronation of the Virgin*. It hung above the mantle-piece, and was protected by two red curtains. There is no other trace of this painting than the note in the corporation's 1480 inventory.

world to Christianity by spreading God's word.²⁶¹ The Virgin also plays an preeminent role in these two scenes. Her prominence comes as no surprise, considering the fact that the painting was made for a church dedicated to the Virgin. The inventory of the tanner's treasures, which must have been made no less than three months after the painting was donated, mentions it literally as "*a beautiful panel of Our Lady which was given by sir Pieter Bultynck.*"²⁶² As the painting was originally placed in the eastern-most chapel of the church, the emphasis on the 'Star of the East' (Mt, II:2) that led the Magi, seems to be deliberate.²⁶³

²⁶¹ Weale was the first to stress the importance of light in this work and the consequences of its original placement. He called it '*La Lumière du Monde, mystères de la chapelle orientale*;' see Weale (as in n. 250), 1864-65, 267. Thus far he was only followed in this by McFarlane (as in n. 250), pl. 71, who subtitled the reproductions of this work in his book as *Panorama of Epiphanies ('The Star of Bethlehem')*. In the interpretation of the iconography, given in *Alte Pinakothek* (as in n. 250), 345-346, the presence of the *Resurrection* on the foreground, as one of the four predominant scenes, is neglected. The most comprehensive interpretation of the iconography and discussion of the theological implications of the painting is by Schneider (as in n. 250), 21-32. This author sees the *Conversio* as the central theme of the painting. Schneider also attaches great importance to Bultynck's choice of prayers, the '*Miserere*' and the '*De Profundis*,' (see inscription) which he considers as a '*Vertrauen ins Bußsakrament and 'einem Kollektivempfinden seinen Tribut, das mit der 'Ars moriendi' im Zusammenhang steht, die ihrerseits z.T. aus der apokalyptischen Weltendstimmung des 15. Jahrhunderts resultiert bzw. durch eine neue Legitimierung erfuhr.*' (p. 28) This may be true, but it should be emphasized that there is nothing unusual about the choice of these prayers. They appear as standard texts in every foundation of memorial services in Flanders at this time.

²⁶² "*een scone tafel van onser liever Vrouwen de welke ghegheven was by deer Pieter Bultynck;*" cf. doc. 143 in appendix. Judged from its date, the document was written in 1480 (n.s.) before Easter. According to this document, the painting was donated in the same period of the year 1480. Thus, this inventory was made no more than three months after the painting had been donated.

²⁶³ Schneider suggested that the iconography was devised by theologians; see Schneider (as in n. 250), 21. Beside his own exceedingly complex theological interpretation of the work, there is no evidence for such a collaboration. Schneider also stressed the importance in a number of scenes of the role of St. Peter as Bultynck's patron saint (*Id.*, 29). True, he is set off by his white garb, but whether this is because he is the first among the apostles, and/or because he is the patron's name saint remains difficult to determine.

Pieter Bultynck was an inspector in the corporation of the tanners in 1468-69, 1470-71 and 1472-73.²⁶⁴ In 1477, he moved up in social status and became an alderman of Bruges; a function which he also held in 1478-79 and 1480-81. From 1466, he owned a house in the vicinity of Our Lady's, at the West side of the Mariastraat. Beside his donation of the painting to the tanners' chapel, he also lent them money, at least at one occasion, for which they gave him some precious silver platters in pawn.²⁶⁵

In about two decades, Pieter Bultynck had made a splendid career. Having reached the very top of political life in the city, he expressed his gratitude through the donation of a remarkable painting to the corporation that had allowed him to become so successful. His foundation of a '*Miserere*' and a '*De Profundis*' for all souls to be read after each mass, is clearly dedicated to the deceased members of the guild, and testifies to a sincere respect for his former colleagues. It also shows that as a middle-aged man in 1480, his primary worry was not yet his own salvation. On the contrary, his donation was chiefly intended to strengthen his social position. Around 1480, one could not think of a more powerful way to display publicly one's wealth and professional success in Bruges than by commissioning a fairly large panel from Hans Memling, whose impressive *St. John's Altarpiece* had just been inaugurated. Moreover, the chapel of the tanners, centrally located behind the choir of Our Lady's, was an excellent place to install such a painting, since many people would see it there.

McFarlane saw in the lavish display of leather objects, mainly apparent in the *Adoration of the Magi*-scene, another direct reference to the patron, and more specifically to the production of the tanners; see McFarlane (as in n. 250), 30, n. 12. It should be noted, however, that the objects he enumerates ("*jerkins, boots, saddles and all sorts of decorated trappings worn by the horses*") were not made by this corporation, but by the saddlers and the bootmakers ('*corduaniers*'). On the different leather-processing corporations, see J. Gailliard, *De Ambachten en Neringen van Brugge of beschrijving hunner opkomst, bloei, werkzaamheden, gebruiken en voorregten*, Bruges, 1854, 129-139.

²⁶⁴ For biographical data on Bultynck, see Gailliard (as in n. 217), V, 1862, 131; Weale (as in n. 250), 1864-65, 267, n. 9.

²⁶⁵ see doc. 143 in appendix.

An important devotional organization at Our Lady's was the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Snow. Founded sometime before 1450 by the tailors' corporation, it had its chapel in the choir, north of the tanners' chapel.²⁶⁶ After some twenty years, they counted hundreds of members. Many of them, Hans Memling for instance, belonged to other corporations as well.²⁶⁷ Members of the court, such as Duke Charles the Bold, and his mother the dowager Isabella of Portugal, joined the confraternity, as did other aristocrats. The name, Our Lady of the Snow, referred to the miraculous foundation of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, whose dedication feast (5 August) the confraternity observed.

Little is known about this confraternity in the fifteenth century. However its accounts for the years 1467-1499, preserved in the State archives at Bruges, include some interesting data relative to the employment of artists.²⁶⁸ In 1468-69, Pieter Cazembroot was paid for making a frame around a painting, representing *Our Lady surrounded by brethren of the Confraternity*.²⁶⁹ The painting hung on the outside of the chapel of Our Lady of the Snow, in the ambulatory. An anonymous member of the confraternity contributed 2s gr to the total sum of 16s gr for this frame. In the same year, 1468-69, Jan van Hoorne was paid £2 10s gr for painting the vaults and the four columns of the confraternity's chapel "*with angels and*

²⁶⁶ Strohm (as in n. 6), 47.

²⁶⁷ A. Schouteet, "Nieuwe teksten betreffende Hans Memling," *Revue belge d'Archéologie et de l'Histoire de l'Art*, XXIV/1-2 (1955), 81-84.

²⁶⁸ RAB, *Kerkfabriek O.L.Vrouw, Algemene rekeningen O.L.V.-ter-Sneeuw broederschap 1467-1499*, no. 1531.

²⁶⁹ cf. doc. 87 in appendix. The author of this painting was unknown. It may have been Pieter Casenbroot himself. On this artist, see Schouteet (as in n. 166), 95-109. In 1921, Conway tried to identify the anonymous Master of the Ursula Legend with Pieter Casenbroot (see M. Conway, *The Van Eycks and their Followers*, London, 1921, 247). Conway did not know that this master died in 1475, which excludes his being a possible candidate for this identification.

other things."²⁷⁰ Until his death in 1475, Jan van Hoorne worked regularly for the confraternity. In 1468-69, he painted twenty new pennons and a bar to place candles on. In 1472-73, he decorated two vestments with painted motifs, and polychromed six small statues for Our Lady of the Snow.²⁷¹ The following year he was paid £4 20s gr for gilding the altar in the chapel, for painting the four columns in green oil paint, for gilding the leaves of the capitals, and for painting the interior walls red with oil paint.²⁷² He also repaired four small platforms in the chapel and covered them with cloth. He embellished the two candle holders on the altar with lozenge shaped panels bearing the image of the Virgin. In 1480-81, the painter Jan Fabiaan made a new banner for the confraternity.²⁷³ For this job he used 5 1/8 yards of red dyed damask, ribbons and other fixtures, which cost £2 8s 8d gr. Nineteen shilling 1d gr was paid for somewhat more than twelve ounces of multi-colored silk fringe. The artist was paid in three installments: first an

²⁷⁰ cf. also doc. 87 in appendix. On Van Hoorne see Schouteet (as in n. 166), 263. During the fifteenth century, the whole church of Our Lady's was polychromed. All over the triforium, for instance, traces of polychromy and gilding have been found (see Duclos (as in n. 156), 437). Weale even stated that the whole church was covered with figurative paintings (in *Rond den Heerd*, XVIII (1882), 405). He alluded to a contemporary testimony, but neglected to make a proper reference to his source. A number of figurative mural paintings were discovered under several layers of chalk. Most of them disappeared soon after they had been found, owing to the lack of interest for these often deteriorated remains of late medieval painting, as was the case all over Flanders during the nineteenth century. Fragmentary remains of mural paintings were often considered as 'dirty spots on the wall,' and were destroyed; see M.P.J. Martens (as in n. 83), 145. Examples of these lost mural paintings include music-making angels, *Christ and the Samaritan Woman*, the *Resurrection of Lazarus*, and a cityscape on west façade of the church (see Duclos (as in n. 158), 367). Also a great number of painted tombs have been found, some of which are now made visible to the public (see W.P. Dezutter, "Grafschilderingen: Iconografie en religieuze spiritualiteit," *Maria van Bourgondië Brugge. Een archeologisch-historisch onderzoek in de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk*, Bruges, 1982, 181-204).

²⁷¹ Cf. doc. 109 in appendix.

²⁷² Cf. doc. 112 in appendix.

²⁷³ Cf. doc. 144 in appendix.

advance of £2 gr., on the Feast of the Cripples, another £4 gr, and a little later the remainder of 10s gr.

The accounts of the Confraternity of the Snow also include information on some of its artist members. In these documents, I have discovered records of Petrus Christus's payments of his annual dues, starting in 1467-68 and ending in 1475-76.²⁷⁴ Other entries pertain to Hans Memling, Willem Vrelant, the famous Bruges illuminator, and to Pierre Coustain, the court painter.²⁷⁵

Both Petrus Christus and Willem Vrelant must have been enrolled before 1467-68, for in that year they paid only 2 groats, whereas new members were obliged to pay more their first year.²⁷⁶ Moreover, their contributions are inscribed in the accounts for 1467-68 under the heading '*received in the collecting boxes in the church,*' (Petrus Christus) and '*received in the collecting boxes outside*' (Willem Vrelant) and not under '*receipt of the new guild brethren and sisters accepted during this year.*' It is impossible to establish when they joined the confraternity, since the accounts of previous years are lost.

²⁷⁴ Cf. doc. 81, 87, 90, 100, 102, 109, 112, 121, 124, and 144 in appendix. I discovered these documents in April 1986, and published them in my "New Information on Petrus Christus's Biography and the Patronage of his Brussels 'Lamentation'" *Simiolus*, XX/1 (1990-91), 5-23. Independently from me, Schouteet also found them and included some of them in his 1989 book (Schouteet (as in n. 166), 161-162). Without publishing transcriptions of the original documents, Strohm mentioned parenthetically that Petrus Christus and Willem Vrelant were members of the confraternity. Apparently, this musicologist did not realize that these were unknown facts in the biographies of both artists. See Strohm (as in n. 6), 47.

²⁷⁵ The Memling entries had been published by Schouteet already in 1955 (see n. 166).

²⁷⁶ The orthography of Petrus Christus's name varies. His first name appears as *Pieter* or abbreviated to *Piet*; his last name as *Xpristia* (fol. 6), *Xpus* (fol. 22, 45v, 145, 171), *Xps* (fol. 66v, 105v), *Cristus* (fol. 86v), *Xpistus* (126v), *Cristiis* (fol. 127v), or *Xpristus* (fol. 169). Only once is his profession mentioned: *scilder* (fol. 6). Willem Vrelant's name is written as *Wille Vrelant* (fol. 2v), *Willem Vredelant* (fol. 62v), *Willem Vreland* (fol. 83v), *Willem Vrelandt* (fol. 198v), or *Willem Vredlandt* (fol. 199). Vrelant's profession is nowhere mentioned.

Petrus Christus's annual contributions were collected either in the church, or inside the old walls,²⁷⁷ while Willem Vrelant paid his dues outside the old walls. This probably means that Petrus Christus lived inside, and Willem Vrelant outside the area enclosed by the first city walls, which were built in 1127-1128 after the murder of Count Charles the Good (reigned 1119-1127).²⁷⁸

It has generally been accepted that Petrus Christus died before November 1473. However, the 1472-73, 1473-74, and even the 1474-75 accounts mention the payments of his dues, just as they had been recorded in previous years. In 1475-76, someone called *Gaudicine* (?) *Cristes* is mentioned.²⁷⁹ This reference is most probably to Petrus's wife.²⁸⁰ Although it has long been known that he was married, the accounts of the confraternity of Our Lady of the Snow provide our first indication of his wife's name. The entry for this year includes even more important information:

*This is the receipt of the expenses for funerals collected during the
aforementioned year (1476) (...) Also of the funeral mass of Pieter
Xpistus 5s gr (...)*

²⁷⁷ In 1473-74, Christus's payment is inscribed twice (fols. 126v, 127v). This is doubtlessly a simple administrative error.

²⁷⁸ See F.L. Ganshof, *Over stadsontwikkeling tussen Loire en Rijn gedurende de Middeleeuwen*, (2nd ed.) Antwerp, Brussels, 1944, 8 (with map and bibliography); J. de Smet, "De evolutie van het Brugse stadsgebied," *Handelingen van het genootschap voor geschiedenis gesticht onder de benaming Société d'Emulation te Brugge*, C (1963), 91; E.I. Strubbe, "Van de eerste naar de tweede omwalling van Brugge," *Handelingen van het genootschap voor geschiedenis gesticht onder de benaming Société d'Emulation te Brugge*, C (1963), 271-300.

²⁷⁹ I still have some doubts about the transcription of her name, which is unusual in Flanders to say the least. However, this seems to be the most likely reading.

²⁸⁰ Since Petrus Christus was an immigrant in Bruges, and no other people with this strange last name are mentioned in the *Poorterboeken*, it would be surprising if Gaudicine were related to the painter in any other way. It is remarkable, though, that she is only mentioned in the accounts of Our Lady of the Snow the year Petrus died. It might mean that she only paid her husband's final dues, without becoming a member of the confraternity herself.

*This is the payment and the expenditure commencing the aforesaid
2 September 1475, and ending the aforesaid 19 December 1476 (...)
Also paid for the funeral mass of Pieter Xpistus 21s gr.²⁸¹*

This proves that Petrus Christus died between 2 September 1475 and 19 December 1476. The painter's funeral mass cost twenty-one shillings, which was paid for by the confraternity. Christus's relatives, presumably his wife Gaudicine, contributed 5 shillings toward the expenses.

We know that Willem Vrelant paid his last dues to the librarians' guild between 1 January 1481 (n.s.) and 31 December 1481.²⁸² During that same year, his colleagues dedicated a mass for the salvation of his soul.²⁸³ From then on this mass was celebrated annually in June,²⁸⁴ which means that Vrelant must have died in June 1481. This date is confirmed by an entry in the archives of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Snow. The accounts of the period from 15 August 1480 through 15 August 1481 list payment for his funeral mass of twenty shillings, of which his family contributed 3s 4d groats.²⁸⁵

A puzzling entry in the accounts of the confraternity relates to the Burgundian court painter Pierre Coustain.²⁸⁶ In 1475-76 Coustain was

²⁸¹ cf. doc. 124 in appendix.

²⁸² W.H.J. Weale, "Documents inédits sur les enlumineurs de Bruges," *Le Beffroi*, IV (1872-73), 305.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 305. Weale stated erroneously that this mass was held in June 1482.

²⁸⁴ The expenses for the annual mass are made in *Wedemaent*, i.e., June. See *ibid.*, 307, 309, 311, 314 ff.

²⁸⁵ See doc. 144 in appendix.

²⁸⁶ On Coustain, see more above; A. Siret, "Coustain, Costain, Cousteyn ou Consteyn (Pierre)," *Biographie Nationale*, IV, Brussels, 1873, col. 440-441; Laborde (as in n. 89), nos. 1816, 1839, 1868, 1874, 1899, 1904, 1933, 1943, 1985, 1999; II, nos. 4732, 4879, 4896, 4899; A. Châtelet, "Résurrection de Pierre Coustain," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français*, 1962, 7-13; J. C. Smith, *The Artistic Patronage of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy (1419-1467)*, (Ph.D.diss.) Columbia University, 1979, 258-259.

accepted as a new member of Our Lady of the Snow and paid his dues for a membership of nineteen years. The reason for this remains unclear.

C. The Parish Church of St. Savior

The present cathedral of Bruges, the church of St. Savior, was founded about A.D. 850, as a dependency of the parish of Snellegem (Pl. 35). It was situated only 600 feet northwest from where the church of Our Lady would be built some decades later.²⁸⁷ Like St. Donatian's, its legendary foundation goes back to St. Eloy of the seventh century A.D. This saint remained the church's second patron until 1834. It is unknown when the church received the status of parish, but it had attained this position before 1089, like the other two oldest churches of Bruges, St. Donatian's and Our Lady's.²⁸⁸ The earliest record of a *communitas chori* in this church, i.e. a group of clergymen who maintained the choir service, dates from 1231, but it must have been founded much earlier.²⁸⁹ An actual chapter of prebended canons was instituted at St. Savior's only in 1501. Before that time, the most important person in the parish was the *rector*, who headed the choir community, and also held the position of pastor of the most prominent of the three portions of the parish: the *golden portion*. The *silver* and *leaden* portions were headed by a priest, while a number of chaplains serviced the altars in the church. Around 1240, the bishop of Tournai narrowed the territory of St. Savior's by splitting off two new parishes, St. James's and St. Walburga's.

²⁸⁷ The most thorough study on the history of St. Savior's is L. Devlieghe, *De Sint-Salvatorskatedraal te Brugge. Geschiedenis en architectuur (Kunstpatrimonium van West-Vlaanderen, 7)*, Tielt, Bussum, 1981, 15-53. This study is an important update of K. Verschelde, *De Kathedrale van S. Salvator te Brugge*, Bruges, 1863. On the earliest history see also de Moreau (as in n. 2), col. 889-893; Devlieghe (as in n. 2), 1971, 21; Noterdaeme (as in n. 2), 5-30.

²⁸⁸ Strohm's assumption that this happened during the tenth century is possible, but unattested by documentary evidence; see Strohm (as in n. 6), 50.

²⁸⁹ Devlieghe (as in n. 287), 15. From 1397 on, the *communitas chori* was dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin; see Verschelde (as in n. 287), 205-207.

In 1127 the church was reconsecrated after it had been destroyed by fire.²⁹⁰ Nothing remains of the Romanesque building. During the last quarter of the thirteenth century, the choir was rebuilt in the current Gothic style. It is important to note that the whole building which was erected in brick, was the first of its kind in Flanders.²⁹¹ The renovation and enlargement of the church took place in an atmosphere of rivalry with the building activity at Our Lady's.²⁹² The Gothic transept was probably finished c. 1300. In 1358 a new fire destroyed part of the transept, the nave, and part of the tower. The nave, side aisles and tower were rebuilt by 1400. During the first decade of the fifteenth century, the south transept was completed. According to Devliegheer, a subvention from the city magistrature in 1406-07, indicates the conclusion of the construction works on the main building.²⁹³ In 1372, the guild of the shoemakers acquired a piece of land at the north side of the choir, on which they built their chapel, which was finished after 1424. The guild of the clothsharers (*droogscheerders*) started building its chapel in 1454 on at the west side of north transept.

Major construction works financed by the church *fabrica* itself, recommenced from 1481 on.²⁹⁴ In that year the architect Jan van der Poele

²⁹⁰ The building history of the church, as well as a very accurate and detailed description of every part of the architecture, is also found in Devliegheer (as in n. 287). The following summary is entirely based on this work.

²⁹¹ L. Devliegheer, "De vroegste gebouwen van baksteen in Vlaanderen," *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond*, LVI (1957), 245-250.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, 18, n.6.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, 19.

²⁹⁴ The oldest preserved accounts of the office of the works of the church go back to 1481-82. They were published by Devliegheer (as in n. 287), 162-204 (the accounts over the years 1481-82 until 1492-93 completely; later years up to 1557 are excerpted). Devliegheer pointed out that these accounts are important sources for our knowledge of the practical division of the work on the Flemish fifteenth century building site (*Ibid.*, 25).

started with the erection of the ambulatory and the five radiating chapels.²⁹⁵ These works evolved from south to north. This building phase, which also included the construction of the sacristy, the chapel of St. Catherine (one chapel west of the northern-most radiating chapel), and the chapel of St. Blasius (east of the south transept), was only completed c. 1550. The only building erected with private funds during that period, was the chapel of Jan de Deckere and his wife Barbele de Witte, started in 1486, and situated between the chapels of the Shoemakers and that of St. Catherine.

The pace of the work was largely determined by the financial resources of the *fabrica*.²⁹⁶ By 1486-87, the expenditure for the construction work was in balance with the income. However, the following year the accounts showed a deficit of £42 gr. Consequently, work had to be slowed down in 1488-89, in order to decrease the expenses. A papal bull granted to St. Savior's in 1489 by Innocent VIII (1484-92), offered indulgence to every one who donated funds for the continuation of the work. This offer raised the income of the office of the church's works by more than 50% during the following year.

St. Savior's benefited primarily from the many confraternities and guilds that held their religious services in the chapels of the church. The members of these organizations were primarily middle-class citizens. At least nine confraternities were installed in the church before the end of the fourteenth century: the confraternities of St. Eloy, St. Nicholas, St. Catherine, St. Barbara, the confraternity of the Assumption (*i.e.*, the *communitas chori*), SS. Peter and Paul, St. Job, St. Drogo, and the con-

²⁹⁵ This mason architect had just finished the nation house of the Easterners; see F. de Smidt (brother Firmin, f.s.c.), *Het Oosterlingenhuis te Brugge en zijn ontwerper Jan van der Poele*, Antwerp, 1948.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 26.

fraternity of the Holy Sacrament (or Corpus Christi).²⁹⁷ In 1482, a tenth, the Confraternity of the Virgin of the Seven Sorrows was added.

The corporation of the armorers had its chapel in St. Savior's probably as early as the thirteenth century.²⁹⁸ During the fourteenth century, the manufacturers of arrows and bows, the shoemakers, the cloth-shearers, and the pewterers, installed their rites here. In the fifteenth century, another nineteen corporations received the right to hold their services at St. Savior's.²⁹⁹

All these associations were responsible for the decoration of their chapels and altars. They took part in religious events like processions, in which they marched in the finest clothes, while displaying proudly their standards, decorated torches and coats of arms. They also organized the feasts dedicated to their patron saints and participated in the annual feasts celebrated by the whole parish community.³⁰⁰ Even though there was a large number of organizations associated with the church of St. Savior, very little has been preserved from their fifteenth century patrimony, owing to

²⁹⁷ On these confraternities see Vershelde (as in n. 287), 199-229. The list given by Strohm (as in n. 6), 51, is not entirely correct as far as the fifteenth century situation is concerned.

²⁹⁸ On the guilds at St. Savior's see Vershelde (as in n. 287), 230-252.

²⁹⁹ These were the workers of the Noordzandbrug and the Zuidzandbrug, the ropemakers, chairmakers, fullers, roofers, plumbers, broommakers, clothcutters, transporters of cloth, clothweavers, shoemakers' servants, associated workers, the transporters of chalk, armorers' servants, basketmakers, traders of second hand clothes, transporters of beer, and the cabinetmakers.

³⁰⁰ On processions and a full list of all the feasts celebrated at St. Savior's, see Vershelde (as in n. 287), 253-280. See also Strohm (as in n. 6), 52-54. Some of the most notable events organized at St. Savior's were the Golden Mass (*Missus*) and the gospel *Missus est Gabriel angelus* at end of Matins, around which much musical and theatrical display developed. Important processions, beside the Holy Blood procession in which the whole city participated, were those to the churches outside the city walls on the *dies rogationum* (i.e., the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday before Ascension), for which music was especially composed. Also for the so-called *Crepelenfeest* with its procession to Aardenburg, music was made).

the consecutive destructions of iconoclasm, the French revolution, and another fire in 1839.

One remarkable object that has been preserved, is the beautifully carved wooden enclosure of the chapel of the Shoemakers, which dates from the middle of the fifteenth century.³⁰¹ It consists of a central panel with a double door and two smaller fixed portions at the sides. On the interior of the enclosure (Pl. 36), the panels are framed by grapes and foliage; on the exterior with oak leaves. Each panel is horizontally divided into two zones, separated from each other by a frame with carved decoration, with the corporation's coat of arms of a boot carried by two angels on the interior; and foliate decoration on the exterior. The upper zone of each of the four parts consists of four small hexagonal columns with foliated capitals, that carry pointed arches. The spandrels of these arches are filled with foliate decoration. The lower zone of the panels is decorated on the exterior with two blind niches with pointed arches; on the interior with St. Andrew crosses with rounded arms inscribed with trefoils. The inscription on top of either side of the enclosure was only added in 1802, when the Shoemakers' chapel became the chapel of Seven Sorrows of the Virgin.

Some of the most important fifteenth century sculptural decoration still in Bruges, is preserved in the carved choir stalls of St. Savior's (Pl. 37).³⁰²

³⁰¹ See mainly Devliegheer (as in n. 260), 1979, 74-75, pl. 90-92.

³⁰² On these important choir stalls see W.H.J. Weale, "Antiquités de Bruges," *Journal des Beaux-Arts et de la Littérature*, I (1859), 95-96; Verschelde (as in n. 287), 36-46; A. Verhaegen, *Monographie de l'église cathédrale de Saint-Sauveur à Bruges*, Bruges, 1879, iv; Weale (as in n. 206), 85 ff.; H. Hymans, *Brügge und Ypern*, Leipzig, Berlin, 1900, 42-43; M. Verkest, "De Hoofdkerk van Brugge en haar Kunstschat," *Kunst en Leven*, II/2 (1902-1903), 36-38; A. Vandevelde, *De Ambachten van de Timmerlieden en de Schrijnwerkers te Brugge, hun wetten, hun geschillen en hun gewrochten van de XIVE tot de XIXe eeuw*, (Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde), Brussels, 1909, 229-230; L. Maeterlinck, "Les miséricordes satiriques belges," *Revue de l'Art chrétien*, LIII (1910), 173-182; *Id.*, *Le genre satirique, fantastique et licencieux dans la sculpture flamande et wallone. Les Miséricordes de stalles, art et folklore*, Paris, 1910, 83-102; Duclos (as in n. 156), 463; A. Abram, "Misericords in the Cathedral Church of Saint-Sauveur, Bruges," *The Archaeological Journal*, 2nd ser., XXII (1915), 305-324; J. de Borchgrave d'Altena, "Notes pour servir à l'étude des stalles en Belgique," *Annales de la Société royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, XLI (1937), 240-243; T. Luykx, J.L. Broeckx, *Brugge (Steden en Landschappen, IX)*, Antwerp, 1943, 227-8; F.

These seats used by the members of the *confraternitas chori*, are lined up in double rows at the epistle (south) and gospel side (north) of the choir, reflecting the alternating recitation of the psalms during choir service.³⁰³ The stalls at St. Savior's have been altered several times. Originally there were 42 seats: eleven in the upper rows, and ten in the lower ones, with a step in the middle leading to the upper ones. In 1478, when the 13th chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece was held at St. Savior's, the stalls were altered to integrate the knights' coats of arms. This modification is described in the *Chronicke van Vlaenderen*:

*the choir of the aforesaid church was very lavishly decorated with tapestries on both sides. And the baldachino and the cornice of the choir stalls were removed. And a beautiful list was attached to it along the length on both sides and a parapet was made, on which the scenes of the Fleece were placed and fixed.*³⁰⁴

In 1608, carpenters and sculptors were paid for maintenance of the stalls.³⁰⁵ Probably, a number of seats were added at the west side of the

Vromman, "De Schatten van de gotische beeldhouwkunst," *West-Vlaanderen*, I (1952), 43; A. Janssens de Bisthoven, "Beeldhouwkunst en Meubilair," *West-Vlaanderen*, VIII/1 (1959), 41-44; A. Courtens, "Les stalles sculptées du XIVe au XVIe siècle," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6e per., t. LX, 104 (1962), 320-321; Devlieghe (as in n. 42), 56; J. Steppe, M. Smeyers, J. Lauwerys, *Wereld van Vroomheid en Satire. Laat-gotische Koorbanken in Vlaanderen*, Kasterlee, 1973, 57-91; Devlieghe (as in n. 260), 22-32; Dhanens (as in n. 11), 153-154; V. Vermeersch, *Brugge Duizend Jaar Kunst*, Antwerp, 1981, 149.

³⁰³ On the historical development of this type of ecclesiastic furniture and its functional usage during the choir service see Steppe, et al. (as in n. 302), 13-28.

³⁰⁴ "de choor vander voors. kerke was zeere ryckelic behanghen van tapytse an beeden zyden. Ende de hemelynghe ende de voyen vanden gestoelte vanden choor waren ofghedaen. Ende daer was een scoonen lyste boven gheleyt lancx duere an beede zyden ende leenen ghemaect daermen de tavrelen van den toysoene boven stellen omme an te hechtene;" see Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, ms.437, fol. 309-309v (this text was mentioned by Steppe, et al. (as in n. 302), 59; and published by Devlieghe (as in n. 260), 22).

³⁰⁵ Carpenters Passchier Wouters and Maerten van Hullendonck, were paid £25 first, and another £10 5s 4d later; sculptor Hieronymus Stalpaert was paid £26 13s 4d, and then another £26 6s 8d; see Devlieghe (as in n. 260), 22.

choir, adjacent to the choir screen.³⁰⁶ In 1679, a new choir screen was constructed, which resulted in the removal of the western stalls. However, one seat was added to the west side of each row of the original set.³⁰⁷ In 1834, four seats on the east of the south rows were altered to form an episcopal seat. Between the two World Wars, each row was once again extended on the west with two more seats, and another step giving access to the upper rows. This brought the total number of seats to 54 and the length of one row to about 33 feet.³⁰⁸

The seats are separated from one another by partitions, decorated at the lower side with tracery and a semi-column. These partitions are topped by curved armrests. The actual seats are decorated with *misericords*. There are carved figures of saints and prophets on the armrests of the upper rows. Another semi-column, decorated with a horizontal ring, is placed on the armrests, and supports a curved list with floral decoration. The stalls in the upper row also have wooden back panels, usually decorated with floral tracery in the spandrels. However, one is decorated with a mermaid holding a mirror and a comb, and a merman carrying a sword and a shield; and another with a dragon and a wild man threatening with his cudgel. The panels are separated from each other by a small pinnacle.

³⁰⁶ See Verschelde (as in n. 287), 41-42; Steppe, et al. (as in n. 302), 60. The latter authors related two drawings of the stalls, preserved in BAB, to this alteration of 1608. Devliegheer (as in n. 260), 22, 29, doubted that these drawings were related to this campaign. That the stalls at the west side were indeed made in 1608 is ascertained by a document of 9 December 1647, in which sculptor Stalpaert, and some priests and parishioners attested this very fact (BAB, *Archief St. Salvator*, no. 212 (*Acta Capituli*, 9 dec. 1647); *Idem*, no. 363); published by Steppe, et al. (as in n. 302), 60.

³⁰⁷ See Devliegheer (as in n. 260), 22. The coats of arms of the knights of the Golden Fleece were reframed in 1727; see Verschelde (as in n. 287), 43. Weale stated erroneously that the coats of arms were reframed in 1679 (Weale (as in n. 206), 51). In 1765, the Bruges sculptor P. Van Wallegheem made eight wooden lions which were placed on the side panels of the choir stalls. See Devliegheer (as in n. 260), 22. After 1935, two new ones were made. Steppe erroneously attributed the earliest lions to Stalpaert; see Steppe, et al. (as in n. 302), 63.

³⁰⁸ See Devliegheer (as in n. 260), 22.

Most of the panels closing off the stalls at the far sides are decorated with tracery.³⁰⁹ The one on the east of the upper row of the northern set is decorated with the figure of the evangelist Mark, who is represented seated, writing in a book with a lion at his feet. The east end of the upper row on the other side of the choir is enlivened with the figure of St. Luke, accompanied by a winged bull sitting at his feet (Pl. 38).³¹⁰

Steppe pointed out that the figurative sculptures on the armrests of the choir stalls are positioned according to the following system: at the Gospel side, all the figures are prophets; at the epistle side they are apostles and female saints.³¹¹ Moreover, the latter figures are always paired. This juxtaposition of Old and New Testament figures relates first of all to the choir service itself, in which parts of both Testaments were read, but also to the association of these figures with those specific sides: the apostles are the authors of the epistles; the prophets described the events featured in the gospels.

The identification of the subjects represented on the misericords is impeded by their fragmentary state of preservation. Furthermore, not all of them are originals, but some were added during later campaigns. Some have a merely foliate or vegetal decoration.³¹² One of the seats represents a head of a man with leaves issuing from his mouth, resembling the fourteenth century figurative corbels in the refectory of the Bijloke Abbey in Ghent.³¹³ In contrast to other Flemish or Brabantine choir stalls from the

³⁰⁹ Those at the west side are not original.

³¹⁰ Probably the panels at the west ends of the upper rows were originally decorated with the figures of Matthew and John. Presumably these were lost when the stalls were altered in 1608.

³¹¹ Steppe, et al. (as in n. 302), 44.

³¹² Maeterlinck believed that the foliate misericords may have replaced subjects that were considered to be too licentious at one time; see Maeterlinck (as in n. 302), 1910-II, 90. Abram speculated that these vegetal motifs could have had a biblical meaning; see Abram (as in n. 302), 320.

³¹³ On these corbels see amongst others A. de Schryver, "Le Musée de la Byloke à Gand," *Trésors des Musées Belges*, Paris, 1964, 98.

fifteenth century, such as those of St. Peter's at Louvain, St. Sulpice at Diest, or Our Lady's at Aarschot, only one monstrous creature is represented here, and the usual grotesque or scatological scenes are entirely missing.³¹⁴ Three misericords offer no iconographical problems. They are clearly religious: one is taken from the Old Testament: the *Sacrifice of Isaac*; two from the New Testament: the *Conversion of Paul* and the *Annunciation*. Some misericords may have a satiric or moralistic meaning.³¹⁵ One seat shows a devil pouring coins from a bag into a trunk; another figure is helping him. Presumably they represent one of the Seven Deadly Sins, Avarice.³¹⁶ On another seat, a hybrid creature, half-monk, half-animal, holds a dagger and a shield.³¹⁷ A scene on the third misericord, shows a man who is pushing a woman, seated in a wagon, toward a burning oven, and another figure who is already sitting in the oven. This scene is most probably related to the old-Flemish proverb '*Wyven kruien*' (to wheel women), a satirical approach to marital relations.³¹⁸

³¹⁴ On the stalls in St. Peter's at Louvain, St. Sulpice at Diest, and Our Lady's at Aarschot, see Steppe, et al. (as in n. 302), 93-226. These authors related the frequent appearance of grotesque and scatological scenes on misericords to the function of this furniture: they supported the *membra inhonesta*, and were thus well suited for that particular type of decoration; *Ibid.*, 44.

³¹⁵ Abram (as in n. 302), 321. According to Vromman, the misericords of the upper rows on both sides of the choir represent scenes related to the popular tale of Everyman (*Elckerlyc*); see Vromman (as in n. 302), 43. There is not enough available evidence to prove this hypothesis.

³¹⁶ Steppe, et al. (as in n. 302), 69.

³¹⁷ Maeterlinck (as in n. 302), 1910-II, 87, pointed out that a similar creature appears in the choir stalls of the cathedral of Rouen. This creature may be a personification of animal passion; Abram (as in n. 302), 321.

³¹⁸ Suggested by W.P. Blockmans (et al.), "Het sociaal-economisch leven, 1300-1482: Tussen crisis en welvaart: sociale veranderingen, 1300-1500," *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, IV, Haarlem, 1980, 84. According to Vromman (as in n. 302), 43, the proverb this scene relates to is '*Iemand in den oven rijden*' (to wheel someone into the oven), but the author gives no explanation for it. This scene appears also on the stalls of the church of St. Catherine at Hoogstraten; see Maeterlinck (as in n. 302), 1910-II, 232, fig. 150.

Proverbs were traditional sources for the iconography of Flemish choir stalls. When the sisters of the cloister of St. Clara at Gentbrugge near Ghent commissioned choir stalls from the Ghent sculptor Gillis van Dickele in 1506, they explicitly stated in their contract that they wanted "*figures corresponding to some proverbs or something in that vein.*"³¹⁹

Another proverb in the Bruges cycle is represented in a scene of two persons putting their feet against one other, and tearing a stick. This game, called the '*steygersspel*', may be used to visualize the saying '*Elk trekt naar zijn kant*' (every one tears to his own side), meaning that every one stands up for his own (or his family's) rights.³²⁰ Other scenes on the misericords of St. Savior's may represent sayings or games as well, although the precise meaning is not always clear. One of them shows a blind-folded woman standing between two men. She holds something in the air. It is not evident whether these figures are playing a game or performing a proverb.³²¹

According to Abram (as in n. 302), 322, this scene was "*another warning to the wicked.*" Maeterlinck (as in n. 302), 1910-II, 236, thought it was a satirical reference to married life. He suggested that most misericords at St. Savior's were based on French or Provençal '*fabliaux*,' but neglected to refer to a specific source; see Maeterlinck (as in n. 302), 1910, 176; *Ibid.*, 1910-II, 85. Steppe, et al. (as in n. 302), 69, suggested that the scene of the woman wheeled into the oven probably derived from old satiric popular tales or plays.

³¹⁹ "*een figuere corresponderende eenighe bysprake of dies ghelycke;*" mentioned by Steppe, et al. (as in n. 302), 46; and published by E. de Busscher, *Recherches sur les peintres gantois du XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Ghent, 1866, 228-233.

³²⁰ Maeterlinck pointed out that this scene was also represented in the choir stalls at Walcourt (Maeterlinck (as in n. 302), 1910-II, 197). Abrams referred to a similar scene on a misericord at Rouen (Abram (as in n. 302), 319). Steppe, et al. (as in n. 302), 70, added that the Rouen cycle was made by Flemish sculptors, and that the *steyersspel* was also represented on the stalls in Hoogstraten.

³²¹ Maeterlinck supposed that this was a narrative scene. He thought that the woman was holding a dagger and was about to use it against herself or against one of the two men (Maeterlinck (as in n. 302), 1910-II, 90). Abram, from his side, suggested that this group was simply playing a game of blind man's buff (Abram (as in n. 302), 320).

The playful character is more obvious in the hunting scenes, showing a deer on one seat, and a man on horseback on another one.³²² These hunting scenes may also be simply interpreted as scenes of social life, of which there are more in the Bruges stalls. A woman showing a ring to two men one of whom is kneeling, may be one of these representations of daily life, but it could be part of a narrative as well.³²³ Some seats show professions: a scribe at work, a tiler standing on a ladder and working on a roof, a sculptor making a figure, a man harvesting grapes, and a bargeman. Two misericords are adorned with scenes of pilgrims.³²⁴ In yet another one, a man seems to be giving alms.³²⁵ Some authors have drawn attention to the importance given to children in the series.³²⁶ Whether there is a narrative link between these misericords populated by children, or whether they must be seen as genre scenes, is again unknown. One seat shows a woman teaching her child to walk by means of a tricycle (Pl. 39).³²⁷ Another

³²² According to Verschelde (as in n. 302), 46, however, these scenes were related to the story of Liederik de Buc; see further.

³²³ Maeterlinck (as in n. 302), 1910-II, 88, suggested that the young man gives a ring to a lady, who accepts it, while her father is furious. Abram interpreted it as follows: the kneeling man would be reading something to the lady; and the object in her hand may be a token of the messenger's credentials. The other man could possibly be one of the lady's retainers (Abram (as in n. 302), 311).

³²⁴ One of these pilgrims carries a token from the pilgrimage site of Wilsnack near Brandenburg; see Steppe, et al. (as in n. 302), 69. On the presence of Flemish pilgrims at Wilsnack, see A. Viaene, "Het Heilig Bloed van Wilsnack. Een bedevaart uit het oude Vlaamse strafrecht," *Biekorf*, LXIX (1968), 5-17; the same article was also published in *Idem*, *Vlaamse Pelgrimstochten*, Bruges, 1982, 101-111.

³²⁵ Maeterlinck (as in n. 302), 1910-II, 90; Abram (as in n. 302), 316; and Borchgrave d'Altena (as in n. 302), 241, interpreted this scene this way. Devliegheer (as in n. 260), 31, stated that the two figures are simply talking to each other, while the seated one is making incisions into a piece of wood.

³²⁶ Steppe, et al. (as in n. 302), 67, for instance.

³²⁷ Such a walking aide can also be seen on the frontispiece of the 1485 edition of Bartholomeus Anglicus, *Boeck van den Proprieteyten der dinghen* (Haarlem); see Steppe, et al.

one represents a teacher admonishing a pupil (Pl. 40), while his fellow pupil is reading a textbook.

In 1863, Verschelde pointed out the possible relation of at least eight of the misericords with the legendary origin of the dynasty of the counts of Flanders, more specifically the story of Liederik de Buc, the first '*forestier*' (vassal) of Flanders, as it was told in the chronicles of P. d'Oudegherst and Despars.³²⁸ The scenes that are supposedly related to this story are those in which a hermit and an adolescent boy appear. Dhanens dates the origin of the choir stalls at St. Savior's to 1430, and sees a connection with the major events of that year: the inauguration of the Order of the Golden Fleece and the wedding of Philip the Good with Isabella of Portugal.³²⁹ From this viewpoint, the series of the carved misericords clearly presents genealogical propaganda, typical for a major part of the art produced for the dukes of Burgundy. Because Liederic's mother, Ermengaert, was a descendant of Girart de Roussillon, the godfather of the Burgundian dynasty, the series would have provided dynastic support for Philip's claim to the title of Count of Flanders.

The passage in the *Chronicke van Vlaenderen*, mentioned earlier, proves unequivocally that the choir stalls were altered in 1478, and consequently, that they certainly originated before that date.³³⁰ Most

(as in n. 302), 67, and was somewhat later also shown by Hiëronymus Bosch on the reverse of *Christ Carrying the Cross* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum); see R.H. Marijnissen, P. Ruyffelaere, *Hiëronymus Bosch: het volledige oeuvre*, Antwerp, 1987, 271-279.

³²⁸ Verschelde (as in n. 287), 45. This theory was repeated by Verkest (as in n. 302), 38; and Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 302), 43. Steppe, et al. (as in n. 302), 68, called this hypothesis unfounded, but recently Dhanens (as in n. 11), 154, recapitulated this theory.

³²⁹ Dhanens (as in n. 11), 154.

³³⁰ In the early eighteenth century, the corporation of the carpenters thought that their members made these stalls in 1478; see Vandeveldt (as in n. 302), 230. This incorrect opinion was also shared by a number of latter authors; see e.g. Verschelde (as in n. 287), 41; Weale (as in n. 206), 85 ff.; Borchgrave d'Altena (as in n. 302), 240; Courtens (as in n. 302), 320.

authors place them in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.³³¹ This date is confirmed by the costumes worn by some of the figures represented on the misericords, for which analogies can be found in works by Van Eyck and his contemporaries.³³² Moreover, the installation of the choir stalls at St. Savior's was probably the last phase of the redecoration of the choir that started in 1414 with the commission of a new screen given to Willem Pike.³³³

Owing to a lack of archival documentation about the choir stalls at St. Savior's, the identity of their authors remains unknown. We do know that they should be found amongst the corporation of the carpenters.³³⁴ The Bruges carpenter Cornelis van Aelter made choir stalls for the abbey of Melrose in Scotland c. 1440; and in 1505, the carpenter Sebastiaen de Witte and the sculptor Cornelis de Smet were responsible for new choir stalls at St. Donatian's.³³⁵ In Bruges, the carpenters held the privilege for the manufacturing of all large ecclesiastic furniture; while the cabinet makers were entitled to receive the commissions for smaller (and movable)

³³¹ Maeterlinck (as in n. 302), 1910, 176 dated them in the first half of the century; Abram (as in n. 302), 306, and Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 302), 1959, 41, c. 1430; Steppe, et al. (as in n. 302), 58, c. 1440-50 (adding that the type of foliate decoration also indicated the second quarter of the fifteenth century). Devliegheer (as in n. 260), 22, dated them also c. 1425-50; and Dhanens (as in n. 11), 153, c. 1430-40.

³³² Abram, 311-312; Steppe, et al. (as in n. 302), 58; Dhanens (as in n. 11), 153. The following may be added to the elements enumerated by these authors: the headgear of the women represented on the misericords showing a woman teaching her child to walk, and a woman showing a ring to two men, resemble a lot that worn by Giovanna Cenami in the *Arnolfini Wedding Portrait* (London, National Gallery), and that of Margaretha van Eyck in het Bruges portrait. The hat of the person who is giving an alm looks much like that worn by a figure in a miniature of the *Decamerone* (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 5070, fol. 116), attributed to the Master of Guillebert de Mets.

³³³ Steppe, et al. (as in n. 302), 58; Devliegheer (as in n. 260), 22. On this choir screen see also J. Steppe, *Het Koordoksaal in de Nederlanden, (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten, Klasse der Schone Kunsten, 7)*, Brussels, 1952, 68-69.

³³⁴ Steppe, et al. (as in n. 302), 29-30.

³³⁵ For the stalls at St. Donatian's, see also Steppe, et al. (as in n. 302), 29-30.

furniture.³³⁶ The sculptors were the only ones who were allowed to make three-dimensional sculpture. The prophets, apostles and female saints on the armrests of the stalls must therefore have been made by one or more of them.³³⁷

Presumably the *communitas chori*, the actual users of the choir stalls, commissioned them, probably with the funds of the church *fabrica*. The circumstances in which this commission took place are again unknown, but some better documented cases may provide some idea.³³⁸ Before placing an order, representatives of the community that wanted new choir stalls, commonly visited examples in the vicinity. Subsequently, they had a model for one stall executed and received an estimate of the total expense involved in the materials, wages of the workmen, and installation of the furniture. In other cases, an existing model was taken as an example, and particular differences desired by the patrons were described in the contract. This contract usually stipulated the necessity of using high quality wood, the number of stalls, the number of entrance stairs, the desired thickness of the side panels, and the dimensions of these panels. Also the delivery of supplementary materials, such as chalk, stone, iron, and lead; and the installation of work space, other accommodations and food for the workmen, may have been included in such an agreement. Of course, the manner of payment, the number of installments, total cost, and payment deadlines were established. Before the final payment, the completed work was often inspected by experts. The contract also set the delivery period,

³³⁶ Gailliard (as in n. 263), 72-80; Vandevælde (as in n. 302), *passim*; Vermeersch (as in n. 302), 151-152.

³³⁷ Dhanens suggested that maybe Jan van Eyck could have been responsible for the design of the misericords; see Dhanens (as in n. 11), 153. There exists no evidence to support this hypothesis however.

³³⁸ Steppe, et al. (as in n. 302), 32-37, have studied a number of well documented commissions of sculpted choir stalls in Flanders and Brabant. Commissions of choir stalls for which the contracts have been preserved include the choir stalls commissioned in 1505 for St. Donatian's, those of 1506 for the abbey of St. Clare in Gentbrugge (cf. *supra*, n. 319), and the choir stalls made in 1519 for the St. Nicholas Abbey of Veurne; cf. F. de Potter, E. Ronse, P. Borre, *Geschiedenis der stad en kastelnij van Veurne*, II, Ghent, 1875, 336.

which was often considerable. It took four years to make the choir stalls at St. Donatian's, and about three for those at St. Peter's in Louvain.³³⁹ Sometimes, the patrons had also specific requests concerning the formal or iconographical aspects of the work. As mentioned earlier, the sisters of St. Clara at Gentbrugge wanted representations of proverbs.³⁴⁰ They also asked that "*the figure, be it a man, woman, animal, or something else, should be attached sturdily, but [should have] no rough [surface], to prevent tearing of clothes.*"³⁴¹ It is very likely that the lost contract between the representatives of St. Savior's and the artisans responsible for the beautiful series of choir stalls in the church, included a number or even the majority of these stipulations.

As indicated above, the stalls were altered in 1478 to be used by the knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece for their 13th chapter meeting that began on 30 April. At this meeting, the Archduke Maximilian was knighted, taken into the solemn order, and appointed as its sovereign, replacing Charles the Bold, who had been killed on the battlefield the year before.³⁴² This historically important moment, staged by Olivier de la Marche, is represented in a miniature of the *Excellente Chronicke*, preserved in Bruges (Pl. 41).³⁴³ It shows five individuals on a stage. In the center

³³⁹ Steppe, et al. (as in n. 302), 36.

³⁴⁰ Cf. *supra*, n. 319.

³⁴¹ "*een figure, tsy man, vrouwe, beste of yet anders, wel ende sterc liggende, niet ru, omme tschueren van de cleederen.*" Published by De Busscher (as in n. 319), 229; quoted by Steppe, et al. (as in n. 302), 22.

³⁴² On this meeting see the contemporary accounts by the chronicler Jean Molinet in G. Doutrepont, O. Jodogne, (ed.), *Les Chroniques de Jean Molinet*, I, Brussels, 1935, 249-255 (*Comment le duc d'austrice fut fait chevalier et tint la feste et solemnité de la Thoison d'Or, en da ville de Bruges*); and by Antonis de Roovere, *Excellente Chronicke*, Antwerp, Willem Vorsterman, 1531, fols. 202v-203v; and further also A. Viaene, "Het 13de ordekapittel van het gulden vlies 1478," *West-Vlaanderen*, VIII/43 (1958), 65-67; H. Pauwels, et al., *La Toison d'Or, Cinq siècles d'Art et d'Histoire*, [exh.cat] Bruges, 1962. 37.

³⁴³ Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, ms. 437, fol. 335v. On this manuscript see E. Schenk zu Schweinsberg, *Die Illustrationen der Chronik von Flandern, Handschrift nr. 437 - der*

Maximilian is kneeling. He is knighted by Adolph of Cleves, Lord of Ravenstein, who was the knight highest in rank present at the 13th meeting of the chapter. To Maximilian's left, Lord Jehan de Lannoy is kneeling; as the oldest present member of the order he had the honor of placing the chain of the order around the prince's neck. Two other knights witness the event. The scene is situated in the choir of a church. Actually, the event took place in front of the choir screen in St. Savior's, where a stage had been installed.

The 13th chapter meeting was poorly attended. Only five members were able to come to Bruges. Charles the Bold and thirteen other knights had died, two sent representatives, and the others were either taken prisoners of war or had defected to Louis XI, king of France.

The court paid Pierre Coustain for an entire new series of coats of arms of the members of the order (Pl. 42).³⁴⁴ These were installed on a list above the choir stalls, after the original baldachino had been removed. They are still preserved in the same place. These 28 coats of arms are all surrounded by the chain of the order. Those of deceased knights hang on ribbons, those of the members who were still alive in 1478, are topped by their helmets, which face the altar. In other words, helmets which face to the left, were placed on the southern side of the choir.

During the ceremonies, the choir was entirely decorated with a luxurious tapestry series, representing the story of Gideon. The eight tapestries had been commissioned by Philip the Good in 1449 from

Stadsbibliothek zu Brügge in Verhältnis zu Hans Memling, Strasbourg, 1922; F. Winkler, *Die Flämische Buchmalerei des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1925, 138, 162, 196; A. de Poorter, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque publique de la ville de Bruges*, Paris, 1934, 492-493; *Tentoonstelling van miniaturen en boekbanden*, [exh.cat] I, Bruges, 1927, 51, no. 50; P. Cockshaw, et al., *Karel de Stoute 1433-1477*, [exh.cat], Brussels, 1977, 135-139, no. 46; *Vlaamse Kunst op Perkament*, [exh.cat] Bruges, 1981, no. 10; *Schatten van het Gulden Vlies*, exh.cat. Brussels, Paleis voor Schone Kunsten, 1987, 122-123; G. Dogaer, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the 15th and 16th Centuries*, Amsterdam, 1987, 119.

³⁴⁴ Laborde (as in n. 89), 510, no. 1985. On these panels see also V. Vermeersch, *Brugges Kunstbezit. Vijftig Kunsthistorische opstellen*, 1, Bruges, Utrecht, 1969, 173-175; Devliegheer (as in n. 265), 209-211; Van den Bergen-Pantens (as in n. 175), 27-29. While in Bruges, Coustain's assistants were also asked to restore an older similar heraldic series at St. Donatian's.

Baudouin de Bailleil from Arras, and were woven by Robert Dary and Jehan de l'Ortie in Tournai.³⁴⁵ Since Guillaume Fillastre's successful attempts to replace the pagan symbolism in the order by Christian elements, Gideon had taken the role originally played by Jason and the Argonauts.³⁴⁶ The high altar was lavishly decorated with twelve golden statues representing the twelve apostles, originating from Maximilian's house chapel. In this richly decorated environment, the knights attended the memorial services for Charles the Bold and pledged allegiance to the young Maximilian, their new sovereign.

As a parish church, St. Savior's was an important burial site. However, no large free-standing or niche monuments were installed here in the period between the 1440s and the early 1480s.³⁴⁷ On the other hand, a rather considerable number of more modest floor tombs were placed in the church. Amongst these were at least nine floor slabs with figurative inlaid brass decoration, now all lost.³⁴⁸ Two decorated the sepulchres of

³⁴⁵ On this extremely important commission see J.C. Smith, *The Artistic Patronage of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy (1419-1467)*, Ph.D dissertation, Columbia University, 1979, 149-159; *Id.*, "Portable Propaganda: Tapestries as Princely Metaphors at the Courts of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold," *Art Journal*, XLVIII/2 (1989), 123-129.

³⁴⁶ On Guillaume Fillastre's role in the renewed iconography of the order see A. Bayot, "Observations sur les manuscrits de l'histoire de la Toison d'Or de Guillaume Fillastre," *Revue des Bibliothèques et Archives de Belgique*, V (1907), 425-438.

³⁴⁷ The tomb monument of Joos van Halewyn, of which only the sarcophagus with sculpted *pleurants* is preserved in the former chapel of the Shoemakers, comes from the church of the Austin friars, and was installed here after the French Revolution; see Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 201-211, pl. 87-93; Devlieghe (as in n. 260), 111, pl. 171-172.

³⁴⁸ These include the tombs of Johanna van den Berghe (died 9 September 1454); Maarten Heyns (died 1 February 1477 and his wife Ampleunie van Male (died 14 April 1455); Lodewijk de Craene, bailiff of Bruges and the Franc (died 1460); Adriaan van Boonem, registrar of the Franc (died 12 March 1469) and his wife Margaretha Hagelsteyn (died 3 January 1464); Cornelis de Boodt, alderman (died 16 October 1466) and his wives Isabella Parlant and Catharina de Blasere; Robrecht de Brune (died 21 April 1475); Jan Vasquez (died 13 January 1477) and his wives Margaretha van Ackere and Catharina van de Walle (died 1482); Jan Pipe, priest (died 15 June 1482) and his brother Egied Pipe, priest

higher Franc officials, one of a Bruges alderman, one of a priest of the church, and one of Jan Vasquez, the compatriot and secretary of the dowager Isabella of Portugal. Vasquez was buried here with his two wives, Margaretha van Ackere and Catharina van de Walle. After Margaretha's death, he had endowed two annual food distributions for the poor and three *Requiem* masses with musical accompaniment.³⁴⁹ A brass memorial plaque in the church, recalls this foundation.³⁵⁰ Its text is framed with the symbols of the evangelists, the figures of the four church fathers and Vasquez's coat of arms, all in quatrefoils and separated from each other by his personal motto *A bon compte avenir* (Pl. 43). This motto appears also on the gable of Jan Vasquez's house, built in 1466 in the Zilverstraat, right across from the west side of the church of St. Savior's (Pl. 44). At some point, Vasquez presented some ritual textiles to the church, amongst others an altar cloth of red velvet with silk fringe, lined with canvas and adorned with his coat of arms, two red velvet copes with embroidered orphreys, and a red velvet chasuble with two fitting dalmatics.³⁵¹

At least three sepulchres from this period were covered with floor brasses. The first belongs to Maarten de Visch, a knight who died on 27 March 1453 (Pl. 45).³⁵² A couple of years before his death, he had financed a series of stained glass windows in the church.³⁵³ His funeral brass represents him standing on a lion that sits on a tiled floor. He looks straight to the beholder, and holds his hands folded in front of him. He is dressed

(died 10 February 1496); and Joris Roelandts and his son Jan, medicin (died 30 April 1483). See Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 198-201, 221, 239, 241, 273, 274, 293, 299, nos. 210, 212, 227, 242, 246, 280, 284, 303, 306.

³⁴⁹ Strohm (as in n. 6), 52.

³⁵⁰ For this memorial plaque, see Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 245-247, no. 251, pl. 115.

³⁵¹ cf. doc. 162 in appendix.

³⁵² Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 191-194, no. 206, pl. 83-84.

³⁵³ Verschelde (as in n. 287), 61, 114; J. Helbig, *De Glasschilderkunst in België - Repertorium en Documenten*, II, Antwerp, 1943-51, 35, no. 2171.

in a tunic decorated with his coat of arms, featuring two large fish, represented back to back. These fish, which allude to his family name, appear also on the escutcheon behind his head, which is fully blazoned with his helmet. Behind the figure is a decorative background of imitation damask, with dogs, foliage and the patron's motto *Moy*, all distributed in a repetitive pattern. The plate is surrounded by a double frame. In the inner frame, the epitaph text appears, interrupted by Maarten's coat of arms, and the traditional symbols of the evangelists, in quatrefoils. A second, outer frame features, again in a repetitive fashion, his personal device, a horse bit.

Another remarkable example of a fifteenth century Bruges floor brass is the plate that originally covered the sepulchre of canon Jacob Schelewaerts, who died on 13 June 1483 (Pl. 46).³⁵⁴ This priest of St. Savior's had obtained his doctoral degree in theology from the University of Paris, and taught at the University of Louvain from 1463 until 1480. On his brass, he is represented as a professor teaching seven students *ex cathedra*. The students are sitting on a hook-shaped table, one with his back turned toward the viewer. They are all reading or taking notes. Next to Professor Schelewaerts stands his servant, the *apparitor*. All figures wear academic attire. The scene is situated in a Gothic interior. A remarkable detail is the brocade hanging, next to Schelewaerts, which closes off the view into depth. This detail is very similar to the consistently reoccurring brocade hangings in the miniatures by the Master of Margaret of York.³⁵⁵ The sense of volume and space suggested in this work is exceptional and innovative in the development of monumental floor brasses at Bruges. The volume of the figures is mainly suggested by hatching in the drapery of their clothes. The sense of space is conveyed not only by the perspective of the architecture, the furniture in the room, and the tiled floor, but also by the student in the foreground who is seen from behind. The iconography of the Schelewaerts's brass is also unconventional, and even rather innovative. An important precedent for a funeral monument of a teacher represented

³⁵⁴ 550 *Jaar Universiteit te Leuven*, [exh.cat.] Louvain, 1976, no. 462; Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 297-302, no.307, pl. 138-140; Devliegher (as in n. 260), 112-113, pl. 173-174.

³⁵⁵ On this master, see Dogaer (as in n. 343), 113, and for an example of these hangings, *Id.*, pl. 9.

in his professional occupation is the plate of Amand de Brevimonte at St. Donatian's of 1439. Already in the fourteenth century, this funerary iconography appeared in Bologna and in Paris in proto-humanistic circles.³⁵⁶ The choice of this specific iconography in Schelewaerts's brass may also be attributed to the humanistic *milieu* in which he had been active.

It is unknown who commissioned this brass. It may have been Schelewaerts himself, his relatives, or the church of St. Savior. Some authors have stated that his students paid for it.³⁵⁷ It is also said that the student whose back we see did not contribute to the expenses. However, humorous details of this sort are very characteristic of orally transmitted local legends. It is therefore doubtful that the story of the student-patrons has any basis whatsoever.

A third brass that originated during the period under review here, is now lost. It was the plate of mayor Jan de Vleeshauwer and his wives Barbara de Witte and Catharina Despars.³⁵⁸ Jan de Vleeshauwer was an important patron of St. Savior's as he had donated a large set of ritual textiles, amongst which were lavishly embroidered choir copes. One of these is still preserved in the treasury of the church (Pl. 47). Although this delicate object has lost a great deal of its original colorful splendor, it remains one of the greatest examples of fifteenth century embroidery still preserved in the Low Countries. De Vleeshauwer's donation is recorded in a 1563 inventory of the church's treasures and ornaments.³⁵⁹ Most of these fabrics were adorned with golden wheels, the patron's personal device. The objects included in this donation were a red damask altar cloth with silk fringe, decorated with the embroidered representation of the *Resurrection* and the images of St. John and St. Catherine; a red velvet cope with

³⁵⁶ Vermeersch (as in n. 22), I, 150; II, 300.

³⁵⁷ See, amongst others, Weale (as in n. 206), 95.

³⁵⁸ Vermeersch, 1976, II, 264, no.276. Vermeersch situates this plate c. 1473, *i.e.*, after Barbara de Witte's death.

³⁵⁹ This inventory was published in 1863 by Vershelde (as in n. 287), 288-298. Although it should be kept in the archives of St. Savior's (at BAB), its whereabouts are presently unknown.

embroidered orphreys, and two in red damask with similar decoration; a red damask chasuble with matching dalmatics, and a similar set in red camel hair. De Vleeshauwer also gave red silk curtains to drape around the high altar, embroidered cushions and drapes for the bench near the altar, and cushions for use in the choir; albs for the singers and the choir-boys; red camel-hair capes with green silk rims for the crucifers; four similar robes to be worn by singers and fitting robes for horses. Finally his gift included also a large woven rug which was spread out in front of the high altar on important feasts.

Another prominent fifteenth century patron of St. Savior's was Hippolyte de Berthoz (died 1502). Originating from Poligny in Franche-Comté, De Berthoz settled in Bruges at least before 1467-68. In 1473, he was appointed as registrar in the financial administration of Charles the Bold.³⁶⁰ As a consequence of Mary of Burgundy's *Great Privilege* of 1477 to the rebellious Flemish cities, a number of Burgundian administrations were reformed or abolished. De Berthoz, like many other court officials, lost his post. He had to work his way up again, first in the service of Margaret of York as *argentier* and later as *maistre des chambre aux deniers*. But eventually, he received the high office of *maistre de la chambre des comptes* at Lille in 1490. At a very early time in his career, possibly c. 1470-75, he first became a patron of the arts by commissioning a triptych from the Louvain master Dirk Bouts (Pl. 48).³⁶¹ This important work is still preserved in the church

³⁶⁰ For data on the biography of Hippolyte de Berthoz, see Vershelde (as in n. 287), 69; J. Bartier, *Légistes et Gens de Finances au XVe siècle - Les Conseillers des Ducs de Bourgogne, Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire*, (*Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, Mémoires in-8*), L fasc.2), Brussels, 1955, 50 n.2, 65, 91 n.4, 272, 299-301; Devlieghe (as in n. 260), 171; W. Prevenier, W. Blockmans, *De Bourgondische Nederlanden*, Antwerp, 1983, 329.

³⁶¹ *The Martyrdom of St. Hippolyte*, Bruges, St. Savior's, Museum of the Cathedral; oil and tempera on panel, 90.5 x 90.5 (central without frame), 90.5 x 39.5 (wings without frame), 107 x 25.5 (added exterior wings). Most authors date this painting c. 1470-75. On this painting see K. Vershelde (as in n. 287), 69-70; Weale (as in n. 206), 103; *Id.*, *Catalogue Exposition des Primitifs flamands et d'Art ancien. Première section : tableaux*, [exh. cat.] Bruges, 1902, 16-17, no. 37; G. Hulin de Loo, *Bruges 1902. Exposition de tableaux flamands des XIVe,*

of St. Savior. The central panel represents the gruesome martyrdom of De Berthoz's patron saint, St. Hippolytus, situated in a poetic landscape, which is continuous through the three panels. Each one of the saint's limbs is tied to a horse. The animals are driven into four different direction. Hippolytus, clothed only by a loin-cloth, casts his eyes heavenward in prayer. In only a second the horsepower will lift his body from the ground and quarter it. Three kneeling men look compassionately at their unfortunate friend. On the right panel, a man genuflects in front of the Roman emperor Decius and four courtiers. The kneeling man may be identified as the prefect Valerius, who delivered Hippolytus to Decius.³⁶² On the left wing, the donors, Hippolyte de Berthoz and his first wife, Elisabeth van Keverswyck, are

XVe et XVIe siècles. *Catalogue critique*, [exh.cat.], Ghent, 1902, 10-11, no.37; J. Destrée, *Hugo van der Goes*, Brussels, Paris, 1914, 120-121; P. Fierens-Gevaert, *La Peinture à Bruges. Guide historique et Critique*, Brussels, Paris, 1922, 17-18; K. Pfister, *Hugo van der Goes*, Basel, 1923, 26, pl. 25; L. von Baldass, "Die Entwicklung des Dirk Bouts," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, N.F., VI (1932), 104-108; W. Schöne, *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule*, Berlin, Leipzig, 1938, 39, 168-169, no.51; K. Oettinger, "Das Rätsel der Kunst des Hugo van der Goes," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, N.F. XII (1938), 57; Panofsky (as in n. 91), 300, 336, n.2; K. G. Boon, F. Baudouin, *Dieric Bouts*, [exh.cat.] Brussels, Delft, 1957-58, 74-80; nos.26-28; F. Winkler, "Dieric Bouts und Joos van Gent, Ausstellungen in Brüssel und Gent," *Kunstchronik*, IX (1958), 2-3; J. Dochy, "De schilderijen uit de 15de en de 16de eeuw," *West-Vlaanderen*, VIII/1 (1959), 20-24; H. Pauwels, et al., *De Eeuw der Vlaamse Primitieven*, [exh.cat.] Bruges, Groeningemuseum, 1960, 73-75, no.21; L. Ninane, in *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization*, [exh. cat.] The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1960, 109; F. Winkler, *Das Werk des Hugo van der Goes*, Berlin, 1964, 51-54; A. Châtelet, "Sur un jugement dernier de Dieric Bouts," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XVI (1965), 36, 39; M.J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting, III: Dieric Bouts and Joos van Gent*, (comments and notes by N. Veronée-Verhaegen), Leiden, Brussels, 1968, 19-20, 63, no. 29, pl. 43-45; *Id.*, *Early Netherlandish Painting, IV: Hugo van der Goes*, Leiden, Brussels, 1969, 27, 70, no. 16, pl. 19; J. S. Held, "Observations on the Boston Triptych of Saint Hippolytus," *Album Amicorum J.G. Van Gelder*, The Hague, 1973, 177-185; Devlieghe (as in n. 260), 169-172; E. Duverger, R. Hoozee, *Imaginaire Museum Hugo van der Goes*, [exh.cat.] Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 1982-83, 20-21, 46.

³⁶² This identification, first suggested by Devlieghe (as in n. 260), 169, is more acceptable than earlier interpretations, stating that he may be the saint who is forced to denounce his faith (Pauwels, et al. (as in n. 361), 73), or a court official who speaks up for the saint (Schöne (as in n. 361), 168).

represented devoutly kneeling (Pl. 49).³⁶³ Their scale is remarkably larger than that of all the other figures in the painting.

On the exterior of the triptych, the donors' patron saints are represented in *grisaille* as simulated sculpture. To the left stands St. Hippolytus, holding a falcon, an unusual attribute for him; to the right is the statue of St. Elisabeth of Hungary, holding the crown that alludes to her royalty.³⁶⁴ Both figures are identified by inscriptions on their pedestal. Underneath the pedestals of these statues appear the de Berthoz and the Van Keverswyck coats of arms.³⁶⁵ In the beginning of the sixteenth century, two more wings were added to the exterior of the triptych, representing Charlemagne and St. Margaret, also in *grisaille*. These figures refer to Hippolyte de Berthoz's son, Karel, and his wife Margaretha.³⁶⁶

After having been attributed to Memling from the end of the seventeenth century until the middle of the nineteenth century, in 1862 the painting was recognized by Weale as a work by Dirk Bouts.³⁶⁷ Hulin de Loo

³⁶³ The generally accepted attribution to Hugo van der Goes of the left panel with the donor portraits, excludes the identification of the woman as Elisabeth Hugheins, de Berthoz's second wife (as thought by Verschelde (as in n. 287), 69-70; and as one of the two possibilities offered by Devliegheer (as in n. 260), 169), since the artist died in 1482, twelve years before de Berthoz married his second wife.

³⁶⁴ Held (as in n. 361), 183, speculated that the falcon may have been chosen here as a reference to the noble rank of Hippolyte de Berthoz.

³⁶⁵ *Parted per fess, or chief and sable base, flaming sun gules, Berthoz; Parted per pale, baron and femme, two coats, 1st, Berthoz; 2nd, sable, in chief a 7-pointed star or, in base a crescent or, Van Keverswyck.*

³⁶⁶ Karel de Berthoz may have given the painting to the corporation of the chalk transporters, who used the altar of St. Adrian, where the painting hung; see Devliegheer (as in n. 260), 170. However, when this corporation sold it in 1804, it was immediately bought back by the church, and stated that the corporation did not own the painting (BAB, *Fonds St. Salvator*, S. 363: *Voorschotten betaald door P. van Lede, 1802-1804*, published by *Id.*, 171).

³⁶⁷ In a late seventeenth century inventory of art works in the church (BAB, *Fonds St. Salvator*, S.362), the painting was attributed to "*the famous Joannis Emlynck* (sic)." Also J. B. Deschamps (*Voyage pittoresque de la Flandre et du Brabant*, Amsterdam, 1772, 243), P. Ledoulx (*Levens der konstsschilders...*, fol. 10 (cf. supra n. 251), as A. Ocket (BAB, *Fonds St.*

was the first to distinguish the hand of Hugo van der Goes in the the donor portraits, while Schöne attributed the whole left wing, including the landscape and the grisaille figure of St. Hippolytus on the reverse, to the Ghent master.³⁶⁸ One wonders if Hippolyte de Berthoz's choice of Bouts and Van der Goes was inspired by preference only, or if he had any other reason to choose those two artists, rather than some local Bruges artist like Hans Memling.

There has been much speculation about the possible reasons for and the circumstances of this collaboration between the two famous masters. Hulin de Loo suggested two possibilities: first, that Dirk Bouts died in 1475, leaving the work unfinished, and Hugo completed it; or alternately, that de Berthoz commissioned the portraits directly from Van der Goes.³⁶⁹ Friedländer elaborated on this last possibility, and speculated that it may have been more convenient for De Berthoz to sit for Hugo, who was in Bruges to paint Tommaso Portinari around that time.³⁷⁰ Neither of these proposals can be ruled out entirely, although I believe the possibility that Hugo completed the left wing after Dirk's death, is more convincing. One may wonder, for instance, why De Berthoz did not commission the entire altarpiece from Van der Goes, if mere convenience had been the main reason for choosing him to do the left wing. It is also highly unlikely that De Berthoz did not have enough confidence in Bouts as a portrait painter. Otherwise, why would he have commissioned the rest of the painting of him? Moreover, the high quality of Bouts's known portraits, such as that of an anonymous man in the National Gallery of London, dated 1462,

Salvator, Gedenkstukken, 231) followed this attribution. Weale attributed it to Bouts in the first edition of his *Bruges et ses environs*, Bruges, 1862, 68. Schöne (as in n. 361), 163-169, gave it to the so-called 'Meister der Münchener Gefangennahme'; and also Panofsky (as in n. 91), 300, 336, n.2, doubted the attribution to Bouts, and called it a *Boutsian* work.

³⁶⁸ Hulin de Loo (as in n. 361), 10-11; Schöne (as in n. 361), 168; Friedländer (as in n. 361), III, 19-20, considered also the grisaille figure as Van der Goes's work. The attribution of the figures to Hugo van der Goes has not been challenged.

³⁶⁹ Hulin de Loo (as in n. 361), 11.

³⁷⁰ Friedländer (as in n. 361), III, 19. This author recognized that Hulin's first suggestion was also a valid possibility.

demonstrates all too clearly how unfounded such a supposition is.³⁷¹ On the contrary, everything seems to indicate that Bouts was unable to complete the work. Hugo van der Goes must have taken it over from him. Most authors agree on stylistic grounds that this happened c. 1475.³⁷² The two figures by the Ghent master are beautifully integrated in the landscape behind them.³⁷³ However, the artist left his distinctive mark on the painting by giving his figures a more natural scale to in comparison to those on the other panels. In 1480, the Louvain magistrature called on Hugo van der Goes to estimate the value of unfinished work by Dirk Bouts.³⁷⁴ He may have been considered as a 'Bouts connoisseur' owing to his involvement in the *Hippolytus Altarpiece*.

Durrieu related a miniature in a copy of *L'Histoire du bon roi Alexandre* (Paris, Coll. Dutuit), made for Philip the Good before 1467, to the painting at St. Savior's.³⁷⁵ This miniature, which the author attributed to Willem Vrelant, represents several martyrdoms, amongst others that of St. Hippolyte. However, Châtelet showed convincingly that the visual source for the composition of the central panel of the *Hippolytus Altarpiece* may

³⁷¹ London, National Gallery, no. 943; see M. Davies, *The National Gallery. London (Les Primitifs flamands. I. Corpus de la Peinture des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux au quinzième siècle, 3, fasc. 1-5)*, I, Antwerp, 1953, 42-45, no. 31, pl. XCVII-CII.

³⁷² Baldass (as in n. 361), 1931, 106 (before 1476); Schöne (as in n. 361), 1938, 169 (c. 1470); Friedländer (as in n. 361), III, 20 (c. 1475); Ninane (as in n. 361), 109, pointed out that Elisabeth van Keverswyck's costume was fashionable in the early 1470s.

³⁷³ Winkler (as in n. 361), 1964, 51, considers this composition as "*die schönste Einfügung von Stiftern in die Landschaft geglückt, die in der altniederländische Malerei gefunden werden kann.*"

³⁷⁴ E. Van Even, *L'ancienne école de peinture de Louvain*, Brussels, 1870, 186, n.1; E. Duverger, R. Hoozee, *Imaginair Museum Hugo van der Goes*, [exh.cat.] Ghent, 1982-83, 69, doc. XXVIII. Baldass thought it was thus logical that de Berthoz turned to the 'executor of Bouts's artistic testament' (Baldass (as in n. 361), 1931, 104). This is turning the chronology of the facts around.

³⁷⁵ P. Durrieu, "L'histoire du bon roi Alexandre. Manuscrit à miniatures de la Collection Dutuit," *La Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne*, VII/71 (1903), 104-106, pl.

have been another miniature of the *Martyrdom of Queen Brunhilde* from the circle of Willem Vrelant in a manuscript made for Louis of Gruuthuse (pl. 50).³⁷⁶ This illustration probably preceded the one in the Dutuit manuscript, which must be considered as a variation on the same theme. Moreover, some details, such as the position of the front legs of the horse on the left, clearly show that the miniature in the Gruuthuse manuscript is more closely related to Bouts's painting. How Bouts could have had access to this manuscript is not clear, however. Possibly it was De Berthoz himself, who pointed out this source to him as an example to follow. As a courtier De Berthoz was likely to be acquainted with Louis of Gruuthuse, and as a young man interested in the arts, he may have been allowed to consult manuscripts in the famous library of the great collector.

Hippolyte de Berthoz's artistic patronage was not limited to this one painting. Years later, c. 1490, he commissioned a variant copy of the *Hippolytus Altarpiece*, from an anonymous master, probably the so-called Master of the Embroidered Foliage.³⁷⁷ His armorial bearings, as well as those of his wife, figure on the reverse of this later work, now preserved in Boston. During the 1480s, De Berthoz also commissioned two lavishly

³⁷⁶ *The Death of Queen Brunhilde* in Vincent de Beauvais, *Miroir historial* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.fr. 310, fol. 283v); cf. Châtelet (1s in n. 361), 39, 41, pl. 19.

³⁷⁷ Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Walter M. Cabot Fund; tempera and oil on panel, 87 x 134 (central panel), 87 x 60 (wings); see Winkler (as in n. 361), 1964, 296; E.K.J. Reznicek, *Gabinetti Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi. XVIII. Mostra di Disegni Fiamminghi e Olandesi*, Florence, 1964, 14; J. Bialostocki, *Les Musées de Pologne (Gdansk, Krakow et Warszawa) (Les Primitifs flamands. I. Corpus de la Peinture des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux au quinzième siècle, 9)*, Brussels, 1966, 11-12; K. G. Boon, "F. Winkler, *Hugo van der Goes*," *Oud Holland*, LXXX (1965), 195 ff; Friedländer (as in n. 361), IV, 88, no. Add. 145, Pl. 117; J.S. Held, "Observations on the Boston Triptych of Saint Hippolytus," *Album Amicorum J.G. Van Gelder*, The Hague, 1973, 177-185. Held speculated that the conception of the Boston painting must be attributed to Hugo van der Goes c. 1475, but that it was actually only executed c. 1490 by the Master of the Embroidered Foliage, because of de Bertoz's career problems (cf. supra). On this latter anonymous master, see also Friedländer (as in n. 361), IV, 100-101; E. Larsen, "The Monogrammist A.D.R. alias the Master of the Embroidered Foliage," *Oud Holland*, LXXVI (1961), 201-202; J. Lavalleye, et al., *Primitifs flamands anonymes*, [exh.cat] Bruges, Groeningemuseum, 1969, 150-154, 281-286.

illuminated Books of Hours from a master of the circle of the Master of Mary of Burgundy.³⁷⁸

De Berthoz must have been interested in poetry too. The famous court chronicler Jean Molinet (1435-1507) wrote a poem for him, entitled *Oraison de Saint Ipolite*. Several times, de Berthoz's motto, '*Vous seulement*', and that of his wife, '*Dieu le scet*', are repeated in this poem.³⁷⁹

De Berthoz also continued his patronage of St. Savior's. He acted, together with Jan Vasquez, as one of the patrons of the confraternity of the Holy Sacrament in the church by financing, amongst others, the singing of an antiphon in all the masses during the week following the feast of Corpus Christi.³⁸⁰ In 1494, De Berthoz founded an annual mass at St. Savior's in memory of Pieter Denys, a business associate and the late husband of his second wife, Elisabeth Hugheins.³⁸¹

Hippolyte de Berthoz was still a relatively young man when he commissioned his altarpiece for St. Savior's. Prevenier noted that c. 1475,

³⁷⁸ The first manuscript is Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 1988. It has four inserted full page miniatures with the initials YY (for *Ypolite* and *Ysabeau*) in the borders; see L.M.J. Delaissé, *La Miniature flamande: Le mécénat de Philippe le Bon*, [exh. cat.], Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 1959, 191, no. 269; G. I. Lieftinck, *Boekverluchters uit de Omgeving van Maria van Bourgondië*, I, Brussels, 1969, 8-12, pl. 37-38. The second manuscript by another hand of the same artistic milieu is now Cambridge, Mass., Harvard College Library, ms. Typ 443; see Winkler (as in n. 361), 51 (then still Cambridge, Mass., Coll. van Emerson); Lieftinck (as in n. 378), 9, n. 2. In the latter manuscript the YY initials are found throughout in the borders.

³⁷⁹ Devlieghe (as in n. 260), 171.

³⁸⁰ Strohm (as in n. 6), 53. Corpus Christi or Day of the Holy Sacrament is a variable feast celebrated on the second Thursday after Pentecost; see E.I. Strubbe, L. Voet, *De Chronologie van de Middeleeuwen en de Moderne Tijden in de Nederlanden*, Antwerp, Amsterdam, 1960, 525.

³⁸¹ Verschelde (as in n. 287), 69. After Hippolyte's death in 1502, she apparently continued his role as benefactor of the confraternity of the Holy Sacrament, amongst others by offering an expensive woven table cloth. See BAB, S.362, *Inventaris van het gilde van het H. Sacrament*, 1523, fol. 6v: "*Item een galeyers tafelcleet twelke gaf vidua Ypolyte;*" published by Devlieghe (as in n. 260), 275.

he had only the average income of a beginning financial expert.³⁸² There must have been reasons other than mere devotion for him to commission such an impressive work of art. Probably, he expressed also his professional and social ambition by installing this work in St. Savior's.

The nature of artistic patronage at St. Savior's was clearly different from that in the two large collegiate churches of the city. Religious life here was largely characterized by the activity of the corporations and that of the wide variety of confraternities who held their services in the church. Unfortunately the largest part of the material evidence of this vivid religious life in the fifteenth century is lost. Beside the community, during the period from the 1440s to the 1480s, a number of affluent individuals, like Jan Vasquez, Hippolyte de Berthoz, and Jan de Vleeshauwer, were the most prominent benefactors of the church. It comes as no surprise that all three belonged to the upper social class: the first two were affiliated with the ducal court, and the third made his career in municipal politics.

³⁸² Prevenier (as in n. 360), 329.

D. The Parish Church of St. James

The demographic growth in Bruges during the first half of the thirteenth century made it necessary to establish some new parishes in the city. Around 1240, a parish with a church dedicated to St. James, and located in the south eastern part of town near the ducal palace, was split off from the territory of St. Savior's.³⁸³

From about 1457, the church was completely remodeled and enlarged toward the south and the west, in response to match the need for more space (Pl. 51).³⁸⁴ During the period 1457-70, the choir was expanded with two southern aisles. The original choir became the northern aisle of the new extended choir. This part of the building was consecrated in 1470. Somewhat later, between 1472 and 1476, a new western entrance was built; the nave of the church was expanded to three aisles, and the tower was modified. The rapid pace by which these extensive building campaigns took place was possible through the active financial support of some of the most affluent residents of the parish like Tommaso Portinari, the famous Florentine representative of the Medici bank in the Netherlands, and Donaes de Moor, a prominent member of the rich corporation of the furriers and one of the most notable persons in the municipal politics of the time.³⁸⁵

³⁸³ W. Rombauts, *Het oud archief van de kerkfabriek van Sint-Jacob te Brugge (XIIIde-XIXde eeuw)*, I, Brussels, 1986, 8.

³⁸⁴ On the building history, see also Rombauts (as in n. 383), 10-12.

³⁸⁵ Rombauts (as in n. 383), 11, stated that the Count of Charolais, the later Duke Charles the Bold, also supported the remodeling of the church financially. My attempts to find proof of this in the archives of the church have not been successful. His name is not mentioned in the lists of the collections were also held amongst the parishioners in the church; see RAB, *Oud Kerkarchief, St. Jacobs*, no. 98: *Rekeningen betreffende verbouwingen aan de kerk, 1464-1478*. Each year, these accounts start with a list of gifts received from notable parishioners (amongst whom always Jacob de Witte, Colaert Dault, Pauwels Biese, and others), followed by the amounts collected in eight collecting boxes, and an enumeration of current loans. Some of the funds used to finance the new building derived from the sale of old funeral brasses and other sepulchral stones. On this form of institutionalized desecration of graves, see Vermeersch (as in n. 22), I, 74-88.

When in 1474, the pastor and the church wardens of St. James's gave their approval to Tommaso Portinari for the foundation of a family chapel, they refer to him as "*our honorable, wise and foreseeing, dear and especially beloved friend, Thomas Poortenary, merchant from Florence, residing in the said parish of St. James.*"³⁸⁶ They granted him this privilege considering

*the great favors and the devotion which [he] has done for the same church for a long time, and [which he] still does daily, of [granting] alms, gifts and many other good things to the church, and especially for the new works of the church of Saint James.*³⁸⁷

This chapel, dedicated to the Virgin, was situated on the northern side of the choir. This was the most honorable place to install a private family chapel, since it had been the location of the high choir itself before the enlargement of the church. Portinari promised to restore the chapel entirely and to decorate it "*lavishly and richly.*" Simultaneously with the approval of the foundation, the church wardens also granted him and his wife, Maria Baroncelli, the concession for two sepulchres in front of the altar in the chapel.

In October 1474, Portinari transferred the chapel to the corporation of the furriers. They had to promise that they would hold their religious services at the altar of the chapel, that they would rigorously observe all the masses and services Portinari had endowed there, and that they would take care of the maintenance of the couple's tomb. He explicitly requested that his coat of arms, as well as that of his wife, which decorated the windows of the chapel, should be preserved unaltered. His arms on the chapel's ecclesiastic ornaments --ornaments which are not specified in the

³⁸⁶ The original approval of this foundation is lost. It was copied in a charter, dated 16 October 1474, in which Portinari transferred the chapel to the corporation of the furriers; cf. doc. 117 in appendix. I am grateful to Noël Geirnaert, archivist SAB, for pointing out this hitherto unpublished document to me. In another document of 23 September 1472, the chapel is already referred to as "*now belonging to Thomas Portinari;*" see Rombauts (as in n. 383), 19, n.3. This probably means that Tommaso had acquired the chapel already before September 1472, but that he made the foundations only in 1474.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

document-- had to be kept as they were. Portinari approved the installation by the corporation of two statues of saints, of their own choice, on the gilt wooden columns beside the altar. These statues had to have the same dimensions, and had to be "*well made and as decorative*" as the two sculptures of apostles he had installed there previously. However, the corporation was allowed to put its own coat of arms on the pedestals of those sculptures. They could put their heraldic marks on any new ecclesiastic implements, whether books, chalices or altar cloths, which they might add to the chapel's treasures. Beside the objects mentioned in this document, no further data exists on the original decoration of the Portinari chapel in St. James's.³⁸⁸

Another prominent patron of the church was Donaes de Moor. This furrier made a remarkable career in municipal politics.³⁸⁹ He was alderman in 1447, 1458, 1477, and 1481. He also acted as city councillor in 1466, district head in 1455, 1464, 1469 and 1475, and city treasurer in 1468, 1471 and 1477. In May 1483, he was falsely accused of collaboration with Archduke Maximilian, and went to live in his castle near Middelburg. He died in exile only four months later, on 9 September.

About 1479, after the choir had been remodelled, Donaes de Moor and his wife Adriana de Vos donated a high altar to the church.³⁹⁰ The donors' coats of arms figured on this altar. Together with Willem Haultin,

³⁸⁸ Rombauts's hypothesis that the famous *Portinari Altarpiece* by Hugo van der Goes may have been installed in the chapel for some time before it was shipped to Florence, is unfounded; see Rombauts (as in n. 383), 13, 19, n. 3. It is also unlikely that the *Passion of Christ* by Hans Memling, now in the Galleria Sabauda in Turin, decorated the altar of this chapel, as one might think. Although most authors agree that it was commissioned c. 1470 (see C. Aru, E. de Geradon, *La Galerie Sabauda de Turin (Les Primitifs flamands. I. Corpus de la Peinture des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux au quinzième siècle, 2)*, Antwerp, 1952, 16-17), *i.e.*, shortly before Tommaso acquired the chapel at St. James's, there exists no evidence that would suggest this earlier provenance for the painting. Moreover, the iconography of the Turin painting is inappropriate for an altarpiece in a chapel dedicated to the Virgin.

³⁸⁹ For biographical data of Donaes de Moor, see Gailliard (as in n. 217), II, 1858, 371-378.

³⁹⁰ see Gailliard (as in n. 183), 234; Rombauts (as in n. 383), 12. This altar was replaced by a Baroque one in 1667-1670; see J. Rotsaert, "Het hoogaltaar in de Sint-Jacobskerk te Brugge," *Het Bruges Ommeland*, XV/4 (1975), 130-132.

secretary of the duke, De Moor also donated the choir stalls in 1482.³⁹¹ These were destroyed by the iconoclasts. A painting in the Collection of the Duke of Devonshire of c. 1520 by an anonymous Bruges painter, representing the *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, gives a rather accurate view of the choir of St. James's (Pl. 52).³⁹² The choir stalls are also shown in this painting, although details of their sculptural decoration are difficult to distinguish.

On 12 May 1479, Donaes de Moor and his wife were granted permission to found a chapel in St. James's.³⁹³ This chapel, dedicated to Our Lady and to the donors' patron saints, St. Donatian and St. Adrian, is situated in a small room between the Portinari chapel and the high choir. After Donaes's death, Adriana de Vos obtained the magistrature's authorization to bring his remains from Middelburg to Bruges. He was interred in the choir of St. James's in a sepulchre of red marble with inlaid brass coats of arms.³⁹⁴ Twenty-six years later, Adriana would be buried next to her husband. On 13 January 1487 (n.s.), she transferred the usage of the

³⁹¹ Gailliard (as in n. 183), 237. Willem Haultin (or Guillaume Hautain) was secretary of finances, in charge of the control of municipal accounts. Later, he became Clerk of the Great Council; see Bartier (as in n. 360), 374, n. 2, and especially P. Cockshaw, *Le personnel de la chancellerie de Bourgogne-Flandre sous les ducs de Bourgogne de la maison de Valois (1384-1477)*, Courtrai, 1982, 136, 172, 185, 191-192.

³⁹² Chatsworth, Collection of the Duke of Devonshire, no. 386 (there erroneously attributed to Pieter Pourbus). On this painting see H. Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, I, London, 1786, 46; J. Passavant, *Kunstreise durch England und Belgien*, Frankfurt, 1833, 72 (attributed to Jan van Eyck); Duclos (as in n. 156), 321; Rotsaert (as in n. 390), 122-123. The later author has amply demonstrated how a number of architectural details in the painting correspond to data found in the accounts of St. James's. This painting was probably commissioned by Jan Bertijn, priest of St. James's and driving force in the origin of the Confraternity of the Presentation of Our Lady. On this confraternity see A. Hodüm, "De oorsprong van de broederschap van O.-L.-Vrouw Presentatie in de Sint-Jacobskerk te Brugge," *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis, gesticht onder de benaming Société d'Emulation te Brugge*, XCI (1954), 97-116.

³⁹³ RAB, *Oud Kerkarchief, St. Jacobs*, charter no. 445 (regist no. 549), inserted transfix of a charter of 12 January 1487, see n. 399; Rombauts (as in n. 383), 22.

³⁹⁴ Gailliard (as in n. 217), II, 1858, 372; Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 302, no.308.

family chapel to the custodians of the parish's poor box.³⁹⁵ Her husband had been for many years a member of the corporation of the furriers, lamb's wool and felt workers, who used the Portinari chapel. So the corporation was asked to supervise the liturgical foundations dedicated to the founder's salvation, as well as the maintenance of the chapel.³⁹⁶ The document recording these arrangements states that Donaes and his wife had furnished the chapel with all necessary church jewels and ecclesiastic furnishings. The custodians of the poor box had to maintain at all times

all the ecclesiastic implements, altar cloths, chasubles, statues, surplices, maniples, copes, curtains, chalice, ampulas, the easter board, chandeliers and all the rest in the said chapel.

In the same year as the foundation of their chapel, Donaes had a row of thirteen *almshouses* built in the Boeveriestraat (Pl. 53).³⁹⁷ These small houses still stand (currently nos. 52-76). The corporations of the carpenters, the masons, and the barrel makers were each given three of these houses which could subsequently be provided free of charge to poor or retired members of their associations. The hospice of St. Julian, of which Donaes was a guardian, received four houses. The year of the foundation 1480 is inscribed on a stone set into the gable of one of these houses (no. 66). The stone reliefs on the walls of the first four houses show the De Moor coat of arms and scenes from the legend of St. Julian (Pl. 54). The other houses

³⁹⁵ RAB, *Oud Kerkarchief, Fonds St.-Jacobs*, charter no. 445 (regist no. 596); see Rombauts (as in n. 383), 160. Neither in the original foundation charter (see n. 397), nor in this charter of transferral, is any reference made to the donation of the high altar and the choir stalls. It is odd that these important objects are not listed in the enumeration of earlier gifts in the latter document (*'vele sconen ghiften by hemlieden als van zydenen, cappen, casulen ende ornamenten ende anders der zelve kerke ghegheven'*(many beautiful gifts donated by them, such as silk, copes, chasubles and ornaments and otherwise, to the same church.))

³⁹⁶ cf. doc. 157 in appendix. On the masses founded by Donaes de Moor and his wife see also Strohm (as in n. 6), 57, 147.

³⁹⁷ Gailliard (as in n. 217), II, 373; Vermeersch (as in n. 344), 35-38; *Id.* (as in n. 302), 135-139. During the fifteenth century another eight rows of almshouses were founded in Bruges by rich citizens, amongst whom was Anselm Adornes (Balstraat 2-12).

feature the arms of the carpenters, the masons and the barrel makers. All these reliefs were heavily restored during the 1960-61 reconditioning of the almshouses.

Strohm speculated that Donaes de Moor may also have commissioned the altarpiece on the high altar which he had donated.³⁹⁸ However, no archival proof has been found.³⁹⁹ Actually, the patronage of this altarpiece is one of the most problematic issues in the study of artistic patronage in St. James's. A number of authors believed that this painting was a *Deposition*, now lost but at the time considered to be one of the most important and influential works of Hugo van der Goes. Since the sixteenth century it has been repeatedly mentioned by such notable visitors to St. James's, as Dürer and Sanderus, but the references made to it in modern art historical literature are surprisingly rare.⁴⁰⁰

When Albrecht Dürer was traveling through Bruges, he wrote in his diary for 8 April 1521:

³⁹⁸ Strohm (as in n. 6), 57.

³⁹⁹ Nor the charters related to Donaes de Moor's foundations in RAB (see Rombauts (as in n. 383), 159-160, charters nos. 966-978), nor the De Moor cartularium recording these foundations preserved in the municipal archives (SAB, *Peltiers*, no.345, lias 45, cartularium, with *incipit* '*Desen bouck deden maken Donaes de Moer int jaer ons heeren m cccc ende lxx*' (Donaes de Moor had this book made in the year of our Lord 1470)), include any indication that he may have been the patron of this altarpiece.

⁴⁰⁰ The only author who dealt with this issue at some length is Rotsaert (as in n. 390), 122-135. Unfortunately, the confusing presentation of the evidence and especially the conclusions of this article, compromises the value of his contribution. Most modern authors were interested in identifying this lost work and in the numerous copies which are dispersed all over the world. Weale thought the fragment in Oxford, Christ Church, originated from the picture of St. James's (H. R., "Nos objets d'art," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, LVII (1907), 443-444.). This proposal was refuted by Destrée based on the Italian provenance of the Oxford fragment (Destrée (as in n. 361), 51-52). According to Winkler, the painting at St. James's could itself have been a copy (Winkler (as in n. 361), 1964, 127-129). I doubt this opinion, which would be incompatible with the great fame of the St. James's picture throughout the centuries. Friedländer (as in n. 361), IV, 72-73, no.23, restricted the discussion of this work to a list of copies. Duverger, Hoozee (as in n. 361), 51-52, quoted the main sources, and published them all *in extenso*. Rombauts (as in n. 383), 12-13, 31, quoted the article by Rotsaert without any criticism.

*Then they brought me to St. James's and showed the precious paintings of Rüdiger (sic) and Hugo. Both were great masters.*⁴⁰¹

The painting by this *Rüdiger*, no doubt Rogier van der Weyden, will be discussed later. Dürer gave no indication whatsoever about the iconography, or the exact location of the painting by Van der Goes. We only know that he was shown a painting by Hugo in the church, and can assume that it must have been an extremely important work, as he was shown only the artistic highlights in the city. Dürer and his guides had seen work by Van der Weyden in the ducal palace, and after their visit to St. James's, they went to admire Michelangelo's *Madonna* at Our Lady's. Dürer did not mention the large Moreel triptych by Hans Memling in St. James's.⁴⁰²

The importance of Hugo's work is confirmed again almost half a century later, by Marcus Van Vaernewijck in his *Historie van Belgis*:

*Item the city of Bruges is embellished not only in the churches but also in the houses by Master Hughen's (sic), Master Rogier's and the German Hans's paintings, which can bring great joy to the art lovers, notably because the treasure of Master Hughen's and of Rogier's art is in Bruges and especially the very best work by Master Hughe is to be seen in the church of St. James.*⁴⁰³

⁴⁰¹ "Darnach fürten sie mich gen S.Jacob und lieszen mich sehen die köstliche gemähle von Rüdiger und Hugo die sind beede grosz maister gewest." See J. Veth, S. Müller, *Albrechts Dürers Niederländische Reise*, I, Berlin, Utrecht, 1918, 77. For more general information on Dürer's visit to Bruges, see *Ibid.*, II, 113-117; J.A. Goris, G. Marlier, *Albrecht Dürer. Diary of His Journey to the Netherlands, 1520-1521*, London, Greenwich (Conn.), 1971, 86; *Albrecht Dürer aux Pays-Bas. Son voyage (1520-21), son influence*, [exh.cat.], Brussels, Paleis voor Schone Kunsten, 1977.

⁴⁰² On the Moreel triptych see further.

⁴⁰³ "Item die stad van Brugghe is verciert niet alleene in de kercken maer oock in die huysen van Meester Hughens, Meester Rogiers ende den Duytschen Hans schilderien dwelck de liefhebbers der conste een groote vreucht in bringhen can, zeggende dat te Brugghe den tresoor is van Meester Hughen ende Rogiers conste ende bysondere het alder beste werck van Meester Hughe is te ziene in Sinte Jacobs kercke;" see Marcus Van Vaernewijck, *Historie van Belgis die men*

In 1604, Van Mander wrote that there were many beautiful things in Bruges by the master, which he had not seen. Apparently he was more familiar with

*a panel, considered to be one of the most exceptional and very best works that he has ever made, in the church of St. James and it is an altarpiece, namely a Crucifixion, with the murderers, Mary, and other things, all done so lively and with such diligence, that not only common people, but also those minds knowledgeable in our Art should be greatly pleased by it.*⁴⁰⁴

Van Mander further stated that the painting was fortunately saved from the iconoclasts, but shortly later, during the protestant years (1578-1584), the painting was painted black and the Ten Commandments were written on it in golden letters. This was done by a painter, whose identity Van Mander refused to reveal

*for honor's sake, because someone who was himself one of the arts could wreck and destroy such an artistic and noble work, evidently causing harm and disgrace to Painting, who watched this happen with tears in her eyes.*⁴⁰⁵

Afterwards the painting was cleaned and, fortunately, it remained undamaged by the intervention.

anders namen mach: den Spieghel der Nederlantscher audtheyt (...), Ghent, 1568, fol. 132v (published by Duverger, Hoozee (as in n. 361), 79, doc. no. LIV).

⁴⁰⁴ "Noch is van desen constigen Meester (i.e., Hugo van der Goes), onder ander fraey dingen, die te Brugghe my onbekent moghen wesen, een Tafel, die men acht van zijn uytneemste en alderbeste werck te wesen dat hij oyt dede, in de Kercke van S. Jacobs te Brugghe ende is een Altaer-tafel, wesende een Crucifix, met de Moordenaers, Marie, en andere dinghen, dat welcke alles soo levendigh en met sulcken vlijt ghedaen is, dat het niet alleen t'ghemeen volck, maer alle verstandighe gheesten in onser Const grootlijck moet behagen." Carel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck (...)*, Haarlem, 1604, fol. 204 (published amongst others by Duverger, Hoozee (as in n. 361), 81, doc. no. LVII).

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

In 1624, Sanderus quoted Van Mander,⁴⁰⁶ but in his later work of 1641, *Flandria Illustrata*, he provided important new information:

*The paintings to be seen there (i.e. St. James's) (are) the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin, from the brush and hand of Pourbus, the Baptism of Christ for Joannes Baptista Agnelli from Italy buried there, the Deposition of Christ on the high altar, the Coronation of the Virgin, the Stigmatization of St. Francis.*⁴⁰⁷

Here, for the first time, the painting on the high altar is identified as a *Deposition*. Since this corroborates a number of later descriptions, which identify this *Deposition* as the work of Hugo, one may conclude that Van Mander's earlier identification of the subject as a *Crucifixion* was inaccurate. Moreover, at last we learn that the painting was placed on the high altar, or more precisely, that it was there some time before 1641 when Sanderus saw it.

Important information on the painting was given by Joannes Baccius (Jan Bacx), priest of St. James's between 1623 and 1662:

Hugo Vande Goest, the famous painter, has made the painting of the deposition of Christ from the Cross, which is now the altarpiece of the high altar of the church of St. James's in Bruges, which was given to the church by sir Jacob Byese, who has done much favors to the same church. The same Hugo Vander Goest was a pupil of master Jan van Eyck, the very famous painter, who was the first to

⁴⁰⁶ "Brugis in Ecclesia S.Jacobi imago Crucifixi, etc..." A. Sanderus, *De Brugensibus Eruditionis Fama claris Libri duo*, Antwerp, 1624, 39-40.

⁴⁰⁷ "Picturae visuntur septem Virginis dolores a penicillo manuque Pourbussi, Baptismus Christi per Joannem Baptistam Agnelli Italum ibi sepultum, Depositio Christi é cruce in maxima altari, Coronatio Virginis Matris, Impressio stigmatum D. Francisci." A. Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata*, I, Cologne, 1641, 230. For the painting by Pourbus, see P. Huverne, *Pieter Pourbus, meester-schilder 1524-1584*, [exh.cat.] Bruges, 1984, 154-159; for the painting for Agnelli, see further. The *Coronation of the Virgin* was identified by Rotsaert as a painting by Albert Cornelis (Rotsaert (as in n. 390), 125), the painting of St. Francis is the *Deipara Virgo* (still in St. James's); for the latter painting see Vermeersch (as in n. 302), 286-289, pl. 338-339.

*invent oil painting. He flourished during the time of the Emperor Maximilian.*⁴⁰⁸

From the phrasing "*which is NOW the altarpiece of the high altar.*" one may infer that the painting had not always been there, and probably that it was placed there only at the time when Baccius made his notes. As the document is not dated, it is impossible to stipulate this more accurately than sometime while the priest was in office, *i.e.*, 1623-62. The information that Hugo van der Goes was a pupil of Van Eyck, and that he lived during the time of Maximilian is probably derived from Van Mander. The most remarkable information provided by Baccius is, no doubt, "*which was given to the church by sir Jacob Byese, who has done much favors to the same church.*" One should treat this source with great caution. This crucial piece of information is ambiguous: what was given by Jacob Biese according to Baccius? Was it "*the ALTARPIECE of the high altar of the church of St. James's*" or was it "*the HIGH ALTAR of the church of St. James's?*" It cannot be inferred from the document what the priest meant. If Baccius meant to say that the altar itself was donated by Biese, he clearly made a mistake. As stated earlier, the altar was a gift from Donaes de Moor, whose coat of arms figured on it. Baccius could have easily identified these arms by comparing it to the coat of arms on De Moor's sepulchre in front of the altar. However, precisely here he may have been confused: Jacob Biese, Sr. was also buried there.⁴⁰⁹ He could have mixed up the coats of arms of the two persons whose sepulchre was placed in front of the high altar.

Although this may seem to be a far-fetched interpretation, one wonders how this man knew the identity of the donor, more than a

⁴⁰⁸ cf. doc. 163 in appendix. The contents of his document were first revealed by James Weale in a letter to the editor of the *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, without any reference to the original source; see H. R. (as in n. 400), 443-444. Rotsaert (as in n. 390), 126, was the first to publish this document. The author stated that this document was a single leaf, which he found among miscellaneous papers of the church. He gave no further reference. Since the present inventory of the St. James's archives at RAB does not mention such a bundle, the document is probably lost.

⁴⁰⁹ see further.

hundred and fifty years after both the painting and the altar were made, and also why he was the first to mention it.

Of course there is another possibility: Baccius wanted to say that the painting by Van der Goes was given by Jacob Biese, one of the great benefactors of the church. Possibly he may have had access to archives that are now lost, but from which he was able to infer this information. One should not exclude that the priest may have been mistaken, or that he may have had a personal interest in attributing the donation of the important painting to Jacob Biese. Nevertheless, there exists more evidence to believe that priest Baccius was indeed right.⁴¹⁰

In a document of 1472, the heirs of Jacob Biese, Sr., approved transfer of their forefather's sepulchre from the original Biese chapel --which was demolished c. 1470 in the remodeling of the church-- to a place below the steps of the high altar.⁴¹¹ The altar of Saint John and Saint Ivo in the Biese chapel was moved to the side wall behind the high choir. Two panel paintings, given by the Biese family, are mentioned with it in the document. The paintings were first cleaned and restored.⁴¹² One of them was treated in the workshop of a conservator.⁴¹³ In 1474, the footing of the panel on the Biese altar was reinforced by means of one medium-sized and two large carpenter's squares.⁴¹⁴ During the same year the high altarpiece was also

⁴¹⁰ It was apparently correct that Jacob Biese, Sr., had "*done much favors to the same church.*" In a 1526 inventory of jewels at St. James's, drafted by Guillebeert Masereel, sexton of the church, a considerable number of ecclesiastic vestments decorated with Jacob Biese's coat of arms are listed, cf. Rotsaert (as in n. 390), 127.

⁴¹¹ see doc. 106 and 107 in appendix.

⁴¹² see doc. 111 in appendix.

⁴¹³ A couple of laborers were paid to get the painting at the artist's studio, see doc. 111 in appendix.

⁴¹⁴ see doc. 118 in appendix. The number of carpenter's squares used to reinforce the anchorage of this painting suggest that it must have been a work of fairly large dimensions. Also the fact that a number of laborers were paid for their assistance in getting it at the conservator's workshop suggest this.

moved behind the choir and reinforced. In the payment document, this latter painting is called "*the panel of Our Lady*."⁴¹⁵

Firmly convinced that one of these Biese panels was Hugo van der Goes's *Deposition*, Rotsaert speculated that both paintings were placed on the high altar, and both fit into one frame.⁴¹⁶ As 'ultimate' proof of his hypothesis he referred to the altarpiece shown on the painting in the Devonshire Collection (Pl. 52), which he saw as the actual representation of this "double triptych," as he called it.

This hypothesis is unacceptable. First of all, the altarpiece shown in the Devonshire picture is clearly a triptych with a predella. Although its iconography is difficult to identify, neither the main panel, nor the predella is a *Deposition*. Perhaps it is typologically related to the main scene of the painting, the *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*. Insofar as something can be said of the stylistic characteristics of the represented altarpiece, its composition is anything but typical of a fifteenth century painting. The movement and the rather broad gestures of the figures look more contemporary to the actual painting itself, which can be dated c. 1520. Probably this altarpiece is imaginary. It is naive to suppose that everything in this painting would correspond to the real situation c. 1520, merely because the architecture is a rather faithful representation of the church of St. James at that time. Furthermore there are no reasons to believe that one of the Biese paintings which were moved in 1472 was necessarily Hugo's *Deposition*. We know that both paintings were cleaned and restored in 1472. This conservation probably had to be done most likely because the paintings had been covered with dirt and dust during the construction at St. James's, which began in 1457. It would be surprising to discover that the paintings had been installed during construction. As a comparison, there was not one foundation at St. James's between 1458 and 1467, *i.e.* during the major time of the construction, which must have seriously hampered the daily

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁶ Rotsaert (as in n. 390), 129. Actually he got this idea from Duclos (as in n. 156), 1913, 482. Rotsaert believed also that the second Biese panel was Rogier van der Weyden's *St. John the Baptist altarpiece*.

ecclesiastic routine in the church.⁴¹⁷ If this reasoning corresponds to reality, one may conclude that Hugo van der Goes had probably nothing to do with either one of the two Biese panels that were already restored in 1472. Van der Goes became a free master in the Ghent painters' corporation only on 5 May 1467.⁴¹⁸ This date means that he could not have executed works which were installed before the construction works at St. James's began, *i.e.*, at least ten years earlier.

Baccius, notwithstanding all the objections made here, nevertheless claimed that Jacob Biese was the patron of Hugo van der Goes's *Deposition*. The priest must have meant Jacob Pauwelszoon Biese, who died in 1528.⁴¹⁹ He may have commissioned the painting from the Ghent master between 1472, *i.e.*, the end of the construction on the choir side of the church, and 1482, the year Hugo died.

Evidently, Hugo's painting was not immediately placed on the high altar. As just mentioned, an altarpiece dedicated to the Virgin adorned the high altar in 1474. Probably Van der Goes's painting was moved to the high altar only in the first half of the seventeenth century, shortly before Baccius mentioned it. Rotsaert claimed that the work was probably sold in 1667, when the new Baroque altar was put in place.⁴²⁰ Again, this statement is not correct, because at some unknown time the painting was moved to a place above the door of the church wardens' room, where J.P. Van Maele saw it between 1713-23.⁴²¹ Passavant was probably one of the last of the

⁴¹⁷ Rombauts (as in n. 383), 155-156.

⁴¹⁸ V. Van Der Haeghen, *Mémoire sur des documents faux relatifs aux peintres, sculpteurs et graveurs flamands*, Brussels, 1899, 56-57, n. 3; Duverger, Hoozee (as in n. 361), 61-62, doc. no. II.

⁴¹⁹ Also Weale interpreted apparently Baccius's statement this way. Jacob Pauwelszoon was the great-grandson of Jacob Biese, Sr.

⁴²⁰ Rotsaert (as in n. 390), 131.

⁴²¹ J.P. Van Maele, *Prael-Thoneel van de vermaarde en geleerde Bruggelingen*, Brugge, 1713-23, fol. 100 (Private Collection); published by Duverger, Hoozee (as in n. 361), 83, doc. no. LXIII.

later authors who admired the painting in the church. In his *Kunstreise durch England und Belgien* of 1833, he mentioned Hugo's picture among the treasures of St. James's, but doubted the attribution.⁴²² The Bruges historian Gailliard wrote in 1843 that the famous painting was no longer in the church.⁴²³

During his visit to St. James's, Dürer saw also a painting by Rogier van der Weyden, but did not mention its subject.⁴²⁴ Weale reported in his *Bruges et ses Environs* that there had been a painting by Rogier van der Weyden in St. James's which represented the *Life of St. John the Baptist*. According to Weale it had been donated to the church in 1476 by Baptiste del Agnelli, merchant from Pisa.⁴²⁵ Winkler, Friedländer, Panofsky, and Davies, to name only a few later Van der Weyden scholars, accepted took claim, but were frustrated that Weale had neglected to refer properly to a source for it.⁴²⁶ All of them related the Agnelli gift to Rogier's famous *St.*

⁴²² J. Passavant, *Kunstreise durch England und Belgien*, Frankfurt, 1833, 366. Many later authors simply quoted Van Mander, see for instance J. Von Sandrart, *Teutsche Academie der edlen Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste*, 1675 (ed. A. R. Peltzer, Munich, 1925, 56); J.-B. Descamps, *La vie des peintres flamands, allemands et hollandois, avec des portraits gravés (...)*, I, Paris, 1753, 8-9; *Id.*, *Voyage pittoresque de la Flandre et du Brabant (...)*, Paris, 1769, 284. The latter author calls the painting "*dur et sec*," but finds that "*il y a cependant quelques têtes avec de la vérité et assez belles*." This is again quoted by P. Beaucourt de Noortvelde, SBB, ms. 460, fol. 97. P.A. Baert, *Oeuvres d'art à Tournai, Courtrai, Bruges, Gand, Ypres, Valenciennes etc.*, 1781 (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. II 9225) quotes again Sanderus (see Duverger, Hoozee (as in n. 361), 79, doc. no. LXXIV). P.F. Le Doulx (as in n. 251), fol. 9, admires the expressiveness of the picture and quotes again Van Mander (see Duverger, Hoozee (as in n. 361), 79, doc. no. LXXVII).

⁴²³ Gailliard (as in n. 183), 251.

⁴²⁴ cf. supra, n. 401.

⁴²⁵ Weale (as in n. 206), 3rd ed., 1875, 149, n. 4.

⁴²⁶ F. Winkler, *Der Meister von Flémalle und Rogier van der Weyden*, Strasbourg, 1913, 158, 183; M.J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting, II: Rogier van der Weyden and the Master of Flémalle*, (comments and notes by N. Veronée-Verhaegen), Brussels, Leiden, 1967, 30, 77, 91, no.2; Panofsky (as in n. 91), 278-2; M. Davies, *Rogier van der Weyden*, London,

John the Baptist Altarpiece (Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz) or to the copy produced in Rogier's studio (Frankfort, Städelsches Kunstinstitut) (Pl. 55).⁴²⁷

Surprisingly all these prominent scholars overlooked Sanderus's reference to Agnelli's donation. In 1641, Sanderus listed not only Van der

1972, 200. Weale's information was also repeated by Duclos (as in n. 156), 482; T. Musper, *Untersuchungen zu Rogier van der Weyden und Jan van Eyck*, Stuttgart, 1948, 54, pl. 78-81; Van Puyvelde, *Les Primitifs flamands*, Brussels, 1979, 26, pl. 41 (who mentions the donor's name as *Aquelli*); Folie (as in n. 250), 212; *Catalogue of Paintings, Picture Gallery Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin*, Berlin, 1978, 481; D. Hollanders-Favart, R. Van Schoute (ed.), *Le dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture, Colloque III: le problème Maître de Flémalle - van der Weyden*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1981, 108-111. P. Klein, "Dendrochronologische Untersuchungen an Eichenholztafeln von Rogier van der Weyden," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, n.s. XXIII (1981), 113-125; B.G. Lane, "Rogier's Saint John and Miraflores Altarpieces Reconsidered," *The Art Bulletin*, LX (1978), 655-672; A.S. Fuchs, *Rogier van der Weyden's St. John and Miraflores Altarpieces in Context (Studies in Iconography, VI)*, Highland Heights, 1980, 53-71; R. Grosshans, "Infrarotuntersuchungen zum Studium der Unterzeichnung auf den Berliner Altären von Rogier van der Weyden," *Jahrbuch Preußischen Kulturbesitz*, XIX (1983), 137-177.

⁴²⁷ Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, inv. 534B; oil and tempera on panel, each panel 77 x 48. Frankfort, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, inv. 878; oil and tempera on panel, 44.5 x 27.7 (left), 45.2 x 28 (center), 45.1 x 28 (right). The left panel of the Frankfurt panels was bought by the Städelsches Kunstinstitut of Frankfurt in 1840 from the art dealer F. Benucci. The two other panels were bought from the same dealer one year later. See *Städelsches Kunstinstitut. Verzeichnis der Gemälde aus dem Besitz des städelschen Kunstinstituts und der Stadt Frankfurt*, Frankfurt, 1966, 129. Panofsky (as in n. 91), 278, stated that Weale's information could refer to either one of the two paintings. In *Catalogue of Paintings, Picture Gallery Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin*, Berlin, 1978, 481, it is related to the Frankfort version only. Rotsaert (as in n. 390), ignored the existence of the paintings in Berlin and Frankfurt. By insisting that Van der Weyden's painting was represented on the picture in the Duke of Devonshire Collection (cf. supra), he demonstrated that he was not familiar with the basic characteristics of Rogier's style. Rotsaert claimed that Rogier's painting could not be anything else than one of the two paintings in the Biese chapel, amply discussed above. This fantasy is quoted by Rombauts without a minimum of critical rebuttal, although he admits that the *St. John Altarpiece* may as well have been donated by Agnelli (see Rombauts (as in n. 383), 12, 30-31). In this context Rombauts refers to the Berlin picture, but ignores the existence of the Frankfurt copy.

Goes's *Deposition*, but also a number of other paintings in St. James's, including "*the Baptism of Christ for Joannes Baptista Agnelli from Italy, buried there.*"⁴²⁸

Weale may have been acquainted with this reference, he was more likely to have been familiar with Le Doulx's rather substantial discussion of Van der Weyden's painting at St. James's.⁴²⁹ This late-eighteenth century connoisseur noted in his manuscript on the biographies of Bruges artists that the painting was a triptych, with the *Baptism of Christ* on the central panel, and the *Decapitation of St. John* and *Salome with the Head of St. John* on the wings. The last panel also showed how Salome's mother pierced the tongue of the saint with a needle. Le Doulx stated that the painting had been commissioned by the Italian Joannes Baptista Agnelli, who was buried in the church and whose coat of arms figured on one of the wings. He mentioned that the painting was removed from the church in the early 1790s, and that the wings were sold in the city hall. Le Doulx copied this information from a source which remains unknown to us.⁴³⁰

Perhaps the Bruges archivist Gailliard used this same source for his discussion of the Agnelli altarpiece in his 1847 book *Ephémérides brugeoises*, in which he provided about the same information.⁴³¹ Like Le Doulx, he

⁴²⁸ cf. supra n. 407.

⁴²⁹ Cf. doc. 164 in appendix.

⁴³⁰ He inserted this note after his manuscript was finished, but before it was bound. He clearly copied the information from another source, as he was unable to decipher the name of Agnelli's wife, and left a lacuna at this place of the text. It is also remarkable that he did not know when exactly the shutters were sold, although the sale had taken place fairly recently before he wrote his manuscript.

⁴³¹ Gailliard (as in n. 183), 251: "*Ajoutons à tous ces tableaux un triptyque de grande valeur, représentant 'le baptême du Christ'. Sur l'un des volets, le peintre avait représenté 'la décollation de St-Jean' et sur l'autre: 'Hérodiade perçant avec une épingle la langue du saint dont la tête, déposée sur la table, paraissait dans une vase'. C'est au pinceau de Roger de Bruges qu'on devait cette belle composition où l'on pouvait lire les mots suivants tracés en lettres gothiques: 'cet object d'art a été exécuté par ordre de M. Jean Agnelli, né en Italie.' Les armoiries du donateur se trouvaient sur les volets, qui furent vendus publiquement dans une salle de vente, vers la fin du dernier siècle.*" The words "*cet object d'art*" and the reference "*Monsieur Jean Agnelli*" are

attributed the painting to *Roger de Bruges* (sic), and further quoted an inscription on the frame, clearly in a rather free French translation.⁴³² In other words, the donor's identity was revealed not only by his coat of arms on one of the wings, but also in an inscription.

In comparison with both versions of the *St. John Altarpiece* in Berlin and Frankfurt, it is noteworthy that one panel of the painting in St. James's had a different iconography. Not the *Birth and Naming of St. John the Baptist* was shown but *Salome with the Head of St. John* and *Salome's Mother Piercing the Saint's Tongue*, a cruel scene which appears in the Berlin and Frankfurt versions only in the background of the right wing.

In addition to the information given by Gailliard and Le Doulx, Weale must have known at least one other source, as he dated Agnelli's donation in 1476, and referred to the donor by his Italian name, instead of its French equivalent. He may have been familiar with an act of 1 February 1477 (n.s.), and possibly neglected to convert the Easter style of the date in this document.⁴³³ In this act the pastor and church wardens of St. James's granted to *Baptiste de Langnello* (sic) and his wife, Yeven Wyshinc, the permission to install an altar and a sepulchre at the northwest side of the church. By granting this permission, the board expressed its gratitude for Baptiste's financial contribution for the remodeling of the church. The donors promised to elect a chaplain from the choir of the church for all the services at their altar, and to endow an annual mass. They also promised to supply the altar, which they dedicated to St. John the Baptist, with "*ornaments, a painting, cloths, curtains, chalices, books and wax candles.*" Indeed, when Agnelli transferred his altar to the corporation of the chair and candlemakers in 1486, a painting was again explicitly mentioned amongst

completely foreign to fifteenth century phrasing, and typical for the bourgeois mentality of the nineteenth century.

⁴³² For the confusion about the identity of Rogier van der Weyden before and during the nineteenth century, see Davies (as in n. 427), 5-6.

⁴³³ see doc. 156 in appendix. I include a copy of this document in a charter of 3 December 1486.

the valuables belonging to it.⁴³⁴ Baptiste del Agnelli was buried in front of this altar in 1494. One can extrapolate from these documents that by the beginning of 1477 Agnelli had the intention to commission a painting for his altar in St. James's, and perhaps he had already commissioned it by that time. Anyway, the painting was certainly installed in 1486.

Although the subject of this painting is not mentioned in the documents, all factual evidence suggests that the painting referred to must be the same as the one mentioned by Sanderus, Le Doulx and Gailliard, *i.e.*, a version of the *St. John the Baptist Altarpiece*. The date 1477 excludes the possibility that Rogier van der Weyden himself could have had something to do with this commission, as he died in 1464. Thus the painting in Berlin, which is generally considered as a work by the master himself, cannot be identified as the one made for Baptiste del Agnelli.

Nor does the other known version in Frankfurt qualify. Recent dendrochronological research has shown that the earliest possible felling date of the tree from which the Frankfurt panels were taken, was 1499.⁴³⁵ Therefore, neither can the copy in Frankfurt be identified as the painting that once hang in St. James's.

Le Doulx stated that the central panel was destroyed and the wings of the Agnelli painting were sold in the early 1790s.⁴³⁶ In other words, two wings of a third hitherto undiscovered version of Rogier's *St. John the Baptist Altarpiece*, made by his studio for Baptiste del Agnelli between 1477 and

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁵ P. Klein, "Dendrochronologische Untersuchungen an Bildtafeln des 15. Jahrhunderts," in R. Van Schoute (ed.), *Le dessin sous-jacent dans la peinture. Colloques VI, 1985*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1987. I am grateful to Dr. Klein, University of Hamburg, for discussing this issue with me.

⁴³⁶ Cf. *supra*. In the charter by which the corporation of the chair and candlemakers transferred the chapel to the church in 1705 (see Rombauts (as in n. 383), inv. no. 530), some unspecified paintings are mentioned. The Agnelli panels must have figured among these. It is remarkable that Descamps neglected to mention the paintings in his *Voyage pittoresque* of 1769; see Descamps (as in n. 422).

1486, may have been preserved, possibly dispersed in two collections. This painting had a frame with an inscription and the del Agnelli coat of arms.⁴³⁷

Another prominent patron of the church of St. James's was Willem Moreel, a wealthy Bruges landowner, merchant grocer, famous politician, and notable opponent of the French and of Archduke Maximilian.⁴³⁸ He inherited the title of Lord of Oostkleigem from his father, and became Viscount of Roeselare. The highlights of his political career included the offices of alderman of the city, which he held in 1472 and 1475, mayor in 1478 and 1483, bailiff in 1488 and treasurer in 1489. Owing to his political opposition to the Archduke, he was imprisoned from October 1481 until March of the following year. This punishment was not enough to diminish Maximilian's anger against Willem. In 1485, the Archduke refused to grant him amnesty. In 1490, Moreel paid £33 6s 8d gr of tax toward the fine imposed on the community as a result of the Treaty of Bruges, which indicates that he was one of the forty wealthiest citizens of Bruges at that time.

Willem Moreel was married to Barbara van Vlaenderberghe, also known as Van Hertsvelde,⁴³⁹ who gave him no less than eighteen children: five sons and thirteen daughters. He died in 1501, only two years later than his wife.

Willem and his wife founded at St. James's an altar which they dedicated to SS Maur and Giles. The official act issued by the pastor and church wardens of St. James's in which the permission for the foundation of this altar is given is dated "*This was done in the year of Our Lord thousand*

⁴³⁷ The Frankfurt copy is mounted in a modern frame, and does not show any traces of an inscription. I am grateful to Dr. J. Sander, Curator of the Paintings Dept., Städtisches Kunstinstitut, for confirming this information.

⁴³⁸ On Willem Moreel's biography see especially W.H.J. Weale, "Généalogie de la Famille Moreel," *Le Beffroi*, II (1864-65), 181-182; Rombauts (as in n. 383), 27.

⁴³⁹ And not Herftvelde (sic), as in S.N. Blum, *Early Netherlandish Triptychs. A Study on Patronage*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1969, 98.

four hundred and eighty-four, on the 20th day in March."⁴⁴⁰ It is remarkable that hitherto no one has taken the Easter style of this date into consideration. The document indeed should be dated 20 March 1485 (n.s.).⁴⁴¹ The conditions listed in this act are very similar to those of the Agnelli foundation. The Moreel family was granted a space in the church to the south of the choir screen, along the south wall, and ending at the south entrance. This space was about 34 ft long and 9 ft wide. They were allowed to found an altar dedicated to the confessors SS Giles and Maur, and received the concession for two sepulchres in front of this altar. The space could not be closed off by an altar rail or a wall, and the tombs had to be flat floor monuments. Furthermore, they were allowed to install a bench, but it was not to hamper free movement in that part of the church. As usual, Moreel promised to maintain the altar and to supply it with

*ornaments, cloths, curtains, a chalice, a book and further to illuminate and decorate it on feasts, as other altars in the said church have to be illuminated and decorated.*⁴⁴²

⁴⁴⁰ "Dit was ghedaen int jaer ons heeren duyst vier hondert vierentachtich op den xx^{en} dach in Maerte," RAB, *Oud Kerkarchief, St. Jacobs*, no. 237: *Commun, algemeen: Register met resoluties, benoemingen, borgstellingen, kopieën van akten van fundaties, etc.*, 1480-1564, fol. 35-35v (17th century copy of lost original); published by Weale (as in n. 438), 185-186, n. 70, and by A. Janssens de Bisthoven, *Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeningemuseum). Brugge (De Vlaamse Primitieven, I. Corpus van de vijftiende-eeuwse schilderkunst in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, 1)*, I, (first ed.), Antwerp, 1957, 100-101.

⁴⁴¹ As Easter was celebrated in 1485 on 3 April, see E.I. Strubbe, L. Voet, *De Chronologie van de Middeleeuwen en de Moderne Tijden in de Nederlanden*, Antwerp, Amsterdam, 1960, 127.

⁴⁴² "Ornamenten, dwalen, gordynen, kelc, bouck, ende ooc ghelicht ende verchiert ten hooghen tyden, ghelyc anderen autieren in der voorschreven kerke moeten verlicht ende verciert staen;" Weale (as in n. 438), 186, n. 70.

Willem Moreel and his wife committed themselves to endow an annual mass each.⁴⁴³ However, they did not keep their promise. When Barbara died in 1499 and Willem in 1501, they both were buried outside the church on the graveyard. Only after their son, Jan, endowed two masses in 1504, was he granted permission to have the corpses of his parents transferred from the graveyard to the church.⁴⁴⁴ As happened often with private foundations, the usage of the Moreel altar was transferred to a guild in compensation for its perpetual maintenance.⁴⁴⁵ It was the guild of the *tauwers*, or the associated assistants of the furriers specialized in processing grey fur, who accepted this responsibility.⁴⁴⁶ Therefore, the altar of SS Giles and Maur was also commonly known as the *St. Moor-chapel* or *Tauwers-chapel*. The transferral of the altar's maintenance did not refrain other members of the Moreel family from making additional foundations at their altar at St. James's.⁴⁴⁷

In 1484, Willem and Barbara commissioned a large triptych from Hans Memling for their altar. This painting, which fortunately has been preserved (Bruges, Groeningemuseum), represents St. Christopher carrying the Christ Child, flanked at the left by St. Maur, and at the right by St. Giles (Pl. 56).⁴⁴⁸ On the left wing, Willem Moreel, accompanied by his

⁴⁴³ As usual, they also had to choose a chaplain from the church's *communitas chori* to service their altar. At their death, Moreel's heirs had to pay each time for 45 pounds of wax, *i.e.*, 30 at the funeral, and 15 at the first annual mass; see *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 182, n. 36-37.

⁴⁴⁵ The charter of transferral of altar to the *tauwers* corporation is lost. It can only be deduced from later (sixteenth-century) documents; see Rombauts (as in n. 383), 27, n. 4.

⁴⁴⁶ Rombauts (as in n. 383), 27.

⁴⁴⁷ Weale (as in n. 438), 192-196; Rombauts (as in n. 383), 27.

⁴⁴⁸ Bruges, Groeningemuseum, inv. 0.91; oil and tempera on panel, 141 x 86.9 (left), 141 x 174 (central panel), 140.8 x 86.8 (right)(frame included). On this painting see Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 440), 92-106, pl. CXCVII-CCXXXVII; D. De Vos, *Groeningemuseum Brugge. De volledige verzameling*, 2nd ed. Bruges, 1984, 159-162 (with full bibliography). It should be noted that this painting was probably brought to St. Julian's hospital to hide it

five sons, is introduced by his patron saint St. William of Maleval (Pl. 57). The right wing shows Barbara van Vlaenderberghe, with eleven daughters and her patron saint (Pl. 59). The figures are placed in a wide landscape with a dramatic, cloudy sky, continuing over the three panels. On the exterior of the wings are two *grisaille* paintings, St. John the Baptist on the left, and St. Georges killing the dragon on the right (Pl. 61-62). The central panel bears on the bottom of the frame the inscription *ANNO D[OMI]N[II] 1484*. The year 1484 is repeated on both wings.⁴⁴⁹ This date is not in contradiction with the foundation charter of the altar, which should be dated 20 March 1485, as explained above. Apparently, official charters of this sort were often issued after a foundation had taken place.⁴⁵⁰ Remarkably, the painting is not listed among the objects that Moreel and his wife promised to provide.⁴⁵¹

The identification of the donors was first suggested by Weale,⁴⁵² based on the obvious similarity between the portraits on the triptych and the independent portraits of Willem Moreel and Barbara van Vlaenderberghe (Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van

from the iconoclasts in 1578. It stayed there until it was confiscated by the French in 1794, and restored to the Bruges Academy in 1816. For these details of the provenance, see Weale (as in n. 438), 185-6; J. Geldhof, *Pelgrims, dulle lieden en vondelingen te Brugge, 1275-1975*, Bruges, 1975, 60-61, 95.

⁴⁴⁹ These inscriptions were probably retraced after the original ones had faded. According to Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 440), 97, the original inscriptions most likely included Memling's name, in a similar fashion as on the St. John Altarpiece, the Floreins triptych and the Adriaen Reins triptych (all Bruges, St. John's hospital). This may be inferred from the correct attribution to Memling in an anonymous manuscript of 1751 (*Beschryvinge van de gedenckweirdigste Schilderyen (...)*, Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, ms. 456, fol. 159; see Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 440), 102, doc. 5.) The attribution to Memling has since then never been doubted, except by K. Voll, *Memling. Des Meisters Gemälde*, Stuttgart, Leipzig, 1909, XXX-XXXI, who suspected the collaboration of workshop assistants.

⁴⁵⁰ See n. 386.

⁴⁵¹ See n. 442.

⁴⁵² Weale (as in n. 438), 189-192.

België), also painted by Hans Memling (Pl. 63-64).⁴⁵³ In these portraits the sitters are indisputably identified by their coats of arms and their names on the backs of the panels.⁴⁵⁴

Some elements in the painting correspond to known biographical facts: for instance, the couple had sixteen children by 1484 (two others were born later). Moreel's personal acquaintance with Hans Memling is corroborated by the fact that both men were members of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Snow at Our Lady's.⁴⁵⁵

While the identity of the donors is certain, that of the children represented on the triptych is problematic. Weale reconstructed the genealogical tree of the Moreel family, although most dates of birth of the Moreel children are missing.⁴⁵⁶ Therefore, the sequence in which they were born cannot be established. Only the eldest son, Willem, and the eldest daughter, who entered a Dominican nunnery, but whose first name is unknown, can be identified. According to Weale, the second daughter was called Maria.⁴⁵⁷ The author believed she was also portrayed by Memling in the so-called *Sybil of Sambetha* of 1480 (Bruges, St. John's hospital)(Pl. 65).⁴⁵⁸ Whom did he had in mind when he referred to this second daughter? It

⁴⁵³ Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, inv. 292-293; oil and tempera on panel, each 37 x 27.

⁴⁵⁴ On the reverse of the male portrait figure Willem Moreel's coat of arms: *quarterly, 1 and 4, or, on a chevron engrailed between three Moors' heads coupé sable and wreathed argent a chevronnel of the third, Moreel, and the inscription Arma / Guillermi Moreel; on the reverse of Barbara's portrait, her arms: per pale, I as above; II quarterly, 1 and 4 argent, a cross potent sable, in chief a label of three points gules, 2 and 3, vert, a cross bottonny fitchy or, on a chief argent, three pallets sable, within a bordure, Van Vlaenderberghe, and under her arms, Arma Domicelle / Barbare de Vlaenderberch / Alias de herstvelde / Uxoris Guillermi.*

⁴⁵⁵ Schouteet (as in n. 267), 83.

⁴⁵⁶ Weale (as in n. 438), 182-185. Only two children's birth dates are known: Catharina, c. 1478 and Maria II, c. 1489. see also Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 440), 95.

⁴⁵⁷ Weale (as in n. 438), 189.

⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 189-192.

must be the girl with the veil and the light brown dress, who is presented as the second daughter, as she is kneeling just beside the nun, and is thus taking in the most prominent position after her mother and her eldest sister. Whether this girl is indeed the person represented in the 1480 portrait is highly questionable. Janssens de Bisthoven was the first to note an inscription embroidered on the hair ribbon of another daughter, reading 'MARIA'.⁴⁵⁹ This girl's face is half-covered by the head of the nun, just in front of her (Pl. 60). It seems probable that she was called Maria, instead of one of her elder sisters. But why is this girl, almost imperceptible within the large group of daughters, the only one who is identified with a 'name-tag'? A glance at the genealogical tree of the Moreel family indicates that Willem and Barbara had two daughters by the name of Maria, the second one of whom was born c. 1489. It is still an eerie custom in Flanders to give the name of a deceased child to another child born at a later time. In other words, the first Maria died before her younger sister was born. Probably, she had already "departed from this world" --as one finds it so often poetically described in contemporary documents-- by the time Memling painted the family group in 1484. Therefore, she was especially identified by name in the picture.⁴⁶⁰

The identification of the Moreel sons is also problematic. Although the oldest, Willem, can be identified, the others, Jan, Joris, Bernard and Antoon, cannot be, since their birth dates are not known, and consequently, the sequence in which they were born is also unknown. Moreover, the X-ray of the painting, reveals heavy compositional changes in this area (Pl. 58). Janssens de Bisthoven interpreted these *pentimenti* as follows: a head in the middle of the group has disappeared, while the boy in the middle of

⁴⁵⁹ Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 440), 96.

⁴⁶⁰ Weale (as in n. 438), 184, claimed that the first Maria was married to Willem Ganteline, with whom she had three sons and two daughters, and that she became a widow in 1528. About the second Maria he wrote that she was born c. 1489, and that she entered the cloister of St. Margaret *ten Groenen Briel* at Ghent in 1531, where she died on 19 April 1549 (*Ibid.*, 185). In the light of what has been discussed above, this data must be interpreted anew. Most likely, they are all related to the second Maria: after her marriage with Willem Ganteline, she retired to the cloister at Ghent, and died there.

the back row with the three youngest sons was added after this intervention.⁴⁶¹ In other words, an older figure was replaced by a younger one. The author admitted that he could not offer an explanation. De Vos interpreted it differently, and did offer an acceptable clarification. According to the Bruges curator, a son born during the execution of the altarpiece (*i.e.*, the one in the middle of the back row) necessitated the compositional change: he was added, while the second son had to be moved more toward the left.⁴⁶² Considering the apparant age of the young boy in the portrait, I would like to suggest that Memling may have made this change a couple of years after the painting had been finished, and at a time the boy was already two or three years old.

Blum pointed out that the manner of representing the saints as 'static cult images' on the central panel of a triptych, instead of a Madonna or a Christ image, implies an iconographical novelty, with the *Hippolytus Altarpiece* at St. Savior's as its only precedent.⁴⁶³ The reason for Hippolyte de Berthoz's veneration of his patron saint is as obvious as the presence of SS Christopher, Giles and Maur is obscure. SS William of Maleval, founder of the order of the Guillaumites (or Order of the Hermits of St. William), and Barbara act as patron saints and personal intercessors for the donors.

Blum offered an acceptable interpretation for the presence of St. Maur.⁴⁶⁴ She noted the etymological relationship between the name of the

⁴⁶¹ Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 440), 93.

⁴⁶² De Vos (as in n. 448), 161-162.

⁴⁶³ Blum (as in n. 439), 100.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 101. Some authors considered a drawing in the Louvre as a preparatory study for the head of St. Maur; see Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 440), 99. This drawing is Paris, Louvre, inv. 20.053; tempera and water-color on reddish tinted paper; 221 x 168 mm; see F. Lugt, *Musée du Louvre. Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du nord. Maîtres des anciens Pays-bas nés avant 1550*, Paris, 1968, 14, no. 38. Neither De Vos (as in n. 448), 161, nor Lugt accepted this attribution. The latter author stated it was rather a study for the head of St. Joseph in Memling's early *Adoration of the Magi* (Madrid, Prado). I consider this drawing to be a typical product that was repeatedly used in the workshop. I believe it was used, be it with the necessary changes, both for the head of St. Maur and for the head of St. Joseph in Madrid.

saint, *Maur*, and the root of the family name *Mor-eel*, both derived from the Latin *Maurus* (in Middle-Netherlandish: *Moor*), meaning Moor, Arab. The three Moors' heads in the Moreel coat of arms corroborate this hypothesis.⁴⁶⁵ De Vos presented a similar explanation for the devotion of the family to St. Giles.⁴⁶⁶ This saint's attribute, a hind or female stag (in Dutch: *hert*) is most likely an allusion to Barbara's family, Van Vlaenderberghe, said van *Hertsvelde*.⁴⁶⁷ In other words, SS William and Maur, certainly not by coincidence placed on the same side of the picture, allude to the first and last name of the male donor, Willem Moreel. SS Barbara and Giles, from their side, refer to Barbara van Hertsvelde.⁴⁶⁸ Furthermore, the configuration of these saints explains why all heraldic references are missing on the altarpiece. It should also be noted that SS Maur and Giles, as they refer to the respective family names, were much more suitable as patron saints for the family altar than the name saints of the donors.

However, the most prominent place in the altarpiece is reserved to St. Christopher, whose presence is puzzling.⁴⁶⁹ Ninane suggested that Moreel may have venerated Christopher because of his protection of sea voyages. As a grocer, he was largely dependent on overseas import of his

⁴⁶⁵ This was also noted by De Vos (as in n. 448), 160-161. For that coat of arms see Weale (as in n. 438), 190.

⁴⁶⁶ De Vos (as in n. 448), 161.

⁴⁶⁷ This sort of pun is very typical for the late-medieval Flemish mentality. The hundreds of so-called 'speaking' arms, *i.e.*, arms with similar references to the name of the owner, offer abundant proof of this. On the use of cryptograms, anagrams, rebuses and other obscure devices as personal symbols or references in the fifteenth century, see my forthcoming paper, "The so-called '*Hours of Jacques de Luxembourg*' (J. Paul Getty Museum, ms. Ludwig IX.11): Some Remarks on its Patronage, Date, and Provenance".

⁴⁶⁸ Blum speculated that the Moreels may also have a tie with the Benedictine order, as three saints on painting (Maur, Giles, William) belong to this order; see Blum (as in n. 439), 101. This is possible, but has not been corroborated by any archival evidence.

⁴⁶⁹ De Vos (as in n. 448), 161, considered Christopher's presence "*inexplicable*." Previous scholars simply avoided the problem.

commodities.⁴⁷⁰ Although this is plausible, Blum's attempt to explain the saint's presence is even more convincing, as her hypothesis links the saint to the whole family.⁴⁷¹ She remarked pertinently that Christopher's feast day coincided with that of St. James in the Bruges calendar (25 July).⁴⁷² By erecting an altar at St. James's and by preferring this church as the family burial site, the Moreels honored the pilgrim saint as one of their most significant protectors. The Moreels also emphasized their devotion to his companion, St. Christopher, by placing him prominently on their altarpiece. Moreover, in late medieval devotion, and specifically in the funerary context St. Christopher played an enormously important role, as it was believed that his image offered protection against sudden death.⁴⁷³

Only the presence of SS John the Baptist and Georges, painted in *grisaille* on the exterior of the wings, remains to be explained. Weale suggested that they were the patron saints of two sons, Jan and Joris.⁴⁷⁴ It has already been noted that Jan had the corpses of his parents transferred from the graveyard to the sepulchral site in front of the family altar in 1504. According to Weale, Jan and Joris may have commissioned the *grisaille* paintings on the exterior of the triptych for that occasion.⁴⁷⁵ It is clear that the *grisaille* paintings are of a lesser quality than Memling's own works. The faces of SS John the Baptist and Georges lack the convincing psychological analysis that characterize St. Christopher and St. Maur. The curly hair of

⁴⁷⁰ L. Ninane, *Musées royaux des beaux-arts de Bruxelles, Art Ancien*, Brussels, 1958, 13.

⁴⁷¹ Blum (as in n. 439), 101.

⁴⁷² Strubbe, Voet (as in n. 441), 178.

⁴⁷³ Blum (as in n. 439), 101 (with references to specific iconographic sources).

⁴⁷⁴ Weale (as in n. 438), 189; *Id.*, *Hans Memlinc. Biographie. Tableaux conservés à Bruges*, Bruges, 1901, 34.

⁴⁷⁵ This hypothesis was quoted amongst others by Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 440), 97. Blum (as in n. 439), 102, accepted it. Pauwels (as in n. 361), 115, no. 43, did not accept it, and attributed the *grisaille* to Memling himself or his workshop. De Vos (as in n. 448), 161, does not agree with Weale either, and considers them as workshop products.

the giant Christopher is painted with a strong suggestion of playful movement and volume; that of St. John is formulaic. The decorative knots on the back of St. William's helmet effectively resemble chiseled metal; the same details present on the helmet of St. Georges look more as though they were glued on. Nevertheless, the *grisaille* figures must have originated in Memling's workshop. The elegance of gestures and movement, and the type of figures are undoubtedly akin to a great number of figures found in autograph works by the master.⁴⁷⁶ So, I believe the *grisaille* must have been made in Memling's studio. This attribution does not exclude the relationship between the *grisailles* and Jan and Joris Moreel, as suggested by Weale. They could have commissioned these additions at any time between 1484, the date the painting was completed, and some time after 1494, when the activity of the master's workshop ceased. There exists no documentary evidence to buttress this assumption; however, a good number of post-1484 foundations at the altar by members of the Moreel family, including Jan, are documented.⁴⁷⁷

Where a number of private foundations at altars or in chapels were clearly inspired by an urge to confirm social position, and were thus strongly individualistic in nature, the Moreel foundation seems to have had another emphasis. It provided, in the first place, a family burial site, and apparently the altarpiece stressed this family nature. All important iconographic elements relate to parentage, offspring, and siblings.⁴⁷⁸ The Moreel triptych clearly illustrates Braunstein's observation that "*family pride outweighed professional pride the moment social success was achieved.*"⁴⁷⁹ Willem

⁴⁷⁶ It is probably sufficient to compare John the Baptist to the Evangelist on the *St. John's Altarpiece*, or St. Georges's movement to that of St. Michael on the exterior of the right wing of the Gdansk *Last Judgment*; see Friedländer (as in n. 226), VIa, pls. 29, 42.

⁴⁷⁷ Weale (as in n. 438), 192-196.

⁴⁷⁸ *I.e.*, at least six of the seven saints represented on the altarpiece, and of course all the members of the Moreel family themselves.

⁴⁷⁹ Ph. Braunstein, "Towards Intimacy: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in G. Duby (ed.), *A History of Private Life. II Revelations of the Medieval World*, Cambridge (MA), London, 1988, 563.

Moreel had not only attained notable professional prestige by 1484, his political opposition had also led to a six-month long imprisonment. Did he come to realize during this critical period that his family constituted his only firm security in life? The choice of having so many children in itself reflects this need for security and safeguarding his future.

A last foundation in St. James's that should be listed in this chapter is the chapel of Jean Gros, Lord of Nieuland. He was consecutively secretary of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, and treasurer of the Order of the Golden Fleece under Maximilian.⁴⁸⁰ On 1 January 1476 (n.s.), he was granted permission to found a chapel south of the high choir, which he dedicated to Our Lady, St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist.⁴⁸¹ At about the same time, the Gros family had a small private oratory constructed just south of this chapel.⁴⁸² Apparently, Jean Gros had a special preference for delicate ceramics. He had his chapel floored with ceramic tiles (probably from Valencia), similar to those visible in many early Flemish paintings, such as the *Madonna with Canon Van der Paele*. Some of

⁴⁸⁰ On Gros's biography see Bartier (as in n. 360), 367-381.

⁴⁸¹ Rombauts (as in n. 383), 21.

⁴⁸² *Ibid.* Rombauts, again quoting Rotsaert ((as in n. 390), 124) without the slightest form of elementary criticism and without any reference to standard art historical literature, claimed that this room was decorated with a devotional diptych which Jean Gros had commissioned from Rogier van der Weyden, representing a *Madonna and Child* (now Tournai, Musée des Beaux-Arts, cat. 481) at the left, and at the right, Jean Gros's portrait (now Chicago, Art Institute, inv. 33.1051). There exists not one single piece of evidence to corroborate this provenance. Furthermore, both authors overlooked that the diptych is usually dated c. 1450 or c. 1460, which is no less than 15 to 25 years earlier than the presumed foundation of the oratory. Nevertheless, since both wings of the diptych come from Bruges collections (left was sold with the Van Caloen Collection in 1888; right was c. 1867 in the Dr. de Meyer Collection), the diptych may have had an earlier Bruges provenance. On these paintings, see amongst others G. Hulin de Loo, "Diptychs by Rogier van der Weyden," *Burlington Magazine*, XLIII, (1923), 53-58; XLIV (1924), 185-189 (who first reconstructed the diptych); Davies (as in n. 427), 235-236; *Rogier van der Weyden - Rogier de le Pasture: Officiële schilder van de Stad Brussel, Portretschilder aan het Hof van Bourgondië*, [exh.cat.] Brussels, 1979, 58, 154-155 (with extensive bibliography).

these tiles have been preserved in the Gruuthuse Collection at Bruges.⁴⁸³ A ceramic *Madonna and Child* in tondo (also Bruges, Gruuthusemuseum), which originates from the Gros chapel, shows the same interest. Presumably, this tondo was executed in the della Robbia workshop in Florence.⁴⁸⁴

A puzzling painting, still preserved today at St. James's, is the *Legend of St. Lucy*, dated by inscription 1480. Friedländer took this work as the basis for his reconstruction of the *oeuvre* of an anonymous Bruges master, whom he named after it.⁴⁸⁵ Weale tentatively identified the coats of arms on the frame as those of the Blanquaert family.⁴⁸⁶ This identification can no longer be accepted, although no valid alternative has been found.⁴⁸⁷ The original provenance of this work remains unknown, but it was probably not made for a chapel at St. James's, since there was no altar dedicated to St. Lucy in this church.⁴⁸⁸ When the painting entered the collections of the church is also unknown.⁴⁸⁹

⁴⁸³ Vermeersch (as in n. 302), 1981, 160-163.

⁴⁸⁴ V. Vermeersch, *Brugges Kunstbezit. Vijftig Kunsthistorische opstellen*, 2, Bruges, 1973, 93-96. Nothing is known about how this object found its way to the Gros chapel at St. James's.

⁴⁸⁵ Bruges, St. James's; oil and tempera on panel, 74 x 180; see amongst others M.J. Friedländer, *Meisterwerke der niederländische Malerei des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts auf der Ausstellung zu Brügge 1902*, Munich, 1903, 84; Pauwels (as in n. 361), 134-136, no. 52; A. Janssens de Bisthoven, in *Anonieme Vlaamse Primitieven*, [exh.cat.], Bruges, 1969, 48-49, 205-206, no. 12; Friedländer (as in n. 226), VIa, 41-42, cat. 139, pl. 150; A. Roberts, *The Master of the Legend of Saint Lucy: A Catalogue and Critical Essay*, Ph.D dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1982, passim.

⁴⁸⁶ Weale (as in n. 206), 146.

⁴⁸⁷ Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 485), 205.

⁴⁸⁸ See Rombauts (as in n. 383), *passim*.

⁴⁸⁹ To my knowledge, it was mentioned for the first time in the church in *Inventaire des Objets d'art et d'antiquité de la Flandre-Occidentale, dressé par la commission provinciale: Eglise de Saint-Jacques, Bruges, 1847, 1-2, no.1.*

Throughout this chapter, parenthetical references have been made to sepulchres in St. James's. The church was indeed one of Bruges's most important burial sites. However, no niche tombs or three dimensional detached tomb monuments were erected in this church in the period from the 1440s until the 1480s, although a great number of floor monuments was installed. Here also as elsewhere in Bruges, floor slabs with inlaid brass decorative elements and inscriptions outnumbered the floor brasses; for the period under consideration, in St. James's the ratio was five to one.⁴⁹⁰

Of the three brass plates that are known to have originated during c. 1440-1482, only one survives. It belonged to the tomb of Catharina Dault, a young girl of a prominent Bruges family who died on 6 February 1461 (Pl. 66).⁴⁹¹ Catharina is represented flanked by her brother and her guardian

⁴⁹⁰ Tombs with inlaid brass include those of Christoffel van de Walle (died 14 November 1445) and his wife Margaretha Reyphins (died 10 December 1462); of Jacob Haghelsteen (died 11 March 1447) and his wife Margaretha Baerd (died 25 December 1446); Jacob van Themseke (died 31 January 1450), his wife Isabella de Wilde (died 4 March 1464), and his son Jan van Themseke (died 8 March 1454); Willem van den Hende, Jan Wymeersch, his wife Marie van den Ryne, and Jan ? (of c. 1450-59); Jan van Huerne (died 27 December 1472) and his wife Catherina van de Velde (died 14 November 1457); Joos van Wulfsberghe (died 1459); Antoon Caersteloot (died 21 May 1470) and his wife Catharina Christiaens (died 14 April 1493); Frans Rydsaert and his wives Margaretha de Cats (died 30 August 1470) and Antonine van Vive (died 4 December 1498); Niklaas Rydsaert (died 29 November 1470) and his wife Catharina Rynvisch (died 26 October 1470); Lieven van Assenede (died 2 December 1500), his wives Anna van Bassevelde (died 13 April 1471) and Agnes Steijls (died 2 May 1495); Elisabeth van der Banck (died 1473); Jan van Messeem, his wife Elisabeth van der Banck (?) (see previous entry), his daughter Catharina van Messeem (died 27 December 1504), and his grand daughter (died 14 October 1515); Colaert Lauwereys (died 29 June 1477) and his wife Clara Bonijn (died 14 October 1483); Jan de Wymes, and his wives Marie van der Ryne and Marie de Baenst (died 11 October 1479); and Donaas de Moor (died 13 September 1483) and his wife Adriana de Vos (died 22 March 1510). Only some fragments of the funeral monument of Jan van Messeem have been preserved, all others are lost. See Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 174, 180, 181, 219, 220, 253, 254, 259-261, 277, 287, 302, nos. 184, 185, 195, 197, 221, 224, 257, 259, 260, 262, 270, 271, 293, 308.

⁴⁹¹ Vermeersch (as in n. 22), II, 227-230, no. 232, pl.104-105; the others were the plates of the tomb of her father, Colaert Dault (died 13 January 1472) and his wives

saint. All three are dressed in long robes, and are standing on a tiled floor, against a ground of imitation fabric held at the top by angels. From the mouths of the three figures issue text scrolls. The plate is framed by a funerary text, which is interrupted by coats of arms and the symbols of the evangelists at the corners. This monumental brass was originally placed in the chapel of Catharina's father, Colaert Dault.⁴⁹² The texts of the scrolls form a poetic dialogue between the brother (A), Catharina (B), and her guardian angel (C), which reads in translation:

- A. *You were predestined to become
an exalted bride during your lifetime,
O Sister, now death has prevented this.*
- B. *O Brother, God deliberates with composure.
He knows that all living things are transient
And indeed, so he has decided (my fate)*
- C. *O Friends, it has been to her benefit
(Now she is) with Him who is in the glory.
He has chosen her as His bride at high-day.⁴⁹³*

Catharina de Groote (died 18 June 1453) and Magdalena de Baenst (died 1 December 1491) (*Ibid.*, 257, no. 266); and of Catharina van de Vagheviere (died 14 March 1479) (*Ibid.*, 282, no. 289).

⁴⁹² On this chapel see Rombauts (as in n. 383), 24-25.

⁴⁹³ Published by Vermeersch (as in n. 22), 229.

- A. *Ghy waert ter weerelt gheordineirt
een bruud te wezen gheexalteirt
zustre nu hevet de doot belet*
- B. *Broeder in rusten hii avizeirt
gods wete die al dat leeft passeirt
die wist vowaer te voughene het*
- C. *Vrienden ten baet gheargrieirt
bij die in gloryen jubileirt
verkiest haar als bruud ter hoochster Tiet*

These moralizing verses have been attributed to the famous Bruges rhetorician Antonius de Roovere, who maintained contacts with the Dault family.⁴⁹⁴

Although St. James's was smaller than the city's two collegiate churches, St. Donatian's and Our Lady's, it enjoyed an artistic patronage during the second half of the fifteenth century, which easily withstands comparison with these two large ecclesiastic institutions. This favorable situation resulted from the number of its parishioners who belonged to the very top of Bruges's social elite. They made possible within only twenty years (1457-1476), the complete rebuilding of the church. The enlarged building offered ample opportunity for new foundations, opportunities eagerly taken by people such as Tommaso Portinari, Donaes de Moor, Baptiste del Agnelli, and the Biese, Gros, Moreel and Dault families.

⁴⁹⁴ A. Viaene, "Retoricijne grafschriften uit de kring van Anthonis de Roovere, Brugge, 1461-1480," *Biekorf*, LXII (1961), 353-357. As mentioned above, Antonius de Roovere and Colaert Dault collaborated on the *tableaux vivants* installed for the Triumphal Entry of Philip the Good in 1463.

5. The Jerusalem Chapel and the Adornes family ⁴⁹⁵

The Jerusalem Chapel (Pl. 67) is a remarkable building. It has an unusual north-south orientation, and is basically a central plan, extended toward the south by a nave, three bays long. The choir on the north with a low vaulted crypt underneath, is crowned by an octagonal tower. The gilt sphere, topped by a cross of Malta on the main tower, and the St. Catherine wheel and a moon crescent on the secondary towers, give the building a remarkable oriental flavor. Not only is this unusual design exceptional in Flanders, but also the specifically private character of this foundation. It was founded in 1427 by Pieter II (c. 1395-1464) and Jacob Adornes (c. 1395-1465), members of the famous Genoese family that had settled in Bruges as merchants and bankers at the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁴⁹⁶ The Jerusalem foundation also included a house and twelve almshouses next to the chapel.⁴⁹⁷ These buildings replaced a community of beguines, called *ten hamerkine*, which had been located on that site since the fourteenth

⁴⁹⁵ I have published part of this chapter in my "New Information on Petrus Christus's Biography and the Patronage of his Brussels 'Lamentation'" *Simiolus*, XX/1 (1990-91), 5-23.

⁴⁹⁶ The following discussion of the Adornes and the Jerusalem Chapel in Bruges is mainly based on N. Geirnaert, A. Vandewalle, *Adornes en Jeruzalem. Internationaal Leven in het 15de- en 16de- eeuwse Brugge*, [exh. cat.] Brugge, 1983; and N. Geirnaert, *Het archief van de familie Adornes en de Jeruzalemstichting te Brugge*, 2 vol., Brugge, 1987-88. The date of foundation can be deduced from a charter dated 12 May 1427 (SAB, *Cartularium Jeruzalemstichting*, fol. 1-1v; *ibid.*, 15). There are numerous variants of the name: Adoerne, Adoorne, Adoren, Adorens, Adores, Adorne, Adornes, Adourne, Adournes, Adurne, Adurnus, Dadoerne, Dadourne. The Italian form 'Adorno' does not appear in Flemish sources. N. Geirnaert, "De Adornes en de Jeruzalemkapel. Internationale contacten in het laatmiddeleeuwse Brugge," in N. Geirnaert, A. Vandewalle (as in n. 496), 41, n. 6) suggested using the 'Adornes', as I do here, since this seems to be the form most commonly found in Bruges today.

⁴⁹⁷ The house is located in the Peperstraat (now nos. 1-3), the almshouses are now Balstraat, nos. 2-12.

century.⁴⁹⁸ Little is actually known about the original chapel. The chapel, which still stands, and the almshouses, of which six survive, were finished between 1470-83.⁴⁹⁹

Special veneration for Jerusalem was a well-established tradition in the Adornes family. Pieter II and Jacob both went to the Holy City on a pilgrimage. Although Pieter was clearly the one who took the initiative for the foundation, the two brothers are always mentioned together as the original founders.⁵⁰⁰ Both played a considerable role in municipal politics, although Jacob seems to have been more involved in commercial activities than his brother. Like other members of his family, he was engaged in the trade of alum, which was indispensable to the textile industry. Furthermore, he was involved in financing Genoese trade. Pieter II was apparently more devotionally and intellectually oriented.

As young men, the two Adornes brothers were fervent participants in the annual jousts of the select Society of the White Bear.⁵⁰¹ Jacob later became a prominent member of devotional and charitable organizations, and headed the Archers of St. Sebastian during the last eleven years of his life;⁵⁰² Pieter was a member of no less than nine religious confraternities. The brothers' political careers evolved similarly: Jacob was head of the Carmers' district in 1424-25, 1426-27, 1436-37, 1442-43, and 1453-54; he was

⁴⁹⁸ N. Geirnaert, "Het 'Convent ten Hamerkine' te Brugge (14de-15de eeuw)," *Biekorf*, LXXXII (1982), 220-224.

⁴⁹⁹ For a description of the monument and the architectural history, see J.P. Esther, "Monumentenbeschrijving en bouwgeschiedenis van de Jeruzalemkapel," in Geirnaert, Vandewalle (as in n. 496), 50-81.

⁵⁰⁰ For specific biographical data on Jacob and Pieter II Adornes, see N. Geirnaert, "Adornes, Jacob," *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, XII, Brussels, 1987, col.13-15, and *Id.*, "Adornes, Pieter II," *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, XII, Brussels, 1987, col.21-25.

⁵⁰¹ Pieter participated on the jousts in 1418, 1419, 1420 and 1424; Jacob between 1423 and 1447.

⁵⁰² He was a member of the Confraternity of the Dry Tree, from 1439 until 1463, served on the board of the hospital of St. Julian, and from 1454 until 1465, was *king* of the Bruges Archers of St. Sebastian.

a councillor in 1430-31, 1433-34, 1445-46, mayor of the council in 1438-39, and alderman in 1454-55 and 1456-57. His brother, Pieter II, served as councillor in 1425-26, 1428-29, as alderman in 1432-33, 1439-40, 1444-45, 1447-48, and held the office of mayor of the council in 1441-42. In the 1436-38 revolt, the Adornes brothers chose the side of the duke. Jacob survived an assault on 2 April 1437, and both had to flee the city two weeks later. After Philip the Good crushed the rebellion in 1438, the two brothers continued their careers in Bruges politics.

Jacob's marriage to Anna Masins remained childless. He died in 1465. Pieter married Elisabeth Braderix in 1421. They had six children, of whom Anselmus (1424-83) is the most famous.

In his 1452 testament, Pieter II Adornes proposed to establish a public library in the chapel.⁵⁰³ He conceived this benefaction along the lines of Cosimo I de' Medici's scheme for his public library in Florence, with Latin books on one side, and those in the vernacular on the other. The Adornes library contained, among others, books by Cicero, Valerius Maximus, Virgil and by the Italian humanist Leonardo Bruni. The plan was apparently never realized, as Pieter Adornes survived his testament by twelve years, and eventually bequeathed part of his library to the Carthusian Genadedal Cloister near Bruges.⁵⁰⁴ Nevertheless this plan is generally considered as

⁵⁰³ Derolez (as in n. 127), 1, 9-10; *Idem*, "Vroeg humanisme en middeleeuwse bibliotheken: de bibliotheek van de Adorne's en van de Jeruzalemkapel te Brugge," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis*, LXXXV (1972), 161-170; *Idem*, *Studies over het boekenbezit en boekengebruik in de Nederlanden vóór 1600*, Brussels, 1974; R. Walsh, "The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries. Some Italian Influences at the Court of Charles the Bold," *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, XXV (1976), 173-175; A. Derolez, "Middeleeuwse Bibliotheken in Brugge," in *Vlaamse Kunst op Perkament*, [exh. cat.] Bruges, 1981, 45-54; Geirnaert, Vandewalle (as in n. 496), 21, 23, 28-29.

⁵⁰⁴ This is known from an inscription on the verso of the first flyleaf in Johannes de Tambaco, *De consolatione theologiae* (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. 806). This manuscript was written in the Bruges Dominican cloister for Pieter Adornes in 1434. The inscription reads: *Iste liber pertinet ad domum Vallis Gracie iuxta Brugas ordinis carthusiensium, ex legato fratris Petri Adornes, clerici redditi eiusdem domus, qui obiit anno m.cccc.lxiij. et multa bona fecit domui in edificiis, redditibus et libris. Oretis pro eo propter Deum* ("This book belongs to the cloister Genadedal near Bruges of the order of the Carthusians, from the legacy of brother Petrus Adornes, clerk-accountant of this cloister, who died in

one of the first attempts to establish a humanistic library in the Low Countries.

After his wife's death in 1452, Pieter decided to retire from public life. In 1454, he entered the Genadedal cloister. He bestowed the management of the Jerusalem foundation to Jacob and to his son Anselmus. The Carthusians were from then on involved in the supervision of the chapel. Pieter II Adornes died in this cloister in 1464.

There is no evidence that Pieter ever commissioned works of art to decorate the Jerusalem chapel. In 1429, Pope Martin V granted him permission to own a portable altar, and to celebrate mass at his house.⁵⁰⁵ Whether he also had a portable altarpiece made is unknown.

He and his wife probably had their portraits painted. These portraits are lost, but they must have served as models for two engravings executed by the Antwerp printmaker Pieter I de Jode (active 1600-1634).⁵⁰⁶ In the engraving (Pl. 68), Pieter Adornes is identified by his coat of arms, the family motto *Para Tutum*,⁵⁰⁷ and an inscription which describes him as former mayor and founder of the Jerusalem chapel.⁵⁰⁸ The engraving

the year 1464, and who has done many favors for the church, in buildings, accounts, and books. Pray for him to God.) see Derolez (as in n. 127), 11, n.3; F. Hendrickx, "De handschriften van de Kartuis Genadedal," *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, XLVII (1973), 35-38. The Carthusian cloister 'Genadedal' will be discussed in the following chapter.

⁵⁰⁵ Geirnaert, Vandewalle (as in n. 496), 18.

⁵⁰⁶ Signed lower left *Petr. de Iode sculpsit*. Neither one has Hollstein or Bartsch references. On Pieter I de Jode see U. Thieme, F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildende Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, XIX, Leipzig, 1926, 31-33.

⁵⁰⁷ Usually, this motto has been erroneously translated as *Be Prepared* (see for instance, Esther, in Geirnaert, Vandewalle (as in n. 496), 97, cat.no. 1). This motto is derived from the sixth stanza of the prayer *Ave Maria Stella*, in the Vespers of the canonic feasts of the Virgin, which reads, *Vitam praeta puram, Iter para tutum* (*Cleanse our life, Prepare a safe path.*) Therefore the Adornes motto can best be translated as *Prepare Safely*; see J. Lavaert, "Para Tutum, de wapenspreuk van Anselm Adornes," *Biekorf*, LXXXIV (1984), 15-16.

⁵⁰⁸ *Petrus Adornes / ex ducibus Genuensibus / Burgumagister Brugen- / sis, Mortua Vxore, et / constructa Brugis Ierusalem Factus / Cartusianus an[no] 1445 / et obiit an[no] 1465.* (*Petrus Adornes, from the duchy of Genoa, Mayor of Bruges, after the death of his wife and [after*

depicting Elisabeth (Pl. 69), bears an inscription and her coat of arms.⁵⁰⁹ Both portraits are surrounded by a heavy oval frame, which was obviously added by the engraver. The costumes worn by the sitters also are imaginary seventeenth century interpretations of fifteenth century dress. Apart from these additions, the likenesses must have been based on fifteenth century examples. An anonymous nineteenth century forger used the engravings as models for two portraits which appeared on the art market with attributions to Petrus Christus (Pl. 70-71).⁵¹⁰ Although the forger reversed his models, any present-day scholar can easily recognize these works as fakes. The woman's necklace and headgear cannot be considered genuine. Nevertheless, the forger succeeded in capturing the appearance of original portraits by Petrus Christus to a certain degree, presumably because the engravings still provide a 'ghost-image' of their original models. For instance, the engraved male portrait brings to mind the *Portrait of a Man* (Los Angeles, County Museum of Art)(Pl. 72).⁵¹¹ Although it is tempting to consider this painting as the original portrait of Pieter II Adornes, after which the engraving was made, I do have the strongest reservations about

having] constructed Jerusalem in Bruges, he was made a carthusian in 1445, and died in 1465). Both dates are wrong.

⁵⁰⁹ *Elisabeth / Braderyc / Uxor pronobilis / Domini Petri / Adornes, illa / obiit 14.. (Elisabeth Braderyc, wife of the noble Petrus Adornes, she died 14..)*.

⁵¹⁰ Photographs of these forgeries are kept in the files of the National Centrum voor Navorsingen over de Vlaamse Primitieven (Koninklijk Instituut voor het Kunstpatrimonium, Brussels). All factual data on these forgeries, such as their dimensions, present whereabouts, etc. are unknown.

⁵¹¹ Los Angeles, County Museum of Art, inv.no. 2100. 41-1074; oil and tempera on panel, 46.5 x 35.3 cm. On this painting see Friedländer (as in n. 38), 104 (who accepts the attribution to Petrus Christus with reservations, as he had not seen the painting); P.H. Schabacker, *Petrus Christus*, Utrecht, 1974, 134, no.3 (who rejects the attribution). After having studied the original, as well as infra-red photographs and X-rays, I am inclined to attribute this painting to Petrus Christus. The hatching in the underdrawing is very similar to that in the *Portrait of a Young Man* (London, National Gallery; see Davies, (as in n. 371), 70-73, pl. CLV-XLXIII; Friedländer (as in n. 38), 87-88; Schabacker (as in n. 511), 95-96, no.9).

this hypothesis.⁵¹² It would imply that Pieter I de Jode interpreted his model very freely, and changed the proportions of the face drastically. In addition, the engraving of Elisabeth Braderix shows a compositional conception similar to authentic portraits by Petrus Christus, such as the beautiful *Portrait of a Young Girl* (Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz)(Pl. 73).⁵¹³ Again no direct model-copy relationship can be discerned, but it clearly demonstrates the conceptual affinities between the engravings and Petrus Christus's portraiture. These resemblances suggest that Pieter II Adornes and his wife may have sat for Petrus Christus at some time between 1444, when the master became a Bruges citizen, and 1452, the year Elisabeth Braderix died.⁵¹⁴

The most famous member of the Adornes family was Anselmus, who lived from 1424 to 1483.⁵¹⁵ On 12 November 1443 Anselmus married

⁵¹² Nevertheless, I discovered by coincidence that also M. Wolff played with a similar idea. J. Upton had found the engravings, independently from me. In correspondence between him and M. Wolff, kept in the documentation of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (file of Petrus Christus, *Portrait of a Male Donor*, and *Portrait of a Female Donor*, inv. nos. 1961.9.10 and 1961.9.11; see J. O. Hand, M. Wolff, *Early Netherlandish Painting. The Collections of the National Gallery of Art Systematic Catalogue*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1986, 49-55), he related the engraving of Pieter Adornes to the man in the Washington portrait. In a reply to his letter, Martha Wolff pointed out the resemblance between this engraving and the Los Angeles portrait. The identification of the Washington portraits as Pieter Adornes and his wife must be rejected based on the coats of arms. I am grateful to Dr. John Hand for giving me access to these files.

⁵¹³ Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, no. 532; oil and tempera on panel, 29 x 22.5; see Friedländer (as in n. 38), 84-85; Schabacker (as in n. 511), 109-110, cat. 16; *Catalogue of Paintings, Picture Gallery Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin*, Berlin, 1978, 105-106.

⁵¹⁴ This is also corroborated by the connection which exists between Petrus Christus and the Adornes family, about which more further. Moreover, the question should be asked whether they could have turned to another artist in Bruges to have their portraits painted at that time. Seemingly, there exists no factual nor documentary evidence that there was another portrait painter active in the city during the 1440s and early 1450s.

⁵¹⁵ Some extensive biographies of Anselmus Adornes had already appeared in the nineteenth century, see E. de la Coste, *Anselme Adorne, Sire de Corthuy, pèlerin de Terre-*

Margaretha van der Banck (1427-c. 1480), who was to give him sixteen children. From 1444 on, he frequently served in the city government as councillor, district head, treasurer, deputy of the municipal finances, and mayor of the council.⁵¹⁶ Like his uncle, Jacob, he was also active in the international trade, mainly as mediator in transactions in which Genoese merchants were involved, as well as in the trade with Genoa and Spain, especially of alum and of linen from Tournai.

In 1468, he also started a diplomatic career. In that year he travelled to Scotland as a representative of the Four Members of Flanders and of Duke Charles the Bold to mediate in the trade conflict between Scotland and Flanders. His mission was very successful, and as a result the Scottish nation resumed its business activities with Bruges in 1470. King James III of Scotland, greatly impressed by Anselmus's efforts, showed his gratitude by admitting him in 1469 to the honorable Order of the Unicorn, and by giving him in fief the Seignory of Cortachy.⁵¹⁷ In 1472, Anselmus was appointed as keeper of the Scottish Privileges in Flanders, a function which he kept, with a short interruption, until his death.

Throughout his life, Anselmus had always been a loyal supporter of the Burgundian dukes. After the riots in 1477, in which Mary of Burgundy asked him to mediate, he and a number of other leading citizens, notably Jan III de Baenst and Paul van Overtvelt, were indicted --probably unjustly-- for embezzlement of municipal funds, taken prisoner and tortured. This meant the end of his career in local politics. After this tragic episode in his

Sainte: Sa famille, sa vie, ses voyages et son temps, récit historique, Brussels, 1855; [T. de] L[imburg] St[irum], "Anselme Adornes ou un voyageur brugeois au XVe siècle," *Messageur des sciences historiques*, XLIX (1881), 1-43. For more up-to-date information of Anselmus, see also N. Geirnaert, "Adornes (...)," *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, XII, Brussels, 1987, 2-25.

⁵¹⁶ He was councillor in 1444-45, 1452-53; head of the St. Nicolas's district in 1447-48, 1450-51, and of the St. John's district in 1456-57, 1458-59, 1460-61, 1462-63, 1473-74, treasurer in 1459-60, deputy of the municipal finances from 1463 until 1468, and mayor of the council in 1475-76; see Geirnaert, Vandewalle (as in n. 496), 22.

⁵¹⁷ On Anselmus's role in Scotland see especially A. Macquarrie, "Anselm Adornes of Bruges: Traveller in the East and Friend of James III," *The Innes Review*, XXXIII (1982), 15-22.

life, he oriented his activities again toward Scotland. There he tried to reconcile opposing clans, but was murdered on 23 January 1483 in Linlithgow.

Apart from his commercial, political and diplomatic activities, Anselmus Adornes is best known for his famous pilgrimage to the Holy Land,⁵¹⁸ for which he set out with a few companions on 19 February 1470. Their journey is known from the description left by Jan Adornes, Anselmus's eldest son, who had been studying at Pavia, but accompanied his father on his long trip.⁵¹⁹ Anselmus seems to have made the pilgrimage for purely devotional reasons, probably because a trip to Jerusalem, the place of their deepest veneration, had become a kind of family tradition.⁵²⁰

Anselmus's role as a patron of the Jerusalem chapel, founded by his father, Pieter II, was considerable. Pieter had transferred the management of the foundation in 1454 to his brother Jacob and to Anselmus. With Jacob's death in 1465, Anselmus obtained full control over the foundation. He committed himself to completion of the chapel and the almshouses, and to

⁵¹⁸ J. Heers, G. de Groër, (eds.) *Itinéraire d'Anselme Adorno en Terre Sainte (1470-1471)*, Paris, 1978; H. Platelle, "Le pèlerinage en Terre Sainte d'Anselme Adorno (1470-1471) d'après un ouvrage récent," *Mélanges de Science Religieuse*, XXXIX (1982), 19-28.

⁵¹⁹ Heers, De Groër (as in n. 518). Their route took them to Genoa, Pavia (where Jan joined his father), Rome (where they were received in audience by Pope Paul II), and back to Genoa, where they boarded ship. They went via Tunis, Egypt and the Sinai to Palestine. On the way back they passed through Damascus, Beirut, Cyprus, Rhodes and Brindisi, and arrived back in Bruges on 4 April 1471 after a journey of 14 months.

⁵²⁰ On pilgrimages from the Netherlands to Jerusalem in the late Middle Ages see A. Viaene, *Vlaamse Pelgrimstochten*, Bruges, 1982, 160-213; J. Van Herwaarden, "Geloof en geloofsuitingen in de late middeleeuwen in de Nederlanden : Jeruzalembedevaarten, lijdensdevotie en kruiswegverering," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, XCVIII (1983), 400-429. Some authors suggested that Anselmus may have undertaken this trip as a spy for Charles the Bold. The dedication of Jan's *Itinerarium* to James III and also the style of the book, which is in no respect a political pamphlet, contradicts this hypothesis; see Heers, de Groër (as in n. 518), 2.

restoration of his father's former house.⁵²¹ Recent study of the chapel's architecture has shown that the present building was almost entirely constructed between c. 1470 and 1483.⁵²² After his pilgrimage, Anselmus must have conceived this family chapel as a shrine for the relics he had brought with him. From this time on, it became the main center of devotion for the Holy Sepulchre in the city.

Anselmus was buried in Scotland in 1483, but his heart was interred in Bruges in the Jerusalem Chapel that same year in a funerary monument that is still *in situ* (Pl. 74).⁵²³ In this tomb, Anselmus and his wife, Margaretha vander Banck, are represented as life size *gisants* lying on a slab covering a sarcophagus.⁵²⁴ They were carved in Tournai stone by the Bruges sculptor Cornelis Tielman, who received £17 gr for this tomb monu-

⁵²¹ Anselmus himself did not live in this house next to the chapel, but in a large complex on the Verwersdijk, in the middle of the Scottish quarter; see Geirnaert, Vandewalle (as in n. 496), 29.

⁵²² Esther, in Geirnaert, Vandewalle (as in n. 496), 73-74.

⁵²³ This tomb is 74 cm high and the slab measures 223 x 135 cm; see J. Gailliard, *Recherches sur l'Eglise Jérusalem à Bruges*, Bruges, 1843, 9-10; Vermeersch (as in n. 22), 305-309, no. 310, pl. 142-144 (with extensive bibliography); J.-P. Esther, in Geirnaert, Vandewalle (as in n. 496), 131-133, cat. no. 49.

⁵²⁴ Most authors who have dealt with this tomb monument stated that the sculptor had indicated that Anselmus was murdered by the hole in the breast-plate of the recumbent figure (recently repeated by Esther, in Geirnaert, Vandewalle (as in n. 496), 131-132). This folkloristic legend was apparently first quoted in [T. de] L[imburg] St[irum] (as in n. 515), 2. Actually, the lance-rest of Anselmus's breast-plate was broken off at some time, which explains the hole; see R. Van Belle, "De riddergrafzerk van Anselm Adornes (+ 1483) en zijn echtgenote," *Biekorf*, LXXXIV (1984), 147-151.

ment by the end of 1483.⁵²⁵ On the sarcophagus appear ten coats of arms of affiliated families.⁵²⁶

At least one major painting may be related to Anselmus's patronage of the chapel: Petrus Christus's *Lamentation* (Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België)(Pl. 77).⁵²⁷ As early as 1926, Pächt had stressed the pivotal position of this work in Christus's oeuvre.⁵²⁸ Its importance has been recognized by many authors, yet more than 60 years after Pächt's publication, many questions concerning the work remain unanswered.

In the foreground of a landscape, Christ's body is laid on a white shroud. Joseph of Arimathea, richly clad in velvet, brocade and fur, holds the left end of this winding sheet. Christ's torso is raised by Nicodemus. Behind this figure group, the swooning Virgin is sustained by her half-sister and by St. John. At the left Mary Magdalene clasps her hands together in a gesture of subdued despair. Watching the event on the right are two figures

⁵²⁵ cf. doc. 154 in appendix. Cornelis Tielman is mainly known as stonemason. Judging from the archives, he seems to have been one of the most important ones at Bruges during the second half of the fifteenth century. He collaborated in 1456-57 on a new 'chamber of accounts' behind the City Hall, and in 1467 at several rooms in the ducal residence. He also played a major role in the construction works at St. James's during the 1460s and '70s, and was architectural advisor for the construction of the Town Hall at Damme in 1463-67. He probably died in 1490-91. On Cornelis Tielman see J.-P. Esther, in Geirnaert, Vandewalle (as in n. 496), 65-66.

⁵²⁶ At Anselmus's side: Adornes, Braderic, Van de Walle, and Hoste; at Margaretha's side: Hoonin, Broucx, De Baenst and Vander Banck. At the head-end: Adornes, and at the foot-end the alliance arms, Adornes-Vander Banck.

⁵²⁷ Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, inv. no. 139; panel, 98 x 188 cm. See O. Pächt, "Die Datierung des Brüsseler Beweinung des Petrus Christus," *Belvedere*, IX (1926), 155-166; Friedländer (as in n. 38), 88; Schabacker (as in n. 511), 119-121, cat. 21.

⁵²⁸ Pächt (as in n. 527), 155-166. Almost nothing is known about this painting's provenance. It may have been at the Abbey of Tongerlo, and was for some time in the Lucq collection in Brussels, see Schabacker (as in n. 511), 119.

(Pl. 78), for whom no one has ever given a fully acceptable identification.⁵²⁹ The provenance of the painting is not very clear either, and is therefore of no help in establishing the identity of these figures. Is there any possibility of identifying them as portraits of the patrons? The clue to the solution of this puzzle is found in the background of the painting, where some small pilgrim figures appear. One is walking along the river, and can be seen between Joseph of Arimathea and the group of figures around the swooning Virgin (Pl. 79), another is vaguely discernible in front of the houses and the castle, at the same height as St. John's back, and a third can be recognized between St. John and the puzzling male figure at the right (Pl. 80). They all wear black cloaks, black hats and carry staffs --the traditional outfits for pilgrims. Very often St. James, the patron saint of pilgrims, is represented in such clothes, as in a small jet relief of the saint, dating from the second half of the fifteenth century,⁵³⁰ and in a polychromed statue originating from the St. James Chapel in Diest, Limburg.⁵³¹ The

⁵²⁹ Weale described them as a man dressed in blue and Mary Salome (W.H.J. Weale, *Exposition des primitifs flamands et d'art ancien. Première section : Tableaux*, [exh. cat.] Bruges, 1902, 10, cat. nr. 20); Pächt and Friedländer as "a man and a woman standing" (Pächt (as in n. 527), 162; Friedländer (as in n. 38), 88.). Panofsky identified them as "the third Mary and the anonymous companion of Joseph of Arimathea" (Panofsky (as in n. 91), 309). Schabacker was completely confused by the iconography of the painting. He identified Nicodemus as Joseph of Arimathea's servant, the man on the right as Nicodemus (albeit hesitantly), and the woman next to him as the Virgin's other half sister (Schabacker (as in n. 511), 120, cat.21).

⁵³⁰ Craggaunowen Project, Co. Clare, Ireland; 11 x 6.5 x 1.7 cm; see *Santiago de Compostella, 1000 jaar Europese Bedevaart*, [exh. cat.] Ghent, 1985, 301, cat.no. 211.

⁵³¹ Diest, St. Sulpice; height 110 cm; *ibid.*, 255, cat. no. 70). It should be pointed out that this and the previous example are both related to pilgrimages to Santiago de Compostella, not to Jerusalem.

figure to the right of St. John is even wearing a pilgrim's badge.⁵³² Similar badges from different periods have been found all over Europe.⁵³³

Although the little figures in the background of the *Lamentation* are easily recognizable as pilgrims, they have not been noticed until now. Their meaning in the context of a Lamentation is evident. They must be visitors to the Holy Tomb, in other words, pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem. A scene from the Passion here symbolizes the very aim of the pilgrims' voyage: the city of Jerusalem, and more specifically, Christ's Tomb.

Both the subject matter and the presence of the pilgrims in the background of the Brussels *Lamentation* make it plausible to relate this panel to the center of devotion for the Holy Sepulchre in Bruges, the Jerusalem Chapel. This relation becomes especially evident when the two enigmatic figures at the right of the painting are compared to the *gisants* of Adornes's tomb monument. The figure of Anselmus Adornes on his tomb monument shows him as a man with very distinctive features (Pl. 75). He has a very angular face with a rather long and bony nose, slender lips, pronounced cheekbones, deeply incised lines around his mouth and a sharp chin. Also noteworthy are his rather flat forehead, remarkably curved eyebrows, and

⁵³² On pilgrims' costumes in the fifteenth century, see, amongst others, M. Beaulieu & J. Baylé, *Le costume en Bourgogne de Philippe le Hardi à la mort de Charles le Téméraire (1364-1477)*, Paris, 1956, 124-125.

⁵³³ See, for instance, a Parisian tin-lead badge, depicting the Martyrdom of St. Denis, probably dating from between 1250 and 1270 (London, Museum of London, Department of Urban Archaeology, see *Santiago (...)* (as in n. 530), 313, cat. nr. 257 or a badge representing the miraculous Madonna of Boulogne in a boat from the second half of the fifteenth century (London, Museum of London, Department of Urban Archaeology, see *Santiago (...)* (as in n. 530), 309, cat. no. 244. Sometimes these pilgrim badges were depicted or even sewn into devotional manuscripts, especially in Books of Hours; see K. Kuster, "Gemalte Kollektionen von Pilgerzeichen und religiösen Medaillen in Flämischen Gebet- und Stundenbüchern des 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhunderts," *Liber Amicorum Herman Liebaers*, Brussels, 1984, 485-535; and J.M. Plotzek, *Andachtsbücher des Mittelalters aus Privatbesitz*, [exh. cat.] Cologne, 1987, 53-54. A list of manuscripts with sewn-in pilgrim badges has recently been completed by A. M. Koldewey, "Pilgrim badges in manuscripts: painted or sewn into them. Some North Netherlandish Examples," *Congress Medieval Manuscript Illumination in the Northern Netherlands, Utrecht 10-13 December 1989* (forthcoming).

the ridges between his eyebrows and his nose. Since these distinguishing features are also shared by the puzzling-looking man standing in the *Lamentation* by Petrus Christus (Pl. 81), I would like to suggest that this is a portrait of Anselmus Adornes. Adornes is of course older in the stone portrait and his hair style is different.⁵³⁴ Other minor differences can easily be explained as idiosyncrasies of the respective artists. The woman next to Anselmus in the painting also shows evident similarities to the carved image of Margaretha vander Banck (Pl. 76, 82). In both portraits the profiles are similar as are their rather precise contour outlines. In Petrus Christus's portrait, she does seem more idealized, perhaps because she was still youthful.

The figures in the *Lamentation* can also be compared with the stained glass window in the Jerusalem chapel, in which Anselmus Adornes and his wife are depicted with their patron saints (Pl. 83).⁵³⁵ These windows must be dated about 1560, some 80 years after Anselmus's death. They belong to a series of family portraits, probably commissioned by Jeroom and Jacob Adornes. When reversed, the portrait of Anselmus is remarkably similar to Petrus Christus's version. In both cases, Anselmus is represented at approximately the same age. It is therefore plausible that the glass painter based his portrait of Anselmus on the Brussels painting.

Recognizing portraits in early Netherlandish paintings has always been a rather controversial exercise. The issue is considerably complicated by Flemish artists' attempts to achieve a realistic characterization of all things depicted in their work. It can hardly be doubted that the artists made use of real people as models, clearly often without the intention of representing recognizable individuals. Yet many examples of identifiable people in fifteenth century Flemish paintings are known. In Rogier van der Weyden's *Deposition* (Madrid, Prado), for instance, the likeness of Robert de

⁵³⁴ Anselmus's hairstyle in the painting is remarkable. In Rogier van der Weyden's *Lamentation* (London, National Gallery), the donor is also shown with close-cropped hair similar to Anselmus's. It could be a sign of mourning. On the London painting see Davies (as in n. 427), 221, pl. 72.

⁵³⁵ J.-P. Esther, in Geirnaert, Vandewalle (as in n. 496), cat. 23.3.

Masmines has been distinguished in the figure of Nicodemus.⁵³⁶ Charles the Bold's features were used for the youngest of the Magi in Rogier's *Columba Altarpiece* (Munich, Alte Pinakothek),⁵³⁷ while Jean Chevrot, Bishop of Tournai (1436-60) and Philippe Courault, abbot of the Abbey of St. Peter at Ghent (1445-71), appear in the *Altarpiece of the Seven Sacraments* (Antwerp, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten) by Van der Weyden.⁵³⁸ Gerard David's *oeuvre* also includes 'disguised' portraits, some of which have recently been unveiled.⁵³⁹ It is clear that individuals were not always represented with their patron saint, nor were they always placed outside the sacred realm of the main scene. Usually, though, the presence of a portrait figure does have a very specific meaning in the historical context of the painting's origin. The evaluation of this context is therefore crucial to the identification of presumed portrait figures. Petrus Christus placed Anselmus and his wife, patrons of the Jerusalem chapel, within a *Lamentation of Christ*, in which pilgrims are seen on their way to the Holy Sepulchre. Anselmus himself was to undertake the long journey to visit this most sacred of all places during his lifetime, and the painting clearly visualizes his strong desire to embark on this adventure.

Anselmus Adornes knew Petrus Christus personally. Both men were members of the Confraternity of the Dry Tree in Bruges. In a hitherto

⁵³⁶ M. J. Friedländer, "Flémalle Meister-Dämmerung," *Pantheon*, VIII (1931), 353-355; Panofsky (as in n. 91), 257.

⁵³⁷ Panofsky (as in n. 91), 286.

⁵³⁸ E. Panofsky, "Two Rogier Problems: The Donor of the Hague Lamentation and the Date of the Altarpiece of the Seven Sacraments," *Art Bulletin*, XXXIII (1951), 33-40; A. Châtelet, "Roger van der Weyden et le lobby polinois," *Revue de l'Art*, LXXXIV (1989), 9-21. Other examples of portraits in paintings by Rogier's studio include the woman behind Joseph in the *Nativity* by the Master of the Prado Adoration of the Magi (Birmingham, City Museum and Art Gallery; see Hand, Wolff (as in n. 512), 158-159), or the two girls in the *Presentation* by the same master (Washington, National Gallery; see *ibid.*, 155-161).

⁵³⁹ H. J. Van Miegroet, "Gerard David's Justice of Cambyses: exemplum iustitiae or political allegory?," *Simiolus*, XVIII (1988), 116-133, recently identified the portraits of Philip the Fair and Engelbert of Nassau in this painting by David; see also *Id.*, *Gerard David*, Antwerp, 1989, 142-177.

unpublished contract between the board of the brotherhood and the Franciscans of Bruges, Christus and Adornes are mentioned together;⁵⁴⁰ the fact that they both signed the agreement as representatives of the brotherhood, provides incontrovertible proof that they knew each other.

Anselmus must have been an important patron, who had contacts with other artists as well. When, in April 1473, the *San Matteo* --the galley carrying Hans Memling's *Last Judgment*-- was seized by the pirate Paul Beneke and taken to Danzig, Anselmus negotiated the restitution of this important panel with Filippo Buonaccorsi, prime minister of King Casimir IV of Poland.⁵⁴¹ In his will, Anselmus bequeathed to his daughters two paintings by Jan van Eyck, both representing St. Francis, believed to be identical with the panels now in Turin (Galleria Sabauda) and in Philadelphia (The Philadelphia Museum, John G. Johnson Collection).⁵⁴²

Anselmus's father, Pieter Adornes, entered the Carthusian Genadedal Cloister near Bruges and bequeathed part of his library to it in 1454. It is well known that Petrus Christus had contacts with this very cloister.⁵⁴³ The Adorneses have also frequently been associated with the

⁵⁴⁰ Cf. doc. 88 in appendix.

⁵⁴¹ F. E. de Roover, "A Prize of War. A Painting of fifteenth century Merchants," *Bulletin of the Business Historical Society*, XIX (1945), 3-12; *Id.*, "Le voyage de Girolamo Strozzi de Pise à Bruges et retour à bord de la galère bourguignonne 'San Giorgio'," *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis, gesticht onder de benaming Société d'Emulation te Brugge*, XCI (1954), 117-136; Geirnaert (as in n. 515), 10. As the guardian of the Scottish privileges in Flanders, he may also have been instrumental in negotiating the commission of the panels with the portraits of King James III of Scotland and his wife, Margaret of Denmark, which Canon Edward Bonkil commissioned from Hugo van der Goes (Edinburgh, National Gallery; *ibid.*, 10).

⁵⁴² Cf. doc. 93 in appendix. Aru, de Geradon (as in n. 388), 13. Strohm's suggestion regarding the presumed connection to Isabella of Portugal of these paintings is purely speculative, and cannot be accepted; see Strohm (as in n. 6), 72.

⁵⁴³ About which more further. See also H.J.J. Scholtens, "Jan Van Eyck's H. Maagd met den Kartaizer en de Exeter-Madonna te Berlijn," *Oud Holland*, LV (1938), 49-62; *Id.*, "Het Kartaizerklooster Dal van Graciën buiten Brugge," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, LXXXIII (1940-46), 133-201; *Id.*, "Petrus Christus en zijn portret van een Kartaizer," *Oud Holland*, LXXV (1960), 59-72.

origins of early humanism in the Netherlands. Beside Pieter's plan to establish a public library, evidence for this new intellectual orientation can be inferred from other data. From Anselmus's library, only one manuscript can be identified with certainty, namely a copy of the Roman author Rufus Festus's *Breviarium*, written in a proto-humanistic imitation type of the carolingian minuscule. Its rather unimaginative decorative illumination shows italianizing qualities.⁵⁴⁴ The oration that Anselmus presented during his first diplomatic mission to Scotland in 1468, is considered to be a rare example of early Netherlandish humanistic discourse.⁵⁴⁵ Another significant indication for this humanistic interest is found in the inventory of Jan Adornes's library, in which Lorenzo Valla's Latin grammar figures.⁵⁴⁶ In this contemporary handbook, the author strongly opposes the usage of the older medieval grammar of Alexander de Villa Dei. A copy of the latter manuscript was indeed removed from the Adornes library, and its parchment used in the binding of family archives.⁵⁴⁷

About 1455-1460, Petrus Christus apparently became acquainted with linear perspective. He may have learned about it through the humanistic writings he could have consulted in Bruges libraries, such as Adornes's. However, we have only a vague idea of the humanistic books that were available in Bruges at the time, and the role played by Bruges as a center of humanism has yet to be accurately defined.

⁵⁴⁴ Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. 4659; see P. Thomas, *Catalogue des manuscrits de classiques latins de la Bibliothèque royale de Bruxelles*, Ghent, 1896, 15, no. 34 (erroneously dated as 13th century); Geirnaert, Vandewalle (as in n. 496), 127, no. 43.

⁵⁴⁵ Geirnaert, Vandewalle (as in n. 496), 23; N. Geirnaert, "Het archief van de familie Adornes en de Jeruzalemstichting. Mogelijkheden voor verder onderzoek," *De Leiegouw*, XXVIII/3-4 (1986), 296.

⁵⁴⁶ Derolez (as in n. 127), doc. 5, no. 21.

⁵⁴⁷ Geirnaert (as in n. 545), 1986, 296-297. I subscribe insistently to Geirnaert's remark that more attention should be given in archival research to *membra disjecta* of this sort.

CHAPTER V

OTHER RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

A. Mendicant Orders and Abbeys

The Benedictine order was not the oldest center of religious life in Bruges, as in such other early medieval centers as Ghent, Arras and St. Omer. As a result it never had a great impact on civic culture in Bruges.

On the other hand, the four mendicant orders were much more involved in the daily life of the city than any other congregation. Priests of these houses said mass in the chapel of the city hall. They also organized the processions in the city, first and foremost the annual procession of the Holy Blood. Many guilds, confraternities and all foreign nations had their chapels or altars in the churches of either the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Austin friars or the Carmelites.

Owing to their fervent position in the battle against heresy, the cloisters of the mendicant orders were heavily pillaged by the iconoclasts in 1578. The contemplative orders were suppressed and most of their buildings were destroyed in 1796 by the French Directoire regime. These two dramatic events caused an unimaginable loss of works of art, manuscripts, books, and archives. Serious gaps in the written sources and the decimated number of artifacts make it difficult to reconstruct the meaning and the importance of artistic patronage in Bruges cloisters in the fifteenth century. The following chapter is therefore necessarily a fragmented view of what presumably was once a rich fabric of vibrant cultural life.

1. The Franciscans and the Dominicans

The order of the Franciscans, also known as Friars Minor, was established near Bruges in 1221.¹ In March 1246 (n.s.), the order received land from the magistrature on the *Braemberg* in the center of town. The Franciscans built their cloister there in 1254 (Pl. 84).² It was demolished by the iconoclasts in 1578, and reconstructed during the period from 1598 to 1611, to be destroyed again in 1798.

The establishment of the Dominican order (*Predikheren* or *Jacobijnen*) was made possible through donations made by Count Ferrand after his release from prison in 1227. In 1228, they settled in Ghent, and six years

¹ Several Third Orders of St. Francis were established at Bruges, including the beguines and the beghards, but also the Grey Sisters of St. Elisabeth, and reformed convents, such as the *Staelijzers* of St. Martin, the Observants and the Poor Clares (*Colettinen*). Although some of them, like the beguines, have always played a prominent role in Bruges history, no data have hitherto surfaced about their artistic patronage in the fifteenth century. On beguinages see L.J.M. Philippen, *De Begijnhoven: oorsprong, geschiedenis, inrichting*, Antwerp, 1918; A. Mens, *Oorsprong en betekenis van de Nederlandse begijnen- en begardenbeweging*, Antwerp, 1947; E. McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture, with Special Emphasis on the Belgian Scene*, s.l., 1954; J.E. Ziegler, "The Curtis Beguinages in the Southern Low Countries and Art Patronage: Interpretation and Historiography," *Bulletin van het Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome*, LVII (1987), 31-70 (with extensive bibliography). The Bruges beguinage was studied by R. Hoornaert, *Le Béguinage de Bruges: son histoire, sa règle, sa vie*, Bruges, 1930; T. Luykx, J.L. Broeckx, *Brugge (Steden en Landschappen, IX)*, Antwerp, 1943, 153-154. On the Beghards, see L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire diplomatique des archives de l'ancienne Ecole Bogaerde à Bruges*, 2 vols., Bruges, 1899.

² A. Duclos, *Bruges, Histoire et Souvenirs*, Bruges, 1913 (anastatic reprint, Bruges, 1976), 571-2. Luykx, Broeckx (as in n. 1), 155, state erroneously that the cloister was built in 1255. R. Strohm, *Music in late Medieval Bruges*, Oxford, 1983, neglected to convert the date of the transferral of the property on the Braemberg to 1245 (n.s.). I have not been able to consult P. Servais Dirks, "Le couvent des Frères-Mineurs à Bruges," *Messenger de Saint-François*, (1877), 249-260.

later, in 1234, in Bruges.³ After Ferrand's death in 1233, his wife Countess Johanna of Constantinople became the great patroness of the order, and her protection was extended by her sister, Margaret of Constantinople (rule, 1244-78). Both noble women granted enormous sums of money and property to the cloister. Between 1284 and 1311 the Dominicans built their church, dedicated to St. Paul (Pl. 88). Large parts of the cloister, amongst others the dormitory and the library, were destroyed by fire in 1459. The same fate struck the tower of the church twenty years later. In 1578, the Bruges Dominican cloister was pillaged by the iconoclasts, and during the period from 1581-84 the church was used by the Calvinists for their services.⁴ Eventually in 1796, the cloister was abolished and nearly entirely destroyed. These dramatic events in the history of the institution were so devastating that most fifteenth century archives and all art treasures are lost.

The patronage of the Franciscans at Bruges is better documented. On at least one occasion, the church of the Franciscan cloister enjoyed ducal patronage. The winter storms of 1451 had broken the three central windows in the choir of the convent. On 7 April 1451, Duke Philip the Good granted the cloister a sum of £120 of 40 groats to repair these windows, which were decorated with his coat of arms.⁵ The duke suggested decorating these windows with the representations of the Crucifixion, the

³ On the history of the Dominicans in Bruges, see Duclos (as in n. 2), 31, 34, 653-654; P.P. Meulepas, "De Predikheren te Brugge," *Biekorf*, XLV (1939), 233-237; J.P. de Pue, *Geschiedenis van het Oud-Dominicanenklooster te Brugge (1233-1796)*, Louvain, 1981.

⁴ On the Calvinist period in Bruges see D. van der Bauwhede, M. Goetinck (eds.), *Brugge in de Geuzentijd. Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis van de Hervorming te Brugge en in het Brugse Vrije tijdens de 16de eeuw*, Bruges, 1982.

⁵ H. Nelis, "Philippe le Bon et les Frères Mineurs de Bruges," *Franciscana*, VII (1924), 115-117. As usual in the accounts of the ducal administration pounds of 40 Flemish groats were used as currency. £120 of 40 groats equals £20 gr or 57,600d par.

Virgin, or other images that the Franciscans preferred. Furthermore, he ordered placement of his coat of arms underneath these representations.⁶

The guild of the carpenters had its chapel dedicated to St. Louis in this church, and also the Archers of St. Sebastian held their religious services there from 1396 onward.

More important was the presence of rich merchant communities from Florence and Castile in the chapel of the Holy Cross.⁷ According to the 1414 foundation act of this chapel, the Franciscans had given their authorization to the Spaniards to embellish this chapel with their coat of arms, with statues, paintings and other works of art.⁸ From 1414, they shared the chapel with the Florentine Nation. In 1432, the order even gave the chapel with its contents of ritual ornaments and statues in usufruct to the Castilians, in exchange for their continuing financial support of the Franciscans' works of charity.⁹

Undoubtedly the most prominent source of artistic patronage at the Franciscans was the confraternity of the Dry Tree.¹⁰ This devout

⁶ "Et en chacune dicelles faire faire les representations du crucefix, de Nostre Dame et d'autres ymages teles iceulx religieux adviseront, avecques lescu de noz armes au dessoubz timbre comme il appartient et est accoustume et non en autres usages." See *Ibid.*, 116.

⁷ L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Cartulaire de l'ancien Consulat d'Espagne à Bruges*, Bruges, 1901, 22-24; *Id.*, *Inventaire des Archives de la ville de Bruges*, IV, Bruges, 1876, 322-323; R. de Roover, *Money, Banking and Credit in Medieval Bruges*, Cambridge, Mass., 1948, *passim*. The Spanish nation that had its chapel here originally included all subjects of the King of Castile, *i.e.*, Castilians, Biscayans, Navarrese, and Andalusians. The Catalans and the Aragonese had a chapel at the convent of the Carmelites (see further); see J. Marechal, "La colonie espagnole de Bruges du XIVE au XVIe siècle," *Revue du Nord*, XXXV (1953), 5-40.

⁸ Gilliodts-Van Severen (as in n. 7), 1876, 322, no. 928: "*arma quoque sua vel ymages in eadem ponendi et depingendi seu depingi faciendi et ornandi, prout eis bonum visum fuerit.*"

⁹ Gilliodts-Van Severen (as in n. 7), 1901, 23-24.

¹⁰ On this important confraternity, see C.F. Custis, "Confrérie de l'Arbre Sec à Bruges," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, 2e série, I (1843) (V), 379-385; A. De Schodt, "Confrérie de Notre-Dame de l'Arbre Sec," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, XXVIII (1876-1877), 141-187; A. Houbaert, o.f.m., "De eredienst van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw bij de Minderbroeders in België," *Franciscana: Archief der Paters Minderbroeders*, XII-

organization was founded some time before 1396, in support of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception which was defended by the Franciscans. Its peculiar name referred to the infertility of the Virgin's mother, St. Anne. The confraternity had its chapel in the north side of the choir.

All the Burgundian dukes from Philip the Good to Philip the Fair, were honorary members of this noble society.¹¹ Other prominent members were Isabella of Portugal, Isabella of Bourbon, Anthony the Great Bastard of Burgundy, and other courtiers, such as Adolph of Cleves, Engelbrecht of Nassau, Olivier de la Marche.

The regular members were men and women from Bruges's most notable aristocratic or upper class families, such as Louis of Gruuthuse, Paul van Overtvelt, the Lords of Halewijn, Gistel, and Diksmuide, the Adornes, the Van Nieuwenhovens, de Baenst, Dault, Lem, Metteneye, Ruebs, and many others. The high number of foreign merchants, and especially Florentines, in the confraternity is noteworthy. The Portinari, Tani, Altoviti, Ricasoli, Villani, and Cavalcanti families were all well represented. People from Lucca, such as the famous brothers Giovanni and Michele Arnolfini, and members of the Poggi, Cenami, Reali, and Sandei families also joined the organization. Spanish members were, among others, Martin Gonsales, Antonio Loupes, Alvaro de Castro, Alonso and Silvestro Pardo.

The confraternity also counted some artists among its members: the painters Petrus Christus and his wife, Arnoud de Mol, and later Gerard David; the musicians Robert Pelé, Jean Cordier and Adriaen Basin, and the silversmiths Jean Puetin and Gerard Loyet. Membership in the confraternity was possibly indicative of the unusually high social position they had attained as artists. This was certainly the case for Petrus Christus, who seemed to have even been a prominent member of the board of the Confraternity of the Dry Tree. On 20 June 1469, he co-signed a contract

XIII (1958), 5-12; R. Strohm, "Muzikaal en artistiek beschermheerschap in het Brugse gilde vanden Droghen Boome," *Biekorf*, LXXXIII/1 (1983), 5-18; *Id.* (as in n. 2), 70-73.

¹¹ A list of the members during the fifteenth century is preserved in SAB, *Gilde Drogenboom*, nr. 505, *Ledenlijst*. Strohm (as in n. 2), 72, and *Id.* (as in n. 10), 11-12, enumerated a substantial number of members, of whom only the most important ones are listed here.

laying down the conditions for the use of the chapel by the confraternity in the church of the Franciscans.¹²

Recent research has demonstrated that the confraternity played a significant role in the development of polyphonic music in Bruges.¹³ Usually, more than half of its annual budget was spent on this type of musical performances. The 1469 contract was made to solve a long-lasting conflict about these performances between the confraternity and the chapter of St. Donatian, on one side, and the confraternity and the Franciscan cloister, on the other. The wealthy members of the Dry Tree hired the best singers from the choir of St. Donatian's to replace Franciscan brethren in their own choir. This enraged the chapter of St. Donatian, as it saw some of its most talented people leave, while the services of the Franciscan brethren as singers were no longer needed.

The contract signed in 1469 was a compromise between the different parties. It specified the types and number of religious services that were to be held in the confraternity's chapel, as well as strict directions for remuneration of the brethren. Furthermore, this contract regulated the ownership of gifts to the chapel. All donations made by members of the confraternity, such as wax and candles, statues, silverware, ecclesiastic garb, and other similar church ornaments, remained the confraternity's property. However, everything that was sacrificed during services, be it money, candles, wine, bread, meat, or other gifts, would be given to the convent henceforth. Furthermore, all income issuing from sepulchral concessions in the chapel, remained the property of the Franciscans. A stipulation in the contract regulating what the confraternity was allowed to take with it when it decided to leave, gives some idea of how lavishly the chapel was decorated. The members of the Dry Tree were allowed to take from the chapel all

¹² This document is here published *in extenso* for the first time; see doc. 88 in appendix. It is dated "*upden twinstichsten dach van Wedemaent int Jaer duust vierhondert neghen ende tsestich*" (on the twentieth day of June in the year thousand four hundred and sixty-nine), and not 20 July, as stated by De Schodt (as in n. 10), 158.

¹³ Strohm (as in n. 2), 70-73; *Id.* (as in n. 10), 5-18.

statues, paintings, chandeliers, organs and church treasures such as decorations, chalices, ampullas, books, curtains, altar cloths, antependia, ritual garb and other similar objects used in the said chapel and on the altar, as well as everything that hangs on the walls and can be taken down without great damage.

The document was co-signed on behalf of the confraternity by Paul Van Overtvelt, dean of the Dry Tree and bailiff of Bruges, Anselmus Adornes, Giovanni Arnolfini, the theologian Joos Berthilde, Jan van Nieuwenhove, sheriff of Bruges, and other board members such as Petrus Christus, Tommaso Portinari, Jan Van Huerne, Colaert Dault, Anthuenis van Dammast, Jan Tsolle, and Pieter van Bochoute. The involvement of these people in the cultural life of Bruges is well documented, and discussed elsewhere in this study.

From 15 August 1495 onward, the confraternity kept an inventory of its church treasures.¹⁴ This document lists the donors of some of the items. Helena Villani offered a silver gilt chalice and a missal with silver clasps. Colaert Dault presented a silver gilt tree embellished with his coat of arms. Duchess Mary of Burgundy donated an expensive damask cope.

We also learn from the written sources that many members of the Dry Tree were prominent patrons of the arts, while others were important artists. Nevertheless, only one painting survives that can be related to the confraternity of the Dry Tree.¹⁵ All the rest of the riches of this culturally important society is lost or has not yet been identified. The painting is Petrus Christus's *Madonna of the Dry Tree* (Pl. 86).¹⁶ It represents a Madonna

¹⁴ Cf. doc. 159 in appendix.

¹⁵ The suggestion that Petrus Christus's *Madonna and Child with SS Francis and Jerome*, signed and dated 1457 (Berlin, Staatliche Museen) (Pl. 85), may have belonged to the Franciscan cloister (Strohm's (as in n. 2), 72) is unfounded. The presence of St. Francis on this panel alone is not enough to make such a supposition.

¹⁶ Lugano, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection; oil and tempera on panel, 14.7 x 12.4 cm; see G. Ring, "Onze Lieve Vrouwe ten Drooghen Boome," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, n. F. XXX (1919), 75; M.J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei, I: Die Van Eyck - Petrus Christus*, Berlin, 1924, 87; W. Schöne, *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule*, Berlin, Leipzig, 1938, 57,

with Child standing in the fork of a tree, situated against a dark background. The bare branches of this tree are shaped in such a manner that they form a huge crown of thorns encompassing the Madonna. From these branches hang fifteen golden Gothic letter *a*'s.

According to Weale, Petrus Christus and his wife joined the confraternity of the Dry Tree shortly before 1462.¹⁷ The author based this statement on a date mentioned in the inscription of Anthony, the great Bastard of Burgundy, on the same folio of the confraternity's list of members. Actually, Weale misread this date as 1462 instead of 1463.¹⁸

Some authors considered Weale's indication *shortly before 1462* as a *terminus post quem* for the painting, or stated at least that Petrus Christus painted it about that time.¹⁹ Many others considered it to be a relatively early work by Petrus Christus, mainly owing to its stylistic affinities to the *Exeter Madonna* (Pl. 97).²⁰ Membership in the confraternity was not

no. 24; E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting. Its Origins and Character*, I, Cambridge, MA, 1953, 311, n.4; J. Bruyn, *Van Eyck Problemen*, Utrecht, 1957, 113; G. Münzel, "Die Madonna zum dürren Baum von Petrus Christus," *Das Münster*, XI (1958), 256-260; M.J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting, I: The van Eycks - Petrus Christus*, (comments and notes by N. Veronée-Verhaegen), Brussels, Leiden, 1967, 87, suppl., 104; C. Sterling, "Observations on Petrus Christus," *Art Bulletin*, LIII/1 (1971), 19; P.H. Schabacker, *Petrus Christus*, Utrecht, 1974, 107-108, cat.14; U. Panhans-Bühler, *Eklektizismus und Originalität im Werk des Petrus Christus*, Vienna, 1978, 79-81; G. Gyselen, "Een verdorde boom is geen brandende braambos," *Biekorf*, LXXX (1980), 420-423; *Collection Thyssen-Bornemisza, maitres anciens*, [exh. cat.], Paris, Musée du Petit Palais, 1982, 42-43; C. Eisler, *The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection: Early Netherlandish Painting*, London, 1989, 92-97, no. 7.

¹⁷ W.H.J. Weale, "Pierre et Sébastien Christus," *Le Beffroi*, I (1863), 237; *Id.*, "Peintres Brugeois : les Christus," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, 2e série, LIX (1909), 101.

¹⁸ For this inscription, see SAB, *Gilde Drogenboom*, nr. 505, *Ledenlijst*, fol. 13: "Messire Anthoine, bastaerd van Bourgoinen cam int gheselschip int jaer lxiii. mccc in meye" (My lord Anthony, bastard of Burgundy joined the company in the year 63 1400 in May). Sterling stated that Petrus Christus perhaps joined the confraternity "several years, and not shortly before 1462;" see Sterling (as in n. 16), 19.

¹⁹ Ring (as in n. 16), 75; Panofsky (as in n. 16), 311, n.4.

²⁰ An early date for the Thyssen-Bornemisza painting has been suggested by Friedländer (as in n. 16), 87; Münzel (as in n. 16), 256; Sterling (as in n. 16), 19; Schabacker

necessary for the artist to obtain the commission for this painting, so, the date he joined the Dry Tree may well be irrelevant to the dating of the Thyssen-Bornemisza painting. Its small dimensions have led some scholars to consider the painting a work made for the private devotion of a member of the confraternity.²¹ Furthermore, it has been speculated that the composition of this painting was derived from a lost altarpiece of the confraternity.²² There exists no indisputable archival proof for the existence of this supposedly lost altarpiece. It was not mentioned in the inventory of the confraternity's ecclesiastic treasures, drawn up from 1495 on. However, as we have seen earlier, chapel inventories of this sort often listed only smaller objects that were easily movable. From the 1469 contract we may infer that there were paintings in the chapel. The lost altarpiece may have been one of these unspecified paintings.

Petrus Christus's *Madonna of the Dry Tree* was also not mentioned in the 1495 inventory. One would expect that a painting of such small dimensions to be listed in the inventory if it had been in the chapel. This omission means either that the painting was no longer there in 1495, or even more probably, that it was indeed made for a member of the confraternity, whose identity remains unknown, and not for the chapel itself.

The fifteen mysterious letter *a*'s, dangling from the branches of the dry tree, correspond to the fifteen mysteries or the 150 *Ave Maria*'s of the

(as in n. 16), 107. Panhans-Bühler (as in n. 16), 81, doubted the date of c. 1460 on stylistic grounds, but did not give any alternative.

²¹ Ring (as in n. 16), 75; Friedländer (as in n. 16), 87.

²² Ring (as in n. 16), 75; Friedländer (as in n. 16), 87; Panhans-Bühler (as in n. 16), 80. An archaic altarpiece of the confraternity, painted in 1620 by Pieter Claessins, Jr. (Bruges, St. Walburga), would have had this same lost altarpiece as a common source. Münzel (as in n. 16), 256, pointed out that this comparison with a painting of 1620 is problematic. The latter author also demonstrated convincingly that this supposedly lost altarpiece did not necessarily represent the scenes of *Moses with Burning Bush* and *Gideon with the Golden Fleece*, like the 1620 painting. Nevertheless, Panhans-Bühler (as in n. 16), 80, kept insisting on this speculative matter.

rosary.²³ Schabacker supposed these letters were not found in the presumed original altarpiece, but that they were added on the request of the patron.²⁴ Several original bookbindings in the confraternity's archives bear a stamped motif on the front cover, which is clearly inspired on Petrus Christus's painting (or its presumed prototype) (Pl. 87).²⁵ This seal shows a similar Madonna and Child standing in a tree, surrounded by branches in the form of a crown of thorns, from which letter *a*'s hang. So evidently, the letter *a*'s were part of the particular iconography of the confraternity, and no oddity commissioned by a specific member.

About 1466, the reformed branch of the Franciscans, the Friars Observants (or *Recolletten*), built a cloister just outside the city walls, near the *Ezelspoort*, on land they received from Tommaso Portinari.²⁶ Margaret of York laid the first stone of this building, and later her step-daughter, Mary of Burgundy, made gifts to this foundation.

The Spanish merchants obtained a chapel in the church of this cloister also. On 18 September 1474, their representative, Garcia de Contreras, contracted the glazier Pieter van den Dike to install five stained glass windows in this chapel.²⁷ These had to represent the *Crucifixion*, the

²³ Schabacker (as in n. 16), 107. Panofsky (as in n. 16), 311, n.4, showed that the iconography of this painting is based on Ezekiel XVII, 24, a passage interpreted by medieval theology as a reference to the miraculous conception of the Virgin by the infertile St. Anne (see for instance, Guillaume de Déguileville, *Pèlerinage de l' âme*). Münzel (as in n. 16), 258, pointed out that another source for this peculiar iconography might have been the story of the vision of Seth, who saw a child in a dry tree, as it was told by Jacob van Maerlant, the greatest Flemish poet of the thirteenth century, in his work *Dboec Vanden Houte* (v. 157-160).

²⁴ Schabacker (as in n. 14=6), 107.

²⁵ See for instance the binding of SAB, *Gilde Drogenboom*, no. 505, *Ledenlijst* and *Inventaris van het Kerkgoed*.

²⁶ Duclos (as in n. 2), 542; Strohm (as in n. 2), 72-73. See also the charters of this foundation, RAB, *Charters met blauw nummer*, nos. 7511 and 7530.

²⁷ Cf doc. 116 in appendix.

*Mocking of Christ, A Group of Jews, the Tree of Jesse, and the Martyrdom of St. James the Less.*²⁸ At the top of these windows, the merchants' arms were to be painted. The contract stipulated explicitly that this work had to be comparable to the windows that Pieter had made earlier for Guillaume Hugonet, chancellor of Burgundy, which were placed in the high choir of the church. Furthermore, the patrons expressed the wish that the glazier would use the "*the most beautiful colors available.*" He would receive £5 gr per piece.

About nine years later, on 4 May 1483, the Spaniards commissioned six more stained glass windows of Pieter van den Dike for their chapel.²⁹ For the largest he would receive £10 gr, for the others £5 gr each. The subject matter of this second series of windows is not known, but the high prices paid for them indicate that they were figurative.

This patronage of the more severely reformed branch of the order by the duchesses, Portinari, chancellor Hugonet, and the Spanish merchants should probably not be considered as a radical shift.³⁰ Mary of Burgundy, for instance, simultaneously continued her patronage of the Franciscans. The Spanish merchants even emphasized their continued support of the older branch in a charter of c. 1500:

*And knowing that those of the Spanish nation have erected a certain other chapel at the Observants outside the city of Bruges, they have, nevertheless, always continued as usual to have their weekly mass read in this chapel of the Friars Minor.*³¹

²⁸ Gilliodts-Van Severen (as in n. 7), 111-112, claimed that the subjects were the *Crucifixion, the Garden of Getsemane, A Group of Jews, the Tree of Jesse, and the St. James in the Desert*. The last subject is problematic. The document says "*St. James in battle.*" I believe this means the martyrdom of St. James the Less, who was attacked and whose head was beaten with a fullers' staff.

²⁹ Cf. doc. 153 in appendix.

³⁰ Strohm recently depicted this situation as such; see Strohm (as in n. 2), 72-73.

³¹ "*Et jasoit que ceulz de la nacion Despaigne ont fait ediffier certaine aultre chappelle aux observans hors de ladicte ville de Bruges, neantmoins si ont ils tousiours continue de faire lire en*

The radical turn was only taken in 1517, when the two branches of the order merged, and the Observants moved to the *Braemberg* in the old Franciscan cloister. At that time, the confraternity of the Dry Tree no longer complied with the strict rule. To keep their chapel, the members had to accept the new rules, which banned all luxury, and the many female members were no longer allowed to enter the friars' premises.

2. The Black Friars of St. Augustine

The Black Friars of St. Augustine (Hermites of St. Augustine, Austin Friars) settled in Bruges in 1250 in the chapel of St. Martin in Jan Miraelstraat.³² Soon this building was too small, and they obtained a larger lot on the same city block, near the water (*Augustijnenrei*). This land was rented from Jan III Lord of Gistel, who bequeathed it and some adjacent land to the friars in 1275. During the same year, the friars started to build a new church and in 1287 a cloister (Pl. 89). The magistrature granted them permission to construct a bridge over the Reie in 1294. This bridge (*Augustijnenbrug*) still exists. In 1314, Jan IV of Gistel, donated the last piece of land to the convent. From then on, the Austin friars owned the whole block between Augustijnenrei, Jan Miraelstraat, Hoedemakersstraat and Schrijversstraat.

In 1450, the church was expanded with an entirely new aisle. The later history of the order greatly resembles that of the other mendicants in Bruges. The church of the Austin friars was sacked in 1578 by the iconoclasts, and struck by lightning in 1584. During the period of 1586-90, the church was rebuilt, and in the seventeenth century all parts of the cloister were replaced by Baroque buildings. On 27 December 1796, the church was officially closed. In May of that year, most art objects had already been

icelle chappelle des Freres Mineurs chascune sepmaine la messe accoustumee;" see Gilliodts-Van Severen (as in n. 7), 1901, 195.

³² On this order see mainly A. Keelhoff, *Histoire de l'ancien couvent des ermites de Saint Augustin à Bruges*, Bruges, 1869; Strohm (as in n. 2), 62-63.

dispersed amongst other Bruges ecclesiastic institutions. The whole complex, church and cloister, was demolished in 1813.

Owing to its location in the middle of the trade quarter, many foreign nations obtained chapels in the church. Every day masses were read in the chapels of the merchants from Genoa, Pisa, Lucca, Venice, Nuremberg, and later, Navarre. During the annual markets, these foreign nations rented space in the cloister to exhibit their most precious and expensive merchandise. Parts of the cloister, the refectory, and the old chapel of St. Martin were used for this purpose twice a year. When a stricter rule was imposed on the order in 1484, these commercial practices were banned.

The departure of most foreign nations from Bruges in the early sixteenth century had terrible consequences for the convent. The Austin friars had obtained most of their works of art, their ecclesiastic ornaments, and many other gifts from their foreign guests.

The Spanish merchants did not have their own chapel in the church for very long, but nevertheless they endowed the convent generously.³³ Each year on the feast day of their patron saint St. Sebastian, the Spanish colony offered a sheep, 100 loaves of bread, and twelve pitchers of wine to the Austin friars. In 1470, the Spanish merchants commissioned from the brass founder Lauwers Vanden Brecht four brass pillars for the church.³⁴ These pillars were decorated with coats of arms, and on top, four brass angels, which were commissioned from the same Lauwers. He did not respect the terms of delivery, for which he was sued.

In 1445 the merchants of Genoa received permission to install choir stalls in the church at their own expense. In return they were allowed to use them. Grateful for this permission, the Genoese presented two silver

³³ Keelhoff (as in n. 32), 22, stated that the Spanish acquired a chapel here in 1348, which is incorrect. Only in 1535, were merchants of Navarre granted permission to establish a chapel here dedicated to St. Firmin; see J. Marechal, *Europese aanwezigheid te Brugge. De vreemde kolonies (XIVde-XIXde eeuw)*, Bruges, 1985, 114.

³⁴ Cf. doc. 94 in appendix. A summary of this document was earlier published by Gilliodts-Van Severen (as in n. 7), 1901, 106.

thuribles to the friars.³⁵ All seats were decorated with the coats of arms of the noble Genoese families. In 1484, a number of seats were added to these choir stalls.

In 1452, the Nation of Lucca offered the considerable sum of £500 gr for the construction of a new high altar.³⁶

As far as we know, the friars commissioned only one work of art during the period, and it had an unfortunate history.³⁷ In 1467, they had a silver statue made representing St. Nicolas of Tolentino.³⁸ During the reign of Charles the Bold, all cloisters were so heavily taxed that the Black Friars had to lend considerable amounts of money. The interest on this loan was so high that they had to pawn the silver statue for £105 gr.

Beside the patronage of foreign nations, the convent could also count on foundations and endowments by private persons. The Austin church was a rather important burial site, for instance. Through a charter of 1457, the magistrature granted permission to foreigners to be buried within the city walls.³⁹ Two years later, the Hanseatic merchants obtained the right to be buried in the church of the Austin convent.⁴⁰ Apparently, the merchants

³⁵ Keelhoff (as in n. 32), 22. In 1535, the Genoese Nation paid for the repair of these thuribles.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

³⁷ A *Mater Dolorosa* on golden background now preserved at St. Savior's, comes originally from the church of the Austin friars. Keelhoff (as in n. 32), 108, dated this painting around 1460. It should be situated at least 70 years later; see Duclos (as in n. 2), 217.

³⁸ Keelhoff (as in n. 32), 52.

³⁹ L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Cartulaire de l'ancien Estaple de Bruges. Recueil de documents concernant le commerce intérieur et maritime, les relations internationales et l'histoire économique de cette ville*, I, Bruges, 1904, no. 975; V. Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge voor 1578*, I, Bruges, 1976, 183. This privilege was confirmed in a papal bull written by Pope Leo X in 1513; see Gilliodts-Van Severen (as in n. 7), 1901, 225.

⁴⁰ Gilliodts-Van Severen (as in n. 39), II, 1904, no. 1018; Vermeersch (as in n. 39), I, 184, n. 1333.

all had a special preference for funeral brass plates. At least five of those were installed in the church during the following years.⁴¹

Between 1443 and 1470, seven tombs with brass inlay were placed in this church.⁴² Some of the persons buried in these sepulchres had endowed masses during their lifetimes. Antoon de Heere and his wife, Margaretha van Nieuwenhove, chose the corporation of the bargemen to supervise the masses they had endowed in March 1448.⁴³ Both the dean of the corporation, and the Austin friars received annual interest. The corporation of the image-makers supervised annual and daily masses endowed by the brothers Jan and Antoon Losschaert.⁴⁴ Giovanni Arnolfini and his wife,

⁴¹ *Ibid.* The tomb of a certain Hagheleyn (died 15 May 1448) and his wife, Maria van Themseke (died 14 October 1453), was also covered with a brass plate. See Vermeersch (as in n. 39), II, 175, no. 187.

⁴² Tombs of Pieter Broedeloose (died 15 November 1443) and his wife Agnes Metteneye; Antoon de Heere, knight (died 1481) and his wife Margaretha van Nieuwenhove (died 1451); Gillis van Vlaminckpoorte, mayor (died 3 June 1452) and his wife Catharina Hoste (died 14 April 1453); Jan van Aertrijke, mayor (died 11 September 1452) and his wife Catharina Metteneye; Antoon Losschaert (died 3 October 1458) and his wife Margaretha de Hondt (died 28 January 1465); Jan Losschaert (died 20 April 1461) and his wife Anastasia van den Steene (died 7 April 1470); Filips Metteneye, mayor (died 2 June 1470) and his wife Catharina Geerolf; see Vermeersch (as in n. 39), II, 173, 187, 189-191, 220, 231, 253, nos. 181, 200, 204, 205, 223, 234, 258.

⁴³ Keelhoff (as in n. 32), 148-149. Strohm (as in n. 2), 63, stated that Margaretha van Nieuwenhove endowed an anniversary in 1466, which is impossible as she died in 1451.

⁴⁴ On 12 February 1469 (n.s.), and not in 1468 as in Keelhoff (as in n. 32), 172, the corporation of the image-makers concluded a contract with the Austin friars regarding the annual masses. In December of the same year, another contract was concluded relative to the daily masses. Several known artists represented their corporation as witnesses, amongst whom Gheraerd van Bethem, as dean, Jacob van Ghiseghem, Jacob de Jonghe, Jan van den Zanden, Jan van Hilten, Adriaen Kaele, Diederic van Thien, Augustijn Buerse, as inspectors (*vinders*); Arnoud de Mol and Jan de Cloot as financial administrator (*gouvernerers*), Jan van Bethem, Jan Caudron, Joris van Zeven and Pieter vanden Bogaerde as administrators (*ghecommitteerden*) and Pieter Nachtegale, Petrus Christus, Pieter Casinbroot, Jan Malekyn, Cornelis Bollaert, and several others as notable members or elders (*houderlingen*). This document, only fragmentarily published by Keelhoff (as in n.

Giovanna Cenami, also endowed a daily mass and an anniversary mass at the altar of the Lucchese merchants with the annual revenue of £80 gr. His brother, Michele Arnolfini, endowed the convent with £70 gr. Contrary to some claims, these famous Italian patrons were not buried in this church, but in the church of the convent of the Rich Clares.⁴⁵

From an artistic point of view, the tomb monument of Philip the Good's councillor, Joos van Halewyn, (died 14 June 1455) and his wife, Elisabeth van Maldeghem, was the most important one in the Austin church (Pl. 90).⁴⁶ This niche monument showed only the man as a recumbent figure on a sarcophagus, decorated with eight *pleurants*, each with a blind shield. The stylistic resemblance of these *pleurants* with those on the tomb of Margaretha van Gistel (Ghent, cathedral of St. Bavo, crypt), led Roggen to attribute the Halewyn monument to the Ghent sculptor Jan III de Meyere.⁴⁷ In 1827, the monument was moved to the chapel of St. Lievin in the ambulatory of the choir of St. Savior, where it was integrated with other fragments of funeral monuments into an altar dedicated to Count Charles the Good.

The church of the Black friars of St. Augustine also housed the altars of the confraternity of St. Nicolas of Tolentino, and of several corporations. Keelhoff claimed that most of Bruges's aristocracy belonged to this confra-

32), 173-174, has been overlooked in art historical literature. It should be added to the biography of Petrus Christus. The latter document is Ghent, Archief van de Paters Augustijnen, *klooster Brugge*, no. 74. I have not been able to gain access to this archival collection, which is currently being reorganized.

⁴⁵ Stated by Strohm (as in n. 2), 63. W.H.J. Weale, M. Brockwell, *The Van Eycks and Their Art*, London, 1912, 117, stated that Giovanni was buried in the church of the Rich Clares (*Urbanisten*), but his wife at the Austin friars. This mistake was rectified by Vermeersch (as in n. 39), II, 258, no. 268, in his discussion of Arnolfini's tomb.

⁴⁶ Vermeersch (as in n. 39), I, 201; II, 201-211, no.213, pl.87-93. In the literature this monument has often been erroneously considered to be that of Willem van Halewyn, Joos's father; see, for instance, Keelhoff (as in n. 32), 13-108.

⁴⁷ D. Roggen, "Gentsche Grafplastiek uit den Tijde der van Eyck's," *Gentsche Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, IX (1943), 112. On the monument of Margaretha van Gistel, see also E. Dhanens, *Inventaris van het Kunstpatrimonium van Oostvlaanderen*, V. *St.-Baafskathedraal*, Ghent, 1965, 114-115, no. 231.

ternity of St. Nicolas of Tolentino, but cited no with archival sources.⁴⁸ It should be noted further that not all corporations that supervised foundations in this church had their altars there too. We have already seen that the bargemen administered the de Heere-van Nieuwenhove endowment, and that the image-makers controlled the foundations of the Losschaert brothers. At the Black Friars' church as in the church of St. James, the guild of the furriers, lamb's wool and felt workers supervised a foundation established by Donaes de Moor and his wife Adriana de Vos, by Jan Ruttins and his wife Verjehanne Bettyn, and by Berthelemi Bettyn and his wife Ghiselle Cane, the parents of Verjehanne.⁴⁹

The company of the fencers of St. Michael, and the guilds of the tapestry makers and of the barbers and surgeons, did have their altars in the Austin church. However, nothing is known about the artistic patronage of these groups in the 15th century.⁵⁰

3. The Carmelites

The Carmelites (*Vrouwebroers*, friars of Our Lady) came to Bruges in 1263.⁵¹ This last group of mendicant friars was also patronized by the

⁴⁸ Keelhoff (as in n. 32), 112.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 163-165.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 148, 151, 157, 175. On the guild of the tapestry makers, see also J. Versyp, *De Geschiedenis van de Tapijtkunst te Brugge*, (*Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Schone Kunsten*, 8), Brussels, 1954, 34.

⁵¹ On the Carmelite convent in Bruges, see W.H.J. Weale, "Obituaire du couvent des Carmes à Bruges," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, L (1900), 153-288; Marechal (as in n. 7), 5-40; *Id.*, "De devotie te Brugge tot Sint-Niniaan, Bisschop van Whithorn in Schotland, 1366-1548," *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis, gesticht onder de benaming Société d'Emulation te Brugge*, IC (1962), 187-202; *Id.*, "De betrekkingen tussen Karmelieten en Hanzeaten te Brugge van 1347 tot 1523," *Ibid.*, C (1963),

Countess of Flanders, Margaret of Constantinople, who gave them land just outside the city. In 1288, they acquired a piece of land in the street called since then *Carmersstraat*. They built a church with three aisles here, which was dedicated to the Virgin and to Mary Cleophas, Mary Salome and Mary Magdalen (Pl. 91).

The Carmelite convent did not escape from destruction by the iconoclasts, who demolished the church and the most of the cloister.⁵² Before these dramatic events, the convent had developed into a popular meeting place of diverse nationals. The groups of people and associations who had altars in this church were as diverse as in the other mendicant convents. The English and Scottish Nations had their chapels in the cloister. The Hanseatic League and the Aragonese and Catalan colonies held their religious services at the high altar of the church. The Carmelite cloister was not only a place of worship, but also a meeting and even a lodging place for many of these foreigners. Beside this remarkable concentration of foreign merchants, the church also housed the altars of several other confraternities: that of the Immaculate Conception, of Our Lady of Roosebeke and of the Holy Ghost. The corporations of the sailors, the brewers, the 'paternoster-makers' (*i.e.*, manufacturers of rosaries), the lacemakers, the chandlers and

206-227; *Id.*, "De Kapel van de Engelsen te Brugge 1344-1563," *Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique*, XXXIV/1 (1963), 48-59; Strohm (as in n. 2), 63-70. Recently, the articles by J. Marechal have been collected and republished under the title *Europese aanwezigheid te Brugge. De vreemde kolonies (XIVde-XIXde eeuw)*, Bruges, 1985, respectively 90-120, 51-62, 63-81, and 41-50. I will further refer to these collected writings. The female convent of the Carmelite order (Carmelites of Sion) was only founded in 1488, and falls therefore outside the scope of this study. On this convent see Duclos (as in n. 2), 291, 396, 523. On the inventory of their art objects, see W.H.J. Weale, "Le couvent des Soeurs de Notre-Dame, dit de Sion à Bruges," *Le Beffroi*, III (1866-70), 46-53, 76-93, 214-230, and on the painting donated to this convent by Gerard David, see H. Van Miegroet, *Gerard David*, Antwerp, 1989, 221, 297-298 (no. 29), 354 (doc. 70).

⁵² Weale (as in n. 51), 155-156, published excerpts from an inventory of ecclesiastic ornaments that belonged to the Carmelites, apparently drawn up before the iconoclastic destructions. The author neglected to provide a reference for this document. Not one of the listed objects can be identified as having been made during the fifteenth century. Therefore this list of silver statues, cibories, crucifixes, relics, etc., is of little use in this study.

the dyers, also held their religious services in the church of the Carmelite convent.

Notwithstanding the obvious cultural importance of these groups of foreign merchants, confraternities, and corporations, nearly nothing is known about their artistic patronage during the fifteenth century. The same reasons as those given earlier in this chapter, must be repeated here. The loss of every single art object that belonged to this institution, as well as the radically decimated archives must account for our very limited knowledge of the Carmelite convent.

From 1296, English merchants abroad were organized in traders' associations called *Fellowships of the Merchant Adventurers*. With Bruges as a home base, they supervised trade in English wool, silk, and other luxury goods.⁵³ In 1344, the Bruges branch of the Adventurers received permission from the Carmelite friars to establish a chapel dedicated to St. Thomas a Becket, Bishop of Canterbury.⁵⁴ They used this place of worship until about 1563. In this period, at least thirteen Englishmen were buried there.

English notables visiting Bruges, such as the retinue of Margaret of York during the wedding festivities of 1468, were lodged in the Carmelite convent.⁵⁵

⁵³ On the Merchant Adventurers, see W.E. Lingelbach, *The Merchant Adventurers of England*, 1902 (reprint New York, 1971); E. Carus-Wilson, "The Origins and Early Development of the Merchant Adventurers," *Economic History Review*, IV (1932-34), 147-176; L. Lyell, F.D. Watney, *Acts of Court of the Mercer's Company 1453-1527*, Cambridge, 1936; Strohm (as in n. 2), 63-64. On political and economic relations between England and the Low Countries during the reign of Philip the Good, see M.R. Thielemans, *Bourgogne et Angleterre: Relations politiques et économiques entre les Pays-Bas bourguignons et l'Angleterre 1435-1467*, Brussels, 1966.

⁵⁴ On this chapel, see Strohm (as in n. 2), 63-64; Marechal (as in n. 51), 1985, 17.

⁵⁵ For the wedding festivities, several rooms were installed here which were used for the preparation of the banquets: a large kitchen with four ovens, a bakery, a wine cellar, and a carpenters' workshop, where tables, benches, a cabinets were made; see Comte de Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne. Etudes sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XVe siècle, Preuves*, II, Paris, 1851, 310-311.

The chapel was richly endowed by individual members, and even by King Edward IV in 1462. However, nothing is known about its decoration, or about possible commissions or donations of works of art.

One of the most prominent members of the Merchant Adventurers in Bruges was William Caxton, the wool merchant and printer who introduced the new invention of printing into England.⁵⁶ From 1462 until 1469, he was 'master or governor of the Merchant Adventurers in Flanders, Brabant, Holland and Zeeland.' Probably around 1473, he published his first book at Bruges, an English translation of Raoul Lefèvre's *Histoires de Troye*, under the title *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*. This *incunabulum* was commissioned by the Duchess, Margaret of York in 1471.⁵⁷ Two years earlier Caxton had become her secretary. The anonymous engraved frontispiece in the Huntington copy of the *Recuyell* (Huntington Library, San Marino, CA), still recalls vividly the presentation of the work to the Duchess (Pl. 92).

The Scottish Merchants had their chapel in the church of the Carmelites from 1366 until at least 1569, when it was last mentioned.⁵⁸ This chapel was dedicated to St. Ninian, Bishop of Whithorn. Only by pure coincidence is it known that this chapel was decorated with an altarpiece. On 28 June 1457, a lawsuit pending between a certain Wouter Forster, Scot,

⁵⁶ On William Caxton, see N.F. Blake, *Caxton and His World*, London, 1969; E. Childs, *William Caxton: A Portrait in a Background*, London, 1976; G.D. Painter, *William Caxton. A quincentenary biography of England's first printer*, London, 1976; *William Caxton. An Exhibition to Commemorate the Quincentenary of the Introduction of Printing into England*, [exh.cat.] London, British Library, 1977; L. Hellinga, L., "Caxton and the Bibliophiles," *Communications Onzième Congrès International de Bibliophile, Bruxelles 21-27 septembre 1979*, Brussels, 1981, 11-38; V. Vermeersch, *Brugge, Duizend jaar Kunst. Van Karolingisch tot Neogotisch, 875-1875*, Antwerp, 1981, 205-206.

⁵⁷ For the date of this commission, see Painter (as in n. 56), 45-46.

⁵⁸ The presence of the Scottish merchants in Bruges was interrupted in 1468-69, between 1488 and 1493, following the revolt against Maximilian, and again between 1498 and 1538. On the chapel of the Scots, see Marechal (as in n. 51), 1985, 17, 51-62; Strohm (as in n. 2), 65. It should be emphasized that only the Scottish merchants met at this chapel. The Scottish laborers had a separate chapel in the church of St. Giles, which was dedicated to St. Andrew, patron saint of Scotland.

and the rest of the Scottish Nation, was adjourned, pending arrival of another person, a certain Jan van Rompele.⁵⁹ This banal incident would never have caught our attention, if the plaintiff did not demand £2 gr "for a panel installed in the chapel of the Scottish Nation." Nothing else about this case, nor about the panel painting is known.⁶⁰

The Aragonese and the Catalans held their religious services at the high altar of the Carmelite convent from about 1389.⁶¹ We are completely ignorant about their artistic patronage during the fifteenth century, as nearly all their archives are lost. The Hanseatic League also used the high altar for their religious services.⁶² They had a communal sepulchre in the chapel of St. Thomas a Becket.⁶³ Where their patronage is concerned, we only know that they installed stained glass windows behind the high altar of the church. These showed the portraits and the coats of arms of the German Emperor and the Electors of the Holy Roman Empire.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Cf. doc. 55 in appendix.

⁶⁰ Alexander Frotringam, a Scottish canon of the chapter of St. Donatian, stored the silverware and the ecclesiastic ornaments of the chapel of St. Ninian in his home during the last absence of the Scottish merchants from Bruges (see Marechal (as in n. 51), 1985, 54-55.) When he died in 1536, his testament stipulated that these objects had to be placed in the treasury of the chapter. In 1541, they were appraised at £32 gr, and only seven years later were they returned to the Scottish Nation.

⁶¹ Marechal (as in n. 51), 93-94. Strohm (as in n. 2), 65-66, is again ill-informed on this point, as he states that they did have a chapel, "*which must have existed before 1400.*"

⁶² Marechal (as in n. 51), 63-73.

⁶³ L. Ennen, "Zur Geschichte der hansischen Häuser zu Brügge und Antwerpen," *Hansische Geschichtblätter*, III (1874), 143; Marechal (as in n. 51), 1985, 67. Strohm (as in n. 2), 64, thought that the Hanseatic League shared the chapel of St. Thomas a Becket for their masses with the English.

⁶⁴ It is not known precisely when these windows were installed. Their existence is known through a charter, dated shortly after 4 July 1505. In this document a verdict is reached in a conflict between the Easterlings and the Nation of Aragon-Catalonia. The latter group of merchants had installed large statues on the high altar of the church shortly before. These statues obstructed the view on the stained glass windows. This charter

We must conclude that unfortunately very few specifics are known about the artistic patronage of foreigners at the Carmelite convent. Clearly some individual members of the foreign nations played an important role in the cultural life of Bruges. Of course, the name of William Caxton is the first that comes to mind in this context.

4. The Regular Canons of St. Augustine ("t en Eekhout")

The Abbey of St. Bartholomew, commonly known as '*ten Eekhout*,' was a congregation of regular canons who had adapted the rule of St. Augustine.⁶⁵ It was the first order that settled within the city walls of Bruges. Its abbot, the highest ecclesiastic dignitary in the city, was called *abbas Brugensis* since the fourteenth century.⁶⁶ He supervised such great public ceremonies as the procession of the Holy Blood, and was always present at important official occasions like triumphal entries.

The community of the Eekhout Abbey developed out of a group of male and female hermits (*pauperes Christi*), who were mentioned for the first time in 1130.⁶⁷ In 1133, the monks received land from Count Dirk of Alsace

(Bruges, Cloister of the reformed Carmelites, *Archief van de Geschoeide Karmelieten*, unnumbered charter (now lost)) was partly published by Marechal (as in n. 51), 233, n. 21.

⁶⁵ On this institution, which should not be confused with the cloister of the Austin friars, see W.H.J. Weale, "Notice sur la fondation de l'abbaye de l'Eekhout et sur les abbés qui l'ont gouvernée," *La Flandre*, III (1869-70), 274-298; *Id.*, "Obituaire de l'abbaye de l'Eekhout," *La Flandre*, III (1869-70), 299-382; N.N. Huyghebaert, "In de oude Eekhoutabdij te Brugge. Hagiologische en Archeologische Rondgang," *Biekorf*, LXIX (1969), 143-155, 288-293, 355-359.

⁶⁶ Duclos (as in n. 2), 578.

⁶⁷ Huyghebaert (as in n. 65), 144.

(ruled, 1128-68), which was bordered by the Reie and the Dijver.⁶⁸ About 1149, they acquired the so-called *cella* of St. Trudo outside the walls (now Assebroek). The women of the original community split off and retired to this place in 1248.⁶⁹

In 1286, the construction of a Gothic church was started, replacing an older (wooden?) structure (Pl. 93). Before 1298, a second aisle was added to the building. In 1399 this church was still not finished. During the administration of Antoon de Mil (1427-38) the choir was enlarged. The stone dormitory of the abbey was erected in 1410. The iconoclasts ravaged large parts of the church and the cloister in 1578. From 1584 on, the buildings were reconstructed, but they were demolished at the end of the eighteenth century.

Antoon II Bootsaert (1451-58), erected a new high altar, and commissioned choir stalls and a whole series of ecclesiastic ornaments to be used on important festive occasions.⁷⁰ One of his predecessors, abbot Lubert Hautscilt (rule 1391-1417), was a highly cultured man, who may be credited with setting the high standard of cultural development in the abbey for several decades.⁷¹ He may have created the intellectual and

⁶⁸ On this land the architect Jozef Viérin built the municipal Groeninge Museum in 1929. On this building see G. Witdouck, *De architect Jozef Viérin (1872-1949), een monografie*, unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Ghent, 1983, 119-135.

⁶⁹ Huyghebaert (as in n. 65), 146, n. 8, pointed out that Duclos's interpretation of the origins of the community is wrong. The latter author thought the Eekhout Abbey had evolved from the St. Trudo foundation; see Duclos (as in n. 2), 577-8.

⁷⁰ P. Beaucourt de Noortvelde, *Description historique de l'ancienne Abbaie d'Eekhout dite de Saint Barthelemi de l'Ordre de Saint Augustin*, Bruges, 1773, 317; Weale (as in n. 65), 287. The dates of Antoon II Bootsaert's abbatiates were erroneously quoted by Beaucourt de Noortvelde and by Huyghebaert (as in n. 65), 289.

⁷¹ Weale (as in n. 65), 281-285. Jean, Duke of Berry, the greatest bibliophile of his time, appointed him as one of his councillors, and maintained a continuous correspondence with him. The duke often sent gifts to the abbot who sent vases, birds and, of course, illuminated manuscripts to the duke. Hautscilt dedicated his Latin translation of the work of Guillaume de Guilleville, *Le roman des trois pèlerinaiges*, to the duke, and sent him a lavishly illuminated copy. All traces of this copy are lost. Weale (as in n. 65), 284, n.

bibliophile climate that attracted the guild of the librarians to the Eekhout Abbey some decades later. This guild was an association of those involved in the production and trade of manuscripts and books. We do not know exactly when the guild originated, or when the members first established their religious services in the church of the Eekhout Abbey. The oldest preserved accounts of the guild, dating from 1454-55, include some data suggesting that it may have been operational for some time.⁷² Moreover, the payment "*Item, paid to the abbot, 10s gr,*" in these accounts, shows that the guild already had its chapel in the Eekhout Abbey by 1454.⁷³ The patron saints of the librarians' guild were the evangelists John and Luke. Their altar at the southwestern side of the church, was dedicated to St. Nicaise, which probably indicates that it existed before it was assigned to them.

In the years 1465-67, the guild had a large banner made to be carried in processions.⁷⁴ This banner was made of four yards of velvet, which cost 23s gr, and silk fringes, for which they paid 5s 1d gr. The tailor received 3s 4d gr for his work. He also made a canvas bag to preserve the banner in for 3d gr. The banner was then painted by the Arnoud de Mol. He received £2 10s gr in three installments for his work: 20s gr in advance, 16s gr when the work was finished, and another 14s gr somewhat later. While Arnoud was working on their banner, the board of the guild went to see it. The expenditure for wine served on this occasion was entered in the accounts. Further expenses included a rod (4d gr), reinforced with metal (4d gr), to which the banner was affixed by buttons (2d gr). The rod was topped with an old crucifix that was repaired for this purpose (10d gr). Altogether, the banner of the librarians cost £4 3s 4d gr (12,000d par).

29, pointed out that there is still a copy of the second French edition of this text in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which belonged also to the Duke of Berry (ms.fr. 829).

⁷² A. Vandewalle, "Het librariërgilde te Brugge in zijn vroege periode," in *Vlaamse Kunst op Perkament*, [exh.cat.] Bruges, 1981, 41. This earliest account was entirely published by W.H.J. Weale, "Documents inédits sur les enlumineurs de Bruges," *Le Beffroi*, IV (1872-73), 253-257.

⁷³ "*Item, betaelt den abt, x s gr;*" Weale (as in n. 72), 256.

⁷⁴ Cf. doc. 72 in appendix.

In 1466 and 1474, the guild received indulgences which helped them to finance the embellishment of their chapel. The old altar in the chapel was replaced by a new one in 1472-73.⁷⁵ Colard Mansion, who was then dean of the guild, recorded £3 gr for this work in the accounts. He and ten other notables of the guild contributed to these expenses.⁷⁶ The decoration of the new altar was already started in 1472, when Jan Mayaer carved a wooden statue representing St. Luke.⁷⁷ In 1477, Arnoud de Mol polychromed this statue and another one representing the Virgin.⁷⁸ The statues were installed on pedestals in front of gold brocade. Around the same time, a statue of St. Nicaise was carved and painted with a white ground for later polychromy. Philip van der Beerst, who became abbot of the Eekhout that year, contributed 21d gr in the cost for the polychromy of this statue,⁷⁹ for which an anonymous painter was paid in 1478.⁸⁰

During that year the guild received some presents from widows of deceased members. On 9 May 1478, Jan Pisse's widow gave the guild a tapestry altarcloth, with the patron saints SS John and Luke. The widow of Joos Scheede presented a brass chandelier around the same time.

The most important event in the annals of the guild was an initiative of the illuminator Willem Vrelant. He commissioned an altarpiece for the

⁷⁵ Weale (as in n. 72), 287. Strohm (as in n. 2), 62, stated that the altar was replaced in 1474.

⁷⁶ Amongst these notables were Jan de Tolnaere, Jan van den Berghe, Jan de Buzere, Jan van der Weyde, Arnoud Bazekin, Willem van Schoonhove, Stevin Cochon, Willem Vrelant, Regnauld de Tilly, and Ernoulet le Cat; see Weale (as in n. 72), 287.

⁷⁷ Cf. doc. 108 in appendix.

⁷⁸ Cf. doc. 128 in appendix.

⁷⁹ On Abbot Philip van der Beerst (1477-1504), see Weale (as in n. 65), 287-288.

⁸⁰ Cf. doc. 133 in appendix.

chapel from Hans Memling.⁸¹ Although the documents related to this commission were first published in 1872-73, they have never been accurately analyzed.⁸² Schestag and Weale speculated that the altarpiece of the librarians was the *Passion of Christ* (Turin, Galleria Sabauda) (Pl. 12).⁸³ The provenance of this painting disproves this assumption.⁸⁴ Kämmerer, on the other hand, thought he recognized Vrelant in the portrait in the left wing of the two panels by Hans Memling, now preserved in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Pl. 102),⁸⁵ basing the identification on the fact that the donor in this painting is accompanied by St. William of Maleval. However, X-rays, have proven that the wings in New York, belonged to an altarpiece commissioned by Jan Crabbe.⁸⁶

Willem Vrelant has always been thought to be the sole patron of this altarpiece who presented it to the guild, of which he was a co-founder. This assumption is not correct. True, the commission to Hans Memling must

⁸¹ Actually, in the documents related to this commission, the painter is called "*Master Hans*." However, there is no reason to doubt that he is identical with Hans Memling; cf. doc. 133 in appendix.

⁸² The documents were first published by Weale (as in n. 72), 299, 366.

⁸³ A. Schestag, "Die Chronik von Jerusalem. Eine für Philipp den Guten verfertigte Miniaturhandschrift der Wiener Hofbibliothek," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorische Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XX (1899), 215; W.H.J. Weale, *Hans Memling. Biographie. Tableaux conservés à Bruges*, Bruges, 1901, 9; *Id.*, "Memling's Passion Picture in the Turin Gallery," *Burlington Magazine*, XII (1907-08), 309-311.

⁸⁴ C. Aru, E. de Geradon, *La Galerie Sabauda de Turin (Les Primitifs flamands. I. Corpus de la Peinture des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux au quinzième siècle, 2)*, Antwerp, 1952, 161.

⁸⁵ L. Kämmerer, *Memling*, Bielefeld, Leipzig, 1899, 70-73. This hypothesis was accepted, amongst others by L. von Baldass, *Hans Memling*, Vienna, 1942, 36-7. J.D. Farquhar, *Creation and Imitation. The Work of a fifteenth-century Manuscript Illuminator* (Nova University Studies in the Humanities, I), Fort Lauderdale (FL), 1976, 27, 171-172, n.27, believed this identification was possible.

⁸⁶ N. Geirnaert, "Hans Memlings Kruisigingstriptiek voor Johannes Crabbe. Nieuwe Gegevens over Bestemming en Datering," *Jaarboek 1987-88. Stad Brugge. Stedelijke Musea*, Bruges, 1989, 175-183. See also further.

have been an initiative of the famous illuminator, and he was certainly the main financier of the enterprise. But other members of the guild also contributed to it. The wood for the central panel and for two wings was bought by the guild from a carpenter for 2s and 3s gr respectively. These panels were given to Memling to be painted. The carpenter delivered another set of two panels "*for two other wings*" for 4s gr. These wings were covered with sheets, bought by the guild for 8d gr. The guild paid £1 gr "*to master Hans, for making the 2 wings he has from us.*" Willem Vrelant received 1s gr from the guild on the day "*when the wings of our painting were contracted to Master Hans.*" In 1479, twenty-one members of the librarians' guild promise their dean, Lieven de Toolnare, to contribute to the expense of the altarpiece.⁸⁷ A total of £1 10s 1d gr was collected amongst the members, and used for a payment of £3 2s gr, made that year to Hans Memling. Thus the guild --and not Willem Vrelant alone-- paid a total of £4 3s gr for the painting. They also provided the painter with the panels to work on and they purchased the second set of wings that were covered with cloth.

In 1467-68, Willem Vrelant himself received £72 (of 40 groats) for the illumination of 60 miniatures in the second volume of the famous *Chroniques de Hainaut*.⁸⁸ This amount corresponds to £12 gr. In other words, Vrelant received only about three times as much for 60 large miniatures, as the guild paid Memling in contribution toward the expenses for the altarpiece of their chapel. Clearly, this contribution should not be neglected nor underestimated. The total price of the altarpiece is unknown. The absence of any other payment for the painting in the accounts of the guild suggests that Willem Vrelant paid the rest of the expense.

A passage in a document of 1499 describes the guild's possessions in the chapel including

⁸⁷ Cf. doc. 140 in appendix. Jan de Caet promised 8s, Regnout de Tylly 4s, Jan de Toolnare gave 2s 6d gr, while the dean Lieven de Toolnare himself and Germein Wieliaert pledged 2s gr each. Eight members gave 1s gr each, and eight others pledged sums varying from 9d to 1.5 d gr.

⁸⁸ Laborde (as in n. 55), I, 503, no. 1966-67.

*their altarpiece with its four wings, in which Willem Vreland and his wife, blessed memory, are portrayed, made by the hand of the late master Hans, and also the statues of Saint John the Evangelist and Saint Luke, their patron saints, carved in wood and decorating the top of the said altarpiece.*⁸⁹

This quotation confirms that the altarpiece was indeed made by Hans Memling, that it had four wings, on which Willem Vrelant and his wife were portrayed, and that wooden statues of the guild's patron saints embellished the altarpiece.

This document stipulated that librarians were to replace the altarpiece with another one at their own expense if they were to leave the chapel. The specifications given for this substitute painting are revealing: it should be "*as large as the room*" (*i.e.*, the chapel), painted in oils, and it should represent at least four or five figures, to be chosen by the abbot and the Congregation of Eekhout. Furthermore, the painting had to have two wooden wings that were to remain unadorned on both sides.

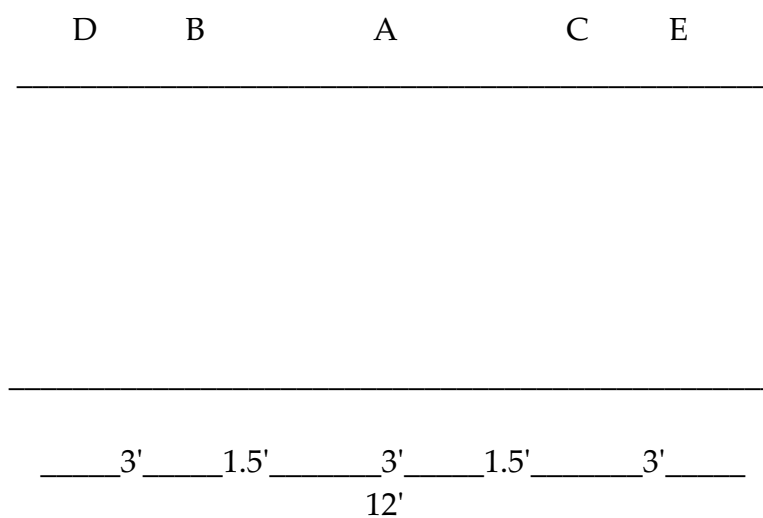
A fair chance exists that these specifications for a substitute painting describe the original altarpiece at least to a certain extent. One may expect that the monks of the Eekhout abbey wanted a work comparable in size and format. The unadorned wooden shutters of the substitute painting do indeed reflect the second pair of wings. It is significant that each one of these shutters cost 2s gr, which is exactly as much as the board of the central panel, so presumably they had the same dimensions as the central panel. When the altarpiece was cleaned and varnished in 1490, these wings were decorated with grisaille paintings of SS Arnoud and Nicholas.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Cf. doc. 160 in appendix. This document was also published by Weale (as in n. 72), 329-337. It is a new agreement between the librarians and Abbot Philip van der Beerst about the use of the St. Nicaise chapel by the guild. The contract was renewed after a complaint at the diocese of Tournai had been filed by the abbey against the librarians, "*concerning the altar, services, painting, statues and decorations, and other objects used by the guild at the altar of the aforementioned librarians.*" It was decreed that the librarians would be allowed to use their chapel, and its contents of decorations and ecclesiastic ornaments as they had in the past.

⁹⁰ Weale (as in n. 72), 321.

Another important piece of information concerns the width of the altarpiece: "*as large as the room.*" The charter mentioned in the beginning that the chapel of the librarians was twelve feet wide, so the substitute altarpiece had to be twelve feet wide when opened, which probably means that also the original altarpiece had the same dimensions.

This information suggests that Memling's altarpiece can be reconstructed as follows:



It was a triptych consisting of a central panel with two sets of wings, and was approximately twelve feet wide when opened. The first set of wings (B-C) were probably fixed, and represented Willem Vrelant and his wife.⁹¹ The second set (D-E), originally unadorned and covered with cloth, were designed to protect the painting when they were closed. Each of these wings would have been as wide as the central panel, namely three feet. The height of the painting cannot be derived from the available archival sources.

⁹¹ It should be noted, that contrary to what Weale (as in n. 83), 1907-08, 309, claims, the documents do not mention that the altarpiece represented the *Passion of Christ*.

Unfortunately despite this blue-print, the lost altarpiece is not identifiable amongst Memling's preserved works. We know only that it was sold in 1624, and replaced by an organ.⁹²

5. The Carthusians of 'Genadedal' near Bruges

Unlike all religious institutions in Bruges discussed thus far, the Carthusian Monastery 'Genadedal' was situated outside the city walls, in the territory situated between the parish church of the community of Sint-Kruis and the Bruges-Damme canal (Pl. 94).⁹³ It was founded in 1318 under the auspices and with the financial support of Jan van Koekelare, a priest attached to the parish of Our Lady. The first stone of the monastery buildings was laid by Count Robert III of Bethune (ruled 1305-22), one of the great benefactors of the foundation.⁹⁴ The Bruges city magistrature also helped the new foundation, for which the general chapter of the order expressed its gratitude.

The premises of the Carthusian monastery consisted of fifteen separate cells each with its own little garden, centered around an inner courtyard, a modest church with one aisle only, and stables and storage facilities. These buildings were demolished by the iconoclasts in 1578, and the monks evicted. After the Calvinistic time, they returned to Bruges and established a new monastery in the city itself.

The fifteenth century stands out as an important era in the history of the order. Since the Carthusians observed their rule severely, the dukes of

⁹² *Ibid.* Huyghebaert (as in n. 65), 292, stated that the altarpiece disappeared during the Calvinist era, which is unfounded.

⁹³ On the Carthusian cloister Genadedal, see Duclos (as in n. 2), 566; H.J.J. Scholtens, "Het Kartuizerklooster Dal van Graciën buiten Brugge," *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis, gesticht onder de benaming Société d'Emulation te Brugge*, LXXXIII (1940-46), 133-201; J. de Grauwe, "Chartreuse du Val-de-Grâce à Bruges," *Monasticon belge*, III/4: *Province de la Flandre Occidentale*, Liège, 1978, 1191-1230; J.-P. Esther, J. De Grauwe, V. Desmet, *Het Karthuizerklooster binnen Brugge, verleden en toekomst*, Bruges, 1980.

⁹⁴ Scholtens (as in n. 93), 150.

Burgundy had always generously endowed the order.⁹⁵ Philip the Bold's foundation of the Carthusian monastery of Champmol near Dijon, and the important role of this house as the funeral site of the Burgundian dukes, are well known.⁹⁶ The Charterhouses in the Low Countries had also received substantial ducal support.⁹⁷ Notable members of the order, Dionysius of Louvain (1402-71), and Jacob Ruebs, prior of the Carthusians at Ghent, were both councillors of Philip the Good.

Many charterhouses developed as important centers of manuscript production. The Carthusian rule required that the monks live their days of manual labor in solitary contemplation.⁹⁸ Copying manuscripts offered ample opportunity to follow this rule faithfully.

Genadedal, like many other Carthusian monasteries, had a remarkable collection of manuscripts, most of which were unfortunately lost.⁹⁹ One of the most prominent bibliophiles was Dom Otto Amelisz van Moerdrecht, prior of the monastery between 1433 and 1438. Before he was appointed to this position, he headed the monastery Nieuwlicht at Utrecht.

⁹⁵ The rule of the Carthusians had been recorded by Guigo I, prior general of the order (1109-1136); see J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CLIII, 1854, col. 631-760; A. de Meyer, J.-M. De Smet, *Guigo's 'Consuetudines' van de eerste Kartuziers (Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten, Klasse der Letteren, XIII/6)*, Brussels, 1951.

⁹⁶ The main study on the Chartreuse of Champmol is still C. Monget, *La Chartreuse de Dijon d'après les documents des archives de Bourgogne*, 3 vols., Montreuil-sur-Mer, 1898-1905.

⁹⁷ Scholtens (as in n. 93), 147-148.

⁹⁸ F. Hendrickx, "De handschriften van de Kartuis Genadedal bij Brugge (1318-1580)," *Ons Geestelijk Erf*, XLVII (1973), 3-11.

⁹⁹ For the manuscript collection of Genadedal, see A. Derolez, *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii. De Middeleeuwse bibliotheekscatalogi der Zuidelijke Nederlanden. I Provincie West-Vlaanderen (Verhandelingen Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten, Klasse der Letteren, XXVIII/61)*, Brussels, 1966, 11-13; Hendrickx (as in n. 98), 3-63, 241-290; XLVIII (1974), 143-169. The latter article includes a thorough study of four manuscripts that belonged to Genadedal. None of these was produced during the period under consideration here.

In 1423, the year of his novitiate, he had some books copied and illuminated for the library at Utrecht.¹⁰⁰ Some monks of Genadedal gained recognition as authors of spiritual treatises. Willem Apsel, prior of the monastery between 1462 to 1465, was known as an excellent bookbinder.¹⁰¹ He also wrote at least six treatises.¹⁰² His successor, Dom Hendrik Jansz de Vroede (1465-77), was another respected author of theological works. In a charter dated 4 November 1457, Hendrik's brother, Dirk de Vroede, made an endowment. He had stained glass windows made with portraits of his parents for the walkway of the cloister.¹⁰³

The most prominent figure for artistic patronage in the Bruges Charterhouse is doubtlessly Dom Jan Vos. He originated from Delft, and first belonged to the Teutonic order, of which he was a procurator. In 1431, he was professed in the Carthusian order in the Nieuwlicht monastery, where he also became procurator. After heading Genadedal from 1441 to 1450, he returned to Nieuwlicht, and was prior of the monastery there until 1462.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Some of these are still preserved; see Scholtens (as in n. 93), 1940-46, 174. On manuscripts produced for Otto Amelisz van Moerdrecht at Utrecht, on the anonymous illuminator called after him and his influence, see also A. W. Byvanck, G.J. Hoogewerff, *Noord-Nederlandsche Miniaturen in handschriften der 14e, 15e en 16e eeuwen*, I, The Hague, 1925, xiii; A.W. Byvanck, "Aanteekeningen over handschriften met miniaturen, VIII. Het atelier der Utrechtse miniaturen," *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek*, IX (1929), 136-145; H.L.L. Defoer, et al., *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*, [exh.cat.] Utrecht, 1989, 75-88, cat. nos. 21-27.

¹⁰¹ Scholtens (as in n. 93), 1940-46, 179.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 181-182. These works were listed by A. Bostius, *Liber de viris aliquot illustribus, sive praecipuis Patribus Ordinis Cartusianorum*, Cologne, 1609, cap. 30.

¹⁰³ "Een glas ynt groet pant ende dair sellen yn staen Dircs vader ende moeder met alzulken beelden als daer toe dienen sellen" (a window in the large cloister, and in which will be represented Dirk's father and mother with al such images as will be necessary); see RAB, *Fonds Carthuizers*, charters no. 4965; cf. also nos. 3485 and 5000. This fragment was published by Scholtens (as in n. 93), 1940-46, 182.

¹⁰⁴ Scholtens (as in n. 93), 1940-46, 175-177; J.-P. Esther, J. De Grauwe, V. Desmet (as in n. 93), 20.

In art history, Dom Jan Vos is best known as the patron of the famous Eyckian *Madonna and Child with St. Elisabeth and St. Barbara presenting Jan Vos* (New York, Frick Collection)(Pl. 95),¹⁰⁵ and its variant, the so-called *Exeter Madonna* (Berlin, Gemäldegalerie) by Petrus Christus (Pl. 97).¹⁰⁶ The

¹⁰⁵ *Madonna and Child with St. Elisabeth and St. Barbara presenting Jan Vos*, New York, The Frick Collection, no. 54.1.161; tempera and oil on panel, 47.5 x 61.3 cm (painted surface); see H. von Tschudi, "Die Madonna mit dem Kartäuser von Jan Van Eyck," *Jahrbuch der Königl. preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, X (1889), 154-165; *Id.*, "Die Madonna mit dem Kartäuser und Heiligen von Jan van Eyck," *Jahrbuch der Königl. preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XV (1894), 65 ff.; L. Kämmerer, *Hubert und Jan van Eyck*, Leipzig, 1898, 93 ff.; Weale, Brockwell (as in n. 45), 76 ff.; Friedländer (as in n. 16), I, 1924, 61, 94; W. Burger, *Die Malerei in den Niederlanden von 1400 - 1500*, Munich, 1925, 35; C. de Tolnay, *Le Maître de Flémalle et les frères Van Eyck*, Brussels, 1938, 33; H.J.J. Scholtens, "Jan Van Eyck's H.Maagd met den Kartuizer en de Exeter-Madonna te Berlijn," *Oud Holland*, LV (1938), 49-62; L. von Baldass, *Jan Van Eyck*, London, New York, 1952, 61, 280, no.18; Panofsky (as in n. 16), 187-191, 312 ff., 413 (137, n.2), 432-433 (193, n.1), 437 (199, n.3), (266, n.2); F.M. Biebel, "The Virgin and Child with Saints and a Carthusian Donor by Jan van Eyck and Petrus Christus," *Art Quarterly*, XVII (1954), 422-425; J. Lejeune, "Le premier des Petrus Christus et 'La Vierge au Chartreux'," *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België*, IV (1955), 151-170; J. Bruyn, *Van Eyck Problemen*, Utrecht, 1957, 131-134; J. Philippe, *Van Eyck et la genèse mosane de la peinture des anciens Pays-Bas*, Liège, 1960, 155 ff.; Friedländer (as in n. 16), I, 1967, 61-62, 86, 94; *The Frick Collection. An Illustrated Catalogue, vol. I: Paintings: American, British, Dutch, Flemish and German*, New York, 1968, 198-208; C.D. Cuttler, *Northern Painting from Pucelle to Bruegel, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Centuries*, New York, 1968, 104; Schabacker (as in n. 16), 1974, 52-54, 123-124, cat. 23; C. Sterling, "Jan van Eyck avant 1432," *Revue de l'Art*, XXXIII (1976), 64-66; E. Dhanens, *Hubert en Jan Van Eyck*, Antwerp, 1980, 367-370, pl. 228; J. Snyder, *Northern Renaissance Art. Painting, Sculpture, the Graphic Arts from 1350 to 1575*, Englewood Cliffs (NJ), New York, 1984, 116; J. Upton, *Petrus Christus. His Place in Fifteenth-Century Flemish Painting*, University Park, London, 1990, 11-19.

¹⁰⁶ *Exeter Madonna (Madonna and Child with kneeling Carthusian donor presented by St.Barbara)*; Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, inv. 253B; tempera and oil on panel, 21.3 x 15.4 cm; see J.A. Crowe, G.B. Cavalcaselle, *The Early Flemish Painters: Notices of their Lives and Works*, London, 1857, 341 ff.; Von Tschudi (as in n. 105), 1889, 154 ff.; *Id.* (as in n. 105), 1894, 65 ff.; Kaemmerer (as in n. 105), 1898, 95 ff.; G.J. Kern, *Die Grundzüge der linearperspektivischen Darstellung in der Kunst der Gebrüder van Eyck und ihre Schule*, Leipzig, 1904, 15, 20; W.H.J. Weale, "Peintres Brugeois : les Christus," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, 2e série, LIX (1909), 116, no. 2; Weale, Brockwell (as in n. 45), 1912, 169 ff.; Friedländer (as in n. 16), I, 1924, 86, 95; O. Pächt, "Die Datierung des Brüsseler Beweinung des Petrus

first painting shows a scene set in a portico, with a Madonna and Child in the middle, standing under a brocaded canopy. At the left, St. Barbara presents a kneeling Carthusian. At the right stands St. Elisabeth of Hungary, dressed as a grey sister and holding her triple crown. A wide landscape spreads out in the background of the painting, and is visible through the half-open arcade of the portico.

In the *Exeter Madonna*, the composition is reduced to the left half of the picture in the Frick Collection. The figures stand in the corner of an open porch. St. Barbara holds her right hand on the shoulder of Jan Vos, and leans with her left hand on a miniature tower. Jan Vos, who is kneeling in adoration of the Virgin and Child, is noticeably older than in the previous painting. The porch is high above the town, but the openings at the left and the rounded arches in the back, allow a much fuller view of the city and landscape background.

The identification of the patron, the earliest provenance of both paintings, the date, and the relationship between the two pictures was firmly established by Scholtens in 1938.¹⁰⁷ Usually, the Frick Madonna is considered one of the last works by Jan van Eyck, believed to be finished by Petrus Christus.¹⁰⁸ Panofsky confronted the rich documentation presented by Scholtens with the biography of Jan van Eyck.¹⁰⁹ Based on chronology, he concluded that Jan's part in this work must have been very restricted. These data can also be confronted with Petrus Christus's biography. Through the historical critique of these sources, one can determine more

Christus," *Belvedere*, IX (1926), 156, 158; Scholtens (as in n. 105), 1938, 49 ff.; W. Schöne, *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule*, Berlin, Leipzig, 1938, 57, no. 26; Panofsky (as in n. 16), 311, 489 (311, n.5); Lejeune (as in n. 105), 1955, 151-170; Bruyn (as in n. 105), 119 ff.; Cuttler (as in n. 105), 129; Schabacker (as in n. 16), 1974, cat. 8; E. Dhanens (as in n. 105), 367-370, pl. 227; Snyder (as in n. 105), 1984, 151; Upton (as in n. 105), 14-19.

¹⁰⁷ Scholtens (as in n. 105), 1938, 49-62. Only Sterling (as in n. 105), 64-66, dated the painting early, c. 1433-34, but did not take the documentary evidence sufficiently into consideration.

¹⁰⁸ See, amongst others, Panofsky (as in n. 16), 187-191; Schabacker (as in n. 16), 1974, 52-54.

¹⁰⁹ Panofsky (as in n. 16), 187-191.

precisely to what extent both artists may have been involved in this commission. First I will summarize Scholtens's arguments, before going into the problem of attribution.

On 3 September 1443, the Irish bishop Martinus of Mayo, visited Genadedal, where he consecrated and attached indulgences to three paintings in the church of the monastery. This was recorded in a *necrologium*, the list of deceased monks of the Nieuwlicht monastery at Utrecht.¹¹⁰ The original charter stipulating the conditions for the indulgence is lost. Fortunately a copy has been preserved in the State Archives of Antwerp.¹¹¹

From these documents we learn that the paintings that the Bishop of Mayo consecrated had been donated to the church by Prior Jan Vos. The largest painting represented *the Virgin with Saints Barbara and Elisabeth*.¹¹² In the *necrologium*, this painting is said to have been placed on the altar of St. Barbara in the church of Nieuwlicht, at the time the chronicler made his note, namely in or shortly after 1450.¹¹³ The letter of indulgence explicitly stated that indulgence would be granted to anyone who venerated the saints represented on this altarpiece. This indulgence would be valid only if the painting remained on the altar in the church of Genadedal.¹¹⁴ It cannot be doubted that these documents refer to the picture now in the Frick Collection. The presence of the Carthusian monk and the description fit

¹¹⁰ This document was first published by L. van Hasselt in *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap gevestigd te Utrecht*, IX (1886), 202-202; and also by Scholtens (as in n. 105), 1938, 51.

¹¹¹ State Archives of Antwerp, *Fonds Kartuziers*, no. 35, fol. 272; also published by Scholtens (as in n. 105), 1938, 52.

¹¹² The second painting, possibly a diptych, represented the *Resurrection* and a *Madonna with Child*, and the third one showed the *Virgin Carrying her Child* (a *Pietà?*).

¹¹³ "*Erat insignita ymaginibus beatissime Dei genetricis Marie, sanctarum Barbare et Elyzabeth, que impresenciarum pertinet ad dictam domum nostram et habetur in altari beate Barbare virginis et martiris, super toxale in ecclesia nostra;*" see Scholtens (as in n. 105), 1938, 51.

¹¹⁴ "*Dummode extra ordinem predicte tabule non devenirent;*" see *Ibid.*, 52, 57.

this painting perfectly.¹¹⁵ The stipulation that the indulgence would be granted only as long as the painting stayed at Genadedal, explains why a variant copy of the painting was made.

When Dom Jan Vos left Genadedal in 1450 to become the prior of Nieuwlicht at Utrecht, where he had been professed, he took his precious altarpiece with him. Indeed, we learn from the chronicler that it was placed on the altar of St. Barbara in the Utrecht church. Vos also provided the Bruges monastery with a copy, which he commissioned from Petrus Christus, now known as the *Exeter Madonna*.¹¹⁶

It is obvious why Jan Vos turned to Petrus Christus for this commission. This artist was not only the most prolific painter in Bruges at that time, but he must have been also known as a devoted follower of the Eyckian style. Thus, he was well suited to copy a work that had originated in the workshop of the great master. Earlier in this chapter, we have seen that the practice of making a substitute painting to replace an altarpiece was not uncommon. The indulgences connected to the altarpiece of Jan Vos made the need for an estimable copy even more compelling.

Jan Vos succeeded Gerard van Hamone as prior of the Charterhouse of Genadedal. The exact date of his appointment as head of the monastery is not known, but can be established as shortly after the death of Van Hamone on 30 March 1441. It also establishes the *terminus post quem* for the commission of the Frick Madonna. The altarpiece was certainly finished

¹¹⁵ Only Lejeune (as in n. 105), 151-170, questioned this identification on highly debatable grounds, and clearly with biased intentions, trying to prove that the Frick Madonna was painted in Liège.

¹¹⁶ The course of events was differently interpreted by Upton (as in n. 105), 16-17. He hypothesized that both the painting in the Frick collection and the *Exeter Madonna* reflect a lost common prototype, which Jan Vos would have commissioned from Jan van Eyck when he was still in Utrecht during the first half of the 1430s. When he became prior at Genadedal, he donated the painting to this institution, and when he returned to Utrecht in 1450, it would have been also this lost original that Vos took with him, replacing it by the painting now in the Frick collection. According to the same author, the *Exeter Madonna* is to be considered as a "private devotional piece commissioned by Jan Vos for his personal use" (*Ibid.*, 17). Although this interpretation is possible, the existence of a lost prototype cannot be proven.

before 3 September 1443, when it was solemnly consecrated by the Bishop of Mayo. Jan van Eyck died on 9 July 1441, so he could have worked on it only during the fourteen weeks between 30 March and 9 July 1441.¹¹⁷ He probably had even less time because there must have been some delay between the death of Gerard van Hamone and the appointment of his successor, and further delay between Jan Vos's appointment and his commission of the painting. Finally, it is possible that Jan van Eyck was inactive for some time prior to his death. In other words, Jan van Eyck had very probably only some ten weeks or less to work on the painting, which would have been just enough time to fix the composition into its most rudimentary form.¹¹⁸

These historical factors make clear that someone else must have had a larger hand in the painting. This assumption can be confirmed stylistically by comparing the picture to the *Madonna with Nicolas Rolin* (Paris, Louvre), on which it was largely based. The figures have a doll-like character, and lack the *esprit de corps* of Van Eyck's works, as do the unanimated faces and the hands devoid of any expression. The painting also lacks the impressive material suggestion typical for Van Eyck. Elisabeth's crown, for instance, does not have the sparkling luster of the jewels that are so celebrated in the Ghent Altarpiece. The landscape behind this saint, is a sterile copy of the lively background of the *Madonna with Rolin*. The tower behind St. Barbara is not well integrated into the background.¹¹⁹

For these reasons many authors believed that the *Frick Madonna* was only conceived in its earliest stage by Jan van Eyck, and that it was finished by a dedicated, but less talented collaborator. Petrus Christus has often been named as the most likely candidate for this. Panofsky formulated the proposition as follows:

¹¹⁷ Panofsky (as in n. 16), 187-191, pointed this out.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 188.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 187.

*The elaboration of the design, and certainly the actual execution of the picture, must have been left to a man whom he (i.e., Jan van Eyck) had trained; who was entitled and able to wind up unfinished business, so to speak; and who had access to whatever was left of personal sketches and workshop drawings... This man could have been none other than Petrus Christus whom tradition has always regarded as Jan van Eyck's disciple and successor and whose stylistic peculiarities have been recognized in the 'Rothschild Madonna' even before it was known to have been commissioned too late for Jan to have carried it out.*¹²⁰

Is this rather authoritative statement correct? Could it really have been "*none other than Petrus Christus*" who was responsible for the *Altarpiece of Jan Vos*?

The attribution of the *Exeter Madonna* to Petrus Christus has never been doubted. When this painting is compared to its model, notable differences can be discerned. Take the figure of St. Barbara, for instance. The modelling of her facial features and hair are far more delicate in the Frick painting. The drapery style in both pictures is monumental. The folds fall more convincingly in the Frick version, while they are simplified in the Berlin painting, a practice is very characteristic of Christus's style, so both paintings cannot be attributed to the same artist.¹²¹

A more general question should be raised as to the precise relationship between Petrus Christus and Jan van Eyck. Was Petrus indeed the pupil who completed the paintings left unfinished in the workshop by Van Eyck, as it has been suggested, or was he simply a successful follower of the Eyckian style?

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 188. The underline is mine. Panofsky referred to the painting as 'Rothschild Madonna,' as the painting was bought only in 1954 by the trustees of the Frick estate from Baron Robert de Rothschild in Paris for \$ 750,000.

¹²¹ Also Bruyn (as in n. 105), 133-135, and Upton (as in n. 105), 14-15, came to this conclusion. Bruyn stated that "*the pupil who was responsible for the completion ... shows no resemblance with the hand of Petrus Christus.*" (*Ibid.*, 133, my translation).

Once again, the historical data offer a way out of this entangled problem. On 6 July 1444, Petrus Christus became a free citizen of Bruges in order to practice his profession as a painter. This event is recorded in the *Poorterboeken* (i.e., the annual lists of newly accepted citizens).¹²² His financial contribution of £3 gr is also noted in the municipal accounts for that year.¹²³

Some scholars have been struck by the fact that the date Petrus Christus acquired his citizenship was almost exactly three years after Jan van Eyck's death.¹²⁴ They hypothesized that Petrus managed Van Eyck's workshop for those three years before finally beginning to work independently. It would have been at that point that he became a free citizen, in order to be accepted into the Bruges corporation of the image-makers, also known as the Guild of St. Luke. This hypothesis implies that some kind of grace period of three years would have existed for employees of court painters, after which they were to comply with the legal regulations of the town. Not even the slightest piece of evidence corroborates this presumption, on which this whole theory depends.

It is useful to recall the circumstances under which individuals were enrolled in the *Poorterboeken*. There were three ways of becoming a *poorter*: by marrying a Bruges citizen; by living in the city for a year and a day; or by buying the right of citizenship.¹²⁵

Individuals like Petrus Christus, who wanted to become a member of a professional corporation could not wait for a year. They had to acquire

¹²² SAB, *Poorterboeken*, no. 130, 1434-1449, fols. 72v; published by Weale (as in n. 17), 236.

¹²³ SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1443-44, fol. 12; published by Weale (as in n. 17), 236.

¹²⁴ Schabacker (as in n. 16), 20-21; J. M. Collier, "The Kansas City Petrus Christus: Its Importance and Dating," *The Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum Bulletin*, V (1979), 26.

¹²⁵ R.A. Parmentier, *Indices op de Brugsche Poorterboeken*, I, Bruges, 1938, viii; Upton (as in n. 105), 8-9, n.9. Citizenship was also occasionally granted for special merit. I am grateful to Noël Geirnaert, archivist of the Bruges Stadsarchief, for discussing this issue with me.

citizenship immediately in order to start working. Indeed, Petrus Christus *bought* his citizenship.¹²⁶ Probably he had been in Bruges less than a year before he applied for citizenship and subsequently paid £3 gr for it. This sum represents the equivalent of about three months wages for the average trained laborer. It is highly unlikely that he was professionally active in the city before 1444. This assumption does not exclude the possibility of any contact with Van Eyck or his workshop after Jan's death, but it certainly cannot be inferred from the available source material in the archives. The argument that Petrus Christus could have been exempted from mandatory citizenship or membership in the corporation of St. Luke because he allegedly worked for Van Eyck, who was a court painter and thus not subject to the local professional regulations, should be rejected. If Petrus were indeed exempted from having to buy his citizenship, he would have received it in any case once he had been resident in the city for more than a year and a day.¹²⁷

In other words, the theory that Petrus Christus would have taken care of unfinished business in Van Eyck's workshop after the master's death, is unfounded, at least provided that Petrus Christus did not work illegally within the territory of jurisdiction of the Bruges Magistrature.

As for the completion of the Frick Madonna, the earliest possible date that Petrus Christus could have begun to work in Bruges, and thus have started to complete a work in Van Eyck's workshop, is 6 July 1443. However, it is unreasonable to assume that he did so. Why would he have paid £3 gr exactly one year later, if he would have received his citizenship gratis the next day? Moreover, if he had started to complete the *Altarpiece of Jan Vos* on this theoretically earliest possible date, he would have had only two months to complete it before its consecration on 3 September 1443. This chronology is impossible. No one would have been able to complete this work in two months, especially since Jan van Eyck had only barely begun it.

¹²⁶ SAB, *Poorterboeken*, no. 130, fols. 72v: "*cochte zijn poorterscip*."

¹²⁷ Upton (as in n. 105), 9, came to the same conclusion independently from me.

The chronology of the events is summarized in the following timetable:

30 March 1441: death of Gerard van Hamone
: appointment of Jan Vos
: earliest possible commission of the Frick panel
: Jan van Eyck presumably inactive
9 July 1441 : death of Jan van Eyck

6 July 1443 : earliest possible presence of
Petrus Christus in Bruges
3 September 1443: dedication of the Frick panel

6 July 1444 : registration of Petrus Christus
as citizen

Thus the interpretation of the historical data confirms the observed stylistic differences between the *Madonna with Jan Vos* in the Frick Collection, and the version in Berlin. Petrus Christus almost certainly had no hand in the former painting, but only made a variant copy after it about 1450.

Petrus Christus's first contacts with the Carthusian monastery Genadedal must be situated a couple of years earlier. In 1446, he painted the *Portrait of a Carthusian* (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) (Pl.

98).¹²⁸ The identity of the man who sat for this portrait is unknown. The fine golden halo around his head, suggesting he was a saint, is probably a later addition.¹²⁹ He was a Carthusian lay brother, and not a monk. The *monachi*, or monks, of whom there were about fifteen per monastery, wore a white habit with a hood and white strips at the hips. They were clean-shaven and had a tonsure. The portraits of Jan Vos show very clearly this hairstyle and outfit. Lay brethren were dressed in a white habit, that was shorter than that of the monks, and without the strips.¹³⁰ They had no tonsure, wore a beard, and shaved the upper and lower lip. There was only one lay brother for each three monks in a charterhouse.

¹²⁸ New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Jules S. Bache Collection, inv. L442319; tempera and oil on panel, 29.2 x 18.7; signed and dated on bottom of original frame: *PETRVS . XPI . ME . FECIT . A^o 1446*; see Friedländer (as in n. 16), I, 1924, 82; A. Burroughs, *Art Criticism from a Laboratory*, Boston, 1938, 249; Schöne (as in n. 106), 1938, 56, no.4; H.B. Wehle, M. Salinger, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. A Catalogue of Early Flemish, Dutch and German Paintings*, New York, 1947, 17-19; Panofsky (as in n. 16), 310, 312, 488 (310, n.5); H.J.J. Scholtens, "Petrus Christus en zijn portret van een Kartuizer," *Oud Holland*, LXXV/2 (1960), 59-72.; J. Folie, "Les oeuvres authentifiées des primitifs flamands," *Koninklijk Instituut voor het Kunstpatrimonium Bulletin*, VI (1963), 204-205, pl. 13; Friedländer (as in n. 16), I, 1967, 82; Schabacker (as in n. 16), 81-83, cat. 3; Snyder (as in n. 105), 152; G. Bauman, *Early Flemish Portraits, 1425-1525*, (reprint from *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, Spring 1986), New York, 1986; J. Snyder (intro.), *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: The Renaissance in the North*, New York, 1987, 26-27.

¹²⁹ Schabacker (as in n. 16), 82.

¹³⁰ Scholtens (as in n. 93), 1940-46, 139-141. In the fifteenth century, charterhouses were populated by five different groups of people, all differentiated by their dress and hairstyle. Beside monks and lay brethren, there were also *clerici redditi*, *laici redditi*, and *prebendarii*. The *clerici redditi* wore the same habit as monks, but without the strips. They were subject to a less strict rule. Only very exceptional people were allowed to the status of *clericus redditus*. Pieter II Adornes was one. *Laici redditi* were uncommon at the monastery. Their rule was less severe than that of lay brethren, although they were lay brethren too. They dressed in a brown habit, and wore no beard. The *prebendarii* were lay persons, who lived in the monastery after having made endowments. They wore regular lay clothing.

Scholtens pointed out that among the lay brethren of Genadedal, only four qualify as likely candidates for this portrait.¹³¹ However, none of them can be positively identified as the sitter. Still he suggested, the work may have been commissioned by the family of the lay brother at the time of his profession.¹³²

Three important surviving paintings relate to the Carthusian monastery Genadedal. It would be inaccurate to conclude on this basis only, that this institution was more important as a cultural center than any other convent in the city. Nevertheless, the paintings and manuscript production at Genadedal, as well as the fact that some of its priors became respected writers, and the interest it attracted of the ducal family, indicate that it did achieve considerable cultural stature.

6. The Cistercians of the Duinen Abbey

Strictly speaking, the Cistercian Abbeys of De Duinen and Ter Doest fall outside the boundaries of this study, since they were located well outside the city walls of Bruges. De Duinen ('the Dunes') was situated near the coast in Koksijde some 27 miles from Bruges; its daughter abbey of Ter Doest in Lissewege about 7 miles away. Nevertheless, these abbeys were the main cultural centers of Western Flanders during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹³³ During the Burgundian era, they remained important centers of learning.

¹³¹ Scholtens (as in n. 128), 69. He suggested the names of Adam Mullinc, Jacob Deynart, Jan de Pape, and Jan Collarits.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ On the abbeys of De Duinen and Ter Doest, see J.M. Canivez, *L'Ordre de Cîteaux en Belgique des origines au XXe siècle*, Forges-lez-Chimay, 1926; J. de Vincennes, *L'abbaye des Dunes. Saint Idesbald*, Héraly, Charleroi, 1956; N. Huyghebaert, "Abbaye des Dunes à Koksijde et à Bruges," *Monasticon belge*, III/2: *Province de la Flandre Occidentale*, Liège, 1966, 353-445 (with complete bibliography); L. Lekai, *De Orde van Cîteaux*, Achel, 1980. On the

Cultural life at the Duinen Abbey during the second half of the fifteenth century was dominated by one remarkable figure: Jan Crabbe, abbot of the abbey between 1457 and 1488.

The city archivist of Bruges, Noël Geirnaert, has been preparing a thorough scholarly publication on Crabbe's abbacy over the last few years, two important aspects of which have already been published as articles.¹³⁴ A first deals with Crabbe's manuscript collection; a second with the identification of a triptych made by Hans Memling for the chapel of the abbey's refuge in town.

About twenty manuscripts survive from Crabbe's collection.¹³⁵ Most of these were commissioned after c. 1470. These manuscripts show Crabbe's preference for early humanistic and classical antique authors, an interest that was remarkably progressive for the time. His library contained works by proto-humanist writers such as Petrarch and Boccaccio,¹³⁶ by the Latin authors Virgil, Cicero, Sallustius and Valerius Maximus,¹³⁷ and by

more recent history, see A. Denaux, E. Vanden Berghe, *De Duinenabdij (1627-1796) en het Grootseminarie (1833-1983) te Brugge: Bewoners, Gebouwen, Kunstpatrimonium*, Tielt, 1984.

¹³⁴ N. Geirnaert, "De bibliotheek van de Duinenabt Jan Crabbe (1457/59-1488)," in *Vlaamse Kunst op Perkament*, [exh.cat.], Bruges, 1981, 176-206; *Id.* (as in n. 86), 175-183. The complete study is to appear mid 1993, under the title *Het geestesleven in de Duinenabdij onder het abbatiaat van Johannes Crabbe (1458-1488)*.

¹³⁵ A complete list of this collection was first published by Huyghebaert (as in n. 133), 404; *Id.*, "Trois manuscrits de Jean Crabbe, abbé des Dunes," *Scriptorium*, XXIII (1969) (*Miscellanea F. Lyna*), 232-242; pl.78-79.

¹³⁶ Francesco Petrarch, *Opera Selecta* (Bruges, Grootseminarie, ms. 113/78); Boccaccio, *Genealogia Deorum* (*Id.*, ms. 154/44); see Geirnaert (as in n. 134), 181-182, 192-194, no. 82, 88.

¹³⁷ Virgil, *Opera* (with commentaries by Servius and Donatus) (Holkham Hall, Earl of Leicester, ms. 311); Cicero, *Liber officiorum* (Bruges, Grootseminarie, ms. 112/111); Sallustius, *De Coniuratione* (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. II 7842); Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia* (Bruges, Grootseminarie, ms. 159/190-157/188); see Geirnaert (as in n. 134), 182-184, 188-192, 203-204, no. 83-84, 87, 97.

such early Christian authors as Boetius and Johannes Chrysostomus.¹³⁸ The three volume copy of Valerius Maximus, probably the best known manuscript from his collection, is however less symptomatic of his humanistic interest (Pl. 99). This work had been popular throughout the Middle Ages as a compendium of moralistic stories. Crabbe also owned a copy of Georgius Hermonymus's *Sententiae gnomicae*, which the author had dedicated to him.¹³⁹

As a high cleric, Jan Crabbe was obviously also interested in theology and more specifically in Late Medieval monastic spirituality. A collection of sermons, texts from the New Testament and Commentaries on the Psalms, and texts by Ludolph of Saxony, and by the Parisian theologians Jean Gerson, Pierre d'Ailly, and Nicholas de Clamanges, exemplify his theological interest.¹⁴⁰

Although Jan Crabbe must certainly be characterized as a typical Burgundian bibliophile, his manuscripts differ notably from those made for the dukes or for Louis of Gruuthuse. The texts are often written in a careful but moderate *littera humanistica textualis*, instead of the typical Burgundian *littera bastarda* that appears ubiquitously in ducal and Gruuthuse manuscripts.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ Boetius, *De consolatione philosophiae* (Bruges, Grootseminarie, ms. 112/111, in convolute with Cicero, *Liber officiorum*, see above); Johannes, Chrysostomus, *Homilies on the Gospel of St. John* (*Id.*, ms. 15/76); see Geirnaert (as in n. 134), 183-184, 205-206, no. 84, 98.

¹³⁹ Georgius Hermonymus, *Sententiae gnomicae* (Paris, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 1139); see Geirnaert (as in n. 134), 184-186, no. 85.

¹⁴⁰ *Collection of Sermons* (Bruges, Stadsbibliotheek, ms. 290); texts from the New Testament and Commentaries on the Psalms (Tournai, Bibliothèque du Cathédral, ms. A.18); Ludolf of Saxony, *Vita Christi* (Bruges, Grootseminarie, ms. 123/82); *Works by Jean Gerson and Pierre d'Ailly* (*Id.*, ms. 39/174); text by Nicholas de Clamanges (Bruges, Grootseminarie, ms. 112/111, in convolute with Cicero, *Liber officiorum*, see above); see Geirnaert (as in n. 134), 181-182, 187-188, 199-202, no. 82, 86, 94-96.

¹⁴¹ His Valerius Maximus was written in a *littera bastarda*. On paleographic terminology, see G.I. Lieftinck,, "Pour une nomenclature de l'écriture livresque de la période dite gothique," *Nomenclature des écriture livresque du IXe au XVIe siècle (Colloques*

In the decorative borders, flowers blossom and other vegetative motifs appear in gold and blue acanthus leaves. His monogram (*IC* interlocked, standing for Iohannes Crabbe), and his coat of arms,¹⁴² both often accompanied by an abbot's staff, appear also in these borders. In most manuscripts the grotesques, so typical of Bruges manuscript illumination of the 1470s, are missing.¹⁴³ The *bas-de-page* of some manuscripts, shows a dune on which rabbits are playing, a humorous allusion to the abbey of De Duinen.¹⁴⁴

A crucial issue in the study of Crabbe's library is his contacts with Mediterranean scribes. Evidently, the fact that Georgius Hermonymus dedicated his *Sententiae gnomicae*, a Latin translation of Greek proverbs and quotations, to Crabbe, is of major importance. Hermonymus, who originated from Sparta, was active as a copyist and translator of Greek texts in Flanders, and notably in Bruges, at least from 1476. After some time, he was appointed as the first professor of Greek at the University of Paris. Unquestionably, Hermonymus played a prominent role in the initial dissemination of humanistic ideas in the Netherlands.

Based on codicological characteristics found in the *Sententiae*, at least three other manuscripts in Crabbe's collection can be attributed to Georgius Hermonymus.¹⁴⁵ They all are written in the same *littera humanistica textualis*, the catchwords at the verso of each quire are placed in broken square

internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Sciences humaines, IV), Paris, 1953, 15-34.

¹⁴² *Azure, quartered by a cross Silver; I and IV, three birds Gold, 2-1; II and III, a crab Gold*, Crabbe.

¹⁴³ Except in the Valerius Maximus, and also in Crabbe's version of Petrarch's *Opera Selecta* (see above), that both have borders with hybrid monsters.

¹⁴⁴ For instance, Bruges, Grootseminarie, ms. 113/78, fol. 1, and *Id.*, ms. 154/44, fol. 1; see Geirnaert (as in n. 134), pl. 15 and 73.

¹⁴⁵ Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. II 7842, Bruges, Grootseminarie, ms. 112/111, and Tournai, Bibliothèque du Cathédral, ms. A.18. These manuscripts were first grouped by Huyghebaert (as in n. 133), 1969, 232-242.

brackets, and all texts end with the Latin word *finis* or the Greek equivalent *telos*, between 2 periods.

Crabbe's manuscript of the collected works of Virgil, with commentaries by Servius and Donatus poses an intricate problem.¹⁴⁶ The dates of 7 March 1472 (sic) and 24 March 1473 (n.s.), that appear in the colophons of both volumes of this book are in Annunciation-style, which is an Italian manner of dating, so it must have been written in an Italian scriptorium.¹⁴⁷ The border decoration of this manuscript was clearly painted in a Bruges workshop. Also the three miniatures and the binding were probably executed in this city.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ Holkham Hall, Earl of Leicester, ms. 311; see Geirnaert (as in n. 134), 188-192, no. 87.

¹⁴⁷ On fol. 225v of vol. 1, it is stated that the transcription of the commentary by Servius on the fifth book of the Aeneid was completed on the feast of Thomas of Aquinas (i.e., 7 March) 1472. On fol. 31 of the second volume, the scribe wrote that the transcription of the commentary by Donatus on the sixth book of the Aeneid was completed on Wednesday 24 March, on the Vigil of Annunciation, the beginning of the year (*incoante anno*) 1473; see Geirnaert (as in n. 134), 189. When the Annunciation style is used, the year changed only on 25 March. This style of dating was not used in the Low Countries, but only in Italy and Southern France. In Florence, it was in use until 1750 and is therefore often referred to as *calculus florentinus*. See E.I. Strubbe, L. Voet, *De Chronologie van de Middeleeuwen en de Moderne Tijden in de Nederlanden*, Antwerp, Amsterdam, 1960, 53-55. Whether Crabbe's Virgil manuscript was written in an Italian scriptorium specialized in copying humanistic texts and active in Bruges around 1473, as suggested by Geirnaert (as in n. 134), 189, remains difficult to prove. Only one other humanistic text written in Bruges around that time is known, namely a copy of a text by Marsilio Ficino commissioned by the Bolognese papal emissary, Domenico Albergati in 1475; see F. Saxl, "A Marsilio Ficino Manuscript written in Bruges in 1475 and the Alum Monopoly of the Popes," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, I (1937), 61-62; R. Walsh, "The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries. Some Italian Influences at the Court of Charles the Bold," *Humanistica Lovaniensia. Journal of Neo-Latin Studies*, XXV (1976), 152.

¹⁴⁸ The first miniature illustrates the *Bucolica* (fol. 9); the others are an illustration of the *Georgica* (fol. 41v), and *Scenes from the Story of Aeneis* (fol. 122v). The first one attributed by Delaissé to the Master of the Dresden Prayerbook; the two others to the Master of the Prayerbooks of c. 1500. L.M.J. Delaissé, "L'exposition 'Flemish Art' à Londres," *Scriptorium*, IX (1955), 114-115. On the Master of the Dresden Prayerbook, see G. Dogaer, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the 15th and 16th Centuries*, Amsterdam, 1987, 129-131,

Abbot Jan Crabbe clearly had a very particular and progressive interest in the new Italian humanistic ideas that began to reach the Netherlands around 1470. He was certainly not the only one in Bruges who was receptive to the new fascination with classical antiquity at that time. However, it is questionable if this interest went beyond the circle of highly learned individuals like Crabbe, Anselmus Adornes, and Paul de Baenst, of some Italian residents with an interest in learning, and perhaps of rhetoricians like those who staged *tableaux vivants* with classical antique themes for Philip the Good in 1463.¹⁴⁹

Jan Crabbe can also be associated with the patronage of paintings. Hugo van der Goes's famous work the *Death of the Virgin* (Bruges, Groeningemuseum) (Pl. 100),¹⁵⁰ was listed in an inventory of paintings in Bruges institutions drawn up in 1777, as being in the Duinen Abbey.¹⁵¹

and the forthcoming dissertation by B. Brinckmann (Freie Universität Berlin); on the Master of the Prayerbooks of c. 1500, see also T. Kren, *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts. Treasures from the British Library*, New York, 1983, 49-58; Dogaer (as in n. 148), 159-160. The manuscript was probably bound by Antoon van Gavere, who was responsible for three other bindings in Crabbe's library: Bruges, Grootseminarie, ms. 113/78; Tournai, Bibliothèque du Cathédral, ms. A.18; and Bruges, Grootseminarie, ms. 39/174.

¹⁴⁹ This question has previously been asked by A. Dewitte, "Het Humanisme te Brugge: een overtrokken begrip?" *Handelingen Koninklijke Zuidnederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, XXVII (1973), 5-26. Van Miegroet's assessment of this problem, (as in n. 51), 100 ff., is probably too radical. He eradicates all arguments for the existence of a budding humanism in Bruges during the last decades of the fifteenth century, in his discussion of archaism, a supposedly opposite tendency.

¹⁵⁰ Bruges, Groeningemuseum; tempera and oil on panel, 147.8 x 122.5; see A. Janssens de Bisthoven, *Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeningemuseum). Brugge (De Vlaamse Primitieven, I. Corpus van de vijftiende-eeuwse schilderkunst in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, 1)*, I, Antwerp, 1957, 84-92; D. De Vos, *Catalogus Schilderijen 15de en 16de eeuw. Stedelijke Musea Brugge*, Bruges, 1979, 210-213 (with complete bibliography).

¹⁵¹ The painting was erroneously attributed to Van Scorel, as was often the case at that time: "*un tableau antique representant la mort de la Sainte Vierge peint par schorel*;" see *Catalogue de tous les Tableaux rares et précieux appartenant a des mains-mortes soit seculieres soit Ecclesiastiques qui se trouvent dans la ville de Bruges (...) du 3 Septembre 1777* (Nationaal

Mentioned again in 1797, it was moved later to the city hall, and eventually in 1828, to the Academy.¹⁵² If the painting was made originally for the Duinen Abbey, where it was found at the end of the eighteenth century, one may conclude that it was commissioned during the administration of Jan Crabbe. Jan Crabbe may have been the patron, or at least involved in the commission. No contemporary sources have yet appeared to corroborate this hypothesis.

More information is known about a triptych made by Hans Memling for Jan Crabbe. The panels of this altarpiece are dispersed in three collections: in Vicenza, New York and Bruges. The central panel, now in Vicenza, represents the *Crucifixion* with the swooning Virgin on the left, supported by St. John the Evangelist (Pl. 101).¹⁵³ In the center of the picture, Mary Magdalen genuflects while she is holding the cross. At the right, St. John the Baptist and St. Bernard present a kneeling Cistercian monk, Jan Crabbe. Both wings of this panel have been sawn in two. The recto sides of the shutters are now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, the verso sides in Bruges (Pl. 102).¹⁵⁴ The New York panels represent a female

Centrum voor Navorsingen over de Vlaamse Primitieven, Hs. Fonds Pierre Bautier 1962, no. C.2234, fol. 6v).

¹⁵² De Vos (as in n. 150), 212.

¹⁵³ Vicenza, Museo Civico; tempera and oil on panel, 78 x 63; on the whole triptych see Kämmerer (as in n. 85), 68-74; K. Voll, *Memling. Des Meisters Gemälde*, Stuttgart, Leipzig, 1909, 150; M.J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei, VI: Memling und Gerard David*, Berlin, 1928, 21, 114-115; E. Renders, "Découverte d'un Memling," *Le Soir*, 25 September 1940; *Ibid.*, 2 October 1940; F.W., "Ein Neuer Memling," *Pantheon*, XXVI (1940), 249; Baldass (as in n. 85), 1942, 36-37; Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 150), 1st edition, Antwerp, 1957, 106-110; H. Pauwels, et al., *De Eeuw der Vlaamse Primitieven*, [exh.cat.] Bruges, Groeningemuseum, 1960, 100-101, no.36; *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization*, [exh. cat.] The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1960, 150-153, no. 33; M.J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting, Via: Hans Memling and Gerard David*, (comments and notes by N. Veronée-Verhaegen), Brussels, Leiden, 1971, cat. 4, pl. 16-17; VIb, cat. Add. 261; Geirnaert (as in n. 86), 175-183.

¹⁵⁴ New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (interior wings); tempera and oil on panel, 83.2 x 26.5; Bruges, Groeningemuseum (exterior wings), inv. 0.1254-55; tempera and oil on panel, 83.2 x 26.5; for bibliography see previous note.

saint (St. Anne?) with a kneeling elderly woman on the left, and at the right St. William of Maleval and a young man who also kneels and who holds a prayerbook. The Bruges wings of the verso of the altarpiece, represent the *Annunciation* in grisaille.

X-rays taken in the 1950s of the different panels have proven that these panels belong together. This had already been suggested by the Bruges dealer, Emile Renders, who owned the exterior wings around 1940.¹⁵⁵ Renders also pointed out that for chronological reasons, the Cistercian abbot presented on the central panel could not have been any one else than Jan Crabbe. No other Cistercian abbot in Flanders had St. John as a patron saint in the period that the painting was made. Renders dated the painting about 1470, and identified the woman on the left wing as Anna Crabbe, Jan's mother, and the young man on the right as William Crabbe, the abbot's brother. De Vos noted however that no other sources confirm the names of these family members.¹⁵⁶

Recently, Geirnaert published new evidence concerning the date and the original destination of the altarpiece.¹⁵⁷ He pointed out some documents which prove that Crabbe rebuilt the refuge of the Duinen Abbey at the Snaggaardstraat, and installed a new chapel in this residence. Construction was finished in 1478. On 4 February 1479, the chapel was consecrated and dedicated to the Virgin, St. John the Baptist, St. John the Evangelist and St. Bernard. On 14 July of the same year, Crabbe endowed a daily mass in this chapel. As all the saints to whom the chapel was dedicated figure on the central panel of the altarpiece, the painting was obviously made for this location. Memling must have made this altarpiece for the refuge of the Duinen Abbey before February 1479.

The documents do not confirm the identity of the donors on the interior wings. Already in 1899, Kämmerer noted that these two figures also appeared on the *Presentation*-wing of Memling's *Adoration of the Magi*

¹⁵⁵ Renders published his discovery in two newspaper articles; see n. 150. During the war, he sold the panels to Hermann Göring. They were recovered in Germany in 1947.

¹⁵⁶ De Vos (as in n. 150), 164.

¹⁵⁷ Geirnaert (as in n. 86), 175-183.

(Madrid, Prado).¹⁵⁸ The resemblance between the old woman on the left panel in New York and St. Anna in the Prado panel is indeed remarkable. Memling possibly used the same preparatory drawing for these two heads, and simply reversed it in one of the instances. The man represented on the Prado panel is someone other than the one accompanied by St. William in the Pierpont Morgan. Except for their dark hair, the features of these two men are entirely different.

The identification of the figures on the wings as Jan Crabbe's mother and brother seems difficult to accept in the context of the painting's function as an altarpiece in the chapel of the refuge of the Duinen Abbey. One wonders what connection they may have had with this chapel. Nevertheless, this identification cannot be excluded. We have seen that in 1457, Dirk de Vroede, brother of the prior of the Carthusian monastery commissioned stained glass windows with the portraits of his parents that were placed in the walkway of the cloister. Perhaps it was customary for family members of clerics to endow works of art for the cloister where their relative lived.

¹⁵⁸ Kämmerer (as in n. 85), 69. Kämmerer, did not know that the *Annunciation* now in Bruges, was also a part of this altarpiece. Merely on stylistic basis, he dated it as 1478-80, which corresponds exactly with the date of the consecration of the chapel in the Snaggaardstraat.

7. The Nuns of St. Augustine, called 'Black Sisters of Bethel'

A last convent to be discussed, is that of the nuns of St. Augustine, called the *Black Sisters of Bethel* (or the *Castanjeboom*). This convent was established in 1361 at the Nieuwe Gentweg (Pl. 103). It was suppressed in 1792, and reinstated at the Memlingplaats in the beginning of the nineteenth century.¹⁵⁹

The polyptych with the *Legend of St. Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins* (Bruges, Groeningemuseum) comes from this convent. It is generally attributed to an anonymous Bruges master who took his name, Master of the Ursula Legend, from these panels (Pl. 104-105).¹⁶⁰ Eight panels are mounted on two frames and thus form two wings of an altarpiece. The central part of this altarpiece, of which no trace exists, may have been a carved or painted retable. Two panels, representing the *Church* and the *Synagogue*, are somewhat more oblong in format. They were probably placed on top of the altarpiece. All the panels are also painted in grisaille on the verso: on the verso of the *Church* and *Synagogue* an *Annunciation*; the

¹⁵⁹ Duclos (as in n. 2), 500, 532.

¹⁶⁰ *Legend of St. Ursula*, Bruges, Groeningemuseum, inv. 0.1542-1545; tempera and oil on panel, 47.9 x 30; 47.8 x 30.1; 47.5 x 30; 47.6 x 30; 47.5 x 30.1; 47.6 x 30.3; 47.7 x 30.4; 47.5 x 30.4 (dimensions without frame in sequence of the story); *Church and Synagoge*, tempera and oil on panel, 59.4 x 18.7 and 59 x 18.2; see G.F. Waagen, *Handbuch der deutschen und niederländischen Malerschulen*, I, Stuttgart, 1862, 100-101; G. Hulin de Loo, *Bruges 1902. Exposition de tableaux flamands des XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles. Catalogue critique*, [exh.cat.], Ghent, 1902, nos. 46-47; M. Conway, *The Van Eycks and their Followers*, New York, 1921, 247; F. Winkler, *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, Berlin, 1924, 373; Friedländer (as in n. 153), VI, 1928, 60, 136, no. 113; P. Bautier, "Le Maître Brugeois de la Légende de Sainte Ursule," *Bulletin Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België*, V (1956), 3-12; L. Ninane, in *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization*, [exh. cat.] The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1960, no. 39; Pauwels (as in n. 153), 124-129, no. 48-49; G. Marlier, "Le Maître de la Légende sainte Ursule," *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1964, 32-42; A. Janssens de Bisthoven in *Anonieme Vlaamse Primitieven*, [exh. cat.], Bruges, 1969, 30-37, 195-196, no.1; Friedländer (as in n. 153), VIa, 1971, 38-39, 59. no. 113; De Vos (as in n. 150), 151-155.

panels with Ursula's legend with the figures of the apostles and the church fathers.

In the background of the third panel the Bruges belfry is represented, without the wooden octagonal spire added to it in 1483. Therefore one may safely assume that the painting originated before that date.¹⁶¹ The composition of the eighth panel is possibly based on a miniature by Loyset Liédet in a manuscript of the *Dialogues* of St. Gregory, made for Louis of Gruuthuse about 1470-75 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.fr. 911, fol. 221)(Pl. 106).¹⁶² Evidently, both works may also be copies of the same prototype. The ambiguous spatial definition and the slanted floor of the room, with the altar obliquely placed at the right, are similar in both works.

Two arguments support the hypothesis that these panels were originally made for the Black Sisters of Bethel. Janssens de Bisthoven noted that in the background of the fourth panel the cloister of the sisters was shown.¹⁶³ Furthermore, the nun dressed in a black habit and a white cape, who enters the church at the left of the last panel, is dressed in the costume worn by the sisters of Bethel in the fifteenth and sixteenth century.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶¹ Pauwels (as in n. 153), 126. This author takes 1487, the date when this wooden spire was again replaced by another one as a *terminus ante quem*. De Vos (as in n. 150), 155, gives the dates erroneously as 1482 and 1486. He points out convincingly that there is no reason to assume that the painting originated while the tower was being remodeled. On the building phases of the belfry as a dating criterion, see N. Verhaegen, "Le Maître de la Légende de Sainte Lucie. Précisions sur son Oeuvre," *Bulletin van het Koninklijk Instituut voor het Kunstpatrimonium*, II (1959), 79-82.

¹⁶² This little-known manuscript has only been briefly discussed by L. Van Praet, *Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, seigneur de la Gruthuyse...*, Paris, 1831, 124-125, cat. XX. Its illumination has not been attributed to Loyset Liédet, although his hand is easily recognizable. The date, c. 1470-75, which I propose here for this manuscript, is partly based on the style of the borders in this manuscript. I am preparing an article on the illumination and some codicological aspects of this manuscript.

¹⁶³ Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 160), 32. On the map of Marcus Gerards, this convent is indicated with no. 43 on the roof. It is located in the city block just above the church of Our Lady.

¹⁶⁴ De Vos (as in n. 150), 155.

Whether she is also the donor of the painting, as it has been suggested,¹⁶⁵ is uncertain. The inferior position she assumes in the scene, and her generic facial features suggest that the painter did not intend to portray a specific individual, but rather a member of the order in more generic terms.

B. Hospitals

During the late Middle Ages, the Bruges Magistrature administered four charitable institutions. The most famous is undoubtedly the hospital of St. John. Others were St. Julian's, where pilgrims and homeless people could stay for one night, the Hospice of the Holy Ghost, more commonly known as the *Potterie*, and the lepers' house of Mary Magdalen outside the city walls. Beside these institutions, Bruges counted dozens of other hospices and almshouses, many of which were set up by the corporations for ill or impoverished members.¹⁶⁶ The following chapter will deal only with the three main charitable institutions of the city: St. John's, St. Julian's and Mary Magdalen's. No important data have surfaced about the artistic patronage of the others.

1. The Hospital of St. John

Nowhere else in Bruges is the spirit of the city's late medieval past better preserved than in the Hospital of St. John (Pl. 107). The buildings and art treasures have been an infinite source of inspiration for Romantic poets and novelists.¹⁶⁷ Hugues Viane, the protagonist in Georges

¹⁶⁵ This was suggested, amongst others by Pauwels (as in n. 153), 126; Janssens de Bisthoven (as in n. 160), 34.

¹⁶⁶ For a list of those that existed in the late Middle Ages, see Duclos (as in n. 2), 302.

¹⁶⁷ On the Hospital of St. John in literature, see W. Muylaert, "Het Sint-Janshospitaal in de literatuur," in *Sint-Janshospitaal Brugge, 1188-1976*, [exh.cat.], I, Bruges,

Rodenbach's *Bruges-la-Morte*, the summit of Belgian Romantic literature, dwells here along the dark corners of the hospital and in the court yard, bordered by palm trees, where he hopes to find rest and cure for his melancholic and tormented soul. "*Parmi ses pèlerinage à travers la ville, Hugues adorait surtout l'hôpital St.Jean.*"¹⁶⁸ Only when he sees Memling's shrine of St. Ursula, does Hugues discover peacefulness and silence, "*le grand cathécisme du calme.*"

Carel van Mander was the first to mention Memling's works in the chapel of the hospital.¹⁶⁹ From the end of the eighteenth century, St. John's became a pilgrimage site for an international elite of artists, poets, and connoisseurs.¹⁷⁰ Sir Joshua Reynolds, Goethe, the Boisserée brothers, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, A.W.N. Pugin, Gustave Courbet, Jacob Burckhardt, Victor Hugo, and William Morris are only a few of the famous visitors who admired the paintings by Hans Memling in the hospital.

Despite this long tradition of interest and admiration for Memling's work at the hospital, some important questions regarding the patronage of these paintings have not been answered, or ever even asked. Why, for instance, did a humble community of hospital brethren and sisters commission such a grand work as the *St. John Altarpiece*?

The hospital of St. John existed before 1188, when the rules of the house were first written down in a charter.¹⁷¹ The city magistrature was

1976, 217-221. In this exhibition catalogue all aspects of the history of the institution were treated. It includes, amongst others, articles on the foundation, the history of the buildings, the real estate owned by the institution, the painting collection, sculpture, silver, and tapestries.

¹⁶⁸ G. Rodenbach, *Bruges-la-Morte*, Paris, 1892.

¹⁶⁹ A.F. Mirande, G.S. Overdiep (eds.), *Het Schildersboek van Carel van Mander*, Amsterdam, 1936, 84.

¹⁷⁰ A. Viaene, "Vijf eeuwen ontmoeting met het Sint-Janshospitaal," in *Sint-Janshospitaal Brugge, 1188-1976*, [exh.cat.], I, Bruges, 1976, 225-246; M. Mommeyer, "Het Memlingmuseum," in *Id.*, 247-257.

¹⁷¹ For the foundation, management, income, and rules of the Hospital of St. John, see G. Maréchal, "Het Sint-Janshospitaal in de eerste eeuwen van zijn bestaan," in *Id.*, 41-76; for the charter of 1188, see *Ibid.*, 48-49, pl. 9; II, 342, A.1: Bruges, Archief OCMW, *Fonds*

intimately involved in the management of the institution. From the second half of the thirteenth century onward the aldermen appointed guardians to supervise the activities and administration of the hospital. These guardians were always chosen amongst the city's leading families, who regularly held other important governmental offices. The daily management of the hospital was in the hands of a master, who was appointed by the magistrature from among the brethren of the institution. Usually the treasurer, who had been the master's assistant, was chosen for the job.

St. John's was open to the physically or mentally ill, to the elderly, to pilgrims, travelers, and homeless. Usually also a few pensioners, older people who had made endowments to the institution, lived on the premises.¹⁷² The hospital was staffed by a congregation of lay brethren and sisters, who lived in segregated quarters. They did not take any religious vows. They lived in poverty, obedience and chastity, but were independent from any ecclesiastic authority.¹⁷³ This condition changed radically in 1459, when Jean Chevrot, Bishop of Tournai (1436-60), reformed the community into a regular order, following the rule of St. Augustine. Diverse political, financial and religious factors played a role in this evolution.¹⁷⁴

The community had a few important privileges. They were entitled to the inheritance of the people who died in the hospital.¹⁷⁵ From the late thirteenth century St. John's had the right of wine measuring, and later also

Sint-Janshospitaal, charter no. 1. The same data were repeated in G. Maréchal, *De sociale en politieke gebondenheid van het Brugse hospitaalwezen in de middeleeuwen*, Courtrai, Heule, 1978.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 57-61.

Ibid.,¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 54-57.

¹⁷⁴ On this reform, see *Ibid.*, 55-56; J. Geldhof, "De kloostergemenschap van het Sint-Janshospitaal, 1459-1975," in *Sint-Janshospitaal Brugge, 1188-1976*, [exh.cat.], I, Bruges, 1976, 169-174.

¹⁷⁵ This privilege of inheritance was initially restricted to what the patient brought with him to the hospital, but gradually it was extended to all the possessions owned by the patient. As this caused many legal problems with heirs, Charles the Bold limited the right of inheritance to £6 gr. See Maréchal (as in n. 171), 51-53.

the monopoly on eel in part of the Bruges rivers. In 1470, the right of gauging weights and measures was added.¹⁷⁶

Financially, the hospital was most dependent upon profits yielded from renting out real estate, like farms and meadows, and by selling the produce that was cultivated there.¹⁷⁷ Furthermore, it rented out houses, mills, and *meersen*, that were situated within the city walls.¹⁷⁸ *Meersen* were pieces of low, often humid land unsuitable for the construction of houses, and were used for industrial purposes, for instance in textile production. Owing to a considerable decrease of this kind of income, and to the consequences of the economic crisis of the second half of the 1430s, the hospital had financial troubles from about the middle of the fifteenth century on.

At the same time, the community assumed more independence, by hiring people, renting out land, and having works done without informing the guardians. The city magistrature responded with some severe measures between 1452 and 1454. The hospital administration was followed more closely, more regularly, and by more city representatives.

No explicit reasons for the reform of the community are mentioned in the charter of 1459, which placed it under the authority of the bishop of Tournai.¹⁷⁹ Undoubtedly, this major change has to be situated within the context of the hospital's rejection of the intensified municipal control and interference. In Jean Chevrot, the brethren and sisters of St. John found a forceful ally, who had his own reasons to limit the power of the city magistrature. As a protégé of Philip the Good, Chevrot evidently followed ducal policy, and thus played an instrumental role in the *process of*

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ On real estate owned by the hospital outside the city, see J. Mertens, "Het buitenstedelijk goederenbezit van het Sint-Janshospitaal te Brugge," in *Id.*, 85-89.

¹⁷⁸ St. John's real estate within the city walls was discussed by M. Ryckaert, "Binnenstedelijk onroerend bezit van het Sint-Janshospitaal te Brugge tijdens het Ancien Régime," in *Id.*, 90-111.

¹⁷⁹ Geldhof (as in n. 174), 171. This charter is Bruges, Archief OCMW, *Fonds Sint-Janshospitaal*, charter no. 1222; see *Ibid.*, 170, pl. 58; II, 357, no. A.13.

burgundization, i.e., the increasing centralization of the duke's power by limiting the authority of local governments.¹⁸⁰ Placing the community under his supervision and subjecting its members to religious vows, was indirectly a restriction of the city's influence.

Naturally, this change caused a conflict between the magistrature and the bishop of Tournai, which was solved only on 5 August 1463. In a charter of that date, the authority was shared by both parties.¹⁸¹ Basically, it was agreed that henceforth the bishop managed the personnel of the hospital, while the magistrature supervised its estate. The bishop's representative checked the accounts after the guardians. Together they appointed the master, mother superior, the treasurer, and the wardrobe mistress. This system of government remained little changed until the end of the *Ancien Régime*.

The architectural complex of the Hospital of St. John consists of diverse buildings.¹⁸² The hospital itself was located in three monumental halls built adjacent to one another. The northern hall incorporates the church, with the chapel of St. Cornelius added at the north side. Further to the north, along the Mariastraat, are the cloister buildings of the brethren. The cloister of the sisters is situated at the south side of the complex along the Reie, and extending toward the west.¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ Geldhof (as in n. 174), 171. The term *process of burgundization* is taken from W. Prevenier, W. Blockmans, *De Bourgondische Nederlanden*, Antwerp, 1983, 198-213. On the appointment of ducal allies to episcopal functions, and the association of the function of Bishop of Tournai and chair of the ducal council, see *Ibid.*, 242-246. On Jean Chevrot, see E. Varenbergh, "Chevrot (Jean)," *Biografie Nationale*, IV, Brussels, 1873, 73.

¹⁸¹ Geldhof (as in n. 174), 173. See SAB, *Stadscartularia*, 1: *Rudenboek*, 1271-1484, fol. 101-104.

¹⁸² For a complete description of the buildings, the major restoration by the architects L. Delacenserie and J. Coomans between 1909-1913, and consequent restorations, see J.P. Esther, "Monumentenbeschrijving en bouwgeschiedenis," in *Sint-Janshospitaal Brugge, 1188-1976*, [exh.cat.], I, Bruges, 1976, 259-339.

¹⁸³ The original hospital rooms are now used as a museum, and since 1986, the Memlings have been installed in the church and in the chapel of St. Cornelius. For a

In 1473-74, the apse of the church was rebuilt.¹⁸⁴ Ferry de Clugny, Bishop of Tournai (1473-83), consecrated the new choir in 1476-77.¹⁸⁵ Only two years later, in 1479, Hans Memling completed his *St. John Altarpiece*, which was installed on the altar of the church (Pl. 108).¹⁸⁶

This triptych represents a Madonna enthroned with the Christ Child on her lap, and surrounded by four saints and as many angels. St. John the Evangelist stands on the right of the throne, holding his attribute, a chalice in which a viper crawls. John the Baptist with his lamb is standing on the other side. SS Catherine and Barbara are sitting in the foreground. To the left, Catherine concludes her mystic marriage with the Child. She is identified by the broken wheel and the sword at her feet. Barbara, sitting on the right hand side, reads in her book of devotion. The miniature tower behind her back is her attribute. An angel in alb holds a prayer book for the

groundplan of the current installation, see H. Lobelle-Caluwé, *Memlingmuseum Brugge*, Brussels, 1987, 124-125.

¹⁸⁴ Duclos (as in n. 2), 341-342, 499; Esther (as in n. 179), 275.

¹⁸⁵ Bruges, Archief OCMW, *Fonds Sint-Janshospitaal*, register no. 187: *rekeningen 1476-1477*, fol. 63; Esther (as in n. 182), 317, n. 30.

¹⁸⁶ *St. John Altarpiece*, Bruges, Hospital of St. John; tempera and oil on panel, 173.7 x 173.8 (central panel), 176.2 x 79 (left), 176.1 x 79.2 (right); inscription on lower frame of central panel: *OPVS. IOHANNIS. MEMLING. ANNO. M.CCCC.LXXIX. 1479.*; see W.H.J. Weale, *Hans Memlinc*, Bruges, 1871, 41-46; Kämmerer (as in n. 85), 83-96; Weale (as in n. 85), 13 ff.; Voll (as in n. 153), 27-31, 172; O. Rubbrecht, "Trois portraits de la Maison de Bourgogne par Memlinc," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, LX (1910), 15-64; Friedländer (as in n. 153), VI, 1928, 32, 117, no.11; Fierens-Gevaert, *Histoire de la peinture flamande des origines à la fin du XVe siècle*, III, 63-64; P. Lambotte, *Exposition Memling*, [exh.cat.], Bruges, 1939, 56-57, no. 6; Baldass (as in n. 85), 1942, 43-44; P. Coremans, R. Sneyers, J. Thissen, "Memlinc's Mystiek Huwelijk van de H. Katherina. Onderzoek en Behandeling," *Bulletin Koninklijk Instituut van het Kunstpatrimonium*, II (1959), 83-96; Pauwels (as in n. 153), 106-107, no. 39; Folie (as in n. 128), 226, pl. 25-26; S.N. Blum, *Early Netherlandish Triptychs. A Study on Patronage*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1969, 88-96; K.B. McFarlane, *Hans Memling*, Oxford, 1971, 4, 10-13; Friedländer (as in n. 153), VIa, 1971, cat. 11, pl. 41-44; H. Lobelle, "Schilderkunst," in *Sint-Janshospitaal Brugge, 1188-1976*, [exh.cat.], II, Bruges, 1976, 506-509; M.P.J. Martens, H. van Miegroet, "Nieuwe inzichten omtrent de omstreden du Cellier-dyptiek, toegeschreven aan Hans Memling," *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, XXVI (1981-84), 59-83; Lobelle-Caluwé (as in n. 183), 48-59.

Virgin. At the left, an angel dressed in a brocaded dalmatic, plays a portable organ. Two other angels hover above the Madonna holding a golden regal crown, set with pearls and precious stones.

In the background, between the columns and to the left of John the Evangelist's head, the *Kraanplaats* (crane place) is depicted. A brother of St. John gauges wine barrels, which was one of the institution's privileges. Another brother peeks through the columns.¹⁸⁷ In the background also, but more to the right, the martyrdom of the evangelist in boiling oil is shown.

In the background of the left side of the central panel, scenes from the life of the Baptist are represented, such as John preaching in the desert. The first two, the *Angel appearing to Zachariah*, and the *Birth of St. John*, are carved on the capitals of the columns behind him. The left wing shows his martyrdom (Pl. 109). An executioner places his severed head on a platter held by Salome. The saint's decapitated corpse is stretched out on the floor, blood spilling from his arteries. The right wing of the triptych shows the apocalyptic vision of St. John the Evangelist on the Isle of Patmos.

On the exterior, the patrons of the triptych, accompanied by their patron saints, kneel in niches (Pl. 110). Weale identified them as Anthuenis Seghers with St. Anthony and Jacob de Keuninc with St. James the Major.¹⁸⁸ On the right wing, St. Agnes with her lamb and St. Clare holding a monstrance, introduce Agnes Casembrood and Clara van Hulsen.

Little is known about these brethren and sisters. Anthuenis Seghers entered the hospital as a brother in 1455-56 (Pl. 111). Between 1459 and 1466 he was the wine gauger of St. John, achieving the position of master between 1461 and 1465. Between 1466 and 1468 he served as treasurer, and from 1469 until his death in 1475, he was once again master of the institution. His colleague, Jacob de Keuninc, was professed in 1469-70, and was

¹⁸⁷ Some authors assumed that this was a self-portrait of the artist; see, for instance, Pauwels (as in n. 153), 107; Coremans, Sneyers, Thissen (as in n. 186), 84. Lobelle (as in n. 186), 508, rejected this by pointing out that the man wears the black uniform of the brethren of St. John. Fierens-Gevaert (as in n. 186), 63, believed it was Josse Willems, master of the hospital after 1475.

¹⁸⁸ Weale (as in n. 83), 1901, 13, 39-40. Weale was also the first to publish biographical data of the patrons.

treasurer of the hospital in the period of 1488-90. Agnes Casembrood became a sister of St. John in 1445-46 (Pl. 112). She served as mother superior from 1459-60 until 1462-63, and from 1477-78 until 1479-80.¹⁸⁹ Clara van Hulsen was already in St. John's by 1427-28. She died in 1479, apparently without ever serving in any high office in the institution. Amongst the four patrons, Brother Anthuenis and Sister Agnes clearly stand out as the most prominent ones, placed as they are in the front row.

Weale pointed out that the painting must have been commissioned before 1475, the year Anthuenis Seghers died.¹⁹⁰ The commission can be dated to around 1473, when the apse of the church was rebuilt. It seems unlikely that only the modification of the church motivated this grand commission. It can be no coincidence that the patrons who are presented most prominently, were the master of the hospital and the head of the nuns in the crucial years following the reform of the community in 1459. During their administration, in 1463, the agreement about the supervision of the hospital was concluded between the bishop of Tournai and the city magistrature, bringing to end a period of almost a decade of serious tensions. Obviously, Anthuenis Seghers and Agnes Casembrood played a prominent role in the consultation that led to this agreement. Through this process of reform, the hospital community had evolved to the status of a recognized regular order. It had more autonomy than before, and was supported by the bishop of Tournai, and thus by the Burgundian rulers.

The presence of SS Catherine and Barbara on the central panel of the *St. John Altarpiece* may reflect this new dimension in the nature of the community, as the former saint symbolizes the *vita contemplativa*, and the latter the *vita activa*.¹⁹¹ Some authors thought that SS Catherine and Barbara

¹⁸⁹ The dates provided by Weale (as in n. 83), 17, for Agnes Casembrood, which were copied by most authors, like Pauwels (as in n. 153), 107, and Blum (as in n. 186), 88) (*i.e.*, entered in 1447, and the mother superior in the years 1455-60, 1469-1489), have not been corroborated by recent research in the archives of the hospital; see Lobelle (as in n. 186), 1976, 509.

¹⁹⁰ Weale (as in n. 83), 17.

¹⁹¹ A. Jameson, *Sacred and Legendary Art*, II, Boston, 1865, 102; *Id.*, *Legends of the Madonna*, Boston, New York, 1897, 144ff.

were disguised portraits of respectively Mary of Burgundy and Margaret of York.¹⁹² Recent paleopathological research on the skeleton of Mary of Burgundy has shown that the effigy on her tomb monument in the church of Our Lady is a reliable portrait of the princess.¹⁹³ The resemblance between this portrait and the head of St. Catherine in the *Altarpiece of St. John*, is indeed striking.¹⁹⁴ So it is very possible that this theory about the princely portraits in the central panel of the *St. John Altarpiece* is correct. If so, it would corroborate an enhanced Burgundian influence in the hospital, channeled indirectly through the bishop of Tournai.

The *Altarpiece of St. John* by Hans Memling possibly commemorates the outcome of the dramatic events of the period 1459-63, which were so crucial in the history of the hospital. The painting would thus be a self-confident confirmation of the community's newly attained religious status and social prestige.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² Rubbrecht (as in n. 186), 15-64. This theory was rejected by Pauwels (as in n. 153), 107. In this context it should be remembered that the two princesses were important patrons of several, mainly reformed religious orders.

¹⁹³ P.A. Janssens, "Antropologisch en paleopathologisch onderzoek van de beenderresten uit het centrale graf in de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk te Brugge. De identificatie van de Hertogin Maria van Bourgondië," *Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Geneeskunde van België*, XLIII/4-5 (1981), 213-270; (reprinted in) *Id.*, "De identificatie van de Hertogin Maria van Bourgondië: een antropologisch en paleopathologisch onderzoek," in H. De Witte, P. Janssens, W. Dezutter (et al.), *Maria van Bourgondië Brugge. Een archeologisch-historisch onderzoek in de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk*, Bruges, 1982, 141-177, see especially pls. 13-14.

¹⁹⁴ No such points of reference exist for the evaluation of the theory about the portrait of Margaret of York. Portraits of Margaret, such as that by an anonymous Flemish master, c. 1480, in Paris, Louvre (see Prevenier, Blockmans (as in n. 180), 91, pl. 78) or in miniatures such as the famous illumination by the Master of Girart de Roussillon, *Margaret of York Performing the Seven Works of Mercy* (Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. 9296, fol. 1)(see *Ibid.*, 127, pl. 98), are of little use in this comparison, due to their poor qualities as likenesses.

¹⁹⁵ The basic idea that the commission of the altarpiece is related in some way to the reform of the order, was already hesitantly formulated by Lobelle-Caluwé (as in n. 183), 44-45. I am grateful to Hilde Lobelle-Caluwé for discussing the issue with me.

In 1479, the same year that the altarpiece was installed in the church of the hospital, another brother, Jan Floreins, commissioned a much smaller triptych from Hans Memling. It represents scenes from the childhood of Christ (Pl. 113-116).¹⁹⁶ The central panel shows the *Adoration of the Magi*. At the left, the donor of the painting is kneeling. He holds a prayerbook, and his hands are resting on a ruinous window sill (Pl. 115). Next to his head, the number 36 indicates his age. Behind him stands an adolescent, who is traditionally identified as Jacob Floreins, Jan's younger brother, but who is more probably one of Jacob's sons.¹⁹⁷ The left wing depicts the *Nativity*, the right one the *Presentation in the Temple*. The architectural setting of the latter scene was probably inspired by the church of St. Donatian in Bruges.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ *Jan Floreins Triptych*, Bruges, Hospital of St. John; tempera and oil on panel, 46.5 x 57.2 (central panel), 48 x 24.7 (wings); inscription on lower frame: *DIT. WERCK. DEDE. MAKEN. BROEDER. IAN FLOREINS./ ALIAS. VANDER. RIIST. BROEDER. PROFFES. VANDE[N]. HOSPITALE. VAN. SINT. JANS. IN. BRUGGHE. ANNO. M.CCCC.LXXIX./ OPUS. IOHAN[N]IS. MEMLING* (Brother Jan Floreins, also known as Vander Rijst, professed brother of this hospital of St. John in Bruges, had this work made anno 1479, [it is a] work by Johannes Memling); see Weale (as in n. 186), 1871, 46-49; Kämmerer (as in n. 85), 64-68; Weale (as in n. 83), 1901, 18-21; Hulin de Loo (as in n. 160), no. 60; Voll (as in n. 153), 41-43, 172; Rubbrecht (as in n. 186), 1910, 15-64; Friedländer (as in n. 153), VI, 1928, 114, n.2; G. Hulin de Loo, "Hans Memling in Rogier van der Weyden's Studio," *Burlington Magazine*, LII (1928), 165; Lambotte (as in n. 186), 54-56, no. 5, pl. 4; Baldass (as in n. 85), 43, pl. 65-69; L. Van Puyvelde, *Les Primitifs Flamands*, [exh.cat.] Paris, Musée de l'Orangerie, 1947, 35, no. 67; J. Steppe, "Een binnenzicht van de voormalige Sint-Donaaskerk te Brugge op een schilderij van Memling," *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Monumenten en Landschappen*, IV (1953), 187-200; Pauwels (as in n. 153), 103-106, no.38; Ninane (as in n. 160), 141-145, no.30; Folie (as in n. 128), 1963, 225-226, pl. 25; McFarlane (as in n. 186), 12, 33; Friedländer (as in n. 153), VIa, 1971, cat. 2, pl. 4-7; Lobelle (as in n. 186), 503-505; Lobelle-Caluwé (as in n. 183), 60-63.

¹⁹⁷ Weale (as in n. 83), 1901, 34. Jacob Floreins commissioned his own altarpiece from Memling c. 1490 (Paris, Louvre). McFarlane (as in n. 186), 33, n. 22, pointed out convincingly, that it is hard to believe that Jacob Floreins was portrayed as an adolescent in 1479, if he was the father of nineteen children in 1490. One of Jacob's sons in the Louvre painting is dressed in cassock and surplice. McFarlane speculated that probably this son appeared in the *Altarpiece of Jan Floreins*, as he had been predestined for priesthood.

¹⁹⁸ Steppe (as in n. 196), 187-200.

The original lock of the picture has been preserved. It is a beautiful example of Late Medieval metalwork. Closed, the triptych shows two saints in a landscape: St. John the Baptist with his lamb, and Veronica displaying the *sudarium* (Pl. 114). The figures' space is separated from the viewer's by an illusionistic architectural diaphragm arch.¹⁹⁹ The left arch is decorated with statues of Adam and Eve, the right with the *Expulsion from the Garden of Eden*.

The abundance of personal marks of ownership displayed in this work is most remarkable. The donor is portrayed in the central panel, his age inscribed next to his head. On the lower frame of the work appears his name and nickname (*Ian Floreins, alias vander Riist*), his status and affiliation (*broeder proffes vanden hospitale van Sint Jans in brugge*), the date of the work (1479), and the name of the artist (*Iohannis Memling*). On the exterior wings more ownership marks are found. On the top, two coats of arms: at the left that of the Floreins family, at the right an unidentified one.²⁰⁰ On the illusionistic marbled frame the patron's initials *IF* bound by a loveknot appears three times.

Again, we do not know much about the patron, Jan Floreins. As he was 36 years old in 1479, he must have been born in 1443. He was professed as brother of the hospital in 1472.²⁰¹ He was master from 1488 until 1497, and was the only brother of the congregation who survived the plague of 1490. Apparently he hired some incompetent people to replace the deceased brethren, which led to much disorder. In 1497, he was demoted, probably because of his unsuccessful administration. He spent the rest of his life until his death in 1504/05 as an ordinary brother. These scarce data

¹⁹⁹ On the evolution of this important motif in Netherlandish painting, see K.M. Birkmeyer, "The Arch motif in Netherlandish Painting," *The Art Bulletin*, XLIII (1961), 1-20, 99-112.

²⁰⁰ At the left: *Sable, three chevrons Or* (Jan Floreins); at the right *Silver, a lion geules, three bends Or* (?).

²⁰¹ For Floreins's biography, see Weale (as in n. 83), 1901, 20-21; Lobelle (as in n. 186), 503.

do not explain why Jan Floreins commissioned the triptych from Memling in 1479.

A year later, in 1480, Adriaen Reins commissioned yet another triptych from Hans Memling (Pl. 117).²⁰² This painting, comparable in size to the one commissioned by Jan Floreins, represents the *Lamentation of Christ* on the central panel.²⁰³ On the left wing, St. Adrian, holding an anvil, instrument of his martyrdom, puts his hand on the donor's shoulder (Pl. 119). On the right wing, St. Barbara is depicted. The saints on the exterior wings are less common (Pl. 118). The left wing shows St. Wilgefortis, also known as St. Ontcomena.²⁰⁴ This legendary princess of Portugal got a beard after she supplicated God to secure her virginity. She holds a cross, because her father had her crucified as a witch. The right wing portrays Mary of Egypt, the remorseful sinner who wandered naked through the desert for 40 years, living on only the three loaves of bread she holds.

The identity of Adriaen Reins is revealed by the presence of his patron saint, and by his initials *AR* on the lower side of the frame of the

²⁰² *Triptych of Adriaen Reins*, Bruges, Hospital of St. John; tempera and oil on panel, 44 x 36 (central panel), 44 x 14 (wings); inscription on upper frame: 1480; at bottom in the middle: A (mark) R; see Kämmerer (as in n. 85), 102-104; Weale (as in n. 83), 1901, 23-24; Voll (as in n. 153), 1909, 49-51, 173; Friedländer (as in n. 153), VI, 1928, 115, no.5; Lambotte (as in n. 186), 58-59, no. 7; Baldass (as in n. 85), 1942, 38-39; Van Puyvelde (as in n. 186), 35, no. 68; Pauwels (as in n. 153), 108-110, no.40; Friedländer (as in n. 153), VIa, 1971, cat. 5, pl. 18-21; McFarlane (as in n. 186), 33; Lobelle (as in n. 186), 509-512; Lobelle-Caluwé (as in n. 183), 64-66.

²⁰³ The composition of this painting is derived from a work by Rogier van der Weyden with the same subject, now in the Mauritshuis in The Hague; see Pauwels (as in n. 153), 110. On the painting by Rogier, see M. Davies, *Rogier van der Weyden - An Essay*, London, 1972, 216, pl. 199.

²⁰⁴ On this unusual saint who was popular in parts of Flanders, see J. Gessler, *De Vlaamse Baardheilige, Wilgefortis of Ontcommer*, Antwerp, The Hague, 1937; E. Kirschbaum, W. Braunfels, *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, VII, Rome, Freiburg, Vienna, 1973, 353-355. This saint is also represented in a wall painting in the crypt of the Cathedral of Saint Bavo at Ghent; see M.P.J. Martens, *De Muurschilderkunst te Gent. XIIde tot XVIde eeuw, (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Schone Kunsten*, 51, no. 46), Brussels, 1989, 92-93, 229.

central panel.²⁰⁵ The date of the painting, 1480, appears on the upper side of this frame. About the donor we only know that he was professed as brother of the hospital of St. John the year before this painting was made, and that he was a victim of the plague in 1490. Why he had SS Barbara, Wilgefortis and Mary of Egypt depicted is unknown.²⁰⁶

The *Triptych of Adriaen Reins* does not show the same profusion of signs of ownership as that of Jan Floreins. Why both men had their triptychs made remains a puzzle. It is certainly no coincidence that they chose Memling for the job. The installation of the *St. John Altarpiece* in 1479, must have been a much discussed cultural event, not only at St. John's itself, but in the whole city of Bruges. It is possible that Jan Floreins and Adriaen Reins responded to the example of the *St. John Altarpiece* by commissioning works from the same artist for the same institution, perhaps with the hope of some eventual recognition in mind.²⁰⁷

2. The Hospital of St. Julian

Around 1275 a small community of poor women was founded near the Boeveriepoort (Pl. 120). They called themselves *Filles-Dieu* and venerated St. Mary of Egypt. When they merged their community with the brethren of St. Julian in 1305, the hospital of St. Julian originated, which

²⁰⁵ He was first identified by Weale, (as in n. 83), 1901, 23. See the same source for the biography of Adriaen Reins.

²⁰⁶ McFarlane (as in n. 186), 10, n. 53 and 33, n. 24, believes Adriaen Reins may have been a follower of the *devotio moderna* movement, which would explain the presence of the two anchorites. Although this is probable, I have not been able to find any proof of this type of devotion in the hospital.

²⁰⁷ The *Shrine of St. Ursula*, the fourth work that Hans Memling painted for the Hospital of St. John, is dated 1489, as the relics of St. Ursula and the 11,000 virgins, were translated in that year; see Lobelle (as in n. 186), 515-517. Therefore this work falls outside the limitations of this study.

became the main asylum for pilgrims visiting Bruges.²⁰⁸ This lay community consisted of four brethren and two sisters. They were subject to the control of guardians, representatives of the city magistrature, like other hospitals in town.²⁰⁹ The city also appointed the master of the institution, who was responsible for the management of most smaller hospices in the section of town situated around St. Julian's.

A notable master was Gillis Berthilden, who was in office between 1380 and 1418.²¹⁰ Under his administration, the chapel of the hospital was consecrated in 1384.²¹¹ In 1401, he commissioned a painting for the high altar.²¹² Furthermore, he collected funds to rebuild the entire hospital. Only two years after his death, in 1420-21, these construction works were undertaken. The new building included separate rooms for the brethren and sisters, a new hospital, guest rooms, and storage facilities. Gillis Berthilden also had a series of embroidered coats of arms made of all the guardians of the hospital. Whenever a new guardian was appointed, his arms were added to this series. These embroidered coats of arms were replaced by a painted portrait series of guardians in the sixteenth century.

As St. Julian's was a small community, the acquisition of works of arts was obviously modest, and mainly restricted to silverware. Sometimes funds were collected to buy ecclesiastic implements, like a new chalice in

²⁰⁸ On the hospital of St. Julian, see J. Geldhof, *Pelgrims, dulle lieden en vondelingen te Brugge, 1275-1975. Zeven eeuwen geschiedenis van het Sint-Juliaansgasthuis en van de Psychiatrische Kliniek O.-L.-Vrouw te Brugge-Sint-Michiels*, Bruges, 1975.

²⁰⁹ On the guardians (*voogden*), see *Id.*, 25-40.

²¹⁰ *Id.*, 52-53

²¹¹ For the architecture of the hospital, see *Id.*, 20-24.

²¹² This altarpiece was replaced in 1506 by another one, painted by Jan Le Masson. The artist asked £18 gr for this work, but gave £3 gr for the old altarpiece. See Bruges, Archief OCMW, *Fonds St.-Juliaans*, register no. 42, *rekeningen 1505-06*, fol. 59; Geldhof (as in n. 208), 23, 97.

1441.²¹³ Occasionally the hospital received silver as a donation. Brother Boudewijn de Dappere, for example, offered six silver goblets in 1456-57. When Antoon van Baerlaere became master in 1472, he presented a silver plate engraved with the arms of the corporation of the blacksmiths to the hospital.²¹⁴ Evidently, other objects were simply purchased. In 1450-51, the community had a silver reliquary made.²¹⁵ A year later, they commissioned a little silver boat of St. Julian, patron of the institution.²¹⁶ During the same year, other pieces of silver were engraved with this boat motif, which had become the hospital's device.²¹⁷ In 1463-64, a head of St. Julian was made in silver gilt and crystal.²¹⁸ It weighed no less than 6 marks and 15 engels (about 1.5 kg). In 1475-76 more common objects were bought: eleven silver mugs and a salt-cellar.²¹⁹

This collection of silver was used not only as ecclesiastic implements or utilitarian objects, but also as a commodity, or a financial insurance for

²¹³ See *Ibid.*, register no.32, *rekeningen 1441-42*, fol. 11; Geldhof (as in n. 208), 105, 316, n. 102.

²¹⁴ See *Ibid.*, register no.32, *rekeningen 1456-57*, fol. 157v and no.33, *rekeningen 1472-73*, fol. 85; Geldhof (as in n. 208), 55, 105, 307, n. 49, 316, n. 107.

²¹⁵ See *Ibid.*, register no.32, *rekeningen 1450-51*, fol. 97v; Geldhof (as in n. 208), 105, 316, n. 104.

²¹⁶ See *Ibid.*, register no.32, *rekeningen 1451-52*, fol. 105; Geldhof (as in n. 208), 67, 105, 310, n. 11, 316, n. 105.

²¹⁷ See *Ibid.*, register no.32, *rekeningen 1451-52*, fol. 105; Geldhof (as in n. 208), 105, 316, n. 106. Geldhof misinterpreted this document, and thought that the hospital's silverware was drawn. However, the document states clearly: *Item om onsen zelver te doen teekenen metten sceppe* (Item for marking our silverware with a boat).

²¹⁸ See *Ibid.*, register no.33, *rekeningen 1463-64*, fol. 165v; Geldhof (as in n. 208), 67, 105, 316, n. 108. There was another similar silver reliquary head in the treasury of the chapel at least since 1457; see *Ibid.*, register no. 24: *renteboek van Sint-Juliaans, inventaris van het zilverwerk*; published by Geldhof (as in n. 208), 334-335, doc. XX.

²¹⁹ See *Ibid.*, register no.33, *rekeningen 1475-76*, fol. 41; Geldhof (as in n. 208), 67, 105, 316, n. 109-110.

bad times. In a period when most revenue of an institution like St. Julian's derived from real estate, silver was easily sold when cash was needed. In times of crisis, the city government or the duke imposed taxes or rents on charitable institutions. In 1484, 1490, and in 1579, for instance, St. Julian's had to sell parts of its silver to be able to pay these unforeseen heavy demands on its assets.²²⁰ Therefore detailed inventories were drawn up of the silver in their possession.²²¹ Other objects that were more difficult to sell, like paintings or sculpture, are not mentioned in these lists or only very generically.

The hospital acquired other objects mostly through donations.²²² Donaas de Moor was guardian of the hospital between 1465 and 1481. In 1480, he founded thirteen almshouses in the Boeveriestraat across the street from St. Julian. As mentioned in an earlier chapter, he gave four of these to the hospital. The gable of one of them was adorned with a relief sculpture representing St. Julian in a boat with his wife, Basilissa, and Christ (Pl. 54). De Moor also financed a new portal for the hospital. It was embellished with Gothic tracery, in the form of a trefoil, the points of which ended in his coat of arms. This gate is now integrated in the entrance of the Groeningemuseum. Finally, Donaas de Moor probably donated stained glass windows with his coat of arms.²²³

Another patron of St. Julian's was Jan De Coninck. This man entered the hospital as pensioner in 1448 and stayed there until his death in 1467.²²⁴ He offered a small triptych to the hospital, which is still preserved in the

²²⁰ Geldhof (as in n. 208), 86-87.

²²¹ For such an inventory, see above, n. 215.

²²² They were rarely commissioned. In 1442, a wooden crucifix was bought to be installed behind the high altar, and in 1444-45, the community had a missal repaired and illuminated; see Bruges, Archief OCMW, *Fonds Sint Juliaans*, register no. 32, *rekeningen 1442-43*, fol. 24v and *rekeningen 1444-45*, fol. 43v; Geldhof (as in n. 208), 103, 305, n. 52, 315, n. 83.

²²³ Geldhof (as in n. 208), 30.

²²⁴ On pensioners at St. Julian's, see *Ibid.*, 75-76.

Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool (Pl. 121).²²⁵ This painting, which represents the *Descent from the Cross*, is a feeble reduced copy after a work by Robert Campin, alias the Master of Flémalle. Only a fragment of the latter painting is preserved, specifically the famous *Bad Murderer and Two Romans* (Frankfurt-am-Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut).²²⁶

In the central panel, Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus and two other figures take Christ's body from the Cross. At the left, the swooning Virgin is sustained by St. John, flanked by the two other Marys. At the right, two men are talking. The left wing shows the crucified 'good murderer.' In the foreground, the donor, Jan De Coninck, is kneeling. The veiled woman seen in profile, standing next to him, is perhaps his deceased wife Margriete. The right panel is a copy of the only surviving fragment of Campin's original, representing the 'bad murderer.'

On the exterior, two saints are painted in grisaille: St. John the Baptist at the left, St. Julian at the right. They are placed in niches, standing on pedestals, like pseudo-sculptures. St. Julian's presence as the patron of the

²²⁵ Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery; tempera and oil on panel, 59 x 60.2 (central panel), 59.9 x 26.5 (left), 59.6 x 26.3 (right); see W.H.J. Weale, *Catalogue Exposition des Primitifs flamands et d'Art ancien. Première section : tableaux*, [exh. cat.] Bruges, 1902, xix; Hulin de Loo (as in n. 160), no. 22; M.J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei, II: Rogier van der Weyden und der Meister van Flémalle*, Berlin, 1924, 110; Panofsky (as in n. 16), I, 167-169; *L'Art flamand dans les collections britanniques et la Galerie National de Victoria*, [exh.cat.] Bruges, Groeningemuseum, 1956, 20-21, no.7; M.J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting, II: Rogier van der Weyden and the Master of Flémalle*, (comments and notes by N. Veronée-Verhaegen), Leiden, Brussels, 1967, 71, no. 59 a, pl. 86; Davies (as in n. 203), 313-315; Geldhof (as in n. 208), 49, 75-76, 90, 92, 94.

²²⁶ See Friedländer, (as in n. 225), 1924, 110, no. 59, pl. LI; Panofsky (as in n. 16), I, 167-169; Friedländer (as in n. 225), 1967, 71, no. 59, pl. 87; Davies (as in n. 203), 248-251. The original central panel was also copied by the Master of Catherina of Cleves in the famous Book of Hours of Catherina of Cleves (Pierpont Morgan Library, M.945, fol. 69v. See P. Pieper, "Das Stundenbuch der Katherina van Lochorst und der Meister der Katharina von Cleves," *Westfalen*, 1966, 97 ff. On this manuscript, see amongst others, J. Plummer, *The miniatures in the Book of Hours of Catharine of Cleves*, Berlin, 1966; J. Marrow, H.L.M. Defoer, et al., *The Golden Age of Dutch Manuscript Painting*, Utrecht, New York, 1989, 152-157, nos. 45-46.

hospital, is self-explanatory. John the Baptist was extremely popular and much venerated in lay communities.²²⁷

A text in the obituary of the hospital refers to the painting:

*Further on all feast days a candle in front of the little panel of St. Julian, signed with the coat of arms of Jan De Coninck, and also a candle in front of St. John the Baptist.*²²⁸

This quotation is ambiguous. "*The little panel of St. Julian, signed with the coat of arms of Jan De Coninck,*" clearly refers to the painting now in Liverpool. On feast days the triptych would normally be opened, so the two grisaille figures of SS John and Julian were not visible. How could one burn a candle in front of these saints? Probably, the document must be interpreted as follows: "*the little panel of St. Julian*" is a common title for the painting. On feast days, a candle was burnt in front of the opened triptych. A second candle had to be burnt "*in front of St. John the Baptist.*" This cannot be the left panel of the same painting, and must thus be another painting or a statue of the saint that was also kept in the chapel.

At the end of the eighteenth century, the hospital owned several important paintings by Memling. The *Altarpiece of Willem Moreel* (Bruges, Groeningemuseum), the *Portrait of Willem Moreel* and *Portrait of Barbara van Vlaenderberghe* (both Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België), the so-called *Sybil of Sambetha*, and the famous *Diptych of Martinus van Nieuwenhove* of 1487 (both Bruges, Hospital of St. John), all came from the collection of the Hospital of St. Julian.²²⁹ It is not known how and when these paintings entered the collection. Contrary to what is sometimes claimed, neither Willem Moreel nor Martinus van Nieuwenhove were ever guardians of the hospital. Probably the *Altarpiece of Willem Moreel* was brought to St. Julian's from the church of St. James to hide it for the

²²⁷ Geldhof (as in n. 208), 49.

²²⁸ "Voort up alle hoghetiden een licht voor tberdekin van Sinte Juliene gheteeckent met tvorseid Jans sconinx wapene ende dies ghelicx een keerse voor Sinte Jan Baptiste;" see BAB, reeks C, nr. 455: *Sint-Juliaans, Obituarium*, fol. 29v.

²²⁹ W.H.J. Weale, "Généalogie de la Famille Moreel," *Le Beffroi*, II (1864-65), 189.

iconoclasts in 1578.²³⁰ The *Diptych of Martinus van Nieuwenhove* was still in possession of the Van Nieuwenhove family in 1640. Jan van Nieuwenhove was guardian of the hospital between 1606 and 1620. His widow, Suzanne van Tessele, must have given the diptych to the hospital shortly after 1640. The earliest provenance of the three other portraits is entirely unknown.²³¹

3. The Lepers' House of St. Magdalene

The lepers' house of St. Magdalene was already located near 't Zand before 1000 A.D.²³² Owing to the city's expansion, around 1012 it was moved to a location outside the city between the Boeveriepoort and the Smedenpoort (Pl. 122). In 1578, the hospital was demolished, and the patients transferred to the Hospice of Nazareth.²³³

In 1454, Jacquemine van Ossenbrugge, a sister of the lepers' house, donated an illuminated missal to the chapel of the institution. This

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

²³¹ All paintings were confiscated during the French occupation. The *Altarpiece of Willem Moreel* was taken to Paris in 1794 and recovered in 1816. It was placed in the collection of the Academy, precursor of the present Groeningemuseum; see De Vos (as in n. 150), 162. The *Diptych of Martinus van Nieuwenhove* also taken to Paris, but already recovered in 1815, and given to the hospital of St. John; Geldhof (as in n. 208), 96. The *Sybil of Sambetha* was taken to the hospital of St. Magdalene in 1798, and given to St. John's in 1815; see *Ibid.*, 95; Lobelle (as in n. 186), 512, 514. The *Portraits of Willem Moreel and of Barbara van Vlaenderberghe* were first confiscated by the French, and later sold to the Van Schrieck Collection in Louvain. In 1861, this collection was sold to the Brussels Museum; see Weale (as in n. 229), 189.

²³² See Duclos (as in n. 2), 27-28.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 575.

manuscript is still preserved in the Grootseminarie at Bruges (ms. 48/3).²³⁴ In the colophon (fol. 215v), she explained the circumstances of this donation:

*In the year 1454, I sister Jaqueminie van Osenbrugghe, Pieter's widow, Pieter van Bassevelde's daughter, [was a] nun of the Church of St. Magdalen outside Bruges. During the time I was in office, very indispensable church implements were lacking, so I devoted myself to acquiring them, and received them through God's help with diligence and hard work.*²³⁵

After an enumeration of the implements that were badly needed, the colophon continues:

*Item, in the said year, I had this missal made, as you see it, and I paid for it, as I wanted this for a long time, and also because [this house] is a distinguished hospice and it has very few missals. This book has cost me very little, [actually] less than £11 gr, most of which came from the said church, and a part from my own resources.*²³⁶

²³⁴ Bruges, Grootseminarie, ms. 48/3; Latin missal with calendar (Use of Bruges), vellum, 284 folios (fols. 174-217 inserted), dimensions: 380 x 283, justification: 241 x 174, two columns of 32 lines, littera textualis formata (black script and red rubrics); three full-page miniatures, and eighteen historiated initials, all with decorative borders; see R.A. P[armentier] in *Tentoonstelling van Miniaturen en Boekbanden*, [exh.cat.] Bruges, 1927, 45-47, no. 45, pl. IV-VI, L.M.J. Delaissé, *La Miniature flamande: Le mécénat de Philippe le Bon*, [exh. cat.], Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, 1959, 104, no. 99; A. Dewitte, "De koorboeken van de Brugse Magdalene in de XV^e eeuw," *Biekorf*, LXXIX (1979), 227-228; Vermeersch (as in n. 56), pl. 246-247; M. Smeyers, B. Cardon, "Vier eeuwen Vlaamse miniatuurkunst in handschriften uit het Grootseminarie te Brugge," in Denaux, Vanden Berghe (as in n. 133), 156-166, pl. 73-76.

²³⁵ Cf. doc. 46 in appendix.

²³⁶ *Ibid.*

The miniatures of the manuscript are generally attributed to the so-called group of the Master of the Gold Scrolls, a heterogeneous group of provincial illuminators active in Flanders between c. 1410 and 1450, who responded to the influence of the Boucicaut master.²³⁷

The most lavish opening of the manuscript is fol. 193v-194 (Pl. 123-124). The folio on the left is decorated with a full-page miniature, which shows Mary Magdalene in a wide panoramic landscape. To the left six brethren and the hospital's chaplain are all kneeling in adoration of the saint. The brethren are dressed in black; the chaplain wears a white alb and has a canon's fur draped over his arm. From his mouth issues a scroll with the words "*Precor te qui pastor su[m] ut in celo pascamur vobiscum*" (I as pastor, supplicate You so we will be protected by you in heaven). Four nuns are kneeling on the right side. The one in front of the group, is most likely sister Jacquemine. She says "*O patrona pia, ora pro nobis Magdalena Maria*" (O blessed patron, pray for us, Mary Magdalene).

The borders of this opening are densely decorated with multi-colored acanthus leaves, flowers, plants and music-making angels, and on each page four smaller scenes from the life of Mary Magdalene. These historiated border scenes are taken from the Golden Legend by Jacobus de Voragine.²³⁸ The first scene in the left frame of fol. 193v shows Magdalene and some companions in a boat being expelled from the Holy Land. The

²³⁷ For the attribution, see n. 231. Several dozens of manuscripts have been attributed to this group, which can no longer be considered as the work of one studio. Rather, various masters and their respective studios, worked in a similar style. On this group of illuminators, see F. Winkler, *Die Flämische Buchmalerei des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1925, 25-26, 158, 160, 166, 170-172, 175-176, 180, 183, 184, 187, 188, 190, 202; A.W. Byvanck, "Aanteekeningen over handschriften met miniaturen, IX: De Noordnederlandsche kunst en de miniaturen uit Zuid-Nederland en Noord-Frankrijk," *Oudheidkundig Jaarboek*, X (1931), 104-115; Panofsky (as in n. 16), 121-123, 125; Delaissé (as in n. 234), 28-32, nos. 14-20; W.A. Beuken, J.H. Marrow, *Spiegel van den leven ons Heren. Diplomatic edition of the Text and Facsimile of the 42 Miniatures of a 15th Century Typological Life of Christ in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Doornspijk*, 1979, 90-91; Dogaer (as in n. 148), 27-31.

²³⁸ J.-B. M. Roze (transl.), H. Savon (intro.), *Jacques de Voragine. La légende dorée*, I, Paris, 1967, 456-462; see also Smeyers, Cardon (as in n. 234), 162-165.

second is the *Preaching of Mary Magdalene in Marseille*. In the next the saint appears to a barren royal couple. The king and queen leave for Rome following Magdalene's advice in the fourth scene. On top of fol. 193v God the Father appears giving a benediction; and in between the two scenes in the left frame, two angels hold the *sudarium* of St. Veronica. The story of Magdalen continues in fol. 194 in four more scenes: *the dead queen and her newly born son are left behind on an island; St. Peter welcomes the king in Rome; the King returns to Marseille; Mary Magdalene welcomes the king home*. The initial G(audeamus) is historiated with *Mary Magdalene taken to heaven by angels*. In the frames of fol. 194, four men are kneeling. One sits in the left frame, the three others in the right. As they are all dressed in contemporary costumes, they may be identified as the guardians of the hospital.²³⁹ Three of them are known by name: Joris Metteneye, Jan van Aertrike, and Jan van Nieuwenhove.

The *Crucifixion* is shown in a full-page miniature on fol. 174v (Pl. 125). The scene is set in a hilly landscape with a city in the background. At the left of the cross are St. John and the three Marys, at the right five Roman soldiers. Angels holding the instruments of Christ's passion enliven the borders. On a floating island in the left frame, Mary Magdalene introduces a kneeling nun. Clearly, this portrait again must be a generic representation of the donor, Jacquemine van Ossenbrugge.

This missal is remarkable for its lavish illumination, considering that it was used in a rather modest chapel of a hospital. Usually, missals of this sort had only one *Crucifixion* miniature preceding the canons.²⁴⁰

Smeyers and Cardon pointed out that some of the miniatures in this manuscript have common sources as illuminations that originated in the circle of Willem Vrelant.²⁴¹ Therefore the *Missal of the Lepers' house of St.*

²³⁹ Parmentier (as in n. 234), 46; Smeyers, Cardon (as in n. 234), 165.

²⁴⁰ See, for instance, the missals of the dependant chapels of St. Donatian's, discussed earlier.

²⁴¹ Smeyers, Cardon (as in n. 234), 165. The authors compared especially the historiated initial showing the *Trinity* (fol. 126), with the same scene in the so-called 'Llangattock Hours' (Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, ms. Ludwig IX.7, fol. 25v). On the

Magdalene is crucial to our understanding of Bruges manuscript illumination around the middle of the fifteenth century.

latter miniature see A. von Ew, J.M. Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, vol. 2, Cologne, 1982, 115-141.

CONCLUSION

Between 1440 and the early 1470s, Bruges experienced a stable political climate and a thriving economy, which created favorable conditions for the production and consumption of luxury goods. The city was a commercial center of European stature, that counted many wealthy merchants, financiers and specialized craftsmen amongst its residents. Moreover, it was a preferred residence of the Burgundian dukes, one of the most luxury loving courts of the Western world. This high number of potential patrons attracted many foreign artists to Bruges. Their number may be estimated at about 31% of the members of the corporation of the image-makers.

The waning in the economy after c. 1475 was not followed by an immediate decrease in artistic production. However, the changing conditions forced the artists to adapt their production and marketing processes: they started to work for an open market. Nevertheless, the importance of institutional and private patronage during the entire fifteenth century can not be underestimated. After 1475, many works were still made on commission, especially those for public institutions.

From about 1445, Philip the Good actively started to collect illuminated manuscripts. Although the Burgundian library included many different genres, the duke clearly preferred French translations of stories about the alleged founding fathers of the Burgundian dynasty. The illumination of these texts contributed to the visualization of his personal myth. Many of these lavishly illuminated manuscripts were made by artists who had settled in Bruges, like Willem Vrelant, Loyset Liédet, Philippe de Mazerolles, and others.

Charles the Bold followed the example of his father, whose bibliophile interest spread amongst other members of the court. This patronage stimulated an unprecedented flowering of manuscript production in Bruges and in the other centers of the Burgundian Netherlands.

However, ducal patronage in Bruges was not limited to manuscripts. The Prinsenhof was remodeled and redecorated with sculpture and probably also with mural paintings. As the court traveled most of the time, easily

movable objects like tapestries and works in gold, were preferred to heavy and fragile panel paintings and large sculpture.

The most remarkable cultural event in Bruges during the fifteenth century was the wedding of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York in 1468. More than 150 artists came from all over the Burgundian lands to collaborate on the extravagant *entremets* and decorations. Obviously, these artists must have exchanged ideas and techniques. The impact of a gathering of such magnitude must have been very significant. Since no visual sources of these decorations have been preserved, their importance can only be conjectured.

The artistic patronage of local institutions in Bruges had a different character from that of the court. The city magistrature employed artists mainly for decorative tasks. All over the city, statues, fountains, and other objects needed painting or gilding. Public buildings and other public property required ornamentation with the city's coat of arms. Banners, flags, and pennons with the arms of Flanders and Bruges hung on the main landmarks of the city. In times of war, painters and embroiderers were employed to embellish all military equipment with heraldic decoration.

The city organized diverse public events, such as triumphal entries and processions. The aldermen paid for the decorations of these events. Sometimes they also granted subventions to the contributing corporations. Beside heraldic decorations, *tableaux vivants* were displayed. In these *tableaux* the city often conveyed ideological messages to the honored visitor and to the attending citizens. The iconography of these performances reveals much of the city's political aspirations, and is thus particularly indicative for civic patronage.

A prominent commission of the magistrature was a series of polychromed stone sculptures, representing saints and the counts of Flanders, placed in the niches of the façade of the Bruges city hall. Throughout the century, several statues were added to this series. Important artists such as Jan van Eyck and Pierre Coustain contributed to this work. An altarpiece in the aldermen's chapel and a scene of justice were the only paintings that the city magistrature commissioned. Other rooms in the city hall were modestly embellished with decorative and heraldic tapestries. The magistrature often bought silver to present to notable visitors. On rare occasions, expensive tapestries were given. The city also employed artists for the execution of topographical documents, which were used both in matters of government or in lawsuits.

The artistic patronage of the Bruges Franc was comparable to that of the city. This institution also commissioned an altarpiece for its chapel and a *Last Judgment* for the aldermen's meeting room. It also engaged artists for heraldic decorations, silver, decorative tapestries, and topographical documents. It must be emphasized, however, that the number of works commissioned by the Franc was much more modest than by the City Magistrature, and that most of them were related to the decoration of the buildings on the Burg.

An unusual form of artistic patronage in judicial institutions concerns objects of justice. Criminals were forced to pay for these objects as part of their penalty. They were exhibited in the courtrooms as *exempla justitiae*.

Artistic patronage in churches derived from three sources: the church itself, collective foundations of social groups, and individuals. Construction of the church itself, much of the decoration of the communal parts of the building, and maintenance were usually financed by the church *fabrica*, with resources drawn from the whole parish community, often increased with special endowments from rich and notable members of the community.

The churches employed artists for various tasks, most merely decorative or involved with maintenance of the artistic patrimony. Diverse social groups, like guilds and confraternities, endowed chapels and religious services at the altars of Bruges churches. They furnished these foundations with all sorts of precious gifts, such as vestments, ritual ornaments, liturgical manuscripts, and sometimes altarpieces, stained glass windows and sculptures.

Some wealthy citizens financed the foundation of chapels with their own means. Often these chapels also had a funerary function, housing the patron's tomb monument. Sometimes his endowments of masses, food distributions, or other benefices, were recorded in a memorial stone. Occasionally, an epitaph painting or sculpture completed the tomb monument. Permission for such private foundations was often granted to individuals who had endowed the church previously. The survival of private foundations and the rigorous execution of the instigator's wishes were assured by entrusting the supervision of the foundation and the use and maintenance of the chapel to a guild.

Most private undertakings were restricted to the acquisition of a sepulchral concession and the installation of a funerary monument. Although there were diverse types of tomb monuments, the floor type with a stone slab and brass inlay was the most popular. A sepulchral concession was sometimes

obtained as a favor, for instance after the donation of a liturgical ornament to the church.

The specific social character of each church determined the artistic patronage it enjoyed. The chapter of St. Donatian, one of the most important ecclesiastic institutions of Flanders, maintained a close relationship with the court. Major events such as the funeral of Philip the Good were held there. Important foundations and donations were made by members of the chapter, many of whom were prominent and highly cultured ecclesiastics.

The collegiate Church of Our Lady was very well endowed by members of the court, especially under Charles the Bold. Many leading Bruges families participated in the communal life of this church and made important donations to it. The most remarkable of these is undoubtedly Louis of Gruuthuse, whose private oratory connected his palace with the church.

Many guilds and confraternities assembled in the Church of St. Savior, which clearly had a more popular character than the collegiate churches in town. Their patronage, of which little survives, was complemented by that of some distinguished residents of the parish, like Hippolyte Berthoz and Jan Vasquez.

St. James's was situated in one of the city's richest neighborhoods. This church profited from the generosity of many of its wealthy parishioners, such as the Portinaris, the Moreel and the Biese families. The Jerusalem church was different from all other churches in Bruges, since it was entirely a private foundation of the Adornes family.

Most patrons of ecclesiastic institutions belonged to the city's upper and upper middle classes. They were members of the town's most respected families, who had been successful in trade or corporative life for generations. They repeatedly held offices in local politics. They also served on the boards of charitable institutions and social organizations, such as guilds and confraternities.

Some local aristocrats who were affiliated with the court, as well as foreign courtiers who resided in the city, became prolific patrons of the arts in Bruges. It is logical that in an international commercial center like Bruges also some foreign businessmen gained prominence as patrons.

The study of artistic patronage in Bruges cloisters is seriously hampered by the almost complete loss of material and archival evidence. Because of their fervent opposition to the Reformation, the cloisters of the mendicant orders

were heavily pillaged by the iconoclasts. All cloisters were abolished at the end of the eighteenth century by the French, and most of their possessions dispersed. Therefore very few fifteenth century artifacts and archives survive.

The churches of the mendicant orders attracted the patronage of the foreign nations. The foreign merchants held their religious services in the chapels of these cloister churches, which they lavishly decorated with ritual ornaments and vestments, stained glass windows, sculpture and paintings. Some of them probably mediated for compatriots who commissioned works of art in the Netherlands. Their forced departure from Bruges had the most serious consequences for these convents. The reformed branches of the mendicants were especially favored by the duchesses Margaret of York and Mary of Burgundy.

Some abbots and priors had a prominent influence on the cultural life in the abbeys and cloisters they headed. Noteworthy figures in this context are Lubert Hautscilt, abbot of the Regular Canons of '*Eekhout*,' prior Jan Vos of the Carthusians of Genadedal, and Jan Crabbe of the Cistercian Abbey '*De Duinen*.'

A number of guilds and confraternities maintained chapels in the convent-churches. The most prominent were those of the librarians' guild in the *Eekhout*, and of the Confraternity of the Dry Tree in the convent of the Franciscans.

Patronage of hospitals came mainly from affluent members of the community that served the institution. Sometimes donations were also made by pensioners, people who paid for spending the last years of their lives in the institution.

Silver was also commissioned by the institution itself. Especially in smaller religious institutions, ecclesiastic silver was not only collected for its utilitarian function, but also as a commodity. In a period when most revenues of these institutions derived from real estate, ritual silver was easily sold when cash was needed.

Circumstantial evidence suggests that, contrary to what is generally thought, artistic commissions in fifteenth century Bruges were seldom inspired by religious motives only. On the contrary, it seems that major works of art originated when considerations of diverse nature coincided and made the expenditure an attractive investment. Obviously, Canon van der Paele's foundations were a serious attempt at safeguarding the well-being of his soul

in the afterlife. However, one wonders whether he would have spent so much money if his estate would not have been subject to confiscation by the chapter of St. Donatian. When Pieter Bultynck installed a painting in the Church of Our Lady, he committed a pious act, but he also increased his social prestige. Simultaneously, he expressed his gratitude to the guild of the tanners, which had been instrumental in his professional success. Hippolyte Berthoz was obviously a devout man, but by installing a major altarpiece in the Church of St. Savior, he also expressed his professional and social ambition as a young man making his way up the hierarchy of the court administration.

Non-religious motives were not always inspired by social prestige or other careerist considerations. Willem Moreel's foundation in St. James's, for instance, had a strong basis in family pride. Anselmus Adornes's commission of the Brussels *Lamentation* visualized his intense desire to embark on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

The public display of a work of art often had a potent political meaning. The installation of the *Altarpiece of St. John* by Hans Memling in the chapel of the St. John's hospital was a clear manifestation of the community's newly acquired status as a regular order. This new status implied not only enhanced social prestige, but also a greater autonomy from the city magistrature, which fitted very well into the increasing process of 'burgundization' of religious institutions. Memling's triptych must have been an important topic of discussion in Bruges around 1479. The large size of the painting and the choice of a famous artist were unusual for a rather modest hospital community. Perhaps Jan Floreins and Adriaen Reins had career objectives in mind when they commissioned works from the same artist for the same institution. Pieter Bultynck's choice of Hans Memling the following year may have been encouraged by the artist's favored reputation after the installation of the painting at St. John's.

Political motives are most obvious in the artistic patronage of the city magistrature. When the aldermen commissioned precious silver objects as presents, they used works of art in their 'public relations.' By embellishing the façade of the city hall with statues of the counts of Flanders, they confirmed their loyalty to the ruler. The statues also expressed, by association, a legitimation of their own power.

Tableaux vivants staged at triumphal entries of the sovereign were an excellent means for the city to convey ideological messages to the honored

guest and to the rest of the public. The iconography of these performances reveals much of the city's political aspirations, and is thus extremely revealing in the context of civic patronage. The considerable expenditure for these ephemeral works proves very clearly how significant they were.

It was essential for patrons to be easily identified with their donations at all times. By the fifteenth century, an elaborate array of patrons' marks had been developed. Most works conceived for public use were marked with the patron's coat of arms. Sometimes patron saints, initials, personal mottoes or devices were also applied to the work. In the *Jan Floreins Altarpiece*, even the donor's age is given. The *Moreel Altarpiece*, shows the donors' respective patron saints and saints who probably refer to their family names.

For obvious reasons, patrons wanted their donations properly treated and their personal marks preserved. When Tommaso Portinari transferred his chapel in St. James's to the guild of the furriers, he explicitly requested that his and his wife's coats of arms that decorated the windows of the chapel, should be preserved unaltered. Many years after having donated a precious chalice to St. Donatian's, Hendrik Clapdorp verified whether his gift was respectfully used and whether it was kept in a worthy place.

The relationship between artists and their clients was determined by a series of corporative regulations, from which only court painters were exempted. These regulations mainly concerned the display of works for sale. The customer was protected by the corporation's control of the quality of the work and the materials the artists used.

The terms of a commission were often stipulated in a contract. Although some cases were brought to court, serious conflicts between artists and their clients seem to have been quite rare.

Official commissions from the city magistrature issued from the aldermen. The city treasurers acted as the official representatives of the magistrates in negotiations with artists. Several painters, amongst whom were Alexander Fraet, Arnoud de Mol, and Jacob de Jonghe, succeeded one another in municipal employ. They were all specialized in heraldic and other decorative work. They were systematically chosen when this type of work was needed, but no painter was officially appointed as 'painter of the city.'

One can only speculate about the reasons why a patron chose a particular artist for a commission. It is not clear, for instance, why Hippolyte

de Berthoz chose Bouts and Van der Goes for his altarpiece, and not Memling or another Bruges resident. Beside the artist's reputation, the price he asked for a work, his availability at the moment of the commission, stylistic preferences, and other considerations may have influenced the patron's choice. The fame of the artist contributed to the social prestige of the patron. Some artists may have had a more personal relationship with their patrons. Petrus Christus belonged, for instance, to the same confraternity as Anselmus Adornes. Several details in the *Madonna with Canon van der Paele* suggest that Jan van Eyck was very well acquainted with the canon.

The issue of artists' wages is seriously complicated by the ambiguous nature and the frequently inaccurate phrasing in the accounts. Artists in the employ of the court received a pension and were paid per item. Those who worked for the city were usually paid per item. The Franc sometimes paid them daily. Master artists made about the same wages as other master craftsmen. During the period from 1400 to 1485, this remuneration remained unaltered at an average of about 10d gr (120d par) per day. When an artist was paid for a work of art, of course, the price was determined by the size of the work, the materials that were used, and its complexity.

For silver objects, more accurate data are available. The price was determined by weight and size, and by the degree of finish and decoration. The earnings of silversmiths seem to have increased progressively with about 38.4% between 1440 and 1482. This increase paralleled the increasing standard cost of living. The silversmiths and the court artists may have been the first who were able to surmount the economic dependency of the late medieval artist-craftsman. Before definitive conclusions can be drawn, more data must be gathered for other production centers.

During the period of ca. 1440-82, a small group of Bruges patrons of the arts became receptive to the texts of classical antique authors and of Italian humanists. Pieter II Adornes planned to establish the first public library in the Low Countries. Anselmus and Jan Adornes collected works by early humanists. An oration presented by Anselmus on a diplomatic mission, is considered an early example of humanistic discourse in the Netherlands. Abbot Jan Crabbe commissioned several early humanistic and classical antique texts. This humanistic interest probably did not extend beyond the circles of highly learned individuals like Abbot Jan Crabbe, the Adornes family, Paul de

Baenst, some Italian residents with an interest in learning, and perhaps some rhetoricians like those who staged the *tableaux vivants* with classical antique themes for Philip the Good in 1463. Perhaps new ideas from Italy, about linear perspective, for instance, circulated in these circles. More research needs to be done by historians of literature and art before the role of Bruges in the emergence and dissemination of humanistic ideas can be more accurately defined. I hope that this study has proven the importance of this and other aspects of artistic patronage in Bruges, and that it may stimulate further scholarly research into the rich fabric of late-medieval civic culture in Flanders.

POST SCRIPTUM

Joel Upton's recent study *Petrus Christus. His Place in Fifteenth-Century Flemish Painting*, was published while this dissertation was already well under way and did not become available to me until it was in its final draft. His ideas about the *Madonna with Jan Vos*, and the chronological impossibility of the attribution of this painting to Petrus Christus are largely the same as mine. Having published them earlier, the author obviously deserves all of the credit.

Appendix:

Transcriptions and English Translations of Original Documents

Doc. 1. 1417, 4 June - 1418, 2 June -- *The lock maker Clais van Steenackere is paid by the Bruges Franc for a tin-coated iron fence.*

[fol. 94] Costen ghedaen an slands huusinghen sichtent der laetster rekeninghe

[fol. 95] Item betaelt Claise van Steenackere, den slotemakere, van ij nieuwen ghehanghen gheslegghen an de duere van der vierscare van den sticke vj gr., comt

xij s.[par.]

[...]

Item betaelt den zelven van eenen yserinne verteinder trailge, daer in dat de de (a) zelverin vuust besloten staet in de raed camere ix lb.[par.]

[fol. 94] *Expenditure made to the land's houses since the last account*

[fol. 95] *Item paid to Claise van Steenackere, the lock maker, for 2 new hinges attached to the door of the court room, at 6 gr. a piece, amounts to 12 s.[par.]*

[...]

Item paid to the same for a tin-coated iron fence, placed around the silver fist in the council room 9 lb.[par.]

a. *de* unnecessarily repeated.

RAB, *Fonds van het Vrije*, no. 154: *Rekeningen van het Vrije*, 1417-18, fol. 94, 95.

Published: W.H.J. Weale, "Le Palais du Franc à Bruges," *Le Beffroi*, IV (1872-73), 48, n.5 (inaccurately)(further as Weale, *Franc*).

Doc. 2. 1417, 23 April (after) - 1462 -- *Excerpts from an inventory of art objects in St Donatian's*

[p. 1] Iocalia ecclesie sancti Donaciani Brugensis, vasa sacra, reliquie sanctorum et sanctarum Dei, cappe, panni preciosi cum quamplurimis aliis narrandis inferius, que habentur et debent esse in sanctuario ecclesie prefate sub custodia et tutela maioris custodis et eius periculo habet custodire, visitata in parte per dominos decanum et capitulum die beati Georgii martyris, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo decimo septimo (1) [...]

[p. 3] Item, caput Sancti Johannis, cuius pedes sunt iiii^{or} leones argentei deaurati [...]

Item, brachium Sancti Machuti in argento [...]

[p. 5] Item, in eadem thesauraria, cyphus deauratus, cum serpentina et argentea pipe frangenti et cocleari argenteo, quem dedit magister Henricus Clapdorp [...]

Item, ymago Sancti Donatiani deaurata, quam dedit dominus Symon Coene huius ecclesie cappelanus [...]

Item, unum philaterium argenteum deauratum, cum pipe cristallina in modum turre, datum per magistrum G. de Pala et suis armis insignitum [...]

[p. 11] Et sunt hic xlvij cape in numero preter preciosas [...]

Item, brevis cappa Jacobi de Campis

Item, brevis cappa domini David prepositi huius ecclesie

Item cappa Jacobi le Muet

Item brevis cappa Riquardi de Cappella [...]

[p. 17] Item, bursa corporalis de panno aureo rubeo, data per dominam de Moerkerke (a)

[p. 1] *The treasures of the church of Saint Donatian in Bruges, holy vessels, relics of holy men and women of God, copes, precious fabrics and other things described hereunder, that belong to and are placed in the sanctuary of the said church under the custody and care of the head custodians, whose risk it is to guard them, partly inspected by the lords dean and chapter, on the day of the blessed martyr George,(1) in the year of our Lord thousand four hundred and seventeen (2) [...]*

[p. 3] *Item, the head of Saint John, that has 4 gilt silver lions as feet [...]*

Item, the arm of Saint Machute of silver [...]

[p. 5] *Item, in the same treasury, a gilt chalice, with serpentine stones and silver broken crystals and a silver lid, given by master Hendrik Clapdorp [...]*

Item, an gilt statue of Saint Donatian, given by sir Symon Coene, chaplain of this church [...]

Item, a silver gilt reliquary, with a cylindrical crystal in the form of a turret, given by master Joris van der Paele, adorned with his arms [...]

[p. 11] *And these are the 48 most precious copes [...]*

Item, the short cope of Jacob de Campis

Item, the short cope of sir David given to this church

Item the cope of Jacob le Muet

Item the short cope of Riquardus de Cappella [...]

[p. 17] *Item, a purse for a corporalis of fabric made of reddish gold-thread, given by Lady of Moerkerke*

a. in A.103, old no.1, p.15, added: *Item, una bursa corporalis rubea de panno serico, furnita rota Sancti Donatiani, data per Judocum Ruede (3)*

BAB, *St. Donaas, Kapittel en Kerk*, no. A.103, not numbered; parchment, 12 fols., paginated;
Copy: *Ibid.*, no. A.103, old nos. 1, 2 and 3, parchment, 16 fols.

Published: W.H.J. Weale, "Inventaires du trésor de la Collégiale de Saint Donatien à Bruges, 1347-1539," *Le Beffroi*, II (1864-65), 12, 14, 21, 23, 28, 120-121, 135 (further as Weale, *Inventaires Saint Donatien*); A. Derolez, *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii. De Middeleeuwse bibliotheekscatalogi der Zuidelijke Nederlanden. I Provincie West-Vlaanderen (Verhandelingen Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten, Klasse der Letteren, XXVIII/61)*, Brussels, 1966, 39 (fragmentarily) (further as Derolez, *Corpus*).

1. *I.e.*, 23 April; see E.I. Strubbe, L. Voet, *De Chronologie van de Middeleeuwen en de Moderne Tijden in de Nederlanden*, Antwerp, Amsterdam, 1960, 168 (further as Strubbe & Voet).
2. The items published here, except the first two, were all added by later hands to an inventory of 1417. The additions were probably made before 1462, as they appear in an inventory of that year (cf. *infra*, doc. 64). For a codicological discussion of this manuscript and a copy of it, see Derolez, *Corpus*, 36-38.
3. *Item, a red purse of a corporalis in silk fabric, decorated with the wheel of Saint Donatian, given by Judocus Ruede.*

Doc. 3. 1433 -- *Payments in the accounts of St. Donatian's to Johannes the painter for polychromy and gilding.*

[fol. 15] Extradatum pro diversis usibus sive variis [...]

[fol. 15v] *Item, Johanni den scildere, pro deauratione et coloratione*

[fol. 16] *crucis posite super turrim Sancti Johannis*

vj lb.[par.]

Item Johanni den scildere, pro colorando domunculam in plachea propositure unacum sede et berie qua fertur feretrum beati Donatiani

l s.[par.]

[fol. 15] *Expenditure of diverse nature as follows [...]*

[fol. 15v] *Item, Johanni the painter, for gilding and polychromy*

[fol. 16] *of the crucifix placed on the tower of St. John*

6 lb.[par.]

Item Johanni, the painter, for polychromy of the little house-like construction on the sepulcher that is exhibited together with the reliquary and the stretcher on which the relic of St. Donatian is carried 50 s.[par.]

BAB, *St. Donaas, Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, no. G.3, 1433, fol. 15-16.

[Unpublished]

Doc. 4. 1433, 2 September - 1434, 2 September -- *Excerpts from the municipal accounts: receipt of fines; payments to diverse artists for work on sculptures for city hall and the chapel of St. Basil.*

[fol. 19] Item ontfaen vanden ghenen die contrarie den staple ghedaen hebben Ontfaen van Pieteren Stroo, Clemente filius Michiels, Anthonise den Coude, Xpistoffelse an den Man ende Janne van Zuuthende woenende ter Sluus, de welke ter Sluus vors. coopmanscepe van graeuwerke ende anders ghedaen hadden contrarie den staple vander stede van Brugghe daer of zy hem submitteirden ende bi virtute van der vors. submissie ghewyst waren te betaelne cl lb.par., te wetene de vors. Pieter xlvij lb., de vors. Clemente xij lb., de vors. Anthonis xlvij lb., de vors. Xpistoffels xxx lb. ende de vors. Jan xij lb. van welken cl lb. de bailliu vander Sluus uter name van onzen gheduchten heere ende prinche hadde twee deel ende de stede van Brugghe metgaders den dekene vanden wiltweerkers ende graeuwerkers bin der vors. stede van Brugghe tderde derdedeel; over der stede deel xlj s. viij d.gr.

[fol. 48] Item uitgeven van weerke

[fol. 55v] Gilisse Panneel den steenhauwere van weerke bi hem ghedaen an de iij beilden ende an de tabernacle staende voren an tscopenen huus, xxx lb.par.

[fol. 59] Item ghegheven Willemme van Tonghere van ij beilden te vergoudene ende te

stofferene staende an scepenhuus, viij lb.gr., somme iiij^{xx} xvj lb.par.

Item ghegheven Janne Dankaert, den zelvsmet van eenre lelye bi hem ghemaect staende voor tbeilde van Marien ant scepenen huus, xx s.gr., somme xij lb.par.

[fol. 59v] Item ghegheven Sanderze Vloet,(1) den scildere, van zekeren beilden te vergoudene tsinte Baselis, xxiiij s.gr., somme xiiij lb. viij s.par.

[fol. 19] *Item received from those who infringed against the staple right*

Received from Pieteren Stroo, Clemente filius Michiels, Anthonise den Coude, Xpistoffelse an den Man and Janne van Zuuthende living in Sluis, who had been active as merchants of furs and others infringing against the staple right of Bruges for which they were punished. In consequence of this punishment they had to pay 150 lb.par., to be known, the said Pieter 48 lb., the said Clemente 12 lb., the said Anthonis 48 lb., the said Xpistoffels 30 lb. and the said Jan 12 lb. Of these 150 lb. the bailiff of Sluis in the name of our redoubtable lord and prince, received two thirds, and the city of Bruges, together with the dean of the felt workers and furriers of the said city of Bruges the third third; the city's part 41 s. 8 d. gr.

[fol. 48] *Item Expenditure for works*

[fol. 55v] *Gilisse Panneel, the stone-mason, for work done by him on the 3 statues and the baldacchino situated at the fornt of the aldermen's house, 30 lb.par.*

[fol. 59] *Item given to Willemme van Tonghere for gilding and decorating 2 statues on the city hall, 8 lb.gr., amounts to 96 lb.par.*

Item given to Janne Dankaert, the silversmith, for a lily made by him placed in front of the statue of Mary at the city hall, 20 s.gr., amounts to 12 lb.par.
[fol. 59v] *Item given to Sanderze Vloet,(1) the painter, for gilding certain statues at St.Basil's Chapel, 24 s.gr., amounts to* 14 lb. 8 s.par.

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1433-1434, fol. 48, 59-59v.

Published: L. Gilliodts - Van Severen, *Inventaire des Archives de la ville de Bruges*, 8 vol., Bruges, 1871-1885, V, 337 (*Sanderze Vloet*-entry only; further as Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*); A. Janssens de Bisthoven, "Het beeldhouwwerk van het Brugsche stadhuis," *Gentsche Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, X (1944), 75, doc. XXXVII-XXXVIII (further as Janssens-de Bisthoven, 1944); J. Duverger, "Brugse schilders ten tijde van Jan Van Eyck," *Bulletin van de Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België (Miscellanea Erwin Panofsky)*, IV (1955), 115 (further as Duverger, 1955); A. Schouteet, *De Vlaamse Primitieven te Brugge. Bronnen voor de schilderkunst te Brugge tot de dood van Gerard David*, I, (*Fontes Historiae Artis Neerlandicae, Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België*), Brussels, 1989, 200 (*Sanderze Vloet*-entry only; further as Schouteet, I).

1. Both Duverger (1955, 115, n. 122) and Schouteet (I, 200) think that it must be Alexander Fraet who is meant here; *Vloet* would be a mistake. Although the authors give no argument for this, their hypothesis is most probably correct, since no painter by the name *Vloet* is found in other documents.

Doc. 5. 1434 -- *Payment in the accounts of St.Donatian's to Johannes the painter for polychromy.(1)*

[fol. 11] Extradatum in diversis usibus sive variis [...]
Item, Johanni, den scildere, ad colorandum baculos sive crickes super quos feretrum beati Donatiani ponitur ad ostium chori xiiij s.[par.]

[fol. 11] *Expenditure of diverse nature as follows [...]*
Item, Johanni, the painter, for painting the bars on which the reliquary of St.Donatian is placed, shown in the choir 14 s.[par.]

BAB, *St. Donaas, Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, no. G.3, 1434, fol. 11.

[Unpublished]

1. A. Dewitte, "Boek- en bibliotheekwezen in de Brugse Sint-Donaaskerk XIIIe-XVe eeuw," *Sint-Donaas en de voormalige Brugse Katedraal*, Bruges, 1978, 80, erroneously dated these accounts 1444. (further as Dewitte, 1978)

Doc. 6. 1434, 2 September - 1435, 2 September -- *Payment by the city to Jan van den Driessche, Jacob van Oost, Gheeraerde Mettertee en Janne Cutseghem, Jan Van Eyck, and Willem van Tonghere for diverse works.*

[fol. 44v] *Item uitgeven van werke*

[fol. 57] *Item betaelt Janne van den Driessche, den scildere, van den stocke up de Maert te stoffeirne ende te vergoudene ende van den tafelen ende barden in scepenhuus te vaerwene, xxij s. vj d.gr., somme*

xijj lb. x s.par.

[fol.61] *Item es te wetene dat int jaer verleden voorwaerde ghemaect was met Jacob van Oost, Gheeraerde Mettertee ende Janne Cutseghem, steenhouwers, van viij steenen beilden te makene ende te stellene an scepenhuus, omme v lb. x s.gr. van elken beilde, van den steenen ende van hauwene ende snidene, comt xliij lb.gr.*

Item ghegheven meester Janne van Eick, de scildere, van vj van de voors. beilden met de tabernaclen te vergoudene ende te stofferene, van den sticke v lb.gr., comt

xxx lb.gr.

Item denzelven ghegheven van overwerke ende in hoofscheden (1) te verdrinckene iij lb. xij s.gr.

Item ghegheven Willem van Tonghere ende Janne van den Driessche, scilders, van ij van den voors. viij beilden metten tabernaclen te vergoudene ende te stofferene, van den sticke v lb.gr., comt x lb.gr.

Item ghegheven van den patronen van den voors. viij beilden te makene xx s.gr.

Item ghegheven van den huere van zekeren zeyle die ghehanghen waren an de stellinghe bin der tydt dat men de voors. beilden stoffeirde iij lb. x s.gr.

Comt al, iiij^{xx} xij lb. ij s.gr. Dus af gheslegghen l lb.gr. die die vander Sluus daer toe ghegheven hebben van beteringhe daer zy bi scepenen van Brugghe, bi bliverscepe, in ghewyst waren, alsoot blyct bider rekeninghe van den jare verleden. So hebben tresoriers betaelt xlij lb. ij s.gr.

Somme v^cv lb. iiij s.par.

[fol. 44v] *Item expenditure for works*

[fol. 57] *Item paid Janne van den Driessche, the painter, for decorating and gilding the stick on the Market, and for painting the panels and boards in the aldermen's house*

12 s. 6 d.gr.

[fol.61] *Item it is to be known that last year an agreement was made with Jacob van Oost, Gheeraerde Mettertee and Janne Cutseghem, stone sculptors, to make 8 stone statues and to install [them] at the aldermen's house; for the stones, hacking and carving, together*

44 lb.gr.

Item given to Master Jan Van Eyck, the painter, for gilding and decorating 6 of the aforementioned statues and the baldacchinos, at 5 lb.gr.a piece, makes 30 lb.gr.

*Item given to the same for overtime and as supplement out of sympathy
3 lb. 12 s.gr.*

*Item given to Willem de Tonghere and Janne van den Driessche, painters, for gilding and decorating 2 of the aforementioned 8 statues and the baldacchinos, at 5 lb.gr. a piece
10 lb.gr.*

*Item given for making the models of the aforementioned 8 statues
20 s.gr.*

Item given for rent of certain canvas that was hung on the scaffoldings when the aforementioned statues were being polychromed 3 lb. 10 s.gr.

Amounts all to 92 lb. 2 s.gr. From this 50 lb.gr. is subtracted, which those of Sluis had given, as they were told to by the aldermen of Bruges, as shown in the accounts of last year. Thus, the treasurers have paid 42 lb. 2 s.gr., this is 505 lb. 4 s.par.

ARAB, *Rekenkamer*, no. 32489: *Rekeningen van de Stad Brugge*, 1434-35, fol. 44v, 57, 61.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 61, 319, 337-338; Janssens De Bisthoven, 1944, 75; Duverger, 1955, 115-116; Schouteet, I, 181-182.

1. J. Verdam, *Middelnederlandsch Handwoordenboek*, 2nd ed., The Hague, 1932 (anastatic reprint, 1981) 260-261, s.v. *hovescheit*: kindness, courtliness (further as Verdam).

Doc. 7. 1434, 10 September - 1435, 15 September -- *A sculptor is paid for work in the court room of the Franc.*

[fol. 58v] *Costen ghedaen omme de nieuwe vierscare ende camere vanden vryen [...]*

[fol. 59] *Item, betaelt eenen beilde snidere, van te snidene al de snede vander vierscare xxiiiij lb.[par.]*

[fol. 58v] *Expenditure made at the new court room and meeting room of the Franc [...]*

[fol. 59] *Item, paid to a sculptor, for carving all the carved work in the court room
24 lb.[par.]*

RAB, *Fonds van het Vrije*, no. 170: *Rekeningen van het Vrije*, 1434-1435, fol. 58v, 59.

Published: Weale, *Franc*, 59.

Doc. 8. 1435, 2 September -1436, 2 September -- Expenditure made by the city for the expedition to Calais.

[fol. 73v] Uutgheven ten oorloghe

Ten welken oorloghe de goede lieden ende serganten vander stede van Brugghe, metgaders den goeden lieden ende serganten vanden ghemeenen lande van Vlaendren, gheweist hebben voor Calais, ten dienste van onzen gheduchten heere ende prince; ende trocken ute den xjsten dach van wedemaend, ende quamen weder in, den xxvj sten dach van ougst.

[fol. 76] Item ghegheven Jacop Andries, den borduerweerkere, ende Joorise Cornvaille van ij banieren van Vlaendren, vier banieren vander stede van Brugghe wapene, vj banieren vanden hooftmannen vanden poorters, ende eene van Sint Jooris, van snidene, van makene, van borduerene, van zyde, van weercke, vanden sticke v s.gr. Item, van vj tenten, ende een stal vuerstene buten ende binnen vanden sticke vj s.gr. Item van xxxv scilden te werkene, up tenten ende up pavilloenen vander stede, hooftmannen ende scotters tenten, coste elc scilt xij gr. Item, van ij pavilloenen te borduerene, vj s.gr. Item van een trompignoen vj s.gr. Item van xcviij waghenaers caproenen, daer up gheborduert waren ij B.B., van elken caproene ij gr. Item van eenen croonement dat ghemaect was anden outaer vander grooter tente daer men messe dede, xvj s.gr. Item ghegheven Janne Glas, den borduerweerkere, vander grooter thente te vuerstene buten ende binnen, ende tportael ende aleye vander zelve tente, een crucifix met ij beilden, ende een beilde van onzer vrouwe, staende inde zelve tente, voor al iij lb.gr., daer comt up al xij lb. ix s. viij d.gr., somme

cxlix lb. xvj s.par.

Item ghegheven Reynaud van Overtveld, den scildere, van ij banieren van Vlaendren, ij banieren van Brugghe, iij banieren van Sinte Niclaus zestendelle, iij banieren van Onzer Vrouwen sestendele, iij banieren van Sinte Donaes zestendele, vanden sticke iij s.gr. Item van ix wimplen te vermakene vanden vj zestendeelen metten fringhen, vj s.gr. Item van vj^c pingoenen vander stede wapene, vanden sticke v gr. Item van eenen wimple vanden rooden caproenen, ende xl pingoenen met eenre B, costen vj s.gr. Item een houde baniere van Vlaendren van goude vermaect, ende eene baniere van zelve vanden scotters, coste tstic viij s.gr. Item eene baniere van zide vander stede wapene, viij s.gr. Item eene baniere van myns heeren wapene, van finen goude, xxiiij s.gr. daer comt up al vj lb. vj s. j d.gr., somme lxxv lb. xiiij s.par.

[fol. 77v] Item ghegheven Sanders Fraet, den scildere, van xxiiij ribauden (1) te verwapene, van den sticke, viij groten, comt xvj s.gr.; item van cxi taergen te verwapene, van den sticke iij gr., comt ij lb. vj s. viij d.gr.; item, van x oude pingoenen ende banieren te vernisschene omme up tenten te stellene, ij s.gr.; item, van xix pingoenen nieuwe te vervaerwene ende te verwapene omme up tenten ende pavilloenen te stellene, van den sticke vj gr., comt ix s. vj d.gr.; item, ghegheven den ghesellen in hoofscheden (2) xij gr. Daer comt up al iij lb. xv s. ij d.gr.; somme xlvi lb. ij s. [par.]

[fol. 73v] *Expenditure for the war*

The war, for which the good people and sergeants of the city of Bruges, went to Calais, together with the good people and the sergeants of the whole county of Flanders, in the service of our redoubtable lord and prince; and they left the 11th day of June, and returned the 26th day of August.

[fol. 76] *Item given to Jacop Andries, the embroiderer, and to Joorise Cornvaille, for 2 banners of Flanders, 4 banners with the arms of the city of Bruges, 6 banners of the chiefs of the burghers, and one of St. George, for cutting, making, embroidering, for silk, for work, 5 s.gr. a piece. Item, for covering 6 tents and a stable on the inside and outside, 6 s.gr. a piece. Item for attaching 35 escuteons to tents and pavillions of the city, to tents of the chiefs and the archers, 12 gr. an escuteons. Item, to embroider 2 pavillions, 6 s.gr. Item for a pennon for a trumpet, 6 s.gr. Item for 98 capes for the coachmen, on which 2 B's were embroidered, for each cape 2 gr. Item for a decoration made on the altar in the large tent where mass is held, 16 s.gr. Item given to Janne Glas, the embroiderer, for covering the large tent on the outside and inside, and also the entrance and the alley of the same tent, for a crucifix with 2 statues, and a statue of Our Lady, for everything 3 lb.gr., amounts to 12 lb. 9 s. 8d.gr., equals 149 lb. 16 s.par.*

Item given to Reynaud van Overtveld, the painter, for 2 banners of Flanders, 2 banners of Bruges, 3 banners of St. Nicolas' sixth part, 3 banners of Our Lady's sixth part, 3 banners of St. Donatian's sixth part, 3 s.gr. a piece. Item for repairing 9 pennons of the six sixth parts with fringes, 6 s.gr. Item for 600 pennons with the arms of the city, at 5 gr. a piece. Item for a pennon of the Rode Caproenen, and 40 pennons with a B, cost 6 s.gr. Item for repairing an old banner of Flanders with gold, and a banner of the archers with silver, at 8 s.gr. a piece. Item for a silk banner with the arms of the city 8 s.gr. Item for a banner with the arms of Mylord, with fine gold, 24 s.gr., amounts to 6 lb. 6 s. 1 d.gr., equals 75 lb. 13 s. par.

[fol. 77v] *Item given to Sanders Fraet, the painter, for painting coats of arms on 24 catapults, at 8 gr. a piece, is 16 s.gr.; item for painting coats of arms on 140 shields, at 4 gr. a piece, is 2 lb. 6 s. 8 dgr.; item for varnishing 10 old pennons and banners to be placed on tents, 2 s.gr.; item for painting 19 new pennons with coats of arms to be placed on tents and pavillions, at 6 gr. a piece, is 9 s. 6 d.gr.; item given the companions out of kindness, 12 gr. This adds up in total to 3 lb. 15 s. 2 d.gr.; this is 45 lb. 2 s. [par.].*

SAB, *Stadsrekening*, no. 216, 1435-1436, fol. 73v, 76, 77v.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 116, 119-121; Duverger, 1955, 116 (partly); Schouteet, I, 200 (partly).

1. See Verdam, 493, s.v. *Ribaut*: small catapult.
2. See *Id.*, 260-1, s.v. *Hovescheit*: courtliness, kindness.

Doc. 9. 1436, 17 September -- *Payment for marble blocks for the tomb of Michelle de France.*

Par lettres patentes du xvij septembre xiiiij^c xxxvj, payé à Jehan Nonnon, machon, pour lachat de v grandes pierres de noir marbre, prinses à le Falize de Dinant, que Monseigneur y a fait acheter pour emploier à faire la sépulture de deffuncte madame Michele, en son vivant espeuse de Mondit seigneur lxij pietres
Item, pour lachat dun groz et matériel chariot pour mener de Namur en la ville de Bruges la plus grandes dicelles pierres xv pietres

By patented letters of September 17, 1436, paid to Jehan Nannon, mason, for purchase of 5 large black marble blocks, dug at le Falize at Dinant, that Mylord had bought to be used for the sepulchre of the late madame Michelle, during her life spouse of my said Lord 72 pieters
Item, for the purchase of a large and handy chariot to transport the largest of these blocks from Namur to the city of Bruges 15 pieters

ARAB, *Rekenkamer*, no. 3232, fol. 20v.

Published: A. Pinchart, *Archives des Arts, Sciences et Lettres, Documents Inédits*, I, Ghent, 1860, 120.

Doc. 10. 1439, 17 January -- *Payment to Alexander Fraet and an anonymous painter for decorative work.*

[fol. 58] Item uutgheven van weercke
[fol. 61] Item xvij in laemaend ghegheven Sanderze den Raed (1), den scildere, van ij scilden ghemaect an tscaelgedac vander Ouder Halle vander wapene van Vlaendren ende van Brugghe, xviiij s.gr., somme lxxiiij lb. xij d.[par.]

[...]
Item ghegheven eenen scildere van eenen vanekene te varewene ende de wapene van der stede daer an te makene twelke ghestelt was up de oude halle, xx gr.

[fol. 58] *Item expenditure for works*
[fol. 61] *Item, 17 January, given to Sanderze den Raed,(1) the painter, for making 2 coats of arms of Flanders and Bruges on the roof-tiles of the Old Hall, 18 s.gr. equals*
73 lb. 12 d.[par.]
Item given to a painter for painting a pennon with the arms of the city, which was placed on the Old Hall 20 gr.

ARAB, *Rekenkamer*, no. 32492, *Stadsrekeningen van Brugge*, 1438-1439, fol. 58, 61.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 319 (partly); Duverger, 1955, 116; Schouteet, I, 200 (partly).

1. Schouteet identifies *Sanderze den Raed* with Alexander Fraet.

Doc. 11. 1439 -- *Payment records in the accounts of St. Donatian's for repairs of jewels, cleaning and polychromy, as well as for clasps and bosses of a manuscript.*

[fol. 12] Extradatum pro diversis usibus [...]

[fol. 12v] Item pro reparartione tabernaculi cerei paschalis

[fol. 13] ac ymaginum salvatoris et marie in sacristia

xlviij s.par.

Item pro pictura radii trium pelvium in choro x s.par.

Item pro mundatione tabule exterioris ad altare apostolorum petri et pauli

vj

s.par.

Item pro refectione clausure missalis Petri Nayere (1) et pro signis ponendis ad extremitates eiusdem libri

iiij s.par.

[fol. 12] *Expenditure of diverse nature [...]*

[fol. 12v] *Item for the repair of the tabernacle, the easter candle,*

[fol. 13] *and also the statue of Our Savior and Mary in the sacristy*

48 s.par.

Item for painting the socle of tree aspersiones in the choir

10 s.par.

[fol. 13] *Item for cleaning the exterior side of the retable on the altar of the apostles Peter and Paul*

6 s.par.

Item for repairing the clasps of the missal, Petrus Nayere,(1) and for the devices placed at the corners of this book

3 s.par.

BAB, *St. Donaas, Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, no. G.4, 1439, fol. 12-13.

Published: Dewitte, 1978, 81, 86 (fragmentarily)

1. Pieter de Nayere donated ornaments to the altar of Peter and Paul in St. Donatian's (cf. Derolez, *Corpus*, 53, no.1; Dewitte, 1978, 86.)

Doc. 12. 1439, 11 September - 1440, 15 September -- *The painter Jan Moens and the sculptor Morissis van Overtvelt are paid for work they have done for the Franc; officials of the Franc are compensated for supervising the works.*

[fol. 47v] Costen ghedaen omme te makene de nieuwe camere, taisement ende den muer tusschen Lodewyx van Roden ende den lande [...]

[fol. 49] Item, betaelt Jan Moens, den scildere, van iij scilden te maekene vander wapene van Bourgognen, van Vlaenderen, ende vanden Vryen, van den beckene te vergoudene die up torrekin staen xij lb.[par.]

Item, betaelt Morissis van Overtvelt, van te snidene de lijsten van den bancken inde camere viij lb. viij s.[par.]

[...]

[fol. 49v] Item, ute dien dat de iiij borchmeesters ende dontfanghere vanden lande binnen desen verleden jare te vele stonden hebben moeten onledich zijn binnen der stede van Brucghe omme tmaken vanden edeficien vanden nieuwen husinghen den lande toebehorende, ende ooc zo hebben zij den werclieden besteit te makene torrekin boven den wendelsteghere, daer omme dat zij dickent te Brucghen commen moesten eer dat zij eens consten werden metten werclieden, ende daer naer omme te visiteerne twerc of zij haerlieder vorwarde wel vulcommen hadden, daer omme dat zij vele tijds hebben noeten onledich zijn binnen der stede van Brucghe, van den welken zij gheene dachvaerden gherekent en hebben, zo es hemlieden daer over betaelt, es te wetene: den iiij borchmeesters elken lx lb., ende den ontfanghere, die altyds meest der bi heeft moeten zijn, iiij^{xx} lb.par, comt iij^cxx lb.par.

Item, zo heeft Gheeraerd van Meetkerke, clerc, daghelijcx ghemoeten zijn bi den werclieden als zij ghewrocht hebben, omme ten vors. wercke te ziene, ende ooc zo heeft hi alle haerlieder dachvaerden moeten tekene die zij ghewrocht hebben boven vorworden, ende alle de stoffe die zij ghebezicht hebben boven haerlieder voorwarden moeten ontfanghen ende scriven, zijn zelves zaken daer omme verletten vanden welken hem gheene dachvaerden gherekent en zijn, hem betaelt over zinnen aerbeit ende moyennesse

lx lb.[par.]

[fol. 47v] *Expenditure made to make the new meeting room, the toilet and the wall between Lodewyx van Roden's house and the Land [...]*

[fol. 49] *Item, paid to Ian Moens, the painter, for making 3 coats of arms of Burgundy, of Flanders, and of the Franc, for gilding the crockets on the little tower*

12 lb.[par.]

Item, paid to Morissis van Overtvelt, for carving the moldings of the benches in the room 8 lb. 8 s.[par.]

[...]

[fol. 49v] *Item, since the four mayors and the receivers of the Franc, have frequently dealt with the construction of the buildings in the city of Bruges, belonging to the Franc, during the last year, and also as they had contracted the laborers to construct the little tower surmounting the winding staircase, they frequently had to come to Bruges, to make an agreement with the laborers, and later to examine the work, as to make sure they complied with their promises, which forced them to spend a lot of time in Bruges, and for which they have not been compensated yet, is paid to them, to be known, to*

the four mayors 60 lb. each, and to the receiver, who had been there most of all, 80 lb., amounts to 320 lb.[par.]

*Item, Gheeraerd van Meetkerke, clerk, for having been with the laborers daily, while they were working, for supervising the said work, and for having signed all their receipts for supplementary work, for having received and inscribed all supplementary materials, neglecting his own business in the meantime, for which he has not been compensated yet, paid to him for his labor and burden
60 lb.[par.]*

RAB, *Fonds van het Vrije*, no. 173: *Rekeningen van het Vrije*, 1439-1440, fol. 47v, 49, 49v.

Published: Weale, *Franc*, 74-76.

Doc. 13. 1440 -- *Payment in the accounts of St.Donatian's to Petrus the painter for taking down and reinstalling the series of apostles in the choir.*

[fol. 12] Extradatum in diversis [...]

[fol. 13] Item Petro, pictori,(1) pro depositione et repositione rese (2) apóstolorum in choro
xxiiiij s.[par.]

[fol. 12] *Expenditure for diverse items [...]*

[fol. 13] *Item Petrus the painter,(1) for taking down and reinstalling the series of apostles in the choir
24 s.par.*

BAB, *St. Donaas*, *Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, no. G.4, 1440, fol. 12, 13.

[Unpublished]

1. A Petrus pictor is also mentioned in the accounts of St.Donatian of 1413 (fol. 12v): Item pro pictura crucem et angeli petro pictori, xlviiij s.[par.] (...*Item for painting the crucifix and the angels, to Petrus the painter, 48 s.[par.]*)

2. Cf. Verdam, 492, s.v. *Rese (Reese)*: a kind of garland.

Doc. 14. 1440, 2 September - 1441, 2 September -- *Expenditure made by the city for the Triumphal Entry of Philip the Good.*

[fol. 93v] *Uutgheven van diverschen costen, ghedaen den xj sten dach van decembre, ten bliden eersten incommene van onzen gheduchten heere enden prince, naer dat de stede te zynre gracie ontfanghen was.*

Eerst ghegheven ende betaelt van al den stallagen ende vander poorte an den muer van ons gheduchts heeren hove, ende anderen werke ghemaect up de maerct ende up de straten, tusschen ons gheduchts heeren hove vors. ende der Cruuspoorte, van houtte, van werke den temmerlieden. Item, van bacstenen, linen, ende reepen daertoe gheordboort, metgaders den dachhueren ende werke vanden maetsenaers, steenhauwers, loodghieters ende kelchieder, met haren handcnapen ende anderen, die an de fonteyne wrochten die nieuwe ghemaect was voor dhoude halle ende an tpilaerken in de borch, cxxvj lb x s.gr. Item, ghegheven van finen ghesleghenen goude, van finen ghesleghenen zelve, ende van foelgen, ende anderen dinghen twelke al verbezicht was bi den scilders vander stede, ende bi den beildescrijvers vander Carmers strate, omme de spelen ende ystorien die achter de strate ghemaect waren ende aldierghelike de mareminnen, zee rudders, ende andere beilden, ende ooc alle de banieren metten wapenen van ons gheduchts heeren landen, ende de goudene poorte mede te stoffeirene, iiij^{xx} x lb. iiij s. vj d.gr. Item ghegheven den voors. scilders ende den beildescrijvers vander Carmersstrate vors., met haren cnapen van haren dachhueren ende over diversche stoffe bi hemlieden ghelevert, lij lb. xvj s.gr. Item ghegheven van quareelteeghelen, van calcsteen, omme de lysten an de fonteyne; van vj leeuwen ende vanden beilden die ter vors. fonteyne dienden, van calke, zande, leeme, ende andere stoffe daer an gheorboort, xxij lb. xv s.gr. Item ghegheven van wine, melke, ende van ypocrase, ghedaen ende gheorboort in de vors. fonteyne ende in de borch, up tvors. pilaerken, vj lb. xvj s.gr. Item ghegheven van naglen groot ende cleene, van clauwoenen, crammen, ende anderen yzerweerde, aldierghelike vander huere van vele zeylen ende van diverschen anderen parceelen al gheorboort an de voors. stallagen, ande poorte daer de bannieren van ons gheduchts heeren wapenen up stonden, ende an de goudene poorte, xxvij lb. xiiij s.gr. Item ghegheven allen den persoonen die de ystorien speilden ende tooghden up de strate duere van ons vors. gheduchts heeren hove tot der Cruuspoorte, over haerlieder costen ende moeynessen die zy hadden upten dach van ons gheduchts heeren incommene, ende aldierghelike ten incommene van minen gheduchten heere van Charlois, xxxij lb. 16 s.gr. [...]

Item, ghecocht jeghen Jeanne Pueytin, ij zelve flasschen ende een gobblet, daer af de boorden vergoudt waren, weghende xix maerc vj oncen ende x inghelschen troischs ghewichte, coste tstic (a.) metten facoene xxvij s.gr., comt xxvij lb. xiiij s. ix d. gr. Item, xij zelve platee weghende xxiiij maerc, een once ende x inghelschen, costen metten facoene elc maerc xxvj s.gr., comt xxxj lb. viij s. x d.gr. welke parceele van zelve vors. ghepresenteert waren onzer gheduchter vrouwen van Charlois, tharen eersten incommene hier binnen der stede. Aldus was daerof betaelt lix lb.gr.

[fol. 93v] *Expenditure of diverse nature, done the 11th day of December, on the occasion of the first Triumphant Entry of our redoubtable Lord and prince, after the city had been reinstated in his favor.*

First given and paid for all the scaffoldings and for the gate at the wall of our redoubtable lord's palace, and other works done on the market and in the streets between our said redoubtable lord's palace and the Kruispoorte, for wood, and labor of the carpenters. Item, for bricks, linnen and straps used for that purpose, and also the wages and labor of the masons, stone-masons, plumbers, pavors, with their helpers and others, who worked on the new fountain in front of the Old Hall and on the small pillar on the Burg, 126 lb. 10 s.gr. Item, given for finely beaten goldleaf, for finely beaten silverleaf, and for foil, and other things that were used by the painters of the city, and by the image makers of the Carmersstraat, for the plays and histories that were made in the street and all similar things like the mermaids, the seaknights, and other statues, and also all the banners with the arms of all our redoubtable lord's lands, and to decorate the Golden Gate with these, 90 lb. 4 s. 6 d.gr. Item given to the said painters and the image painters of the Carmersstraat, with their apprentices, for their wages and for diverse materials delivered by them, 52 lb. 16 s.gr.

Item given for tiles, chalkstones for lists at the fountain; for 6 lions and other statues for the said fountain, for chalk, sand, clay, and other materials used there, 22 lb. 15 s.gr. Item given for wine, milk, and for spicy wine, done and used for the said fountain and at the Burg in the said pillar, 6 lb. 16 s.gr.

Item given for large and small nails, hooks, clamps, and other ironwork, and also for the rent of lots of canvas and for diverse other things all used on the said scaffoldings, on the gate where the banners of our redoubtable lord were placed, and on the Golden Gate,

27 lb. 14 s.gr.

Item given to all the persons who played and showed the histories on the streets from our redoubtable lord's said palace to the Kruispoort, for their expenditure and efforts on the day of our redoubtable lord's Entry, and for the same on the Entry of my redoubtable lord of Charolais,

32 lb. 16 s.gr.

[...]

Item, bought from Jeanne Pueytin, 2 silver bottles and a goblet, with gilt borders, weighing 19 marc 6 ounces and 10 english of the weight of Troyes, cost the fabrication included 28 s.gr. a piece(a.), amounts to 27 lb. 14 s. 9 d. gr. Item, 12 silver platters, weighing 24 marc 1 ounce and 10 english, cost with the fabrication 26 s.gr. a marc, amounts to 31 lb. 8 s. 10 d.gr. These said pieces of silver were presented to our redoubtable Lady of Charolais, on the occasion of her first Entry here in the city. For this was paid 59 lb.gr.

a. should be "...maerc..." (*marc*) instead of "...tstic..." (*piece*).

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 214, 1440-1441, fol. 93v-94.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 194-196; Duverger, 1955, 117 (partly).

Doc. 15. 1441, 25 January -- Receipt signed by the Bruges goldsmith Jehan Peutin, acknowledging that he received payment for two silver plates bought from him by the duke.

Je, Jehan Peutin, orfèvre, demourant à Bruges, confesse avoir eu et receu de Pierre Bladelin, dit Leestmaker, conseiller et receveur général de toutes les finances de Mon Seigneur le duc de Bourgogne, la somme de soixante dix huit livres cinq sols, pour deux plas d'argent blanc que mon dit Seigneur a fait prendre et acheter de moy et les donner à madame d'Orléans avec plusieurs autres parties de vaisselle. Le xxve jour de janvier, lan mil cccc et quarante (1).

I, Jehan Peutin, goldsmith, living in Bruges, acknowledge to have gotten and received from Pierre Bladelin, called Leestmaker, advisor and general receiver of all the finances of my lord the duke of Burgundy, the sum of 78 lb. 5 s., for two plates of white silver, that my said lord had taken and bought from me, to give to my lady of Orleans with many other pieces of tabletop. The 25th day of January, 1440.(1)

ADNL, Chambres des Comptes, *Pièces comptables*, 25 January 1440 (o.s.)

Published: L. de Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne. Etudes sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XVe siècle, Preuves*, II, Paris, 1851, 212, no. 4010. (further as Laborde)

1. *I.e.*, 1441 (n.s.)

Doc. 16. 1441, 11 September -- *Excerpt from the Acts of the chapter of St. Donatien's in which the reliquary donated by canon Van der Paele is mentioned.*

Die Lune, xj septembris (1) comparavit in capitulo, coram dominis meis decano et capitulo magister Anthonius de Zwanenarde, cappellanus Sancti Basili Brugensis, et nomine magistri Georgii de Pala, huius ecclesie canonici, presentavit ecclesie in elemosinam unum solempne reliquarium argenteum deauratum, in quo erant reliquie Sanctorum Cristofori, Ursele, etc.[...]

On Monday, 11 September (1) appeared in the chapter, before mylords the dean and the chapter, master Anthoon de Zwanenarde, chaplain of Saint Basile of Bruges, and in the name of master Joris vander Paele, canon of this church, who presented to this church as a gift a solemn relic of Saints Christopher, Ursula, etc.[...]

BAB, *St. Donaas, Acta Capituli*, no. A.51, fol. 66v.

Published: Weale, *Inventaires Saint Donatien*, 29, n.31 (fragmentarily).

1. The year *mccccxlj* (1441) is mentioned on top of the folio.

Doc. 17. 1441, 2 September - 1442, 2 September -- *The tapestry maker Rycquaerd Heyns delivers a piece of tapestry work to upholster the seats in the aldermen's room of the City Hall*

Item ghegheven Rycquaerd Heyns van eenen sticke van tapiterie van 2 ellen, daer een bancelet in scepenen camere mede ghelanct was, vj s.gr., somma
iiij lb. xij s.par.

Item given to Rycquaerd Heyns for a piece of tapestry work of two yards, used to extend the upholstering of the bench in the aldermen's room, 6 s.gr., equals
3 lb. 12 s.par.

ARAB, *Rekenkamer*, no. 32494 (unfoliated).

Published: J. Versyp, *De Geschiedenis van de Tapijtkunst te Brugge, (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Schone Kunsten, 8)*, Brussels, 1954, 147, doc. VIII (further as Versyp, 1954).

Doc. 18. 1442, 22 July -- *Payments to Arnoud de Mol and Jan van der Donc for decorative work at the Spuiport in Damme.*

[fol. 33v] Uutgheven van weerke
[fol. 39] Item doe (1) ghegheven Arnoude den scildere van vj beckene te vergoudene van fine goude vanden iij vanen te verwapene ende van drien te vermelliaenene die dienende up tspeyhuus ten Damme, xxiiij s.gr., somme
xiiij lb. viij s.[par.]

[fol. 39v] Item (2) ghegheven Janne van der Donc, den scildere, van ij scildeen te makene metter steden wapene van Brugghe an tspeyhuus ten Damme, xvj s.gr.; somme
ix lb. vj s. par

[fol. 33v] *Expenditure for works*
[fol. 39] *Item then (1) given to Arnoude the painter for gilding 6 plates with fine gold, for painting coats of arms on 3 flags and for painting three others red, to be used at the Spuihuis at Damme, 24 s.gr., equals*
14 lb. 8 s.[par.]

[fol. 39v] *Item (2) given to Janne van der Donc, the painter, for making 2 shields with the coat of arms of Bruges on the 'Spuihuis' at Damme, 16 s.gr.; sum*
9 lb.6 s.par.

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen* no. 216, 1441-1442, fol. 33v, 39, 39v.

Published: Duverger, 1955, 117; Schouteet, I, 178.

1. See previous entry: 2 July.
2. See previous entry: 22 July

Doc. 19. 1442 -- *Payment in the accounts of St. Donatian's for writing and illumination of missals*

[fol. 11] Extradatum pro diversis usibus ecclesie [...]

[fol. 12] Item, pro reformatione et reparatione duorum missalium de Salve (1) retro chorum, pro materia, opere et labore Luberto de Ecclesia pro querimonia

xvj lb.[par.]

Item pro nova scriptura Bernardo (a.) in dictis missalibus, prout apparet de vij quaternis renovatis pro scriptura et pergamentis de quaterna xxxiiij s., valent xj lb xviiij s.[par]

Item pro illuminatione litterarum aurearum et aliarum in dictis missalibus
xl s.[par.]

[fol. 11] *Expenditure of diverse needs of the church [...]*

[fol. 12] *For remaking and repairing two missals of Salve (1) behind the choir, for material, for work and trouble to Luberto de Ecclesia, following his complaint*

16 lb.[par.]

Item, for newly written work by Bernardo in the said missals, in so far the 7 quires were renewed, for writing and parchment at 34 s. a quire, makes 11 lb. 18 s.[par.]

*Item, for illumination of the initials with gold and others in the said missals
40 s.[par.]*

a. *Bernardo* inserted in the text by the same hand.

BAB, *St. Donaas, Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, no. G.4, 1442, fol. 11, 12.

Published: Dewitte, 1978, 87. (fragmentarily)

1. *I.e.*, the chapel of the Blessed Mary of Salve (see Dewitte, 1978, 87.)

Doc. 20. 1442, 2 September - 1443, 2 September -- *The abbot of the Dunes receives silverwork from the city.*

[fol. 93v] Uutgheven van diversche zaken ende lasten der steden aengaende

[fol. 94v] Item gecocht jeghen Lodewike den Blasere een zilverne verguldene cop verdedt de welke ghepresenteirt was minen heere den abdt van Dunen als hi ontfanghen was, x lb. xviiij s. iij d.gr., somme cxxx lb. xix s.par.

[fol. 93v] *Expenditure of diverse business and burdens that concerns the city*
[fol. 94v] *Item bought from Lodewike den Blasere, a gilt silver cup with lid, that was given to mylord the abbot of the Dunes when he was received* 130 lb. 19 s.par.

SAB, *Stadsrekening*, no. 214: 1442-1443, fol. 93v, 94v.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 293.

Doc. 21. 1442, 15 September - 1443, 12 September -- *Pieter, the sculptor, is paid for carving roses on the cabinet in the room of the Franc.*

[fol. 68] *Costen ghedaen an slands husinghe zichtent der laetster rekeninghe [...]*
[fol. 68v] *Item betaelt, Pieter, de beeldesnidere, vanden roosen te snidene ande scapraden in de camere vanden Vrijen* xlviii
s.[par.]

[fol. 68] *Expenditure made at the land's houses since the last accounts [...]*
[fol. 68v] *Item paid to Pieter the sculptor, for carving the roses on the cabinets in the room of the Franc*
48 s.[par.]

RAB, *Fonds van het Vrije*, no. 176: *Rekeningen van het Vrije*, 1442-1443, fol. 68, 68v.

Published: Weale, *Franc*, 76, n.18.

Doc. 22. 1443, 15 September -- *Excerpt from the Acts of the chapter of St. Donatian's in which jewelry donated by canon Clapdorp is mentioned*

Die Jovis, quinta Septembris (1), domini mei, ante fenestram congregati, promiserunt magistro Henrico Clapdorp, eorum concanonico, instante, qui emerat de bonis quondam Theodorici de Bray unum cyphium lapideum copertum et fulcitum argento deaurato pro iiiij^{or} lb.g., quod dictum cyphium et eius vendicionem sibi garandizaretur et garandisabunt et hoc ad futuram rei memoriam volunt huic libro inscribi et sibi copia sub signo meo ipsius scripture dari

On Thursday, 15 September (1), at the public congregation, mylords promised to master Henric Clapdorp, their fellow canon, here present, who formerly acquired from the possessions of Theodore de

Bray, a chalice with a lid decorated with precious stones and in gilt silver for 4 lb.gr., that the said chalice and its sale is guaranteed and will be guaranteed; and they would like that this agreement were inscribed in this book as a reliable witness of this fact and that they would receive a copy of this piece signed with my signature

BAB, *St. Donaas, Acta Capituli*, no. A.51, fol. 115.(2)

Published: Weale, *Inventaires Saint Donatien*, 21, n.24.

1. The year *xliij* (1443) is indicated on top of the folio.
2. And not *fol. cxv* (115) as mentioned by Weale.

Doc. 23. 1443 -- *Payment in the accounts of St. Donatian's to the sculptor Jacob van Belle for sculptural decoration on the organ; payments for restoration of missals*

[fol. 12v] Extradatum pro diversis usibus ecclesie [...]

Item pro arboribus angelorum in nocte paschalis in ludo resurrectionis (1)

xx s.[par.]

[fol. 13] Item, pro reparatione unius missale in sancto Xristoforo, pro nova scriptura duarum quaternarum Bernardo scriptori, pro materia et scriptura

lvij s.[par.]

Item in eadem pro uno crucifixo novo ante canonem imposito

xx s.[par.]

Item in antiquis litteris obscuris illuminatis et reparatis

vij s.[par.]

Item pro illuminatione novarum et antiquarum literarum illuminatori

xvj s.[par.]

Item Luberto de Ecclesia pro ligatione et reparatione dicti libri per omnia folia

xij s.[par.]

[fol. 15] Item, Luberto de Ecclesia pro reformatione, reparatione et religatura adhuc unius missalis plurium ruinosi et deformis in omnibus in capella Sancti Johanni, pro opere et materia

iiij lb. xvij s.[par.]

Item, Bernardo Scriptori pro scriptura ij 1/2 (2) quaternarum in dicto missali pro opere et materia

iiij lb. vij s.[par.]

Item, pro uno novo crucifixo ante canonem, et illuminatione literarum diversarum

xxvij s.[par.]

[fol. 20v] Extradatum Jacob van Belle, beildesnidere

Primo pro scissura ij^c lxxij pedum rosarum et ogieven circa opus organorum, pro quolibet pede xvij d., valet

	xx lb. viij s.[par.]
Item dicto Jacobo pro scissura iiiij ^{xx} viij pedum ramorum quorundem magnorum, pro pede v s. v d., valet	
	xxiiij lb. iiiij s.[par.]
Item eidem pro tribus ymaginibus videlicet beate marie, donatiani et basilii, pro qualibet xxiiij s., valet	
	iiij lb. xij s.[par.]
Item eidem pro scissura annunciationis sub magnis corbellis, cum duobus reprizen	iiij lb.[par.]
Item eidem pro scissura iiiij ^{or} panneelen circa cathedram, pro quolibet xxiiij s., valet	iiij lb. xvj s.[par.]
Item eidem pro scissura iiiij ^{or} corbellorum superius petia xlvj s., valet	ix lb. xij s.[par.]
Item eidem pro scissura iiiij ^{or} reprizen sub dictum corbellis petia viij s., valet	xxxij s.[par.]
Item eidem pro scissura ij copulorum loveren in principali trabe scissorum	xxiiij s.[par.]
Item pro scissura omnium voyarum superius et inferius, cum vj pilaribus et pertinentiis	xvj lb. xvj s.[par.]
Summa	iiiiij ^{xx} v lb iiiij s.[par.]
[fol. 12v] <i>Expenditure of diverse needs of the church [...]</i>	
<i>Item for the trees of the angels in the play of the Resurrection at Easter night (1)</i>	20 s.[par.]
[fol. 13] <i>Item, for repairing a missal in St.Christopher's, for writing two quires anew to Bernardo the scribe, for material and writing</i>	58 s.[par.]
<i>Item, for a new Crucifixion inserted in front of the canons of this manuscript</i>	20 s.[par.]
<i>Item, for repairing and illuminating darkened old initials</i>	8 s.[par.]
<i>Item, for illuminating new and old illuminated initials</i>	16 s.[par.]
<i>Item, Luberto de Ecclesia for binding and repairing all the folia of the said book</i>	12 s.[par.]
[fol. 15] <i>Item, Luberto de Ecclesia for remaking, repairing and rebinding a seriously ruinous missal, completely damaged in the chapel of St.John, for work and material</i>	4 lb. 18 s.[par.]
<i>Item Bernardo the scribe for writing 2 and half quires (2) in the said missal, for work and material</i>	4 lb. 8 s.[par.]
<i>Item, for a new Crucifixion inserted in front of the canons, and for the illumination of many initials</i>	28 s.[par.]

[fol. 20v] *Given to Jacob van Belle, sculptor*
First, for sculpting 272 roses and arches around the organ, at 18 d. a piece, makes 20 lb. 8
s.[par.]
Item the said Jacob for sculpting 88 branches, amongst which large ones, at 5 s. 5 d. a piece, makes
24 lb. 4 s.[par.]
Item the same for three statues, to be known the Blessed Mary, Donatian and Basile, at 24 s. a piece,
makes
3 lb. 12 s.[par.]
Item the same for sculpting an Annunciation under the large corbels, and repeating it twice
3 lb.[par.]
Item the same for sculpting four panels around the cathedra, at 24 s. each , makes 4 lb. 16
s.[par.]
Item the same for sculpting the 4 high corbels at 46 s., makes
9 lb. 12 s.[par.]
Item the same for sculpting 4 times the same above the said corbels at 8 s., makes
32 s.[par.]
Item the same for sculpting 2 sets of foliage on the main sculpted beam
24 s.[par.]
Item for sculpting all the upper and lower ornaments with six pillars and all that belongs to it 16 lb. 16
s.[par.]
Total 85 lb 4 s.[par.]

BAB, *St. Donaas, Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, no. G.4, 1443, fol. 13, 15.

Published: A. Dewitte, "Gegevens betreffende het muziekleven in de voormalige Sint-Donaaskerk te Brugge," *Handelingen van het Historisch Genootschap, gesticht onder de benaming Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, CXI (1974), 141-142 (further as Dewitte, 1974); Dewitte, 1978, 87 (fragmentarily).

1. This entry appears annually.
2. and not 115 *quaternarum* as Dewitte transcribes (Dewitte, 87).

Doc. 24. 1443, 2 September -1444, 2 September -- *Presents given to the Duke, the Duchess and other people by the city.*

[fol. 76v] *Uutgheven van diverschen zaken ende lasten der steden aengaende*
[fol. 76v] *Item ghepresenteirt onzen gheduchten heere ende prinche den vijsten dach van*
April
[fol. 77] *als hi quam uut Bourgoenge hier bin deser stede, een tymmeren sables metter*
houchieringhe, de welke coste xxvij lb. xij s. viij d.gr., somme

iiij^c xliij lb. xij s.par.

[...]

Item ghecocht jeghen Janne Pueytin, een zilverin vergoudt verdeckte croes, weghende j 1/2 marc ende j 1/2 onse troisch te xxxviiij s. tmaerc metten fachoene, de welke ghepresenteirt was ter eerster messe van mer Clais zone Utenhove daer de stede toe ghebeden was, coste de voors. croes iiij lb. iiiij s. ij d.gr. somme iiij lb iiiij s. ij d.gr., somme xxxviiij lb. v s.[par.]

[fol. 76v] *Expenditure for diverse things and burdens that concerns the city*

[fol. 76v] *Given to our redoubtable lord and prince, on the 7th day of April*

[fol. 77] *when he returned from Burgundy here within the city, a pewter sword with decorations, which cost 28 lb. 12 s. 8 d.gr., equals 343 lb. 12 s.par. [...]*

Item bought from Janne Pueytin, a gilt silver mug with cover, weighing 1.5 marc and 1.5 ounce of Troyes, at 38 s. a marc the work included, which was presented at the first mass of Sir Clais Utenhove's son, to which the city was invited, cost 3 lb. 4 s. 2 d.gr., equals

38 lb. 5 s.[par.]

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 214, 1443-1444, fol. 76v-77.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 294, 501 (fragmentarily).

Doc. 25. 1444, 7 September -- *Excerpt from the Acts of the chapter of St. Donatian's in which jewelry donated by canon Clapdorp is mentioned*

Eadem die,(1) magister Henricus Clapdorp donavit huic ecclesie et fabrice eiusdem unum cyphum preciosum lapideum, furnitum argento deaurato cum pede et copertorio, et unam fistulam argenteam deauratam in duabis peciis, et unam pintam argenteam, ad opus communicantium in altari, et ad opus diei Jovis Sancto in mandato, et domini mei de capitulo commiserunt eidem magistro Henrico custodiam cyphi, fistule et pinte donatorum predictorum, que si forsan sub manibus eius amittentur aut eo decedente per eius heredes auferrentur ab ecclesia, eo casu idem magister Henricus voluit se suosque heredes et successores teneri pro precio predictorum in summa sedecim librarum grossorum, excepto casu fortuito

The same day,(1) master Henricus Clapdorp gave to this church and its office of the works a chalice decorated with precious stones, furnished with gilt silver at the foot and the lid, and a gilt silver chain in two pieces, and a silver paten, to be used at the communion at the altar and for the holy service on Thursdays according to the solemn agreement; and mylords of the chapter assigned to the same master Henricus the custody over the said gifts, the chalice, the chains and paten; and in case he loses it or if it is taken away from the church by his heirs after his death, in that case the same master Henricus

decides that he and his heirs and successors will have to pay in compensation of the aforementioned the sum of 16 lb.gr., except in cases beyond his control

BAB, *St. Donaas, Acta Capituli*, no. A.51, fol. 129v.

Published: Weale, *Inventaires Saint Donatien*, 21, n.24.

1. See previous entry: *Die Lune, septima mensis Septembris* (Monday, the 7th of the month of September); the year *xluiij* (1444) is mentioned on top of the folio.

Doc. 26. 1444 -- *Payment records in the accounts of St. Donatian's for polychromy and the illumination of liturgical manuscripts*

[fol. 12] *Extradatum pro diversis usibus ecclesie [...]*

[fol. 14] *Item, pictori ymaginum pro rosa et floribus in sanctuario, et decoratione berie super quam portatur caput argenteum sancti johannis baptiste xxiiij s.[par.]*

[fol. 18] *Extradatum Bernardo, scriptori librorum*

*Primo pro scriptura duarum quaternarum et illuminatione literarum ac materia francius etc. in uno antiquo missali in anteriori ecclesia reformato et reparato, pro opere et materia
ij lb. x s.[par.]*

*Item eadem pro scriptura ij 1/2 quaternarum in uno libro capelle sancti johannis, pro quaterna xxxiiij s., valet pro opere et materia
iiij lb. v s.[par.]*

[fol. 18v] *Item eadem, pro scriptura iiiij^{or} quaternarum in malo antiphonario in sancto johanne, cum illuminatione literarum et notularum, pro opere et materia*

v lb. x s.[par.]

Item, in uno crucifixo et parte canonis rescripta in uno missali capelle sancti Xristofori, pro opere et materia

xxxvj s.[par.]

Item dicto Bernardo, pro illuminatione literarum et scriptura in uno psalterio religato de choro, pro opere et materia

xxxij s.[par.]

[fol. 12] *Expenditure of diverse needs of the church [...]*

[fol. 14] *Item, to the painter of images for roses and flowers in the sanctuary, and for decoration of the stretcher on which the silver head of St. John is carried*

24 s.[par.]

[fol. 18] *Given to Bernardo, scribe of books*

First, for having written two quires and for illumination of initials, and materials, parchment, etc. in an old missal

of the said church, for restoration and repairs, for work and material

3 lb. 10 s.[par.]

Item to the same for having written 2 and a half quires in a book of St. John's chapel, at 34 s. a quire, makes for work and material 4 lb. 5 s.[par.]

[fol. 18v] *Item to the same for having written 4 quires in an old antiphonary in St. John's, and for the illumination of initials and for annotation, for work and material*

5 lb. 10 s.[par.]

Item, for a Crucifixion and for rewriting parts of the canons in a missal of St. Christopher's chapel, for work and material 36 s.[par.]

Item, the said Bernard, for illumination of initials and for writing a [newly] bound psalter of the choir, for work and material 32 s.[par.]

BAB, *St. Donaas, Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, no. G.4, 1444, fol. 12, 14, 18-18v.

Published: Dewitte, 1978, 87-88. (fragmentarily)

Doc. 27. 1444, 2 September - 1445, 1 September -- *Excerpts from the 1444-45 municipal accounts: payments to the painters for their role in making floats for the procession of the Holy Blood; payment to Jehan Peutin for silverware; to Janne Caillet of Ecaussines for 4 stone niches.*

[fol. 54] *Uutgheven van ghemene zaken*

[fol. 58v] *Item ghegheven den deken vanden scilders ende zinen gheselscepe vanden speilkins te doen gane ende te ordenerene upten vors. dach (1) viij lb. vj s. viij d.gr.*

[fol. 75] *Uutgheven van diversche zaken ende lasten de stede aengaende*

[fol. 75v] *Gecoct jeghen Janne Puetin, xij nieuwe scalen met verguldene boorden ende ghealmelgiert metter stede wapene in den bodeme, weghende xvj troysche maerc te xxiiij s. viij d.gr. tmarc. Item van fachoene ende van amelgierene ende vergoudene, ij lb. viij s. gr., comt xix lb. xiiij s. viij d.gr. Hier jeghen hadde de stede te baten oud zelve de lakinghe af gheslegghen, werdich zynde* xij lb. iij s. iij d.gr.

Item vijftien pond parisis die meester Pieter vanden Vagheviere in handen hadde over vier scalen die verdonkert waren zo dat boven de bate voorscreven comt te betalene iij lb. viij s.gr., somme xl lb. xvj s.gr.

[fol. 76] *Item ghecoct jeghen Janne Caillet van Scarscines, iij steenen beilden huusen die up Sinte Jans brugghe staen costen met up doene ende kelnauer huere ende van hier te leverene, xlvij lb.gr., somme*

v^clxvj lb. ix s.par.

[fol. 54] *Expenditure for ordinary things*

[fol. 58v] *Item given to the dean of the painters and his company for having organized the little plays and to parade on the aforementioned day (1) 8 lb. 6 s. 8 d. gr.*

[fol. 75] *Expenditure for diverse business and burdens that concerns the city*

[fol. 75v] Bought from Janne Puetin, 12 new plates with gilt rims and the arms of the city enameled on the bottom, weighing 16 marc of Troyes, at 24 s. 8 d.gr. a marc. Item for the fabrication, enameling and gilding, 2 lb. 8 s. gr., amounts to 19 lb. 14 s. 8 d.gr., for which purpose the city had reused old silver, worth 12 lb. 3 s. 4 d.gr. Item fifteen lb. par. that master Pieter vanden Vagheviere had received for four darkened plates, remained to be paid 3 lb. 8 s.gr, equals 40 lb. 16 s.par.

[fol. 76] Item bought from Janne Caillet of Ecaussines, 4 stone niches for statues placed on the Sint Jans bridge, which amounted the installation, storgae rental and delivery included, 47 lb.gr, equals 556 lb. 9 s.par.

SAB, *Stadsrekening*, no. 216, 1444-1445, fol. 54, 58v, 75-76.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 294-5 (incomplete)

1. *I.e.*, the day of the procession of the Holy Blood, 3 May.

Doc. 28. 1444, 11 September - 1445, 9 September -- Pieter van Meessene, the embroiderer, is paid for decorative work he has done for the Franc.

Betaelt Pieter van Meessene, den bordeurwerkere, van xxix grote scilden met compassen, liiij gr. van den sticke, ende van vj^c bloumen dat mede dat laken bezait es, ij gr. van den sticke, ghelic dat voorwaerde ghemaect was bi den borchmeesters, comt cxxxvij lb. vj s.par.

Paid, Pieter van Meessene, the embroiderer, for 29 large shields in medaillons, at 54 gr. each, and for 600 flowers sewn on cloths, 2 gr. each, as [it was stipulated] in the contract made by the mayors, amounts to 138 lb. 6 s.par.

RAB, *Fonds van het Vrije*, no. 178: *Rekeningen van het Vrije*, 1444-1445, fol. 64v.

Published: Weale, *Franc*, 76, n. 19.

Doc. 29. 1445, 13 October -- Excerpt from the Acts of the chapter of St.Donatian's in which a statue of St.Donatian donated by chaplain Symon Coene is mentioned.

Die mercurii, xiiij octobris (1) dominus Symon Coene, presbiter, cappellanus huius ecclesie de gremio chori, obtulit huic ecclesie unam ymaginem Sancti Donatiani argenteam deauratam preciosam in puram elemosinam, et supplicavit sibi concedi sepulturam suam in navi

ecclesiae iuxta fontes, ante cappellam Sancti Anthonii; domini mei, acceptantes elemosinam et donum dicti domini Symonis, concesserunt sibi locum sepulture perpetuum
[in margine] Oblato sive elemosinam dominus Symonis Coene et concessio sepulchro eiusdem

On Wednesday, 13 October (1), sir Simon Coene, priest, chaplain of the choir in this church, offered to this church a precious silver gilt statue of Saint Donatian as an generous gift, and supplicated to concede to him his sepulcher in the nave of the church next to the font, in front of the chapel of Saint Antony; mylords, accepting the alm and gift of the said sir Simon, reserved this perpetual sepulchral location for him.

[in margine] *A gift in alm by sir Simon Coene and the sepulchral concession to him*

BAB, *St. Donaas, Acta Capituli*, no. A.51, fol. 154.

Published: Weale, *Inventaires Saint Donatien*, 24, n.26.

1. The year *xlv* (1445) is mentioned on top of the folio.

Doc. 30. 1445, 10 September - 1446, 15 September -- *Alexander Fraet is paid for models after which upholsters for the seats in the Land's House of the Bruges Franc were woven; Pieter van Meessenne, is paid for embroidery on the cloths around the cupboard.*

[fol. 99] *Costen ghedaen an slandts huusinghen zichtent der laetster rekeninghe*
[fol. 100v] *Item betaelt Sanders, de schildere,(1) vanden patronen te makene daernaer dat de bangleederen inde camer ghevrocht waeren* xxx s.[par.]

[...]

Item betaelt Pieter van Meessenne, den bourdeurwercker, te werkenne ande cleederen ontrent tvoors. buffet

xviii lb. vj s.[par.]

[fol. 99] *Expenditure made in the land's houses since the last accounts.*

[fol. 100v] *Item paid Sanders, the painter,(1) for making the models after which the upholsters for the seats in the room were made* 30 s.[par.]

Item paid Pieter van Meessenne, the embroiderer, for working on the cloths around the cupboard

18 lb. 6 s.[par.]

RAB, *Fonds van het Vrije*, no. 178: *Rekeningen van het Vrije*, 1445-1446, fol. 99, 100v.

Published: Weale, *Franc*, 76, n. 19; Schouteet, I, 201.

1. Weale identifies *Sanders* with Alexander Fraet; Schouteet accepts this identification.

Doc. 31. 1446 -- *Payment in the accounts of St. Donatian's to a painter for repairing the stretcher of St. Basile's reliquary*

[fol. 13] Extradatum pro diversis

[fol. 15] Item, pictori ymaginum pro reparatione et decoratione berie super quam portatur
feretrum beati basilii xij s.[par.]

[fol. 13] *Expenditure of diverse items*

[fol. 15] *Item, to a painter of images for repairing and decoration of the stretcher on which the
reliquary of St. Basile is carried,* 12 s.[par.]

BAB, *St. Donaas, Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, no. G.4, 1446, fol. 15.

Published: Dewitte, 1978, 88. (fragmentarily)

Doc. 32. 1446, 2 September -1447, 1 September -- *Excerpts of the municipal accounts: payment to the painters for floats; payment for 4 metal sculptures for St. John's bridge; Jan van der Donc and five other people are paid for their inspection of the harbor of Ostend, and for making two maps of the same harbor; payment for silverware.*

[fol. 40] Uutgheven van dieverschen zaken ende lasten der stede angaende

[fol. 42] Item ghegheven den deken vanden schilders ende zinen ghesellen vanden hovekine
ende andere speilkens te ordonnerene ende te gane upten voors. dach
vij lb. vj s. viij d. gr. (1)

[fol. 51] Van vier motalen beilden die up zint Jans brugghe gestelt zyn, wegende xxvij^c lxxvij
pond, comt te vj gr. van den ponde lxix lb. iiij s. gr.

[fol. 54v] Item, xij in april, ghesonden Roeland de Vos, Jacop Reingoet, Clais Martins, Bertram
Rape, Janne Buusse, Jan van de Donc ende Clais Filius Gheyle omme te visiterene de avene
van Oosthende ende ghegheven van costen ghedaen metgaders twee beworpen in pampiere
van der voors. avene ghemaelt iij lb. xvij s. xj d. gr.

[fol. 56v] Ghecocht twee zelverinne potten die ghepresenteirt waren Loys Metteneye te ziere
brulocht, costen x lb. gr.

[fol. 40] *Expenditure for business and burdens the city concerned*

[fol. 42] *Item given to the dean of the painters and his company for having organized the little plays
and to parade on the aforementioned day 8 lb. 6 s. 8 d. gr. (1)*

[fol. 51] *For four metal statues that are placed on St. Jans bridge, weighing 2700 pond, at 6 gr. a pound, amounts to* 69 lb. 4 s.gr.

[fol. 54v] *Item, on 12 April, Roeland de Vos, Jacop Reingoet, Clais Martins, Bertram Rape, Janne Buusse, Jan van de Donc and Clais Filius Gheyle were sent to inspect the harbor of Ostend and given for expenses made, as well as for two designs of the aforementioned harbor painted on paper* 3 lb. 17 s. 11 d. gr.

[fol. 56v] *Bought two silver pots presented to Loys Metteneye for his wedding, cost* 10 lb.gr.

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen* no. 216, 1446-1447, fol. 42, 51, 54v, 56v.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 321 (fol. 51); Duverger, 1955, 118 (fol. 54v); Schouteet, I, 178 (fol. 54v).

1. *I.e.*, the day of the procession of the Holy Blood. Similar entries in the accounts of 1447-48 (fol. 45), 1448-49 (fol. 58), 1449-50 (fol. 62), 1450-51 (fol. 51v), 1451-52 (fol. 53v), 1452-53 (fol. 46v), 1453-54 (fol. 49v), 1454-55 (fol. 48v-49), 1455-56 (fol. 52).

Doc. 33. 1447, 17 August -- *Sentence issued by the Bruges magistrate in a conflict between the corporation of the image makers and the printmakers Ian Casal, Iacop van den Boontune, Clays van Bayeghem, and Ledenaert van Cleve.*

Ute dien dat de deken ende vindere van den ambochte van den beeldmakers, zadelaers, clachtich commen waren in den ghemeenen hoop van scepenen van Brugghe, als dat Ian Casal, Iacop van den Boontune, Clays van Bayeghem, ende Ledenaert van Cleve, ende meer andere daden daghelix, ende usierden zaken contrarie haren ambochte, in dat zij wrochten met prenten van olye varwe, metten pinseele van goude, van zelve, ende van beeldwerke in bandleedren, saergen ende andere lakenen te haerlieder gheliefte; begheerende ende verzoukende, dat den voors. personen bevolen worde af te latene van zulcke zaken te doene zonder in haerlieder ambocht bevrydt te zine, ende dat by scepenen voorzien worde dat het niet meer en gheschiede.

So was by den voors. ghemeenen hoop van scepenen van Brugghe, alvooren ghehoort relatie van den ghenen die de voors. materie van der wet weghe gehandelt hadden, ende up al ripelic ghelet, gheordonneert ende verclaerst, dat van nu voortan niemant en gheoorlooft niet bevryet zynde in tvors. ambocht van den beeldmakers, zadelaers, te werkene eenegherande werc metten pinseele, noch ooc eenigherande werc te makene met goude, met zelve, noch met olye varwen, maer elc zal vry ende onbegrepen moghen maken tgoend dat hu zelve metter hand maken can van gheprenten wercke, met water vaerwe alleenlic, ende zonder eenighe cnapen te bezeghene in eenigher manieren, ende dit upte boete van iij lb.par. te verbuerene van elcken poincte voors. telcker waerf dat het bevonden worde, of yement daerof bedreghen worde metter goeder waerhede voor scepenen, ende voort, dat van nu

voort an, niemene van den voors. ambochte, noch anderen en gheorlooft eenich vremd werc den voors. ambochte toebehoorende buten der stede van Brugghe ghemaect zynde te coopene omme hier binnen der stede voort te vercoopene up ghelike boete, behouden emmer trechte van den mercenier halle; ende mids desen was den vors. Ianne van Casael, Iacoppe van den Boontune, Claise van Bayeghem ende Lenaerd van Cleve bevolen, dat zy hem voort an verdraghen zoude yet te doene van dies voors. es dan in der manieren boven verclaerst. Actum den xvij^{en} dach van Ougste int iaer m iiiij^c xlvij.

The dean and the inspectors of the corporation of the image makers and saddlers, have submitted a complaint to the court of the aldermen of Bruges, that Ian Casal, Iacop van den Boontune, Clays van Bayeghem, and Ledenaert van Cleve, and others, acted and used materials on a daily basis, contrary to the privileges of the corporation, as they made prints with oil paint, with gold, with silver, and they painted images with brushes on covers of seats, on quilts and on other fabrics, as they pleased; supplicating and demanding that the aforementioned persons would be prohibited to do such things without being free members in their corporation, and that the aldermen would take measures that this would not happen again in the future.

The court of the aldermen of Bruges, having heard the report of those who had been appointed by the magistrate to examine the affair, and having considered the case thoroughly, ordered and declared that from now on, no one who is not a member of the corporation of the image makers and saddlers, will be allowed to make any work with brushes or to make any work with gold or silver, nor with oil paint, but that everyone is free to produce printed works with his own hands, however with water colors only, and without employing any apprentices in whatever way; and this on the risk of being fined 3 lb.par. for each point mentioned above, each time one is found guilty, or each time someone is sued for this before the court of aldermen; and furthermore, that from now on, no one of the said corporation nor others, will be allowed to buy foreign work, made outside Bruges, that belongs to the said corporation, in order to sell it here within the city, at the same fine, [in as far as this does] not infringe with the rights of the merchant halls; and with this it was ordered to the aforementioned Ianne van Casael, Iacoppe van den Boontune, Claise van Bayeghem and Lenaerd van Cleve to renounce to do this from now on, except in such ways as explained above. Done the 17th day of August in the year 1447.

SAB, Groenenbouck A, fol. 305.

Published: W.H.J. Weale, "Documents inédits sur les enlumineurs de Bruges," *Le Beffroi*, IV (1872-73), 244-245 (further as Weale, *Enlumineurs*).

Doc. 34. 1448 -- *Payment in the accounts of St. Donatian's to the goldsmith Victor Vindergoedt, for new silver clasps on a Passionalis*

[fol. 16] Extradatum operariis ecclesie pro hoc anno xlviii [...]

Primo Victori Vindegoedt, aurifabro, pro mundatione et reparatione thuribulorum, candelaborum, bachinorum, librorum, spillarum taxellatum,(1) vasorum, reliquiarum, clenodiorum ceterorumque ecclesie jocalium sanctissimi tenorum et contenta cedule sue mani tradite cum novis clausuris argenteis libri novi passionum, valent in toto

xxij lb.[par.]

[fol. 16] *Given to the workmen of the church during this year 48 [...]*

To Victor Vindergoedt, goldsmith, for cleaning and repairing thuribles, chandeliers, wine cups, books, vessels set with precious stones (1) vases, reliquaries, and other jewels of the church containing the holiest treasures, and included in the charter written by his hand, and also for new silver clasps on the new Passionalis, makes in total 23 lb.[par.]

BAB, *St. Donaas, Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, no. G.4, 1448, fol. 16.

Published: Dewitte, 1978, 88. (fragmentarily)

1. *spillarum taxellatum* is a corrupted form of *pillarum tessellatum*. I am grateful to Drs. Kristoffel Demoen, Department of Classical Philology at the University of Ghent, for this indication.

Doc. 35. 1448, 13 September -1449, 11 September -- *Payment to Alexander Fraet for decorative work in the Palace of the Bruges Franc.*

[fol. 138] *Costen ghedaen an slants huusinghen zichtent der latster rekenynghe*

[fol. 141] *Item betaelt Sanders Fraet, den schildere,*

[fol. 141v] *van dat hy ghevarwt heeft zeven ende twintich presentkannen den Lande toebehoorende, van elcker kanne twee grooten een half, ende van schilden ghemaect an de stage ter Vrindachmaerct als men tfaict van wapenen dede*

ij lb. xvij s. vj d. [par.]

[fol. 138] *Expenditure made in the land's house since the last accounts*

[fol. 141] *Item paid Sanders Fraet, the painter,*

[fol. 141v] *for painting 27 donation pitchers owned by the land (1), at 2 1/2 gr. a pitcher, and for making the coats of arms on the stage on the Vrijdagmarkt when the Deed of Arms took place*

3 lb. 17s. 6 d.[par.]

RAB, *Fonds van het Vrije*, no. 181: *Rekeningen van het Vrije*, 1448-1449, fol. 138, 141, 141v.

Published: Schouteet, I, 201.

1. *I.e.*, the Bruges Franc

Doc. 36. 1449, 9 September - 11 November -- *Verdict in a conflict between brother Alfonse de les Baros and Daneel Martins, painter.*

[fol. 114] Upte questie wesende tusschen broeder Alfonse De les Baros, an deen zyde, ende Daneel Martins, an dandre zyde, ter causen van eenre tafle van scilderie ghenomen hadden te makene, daer af van de voors. broeder Alfonse beclacht datse niet ghemaect en was upte mate ende in de voorwaerde daer up ghemaect. So was naer verclaers ghehoort biden ghonon die waren ter voorwaerden. Item vanden weerclieden diese ghevisiteirt hadden, bi scepenen van Brugghe ghehoort ende verclaerst dat de vors. Daneel zijn weerc vulkommen heeft ende dat broeder Alfonse de vors. tafle sculdich es taenvaerdene tusschen nu ende Sint Donaes daghe (1), betalende trechte ghelt vanden eersten voorwaerden zonder meer, hem af slacht zynde dater upbetaelt es in laken ende wulle, ter estimatie van Pieter Jaque, te wiens verclaerst het staet up dat zier af ghescil hadden. Ende eist dat broeder Alfonse in ghebreke ware de tafle taenvaerdene binnen den voors. Sinte Donaes daghe, dat danne daer in Daneel metter tafle zyn proffyt zal moghen doen ende behouden tghelt dat hier up ontfanghen heift over zyn intrest. Actum ix septembre anno xlix, presentibus Laureins, Tolnaere, Boeteman, Brune.

[fol. 119] Up tghescil tusschen broeder Alfonse los Baros una ende Daneel Martins alta, ter causen van eenen tafle biden vors. Daneel ghemaect, daer af zy gheheel ende al bleven waren int zegghen ende ordonnancien van Gillis Laureins ende Janne Boeteman. So zeiden de vors. Gillis ende Jan dat de vors. Daneel de vors. tafle te hemwaert behoude zal ende daer mede doen zyn proffyt. Dies zal hi den voors. broeder Alfonse van dies hi upte vors. tafle ontfanghen heift wederkeeren de somme van iij lb.gr. ende tsurplus bi hem ontfanen, [fol. 119v] zal hi ontfanghen (a) behouden zonder wederkeeringhen daer af te doene. De welke iij lb. gr. de vors. Daneel sculdich wort te betaelne ter Brugghendet (2) naestcommende. Ende in verzerketheden van desen zo zal de vors. tafle bliven in den handen van Pieter Van der Midhaghe daer die nu es tote de vors. somme van iij lb. gr. betaelt zal worden behouden den vors. broeder Alfonse zine actie ende recht up sanse de matategeyen (b) te wiens behouf de vors. tafle ghemaect was alzo verre. Actum xj in Novembre anno xlix, presentibus Ruebs, Toolnaere, Stommelin, Everdeyne, Vos, Bruine, Velde, Stocman, Groote.

[fol. 114] *With respect to the difference existing between brother Alfonse De les Baros, on one side, and Daneel Martins, on the other, about a panel painting that [he had] accepted to make, the said brother Alfonse complained that it was not made on the dimensions and according to the contract that had been concluded. This was [the situation] after having heard the declarations of those who had concluded the contract. Item, the aldermen of Bruges heard the workmen who had visited it [i.e., the painting] and declared that the aforementioned Daneel had accomplished his work and that brother Alfonse had to accept it between now and the day of Saint Donatian (1), and that he simply had to pay the correct amount, as [agreed upon] in the first contract, aside from that which had already been*

paid for with cloth and wool, to be estimated by Pieter Jaque, whose declaration states that they disputed this. And in case brother Alfonse fails to accept the painting before the day of Saint Donatian, Daneel will be allowed to do his profit with the painting and keep the money he will have received for it as his interest. Done 9 September in the year 49, in presence of Laureins, Tolnaere, Boeteman, Brune.

[fol. 119] *With respect to the difference between brother Alfonse los Baros, on one side, and Daneel Martins, on the other, about a panel painting made by the aforementioned Daneel, they respected entirely the declaration and verdict of Gillis Laureins and Janne Boeteman. The said Gillis and Jan ordered that the said Daneel could keep the aforementioned painting to do his profit with it. In this case, he had to return the amount of 3 lb.gr. that he received already to the said brother Alfonse, and the extras he received*

[fol. 119v] *he could keep without returning any of it. The aforementioned Daneel has to pay the said 3 lb.gr. by the end of the next annual market.(2) And to assure this, the aforementioned painting will remain in the hands of Pieter Van der Midhaghe, where it is now, until the said amount of 3 lb. gr. will be paid, unless the aforementioned brother Alfonse ...(b), for whom the aforementioned painting was made. Done 11 November in the year 49, in the presence of Ruebs, Toolnaere, Stommelin, Everdeyne, Vos, Bruine, Velde, Stocman, Grootte.*

a. *ontfanghen* is crossed out.-- b. unknown word

SAB, *Civiele Sentenciën Vierschaar*, register 1: 1447-1453, fol. 114, 119-119v.

[unpublished]

1. The feast of St. Donatian was celebrated in Bruges on 14 October; see Strubbe & Voet, 188, 462.

2. Most probably the last day of the *Brugghemaerct* (i.e., the annual market) is meant here. This market started one week after Easter and lasted for four weeks. From 1452, however, the market started two weeks after Easter (See L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 358-360). Since Easter was celebrated in 1449 on 13 April (see Strubbe & Voet, 126), the day meant in the document is most probably 18 May 1450.

Doc. 37. 1449, 2 September - 1450, 1 September -- *Expenditure made for a hand of the clock on the Old Hall on the market place.*

[fol. 32] *Uutgheve van wercke*

[fol. 38] *Item betaelt Anthuenis Goessins van wercke ghedaen ande oude halle omme eenen wysere te makene voor de vors. halle. Eerst omme eene raeme ende xxv (25) ellen canivets daert patroen up ghemaect was van schilderyen, coste*

vij s. x d.gr.

[fol. 38v] Item es te wetene dat zekere voorwaerde ende besprec ghemaect es tusschen den tresorier andeen zyde, ende Aernoud de Mol over andere, de schilder, vanden wisere voors. te verguldene ende tooghe omtrent ooc vergoult ende tandere van lazure. Ende voort ghehouden zijn den voors. wysere schoone te houdene x jaer lanc gheduerende. Ende mids dien es hem betaelt x lb gr., valent cxx lb [par.]

[fol. 32] *Expenditure for works*

[fol. 38] *Item paid Anthuenis Goessins for work done on the Old Hall, [namely] to make a hand [of a clock] for the said Old Hall. First for a frame and for 25 yards of canvas used to paint the model, costs 7 s. 10 d.gr.*

[fol. 38v] *Item it is to be known that certain conditions were negotiated between the treasurer on the one hand, and Aernoud de Mol, the painter, at the other, concerning the gilding of the aforementioned hand [of the clock], and [to paint] the circle around it gold, and the other one blue. And [he] also has to keep the said hand clean for 10 years. And for all this, he is paid 10 lb.gr., worth 120 lb.par.*

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1449-50, fol. 32, 38-38v.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 323 (inaccurately); Duverger, 1955, 118 (partly).

Doc. 38. 1450 -- *Payment in the accounts of St. Donatian's to Victor de Waghere for binding two books and for painting initials*

[fol. 12v] *Extradatum pro diversis usibus [...]*

[fol. 13] *Item Cornelis Tielman, lapistide, pro reparatione digiti ymaginis beate virgine in navi ecclesie* xl s.[par.]

[fol. 14] *Item, Victori de Waghere pro relegatione duorum librorum et factura magnarum literarum pro magistrum Johannes canonicus* xxiiij s.[par.]

Extradatum pro operariis ecclesie

Primo, Victori Vindegoet, aurifabro, pro opere preciose crucem de perlis et preciosis lapidibus cum esterlingis auri puri, pro auro et forma xxiiij lb.[par.]

[fol. 12v] *Expenditure of diverse nature [...]*

[fol. 13] *Item, Cornelis Tielman, stone sculptor, for repairing the vingers of the statue of the Blessed Virgin in the nave of the church* 40 s.[par.]

[fol. 14] *Item to Victor de Waghere for binding two books and for painting the large initials for master Johannes the canon,* 24 s.[par.]

Given to the workmen of the church

First, Victor Vindegoet, goldsmith, for work on a precious crucifix with pearls and precious stones with silver and pure gold, for gold and manufacturing,

24 lb.[par.]

BAB, *St. Donaas, Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, no. G.4, 1450, fol. 12v, 13, 14.

Published: Dewitte, 1978, 88. (fragmentarily)

Doc. 39. 1450, 2 September - 1451, 1 September -- *Excerpts from the municipal accounts: Arnoud de Mol is paid for several works; payment for silverware.*

[fol. 31] Uutgheven van alrande wercke

[fol. 35v] Item betaelt Aernout den Mol den scildere van te makene v scilden up de voors. halle (1) van stoffe ende werke in tasse vij lb. gr. Item noch den zelven betaelt van overwerke ghedaen ant orloige voor dhoude halle ij lb. gr., comt up ix lb.gr., valent

cvij lb. [par.].

[fol. 48] Uutgheven van ghemeene zaken

[fol. 53] Item jeghens Gheeraerde de Groote ghecocht viere temmeren sabels, de welke ghepresenteirt waren onsen gheduchten heere, daer of de ij tymmeren costen l lb.gr, ende dandere ij tymmren lxxv lb.gr., comt tsamen cxxv lb.gr. valent

xv^c lb.par.

[fol. 31] *Expenditure for diverse works*

[fol. 35v] *Item paid Aernout den Mol, the painter, for making 5 shields on the aforementioned Hall,(1) for material and contracted work, 7 lb.gr. Item the same paid for complementary work done on the clock of the Old Hall, 2 lb.gr., together, 9 lb.gr., worth 108 lb.par.*

[fol. 48] *Expenditure for ordinary business*

[fol. 53] *Item bought from Gheeraerde de Groote four pewter swords, which were presented to our redoubtable lord, 2 of which 2 cost 50 lb.gr, and the two others 75 lb.gr.; together 125 lb.gr., equals 1500 lb.par.*

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1450-51, fol. 31, 35v, 48, 53.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 503, 523 (inaccurately); Duverger, 1955, 118 (partly).

1. In a previous entry, work on the 'New Hall' (Waterhall) is mentioned.

Doc. 40. 1451, 13 October -- *Symon Coene, chaplain of St. Donatian's offers a psalter to the chapter*

Eadem die (1), dominus Symon Coene cappellanius huius ecclesie dedit eidem ecclesie unum pulchrum psalterium ponendum et incathenandum in choro ad latus dextrum ante seniores cappellanos, et hoc concesserunt domini mei, iniungentes etiam magistro fabrice et coadiutori suo ut sibi assignent locum convenientem pro sepultura sua, sub organis vel ibi circiter

[in margine] Donatio psalterij per dominus Symon Coene

The same day (1), sir Symon Coene chaplain of this church gave to the same church a beautiful psalter, to be placed and chained in the choir at the right hand side in front of the senior chaplains, and mylords granted to him; also ordering the master of the office of the works and his assistant, that they would assign a convenient place to him for his sepulcher, under the organ, or near it.

[in margine] *The gift of a psalter by sir Symon Coene*

BAB, *St. Donaas, Acta Capituli*, no. A.51, fol. 284v.

Published: Weale, *Inventaires Saint Donatien*, 24, n.26.

1. See previous document: *xiiij mensis octobris* (13 October); the year *lj* (1451) is mentioned on top of the folio.

Doc. 41. 1451 -- *Payment in the accounts of St. Donatian's for props of the Easter play and for repairing a statue of the Virgin*

[fol. 12v] *Extradatum in diversis usibus [...]*

[fol. 13v] *Item pro arboribus cercis in nocte pasche*

xx s.[par.]

Item cuidam pictori (1) pro reparatione capillorum angelorum in processio pasche

xiiij s.[par.]

[...]

Item, domino Nicholas Lestourgion pro refectorem ymagnis beate Marie ad magnam altare

ij s.[par.]

[fol. 12v] *Expenditure of diverse nature [...]*

[fol. 13v] *Item for the trees used during Easter night*

20 s.[par.]

Item the same painter (1) for repairing the hair of the angels in the Easter procession

s.[par.]

[...]

14

Item, sir Nicholas Lestourgion for restoring the statue of the Blessed Mary at the high altar 2
s.[par.]

BAB, *St. Donaas, Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, no. G.4, 1451, fol. 12v, 13v.

[Unpublished]

1. No specific name is mentioned though.

Doc. 42. 1451, 2 September - 1452, 1 September -- *Arnoud de Mol is paid for several works.*

[fol. 50] *Uutgheven van ghemeene zaken*

*Item betaelt meester Pauwelse van Overtvelt van eenen vueghelaere die de stede jehens
hem cochte xxxij s.gr., valent* xix lb. iiij s.par.

[fol. 54] *Item betaelt Aernoude den Mol den schildere vanden stede bussen ende
vueghelaerts groene te vaerwene xxiiij s.gr., valent* xiiij lb. viij s.par.

[fol. 50] *Expenditure of common things*

Item paid master Pauwelse van Overtvelt for a catapult that the city bought from him 32 s.gr., worth
19 lb. 4 s.par.

[fol. 54] *Item paid Aernoude den Mol, the painter, for having painted the city boxes and catapults
green 24 s.gr., worth* 14 lb. 8 s.par.

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1451-52, fol. 50, 54.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 363-364; Duverger, 1955, 118 (partly).

Doc. 43. 1452, 2 September - 1453, 1 September -- *The duchess Isabella of Portugal urges the
Magistrate to offer tapestries to Adolph of Cleves for his wedding.*

*Item betaald Michiel Lootin, mersenier, van zeker tapisserye tjechens hem ghecocht dewelke
ghesonden waren van de stede weghe ter brulochte van mijn heer Adolf van Cleven ende
myner joncvrauwe van Quimbre, daer de stede, bi onser ghenediger vrouwe, vriendelike toe
ghebeden was, coste xl lb.gr., valent* cccclxxx lb.par.

*Item paid to Michiel Lootin, merchant, for certain tapestries bought from him, which were sent by the
city to the wedding of my lord Adolph of Cleves and my lady of Quimbre, which the city was amiably
asked to [offer] by our redoubtable lady, cost 40 lb.gr., equals* 480 lb.par.

ARAB, *Rekenkamer*, no. 32505 (unfoliated)

Published: Versyp, 1954, 148, doc. XII.

Doc. 44. 1453 -- *Payment in the accounts of St. Donatian's to Arnold de Fine for writing and illuminating a missal and a breviary, and to Johannes vander Leyen for polychromy and gilding*

[fol. 12v] Extradatum in diversis usibus [...]

[fol. 16] Item domino Arnoldo de Fine qui scripsit de novo certos quaternos cum canone in quodam missali in ecclesia sancti johannis, tam pro scriptura, et pergamento et aliis necessariis, ac pictura crucifixi etc. in toto

iiij lb. xij s.[par.]

[...]

Item solutum septem Decemberis anno liiiij^o Johanni vander Leyen, pictori, quia depinxit crucem turris et deauravit pelves earem

ix lb. xij s.par.

[fol. 17v] Item, domino Arnoldo de Fine de scripturis in quodam breviario, jacenti sub doxali, cum novis festis diversis que in eodem libro deficiebant, cum illuminatione scriptorum per eum in ipso libro factum de folio ad folium, que omnia facta sunt de consensu dominorum de capitulo, solutus

xv lb.par.

[fol. 12v] *Expenditure of diverse nature* [...]

[fol. 16] *Item to sir Arnoldo de Fine who wrote anew certain quires with the canons in that missal of St. John's church, for writing, parchment and other necessary things, as well as for painting a Crucifixion etc, together*

3 lb. 12 s.[par.]

[...]

Item paid on the seventh of December in the year 54, Johannes vander Leyen, painter, who painted the crucifix on the tower and gilt its crockets

9 lb. 12 s.par.

[fol. 17v] *To sir Arnoldo de Fine for having written in this breviary, that lies behind the rood-screen, the diverse new feasts that were missing in this book, with the illumination of the writing done by him in this book from folio to folio, all this done with the consent of the lords of the chapter, paid*

15 lb.par.

BAB, *St. Donaas, Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, no. G.5, 1453, fol. 12v, 16, 17.

Published: Dewitte, 1978, 80, 89 (fragmentarily)

Doc. 45. 1453, 25 December - 1454, 25 December -- *Excerpts of the Municipal Accounts of Damme: payments to Bruges artists.*

[fol. 20v] Item betaelt eenen schilder van Brugghe van te stofferene van schilderien Sente Christoffels buuten ande clene Brucxsche Poorte, ix s.gr. valent v lb. viij s.par.

[fol. 35v] Item betaelt Heindric van Cutseghem, steenhauwer te Brugghe, van v tafelmenten verbesicht up de cartelen vander poorte die in den voors. nieuwen muer staen, elc steen x gr., valent 1 s.par.

Item betaelt den zelven Heindric van eenen leeuwe die up de voors. poorte staet ende vandien te stofferene van schilderien metter vane die hi in zyne vuust heift, te gader liv s.par.

[fol. 20v] *Item paid a painter from Bruges, for decorating with painting St. Christopher outside on the small Brugse Poort, 9 s.gr. worth 5 lb. 8 s.par.*

[fol. 35v] *Item paid Heindric van Cutseghem, stone sculptor of Bruges, for 5 cornices used on the parapets of the gate, placed in the said new wall, for each stone 10 gr., worth 50 s.par.*

Item paid the same Heindric, for a lion, placed above the said gate and for decorating it with painting, [and also] for the banner he holds in his paw, together 54 s.par.

ARAB, *Rekeningen van de Stad Damme*, no. 34362, 1453-1454, fol. 20v, 35v.

[unpublished]

Doc. 46. 1454 -- *Colophon of the Missal of Jacquemine van Ossenbrugge*

Anno mcccc ende liiii (1454), ic zustere Jaquemine van Osenbrugge Pieters wedewe, Pieters dochtere van Bassevelde, kerksustere vander Magdalenen was buten Brugghe, binnen minen tiden dat ic de officie bediende zeere noodzakelike juwelen der kerken ghebraken daertoe dat ik mi devotie verweckende die te ghecrighene ende vercreghen hebbe bider hulpen Gods, met nerensticheden ende met aerbeide [...](1) Item, anno voors. uut groter begherten die ic langhe ghehadt hebbe, wanttet een notabel godshuus es ende zere soberlike vorsien was van mesboeken, so hebbic doen maken desen mesboek, in deser vormen also ghi en ziet, ende betaelt. Denwelken boec mi ghecost heeft sere lettelt min dan xj lb.gr., daerof dattet meestedeel quam vander kerken vors. ende een deel van minen propren goede.

In the year 1454, I sister Jacquemine van Osenbrugge, Pieter's widow, Pieter van Bassevelde's daughter, [was] nun of the Church of St.Magdalen outside Bruges. During the time I was in office, very indispensable church implements were lacking, so I devoted myself to acquire them, and received them through God's help with diligence and labor [...](1) Item, in the said year, I had this missal made, in the format as you can see, and paid for it, as I wanted this for a long time, and also because it is a distinguished hospice and it has very few missals. This book has cost me very little, [actually] less than £11 gr, most of which came from the said church, and a part from my own resources.

Bruges, Groot Seminarie, ms. 48/3, fol. 215v.

Published: *Tentoonstelling van Miniaturen en Boekbanden*, [exh.cat] Bruges, 1927, 47.

1. Enumeration of the ecclesiastical implements that were bought.

Doc. 47. 1454 -- *Payment in the accounts of St. Donatian's to the succentor Johannes for decoration for the Easter play, and to a painter for painting the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the refectory.*

[fol. 13v] Extradatum in diversis usibus [...]

[fol. 14] Item solutum Johanni succentori (1) pro signo cicatricis vulneris lateris domini Ihesum Xpisti neccessario in ludo qui luditur in nocte pasche

iiij s.[par.]

[fol. 15] Item pictori (2) depingenti ymaginem beate marie virginis in refectorio sancti donatiani primo pro manus Iudoci Ruede,

xlviij s.par.

Quiquidem pictor debet habere xij lb.par. ut notum est eidem Judoco sic pro eadem pictura
xij lb.[par.]

[fol. 12v] *Expenditure of diverse nature* [...]

[fol. 14] *Item paid to the succentor Johannes (1) for the picture of the scar of the wound in the lord Jesus Christ's flank needed for the play that is played during Easter night*

4 s.[par.]

[fol. 15] *Item to a painter (2) for painting the image of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the refectory of Saint Donatian, first out of the hand of Judocus Rude, 48 s.par.*

To this painter we owe 12 lb. par. as it is noted to the same Judocus for this painting
12 lb.[par.]

BAB, *St. Donaas, Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, no. G.5, 1454, fol. 13v, 14, 15.

Published: Dewitte, 1978, 80 (fragmentarily)

1. *I.e.*, the succentor Johannes Boubert.

2. For no good reason, Dewitte speculates that this painter may be identified with Johannes vander Leyen.

Doc. 48. 1454, 2 September - 1455, 1 September -- *Excerpts from the municipal accounts: Jacob Ynghele is paid for having made a figure representing the Flemish river, and expenses made for the triumphal entry of the Duke into Bruges.*

[fol. 45] Huutgheven van ghemeene zaken

[fol. 50v] Item betaelt meester Jacop Ynghele van te doen maken eene figure vanden Vlaemschen stroome, iiiij s. ij d.gr., valent

1 s.par.

[fol. 51v] Item betaelt by cause vanden bliden incommene ons gheduchten heere die langhe gheweist hadde int hooghe Duuscheland, tghuent dat hier naer volght [...]

Item betaelt Janne vander Leye vander schilderye die ter poorte ghemaect was midts dat zie behanghen was metter wapenen ons gheduchten heere vander stede ende andersyns alzoot behoorde metgaders de scilderye die de ghone die de toortzen droughen voor minen gheduchten heere ende de toortze mede verchiert waren iiiij lb. xiiij s.gr., valent

lvj lb. viij s.par.

[...]

Item betaelt Janne den Leeuwe de selversmid over de pryse die ghegheven waren den ghone die best vierde ende best lichtet ten voors. incommene xxxvj s.gr., valent

xxj lb xij s.par.

[fol. 45] *Expenditure for common things*

[fol. 50v] *Item paid master Jacob Ynghele for having made a figure of the Flemish river, 4 s. 2 d.gr., worth*

50 s.par.

[fol. 51v] *Item paid on the occasion of the triumphal entry of our rebouvable lord who had been to Upper Germany for a long time, al that follows [...]*

Item paid Janne vander Leye for paintings made for the city gate, [namely] the coat of arms of our redoubtable lord which was hung on it (1) by the city and also otherwise as it is appropriate, and also for the paintings for those who carried the torches for my redoubtable lord and with which the torches were decorated 4 lb. 14 s.gr., worth 56 lb. 8 s.par.

[...]

Item paid Janne den Leeuw, the silversmith, for the prize given to those who celebrated the best and made the best fireworks at the aforementioned triumphal entry 36 s.gr., worth

21 lb. 12 s.par.

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1454-55, fol. 45, 50v, 51v.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 510; Duverger, 1955, 118 (partly).

1. *I.e.*, the gate.

Doc. 49. 1455 -- *Payment in the accounts of St. Donatian's to Cornelius Muul for repairing and polychromy of a crucifix and to Thomas le Canu for illumination*

[fol. 12v] Extradatum in diversis usibus [...]

[fol. 13] Item solutum Cornelio Muul, pictori, quia reformavit brachium crucis situate super altare prochie sancti Donatiani et eandem crucem depingendo decoravit

xviii s.par.

Item solutum domino Thome le Canu pro scripturis et notulis cum illuminatione quatuor quaterniorum et duorum foliorum in pergamento scriptorum et notatorum, necnon pro scriptura et notulatione misse de gracionum actione scripte in libro magno mothetorum, ac pro illuminatione certorum foliorum contentorum in libro pro juvenibus applicato ex scitu et de mandato dominorum de capitulo, in toto

vj lb.par.

[...]

[fol. 13v] Item solutum cuidem (1) pictori qui ex salario convento depingendo ostia decorum organorum promeruit et habere debuit xxvj lb. viij s.par.

[fol. 12v] *Expenditure of diverse nature [...]*

[fol. 13] *Item paid to Cornelius Muul, painter, for repairing an arm of the crucifix situated above the altar of the parish of St. Donatian and for decorating this crucifix with painting* 18 s.par.

Item paid to Thomas le Canu for having written and annotated with illumination four quires and having written and annotated two folia in parchment, and also for having written and annotated the 'misse de gracionum actione' in a large motet book, and also for the illumination of certain folia included in the book for the use of the boys, in knowledge and by approval of the lords of the chapter, in total 6 lb.par.

[...]

[fol. 13v] *Item paid from the founs of the congregation the same painter (1) for painting the organ doors with decoration, who gained and to whom was due*

26 lb. 8 s.par.

BAB, *St. Donaas, Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, no. G.5, 1455, fol. 13-13v.

Published: Dewitte, 1978, 89. (fragmentarily)

1. After *cuidem*, some space is left open. Dewitte speculated that again Cornelis Muul was meant here, which is possible, but uncertain.

Doc. 50. 1455, 3 October - 1456, 10 March -- *Verdict by the Law of Bruges settling the deadlines for delivery of several works by Aernoud van Oppenbrouc and Jan de Momt, painters, to the church warders of Westkapelle.*

[fol. 104v] Aernoud van Oppenbrouc ende Jan de Momt, schilders, belofden den kerkmeesters van Westcapelle te vuldoene ende vul te makene eene tafle van eenen outare

die zij van hemlieden ghenomen hebben te makene omme die al vulmaect te leverne te Kersmesse naestcomende of daer vooren; ende zekere andere parcheelen van inghelen ende andere werke daer af tusschen hemlieden voorwaerde ende ter Lichtmesse (1) naestcommende up daer af te stane ter correxie vander wet van Brugghe. Actum tercia octobris anno lv, presentibus Vagheviere, Ruebs, Hont, Deckere, Velde, Janszone, Wulf, Lamzuene.

[fol. 118] Upten x ten dach van maerte anno lv (2) so belofde Jan de Momt, de scildere, dat hi alzine werc, te wetene een authaertafle ende vier inghelen ende dat daer toe behoort, als hi an ghenomen heift, te wetene vanden kercmeesters van Westcapelle, vuldoen ende leveren zal den vors. kercmeesters, te wetene de vier inghelen tusschen dit ende Synxene,(3) ende al tander weer tusschen dit ende Sint Jans messe,(4) beede naestcommende, upte peine van xx pond par. Ende daer eenich ghebrec in hem ware, dat ghebrec belofde Willem Stapel over hen te vulcommene ende te vuldoene. Actum ut supra, presentibus Vander Wulf.

[fol. 104v] *Aernoud van Oppenbrouc and Jan de Momt, painters, promise the church warders of Westkapelle to complete and finish an altarpiece, which they had commissioned from them, [and] to deliver it completed by Christmas or before; and to deliver certain other pieces of angels and other works, on which they agreed, on next Lightmass (1), as sentenced by the law of Bruges. Drawn up on 3 October 1455, in presence of Vagheviere, Ruebs, Hont, Deckere, Velde, Janszone, Wulf, Lamzuene. [fol. 118] On the 10th day of 1455 (2), Jan de Momt, painter, promised that he would finish all his work, to be known an altarpiece and four angels with everything included, commissioned from him, to be known by the church warders of Westkapelle, and deliver it to the aforementioned church warders, to be known, the four angels between now and next Pentecost,(3) and all the rest, again between now and next St. John's mass (4), on the fine of 20 pound par. And Willem Stapel promised, that in case he [i.e., the painter] failed in any way, he [i.e., Willem Stapel] would pay and clear off the debt for him. Done as above, in the presence of Vander Wulf.*

SAB, *Civiele Sentenciën*, no. 157, register 2: 1453-61, fol. 104v, 118.

Published: L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Mémoriaux de Bruges*, Bruges, 1913, 24 (only fol. 104v) (further as Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Mémoriaux*).

1. *I.e.*, 2 February 1456.
2. 10 March 1456 (n.s.).
3. Pentecost was celebrated on 17 May in 1456.
4. St.John's mass is 24 June; see Strubbe & Voet, 487.

Doc. 51. 1455, 2 September -1456, 1 September -- *Excerpt from the municipal accounts: Payment to Janne vander Leye for heraldic decoration*

[fol. 48] Huutgheven van ghemeene zaken

[fol. 55v] Item betaelt Janne vander Leye, scildere, van viij scildekins te makene vander stede wapene die de hondslaghers (1) droughen ij s. vj d.gr., valent
xxx s.(par.)

[fol. 48] *Expenditure for common things*
[fol. 55v] *Item paid Janne vander Leye, painter, for having made 8 shields with the city's coat of arms, that were carried by the dog beaters (1) 2 s. 6 d.gr, worth*
30 s.par.

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1455-56, fol. 48, 55v.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 484; Duverger, 1955, 119.

1. *Hondslaghers* were people paid by the city to kill stray dogs. (see Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 484.)

Doc. 52. 1456, 2 September - 1457, 1 September -- *Expenditure made for the triumphal entry of the duke and the dauphin into the city of Bruges.*

[fol. 48] Huutgheven van ghemeene zaken
[fol. 50v] Item betaelt Huart du Vivier, julyer, van drie zelverin vergulden stoopen weghende xxxvij marc iiij oncen ende xv inghelschen te xxxvj s.gr. tmarc, de welke ghepresenteirt waren minen voors. heere den dauphin, comt
lxix lb. ix s. vj d.gr. [...]

Item betaelt van costen ghedaen bi causen van den beere ende steicspele te Meye tguent dat hier naer volch: [...]

Item betaelt van der houchierynghe in Ghiselhuus xv s.gr.
[...]

Item betaelt Claise van Delft van eenen hoorne ghestoffeirt met drien oncen ende j half zelvvers vergoud ende met zyde
xxx s. ix d.gr.

[fol. 51v] Betaelt den ix leden van den ambochten van deser stede thulpe van den spelen ende bethooghijnghe die zij deden van diverschen historien in stomme personnagen ter jeghenwoordichede van minen heere den dauphin, ende onzen gheduchten heere, ende elders achter de processie van den helegghen bloede, elken
ij lb.gr.

Item betaelt den deken van den scilders ende zijnen gheselscepe van ghelijke remonstrancie ende van vj spelen te thooghene up ten dach van den helighen bloede uter name van der stede
xx lb.gr.

[fol. 52] Item betaelt den deken van den scilders ende zijnen gheselscepe van den hovekine ende andere speilkens te ordoneirne te gane metter processie up ten helighen bloet dach voor.
vij lb. vj s. viij d.gr.

[fol. 54] Item betaelt van diverschen spelen ende bethooghynghen van diverschen historien in stomme personagen die ghetoocht waren ten blijden incommene van minen heere den daulphin ende onzen gheduchten heere hier binnen zijne stede xxiiij lb. vij s. x d.gr., valent

ij^c iiijxxx lb. vj s.par.

[in margine] Par confession de Arnould de Mol qui fist ses besoignes declarer ou ... (a) pour lui et ses compagnons.

[fol. 56v] Item betaelt Janne Tsolle van twee nieuwe tafelen ende vanden oude tafelen te doen verwassene xij s.gr. valent vij lb. iiij s.[par.]

[fol. 48] *Expenditure for common things*

[fol. 50v] *Item paid to Huart du Vivier, jeweler, for three gilt silver pitchers, weighing 38 marc 4 ounces and 15 english at 36 s.gr. a marc, which were presented to the said mylord the dauphin, adds up to*

69 lb. 9 s. 6 d.gr.

[...]

Item paid for expenditure made at the Tournament of the Bear in May, all that follows: [...]

Item paid for the decoration of the Ghiselhuus 15 s.gr.

[...]

Item paid to Claise van Delft for a horn decorated with 3 1/2 ounces of gilt silver and with silk 30 s. 9 d.gr.

[fol. 51v] *Paid the 9 members of the corporations of this city in assistance for the plays and shows of diverse histories with mute personages that they organized in the presence of my redoubtable lord, and also on the occasion of the procession of the Holy Blood, for each 2 lb.gr.*

Item paid to the dean of the painters and his company for similar plays and for showing 6 plays on the day of the Holy Blood in the name of the city 20 lb.gr.

[fol. 52] *Item paid to the dean of the painters and his company for organizing the garden and other plays in the procession of the aforementioned day of the Holy Blood*

8 lb. 6 s. 8 d.gr.

[fol. 54] *Item paid for diverse plays and shows of diverse histories with mute figures, that were shown at the triumphal entry of mylord the dauphin and our redoubtable lord here in his city 24 lb. 7 s. 10 d.gr., worth 290 lb. 6 s.par.*

[in margine] *By the confession of Arnould de Mol who declared his expenses or ... (a) for himself and his companions.*

[fol. 56v] *Item paid Jan Tsolle for two new tables (1) and for having waxed the old tables, 12 s. gr., worth*

7 lb. 4 s.par.

a. illegible word.

SAB, *Stadsrekening*, no. 216, 1456-57, fol. 48, 50v, 51v, 54, 56v.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 381-383 (partly); Duverger, 1955, 119 (partly).

1. Could mean *tables* or *panel* (painting).

Doc. 53. 1457, 24 March -- *Excerpt from the Acts of the chapter of St. Donatian's in which gifts from canon Clapdorp are mentioned.*

Die mercurii, xxiiiij dicti mensis martii (1) domini mei responderunt magistro Henrico de Clapdorp, supra supplicatione per eum pridem exhibita et porrecta, videlicet quod contenti erant quod illo vase seu illa coppa, per eum nuper collata huic ecclesie, utatur ad communicandum in profesto Pasche, et quod illud vas ponatur in die Epyphanie Domini supra magna altari dicte ecclesie; atque quod dictus Clapdorp recipiat iuxta petita per eum ab obedientiariis, si voluerit, pro duobus annis quibus ut dixit non fuit celebratum servitium per eum ordinatum et fundatum, octo libris parisii vel circiter, salvo justo calculo; item etiam, quod recipiat si velit ab eisdem obedientiariis exposita per ipsum vitra illa que debebat exponere pro 'Inviolata' prout constabat per registrum tabularii; et quia idem magister Henricus ordinaverat unam missam celebrari de Sancto Spiritu in choro dicte ecclesie quamdiu viveret in humanis, fuit contentus quod loco illius fieret obitus sive unum anniversarium cum vigiliis et commendacionibus ac missa de Requiem singulis annis perpetuis temporibus pro suis parentibus, benefactoribus et illis in sue sepulture loco sepultis, ideo domini mei, dicto magistro Henrico expresse consentientes, ordinaverunt dictum anniversarium celebrari de cetero et fieri in crastino Beati Georgii aut alias dum commodius in proxima die fieri valeat, et quod in dicto anniversario seu obitu ponantur quatuor cerei seu quatuor candelae more solito ad locum dicte sepulture, quilibet cereus ponderis duarum librarum; insuper et supra oblacione per dictum magistrum Henricum in capitula facta, quod vellet pro antedictu vase seu coppa deliberare dicte ecclesie unam ymaginem Sancti Livini vel alterius Sancti iuxta suam devotionem tanti ponderis, valoris et magnitudinis, argenteam deauratam, sicut ymago Sancti Donatiani quam contulit ecclesie nuper dominus Symon Coene, domini mei consenserunt quod quando daret eis talem ymaginem tunc ipsi facerent sibi restitutionem dicte coppe seu vasis predicti; erant etiam domini mei contenti quod ipse Clapdorp faceret apponi super ymagine per eum danda arma sua, et casu quo vellet imponere reliquias ipsi darent sibi illas ex reliquiis ecclesie

On Wednesday, 24th of the said month of March (1), mylords responded master Henricus de Clapdorp, to the supplication that was presented and offered by him long ago, to be known [first] that they agreed to use the cup or recipient, recently given by him to the church, for the communion at the feast before Easter, and that this recipient would be placed on the day of Epiphany on the high altar of the said church; and [secondly] that the said Clapdorp would receive, besides what he had asked for, from the ecclesiastical clerks, if he wanted, as compensation for the two years during which, as he claimed, the service instituted and founded by him was not celebrated, about eight lb.par., to be correctly recalculated; and also [thirdly they agreed], that he would recuperate from the same ecclesiastic clerks, if he liked, that glass-work (2) that he had shown, and which needed to be exhibited in front of the 'Inviolata' (3) as it had been stipulated in the register of the secretary; and because the

same master Henricus had ordered that a mass of the Holy Spirit would be celebrated in the choir of the said church as long as he lived among the people, one agreed that in instead of this as compensation either an anniversary with vigils and commendations, or a single annual perpetual Requiem mass for his parents, benefactors and those who are burried in his sepulcher would be celebrated; therefore mylords expressed their agreement with the said master Henricus, and ordered the said anniversary to be celebrated from now on, and done on the morning of the Blessed George or else when it is convenient in that period, and that on the said anniversary or memorial four wax candles are to be placed on the place of the said sepulcher, which candles have to weigh two pounds; moreover and concerning the proposition made to the chapter by the said master Henricus, that instead of donating the aforesaid recipient or cup, he would be happy to give the said church a statue of Saint Livinus or any other saint of his devotion of the same weight, value and scale, in gilt silver, similar to the statue of Saint Donatian which sir Simon Coene recently presented to the church, mylords have agreed that when he gives them such a statue, then they will have the said cup or aforementioned recipient restituted to him; mylords agreed however, that the same Clapdorp could have his coat of arms applied on the statue he would give, and in case he wants to put relics in it, they would give him these from the church's relics.

BAB, *St. Donaas, Acta Capituli*, no. A.52, fol. 21.

Published: Weale, *Inventaires Saint Donatien*, 22, n.24.

1. The year *lvj* (1456, o.s.) is mentioned at the top of the folio.
2. *vitra* may be anything made of glass (stained glass windows, vases, glasses, etc.)
3. *Inviolata* is litterally the Immaculate, and may refer to a statue of the Immaculate Virgin, or to a chapel dedicated to the Immaculate Virgin.

Doc. 54. 1457, 27 June -- *Verdict in the conflict between the corporation of the Image makers and Morisses de Hac and other librarians.*

[fol. 175] Upte questie ende calaigne wesende voor tghemeene college van scepenen van Brugghe, tusschen den deken ende ghezworne vanden beeldemakers ende zadelaers binnen der voors. stede van Brugghe, an deen zyde, ende Morissis de Hac ende andere hemlieden gheneerende met librarien, als boucscriver, verlichters ende die beildekins in brouken (a.) of in rollen maken, an dander zyde, ter causen van dat de vors. deken ende ghezworne ghecalingiert hadden den voors. Morisse ende eenighe andere, omme dat zy tooch ghehouden hadden van beildekens omme in boucken te stellene, daer in zy zeiden hemlieden verbuert hebbende, v s.par. van elken beildekine, ende voort omme dat zy zulke beildekins onder hemlieden bevonden hadden ongheteekent metten teekene vanden ghone diese ghemaect hadden, daer in zy zeiden hemlieden sghelyx verbuert hebbende v s.par. van elken beildekins, achtvorghende zekeren vonnesse dat zy daer af hadden vander date vanden eersten daghe van April int iaer ons Heeren m cccc xxvj, twelke zy aldaer toochden.

Daer ieghen de voors. Morisses ende andere librariers zeiden, dat zy van den vors. [fol. 175v] vonnesse noyt ghehoort en hadden, ende en was noyt onderhouden emmer binnen huerlieder ghedinkenesse. Eende naer dat zy begheert hadden daer af copie thebbene, ende dat ghevisiteirt hadden, zo debateirden zy tzelve vonnesse in drie pointen. Eerst, int point verclaersende dat zo wie, hi zy poorter of vreimde, die beilden omme in bouken of rollen te stellene maken can, die maken mach gheldende eene waerf den vors. deken ende ghezworne xl s.par., zegghende dat tzelve point met allen onredelic es, ende daer omme niet onderhouden, ende ooc contrarie der eerlichede van der vors. stede, want niemant binnen der zelve stede eenighe vrihede hebben en mach hi en zy al vooren poortre, ende metten voors. pointe zo zouden vreimde vryhede hebben, ende de vors. deken ende ghezworne ter causen van diere vryheit, proffit ende voordeel hebben upte vreimde, twelke gheen andere ambocht in de vors. stede niet en heift.

Item, in een andere point verclaersende dat niemant zulke beildekins maken en mach hi en maecse zelve metter hand, zegghende de vors. librariers, dat het ooc onredelic es, want daer mede zoude men verbieden de vors. beildekins te leerene maken ende zoude daer mede de neeringhe van zulken beildekins te makene cortelike te nienten gaen in quetse ende beieghenthede vander coopmanscepe, want alle neeringhe die men doet, moet men leeren, ende ooc daer toe hulpe nemen alst nood es, omme den coopman te gherievene.

Ende in een darde point verclaersende, dat niemant tooch van zulken beildekins maken en mach, noch die bevoorwaarden te makene metten coopman etc., zegghende de vors. librariers tzelve point sgelyx onredelic zynde, want elc met dat hi doen can ende vercoopen mach zyn proffit wel sculdich es te doene, ende daer af tooch houden ende voorwaerde maken, ende dat en gaet den vors. ambochte niet an, want niemant in tzelve ambocht en es die hem gheneert of useirt beildekins omme in bouken te stellene te makene, ende es de vors. neeringhe van librariers poorters neeringhe die elc doen mach binnen der vors. stede van Brugghe paisivelike als poorter ende upte poorterlike rechten. Begheerende midts al desen vander vors. calaigne te blivene onghemoeyt.

Daerup weder de vors. deken ende ghezworne van den beeldemakers ende zadelaers repliquierden, zegghende, dat de vors. librariers tvors. vonnesse niet ignoreren en mochten, want zo wanner eenich librarier ontfanghen wort van hemlieden zo moet hy zyn teeken overbringhen daer mede hi zine beilden teekent, ende hi gheeft xl s.par., ende danne verclaerst men hem de pointen van der vors. cuere ende vonnesse ende hadden tzelve vonnesse dickent gheexecuteirt upte ghone diere ieghen deden, ende de boeten daer af ontfanghen. Zeiden voort ten pointe daer de voors. librariers zeiden dat onredenlic es, dat zy kennesse hebben zoude up vreimde ende van hemlieden ontfanghen xl s. par. contrarie der heerlichede van der stede etc., dat het niet onredelic en es, want ment van ouden tiden zo ghecostumeirt heift, ende hadt onredelic gheweist, de goede lieden van der wet en zouden niet gheconsenteirt hebben, maer was ende es oorboor ende proffit omme den coopman te beoorghene van scaden, die dicwils bedroghen was ende noch wesen mochte biden vors. librariers, die alnoch beildekins buten ghemaect in menichten coopen ongheteekent ende weder vercoopen, daer mede (b.) benemende den scamelen poorters binnen beildekins makende hare neeringhe, die daeromme arem ende bistier worden, ende dat omme daer in gheremedieert te zine bider vors. wet ende haren vonnesse gheordonneirt es, dat de

boucscribers of librariers gheene beildekins vercoopen en zouden dan binnen ghemaect, twelke men biden teekene weten zal moghen, ende dat in bouken of in rollen ghebonden of ongebonden, ende anders niet, ende zonder tooch daer af te houdene. Begheerende tvors. vonnesse onderhouden te zine, ende de boeten thebbene van den ghone die zy ghecalengiart hadden, ende presenterende haren faitten ende redenen wel ende souffissantelic te prouvene.

Den vors. Morissin ende andere librariers, daer ieghen [fol. 176] dupliquerende, weder antwoorden als boven, dat gheenen van hemlieden en ghedochte dat hemlieden tvors. vonnesse te kennene ghegheven was, of yet betoocht was dat zy ieghen tvors. (c.) ambocht mesdoen mochten int maken of vercoopen vanden vors. beilden of tooch daer af te houdene, ende de vors. deken ende vynders en zullen niet connen doen staen datter oyt yement af ghecalaingiert heift gheweist of boete daer af ghegheven. Zeiden voort, dat onredelic ware dat de vreimde mids ghevende xl s.par. binnen beildekins maken zouden moghen ende also vryhede hebben ghelike poorters, want librariers ende boucscribers ende datter an cleift poorters neeringhe es, ende zyn alle sculdich poorters te zine. Zeiden noch, dat men niet bevinden en zoude metter waerhede, dat de coopman bi hemlieden oyt bedroghen was, ende dat ooc niement van den vors. ambochte en es die wel jugieren zoude moghen van den vors. beildekins van verlichtene of zy binnen of buten ghemaect zyn, noch watter an verdient es, mids welken de vors. vanden ambochte gheene kennesse up hemlieden sculdich en zyn te hebbene. Zeiden ooc, dat men niet bevinden en zal dat zy buten groote menichte van beildekins coopen ende inbringhen, maer de contrarie dat zy daghelyx groote menichte ute voeren te Brugghe ghemaect ende vercoopen in anderen steden als te Ghent, tYpre, tAntworpen ende elre, presenterende hier af te prouvene dat hemlieden van nooden word, ende slutende ende begheerende als boven.

So was an den vors. ghemeene college van scepenen van Brugghe, ghehoort al tgoend dat de vors. partien tooghen ende zegghen wilden, ghehoort ooc relacie van den deputeirden van der wet van Brugghe, die ghehoort ende gheexamineirt hadden alle de persoonen die de zelve partien wilde beleeden ende ghehoort hebben, ende up al ripelike ghelet, ghezeit, ghewyst ende gheordonneirt inder manieren naervolghende:

Ende eerst, dat de vors. Morissin ende andere librariers biden vors. deken ende ghezworne ghecalaigniert, sculdich zyn van der vors. calaigne ontsleghen te zine ende dies te blivene onghemoeyt.

Item, dat van nu voortan, de ghone die beildekins van verlichterien omme in bouken of rollen te stellen maken zal willen binnen der vors. stede van Brugghe ende hem daermede gheneeren, die zal moeten poorter zyn ende gheven eene waerf over al den vors. deken ende ghezwoorne xl s.par. ende hemlieden overbringhen zyn teeken daer mede hi zine beilden zal willen teekenen.

Item, dat de persoonen beildekins connen maken, dienende in bouken of in rollen, poorters zynde, van den vors. hare gheteekende beildekins tooch ende wynkel zullen moghen houden, ende ooc cnapen ende leerkinderen te weerke stellen, ende den librariers vercoopen ende te hand laten omme haerlieder profyt daer mede te doene, den coopman daer mede te gherievene ende haerlieder bouken te stofferene, alsoot hemlieden ghelieven zal, dies ne zullen de vors. persoonen beildekins van verlichterien makende, noch ooc de vors. librariers

tooch moghen maken binnen der voors. stede van Brugghe van eenighe vreimde beildekins buten der stede ghemaect, of die binnen vercoopen, ten zy in ghebondene bouken van buten inghebrocht, of anders yet doen dan vors. es, upte boete van x s.par. te verbuerene ieghens den vors. deken ende ghezwoorne van den beeldemakers, zadelaers, tallen tiden als zy daer mede bi hemlieden daer af bevonden zullen worden.

Actum upten xxvijen in Wedemaent anno lvij. Present Hoonis, Stickele, Themseke, Witte, Eye, Thielrode, Joncman.(1)

[fol. 175] *A dispute and accusations submitted before the aldermen of Bruges, between the dean and administrators of the image makers and saddlers in the aforementioned city of Bruges, on one side, and Morissis de Hac and other persons involved with the librarians, such as book scribes, illuminators, and makers of images in books or roles, on the other side, because the said dean and administrators had accused the said Morisse and some others for having had a counter with images to include in books, for which, so they said, they fined them 5 s.par. for each image, and moreover, because they had found amongst them such images that bear no mark of those who made them, for which they also fined them 5 s.par. for each image, according to a certain verdict that they obtained regarding these points, dating of 1 April 1426, which they showed there.*

Against this, Morissis and the other librarians said that they had never heard of the aforementioned verdict,

[fol. 175v] *and that it had never been enforced by their knowing, and after they asked to receive a copy of this verdict and after they examined it, they disputed it on 3 points:*

First, against the article, that declares whoever, be he burgher or alien, who can make images to include in books or roles, is allowed to do so, provided he pays once 40 s.par. to the said dean and administrators, they objected that this same point is totally unreasonable and therefore not complied with, and that it is also against the honor of the aforementioned city, because no one can have such privileges before becoming a burgher, and with this aforementioned article aliens would have privileges, and the said dean and administrators would profit from aliens, which no other corporation in the city can do.

Item, against the second point, that declares that no one is allowed to make such images unless he does it himself, the aforementioned librarians objected that this article is also totally unreasonable, because with such an article one would prohibit to learn how to make the said images, and in this way, the trade of making these images would be reduced to nothing by damage and prejudices of the commerce, because every trade that is done, has to be learnt, and also, when it is necessary, one should be able to employ assistants, in order to satisfy the customer.

And against the third article, that declares that no one may have a counter with such images nor conclude any contracts with customers, etc., the aforementioned librarians objected that this said article is also unreasonable, because everyone should be allowed to profit from what he can make and sell, and be able to have a counter and to conclude contracts, and that this is none of the said corporation's business, because not one of the members of the aforementioned corporation makes or has the habit of making images to include in books, and that the said trade of librarian is a trade of burghers, that everyone may practise in the said city of Bruges, as burgher, based on the civil privileges. For all this, they wanted to be discharged from all the aforementioned accusations.

Against this, the dean and administrators of the painters replied, saying that the aforementioned librarians could not ignore the aforementioned verdict, because whenever a librarian is accepted by them, he has to deposit the mark with which he marks his images, and has to give 40 s.par., and that he is read the articles of their charter and the said verdict; and that they had enforced it often before on those who infringed it, and that they had received fines doing so. And against the allegations of the aforementioned librarians that it was unreasonable that they had the jurisdiction over aliens, to receive 40 s.par. against the honor of the city, they responded that it was not unreasonable because this had been a custom for a long time, and that the good people of the law would not have approved this, but that it has been and still is useful and profitable to protect the customer from losses, [customers] who have often been duped and still could be defrauded by the aforementioned librarians, who still buy in large quantities images that are unmarked and made outside the city, and resell those, in which way they deprive the poor burghers, makers of these images in the city, of their trade, and who become impoverished and unhappy. And to fight this, it has been ordered by the aforementioned law and by their verdict that the book scribes or librarians may only sell images made in the city, that can be recognized by the mark, and those only in books or roles, bound or unbound, and not otherwise, and this without having a counter. [The prosecutors] conclude and demand that the verdict is enforced and that they receive the fines of those who had infringed it, and they offer to provide good and sufficient proof of the facts and their arguments.

The aforementioned Morissin and other librarians replied [fol. 176] against these arguments, the same as before, that not one of them recalls to have been acquainted with the said verdict, or that it has never been pointed out to them that they infringed upon the privileges of the said corporation of the painters, by making, or selling, or exhibiting the aforementioned images; and that the dean and administrators of the said corporation wont be able to prove that anyone has ever been accused or paid any fine for this. Moreover, they say that it would be unreasonable if aliens, by paying 40 s.par. were free to make images in the city, and as such were to have the same privileges as burghers, because the trade of librarian and book scribes, and all related trades, are civil trades, and everyone who practise them has to be a burgher. Moreover, they said that one would not be able to demonstrate seriously that any customer has ever been defrauded by them, and that no member of the said corporation of the painters would be able to distinguish images or illuminations that were made in or outside the city, and for this reason the aforementioned painters had no jurisdiction over them. They also said that they wont be able to proof that they had bought or imported from outside large quantities of images, but to the contrary, that they exported on a daily basis, large quantities made in Bruges and sold these in other cities such as Ghent, Ypres, Antwerp and elsewhere; [they] offered to proof the truth of this statement if it were necessary, and they concluded by repeating the same demand as above.

Against this, the aforementioned aldermen of Bruges, having heard everything the aforementioned parties wanted to prove and say, and having also heard the deputies of the law of Bruges, who had heard everyone and examined all persons whom the aforementioned parties wanted to have examined, and having debated thoroughly over all this, they pronounced their verdict, decision and ordered the following:

First, that the aforementioned Morissin and the other librarians accused by the aforementioned dean and administrators, had to be discharged of the aforementioned accusation and remained free.

Item, that from now on, those who wanted to make images of illumination to include in books or roles, in the city of Bruges, and those affiliated with this trade, had to become burghers and had to pay a one time fee of 40 s.par. to the said dean and administrators of the corporation of the painters, and deposit with them the mark with which they wanted to mark their images.

Item, that the persons who can make images to include in books or roles, and who are burghers, are allowed to exhibit and have a counter to sell the said images, bearing their mark, and also are allowed to employ assistants and apprentices, and sell or hand over to librarians for their profit, to satisfy the customers and enrich their books with, as they want, but that no one who makes images of illumination, nor the aforementioned librarians are allowed to exhibit in the city of Bruges, any image made outside the city, nor are they allowed to sell those, except in imported bound books, or do anything else as stated above, on the fine of 10 s.par. to be paid to the aforementioned dean and administrators of the painters and saddlers, each time they are caught.

Done the 27th day of the year 1457. Present Hoonis, Stickele, Themseke, Witte, Eye, Thielrode, Joncman.(1)

a. sic.-- b. word crossed out.-- c. *vonnesse* crossed out.

SAB, *Civiele Sententiën*, no. 157, register 2: 1453-1461, fol. 175-176; with copies in SAB, *Librariërs en Schoolmeesters*, no. 384, charter, and in SAB, *Stadscartularium*, no. 11: *Groenenboek A*, fol. 335v ff.

Published: Weale, *Enlumineurs*, 245-251; L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, "L'oeuvre de Jean Brito, prototypographe brugeois," *Annales de la Société d'émulation de Bruges*, XLVII (1897), 490-494.

1. The words *Present* [...] *Joncman* are missing in the other versions. The librarians' own copy of this charter is signed by a certain Donatianus.

Doc. 55. 1457, 28 June -- *A lawsuit concerning an altarpiece, between Wouter Forster, plaintiff, and the Scottish Nation, defendant, is adjourned.*

De zake van Wouter Forster, Scotte, was uteghestelt toter compste van Jan van Rompele, aengaende de twee pond ende scellinghen die Wouter eesschende was de nacie van den Scotte, ter cause van eenre tafle staende inde capelle vander nacie van den Scotte, etc. Actum xxviii in wedemaent anno lvij., present Hoonin, Burgin, Stickele, Joncman ende Stocman

The case of Wouter Forster, Scot, has been adjourned until the arrival of Jan van Rompele, concerning the two pound and shilling that Wouter claimed from the Scottish Nation, for a panel installed in the chapel of the Scottish Nation, etc. Done, 28 June 1457, present Hoonin, Burgin, Stickele, Joncman and Stocman.

SAB, *Civiele Sententiën*, no. 157, register 2: 1453-1461, fol. 175.

Published: J. Marechal, "De devotie te Brugge tot Sint-Niniaan, Bisschop van Whithorn in Schotland, 1366-1548" *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis, gesticht onder de benaming Soci t  d'Emulation te Brugge*, IC (1962), 190, n. 14; *Id.*, *Europese aanwezigheid te Brugge. De vreemde kolonies (XIVde-XIXde eeuw)*, Bruges, 1985, 53, n.14.

Doc. 56. 1457, 2 September - 1458, 2 September -- *Aernoude den Mol, painter, is paid for cleaning and decorating the statue of Our Lady that stands before the Giselhuis.*

[fol. 33] Huutgheven van wercke

[fol. 40] Item betaelt Aernoude den Mol, scildere, vander beilde van Onzer Vrouwen die voor tghiselhuus staet die scoone te makene ende te verziene ij s par

[fol. 33] *Expenditure for works*

[fol. 40] *Item paid to Aernoude den Mol, painter, for cleaning and decorating the statue of Our Lady that stands before the Giselhuis 2s par*

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1457-58, fol. 33, 40.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 525, n. 13 (inaccurately); Janssens de Bisthoven, 1944, 75, doc. XL.

Doc. 57. 1458, 2 September - 1459, 2 September -- *Excerpts from the Municipal Accounts: payment to Maertin Breicstilt for silverware.*

[fol. 38v] Item betaelt Maertin Breicstilt voor viere zelverin scalen weghende iij maerc iiij oncen ende een inghelsche, de welke scalen ghegheven waren als prysen scoonts te vierne, scoonts te lichtene ende best esbatementen up de zelve tyt, costen metten faetsoene lvij lb. xij s.par.

[fol. 38v] *Item paid to Maertin Breicstilt for four silver plates, weighing 3 marc 4 ounces and 1 english, which were presented as prizes for those who celebrated best, made the nicest fire and performed the best play at the same occasion, cost the work included 57 lb 12 s.par.*

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1458-59, fol. 38v.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 521.

Doc. 58. 1458, 14 September - 1459, 13 September -- *Ianne van der Leye, the painter, is paid for having made several coats of arms for the Franc.*

Betaelt Ianne van der Leye, den scildere, van dat hi ghemaect heeft xxxviii scilden van wapenen staende in de camere van den Vrijen, van xxxv scildekins van wapenen staende up te eetcamere van den Vrijen in slandshuus, ende van xxxv ghelike scildekins staende int camerkin van den ontfanghere, daer zij van ouden tiden hebben gheploghen te stane, ende vele te niente gheghaen waren, over al xxij lb. xij s.par.

Paid to Ianne van der Leye, the painter, for having made 38 coats of arms in the room of the Franc, for 35 small coats of arms in the dining room of the land's house, and for 35 similar coats of arms in the small room of the receiver, where they had been for a long time, and many of which were ruined, for everything 22 lb. 12 s.par.

RAB, *Fonds van het Vrije*, no. 191, *Rekeningen van het Vrije*, 1458-59, fol. 79v.

Published: Weale, *Franc*, 77, n. 21.

Doc. 59. 1459, 2 September - 1460, 2 September -- *Excerpts from the Municipal Accounts: payment to Arnoud de Mol for decorative work; payments to Janne vanden Thoolne and Marcelis van Millom for silverware.*

[fol. 37] Huutgheven van ghemeene zaken

[fol. 39v] Item Aernoude de Mol van xlij hemmers de verscildene metter stede wapenen die den cloosters vanden viere ordene ghesonden waren, xiiij s.gr., valent

vij lb. xvj s.par.

[fol. 60v] Noch huutghegheven byden voors. gecommiteerden andere diverschen zaken der stede aengaende

[fol. 61] Item betaelt Janne vanden Thoolne de goudsmed van twee zilverin bekenen die ghegheven waren ende ghepresenteirt mynen heere den hofmeester Pieter Bladelin ter wiedynghe van zynre nieuwe keercke te Middelbuerch daer de stede ghebeden was, weghende de voors. bekenen vij maerc j once viij 1/2 ynghelsche te xxvj s. viij d. gr. tmaerc ende ij lb.gr. vanden faitsoene, comt al xj lb. xiiij s. j d.gr, valent cxv lb. xvij s.par.

Item betaelt van eenen fonteyne pot met vj croesen daer inne die ghepresenteirt was heer Matheuse van Bracle als proost van onzer vrouwen te zynre incomste ende entree in de voors. proostie, coste met faitsoene, viij lb. vj s. viij d.gr., valent c lb.par.

[fol. 61v] Item betaelt Marcelis van Millom van vj zilverin croesen weghende twee maerc v oncen x ynghelsche te xxvj s. viij d.gr. tmaerc, ghepresenteirt waren ter brulocht van Jans

Tsollen dochter, daer de stede ghebeden was, comt ij lb. xij s. viij d.gr. ende van faitson vij s.gr. die comt up al iij lb. xvij s. viij d.gr., valent

xlviij lb. iiij s.par.

Item betaelt Janne van den Thoolne, goudsmed, van eenen zilverin cop weghende iiij maerc vij oncen v ynghelsche te iiij s.gr. donce die ghepresenteirt was mer Symoene du Carrest, coste vij lb. xvj s.gr., valent

iiij^{xx} xiiij lb. xij s.par.

[fol. 37] *Expenditure for ordinary business*

[fol. 39v] *Item Aernoude de Mol for painting the city's coat of arms on 42 buckets, that were sent to the cloisters of the four orders, 13 s.gr., worth*

7 lb. 16 s.par.

[fol. 60v] *Other expenditure made by the aforementioned deputees for diverse affairs that concerns the city.*

[fol. 61] *Item paid Janne vanden Thoolne, the goldsmith, for two silver plates, which were presented to mylord the court master Pieter Bladelin, at the consecration of his new church at Middelburg, to which the city was invited, weighting 7 marc 1 ounce 8 english at 26 s. 8 d.gr a marc, and 2 lb.gr. for the fabrication, all together 11 lb. 13 s. 1 d.gr., worth* 115 lb. 17 s.par.

Item paid for a water pitcher with 6 mugs which were presented to Lord Matheuse van Bracle as provost of Our Lady's at his entry in the aforementioned deanery, cost the work included, 8 lb. 6 s. 8 d.gr., valent 100 lb.par.

[fol. 61v] *Item paid Marcelis van Millom for 6 silver mugs weighing 2 marc 5 ounces 10 english, at 26 s. 8 d.gr. a marc, presented at the wedding of Janne Tsolle's daughter, to which the city was invited, amounts to 2 lb. 12 s. 8 d.gr. and for the execution 7 s.gr., which amounts all together to 3 lb. 18 s. 8 d.gr., equals*

47 lb. 4 s.par.

Item paid to Janne van den Thoolne, goldsmith, for a silver cup, weighing 4 marc 7 ounces 5 english at 4 s.gr. an ounce, which was presented to Sir Symoene du Carrest, cost 7 lb. 16 s.gr., equals

93 lb. 12 s.par.

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1459-60, fol. 37, 39v, 60v-61v.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 504-505, 511 (inaccurately).

Doc. 60. 1459, 14 September - 1460, 12 September -- *Jan van der Leye is paid for cleaning and varnishing the Judgment panel in the room of the Franc.*

Betaelt Ian van der Leye, de schildere, van dat hij vernischt ende scone ghemaect heift dbert van den Iugemente hanghende in de camere van den Vrijen

xlviij s.par.

Paid Ianne van der Leye, the painter, for having varnished and cleaned the panel of the Judgment, that hangs in the room of the Franc 48 s.par.

RAB, *Fonds van het Vrije*, no. 192: *Rekeningen van het Vrije*, 1459-60, fol. 70v.

Published: Weale, *Franc*, 77, n. 22.

Doc. 61. 1460, 2 September - 1461, 2 September -- *The painter Janne Malekyn is paid for painting the city's coat of arms on present pitchers; the gold smith Janne van der Thoolne for repairing the chamber's chalice and Easter board.*

[fol. 37v] Huutgheven van ghemeene zaken [...]

[fol. 40] Item betaelt Janne van der Thoolne, goudsmet, vanden kilct ende tpaesbart vander camere te vermakene, voor al x s.gr., valent vj lb.[par.]

[fol. 41] Betaelt Janne Malekyn van dat hy up de voors. (1) presentkannen der stede wapene van scilderye ghemaect heift viij s.gr., valent iv lb. xvj s.par.

[fol. 37v] *Expenditure for common things* [...]

[fol. 48] *Item paid to Janne van der Thoolne, goldsmith, for repairing the chamber's chalice and Easter board, for all 10 s.gr., worth* 6 lb.[par.]

[fol. 41] *Paid to Janne Malekyn for having painted the city's coat of arms on the said (1) present pitchers 8 s. gr., equals* 4 lb. 16 s.par.

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1460-61, fol.37v, 40, 41.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 500, 530 (inaccurately, with wrong reference to folios).

1. The previous entry is the payment for the casting of 48 of these pitchers.

Doc. 62. 1460, 12 September - 1461, 11 September -- *Entries in the accounts of the Franc relative to their clock.*

[fol. 82v] Betaelt Symon Lodewijcx, de orlogemakere, van eender orloge die hi ghemaect heift, staende in de camere van den Vryen, met tween wizers xxxvj lb.par.

Betaelt Willem Gheraerts, den clocghietere, van eenen clocxkin staende up torloge in de camere van den Vryen

xxiiij lb. viij s.par.

[fol. 83] Betaelt Ruebrecht van Snackendale, de loodghietere, van twee loode hanghende an de huerclocke, weghende l lb., te twijntich miten tpond,

ij s. v d.gr, ende ij inghelsche

[fol. 83v] Betaelt Christiaen van den Brande, den schildere, van tween compasse barderen staende an torloge, teen in de camere van den Vryen, ende tandere in de cappelle, die te schildene ende te pointene midsgaders den tween wisers
xij lb.par.

[fol. 82v] *Paid to Symon Lodewijcx, the clockmaker, for a clock with two arms he has made for the room of the Franc*

36 lb.par.

Paid to Willem Gheraerts, the bell-caster, for a small bell for the clock in the room of the Franc

24 lb. 8 s.par.

[fol. 83] *Paid to Ruebrecht van Snackendale, the plumber, for two leaden [weights] hanging on the clock, weighing 50 lbs., at 20 mites a pond, 3 s. 5 d.gr. and 2 english*

[fol. 83v] *Paid Christiaen van den Brande, the painter, for two round boards for the clock, the first placed in the room of the Franc, the other one in the chapel, for painting and adjusting these, the arms included*

12 lb.par.

RAB, *Fonds van het Vrije*, no. 193: *Rekeningen van het Vrije*, 1460-61, fol. 82v, 83, 83v.

Published: Weale, *Franc*, 77, n. 24.

Doc. 63. 1461, 2 September - 1462, 2 September -- *Excerpts from the municipal accounts: payments to sculptors for a fountain on the Market; payment for presents for the bishop of Tournai.*

[fol. 37v] Item Gillisse Moreel, bailliu van Scarchines ter cause van der fonteyne up de maerct, de welke tieghens hem bevoorwaerd't was achtervolghende zekere lettren van cyrogrefften daer up ghemaect omme lv lb.gr.

Item van x steenen daer de leeuwen of ghehauwen zyn te ij s. vj d.gr. stic

Item betaelt Janne van Cutseghem ende Cornelis Dierman, beede steenhauwers van de voors. leeuwen metten scilden ende loveren omtrent de pilaren te makene ix lb.gr.

Ende Govaerde van Cutseghem omme tcarnacion te hauwene in de yseren lysten die rondomme up de boorden van de voors. fonteyne ligghen,

xiiij s.gr.

[fol. 50] Huutgheven van ghemeene zaken [...]

[fol. 51] Betaelt ende ghepresenteirt mynen heere van Doorneke tzynder eerster entree hier binnen der stede doende als busscop van Doorneke (1) tghuend dat hier naer volcht. Eerst een laghelkin rynsch wyns houdende v zesteren iiij stoop te xvij lb. de roede, comt ij lb. ij s.

vj d.gr. Item een laghelkin beane houdende vj zesteren iiij stoop te vij gr. ij inghelsche de stoop, metsgaders xij gr. voor tvaetkin, comt iij lb. iiij s. x d.gr. Item vichtich pond ghewrocht was, coste xxxij s. viij d.gr. Item twee laden tregie elc van viere ponden, comt viij s.gr. Ende van eenen vergulden cop ghecocht tieghens Janne vander Thoolne, weghende vj maerc te ix croonen tmaerc metten faetsoene, comt xj lb.gr., Comt up al xviii lb. ix s.gr., valent

ij^c xxj lb. viij s.[par.]

[fol. 37v] *Item Gillisse Moreel, bailiff of Ecaussines, for the fountain on the market, which was contracted by him according to certain cyrograph letters drawn up for that purpose*

55 lb.gr.

*Item for 10 stones out of which the lions were sculpted, at 2 s. 6 d.gr. a piece
Item paid to Janne van Cutseghem and Cornelis Dierman, both sculptors, for making the
aforementioned lions with the escutcheons and the foliage around the pillars*

9 lb.gr.

*And Govaerde van Cutseghem for sculpting the inscription in the iron frame around the borders of the
aforementioned fountain*

14 s.gr.

[fol. 50] *Expenditure for common things [...]*

[fol. 51] *Paid and presented to mylord of Tournai on the occasion of his first entry into the city here as bishop of Tournai (1), all that follows: First a barrel of Rhine wine, containing 5 'zesteren' 4 pitchers, at 18 lb. a rood, amounts to 2 lb. 2 s. 6 d.gr. Item a barrel Beaune wine containing 6 'zesteren' 4 pitchers at 7 gr. 2 english a pitcher, and also 12 gr. for the barrel, amounts to 3 lb. 4 s. 10 d.gr. Item 50 pounds of wax, for 33 s. 8 d.gr. Item 2 boxes of candy, of 4 lb. each, amounts yo 8 s.gr. . And for a gilt mug bought from Janne van der Thoolne, weighing 6 marc at 9 crowns a marc, with the work, is 11 lb.gr.; Amounts all up to 18 lb. 9 s.gr., valent*

221 lb. 8 s.[par]

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1461-62, fol. 37v, 50, 51.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 434, 526 (inaccurately).

1. This is Guillaume Filastre, bishop of Tournai from 1 September 1460 until his death on 21 August 1473 (see Strubbe & Voet, 250.)

Doc. 64. 1462, 16-22 August -- *Excerpts from inventories of art objects in the sacristy and the chapels of St.Donatian's*

[p. 1] *Inventarium iocalium ecclesie sancti Donaciani Brugensis, vasorum sacrorum, reliquiarum sanctorum et sanctarum Dei, capparum, pannorum preciosorum, ornamentorum et quamplurium aliorum inferius narrandorum, que habentur et esse debent in sanctuario ecclesie sub custodia et tutela maioris custodis, qui ea suo periculo habet custodire, visitata*

per dominos decanum et capitulum infra octavas Assumptionis gloriose Virginis Marie,(1)
anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo secundo.(2) [...]

Item una argentea ymago Sancti Donatiani deaurata quam dedit dominus Symon Coene,
cappelanis dicte ecclesie

Item unum philaterium argenteum deauratum cum pipa cristallina in modum turris quod
dedit magister Georgius de Pala suis armis insignitum

[p. 4] [...] Item unum vas argenteum alte et rotunde forme, quo utitur maior custos dum
defect corpus Christi sive sacramentum in altario parochie quod dedit ecclesie Wilhelmus
Moreel.

Item, una coppa argentea deaurata de lapide serpentino, cum duabus pipis argenteis
deauratis, coperculo alto argento deaurato, cuius manubrium est ymago Sancti Salvatoris,
intus habens arma H. Clapdorp, canonici.

[p. 7] Sequuntur libri existentes in sanctuario [...]

Item et novus liber epistolarum per Niepa datus

[fol. 1] Inventarium ornamentorum et iocalium existentium sub custodia custodis navis
ecclesie sancti Donatiani Brugensis, factum anno Domini m.cccc.lxij. sub domino Nicholao
Bradymond, magistro fabricie (3)

Primo, in capella de Arthesio, que est prima ad latus meridionale ecclesie, habentur illa que
sequuntur [...]

Item missale bonum

[fol. 1v] Item in capella Arthesij habetur capsula, in qua sunt reposita ornamenta data per
quondam dominum Petrum de Nayere, cuius servitium fit ad altare sanctorum Petri et Pauli
Primo calix cum patena argentum deauratum cocleari argenteo corporali et bursa viridi
Item pulchrum missale novum, in quo ante canonem est descripta ordibatio foundationis
servitui sui

Item una vestis ante altare de sarco rubeo et nigro cum captoem

Item due cortine similis de sarco rubeo et nigro

Item tres mappae altaris

Item casula viridis cum alba amicto, stola, manipulo, ac cingulo cum tabulis viridibus de
serico figuratam

Item una vestis ante altare similis casule cum

Item duo candelabra

Item, in eadem capella habentur ornamenta altaris sancti Danielis [...]

Item missale antiquum cum pulpito

[fol. 2] In capella de Arbosio habentur ea que sequuntur [...]

Item, unum missale cum pulpito viridi

Item in eadem capella sunt ornamenta altaris sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli in
quodam scrinio per magistrum Georgium de Pala data.

Primo due mappae altaris cum frontali et panno ante altare de sarco albo et rubeo

Item due cortine similis

Item due alie mappae altaris cum frontali et panno ante altare de serico nigro et rubeo

Item due cortine similis

Item casula rubea cum alba amicta, stola, manipulo furnitis cum armis quodiam magister Georgij de Pala donatoris
 [fol. 2v] Item calix et patena argentei deaurati et coclear
 Item unum corporale et due burse
 Item due ampulle argentee cum custodia ad hoc apta (a.)
 Item duo parva candelabra erea
 Item osculum pacis cypressinum inter eburneum
 Item missale novum cum pulpito
 Item alba cum amicta manipulo stola et tabulis rubeis de orsetto
 Item, in eadem capella habentur ornamenta altaris sancti Victoris
 Item unum parvuum missale in quo sunt aliquae misse peculiare dumtaxat
 [fol. 3] In capella sancti Iacobi [...]
 Item missale bonum
 Item capella sancti Anthonii iuxta fontes
 Primo missale bonum
 [fol. 3v] In capella de Goudbetere [...]
 Primo, unum missale bonum
 [fol. 5] In capella sancti Iohannis Evangeliste dicta de Rappondis [...]
 Item, unum missale antiquum incipiens post kalendarium "Ad te levavi"
 [fol. 5v] Ad altare apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi [...]
 Item, missale antiquum
 [fol. 6v] In capella beate Marie de Salve
 Primo, duo semimissalia, una pars estivalis, et alia hyemalis
 [fol. 7v] In capella Sancti Crucis rethro chorum [...]
 Item unum missale
 [fol. 8v] Ad altare Symonis van der Banc [...]
 Item, unum missale novum cum corporali et bursa blavea
 [fol. 9v] In capella Sancte Trinitatis [...]
 Item, unum missale

[p. 1] *Inventory of the treasures of the church of Saint Donatian in Bruges, of holy recipients, relics of holy men and women of God, copes, precious fabrics, ornaments and other things described hereunder, that belong to and are placed in the sanctuary of the said church under the custody and care of the head custodians, whose risk it is to guard them, inspected by the lords dean and chapter, during the octave following the Assumption of the glorious Virgin Mary,(1) in the year of our Lord thousand four hundred sixty two.(2) [...]*

*Item a silver gilt statue of Saint Donatian given by sir Symon Coene, chaplain of the said church
 Item, a silver gilt reliquary, with a cylindrical crystal in the form of a turret, given by master Joris van der Paele, adorned with his arms*

[p. 4] [...] *Item a high and round silver vase, that is used as large container for the sacrament during the feast of Corpus Christi on the altar of the parish, which was given to the church by Willem Moreel.*

Item, a silver gilt mug with serpentine stones with two silver gilt crystals, with and old silver gilt lid, of which the handle is the image of the Holy Savior, inscribed with the arms of H. Clapdorp, canon [p. 7] Here following are the books kept in the sanctuary [...] Item a new epistolary given by Niepa [fol. 1] Inventory or the ornaments and the treasures kept under the custody of the supervisors of the nave of the church of Saint Donatian at Bruges, done in the year of Our Lord 1462, under sir Nicolas Bradymond, master of the office of the works of the church (3)

First, in the chapel of Arthesia, which is the first one at the south side of the church, is kept the following [...]

Item a good missal

[fol. 1v] Item in the chapel of Arthesia there are boxes in which the ornaments are kept which have been given by sir Pieter de Nayere, whose service is kept at the altar of saints Peter and Paul

First a chalice with a silver gilt patten with a silver lid, a corporalis and a greenish purse

Item a beautiful new missal in which before the canons is written the foundation of the appointment of its servants

Item an altar cloth of reddish and black fabric with a bag Item two curtains in similar reddish and black fabric

Item three altar towels

Item a greenish chasuble with white amices, a stole, a maniple, and a single with greenish historiated orphreys

Item an altar cloth similar to the chasuble

Item two chandeliers

Item, in the same chapel the ornaments of the altar of Saint Daniel are kept [...]

Item an old missal with its lectern

[fol. 2] In the chapel of Arbosius is kept which follows

Item, a missal with a greenish lectern

Item in the same chapel are kept the ornaments of the chapel of the holy apostels Peter and Paul, where the shrine is given by master Joris van der Paele.

First two altar towels with antependia and an altar cloth of white and reddish fabric

Item two similar curtains

Item two other altar towels with antependia and an altar cloth of black and reddish fabric

Item two similar curtains

Item a reddish chasuble with a white amice, stole, maniple, decorated with the arms of the late master Georges van der Paele, donor

[fol. 2v] Item a chalice and patten in gilt silver with lid

Item a corporalis and two purses

Item two silver ampulas with a container to put it in (a.)

Item two small metal chandeliers

Item a cypress easter board set in ivory

Item a new missal with lectern

Item an albe with amice, maniple, stole with reddish scenes

Item, in the same chapel the ornaments of the altar of saint Victor are kept

Item a new missal which include amongst others peculiar masses

[fol. 3] In the chapel of saint James [...]

Item a good missal
Item in the chapel of saint Anthony next to the font
First, a good missal
 [fol. 3v] *In the chapel of de Goudbetere [...]*
First, a good missale
 [fol. 5] *In the chapel of Saint John the Evangelist, called of Rappondis [...]*
Item, an old missal beginning after the calendar with "Ad te levavi"
 [fol. 5v] *At the altar of the apostels Philippus and James*
 [...] *Item, an old missal*
 [fol. 6v] *In the chapel of the blessed Mary of Salvis*
First, two half missals, a summer part and the other one, a winter part
 [fol. 7v] *In the chapel of the Holy Cross behind the choir [...]* *Item a missal*
 [fol. 8v] *At the altar of Symon van der Banc [...]*
Item, a new missal with its cover and chamois-leather purse
 [fol. 9v] *In the chapel of the Holy Trinity [...]*
Item, a missal

a. added by a later hand: *Reposite sunt in thesaura domini Buchardi offertis facte anno lxx.*

BAB, *St. Donaas, Kapittel en Kerk*, no. A.103, old nos. 4, original, parchment, 21 fols., in two quires, the first paginated (1-12), the second foliated (1-9); copy: BAB, *St. Donaas, Kapittel en Kerk*, no. A. 103, old no. 5; also parchment 18 fols., paginated.

Published: Weale, *Inventaires Saint Donatien*, 21, 23 (fragmentarily); Derolez, *Corpus*, 51-55 (fragmentarily; only references to manuscripts).

1. This is the week after the Assumption of the Virgin, or between 16 and 22 August; see Strubbe & Voet, 182.
2. For a codicological discussion of this manuscript and a copy of it, see Derolez, *Corpus*, 49-50.
3. Here starts the second and last quire of this manuscript, which is foliated.

Doc. 65. 1462, 2 September - 1463, 1 September -- *Expenditure made for the triumphal entry of Duke Philip the Good and his sister, Agnes of Bourbon into Bruges.*

[fol. 52] Huutgheven van extraordinaire zaken
 Eerst betaelt ten bliden incommene van onzen harden gheduchten heere met mer vrouwe van Bourbon zijn zustre, hier binnen de stede commende van Ghend, te watre, Janne Laerke den scipman omme de baerke te ghereedene ende te vermakene, daer de bailliu, scoutheeten,

buerchmeesters, scepenen ende raden inne voeren tieghens onzen voors. gheduchten heere, ende was xxij in sporcle int jaer m.iiij^c lxij. Voor al xx s. x d.gr.

Item doe betaelt den deken vanden sciplieden over de ghesellen die de voors. baerken voerden viij s. x d.gr.

Item doe betaelt Aernoud de Mol, de scildere, van drie zydene wimpelen metten wapenen van onzen voors. gheduchten heere, omme die te stellene up de voors. baerke metgaders vele cleene wimpelkins. Voor al

xxiiij s.gr.

Item betaelt van vichtich journeykins ghemaect omme de ghesellen die de voors. baerke voerden ende waren van diversche coulueren, te wetene wit, rood ende blaeu, daer toe verbezicht waren. Eerst een rood laken gecocht jeghens Janne Banc, ende coste xxxvj s.gr.

Item een blaeu laken ghecocht tieghens Hendric Lootins, coste xvj s. vij d.gr. Item gecocht jeghens den zelven twee witte eecxkins ende costen xxvij s. viij d.gr. Item betaelt den tweem meesters vanden scepen voor huerlieder keerlaken xv s. ij d. gr. Comt al

iiij lb. xv s. v d.gr.

Item doe betaelt Ector van Oudenaerde van lxvj toortsen die ghestelt waren up de boorden vanden voorn. scepen ende woughen ciij^{xx} ix pond, te v gr. tpond, comt

ij lb. xvij s. ix d.gr.

Item doe betaelt Gillis Styl, sceppere, vanden voorn. journeykins te makene vij gr. vanden sticke, comt

xxix s. ij d.gr.

Item doe betaelt Janne vander Eecke, van twee keuwen beaune die ghepresenteirt waren onzen harden gheduchten heere ende mer vrouwen van Bourbon, zyne zuztere, te xxij croonen tstic costen metten voerghelde thove viij lb. xvij s.gr. Ende doe betaelt Woutren

Busstox van een stic was, weghende een waghe iiij^c naghelen ghepresenteirt als boven ende coste iiij lb. x s.gr., comt al

xij lb. vij s.gr.

Item doe betaelt Boudin Hendricx van twee bekenen ende twee lewynen al zelverin weghenen xxv maerc v oncen te xxx s. groten tmaerc, die gheperesenteirt waren mynen vrouwen van Bourbon thueren eersten blyden incommene hier binnen deser stede, costen xxxvij lb. viij s. ix d.

[fol. 52v] Item zo waren ten voors. bliden incommene van onsen voors. gheduchten heere ende met vrouwen van Bourbon ghetoocht diversche remonstrantien van personaigen daer of teerst ghestelt was upde cant vander reye voorde Potteryende ende was vanden vij duechden. Ryckelic al ghestoffeirt, ende daer of tlast hadde Anthuenis Vander Houbeke, den welken betaelt was van costen ende moeyenesse daer toe ghedaen

ix lb. xvij s. vj d.

Item voor Bonneurs was een casteel ghemaect inde reye staende up scepen, daer frau Venus inne was met vele schoone maechden, alle chierlike ende ryckelike ghestoffeirt. Daer vooren betaelt Colaert Dhault als last hebbende van dien. Voor al xxv lb. ij s. iij d.gr.

Item ande Thorrebrughe inde reye up scepen waren ghetoocht de personaigen van Paris, Venus, Juno ende Pallas, ryckelic ghestoffeirt. Daer vooren betaelt Anthuenis de Roovere als tlast hebbende. Voor al

vj lb. xj s. gr.

Item betaelt Janne Tsolle als tprincipael last hebbende vande personaigen twelke ghetoocht was upde buerse. Voor al

vij lb. xij s. iij d.gr.

Item betaelt Pietren van Bochoute als tlast hebbende vanden personaige twelke ghetoocht was voor tBeerkin. Voor al

v lb. viij

s.gr.

Item betaelt Anthuenis van Dammast als tlast hebbende van tween diverschen personaigen, ghetoocht voor ons gheduchts heeren hof. Voor al

ix lb. iij s. v d.gr.

Item doe betaelt tambocht vanden vischcoopers als scoonts ende best vierende, voor twee zelverin scalen diere upghestelt waren

ij lb.gr.

Item doe betaelt vanden viere ghemaect inde Buerch voor al thent daer toe verberrent metten aerbeyde vande ghuenen diet maecte. Voor al

vj s. ij d.gr.

Item ten bevelene van onzen voors. gheduchten heere waren ghedaen maken by meester Anthuenis Goossins, twee lysten upde maerct omme al daer over te stekene tsondaeches naer

grootte vastenavonde, costen ij lb. groten. Item doe betaelt Jacop f. Lionius Huuchs van x^c stroos bij hem ghelevert omme de bane te stroyene, vj s. viij d. Ende den muederaers van de voors. bane te messene xx s. groten. Comt al

ij lb. vj s. viij d.gr.

[fol. 53] Item doe betaelt Dyne Vanden Houvere vanden huuse in Cranebuerch daer onze gheduchte heere met mer vrouwen, zyne zustre inne zach steken, den tyd vanden voors.

steecspele gheduerende

ij lb.gr.

Item betaelt insghelycx Jacoppe Van Maldeghe van zinen huuse in Coolkerke daer de wet inne zach steken, den voors. tyd ghedurende

ij lb.gr.

Item doe betaelt van costen ghedaen den voors. tyd vanden steicspele gheduerende byden voorn. vander wet in fruute ende wyne

xij s. iij d.gr.

Item betaelt van eenen banckette ghegheven in scepenen huus upden xxiiij sten dach van april, onzen gheduchten heere, mer vrouwen van Bourbon, mijn heere van Charolois, ende vele andre diversche heeren ende vrouwen, daer de wet, notablen ende joncvrouwen van deser stede waren. Coste

xlvj lb. ij s. vj d.gr.

Item betaelt Pieteren Cristus ende meester Pieter Nachtegale, als principael last hebbende van te doen makene eenen boom van Jesse ende insghelycx Jherusalem met datter toebehoorde, ende dat al te stoffeirne van scilderyen. Van allen den houte ende yserwercke, van canevetse, van de dachueren vanden themmerlieden, vande montkosten van lxxij personen, alle bezich upden dach vanden ommeghanghe anden voors. boom ende Jherusalem met datter toebehoorde. Voor al

xl lb. viij s.gr.

Item betaelt den deken vanden scilders vanden hovvekine te doen vermakene ende dat ryckelic ghestoffeirt ende van alle de personaigen diere toe dienden ende bezich anne waren upden voors. dach vanden ommeghanghe, metsgaders x oncen zelve, die den ghemeen gheselscepe als de beste personaige ghesconcken waren. Voor al

xij lb.gr.

Item betaelt Jacoppe Gorreel, den goudsmet, van x zilverin scalen woughen vij maerc iij oncen xij 1/2 inghelschen te xxvj s. viij d. groten tmaerc ende x s. groten vanden fasoenen alle ghemaect metter stede wapene, de welke ghegheven waren diverschen ambochten best doende van spelne upden voors. dach vanden ommeganghe, costen

x lb. viij s. ix d.gr.

Item betaelt van costen ghedaen by causen vanden passe ofte fayte van wapene hier ghedaen upde maerct by mijn heere, mer Phelipse de Lalaing, ruddere. Eerst zo was ghegheven onzen gheduchten heere over tconsenteren datmen tvoors. pas hier binnen der stede dede ter jeghenwoordicheit van hem, mer vrouwen van Bourbon, zynre zustere, mijnen heere van Charolois ende van vele andre diversche heeren van zinen bloede ende lieden van staten hier

doe wesende, de somme van iiiij^c lb.gr.

[fol. 53v] Item doe ghegheven ende betaelt mer Phelipse de Lalaing thulpe vanden coste

ende lasten die hij hadde int voors. pas,

iiiij^{xx} viij lb.gr.

Item doe betaelt diversche carremans van deser stede van xxj^c xxx carren zands die ghehaelt ende ghevoert worden upde maerct ter plaetsen daer tvors. pas ghedaen was, te vj s.gr. thondert, comt vj lb. vij s. ix d. groten. Ende den dekens vanden muederaers van tvoors. zand te spreedene ende te heffene, xx s. groten. Comt al

vij lb. vij s. ix d.gr.

Item doe betaelt Victoor Prunbome met zinen ghesellen vanden pitten te delvene ende de staken te helpene in stellene, daer de scilden van wapenen anne hynghen ende van diverschen andren ghedelven by hem ghedaen ter plaetsen voors. Voor al

xxvij s. xj d.gr.

Item doe betaelt Dyne vanden Houvere ter causen vanden huuse in Cranebuerch daer ons gheduchte heere ende mijn vrouwe van Bourbon inne laghen den tyd gheduerende vanden voors. passe

vij lb.gr.

Item doe betaelt Jacoppe van Malderghem van eender camere daer de buerchmeesters, joncvrouwen tvoors. pas zaghen

ij lb.gr.

Item doe betaelt Mathys wyf van Campen van twee ofte drie camereren in haer huus daer myn heere van Charolois, myn heere van Doornicke ende andre diversche heeren inne laghen den tyd vanden vorn. passe ghedurende vij lb.gr.

Item doe betaelt Mathieu Roussel, cuenync van wapene van Artois inde name vanden andren cuenynghen van wapenen over trecht ende tlossen vande lysten. Bij compositie

xx s.gr.

Item doe betaelt Anthuenis Maes, castelein vanden scepenen huuse, van costen ghedaen upde stallaigen daer de wet metsgaders de notable van deser stede waren binnen den tyd vanden vorn. passe, in broode wijne ende fruute

iiiij lb. xvij s.gr.

Item betaelt den zelve Anthuenis van costen by hem verleyt upden xij^{en} ende xxix^{en} dach van Wedemaendt metgaders andre daghen der tusschen alsmen stac upde maerct ende in

sgelycx alsmen tzwyn sloech aldaer. In broode, wijne ende fruute
xvj s. ij d.gr.

Item Olivier de Haze over tonghebruuc dat hij hadde van te mueghen loten de staigen te
steicspeile de welke hij mainteneirt hem toebehoorende by causen van zijnen officie mids dat
de stede dat lyet bethemmeren ende of luken den tyt vanden voors. passe gheduerende ende
hem daer vooren toegheleyt iiiij lb.gr.

[fol. 54] Somme vanden voors. uitgeheven vanden extraordinarissen zaken binnen deser jare
vij^clxxiiij lb. vij s. x d.gr.

[fol. 52] *Expenditure for exceptional things*

*First, on the occasion of the triumphal entry of our very redoubtable lord with mylady of Bourbon his
sister, coming here into the city from Ghent by boat, paid [to] Janne Laerke, the bargeman, to prepare
and repair the boat, in which the bailiff, sheriff, mayors, aldermen and councillors sailed to meet our
aforementioned redoubtable lord, and this was [on] 22 February in the year 1462. For everything
20 s. 10 d.gr.*

*Item paid the dean of the bargemen for the companions who navigated the aforementioned boat 8
s. 10 d.gr.*

*Item paid Aernoud de Mol, the painter, for three silk pennons with the coat of arms of our
aforementioned redoubtable lord, to be placed on the aforementioned boat, and many other small
pennons. For everything 24 s.gr.*

*Item paid for 50 tunics made to be used by the companions who navigated the aforementioned boat,
which had diverse colors, namely white, red and blue. First, a red sheet bought from Janne Banc, that
cost 36 s.gr. Item a blue sheet bought from Hendric Lootins, cost 16 s. 7 d.gr. Item bought from the
same two white sheets and cost 27 s. 8 d.gr. Item paid the two shipmasters for their upper garment, 15
s. 2 d.gr. For everything 4 lb. 15 s. 5 d.gr.*

*Item paid Ector van Oudenaerde for 66 torches that were placed on the borders of the aforementioned
boats and [these] weighted 189 lb, at 5 gr. a pound, adds up to 3 lb. 18 s. 9 d.gr.*

*Item paid Gillis Styl, the tailor, for making the aforementioned tunics at 7 gr. a piece, adds up to
29 s. 2 d.gr.*

*Item paid Janne vander Eecke, for two barrels [wine from] Beaune that were presented to our very
redoubtable lord and mylady of Bourbon, his sister, at 22 crowns a piece, with the costs for
transportation to the palace, 8 lb 17 s.gr. And paid Woutren Busstox for a piece of wax, weighing 1
wage 400 nagelen presented as above, and cost 4 lb. 10 s.gr, for everything 14 lb 7 s.gr.
Item paid Boudin Hendricx for two basins and two lionesses of silver, weighing 25 marc 5 ounces at 30
s.gr. a marc, that were presented to mylady of Bourbon on the occasion of her first triumphal entry
here in this city, cost 38 lb. 8 s. 9 d.gr.*

[fol. 52v] *Item on the occasion of the triumphal entry of our aforementioned redoubtable lord and
mylady of Bourbon were shown diverse scenes of personages, of which the first was installed on the
bank of the river in front of the Potterie and it [represented] the 7 virtues. Richly decorated, and for*

which Anthuenis Vander Houbeke was responsible, who was paid for his expenditure and efforts for it
9 lb. 18 s. 6 d.gr.

Item in front of Bonneurs a castle was made placed on boats on the river, in which [was shown] lady Venus with many beautiful virgins, all elegantly and richly decorated. Paid for that to Colaer Dhault as responsible for it. For everything 25 lb. 2 s. 3 d.gr.

Item at the Thorrebrug was shown in the river on boats, the personages of Paris, Venus, Juno and Pallas, richly decorated. Paid for that to Anthuenis de Roovere as responsible. For everything 6 lb. 11 s.gr.

Item paid Jan Tsolle as chief responsible for the personages that were shown at the Beurs. For everything

7 lb. 12 s. 3 d.gr.

Item paid Pietren van Bochoute al chief responsible for the personages that were shown in front of 't Beerke. For everything 5 lb. 8 s.gr.

Item paid Anthuenis van Dammast as chief responsible for two diverse personages, shown in front of our redoubtable lord's palace. For everything 9 lb. 4 s. 5 d.gr.

Item paid the corporation of the fish merchants for having celebrated most beautifully and best, for two silver plates that were allotted for that 2 lb.gr.

Item paid for the fire made on the Burg, for all that was burned and the work of those who made it. For everything

6 s. 2 d.gr.

Item on the order of our aforementioned redoubtable lord were made by master Anthuenis Goossins, two frames on the market for the tournament on sunday after lent's eve, cost 2 lb. Item paid Jacob f. Lionius Huuchs for 1000 [bales of] straw delivered by him to spread over the tracks, 6 s. 8 d. And the street sweepers for having spread out the straw, 20 s.gr. Adds up to

3 lb. 6 s. 8 d.gr.

Item also paid Jacoppe Van Maldeghem for his house in Coolkerke from where the law saw the tournament at the aforementioned time 2 lb.gr.

Item paid for expenditure made at the aforementioned time of the tournament by the aforementioned of the law for fruit and wine 12 s. 3 d.gr.

Item paid for a banquet given in the aldermen's house on the 24th day of April for our redoubtable lord, mylady of Bourbon, mylord of Charolais and many other diverse lords and ladies, attended by the law, the notables and ladies of this city. Cost 46 lb. 2 s. 6 d.gr.

Item paid Pieteren Cristus and master Pieter Nachtegale, as chief responsables entrusted with the supervision of the execution of a Tree of Jesse and a Jerusalem with everything included, and for furnishing all this with painting. For all the wood and ironwork, canvas, and daily wages of the carpenters, for the expenditure of food for 72 employees, all involved on the day of the procession in the aforementioned Tree and Jerusalem with everything included. For all 40 lb. 8 s. gr.

Item paid the dean of the painters to repair the garden and to decorate it richly and for all personages necessary for it and who were active at it on the aforementioned day of the procession, as well as 10 ounces of silver, offered to the company [figuring] as the best personages. For everything 12 lb.gr.

Item paid Jacoppe Gorreel, the goldsmith, for 10 silver plates weighing 7 marc 3 ounces 12.5 english at 26 s. 8 d.gr. a marc and 10 s.gr. for the fabrication, all made with the coat of arms of the city, which

were presented to diverse corporations who played the best on the said day of the procession, cost
10 lb. 8 s. 9 d.gr.

Item paid for the expenditure made for the play or feat of arms done here on the market by mylord, knight Philip de Lalaing. First was given to our redoubtable lord for his consent to perform the aforementioned deed of arms here within the city in his presence and [that of] mylady of Bourbon, his sister, mylord of Charolais, and of many other diverse lords of his parentage and representatives of the states who were here, the sum of 400 lb.gr.

[fol. 53v] Item given and paid mylord Philip de Lalaing as contribution to his expenditure and efforts for the aforementioned deed of arms 88 lb.gr.

Item paid diverse cart-drivers of this city for 2130 carts of sand that were brought to the market where the aforementioned deed of arms was held, at 6 s.gr. a hundred, adds up to 6 lb. 7 s. 9 d.gr. And the deans of the street-sweepers for having the sand spread and levelled, 20 s.gr. Adds up to 7 lb. 7 s. 9 d.gr.

Item paid Victor Prunbome and his companions for having dug the holes and to put in the poles on which the coat of arms hang, and for other digging done by them at the aforementioned place. For everything 28 s. 9 d.gr.

Item paid Dyne vanden Houvere for his house on the Craneburg where our redoubtable lord and mylade of Bourbon were put up during the aforementioned deed of arms 8 lb.gr.

Item paid Jacoppe van Malderghem for a room from where the ladies of the mayors, saw the aforementioned deed of arms 3 lb.gr.

Item paid Mathys van Campen's wife for two or three rooms in her house where mylord of Charolais, mylord of Tournai, and other diverse lords were put up during the aforementioned deed of arms 8 lb.gr.

Item paid Mathieu Roussel, herald of Artois, in the name of all the other heralds for the right and to unload the frames. All together 20 s.gr.

Item paid Anthuenis Maes, house keeper of the aldermen's house, for the expenditure of the scaffolding on which the law was seated, together with the notables of this city during the aforementioned feat of arms, and for bread, fruit and wine 4 lb. 18 s.gr.

Item paid the same Anthuenis of expenditure made by him on the 12th and 29th day of June, and other days in the meantime, when the tournament [was held] on the market and also when the pig was slaughtered. For bread, wine and fruit 26 s. 2 d.gr.

Item Olivier de Haze for being deprived during the tournament of renting out the spaces that he maintains, and which belong to his function, because the city had them blocked off and closed during the aforementioned deed of arms, and for his compensation 4 lb.gr.

[fol. 54] Sum of the aforementioned expenditure of extraordinary nature during this year 784 lb. 7 s. 10 d.gr.

SAB, Stadsrekening, no. 216, 1462-63, fol. 52-54.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 532-535 (inaccurately).

Doc. 66. 1462, 10 September - 1463, 16 September -- *The painters Christiaen van den Brande and Ianne Raes are paid for an altarpiece in the chapel of the Franc.*

Betaelt Christiaen van den Brande ende Ianne Raes, scilders, van eender tafele die zij ghemaect hebben ten outaere staende in de cappelle van den lande van den Vrijen, te wetene: den voors. Christiaen xlvijij lb., ende den voors. Ianne lxxij lb.par., comt te gadere als tblijct bi quictancie cxx lb.par.

Item, betaelt Anthuenis van Boneem, van dat hij betaelt hadde omme de sloten van der voos. tafle, iij lb.par.

Paid to Christiaen van den Brande and Ianne Raes, painters, for a panel they have made for the altar in the chapel of the land of the Franc, to be known: the aforementioned Christiaen 48 lb., and the aforementioned Ianne 72 lb.par., amounts to, as shown in the receipt,

120 lb.par.

Item, paid to Anthuenis van Boneem, for having paid for the locks of the said panel,
3 lb.par.

RAB, *Fonds van het Vrije*, no. 195: *Rekeningen van het Vrije*, 1462-63, fol. 82.

Published: Weale, *Franc*, 77, n. 25.

Doc. 67. 1463 -- *Payment in the accounts of St. Donatian's for restoring books and to Petrus de Visch for painting beams.*

[fol. 12v] Extradatum in diversis usibus [...]

[fol. 13] Item solutum domini Johanni Roberti pro certis codicibus lineatis per eum et repositione in certis libris in choro reparatum xij s.[par.]

Item solutum eidem pro reparatione unius antiphonarii et illuminatione eiusdem jacentis in latere dextro pro ordinacionem dominorum Lamberti Bloc et Arnoldus de Fine

vij lb. xiiij s.[par.]

[...]

[fol. 13v] Item solutum Petro de Visch, pictori, pro trabe sub crucifixo pingendo et decorando iij lb. xvij s.[par.]

[fol. 12v] *Expenditure of diverse nature* [...]

[fol. 13] *Item paid to sir Johannes Roberti for certain codices ruled by him and for restoring certain choir books* 12 s.[par.]

Item paid to the same for the restoration of an antiphonary and the illumination of this [book] lying on the right shelf for the use of sir Lambert Bloc and sir Arnoldus de Fine

8 lb. 14 s.[par.]

[...]

[fol. 13v] *Item paid Petro de Visch, the painter, for painting and gilding the shafts [of the cross] under the crucifix*

3 lb. 18 s.[par.]

BAB, *St. Donaas, Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, no. G.5, 1463, fol. 12-13v.

Published: Dewitte, 1978, 80, 90 (fragmentarily)

Doc. 68. 1463, 2 September - 1464, 1 September -- *Excerpt from the municipal accounts: payment to Jacob de Jonghe for decorative work.*

[fol.34v] Huutgheven van stoffe ende weercke

[fol. 35v] *Item betaelt Jacob de Jonghe, den scildere, van dat hy verschildert heift beede de maelgen (1) van der voors. nieuwehalle staende ten noordhende, insghelycx eenen grooten leeu diemen stellen zal up zuudhende, ende van den beilde staende an den steeghere in de voors. houde halle; voor al alst blyct by quitantie*

xxxvj s. iiij d.gr.

[fol. 34v] *Expenditure for material and works*

[fol. 35v] *Item paid Jacob de Jonghe, the painter, for having painted both shields of the aforementioned Nieuwe Halle at the north side, and also a large lion that will be installed at the south side, and for the statue placed at the scaffolding in the aforementioned Oude Halle; for everything as shown on the receipt* 16 s. 4 d.gr.

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1463-64, fol. 35v.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 527, n. 6-7; Schouteet, I, 284.

1. Verdam, 343, s.v. *maelge*: 3. shield.

Doc. 69. 1463, 17 September - 1464, 14 September -- *Jan van der Toolne, goldsmith, is paid for a silver head of justice; Christiaen van den Brande for varnishing and gilding a fence in the room of the Franc.*

[fol. 95] *Ander uutgheven van diverschen partijen inder manieren hier naer volghende den lande overcommende [...]*

[fol. 95v] Item betaelt Ian vander Toolne, goudsmet, van eenen zilverin hoofde, weghende ij maerc j 1/2 inghelsche, te xxvj s. viij d.gr. tmaerc, comt xxxij lb. iij s.par., staende inde camere vanden Vryen, ende van eenen zilverinne rollekin staende an tvoors. hooft, ij lb. viij s.par., daerinne dat ghescreven staet hoe dat Pieter van der Ghote tanderen tyden ghebannen heeft gheweest tieghens den borchmeester vanden commune van den lande vanden Vryen ute den lande van Vlaendren up zijn hooft, daerof hij betalinghe ghedaen heeft tieghens tvoors. land vanden Vryen, de welke betalinghe gherekent was ontfanghen inde rekeninghe vanden lande ghedaen in Septembre anno lxij lest leden (1), ende van fachoene ix lb. xij s., comt alst blyct bi quictancie

xliiij lb. ij s.[par.]

[fol. 97] Item betaelt Xpistiaen vanden Brande, schildre, van dat hij vernischt heeft ende vergult de ijserinne traelge staende camere vanden Vryen daer tzilverinne hooft inne staet alst blyct bi quitancie ix lb.[par.]

[fol. 95] *Other expenditure made by the land for diverse items in the manner here following [...]*

[fol. 95v] *Item paid to Ian van der Toolne, goldsmith, for a silver head, weighing 2 marc 1.5 english, at 26 s. 8 d.gr. a marc, amounts to 32 lb. 3 s.par., placed in the room of the Franc, and for a small silver tube on the said head, 2 lb. 8 s.par., on which is written how Pieter van der Ghote was banned from Flanders by the mayor of the community of the land of the Franc on [the penalty of loosing] his head, for which he has paid the said land of the Franc, which was inscribed in the accounts of the land of last September 63 (1); and for the fabrication 9 lb.12 s., amounts as shown by the receipt 44 lb. 3 s.par.*

[fol. 97] *Item paid to Christiaen van den Brande, painter, for having varnished and gilt the iron fence in the room of the Franc where the same head is placed, as shown by the receipt 9 lb.par.*

a. *in de ommited.*

RAB, *Fonds van het Vrije*, no. 199: *Rekeningen van het Vrije*, 1463-64, fol. 95, 95v, 97.

Published: Weale, *Franc*, 77-78, n. 26.

1. See RAB, *Fonds van het Vrije*, no. 198: *Rekeningen van het Vrije*, 1462-1463, fol. 6v: *Ander ontfanc van diversschen personen die ghewyst hebben gheweest in zekere amenden ute causen van zekeren meshuse bi hemlieden ghedaen jeghens de wet, te wetene van Andries filius Ryquaert Muenicx, vrylaet in Lisseweghe, iij lb.par.; van Pieter vander Gote, vrylaet in Dudsele, xij lb.par.; van Passcharis filius Jans filius Pieter filius Aernoude, ooc vrylaet in Dudsele, vj lb.par, comt te gadere, xxj lb.par. (Other receipts of diverse persons who have been expelled, of certain fines for their misbehavior against the law, to be known from Andries filius Ryquaert Muenicx, resident from Lisseweghe, 3 lb.par.; from Pieter vander Gote, resident from Dudsele, 21 lb.par.; from Passcharis filius Jans filius Pieter filius Aernoude, also resident from Dudsele, 6 lb.par, amounts together to 21 lb.par.)*

Doc. 70. 1464, 2 September - 1465, 1 September -- *Excerpt from the municipal accounts:
Payment to Jacob de Jonghe for decorative work*

[fol. 38v] Huutgheven van stoffe ende werke

[fol. 41v] Item betaelt Jacob de Jonghe, den scildere, van dat hy alle de voorseide engienen van der stede verschildert heift met olye vaerwe ende elke camere vanden voors. engienen met eenen byteekene gheteekent ghelyc tprincipael engien; voor al ij lb. vij s.gr.

[fol. 38v] *Expenditure for material and works*

[fol. 41v] *Item paid Jacob de Jonghe, the painter, for painting all the city's aforementioned cannons with oil paint and having them marked similarly as the main cannon; for everything*
2 lb. 7 s.gr.

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1464-65, fol. 38v, 41v.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 527; Schouteet, I, 284.

Doc. 71. 1465, 12 December -- *Tapestries, owned by Camus du Gardin, are confiscated by the Law of Bruges.*

De zake vanden verbode te wetten ghedaen by Joos de Bul up zekere tapijsserien toebehoorende Camus du Gardin es ghestateert in state tooter comste van Joosse voors. ende dan zal ment den voors. Camus laten weten. Actum xij decembre anno lxv, presentibus Leeuwe, Deckere, Velde, Coolbrant.

The case of prohibition, brought before the law by Joos de Bul, concerning certain tapestries, belonging to Camus du Gardin, that are confiscated until the said Joos returns, and then the said Camus will be notified. Done the 12 December in the year 65, in the presence of Leeuwe, Deckere, Velde, Coolbrant.

SAB, *Civiele Sententiën van de Vierschaar*, no. 157, register 3: 1465-69, fol. 12v.

[unpublished]

Doc. 72. 1465, 18 January - 1467, 29 December -- *Expenditure made by the librarians' guild for a banner.*

[fol. 49] Dit es dat ic, Ian Toolnaere, huut ghegheven hebbe tsichtent den xviiij^{sten} dach van Lauwe int iaer m cccc ende lxiiiij (1), van allerande oncoste aengaende der ghilde toten xxix^{sten} dach van December anno lxviij [...]

[fol. 49v] Item, noch ghegheven Haernout de Mol, sdcindaechs naer Sinte Luucxs dach, (2) up de vane

xx s.gr.

[...]

Item, noch ghegheven doen wy tot Haernout de Mol ghinghen om de vane te besiene, een stoop wijns van vj gr. vj gr.

Item, noch ghegheven om de stocken vander vane iiij gr.

Item, noch ghegheven om de knoepen ande stoc te maken

ij gr.

Item, noch om de vane stocx te beslane met yser iiij gr.

Item, noch ghegheven Haernout de Mol, als wij de vane thuus haelde

xvj s.gr.

Item, noch betaelt iiij hellen flueyl laken daer de vane mede ghemaect es, coste

xxiiij s.gr.

Item, noch van zyde friingen die an de vane zijn, coste

v s. j d.gr.

Item, noch betaelt Haernout de Mol de reste dien wy hem sculdich bleven

xiiiij s.gr.

Item, om de cruce te vermaken, costen x gr.

Item, noch ghegheven van oncosten den sceppere doen wy tlaken flueeyl cochten vander vane iiij gr.

Item noch ghegheven den scepper die de vane maecte

iiij s.gr.

[fol. 59] Item, noch ghegheven om kanevets daer of dat ghemaect es een sac daer men de vane in besteyt iiij gr.

[fol. 49] *This is what I, Ian Toolnaere, have spent since the 18th day of January 1464 (1), of all sorts of expenditure related to the guild, until the 29th day of December in the year 67 [...]*

[fol. 49v] *Item, also given to Haernout de Mol, on Tuesday after St.Luke's, (2) for the banner 20 s.gr.*

[...]

Item, also given when we went to see the banner at Haernout de Mol's, a 'stoop' (3) of wine of 6 gr. 6 gr.

Item, also given for the rod of the banner 4 gr.

Item, also given to attach the buttons to the rod 2 gr.

Item, also to affix metal to the rod of the banner 4 gr.

Item, also given to Haernout de Mol, when we brought the banner home

16 s.gr.

Item, also paid for 4 yards of velvet cloth of which the banner was made, cost
23 s.gr.

Item, also for silk fringes to attach to the banner, cost

5 s. 1 d.gr.

Item, also paid to Haernout de Mol of arrears we still owed to him
14 s.gr.

Item, to repair the crucifix, cost 10 gr.

Item, also given of expenses to the tailor, when we bought the velvet cloth for the banner
4 gr.

Item, given to the tailor who made the banner 3 s.gr.

[fol. 49] Item, given for canvas of which a bag is made to keep the banner in
3 gr.

SAB, *Librarians en Schoolmeesters*, no. 384, *Rekeningen van het gilde*, 1454-1523, fol. 49-50

Published: Weale, *Enlumineurs*, 275-276.

1. *I.e.*, 1465 (n.s.)

2. St.Luke's day was celebrated on 18 October (see Strubbe & Voet, 496).

3. A 'stoop' equals 4 pints (see Weale, *Enlumineurs*, 117).

Doc. 73. 1465, 2 September - 1466, 1 September -- *Excerpt from the municipal accounts: Expenditure made for the Triumphal Entries of Charles the Bold and the Lord of Goux into the city of Bruges.*

[fol. 47] Huutgheven van ghemeene zaken

[fol. 50] Item xx in sprockle betaelt ten bliden eersten incommene van minen gheduchten heere van Charrolois hem hier binden stede commende naer zine voyaigen vanden oorloghen van Vranckrycke ende Ludeke van diverschen remonstrancien van historien in stommen personaigen ende andersins alst blyct biden cedulen vanden ghenen diet tlast daer of hadden xxv lb. iiij s. vj d.gr.

[...]

Doe betaelt van drie prysen die ghegheven waren den scoonsten vierende ende best personaigen tooghende als van ghilden, gheen ambocht zynde, van ghebuers uut diverschen wycken ende straten ter voors. incompste, de somme van
ij lb.gr.

Doe betaelt den vj hooftmannen vander poortrie thulpen vanden costen doe zy hadden int tooghen van hueren personaige voor dhoude halle v lb. xv s. vj d.gr.

[fol. 54] Item xxiiij in hoymaent, ghegheven bi ordonnance vander camere, edele ende moghenden heere, minen heere van Goux ende van Wedergrate, canchellier ons hards gheduchts heere ende prinche van Bourgoigne, ter causen van zinen eersten bliden

incommene als canchellier binner deser stede van Brucghe in zilverine juweelen, weerdich
zynde xxx lb.gr.

[fol. 47] *Expenditure of ordinary nature*

[fol. 50] *Item 20 in February on the occasion of the first triumphal entry of my redoubtable lord of Charolais who entered the city after his voyage to the war of France and Liège (?), paid for performances of histories in mute personages and for other items as mentioned in the certificate of those who were responsible for it*

25 lb. 4 s. 6 d.gr.

Paid for three prizes for those who celebrated the best and showed the best personages, [namely] of the guilds, except the corporations, of companions of diverse neighborhoods and streets on the occasion of the aforementioned entry, the sum of 3 lb.gr.

Paid the 6 chiefs of the sections as stipend for the expenditure they made for showing their personages in front of the Old Hall 5 lb. 15 s. 6 d.gr.

[fol. 54] *Item 24th of July, given by the order of the chamber, to the noble and mighty lord, mylord of Goux and of Wedergrate, chancellor of our very redoubtable lord and prince of Burgundy, on the occasion of his first triumphal entry into the city of Bruges as chancellor, silver jewelry worth*
30 lb.gr.

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1465-66, fol. 50, 54.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 497 (fol. 54).

Doc. 74. 1465, 12 September - 1466, 11 September -- *Marcke le Bungeteur, broker at Bruges, is paid for a book of hours on black parchment.*

Marcke le Bungeteur, poorter ende wisselare te Brugghe, van eenen boucke inhoudende Onser Vrouwe Ghetyden ende anderen Godtsdienst, met guldenen ende zilveren lettren ghescreven in zwart parchemyne, ende met goude ende zilver gheillumineert, ende anders rikelicke ghestoffeert, ieghen hem ghecocht c saluten, ende mynen voors. gheduchten heere van Chaerlois van svoors. lants weghe in Sporcle voors. ghegheven ende gheschoncken,

betaelt ij^c 1 lb. par.

Iosse van Straten, merssenier te Brugghe, van eenre ellen wits zidins lakene daerin tvoors. ghetyde gheleidt ende gheschoncken was, betaelt ij lb. par.

Marcke le Bungeteur, burgher and broker at Bruges, for a book containing the Hours of Our Lady and other prayers, written with golden and silver letters on black parchment, and illuminated with gold and silver, and for the rest richly decorated, bought from him for 100 salus, and given and presented to my said redoubtable lord of Charolais by the said land 250 lb. par.

Ioosse van Straten, merchand at Bruges, for one yard of white silk, in which the said book of hours was wrapped and presented, paid 2 lb. par.

RAB, *Rekeningen van het Vrije*, 1465-66, fol. 152v.

Published: Weale, *Enlumineurs*, 115.

Doc. 75. 1466, 3 February -- *Verdict by the Law of Bruges stipulating that the painters are allowed to have one counter only.*

Upten derden dach van spoorcle int jaer ons Heeren m iiii^C lxxv (1), so was den deken, vinders ende den ghemeenen ambochte vanden beeldmakers ende zadelaers ende datter toebehoort, geconsenteert ende ghegheven by manieren van cueren, te meersene ende te mindere tallen tyden alst scepenen goetdincken zal, dat van nu voort an niemant vanden voors. ambochte winckel houdende niet gheoorloven en zal meer dat eenen tooch te houdene. Dus es te verstane dat de ghone vanden voors. ambochte die wercken up cameran of achterwaert vanden strate ende gheenen tooch en hebben binnen haerlieder werchuse, dat die zullen moghen houden eenen tooch daert hemlieden ghelieven zal, te wetene, elc van hemlieden van zinen lede ende met broedere. Ende behouden den cleederscrivers van haerlieder werc te tooghene ende te vercoopene up Sent Jans brugghe ende daer omtrent, naer haerlieder costumen. Ende zo wie de contrarie dade dat ware upde boete van iij lb. par., tallen tyden dat hy bevonden ware de contrarie dade. Actum ut supra.

On the third day of February in the year of Our Lord 1465 (1), the dean, administrators and the members of the corporation of the image makers and saddlers and all who are affiliated, are ordered and given by way of a charter, to be expanded or reduced at any given time by the aldermen as they approve, [stipulating] that from now on, no member of the said corporation who keeps a shop is allowed to have more than one counter. This means that those of the said corporation who work in a room or on the backside of the street and have no counter in their workshop, are allowed to have their counter wherever they want, to be known, each by himself or with other members. And the cloth painters [are allowed to] display and sell their work on the bridge of St. John's or in the neighborhood, as they are used to. And whoever infringes on this, will be fined 3 lb.par, each time he is caught. Done as above.

SAB, *Civiele Sententiën van de Vierschaar*, no. 157, register 3: 1465-1469, fol. 20.

[unpublished]

1. *I.e.*, 3 February 1466 (n.s.)

Doc. 76. 1466 -- *Payment in the accounts of St. Donatian's to Johannes Maelkin for painting bars*

[fol. 11] Extradatum in diversis usibus [...]

Item solutum Andrei Alart, carpentaris, pro tribus baculis resare in choro pendentis iij
lb. xij s.[par.]

[fol. 12] Item Johannes Maelkin, pictori, pro eisdem baculis depingendo
 iiij lb. iiij s.[par.]

[fol. 11] *Expenditure of diverse nature* [...]

Item paid to Andre Alart, carpenter, for repairing three bars that hang in the choir
3 lb 12 s.[par.]

[fol. 12] *Item to Johannes Maelkin, the painter, for painting these bars* 4
lb. 4 s.[par.]

BAB, *St. Donaas, Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, no. G.5, 1466, fol. 12v.

Published: Dewitte, 1978, 80 (fragmentarily)

Doc. 77. 1466, 2 September - 1467, 1 September -- *Excerpt from the municipal accounts:
Payment to Petrus Christus for repairing the Tree of Jesse.*

[fol. 46v] Huutgheven van ghemeene zaken [...]

[fol. 53v] [...] Item betaelt Pieter Christus ter causen van dat hij repareerde met nieuwen
scilderien, den boom van Jesse, dienende upden dach vander voors. processie up rekeninghe
ende in minderinghe van ix lb. x s.gr.,

v lb.gr.

[fol. 46v] *Expenditure for ordinary business* [...]

[fol. 53v] [...] *Item paid Pieter Christus for repairing with new paintings the Tree of Jesse, to be used
on the aforementioned day of the procession, on account and as advance on 9 lb. 10 s.gr.,*
 5 lb.gr.

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1466-67, fol. 46v, 53v.

Published: W.H.J. Weale, "Pierre et Sébastien Christus," *Le Beffroi*, I (1863), 237.

Doc. 78. 1466, 11 September - 1467, 10 September -- *Philip de Mazerolles is paid for illumination of a Black book of Hours presented by the Franc to the Count of Charolais.*

Philipse de Masereulle, de welke van onze gheduchten heere ende prince te illuminerene ende verlichtene heift eenen bouc inhoudende Onser Vrouwen Ghetide ende andre zaken van devocien, onzen voors. gheduchten heere ende prince van svoors. lands weghe ghegheven int iaer xiiiij^c lxxv, eer hy vulmaect was ter ghenouchten van den vorn. onzen gheduchten heere etc., up diverse figuren ende historien die hy ghenomen heift daerin te makene, ghegheven ende betaelt ten scrivene van den zelven onzen gheduchten heere ende prince, ende bi wetene ende laste van der college van der wet cxx
lb. par.

Philipse de Masereulle, who received a book containing the Hours of the Virgin and other devotions from our redoubtable lord and prince to illuminate and [decorate with] miniatures, given to our said redoubtable lord and prince by the said land in the year 1465, before it was completed to the satisfaction of our aforementioned redoubtable lord etc., for diverse figures and miniatures that he has made in it, given and paid at the demand of our redoubtable lord and prince, and acknowledged and on the command of the magistrate 120 lb. par.

RAB, *Rekeningen van het Vrije*, 1466-67, fol. 88.

Published: Weale, *Enlumineurs*, 116.

Doc. 79. 1467, 3 January -- *Excerpt from the municipal accounts: payment to Jacob de Jonghe for decorative work.*

[fol. 33v] Huutgheven van stoffe ende wercke [...]
[fol. 35] [...] Item iij in lauwe betaelt Symoen Lodewyckx, den smit, van thoorloge te vermakene up de oude halle, viij s.gr. Item betaelt Jacob de Jonghe, den scildere, van tvoors. orloge te verschildene ende eenen ghehauwen steen metter stede wapene ooc te verschildene ende die te stellene ten Damme ander stedenhuus voor al vj s.gr., comt al tsamen
xiiiij s.gr.

[fol. 33v] *Expenditure for materials and work [...]*
[fol. 35] [...] *Item 3rd in January paid Symoen Lodewyckx, the blacksmith, for repairing the clock on the Oude Halle, 8 s.gr. Item paid Jacob de Jonghe, the painter, for painting the said clock and also for painting a carved stone with the arms of the city and placing it at the City Hall of Damme; for everything 6 s.gr., all together 14 s.gr.*

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1466-67, fol. 33v, 35.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 528, n.2 (inaccurately).

Doc. 80. 1467, 22 September -- *Janne de Solier is prohibited to give or deliver the disputed tapestries of Camus du Gardin.*

Den xxii en dach van septembre anno lxxvij, so was bevolen Janne de Solier dat hij de tapijtsen daer questie of es tusschen Joos de Bul ende Camus du Gardin niemene en gheve noch delivriere ten zij bij wetten ende consente vanden wet. Actum ut supra.

The 22 day of September in the year 67, was ordered to Janne de Solier that he should not give or deliver to anyone the tapestries which were disputed by Joos de Bul and Camus du Gardin, except by laws and consent of the magistrate. Done as above.

SAB, *Civiele Sententiën van de Vierschaar*, no. 157, register 3: 1465-1469, fol. 121v.

[unpublished]

Doc. 81. 1467, 10 August - 1468, 10 August -- *Petrus Christus pays his annual dues to the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Snow.*

[fol. 1] Rekenynghe Joos Van der Hooghelande, deken van der gilde van Onser Liever Vrouwe vander Snee die men hout in Onser Vrouwen kerke bin der stede van Brucghe mids Clais de Brauter, Clais (a.) de Bueckel, Heinderyc Van Hove, Jacob van der Castele, Joos van Damme, Xpristiaen Berthelemeus, hover zyenders, ende Lievin Gheeraerts, Heinderyc Coopman, Antonis Van Hove, Jacob de Vos de jonghe, Gildolf de Grooteeren, Ogier vander Braucke, Aernaute de Mellin, Mateus Canselier, zorghers der selver gilde ende dit anno lxxvij (1467) beghinnende x in oest ende hendende anno lxxvij (1468) x in oest [...]

[fol. 1v] Ontfaen in de busse van buuten [...]

Jan Nisune, scildere vj gr.

[fol. 2v] Willem Vrelant ij gr. [...]

[fol. 5v] Ontfaen in de busse vander kerke [...]

[fol. 6] [...]

Pieter Xpristiaen, scilder ij gr.

[...]

[fol. 9v] Ontfaen by my altiaer van mijn in commende in de ghilde anno als voren [...]

[fol. 10] [...]

Joris de Hane, de scilder ende zijn wijf vj gr.

[fol. 1] *Account by Joos Van der Hooghelande, dean of the guild of Our Lady of the Snow, held in Our Lady's church in the city of Bruges, with Clais de Brauter, Clais de Bueckel, Heinderyc Van Hove, Jacob van der Castele, Joos van Damme, Xpristiaen Berthelemeus, [as] supervisors, ende Lievin Gheeraerts, Heinderyc Coopman, Antonis Van Hove, Jacob de Vos de jonghe, Gildolf de Grootereen, Ogier vander Braucke, Aernaute de Mellin, Mateus Canselier, [as] officials of the same guild, commencing in the year 1467, 10 August, and ending in the year 1468, 10 August[...]*

[fol. 1v] *Received in the collecting boxes outside [...]*

Jan Nisune, painter *vj gr.*

[fol. 2v] *Willem Vrelant* *ij gr.*

[...]

[fol. 5v] *Received in the collecting boxes in the church [...]*

[fol. 6] [...]

Pieter Xpristiaen, painter *ij gr. [...]*

[fol. 9v] *Received by me during the whole year of newly accepted [members] of the guild in the aforementioned year*

[...]

[fol. 10] [...]

Joris de Hane, the painter and his wife *vj gr.*

a. 'bueck' crossed out.

RAB, *Kerkfabriek O.L.Vrouwe*, no. 1531, *Algemene rekeningen O.L.V.-ter-Sneeuw 1467-1499*, fols. 1-10.

[unpublished]

Doc. 82. 1467, 2 September - 1468, 1 September -- *Excerpts from the municipal accounts: expenditure made by the city for the Triumphal entry of Charles the Bold and for the Triumphal entry of Margaret of York.*

[fol. 31v] *Huutgheven van stoffe ende weercke*

[fol. 36v] *Item betaelt meester Michiel Goetghebuer, meester maets, van weercke by hem ghedaen doen an tabernakle daer de menestruelen van deser stede up spelen [...]*

Item betaelt Jacob de Jonghe, den schildere, vanden voors. barstweere ende de tabernakele te verghoudene ende te verschildren *iiij lb.gr.*

[fol. 41] *Huutgheven van lijfrenten upde xvj^c lb.gr. Tes te weten dat de voors. lijfrenten van*

xvj^c lb. gr. verstorven es toten eerste daghe van septembre lxiiij up xj^c lxxiiij lb. xv sgr. daerof dat betaelt es tghuent dat hier naer volcht

[...]

[fol. 65] *Huutgheven van ghemeene zaken*

[fol. 66] Doe [den laetsten dach in october] [...]

Item betaelt Jacob den Jonghe, den scildere, van eener groote guydone, xij pinyoenkins, een trompet, van schilderien ende fringhen daertoe ghelevert van zyden fatsoene

xxj s. iij d.gr.

[fol. 69] Item betaelt Colinet de May voor een zilverin verghulden cop die by ordonnancie van der wet, ten huwelicke van den buerchmeester van den courpse, Maertin Lem, van der stede weghe ghepresenteirt was, coste

vj lb. xij s.gr.

[fol. 69v] De incomste van onzen gheduchten heere Charles van Bourgogne hier binnen deser stede

Es te wetene dat onze voors. gheduchtich heere inne cam binne deser voors., ziner stede als prinche boven up tscепенen huus daer hy zynen eed dede upden ixsten dach van april int jaer m cccc lxxvij voor Paeschen.(1) Ende was hem aldaer ghepresenteirt ende ghegheven by ordonnancie vander wet, hoofdmannen ende dekenen van deser stede tzyne blydene incommenen twee zilverin verghulden beiden, te wetene een Sint Jooris ende een Sinte Baerbele, weghende tsame lxxj maerc v honsen ende v ynghelsen, costen wit cj lb. xvij s. iij d. gr. Item voor tgoud ende tfatsoen xlix lb. xvij s. vj d.gr. Comt al twelke betaelt was Pieter de Grutere

clj lb. xv s. ix d.gr.

[fol. 70] [...] Item betaelt Anthuenis de Roovere vanden steillagen te doen betemmerene upden dach vander voors. incomste, te wetene voor de Burchpoorte, voor Dhoude Halle ende vanden ramen ande Cruus poorte met alle den cleedren, schilderien ende personagen diere toebehoorden. Voor al

vij lb. xvij s. v d. [gr.]

[...]

Item betaelt Adriaen Scut ter causen van tween lederen kokeren by hem ghemaect omme de voors. beilden van Sint Jooris ende Sinte Baerbele, xxx s. gr. vanden sticke, comt

ij lb.gr.

Van costen ghedaen ten huuse van Olivier dHaze up den voors. dach, bi der wet

xxj s. x d.gr.

Item den zelve Oliviere van ghelde by hem verleyt, te wetene: twee sarsinoy weerckers die de zale boven int scepenen huus behynghen met tapytserie daer myn voors. gheduchten heere zynen eed dede

ij s.gr.

[...]

Van de voors. tapytsen te halene ende weder thuus te voerene

iiij gr.

[fol. 71v] [...] Item betaelt Pieter Christus ter cause van dat hy repareirde met nieuwen schilderien, den Boom van Yesse inde jaerschare voorleden ende die jeghen hem bevoorwaert ix lb. x s.gr. daerof hem ter laetster rekenynghe niet meer betaelt en was gherekent dan v lb. gr Dus hem hier over de vulle betalinghe iiij lb x. s.gr.

Item xj in meye betaelt Fransoys vanden Pitte ende Jacob den Jonghe, scilders, van dat zy den voorn. Boom van Yesse weder verschildert ende ghestoffeirt hebben ter voors. processie van meye lxxvij, hemlieden die besteid in tasweercke om

vij lb. viij s.gr.

[...]

[fol. 74] De incomste van onzer gheduchter princhesse

Es te wetene dat onzer voors. gheduchteghe princhesse haer entree dede hier binnen deser stede als nieuwe princhesse

tsondaechs den derden dach van hoymaend m cccc ende lxxvij. Ende was haer aldoe ghepresenteirt ende ghegheven by ordonnancie vander wet, hoofdmannen ende dekenen van deser.

[fol. 74v] stede tharen blyden incommene, een zelverin verghulden beilde van Sinte Margriete daer zoe naer ghenaeamt es, weghende tvoors. beilde xxxvij maerc een honze, costen metten fatsoene ende ontfync Pieter de Gruutere diet maecte alst blyct by zynre quitancie

lxxix lb. xiiij s. iiij d.gr.

Item betaelt Jacops weduwe Vanden Velde ter causen van een stick was weghende xiiij lb. te vj gr. ende vj miten tpond. Comt metten craene ghelde, viij lb. xv s. gr. Al welc was ende wyn ghepresenteert was onzer voors. gheduchter vrouwe. Comt

xj lb. iij s.

Item betaelt xx ghezellen die trompten ten Incommene van onzer gheduchter vrouwe upde poorte ende hallen vander stede. Elken xx gr. Comt

xxxiiij s. iiij d.gr.

Item betaelt Sylvester Vanden Broucke vander huere van xvij lakenen daer de voors. poorte vander stede mede behanghen was wit ende roode, ij s.gr. vanden sticke, comt xxxvj s.gr.

Ende vande voors. lakenen te hanghene mitsgaders ander cleene costen als roosen ende andre wel riekende cruden die van boven ghestroyt waren. Voor al vj s. iiij d.gr. Comt samen ij lb. ij s. iiij d.gr.

Item doe betaelt Jacop de Jonghe, den schildere, van diversche schilderie by hem ghemaect, als een helm van mynen gheduchten heere metten toysoene, twee loosanghen verwapent met mynen gheduchts heeren ende vrouwe wapenen, diversche menichten van zaeynels metten vierslaghe metter B ghecroont ende met blommen die men heet margriete, voor al

iiij lb. x s.gr.

Item doe betaelt van costen ghedaen tot Olivier Hazen daer de burchmeesters scepenen, raden, pensionarissen, ghecommitterden ende andre vergadert waren veeleydende de comste van onzer gheduchter vrouwe omme jeghen haer te ghane ende te wellecommene

xiiij s.gr.

Item betaelt Anthuenis de Roovere vanden stalage te doen betemmeren upden dach vander voors. incomste dewelke stond an tnoordoosthende vander ouder halle, die te doen stoffeirne van schilderie ende personagen diere toebehoorden. Voor al

xiiij lb. vj s.gr.

Item ghegheven onzer gheduchter vrouwe van Bourgogne, dhoude by ordonnancie vander wet, hoofdmannen ende dekenen van deser stede als bekennende de eere mine ende vriendschap die zie deze voors. stede ghedaen ende bewezen hadde mids dat zoe altijts an onzen gheduchten heere ende prinche hare zuene solliciteirde ende de hand daer an hilt dat de feeste van zynder brulocht haer hier houde zoude ommen deser stede, twelke alzo ghebuerde, c goude leeuwen, valent

xxv lb. xvj s. viij d.gr.

[fol. 77] [...]

Item om dies wille dat onzen gheduchten heere ghelieft heeft de feeste van zynen huwelicke te houdene hier binnen zynre stede van Brugghe ende dat die vander wet vander Vrye ter eere ende weerdichede van onzen voors. gheduchten heere ende ten coste vander lande hemlieder chierlic cleeden met zydene abyten ende huere pensionarissen ende cleercken niet jeghens staende de armoede van zyne voors. stede was van cause ende begheerde dat zyne goede lieden vander wet van Vrye insghelyckx ghecleet zyn zoude te coste van commissien daer up ghegheven. Zo es achtervolghende die ghecocht.

[fol. 77v] jeghens Michiel Arnolfyn omme de cleedynghe van xxxj persoonen te wetene

bailliu, scoutheeten, burchmeesters, xij scepenen, xij raden ende iij gecommiteerden, iiiij^c xxxiiij ellen zwart laken van damast te v s. vj d. gr. delle, comt c xix lb. vj s. Ende jeghens Symoene Foret, drie fyne zwarte lakenen omme de cleedynghe vanden pensionarissen ende cleercke die te camere behoorden, costen xxviiij lb. iiiij s.gr., comt al c xlviij lb. xj s. Dus hier over de helt ten laste vander stede
lxxiiij lb. xvij s.gr.

[...]

Item betaelt diverschen schilders, beildesnidens ende andre ghezellen weerckende int huus vanden parmentiers, an zekere weercken dienende ter brulocht van onzen gheduchten heere, thulpe van huere costen die zy ghedaen hebben hier binnen der stede ende assise ghegholden van huere drancke van wyne
iiij lb.gr.

[fol. 31v] *Expenditure for materials and work*

[fol. 36v] *Item paid master Michiel Goetghebuer, master mason, for work done by him on the tabernacle on which the minstrels of the city play [...]*

Item paid Jacob de Jonghe, the painter for gilding and painting the aforementioned parapet and tabernacle

3 lb.gr.

[fol. 41] *Expenditure for annuities on 1600 lb.gr. To be known that the aforementioned annuity on 1600 lb.gr. has been raised on the first day of September, 1463 to 1673 lb.gr., of which is paid, the following [...]*

[fol. 65] *Expenditure of ordinary nature*

[fol. 66] *Then [the last day of October] [...]*

Item paid Jacob den Jonghe, the painter, for painting a large banner, 12 pennons, a trompet and for fringes made of silk delivered for this,

21 s. 3 d.gr.

[fol. 69] *Item paid to Colinet de May for a gilt silver cup, presented by the city, on the ordonnance of the Law, at the wedding of the mayor of the militia, Maertin Lem, cost*

6 lb. 12 s.gr.

[fol. 69v] *The entry of our redoubtable lord Charles of Burgundy, here within this city [...]*

It is to be known that our aforementioned redoubtable lord entered his said city as prince upstairs in the City Hall, where he pledged his oath on the 9th day of April in the year 1467 (1) before Easter. And there, was presented and given to him at the ordinance of the Law, mayors and aldermen of this city, on the occasion of his triumphal entry, two gilt silver statues, known Saint Georges and Saint Barbara, weighing together 71 mark 5 ounces and 5 english, costing 101 lb 17 s. 3 d.gr. Item for the gold and the execution 49 lb. 18 s. 6 d.gr. Amounts to [and] which was paid to Pieter de Grutere

151 lb. 15 s. 9 d.gr.

[fol. 70] [...] Item paid Anthuenis de Roovere for having the scaffoldings constructed on the day of the said entry, known in front of the Burgpoort, the Oude Halle, and for the frames at the Kruispoort with all the fabrics, paintings and personages that it comprises, for everything

8 lb. 18 s. 5 d.[gr.]

[...]

Item paid Adriaen Scut for two leather containers made by him for the said statues of Saint Georges and Saint Barbara, at 30 s.gr. a piece, makes 3 lb.gr.

For expenditure made by the Law at the house of Olivier dHaze on the aforementioned day

21 s. 10 d.gr.

Item the same Oliviere for advanced payments, to be known: two tapestry makers who hung tapestries in the room upstairs in the City Hall, where my aforementioned redoubtable lord pledged his oath

2 s.gr.

[...]

For getting the said tapestries and bringing them back 4 gr.

[fol. 71v] [...] Item paid Pieter Christus for repairing with new paintings the Tree of Jesse last year, contracted to him for 9 lb. 10 s.gr., of which was given to him in last [year's] accounts no more than 5 lb.gr. Consequently, here [given] to him towards the full amount

4 lb 10 s.gr.

Item 11 in May paid Fransoys vanden Pitte and Jacob de Jonghe, painters, for heaving repainted and decorated the aforementioned Tree of Jesse for the aforementioned procession of May 68, paid to them for contracted work

7 lb. 8 s.gr.

[...]

[fol. 74] The entry of our redoubtable princess

It is to be known that our aforementioned redoubtable princess did her entry in this city as the new princess

on Sunday, the 3rd day of July 1468. And then was presented and given to her at the ordinance of the Law, mayors and aldermen of this.

[fol. 74v] city, on the occasion of her triumphal entry, a gilt silver statue of Saint Margaret, after whom she was named, weighing the said statue 38 mark 1 ounce, costing the execution included and received by Pieter de Grutere, who made it, as is shown in his receipt

79 lb. 14 s. 4 d.gr.

Item paid Jacob Vanden Velde's widow for a piece of wax, weighing 13 lb. at 6 gr. and 6 miten a pond. Totals with the costs [paid for the] crane, 8 lb. 15 s.gr. All this wax and whine was presented to our aforementioned redoubtable lady. Amounts to 11 lb. 3 s.gr.

Item paid 20 companions who played the trumpet on the occasion of the entry of our redoubtable lady on the gates and halls of the city. Each 20 gr., Amounts to

33 s. 4 d.gr.

Item paid Sylvester Vanden Broucke for rent of 18 white and red sheets which were hung on the said city gates, 2 s.gr each, amounts to 36 s.gr. And for hanging the said sheets, and also for small expenditure for roses and other well scenting herbs that were strewn from above. For everything 6 s. 4 d.gr. Amounts to 2 lb. 2 s. 4 d.gr.

Item then paid Jacob de Jonghe, the painter, for diverse paintings made by him: a helmet of my redoubtable lord with the Fleece, two lozanges with the coats of arms of my redoubtable lord and lady, diverse flints and firestones crowned with a B and with flowers, that are called, daisies; for everything
3 lb. 10 s.gr.

Item paid for expenditure made at Olivier Hazen's where the mayors, aldermen, councillors, pensionaries, representatives and others were meeting to prepare the coming of our redoubtable lady, to meet her and greet her

14 s.gr.

Item paid Anthuenis de Roovere for having constructed the scaffolding on the day of the said entry, which was installed at the north eastren side of the Oude Halle, for having it decorated with paintings and for the personages that it comprised
14 lb. 6 s.gr.

Item given to our redoubtable lady of Burgundy, on the ordinance of the Law, mayors, and deans of this city in recognition for the honor, love and friendship that she expressed towards this said city by solliciting our redoubtable lord and prince, her son, and seeing to it that the festivities for his marriage would be held in this city, which also happened, 100 golden lions, worth

25 lb. 16 s. 8 d.gr.

[fol. 77] [...] *Item because our redoubtable lord chose to hold the festivities for his marriage here within his city of Bruges and that those of the Law of the Franc, to the honor and dignity of our aforementioned redoubtable lord, and at the expense of the Land, had themselves elegantly dressed with silk habits and their pensionaries and clerks, notwithstanding the poverty of their aforementioned city, they desired that their good people of the Law of the Franc were similarly dressed at the expense of taxes imposed for this purpose. These were bought from the following:*

[fol. 77v] *to Michiel Arnolfyn for the clothes of 31 people, known the bailiff, sherrifs, mayors, 12 aldermen, 12 councillors and 3 representatives, 434 yards black fabric of damask at 5 s. 6 d.gr. a yard, amounts to 119 lb. 6 s. And to Symoene Foret, three fine black sheets for the clothes of the pensionaries and the clerks of the Chamber, costs 28 lb. 4 s.gr., amounts all to 147 lb. 11 s. So, half of which is at the expense of the city*

73 lb. 17 s.gr.

Item paid diverse painters, sculptors and other companions working in the house of the tailors, on certain works to be used for the marriage of our redoubtable lord, in assistance of the expenditure they made here within the city and for the excises on their wine

3 lb.gr.

SAB, *Stadsrekening*, no. 216, 1467-68, fol. 31v, 36v, 41, 42v, 65, 66, 69, 69v-70, 74-74v, 77-77v.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, V, 556, 569-572; VI, 109, 118 (inaccurately); Schouteet, I, 284 (partly).

1. *I.e.*, 1468 (n.s.)

Doc. 83. 1467, 10 September - 1468, 15 September -- *Maerc le Bungeteur, Morissis de Haec, Willemme van Vrelant and Passchiere van der Wieghe receive wine from the magistrate of the Franc; Philippe de Mazerolles receives an arrear payment for illuminating a Black Book of Hours.*

[fol. 63] Van iijj kannen wiins te vj gr. den stoop, Saterdaechs den xxxsten in April ghepresenteert Maerc le Bungeteur, Morissis de Haec, Willemme van Vrelant ende Passchiere van der Wieghe, costen met draghen 1 s.par.

[fol. 77v] Phillipse de Mazereule, camerknecht ende verlichtere ons gheduchts heeren ende princen, de welke ghenomen heift te verlichtene ende vulmakene eenen bouc inhoudende Onser Vrouwen Ghetighe ende vele andere zaken van devotien, onzen voors. gheduchten heere ende prince int iaer xiiij^c lxxv, van svoors. lands weghe ghepresenteert ende ghegheven imperfect, ende zident te zinen scrivene ende begherten gheconsenteerd te doene vulmaken omme de somme van xxxv lb. gr., makende iijj^c xx lb. par.; betaelt over de reste van dien hem noch ghebrekende iij^c lb.par.

[fol. 63] *For 4 jars of wine at 6 gr a 'stoop'(1), presented on Saturday 30 April, to Maerc le Bungeteur, Morissis de Haec, Willemme van Vrelant and Passchiere van der Wieghe, cost, the transport included, 50 s.par.*

[fol. 77v] *Phillipse de Mazereule, chamberlain and illuminator of our redoubtable lord and prince, who accepted to illuminate and complete a book, containing the Hours of Our Lady and many other devotions, which was given and presented unfinished to our said redoubtable lord and prince in the year 1465 by the said land, and since then, we have agreed to have it completed at his demand and request for the sum of 35 lb. gr., equals 420 lb. par; paid what was still owed to him 300 lb. par.*

RAB, *Fonds van het Vrije*, no.203, *Rekeningen van het Vrije*, 1467-68, fol. 63, 77v.

Published: Weale, *Enlumineurs*, 116-117.

1. a 'stoop' equals 4 pints. (see Weale, *Enlumineurs*, 117).

Doc. 84. 1468, 24 March -- *Pauwels Bieze and Pieter van Olmen act as guarantors for Camus du Gardin in his conflict with Joos de Bul.*

Pauwels Bieze, Pieter van Olmen, poorters, warden, boorghen ende elc voor al over Camus du Gardin jeghen Joos de Bul omme in ghebreke vanden voors. Camus te betalene tguend dat byden awiters tusschen den voors. partijen ghecooren of anderssins wettelike ghewyst zal worden anghaende den costen die de voors. Joos heesch by hem ghedaen zynde ter causen vanden tapijtsen daer questie of es ende diesser ancleift. Actum xxiiii martij anno lxxij (1), presentibus Greffin, Danckaert.

Ende de voors. Camus beloofde zine voors. boorghen quite ende scadeloos thoudene vanden voors. boorchtucht. Actum ut supra.

Pauwels Bieze, Pieter van Olmen, burghers, wardens, guarantors, who would each pay for Camus du Gardin against Joos de Bul, in case the said Camus fails, all that which the judges will determine or otherwise legally stipulate concerning the costs that the said Joos demanded, which he had done for the tapestries that were disputed and all that is related to it. Done 24 March in the year 67 (1), in the presence of Greffin, Danckaert.

And the said Camus promised to keep his said guarantors indemnified for the said bail. Done as above.

SAB, *Civiele Sententiën van de Vierschaar*, no. 157, Register 3: 1465-1469, fol. 121v.

[unpublished]

1. 24 March 1468 (n.s.)

Doc. 85. 1468, 1 July - 31 December -- *Rutger Hazenhore is paid for painting and gilding two pipes in Onze-Lieve-Vrouw at Bruges.*

[fol. 221] Dit es tuutgheven [...]

Item betaelt Rutgheer, de schilder, van ij groote pipen (1) te verschildenne ende te vergoudene, voor zynen arbeyt iiij s. ij d.gr.

[fol. 221] *This is the expense [...]*

Item paid Rutgheer, the painter, for painting and gilding 2 large pipes, for his work 4 s. 2 d.gr.

RAB, *Fonds Onze-Lieve-Vrouw, Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, 1464-1471, fol. 221.

Published: Schouteet, I, 232.

1. Schouteet interpretes this as organ pipes.

Doc. 86. 1468 -- *Payment in the accounts of St. Donatian's to Johannes vander Moere for illumination*

[fol. 11] Extradatum in diversis usibus [...]

[fol. 12v] Item, Magistro Johannes vander Moere pro illuminatione et correctione libri Catholicon

xiiij lb. viij s.par.

[fol. 11] *Expenditure of diverse nature* [...]

[fol. 12v] *Item, to master Johannes vander Moere for the illumination and the correction of the book 'Catholicon'*

14 lb. 8 s.par.

BAB, *St. Donaas, Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, no. G.5, 1468, fol. 11, 12v.

Published: Dewitte, 90. (fragmentarily)

Doc. 87. 1468, 14 August - 1469, 28 August -- *Petrus Christus pays his annual dues to the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Snow.*

[fol. 17] Rekeninghe ende bewijs van alden ontfanghe ende huutghevenne bi my, Jan de Blazere, als deken van Onzer Vrouwe Van der Snee beghinnende den xiiijten dach in oest int jaer mcccc lxxvij, hendende den xxviiijten dach van oest int jaer mcccc lxxix [...]

[fol. 18] Ander ontfanc van jaerghelde ontfaen metter busse int ommegeaen van buten der houder veste [...]

[fol. 19] [...]

Willem Vrelant

ij gr.

[fol. 19v] Den ontfaen vanden jaerghelde int ommegeaen metter busse binnen de houde veste [...]

[fol. 22] [...]

Anthonis van Nukem

iiij gr.

Maykin sBruunicx

ij gr.

Jacop van Bochoutte

ij gr.

[...]

Pieter Xpistus

ij gr.

[fol. 33] Noch andre betalinghen ghedaen binnen dezen vors. jare [...]

[fol. 33v] Item betaelt den schildere van de balcke te verschilderne daer de huuzen an hanghen iij s.gr.

[fol. 34] Item betaelt Jan van Hoorne, den schilder, van de vors. vauteringhe te verschilderne met inghelen ende andersins, daerin begrepen de iiij pilaren, in al

ij lb. x s.gr.

Item noch betaelt denzelven van xx nieu vanekins ende van eenen nieuwen stoc te verschilderne daer men de keersen up stelt, in al vj s.gr.

[fol. 34v] Item betaelt Pieter Cazembroot van te maeckene het raemkin twelke hanghet boven der duere also men inden ommegeaen comt daer in dat ghemaelt es een marie-beilde metten ghildebroeders omtrent xvj s.gr.

Hier thoe heift ghegheven een persoon ij s.gr., dus betaelt
xiiij s.gr.

[fol. 17] *Account and confirmation of all receipts and expenditure by me, Jan de Blazere, as dean of Our Lady of the Snow, commencing 1468, 14 August, and ending 1469, 28 August [...]*

[fol. 18] *Other receipt of annual dues received in the collecting box outside the old fortress [...]*

[fol. 19] [...]

Willem Vrelant 2 gr.

[fol. 19v] *Annual dues received in the collecting box in the old fortress [...]*

[fol. 22] [...]

Anthonis van Nukem 4 gr.

Maykin sBruunicx 2 gr.

Jacop van Bochoutte 2 gr.

[...]

Pieter Xpristus 2 gr.

[fol. 33] *Other payments made during the aforementioned year [...]*

[fol. 33v] *Item paid the painter for painting the beams on which the hoods hang
3 s.gr.*

[fol. 34] *Item paid Jan van Hoorne, the painter, for painting the said vaults with angels and other things, the 4 columns included; for everything 2 lb. 10 s.gr.*

Item also paid to the same for painting 20 new pennons and one new pole on which the candles are placed 6 s.gr.

[fol. 34v] *Item paid Pieter Cazembroot for making the frame that hangs above the door in the ambulatory, in which is painted an image of Mary surrounded by the brethren of the guild
16 s.gr.*

For this someone has given 2 s.gr., thus paid 14 s.gr.

RAB, *Kerkfabriek O.L.Vrouwe*, no. 1531, *Algemene rekeningen O.L.V.-ter-Sneeuw 1467-1499*, fols. 17-34v.

Published: Schouteet, I, 98, 265 (Pieter Cazenbroot and Jan van Hoorne-entries only)

Doc. 88. 1469, 20 June -- *Contract between the representatives of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Dry Tree, amongst whom Petrus Christus, and the Franciscans of Bruges.*

Cond ende kennelic zy allen den ghonen die desen chaertere zullen zien oft hooren lesen, uute dien dat tusschen den notablen ende werden personen vanden eerbaren gheselscepe ende ghildebroederscepe vander cappelle der glorieuser ende reyner maghet Maria, staende binden cloostre ende convente vanden freren minueren in Brugghe, an deen zyde, ende ons gardien meesters ende vaders vanden voors. cloostre ende convente over ende inde name

vanden ghemeenen broeders ende gheselscepe vanden voors. convente, an dandere. Zekere queste ende gheschillen gheweist ende ghezyn hebben ter causen van eender lettre onder voors. convents zeghele in tiden voorleden ghegheven bi wylen onzen voorders, gardien meesters ende vaders vanden voors. convente, ghewaghende van diversschen messen, sermoenen ende anderen kerkelicke ceremonien binder voors. capelle te moeten doene omme zekere loon ende aelmoessen der over tontfanghene, daerof wy gardien meesters ende vaders noch ooc onse voorders binnen zekere termyn van jaren copien noch registres binnen den zelven convente ghevonden en hebben, daerute dat diverssche fauten ende ghebreken bi ygnorancien zo te bemoedene es ghevallen zijn. Ende het zo zy dat wy over ende inde name vanden voors. convente zo verre ende zo breede metten voors. gheselscepe vanden voors. drooghenboome in communicatie commen zyn dat wy daerof veertenst ende verleken zyn bi wetene ende consente van onzen eerwerdeghen vader in Godt, den ministre van Vranckericke, meester Claise Guyotely, docteur inder helegher godheyt ende theologie, inde naervolghende maniere. So eist dat wy gardien meesters ende vaders ende al tghemeene vanden voors. convente over ons ende onze naercommers, beloft hebben ende bi desen onzen lettren al noch beloven bi wetene, consente ende ottroye vanden voors. onzen eerwerdeghen vader ende prelaed als boven ten eeuweghen daghen ter eere ende werdichede der voors. glorieuser maghet Marie ende ter zalicheyt ende lavenesse vanden broeders ende zusters gheestelic ende weerlic levende ende doode vanden voors. gheselscepe ende ghildebroederscepe te doene of te doen doene de naervolghende messen, sermoenen ende ander ceremonien hier onder verclaerst up de peynen ende broken daer bi begrepen: Ende eerst inde voors. capelle te lesene of te zinghene alle daghe eene messe, te wetene tsondaches eene zinghende messe vander voors. glorieuser maghet Marie, smaendaechs eene messe te lesene over alle zieken, svrindaechs vanden helegghen cruuse, sdincendaechs, swoensdaechs, sdonderdaechs ende saterdaechs vander voors. glorieuser maghet, het en ware dat up eenighe vanden voors. daghen camen notabelen ende feestelike daghen up welke men danne lesen zal moghen vanden voors. daghen. Ende al diere ghelyke up alle andere daghen die den voors. gheselscepe ghelieven zal te ordonneren omme zielmessen of uutvaerden te doene te haerliedder devotie die wij ghehouden zullen lezen of zinghen zal ghehouden zijn vooren of naer der voors. messe eene drooghe messe te lesene van Onservrauwen. Ende welke messen wy ende onse naercommers ghehouden zullen zijn te doene, te wetene inden zomer tusschen den zessen ende zevene hueren te verstante van maerte toot Baefmesse (1) ende inden wintere van Baefmesse toot maerte tusschen den zevene ende den achten hueren. Van al welken diensten, messen ende anderen ceremonien de dekene ende zorghers vanden voors. gheselscepe ende ghildebroederscepe voordan ghehouden zullen zijn den voors. convente jaerlicx daervooren te besorghene in caritaten ende aelmoesenen, de somme van drie ponden grooten Vlaemscher munte ten drie paymenten siaers waerof teerste wesen ende vallen zal te midwintere (2) int jaer duust vierhondert neghene ende tsestich, tander te meye anno tseventich ende tderde ten hende vanden jare ende immer ombegrepen tderde octave vander upvaart der voors. glorieuser Maghet Marie die men jaerlicx houdt telken halfougste up welken dach altoos tjaer beghinsel ende hende nemen zal ende also voort ten eeuwegen daghen.(3) Ende waert dat wy, gardien meesters vaders ende tvoors. conventd of onze naercommers in faulten ende ghebreken vielen up eenighen vanden voors. daghen de voors.

messe te doene, zo beloven van sdaechs daer naer te doen doene binder voors. cappelle twee messen zonder eenich wederzeggene. Dies zo zal de cleric vander voors. gilde voor tConfiteor van elker messe die men lesen of zinghen zal ghehouden zijn of de costre vander voors. kerke te luudene of te doen luudene de belle vander voors. ghilde drie waerssten, ten hende dat tvolc inde voors. kerke wesende te tyde ter voors. cappelle commen moghen. Voord dat wij broeders vors. ten eewighen daghen ghehouden zullen zijn upde vive principale feestelike daghen vande voors. glorieuser maghet te doen doene een sermoen bi eenen vanden voors. broeders vanden convente voor twelke sermoen et convent den broeder vernoughen zal ende vuldoen. Ende eene messe met dyakene ende subdiakene ende al diere ghelike upden helegghen kersdach, nieudagh dartiendach,(4) paessche dach, assenwoens dach, sinxen dach ende alder heleggher dach, eene ghelyke messe met dyakene. Ende ghesworen vanden voors. gheselscepe den voors. convente ghehouden zullen zijn te besorghene telken meye de somme van tien schellinghen ende zesse penninghen groten, dies zo zal tvoors. convent ghehouden zijn te besorghene ende te ghevene telken vanden voors. vijf feesten van Onservrauwen den broedere die tsermoen doen zal zesse groten voors. wel verstaen zynde daer eenich vanden voors. ghildebroeders naermaels uut devocien anderen zinghende messen begheerden ghedaen thebbene dat wij, gardien ende broeders voors. ende onse naercommers, ghehouden zullen zijn die te doene ons ende onse naercommers van dien recompenserende ende loonende in avenante vanden voors. anderen messen. Ende zo welken tiden dat den zelven gheselscepe vanden voors. ghilde ghelieven zal eenighe zielmessen over eenighe broeders of zusters overleden zynde deser werelt ghedaen te hebbene dat wij die ghehouden zullen zijn te doene met diakene ende subdiakene. Den priestere die de voors. messe doen zal daervooren hebbende viere grooten, diake ende subdiake elken twee grooten, ende den zesse broeders die de voors. messe zinghen zullen, elken eenen groote, den costre voor zijn arbeyt ende moeyte, twee grooten. Dies zo zal de voors. priestere die de messe doen zal ghehouden zijn ter offerande te lesene over de zielen vanden dooden ende allen zielen De Profundis ende eene collecte daertoe dienende. Voordt zo zullen zij noch, gaerdien meesters ende vaders vanden voors. convente ende onze naercommers ten eeuwegghen daghen ghehouden zijn alle jare naer allen zielen dach te doen doene binder voors. capelle, eene zinghende messe van Requiem met diake en subdiake ten trooste ende lavenesse vanden ghildebroeders ende zusters danne deser werelt overleden ende alle gheloveghe zielen ende al diere ghlyke ter offerande te doen zeggene ende den priester te doen lesene een Deprofundis ende collecte als boven. Ende zullen also de voors. deken, ghesworen ende ghildebroeders ghehouden werden daer te commene ende te offerne den voors. convente blivende de offer kerssen ende penninghen die ten exequien of zielmessen commen ende vallen zullen. Es voordt tusschen ons ende den voors. ghildebroeders ghesloten ende over een ghedregghen es dat der voors. capelle voordan toebehooren ende bliven zal tapport vervallen ende proffijten van wasse, beylden, kerssen, zelve, cappen, pelders, ornamenten ende andere ghelyke kerkelicke juweelen die der voors. ghilde inde cappelle ghebracht zullen werden in voormt van beteringhen, beloften, mirakelen, devocien of bi anderen procuracien uutghedaen dat den voors. convent alleene toebehooren ende bliven zal al tghuent dies men ter offerande binder voors. messe offeren zal het zij ghelt, kerssen, wyn, brood, vleesch of andere ghiften ende tote dien alle de profitten die commen ende volghen zullen van eeuighen sepultueren

ofte lyken zonder daer inne de voors. cappelle of ghildebroeders eenich recht of onderwindinghe te moghen hebbene. Ende zullen de voors. ghildebroeders vander voors. ghilde ten autare vander zelver glorieuser maghet up hare vive principale feesten moghen zegnen ende doen zegnen al diere ghelyke binder octave vanden zelven feeste naer thuutwysen van huerlieder bulle mids dat tvoors. convent vanden voors. vervallen ende proffijten hebben zal van elker feeste twaelf grooten ende den costre vander voors. kerke voor de voors. vijf feesten naer doude costume vijf grooten. Ghebuerdet ooc dat eenich meinssche inde voors. ghilde wesende of der buuten uut devocien begheerde binder voors. cappelle sepulture te hebbene of daer begraven te zine, dat zullen de vaders, broeders ende tghemeene convent moghen gheven ende consenteren zo zy diet begheeren zullen met hemlieden veereenen ende verlycken zullen commen te verstane ten proffyte ende oorboore vanden voors. convente. Mids dat wy over ons ende onze naercommers den voors. ghilde broeders ende zusters gheconsenteert hebben ende al noch consenteren inde voors. cappelle eene ghemeene sepulture te hebbene ende te makene thueren costen elken zyn recht behouden te verstane vanden ghuenen die daer van ouden tiden huere sepulture ghehat hebben, danof den convente dienende naer der ouder ende goeder costume. Altoos wel verstaende daer vrienden ende maghen van eenighe dooden die men daer begraven zal breeder devocie hadden van diensten, messen, exequien of tlichame met processien ghehaelt te zine ofte int abydt van Sinte Franchoise begraven te zine, dat zullen moghen doen, den voors. convente daerof recompenserende zo zys eens vallen ende wesen zullen. Voordt zo zullen de voors. ghildebroeders voordan ghehouden zijn de voors. cappelle te houden staende ghelaesdich ende te ghereicx jeghens wyndt ende watere zonder cost of last vanden voors. convente. Ghebuerdet ooc dat God verbiede dat byden ghebreke of faulte vanden voors. diensten of ceremonien te doene ofte anders de voors. ghildebroeders in naercommende tyden van daer vertrocken dat zy dat doen zullen moghen ende draghen al dat hemlieden toebehoort van beilden, taefelen, candelaeren, orghelen ende kerkelicke juweelen als ornamenten, keilcten, ampullen, boucken, cortinen, outaer cleederen, frontalen, dwalen ende andere ghelycke zaken ter voors. cappelle ende outare van diere dienende also wal de ghuene die ande mueren vander voors. cappelle hanghen ende afdoenlic zyn zonder groote quets vanden voors. mueren als andre den voors. convente uplegghende ende betalende dat zy den zelven convente ter cause van dies vooren verhaelt staet als danne shildich ende tachter wesen zullen. Behouden altoos dat de voors. broeders ende gheselscepe vander voorghenomder ghilde ghebruucken zullen vanden hove staende byder voors. cappelle hebben haren inganc ende uutganc uit zelve hof van beede den dueren ende daer inne huere ghenouchte vertrec ende colatie hebben alst hemlieden ghelieven zal bi daghe naer der messe nuchtens of achternoens naer den love also van ouden tiden huere voorders ghehat hebben zonder meer kennesse of proffit daerin thebbene, dies zo zal tvoors. gheselscip vanden Drooghen Boome ghehouden zijn de duere ende inganc vanden voors. hove tonderhoudene van mueren ende van houten wercke in zulker wys dat den broeders vanden voors. convente bi dien gheen schade en gheschiede. Ende in oorcondschepe van welke dinghen hebben wy, Niclus Guyotely, docteur ende ministre voors., Jan Boudins, gardien in desen tyd ende Heindric De Rutere, Jan Van Ghistele, Gillis De Bartmakere, meesters inder godheyt, Pieter Bisshop, baceler, Jan Jacomin, Jan Van Lisseweghe, lector,

Cornelis Haec, Lauwereins Boen, Adriaen Wouters, Jan Dullaert ende meer andre vaders ende broeders vanden voors. convente, ende wy, Pauwels Van Overtvelt als deken, Ancelmus Adorne, riddere, heere van Cortewyc, Jan Arnolphin, ruddere, Joos Berthilde, meester inder godheyt, Jan van Nieuwenhove, schouteeten van Brugghe, Zeghin De Baenst, Donaes de Beer, Pieter van Bochoute, Jan Van Huerne, Jan Tsolle, Collaert Dhaut, Jan van Raveschote, Thomaes Portenary, Anthuenis Damast, Pieter Christi, Staessin De Melles ende meer andere zorghers ende ghildebroeders vander voorghenomder ghilde ende gheselscepe dese lettren uuthanghende beseghelt metter zeghelen vanden voors. meestre Nicolaes Guyotely, ministre voors. [...] (a.) vanden voors. convente ende vander voors. ghilde vanden Drooghen Boome upden twinstichsten dach van Wedemaent int Jaer duust vierhondert neghen ende tsestich.

It is to be made public and known that all those who will see this charter or will hear it being read, that between the notables and dignitaries of the honorable company and guild confraternity of the chapel of the glorious and pure Virgin Mary, situated within the cloister and the convent of the Franciscans in Bruges, on one side, and our supervising masters and fathers of the aforementioned cloister and convent for and in the name of the community of brethren and company of the aforementioned convent, on the other. Certain problems and differences have originated and existed because of a letter under the seal of the aforementioned convent, given out in the past by our late chairs, supervising masters, and fathers of the aforementioned convent, concerning diverse masses, sermons and other religious ceremonies to be held in the said chapel, in order to receive certain wages and gifts, of which we, supervising masters and fathers, and also our chairs have found copies and registers within a certain amount of years, in which diverse mistakes and negligences, out of ignorance it may be assumed, have occurred. And it shall be that we, for and in the name of the aforementioned convent, have discussed [this issue] so thoroughly and broadly with the said company of the said Dry Tree, that we have reached an agreement and compromise, with the knowledge and the approval of our honorable father in God, the minister of France, master Claise Guyotely, doctor in Holy Divinity and Theology, in the following manner. It shall be that we, supervising masters and fathers and the whole community of the aforementioned convent, have promised and by this, our letter, will continue to promise, for us and our successors, by the knowledge, consent and charter of our aforementioned honorable father and prelate, as mentioned above, for ever, to the honor and honorability of the aforementioned glorious Virgin Mary, and to the salvation of the brethren and sisters, conventuals and lay people, living and dead, of the said company and guild confraternity, that we will celebrate or will have celebrated the following masses, sermons and other ceremonies, described here following, on pain and penalty of what is stipulated: And first, to read or sing a mass everyday, namely, on Sundays a choral mass for the said glorious Virgin Mary; on Mondays a low mass for all ill people; on Fridays for the Holy Cross; on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays for the aforementioned glorious Virgin, unless that on one of those said days notables were coming or [unless it were] feast days, on which days it will be allowed to read [the mass] of the said days. And all similar [events] on all other days that the said company wants to commission soul masses or funerary services for their devotion, we will have to celebrate or have them celebrated, in such a manner as it is demanded and wanted, and the brother who will read or sing these kind of masses, will have to celebrate a low mass of Our Lady before or after the said mass. And we and our successors will have to celebrate these masses, to be known, in the summer

between six and seven o'clock, namely from March until Bavo's Mass (1) and in the winter, from Bavo's Mass until March, between seven and eight o'clock. For all these services, masses and other ceremonies, the dean and the supervisors of the said company and guild confraternity will have to donate annually to the aforementioned convent, as charity and gift, the amount of three pounds groats of Flemish currency, in three installments a year, of which the first will be and be established on Mid-Winter (2) in the year thousand four hundred sixty nine, the other one in May anno seventy, and the third one at the end of the year, namely on the third octave of the Assumption of the aforementioned glorious Virgin Mary, celebrated every year on half August, that is the day the year will always begin and will take an end and so on until eternity.(3) And in case we, supervising masters, fathers and the aforementioned convent or our successors will be in default to celebrate mass on one of the said days, we promise to have two masses celebrated the next day, without any dispute, and in this case, the clerk of the said guild or the sexton of the said church, will have to ring the bell of the said guild or have the bell rung three times before the Confiteor of each mass that will be read or sung, so that the people who are in the church can come to the said chapel on time. Further, that we brethren, mentioned above, will have a sermon read, until eternity, on each one of the five principal feast days of the aforementioned glorious Virgin, by one of the said brethren of the convent, for which sermon the convent will pay and satisfy this brother. And a mass with deacon and sub-deacon and all their equals on the Holy day of Christmass, New Year, Thirteen day,(4) Easter, Ash Wednesday, Pentecost, and All Saints, a similar mass with deacon. And the representatives of the said company will have to provide the said convent each May, the amount of ten shilling and six pennies groats, of which the aforementioned convent will have to provide and give each of the said five feasts of Our Lady, to the said brother who will read the sermon, six groats, to be known, that in case one of the said guild brethren wants to have other choral masses celebrated, out of devotion, we, supervisor and the said brethren and our successors, will have to celebrate these, for a compensation and wages, similar to that for the other masses, [to be paid] to us or our successors. And at any time that the same company of the said guild wants to have a soul mass celebrated for a brother or sister, departed from this world, that we will have to celebrate this with deacon and sub-deacon. The priest who will celebrate the aforementioned mass shall receive for this four groats, the deacon and the sub-deacon two groats each, and the six brethren who will sing the mass, one groat each, the sexton for his work and effort, two groats. The priest who will celebrate this mass will have to read for the souls of the dead and all souls, a De Profundis during the offertory and hold a collection. Further, we, supervising masters and fathers of the said convent and our successors will have to celebrate a choral Requiem mass with deacon and sub-deacon each year after All Souls' day until eternity, as comfort and satisfaction for the guild's brethren and sisters who will be departed from this world by then, and all the faithful souls and all their equals, and at the offertory, the priest will read a De Profundis and hold a collection, as above. And the said dean, representatives and guild brethren will have to come and sacrifice the sacrificial candles and medals, that will have been given at funeral services or soul masses, and which will remain then in the aforementioned convent. Further has been agreed and concluded between us and the said guild brethren that all donations and profits, such as wax, statues, candles, silver, copes, chasubles, decorations, and other similar church treasures, which the said guild has brought to the chapel through indemnity, promises, miracles, devotions, or by any other document, will remain the property of the said chapel, except all that will be sacrificed during the aforementioned masses, be it money, candles, wine, bread, meat, or other gifts, will belong to and remain in the said convent, as well as all profits ensuing from eternal sepulchres or corpses,

without any right or profit for the said chapel or guild brethren. And the said guild brethren of the said guild will be allowed to bless all this or have it blessed on the altar of the same glorious Virgin on her five principal feast days, within the octave of the same feasts, in accordance with their bull, provided that the aforementioned convent will receive for each feast from the said maturities and profits, twelve groats and the sexton of the said church for the said five feasts according to the old custom, five groats. In case that someone belonging to the said guild or not, wants to have a sepulchre in the said chapel, or wants to be buried there, then the fathers, brethren and the whole community of the convent may approve and give their consent when those who want it will meet with them and come to an agreement, to be known, to the profit and usage of the aforementioned convent. Since we, for us and our successors, have given our consent and will give our consent to the said guild brethren and sisters to have a common sepulchre in the said chapel made on their expense, provided that everyone who has a sepulchre there since past times, will keep their privileges; and that they will serve the convent, according to the old and good custom. Also to be understood that friends and relatives of dead people, who will be buried there, will be allowed to celebrate with devotions, services, masses, funerals, or have the corpse brought in by procession, or be buried in the habit of Saint Francis, if the aforementioned convent is paid when it happens so. Further, the said guild brethren will have to maintain the chapel, the windows and protect it against wind and water without any expense for the said convent. In case -- God prohibit it -- that [we] are in default or fail the said services or ceremonies, or on the other hand, when the said guild brethren would leave the chapel in the future, they will be allowed to do so and take all which belongs to them of statues, paintings, chandeliers, organs and church treasures such as decorations, chalices, ampullas, books, curtains, altar cloths, antependia, ritual textiles and other similar objects used in the said chapel and on the altar, as well as that which hangs on the walls and can be taken down without great damage to the walls as others impose on the aforementioned convent, provided that they pay the same convent all possible debts or arrears, as is stipulated above. In case that the said brethren and company of the said guild will make use of the yard next to the said chapel, using the entrance and exit from both doors of the yard, and if they want to meet there as they please during the days after mass in the mornings or afternoons after the benediction, as was done by their chairs in the past, without having any knowledge of it or profit from it, then the said company of the Dry Tree will have to maintain the door and entrance of the aforementioned yard, the walls and the wood work in such a way that the brethren of the said convent do not experience any damage from it. And considering these things in this charter, we Niclaus Guyotely, doctor and minister aforementioned, Jan Boudins, supervisor in this time and Heindric De Rutere, Jan Van Ghistele, Gillis De Bartmakere, masters in theology, Pieter Bischoop, bachelor, Jan Jacomin, Jan Van Lisseweghe, lector, Cornelis Haec, Lauwereins Boen, Adriaen Wouters, Jan Dullaert and other fathers and brethren of the said convent, and we, Pauwels Van Overtvelt as dean, Ancelmus Adorne, knight, lord of Cortewyc, Jan Arnolphin, knight, Joos Berthilde, master in theology, Jan van Nieuwenhove, sherrif of Bruges, Zeghin De Baenst, Donaes de Beer, Pieter van Bochoute, Jan Van Huerne, Jan Tsolle, Collaert Dhaut, Jan van Raveschote, Thomaes Portenary, Anthuenis Damast, Pieter Christi, Staessin De Melles and other representatives and guild brethren of the said guild and company, have hung up this letter sealed with the seal of the aforementioned master Nicolaes Guyotely, minister aforementioned [...] (a.) of the said convent and of the said guild of the Dry Tree on the twentieth day of June, in the year thousand four hundred sixty nine.

a. lacuna in the parchment.

Original charter, parchment, two fragmentary seals.

SAB, *Gilde Drogen Boom*, no. 505, box 6 bis, unnumbered charter.

[unpublished]

1. Bavo's Mass was celebrated in Bruges on 1 October. See Strubbe & Voet, 447, s.v. *Bavo*.
2. Mid-Winter is Christmass, *i.e.*, 25 December. See Strubbe & Voet, 504, s.v. *Midwinter*.
3. The third octave after Assumption is 5 September. This means that the administrative year of the Confraternity began on 5 September, and ended on 4 September of the following year.
4. Thirteen day is 6 January, or the feast of the Three Magi, *i.e.*, the 13th day after Christmas. See Verdam, 133, s.v. *Dertiendach*.

Doc. 89. 1469 -- *The officials of the Corporation of the Image Makers, amongst whom Petrus Christus, receive the documents relative to the gifts and the foundation in their chapel by Willem of Monbleru.*

Wij, Jacop de Deckere ende Lodewyc Scolleboone, scepenen in Brugghe in dien tiden doen te wetene allen lieden dat camen voor ons als voor scepenen, Anthuenis de Langhe, als deken, Willem vanden Leene, Anthuenis Jacopssuene, Fransoys De Paeu, Jan de Cupre, Rogier Van Trois, als vindere, Aernoud de Mol, als gouvernerere, Jan Caudron, Jooris Van Zevene, Pietre Vanden Boomgaerde, als gecommiteerde, Pietre Xpistus ende Gheeraerd Van Benthem, als notable vanden ambochte vanden beeldmakers ende zadelaers binnen der voors. stede van Brugghe, kenneden ende lyeden ontfanghen hebbende, inde name vanden voorseyden ambochte, van eerzamen ende wijzen Pauwelse van Overtvelt, als testamentaris ende executuer vanden testamente (1) ende uterste wille van wijlen Willemme, heere van Monbleru, de letteren, brieven dienende ter fondacien ghedaen bijden zelven heere van Monbleru ende ooc de juweelen, cappen, cazuulen, keilct, bouc ende andre hier onder gheexpresseert ende verclaerst omme zekere messen ende andre devocien die hij ghefundeirt, gheadmortiseirt ende gheordoneirt heift te doene inde capelle van Sinte Luuc ende van Sinte Loy, toebehoorende den voors. ambochte.(2)

Eerst eene lettere, ghezeghelt in groenen wasse ende in zydene coorden verleert ende ghegheven den zelven heere van Monbleru bij hooghen ende moghenden prinche, den goeden hertoghe Philips, hertoghe van Bourgoingen, etc. zalegher ghedochten in daten vanden twee ende twijntichsten daghe van Laumaendt int jaer duust viere hondert vive ende tzestich (3) byder welker gheconsenteirt was den zelven heere van Monbleru te vercrighene hondert ende twijntich ponden van veertich grooten Vlaemscher munten tpondt erveliker renten, de tzestich ponden in leenen of achterleenen ende dandre tzestich ponden in erven omme daer mede te fondeirne zulke messen ende diensten als de zelve heere van Monbleru

ordoneren zoude bij zijnen testamente; welke voors. lettre es gheteekent upden rugghe metter A.

Item eene andre lettere confirmerende de voors. eerste lettere, ghegheven bij onzen harden gheduchten heere ende prinche, mijnen heere den hertoghe Charles, hertoghe van Bourgoingnen etc., zuene vanden voors. hertoghe Philips, bezeghelt in groenen wasse ende in zydene coorden, vander date vander maendt van juing int jaer duust vierehondert achte ende tzestich; buten gheteekent metter B.

Item eene darde lettere, ooc bezeghelt in groenen wasse ende zydene coorden, ghegheven bijden voornomden onzen harden gheduchten heere ende prinche inde stede van Pironne inde maendt van septembre int zelve jaer duust viere hondert achte ende tzestich, bijwelker lettere onze voors. harde gheduchte heere ende prinche consenteirdt ende ottroyerd, mer Boudine, bastaert van Bourgoignen te vercoopene eene plecke of sticke lands, liggheende bij Middelburch in Zeelandt, groot wesende viere waerven twijntich ghemeten landts (4), toebehoorende den voors. mer Boudine, den executeurs ende testametarissen vanden voors. heere van Monbleru, nietjeghenstaende dat tmeeste deel vanden voors. landt leengoedt es van zulken dienst, condicie ende vervallen als andere leengoeden zyn, liggheende in Walgheren int voors. landt van Zeelandt also de voors. lettre dat ten vullen verclaerst buten gheteekent metter C.

Item eene vierde lettre twelke es eene translacie in Vlaemsche vander voornomder laetster lettren, gheteekent metter handt van meester Donaes de Beer, secretaris vander stede van Brugghe ende ooc notaris publijc, welke translacie ghecorobreirt ende duersteken es met eenre lettre van approbacion bezeghelt metten zeghele van zaken vander stede van Brugghe, buten gheteekent metter D.

Item eene vijfste lettre, bezeghelt metten zeghele van zaken vander voors. stede van Brugghe vander daten vanden zevene ende twijntichsten daghe van septembre int voors. jaer achte ende tzestich, byder welker de voors. Pauwels van Overtvelt, als principael executuer vanden voors. testamente vanden voornomde heere van Monbleru, voord, Jan van Benthem ende Pieter vanden Boomgaerde, als machtich over tvoors. ambocht, constitueirden ende maecten huerlieder procureurs, meester Pieter Vanden Boude, Boudin den Wachtere, bailliu van Zomergheem, Pietren der Busschere ende Jan Caudron, omme te coopene jeghens den voors. mer Boudine, de voornomde viere waerven twijntich ghemeten lands, de voors. lettre buten gheteekent metter E.

Item eene zesste lettre vanden voors. mer Boudin, bastaert van Bourgoingnen, ruddere, heere van Loveneghem ende van Zomergheem, gheteekent met zjnre handt ende bezeghelt met zijnen zeghele, bijder welker hij kendt vercocht hebbende den voornomde executuers vanden voors. heere van Monbleru, de voors. viere waerven twijntich ghemeten lands liggheende in Zeelandt, gheldende alle jaren boven allem costen ende lasten, de somme van twijntich ponden groten ende welken coop hij also beloofft te warandeirne jeghens elken, buten gheteekent de zelve lettere metter F.

Item eene zevenste lettere vanden zelve mer Boudin, ooc gheteekent met zjnre handt ende bezeghelt met zijnen zeghele ende es eene macht of procuracie bij hem ghegheven den voors. meestre Pietre Vanden Boude, Boudin de Wachtere, Pietre de Busschere ende elken

zonderlijnghe omme de ontervenesse vanden voors. viere waerven twijntich ghemeten lands te doene ende houdt ooc de zelve lettre ghenoch innen quitancie, buten gheteekent metter G. Item eene achste lettere ghezeghelt met vijf zeghelen vanden mannen vander gravelicheyt van Zeelandt, bijder welker blijkt vander ervenesse daer inne Jan Caudron gheerft es, inde name als boven, buten gheteekent metter H.

Item eene neghenste lettere bezeghelt met drien scepenen zeghelen vander stede van Middelburch in Zeelandt, byder welker de voors. meestre Pietre Vanden Boude, prochiaen int noordmonstre kendt ghenomen hebbende in pachte, de voors. viere waerven twijntich ghemeten lands, tiene jaren lanc gheduerende, omme de somme van een ende twijntich ponden grooten Vlaemscher munten tsiaers vrije ghelds boven allen costen ende lasten de zelve lettere buten gheteekent metter I.

Iten eene tienste lettere ende es eene coppie, ghecollacioneirt ende gheteekent van meester Jan de Vlamijnc, clerc vanden capitle van Sinte Donaes in Brugghe ende notaris publijc, inhoudende ende verclaersende al int langhe de fundacien vanden messen, jaerghetiden ende aelmoesenen, gheordineirt ghedaen te wesene bijden voors, heere van Monbleru, hoe men de voors. een ende twijntich ponden grooten jaerlicx distribuieren zal, commende vanden pachte vanden voors. viere waerven twijntich ghemeten lands, buten gheteekent metter K.

Item ende eene cedula in papiere gheteekent metter handt vanden voors. meestre Pietre Vanden Boude ende bezeghelt met zijnen zeghele, byder welker hij belooft den deken ende ghezwoornen vanden voors. ambochte da bij also dat eenich ghebrec ware an zijne betalynghe ende dat zij ter causen van die zenden moesten in Zeelandt ende cost daer omme doen, hemlieden die costen up te rechtene zonder de principale somme te minderne, buten gheteekent metter L.

Voordt kenden de voors. deken, vindere, zoorghere, gouverneere, ghecommitteerde ende notable vanden voornomden ambochte doch ontfanen hebbende vanden voors. Pauwelse als executeur vanden testamente vanden voors. heere van Monbleru, die naer ghenoomde juweelen:

Eerst eene perssche fluweelen choor cappe gheboordt met rooden vergulden lakenene, ende ghevoedert met groenen semite. Item eene blauwe choor cappe, fluweel up fluweel, eene casule, twee tornikelen, blauw fluweel al gheboordt met beilden van bordueren ende al ghestoffeirt van ammuten, alben, stalen, manipelen ende gordelen ende verwapent metter wapene vander voors. heere van Monbleru. Item drie cuskins gheschakiert van witten ende blauwen fluweele. Item eenen messael. Item eenen zelveren vergulden keilct metter patenen corporale ende datter toebehoort. Item twee zelveren ampullen. Item een zelveren verguldin paes bart ende twee zelveren candelaren, weghende tiene maercken.

Van al welken lettren pardcheelen ende juweelen de voors. deken, vindere, gouvernerer, ghecommitteerde ende notable vanden voors. ambochte, hemlieden aldaer wel ghepaeyt ende vernocht hilden ende den voors. Pauwelse ende allen anderen dies quitance behoort danof quite scholden. Consenterende voort de voors. deken, vindere, gouvernerer, ghecommitteerde ende notable vanden voors. ambochte, den voors. executeur ende testamentaris inde cappelle vanden voors. ambochte, staende tusschen der Zelverin- ende Noordzandstrate te zulcker plecken ende plaetsen alst hem ghelieven ende best voughen zal, te stellene eene epitaphie vanden overlidene title ende fundacien vanden voors. heere van

Monbleru, de voors. cappelen ende ambochte ghedaen ende dat in een bardt ofte in eenen steen naer dat dat heeschen zal.

Ende es te wetene dat hier of twee chaerters eens zijn danof dat de voors. executeur den eenen helft ende tvoorsejde ambocht den andren. In kennessen van desen dinghen hebben wij scepenen voors. dese letteren uuthanghende bezeghelt met onzen zeghelen. Dit was ghedaen int jaer duust viere hondert (a).

[verso] Eene kennesse dat tambocht ontfaen heift alle de juweelen vanden capelle de welke Monbleru ghegheven heift der capelle. Ende ooc alle de brieven vanden amortisacie ende andere van zinen bezette boven gheteekent by den a.v.c. toter [...] (b) In deze brief staet Pauwels van Overtvelt ghenamt als testamentaris van heer Willem van Monbleru (5).

We, Jacop de Deckere and Lodewyc Scolleboone, aldermen in Bruges in these times make known to everyone that appeared before us, aldermen, Anthuenis de Langhe, as dean, Willem vanden Leene, Anthuenis Jacopssuene, Fransoys De Paeu, Jan de Cupre, Rogier Van Trois, as inspector, Aernoud de Mol, as financial administrator, Jan Caudron, Jooris Van Zevene, Pietre Vanden Boomgaerde, as representative, Pietre Xpistus and Gheeraerdt Van Benthem, as notables of the corporation of the image makers and saddlers within the said city of Bruges, acknowledge and confess to have received in the name of the said corporation, from the respectable and wise Pauwelse van Overtvelt, as executor of the testament (1) and the last will of the late Willemme, lord of Monbleru, the letters, the letters of the foundation made by the same lord of Monbleru, and also the jewels, copes, chasubles, chalice, book and other [gifts] expressed and explained here under, concerning certain masses and other devotions that he has founded, transmitted and ordered to do in the chapel of Saint Luke and Saint Eloy, [that] belongs to the said corporation. (2)

First, a letter, sealed in green wax and with a silk ribbon, granted and given to the same lord of Monbleru by the high and mighty prince, the good duke Philip, duke of Burgundy, etc., blessed memory, dated the twenty second day of January in the year thousand four hundred sixty five (3), in which the consent was given to the same lord of Monbleru to receive one hundred and twenty pounds of forty groats Flemish currency in annuities, of which sixty pounds in fiefs or sub-fiefs and the other sixty in heritage for the foundation of such masses and services as the same lord of Monbleru wants to order in his testament; this said letter is signed on the back with an A.

Item another letter confirming the said first letter, given by our mighty redoubtable lord and prince, mylord duke Charles, duke of Burgundy, etc., son of the said duke Philip, sealed with green wax and with a silk ribbon, dated in the month on June in the year thousand four hundred sixty eight; signed on the back with a B.

Item a third letter, also sealed with green wax and a silk ribbon, given by the said our mighty redoubtable lord and prince in the city of Pironne in the month of September in the same year thousand four hundred sixty eight, in which letter our aforementioned mighty redoubtable lord and prince gives his consent and patent to Sir Boudine, bastard of Burgundy, to sell a place or piece of land, situated near Middelburg in Zeeland, measuring four times twenty measured land (4), belonging to the said Sir Boudine, to the executors of the testament of the said lord of Monbleru, notwithstanding that most of this said land is a fief of such service, under conditions and maturing as other fiefs situated in Walcheren in the said land of Zeeland, which the said letter explains in detail; signed on the back with C.

Item a fourth letter, which is a translation in Flemish of the said last letter, signed with the hand of master Donaes de Beer, secretary of the city of Bruges and also notary public, which translation is corroborated by and pierced through with a letter of approval, sealed with the business seal of the city of Bruges; signed on the back with a D.

Item a fifth letter, sealed with the business seal of the said city of Bruges, dated the twenty seventh day of September in the said year sixty eight, by which the said Pauwels van Overtvelt, as principal executor of the said testament of the said lord of Monbleru, further, Jan van Benthem and Pieter vanden Boomgaerde, as authorized by the said corporation, constituted and made their attorneys, master Pieter Vanden Boude, Boudin den Wachtere, bailiff of Zomerghem, Pietren den Busschere and Jan Caudron, to buy from the said Sir Boudine the said four times twenty measured land; the said letter signed on the back with an E.

Item a sixth letter of the aforementioned Sir Boudin, bastard of Burgundy, knight, lord of Lovendegem and of Zomergem, signed with his hand and sealed with his seal, by which he acknowledges to have sold the said four times twenty measured land, situated in Zeeland, to the said executors of the aforementioned lord of Monbleru, which yields the sum of twenty pounds groats annually after all expenditure and charges, an [by which] he also promises to garanty this sale against whomever; the said letter signed on the back with an F.

Item a seventh letter of the same Sir Boudin, also signed with his hand and sealed with his seal, by which he authorizes or gives proxy to the said master Pietre Vanden Boude, Boudin de Wachtere, Pietre de Busschere, and to each separately to disinherit the said four times twenty measured land; and the same letter includes also a receipt; signed on the back with a G.

Item an eight letter sealed with the five seals of the men of the county of Zeeland, which proves that Jan Caudron as representative, has inherited from the estate as explained above; signed on the back with an H.

Item a ninth letter, sealed with the three seals of the aldermen of Middelburg in Zeeland, by which the aforementioned master Pietre Vanden Boude, parishioner of Noordmunster, acknowledges to have rented the said four times twenty measured land, for a period of ten years, for the annual sum of twenty one pounds groats Flemish currency of free money, all expenditure and charges excluded; signed on the back with an I.

Item a tenth letter, which is a copy, written and signed by master Jan de Vlamijnc, clerk of the chapter of St. Donatian in Bruges and notary public, which includes and explanes in detail the foundations of masses, annual masses and alms, ordered to be held by the aforementioned lord of Monbleru; [and] how the said twenty one pounds, yielded by the said four times twenty measured lands, will be distributed annually; signed on the back with a K.

Item a declaration on paper, signed with the hand of the said master Pietre Vanden Boude and sealed with his seal, by which he promises to the dean and the sworn members of the said corporation, that whenever his payments would be late, so that they would have to send [someone] to Zeeland and make expenditure, he will reimburse them without decreasing the principal sum; signed in the back with an L.

Further, the said dean, inspector, member of the guild's board, financial administrators, representatives and notables of the said corporation, acknowledge to have received from the said Pauwelse, as executor of the testament of the aforementioned lord of Monbleru, the following treasures: First, a purple velvet choir cope with a hem of red gilt cloth, and lined with green veloet, a chasuble,

two blue velvet dalmatics, with a hem of embroidered images and decorated with amulets, albs, stoles, maniples and girdles. Item two chasubles of red velvet. Item a black damask chasuble, all decorated with albs, amulets, stoles, girdles and with the arms of the said lord of Monbleru. Item three pillows checkered of white and blue velvet. Item a missal. Item a silver gilt chalice with patens, cloths and everything included. Item two silver ampullas. Item a gilt silver Easter board and two silver chandeliers, weighting ten marks.

The said dean, inspectors, financial administrators, representatives and notables of the said corporation, declared to be satisfied and pleased with all these letters, parcels, and treasures, and they remitted the said Pauwelse and all the others who had the receipts. The said dean, inspectors, financial administrators, representatives and notables of the said corporation, further gave their consent to the said executor of the testament to erect wherever he wants and likes an epitaph in the honor of the foundation of lord of Monbleru in the chapel of the aforementioned corporation, situated between the Zilverstraat and the Noordzandstraat; and [this epitaph will be made] in wood or stone, as is appropriate.

And it is to be known that of all this two charters are one, of which the said executor has one half, and the said corporation has the other half.

Acknowledging all this, we, the aldermen, have posted this letter, sealed with our sea. This was done in the year thousand four hundred (a).

(signed) N. Deysere, present.

[verso-side] A declaration that the corporation has received all the chapel jewels given to the chapel by Monbleru. And also all the letters of transference and others of his will, signed at the top with a.v.c. to [...](b) In this letter, Pauwels van Overtvelt is mentioned as the executor of Lord Willem van Monbleru's (5) testament.

a. the exact year is not mentioned.-- b. illegible word.

SAB, Academie, reeks 409, doos D: *Charters Beelden-makers*, 1469.

Published: W.H.J. Weale, "Inventaire des chartes et documents appartenant aux archives de la corporation de Saint Luc et Saint Eloi à Bruges," *Le Beffroi*, I (1863), 151-152 (further as Weale, *Saint Luc*)

1. '...testamentaris' and 'executuer vanden testamente...' both mean the same: executor of the testament.
2. Some of the documents listed here are still preserved amongst the same collection of charters as this one here (*Charters Beeldenmakers*). See Weale, *Saint Luc*, 145, 149-150.
3. *I.e.*, 22 January 1466 (n.s.)
4. 'ghemeten landt' (measured land), is a square measurement. See Verdam, 198, s.v. *Gemet*.
5. The transcription of this name is indeed *Monbleru*, and not *Monblern* as in Weale (*Saint Luc*, 151-152). This transcription is corroborated by the comparison of the last letter in *Monbleru* with the second in *Overtvelt*.

Doc. 90. 1469, 29 August - 1470, 27 August -- *Petrus Christus pays his annual dues to the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Snow.*

[fol. 37] Rekeninghe ende bewijs van al den ontfanghe ende huutghevene bi mi, Jan de Blazere, als deken van Onzer Vrouwe Vander Snee, beghinnende den xxixten dach in oest anno lxi, hendende den xxvijten dach in oest anno tseventich [...]

[fol. 38v] Andre ontfanc van jaerlix ghildeghelt ontfanghen uut ommegeaen metter busse buten der houder veste [...]

[fol. 39v] [...]

Willem Vrelant 2 gr.

[fol. 45] Den ontfanc van jaerlicx ghildeghelt ontfanghen inde kercke v in oest anno lxx [...]

[fol. 45v] Maykin Rycquaerts 2 gr.

Vidua Canneels 2 gr.

[...]

Paes de Wale 2 gr.

Pieter Xpistus, de schilder 2 gr.

[fol. 49] Den ontfanc vande zielmessen ghedaen over der zielen van onzen ghildebroders ende ghildesusters die van dezen jare verscheeden zijn van dezer weerelt daer ons heere Jhesus de zielen of hebben moete [...]

[fol. 49v] [...] Item vanden zielmesse van meester Pieter Nachtegale

4 s. 6 d.

[fol. 51] Dit naervolghende es thuutgheven ende betalinghe ghedaen binnen deze vors. jaerschare begonnende den xxix dach in oest anno lxi, hendende den xxvij dach in oest anno lxx [...]

[fol. 51v] [...] Item vanden zielmesse van meester Pieter Nachtegale

21 gr.

[fol. 37] *Account and confirmation of all receipts and expenditure by me, Jan de Blazere, as dean of Our Lady of the Snow, commencing 1469, 29 August, and ending 1470, 27 August [...]*

[fol. 38v] *Other receipt of annual dues, received by collecting with the box outside the old fortress [...]*

[fol. 39v] [...]

Willem Vrelant 2 gr.

[fol. 45] *Annual dues received in the church on 5 August, 1470 [...]*

[fol. 45v] *Maykin Rycquaerts 2 gr.*

Vidua Canneels 2 gr.

[...]

Paes de Wale 2 gr.

Pieter Xpistus, the painter 2 gr.

[fol. 49] *The receipt of funerary masses done for the souls of our fellow guild brethren and sisters, who have parted from this world during this year, whose souls Jesus should have [...]*

[fol. 49v] [...] *Also for the funerary mass of master Pieter Nachtegale*

4 s. 6 d.

[fol. 51] *The following are the expenditure and payments made during the aforementioned year, commencing 1469, 29 August, and ending 1470, 27 August [...]*

[fol. 51v] [...] *Also the funerary mass of master Pieter Nachtegale*
21 gr.

RAB, *Kerkfabriek O.L.Vrouwe*, no. 1531, *Algemene rekeningen O.L.V.-ter-Sneeuw 1467-1499*, fols. 37-51v.

[unpublished]

Doc. 91. 1469, 2 September - 1470, 2 September -- *Payment to Pieter de Visschere for painting a map.*

[fol. 107] *Huutgheven van ghemeene zaken*

[fol. 109v] *Item betaelt eenen Pieter de Visschere, schildere, die by laste vander commissarissen up tstic vanden Zwene ghestelt heift in portrature tland van Oostburch, tambocht van Cadsand ende de situacie vanden zwarte ghate. Voor zyne moeyte ende aerbeyt xij s.gr.*

[fol. 107] *Ordinary expenditure*

[fol. 109v] *Item paid a certain Pieter de Visschere, painter, who made a portrait of the land of Oostburg, the section of Cadzand and the situation of Zwartegat, commissioned by the officers of the Zwin. For his trouble and labor* 12 s.gr.

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1469-70, fol. 107-109v.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, VI, 30 (inaccurately).

Doc. 92. 1469, 15 September - 1470, 14 September -- *Janne van den Broucke, carpenter, is paid for 6 frames made by him in the court room of the Franc.*

[fol. 68v] *Betalinghe van refection ende reparatien an svoorseits lands huusinghen ghedaen ende van berninghen ende waslichte daer in ghesleten zident der voors. laetster rekeninghe. Eerst Janne van den Broucke, den temmerman, van eene stallage of schaffaulte in novembre lxi bi hem ghemaect voor de vierschaere vanden vryen waerup een gheheeten Jacob de Buusere naer dien dat hem thaer van zinen hoofde ghebernt was ghebannen was uten lande van Vlaendren als berucht ende suspect van zodomien, etc. Item van zekeren bancken ende siegen inde vierschare van den voors. lande te cortene ende vermakene. Item om zekren dueren vanden grooten aysemente vanden vors. lande te rumene ende daer naer twee andre*

dueren daer an te makene. Item van zesse taverelen bi hem ghemaect inde vierschare vanden vors. lande omme de wapenen van onzen gheduchten heere ende prince, de wapene van zinen lande van Vlaendren, ende de wapenen van allen den ambachten van zinen vors. lande vanden Vryen daerin naermaels te stellene, te verschildene, etc. Ende van anderen reparacien ende refectien bi hem ende zinen dienaeren an svoors. lands huusinghen ghedaen ende te deser rekeninghe betaelt int langhe in gheschriften overghegheven, betaelt

xxv lb. xij s.par.

[fol. 68v] *Payment of renewal and repairs done in the houses of the said land, and for light and candles used since the last account.*

First Janne van den Broucke, the carpenter, for a construction or scaffolding made by him in November 69 in front of the court of the Franc, on which a certain Jacob de Buusere, after his hair had been burned from his head, had been expelled from Flanders being sentenced and suspect of sodomy, etc.

Item for making certain banks and seats in the court room of the said land shorter and repairing them.

Item for taking away certain doors of the large toilet, and to replace them with two other doors. Item for 6 frames (1) made by him in the court room of the land to place the arms of our redoubtable lord and prince in, and the arms of his land of Flanders, and the arms of all the territories of his said land of the Franc, to paint it, etc. And for other renewals and repairs done by him and his servants in the said houses of the land, and paid for by these accounts, as explained in detail in writing, paid 25 lb. 12 s.par.

RAB, *Fonds van het Vrije*, no. 205: *Rekeningen van het Vrije*, 1469-70, fol. 68v.

Published: Weale, *Franc*, 80, n. 33.

1. *taverelen* actually means representations, however, this is unlikely in the context here.

Doc. 93. 1470, 10 February -- *Excerpt from the testament of Anselmus Adornes.*

Jhesus. Dit es min testament ende uterste wille. Omme dat gheen dync up dezer weerelt zo zeker en es als de verscheedinghe des lichaems van der ziele ende gheen dync zi onzeker als de wille van diere, zo eist dat ic, Anselmus Adornes, ruddere, heere van Corthuy, van Ronsele, van Slansheerenwalle (1) ende van Ghendbrugge (2), daertoe gheroupen bij invalle der goddelicker gracie, uter cracht vanden helegghen sacramente, bij mij up desen dach ghenut, als ic dit begonste te ordoneeren, in versterckenesse van mynder crancker ende aermer zielen, bij welcke ic, verstennessse ende redene userende, moghenteyt hebbende mijne uterste wille in de heere van Gode almoghende, van zijnder ghebenedider ende reynder Moeder ende Maghet Maria, Sint Anne, sinte Katherine, sinte Anselmus, sinte Margriete, sinte Aernoudt, ende sinte Elizabeth, ende voort van allen helegghen, ter salecheit van mijnder ziele, mijns vrouwen ziele, mijnder gheselnede, mijne voorders zielen, naercommers ende alle zielen daer ic te bet of ghehadt hebbe, of mijne naercommers hebben moghen. Begheere

dat al vulcomen wordt in zulcker voorme als hier naer vocht, ende met mijnen proper handt ghescreven staet: [...]

2. Item begheere uterlic dat mijne lieve ende zeere gheminde vrouwe ende ghezelnede ende alle mijne lieve kynderen die ic bij haer ghehadt hebbe, van werde houden de verdeelinghe die ic ghemaect hebbe van alle mijnen goede, ende ghescreven ende ghepasseert zo hier naer blijkt. Item, zo kieze ic myne sepulture by mer vrouwe Margriete vander Banck, mijnder liever ghezelnede, up dat zij voor my versleet ende blijft zoe naer mij weduwe, daert huer ende mijnen oudsten zone ende testamentarissen best dijncken zal, hemlieden biddende dat bij also dat Jerusalem verbetert worde, of in hope zij van verbeteren daer onze sepulture lievere te kiezene dan elders, mids dat tvoors. Jerusalem ghefondeert es bij mijnen voorders, ende ic zelve den eersten steen gheleit hebbe van den fundamente ende in meeninghe ben tzelve te verbeteren. [...]

22. Item, zo gheve ic elcken van mijne lieve dochters, die beghenen zijn, te wetene Margriete, tsaertreusinnen, ende Lowyse, sint Truden, een tavereel, daerinne dat sinte Franssen in potrature van meester Jans handt Van Heyck ghemaect staet, ende dat men in de duerkens die dezelve tavereelkins beluucken doe maken mijn personage ende mer vrouwe also wel als men mach, te dien hende dat wij van hemlieden ende andere devote persoonen moghen ghedocht zijn, ende daertoe elcken j lb. gr. (3) om haerlieder wille mede te doen. [...] In kennesse dat dit aldus myn wille es, zo hebbe ic dit gheteekent, ende ghebeden te teekene als boven.

Ende onder gheteekent: Attestor ita esse, Cornelius Wyse, Adournes, de Prate, Phelips van Aertrycke, Baenst, Messeem, Losschaert, Olivier van Steelant. Aldus onderscreven ende gheteekent.

Dit testament was verkennt ende ghepasseert bij edelen ende weerden heere mer Anselmus

Adourne, ruddere, heere van Corthuy, ende mer vrouwe zynder ghezelnede, den x^{en} dach van Sporcle anno lxxix (4). Present Jacob Coolbrant, Claeis vanden Steene, Willem Hardync, Lodewyc Scooleboom ende Willem de Clercq, scepenen. Onder gheteekent Donancianus. Gecolacionnert jehghens zyne originale, bij mij Philips Cools, openbaer notaris, ende accordert met dien van woorde te woorde. Ita est
(signed) P.Cools.

Jesus. This is my testament and last will. Because nothing in this world is more certain than the eventual separation of the body and the soul, and nothing in this world is more uncertain as the time this happens, I, Anselmus Adournes, knight, Lord of Corthuy, of Ronsele, of Slansheerenwalle (1) and of Ghendbrugge (2), called to do this by inspiration of divine grace, from the force of the holy sacrament, consumed by me today, when I started to command this, to reinforce my sick and poor soul, by which I, using my intelligence and reason, have the opportunity to command my last will into [the hands of] God the Lord, his grateful and pure Mother and Virgin Mary, Saint Anne, Saint Catherine, Saint Anselmus, Saint Margaret, Saint Arnold, and Saint Elisabeth, and further all other saints, to the salvation of my soul, the soul of my wife, my companion, my ancestors' souls, descendants and the souls of all those who assisted me or my descendants. I desire that everything will be executed in the way described here following, written in my own hand: [...]

2. Item, I eventually desire that my dear and very beloved wife and companion and all my dear children I have had with her, will respect the division that I have made of all my goods, as I have written and submitted as stated here following. Item, I thus choose my sepulchre next to my wife Margriete vander Banck, my dear companion, in case she dies prior to me, and in case she remains my widow, as she and my eldest son and executor of my testament will consider best, supplicating them, that in case Jerusalem is finished, or in expectation of its completion, the location of our sepulchre will be chosen there, because the aforementioned Jerusalem was founded by my ancestors, and because I have laid the first stone of the fundaments myself, and I plan to complete it.[...]

22. Item, I thus give to my dear daughters, who are begins, to be known: Margriete, at the Cartusians' and Lowyse, at Saint Truiden, a painting, in which Saint Francis is portrayed, by the hand of master Jan van Eyck, and that the same paintings will receive wings in which my representation and that of my wife will be made as well as possible, so that we will be remembered by them and other devote persons, and for that, 1 lb. gr. each (3) to be spend as they want.

[...]

Acknowledging that this is my will, I have signed this, and supplicated to be signed as above.

And is signed: Attestor ita esse, Cornelius Wyse, Adournes, de Prate, Phelips van Aertrycke, Baenst, Messem, Losschaert, Olivier van Steelant. Subscribed and signed.

This testament was acknowledged and submitted by the noble and honorable lord Sir Anselmus Adourne, knight, lord of Corthuy, and by madame his companion, the 10th day of February in the year 69.(4) Present Jacob Coolbrant, Claeis vanden Steene, Willem Hardync, Lodewyc Scooleboom ende Willem de Clercq, adermen. Signed Donancianus.

Collated from the original, by me, Philips Cools, notary public, and according with it word by word.

Ita est

(signed) P.Cools.

Original lost (before: RAB, Fonds Jerusalem)

Published: A. Pinchart, *Archives des Arts, Sciences et Lettres, Documents Inédits*, I, Ghent, 1860, 266-267 (partly); A. de Poorter, "Testament van Anselmus Adornes, 10 febr. 1470 (n.st.)," *Biekorf*, XXXVII (1931), 225-239; C. Aru, E. de Geradon, *Les Primitifs flamands. Corpus de la Peinture des anciens Pays-Bas Méridionaux au Quinzième siècle : La Galerie Sabauda de Turin*, Antwerp, 1952, 13 (partly).

1. *Slansheerenwalle*: a fief in Koekelare (see De Poorter, 227, n.2.)
2. *Ghendbrugge*: a chapel in Hertberge near Bruges (see De Poorter, 227, n.3.)
3. *elcken j lb. gr.*, and not "...elcken ic gheve..." as transcribed by Pinchart.
4. *I.e.*, 1470 (n.s.)

Doc. 94. 1470, 3 March -- *Lauwers Vanden Brecht*, brass founder, promises to deliver work on due time to the Austin Cloister of Bruges.

Lauwers Vanden Brecht, de gelughietere, beloofde te delivrerene binnen der kerke vanden Augustinen staende, iiij latoenin pilaren verwapent metten wapenen vanden Spaignaerden, naer haerlieder voorwaerde, tusschen dit ende Paesschen naestcommende (1), upte boete van lx lb.par. te verbuerne ghaende in drien te wetene, teen derde den (a.) heere, tander der stede, ende tderde der kerke vanden Augustinen voors., ende voort iiij inghelen van latoenen (b.) omme daer up te stellene te Sinxene naestcommende, ooc up ghelycke boet van lx lb.par., die te verbuerne daer hy van dien in ghebreke ware ghaende als boven. Verbindende hier in de voors. Lauwers alle zijn goet, roerende ende onroerende, jeghenwoordich ende toecommene. Actum ut supra.(2)

Lauwers Vanden Brecht, the brass founder, promised to deliver, according to the contract, 4 brass pillars with the arms of the Spaniards, to the church of the Austin friars, between now and next Easter (1), on the fine of 60 lb.par. to be split in three, to be known, the first third to the lord, the second to the city, and the third to the church of the said Austin friars; and also 4 brass angels to be placed upon [the pillars], at next Pentecost, also on the same fine of 60 lb.par., if he fails to do so, also to be split as above. The said Lauwers puts up all his belongings, movables and unmovables, present and future. Done as above (2).

a. *and* crossed out.-- b. *up* crossed out.

SAB, *Civiele Sententiën van de Vierschaar*, no. 157, register 4: 1469-1470, fol. 42v.

[Unpublished]

1. Easter was celebrated in 1470 on 22 April; see Strubbe & Voet, 126.
2. The previous document is dated 3 March 1470 (n.s.).

Doc. 95. 1470, 17 March -- *Verdict of the Law of Bruges in a conflict between the painter Cornelis Bollaert and the administration of the blacksmiths' guild.*

Tusschen den deken van de smeden ende zinen eed, una, ende Cornelis Bollaert, altera, ter causen van eender tafele die de voors. smeden besteidt zouden hebben den voors. Cornelis te makene, gheappointiert dat de voors. tafele die begonnen es wercken by eenen anderen ende de welke de voors. Cornelis hadde doen verbieden te werckene metten deken van den schilders, sculdich es voortghewrocht te zine bijden ghonen diese begonnen heift; ende meent hij daer an eenich interest thebbene, dat zal hy moghen heessen upten dekene ende ghezwoorene van den ambachte. Ende omme hem daer up te hoorene zijn gesteld ij schepenen. Actum ut supra.(1)

Between the dean of the blacksmiths and his deputies at the one hand, and Cornelis Bollaert at the other, on account of a painting that the said smiths had commissioned from the aforementioned

Cornelis, [we] decided that the painting, that was started by someone else, whom the aforementioned Cornelis together with the dean of the painters had prohibited to proceed, shall be continued by him who had started it. And if he thinks he may have any interest in it, he can claim [indemnities] to the dean and the administrators of the corporation. And to interrogate him about this, two aldermen were appointed. Done on the day mentioned above.(1)

SAB, *Civiele Sententiën van de Vierschaar*, no. 157, register 4: 1469-1470, fol. 48.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Mémoriaux*, 27; Schouteet, I, 60-61 (also mentioned by C. Coppieters Stochove, "Inventaire des archives de l'église Saint-Gilles à Bruges," *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges*, LIV (1914), 139).

1. The previous document is dated *xvij^{da} martii anno lxix* (17 March 1469), i.e., 17 March 1470 (n.s.)

Doc. 96. 1470, 2 October -- *The Bruges magistrates sets the conditions for delivery of a relic shrine by the goldsmiths Claeys van Delft and Jooris Huughzuene to the church of Our Lady.*

Claeys van Delft, Jooris Huughzuene, poorters ende goudsmeden vander stede van Brugghe, beloofden ende elc voor al te vulmakene ende vulmaect te leverene up zijn houdt staende den fiertre van Sente Bonifacis die zij in handen hebben te Lichtmesse (1) naestcommende of binnen acht daghen daer naer eerstcommende onbegrepen, upde peine van hondert pond parrisen te verbuerne de twee darden deelen jeghen de kerke van onser Vrouwen binder voors. stede van Brugghe ende tderde derdendeel jeghen onzen harden gheduchten heere, behouden dies dat de kercmeesters vander voors. kerke hemlieden leveren zullen also vele gouds als hemlieden toten werke vanden voors. fiertre ghebreken ende van noode wezen zal. Ende kenden dat zij in haerlieder handen zelvrs ghenouch hadden omme te vulmakene den voors. fiertre. Actum ijsten Octobris anno lxx.

Claeys van Delft, Jooris Huughzuene, citizens and goldsmiths of the city of Bruges, promise both to complete a relic shrine of Saint Boniface, which they currently have in their possession, and to deliver (it) mounted on a wooden pedestal, and completed by next Lightmass (1), or within eight days thereafter, on the penalty of 100 lb. par., to be confiscated, of which two thirds will be remitted to the church of Our Lady in the aforementioned city, and the last third to our very redoubtable Lord, provided that the churchwardens of the said church will supply them with as much gold as they need to make the said relic shrine. And they attested that they had enough silver in storage to complete the said relic shrine. Done on 2 October 1470.

SAB, *Civiele Sentenciën 1469-1470*, no. 157, register 4: 1469-1470, fol. 109.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Mémoriaux*, 29.

1. Lightmass is celebrated on 2 February.

Doc. 97. 1470 -- *Payment records in the accounts of St. Donatian's to Johannes vander Moere for illumination, to Arnoud de Mol for polychromy of the retable on the high altar, and to Pieter de Grutere for making a reliquary*

[fol. 11v] Extradatum in diversis usibus [...]

[fol. 12] Item, Magistro Johanni vander Moere pro illuminando psalterium jacens in sinistro latere chori ad usum puerorum xx s.[par.]

[...]

[fol. 12v] Item pro duobis cristallinis te verslippene ad brachium Sancti Machuti
xxiiij s.[par.]

Item pro vectura tabule magni altarem ad domos Petri de Grutere, aurifabri, et Arnoldi de Mol, pictori, et revectorum ad ecclesiarum vij s.[par.]

Item pro pictura et deauratura tabule magni altarem et unius lati ligni supra quod eadem tabula superposita est in toto ut patet pro cedulam Arnoldi de Mol operarii

xxxvij lb. iiij s.[par.]

[...]

[fol. 14] Extradatum operariis ecclesie et primo Petro de Grutere et Anthonio Torreman, aurifabri

Primo, Petro de Grutere ad conficiendum brachium Sancti Machuti pro ix marcis, j uncia et iij sterlingis, pro marca xvj lb. xvj s., videlicet cliij lb xij s.[par.]

Item, pro j uncia auri ad deaurandum brachium predictum

xxiiij lb.[par.]

Item, pro factura dicti brachii, pro opere cuiuslibet marce iiij lb. xvj s., videlicet xliij lb. xvij s.[par.]

Item, eidem Petro pro deauratione, quiczeluere et aliis in deauratione necessariis

xlviij s.[par.]

Item eidem pro corona beate Marie ponderem unius uncie et iij sterlingis pro materia et opere
iiij lb. xiiij s.[par.]

[...]

Item eidem pro decoratione tabule argenteae magni altarum et reformatione ac resolidatione aliquarum ymaginum in toto xxx

lb.[par.]

[fol. 11v] *Expenditure of diverse nature* [...]

[fol. 12] *Item, to master Johannes vander Moere for the illumination of a psalter lying on the left shelf in the choir for the use of the children* xx s.[par.]

[...]

[fol. 12v] *Item for cutting two crystals on the arm of Saint Machute*

24 s.[par.]

Item for transportation of the large altar to the house of Pieter de Grutere, goldsmith, and Arnold de Mol, painter, and for bringing it back to the church

7 s.[par.]

Item for painting and gilding the retable on the high altar and for a long straight cross-bar on which this retable is placed, in total as shown in the contract of works by Arnold de Mol

37 lb. 4 s.[par.]

[...]

[fol. 14] *Given to the workmen of the church and first to Pieter de Grutere and Antoon Torreman, goldsmiths*

First, Petro de Grutere for 9 marks, 1 ounce and 3 sterlings to make the arm of Saint Machute, at 16 lb. 16 s. a mark, to be known 93 lb 12 s.[par.]

Item, for 1 ounce of gold to gilt the said arm 24 lb.[par.]

Item, for making the said arm, for work at 4 lb. 16 s. a mark, make
44 lb. 18 s.[par.]

Item, the same Pieter for gilding, chiselling and for gilding the necessary rest
48 s.[par.]

Item the same for the crown of the Blessed Mary, weighing 1 ounce and 3 sterling, for material and work

3 lb. 14 s.[par.]

Item the same for decorating the silver retable of the high altar and for restoring and consolidating other statues, together

30 lb.[par.]

BAB, *St. Donaas, Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, no. G.6, 1470, fol. 12, 12v, 14.

Published: Dewitte, 1978, 91. (fols. 12, 13v fragmentarily); Weale, *Inventaires Saint Donatien*, 14, n.18 (fol. 14).

Doc. 98. 1470, 1 July - 1471, 31 December -- *Payment to Jacob van Ghizeghem for painting the doors of the organ in Onze-Lieve-Vrouw church.*

[fol. 315v] *Dit es tuutgheven [...]*

Item betaelt Jacop van Gizeghem van der groote dueren te verschilderene van den grooten orghele iiij lb.gr.

[fol. 315v] *This is the expense [...]*

Item paid Jacob van Ghizeghem for painting the large doors of the large organ
4 lb.gr.

RAB, *Fonds van de Brugse O.L.Vrouwkerk, Rekeningen van de Kerkfabriek*, 1464-1476, fol. 315v.

Published: Schouteet, I, 222.

Doc. 99. 1470, 15 September - 1471, 13 September -- *Payment to Rutger Hazenhore for maps he made of the location of hearths at Wulpen, about which a trial was pending at the Council of Flanders between the Bruges Franc and the Proosse of St. Donatian.*

[fol. 131] Betalynghe van diverssche schriftueren ghemaect van informatien, exploitien ende van consultatien ghenomen ter oorboore vande voorseyden lande zydent der latster rekeninghe van dien [...]

[fol. 136v] Rutgheerre Hazinoere, den schildre, woonende te Aerdenburch, voor tfatsoen ende maecken van der descriptien van den huusen ende hofsteden daerin wylen eer weunde ende deser weerelt overleedt Aernoudt filius Jan Wouters binnen der prochien van Wulpen omme in de voornoemde enqueste ende proces gheemployeert te werden naer der tauxatien van den voornoemden commissarissen daerof ghemaect, betaelt v
lb.[par.]

[fol. 131] *Payment of diverse information, writs, and consultation files [that were] made for usage of the said land since the last accounts.*

[fol. 136v] *Rutgheere Hazinoere, the painter, living at Aardenburg, for the work and making of a map of the houses and hearths, where the late Aernoudt filius Jan Wouters, now deceased, used to live, within the parish of Wulpen, to be used in the aforementioned inquiry and trial, by the said members of the commission in their appraisal; paid 5 lb.[par.]*

RAB, *Fonds van 't Vrije*, no. 206, *Rekening van het Vrije*, 1470-71, fol. 131, 136v.

Published: Schouteet, I, 233.

Doc. 100. 1470, 28 August - 1471, 29 August -- *Petrus Christus pays his annual dues to the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Snow.*

[fol. 60] Rekeninghe ende bewijs van al den ontfanghe ende huutghevene bi mi, Jan de Blazere, als deken vander ghilde van Onser Vrouwe vander Snee, beghinnende den xxvijten dach van oust anno mcccc lxx, en hendende den xxix in oust lxxj [...]

[fol. 61v] Andre ontfanc int ommegeaen van buten den houden vesten als van jaerlicx ghildeghelt de anno lxxj [...]

[fol. 62v] [...] Willem Vredelant ij gr.

[fol. 64] Dit es den ontfanc van den jaerlicx ghildeghelde ontfanc in ommegeaen van binnen der houder veste [...]

[fol. 66v] Uxor Claes vanden Sleenne ij gr.

	Uxor Jan de Vleeschuiwer	ij gr.
	Arnoud de Haze	ij gr.
[...]	Pieter Xpistus	ij gr.

[fol. 60] *Account and confirmation of all receipts and expenditure by me, Jan de Blazere, as dean of the guild of Our Lady of the Snow, commencing 1470, 28 August, and ending 1471, 29 August [...]*

[fol. 61v] *Other receipt of the annual dues collected outside the old fortress in the year 1471 [...]*

[fol. 62v] [...] *Willem Vredelant* 2 gr.

[fol. 64] *Receipt of the annual dues collected in the old fortress [...]*

[fol. 66v] *Uxor Claes vanden Sleenne* 2 gr.

Uxor Jan de Vleeschuiwer 2 gr.

Arnoud de Haze 2 gr.

[...] *Pieter Xpistus* 2 gr.

RAB, *Kerkfabriek O.L.Vrouwe*, no. 1531, *Algemene rekeningen O.L.V.-ter-Sneeuw 1467-1499*, fols. 60-66v.

[unpublished]

Doc. 101. 1471 -- *Payment in the accounts of St.Donatian's to Arnoud de Mol for painting an image.*

[fol. 11] *Extradatum in diversis usibus [...]*

[fol. 13v] *Item Arnoldi de Mol, pictori, pro pictura ymaginum supra ostium posterne* v
lb. iij s.[par.]

[fol. 11] *Expenditure of diverse nature [...]*

[fol. 13v] *Item to Arnoud de Mol, painter, for painting the image above the backdoor* 5
lb. 4 s.[par.]

BAB, *St. Donaas, Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, no. G.6, 1471, fol. 11, 13v.

[Unpublished]

Doc. 102. 1471, 22 August - 1472, 24 August -- *Petrus Christus pays his annual dues to the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Snow.*

[fol. 81] *Rekeninghe ende bewijs Robrechts De Brune van alden ontfanghe ende uutghevene aengaende der ghilde van Onzer liever Vrouwe vander Sneeuw in Brugghe wanof hi deken was*

ende dit vanden jare ingaende den xxijen daghe van oust anno m iiii een ende tseventich,
ende hendende xxiiij in oust lxxij [...]

[fol. 82v] Ander ontfang int ommegeaen buten den ouden vesten van jaerlicschen
ghildeghelde van desen jare lxxij [...]

[fol. 83v] Willem Vreland ij gr.

[fol. 84v] Hier naer volcht den ommegeanc vanden jaerghelde binnen den ouden vesten
vander vors. jare lxxij [...]

[fol. 86v] Jan de Brune f. Lodewix de Poortre ij gr.

[...] Pieter Cristus ij gr.

[fol. 60] *Account and confirmation by Robrechts de Brune of all receipts and expenditure concerning the guild of Our Lady of the Snow in Bruges, when he was dean, and this during the year commencing 1471, 22 August, and ending 1472, 29 August [...]*

[fol. 82v] *Other receipt of the annual dues collected outside the old fortress in the year 1472 [...]*

[fol. 83v] Willem Vreland 2 gr.

[fol. 84v] *Here follows the collection of the annual dues in the old fortress [...]*

[fol. 86v] Jan de Brune f. Lodewix de Poortre 2 gr.

[...] Pieter Cristus 2 gr.

RAB, *Kerkfabriek O.L.Vrouwe*, no. 1531, *Algemene rekeningen O.L.V.-ter-Sneeuw*, 1467-1499, fols. 81-86v.

[unpublished]

Doc. 103. 1471, 2 September - 1472, 1 September -- Excerpts from the municipal accounts: payment to Jacob de Jonghe for decorative work; tapestries are rented from Colaerd de Labye, and Pasquier Grenier is paid for delivery of other tapestries.

[fol. 109] Huutgheven van ghemeene zaken

[fol. 114] Item den darden dach van laumaend lxxj zo was ghedaen in de keerke van Sint Donaes ene solempnele ende heerlyke uutvaert over zalegher ghedynckenesse mer gheduchter vrouwe de douagiereghe daer of dat dese stede te coste ghehadht heift ende betaelt es gheweist tnaervolghende te wetene: [...]

Item betaelt Jacob de Jonghe, den schildere, ter causen van alder scilderye die gheoorboirt was ter voors. uutvaert ij lb. xviiij s. iiii d.gr.

[fol. 115] Doe (1) van costen die ghedaen waren ter eeren van den blyden incommene van onzen voors. harde gheduchten heere ende prince hier binnen deser zyner stede van Brugghe, te wetene [...]

Item, Jacop de Jonghe, den scildere, ter causen van eenen grooten schilt eerlyke ghestoffeert metter wapene van onzen voors. gheduchten heere ende prince die gheslegghen was vooren an de voors. poorte (2), voord van eenen schilt metter wapene van der stede, ende van c

lettren vande B ghecroont die alle ghevest ende ghesayt waren up de voors. lakenen, voor al
ij lb. j s. viij d.gr.

[fol. 115v] Den eersten dach van sporkele, ghegheven ende ghepresenteirt mynen heere den
cansellier te zinen eersten incommene binnen deser stede als nieu cansellier, in juweelen ende
vasseelen waerdich ter somme van

xxxvj lb j s.gr.

[fol. 121] Item betaelt by ordonnancie vander camere Pasquier Grenier de somme van c lb.gr.
up ende in minderinghen vanden iiiij^c lb.gr., daer in dat dese stede jeghen hem verbonden

staet als over haer deel ende avenant van den viij^c lb.gr., ter causen van zekere scoone ende
grootte tapytserien inhoudende de historie vander destructie van Troyen, de welke by deser
stede ende by die vanden Vryen ghegheven hebben gheweist onze harde gheduchten heere
ende prince te ziere neerenster bede ende begheerte, dus hier de voors. c lb.[gr.]

[fol. 121v] Item betaelt by ordonnancie vander camere Colaerd de Labye ter causen vander
huere van zekere tapytse verdure daer mede de camere vanden weesen behanghen was daer
de ambassadeurs van Ingheland ende zekere ghedeputeirden vanden lande van Vlaendren
up tentrecours vander coopmanscepe tusschen den voors. van Ingheland ende Vlaendren ten
vele ende diversschen stonden vergadert hebben

[fol. 122] gheweist. Voord van dat de voors. tapytsen eens deels verdorven waren vanden
ratten ende vanden zelven tapijtsen te hanghene ende weder of te doene, voor al

iiiij lb. v s.gr.

[fol. 109] *Expenditure of ordinary nature*

[fol. 114] *Item the third day in January 71, a solemn and exquisite funeral service was held in the
church of St. Donatian for the blessed memory of my redoubtable lady the dowager, for which the city
has made expenses and the following has been paid: [...]*

Item paid Jacob de Jonghe, the painter, for all the paintings that were used in the said funeral service

2 lb. 18 s. 4 d.gr.

[fol. 115] *Then (1) of expenditure that were made at the honor of the triumphal entry of my
aforementioned very redoubtable lord and prince here within his city of Bruges, known [...]*

*Item, Jacop de Jonghe, the painter, for having decorated delightfully a shield with the arms of our
aforementioned redoubtable lord and prince, that was hung at the said gate,(2) also for a shield with
the arms of the city, and for 100 letters B with crown, which were all attached and sown on the said
cloths, for everything*

2 lb. 1 s. 8 d.gr.

[fol. 115v] *The first day of February, given and presented to mylord the chancellor on the occasion of
his first entry in the city as chancellor, jewels and casks, worth the sum of*

36 lb 1 s.gr.

[fol. 121] *Item paid at the ordonnance of the chamber to Pasquier Grenier, the sum of 100 lb.gr. as
down payment on 400 lb.gr., which the city is contracted to pay as its equal part of 800 lb.gr., for
certain beautiful and large tapestries, representing the story of the destruction of Troy, which were
given by this city and by the Franc to our very redoubtable lord and prince according his sincere
request and desire, so here the 100 lb.[gr.]*

[fol. 121v] *Item paid at the ordonnance of the chamber to Colaerd de Labye as rent for certain tapestries [with floral decoration] that were hung in the orphans' chamber, where the ambassadors of England and certain deputees of Flanders were meeting several times and often on the trade between England and Flanders.*

[fol. 122] *Further, that the said tapestries were partly ruined by rats, and for hanging them and taking them of again, for everything* 4 lb. 5 s.gr.

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1471-72, fol. 114-115v, 121, 121v, 122.

Published: A. Pinchart, *Histoire générale de la tapisserie, III. Pays-Bas*, (completed by Jules Guiffrey), Paris, 1884, 60 (fol.121 only); Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, VI, 64-66 (inaccurately, with wrong references); Schouteet, I, 284-285 (partly).

1. *I.e.*, 24 January.
2. *I.e.*, the Oude Gentpoort.

Doc. 104. 1472, 7 January (n.s.) -- *Approval given to Louis of Gruuthuse by representatives of the chapter of Our Lady's, for building his oratory that connects his palace to the church of Our Lady's.*

Wij Maerten Diericx, scolastre ende vicaris van edelen ende waerden heere mijns sheer Aernouds de Lalaing, proost absent ende in verren landen nu besoiingierende, Joos van Ghyseghem, baceleur in theologie, Vincent Verhannemen, meester Maerten, Gillis van Scanaphie, Jan vander Meersch, dekin van kerstinhede ende zeghelaere vanden gheesteliken hove binder stede van Brugghe, Jan Inghele, priesteren ende Jan Diepembrouc, subdiake cononicken ende capitle van onser vrouwen kerke in Brugghe in desen tijden, Jan de Baenst, riddere, heere van Sint Joris, Pauwels van Overtvelt, raden ons gheduchts heeren ende prinche shertoghen van Bourgoingie, grave van Vlaendren, etc., Jacob vanden Vagheviere, Clais van Nieuwenhove, Woutre Utenhove, Jan Heyndericx, zuene Pauwels de Kueninc, Woutre Scamp ende Pieter de Labie, alle kercmeesters vander voors. kerken ten selven tyden dat dese naervolghende zaken voor ons waren ghedaen, doen te wetene allen den ghonen die dese onse presente letteren zullen zien of hooren lesen dat aenghesien overdocht ende ghemerct zynde de groote jonste ende milde caritate die ter eeren Gods ende zynder ghebenedider moeder Marie onser voors. kerken ghedaen hebben, edele waerde ende moghende heere, mer Lodewyc van Brugghe, heere vander Gruuthuse, prince van Steenhuuse, etc., riddere raet ende camerlinc ons voors. gheduchts heeren ende prince ende sijn stedehouder generael van zinen landen ende graefscepen van Hollant, Zeelant ende Vriesland, zijn vader ende andere sine voorders van edeler ghedachte wiens zielen God ghenaedich zyn ende die wij hopen dan in naercommenden tijden sine naecomms onser voors. kerken doen zullen. So eist dat wij vicarius canonicken capitle ende kercmeester boven ghenoeft bij ghemeen accorde ende over een draghene ende oec bij goeder deliberacie van rade van enighen notablen onsen prochianen up al wesende ende ripelic ghelet

gheconsenteert hebben ende by desen onsen letteren consenteren over ons ende onsen naercommers, vicaris canonicken capitle ende kercmeesters vanden voors. kerken zynde minen voors. heere vanden Gruuthuse in alsoe verre alst in ons es ende van daer toe ghemachtich sijn ende up in dien dat mijn voorn. heere vande Gruuthuse binnen behoorliken tyden vercrighen mach hier toe tconsent van minen heere den proost ende elders daer van noode uut te vercrighene up te bringhene ende te doen vulmakene sijn oratorie die hij nu ieghenwoordelic heeft beghonnen fonderen ende maken up de ghewiede eerde annex onser voors. kerke ende sinen huuse ende hove gheheeten tgruuthuus staende upde noordoost hove vander voors. onser kerke. Omme zie ten ewighen ende perpetuelicken daghen te ghebruuckene te possesseerne ende paisivelike te besittene by hem syne hoirs successeurs ende naercommers heeren ende vrouwen van den Gruuthuse synde, zonder hemlieden daer inne eenich onghebruuc te doene in naercommenden tyden in eenegher manieren. Welke voors. oratorye hebben zal twee aspecten ofte ghezichten ten hooghen outare waerts van den choir van onser voors. kerke duer de aercke van beede den pilaeren tusschen welken polaeren als nu staet de houtene tabernakele gheheeten tsacramenthusekin, boven eender tombe ende sepulture van een van den voorders myns voors. heeren van den Gruuthuse, de welke tabernakele ende tombe van daer ghewerd zullen worden, van welken voors. tween aspecten ofte ghesichten deene van dien comen sal van de upperste stage van der voors. oratorye duer de glase veynster gheheeten Sinte Renaults veynster staende in den noord ommeghanc van onser voors. kerke neffens ende oostwaerts van der cappelle nu toebehoorende der weduwe van Varssenaere, ende tander aspect ofte ghesichte zal zyn in de nederste stage van der selver oratorye met eender duere tonser voors. kerkewaerts in, ande welke duere syn zullen over de zide van onser voors. kerk een ofte meer sloten danof dar de costere van der selver kerke nu of naermaels wesende hebben zullen de slotelen ende niement anders, dies so wert deselve costere ende syne naercomers costers synde van der voorseide kerke ghehouden de voors. duere van synder zide te ontslutene ende open te doene tallen tiden als hy dies versocht wesen zal van myns voors. heeren weghe van den Gruuthuse jeghenwoordich ende die in naercomenden tiden wesen zullen, de welke voors. twee aspecten ofte ghesichten zullen zyn met vasten clausuren van sulken pilaeren of colonnen alst mynen voors. heer van den Gruuthuse ghelieven sal te doen makene, ter bewaernesse van onser voors. kerke in sulker wys ende manieren als dat daer duere nyement der voors. kerke yeuwers in sal moghen scade doen, ende welke voors. clausuren myn voors. heere van den Gruuthuse, zyn hoirs ende naercomers heeren ende vrouwen van den Gruuthuse ghehouden zyn zullen te doen onderhoudene ten eeuwighen daghe up haerlieder cost sonder cost of last van der voors. kerke. Hebben voord boven dies voors. es, mynen voorn. heeren van den Gruuthuse voor hem zyne hoirs ende naercomers heeren ende vrouwen van den Gruuthuse synde perpetuelike ende eeuwelicke gheconsenteert ende al noch by desen onsen voors. lettren consenteren over ons ende onse naercomers vicaris canonicken capitle ende kerckmeesters van der zelve kerke zynde, de plaetse ligghende tusschen den voors. tween pilaeren daer tvoors. sacramenthusekin nu staet metten sitsels staende bachten an tvoors. huusekin tote alf den steenen van den voors. tween pilaeren ende niet voordere omme die te weerene ende wech te doene tsynder wille ende gheliefte ende daer een ander zitsels te makene ten ghebruucke van mynder vrouwe van den Gruuthuse

zynder geselnede huere vrouwen ende joncvrouwen, ende alle huere naercomers vrouwen zynde van den Gruuthuse, zonder mynen voors. heere van den Gruuthuse zynen hoirs ende naercomers in de voors. twee aspecten ofte gezichten eenich onghebruuc te doene tware by den hanghene van de cleederen van ons vrouwen van der Snee ofte anderzins in eenigher manieren; dies wert myn voors. heere van den Gruuthuse ghehouden te doen makene eene bewaernesse van mettale, tsynder gheliefte tusschen zynen voors. zitsels ende den voors. hooghen choore ende die by hem zyne hoirs ende naercomers doen onderhouden ter eeuwichen daghen up haerlieder cost zonder cost of last van der voors. kerke.

Ende wy Lodewyc van Brugghe heere van den Gruuthuse etc., voors., overghemerct hebbende de groote minne ende affectie die de voorn. vicaris canonicken capitle ende kercmeesters tonswaerts hebben, omme ons in al te ghevoughene naer huerlieder vermoghene ende ooc overghemerct de groote ghebruucaemheit die zy ons ende onse naercomers inder manieren voorscreven ter voors. kerkewaerts gheconsenteert ende gheoctroyert hebben in also verre alst in hemlieden es ende zy daertoe ghemachticht syn, so eist dat wy in recompensacien danbaericheden ende loonen van den zaken voorscreven ende zonderlinghe ter eeren Gods zynder ghebenedider moeder Maria ende al den hemelschen gheselscepe, der voorseyde kerke ghegheven hebben ende by desen onsen lettren gheven over ons ende onse naercomers ter voors. kerke vrijen eyghindome ende over haer vry proper ende eyghin goed zonder eenich recht daer an te behoudene de parcheelen ende juweelen hiernaer volghende, ende eerst zo hebben wy gherenunchiert ende af ghegaen ter voors. kerke behouf over ons ende onse naercomers ten eeuwichen daghen ende by desen jeghenwoordeghen lettren renunchieren ende gaen af, de capelle van Sinte Angniete staende neffens den zuidwester duere van der voors. kerke dewelke capelle ons ende onse voorders toebehoort heeft van oude tyden, ende gheven die over met alle hueren rechten ende toebehoorten niet uteghesteken ten proffytte van de voors. kerke omme daarmede te doene haren vryen wille ende gheliefte; voortd zo hebben wy ooc ghedaen maken ende der voors. kerke ghegheven twee ryckelicke choorstaven verwapent met onsen wapene, weerdich zynde de somme van twee hondert ende veertich ponden paris. of daer omtrent; Voord hebben wy noch mildelic uut onsen vryen wille ghegheven ten steenin ghewercke waerts met zynen toebehoren twelcke als nu ghefondeirt es ande zuidoostzide van den voors. hooghen choir ter conservatie ende bewaernesse van den fierte van myne heere sinte Bonifacius, erdsbisscop ende maertelare, patroon vande voors. kerke ende andere reliquien, de somme van zesse hondert ponden parisise eens wechdraghens; Voord boven dies voors. es, hebben wy ter voors. kerke behouf ghedaen maeken costelike ende seer rickelicke ornamenten dienende ter voors. hooghen outare ende ten choore met zekere dierbare tapytserye inhoudende de legende ende passie van mynen voors. heere Sinte Bonifacius omme daer mede den voors. choir van der kerke te behanghene ende te verchierne in principaele feestelike daghen; Voordt zo hebben wy der voors. kerke toegeleyt ende gheassigneert ende beset over ons ende onse naercommers ende by desen onsen lettren toelegghen besetten ende assigneeren ter voors. kerke vryen eyghindomme de somme van veertiene ponden ende acht schellinghen parisise vlaemscher munten eeuwelicker ende ervelicker rente siaers jaerlicx gheldende ende betalende telken Sinte Jans daeghe mitsomers danof teerste payment vallen zal tsint Jansmesse int jaer duust viere hondert twee ende tseventich naestcommende, van

welken voors. veertiene ponden ende acht scellinghen parisisen de voors. costere vande kerke nu of naermaels wesende jaerlicx hebben ende ontfanghen zal ten zelven daghe ende payementen van den ontfanghere van der fabriek vande voors. kerke de somme van achte ende veertich scellinghen paris. erflycker munte ende dat over tseluten ende ontseluten van der voors. oratorye ende de welke somme van veertiene ponden ende acht scellinghen parisisen erveliker ende eeuwelicker renten tsiaers wy der voorn. kerke besettinghe ende versekerthede ghedaen hebben, daer ende alsoot behoort up ons voors. huus ende hof vanden Gruuthuusen met alle synen toebehoorten, ghelycke den chaerte danof zynde die de voors. kerke thaerwaerts heeft dat bet ende ten vullen verclaerst ende overmids dat men ter date van desen negheene besettinghe van erveliker rente passeren en mochte anders dan te lossene den penninc achtene mids den ottroye tanderen tiden daer af ghedaen ende ghepasseirt van ons voors. gheduchts heeren weghe ende ooc mede dat wy in gheender maniere ne willen dat men de voors. rente losse maer dat men die perperuelicke ende ten eeuweghen daghen zoude bliven gheldende van jare te jare zonder eeneghe lossinghe, zo hebben wy zo vele diligenci ghedaen an onsen voors. gheduchten heere ende prince als hy tonser bede ende versoucke up dies voors. es gheottroyeert heeft by gracen zyne opene lettren van ottroye ende omme dies wille dat alle de punten voorscreven vulcomen ende vuldaen zouden werden naer huerlieder voorme ende inhoudene zonder verbreken, ende datter alnoch eeneghe punten zyn die zy niet vulcomen en hebben, hoe wel zy hier vooren ghenareirt staen als ghedaen ende vulcomen wezende, so eist dat wij beloofd hebben, ende alnoch by desen onsen lettren beloven die te vulcomene ende te vuldoene ghelycke ende inder manieren zy hier vooren gheexpresseert staen zonder eenich delay.

Voordt omdat alle dese dinghen zouden bliven goed vast ende van waerden, sonder verbreken also wel aen onse zyde als aen de zide van de voors. kerke, zo hebben wy Lodewyc van Brugghe heere van den Gruuthuuse, prince van Steenhuuse, ende wy vicaris canonicken capitule ende kerkmeesters boven ghenoomt alle ghesaemder hand dese voors. lettre ghezeghelt elc met onsen zeghelen huuthanghende up ons ende onsen naercomers te kennessen. Dit was ghedaen int jaer duust vier hondert ende eenen tseventich upten zevensten dach van Laumaendt.

We Maerten Diericx, scolasticus and vicar of the honorable and worthy lord Mylord Aernoud de Lalaing, provost, absent and now active in far away lands, Joos van Ghyseghem, bachelor in theology, Vincent Verhannemen, master Maerten, Gillis van Scanaphie, Jan vander Meersch, dean of christendom and keeper of the seals of the ecclesiastic court in the city of Bruges, Jan Inghel, priest and Jan Diepembrouc, subdeacon, canons and chapter of Our Lady's church in Bruges at this present time, Jan de Baenst, knight, Lord of St. George, Pauwels van Overtvelt, councillor of our redoubtable lord and prince the Duke of Burgundy, Count of Flanders, etc., Jacob vanden Vagheviere, Clais van Nieuwenhove, Woutre Utenhove, Jan Heyndericx, the son of Pauwels de Kueninc, Woutre Scamp and Pieter de Labie, all church wardens of the said church at the time that the following business was brought before us, announce to all those who will see our present letter or hear it being read, that taken into consideration the great favors and loyal charity, to the honor of God and his loving mother Mary, that were bestowed upon our said church by the honorable worthy and powerful lord, Mylord Lodewyc of Bruges, Lord of Gruuthuse, Prince of Steenhuuse, etc., knight, councillor and chamberlain of our

said redoubtable lord and prince, and general stadtholder of his lands and counties of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland, his father and his other generous forefathers whose soul God commemorates, and his descendants, who as we hope, will do in the future for our said church. Therefore we, vicar, canons, chapter and church wardens aforementioned, have approved and give our approval by this letter, with general consent and permission and after thorough and mature deliberation, advised by some notables of our parishioners, in our name and in the name of our successors, vicar, canons, chapter and church wardens of the said church, that my said Lord of Gruuthuse, in as far as it belongs to our authority, and on the condition that my said Lord of Gruuthuse will receive in due time the authorisation of mylord the provost and all other authorisations needed, to complete his oratory which he has presently founded and started to construct on the blessed ground, adjacent to our said church and his house and court, called 'gruuthuus', situated on the north eastern court of our said church. To be used, owned and peacefully possessed infinitely and perpetually by him, his heirs, successors and offspring, lords and ladies of Gruuthuse, without any impossibility to use it for whatever reason in the future. This oratory will have two aspects or views onto the high altar in the choir of our aforementioned church, in between the arch of the two pillars, between which the wooden retable is now installed which is called the Sacrament's house, above the tomb and sepulchre of my said Lord of Gruuthuse's parents, which tabernacle and tomb will be removed from there. Of the said two aspects or views, one will issue from the upper floor of the said oratory through the glass window, called Saint Renault's window, situated in the northern ambulatory of our said church next and to the east of the chapel which belongs now to the Varssenaere 's widow, and the other aspect or view will be from the lower floor of the same oratory with a door giving entry onto our said church. On the church side of this door, there will be one or more locks of which the sexton of the same church or his successors will have the keys, and nobody else. Thus the sexton or his successors of the said church will have to unlock this door from this side and open it, each time he will be asked to do so by the said present lord of Gruuthuse or his successors in the futur. These two said aspects or views will be tightly fixed to the pillars or columns, in such a manner as my said lord of Gruuthuse wants it to be done, to safeguard our said church in such a way that nobody will be able to intrude and cause damage. And the said lord of Gruuthuse, his heirs and successors, lords and ladies of Gruuthuse will have to maintain the said locks infinitely at their own expense, without any burden for the church. Further and besides all which has been said above, my said lord of Gruuthuse has given his perpetual and eternal consent in his name and in the name of his heirs and successors, lords and ladies of Gruuthuse, and he agrees by this our said letter with us and our successors, vicary, canons, chapter and church wardens of the same church, that the place situated in between the said two pillars where the aforementioned little sacrament's house is now placed with the seats outside the said little house will be cleared and emptied, as he wants and prefers, to half way the stones of the said two pillars and not further, and to make there another seat to be used by my Lady of Gruuthuse, his wife. her ladies in waiting and girls, and all her successors, Ladies of Gruuthuse, without that my said Lord of Gruuthuse, his heirs and successors will have any inconvenience in the said two aspects or views, be it by hanging up the cloths of Our Lady of the Snow, or in any other way; Therefore my said Lord of Gruuthuse has to have made, like he prefers, a metal protection in between his said seats and the said high choir, and to have this maintained by him, his heirs and successors infinitely at their own expense, without any expense or burden for the said church. And we Lodewyc of Bruges, Lord of Gruuthuse etc., aforementioned, having noticed the great love and affection that the said vicar, canons, chapter and church wardens cherish for us, to comply with our

wishes as far as they can, and having also noticed the approval of the far-reaching use in the said church which they have granted to us in the ways described above, in as far as they can and are allowed to, so we will therefore and in compensation of, out of gratitude and to pay for the said things, and especially to the honor of God, His blessed mother Mary and all of the heavenly community, we have given to the said church and by this our letter we give, in our name and in the name of our successors to the said church's free property and towards its free proper and own property, without keeping any right to it, the parcels and jewels described here following, and first of all, we renounce and relinquish to the advantage of the said church, in our name and in the name of our successors, eternally, and by this present letter, we renounce and relinquish the chapel of St. Agnes, situated at the side of the south western entrance of the said church, which chapel belonged to us and our predecessors since old times, and we transfer it with all its rights and everything included, and nothing less, to the profit of the said church to do with it what it wants or prefers. Further, we had made and have given to the said church two richly decorated choir batons, inscribed with our coat of arms, worth about the sum of two hundred and forty pounds par. Further, we have generously given and out of our free will for the stone construction, with everything included, which now has been founded on the south east side of the said high choir, to the conservation and the maintenance of the shrine of my lord Saint Boniface, archbishop and martyr, patron of the said church and other relics, the sum of six hundred pounds par. Further on top of what has been said, we have expensive and very rich ornaments made to the usage of the church for the said high altar and the altar, with certain expensive tapestries representing the legend and martyrdom of my said lord Saint Boniface, to hang those in and decorated the said choir of the church on major feast days. Further, we have reserved, assigned and invested in our name and in the name of our successors to the advantage of the said church, and by this present letter we invest and assign towards the said church's free property the sum of fourteen pounds and eight shilling par. of Flemish currency, of eternal and hereditary annual interest, to be paid each year on Saint John's day (1) at midsummer's day, at of which the first payment will be on the next St. John's mass in the year thousand four hundred and seventy two, and of which fourteen pounds and eighteen shilling parisis the said sexton of the church, the present one or the one in the futur, will have annually and receive on the same day, paid out by the receiver of the fabrica of the said church, the sum of forty eight shilling par. of hereditary interest, and this for locking and unlocking the said oratory; and which sum of fourteen pounds and eight shilling par. of annual hereditary and eternal interests, we have invested and secured as it should be on our house and court of Gruuthuse with everything included, as it is well and fully explained in the charter which the said church has. And that from now on no investments of hereditary interest will be approved, except for the eighteenth penny for which the charter has been granted in the past by our said redoubtable lord, and also that we do not want that the said interest will be paid out but that it is perpetually and infinitely reinvested, year by year without any payment. We have done consequently for our said redoubtable lord and prince as he according to our request and petition on what has been mentioned, granted by the grace of his public letter of ratification. And as to comply with and fulfill all the points mentioned above in full following the form and content without any violation, and if there are still some points which are noty complied with yet, but which are registered above as being done and fulfilled, we have promised, and still promise by this our present letter to comply and fulfill as and in the way as it is explicitly mentioned here, without any delay. Further, because all these things would remain worthy, steady and valuable, without violation, nor from our side as from the side of the said church, we, Lodewyc of Bruges, Lord of Gruuthuse, Prince of

Steenhuse, and we, vicar, canons, chapter and church wardens, mentioned above, all together, have sealed this said letter, each with our seal attached with our knowledge and rto the information of our successors. This was done in the year thousand four hundred and seventy one on the seventh day of January

RAB, *Onze Lieve Vrouw, Oud Archief*, charter prov.no. 1385. Original, parchment. Copied in RAB, *Onze Lieve Vrouw, Oud Archief*, no.721: Cartularium of the foundations by Louis of Gruuthuse and Margareta van Borsele, 1465-1476, fol. 9-14.

Published: P. Beaucourt de Noortvelde, *Description historique de l'église collégiale et paroissiale de Notre-Dame à Bruges*, Bruges, 1773, 109-112 (further as Beaucourt de Noortvelde, 1773); J. Gailliard, *Inscriptions funéraires et monumentales de la Flandre Occidentale. I. Arrondissement de Bruges*, 2. *Bruges, Eglise de Notre Dame*, Bruges, 1861-67, 70-71 (both fragmentarily).

1. St.John's day is 24 June; see Strubbe & Voet, 174.

Doc. 105. 1472, 19 March -- *Verdict in a conflict between the corporation of the Image Makers of Bruges, on one side, and the court painter Pierre Coustain, and his assistent, Jean de Herovy, on the other, in which Petrus Christus is mentioned as representative of the corporation.*

Au jour dhuy, dixneufviesme jour du mois de Mars, lan mil quatercens soixante et onze (1), par devant maistres Jehan Vincent, prevost de Cassel, et Richart de la Chappelle, chantre et chanoine de leglise Sainct Donas, conseilliers de mon tresredoute seigneur, monseigneur le duc de Bourgogne, et maistres des requestes de son hostel, commissaires de par icellui seigneur en ceste partie, comparans Adrien van Cleroute, doyen des poinctres, Pietre Xpistus, Jehan Fabien et Pietre Casenbroot, jurez et comme commis dudit mestier des poinctres de la ville de Bruges, supplians et complaignans, et maistre Jehan Doublet, leur procureur avec eulx, dune part, et Pietre Coustain, aussi poinctre et varlet de chambre de mondit tresredoubte seigneur, ensemble Jehan de Hervy de Valenciennes, son serviteur, dautre part. Apres que lesdictes parties en leurs doleances et remonstrances ont este oyees dune part et dautre, finalement par lesdiz commissaires a este ordonne et appointie que le dit Pierre Coustain, tandis quil sera serviteur et officier domestique de mon dit tresredoubte seigneur, pourra par luy et ses varles serviteurs, faire ou faire faire tous ouvraiges du mestier de poinctre en la ville et eschevinaige de Bruges, pour les affaires et bonplaisirs de mondit tresredoubte seigneur et messeigneurs les princes, barons et officiers de son hostel tant seulement (a) le tout sans fraude et malengin, et sans pour ce encourir es paines et amendes des keures et costumes dudit mesties desdits doyen et jurez dudit mestier de poinctres de Bruges, et sans en requerer aucun congie ou consentement desdits commissaires. Tant par le contenu en la requeste desdits poinctres de Bruges supplians, que aussi par leurs remonstrances et doleances, ont apperceu entre autres choses, que ilz se doloient et complaignoient dudit Jehan Hervy, varlet et serviteur du dit Pietre Coustain, qui journellement faisoit son mestier en ladicte ville

de Bruges, en plusieurs lieux particuliers et pour autres gens que pour mondit tres redoubte seigneur, messeigneurs les princes, barons et vrays serviteurs de son hostel. Il a este aussi advise et appointie par lesdiz commissaires que le dit Jehan Hervy, pour bien de paix et aussi pour la conservacion des droits dudit mestier de pointres de ladicte ville de Bruges endedens Lundi prochain venant, et que a ce lesdits doyen et jurez seront tenuz de le recevoir en leurdit mestier, non obstant quil nait este de leur aprentissage et non obstant toutes keures, status ou coustumes que lon povroit pretendre au contraire, le tout pour ceste fois et sans preiudice en aucune cas pour le temps advenir, moiennant ce toutefuoies que ledit Jehan Hervy sera tenu payer prealablement les droits dudit mestier montans jusques a la somme de six livres de gros et au dessoubz, et moiennant aussi quil sera tenu de faire le serement aussi que ont accoustume de faire les autres pointres nouvellement recuez oudit mestier, laquelle ordonnance et appointment lesdictes parties et chascune dicelles ont accepte, et ont promis et accorde de le ainsi faire, fournir, entretenir et accomplir entierement, sans jamaisaler ne consentir aler au contraire. Ce fut fait par lesdictes commissaires et en la presence diceulx, ou cloistre de Saint Donas a Bruges, lan et jour dessus dits.
(signed) J. Vincentius, R. Capella.

Today, the nineteenth day in the month of March, in the year fourteen hundred seventy one (1), before master Jehan Vincent, provost of Cassel, and Richart de la Chappelle, singer and canon of the Church of St. Donatian, counsellors of my very redoubtable lord, mylord the duke of Burgundy and masters of requests at his court, in this function judges of mylord, have appeared Adrien van Cleroute, dean of the painters, Pietre Xpistus, Jehan Fabien and Pietre Casenbroot, sworn members and as representatives of the aforementioned corporation of the painters of the city of Bruges, supplicating and complaining, and master Jehan Doublet, their attorney with them, on one side, and Pietre Coustain, also painter and chamber servant of my aforementioned very redoubtable lord, accompanied by Jehan de Hervy of Valenciennes, his servant, on the other. After hearing the said parties in their complains and defence from one side and the other, the said judges have ordered and sentenced that the said Pierre Coustain, as long as he remains servant and courtier of my aforementioned very redoutable lord, he and his servants will be allowed to do or have done all the works of the painter's trade in the city and the area of the aldermen's jurisdiction of Bruges, for the business and plaisure of my aforementioned very redoubtable lord and mylords the princes, barons and courtiers only, all this without any fraude or wrong intentions, and without risking any charges or fines, applicable by the statutes and customs of the said trade of the dean and sworn members of the said painters' corporation of Bruges, and without asking the permission or consent of the said judges. As well by the content of the request of the supplicating Bruges painters, as by their defences and complaints, [we] have remarked amongst others, that they are grieving and complaining about Jehan Hervy, employee and servoant of the aforementioned Pietre Coustain, who works on a daily basis in the city of Bruges in several private places and for other people than my aforementioned very redoubtable lord, mylords the princes, barons and real courtiers. It has been advised and ordered by the said judges that by next Monday, the said Jehan Hervy, for the sake of peace and also in order to protect the rights of the said corporation of the painters of the said city of Bruges, will have to be accepted by the said dean and sworn members in their said corporation, notwithstanding he has not been apprenticed with them, and notwithstanding all the charters, statutes or customs that could be invoked to the contrary, all this for this one time only

and without prejudice, and in no other case in the future, on the condition, however, that the said Jehan Hervy will have to pay in advance for the rights of the said corporation, the sum amounting to six pounds groats, and also on the condition that he will have to pledge the oath as it is the custom with all other painters newly accepted in the corporation. This sentence and order has been accepted by the said parties, and each one of them, and they have promised and committed themselves to have it done, executed, maintained and fully accomplished, without ever wanting to do the opposite. This was done by the said judges and in their presence in the cloister of Saint Donatian in Bruges, in the year and on the day mentioned above.

(signed) J. Vincentius, R. Capella.

a. -- *tans seulement* is inserted.

Original, parchment.

SAB, Akademie, no. 409, box D: *Chartres Beeldenmakers*, 1472, 19 March.

Published: Weale, *Saint Luc*, 205-206.

1. *I.e.*, 19 March 1472 (n.s.)

Doc. 106. 1472, 7 August -- *Transferral of the sepulchers of Jacob Biese, Sr., and his wife, from the Biese chapel to a place in front of the high altar, and of the altar of the same chapel to a place behind the high altar.*

Wij Cornelis vander Heghe, stedehouder van de prochiepape, Jacob de Witte, Geert de Groote, Corneel vande Velde ende Antheunis Luts, kerkmeesters van Sint Jacobskerke in Brugghe, ende wy, meester Andries Biese, presbiter, Paulus Biese, Jan Metteneye ende Philip Biese, als hoirs van wylent Jacob Biese doude, dieswille dat Jacob Biese voors., hadde ghecocht zijne sepulture binnen de capelle van Sinte Jacob die men aldoe hiet onse Vrouwe Capelle de welcke door de vermeersinghe vande zelve kerke gheworden is den hooghen choir [...]

so hebben zij gheconsenteirt dat de voors. sepulture ende alle lichamen vande voorn. Jacob ende sijne wijve sal worden ghetransporteert inde nieuwen hooghen choir voor den hooghen outaer, beneden den eersten terde, alwaar alle de erven sullen moghen begraven sijn volghens het inhoud vande eerste briefven. Dies consenteren wij dat de kerkmeesters sullen moghen doen breken onsen outaer van Sint Jan ende Sint Ivo ende doen denselve stellen bachten den hooghen outaer met beede de tafelen van pointueren bij deselve onse voorders ghegheven, ende doen denselve stellen bachten den hooghen outaer met beede de tafelen van pointueren bij deselve onse voorders ghegheven, ende dat men ooc de daghelicxe messe bij denselven Jacob Biese ghefondeert ten zelve outare zal ontlasten. Actum den vij ougst int jaar 1472.

We Cornelis vander Heghe, stadtholder of the parish priest, Jacob de Witte, Geert de Grootte, Corneel vande Velde and Anthleunis Luts, church wardens of the church of St.James in Bruges, and we, master Andries Biese, priest, Paulus Biese, Jan Metteneye and Philip Biese, as heirs of the late Jacob Biese, Sr., because the said Jacob Biese had bought his sepulchre in the chapel of St.James which was called Our Lady's chapel, which has become the high choir due to the extension of the same church [...] so they have approved that the said sepulchre and the corpses of the said Jacob and his wife will be moved to the new high choir, under the first step, where all the heirs may also be buried according to the contents of the first letter. Therefore we give our consent that the church wardens are allowed to break down our altar of Saint John and Saint Ivo and have it moved behind the high choir with both the panel paintings, given by our same forefathers, and that the daily masses founded by the same Jacob Biese at the same altar will be suspended. Done 7 August in the year 1472.

[whereabouts unknown](1)

Published: J. Rotsaert, "Het hoogaltaar in de Sint-Jacobskerk te Brugge," *Het Brugs Ommeland*, XV/4 (1975), 128 (further as Rotsaert, 1975).

1. Rotsaert, 134, n. 30, refers to RAB, *Oud Kerkarchief, St. Jacobs*, Sepultureboek (reg. 24). This does not correspond to anything in Rombauts's inventory of this collection (W. Rombauts, *Het oud archief van de kerkfabriek van Sint-Jacob te Brugge (XIIIde-XIXde eeuw)*, 2 vols, Brussels, 1986). The entry is also not found in RAB, *Oud Kerkarchief, St. Jacobs*, no. 197-198: *Grafplaatsen* (these are the old *Sepultureboeken*, nos. 21 and 23).

Doc. 107. 1472, 17 May - 1473, 6 June -- *Payment to Joris Weylaert and his servant for repairing Jacob Biese's tomb and his altar.*

[fol. 135] *Betalinghe ghedaen uter name vander voors. kerke by my Jan de Hond, priestere, by lasten vanden prochiepape ende kercmeesters tsichtent synxenen lxxij tote synxenen lxxiii (1) [...]*

[fol. 138] *Item betaelt Joris Weylaert met zinen cnape van te doene vermakene Jacob Bies graf inden choir ende tgraf van dheer Dieric Clementis in Sinte jacobs capelle ende den outaer te vermakene van Jacob Bieze bachten hoghen outaer, over al drie daghen, comt voor beede*

ij s. ix d.gr.

[fol. 135] *Payment made in the name of the said church by me, Jan de Hond, priest, as demanded by the parish pastor and church wardens since Pentecost 72 until Pentecost 73 (1)*

[...]

[fol. 138] *Item paid to Joris Weylaert and his seroant to repair Jacob Biese's tomb in the choir and the tomb of sir Dieric Clementi in the chapel of St.James's, and to repair the altar of Jacob Biese behind the high altar, for everything during three days, for both 3 s. 9 d.gr.*

RAB, *Oud Kerkarchief, St. Jacobs*, no. 98: *Rekeningen betreffende verbouwingen aan de kerk*, 1464-1478, fol. 135, 138.

Published: Rotsaert, 1975, 133, n.5 (incomplete)

1. Pentecost was celebrated in 1472 on 17 May, in 1473 on 6 June.

Doc. 108. 1472, 1 January - 31 December -- *Expenditure made by the librarians' guild for a statue.*

[fol. 67v] Dit na volghende es dat ic, Colard Manchion, ontfanghen hebbe aengaende onser ghilde, beghinnende den eerste dach van Ianuario anno lxxj (1) tot lxxij [...]

[fol. 69] Dit na volghende es dat ic, Colaerd Manchion voors., uutghegheven hebbe ter ghilde behouf [...]

[fol. 69v] Item, an Ian Mayaer, omme Sinte Luc te sniden

vij s. vj d.gr.

Item, in recreacie, als de cop ghemaect was iiiij gr.

Item, omme den belde thuus te bringhene j 1/2 gr.

[fol. 67v] *This following is what I, Colard Manchion, have received concerning our gUILD, commencing the first day of January 71 (1) until 72 [...]*

[fol. 69] *This following is what I, the said Colaerd Manchion, made of expenditure for the guild [...]*

[fol. 69v] *Item, to Ian Mayaer, to carve Saint Luke*

7 s. 6 d.gr.

Item, for recreation, when the head was made 4 gr.

Item, to bring the statue home 1.5 gr.

SAB, *Librariers en Schoolmeesters*, no. 384, *Rekeningen van het gilde*, 1454-1523, fol. 67v, 69-69v.

Published: Weale, *Enlumineurs*, 284-285.

1. *I.e.*, 1472.

Doc. 109. 1472, 25 August - 1473, 25 August -- *Petrus Christus pays his annual dues to the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Snow.*

[fol. 99v] Rekeninghe ende bewijs van Marc vanden Velde van alden ontfanghe ende uutghevene angaende der ghilde van Onzer liever Vrouwe vander Snee in Brugghe waer of

hij deken was ende dit vanden jaere ingaende den xxvten dach in oust lxxij ende hendende den xxvten in oust anno m iijc lxxij [...]

[fol. 101] Andre ontfang int ommegeaen buten den ouden vesten van jaerlicschen ghildeghele van desen jaere [...]

[fol. 102] [...]

Willem Vrelant

ij gr.

[fol. 103] Hier naer volcht den ommegeant vanden jaerghelde bynnen der houder vesten van desen voors. jaere lxxij [...]

[fol. 105v] [...] Pieter Xpistus ij gr.

[fol. 116v] Item betaelt Jan van Hoorne, de scildere, van ij cleedderen te verschildene metten stoffe xvij s. vij d.gr.

Noch dezelve betaelt van vj beeldekens ij s. vj.gr.

[fol. 99v] *Account and confirmation by Marc vanden Velde of all receipts and expenditure concerning the guild of Our Lady of the Snow in Bruges, which he was dean of, and this during the year commencing 1472, 25 August, and ending 1473, 25 August [...]*

[fol. 101] *Here follows the collection of the annual dues outside the old fortress during this year [...]*

[fol. 102] [...] *Willem Vrelant* 2 gr.

[fol. 103] *Here follows the collection of the annual dues in the old fortress during the aforementioned year 72 [...]*

[fol. 105v] [...] *Pieter Xpistus* 2 gr.

[fol. 116v] *Item paid Jan van Hoorne, the painter, for painting 2 garments, the fabric included, 17 s. 7 d.gr.*

Paid the same for 6 small statues 2 s. 6 gr.

RAB, *Kerkfabriek O.L.Vrouwe*, no. 1531, *Algemene rekeningen O.L.V.-ter-Sneeuw*, 1467-1499, fols. 99v-105v.

Published: Schouteet, I, 265 (Jan van Hoorne-entry only.)

Doc. 110. 1472, 2 September - 1473, 2 September -- *Excerpts of the municipal accounts: payments for decorative work to the embroiderer Jacob van den Driessche, and to the painters François van de Pitte and Jacob de Jonghe, as well as for rent of tapestries.*

[fol. 118v] *Huutgheven van ghemeene zaken [...]*

[fol. 120v] *Doe betaelt ter causen vanden cl pyckenaers die achtervolghende der begeerte van onzen harden gheduchten heere ende prince hem vander stedeweghe ghesonden waren doe hy was met zynder wapenynghe in Vranckerycke [...]*

Item Jacop vanden Driessche, den bourduerwerkere van cl journeyen te bourduerne metter B ghecroont,

xxxj s. iij d. gr.

Item Joos vander Strate, den mersenier ter causen vander zyde ende fringen daer of tgydon ende tpingoed ghemaect waren, x s. iij
d.gr.

Item Fransoys vanden Pitte, den scildre, vanden voors. gyydoene ende pingoene te stoffeirne metter wapene vander stede ende anderssins, xij s.gr.

[fol. 122v] Item doe betaelt van costen die ghedaen waren ter eeren van den blyden incommene van onsen gheduchte heere ende prince hier binnen

[fol. 123] deser ziere stede van Brugghe tnaervolghende [...]

Item Cornelis Pudeberch vander huere vanden lakenen daer mede de Bouverye poorte daer onze voors. geduchte heere in quam buten ende binnen den barrien behanghen was, ende van die of ende an te slane, voor al , voor al ij lb.gr.

Item Jacop de Jonghe, scildere, ter causen van eenen grooten scilde heerlyke gestoffeirt metter wapene van onzen voors. gheduchten heere; voord van twee andre scilden, den eenen ghestoffeirt metter wapene van Vlaendren ende dandre metter wapene van deser stede; ende van scildekins daer mede de voors. lakenen bezayt waren; voor al iij
lb.gr.

[fol. 136] Item betaelt Willem Moreel, ter causen van zekere nieuwe tapytsen ende bandleederen by hem ghedaen maken, omme die te oorborne ende te hanghene in scepenen camere, iij lb. ij s. x d.gr.

[fol 118v] *Ordinary expenditure*

[fol. 120v] *Paid then for 150 lansquenets who according to our very redoubtable lord and prince's wish were sent to him by the city when he was in France with his army [...]*

Item Jacop van den Driessche, the embroiderer, for embroidering a crowned B on 150 tunics 31 s. 3 d.gr.

Item Joos vander Strate, the marketer, for silk and fringes of which the guidon and the pennon were made,

10 s. 3 d.gr.

Item Fransoys van den Pitte, the painter, for decorating the said guidon and pennon with the arms of the city and other work

12 s.gr.

[fol. 122v] *Item paid expenditure made on the occasion of the triumphal entry of our redoubtable lord and prince here*

[fol. 123] *into the city of Bruges, the following [...]*

Item to Cornelis Puddeberch for rent of cloths with which the Bouverye poorte was lined on the inside and outside, where our redoubtable lord entered; and for installing and removing these, for all

2 lb.gr.

Item Jacob de Jonghe, painter, for a large shield delightfully decorated with the arms of our aforementioned redoubtable lord; further for two other shields, the first decorated with the arms of Flanders and the other one with those of this city; and for little escutcheons strewn on the said cloths; for everything

4 lb.gr.

[fol. 136] *Paid to Willem Moreel, for certain new tapestries and bench upholstering which he had made, for the usage and for hanging them in the aldermen's room,*

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1472-73, fol. 118v, 120v, 122v, 136.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, VI, 67, 69 (inaccurately); Versyp, 1954, 160, doc. XXVI (fol. 136 only).

Doc. 111. 1473, 6 June - 1474, 29 May -- *Payment to Joris Weylaert to move Jacob Biese's altar, and for restoration of two altarpieces.*

[fol. 153v] Betalinghe ghedaen in dit voors. jaer van synxenen lxxij tote synxenen lxxiiij (1) over de voors. kerke by my Jan de Hond, priestere, by bevele van prochiepape ende kercmeesters

[fol. 155] Item betaelt de aerbeyders vander brugghe van te helpen halene Jacob Bies tafle ende te helpen stellene, hem allen v gr.

Item betaelt eenen scildere van te zuiverne ende scoone te makene de ij taflen x gr.

[...]

Item betaelt Joris Weylaert van utewaert te verzettene den outaer van Jacob Bieze achter den hoghen outaer, een dachhuere met zinen cnape, comt xvij gr.

[fol. 153v] *Payments made during the aforesaid year from Pentecost 73 until Pentecost 74 (1) for the said church by me, Jan de Hond, priest, as ordered by the parish pastor and the church wardens*

[fol. 155] *Item paid the workers of the bridge (2) for their assistance in getting Jacob Biese's panel and installing it* 5 gr.

Item paid a painter to rince and clean 2 panels 10 gr.

[...]

Item paid to Joris Weylaert to move Jacob Biese's altar to the side behind the high altar, one day of work with his servant, amounts to 18 gr.

RAB, *Oud Kerkarchief, St. Jacobs*, no. 98: *Rekeningen betreffende verbouwingen aan de kerk*, 1464-1478, fol. 153v, 155

Published: Rotsaert, 133, n.6 (incomplete)

1. Pentecost was celebrated in 1473 on 6 June, in 1474 on 29 May.
2. The workers of the 'Ezelsbrugge' (litterally donkey's bridge) were an association of unskilled laborers.

Doc. 112. 1473, 26 August - 1474, 29 August -- *Petrus Christus pays his annual dues to the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Snow.*

[fol. 118] Rekeninghe ende bewijs van al den ontfanghe ende huutgheven bi mi, Jan de Blazere, als deken vanden ghilde van Onzer Vrouwe vander Snee beghinnende den xxvjten dach in oust anno m cccc lxxiiij, ende hendende den xxixten dach van oust anno lxxiiij [...]
[fol. 120] Alden ontfanc int ommegeaen van buten der houder vesten van jaerlicks ghildegheelt van dezen jare lxxiiij [...]
[fol. 120v] [...] Willem Vrelant ij gr.
[fol. 126] Dit es den ontfanc van jaerlix ghildegheelt betaelt inde kercke [...]
[fol. 126v] [...] Pieter Xpistus ij gr.
[fol. 127v] [...] Pieter Cristiis ij gr.
[fol. 136v] Item betaelt Jan van Hoorne, den schilder, van den houtaer metten cannevets te vergoudene

iiij lb.gr.

Item betaelt denzelven van de vier pilaren staende naest den houtaer te vaerwen van groene olievarwen, de blaren boven te vergoudine ende van de weeghen (1) root te vaerwen met olievaerwe xx s.gr.

Item betaelt denzelven van iiij pauwelloenen te verstofferen ende vermaecken
iiij s.gr.

Item noch denzelven van twee lozanghen metter Mariebeelde an de keersen up den houtaer
xij gr.

Item betaelt van de stellinghe te maecken om den schilder up te staene als men den houtaer vergoude viij gr.

[fol. 118] *Account and confirmation of all receipts and expenditure by me, Jan de Blazere, as dean of the guild of Our Lady of the Snow commencing 1473, 26 August, and ending 1474, 29 August [...]*

[fol. 120] *All the receipt of annual dues by collecting outside the old fortress during the year 1474 [...]*

[fol. 120v] [...] *Willem Vrelant* 2 gr.

[fol. 126] *This is received of annual dues paid in the church [...]*

[fol. 126v] [...] *Pieter Xpistus* 2 gr.

[fol. 127v] [...] *Pieter Cristiis* 2 gr.

[fol. 136v] *Item paid Jan van Hoorne, the painter, for gilding the altar with the canvas*
4 lb.gr.

Item paid the same for painting the 4 columns next to the altar with green oil paint, [for] gilding the leaves above, and for painting the interior walls red with oil paint

20 s.gr.

Item paid the same for decorating and restoring 4 pavillions

3 s.gr.

Item also the same for 2 lozanges with the image of Our Lady on the candles of the altar
12 gr.

[fol. 136v] *Item paid for the scaffolding for the painter when the altar was gilt*
8 gr.

RAB, *Kerkfabriek O.L.Vrouwe*, no. 1531, *Algemene rekeningen O.L.V.-ter-Sneeuw*, 1467-1499, fols. 118-127v.

Published: Schouteet, I, 265 (Jan van Hoorne-entry only)

1. Cf. Verdam, 778, s.v. *weech*: interior wall.

Doc. 113. 1473, 1 September - 1474, 1 September -- *Document pertaining to the legal conflict between the Bruges Franc and the Proosse of St. Donatian (cf. also Doc. 99, 119) and payments for the clock on the tower of the palace of the Franc.*

[fol. 27] Betalinghe van dachvaerden ende voyagen by ordinancien van der camere ghedaen
[fol. 60] Claise Fierins, Jacobpe Boudins ende meester Fransoyse Gossaert sondaechs den viij en dach in meye voors. (1) ghesonden te Wulpen omme te sien ende te visiterne de stede ende wuenste van wylen was Arent filius Jans Wouters ende metgaders eenen scildere te overziene aldaer ter plecke de meinute van eenre discriptie tanderen tyden ghemaect byden zelve schildre ende gheproduceert int proces hanghende voor mynen heeren vanden rade in Vlaendren tusschen der wet van den Vryen ende den yssuwers (2) van Oostburchambocht (3), of een zyde, ende den bailliu ende redenaers van den Proosschen, of andere, omme daerup ende ute te makene eene nieuwe descriptie mids dat dandre gheproduceert voor mynen heeren van den raede verloren was, van drien daghen die elc van hemlieden daeromme ute was, betaelt

xvj lb. iiij s. par.

[fol. 126] Betalinghe van refection ende reparatien an svoors. lands huusinghen ghedaen ende van berninghen ende waslichte daerin gheslotem zident der voors. laetster rekeninghe [...]
[fol. 126v] Iosse van den Divre, den orlogemaker, van den faetsoene van den orloghe bij hem begonnen maken up de thor van der camer van den lande, betaelt

xxiiij lb.[par.](4)

[fol. 127v] Ioris Hornewedre, den timmerman, te Brugghe, van den faetsoene ende leveringhe van den orloghe huusekin bij hem ghenomen te makene up den torre van den lande, ende van den mannekine dat de hueren slaen zal, bij voorwaerde danof ghemaect, betaelt

lx lb.[par.]

Fransoise van den Pitte, den schildere, vander schilderien ende vergouderie vanden wysere ende van den mannekine die de hueren slaen zal, ende den appele staende boven den voors. thorre, etc., betaelt

xxviiij lb. xvj s.[par.]

Thomasse Baille, den smet, van den vermakene ende repareren van der spillen daerup dat torrekin van den nieuwen orloghe staet, ende van vj ijseren pilaerkins, van crammen,

ringhelen, ende andere ijswercke daertoe dienende, betaelt int langhe verclaert int ghescrijften daerof bij hem overghegheven, betaelt bij voorwaerde daerof ieghen hem ghemaect, xiiij lb. xj s.[par.]

[fol. 27] *Payment of convocations and travels done at the command of the Chamber*
[fol. 60] *On Sunday the 8th of May, as mentioned above (1) Claise Fierins, Jacobpe Boudins and master Fransoyse Gossaert were sent to Wulpen to see and visit the hearth and home of the late Arent filius Jans Wouters, and also to supervise a painter, [and to verify] the sketches of a map made earlier by the same painter,-- [this map was] presented in the trial, [which is] pending before mylords of the Council of Flanders, between the Law of the Franc and the 'yssuwers'(2) of the 'Ambacht' of Oostburg (3) on one side, and the bailiff and representatives of the 'Proosse', on the other side -- [in order to have] a new map made, since the other one, presented to mylords of the Council, was lost. For three days that each of them spent there, paid*

16 lb. 4 s.par.

[fol. 126] *Payment for renewals and repairs done in the houses of the said land, for light and candles, included since the last accounts [...]*

[fol. 126v] *Iosse van den Divre, the clockmaker, for work on the clock that he began to make on the tower of the room of the land, paid*

24 lb.[par.](4)

[fol. 127v] *Ioris Hornewedre, the carpenter, at Bruges, for work and delivery of the clock house, which he had accepted to make on the tower of the land, and for the mannequin that will ring the hours, made according to the contract, paid,*

60 lb.[par.]

Fransoise van den Pitte, the painter, for painting and gilding of the arms and of the mannequin that will ring the hours, and of the apple on the said tower, etc., paid

28 lb. 16 s.[par.]

Thomasse Baille, the smith, for fixing and repairing the axes on which the tower of the new clock is build, and for 6 iron pilars, for cramps, rings, and other ironwork used for that, as extensively explained in the descriptions that he has submitted, paid as agreed with him by contract,

13 lb. 11 s.[par.]

RAB, *Fonds van het Vrije*, no. 209, *Rekening van het Vrije*, 1473-74, fol. 27, 60, 126, 126v, 127v.

Published: Weale, *Franc*, 79, n. 29 (partly); Schouteet, I, 233 (partly).

1. *I.e.*, 1477

2. Cf. Verdam, 171, s.v. *Exue* (*issue*). *Exue* was the taxation imposed on non-citizens when they inherited from the estate of a citizen. The *essuwers* (*issuemeesters*, *yssuwers*) were the officials responsible for the execution of this privilege.

3. Conglomerate of the villages around Oostburg.

4. The following year, the Franc had a clockmaker from Ghent come to fix and adjust the new clock, which apparently was not functioning very well. (see Weale, *Franc*, 79, n. 29).

Doc. 114. 1473, 2 September - 1474, 2 September -- *Excerpts from the municipal accounts relative to the transportation of Duke Philip's corpse to Dijon, to a gift to Ferry de Clugny, and to a meeting of the Magistrate at Pierre Coustain's house, where discussions were held about new sculpture for the façade of city hall.*

[fol. 62 v] Huutgheven van rideghelde

[fol. 65v] Den xxix in decembre traken de buerchmeesters, mijn heere Jan de Baenst ende Jacop de Voocht, ende met hemlieden Jan Vleeschauwere, Jan Dhont ende Jan van den Eede, Boudin vanden Rye ende meester Pieter Mentin omme te convoierne tlechame van zaligher ghedynckene den hertoghe Phelips van Bourgoigne tote Ghent, twelke myn gheduchte heere hier van deser stede dede translateren ende vervoeren, ende waren ute elc de vj daghen, te wetene de voors. buerchmeesters te x s.gr. elc sdaechs, comt vj lb.gr., ende elc vanden andren te iiij s. ij d.gr. sdaechs, comt vj lb. v s.gr., comt al

xij lb. v s.gr.

[fol. 127] Huutgheven van ghemeene zaken

[fol. 129v] Item ghepresenteirt ende ghegheven by ordonnancie van der camere, mynen heere van Ravestein ende mer vrouwe zyner gheselnede, de welke myn heere van Ravestein hier binnen der stede ghecommen was omme te convoyerne tlichame van den voors. hertoghe Philips, in ghewrochten was ende tregie, xxv s. x d.gr.

[fol. 130] Item betaelt by ordonnancie vander camere omme tvoors. vervoeren vanden voors. lichame tnaervolghende [...]

Item betaelt Ector van Oudenaerde ter causen van xxx tortsen weghende iiij pont stic ofghesleghen de henden die wedere ghelevert waren, xxxvij s. xj d.gr.

Item noch van xxx scildekins metter wapene vander stede die ghevest waren ande voors. toortsen, betaelt

ij s. vj d.gr.

[fol. 133] Item xxix in maerte [...]

Item betaelt Maerc le Bugnuetuer, ter causen van ij zilverin stopen weghende xiiij maerc vj onssen ende vj inghelschen, te xxix s.gr. tmaerc, comt in ghelde metsgaders

[fol. 133v] ij s.gr. die betaelt waren voor tvermaken van den amausen metter wapene van der stede van Brugghe, xxi lb. x s. x d.gr. Al welke wyn, was, cruud ende zilverin kannen ghepresenteirt was eerwaerdich vadre in Gode, myn heere den bisscop van Doornicke (1) tzinen eersten blyden incommene hier binnen der stede als bisscop, comt al

xxvij lb. xvij s. vj d.gr.

[fol. 139v] Item, xxv in hoymaent betaelt van costen ghedaen ten huuse van Pietren Coustain, daer de buerchmeesters, tresoriers ende andre verghadert waren, omme met hem raet ende advijs te nemene van een patroon te makene vanden personage van hertoghe Phelips in poutrature, omme daer naer te makene een van steene ende dat te stellene voor tscepenhuus xxij s. iiij d.gr.

[fol. 62v] *Expenditure of messengers* [...]

[fol. 65v] *On the 29th in December, the mayors, my lord Jan de Baenst and Jacop de Voocht, and their companions, Jan Vleeschauwere, Jan Dhont and Jan van den Eede, Boudin van den Rye and master*

Pieter Mentin went to Ghent, to accompany the transport of the corpse of duke Philip of Burgundy, blessed memory, that my redoubtable lord had translated and transported from this city; and each of them were gone for 6 days, to be known the said mayors at 10 s.gr. a day, makes 6 lb.gr., and each one of the others at 4 s. 2 d.gr. a day, makes 6 lb. 5 s.gr., amounts to

12 lb. 5 s.gr.

[fol. 127] *Ordinary expenditure*

[fol. 129v] *Item presented and given on the ordonnance of the chamber, to mylord of Ravestein and mylady his wife, who had come here to the city to accompany the transport of the corpse of the aforementioned duke Philip, wax and candy,* 25 s. 10 d.gr.

[fol. 130] *Item paid at the command of the Magistrate for the said transport of the aforementioned corpse, all that follows [...]*

Item paid Ector van Oudenaerde for 30 torches, weighing 4 pounds each, and of which the ends were cut off and sent back 38 s. 11 d.gr.

Item also for 30 escutchons with the arms of the city that were hung on the said torches, paid 2 s. 6 d.gr.

[fol. 133] *Item 29th of March [...]*

Item paid to Maerc le Bugnuetuer, for 2 silver pitchers weighing 14 marc 6 ounces and 6 english, at 29 s.gr. a marc, which equals in money,

[fol. 133v] *2 s.gr. included that were paid for the enameling of the arms of the city of Bruges, 21 lb. 10 s. 10 d.gr. All this wine, wax, spices and silver pitchers were presented to the honorable father in God, mylord the bishop of Tournai (1) on the occasion of his first triumphal entry here within the city as bishop, amounts to* 27 lb. 17 s. 6 d.gr.

[fol. 139v] *Item, 25 July paid for expenditure done at Pietren Coustain's house, where the mayors, treasurers and others held a meeting, to be informed and advised on a model to be made of the figure of Duke Philip's likeness, to make after it one of stone to be installed in front of the aldermen's house* 24 s. 4 d.gr.

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1473-74, fol. 62v, 65v, 127, 129v, 130, 133, 139v.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, VI, 72-73, 75 (inaccurately); Schouteet, I, 154-155 (fol. 139v only).

1. This is Ferry de Clugny, bishop of Tournai from 8 October 1473 until 7 October 1483 (see Strubbe & Voet, 250).

Doc. 115. 1474, 18 August -- *Excerpt from the testament of Louis of Gruuthuse and Margareta van Borsele.*

In nomine Domini Amen [...] Anno eiusdem dominem milesimo quadringtesimo septuagesimo quarto, indicatione septima die vero Jovis decima octava mensis Augusti [...](1)

Wij Lodewijc van Brugghe, ruddere, grave van Wijnchestere, heere van Gruuthuse, prinche van Steenhuse, etc. [...](2)

Item noch es onse wille, begheerte ende ordinanche dat men vanden tween albaestere sticken die wij ghecocht hebben ende ligghen bereed om te snidene ende te formerenne twee demonstranchen van tween beilden deen voor mijnen heere vader ende dander voor mijnder vrouwen moeder, heere ende vrouwe vanden Gruuthuse met hueren epitaphyen verwapent ende ghestoffeert met eender raeyen (3) met latoene naer tbewijs van eenen patroone dat daer of ghemaect es. Ende deze beilden ghestoffeert als boven zal men stellen deen anden pillaar neffens der conservacien van sente Bonifacis fierter noortwaerts, dandre anden pillaar vander zelve conservacie zuutwaerts binnen den hoghen choore beede canschen ghekeert ter beilden van onser vrouwen staende boven den voors. conservacie van sente bonifacis fiertre. Item noch begheeren wij ende ordoneren ghemaect te hebbene eene costelicke tomme van latoene ende ghepolyste steenen naer tbewijs van eenen patroone bij werclieden daer toe begrepen ende ghemaect voor ons beeden die men fonderen zal ter plaetschen daer nu de tomme staet van mijnen heere ende vadere welke tomme dienen zal ooc voor onse naercommers heeren ende vrouwen vanden Gruuthuse. [...](4)

(signed) Loys

Margriete van borsselen

Johannes Alaerts

In the name of the Lord [...] In the year of the Lord 1474, the seventh indiction, thursday the 18th of the month August [...](1)

We, Lodewijc of Bruges, knight, count of Winchester, lord of Gruuthuse, prince of Steenhuse, etc.

[...](2)

Item, further we desire, want and order that the two alabaster blocks that we have bought and which are ready to be cut and be modelled into two examples of two statues, one for lord my father and the other one for lady my mother, lord and lady of Gruuthuse, with their epitaphs with their coats of arms and decorated with a garland (3) with brass, following the model which was made for it. And these decorated statues will be placed, one at the north side of the pillar next to the reliquary of St. Boniface, the other one at the south side of the pillar next to the same reliquary, in the high choir, and both tombs turned to the statue of Our Lady which stands on top of the said reliquary of St. Boniface. Item, we also desire and have ordered to make a precious tomb in brass and a polished stone after a model made for that purpose by craftsmen, for both of us, which will be installed at the location where the tomb of my father stands now, [and] this tomb will also be used by our descendants lords and ladies of Gruuthuse (...). (4)

(signed) Loys

Margriete van borsselen

Johannes Alaerts

RAB, *Onze Lieve Vrouw, Oud Archief*, charter prov.no. 1120. Original, parchment.

Published: J. Gailliard, *Inscriptions funéraires et monumentales de la Flandre Occidentale. I. Arrondissement de Bruges, 2. Bruges, Eglise de Notre Dame, Bruges, 1861-67*, 36.

1. Standard introductory formulas for a testament by Johannes Alaerts, notary public of the diocese of Tournai.
2. Enumeration of diverse foundations of annual masses and prebends to the poor.
3. Verdam, 483, s.v. *raey*
4. The testament continues with stipulations regarding his right to to alter this will at all times, and with the appointment of the executors of this will.

Doc. 116. 1474, 18 September -- *Contract between Pieter van den Dike, glazier, and Garcia de Contreras, concerning five stained glass windows to be made by the former in the church of the Observants.*

Item ic, Pietre vanden Dike, de glasmakere, kenne bevoerewaert hebben thegens Garsie de Contreras vive glaseveystren staende ten Observanten buten Brughe up dese condicie hier naer volghende heeft zo hest voerwaerde dat ic dit voerseide werc maken moet also goet alst twerc sy dat ic, Pieter voerseide ghelevert hebbe om min heere den canselier van borghoinne (1) etc., staende int selve cloestere ten observanten inde hoghe coer. Voert so est vorwaerde dat ic daer in verwerken moet de scoente colueren die posiblic van crighen sy sulc alt twerc hesghen sal ende waert bi also dat ic int ghebreken van dien ware so ware de voerrewarde van onwerde ende moeste mijn werc behouden ende dit ghecoregiert sijnde bij werlieden ende (a.) voert so ben ic ghehouden te leverne alt iserwerc dat daer an ghebreken sal dies so sal ic, Pietre voerseide hebben voer elcke veystre met de wapene boven staende (b.) vive lb. gro. Vlaenschser munte. Dit was ghedaen a^{nno} lxxiiiij^{den} xviii^{sten} dach in pietmaent. Te wetene inde eeste veystre een crucifix, te wetene de besimpmenesse ende de joden over dandere syde; de tweeste de boem van Jesse alsoet werkelic sy; de derde S. Jacob inde strit (c.)(d.). De twee veystren moet ic leveren bin x weken (2) eest commende de boem van Jesse ende St.Jacop. In kennesse van desen hebbic dit ghescreven met minder hant ende ghetekent met mijn hantekene.
(signed)(e.)

Item I, Pietre vanden Dike, the glazier, acknowledge to have promised to Garsie de Contreras to make five stained glass windows, to be installed at the Observants' outside Bruges, on the following conditions. The contract states that I have to make this said work as well as the work I, the said Pieter, delivered to mylord the chancellor of Burgundy (1) etc., standing in the same cloister of the Observants in the high choir. Furthermore, the contract states that I have to use the most beautiful colors that are available, as necessitated by the work, and in case I fail the contract will be of no value and I will have to keep my work and have it improved by workmen and furthermore, I have to deliver all the ironwork needed for it. Thus, I, the said Pieter, will receive for each window with the coat of arms on top, five lb. gr. of Flemish currency. This was done in the year 1474, the 18th day in September.

To be known in the first window a Crucifixion, to be known the Mocking of Christ and the Jews on the other side, the second the Tree of Jesse, as if it were real; the third St. James in battle. I have to deliver the two windows within the following 10 weeks,(2) the Tree of Jesse and St. James. Acknowledging this, I have written this with my hand and signed it with my signature.

(signed)(e.)

a. *voer* crossed out.-- b. *met de wapene boven staende* added between the lines.-- c. uncertain transcription of *strit*-- d. *vande dat werc* crossed out.-- e. housemark

Original, paper.

SAB, *Spaans Consulaat*, no. 304, charter no. 27.

[Unpublished](3)

1. In 1474, Guillaume Hugonet was chancellor of Burgundy.
2. *I.e.*, before 27 November 1474.
3. Mentioned by L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Cartulaire de l'ancien Consulat d'Espagne à Bruges*, Bruges, 1901, 111-112.

Doc. 117. 1474, 16 October -- *Foundation of a new chapel in St. James's by Tomasso Portinari and transferral of this chapel to the corporation of the furriers.*

Wij Cornelis vander Eeghe, priester, stedehoudere vanden prochiepape Jacop de Witte, Gheraerd de Groote, Cornelis vanden Velde, Anthonis Luts, Colaerd Lauveyens ende Symoen Forret, kercmeesters van Sinte Jacobs kerke in Brugghe, doen te wetene allen den ghenen die dese presente letteren zullen zien oft horen lesen dat wij aenziende ende overmerkende de groote jonste ende devocie de welke eerbare wyse ende voorzienighe onse lieve ende speciale gheminde vriendt Thomas Poortenary, coopman van Florentinen binder prochie van sinte Jacobs voors. residerende, ter zelve kerke na langhe tijdt ghehadt heift ende noch daghelycx heift aelmoesen, ghiften ende andere vele dueuchden der kerke ende by speciale ten nieuwen weercke vanden kerke van Sinte Jacobs, jonstelic ende liberalic doende ende ghevende hebben den zelve Thomas te zynder begheerte ende versoucke gheconsenteirt te doen makene ende te stichtene inde zelve kerke eene capelle ter eeren vanden glorieuser ghebenedider moeder ende maghet marie in de ydele plaetse die houden tyden den hooghe choir van sinte Jacobs kerke ghezijn heeft. Die ooc te doen repareren, maken ende verchieren naer zynen wille, devocie ende tzynen costen, behouden altoos ende ten allen tyden vrijen uutganc duere ende ter zelve capelle ter sanctuarie ende tallen anderen capellen ende plaetsen in de kerke van sinte Jacobs voorseit. Ooc onsliden ende onse naercommers die in toecommenden tyden prochiepape ende kercmeesters wezen zullen, den grond ende trecht vanden gronde ende alle de sepultueren binder voors. capelle tonser dispositie reserverende ende behoudende. Ende want de zelve onse gheminde Thomaes mids desen onse consente

in de voorseide ydele plaetse wylen den choor ghemaect, ghesticht, hooghelic ende rykelic verchiert heift eene capelle inde name ende ter eeren vander ghebenedider maghet Marie ande noordzyde vanden nieuwen choore, zoo eist dat wy prochiepape ende kercmeesters over ons ende onse naercommers ten eeuwighen daeghen gheven ende updraghen den voors. Thomaes ende edele joncvrauwe Marie zyne wettelike gheselnede metgaders den goeden affectien, devocien ende ghiften voorscreven, de voors. nieuwe capelle van onser vrouwen wylen den ouden choor te haerlieder vryen eghindomme consenterende ende ghevende hemlieden voor den outaer inde zelve capelle tusschen beeden den stantviken (1) eene sepulture voor haerlieder beeder lichamen. In de welke sepulture men zal ooc mueghen begraven alle de ghone van huerlieder gheslachte commende dies begheerende behouden dies dat de kerke van sinte Jacops van haeren rechte naer de costume ter cause van dien vernoucht ende ghepaeyt zal werdden. Wert ooc sculdich de voors. Thomaes ende zyne naercommers recht te dien hebbende de zelve capelle te houdene staende van daken, ghoten ende andere reparacien zonder den cost vander kerke. In kennessen van welken dinghen wij stedehouders vanden prochiepape ende kercmeesters vander kerke voors. hebben dese presente lettren onse voors. ghifte inhoudende doen maken ende by notaris publyc hier onder ghescreven doen teekenen ende subscrivene ende in meerder verzeckerheden die ooc bezeghelt met onzen zeghelen uuthanghende. Dit was ghedaen ende ghegheven te Brugghe inde kerke van sinte Jacops int jaer onsheeren duust viere hondert viere ende tseventich den zestiensten dach in octobre, present aldaer Marcelis de Vriendt, Gheraerd van Kuuc, ende Brixis vander Helle, orconden hier toe gheroupen ende ghebeden. Et ego Lucas de Via, clericus Tornacensis diocesis publicus appostolica et imperali autem curieque [...] (2)

Omme hulieden, dekens, gouvernerers ende ghemeene ambochte vanden piltiers binnen der stede van Brugghe te kennen te ghevene ende tonderwysene de meeninghe begheerte ende devocie die ic, Thomaes Portinari, hebben bider Gods gracie omme te vermeersene ende te versterkene den helighen godlycken dienst ten love van Gode ende der heligher maghet Marie ende ooc ten salicheden ende trooste van allen zielen van mijnder ende van Marien, mijnder gheselnede ende onslider voorders zielen, overmerct dat wij alle stervelic zijn ende niet zekerder en hebben dan de doot ende omme dat ic begheere ende gheerne zien zoude dat mijne voors. meenighe begheerte ende devocie hier naer gheexpresseirt stande zoude mueghen teeuwighen tyden vulcommen werdden vast bliven ende vromelic onderhouden werdden by ulieden dekens, gouvernerers ende ghemeenen ambachte vander piltiers voors. in mine capelle die ic biden consente van mynen prochiepape ende kercmeesters van sinte Jacops kerke binnen Brugghe aldaer hebbe ghedaen ordonneren maken ende stofferen ende van welker capelle ic hebbe de ghifte ende opdrachte vanden zelve prochiepape ende kercmeesters. So eist dat ic inden eersten metgaders Marien mynder gheselnede, ende ooc by hueren consente over ons ende over onslider naercommers hoirs ende aeldinghers begheere te transporteirne ende te stellene transportere ende stelle in handen van hulieden dekens ende gouvernerers voorseit nu zijnde of naermaels wesende als in den handen vanden ghemeenen ambachte vanden piltiers myne voors. capelle Sinte Jacops met allen den rechten die ic daer inne hebbe, te verstane dat ghijlieden teeuwighen daghen, de zelve myne capelle ghebrucken zilt last daerof draghen ende die bezoorghen zult inder manieren alzo voort hier naer vollecht. Item dat ghijlieden ghebrucken zult zo voors. es myne vors. capelle mijn leven

ende mijns wijfs leven lanc gheduerende ende naer onser beeder aflivicheit voort ten
 eeuwighen daghen, omme daer inne te doen celebrenene den godlycken dienst van
 sambachts weghe also ghijlieden van ouds gheploeghen hebt voor Sinte Lysbetten outaer inde
 zelve kerke. Item zo es mijn begheren dat tvoorseide ambacht de zelve capelle naer mijne
 aflivicheit ofte in mijne absencie onderhouden zal van daken, goten ende van glaese, met
 miner wapenen alsoo zij nu staen ende en zullen myne wapene noch myns wyfs wapene
 nieuvers verminderen noch veranderen daer zy nu staen te gheenen tijden maer die
 onderhouden alsoo zyse vinden noch ooc an mine ornamenten. Item consenteric den
 voorseiden ambachte dat zij zullen muegghen doen stellen up de twee houten vergulden
 pilaren boven neffens den outaere, twee santen vander statuere ende grootte dat myne
 appostelen zijn, reine ghemaect ende ghestoffert also de appostelen staen tzij sinte lysbette
 sinte Jan baptiste ofte twee andere naer huerlieder gheliefte. Ende dat zijlieden ooc onder de
 voeten vanden voors. twee santen zullen muegghen doen maken ende stellen onder elc
 eenen schilt van svoors. ambachte wapene van grootten naer dandere achtervolghende. Item
 ic consentere ende bein te vreden dat tzelve ambacht zal laten staen de wapene van den
 ambochte ande ornamenten oft anders juweelen vanden ambachte die zij daer bringhen
 zullen ende ooc zullense muegghen doen stellen an andere nieuwe juweelen die zij noch
 maken zullen dienende ten zelven outare tzij an boucken of keilcten oft outaerleederen. Item
 begheeric dat zij onderhouden zullen myne sepulture van twee lichamen deen neffens den
 andren liggghende voor mynen outaer tusschen den latoenen standviken ende den zelven
 outare te mynen behouve ende te mijns wyfs ende ten behouve van onzen hoirs ende
 aeldinghers ende daerof tlast draghen te wetene niement er in te laten begravene, ten ware
 by mynen off mynder gheselnden consente ofte onsen hoirs ende aeldinghers consente. Item
 boven dezen zo begheeric dat zij last draghen zullen ende onderhouden naer myn of myns
 wyfs doot ofte absencie dat myne daghelycksche messe ende andere gods diensten ende
 fundacien die ic in wille ende meenighe hebbe aldaer te bezettene ghedaen onderhouden
 ende ghecelebreirt werdden inder manieren ende voorme also icse fonderen zal. Item zal
 tzelve ambacht doen zuveren ende scoenmaken de latoenen stantviken ende de latoenen
 columnen te haerlieder costen ten minsten twee waerven tsiaers zonder als ic present ben.
 Betvoort overmids dat ic, Thomaes voors., fonderen zal in vors. mine capelle twee ponden gr.
 Vlaemscher munten ertelicker renten tsiaers als voor twaslicht of jaerlycks gheduerende de
 zelve twee ponden groten bezorghen ende betalen also langhe toe dat ic de voors. twee
 ponden groten zal hebben ghefondeirt ende bezet. So werdt tambocht vanden piltiers
 ghehouden de zelve capelle altoos wel te verziene ende te stoffeirme van wasse te wetene
 voor dappostelen ende up alle de reesen of cresten vander voors. capelle alzoot ghedaen heift
 ghezyn hier voortyts inde zelve capelle. Ende de kerssen up de columnen reese of cresten
 ten hooghe choore dienende naer de langde vanden voors. capelle te laten bernen in feesten
 daer toe dienende diemen hout inden hooghen choor. Wert ooc ghehouden tzelve ambacht
 tzyne propren costen te bezorghene ende te leverne alle twaslichte behouvende ten outare
 inde capelle voors. Item negheene kerssen vanden ambochte diemen up heilghe bloedt dach
 pleicht te draghene en zal men stellen in de zelve capelle maer elders buten daere hemlieden
 ghelieven zal. [...](3)

We, Cornelis vander Eeghe, priest, stadholder of the parish pastor, Jacop de Witte, Gheraerd de Grootte, Cornelis vanden Velde, Anthonis Luts, Colaerd Lauweyns and Symoen Forret, church warders of St.James's church in Bruges, announce to all those who will see this present letter or will hear it being read, that we, witnessing the great favors and devotion which our honorable, wise and foreseeing, dear and especially beloved friend, Thomas Poortenary, merchant from Florence, residing in the said parish of St.James, has done for the same church since a long time, and still does daily, of alms, gifts and many other virtues to the church, and especially for the new works of the church of Saint James, out of favor and his free will, the same Thomas desires now and has approved to make and found in the same church a chapel dedicated to the glorious and loving mother and Virgin Mary, situated in the honorable place which used to be the high choir of Saint James's church. He will have it also restored, made and decorated according to his desires and devotion at his expense, reserving forever and always free passage through and to the same chapel, to the sacristy and to all other chapels and places in the said church of Saint James. Further allowing and reserving to us and our successors, who will be parish pastors and church warders in the future, the floor and the right to the floor and all sepulchres in the said chapel. And since the same, our beloved Thomas has made, founded, and lavishly and richly decorated, with our consent, a chapel in the name and dedicated to the loving Virgin Mary, situated at the north side of the new choir, we, parish pastor and church warders grant and confer until infinity, in our name and in the name of all our successors, to the said Thomaes and the honorable lady Marie, his lawful wife, with good affection, devotion and said gifts, the said new chapel of Our Lady, in the old choir at their free disposition, approving and giving them in front of the altar in the said chapel, in between the two supports, a sepulchre for both their corpses. In this sepulchre one will also be allowed to burry anyone of their family who wants to, at the condition that the rights of the church of St.James will be respected as it is the custom. The aforementioned Thomaes and his offspring will also be responsible for keeping up the chapel, the roofs, the gutters and for other repairs, without any expense for the church. Aknowledging all this, we, stadholder of the parish pastor and church warders of the said church, have this present letter containing our said donation written and signed by the notary public signed here under, and sealed with our seal as assurance. This was done and given in Bruges in the church of St.James in the year of our Lord 1474, the 16th day of October, in the presence of Marcellis de Vriendt, Gheraerd van Kuuc, and Brixis vander Helle, invited and called for this purpose. And me, Lucas de Via, apostolic and imperial notary public and priest in the diocese of Tournai [...] (2) To inform and notify you people, deans, administrators and the whole community of the corporation of the furriers of the city of Bruges, about the diverse desires and devotions that I, Thomaes Portinari, have by God's grace, in order to increase and strenghten the holy devine service to the honor of God and the holy Virgin Mary, and also to bless and in comfort of the souls of myself, my wife Marie and our forefathers, reminding that we are all mortal and that nothing is as certain as death, and because I have the desire and like to see that my said desires and devotion, described here under, will be fulfilled, remain steady and devoutly maintained by you people, deans, administrators and the whole community of the corporation of the said furriers, in the chapel which I, with the consent of my parish pastor and the church warders of Saint James's church in Bruges, have ordered to make and decorate, and which chapel I have received by the order of the same parish pastor and church masters. Therefore I, and also with the consent of my wife Marie, in our name and in the name of our offspring, heirs and descendants, want to transfer and grant to you people, deans and administrators mentioned above, present and future, as well as to the whole community of the furriers, my said chapel in Saint James's,

with all the rights I have to it, on the condition that you people will use my said chapel infinitely, take care of it and this in the following manner. Item, that you people will use my said chapel as it has been said above, during my lifetime and my wife's lifetime, and after our deaths, perpetually, to have celebrated in there, the devine service of the corporation, as you people have been used to since a long time at the altar of St.Elisabeth in the same church. I further desire that the said corporation will maintain the same chapel after my death or during my absence, with roofs and windows with my coat of arms as they are installed now, and that you will never deminish nor alter my arms nor those of my wife, but maintain them as you find them, and as they are, and the same goes for ornaments. Item, I approve to the said corporation that they are allowed to place on the two gilt wooden pillars next to the altar, two saints of the stature and dimensions as my apostles, well made and as decorative as the apostles are, be it Saint Elisabeth, Saint John the Baptist or two others as they prefer. And also that they are allowed to put on the pedestals of each of the said two saints, the coat of arms of the said corporation of the same size as the others. Item, I approve and agree that the corporation will keep the arms of the corporation on the ecclesiastic implements that they will bring there, and they are also allowed to put them on any new jewels for the same altar, that they will have made in the future, be it in books, on chalices or altar cloths. Item, I desire that they maintain my sepulchre for two bodies, one next to the other, in front of my altar in between the two leaden supports and the same altar, for me, my wife, and for my heirs and descendants, and that they keep it up and maintain it, and do not allow that someone else is burried in it, except by my of my wife's approval, or by the approval of my heirs and descendants. Item, besides this, I desire that they will observe and maintain after my and my wife's death, my daily mass and other devine services and foundations that I have wanted and still plan to finance there, to be maintained and celebrated in the manner and form as I will found them. Item, the same corporation will have the brass supports and leaden columns cleaned and polished at their expense, at least twice a year, especially when I am present. Also, since I, the aforementioned Thomaes, will found in my said chapel a perpetual hereditary interest of two pounds gr.VI. for the candles, or I will pay or deliver the two pounds annually, as long as I haven't founded and invested them. Therefore the corporation of the furriers is required to provide and decorate the chapel at all times well with candles, to be known in front of the apostles, and on all the garlands and shelves of the said chapel, as it has been the custom in this chapel before. And the candles on the columns, garlands or shelves at the high choir will be kept burning as long as the celebrations which are held in the high choir last. The same corporation is also required to provide at their expense all the candles for the altar of the said chapel. Item, no candles of the corporation that are carried around on the day of the Holy Blood, will be placed in the said chapel, but anywhere else they like. This charter [...](3)

SAB, *Charters Ambachten*, no. 310, charter no. 473. Original, parchment, seals lost.

[Unpublished]

1. vertically placed supportive beam, cf. Verdam, 573, s.v. *stantfike*.
2. Legalisation in Latin of the preceeding by Lucas de Via, notary public of the diocese of Tournai.
3. Ratification of all the preceeding by Lucas de Via.

Doc. 118. 1474, 29 May - 1475, 14 May -- Payments for reinforcing the installation of paintings at St. James's.

[fol. 160] Jhesus Maria. Tseventienste (a.) jaer vanden nieuwen werke ende es van synxene lxxiiij tote synxene lxxv (1)

[fol. 168v] Betalinghe gedaen by my, Jan de Hond, priestere, over de voors. kerke binnen dezen voors. jaere, diverschen personen also hier naer vollecht [...]

Item betaelt Cornelis Tielman by eenen redelijken ende van ij grooten wynkelen daer iseren in ghegoten waeren daer Jacob Bies tafle up staet. Item noch van de ij yseren in te latene boven die zelve tafle ende die te ghietene ende vander ouder voute of ende wech te doene, met zinen ghesellen, onder al ij s. vj d.gr.

[...]

[fol. 169v] Item betaelt Olivier de temmerman van t'gat te openen bachten St. Antonis outaer, ende de windweech te stellene ende te lockene anden muer, ende de tafle van Onsen Vrouwen up den hoghen outaer achterwaerts te stellene ende te vertemmerne, met zine knechten, 1.5 dach

xvj gr.

[fol. 160] *Jesus Mary. The seventeenth (a.) year of the new works, and this is from Pentecost 74 until Pentecost 75 (1)*

[fol. 168v] *Payment done by me, Jan de Hond, priest, for the said church during this year, to diverse persons as follows [...]*

Item paid to Cornelis Tielman for a medium and two large carpenter's squares, in which iron was cast, where the panel of Jacob Biese is placed. Item for attaching two irons above the same panel and for casting them, and for taking down and removing the old vault, with his companions, all of them together 2 s. 6 d.gr.

[...]

[fol. 169v] *Item paid to Olivier the carpenter for opening the hole behind the altar of St. Antony's altar and to install the wind-screen and to attach it to the wall, and to move the panel of Our Lady on the high altar to the back and for carpenter's work, with his servants for 1.5 day,*

16 gr.

a. crossed out and corrected as xviiij (18).

RAB, Oud Kerkarchief, St. Jacobs, no. 98: Rekeningen betreffende verbouwingen aan de kerk, 1464-1478, fol. 160, 168v, 169v.

Published: Rotsaert, 1975, 133, n.7 (incomplete)

1. Pentecost 1474 was celebrated on 29 May, in 1475 on 14 May.

Doc. 119. 1474, 1 September - 1475, 1 September -- *Document pertaining to the legal conflict between the Bruges Franc and the 'Proosse' of St. Donatian* (cf. also doc. 99, 113).

[fol. 129] Andere betalinghe ghedaen van diveersche scrifturen ghemaect van informatien ende exploicten [...]

Rutgheer Hasenhoire, den schildre, van descriptien by hem ghemaect te Wulpen in Cadsant omme de questie uutstaende tusschen burchmeesters ende schepenen slandts van den Vryen, of een zyde, ende den Proostlaten van Sint Donaes in Brugghe, an dandere, betaelt by ordonnancie van der wet
viiij lb.[par]

[fol. 129] *Other payment done for diverse files of information and writs [...]*

Rutgheer Hasenhoire, the painter, for the maps made by him at Wulpen in Cadzand [to be used] in the inquiry, pending between the mayors and aldermen of the Land of the Franc, on one side, and the 'Proosse' of St. Donatian at Bruges, on the other, paid by order of the Law

8 lb.[par]

RAB, *Fonds van het Vrije*, no. 210,
Rekening van het Vrije, 1474-75, fol.
129.

Published: Schouteet, I, 233.

Doc. 120. 1474, 2 September - 1475, 2 September -- *Excerpts of the municipal accounts: payments for decorative work made for the legion that went to Neuss and for the decorations for the triumphal entry of Charles the Bold when he entered the city after his expedition to Neuss.*

[fol. 128] Huutgheven van ghemeene zaken [...]

[fol. 130v] Item, xxiiij in octobre, betaelt ter causen van c ende xij onder pykenaers, archiers ende colvevreniers de welke achtervolghende de begheerte van onzen harde gheduchten heere ende prince hem van deser stede weghe ghesonden waren te zinen dienste voor de stede van Nussen, daer vooren hij siege gheleyt hadde, tghuend dat hier naer volcht [...]

Item van iiij ellen rood lakens daer of dat Sint Andries crusen up de voors. journeyen ghemaect waren te xiiij gr. delle, comt
iiij s. viij d.gr.

[...]

Item Gheraerd, den borduerwerkere, van den voors. journeyen te borduerne vooren ende bachten met Sint Andries cruse ende metter B ghecrooneirt, xxx s. vj d.gr.

Item Fransoys van den Pitte, den scildere, van twee pingoenen by hem ghemaect ende ghelevert, om de voors. pykenaes, voor stoffe ende wercke iij s. x d.gr.
[fol. 140v] Den xj in hoymaend betaelt Maerc vanden Velde ter causen van eenen sticke was jeghen hem ghecocht weghende clxxx lb. te xlvij s.gr. thondert, comt iij lb. vj s. iij d.gr.; item doe ghecocht jeghen Jan vanden Pitte een stic Rynsch wyns houdende xj 1/2 zesteren, coste iij lb. j s. x d. gr., welc was ende wyn ghepresenteert waren onzen harde gheduchten heere ende prince hem commende uter reyse van Nussen binnen deser ziere stede van Brugghe, comt al

vij lb. vij s. ij d.gr.

[fol. 141] Item doe betaelt van costen ghedaen ter eeren vanden blijden incommene van onzen voors. harde gheduchten heere ende prince hem commende ute der reyse van Nussen tnaervolghende, te wetene eerst Anthuenis de Roovere, ter causen van der figure ende personnage die ghetoocht was vooren int incommene vander poorte vanden hove van onzen voors. gheduchten heere, voor de leveringhe ende tbezorghen van den abillementen, scilderye ende andere dienende ter voors. figure, van costen ghedaen byden persoonen die de voors. figure toochden ende voor haerlieder moeyte ende aerbeyt van dat zy daer mede onledich ende besich waren midsgaders tmaken vander stallage daer de zelve figure up ghetoocht was, voor al

v lb.gr.

Item Ector van Oudenaerde van xxiiij toortsen by hem ghelevert daer mede dat onze voors. gheduchte heere ghelicht was, elc weghende iij lb. te v gr. tpondt, comt

ij lb.gr.

Item Fransoys vanden Pitte, den scildere, van xxiiij scildekens metter wapene vander stede die ande voors. toortsen ghevest waren

iiij s.gr.

[fol. 128] *Ordinary expenditure [...]*

[fol. 130v] *Item, 23 October, paid for 112 lansquenets, archers and gunmen, who were sent by the city according to the wish of our very redoubtable lord and prince, at his disposal for the city of Nussen, which he had besieged, all the following [...]*

Item for 4 yards of red cloth used to make St. Andrew crosses on the said tunics, at 14 gr. a yard, amounts to

4 s. 8 d.gr.

[...]

Item to Gheraerd, the embroiderer for embroidering the said tyunics on the front and the back the St. Andrew crosses and crowned B's,

30 s. 10 d.gr.

Item Fransoys van den Pitte, the painter, for two pennons made and delivered by him for the said lansquenets, for the material and the work

3 s. 10 d.gr.

[fol. 140v] *The 11th in July, paid Maerc vanden Velde for a piece of wax, bought from him, weighing 180 lb. at 48 s.gr. a hundred, makes 4 lb. 6 s. 4 d.gr.; item also bought then from Jan vanden Pitte for a barrel of Rhine wine, containing 11 1/2 'zesteren', cost 4 lb. 1 s. 10 d.gr., which wine and wax was presented to our very redoubtable lord, who came back from his journey to Neuss to his city of Bruges; for everything 8 lb. 8 s. 2 d.gr.*

Item paid then of expenditure made at the occasion of the triumphal entry of our said very redoubtable lord and prince who came back from his journey to Neuss the following, to be known first to Anthuenis

de Roovere, for the figures and personages that were shown at the entrance gate of the palace of our redoubtable lord, for the delivery and arrangement of the clothes, painting, and all the rest necessary for the said figure, for expenditure made by the people who performed the said figure and for their effort and work for having been busy there, and also for the construction of the scaffolding on which the same figure was performed; for everything

5 lb.gr.

Item Ector van Oudenaerde for 24 torches delivered by him to illuminate our said redoubtable lord, each weighing 4 lb. at 5 gr. a pound, makes

2 lb.gr.

Item paid to Fransoys van den Pitte, the painter, for 24 escutcheons with the city's arms to attach to the said torches

4 s.gr.

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1474-75, fol. 128, 130v, 140v.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, VI, 79, 81-82 (inaccurately).

Doc. 121. 1474, 4 September - 1475, 30 August -- *Petrus Christus pays his annual dues to the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Snow.*

[fol. 139] Rekeninghe ende bewijs van alden ontfanghe ende huutgheven bi mi, Jan de Blazere, als deken vander ghilde van Onzer Vrouwe vander Snee beghinnende den iiiijden dach in Septembre anno lxxiiij, ende hendende den xxx dach in oust anno lxxv [...]

[fol. 141] Ontfanc van jaerlix ghildegheelt int omme gaen van buten der houder veste anno lxxv [...]

[fol. 142v] [...] Willem Vrelant ij gr.

[fol. 143] Ontfanc van jaergheltin omme gaen van binnen der houder veste anno lxxv [...]

[fol. 145] [...] Pieter Xpistus ij gr.

[fol. 139] *Account and confirmation of all receipts and expenditure by me, Jan de Blazere, as dean of the guild of Our Lady of the Snow commencing 1474, 4 September, and ending 1475, 30 August [...]*

[fol. 141] *Received of annual dues collected outside the old fortress anno 75 [...]*

[fol. 142v] [...] *Willem Vrelant* 2 gr.

[fol. 143] *Received of annual dues collected in the old fortress anno 75 [...]*

[fol. 145] [...] *Pieter Xpistus* 2 gr.

RAB, *Kerkfabriek O.L.Vrouwe*, no. 1531, *Algemene rekeningen O.L.V.-ter-Sneeuw*, 1467-1499, fols. 139-145.

[unpublished]

Doc. 122. 1475 -- *Payment in the accounts of St. Donatian's to Johannes Noblet for an ivory statue of the Virgin, and to Johannes Michaelis and Cornelius vander Scrighe, painters, for gilding and polychroming.*

[fol. 13v] *Extradatum in diversis usibus [...]*

[fol. 15v] *Item Johanni Noblet, petrumfici, pro reparatione et scissione ymagine eburnes beate Marie in sanctuario* v lb. viij s.[par.]

Item Johanni Michaelis pro tabernaculo refecto eum columpnis et jannis, ac opere pedis sub tabula altaris in dicto sanctuario iiij lb. xvj s.[par.]

Item pictori, pro tabernaculo (1) deaurato et depicto et pro dicta tabula te vernisschene, ac muro retro dictum tabernaculum depingendo iiij lb.[par.]

Item Cornelio vander Scrighe, pictori supradicto pro reparatione vexillorum aureorum cum leonibus

xlviij s.[par.]

[fol. 13v] *Expenditure of diverse nature [...]*

[fol. 15v] *Item, Johannes Noblet, stone sculptor, for repairing and cutting the ivory statue of the Blessed Mary in the sanctuary* 5 lb. 8 s.[par.]

Item Johannes Michaelis for repairing the columns and the arcade of the tabernacle, and also for work on the base of the retable in the said sanctuary 4 lb. 16 s.[par.]

Item the painter (1) for gilding and polychroming the tabernacle (2) and to varnish the said retable, and also for painting the wall to the right of the said tabernacle

4 lb.[par.]

Item Cornelius vander Scrighe, the aforementioned painter, for repairing the golden banners with the lions,

48 s.[par.]

BAB, St. Donaas, *Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, no. G.6, 1475, fol. 13v, 15v.

Published: Dewitte, 1978, 81 (fragmentarily; erroneous reference to 1474 accounts).

1. Dewitte supposes it is *Cornelius vander Scrighe* who is meant here. This is very well possible since he is named in the next entry.
2. Probably the retable with the statue of the Virgin on the high altar, as Dewitte suggests.

Doc. 123. 1475, 1 September - 1476, 31 August -- *Guillebert Wallin is paid for a Last Judgment he made for the court room of the Franc.*

Van eender tafele van den Jugemente (1) ghemaect, hanghende in den vierschare van den voors. lande, de welcke besteds is Guillebert Walens, de schildere, omme ij lb.gr., dus hier de voors. somme, qui valet

xxiiij lb.par.

For a panel of the Judgment (1), hanging in the court room of the said land, which was contracted to Guillebert Walens, the painter, for 2 lb.gr.; thus [paid] here the said sum, that equals 24 lb.par.

RAB, *Fonds van het Vrije*, no. 211, *Rekeningen van het Vrije*, 1475-76, fol. 124.

Published: W.H.J. Weale, "Documents inédits sur les peintres brugeois," *Le Beffroi*, III (1866-70), 231-232 (further as Weale, *Peintres brugeois*).

1. This painting was restored in 1528 by Simon Pieters. (see Weale, *Peintres brugeois*, 235, 237.)

Doc. 124. 1475, 2 September - 1476, 19 December -- *Petrus Christus' wife pays her annual dues to the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Snow, and the expenditure for the funeral of her husband are inscribed.*

[fol. 157] Rekeninghe ende bewijs van al den ontfanghe ende huutghevenne bi mij, Jan de Blazere, als deken vander ghilde van Onzer Vrouwe vander Snee beghinnende den tweesten dach in Septembre anno lxxv, ende hendende den xixten dach in decembre anno lxxvj [...] Item ontfanen van Pieter Coustain over zin ghildegheelt van xix jaer

iiij s. ij d.gr.

[fol. 159] Ontfanc van jaerlix ghildegheelt int ommegeaen van buten der houder veste de anno lxxvj [...]

[fol. 159v] Willem Vreland ij gr.

[fol. 161] Ontfanc vanden jaerlix ghildegheelt int ommegeaen van binnen der houder veste anno lxxvj [...]

[fol. 162] [...] Gaudicine Cristes ij gr.

[fol. 168] Dit es den ontfanc vanden nieuwen ghildebroeders ende ghildesusters ontfanen binnen dezen jaere [...]

Pieter Coustain v gr.

[fol. 169] Dit es den ontfanc vanden doodghelde ontfanen binnen dezen vors. jare [...]

Item vanden zielmesse van Pieter Xpristus v s.gr.

[fol. 171] Dit es de betalinghe ende thuutgheven beginnende den vors. tweesten dach in septembre anno lxxv ende hendende den vors. xixten dach in decembre anno lxxvj [...]

Item betaelt vanden zielmesse van Pieter Xpistus

xxj s.gr.

[fol. 157] *Account and confirmation of all receipts and expenditure by me, Jan de Blazere, as dean of the guild of Our Lady of the Snow commencing 1475, 2 September, and ending 1476, 19 December*
[...]

Also received of Pieter Coustain for his dues of 19 years

3 s. 2 d.gr.

[fol. 159] *Received of annual dues collected outside the old fortress anno 76 [...]*

[fol. 159v] *Willem Vreland* 2 gr.

[fol. 161] *Received of annual dues collected in the old fortress anno 76 [...]*

[fol. 162] [...] *Gaudicine Cristes* 2 gr.

[fol. 168] *These are the new guild brethren and sisters accepted during this year [...]*

Pieter Coustain 5 gr.

[fol. 169] *This is the receipt of the death money collected during the aforementioned year [...]*

Also of the funeral mass of Pieter Xpistus 5 s.gr.

[...]

[fol. 171] *This is the receipt and the expenditure commencing 2 September 1475 and ending 19 December 1476 [...]* *Also paid for the funeral mass of Pieter Xpistus*

31 s.gr.

RAB, *Kerkfabriek O.L.Vrouwe*, no.
1531, *Algemene rekeningen O.L.V.-ter-Sneeuw*, 1467-1499, fols. 157-171.

[unpublished]

Doc. 125. 1476, 2 September - 1477, 1 September -- *Excerpts from the municipal accounts, amongst other the expenses for the triumphal entries of Mary of Burgundy and Maximilian; for gifts and for decoration of military equipment by François van den Pitte.*

[fol. 117] *Huutgheven van ghemeenen zaken [...]*

[fol. 129] *Item doe (1) betaelt ter causen van den blyden incommene van onser voors. geduchte joncvrauwe ende prinsesse binnen deser harer voors. stede van Brugghe, tghuend dat hier naer volcht: Eerst Anthuenis de Roovere ende tambocht van den scilders, ter causen van drien paerkin met diversschen personagen ende scoone figueren de welke ghetoocht waren, te wetene teen staende ande Muelenbrugghe, tander jeghen over De Zonne byder Buerchpoorte ende tderde voor myne heeren hof;*

[fol. 129v] *voor leveren ende maken van den stallagen, voor al de scilderye van den personagen met datter an cleift; item, van alden habytten dienende ten voors. personagen, also wel omme de maechdekins als anders te makene; voord van mondcosten ende voor den aerbeyt, pine ende moyte vanden ghuenen die tlast namen van den voors. figuren te tooghene; voor al* xxij lb. xvj s.gr.

[...]

Item, Heynric Lootin van xvij witte lakenen daer de Cruuspoorte mede behanghen was, x lb. viij s. ix d. Item vanden voors. lakenen te metene ende te draghene, iij s. vj d.; Item van den zelve lakenen te verreedene ende vanden poorten te behanghen, xix s. iij d.gr.

Item Pieter Coustain, den scildere, van ghemaect thebbene van scilderyen een figure van eener soonre maecht te paerde, heerlike ghestoffeert; voord vanden scilden metter wapene van alden landen van onzer voors. gheduchte joncvrauwe; voord van iij andere groote scilden ooc heerlyke ghestoffeert; van twee groote zydene bannieren ende van vele groote menichte van cleenen scildekins; al welke voors. scilderye ghestelt ende gheslegghen was voor de voors. Cruuspoorte ende costen in al

vj lb.gr.

Item betaelt van boccrane,(2) vincoorden, spellen ende van riekende cruden daer mede de voors. witte lakenen bezayt waren, iij s. j d.gr. Item Ector van Oudenaerde van xxiiij groote toortsen daer mede onze voors. gheduchte joncvrauwe ghelicht was ende van zes cleene toortsen die ghestelt waren opden thor vanden Jacoppinen kerke boven den overschote twelke den zelve Ector weder ghelevert was, ij lb. j s. viij d.gr.

Item betaelt Francoys van den Pitte, den scildere, van xxiiij cleene scildekins die ghehecht waren an de voors. toortsen, iij s.gr.

[...]

Item meester Heynric de Zweemere hem vierdre van alle der voors. scilderye te slane ande voors. poorte ende de witte lakenen te bezaeyene met vyncoorden, roosen, ende andere riekende cruden, ten tweent stonden, elc ij s.gr., comt

vij s.gr.

[fol. 131v] Item betaelt Willem Moreel ter causen van twee zelvein kannen by hem ghecocht, weghende xvj maerk te xxxij s.gr tmaerck, comt xxv lb. xij s.gr., de welke kannen by wetene vander wet, hooftmannen ende dekenen uut jonsten ghegheven ende ghepresenteert waren harde hooghen ende moghende heere, minen heere den hertoghe van Cleven in recompensacie vander grooter vriendscepe hulpe ende bistance die hy met ghewilligher herte dezer stede bewesen ende ghedaen hadde an onze harde gheduchte joncvrauwe ende prinsesse int vercrighen van vele scoone vryheden ende previlegen [fol. 132] die zoe deser harer stede by harer edelre gracie ende by zinen middle verleent ende ghegheven heift, dus hier de voors. xxv lb. xij s.gr.

Item betaelt den zelve Willem van twee zelvein kannen weghende jeghen hem ghecocht viij maerk vij oncen ende v ingelsche te xxxij s.gr. tmaerck, comt xiiij lb. v s.gr., de welke kannen insghelyckx by wetene vander wet, hooftmannen ende dekenen uut jonsten ghegheven ende ghepresenteert waren harde edelen ende waerden heere, mynen heere van Ravesteyn, over dat hy ghehulpich gheweist heift ende groote diligencie ghedaen an onze voors. harde gheduchte joncvrauwe ende prinsesse int vercrighen van den voors. previlegen van der stede, dus hier de voors. xiiij lb. v s.gr.

[fol. 142v] Betaelt van costen ghedaen ter causen van den blyden incommene van onzen harten gheduchten heere ende prince den hertoghe Maximiliaen binnen deser zyner stede van Brugghe, tghuend dat hier naer volcht, te wetene eerst Anthuenis de Roovere ter causen van drien paercken by hem ghedaen maken, teen staende ande Muelenbrugghe, tander

[fol. 117] Ordinary expenditure [...]

[fol. 129] Item paid then (1) on the occasion of the triumphal entry of our said redoubtable lady and princess in her aforementioned city of Bruges, all that follows: First Anthuenis de Roovere and the corporation of the painters, for three stages with diverse personages and beautiful figures that were shown, to be known: one placed near the Molenbrug, the other in front of De Zonne near the Burgpoort and the third in front of mylord's palace;

[fol. 129v] for delivery and installation of the scaffoldings, for all the paintings with personage with everything included; item, for the costumes of the said personages, as well for the children as for the others; further for food and for work, burden and effort for those who performed the aforementioned figures; for everything
22 lb. 16 s.gr.

[...]

Item, to Heynric Lootin for 18 white sheets to line the Kruispoort with, 10 lb. 8 s. 9 d. Item for measuring the said sheets and for bringing them, 3 s. 6 d.; Item for preparing them and for hanging them on the aforementioned gate,
19 s. ij
d.gr.

Item Pieter Coustain, the painter, for having painted the figure of a beautiful virgin on horseback, delightfully decorated; further for the shields with the arms of all the domains of our aforementioned redoubtable lady; further for 4 other large shields, also delightfully decorated; for two large silk banners and for a large number of small escutcheons; all these said paintings were hung at the said Kruispoort, and cost for everything

6 lb.gr.

Item paid for fine fabric (2), periwinkles, pins and for scenting herbs strewn on the said sheets, 4 s. 1 d.gr. Item to Ector van Oudenaerde for 24 large torches used to illuminate our aforementioned redoubtable lady and for 6 small torches, placed on the tower of the Jacobines' church, except the remainder that was returned to the said Ector,
2 lb. 1 s. 8
d.gr.

Item paid to Francoys van den Pitte, the painter, for 24 small escutcheons hung on the aforementioned torches

4 s.gr.

[...]

Item to master Heynric de Zweemere for hanging all the aforementioned paintings on the said gate and for strewing periwinkles, roses and other scenting herbs on the white sheets, at two different times, each time 2 s.gr., amounts to
8 s.gr.

[fol. 131v] Item paid to Willem Moreel for two silver pitchers, bought by him, weighing 16 marc at 32 s.gr. a marc, makes 25 lb. 12 s.gr., which were given and presented by consent of the law, captains and deans, and out of favor to the very high and mighty lord, mylord of Cleves, as compensation for his loyal friendship, help and support he has proven and given to the city with with voluntary affection to our very redoubtable lady and princess in receiving many wonderful freedoms and

[fol. 132] privileges that she has granted and given to this city in her noble grace and through his mediation, so here the said
25 lb. 12 s.gr.

Item paid to the same Willem for two silver pitchers, bought from him, weighing 8 marc 7 ounces and 5 english at at 32 s.gr., makes 14 lb. 5 s.gr. which were given and presented, also by consent of the law,

captains and deans, and out of favor to the very noble and honorable lord, mylord of Ravestein, for having been cooperative with great diligence with our aforementioned very redoubtable lady and princess in granting the said privileges to the city, so here the said 14 lb. 5 s.gr.

[fol. 142v] Paid of expenditure made on the occasion of the triumphal entry of our very redoubtable lord and prince, the duke Maximilian, in his city of Bruges, all that follows, to be known, first Anthuenis de Roovere for three stages conceived by him: one placed near the Molenbrug, the other in front of De Zonne near the Burgpoort and the third in front of mylord's palace, in which certain beautiful figures of diverse personages were shown; for delivery and installation of the scaffoldings, for all the paintings used for the personages of the said figures and also the manufacturing of the costumes, used for the same personages; further for food, burden, effort and work of 30 people who were asked to perform the aforementioned figures with everything included; for everything according to the contract made by him

6 lb.gr.

Item, bought from Roegier van Muelenbroec two cloths to line the Kruispoort, 23 s. 7 d. Item paid to Fransoys van den Pitte, the painter, for painting two figures, the first representing our said very redoubtable lord and prince, and the other one our very redoubtable lady and princess, very elevated work; further for 4 large shields delightfully decorated with the arms of our aforementioned redoubtable lord, of our redoubtable lady, of the county of Flanders, and of this city, and for 25 small escutcheons that were strewn on the aforementioned cloths; for everything 3 lb. 15 s. 10 d.gr., amounts included 6 gr. to get the said cloths and to carry them and 16 s.gr.; paid to Pieter van Muelenbeke for renting 16 white sheets with which the Cruuspoort was lined and 16 gr. given for getting and carrying the cloths,

11 lb. 17 s. 3 d.gr.

[...]

[fol. 143v] Item paid for a large gilt silver goblet, weighing 18 marc of Troyes, cost 38 lb. 17 s.gr. Item for having the said goblet polished and for decorating it with the arms of this city, 12 s.gr. And the said cop was also

[fol. 144] presented and given to our very redoubtable lord and prince on the occasion of his oath,

39 lb. 9 s.gr.

[fol. 144v] Expenditure for the war (3)

It is to be known that for the protection and conservation of this land of Flanders against the intrusion of the French ennemies in the said land with great forces and many armed people, in order to destroy the said land and to demolish it and who had come to the borders of the land at Tournai, as well as at Nieuwendijk [...]

Item paid Fransoys vanden Pitte, who was appointed as master of the artillery and machinery, sent with the siad people and the lord of this city, the following [...]

[fol. 147] Item paid to Fransoyse van den Pitte, the painter, for having made a banner for our very redoubtable lady and princess, decorated with paintings, a banner with the arms of Flanders, decorated with fine gold. Item a banner with the arms of the city, also marvelously decorated. Item a pennon with the arms of the city; Item 6 cornets for the said soldiers, and a pennon and a banner for the company of Red capes, and their trumpet. For everything as in the contract drawn up with the siad Fransois vanden Pitte,

13 lb.gr.

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1476-77, fol. 117, 129, 129v, 131v, 132, 142v-144v, 147.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, VI, 159-160, 168-169. (inaccurately); Schouteet, I, 157 (Coustain-entry on fol. 129 only).

1. See previous entry: *v in april anno lxxvij, i.e., 5 April 1477* (n.s.).
2. *boccrane*: a fine fabric made out of goat hair (see Verdam, 108).
3. The cities of Flanders sent soldiers to the borders of the duchy with France to avoid a invasion of the French army. The burghers of Bruges defended the village of Spier near Tournai.

Doc. 126. 1477, June -- *Payment to Adriaan Karel for decorative work on ships owned by the city.*

[fol. 33] Wedemaent [...]

Item Adriaen Karel, van der stedescepen te verwapene ende goreel van der stedecarrepart, voor al vj s.[gr.]

[fol. 33] June [...]

Item Adriaen Karel for having painted coats of arms on the city's ships and on the collar of the city's horse, for everything 6 s.[gr.]

SAB, *Register van Stadswerken*, no. 283: 1476-1482, fol. 33.

Published: Schouteet, I, 287.

Doc. 127. 1477, September -- *Payment to Jan Hughezuene for decorative work at the Koolkerkse Poort.*

[fol. 64] Septembre [...]

Item betaelt Jan filius Hughenzone, scildere, van viere banieren te verguldene up de Coolkersche poorte, de yserin spillen ghevarwet rood met oyevaerwene ende de viere appelen (1) vergult met fine goude ende vier vanen van den vors. spillen, deeme zyde verguld metter wapene van den lande van Vlaendren ende dandre zyde wit metter wapene van Brugghe, voor al x s.[gr]

[fol. 64] September [...]

Item paid Jan filius Hughenzone, painter, for gilding 4 banners on the Koolkerkse Poort, the iron axles in red oil paint, and the 4 apples with fine gold, and the 4 pennons on the said axles gilt with arms of

the county of Flanders on one side, and on the other side, white with the arms of Bruges, for everything
10 s.[gr.]

SAB, *Register van Stadswerken*, no.
283, 1477-78, fol. 64.

Published: Schouteet, I, 271.

1. Cf. Verdam, 42, s.v. *Appel*: apple-like architectural decoration.

Doc. 128. 1477, 1 January - 31 December -- *Expenditure made by the librarians' guild for polychromy of sculpture.*

[fol. 90v] Dit es dat ic, Pieter Aradiins, hute ghegheven hebbe van diversen costen anghaende onser ghilde van iaer lxxvj (1) tot iaer lxxvij [...]

Item, betaelt vor belde van Sinte Nicasis te snidene

vj s.gr.

[...]

Item, betaelt Aernout de Mol, vor Onser Vrouwe ende Sinte Luc te stoffeere, ende goudin laken bachten belden, ende de belden op de siege

xxiiij s.gr.

Item, noch betalt in ghelach als wij Arnout de Mol betalden in Blankeberghe

x gr.

[...] Item, noch betalt vor Sinte Nicasis te wittene

ij gr.

[...] Dits noch ontfaencq van graciën ende testamenten ende offermiten [...]

Item, ontfaen vanden heer Philips ten Eechoute huut graciën te verschilderen Sintte Nicasius

xxj gr.

[fol. 90v] *This is what I, Pieter Aradiins, made of diverse expenditure concerning our guild in the year 76 (1) until the year 77 [...]*

Item, paid to carve the statue of Saint Nicasis 6 s.gr.

[...]

Item, paid to Aernout de Mol, to decorate Our Lady and Saint Luke, and for gold cloth behind the statues and to place the statues on a pedestal

24 s.gr.

Item, also paid for drinks when we paid Arnout de Mol in Blankeberge

10 gr.

[...] *Item, also paid to paint Saint Nicasis white 2 gr.*

[...] *This is the receipts of grace and testaments and sacrifices [...]*

Item, received from Lord Philips in the Eechout out of grace to paint Sinte Nicasius

21 gr.

SAB, *Librariers en Schoolmeesters*, no. 384, *Rekeningen van het gilde*, 1454-1523, fol. 90v.

Published: Weale, *Enlumineurs*, 294-295.

1. *I.e.*, 1477.

Doc. 129. 1477 -- *Payment records in the accounts of St. Donatian's to Johannes for polychromy and gilding of a statue of Our Lady.*

[fol. 14v] Extradatum in diversis usibus [...]

[fol. 17] Item, Johanni de scildere, pro pictura et deaurationem ymaginis beate marie in navi ecclesiae cum tabernaculo et ostiis xxiiiij lb.[par.]

[fol. 14v] *Expenditure of diverse nature* [...]

[fol. 17] *Item, Johannes the painter, for polychromy and gilding of the image of the Blessed Mary in the nave of the church, with its tabernacle and case* 24 lb.[par.]

BAB, *St. Donaas, Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, no G.6, 1477, fol. 14v, 17.

[Unpublished]

Doc. 130. 1477, 2 September - 1478, 1 September -- *Excerpts from the Bruges municipal accounts: expenditure for the decoration of military equipment.*

[fol. 134] Huutgheven van ghemeene zaken [...]

[fol. 136v] Item betaelt Fransoys van den Pitte, den scildere, van diverssche engienen der stede toebehoorende by hem verschilt ende ghevaerwet, te wetene: eerst groote griete, twee groote slanghen, zesse langhe yseren bussen, noch een ander groot engchien, zeven serpentinen metten cameran, noch een groote mottalin busse, item xviiij cameran zonder loop, xix onder cortaukins, ribaudekins ende vueghelaerkins, ende al met hueren cameran, ende lxj haebussen; voor al ij lb. viij s. x d.gr.

[fol. 145] Item betaelt Fransoys van den Pitte, den scildere, van verschilt ende ghevaerwet thebbene een groote serpentine, ghecocht jeghen Mattheus de Vleyns; item noch van xvj cleene serpentinen, ix cameran ende xij schermen, al metter wapene van der stede, voor al xxx s. vij d.gr.

[fol. 147v] Item betaelt Fransoys van den Pitte, den scildere, ter causen van dat hi verschilt ende ghevaerwet heeft diversschen engienen der stede toebehoordende, te wetene x groote engienen, ghecocht jeghen Jan Vleyns, elc met iij cameran, ende twee engienen ooc elc met iij cameran, ghecocht jeghen Cornelis Tsolle, ij s.gr. vanden sticke, comt xxiiij s.gr.; item van ij andere engienen, die ghecocht waren jeghen den selven Cornelis, xviiij gr. van den sticke, comt iij s.gr.; item lvij cleene bussen elc met iij cameran zwart te vaerwene, ij gr. vanden sticke, comt xj s. ij d. gr.; item van xxxiiij haebussen zwart te verwene, ij gr. vanden sticke, comt v s. v d. ende van den banden van xxxix coperin engienen al zwart te vaerwene, voor al ij s.gr., comt al tsamen

ij lb. v s. viij d.gr.

[fol. 151] Item betaelt ter causen van ix scoone rykelike zelverien vergoudde vasseelen, te wetene iiiij groote kannen, iiiij flasschen ende eenen grooten upstaende cop, de welke alle ghegheven waren ende ghepresenteirt onzen jonghen prince te zinen kerstendoene, weghende al te zamen ij^c maerck troysch te ij lb.gr. tmaerck, comt

v^c lb.gr.

Item betaelt Fransoys van den Pitte ter causen van zekere scilderye by hem ghemaect an den gouden leeu van den voors. cop

viiij s.gr.

[fol. 155] Huutgheven ter orloghen [...]

[fol. 160] Item, betaelt Pieter Coustain, den scildere, ter causen van x ellen taffeta, te iiiij s. grooten delle, comt ij lb.gr., daerof dat den standaert ghevoert by mynen voors. heeren den capiteyn metten voors. volke van wapene ende tgydon ghemaect waeren; item, van xxx ellen zyden frynghen verbesicht an den voors. standaert ende guydon, costen xx s.gr.; item, ende den voors. Pieter voor zyn fauchon ende vergoudene van den voorseiden standaert ende guydon vij lb.gr.; comt tsamen x lb.gr.

[fol. 134] *Ordinary expenditure [...]*

[fol. 136v] *Item paid to Fransoys van den Pitte, the painter, for having repainted diverse cannons of the city, to be known: first a large bombard, two large snakes, six long iron tubes, and another large machine, seven small serpents with their chamber, another metal tube, 18 chambers without the barrels, 19 carbines, rifles and muskets, with all the chambers, and 61 small guns; for everything 2 lb. 8 s. 10 d.gr.*

[fol. 145] *Item paid to Fransoys van den Pitte, the painter, for having repainted a large serpent, bought from Mattheus de Vleyns; item another 16 small serpents, 9 chambers and 12 screens, all with the arms of this city, together makes* 30 s. 7 d.gr.

[fol. 147v] *Item paid to Fransoys van den Pitte, the painter, for having painted and repainted diverse machines belonging to the city, to be known, 10 large cannons bought from Jan Vleyns, with 3 chambers each, and 2 cannons also with 3 chambers each, bought from Jan Tsolle, 2 s.gr. a piece, amounts to 24 s.gr.; item for 2 other cannons, also bought from the same Cornelis, 18 gr. each, amounts to 3 s.gr.; item to paint 57 small tubes with 3 chambers each black, 2 gr. each, amounts to 11 s. 2 d.gr.; item to paint 33 handguns black, 2 gr. a piece, amounts to 5 s. 5 d. and the rings of 39 brass cannons all black, at 2 s.gr. for all, amounts all together to*

2 lb. 5 s. 8 d.gr.

[fol. 151] *Item paid for 9 beautiful gilt silver vessels, to be known: 4 large pitchers, 4 bottles and a large goblet, which were all given and presented to our young prince on the occasion of his baptism, weighing all together 250 marc of Troyes at 2 lb.gr. a marc, amounts to*

500 lb.gr.

Item paid to Fransoys van den Pitte for having done certain polychromy on the golden lion of the aforementioned goblet

8 s.gr.

[fol. 155] *Expenditure for the war [...]*

[fol. 160] *Item, paid Pieter Coustain, the painter, for 10 yards of taffeta silk at 4 s. per yard, amounts to 2 lb.gr., of which the standard carried by my aforementioned Lord the captain and the said army; and the guidon were made; item, for 30 yards of silk fringes used on the said standard and the guidon, cost 20 s.gr.; item, and the said Pieter for making and gilding of the said standard and guidon 7 lb.gr.; together 10 lb.gr.*

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1477-78, fol. 134, 136v, 145, 147v, 151, 155, 160.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, VI, 162, 170, 177, 179 (inaccurate); Schouteet, I, 157 (fol. 160 only).

Doc. 131. 1478, May -- *Payment to Jan Hughezuene for decorative work at the Kruispoort.*

[fol. 79] *Meye [...]*

Item betaelt Jan Hughenzuene, schildre, ter causen van ij banieren ter Cruuspoorte te verguldene ende te verwapene metter wapene van Vlaendren an deen zyde ende an dandere metter wapene van Brugghe ende de ij appelen van den vors. banieren te verguldene met fine goude, voor al

v s.[gr.]

[fol. 79] *May [...]*

Item paid Jan Hughenzuene, painter, for gilding 2 banners at the Kruispoort and to paint the coats of arms of Flanders on one side and on the other the arms of Bruges, and to gild the 2 apples of the aforementioned banners with fine gold, for everything

5 s.gr.

SAB, *Register van Stadswerken*, no. 283, 1476-1482, fol. 79.

Published: Schouteet, I, 271.

Doc. 132. 1478, August -- *Payment to Jan Hughezuene for decorative work at the Koolkerkse Poort, Spuiport, and Kruispoort.*

[fol. 87] Ougst [...]

Item betaelt Jan filius Hughen, scildre, van v banieren die up de Coolkersche poorte staen te verwapene metter wapene van Vlaendren iver een zyde ende over dander zyde metter wapene van Brugghe ende de knopen te verguldene van fine goude ende van ander wercken aldaer ghedaen, voor al vij s.[gr.]

Item betaelt denzelven van v spillen ende vanen te vaerwene omme te verguldene omme up de Speypoorte te stellen ende insghelycx van iij spillen ende vanen te vaerwene te Cruispoorte, voor al xij s.[gr.]

[fol. 87] August [...]

Item paid Jan filius Hughen, painter, for painting the coat of arms of Flanders on one side and that of Bruges on the other side of 5 banners that are placed on the Koolkerkse Poort, and for gilding the knops with fine gold, and for other work done there, for everything

7 s.gr.

Item paid the same for painting and gilding 5 axles and pennons to be placed on the Spuiport, and also for painting 4 axles and pennons at the Kruispoort, for everything

12 s.gr.

SAB, Register van Stadswerken, no.
283: Rekeningen 1476-1482, fol. 87.

Published: Schouteet, I, 271.

Doc. 133. 1478, 1 January - 1479, 1 January -- *Donations to the librarians' guild; expenditure made and gifts received by the librarians' guild for an altarpiece.*

[fol. 93v] Dit naervolghende es al tghuendt dat ic, Ioes Scheede, als deken int tiaer lxxvij (1) van der ghilden huut gheven hebbe sonder de messen, etc [...]

[fol. 94] Item, van dies noot was vanden papier bouc te meersene inne diversche iaerscaren int scriven ende enen oude grooten die ic gaf tenen Gods penninc omme Sinte Nicasis verschildene, tsamen ij 1/2 gr.

[...] Item, betaelt den scildre ix s. vj d.gr.

[...] Item, dat de weduwe van Ian Pisse, wiens ziele God ghedijncke wille, gaf een houtaer cleet van tapycheryen ter ghilde behouf, van mijn heere Sint Ian ende Sint Luuc daer inne ghemaect, int iaer m cccc lxxvij den ix^{en} dach in Meye, ende dat in presencie van Ian van Hesschen, Ian de Caet, Ian de Clerc, Ian Toolnare, Lievin Toolnare, etc.

Item, de wedewe van Ioos Scheede heift ghegheven j scoone groote latoene candelare, etc. [...]

[fol. 96v] Dit es dat ic, Ian van Hesschen, als deken, hebbe huutghegheven aenghaende de ghilde van de lybrariers die wij houden ten Eechoute anno lxxvij (2) tot anno lxxviii (3) hendende ende beghinnende den eersten in Lauwe.[...]

Item, ghegheven den scrinewerkere, v s.gr., te wetene ij s. voor tcassijn van onse taefle, ende iij s.gr. vande duerkins dien ic meester Hans hebbe gheleent vander ghilde weghe, etc.

Item, verleet tot Willem Vrelant, xij gr. als duerkins van onse taefle waren meester Hans besteit te makene

Item, noch betaelt den scrinewerkere, van ij ander duerkins

iiij s.gr.

Item, van ij lekens daer de dueren mede ghehanghen zijn, betaelt

vij gr.

[...]

Item, betaelt meester Hans, up de ij duerkins die hij heift van ons te makene

j lb.gr.

[fol. 93v] *This following is all that I, Ioes Scheede, as dean have spent in the year 77 (1) for the guild, the masses etc. not included [...]*

[fol. 94] *Item, because it was necessary to expand the paper book to include diverse years and of an old groat I gave as a God's penny to paint Saint Nicasis, together*

2.5 gr.

[...] *Item, paid to the painter*

9 s. 6 d.gr.

[...]

Item, that Ian Pisse's widow, whose soul God may remember, gave an altarcloth of tapestry to the guild, representing Saint John and Saint Luke, in the year 1478, the 9th day of May, and that in the presence of Ian van Hesschen, Ian de Caet, Ian de Clerc, Ian Toolnare, Lievin Toolnare, etc.

Item, Ioes Scheede's widow gave 1 beautiful large brazen chandelier, etc.

[fol. 96v] *This is what I, Ian van Hesschen, as dean, have spent for the guild of the librarians which we hold in the Eechout in the year 77 (2) until the year 78 (3) ending and commencing the first of January*

[...]

Item, given to the carpenter, 5 s.gr., to be known 2 s for the panel of our painting, and 3 s gr. for the wings, which I, in name of the guild, have lent to master Hans, etc.

Item, given to Willem Vrelant, 12 gr. when the wings of our painting were contracted to Master Hans

Item, paid the carpenter for two other wings 4 s.gr.

Item, for 2 sheets with which the wings are covered, paid

8 gr.

[...]

Item, paid to master Hans, for making the 2 wings he has from us

1 lb.gr.

SAB, *Librarians en Schoolmeesters*, no. 384, *Rekeningen van het gilde*, 1454-1523, fol. 93v-94, 96v.

Published: Weale, *Enlumineurs*, 295-296, 298-299.

1. *I.e.*, 1478.
2. *Id.*
3. *I.e.*, 1479.

Doc. 134. 1478, 2 September - 1479, 1 September -- *Payments to Jan Hughezuene for diverse decorative work.*

[fol. 153v] Item betaelt Jan filius Huuchs, de schildere, ter causen van eender vane, staende by Sint Leonaertspoorte up de nieu thorre, eene baniere vergult ende verwapent metter wapenen van Vlaendren ende Brugghe, de appele vergult van fine goude ende root ghevaerwet, iiii s.; item, van twee nieuwe beckene vergult, staaende up de Ghendpoorte, ijs.;

comt al vj s.[gr.]

Item denzelven van ij banieren up de Ghend poorte te verwapene metter wapene van Vlaendren ende Brugghe, ooc

vj s.[gr.]

[fol. 158] Item betaelt Jan filius Hughen, de schildre, van den appelen ende vannekens te verschilderne, die up de scepenhuus staen ijj
s.[gr.]

[fol. 159] Item betaelt Jan Hughenzuene, de schildre, ter causen van ij vanen die staen up de ij thorren ten Minnewater, die hy verschildert heift ende vergult de ronde beckenen, voor al

vij s.[gr.]

[fol. 187v] Item betaelt Jan Hughenzone, de schildre, van twee vanen te verschildene ende te verguldene dewelke staen up de torrekens van Sinte Kathelinepoorte

vij s.[gr.]

[fol. 153v] *Item paid Jan filius Huuchs, the painter, for a flag, placed on the new tower of the St.Leonarduspoort: [for] gilding and painting the coats of arms of Flanders and Bruges on a banner, for gilding the apples with fine gold and to paint it red, 4 s.; item, for gilding two new plates, placed on the Gentpoort, 2 s.; for everything*

6 s.gr.

Item paid the same for painting the arms of Flanders and Bruges on two banners on the Gentpoort, also 6 s.gr.

[fol. 158] *Item paid Jan filius Hughen, the painter, for painting the apples and flags that are placed on the City Hall* 3

s.gr.

[fol. 159] *Item paid Jan Hughenzuene, the painter, for painting 2 flags that are placed on the 2 towers near the Minnewater, and for gilding the round plates; for everything*

7 s.gr.

[fol. 187v] *Item paid Jan Hughezuene, the painter, for painting and gilding two flags, placed on the towers of the Kathelijnepoort* 7 s.gr.

SAB, Register van Stadswerken, no.
283: Rekeningen 1476-1482, fol. 153v,
158, 159, 187v.

Published: Schouteet, I, 272-273.

Doc. 135. 1478 -- *Entry in the accounts of the church fabric of St. Donatian at Bruges concerning expenditure made for tips given to Pierre Coustain's servants for varnishing coats of arms of the Golden Fleece, and payment of Pierre Coustain (?) for works done by himself.*

[fol. 14v] Extradatum in diversis usibus [...]

[fol. 16] Item pro duobus albis sotularis et cirothecis pro ymagis Jhesi in ludo paschali
viiij s.[par.]

Item pro pictura dictorum sotularium et cirothecarum

ij s.[par.]

Item solutum Johanni Michiels pro tabernaculo ymaginis sancti donatiani ex novo facto, et eadem ymagine reparata cum novis manibus, cruce et rota xxxvj lb.[par.]

Item sociis eiusdem Johannis pro bibalibus viij s.[par.]

Item, Johanni, pictori, pro pictura et deauratione dicti tabernaculi et ymaginis cum ostiis etiam deauratis

iiiij^{xx} x lb.[par.]

Item, sociis eiusdem Johannis pro bibalibus xij s.[par.]

[fol. 17] Item, famulis Petri Coustain in candidature armorum aurei velleris pendendum in choro pro eorum bibalibus liiij s.[par.]

Item, Johanni, pictori predictis, pro doxali ab intra te vernisschene et pro pictura tanquam asserum supra sedillis sub doxali in choro vij lb. iiiij s.[par.]

[fol. 14v] *Expenditure of diverse nature* [...]

[fol. 16] *Item for two white shoes and gloves for the statue of Jesus in the Easter play* 8
s.[par.]

Item for painting the said shoes and gloves 2 s.[par.]

Item Johannes Michiels for making a new tabernacle for the statue of St. Donatian, and to repair this statue with new hands, crucifix and wheel 36 lb.[par.]

Item, to Johannes's servants, in tips 8 s.[par.]

Item paid Johanni, the painter for having painted and gilt the said tabernacle and also for gilding its doors

90 lb.[par.]

Item, to Johannes's servants, in tips 12 s.[par.]

[fol. 17] *Item to the servants of Pierre Coustain who varnished the arms of the Golden Fleece that hang in the choir, for their tips* 54 s.[par.]

Item, Johannes, the said painter, to varnish the interior of the rood-screen and for a painting hung above the seats under the rood-screen in the choir 7 lb.4 s.[par.]

BAB, *St. Donaas, Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, no. G.6, 1478, fol. 14v, 16, 17.

Published: Schouteet, I, 158.(fragmentarily)

Doc. 136. 1478, 2 September - 1479, 1 September -- *Excerpts from the municipal accounts: payment to Jan van Kuuc for decorative work; payment to François vanden Pitte for restoring a Tree of Jesse.*

[fol. 157] *Huutgheven van ghemeenen zaken*

[fol. 169v] *Item betaelt Jan van Kuuc, den scildere, ter causen van den presentcannen van der stede te verschildene metter wapene van derzelve stede* vj s. vj d.gr.

[fol. 171] [...] *Item betaelt den ambochte vanden scilders ter hulpe vanden costen bij hemlieden ghedaen ter causen vanden hovekin ende datter ancleift, twelke mede ghync upden dach vanden voors. ommeganghe*

xij lb. xij s.[gr.]

Item betaelt Fransoys Vanden Pitte, den scildere, ter causen van rykelike ghestoffeert ende verscilt thebbene de roede van Jesse die insghelycx ghync upden dach vanden zelven ommeganghe vij lb [gr.]

[fol. 157] *Expenditure of ordinary nature*

[fol. 169v] *Item paid Jan van Kuuc, the painter, for having painted the city's coat of arms of the city's donation pitchers* 6 s. 6. d.gr.

[fol. 171] [...] *Item paid the corporation of the painters in aid of their expenditure done for the Garden with everything included, which went around on the day of the aforementioned procession* 12 lb. 12 s.gr.

Item paid Fransoys Vanden Pitte, the painter, for having richly decorated and painted the Tree of Jesse which also went around on the day of the aforementioned procession

7 lb.gr.

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1478-79, fol. 169v, 171.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, VI, 484; Schouteet, I, 290, n. 522.

Doc. 137. 1478, 1 September - 1479, 12 September -- *Payments for a statue of the Virgin, coats of arms and tapestries for the court room of the Franc.*

[fol. 76] Dachvaerden vanden zelver messagiers [...]

[fol. 77] Wouter Vos van dat hy swoensdaechs den ix^{den} dach vander zelver maend (1) ghesonden was met besloten brieven te Ghend by Phelips Veyse ende van daer te Brusele by meester griffier de Smet ende byden beeldensnydere daer hy omme ute was vyf daghen, betaelt v lb.[par.]

[fol. 79v] Woutere de Vos vandat hij sdonderdaechs den xv^{en} dach van voors. maend (2) ghesonden was te Ghend met eene cronicken by meester griffier De Smet ende van daer te Brussele by Pieter de Vogle, de beildesnydere, daer hy omme uuyt was iiiij daghen, betaelt iiiij lb.[par.]

[fol. 80v] Willem van Huissen van dat hy svoors. saterdaechs, xv^{en} dach van svoors. maend (3) ghesonden was met besloten brieven te Brussel by^{den} beildesnydere daer hy omme uyt was vj daghen, betaelt vj lb.[par.]

[fol. 127] Ander betalinghe van refectien ende reparatien an svoorseyts landts huusinghen ghedaen binder tydt van deser rekenynghe. Eerst Pieter Voghele, steenhauer ende beeldesnijder te Brussele, van ghemaect, ghehaeuwen ende ghesneden thebben tbeelde van Onser Vrouwen staende in de camere van den Vrijen, ende van der stoffe daer toe dienende bij hem ghelevert, betaelt lxxij lb.[par.]

Theeus Wils, dienaere van den voors. Pieter Volgle, voor zijne aerbeyt ende moeyte van dat hij quam van Brusel te Brugghe omme de voors. beelden te helpen snijdene ende stellene in de voors. camere van den Vrijen iij lb. iiiij s.par., ende voor drynckghelt van hem ende zijne medeghesellen, ij lb. viij s.par.; comt te gadere ende betaelt bij ordonnancie van derwet, v lb. xij s.[par.]

Heindrijc Ghelijc, scipman, voor zijnen aerbeyt ende moeyte van dat hij de voors. beelde van Brussele te Brugghe brochte, betaelt iij lb. xij s.[par.]

Gillis Poel ende zijne medeghesellen, van de voors. beelde ende de sticken daer toe dienende uyten scepe te doene ende in de voors. camere van den Vrijen te draghen, betaelt xvj s.[par.]

Cornelis van Scriecke, poincter ende schilder te Brugghe, van

[fol. 127v] dat hij ghemaect heeft xxxv schilden metter wapene van den ambochte int rechte Vrije staende vooren inde vierscare van den vors. lande, voor zijne moeyte, aerbeyt, ende der leverijnghe vanden stoffe daer toe dienende, betaelt xxvij lb. xvj s.[par.]

[...]

Den zelven Boudin Zoete van ghevrocht thebben met twee meesters matsenaers elck met eenen knape ende met Heinkin Soete zynen knecht int witten van svoors. vierschare inde camere vanden vryen, ende int stellen van onser vrouwen beelde daer hier vooren mentioen of ghemact es, te wetene de voorn. Boudin Zoete v daghen te xij s.par. sdaechs, zyn knape iiiij

daghen te vj s.par. sdaechs, ende Heinkin zyn knecht vj daghen te viij s.par. sdaechs, comt dese drie partien tsaemen vj lb. xij s.par., de voors. twee meesters matsenaers elc iij daghen te xij s.par. sdaechs ende huere twee cnapen ooc elc drie daghen, comt ut omscreven alser de cedulle byden selven Boudin Zoete overghegheven al int langhe verclaerst, comt in al tegader ende betaelt

xij lb.[par.]

[fol. 129] Iacob Apans, poortere in Brugghe, tapisserie, wonende up den Vlaminckdam, de welcke beloeft heeft te maeckene drie sticken tapisserie omme te hanghene in de vierscaere van den Vrijen, omme xxxvj gr. delle, wanof hij nu ghelevert heeft tmiddelste stick, waer up ende up dander twee sticken tapisserie die hij noch leveren sal, betaelt es up de goede rekenijnghe

xxx lb.[par.]

Ianne Fabiaen, scilder, van dat hij ghemaect heeft den patroon van den boven ghenoomden tapijete dat men hanghen zal in de voorn. vierscaere, betaelt bij ordonnancie van der wet

ij lb.[par.]

Dierijc Stijl, sceppere, wonende te Brugghe, van dat hij ghevoert heeft twee sticken tapiserie mids den linten ende de rijnghe bij hem ghelevert, betaelt xvij gr. Item van xj ellen canevaetse bij hem ghelevert daer de voors. twee tapijten mede ghevoert zijn, te iij gr. delle, bedraghende xxxij gr., comt te gadere ende betaelt

ij

lb. xj s.[par.]

[fol. 136] Pieter van Borselaere, tapisserieur, wonende te Ghend, van een stick tapisserie bij hem ghemact metten wapenen van Vlaenderen, betaelt xxvj s. vj d.gr., maken

xv lb. xvij s.[par.]

[fol. 76] *Receipts of the same messengers [...]*

[fol. 77] *Wouter Vos for having been sent on Wednesday the 9th of the same month (1) with closed letters to Ghent to Phelips Veyse and from there to Brussels to the master clerk and to the sculptor, for having been out for five days, paid*

5 lb.[par.]

[fol. 79v] *Woutere de Vos for having been sent on Thursday the 15th of the said month (2) with a chronicle to Ghent to master clerk De Smet and from there to Brussels to Pieter de Vogle, the sculptor, for having been out for 4 days, paid*

4 lb.[par.]

[fol. 80v] *Willem van Huissen for having been sent on the said Saturday, the 15th of the said month (3) with closed letters to Brussels to the sculptor, for having been out for 6 days, paid*

6 lb.[par.]

[fol. 127] *Other payments for renewals and repairs in the said houses of the land, done within the period of these accounts. First Pieter Voghele, stone and wood sculptor of Brussels, for having made, cut and carved a statue of Our Lady in the room of the Franc, and for the materials needed for this delivered by him, paid*

72 lb.[par.]

Theeus Wils, servant of the said Pieter Volgle, for his labor and effort of coming from Brussels to Bruges to assist in carving the said statue and to install it in the said room of the Franc, 3 lb. 4 s.par., and for tips for him and his companions, 2 lb. 8 s.par.; amounts together to and paid at the ordonnance of the law,

5 lb. 12 s.[par.]

Heindrijc Ghelijc, bargeman, for his labor and effort of bringing the said statue from Brussels to Bruges, paid

3 lb. 12 s.[par.]

Gillis Poel and his companions, for disembarking the said statue and the parts that belong to it and to carry them to the said room of the Franc, paid 16 s.[par.]

Cornelis van Scriecke, painter at Bruges, for [fol. 127v] having made 35 escutcheons with the arms of the territories in the Franc, placed in the front of the court room of the said land, for his effort, labor, and delivery of the materials needed for that, paid

28 lb. 16 s.[par.]

[...] The same Boudin Zoete for having worked with two master masons each with his own apprentice and with Heinkin Soete his servant for painting the said court room in the room of the Franc, and for installing the statue of Our Lady which has been mentioned before, to be known the said Boudin Zoete 5 days at 12 s.par. a day, his apprentice 4 days at 6 s.par. a day, and Heinkin his servant 6 days at 8 s.par. a day, these three parts together amount to 6 lb. 12 s.par., the said two master masons 3 days each at 12 s.par. a day and their two apprentices also three days each, amounts as described in detail, amounts together and paid 12 lb.[par.]

[fol. 129] Jacob Apans, burgher of Bruges, tapestry maker, living in the Vlamingdam, who has promised to make three pieces of tapestry to be hung in the court room of the Franc, at 36 gr. a yard, and of which he delivered now the middle piece; for this and the other two pieces of tapestry that he will deliver, paid in good account

30 lb.par.

Ianne Fabiaen, painter, for having made the model of the said tapestry which will be hung in the aforementioned court room, paid at the ordonnance of the law,

3 lb. [par.]

Dierijc Stijl, tailor, living at Bruges, for having lined two pieces of tapestry, and for the ribbons and the rings he has delivered, paid 18 gr. Item for 11 yards of canvas, delivered by him, with which the two said tapestries were lined, at 3 gr. a yard, which makes 33 gr.; amounts to and paid

2 lb. 11 s.[par.]

[fol. 136] Pieter van Borselaere, tapestry maker, living in Ghent, for a piece of tapestry, made by him with the arms of Flanders, paid 26 s. 6 d.gr., equals

15 lb. 18 s.[par.]

RAB, Fonds van het Vrije, no. 215:
Rekeningen van het Vrije, 1478-79, fol.
127, 129, 136.

Published: Weale, *Franc*, 79-81, n. 31, 33, 35 (incompletely); F. de Potter, *Gent van den oudsten tijd tot heden*, VII, Ghent, s.d., 120, n.1 (fol. 136 only); Versyp, 1954, 162, doc. XXIX-XXX (part of fols. 129 and 136 only).

1. *I.e.*, December.
2. *I.e.*, April.
3. *I.e.*, May.

Doc. 138. 1479, 6 June -- *Agreement between the Provost and the canons of Our Lady's, on one side, and the church wardens of the same church on the other, concerning the rights to, and the division and the usage of revenues from sepulchres, oblations and other gifts.*

Alle de ghone die deze lettren zullen zien ofte hooren lezen, Arnoldus de Lalaing Docteur int gheestelic ende werlic recht ende proost, Hughe Gilles, Vincent Veranneman, Gilles de Scanafia, Jan Enghele, Pieter Patton, Jan Karels, Maertin Christiaens priesters, Jan Diepenbrouc dyakene, alle canoniken vander kerke van onser Vrouwe in Brugge int bisscopdom van Doornicke, saluut, in gode ende vulmaecte trouwe deze jeghenwoordighe lettren te ghevene ende te adiousterene, mids dat onlancx leden zekere questie ende geschil by ende tusschen ons Arnoldus proost ende canoninken van onser Vrouwen kerke voors., andeen zyde, ende eerbaere ende discrete mannen Pauwels van Overtvelt, Clais van Nieuwenhove, Pauwels Lavezuene, Pieter delabye, Joos Corduaen, Maerc vande Velde, Jacob Gheerolf, Jan Hendricxzuene, Jan Possaert, gouvernuers vander fabrike vande kerke an dander zyde. Omme ende up zekere emolumenten, proffytten incommende ter voorseider kerken, te wetene, alzo wel van sepulturen buten den chooren ende zitsels, nochtans binnen den belokene vander voors. kerke, als oic vander gherechte heltsceede van redempcien die sculdich zyn de prochianen die daer niet begraven en worden, ende ooc van apporten incommende daermen zeindt met reliquien, ofte ten outaren vander zelve kerke, twaere binnen den choore ofte daer buten, al waert ooc zoo dat ten voors. outaren ghilden of confrarien waren ghefondeirt ofte ghestelt, zoude mueghen spruuten ofte hier namaels meerder questien, ghescillen of processen, alzo men ducht geroert zoude moghen worden onslieden proost ende capitele sustinerende ter cause van onser eerster Institucie ende van onsen patronaetscip de voors. emolumenten ende proffytten ons toebehorende ende die te mueghene heffen ende ontfanghen voor ons ende tonsen proffyte eist zoo dat wy in voorleden tyden die gederft hebben ende niet gebruuert: want naer tinhouden van onser fondacie, wy zyn geinstitueirt vanden goedijnghe die de kerstene lieden omme remedie ende aflaet van hueren zonden onser kerken devotelic ghegheven hebben, ende al eist zoo dat by onsen voorzaten ter goeder trouwe ende tot eene zeker tyd mids dat in dien tyden de voors. kerke van onser Vrouwen qualic stond, ende van groter reparacie nood hadde, de voorseide rechten ende emolumenten ofte proffytten, te wetene van sepulturen buuten den choore ende zitsels, gheheelic ende al, midsgaders der heltsceede vanden redempcien commende van onsen prochianen die daer niet begraven worden, ofte andere emolumenten ter causen voorscreven incommende, den gouvernuers vander fabrike ofte kercmeesters in dien tyden alder eerst ghestelt ende geinstitueirt, omme te reparerene te onderhoudene, ofte van nieuws te makene de voors. kerke doe zeer qualic staende ende crancelic alzoot voors. es, gheconsenteirt ende gheoctroyert was te heffene ende tontfane, nochtan wy proost ende capitele boven ghenomt tguene dat voors. es niet langher ende moghen ofte willen laten gheschien noch tollereren, mids dat de emolumenten ende proffytten voors. onslieden, als waerachtighe patronen der voorseider kerken, by ghemeen en ghescreven rechten toebehoorende, wiens remedie ofte hulpe wij proost ende capitele zouden moeten

verzoucken, het en zy dat de voorseide kercmeesters onslieden de voorn. proffytten laten paysivelic ghebruucken ende joyeren, ofte emmer met ons up tghuent dat voors. es, vriendelic appointeren ende verlycken; de voorseide gouverneurs vander fabricke ofte kercmeesters jeghens tguend dat voorseit es, sustinerende ende allegierende de contrarie, zeggende dat zy ende haerlieder voorsaten kercmeesters hebben gheweist ende noch zyn in goeder ende paysivele possessie, de voorseide rechten, proffytten ende emolumenten incommende van sepulturen ende zitsels vanden prochiaenen inde voorseide kerke buten den choore begraven, ende deen helt van redemptien met den apporte incommende ten outaren, ten crucen, ende ten reliquien, die tontfanghene ende te heffene, ende ten oorboore vander fabrike der voorseider kerke te appliquierene ende te voughene, ende dat de contrarie noit en heift ghehoort gheweist van huerlieder voorsaten kercmeesters binnen hondert jaren haerwaerts, huutghesteken alleenlic offeranden commende ter stolen ende in nataeldaghen ter dwalen incommende: want huerlieder voorsaten kercmeesters alle dandere emolumenten ende proffytten hebben gheheven ende ontfangen; begheerende ooc de voorseide kercmeesters, datmen hemlieden ende huere naercommers in zulke possessie als zy allegieren zouden houden, ende van diere laten paysivelic ghebruucken, mids dat zylieden ontfanghende de voorn. emolumenten, hebben bezocht de kerke te onderhoudene van reparacien, maetsen, temmeren, decken ende andere noodzakelike ende eerbare, costelike ende verchierighe reparacien van fierters, santen, reliquien, oorghelen, boucken, ornamenten, keilcten, wasse ende andre zaken, die langhe waren te verhalene, ende draghen jaerlicx zo langher zo meer, te grooter summen van ghelde; welke voortstellen ende allegacien by vriendelycke tusschensprekene van beeden partijen, ten diverschen daghen by gheleerde mannen, rechten wetende, ende by notabelen prochianen ghehoort, verstaen ende daer up ripelike gelet omme de voorseide questie ende materie van gescille meer vriendelike, dan by rigueren van ghedynghe ter neder te legghen, ende omme caritate ende geduerighe pays tusschen ons ende de voorseide kercmeesters ende alle andere prochianen te voedene ende te houdene. Wy proost, capitele ende kercmeesters, partijen voorscreven, begheerende de quets van ghedynghe te vliene ende te scuvene, ende ooc te wederstane de costen ende de moyten die wy ter cause van dien zouden moghen hebben, by tusschenspreken up tghuent dat voorseit es van eenighen ghemeenen vrienden vander voorseider partijen, personen van grooter auctoriteit, alzo wel prochianen als andere, te wetene: Meester Rycquaerd vander Cappelle, ghelicencieert in Loyen, canter ende canonic vande kerke van sinte Donaes, Meester Jan de Gardino, Docteur in decreten ende ghelicencieert in loyen, prochiepape van sinte Wauburghen in Brugghe, Lodewyc Gressyne, Jan de Keyt, Jan Losschaert, Jacob de Deckere, Simoen Janszuene, Pieter van Muelebeke, Cornelis Breyelt, Joos vander Strate, Jan Duerghijs, Jan van Heede, Zeghere van Roo, Jan Soen, Dionys metten Eye, Joos Damhoudere, Colaerd de labie, Jacop van Score, Willem van Gheldere, Thomaes Bonin, Jacop van Maldeghem, Lievin de Clerc, Jan Taye, Jan van Waes, Pieter van Heynewerve, Jan van Praet, Jacop van Axele, Lodewyc Beuts, ende meer andre notabele prochianen vander voors. kerke, by onsen properen vryen eyghin wille ende consent, niet bedwonghen noch daer toe in eeniger manieren versmeekt, oft mesleedt, by ons ende elken van onslieden in alderbeste maniere weghe rechte cause ende vorme, die wy best ende sterctst hebben ghemoghen doen ofte sculdich zyn van doene up alle de zaken voorscreven, ende elken van dien wel ghelet,

hebben versaemt, getracteirt ende vriendelike veraccordeirt by accorde ende vriendelic tractye van nu voorwaert, ende ten eeuwighen daghen hier naer, zonder wederroupenegheduerende, end by ons proost, capitele kercmeesters, ende zonder eenich ghebrec, fraude ofte malengien vast ende ghestadich te onderhoudene inder manieren hier na verclaerst, te wetene, dat de voorseide gouvernuers vander fabrycke ofte kercmeesters de emolumenten ende incommende proffytten die de kersten lieden, zy man oft wyf, omme trecht ende vryhede van huerlieder sepulture ende zitsels te hebbene inde voors. kerke buten chore, liberalic ende ghewillic gheven zullen, gheheelic ende al ontfaen ende heffen zullen also zy hebben hier voormaels gedaen; behouden dies dat wy proost ende canonicken vander voorseider kerke, voor ons ende onse naercommers geheelic hebben zullen de gheheele dispositie vanden sepulturen diemen begheeren zal in onsen voorseiden choore, zonder eenighe contradictie; maer, want boven den aelmoesenen ghegheven, by elken boven jaren zynde, ende begraven zynde binnen de voorseider kerke ende buten den chore, noch twintich ponden paris. vlaemscher munten (1) by hemlieden ghegheven heift altoos gheweist; te wetene, den ghemeenen gheselscepe vanden voors. choore tien ponden paris. ende dander tien ponden paris. de kercmeesters omme de fabrike, de voorse. kercmeesters als van desen tien ponden paris. die zy plochten tontfane, hebben die afghegaen ende gherenoncieirt, ende noch ofgaen zullen, ende als nu jeghenwoordelic ofgaen ende renuncieren, ende zullen voort dan wy proost ende canonicken voorseit ende onse naercommers heffen ende ontfaen in recompensacien van rechten van sepulturen de voorseide tien ponden paris., de welke de kercmeesters plochten tontfanghene zonder eenich belet, oppositie ende contradictie daer in te hebbene ter vermeerderijnghe van onslieder beneficien ofte prebenden, ende voor de heltsceede vanden redempcien de welke de voorseide kercmeesters ontfanghen hebben, ende voor alle andre apporten, emolumenten ende proffytten commende ten outare ende ten crucez zy by ghilden ende ghildebroeders inde voors. kerke van ouds ende van nieuws upghestelt ende upgebracht ofte ooc van anderen ghilden van ambochten, die nu zyn ende diemen hier naer upstellen ofte upbrijnghen zal twelke de voorseide kercmeesters altoos ontfaen zullen ten oorboore vander fabrike, zo hebben wy kercmeesters trechte vierendeel van alle den testamenten ghegheven onser kercke byden prochianen van diere, sy in goude ofte in zelve ghemunt, te wetene van ponden, scellinghen of pennynghen onsliden proost ende canoniken ende onse naercommers geconsenteirt ende geottroyert; maer waert zo dat hyement in testamente gave eenich goud of zelve onghemunt ofte eenighe juweelen van goude ofte zelve als keilcten, beilden ofte andere juweelen twaren boucken, guldin of zydin lakenen ter verchieringhe vander kerke ende vanden godlike dienste, ende daer men gheen penninghen ofmaken zal, daer ende zullen wy proost ende capitele gheen recht of deel pretenderen noch begheeren, maer van allen anderen ghiften in vorme van testamente der voorseide kerken ghegheven, diemen niet ende appliquiert of voucht ter vercieringhe der kerken, ende daermen voor dit ghiften ponden, scellinghen ofte penninghen ontfant daer of zullen wij proost ende capitel ende onse naercommere trechte vierendeel heffen ende ontfaen tonsen proffyte ten eewighen daghen in recompensacien van onsen rechten up dese condicie dat waert dat zo ghevele dat ter causen vanden voorseiden testamenten eenighe costen ofte lasten gevelen twaren by processen ende ghedynghen ofte andersins, zo zouden wy proost ende capitele voors.

moeten draghen ende gelast zyn vanden vierden pennynghen daer toe te betalene, dies zullen de voorseide kercmeesters bezorghen alle noodzakelicke dijnghen in onsen voorseiden choor ende kerke, van boucken, waslichte, ornamenten alzo zy tot dien daghe van nu ghedaen hebben. Voord beloven wy proost ende capitel voorseit over ons ende over onse naercommers, ende insgelycx wy kercmeesters over ons ende onse naercommers ende specialic inde presencie vanden notaris publyc ende oorconden hier onder genomt ende ghescreven, alle de punten die voorseid zyn, ende elke byzondere, goed, vaste ghestadich ende van goeder weerden te houdene ten eewighen daghen, ende daer jeghens niet te gane of te doene; noch daer jeghens hier te segghene in eenigher manieren ende dat up de payne van hondert marcs zelve, deen helt te appliquerene onsen eerwerdighen Vader in Gode, den bisscop van Dorneken, ende dander heltte appliquerene der partie die voorseide tractaet ende compositie houden ende observeren zal, ende die hondert marken zelve over te legghene ende realic by fayte te betalene byder partie die de voorseide compositie ofte tractat breken zal, niet houden ofte daer jeghen comen zal, in wat manieren dat dat zyn sal, ende nochtans dit voors. ende jeghenwoordich tractaet ende accord blivende altoos in zyne cracht ende virtute. Voor meer up de peynen van verwatenesse ende andre peynen ende censuren vander heligher kerken submitterende ende stellende ons proost, capitele ende kercmeesters voors. ende onse naercommers omme te onderhoudene de voors. compositie ende vriendelic accord, ter jurisdictie, justicie, bedwanc, ende compulsie van onsen voorseiden eerweerdigen Vadere in Gode den bisscop van doornicke, ende ooc vanden officiael (2) van zinen hove, ende omme meerder versekerthede, zo hebben wy belooft dit voorseide appointment te doen approuveren ende confirmeren byden voors. bisscop van Doornicke of by zinen hove,(3) ende daer naer by onsen helighen vader den paeus, in oorcondscepe ende ter eewigher waerachtichede wy Arnoldus proost ende capitele voorseit, dese jeghenwoordighe letteren met onsen zeghele van zaken, ende wy kercmeesters upten tyd van nu met onsen zegelen, te wetene elc met zinen properen zeghele uuthanghende bezeghelt, hebben ende doen onderscriven ende teekenen byden notaris hier onder ghenoumt ende ghescreven. Dit was ghedaen te Brugghe inde tresorie vander kerke van onser Vrouwen te Brugghe int jaer ons heeren duust vierhondert neghene ende tseventich, den zesten dach van wedemaent, daer present ende jeghenwoordich heer Jacop Hondermaert priester, vicaris der voors. kerke, Pieter van Stavele, Barthelemeeus Meent, poortere in Brugghe, ende Philips Derdebom, oorconden daertoe gheroupen ende specialic ghebeden.

Et ego Henricus Bolle Clericus Tornacensis Dioecesis publicus [...]

All those who will see these letters or will hear them being read, Arnoldus de Lalaing Doctor in ecclesiastic and worldly Law and Provost, Hughe Gilles, Vincent Veranneman, Gilles de Scanafia, Jan Enghele, Pieter Patton, Jan Karels, Maertin Christiaens priests, Jan Diepenbrouc deacon, all canons of the church of Our Lady in Bruges in the diocese of Tournai, greetings, [we want] to give and make clear in good and complete loyalty in this present letter, since recently a problem and difference had arisen amongst and between us, Arnoldus Provost and Canons of the said Our Lady's church, on the one side, and the honorable and discrete men, Pauwels van Overtvelt, Clais van Nieuwenhove, Pauwels Lavezuene, Pieter delabye, Joos Corduaen, Maerc vande Velde, Jacob Geerolf, Jan Hendricxzuene, Jan Possaert, wardens of the office of the works of the church, on the other side, about

and concerning certain revenues, profits collected by the said church, to be known, from sepulchres outside the choir and seats, be it within the boundaries of the said church, as well as of rightful halves of redemptions owed by parishioners who are not burried here, and also of voluntary donations that are collected with relics or at the altars of the same church, be it within the choir or outside of it, even if the said altars were founded by or were appointed to guilds or confraternities, [from which] more problems, differences or lawsuits may evolve in the future that we fear may affect us, Provost and Chapter [who are] supported by virtue of our first institution and by our auspices over the said revenues and profits which belong to us and that we are allowed to collect and receive for us and to our profit. And in case we deprived ourselves in the past and did not make use of this income, which is according to the content of our foundation, instituted through assets devoutly donated by christian people in compensation and as indulgence for their sins, it was because our predecessors consented and conferred the right to collect and receive the said rights and revenues or profits, in good faith and for a certain period, to be known, of sepulchres outside the choir and of seats, fully and completely, as well as the halves of the redemptions deriving from our parishioners who are not burried there or of other revenue collected as mentioned above, which were given and put to use for repairs and maintenance, or to make anew in the said church which was at that time in a ruinous state and critical as said above, to the wardens of the office of the works of the church or church masters, because at that time the said church of Our Lady's was in a ruinous state and needed great repairs.

Nevertheless, we, provost and said chapter do not longer allow or tolerate that the things mentioned above happen, because the revenues and said profits are ours, as the only true heads of the said church, by virtue of common written law, whose defense or help the provost and chapter will have to invoke, unless the said church wardens let us use and enjoy the said profits peacefully or relegate friendly to us and agree with us about all that is mentioned.

Or else, in case the said wardens of the office of the works of the church or church masters support and bring forward the contrary of what has been said, that they and their predecessors who have been church wardens, still hold the said lawful and peaceful rights to collect and raise the profits and revenues, issuing from sepulchres and seats of the parishioners burried outside the choir of the said church, and half of the redemptions and the voluntary donations collected at altars, crucifixes, and at relics and at the profit, usage and income of the Office of the works of the said, and that they have never heard of the opposite from their predecessors church masters, since a hundred years, except only for those offertories for ritual textiles and on feastdays for altar cloths, because their predecessors church wardens have raised and collected all other revenues and profits; and if the said church wardens also want that they and their successors would keep these rights that they claim, and thus keep the peaceful use of it, because they have promised, when they are to collect the said revenues, that they would maintain the church, do repairs, masonry work, carpentry, roofing and other necessary and honorable, expensive and decorative repairs of reliquaries, statues of saints, organs, books, ornaments, chalices, wax and other things, too much to list, and annually bear the huge increasing costs, then these propositions and claims will have to be heard, and scrutinized during several days by friendly intermediaries of both parties, by learned men, knowledgable in law, and by notable parishioners, watching to it that the said problem and matter of dispute is resolved in a friendly manner, rather than by means of a lawsuit, and that charity and lasting peace between the said church wardens and all other parishioners will be fostered and maintained.

We, provost, chapter and church masters, the aforementioned parties, wishing to avoid and refrain from a lawsuit in this dispute, and also opposed against the costs and trouble that we may experience through it, [have agreed] regarding all which has been said above, by mediation of some mutual friends of the parties named above, persons of great authority, parishioners as well as others, to be known: Master Ricquaert vande Capelle, licenciate in Law, cantor and canon of the church of St. Donatian, Master Jan de Gardino, Doctor in Canon Law and licentiate in Law, parish pastor of St. Walburga in Bruges, Lodewyc Gressyne, Jan de Keyt, Jan Losschaert, Jacob de Deckere, Simoen Janszuene, Pieter van Muelebeke, Cornelis Breyelt, Joos vander Strate, Jan Duerghys, Jan van Heede, Zeghere van Roo, Jan Soen, Dionys metten Eye, Joos Damhoudere, Colaerd de labie, Jacop van Score, Willem van Gheldere, Thomas Bonin, Jacop van Maldeghem, Lievin de Clerc, Jan Taye, Jan van Waes, Pieter van Heynewerwe, Jan van Praet, Jacop van Axele, Lodewyc Beuts, and other notable parishioners of the said church, by our own and free will and consent, not being forced nor having been solicited in whatever manner to do so or having been misled, by us and each of us in the very best manner, for a just case and in the very best and strongest form that we are able to devise or are supposed to do in the aforementioned case, and paying attention to everything, have met, discussed and friendly agreed by agreement and cordial transaction, that from now onward, and in eternity, and lasting without possible deletion, provost, chapter and church masters, and without any default, fraud or perjury, to be maintained strictly and steadily as explained here following, to be known: that the said wardens of the office of the works of the church or church masters, will collect and raise all the revenues and incoming profits, that christian people, be it men of women, are giving voluntarily and freely, for the right and privilege of having their sepulchres or seats in the said church outside the choir, as they have done in the past, except that we keep for us, provost and canons of the said church, and for our successors, entirely the complete disposition over the sepulchres that one shall want in our said choir, without any dispute; but, on top of the alms, every mature person, being burried in the said church and outside the choir, has always given another 20 lb. par. of Flemish currency (1), to be known, to the confraternity of the said choir 10 lb. par., and the other 10 lb. par. to the church masters for the office of the works of the church. The said church masters have now renounced and relinquished the 10 lb. par. that they were used to collect, and will renounce and relinquish these from now on, and we, provost and canons and our successors, will henceforth raise and collect these said 10 lb. par. which the church masters used to collect, in compensation of the rights over the sepulchres, without any delay, opposition or contradiction as to complement our benefits or prebends; and for the halves of the redemptions which the said church masters collect, and for all other voluntary donations, revenues and profits collected at altars and at crucifixes, be it by guilds and guild brethren in the said church, instituted and founded since long or anew, or also of other corporations, which exists now or will be instituted and founded in the future, which the said church masters will always collect at the profit of the office of the works of the church, we have obtained the church masters' rightful fourth part of all testaments given to our church by its parishioners, and allocated and assigned to us provost and canons and our successors, be it in golden or silver coins, to be known in pounds, shilling or pennies; but in case someone grants some unminted gold or silver by testament or other jewels of gold or silver, such as chalices, statues or other jewels, be it books, gold or silk textiles to decorate the church at divine services, and from which no coins will be beaten, we provost and chapter will have no rights nor make any claims to it; but of all other donations made by testament to the said church that are not allocated or used for the decoration of the church, and by which donations are received in pounds, shillings or

pennies of which we provost and chapter and our successors will have and receive one fourth to our profit in compensation of our rights, on this condition that in case it happened that through the said testament any costs or burdens arose, be it of lawsuits and proceedings or else, we, provost and said chapter are liable to pay each fourth penny. Hence, the said church masters will provide all necessary things in our said choir and church, of books, candle lights, ornaments, as they have always done up to the present day.

Further, we, provost and said chapter, promise, in our name and in the name of our successors, and also church masters, in our name and in the name of our successors, and specifically in the presence of the notary public and by this charter mentioned and written below, to maintain and observe all the aforementioned points, and each of them specifically, well, steadily and eternally and not to challenge or react against it, nor to contradict it in whatever way, on the penalty of one hundred silver marks, half of which is due to Our Reverend Lord in God, the Bishop of Tournai, and the other half is due to the party that respects and observes the said treaty and composition, and these one hundred silver marks will be submitted and effectively paid by the party that will contravene, not observe or contradict the said treaty in whatever way, and this aforementioned and present treaty and agreement will be in force and valid forever.

Further, on the penalty of excommunication and other penalties and censorship of the Holy Church, we provost, chapter and said church masters submit and render ourselves in order to maintain the said composition and friendly agreement, to the jurisdiction, justice, power and compulsion of Our said Reverend Father in God the Bishop of Tournai, and also of the official (2) of his court, and in order to have more certainty, we have promised to have this agreement approved and confirmed by the said bishop of Tournai or by his court,(3) and after that by our Holy Father the Pope, by this charter and to eternal truth, we Arnoldus provost and said chapter, have sealed this present letter with our business seal, and we church masters, have sealed at this moment, to be known each with his proper seal, and have it subscribed and signed by the notary, named and signed hereafter.

This was done in Bruges in the treasury of the church of Our Lady in the year of Our Lord 1479, on the 6th day of June, in the presence of Lord Jacop Hondemaert priest vicar of the said church, and Pieter van Stavele, Barthelemeus Meent citizen of Bruges, and Philips Derdebom being invited and specifically asked to testify.

And me Henricus Bolle Clerk of the public diocese of Tournai [...]

RAB, *Onze Lieve Vrouw, Oud Archief*, charter prov. no. 1283; Original, parchment, seals lost; copy in *Ibidem*, prov. no. 1033.

Published: *Beaucourt de Noortvelde*, 1773, 190-194 (inaccurately)

1. Most likely, simply 'pounds parisis' is meant here.
2. An *official* was an official attached to a diocese in charge of the supervision of canonic law; see Verdam, 389.
3. This approval by a letter of 26 November 1479 is also preserved; see RAB, *OLV-kerk Brugge, Oud Archief*, charter prov. no. 1033.

Doc. 139. 1479 -- *Entry in the accounts of the church fabric of St. Donatian's at Bruges for missals and concerning expenditure made for tips to Pierre Coustain's servants for painting 8 coats of arms of the Golden Fleece*

[fol. 14v] Extradatum in diversis usibus [...]

[fol. 15v] Item solutum famulis Petri Coustain pro suis bibalibus in depictione viij asserum aurei velleris in choro de novo positis liij s.

[fol. 17] Item solutum Martino Colins pro scriptura totius libri missarum et motetarum xlij lb.par.

Item Johanni librario (1) pro prima littera capituli

x s.[par.]

Item Anthonius vanden Gavere pro ligatura eiusdem libri

vij lb. iij s.[par.]

[fol. 14v] *Expenditure of diverse nature* [...]

[fol. 15v] *Item, payment of Pierre Coustain's servants for their tips while painting 8 panels of [the arms of] the new members of the Golden Fleece [hanging] in the choir*

54 s.[par.]

[fol. 17] *To Martin Colins for having written the whole book of masses and motets*
42 lb.par.

Item, Johannes (1), the librarian, for the first capital letters

10 s.[par.]

Item Anthonius vanden Gavere for binding this book

7 lb. 4 s.[par.]

BAB, *St. Donaas, Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, no G.6, 1479, fol. 14v, 15v, 17.

Published: Dewitte, 1978, 93. (fragmentarily); Schouteet, I, 158 (fragmentarily).

1. Dewitte speculates without good reason that this librarian may be Johannes de Vico.

Doc. 140. 1479, 1 January - 1480, 1 January -- *Expenditure for an altarpiece and gifts received by the librarians' guild.*

[fol. 100v] Dit naervolghende es dat ic, Lieven de Toolnare, als gouvernuer ontfanghen hebbe van de gildebroeders ende gildesusters van onser gilde die men houdende es ten Hechoute binnen Brugghe, beghinnende anno lxxviiij (1) den eersten dach van Ianuarius tot anno lxxix (2) [...]

Dit naer volghene es dat ic, Lieven, ontfanghen hebbe van beloften ter taeffel waert.

Item, metten eersten, Jan de Caet ghegheven vij s.gr.

Item Regnout de Tylly	iiij s.gr.
Item Ian de Toolnare	ij s. vj d.gr.
Item Lieven de Toolnare	ij s.gr.
Item Germein Wieliaert	ij s.gr.
Item Ian de Clerc	xij gr.
Item Ian van der Linde	xij gr.
Item Henderic van der Eecke	xij gr.
Item Ian vander Wieghe	xij gr.
Item Ian Gulghebert	xij gr.
Item Cornelis van Rinevelt	xij gr.
Item Aernout Basekin	xij gr.
Item De vrouwe sDonckers	xij gr.
Item Fransisque de Asque	ix gr.
Item Ian Paradijs	vj gr.
Item Cornelis vander Creke	vj gr.
Item Henderic Priem	iv 1/2 gr.
Item Baerbele Boems	iiij gr.
Item Zuster Tannekin Boems	iiij gr.
Item de vrouwe Bouts	j 1/2 gr.
Item Anthonis van Gavere	vijj gr.

[fol. 101] Dit es alt ghent dat ic, Lieven de Tolnare, als gouvernuer hutghegheven hebbe van de iare van lxxvij (3) tot anno lxxix (4) [...]

Item, ghegheven meester Hans, al samen in een

iiij lb. ij s.gr.

[fol. 100v] *This following is what I, Lieven de Toolnare, as governor have received of guild brethren and guild sisters in our guild which we hold in the Eekhout in Bruges, commencing in the year 78 (1) the first day of January until the year 79 (2) [...]*

This following is what I, Lieven, have received of promises towards the painting.

<i>Item, first of all, Jan de Caet gave</i>	8 s.gr.
<i>Item Regnout de Tylly</i>	4 s.gr.
<i>Item Ian de Toolnare</i>	2 s. 6 d.gr.
<i>Item Lieven de Toolnare</i>	2 s.gr.
<i>Item Germein Wieliaert</i>	2 s.gr.
<i>Item Ian de Clerc</i>	12 gr.
<i>Item Ian van der Linde</i>	12 gr.
<i>Item Henderic van der Eecke</i>	12 gr.
<i>Item Ian vander Wieghe</i>	12 gr.
<i>Item Ian Gulghebert</i>	12 gr.
<i>Item Cornelis van Rinevelt</i>	12 gr.
<i>Item Aernout Basekin</i>	12 gr.
<i>Item Doncker's wife</i>	12 gr.
<i>Item Fransisque de Asque</i>	9 gr.

<i>Item Ian Paradiis</i>	6 gr.
<i>Item Cornelis vander Creke</i>	6 gr.
<i>Item Henderic Priem</i>	4.5 gr.
<i>Item Baerbele Boems</i>	4 gr.
<i>Item Sister Tannekin Boems</i>	4 gr.
<i>Item Woman Bouts</i>	1.5 gr.
<i>Item Anthonis van Gavere</i>	8 gr.
[fol. 101] <i>This is all that I, Lieven de Tolnare, as governor have spent during the year 78 (3) until the year 79 (4) [...]</i>	
<i>Item, given to master Hans, all at once</i>	3 lb. 2 s.gr.

SAB, *Librariers en Schoolmeesters*, no. 384, *Rekeningen van het gilde*, 1454-1523, fol. 100v-101.

Published: Weale, *Enlumineurs*, 299, 301.

1. *I.e.*, 1479.
2. *I.e.*, 1480.
3. *I.e.*, 1479.
4. *I.e.*, 1480.

Doc. 141. 1479, 2 September - 1480, 1 September -- *Entry in the municipal accounts of Bruges concerning the payment to Pierre Coustain for painting 5 statues and the western porch of the City Hall; and to Jan Lancaert for tapestry work.*

[fol. 150] *Huutgheven van ghemeenen zaken*

[fol. 153] *Item, betaelt Pieter Coustain, den scildere, ter causen van vyf personagen ende beilden staende boven der westduere vanden scepenhuuse ende vanden poortale vander zelve duere chierlike te verschildene ende te stoffeirne van fynen goude naer den heesch vanden wercke alzoot behoort, voor al by appointemente met hem ghemaect*

liij lb.gr.

[fol. 159] *Item betaelt Jan Lancaert tapytsier ter causen van viij stukken tapytsen onder cleen ende groot by hem ghemaect omme de voors. stede dienende upde siegen ende bancken in scepene camere; lanc tsamen lxxxj ellen te ij s. vj d.gr. delle comt* x lb. ij s. vj d.gr.

[fol. 150] *Expenditure of ordinary nature*

[fol. 153] *Item, paid to Pieter Coustain, the painter, for 5 figures and statues standing above the western door of the aldermen's house (1) and for the porch of the same door elegantly colored and*

decorated with fine gold as is suitable [for this type] of work, for everything as agreed with him
54 lb.gr.

[fol. 159] *Item paid to Jan Lanckaert tapestry maker, for 8 pieces of tapestry small and large ones, made by him to be used by the said city on the seats and benches in the aldermen's room; total length 81 yards at 2 s. 6 d.gr. a yard, amounts to* 10 lb. 2 s. 6 d.gr.

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1479-80, fol. 150, 153, 159.

Published: Gilliods-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, VI, 483 (inaccurately); Janssens de Bisthoven, 1944, 13; Schouteet, I, 158; Versyp, 1954, 162, doc. XXXI (fol. 159 only, inaccurately).

1. *I.e.*, city hall.

Doc. 142. 1480 -- *Payment in the accounts of St. Donatian's for work on and above the parish altar.*

[fol. 14v] *Extradatum in diversis usibus [...]*

[fol. 15] *Item pro duabus ymaginibus in tabernaculo parochiali impositum pictori earum*
[...](a.)

ix lb. xij s.[par.]

[fol. 16] *Item solutum ex curialitate famulis Johanni Michaelis [...](b.) novum tabernaculum super altare parochie*

xij s.[par.]

[fol. 16v] *Item solutum Johanni pictori pro pictura et deauratione ymaginis crucifixi in prochia ex altari*

vj lb.[par]

[fol. 14v] *Expenditure of diverse nature [...]*

[fol. 15] *Item for two paintings placed in the tabernacle of the parish, given to the painter [...](a.) 9 lb. 12 s.[par.]*

[fol. 16] *Item paid from the funds of the priests to the servants of Johannes Michaelis [...] on the new tabernacle above the altar of the parish* 12 s.[par.]

[fol. 16v] *Item paid Johanni, the painter, for painting and gilding the statue of the crucifix in the parish above the altar* 6 lb.[par.]

a. illegible word -- b. two illegible words.

BAB, *St. Donaas, Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, no. G.6, 1480, fol. 14v, 15, 16-16v.

[Unpublished]

Doc. 143. 1480, 1 January - 1 April -- *Inventory of the jewels in the chapel of the tanners at Our Lady's*

In tjaer ons heeren m.iiiij^c lxxix zo was desen bouc ghestelt ende gheordineirt by dekin ende vinderes, ende voort by den ghemeenen gheselschippe vanden hambochte van den hudevetters in Brugghe om van nu voort an der in te stellen al tgont dies den hambochte daghelix an gaen zal.

In dese naervolghende blaren vint men al tgont dat doen ten tyden in de cappelle behoorde ende naermaels commen es.

Eerst te onzen houtaere een scone tafel van onser liever Vrouwen de welke ghegheven was by deer Pieter Bultync in tjaer duust vierhondert neghen ende tseventich voor Paeschen;(1) ende begheerde de zelve Pieter al dien dat men van dier tyt voort telken henden van des hambochs messen zal de zelve priester ghehouden zyn over alle zielen te lesen Miserere mei Deus ende De profundis.

Item ten zelve houtare twe metalen candelaers, eenen missael bouc ghebonden tusschen ij barderen met roeden leder overtrocken.

Item een groen cassule met al datter toebehoort, te weten: de cassile groen zidin laken damaest, de alve, de amitte, tmanipel ende tgordel; voort den corporael ende j houtaer cleet met shambochs wapen ghehouden met ij inghelen

[...]

Item noch boven, ij cortinen voor onse Vrouwe met eenen rabatte al lynen; insghelycx voor Sinte Bave, ij cortinen met eenen rabate met witte fryngen; ende was al tvoornomde wit ghegheven by Jacobs wedewe van Dienst, wiens ziele God ghenadich zy [...]

Item noch in de cappelle een metalin sperswater vat ende eenen quispel twelke Joris Beyts by sinder deucht den ambochte ghegheven heift. [...]

In shambochs huus [...]

Item, noch voor tcascoen j scoon tafel met den Cronement van onser Vrouwen, der voren hanghende twe roe cordinen; item, een lys der voren staende, j contour met eender brekende tafel, dezelve ghedect met eenen roede cleede, tzelve cleet an bede ziden shambochs wapen.

[...]

Bewys van den zelve den hambochte toebehorende [...]

Item, dheer Joos van der Leye heift in zinen handen drie zelvein scalen den hambochte toebehorende, ende dit ter causen van xlvijij s.gr. die hem thambocht sculdich ende tachter es, daer voren dat hy de ij scalen heift, ende de derde als dekin van der gilde heift te bewaren; ende wegghen de voornomde drie scale.

In the year of Our Lord 1479 this book was made and commissioned by the dean and the inspectors, and also by the community of the corporation of the tanners in Bruges, to insert from now on at that which concerns the corporation daily.

In these following pages, one finds all which was then in the chapel and has been added to it since. First, at our altar, a beautiful panel of Our Lady which was given by sir Pieter Bultync in the year thousand four hundred and seventy nine before Easter;(1) and the same Pieter desired that from then on the priest would read a Miserere mei Deus ende De profundis for all souls at the end of each mass of the corporation.

Item at the same altar two metal chandle-holder, a missal bound with two boards covered with red leather.

Item a green chasuble with everything included, to be known: the chasuble of green silk damask fabric, the albs, the amicts, the maniple and the girdle; further the corporal and 1 altar cloth with the arms of the corporation held by two angels [...]

Item also above, 2 curtains in front of Our Lady, with a canvas pair of bands; also in front of St.Bavo, 2 curtains with a pair of bands with white fringes; and all these white fabrics were given by Jacob Dienst's widow; God bless her soul. [...]

Item also in the chapel, a metal holy water font with an asporsory which Joris Beyts virtuously has given to the corporation. [...]

In the corporation's house [...]

Item, above the mantle-piece a beautiful panel with the Coronation of the Virgin, with two red curtains in front of it; item a screen in front, a desk with a folding top, covered with a red cloth, with on both sides of the same cloth the arms of the corporation.[...]

Confirmation of the silverware belonging to the corporation.

[...]

Item, sir Joos van der Leye has in his hands three silver platters belonging to the corporation, and this because the corporation owes him and is in debt 48 s.gr., for which he has two platters, and the third one which he keeps as dean of the guild; and the said three platters weigh.

RAB [present whereabouts unknown](2)

Published: W.H.J. Weale, "Inventaire du mobilier de le Corporation des Tanneurs de Bruges," *Le Beffroi*, II (1864-5), 268-271.

1. *I.e.*, 1480 (n.s.)

2. Weale did not refer to a specific collection in RAB. This document is not mentioned in J. Vandermaesen, *Inventaris van het oud archief der kerkfabriek van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw te Brugge*, Brussels, 1984.

Doc. 144. 1480, 15 August - 1481, 15 August -- *Entries in the accounts of the Confraternity of Our Lady of the Snow relative to Willem Vrelant's funeral and to a new banner.*

[fol. 198v] Ontfaen van dootghelden zint alf aoust anno lxxx tot alf aoust lxxxj [...]

Van Willem Vrelandt iij s. iijj d.gr.

[fol. 199] Betalinghe vander ghilden weghe zint alf houste anno lxxx (1480, 15 August) van
 zielmessen [...]
 Van Willem Vredlandt xx gr.
 [...]
 Item betaelt Jan Fabyaen, de schyldere, up et maken van een nyeuwe vane, die hy leveren zal
 tusschen dit ende Kersmesse ij lb.gr.
 Vor Jan Fabyaen vor tmaken van onze vane als in minderinghe noch hem gheleent de somme
 van ij lb.gr.
 Vor v ellen j alf vierendeel root damast gheghreint ende startelinghen ende de sydelinghe
 van der nyeuwer vane, costende ix s. vj d. delle, makende
 ij lb. viij s. viij d.gr.
 Vor twalf oncen iij susein ziden fringhen van diveerssche colleure om de stertelinghen van
 der vane mids tot belegghenne, te xvij grote donche, dracht in somme
 xix s. j d.gr.
 Vor Jan Fabyaen, de schildre, dat ic (1) hem gaf contanct up tmaken van der vane up de
 Krepelfeeste (2) iij lb.gr.
 Item betaelt Jan Fabyaen als vor reste van tmaczel van der vane mids de bardekens
 x s.gr.

[fol. 198v] *Receipt of death money since 1480, 15 August until 1481, 15 August [...]*
Van Willem Vrelandt 3 s. 4 d.gr.
 [fol. 199] *Payment by the guild since 1480, 15 August of death masses [...]*
Van Willem Vredlandt 20 gr.
 [...]
*Item paid Jan Fabyaen, the painter, for making a new banner, that he will deliver between now and
 Christmas*
 2 lb.gr.
To Jan Fabyaen for making our banner as advance payment lend to him
 2 lb.gr.
*For 5 yards and 1 eight red dyed damask and the ribbons and side fixtures for the new banner, cost 9 s.
 6 d. per yard, makes 2 lb. 8 s. 8 d.gr.*
*For 12 ounces 3 bunches of silk fringes of diverse colors to decorate the ribbons of the banner, at 18 gr.
 an ounce, amounts to 19 s. 1 d.gr.*
*To Jan Fabyaen, the painter, what I gave him cash for making the banner on the feast of the cripples 4
 lb.gr.*
Item paid Jan Fabyaen the remainder for making the banner and the fringes
 10 s.gr.

RAB, *Kerkfabriek O.L.Vrouwe*, no. 1531, *Algemene rekeningen O.L.V.-ter-Sneeuw*, 1467-1499, fols.
 198v-199, 200, 202v, 203.

Published: Schouteet, I, 195 (fols. 200, 202v, 203 only)

1. *I.e.*, Simoen Janssins, dean of the Confraternity in 1480-82.
2. The *krepelfeest* (*i.e.*, feast of the cripples) took place annually on Thursday before Pentecost. See Schouteet, I, 195, n. 382.

Doc. 145. 1480, 15 August - 1481, 15 August -- *Excerpts from the municipal accounts: payments to François vanden Pitte for decorative work; expenditure for a banquet; payment to Maertin Reyngoot for silverware; to Cornelis Bollaert for a map, and to Jan Lanckaert for tapestries.*

[fol. 158] Huutgheven van ghemeenen zaken [...]

Item betaelt Fransoys vanden Pitte, den scildere voor zyn moyte ende aerbeyt van ghemaect thebbene in scilderyen zeven dousinen ende viere scildekins heerlike ghestoffeirt metter wapene vander ghuenen die forestiers gheweist hebben van deser stede toten daghe van heden ende tote dien alle de wapene vanden pryswinders van buten; alle welke wapenen ende scilden hanghende zyn in een tavereel daer toe dienende inden zale vander poorters loge; by appointemente gemaect metten voors. Fransoys

ij lb. gr. (1)

[fol. 162v] Item xvj in decembre betaelt ter causen van eenen heerlike ende costeliken banckette ghegheven boven inden grooten zale vanden scepenhuse onzen harde gheduchten heere ende vrouwe daer dambassade vanden conync van Ingheland, dambassade vanden hertoghe van Bretagne, ende vele andere groote heeren ende vrouwen waren. Voord daer de ghedeputeerde vanden leden slands van Vlaenderen, baillieu, scoutheeten, buerchmeesters, scepenen, raden, ghecomitteerden ende notabelen vergadert waren

lxij lb. vij s. xj d. gr.

Item betaelt Fransoys van den Pitte, den scildere, ter causen van heerlike ghestoffeirt thebbene met vele diverssche manieren van scilderyen zekere entremessen ende andere zaken dienende ten voors. banckette by appointemente by hem ghemaect, iij lb. [gr.]

Item betaelt Maertin Reyngoot ter causen van een zelverin scale weghende xij oncen die verloren was ten voors. banckette ij lb. xiiij s. gr.

[fol. 167v] Item betaelt Fransoys vanden Pitte, den scildre voor zyn moyte, cost ende aerbeyt van vergout thebbene xij loodene bollen staende upde thorren tusschen den minnewatre ende de Bouverye poorte xx s. gr. Item van ghestoffeirt thebbene den leeu staende int werc ten Vlamyncdamme met eender banniere, vj s. Item van drie dousinen scildekins verbesicht ter incomste van mer vrouwe de douagiere, vj s. Item vergout thebbene een tavereel metten wapenen vander stede staende ten Vlamyncdamme, iij s., comt al xxxvj s. gr.

[fol. 170] Item betaelt Jan Lanckaert, tapytsier, ter causen van ghemaect thebbene van xxxij ellen tapytserye verdure diemen hanct in de vierschare tallen dinghedaghen ter eeren vander zelver stede te iij s. gr. delle, comt

ij lb. xiiij s. gr.

[fol. 172] Item betaelt Fransoys vanden Pitte, den scildere ter

[fol. 172v] causen van ghestoffeirt ende ghemaect thebbene twee groote bannieren ende een cleene dienende ten tween trompetten vander stede ende rietpype midsgaders tleveren vander tafta ende j 1/2 once zydin fryngen daer toe verbesicht, ij lb. iiij s.gr.

[fol. 173v] Item, den vj in wedemaend betaelt ter causen van costen ghedaen van eender heerlike maelyt ghegheven den ambassade van den keysere daer bailliu, scoutheeten, buerchmeesters, scepenen ghecommitteirde ende notabelen vergaedert waren xij lb. v s. iiij d.gr.

[fol. 174v] Item betaelt Fransoys van den Pitte, den scildere, ter causen voor zyn cost ende moyte van ghestoffeirt thebbene met scilderyen zoot behoort iiij jonghers stekende boven inde grooten zale vanden scepenhuuse ten tyden dat tbanket ghegheven was den heeren ende ambassade van den keysere, xx s.gr.

[fol. 178v] Item betaelt Cornelis Beelaert (sic), den scildere, vander voors. Plate (2) te scildene ende in pointure te stellene ij s.gr.

[fol. 183] Item acht beilden metten tabernakelen staende vooren in den middele van den scepenhuuse xl lb.gr.

[fol. 184] Item betaelt Fransoys van den Pitte, den scildere, van dat hy ghenomen heift heerlic ende chierlic te stoffeirne ende te maekene van scilderye zoot behoort xij beilden ende daer toe te leverne een steenin beilde ghestoffeirt ghelyc dandere presenterende tpersonnage van wilen zaligher ghedinckenesse de hertoghe Kaerle al staende voor tscepenhuus byden zuudoosthouke vanden zelven huuse. Al welc voors. werc ende leverynghe de voors. Fransoys ghenomen heift te makene by ordinnacie vanden goeden lieden vander wet omme de somme van .c. ende x lb.gr., dus hier hun ghegheven in minderinghyen van dien de somme van xxx lb.gr.

[fol. 158] *Expenditure for ordinary business [...]*

Item paid to Fransoys van den Pitte, the painter, for his effort and work of having made in painting 88 escutcheons delightfully decorated with the arms of all those who have been the 'forestiers' of this city up until now and also the arms of those who won the prize from outside; all these arms and escutcheons are placed in a frame made for that purpose in the room of the Poortersloge; paid as agreed in the contract drawn up with the said Fransoys

3 lb.gr.(1)

[fol. 162v] *Item 16 December, paid for a delightful and expensive banquet given upstairs in the large room of city hall for our very redoubtable lord and lady, attended by the ambassadors of the king of England, the ambassadors of the duke of Bretany and many other noble lords and women. Furthermore, where the deputees of the Members of Flanders, bailiff, sheriff, mayors, aldermen, councillors, representatives and notables were meeting,*

54 lb. 7 s. 11 d.gr.

Item paid to Fransoys van den Pitte, the painter, for having delightfully decorated with paintings in many ways certain 'entremets' and other things shown at the said banquet, as [stipulated in the] contract made with him,

4 lb.[gr.]

Item paid to Maertin Reyngoot for a silver plate weighing 12 ounces that was given at the said banquet

2 lb. 14 s.gr.

[fol. 167v] *Item paid to Fransoys vanden Pitte, the painter for his effort, expenditure and labor of having gilded 12 leaden balls placed on the tower between the 'Minnewater' and the Bouverye gate 20 s.gr. Item for having decorated the lion placed on the work at Vlamyncdamme with a banner, 6 s. Item for three dosins of escutcheons used for the entry of My lady the dowager, 6 s. Item for having gilded a scene with the coat of arms of the city placed at Vlamyncdamme, 4 s., amounts together to*

36 s.gr.

[fol. 170] *Item paid Jan Lanckaert, tapestry maker for 32 yards of tapestries with floral motives that were hung in the court room every day the court is in session to the honor of the city, at 3 s.gr. a yard, amounts to*

2 lb. 14 s.gr.

[fol. 172] *Item paid to Fransoys vanden Pitte, the painter for*

[fol. 172v] *having decorated and made two large banners and a small one used for two trumpets of the city and a shaw, as well as for delivery of silk and 1.5 ounce of silk fringe, used for this purpose, 2 lb. 4 s.gr.*

[fol. 173v] *Item, 6 June, paid for expenditure made for a delightful meal presented to the ambassadors of the Emperor, where the bailiff, sheriff, mayors, aldermen, representatives and notables were meeting,*

12 lb. 5 s. 4 d.gr.

[fol. 174v] *Item paid to Fransoys van den Pitte, the painter, for having decorated with paintings as is appropriate 4 young men who jousted upstairs in the large room of the City Hall during the banquet given to the lords and the ambassadors of the Emperor 20 s.gr.*

[fol. 178v] *Item paid Cornelis Beelaert (sic), the painter, for having painted and mapped the aforementioned Plate*

2

s.gr.

[fol. 183] *Item eight statues with their niche placed in the middle of the main façade of the City Hall 40 lb.gr.*

[fol. 184] *Item paid to Fransoys van den Pitte, the painter, for having delightfully and elegantly decorated and properly made of polychromy 12 statues and for having delivered a stone statue, polychromed like the others, representing the personage of the late duke Charles blessed memory placed on the façade of the city hall near the south eastern corner of the same building. The said Fransoys had promised to do all the said work and delivery on the order of the good men of the law for the sum of 110 lb.gr., so here given as payment towards this sum, 30 xxx lb.gr.*

SAB, *Stadsrekening*, no. 216, 1480-81, fol. 158, 162v, 167v, 170, 172, 172v, 173v, 174v, 178v, 183, 184.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, VI, 203, 479, n. 1, 483, n. 2-4, 484, n. 5 (incomplete and inaccurately); Versyp, 1954, 162-163 (fol. 170 only); Schouteet, I, 64 (178v only).

1. This board with the names and arms of all the 'forestiers' of the Company of the White Bear was written by Reynaut Tilly (see Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, VI, 479.)

2. 'Plate' means the 'Plaatpolder' on the island of Cadzand, see K. de Flou, *Woordenboek der toponymie van Westelijk Vlaanderen...*, XII, kol. 839; M.K.E. Gottschalk, *Historische geografie van Westelijk Zeeuws-Vlaanderen*, Assen, 1958, I, 109; II, 33-34, 82.

Doc. 146. 1480, 15 September - 1481, 14 September -- *Excerpts from the accounts of the Franc: payments for tapestries, tapestry cartoons and heraldic decorations.*

[fol. 149] Lisbette Wouters, weduwe van Iacob Apans, van xliij ellen tapisserien, de welke huere man in zijnen levne bi der wet van den Vrijen besteid waeren te makene in drien sticken, de welke men hanghet in de vierschaere van den Vrijen, te xxxvj gr. delle, comt vj lb. ix s.gr., waerof den voors. Iacob betaelt waeren int iaer lxxix up goede rekeninghe ij lb. x s.gr., dus hier betaelt bij quitantie der voors. Lysbette de reste, bedraghende iij lb. xix s.gr., die maken xlviij lb. viij s.par.

[fol. 150] Cornelis van Scrieke, portere ende scildere in Brugghe, van dat hij ghemaect heeft xxxvj scilden metter wapene van den ambachten int rechte Vrye, staende int camerkin van den ontfanghere van den voors. lande, voor zinen aerbeit ende der leveringhe van der tstoffe daer toe dienende, betaelt xij lb.par.

[fol. 150v] Ian Fabiaen, scildere, van ghemaect te hebbene zekere patroenen van eenen wilde man ende van eenen wilden wive, daer naer dat de tappisserie dienende in de vierschaere van den Vrijen ghemaect was, betaelt bi ordonnancie van der camere hier betoocht viij s.gr., die maken iiij lb. xvj s.par.

[fol. 149] *Lisbette Wouters, widow of Iacob Apans, for 44 yards of tapestries, that her husband while still alive was commissioned to make by the law of the Franc in three pieces, which will be hung in the court room of the Franc, at 36 gr. a yard, amounts to 6 lb. 9 s.gr., of which the said Iacob has already been paid in the year 79 on good account 2 lb. 10 s.gr., therefore paid here according to the receipt of the said Lysbette, the remainder, being 3 lb. 19 s.gr., equals 47 lb. 8 s.par.*

[fol. 150] *Cornelis van Scrieke, burgher and painter of Bruges, for having made 36 escutcheons with the arms of the territories of the Franc, placed in the small room of the receiver of the said land, for his labor and for delivery of the materials needed for that, paid*

12 lb.par.

[fol. 150v] *Ian Fabiaen, painter, for having made certain models of a wild man and a wild woman, after which the tapestry for the court room of the Franc was made, paid at the ordonnance of the court, as shown here, 8 s.gr., equals* 4 lb. 16 s.par.

RAB, *Fonds van het Vrije*, no. 217: *Rekeningen van het Vrije*, 1480-81, fol. 149, 150, 150v.

Published: Weale, *Franc*, 80-81, n. 34, 36.

Doc. 147. 1481 -- *Payments recorded in the accounts of St. Donatian's to Henricus Michaelis for a wooden statue and to Johannes de Vico for illumination in a dicant book.*

[fol. 14] Extradatum in diversis usibus [...]

[fol. 15] Item Henrico Michaelis et socio suo, sculptoribus ex ligno, pro ymagine beati Donatiani et eius tabernaculo xiiij lb. viij s.[par.]

[...]

[fol. 16v] Item solutum Johanni de Vico illuminatori librorum pro xxj historiis in libro magno discantus per eum facto xiiij lb. viij s.par.

Item eidem eidem (a.) pro mille litteris floratis in dicto libro pro centenario l s., valet xxv lb.par.

Item eidem pro coloratione aliarum literarum capitalium per totum librum, et rasura linearum ubi dicte litere floreate posite sunt xlviij s.[par.]

[fol. 14] *Expenditure of diverse nature [...]*

[fol. 15] *Item Henrico Michaelis and his assistant, wood sculptors, for a statue of the Blessed Donatian and its niche 14 lb. 8 s.[par.]*

[...]

[fol. 16v] *Item paid to Johannes de Vico, illuminator of books, for 21 miniatures in a large discant book, done by him 14 lb. 8 s.par.*

Item the same for thousand floral initials in the said book, at 50 s. for hundred, makes 25 lb.par.

Item the same for coloring of all other initials in the whole book, and for erasing the ruling where the said floral initials are placed 48 s.[par.]

a. *eidem* repeated unnecessarily.

BAB, *St. Donaas, Rekeningen van de kerkfabriek*, no. G.6, 1481, fol. 14, 15, 16v.

Published: Dewitte, 1978, 93 (fragmentarily).

Doc. 148. 1481, 2 September - 1482, 1 September -- *Excerpts from the municipal accounts: payments to Lodewyc Utervuerst and to Gheeraerd Haec for silverware; expenditure for a banquet.*

[fol. 151] Huutgheven van ghemene zaken

[fol. 153] Item betaelt Lodewyc Utervuerst, den goutsmit, ter causen van ghemaect thebbene een zelverin scale poederpeere ende twee lepels tsamen weghende xij oncen iiij inghelschen

min, te iiiij s. vj d. gr. de once, comt midsgaders iiiij s.gr. van fatsoene ij lb. xvij s. j d.gr., de welke parcheelen ghegheven den drien scoonst vierende als de jonghe prinsesse gheboren was, dus hier de voors. ij lb. xvij s. j d.gr.

[fol. 157] Item xiiij in lauwe betaelt ter causen van eenen scoone heerlicken en costeliken banckette ghegheven boven in den grooten zale van den scepenhuuse onzen harde gheduchten heere ende vrouwe, daer mijn heere van Bevere, myn heere van Ravestein, myn heere vanden Gruuthuse ende vele andere heeren ende vrouwen waren. Voord de bailliu, scoutheeten, buerchmeesters, scepenen, raden, ghecommitteirde ende de notabelen vergadert waren,

lxxiiij lb. xviiij s. vij d.gr.

Item betaelt Gheeraerd Haec, den goutsmit, ter causen van drie zelverin croesen by hem ghemaect weghende ij maerc v oncen ende iij inghelschen die van den zelve datter ontleent was ten voors. banckette verloren waren, coste mids den fautsone, iij lb. xviiij s. ij d.gr.

[fol. 151] *Expenditure of ordinary business*

[fol. 153] *Item paid to Lodewyc Utervuerst, the goldsmith, for having made a silver plate, a powderbox and two spoons, weighing all together 12 ounces 4 english, at 4 s. 6 d.gr. an ounce, amounts to, together with 4 s.gr. for the fabrication, 2 lb. 17 s. 1 d.gr., which was given to those who celebrated best when the young princess was born, so here the said*

2 lb. 17 s. 1 d.gr.

[fol. 157] *Item 13 January, paid for a beautiful, delightful and expensive banquet given upstairs in the large room of city hall to our very redoubtable lord and Lady, where mylord of Bevere, mylord of Ravestein, mylord of Gruuthuse and many other lords and ladies were present. And also the bailiff, sheriff, mayors, aldermen, councillors, representatives, and notables,*

73 lb. 18 s. 7 d.gr.

Item paid to Gheeraerd Haec, the goldsmith, for 3 silver mugs made by him, weighing 2 marc 5 ounces and 3 english made of silver that was borrowed, and presented at the aforementioned banquet, that cost the work included,

4 lb. 18 s. 2 d.gr.

SAB, *Stadsrekeningen*, no. 216, 1481-82, fol. 151, 153, 157.

Published: Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Inventaire*, VI, 215 (inaccurately).

Doc. 149. 1481, 15 September - 1482, 26 April -- Payment to Jan Hughezuene for escutcheons with the arms of the Bruges Franc.

[fol. 117] Janne filius Hughe, de schildere, van xij schildekins by hem ghemaect metter wapene van den Vryen als mer Jan, heere van der Vichte, ruddere ende burchmeester van der commune slandts van den Vryen zalegher memorien overleden was van deser weerelt

ende ute deser stede ghevoert was ter Vichtewaert dat men begraven soude, betaelt
xxiiij s.[par.]

[fol. 117] *Janne filius Hughe, the painter, for 12 escutcheons made by him with the arms of the Franc, when Sir Jan, Lord of Vichte, Knight and mayor of the Land of the Franc blessed memory, had separated from this world and was carried out of this city towards Vichte, [where he] would be burried, paid* 24 s.[par.]

RAB, *Fonds van het Vrije*, no. 218: *Rekening van het Vrije*, 1481-82, fol. 117.

Published: Schouteet, I, 273.

Doc. 150. 1482, 26 April - 13 September -- *Excerpt from the accounts of the Franc: payment to Francois van de Pitte for polychromy of a statue.*

[fol. 79] *Betalinghe van refection ende reparacien [...]*

[fol. 80] *Franchoys van den Putte, schilledere ende poortere te Brugghe, van dat hij verschildet, ghestoffeert, ende verguldt heeft der beilde van Onser Vrouwen*

[fol. 80v] *staende in de camere van den Vrijen, betaelt, bij ordonnancie van der camere hier betoocht, vij lb.gr., die maken* iiij^{xx} iiij lb. par.

[fol. 79] *Payment of renewals and repairs [...]*

[fol. 80] *Franchoys van den Putte, painter and burgher of Bruges, for having painted, decorated and gilt the statue of Our Lady*

[fol. 80v] *placed in the room of the Franc, paid, at the ordonnance of the court, as shown here, 7 lb.gr., equals*

84 lb.par.

RAB, *Fonds van het Vrije*, no. 219:
Rekeningen van het Vrije, 1482, fol. 80.

Published: Weale, *Franc*, 80, n. 32.

Doc. 151. 1482, 16 October -- *Contract written by Jan Hughezuene, in which he promises to gild a crucifix for Roderigo Disifontis from Spain.*

Ic, Jan Hughezuene, de scildre, hebbe coop ende voorwaerde ghemaect met Rodrigo Disifontis, Spanjaer, van eenen cruse metter wederhane ende twee beckene te vergoudene

van finen dobbel goude, achtervolghende myn patroon, die ic ghegheven hebbe an deselve Rodrigo, wel te verstane al dat looverve of blomme wel te vergoudene al van fine doble goude, also wel vergoud als de tyraelye van Martin Lem of betre van fyn dobbel goude. Dit was ghedaen den xvjsten dach in octobre anno lxxxij, ter kennesse van myn [painter's mark]

I, Jan Hughezuene, the painter, have received the commission and made the agreement with Rodrigo Disifontis, Spaniard, to gild a crucifix with a weathercock and two plates with fine double gold, following my design, that I presented to the same Rodrigo, to be understood correctly, to gild all the leaves or flowers with fine double gold, done as well or better than the fence of Martin Lem with fine double gold.

This was done the 16th day of October, the year 82, by my knowledge [painter's mark]

SAB, *Spaans Consulaat*, no. 304,
charter no. 193.

Published: L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Cartulaire de l'ancien consulat d'Espagne à Bruges*, II, Bruges, 1902, 516 (summary); Schouteet, I, 273.

Doc. 152. 1482, 15 September - 1483, 15 September --*Payment to a carpenter in which the statue of Our Lady in the room of the Franc is mentioned.*

[fol. 88] Betalinghe van refection ende reparacien an svoors. slands husynghen ghedaen binder tydt van deser rekeninghe [...]

[fol. 89v] Item Wouters, themmerman vanden lande, van ghemaect ende ghelevert te hebbene inde camere vanden lande vanden Vryen een cassyn ende een veynstere staende ande zuudsyde vander zelve camere bider beilde van onser Vrouwen etc., betaelt voor stoffe ende handwerc, vj s.gr., die maken iij lb. xij s.[par.]

[fol. 88] *Payment of the renewals and repairs done in the said houses of the land within the period of these accounts*

[...]

[fol. 89v] *Item Wouters, the carpenter of the Land, for having made and delivered in the room of the land of the Franc, a window-sill and a window in the south side of the same room next to the statue of Our Lady etc., paid for materials and work, 6 s.gr., worth 3 lb. 12 s.[par.]*

RAB, *Fonds van het Vrije*, no.220: *Rekeningen van het Vrije*, 1482-83, fol. 88, 89v.

[unpublished]

Doc. 153. 1483, 4 May - 12 August -- *Contract between Pieter van den Dike, glazier, and Rodigo de Cifuntes, Spanish merchant, concerning stained glass windows in the chapel of the Spanish merchants in the church of the Franciscans.*

[recto] Ic, Pieter vanden Dike, glazemekere, kenne an ghenomen hebben jeghen Rodigo de Cifuntes, coepman van Spaenghe, huter name vanden nacie van Spainghe, vijf glazeveystren die staen zullen ten observanten inde capelle vanden vorseyder nacie waer of ic hebben zal te weetene vanden meeste veystre tien pont groten, ende vande andre vierre van elc vijf pont groten, ende ic, Pietre vanden Dike voerseyt, belove de meeste veystre ende noch twee veystren daer toe te leveren alle drie bin drie maenden naer Sinsche (1) nu heest commende ende waert by also dat ic in ghebreke ware ende nie in ghestelt ten daghe zo en soudic niet meer ontfaen dan achte pont groten vander meeste veystre ende vier pont groten van dandre veystren vanden sticke. Dies ben ic hoet ghe houden dandre twee veystren te leverene bin den termin van twee maenden daer naer volghenden ende waert by also dat ic niet en levere ten daghe zo en soude ic niet mer ontfaen dan viere pont groten vande sticke. Dies zo es Rodigo ghehouden min ghelt te ghevene ter stont als ic in ghestelt hebbe van dat ic leveren sal. Ende voert ben ic, Pietre voerseyt, ghehouden ende belove te makene een veystre binder selve voerwaerde met den timmere ende wapene van Spaeynghe in een oritoere staende inde kerke vanden observanten ende alt voersejde wercx moet also goed zin of betere als dandere veystren die inde voersejde cappelle staen ende belove alt voersejde wercx ghetrauwelic ende wel te diene in kennesse hebbic Pietre voerseyt dese cedule ghescreven met mynder hant ende ghetekent met min hantekene den vierden dach in mey a^{nno} lxxxiiij ende ic hebbe beloeft ende bevoerwaert dat dese vijf veystren ghemaect sin sullen vander selver hant dat dandre veystren sin die inde capelle staen.

(signed) P.(2) D.

[verso] Ic, Pietre vanden Dike, kenne ontfaen hebbene van Pieter de Zalemanckre de somme van v lb.gr. ter minderinghe vander voerseyder wercke des briefs in houts
Ic, Pietre vanden Dike, hebbe noch ontfaen up et zelve wercx de somme van x lb. groten ende dese tiene ponden gro. hebben ic ontfanghen van Alonsche Delegrone, buersier vande Spaenyaert den xij^{sten} in houst anno lxxxiiij.

[recto] I, Pieter vanden Dike, glazier, acknowledge to have accepted from Rodigo de Cifuntes, merchant from Spain, in the name of the Spanish Nation, five stained glass windows, which will be placed at the Observants in the chapel of the said nation, for which I will receive, to be known for the large window ten pounds groats, and for the four others, five pounds groats each, and I, the said Pietre vanden Dike, promise to deliver the large window and two other windows, all three of them, within three months after this following Pentecost,(1) and in case that I fail and would not have [delivered them] within the agreed period, I will not receive more than eight pounds groats for the large window and four pounds groats for the others per piece. Therefore I have to deliver the two other windows within the term of two months thereafter, and in case I fail to deliver, I will not receive more than four pounds a piece. Furthermore, Rodigo has to give me the money as soon as I have placed them upon

delivery. And further, I, the said Pietre, have to and promised to make a window upon the same conditions, with the blazoned coat of arms of Spain in an oratory located in the church of the Observants, and all of the aforementioned work has to be as good or better than those that are already in the chapel, and promise to make all the said work and serve loyally. Aware of all this, I, the said Pietre have written this charter with my own hand and signed it with my signature, the forth day of May in the year 1483, and I have promised and agreed that these five windows will be made by the same hand as the other windows in the same chapel.

(signed) P.(2) D.

[verso] *I, Pietre vanden Dike, acknowledge to have received from Pieter de Zalemanckre the sum of 5 lb. gr. as partial payment for the works included in this letter*

I, Pietre vanden Dike, acknowledge to have received for the same work the sum of 10 lb. groats and I have received these ten pounds groats from Alonsche Delegrone, treasurer of Spain, the 12th August in the year 1483.

Original, paper.

SAB, *Spaans Consulaat*, no. 304, charter no. 36.

[Unpublished](3)

1. As Easter was celebrated in 1483 on 30 March (Strubbe & Voet, 127), Pentecost was held on 18 May, which is two weeks after this contract was made up. This establishes the deadline for delivery on 18 August 1483.
2. Between P. and D., housemark.
3. Mentioned by L. Gilliodts-Van Severen, *Cartulaire de l'ancien Consulat d'Espagne à Bruges*, Bruges, 1901, 124.

Doc. 154. 1483, 31 December -- *Payment to Cornelis Tielman for the sepulchre of Anselmus Adornes and Margaretha van der Banck in the Jerusalem Chapel*

[fol. 170] 1483, 31 decembris. Van de steerfhuuse Adornes byder handt [...]

Item an Cornelis Tielman over de sepultuere van (a.) myn heere ende myn vrouwe adornes volghende de voorwaerde van my (1) ende heere Arnoudt, 17 lb. gr.

[fol. 170] 1483, 31 December. *Of the mortuary of Adornes at hand [...]*

Item to Cornelis Tielman for the sepulchre of mylord and mylady Adornes according to the contract by me (1) and lord Arnoudt, 17 lb. gr.

a. *heere* crossed out

SAB, *De Limburg Stirum*, no. 513, *Adornes*, no. 39 (2), *Cartularium van Jan Adornes*, fol. 170.

[Unpublished]

1. *I.e.*, Jan Adornes.
2. N. Geirnaert, *Het archief van de familie Adornes en de Jeruzalemstichting te Brugge*, I, Bruges, 1987, 21, no. 39.

Doc. 155. 1485, 2 December -- *The chapter of St. Donatian's grants its permission to hang a painting next to Gilles Joye's tomb in the sacristy of the church*

[fol. 90v] Actum in capitulo ordinario presidentum duo decano fecit scripta in cristianum festi sancti Eligij decembris secunda

Ad justantum executorum testamenti quondam dominum Egidij Joye concessum est asserem repuntationis sue in pictura appendi iuxta eius sepulturam in sanctuario

[fol. 90v] *In the regular chapter meeting presided by two deans this act has been written on the christian feast of saint Eloy, 2 December*

At the request of the executors of the testament of the late sir Gilles Joye, the privilege was granted to hang a painting next to his tomb in the sanctuary

BAB, Fonds St. Donaas, Acta Capituli,
A.56, fol.90v

Published: R. Strohm, *Music in late Medieval Bruges*, Oxford, 1983, 154, n.62 (fragmentary).

Doc. 156. 1486, 3 December -- *The heirs of Giambattista d' Agnelli transfer his chapel in St. James's to the corporation of the chair-makers and the candle-makers.*

Wy Jan vander Meersch, priester, deken van kerstenede [...] (1) bij eerbaren ende wysen onzen lieven ende beminde prochiaen Baptisten de lagnello ende bij jouffrouwe Yeven der dochtere van Willem Wyshinc, zijnder gheselnede, hebben te huerlieder neestegher bede ende verzouke hem beeden gheconsenteirt ende by desen onzen lettren alnoch consenteren te laten stellene ende te laten funderene in de zelve kerke eenen outaer ende eenen sepulturen van twee lichaemen daer vooren deen neffens den anderen thuerlieder beede naermaels ghetauwelic descenderende behouf. Ende dit int noordwest hende vander voors. kerken anden achtersten pilaer onder dorghelwezen zal omme by hem beeden huerlieder kinderen ende voort der generacie ende afcomste van dien ghetauwelyc ghedescendeert zynde den zelve outaer de vryhede ende trecht daer of te laten ghebrukene nu ende ten eeuweghen tyden zonder yemend al meer eenich recht oft vryhede daer an te moghen hebbene zonder

tweten oft consent van ons oft van onzen naercomers vander zelve kerken weghe. Behouden dies dat de voors. Baptiste zyne gheselnede huerlieder kinders oft de generacie van hemlieder hier naermaels ghedescendeirt zynde, altoos ghehouden zullen zyn ter causen vander vryghede ende onzen consente voors. dat zyn den zelve outaer eerlyken ende tamelike zullen doen houden ende onderhouden als van ornamenten, tafle, dwalen, gordine, keilcten, boucken, ende van waslichte ghelucht ten hoghen tyden ghelyc andere outaers inde voors. voorkerke staende als nu doen [...] (2)

Bij haren propren wille wel ghedelibreert ende beraden zo zy zeiden in alder beste vorme weghe cause ende manniere dat zy mochten ende hemlieden gheoorloft was niet bedwonghen of ghedraghen maer in vermeersinghe van gods dienste ende ter salicheden van svoors. baptisten ende jouffrauwe Yeven haerlieder voorders ende alle kerstene zielen, gaven asigneerden, transporteerden ende updroughen reaellie ende by ghifte in effecte den deken ende ghezwoorne vanden voors, ambochte ende svoors. dekens, ghezwoorne ende ambochts behouf ende ghebruuc ter wegghen, daghen, de zelve lettren met den voornomden outaer zo hy ten daghe van hedent ghestaen es met tafle, caenwets, bouc, kelc, abyten ende andere juweelen, daer toe zynde ende gheordonneert ende ooc de helft vander voorn. gheruwe tafel ende met alle haerlieder crachten [...] (3)

We Jan vander Meersch, priest, dean of christendom [...] (1)

to honorable and wise, our dear and beloved parishioner Baptisten de lagnello and to lady Yeven the daughter of Willem Wyshinc, his wife, [we] have approved to both of them, in accordance to their diligent request and desire, a approve by this our present letter to erect and found in the same church an altar and a sepulchre for two bodies in front of it, one next to the other, for usage of the descendants from their marriage. And this will be at the north western end of the said church at the pillar in the back underneath the organ. The same altar, the privilege, and the rights to use it now until eternity is [granted to] them, their children, and further to the generation of their legal descendants, and nobody else will have the privilege and rights to it without knowledge and consent of us or our successors of the same church. With the restriction that the said Baptiste, his wife, their children, or the generation of their descendants, in accordance to the privilege and our said consent, always will have to maintain the said altar properly and furnish it with ornaments, altarpiece, altarcloths, curtains, chalices, books, and wax candle light during high mass, like all the other altars in the said front of the church [...] (2)

By their own desire well deliberated and considered like they said in the very best format and manner that they were authorized and that they were allowed, and not forced or compelled, but to increase God's service, and to the blessing of the said Baptisten and lady Yeven, their forefathers, and all the christian souls, they actually gave, assigned, translated and dedicated, which immediately takes effect by this gift, to the dean and sworn of the said corporation and to the usage of the said dean, sworn and corporation, the same letter with the aforementioned altar as it stands their presently with altarpiece, canvas, book, chalice, frocks and other jewels, as well as half of the said cabinet [...] (3)

RAB, *Oud Kerkarchief, St. Jacobs, charters*, no. 443 (regist no. 569, 595)

Published: Rotsaert, 1975, 126 (fragmentary)

1. Approval given to Giambattista d'Agnelli by priest and churchwardens for the foundation of the chapel and a sepulcher, dated 1 February 1477. This is a copy of an original charter, see W. Rombauts, *Het oud archief van de kerkfabriek van Sint-Jacob te Brugge (XIIIde-XIXde eeuw)*, I, Brussels, 1986, 125, no. 525.
2. Charter approving the installation of a cabinet in the chapel to preserve altar ornaments and ecclesiastic implements, dated 12 October 1482. The original of this charter is lost.
3. Actual transferral of the chapel and its contents.

Doc. 157. 1487, 14 March -- *Agreement between Adriana de Vos, Donaes de Moor's widow, and the representatives of the lamb's wool and felt workers and furriers regarding the supervision of the maintenance of the chapel Donaes de Moor had founded in the church of St. James.*

[fol.18v] Wij Jan Vander Mersch, deken vanden lamwerkers, Joos Coupaert, Jan de Rover, vinders, Jacob vander Wulghe, deken vanden wiltwerkers ende graeuwerkers, Francois Bouvelin, Cornelis Sanders ende Colaerde le Mauwin, vinders, Jan Marant, Pieter van Remslede, Phelips Bitebloc, Hoste vanden Rade, Boudin vander Cruce, Jan Kerweel, Willem Sprooc, Toussain Davennes, onderlyngheers ende alle tghemeene vanden voorn. ambochten in Brugghe in dien tyden over ons ende alle onse naercommers wij inde voors. ambochten hier naermaels wesende de zelve ambochten presenterende ende vervanghende, doen te wetene allen den ghenen die dese onse lettren zullen zien of hooren lesen, ute dien dat het ghelieft heift eersame wijze ende voorsieneghe joncvrouwe Adriane Jacob Vos dochtere, Donaes de Moors wedewe, poortesse in Brugghe als de ghuene die gheheelic ende al ghebleven was ende es byder verdeelinghe ghemaec tusschen haer ende allen den aeldyngheers ende deelnemers van alle de goede ghebleven naer den dood vanden voorn. Donaes de Moor in allen baten van in schulden ende lasten van huutschulden ghebleven ooc naer de dood vanden voorn. Donaes de Moor, haer man, was ende als de ghuene die vulcommen wilde testament ende uterste wille vanden voorn. Donaes de Moor also dat wel naer vulcomene hadde ende te dien hende dat tghuendt dat de zelve joncvrouwe Adriane, ondre andre zaken ghefondeirt ende bestelt hadde binnen de prochiekerke van Sint Jacopskerke in Brugghe te bet ende vulcommelicker eeuwelicker ende tallen daghen onderhouden zoude zoude (a.) worden ons ende in onsen handen te ghevene in ghoeden ghereeden ghelde ende ghetelden penynghe de somme van zeven ponden ende viere scellinghen groten Vlaemscher munten omme daer mede te coopene zesse scellinghen grooten eeuwelicke ende ervelicke renten tsiaers [...](1)

[fol.19v] So eist dat wij dekens, vijnders, onderlyngheers ende ghemeene vanden voornomden ambochten over ons ende alle onze naercommers vry in de voorn. ambochten hier naermaels wesende mids dat de voorn. joncvrouwe Adriane ghetransporteirt ghegheven ende upghedreghen heift den dischmeesters vander zelve kerke van Sint Jacobs tsvoors. dischs behouf eene capelle onlanx van nieuws ghesticht ende ghefondeirt bijden zelve Donaes de Moor ende joncvrouwe Adriane voors. met ende van hueren propren ghoede ende die vertsiert ende verghift met vele scoone juweelen, ornamenten ende anders zoo dat ooc

claerdere ende breedere blyct by zekere lettren van transpoorte ende opdracht vander cappelle daer zynde belooft hebben ende by desen lettren al noch beloven eeuwelicke ende tallen daghen te doen ende te doen doene alle de punten ende artiklen hier onder ghescreven ende naervolghende. Ende eerst zo zullen wij ende alle onze naercommers alle daghen toezien of de dischmeesters nu ende hier naermaels zijnde vander zelve kerke eeuwelicke aervelicke daghelicx inde voorn. cappelle staende binnen den voors. kerke van Sint Jacobs buuten den hooghen choore oost vander zelve kerke tusschen der muure vanden capelle vanden voornomden onsen ambachten van buten te strate waert of een zyde ende der muure vanden nieuwen choore

[fol.20] vander zelve kerke ooc van buuten ter straten waert of ander zyde alzo streckende zuud ende noord neffens der straten tusschen den choore ende der voors. cappelle doen lesen ende celebreren eene lesende messe of ooc de priester ende cappellaen vander zelve daghelicxsche lesen de messe naer dat hij de voorn. lesende messe daghelicx ghelesen ende ghecelebrert zal hebben daeghelicx ghaet ghegheerent in zijn albe ende stole met quispele ende speerswatre ten grave vanden voornomde Donaes de Moor, ende of hij al daer daghelicx leist den psallem De Profundis metten collecten daer toe dienende over allen zielen. Item of de dischmeesters nu ende hier naermaels wesende tallen daghen de voorn. cappelle gheaesdich houden ende wel te ghereicx van wynde van watre, muraelgen, glaesveinsteren ende anders naer behoorte ende betaemt. Ende insghelycx ooc of de voorn. dischmeesters nu ende hier naermaels wesende houden wel torde te ghereicx alle de ornamenten, outaercleederen, casulen, beilden, alben, maniplen, stolen, cortinen, keilct, bove, ampullen, paesbert, candelaers ende anders inde voors. cappelle nu ende hier naermaels wesende [...](2)

[fol.21] In oorcondscepe van welken dijnghe hebben wij dese lettren ghedaen zeghelen metten zeghele vanden voorn. ambochten metten welke zij ghecostumeert zijn alle onze voorwarden verbanden ende kennessen den voorn. ambochten aenghaende. Dit was ghedaen int jaer ons heeren duust vierhondert zesse ende tachtentich upten veertiensten dach van Maerte.(3)

[fol.18v] *We, Jan Vander Mersch, dean of the 'lambworkers,' (4) Joos Coupaert, Jan de Rover, inspectors, Jacob vander Wulghe, dean of the felt workers and furriers, Francois Bouvelin, Cornelis Sanders and Colaerde le Mauwin, inspectors, Jan Marant, Pieter van Remslede, Phelips Bitebloc, Hoste vanden Rade, Boudin vander Cruce, Jan Kerweel, Willem Sprooc, Toussain Davennes, representatives and the whole community of the said corporations in Bruges, at this time, in our name and in the name of our successors who will be part of and representing the said corporation in the future, announce to all those who will see our letter or will hear it being read, that it has pleased the honorable, wise and foreseeing lady Adriane, daughter of Jacob Vos, widow of Donaes de Moor, citizen of Bruges, as for what remained after the division made between her and all the heirs and participants of all the possessions that were left after the death of the said Donaes de Moor, as well as all the remaining debts after the death of the said Donaes de Moor, her husband, and as the one who wanted to execute the testament and last will of the aforementioned Donaes de Moor, so that everything would be fulfilled well, but also in order to safeguard completely and perpetually that which the same Lady Adriane herself had founded and commissioned, among others within the parish church of Saint*

James in Bruges. [Therefore] she has given us in cash, the sum of seven pounds and four shilling gr.VI. to buy a perpetual annual hereditary interest of six shilling gr. [...](1)

[fol.19v] Therefore, we, deans, inspectors, representatives and the whole community of the said corporations, acknowledge, in our name and the name of all our successors who will be free members in the said corporations in the future, that the said lady Adriane has submitted, given and dedicated to the masters of the pauper's table of the same church of St.James for the usage of the said table, a chapel, founded very recently by the same donaes de Moor and the said lady Adriane, with their own possessions, and that they had it decorated and furnished with many beautiful jewels, ecclesiastic implements and so forth, which is described clearly and in detail in certain letters of submission and dedication of the chapel, in which they have promised and in this very letter, she still promises to adhere perpetually to all the points and articles mentioned here under and hereafter. First of all, we and all our successors will see to it daily whether the present and future masters of the table have perpetually a mass read and celebrated in the said chapel, situated in the said church of St.James, outside the high choir, at the eastside of the same church, between the walls of the chapel of our said corporation at the street side at one side, and the walls of the new choir

[fol.20] of the same church also at the street side at the other, stretching in southern and northern direction along the side of the street between the choir and the said chapel, and whether the priest and chaplain after having read the same daily mass, will go to the tomb of the said Donaes de Moor, dressed in surplice and cope, with aspergillum and holy water, and whether he reads there every day the psalm De Profundis with the collection for all souls. Also whether the present and future masters of the table will keep up the said chapel at all times, furnished with wine and water, wall, windows and all the rest as it is appropriate. And also whether the said masters of the table, the present ones as well as the ones in the future, will keep up at all times all the ecclesiastic implements, altar cloths, chasubles, statues, surplices, maniples, copes, curtains, chalice, ampulas, easter board, chandeliers and all the rest in the said chapel, which is or will be kept there. [...](2)

[fol.21] Considering all this, we have sealed this letter with the seal of the said corporations, with which they are used to seal all the conditions, contracts and aknowledgegments that pertain to the said corporations. This was done in the year of our Lord 1486, on the 14th day of March.(3)

a. 'zoude' copied twice.

SAB, Peltiers, no.345, lias 45, cartularium, entitled: *Desen bouck deden maken Donaes de Moer int jaer ons heeren m cccc ende lxx* (Donaes de Moor had this book made in the year of our Lord 1470), fol. 18v-21.

[Unpublished]

1. Follows a list of other fundations.
2. List of other obligations of maintenance of the chapel, such as regular furnishing of candles, the times the bells have to be rung, times of discant masses, etc.
3. *I.e.*, 14 March 1487 (n.s.).
4. People who line clothes with lamb's wool, cf. Verdam, 320, s.v. *Lammerijnwerker*.

Doc. 158. 1488, August -- *Excerpts from an inventory of art objects in St. Donatian's*

[p. 1] Inventarium iocalium ecclesie sancti Donatiani Brugensis, vasorum sacrorum, reliquiarum sanctorum et sanctarum Dei, capparum, pannorum preciosorum, ornamentorum et quamplurium aliorum inferius narrandorum, que habentur et esse debent in sanctuario dicte ecclesie sub custodia et tutela maioris custodis, qui ea suo periculo habet custodire, visitata per dominos decanum et capitulum infra octavas Assumptionis gloriose Virginis Marie,(1) anno Domini millesimo quodringentesimo octavesimo octavo, cum pondere eorundem iocalium et vasorum etiam et taxillorum et spillarum ad cappas servientium, in presentia venerabilium dominorum et magistrorum Laurentii de Ligno, fabrice receptoris, Richardi de Yzembeerghe, maioris custodis, et Petri Claeissins, clerici sanctuarii, simul annotato et ad marchas trechente estimato. Actum in mense augusti anni eiusdem.(2)

[p. 2] Item una argentea ymagino sancti Donatiani deaurata, cum cruce et rota quam dedit dominus Symon Coene, capellanus dicte ecclesie et est ponderis septem marcharum, duarum uncharum, quatuordecim sterlignorum

[p. 4] Item caput sancti Johannis usque ad scapulas argenteum, cuius pedes sunt quatuor leones argentei deaurati, ponderis vigintiduarum marchium, unius unchie, octodecim sterlignorum

Item, brachium Sancti Machuti in argento, cum custodia cristallina innitens quatuor leonculis deauratis, ponderis novem marcharum, septem uncharum

Item, unum philaterium argenteum deauratum cum pipa cristallina in modum turris, in cuius summitate est crux et in tabernaculo ymago Sancti Georgii quod dedit magister Georgius de Pala, suis armis insignitum, ponderis trium marcharum, unius unchie

[p. 9] Item una coppa argentea deaurata de lapide viridi serpentino, cum pede et duabus pipis argenteis deauratis coperculo alto argenteo deaurato intus habens arma quondam Henrico Clapdorp, canonici, donatoris cuius manubrium est ymago sancti Salvatoris; et est eadem coppa sine pipis cooperculo ponderis quinque marcharum, quatuor uncharum, et cooperculum ac pipe duarum marcharum, septem uncharum

[p. 1] *Inventory of the treasures of the church of Saint Donatian in Bruges, of holy recipients, relics of holy men and women of God, copes, precious fabrics, ornaments and other things described hereunder, that belong to and are placed in the sanctuary of the said church under the custody and care of the head custodians, whose risk it is to guard them, inspected by the lords dean and chapter, during the octave following the Assumption of the glorious Virgin Mary,(1) in the year of our Lord thousand four hundred eighty eight, with the weights of these treasures and recipients and with the vases set with precious stones and the copes, in the presence of the honorable lords and masters Laurentius de Ligne, receiver of the office of the works, Richard de Yzembeerghe, head of the supervisors, and et Pieter Claeissins, clerk of the sanctuary, simultaneously annotated and estimated at three hundred marks. Done in the month of August in the said year.(2)*

[p. 2] *Item a silver gilt statue of Saint Donatian with a crucifix and a wheel, which was given by sir Symon Coene, chaplain of the said church and which weighs seven mark, two ounces and fourteen sterling*

[p. 4] *Item, a head of Saint John with silver at the back, which feet are four silver gilt lions, weighing twenty-two mark, one ounce and eighteen sterling*

Item, the arm of Saint Machute in silver, with crystal boxes, resting on four little gilt lions, weighing nine mark, seven ounces

Item, a silver gilt reliquary, with a cylindrical crystal in the form of a turret, with on top a crucifix and in the tabernacle a statue of Saint George, which was given by master Joris van der Paele, adorned with his arms, weighing three mark, one ounce

[p. 9] *Item, a silver gilt mug with greenish serpentine stones on a foot and with two silver gilt crystals, with and old silver gilt lid, in which the arms are inscribed of Henric Clapdorp, canon, donor, of which the handle is the image of the Holy Savior; and this mug weighs without the cylinders and the lid five mark, four ounces, and the lid and cylinders two mark, seven ounces*

BAB, *St. Donaas, Kerk en Kapittel*, no. A. 103, old nos. 8, original, parchment, 20 fols., paginated; copy: BAB, *St. Donaas, Kerk en Kapittel*, no. A. 103, old no. 7; also parchment 16 fols., paginated.

Published: Weale, *Inventaires Saint Donatien*, 12, 14, 22-23 (fragmentarily); Derolez, *Corpus*, 58-60 (fragmentarily, only references to manuscripts).

1. This is the week after the Assumption of the Virgin, or 16-22 August; see Strubbe & Voet, 182.
2. For a codicological discussion of this manuscript and a copy of it, see Derolez, *Corpus*, 56-58.

Doc. 159. 1495, 15 August (after -) -- *Excerpts of the inventory of the treasury of the Confraternity of the Dry Tree.*

[fol. 9] Verclaers vanden juweelen, helichdome, ornamenten ende andre zaken toebehorende de ghilde vanden droogheboome.

Eerst een selverin vergouden keilct ghestoffeert ende een missael met zelverin sloten wylen ghegheven by juffrouwe Helena Vilains Fleurentine.

Item een zelverin verguldin keilct ghestoffeert ende een missael diemen daghelicx besicht.

Item een zelverin vergulden boom verwappent metter wapen van Colaert Daut Doude.

Item noch een zelverin boom daermen daghelicx mede zegnt.

Item een zelverin plateel metter almaude vander beilde van Marie.

Item een roode goude laken cappe ghegheven van myn vrouwe Marie van Bourgoigne [...](1)

[fol. 9] *Declaration of the jewels, reliquairies, decorations and other things belonging to the guild of the Dry Tree.*

First, a gilt silver decorated chalice and a missal with silver clasps given by the late miss Helena Vilains Fleurentine.

Item a gilt silver decorated chalice and a missal for daily use.

Item a gilt silver tree with the coat of arms of Colart Daut sr.

Item another silver tree used daily to bless

Item a silver platter with the enameled image of Mary.

Item a cope of red and gold cloth, given by my lady Mary of Burgundy

SAB, *Gilde Droogenboom, Inventaris van het Kerkgoed*, no. 505, fol 9.

1. The rest of this inventory lists only fabrics, chasubles and other ritual garb.

[Unpublished]

Doc. 160. 1499, 16 August - 1500, 3 January (n.s.) -- *Verdict in a conflict between the Abbey of ten Eekhout and the guild of the Librarians of Bruges about the guild's use of a chapel in the church of this abbey.*

In de name des Heeren, Amen. Bij desen jeghenwoordighen openbaren instrumente elken zij cond ende blijke claerlic dat int jaer des selfs Heeren duust vierehondert neghen ende tneghentich, inde tweedste indictie, sVridaechs den sestiensten van ougstmaendt, int paeuschip alder helichses vaders in Gode, ons heere heer Alexander, bijder Godliker Voorsienicheit de seste paeus van dier name, in zijn zevenste jaer, inde jeghenwoordicheit van mij, openbaer notaris, ende vanden oorconden hier onderghescreven te desen dijngghen gheroupen specialike ende ghebeden, compareirden in personen eerwwerdich vader in Gode heer Philips, bijder Godliker Ghedoochsamichede abdt ende prelaet vanden cloostre vanden Eechoute in Brugghe, van der ordene van Sinte Augustijn, sbiddchopsdoms van Dorneken, over hem, zijn convent, ende over zijn naearcommers, abdt ende convent vanden voorn. cloostre vanden Eechoute hier naermaels zijnde, of een zijde, Lievin de Toolnare, deken, Jan van Hesschen, Jan Goossin, Heidric vander Eeke, Anthuenis van Ghavere, Maertin Roost, Adriaen de Raed, Griffioen Soyer, zoorghers, Jan de Kaet, alle librariers in Brugghe, svoors. bisschopdoms van Doorneken, over hemlieden ende alle huerlieder naearcommers, librariers in Brugghe zijnde, over oec ende huutter name vanden ghemeenen gheselschepe vanden voors. librariers, dat vervanghende ende hemlieden daer over sterckmakende, of ander zijde. De zelve personen an beeden zijden, ende over ende huutter namen als vooren, bij huerlieder vryen propren eyghenen wille ende zekere wetene, zonder daer toe bedwonghen, mesleed ofte vertist zijnde, zo zij zeyden, kenden ende lijden, ende bijden inhoudene van desen jeghenwoordighen openbaren instrumente, kennen ende lijden, oever ende huutter namen

als vooren, dat zijlieden eedrachtelic ghebleven waren ter causen van zekeren qustien, differenten ende gheschillen onlancx gheresen tusschen beede den voors, partien omme den outaer, dienst, tafle, beilden, ornamenten, ende anders dienende ter ghilde ende outare van den voorn. librariers ende den ghemeenen gheselscepe van dien, staende int voorn. cloostre vanden Eechoute, ende daer omme dat oec proces ende ghedijnghe gheresen hebben ghesijn voor mijnen heere den officiael van Doorneken tusschen den partien voors., in eersamen ende dicreten heere ende mannen. heer Claeis vanden Hende, priester, religieus int voorn. clooster vanden Eechoute, Jacop vander Ameyde, van mijns voors. librariers weghe, alle als doe aldaer present ende voor ooghen zijnde, als in arbiters, vriendelike middelaers ende appointieres bij beede den voorn. partien daer toe ghecooren. [...](1)

Eerst ende al vooren, dat de voorn. librariers houden ende ghebruucken zullen den outaer ende plaetse van ouds ghecostumeirt, staende int voors. clooster vanden Eechoute, ande zuu zijde vander voorkerke van dien, streckende westwaert totter zuud duere vander voors. voorkerke, ende noordwaerd streckende omtrent twaelf voeten. Ende wederomme joyeren ende ghebruucken alle huerlieder ornamenten ende die in handen hebben daer of questie gheweist heift. Ende zullen de zelve librariers aldaer doen celebreren haer Godlike diensten daer toe dat tvoorn. convent hemlieden leveren sal brood, wijn ende water, ende alle de ornamenten die zij noch van doene hebben zullen, mids jaerlicx ghevende ende betalende den zelve convente zes scellijnghen grooten Vlaemscher munten. [...](2)

Item dat de zelve librariers up de daghen van huerlieder voorn. patroonen (3) zullen moghen huerlieder peldre, vane, casulen, tapijtsen ende andre chierlicheden hanghen, staen ende verchieren huerlieder voors. outaer ende plaetse, God teeren ende den helighen daghen, ende zullen alsdan moghen doen zegenen daer toe dat die vanden convente den voorn. librariers leenen zullen monstrancie zonder huerlieder cost, ende ooc wel up Sinte Berthelmeeus dach ende andre daeghen als zij dat begheeren zullen. Item, de zelve librariers zullen up Sinte Berthelmeeus dach moghen zegenen thuerlieder voors. outaer of daer omtrent ghelijc up de daghen van huerlieder patroonen, ende oec up andere feestelicke daghen van ouds ghecostumeirt, ende zullen alsdan die vanden voorn. convente open houden de noordduere vander voorkerke, ghelijc up andre daeghen. Item, de zelve librariers zullen ghehouden zijn te decken huerlieder outaer metten outaer cleede, cortijnen, rabatten (4) ende decleed, te wetenen: sPaessche daechs, Sijnxcen daechs, Ascentioens daghe, upden dach vander Heligher Drievoudicheit, tHelichs Sacraments daghe, Alder Heligher daghe, Keersdaghe ende alle Onser Vrzuwe daghen die men viert, ende dat svoornoens. Ende in dien die vanden convente willen den voorn. outaer ghedect hebben als vooren te vespertijden up de voors. daghen, zo zullen de voors. librariers daer toe leenen huerlieder outaer cleed ende anders den voorn. convente, ende tvoorn. convent sal die bewaren tzijnen laste. Ende de zelve librariers zullen . den voorn. huerlieder outaer upde voors. ndaghen lichten zo zij daer of loon ende eere ontfaen zullen willen. Voort, ende overghemerct dat de voorn. librariers niet en zijn in zulken ghetale ende menichte als zij hier voormaels ghezeist hebben, ende bijdien niet en vermueghen zulken cost ende last als zij hier voortijds ghehadt ende ghedaen hebben, so eist dat zij niet verbonden noch ghehouden en zullen zijn meer messen te doen celebreren dan herlieder vermoghen ende devocie ghedraghen sal. Item, zo zullen de voors. librariers hier naermaels mueghen dien maken, ter verchierijnghen ende decoratie van

huerlieder voors. outaer, een thuun van houtte omtrent den voorn. huerlieder outaer, met motalen oft andre pilaren, ten beschermenesse ende bescudde vanden voorn. ornamenten, met eender reese staende up twee andre pilaren thender cortijnen roede zo dat heessen ende begheeren sal. Sullen oec mede moghen dien maken de voors. librariers aldaer twee bancken, diemen sal moghen verdraghen als nood zijn zal, ghelijc alsser processie general zijn zal int voors. clooster ende anders welcke bancken de voors. librariers stellen zullen, den eenen noord ende zuud, ende den andren oost ende west, voor huerlieder outaer, ende die altoos wech doen alst nood zijn sal, zoot voors. es. Item, zo zullen de zelve librariers, nu ende hier naermaels zijnde, ghehouden zijn jaerlicx altoos upden Helighen Sacraments dach te zenden int voors. clooster vanden Eechoute, tsnuchtens voor de processie, huerlieder clerc met eender wassen tortsse, ende die dien draghen bijden zelve clerc bernende inde processie voor tHelich Sacrament, ende oec ter elevatie vander hooghemesse upden zelve dach, ende in sghelijcx naer vesperen up de octaven vanden Helighen Sacramente, omme de zelve tortsse te draghen al bernende als vooren inde processie aldaer ten bestedene vanden Helighen Sacramente. Item, ende daert zo ghebuerde hier naermaels, twelke God verde, dat mijn heere dabdt ende zijn convent den voorn. librariers orlof gaven, ende hemlieden niet langher hebben en wilden in huerlieder voors. kerke, ofte oec dat de voors. librariers van daer vertrecken wilden, ende daer niet langher en wilden bliven, dat alsdan de voorn. librariers met hemlieden draghen ende voeren zullen moghen paisivelicke alle huerlieder ornamenten die zij nu of dan hebben zullen, te wetene: dwwalen, outaer cleedren, casulen, cortijnen, vane, pelder, candelaren, boucken, keilcten, wassen kerssen, tortssen, kisten, scrijnen, ende alle andre zaken hemlieden toebehoorende dienende thuerlieder outaer ende Gods dienste, het zij der ghilde ghegheven of dat de voors. ghilde die becosticht heift, generalike al dat portatijf zijn sal. Ende noch boven dien, huerlieder outaer tafle metten viere dueren daer an zijnde, daer Willem Vreland ende zijn wijf zaleger ghedachte in gheconterfeit zijn, ghemaect bijder hand van wijlen meester Hans, ende daer toe beede de beilden van Sint Jan Ewangeliste ende Sinte Luuc, huerlieder patronen, ghesneden van houtte ende verchiert staende boven der voors. tafle. Ende omme dat den voors. outaer niet blood en zoude bliven, zo worden de voors. librariers ghehouden aldaer te latene de beilden van Onser Vrouwe ende van Sinte Nichasis. Ende boven dien, zo werdden de voorn. librariers noch ghehouden inde plaetse daer de outaer tafle als nu staet eene andre tafle te doen maken, also groot als de gheheele plaetse es, van olye vaerwe, ende daer inne zulke beilden doen maken, ten coste vanden voorn. librariers als den prelaet dan zijnde ende die vanden voorn. convente begheeren zullen, emmers tot viere beilden of personaigen toe ofte vijfve ende niet meer, ende dat also eerlicke ende also chierlicke also de zelve librariers daer inne huerlieder eere bewaren zullen willen. Ende daer toe twee dueren van houtte, buuten ende binnen ongheschildert ende onverchiert, hanghende ande voors. tafle. Ende noch boven desen, zo zullen de voorn. librariers aldaer den voorn. convente laten eene lettren van pardoenen ende graciensprekende up tvoorn. cloostre ende den voors. outaer aldaer, commende ende gheimpetreirt van Roome. Item, ende daer zo ghebuerde hier naermaels, dat God voorhoede, dat mijn heere den prelaet ende convent vanden voorn. cloostre vanden Eechoute den voorn. librariers orlof ghaven, ofte dat de zelve librariers vander voors. plaetse vertrecken wilden als vooren, ende elders huerlieder Godlicker dienst wilden doen doen, in dat cas zo zullen mijn

heere de prelaet ende convent voors. den voorn. librariers, ofte de voors. librariers den voorn. prelaet ende tconvent dan zijnde, dat elc andren te kennen gheven een jaer te voeren, behouden altoos den zelven librariers tghuent dat int voorgaende article verclaerst ende gheexpresteirt staet angaende der taefle ende anders. Ende mids desen, zo wijsen zij, arbijters ende vriendelike middelaers voors., beede de voorn. partijen goede vrienden ende ghedijnghe, also wel an deen zijde als an dandre zijde compenserende. Ende dat omme redene in oorconde der waerheden ende vastichede van desen, so hebben zij, arbijters voors., elc zijn hantteekene hier onder ghestelt. Actum anno xcix, den tweedsten dach van Lauwe.(5) Aldus ondergheteekent: Van den Hende, Hameyde, Baers, I. Hesschen. [...](6)

In the name of the Lord. Amen. By this present public document, may it be declared to everyone and let it be clear that in this year of the same Lord, thousand four hundred ninety nine, in the second indiction, on Friday, the sixteenth of August, in the pontificate of the holiest father in God, our lord Lord Alexander, by the Devine Providence the sixth pope with this name, in his seventh year, in the presence of me, notary public, and of the charter written here under, proclaimed and asked for especially for these issues, appeared in person, the honorable father in God, Lord Philip, by the Divine Permission, abbot and prelate of the cloister of Eekhout in Bruges, from the order of Saint Augustine, in the diocese of Tournai, in his name, for his convent and his successors, the future abbots and conventuals of the aforementioned cloister of Eekhout, on one side, Lievin de Toolnare, dean, Jan van Hesschen, Jan Goossin, Heindric vander Eeke, Anthuenis van Ghavere, Maertin Roost, Adriaen de Raed, Griffioen Soyer, members of the guild's board, Jan de Kaet, all librarians at Bruges, in the aforementioned diocese of Tournai, for themselves and their successors, the future Bruges librarians and also in the name of the complete company of the librarians, replacing them and defending them, on the other side. The same persons on both sides, and for and in the name as mentioned, by their own voluntary will and conviction, without being forced to it, deceived or confused, as they said, declared and confessed, and by this present public document, declare and confess, for and in the name as mentioned, that they had become devided about certain questions, differences and problems, raised lately between both the aforementioned parties, concerning the altar, service, painting, statues and decorations, and other objects used by the guild at the altar of the aforementioned librarians and the entire company of them, located at the aforementioned cloister of Eekhout, and for this reason a trial and law suit between the said parties was filed before mylord the official of Tournai, by the honorable and discrete lords and men, Sir Claeis Vanden Hende, priest, brother in the aforementioned cloister of Eekhout, Jacop vander Ameyde, representing the said librarians, all of whom were present then and could see, as they were chosen by the aforementioned parties as arbitrators, mediators and attorneys [...](1)

First and foremost, that the aforementioned librarians will keep and use the altar and place, as they were used to in the past, situated in the said cloister of Eekhout, at the southside of the lower church, extending in western direction to the south door of the said lower church, and in northern direction about twelve feet. And [they] will enjoy, use and own again all of their decorations, which had been disputed. And the same librarians will celebrate their Devine services, for which the aforementioned convent will deliver them bread, wine and water, and all ritual objects they still need, on the condition that they give and pay six shilling groats Flemish currency annually to the same convent [...](2)

Item, that the same librarians will be allowed to display, on the feast days of their aforementioned patrons,(3) and also on St.Bartholomew's day, and all the other days they want, their copes, banner, chasubles, tapestries and other treasures, to decorate their said altar and place, and to honor God and the holy days, and they will be allowed to have all this blessed, for which occasion those of the convent will borrow a monstrance for free to the aforementioned librarians. Item, the same librarians will be allowed to bless their said altar on St.Bartholomew's day as on the days of their patrons, and also on other feast days, as was the custom in the past, and at these times, those of the aforementioned convent will keep the north door of the lower church open, as on other days. Item, the same librarians will have to cover their altar with altar cloths, curtains, hems (4), and covers, to be known, on Easter, Pentecost, Ascension, the day of the Holy Trinity, the day of the Holy Sacrament, All Saints, Christmas, and all the feasts of the Virgin that are celebrated, and this in the mornings. And when those of the aforementioned convent want to have the altar covered for Vespers on the said days, then the aforementioned librarians will borrow their altar cloth and the rest to the said convent, and the said convent will keep these on their responsibility. And the same librarians will have their said altar lighted on the said days, if they want to be compensated and honored for this. Further, in case that the aforementioned librarians will not be with the same number [of members] and population [in the future] as they have been in the past, and consequently, wont be able anymore to bear such expenditure and charges as they have had and made in the past, they wont be forced to have more masses celebrated than they can afford and their devotion requires. Item, the aforementioned librarians will have to make in the future, in order to decorate and embellish their said altar, a wooden fence around the said altar, with metal or other pillars, to protect and secure the said decorations, with a garland on a curtain row, mounted on two other pillars, as is appropriate and wanted. Moreover, the aforementioned librarians will have to have made two benches, that will be movable when needed, for instance for the general procession in the aforementioned cloister, and the aforementioned librarians will place these benches, the first north to south, and the other one east to west, in front of their altar, and they will have to move them whenever it is needed, as has been said. Item, now and in the future, the same librarians will have to send to the aforementioned cloister of Eekhout, each year on the day of the Holy Sacrament, in the morning before the procession, their clerk with a wax torch, and the same clerk will have to carry this burning [torch] in the procession of the Holy Sacrament, and also during the elevatio of the high mass on the same day, and also at the Vespers of the octave of the Holy Sacrament, always carrying the torch burning as before during the procession, to honor the Holy Sacrament. Item, and when it ocured -- God forbid it -- that mylord the abbot and his convent dismissed the aforementioned librarians, and they woud not want to have them any longer in their said church, or also when the aforementioned librarians want to leave there, and do not want to stay there any longer, in these cases, the aforementioned librarians are allowed to take with them in peace all their decorations that they have now or will have then, to be known: ritual textiles, altar cloths, chasubles, curtains, banner, copes, chandeliers, books, chalices, wax candles, torches, chests, shrines, and everything that belongs to them that is used on their altar and for the devine services, whether the guild received it as gifts or the aforementioned guild paid for it itselve, in general, everything which is transportable. And also their altarpiece with its four wings, in which Willem Vreland and his wife, blessed memory, are portrayed, made by the hand of the late master Hans, and also the statues of Saint John the Evangelist and Saint Luke, their patron saints, sculpted in wood and decorating the said altarpiece on the top. And so that the said altar would not remain empty, the librarians have to leave

*the statues of Our Lady and of Saint Nicaise there in place. And moreover, the librarians will also have to replace the altarpiece, as it stands there now, with another one, on their own expenses. [And this altarpiece will have to be] as large as the room, [painted] with oil paint, and [they will have to have] those images made on it, which he, who is the prelate then, and those of the aforementioned convent, prefer, with at least four or five figures or personages and no more, and so delightful and elegant, that the same librarians would keep their honor. And it will have two wings of wood, the exterior and the interior unpainted and undecorated, and hanging on the said altarpiece. And on top of all this, the aforementioned librarians will have to leave a letter of remission for the aforementioned convent, honoring the aforementioned convent and the said altar, coming and received from Rome. Item, and when it occurred in the future -- God forbid it -- that mylord the prelate and the convent of the aforementioned cloister of Eekhout dismissed the aforementioned librarians, or when the aforementioned librarians want to leave the said place, as mentioned, and have their Divine services done elsewhere, in this case, mylord the prelate and the aforementioned convent will have to give notice to the aforementioned librarians, or the aforementioned librarians to the said prelate and the convent, as it will be then, one year in advance, [and] the same librarians will keep all which has been explained and expressed above concerning the altarpiece and the rest. And because of this, they, the said arbitrators and friendly mediators, have conciliated both the said parties, compensating on one side, as well as on the other. And for this reason, in view of the thruth and the steadiness of this, they, the said arbitrators, have each signed here under. Done in the year 1499, the second day of January (5). Signed therefore: Van den Hende, Hameyde, Baers, I. Hesschen.
[...](6)*

Original, parchment.

RAB, *Charterverzameling met blauw nummer*, bl.no. 8300.

Published: Weale, *Enlumineurs*, 329-337.

1. Summary of the following part of this charter: the four arbitrators promise to pronounce a judgment between then (16 August) and 25 December 1499. Yet, they are allowed to postpone their judgment for one month or six weeks. And indeed, on 23 December 1499, they agree to postpone their judgment. On 3 January 1500 (n.s.), they finally reach an agreement. Philip, the abbot of the Eekhout, insists on getting a copy of the final decree, which has to be given to his assistant, Jan Danckaert, priest and regular canon at the Eekhout.
2. Summary of the following part of this charter: the convent of the Eekhout will receive all gifts offered at the librarians' altar during the masses; the librarians themselves will profit from all others. Further, the librarians are allowed to ring the bells, use the organ, invite singers, and have the mass celebrated with deacons and sub-deacons, etc. For all these special services, fixed amounts are established. Both parties make further arrangements for paying the priests and their possible replacements. The brethren will have to incense the librarians' altar on the feast days of the guild's patron saints. The clerk of the librarians is allowed to strew straw on the floor of the chapel before soul masses, but he has to sweep it out after the service.
3. The patron saints of the librarians' guild were St. John the Evangelist and St. Luke.

4. See Verdam, 482, s.v. *rabat*: small hem on top of a curtain.
5. *I.e.*, 2 January 1500 (n.s.). Strangely enough, this date is one day earlier than the one mentioned in the incipit of that part of the charter; see n. 1.
6. Summary of what follows: the librarians propound this judgment to the pronounciature at Tournai, that ratifies it. The members of the guild further pledge the oath before a notary public, that they will closely follow all the articles of this judgment.

Doc. 161. 1504, 1 September - 1505, 31 August -- *Excerpts from the accounts of the Bruges Franc relative to a silver fist.*

[fol. 27] Anderen ontfang van pachten vanden clergien vander vierschare ende vanden weesen den voors. lands toebehoorende. Item van boeten ende beteringhen ghewyst binder tyt van deser rekeninghe ende van anderen zaken inder voormen ende manieren hier naer volghende [...]

[fol. 27v] Van Cornelis f. Iacop Gillis, voortijds woenende in Zedelghem, over de redemptie van eenre bezelverde vuust, daer inne hij bij mijne heeren vanden rade in Vlaenderen ghecondempneirt gheweest heift ieghens burchmeesters ende scepenen vanden Vryen metgaders Simon de Commanderere, als voortijts cleric criminel vander vierschare van den Vryen, omme die te stellene in de vierschaere vanden Vryen, daert de wet ordonneren zal, ter cause van zekere riethede bijden voors. Cornelis f. Iacops Gillis ghedaen up de voors. Simon de Commanderere als cleric criminel vander voors. vierschaere van den Vryen, als hij den voors. Cornelis executeren ende vanghen wilde, ontfaen xij lb.par., ende over de wettelycke ghetauxeirde costen daer inne (a.) de voors. Cornelis ooc ghecondempneirt es, ontfaen lxxij lb.par. ende over twijsdom ende executorie vanden zelve costen, xxiiij s., comt al tsamen ende ontfaen by Pieter Roose, duerwaerder, de welke de voors. penninghen up den voorn. Cornelis gheexecuteirt ende gheinnet hadde

lxxxv lb. iiij s.[par.]

[...]

[fol. 130] Betalinghe van diversche partien ende extrardinare costen den voors. lande over commen binder tyt van deser rekeninghe waerof de partien hier naer volghen

[...]

[fol. 131v] Michiel Villars, slootmakere, van eenre yseryn vuust, met eenre yserin traillie daer inne de voors. vuust besloten es, te makene, ende te stellene inde vierschare vanden Vryen, daer inne Cornelis f. Iacops Gillis ghecondempneirt es bij mynen heeren vanden rade in

Vlaenderen, betaelt den ij^{en} dach in Ougst, by ordonnancie vander wet, xvij s.gr., valent

x lb. xvj s.[par.]

[...]

[fol. 132v] Ioris de Meyere, schildere, van eender yseryn vuust te verzilveren, staende inde (b.) vierschare vanden Vryen, daer inne Cornelis f. Iacops Gillis ghecondempneert was omme zeker mesuus bij hem ghedaen, betaelt den xxij^{en} dach van Ougst

x s.[par.]

[fol. 27] *Other income of rents of the clerks of the court and from orphans belonging to the said land. Item of fines and improvements implied during the period of this account, and of other business in the format and ways here following*

[...]

[fol. 27v] *From Cornelis f. Iacop Gillis, formerly living at Zedelgem, as redemption for a silver-coated fist, to which he was condemned by mylords of the Council of Flanders, [to present] the mayors and aldermen of the Franc, and to Simon de Commanderere, formerly clerk of the court of the Franc, to be installed in the court room of the Franc, as the magistrate will order, in consequence of certain misbehavior by the said Cornelis f. Iacops Gillis committed against the said Simon de Commanderere in his function of criminal clerk of the said court of the Franc, when he wanted to execute and arrest the said Cornelis, collected 12 lb.par., and for the legally determined costs, which the said Cornelis was also condemned to pay, collected 72 lb.par. and for the verdict and the execution of the same costs, 24 s., amounts all together and collected by Pieter Roose, usher, who executed and collected the said pennies from the said Cornelis*

85 lb. 4 s.[par.]

[...]

[fol. 130] *Paid of diverse costs and exceptional expenditure experienced by the said land during the period of these accounts, itemized here following [...]*

[fol. 131v] *Michiel Villars, lock maker, for making an iron fist, with around this fist an iron fence, and insytalling it in the court room of the Franc, to which Cornelis f. Iacops Gillis was condemned by mylords of the Council of Flanders, paid the 2nd day in August, at the ordonnance of the magistrate, 18 s.gr., worth*

10 lb. 16 s.[par.]

[...]

[fol. 132v] *Ioris de Meyere, painter, for silver-coating an iron fist, installed in the court room of the Franc, to which Cornelis f. Iacops Gillis was condemned for certain misbehavior of his, paid the 23th day of August*

10 s.[par.]

a. ooc erased.-- b. cam erased.

RAB, *Fonds van het Vrije*, no. 244: *Rekeningen van het Vrije*, 1504-05, fol. 27, 27v, 130, 131v, 132v.

Published: Weale, *Franc*, 82, n.42 (incompletely).

Doc. 162. 1563, 8 July -- Excerpts from an inventory of ritual objects and jewels in the church of St.Savior's

Inventaris van alle de juweelen ende ornamenten toebehoorende der fabrycque ende collegiaelder kercke van Sinte Salvators in Brugghe [...]

De houtaer cleeren dienende ten hooghen houtare derzelver kercke [...]

Een root fluweelen met zyden fringen, ghevoert met caneveys met de wapenen van Jan Vaeskin
 Een root damasten gheborduert met de verisenesse, ende de beilden van Sint Jan ende Sinte Katelyne, al besaeyt met gouden wielkins, met zyden fringen, ghegheven by mer Jan de vleeschauwere [...]
 De coorcappen [...]
 Twee roode fluweele cappen, de boorden van bordueren ghegheven by mer Jan vaesque
 Een roode fluweele met schoone costelicke boorden, gheborduert, ghegheven by mer Jan de Vleeschauwer, beneden met zyden fringen
 Twee roode damaste met de boorden, gheborduert, beneden met zyden fringen, ghegheven by mer Jan de Vleeshauwer [...]
 By affirmacie van dekenen ende prochiepape zyn dese partijen in de kercke bevonden, actum den viij Junij 1563
 Casulen ende diake rocx met datter toebehoort [...]
 Een roode fluweele casule met beede de diake rocx, al ghestoffeert alzoot behoort, ghegheven by mer Jan Vaesque [...]
 Een roode damaste casule met beede de diake rocx, al ghestoffeert alzoot behoort, ghegheven by mer Jan de Vleeschauwer
 Een roode camelote casule met beede de diake rocx, al ghestoffeert alzoo behoort, alsboven [...]
 De gordinen dienende ten hooghen houtare in den choor
 Vier roode zyde gordynen ende twee rabatten met twee cleene hende gordinkins, al met zyden fringen, ghegheven by mer Jan de Vleeschauwere [...]
 De banckleykins diemen lecht up het banckskin up den hooghen outaer daermen de cuskins up stelt [...]
 Een van roode zyde gheborduert met gouden wielkins ghegheven by mer Jan de vleeshauwer, met zyden fringen [...]
 De cussens groot ende cleene dienende ten hooghen houtare ende choore [...]
 Drie roode damaste met de wapene van mer Jan de vleeschauwere die se ghaf [...]
 Capkins ende rocxkins om de coralen ende coorkinders
 Eerst drie roode camelote capkins met groene satine boorden, met groene fringhen om de cruusdraghers, ende vier roode camelote rocxkins om de coralen, al ghegheven by mer Jan de Vleeschauwere met de vier alvekins met de barderen daertoe dienende [...]
 Een groot tapyts galeyerswerck dat men op de groote feesten lecht voor den hooghen houtaer, ghegheven by mer Jan de Vleeschauwer

Inventory of all the jewels and ornaments belonging to the office of the works and the collegiate church of Saint Savior's at Bruges [...]

The altar clothes used for the high altar of the same church

[...]

A red velvet one with silk fringes, lined with canvas with the arms of Jan vaeskin

A red damask one, embroidered with the Resurrection, and the images of Saint John and Saint Catherine, with scattered golden wheels, with silk fringes, given by sir Jan de vleeschauwere [...]
The choir copes [...]
Two red velvet copes, the orphreys embroidered, given by sir Jan Vaesque
A red velvet one with beautiful expensive orphreys, embroidered, given by sir Jan de Vleeschauwer, below with silk fringes
Two red damask ones with rims, embroidered, below with silk fringes, given by sir Jan de Vleeschauwer [...]
Confirmed by deans and parish priests, these items have been found present in the church, done 8 June 1563
Chasubles and dalmatics with everything included [...]
A red velvet chasuble with both the dalmatics, all decorated as it should be, given by sir Jan Vaesque [...]
A red damask chasuble with both the dalmatics, all decorated as it should be, given by sir Jan de Vleeschauwer
A red one made of camels' hair with both the dalmatics, all decorated as it should be, as above [...]
The curtains used for the high altar in the choir
Four red silk curtains with two upper parts (1) and two small curtains for the ends, all with silk fringes, given by sir Jan de Vleeschauwere [...]
The cloths for the bench near the high altar on which the cushions are placed [...]
One of red silk, embroidered with golden wheels, given by sir Jan de vleeschauwer, with silk fringes [...]
Three cushions, big and small, used for the high altar and the choir [...]
Three red damask ones with the arms of sir Jan de vleeschauwere who gave them [...]
Albs and robes for the singers and choirboys
First three red albs in camels' hair with green silk rims, with green fringes for the carriers of the crucifix, and four red robes in camels' hair for the singers, all given by sir Jan de Vleeschauwere with the four choir robes (2) and the fitting robes for the horses (3) [...]
A large woven rug which is spread out in front of the high altar on important feasts, given by sir Jan de Vleeschauwer

[Present whereabouts unknown]

Published: K. Verschelde, *De Kathedrale van S. Salvator te Brugge. Geschiedkundige beschryving*, Bruges, 1863, 288-298.

1. *Rabats* means long narrow pieces of curtain (see Verdam, 482.)
2. *Alve* (or *albe*) means white choir robe (cf. Verdam, 38)
3. *Barde* means horse robe (cf. Verdam, 55.)

Doc. 163. 1623-1662 -- *Johannes Baccius, priest of St.James's describes the painting on the high altar of that church as a Deposition by Hugo van der Goes, commissioned by Jacob Biese, Sr.*

Hugo Vande Goest vermaert schilder heeft ghemact de schilderije vande afdoenynghe Christi van het Cruyce dewelcke nu es den tafel vanden hooghen autae in Sint Jacobskerke binnen Brugghe dewelcke ghegheven is gheweest ande kercke bij dheer Jacob byese die vele weldaden ande zelve kerke ghedaen heeft. Den zelve Hugo Vander Goest was discipel van Mr Jan van Eyck seer vermaert schilder van welken eerst de conste ghevonden heeft van doly varwe, hij heeft ghefloereert ten tijde vanden keyser Maximiliaen.

Hugo Vande Goest, the famous painter, has made the painting of the deposition of Christ from the Cross, which is now the altarpiece of the high altar of the church of St.James's in Bruges, which was given to the church by sir Jacob Byese, who has done much favors to the same church. The same Hugo Vander Goest was a pupil of master Jan van Eyck, the very famous painter, who was the first to invent oil painting. He flourished during the time of the Emperor Maximilian.

[whereabouts unknown](1)

Published: Rotsaert, 1975, 126.

1. Rotsaert stated that this document was a single leaf, which he found among miscellaneous papers of the church. He gave no further reference. As the present inventory of the St.James's archives at RAB does not mention such a bundle, the document is most probably lost.

Doc. 164. 1795 -- *Pierre Le Doulx provides information on the Agnelli altarpiece in the church of St.James.*

[inserted leaf between pp. 8-9] [...] men meend dat het stuck hetgene in St. Jacobs kercke boven de doopsvonte aen den meur hanght, vertoonende den doop van Christus door Joannes baptista, en oock de onthoofdinge des selfs, van desen Rogier soude geschildert sijn (te weten op een sluijtdoure, en op de ander sluijtdoure was verbeelt, daer de dochter van Herodias het hoofd van Joannes aen haer moeder brought, en het selve siende op een tafel voor haer, de tonghe van den selven heijligen met eene spelle ofte priemkien doorsteect) dit konstig werck heeft doen maecken

[v^o] den heer Joannes baptista Agnelli, geboortig van Italien, die getrouwt hadde Jo... (a.) ijnes, en beijde begraven liggen in de voorkercke, wiens wapen stond op een der sluijtdouren, van hem souden meer stucken sijn, die niet lichtelijck aen te wijsen sijn, dese voorseijde schilderije is dat weg gedaen geweest en vernietight, mits dat de sluytdouren sijn verkocht

geweest in het stedenhuijs in de jaeren seventhien hondert en in de 't negentigh, by kante dat die het bestier der selve kercke hadden, geen konstkenders waeren.(1)

One thinks that the piece which hangs on the wall above the baptismal font at St. James's, representing the Baptism of Christ by John the Baptist, and also the decapitation of the same, could have been painted by the said Rogier (to be known on a shutter, and on the other shutter was shown how Herod's daughter brought the head of John to her mother, and how the latter seeing this on the table in front of her, pierced the tongue of the said saint with a needle or a pricker.) This artistic work was commissioned by sir Joannes Baptista Agnelli, born in Italy, who was married to Jo...(a.) ijnes, and both are interred in the front of the church. His coat of arms was placed on one of the shutters. More works would be his, but they are difficult to point out. The said painting was removed and destroyed, because the wings were sold in city hall in the 1790s, by those who managed the same church, and who were no connoisseurs.(1)

a. lacuna

Original, paper.

SAB, *Fonds Academie*, no. 409, ms. 230: P. Ledoux, *Levens der konstschilders, konstenaers en konstenaressen, soo in 't schilderen, beeld-houwen als ander konsten, de welke van de stad van Brugge gebooren syn, ofte aldaer hunne konsten geoeffent hebben*, Bruges, 1795.

[Unpublished

1. This note was inserted by Le Doulx after his manuscript was finished, but before it was bound. He clearly copied the information from another source, as he was unable to read the name of Agnelli's wife. It is also remarkable that he did not know when exactly the shutters were sold, although this had happened fairly recently when he wrote his manuscript.

1. Genoese Loggia and House Ter Buerse, Bruges, Vlamingstraat.

596

2. Petrus Christus, *Isabella of Portugal with St Elisabeth*, Bruges, Groeningemuseum

597

3. Petrus Christus, *St Catherine*, Brussels, private collection.

598

4. Gerard Loyet, *Reliquary of Charles the Bold*, Liège, Musée diocésain.

599

5. Willem Vrelant, *Philip the Good and his Son Charles the Bold, Accompanied by Courtiers Listening to Someone Reading from a Book*, in Jacques de Guise, *Chroniques de Hainaut*, vol. II, Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. 9243, fol. 1.

600

6. Willem Vrelant, *Philip the Good kneeling in front of an Annunciation*, in Jean Miélot, *Traité sur la Salutation Angélique*, Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. 9270, fol. 2v.

601

7. Willem Vrelant, *Philip the Good kneeling in adoration of St Andrew*, in *Breviary of Philip the Good*, vol. I, Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. 9511, fol. 398.

602

8. Loyset Liédet, *Philip the Good Visiting David Aubert's Scriptorium*, in David Aubert, *Histoire de Charles Martel*, vol. I, Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. 6, fol. 9.

603

9. Master of Margaret of York, *Appointment of the captains by Charles the Bold*, in *Ordinance of Charles the Bold*, London, British Library, add. ms. 36619, fol. 5.

604

10. Marcus Gerards, *Map of Bruges*, detail: *The Burg*.

605

11. Master of Girart de Roussillon, *Siege of a City* (detail), in *Chronique abrégée de Jérusalem*, Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 2533.

606

12. Hans Memling, *Passion of Christ*, Turin, Galleria Sabauda.

607

13. Hans Memling, *Passion of Christ*, detail, Turin, Galleria Sabauda.

608

14. Jan van der Toolne, *Bust of Justice of Pieter van der Gote*, Bruges, Gruuthusemuseum.

609

15. Anonymous, *Fist of Justice*, Bruges, Gruuthusemuseum.

610

16. Jan van Eyck, *Madonna with Canon van der Paele*, Bruges, Gruuthusemuseum.

611

17. Jan van Eyck, *Madonna with Canon van der Paele*, detail: *Joris van der Paele*, Bruges, Gruuthusemuseum.

612

18. *Memorial of Canon Willem de Niepa* (after Gailliard, *Inscriptions...*, I, 1861, pl. XLV).

613

19. Hans Memling, *Portrait of Gilles Joye*, Williamstown (MA), The Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute.

614

20. *Tomb monument of Gilles Joye* (after Pierre de Molo, *Recueil ...*, I, SBB, ms. 595, 144).

615

21. *Tomb monument of Jacques de Bourbon* (after Pierre de Molo, *Recueil ...*, I, SBB, ms. 595, 115).

616

22. Marcus Gerards, *Map of Bruges*, detail: *the Church of Our Lady*.

617

23. 'Paradise Portal,' Bruges, Church of Our Lady.

618

24. Oratory of Louis of Gruuthuse, Bruges, Church of Our Lady.

619

25. Oratory of Louis of Gruuthuse (after Gailliard, *Inscriptions...*, II, 1866, pl. XVIII).

620

26. *Memorial Statues of Jan IV of Gruuthuse and Margaretha van Steenhuyse* (after Gailliard, *Inscriptions...*, II, 1866, pl. XX).

621

27. *Tomb monument of Louis of Gruuthuse and Margaretha van Borssele* (after Van Tieghem, Gailliard, *Monumenten en Epitaphien ...*, Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I, ms. II 3623, fol. 20).

622

28. *Tomb monument of Paul and Leonarde van Overtvelt* (after I. de Hooghe, *Versaemelinghe ...*, SBB, ms. 449, II, fol. 175).

623

29. Master of the Saint Ursula Legend, *Epitaph of Anna van Nieuwenhove*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection.

624

30. Master of the Saint Ursula Legend, *Epitaph of Anna van Nieuwenhove*, detail: inscription, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection.

625

31. Master of the Saint Ursula Legend, *Epitaph of Anna van Nieuwenhove*, detail: *Anna van Nieuwenhove*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection.

626

32. Anon. Bruges sculptor, *Coronation of the Virgin by God the Father and Christ*, Bruges, Church of Our Lady.

627

33. Anon. Bruges sculptor, *Trinity*, Bruges, Church of Our Lady.

628

34. Hans Memling, *Seven Joys of the Virgin*, Munich, Alte Pinakothek.

629

35. Church of St Savior, Bruges.

630

36. Enclosure of the Shoemakers' chapel, Bruges, Church of St Savior
(interior).

631

37. Anon. Bruges sculptors, Choir stalls, Bruges, Church of St Savior.

632

38. Anon. Bruges sculptor, Choir stalls, detail: *St Luke*, Bruges, Church of St Savior.

633

39. Anon. Bruges sculptor, Choir stalls, detail: *A Woman Teaching her Child to Walk*, Bruges, Church of St Savior.

634

40. Anon. Bruges sculptor, Choir stalls, detail: *A Teacher Admonishing a Pupil*, Bruges, Church of St Savior.

635

41. Master of the Bruges Chronicle, *Archduke Maximilian Knighted as a Member of the Order of the Golden Fleece*, in *Excellente Chronicke*, SBB, ms. 437, fol. 335v.

636

42. Pierre Coustain and assistants, *Coat of arms of Edward IV, King of England*, Bruges, Church of St Savior.

637

43. *Memorial Plaque of Jan Vasquez*, Bruges, Church of St Savior.

638

44. House of Jan Vasquez, Bruges, Zilverstraat.

639

45. Rubbing after *Funeral Brass of Maarten de Visch*, Bruges, Church of St Savior.

640

46. *Funeral brass of Canon Jacob Schelewaerts*, Bruges, Church of St Savior.

641

47. Anon. Bruges embroiderer, *Choir cope of Jan de Vleeshauwer*, detail: *Christ and the Adulteress*, Bruges, Church of St Savior.

642

48. Dirk Bouts, *Martyrdom of St Hippolytus*, central panel, Bruges, Church of St Savior.

643

49. Hugo van der Goes, *Martyrdom of St Hippolytus*, left wing: *The donors Hippolyte de Berthoz and Elisabeth van Keverswyck*, Bruges, Church of St Savior.

644

50. Circle of Willem Vrelant, *The Death of Queen Brunhilde*, in Vincent de Beauvais, *Miroir historial*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.fr. 310, fol. 283v.

645

51. Marcus Gerards, *Map of Bruges*, detail: *the Church of St James and the Prinsenhof*.

646

52. Anon. Bruges painter, *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*,
Chatsworth, Collection of the Duke of Devonshire.

647

53. Almshouses of the Donaes de Moor foundation, Bruges,
Boeveriestraat.

648

54. Almshouses of the Donaes de Moor foundation, Bruges,
Boeveriestraat, stone relief, detail: *The Legend of St Julian*.

649

55. Workshop of Rogier van der Weyden, *St John the Baptist Altarpiece*,
Frankfort, Städelsches Kunstinstitut.

650

56. Hans Memling, *Moreel Triptych*, central panel: *St Christopher, St Maur and St Giles*, Bruges, Groeningemuseum.

651

57. Hans Memling, *Moreel Triptych*, left panel: *Willem Moreel, his sons and St William*, Bruges, Groeningemuseum.

652

58. Hans Memling, *Moreel Triptych*, detail: x-ray detail left panel, Bruges, Groeningemuseum.

653

59. Hans Memling, *Moreel Triptych*, right panel: *Barbara Van Vlaenderberghe, her daughters and St Barbara*, Bruges, Groeningemuseum.

654

60. Hans Memling, *Moreel Triptych*, detail right panel: the daughters, Bruges, Groeningemuseum.

655

61. Hans Memling, *Moreel Triptych*, exterior left wing: *St John the Baptist*, Bruges, Groeningemuseum.

656

62. Hans Memling, *Moreel Triptych*, exterior right wing: *St Georges*, Bruges, Groeningemuseum.

657

63. Hans Memling, *Portrait of Willem Moreel*, Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België.

658

64. Hans Memling, *Portrait of Barbara Van Vlaenderberghe*, , Brussels,
Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België.

659

65. Hans Memling, *Portrait of the so-called 'Sybil of Sambetha,'* Bruges,
Hospital of St John.

660

66. Rubbing after *Funeral brass of Catharina Dault*, Bruges, Church of St
James.

661

67. Jerusalem Chapel, Bruges.

662

68. Pieter I de Jode, *Portrait of Pieter II Adornes*.

663

69. Pieter I de Jode, *Portrait of Elisabeth Braderix*.

664

70. Anon. forger, *Copy after Pieter I de Jode's Portrait of Pieter II Adornes*,
(whereabouts unknown).

665

71. Anon. forger, *Copy after Pieter I de Jode, Portrait of Elisabeth Braderix*,
(whereabouts unknown).

666

72. Petrus Christus, *Portrait of a Man*, Los Angeles, County Museum of Art.

667

73. Petrus Christus, *Portrait of a Young Girl*, Berlin, Staatliche Museen
Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

668

74. Cornelis Tielman, *Funerary monument of Anselmus Adornes and
Margaretha van der Banck*, Bruges, Jerusalem Chapel.

669

75. Cornelis Tielman, *Funerary monument of Anselmus Adornes and
Margaretha van der Banck*, detail: *Anselmus Adornes*, Bruges,
Jerusalem Chapel.

670

76. Cornelis Tielman, *Funerary monument of Anselmus Adornes and Margaretha van der Banck*, detail: *Margaretha van der Banck*, Bruges, Jerusalem Chapel.

671

77. Petrus Christus, *Lamentation*, Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België.

672

78. Petrus Christus, *Lamentation*, detail: *Man and Woman*, Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België.

673

79. Petrus Christus, *Lamentation*, detail: *Pilgrim walking along the river*, Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België.

674

80. Petrus Christus, *Lamentation*, detail: *Pilgrims in the background*, Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België.

675

81. Petrus Christus, *Lamentation*, detail: *Anselmus Adornes*, Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België.

676

82. Petrus Christus, *Lamentation*, detail: *Margaretha van der Banck*, Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België.

677

83. Anon. Bruges glazier, *Stained glass window with Portrait of Anselmus Adornes*, Bruges, Jerusalem Chapel.

678

84. Marcus Gerards, *Map of Bruges*, detail: Cloister of the Franciscans.

679

85. Petrus Christus, *Madonna and Child with SS Francis and Jerome*, Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

680

86. Petrus Christus's *Madonna of the Dry Tree*, Lugano, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection.

681

87. Binding of SAB, *Gilde Drogenboom*, nr. 505, *Ledenlijst* and *Inventaris van het Kerkgoed*.

682

88. Marcus Gerards, *Map of Bruges*, detail: *Dominican convent*.

683

89. Marcus Gerards, *Map of Bruges*, detail: *Convent of the Austin friars*.

684

90. Tomb monument of Joos van Halewyn and Elisabeth van Maldeghem,
Bruges, St Savior's

685

91. Marcus Gerards, *Map of Bruges*, detail: *Convent of the Carmelites*.

686

92. Anon. Bruges engraver, *William Caxton presenting his work to Margaret of York*, in *The Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye*, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.

687

93. Marcus Gerards, *Map of Bruges*, detail: *Eekhout Abbey*.

688

94. Marcus Gerards, *Map of Bruges*, detail: *Carthusian monastery 'Genadedal.'*

689

95. Workshop of Jan van Eyck, *Madonna and Child with St Elisabeth and St Barbara presenting Jan Vos*, New York, Frick Collection.

690

96. Workshop of Jan van Eyck, *Madonna and Child with St Elisabeth and St Barbara presenting Jan Vos*, detail: *Jan Vos*, New York, Frick Collection

691

97. Petrus Christus, *Exeter Madonna*, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie.

692

98. Petrus Christus, *Portrait of a Carthusian*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

693

99. Master of the Dresden Prayerbook, *Example of Mercy*, in Valerius Maximus, *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*, Bruges, Groot Seminarie, ms.158/189, fol. 71.

694

100. Hugo van der Goes, *Death of the Virgin*, Bruges, Groeningemuseum.

695

101. Hans Memling, *Jan Crabbe Altarpiece*, central panel: *Crucifixion*, Vicenza, Museo Civico

696

102. Hans Memling, *Jan Crabbe Altarpiece*, exterior wings: *donors and patron saints*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library.

697

103. Marcus Gerards, *Map of Bruges*, detail: *Convent of the 'Black Sisters of Bethel.'*

698

104. Master of the Legend of St Ursula, *Legend of St Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins*, left panel, Bruges, Groeningemuseum.

699

105. Master of the Legend of St Ursula, *Legend of St Ursula and the 11,000 Virgins*, right panel, Bruges, Groeningemuseum.

700

106. Loyset Liédet, *People attending Mass, in St Gregory, Dialogues*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms.fr. 911, fol. 221.

701

107. Marcus Gerards, *Map of Bruges*, detail: *Hospital of St John*.

702

108. Hans Memling, *St John Altarpiece*, central panel: *The Mystic Marriage of St Catherine*, Bruges, Hospital of St John.

703

109. Hans Memling, *St John Altarpiece*, interior wings: *The Martyrdom of St John the Baptist*; *St John the Evangelist on the Isle of Patmos*, Bruges, Hospital of St John.

704

110. Hans Memling, *St John Altarpiece*, exterior wings: donors: *Anthuenis Seghers with St Anthony and Jacob de Keuninc with St James the Major*; *Agnes Casembrood with St Agnes Clara van Hulsen with St Clare*, Bruges, Hospital of St John.

705

111. Hans Memling, *St John Altarpiece*, left exterior wing, detail: *Anthuenis Seghers and Jacob de Keuninc*, Bruges, Hospital of St John.

706

112. Hans Memling, *St John Altarpiece*, right exterior wing, detail: *Agnes Casembrood and Clara van Hulsen*, Bruges, Hospital of St John.

707

113. Hans Memling, *Jan Floreins Altarpiece*, interior, Bruges, Hospital of St John.

708

114. Hans Memling, *Jan Floreins Altarpiece*, exterior, Bruges, Hospital of St John.

709

115. Hans Memling, *Jan Floreins Altarpiece*, central panel: *Adoration of the Magi*, Bruges, Hospital of St John.

710

116. Hans Memling, *Jan Floreins Altarpiece*, central panel, detail: *Jan Floreins*, Bruges, Hospital of St John.

711

117. Hans Memling, *Adriaen Reins Altarpiece*, Bruges, Hospital of St John.

712

118. Hans Memling, *Adriaen Reins Altarpiece*, exterior: *St Wilgefortis and St Mary of Egypt*, Bruges, Hospital of St John.

713

119. Hans Memling, *Adriaen Reins Altarpiece*, central panel, detail: *Adriaen Reins*, Bruges, Hospital of St John.

714

120. Marcus Gerards, *Map of Bruges*, detail: *Hospital of St Julian*.

715

121. Workshop of Robert Campin, *Descent from the Cross*, Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery.

716

122. Marcus Gerards, *Map of Bruges*, detail: *Lepers' House of St Magdalene*.

717

123. Master of the Gold Scrolls, *St Magdalen and donors*, in *Missal of the Lepers' House of St Magdalene*, Bruges, Grootseminarie, ms. 48/3, fol. 193v.

718

124. Master of the Gold Scrolls, *Missal of the Lepers' House of St Magdalene*, Bruges, Grootseminarie, ms. 48/3, fol. 194.

125. Master of the Gold Scrolls, *Crucifixion*, in *Missal of the Lepers' House of St Magdalene*, Bruges, Grootseminarie, ms. 48/3, fol. 174v.