A Book of Hours in the Form of a Roll (Egerton 3044),

Bruges Scribe Johannes de Ecclesia, and the Art of Writing

Kathryn M. Rudy¹

Information:

This document presents a draft, which I am circulating pre-publication so that it might serve as a useful teaching tool during the Covid-19 lockdown. Moreover, no traditional journal would be able to cope with the multiple components of this essay, which include a DIY facsimile and a digitised codex. Publishing the materials online circumvents this problem. I invite readers to construct the paper facsimile at home, view the accompanying video, and discuss the ideas with others. I also welcome comments on the text at [kmr7 \(at\) st-andrews.ac.uk](mailto:kmr7@st-andrews.ac.uk) or via Twitter [@katerudy1](https://twitter.com/katerudy1)

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File	Description	How to read
This document (Rudy, Roll of Hours, Egerton 3044, 28 Jan21.pdf)	Essay	Read on the screen or print on A4 paper
Rudy Egerton 3044 Article images.pdf	Figures accompanying this essay	Read on the screen or print on A4 paper
Rudy Egerton 3044_roll_DIY Print.pdf	Appendix with images of Egerton 3044 arranged in a long pdf	To be printed on A4 paper and then made into a facsimile of the roll, by folding the sheets and taping them together
Rudy (Egerton 3044 article, appendix) Cologne Kolumba 13 full manuscript 61 MB.pdf	Appendix with a full digitisation of Kolumba Ms. 13	No need to print
Search for 'Rudy Egerton 3044' on Youtube	Video summarising the findings in this article	View on YouTube

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Abstract

This article considers the art of Johannes de Ecclesia, a scribe who worked for the Catalan-speaking clientele in Bruges at the end of the fourteenth century and used some letterforms hitherto unattested in prayerbooks. A consummate experimenter, Johannes de Ecclesia stretched the boundaries of scribal practice. His extraordinary products put his own skills on display. No other scribe in Western Europe matches Johannes de Ecclesia's prodigious creativity for two centuries. By analysing two of his manuscripts, this article argues that his outsider status, coupled with his exposure to a broad survey of manuscripts made in various times and geographies, inculcated him with ideas he recombined in unexpected ways.

To understand and communicate Johannes de Ecclesia's unusual and experimental practice, this article proposes under-exploited photography and imagery techniques (namely backlighting) and seeks audience participation levels uncommon in academic articles (namely, the DIY facsimile). It is hoped that the techniques of the reader/scholar are enhanced when they rhyme conceptually with the techniques of the maker and when there is physical engagement with the subject matter.

Introduction

Before the era of printing, handwriting performed the work of preserving written culture. Although they possessed the supreme tool for doing so, most scribes did not write their own names on their works. Page after page survives with only an occasional colophon pleading the reader to 'pray for the scribe', and only occasionally to pray for a particular, named scribe. This article treats the work of one nearly anonymous scribe, Johannes de Ecclesia, who preserved his name in a colophon using a magnificent, labour-intensive script (Cologne, Kolumba, Ms. 13, fol. 42v; fig. 1). When he was active in the 1390s, he created new scripts and applied scribal practice in inventive ways never previously witnessed.

An outsider who apparently travelled widely before landing in the great book-making city of Bruges, Johannes de Ecclesia applied vast acquired knowledge to his craft. This article contextualises his two major surviving works, which both contain highly unusual features. One is an unwieldy roll, the other an unconventional prayerbook; both are bilingual and contain a minimum of 14 different letterforms. In his surviving productions, Johannes de Ecclesia enhanced already-complete manuscripts, deployed unusual scripts, and extended the boundaries of the prayer book genre. While drawing on a wide range of sources, Johannes de Ecclesia cultivated the unusual and breathed life into prayerbooks right at the moment when other forces were conspiring to create streamlined books of hours with clumsy scripts and boilerplate miniatures by groups of anonymous artists such as the Masters of the Pink Canopies.² He bucked the trend and raised the level of production in the 1390s. The closest comparanda to his work only appear decades later.

² A full account of the Masters of the Pink Canopies and their workshop methods has yet to be written. Until then, see Maurits Smeyers, *Vlaamse miniaturen voor van Eyck, ca. 1380-ca. 1420*. Catalogus:

My arsenal of methods for interrogating these two unusual books includes deploying new ways of imaging manuscripts, and even including asking you, the reader, to construct a facsimile. Doing so is only tangentially related to praxology, as I am not suggesting that you create an 11-meter roll from historical materials. Rather, you may find that having a structural model (in paper rather than parchment) helps to make sense of the complex and unwieldy roll, which cannot be represented effectively on a small, horizontally oriented screen. An appendix to this article contains the digital files necessary to create a DIY facsimile, so that you can engage in an approximation of handling it.³ A second appendix contains a full set of digital files for Cologne, Kolumba Ms. 13 (hereafter: Kolumba 13), which, as a codex, appears in a more familiar form whose openings fit neatly onto the screen. In this case, the format of the book requires no introduction. The full facsimile of the openings affords the possibility of clicking through the openings sequentially, as does the original parchment object. The digital experience thereby helps to present the unusual and lively scripts and marginal imagery so that they unfold in time. Marginalia, which appears on nearly every folio, are best represented with a full pdf rather and therefore supplement the smattering of decontextualized shots that appear in this article as figures.

The goals of this article include analysing the two manuscripts—structurally, paleographically, and to a limited extent textually—and from there to piece together a portrait of Johannes de Ecclesia. This article also discusses a third manuscript, which he may have also made. I aim to interrogate his unusual methods, as his scripts demanded extraordinary means of production; to consider his models and sources; and, at a larger scale, to explore aspects of the nature of creativity. I argue that Johannes de Ecclesia must have drawn on a wealth of experience from having seen manuscripts made in other genres and from other times and geographies. He then deployed this knowledge in at least two highly unusual manuscripts. As Karl Sagan said, extraordinary claims require extraordinary evidence.⁴ The inverse is also true. Because unusual objects call for unusual explanations, this article has speculative components.

Egerton 3044: A Long Roll of Hours

Whether they are as tiny as cigar wrappers or as long as gymnasts' ribbons, rolls demand a particular set of physical gestures to use. Small parchment rolls want to snap back as soon as the reader opens them. Long ones, such as out-of-control microfilms, spill out of machines and over tabletops. As writing surfaces, their inconvenience points to their non-use as legible entities, a fact sometimes underscored by their representation in other media: a manuscript illumination (Vienna, ÖNB, Ser n

Cultureel Centrum Romaanse Poort, Leuven, 7 September-7 November 1993. *Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts* = *Corpus van verluchte handschriften*, 6 (Leuven: Peeters, 1993), pp. 4-12; and Sandra Hindman, *The Robert Lehman Collection. IV: Illuminations* (New York and Princeton, NJ: Metropolitan Museum of Art in association with Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 53-60.

³ I discuss structural modeling in 'The Bolton/Blackburn Hours (York Minster Add. Ms. 2): A New Solution to its Text-Image Disjunctions using a Structural Model', *Tributes to Paul Binski. Medieval Gothic: Art, Architecture & Ideas*, ed. Julian Luxford (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), in press.

⁴ Karl Sagan adapted this statement from Pierre-Simon Laplace (1749-1827).

2619, fol. 3v; fig. 2 and fig. 3) depicts a tiny roll, not meant to be read.⁵ Ensconced in a glass vial, it is visible but permanently illegible. Reading it was not required: this roll needed only to exist, or to be held close to the body, to be effective.⁶ It could do its talismanic job without needing to reveal its entire written surface. Late medieval rolls held part of their meaning in their very structure and form, beyond the words and images they contained. Their rolled form may have aided their amuletic function, as probably did the roll's association with antiquity, with its mysterious powers from a distant past.

Rolls were the dominant book form before the Christian era, when codices largely replaced them.⁷ Whereas ancient scribes generally demarcated rolls in panes (horizontally), late medieval scribes configured the roll as one long vertical column. Rolls persisted in the middle ages partly because their format suited certain kinds of texts: genealogies, *arma Christi* representations with the measured nails, amulets that refer to ancient wisdom in their very form, and Ethiopian sheets made to be the length of their owners.⁸ One function to which the roll is not well suited is the book of hours. In my 25 years' experience with medieval manuscripts, I have encountered only one book of hours in rolled form: LBL Egerton 3044.⁹ Whereas most rolls are inscribed on one side only, this one is inscribed on both, which makes the cascade of membranes especially impractical to read. In his article titled 'Arma Christi Rolls', Rossell Hope Robbins argues that rolls were not designed for private meditation because 'It is hardly to be supposed that an individual reader would take the trouble to roll a

⁵ The image in Vienna, ÖNB, Ser n 2619, fol. 3v shows Louis XI, King of France, and his wife Charlotte of Savoy, in front of the retable of St Adrian in St. Adrien-de-Grammont.

⁶ See Don C. Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages*, Magic in History (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006); Kathryn Rudy, 'Kissing Images, Unfurling Rolls, Measuring Wounds, Sewing Badges and Carrying Talismans: Considering Some Harley Manuscripts through the Physical Rituals They Reveal', *eBLJ (the electronic journal of the British Library)* special volume: Proceedings from the Harley Conference, British Library, 29-30 June 2009 (2011), unpaginated; Don C. Skemer, 'Magic Writ: Textual Amulets Worn on the Body for Protection', in *'Materiale Textkulturen' of the Heidelberg Sonderforschungsbereich, Vol. 6, Textträger—Schriftträger: zur Materialen Präsenz des Geschriebenen in frühen Gesellschaften*, ed. Annette Kehnel and Diamantis Panagiotopoulos (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), pp. 127-41; Mary Agnes Edsall, 'Arma Christi Rolls or Textual Amulets? The Narrow Roll Format Manuscripts of 'O Vernicle'', *Magic, Ritual, Witchcraft* 9, 2 (2014), 178–209; Katherine Storm Hindley, 'The Power of Not Reading: Amulet Rolls in Medieval England', *The Roll in England and France in the Late Middle Ages: Form and Content*, edited by Stefan G. Holz, Jörg Peltzer and Maree Shirota. *Materiale Textkulturen. Schriftenreihe des Sonderforschungsbereichs 933* (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter 2019), pp. 289-306.

⁷ As J. P. Gumbert writes in 'Fifty Years of Codicology', *Archiv für Diplomatik: Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde* 50 (2004): 505-26, at p. 519, 'rolls are not oddities, they are a valid and normal Medieval book type'. Rolls were ideal for certain functions, including providing supports for amulets, genealogical tables and other diagrammatic forms. Their poor survival rates reflect the fact that modern and early modern storage systems privileged the codex.

⁸ Jacques Mercier, *Art that Heals: The Image as Medicine in Ethiopia*, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, 1997; Eyob Derillo, 'Traveling Medicine: Medieval Ethiopian Amulet Scrolls and Practitioners' Handbooks', in *Toward a Global Middle Ages*, ed. Bryan Keene, Los Angeles, Getty, 2019, pp. 121-124.

⁹ Dr Jessica Brantley discussed other rolls of hours in her keynote lecture at the Fordham medieval conference in February 2016. I thank Dr Brantley for her talk and for fruitful discussions about this and related topics. Many more prayer rolls are listed in Sonja Drimmer, 'Beyond Private Matter: A Prayer Roll for Queen Margaret of Anjou', *Gesta*, vol. 53, no. 1 (2014), pp. 95-120. J. P. Gumbert has also written on unusual book formats in *Bat Books: A Catalogue of Folded Manuscripts Containing Almanacs or Other Texts* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016).

long sheet every time he wished to pay or meditate'.¹⁰ Since he wrote that, others have pointed out that the rolled prayer books often contain metric relics, which demand a long form, or function as ligatures or amuletic forms to be wrapped around the body, as during childbirth.¹¹ These functions do not seem to operate for Egerton 3044. Its anomalous form demands another explanation: this roll may have functioned as a book of hours, which is the text it contains, but its very form indicates that it must have served another function as well: as an object of ostentatious display.

Egerton 3044 has a number of unusual physical properties that will need to be accounted for in any explanation of its production and use: it comprehends unevenly-sized membranes; it contains a wide variety of scripts of varying sizes, colours, and forms of presentation; the top of the roll is missing, and the current top edge is damaged; it contains unusual paintings; the front and the back are both inscribed, although have different patterns of ruling; and the entire thing is unwieldy beyond belief.¹²

A close study of the roll reveals that it was made in multiple campaigns of work: the original item was extended with additional material and texts. Its supplementary textual contents, which were not designed so much to be read as to be seen, enhance the roll's secondary function: to dazzle and impress. In addition to possessing some of the basic texts defining a book of hours (Calendar, Hours of the Virgin, Penitential Psalms and Litany), the roll contains mnemonic verses and, most unusually, a series of hymns about the Passion of Christ, in which each paragraph is written in a different display script (fig. 4). This passage demonstrates the extraordinary range of scripts mastered by an ambitious scribe. At one level, it is an advertisement for its maker. At another, it is designed to inspire awe like an amuletic roll, whose very form communicates part of its meaning.

Stylistic features in both script and image suggest that Egerton 3044 was begun in the mid-fourteenth century in the Southern Low Countries: it formed an illuminated, if unconventional, book of hours.¹³ Around 1390, an ambitious scribe named Johannes de Ecclesia encountered the roll, already

¹⁰ Rossell Hope Robbins, 'Arma Christi Rolls', *Modern Language Review* 34(1939), pp. 415-21, here p. 416.

¹¹ Mary Morse, 'Alongside St Margaret: The Childbirth Cult of Ss Quiricus and Julitta in Late Medieval English Manuscripts', in Emma Cayley and Susan Powell (eds.), *Manuscripts and Printed Books in Europe 1350-1500: Packaging, Presentation and Consumption* (Liverpool, 2013), pp. 187-206; Mary Morse, 'Two Unpublished English Elevation Prayers in Takamiya 56', *The Journal of the Early Book Society* 16, 2013, pp. 269-277.

¹² In the six years that I have been preparing this article, the description on the BL's website for Egerton 3044 has improved. Rather than append a separate description to this article, I ask readers to refer to the website, which now includes an accurate list of contents and an updated bibliography: <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8175&CollID=28&NStart=3044>

¹³ Several scholars have mentioned Egerton 3044. Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Role of the Scroll: An Illustrated Introduction to Scrolls in the Middle Ages* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2019), p. 135, refers to it as 'a fourteenth-century Dutch roll decorated with gold'. Virginia Reinburg, *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, C. 1400-1600* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 246, attributes it to 'fourteenth century [?]; northern France or Flanders'; Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages*, p. 274, n. 81; Hugo van der Velden, 'A Prayer Roll of Henry Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick', in *Tributes in Honor of James H. Marrow: Studies in Painting and Manuscript Illumination of the Late Middle Ages and Northern Renaissance*, ed. Jeffrey F. Hamburger and A. S. Korteweg (London: Harvey Miller, 2006), pp. 521-49, p. 542. Alfons Dewitte, 'Johannes de Ecclesia, een vroege Brugse kalligraaf, 1350-1370', *Biekorf* 104(2004),

50 years old, realized its awkwardness as a book of hours, and made it even more cumbersome by adding physical material and more texts to it, including an array of display scripts. He enhanced its most startling features—its length and cumbersomeness—resulting in an 11-meter roll that has its own performance built into its structure. The project may have started as one thing (a specialty prayer roll) and finished as something else (a display object and advertisement for the scribe). It is an extraordinary object, otherwise unattested among extant manuscripts, which therefore demands an unusual explanation.

Physical, textual and painted contents of Egerton 3044

The roll is the product of multiple campaigns of work and contains physical material and texts added at different times. Its many membranes currently stretch to 10.5 meters long but only a modest 92 mm wide. Ruled on both sides, the roll comprehends a single column of text as wide as that in a small prayer book, but several hundred times the normal height. Around 1390 it would have contained at least 15 membranes and measured at least 11 meters; some time later handling or conservation rendered it acephalous. The British Library has now mounted it into a contraption with a pair of spindles like the handles of a Torah scroll to keep it controlled and contained, and to prevent direct handling of the parchment. A reader/viewer can only expose about 40 cm of the Egerton roll's recto at a time; the device does not facilitate access to the dorse. Before 2016, the only photos available of it showed details of the figurative illumination. These photos told only a partial story: they decontextualized the images and divorced them from the haptics that object engenders. Because of its form the object was nearly impossible to study from digital proxies.

According to the twentieth-century British Library employee who foliated the roll's membranes in pencil, it has 14 membranes plus a modern header, inscribed on *recto* and *dorse*, signified by the notation '*i+14+iv+14v*'. This is not quite right. A more accurate physical description of the object helps to explain its stratigraphy. A short piece of parchment, 25 mm long, connects membranes 5 and 6 (fig. 5).¹⁴ This small membrane, which I call 5bis, is the key to understanding the manuscript's structure and genesis: the 25mm length of parchment reveals that a scribe tampered with the roll early in its history and added to it, both physically and textually. Specifically, membrane 5bis connects the old with the new.¹⁵ In light of this clue that the roll has changed in length and structure, I will begin by inventorying its contents, noting which campaign of work they belong to. The added display scripts change the function of the roll.

p. 90, provides a brief review of the exhibition Joachim M. Plotzek, Katharina Winnekes, Stefan Kraus, and Ulrike Surmann. *Ars Vivendi, Ars Moriendi = [Die Kunst zu Leben, die Kunst zu Sterben]*, *Exh. Cat., Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum Köln* (München: Hirmer, 2002).

¹⁴ I cordially thank Clarck Driesen at the British Library for measuring these membranes for me. It would have been impossible for me to measure them in the reading room with the roll in its spindle device. As is so often the case, new ideas and research cannot be carried out without the assistance and goodwill of curators, librarians, and insiders.

¹⁵ After I gave a public talk about this manuscript in 2019 in London, staff at the British Library updated the website to reflect the corrected membrane numbering.

The recto of Egerton 3044

The recto contains four texts: the Hours of the Virgin (membranes 1-5bis), the *O Intemerata* (membrane 6r); Penitential Psalms with litany (membranes 7r-13r), and a prayer to the Seven Joys of the Virgin (membranes 13r-14r). Only the Hours of the Virgin and the Penitential Psalms were executed in the first campaign of work, and only these sections contain illumination, which helps to anchor the original part of the production geographically and temporally (fig. 6). An image of the Annunciation may have prefaced the acephalous Hours of the Virgin. Remaining is a series 4-line historiated initials, each depicting an event from the infancy cycle, to mark the canonical hours. The first surviving historiated initial appears at *lauds* and depicts the Visitation (membrane 1r). Others are the Nativity for *prime* (membrane 2r); Annunciation to the Shepherds for *terce* (membrane 3r); Adoration of the Magi for *sext* (membrane 3r); the Massacre of the Innocents for *nonas* (membrane 4r); the Flight into Egypt for *verspers* (membrane 4r); and the Presentation in the Temple for *complies* (membrane 5r). These images have burnished gold backgrounds that extend into puzzle shapes beyond the letterform. Some of the paint has oxidized, especially that of the figures. The impressively small size of these painted initials is lost in reproduction, as is their expressionistic linear technique applied with a black pen. Furthermore, what does not transmit very well in photographic reproduction is the blind tooling upon the gold surface. The frame and letterforms are reiterated in the gold tooling with neat rows of dots impressed in the metallic surface.

Membranes 7r-13r contain the Penitential Psalms, followed by a litany and collects. Highly unusually, a column-wide image of the Crucifixion prefaced the Penitential Psalms; that text is usually marked by an image of Christ in Judgment, but in this roll, the Judging Christ is relegated to a smaller image, namely a 9-line historiated initial. Perhaps the illuminator has re-interpreted the Crucifixion to meet the demands of this text by prominently depicting two praying figures at the bottom of Mt Calvary. Are they female penitents at the foot of Calvary, possibly meant to represent the other Marys with their pots of salve? Or do the figures represent a man and a woman kneeling and in prayer with their enormous hands? Given that, in the first reading, the 'pots of salve' are actually the bases of the thin columns that hold up the gothic 'roof' of the image, this second reading seems more likely. Although the figures lack coats of arms, they may represent the donors. If the figures are in fact donors, their presence would be coherent with a production narrative in which a patron specifically requested an unusual and personalised devotional aid that broke with the traditional iconography.

Only these two texts (the Hours of the Virgin and the Penitential Psalms) contain figurative imagery. One might think that the images are English and stylistically related to the Fitzwarin Psalter (Paris, Bnf, Lat. 765), an English manuscript made in the 1340s.¹⁶ The illuminations of both

¹⁶ Francis Wormald, 'The Fitzwarin Psalter and its Allies', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 6 (1943), 71-77, connects the manuscript to the Fitzwarin and Clevedon families, based on coats of arms, and dates the manuscript to ca. 1350-1375. Lynda Dennison, "'The Fitzwarin Psalter and its Allies': A Reappraisal", in *England in the Fourteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1985 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by W. M. Ormrod (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1986), pp. 42-66 (pp. 43-44, 47, 48), redates the manuscript to the mid-1340s. Nicholas Rogers, 'The Original Owner of the Fitzwarin Psalter', *Antiquaries Journal* 69, no. 2 (1989), pp. 257-78. For a description and images of this manuscript, see <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc13639g>

manuscripts have rather geometric grey painting, flattened architectural canopies, and hillocks represented as mounds of angular rock. Moreover, the faces lurking behind the Crucifixion image in Egerton 3044 are comparable with those in an Anglo-Norman manuscript made for Sir Henry de Cobham (d. 1339) in the 1330s, an apocalypse that also contains a Coronation Ordo in Anglo-Norman (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 20, fol. 68r).¹⁷ In the image prefacing the ordo depicting the crowned king in his coronation vestments and flanked by the bishops, one finds a back wall covered in tiles with faces, similar to those in Egerton 3044.¹⁸

However, closer comparanda were made in the Southern Low Countries, and in fact, the illumination of the original parts of the roll (the Hours of the Virgin and the Penitential Psalms) were probably made in Ghent or Bruges in the middle of the fourteenth century. As Lynda Dennison has shown, strong similarities connect the miniatures produced in England and Flanders in the decades flanking the Black Death.¹⁹ Dennison has also examined the Southern Netherlandish manuscripts from this period stylistically, and from her study, one can see the close relationship between the Resurrected Christ initial in Egerton 3044 and the initial containing the same subject in the charter in the Potterie in Bruges, dated 1354. In particular, the images have a similar diaper background, the same linear quality, and similar greyish skin tones.²⁰ Egerton 3044 reveals the growing internationalism of craftspeople, materials, iconographic and stylistic models.

The saints in the litany—as agents for localisation—are both Netherlandish and English.²¹ Augustine, Nicholas, and Richard (a quintessential English saint) appear consecutively among the martyrs, each with a double invocation. However, other saints in the litany—including Eloy and Donatian—were especially celebrated in Bruges. It is most likely that the original parts of Egerton 3044 were written and painted in West Flanders in the middle of the fourteenth century, but that West Flanders was in close dialogue with East Anglia through trade of ideas and goods, including manuscripts. Perhaps the patron himself moved between London and Bruges and was involved in trade across the English Channel.

Membrane 5bis marks a division between the original and the added physical material. Specifically, membrane 6 comprises newer parchment which must have been copied in a different campaign of work. (See fig. 7 for a stratigraphic summary of the segments.) The person who inscribed this younger membrane began by re-copying the last six lines of the Hours of the Virgin (fig. v*).

¹⁷ I thank Malcolm White for bringing this example to my attention to. For images of the folios and further bibliography, see <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/wd721sy0357>

¹⁸ In the same manuscript, one finds other faces in a tessellated background in the illuminations on fols 6v; 10v; 11r; 12r; 13r; 16r; 17v; 19r; 19v; 20v; 22r; 23r; 23v ... etc.

¹⁹ Lynda Dennison, 'The Stylistic Sources, Dating and Development of the Bohun Workshop, Ca 1340-1400' (Queen Mary, University of London, 1988).

²⁰ For an image of the Potterie charter, see *Ibid.*, fig. 319.

²¹ The litany is transcribed in the appendix below. These saints accord with several of those venerated in Théroutanne, whose main church counted among its relics, for example *Coste Sancti Blasii, Reliquie Sancti Eligii, Vasa Sancti Nichasii, Vasa Sancti Amandi, Brachium Sancti Bertini, Brachium Sancti Maximi, Item, brachium Sancte Berte, Item, capud Sancti Maximi...* in archa magna ubi inventus fuit Beatus Maximus et ubi requiescit Beatus Hunfridus: Quoddam vas rotundum de ebore continens quoddam os de Sancto Hunfrido. For the medieval relic lists of the Church of Théroutanne, as well as that of the Church of St Donatian in Bruges, see *Le Beffroi*, IV, 1872-73, pp. 198-202. I owe this reference to Erik Drigsdahl.

Although this scribe has masterfully imitated the earlier script to make his work blend in with the earlier work, the ink gives him away: this later scribe uses black ink instead of brown for the text and a brownish red ink for the rubrication. This person was probably Johannes de Ecclesia, who will be discussed later.

A structural anomaly with which membrane 6 has been attached reveals the object's multi-phased production. All the membranes are glued together by overlapping about a centimetre of material for each join, but the head of membrane 6 head overlaps the tail of membrane 5bis, whereas all of the membranes in the original production *underlap* the previous membrane (see fig. 8). This is a further indication that membrane 6 was added in a later campaign of work.

The tail of the roll has also been tampered with, so that membrane 14 has likewise been joined with an opposite overlap. This section of the roll—the second half of membrane 13 and all of membrane 14—contains an indulgenced prayer to the Seven Joys of the Virgin, attributed to Pope Clement. The text itself rhymes, with an AABAAB rhyme scheme, so that the stanzas fall neatly into groups of 6 lines. The scribe has arranged them so that each joy begins with 12 lines of black, followed by 6 lines of red script. Close inspection reveals that the final 18 lines (those on membrane 14) have a slightly different slant and spacing than the rest of the poem, and the decoration of the initials differs; this difference is especially visible in the treatment of the rubricated letters. I posit that the 18 lines of membrane 14r have been copied in a different campaign of work, even though the text, layout, and colour scheme are continuous with that on membrane 13. The later scribe was apparently trying to copy the earlier style as closely as possible, so that his intervention was nearly undetectable.

The Hours of the Virgin and the Penitential Psalms, produced in the first campaign of work, were either originally connected or were co-travellers. It is possible that they formed separate rolls, which were only joined in a later phase around 1390. One possibility is that several damaged sections, which included the Hours of the Virgin, the Penitential Psalms, and the Seven Joys of the Virgin which had been originally made around 1345, were repaired, brought together, completed, and connected by Johannes de Ecclesia. He interpolated the *O intemerata*, which fills the recto of membrane 6 and joins the two sections together (fig. 9).

The dorse of Egerton 3044

Johannes de Ecclesia was also responsible for inscribing some—if not all—of the texts on the dorse. The entire dorse must have been inscribed after the recto, since the texts on the dorse continue uninterrupted over the seams where new material was added, namely, membranes 6 and 14. Specifically: the calendar is inscribed continuously across the dorse of membranes 4, 5, 5bis, and 6, and it therefore runs over both original and added parchment. Consequently, the dorse must have been copied only after the membrane 6 was added (around 1390), and it therefore cannot date from the mid-fourteenth century but only from ca. 1390 or later. Moreover, the recto and dorse are ruled differently. This suggests that when the scribe ruled the recto, he did not anticipate that the dorse would also be ruled; otherwise, he would have made one set of prickings that would have served both recto and dorse. In its current state, all of the prickings have been trimmed off. In fact, the long left and right edges of

the roll look as if they were trimmed recently, perhaps in the twentieth century, possibly to excise dirt. This makes it impossible to reconstruct how the ruling was accomplished. It's likely, however, that the recto was pricked, ruled, inscribed, and trimmed; then material was added, and then the roll was re-pricked to rule the dorse, which is why the rulings on the recto and dorse do not correspond. What is clear is that the roll had a phased genesis, and that the dorse was inscribed later, possibly in several campaigns of work.

The purposes of the texts on the dorse are various. Some contribute standard texts to the book of hours; others demonstrate calligraphic prowess. Each has been written in a different script, as if to show off the skills of the scribe. Their variety makes it difficult to determine how many scribes were involved in the copying. Their sequence, which appears haphazard, includes a prayer to the body of Christ; hymns to be said at the Hours of the Cross; a calendar with two computational circles; a calendrical text in rhyming Dutch; and a long prayer to Jesus and Mary.

The opening sequence, which begins *in medias res*, consists of a prayer to the body of Christ (membrane 1v). That the dorse begins *in medias res* suggests that the head was still on when Johannes de Ecclesia acquired it. For the Christological text, the scribe—probably Johannes de Ecclesia—wrote in a *hybrida* of the sort one associates with courtly manuscripts. *Hybrida* (also called *bastarda*) script combines formal elements (from *textura*) and informal elements (from *cursiva*), including a long *s* and *f*, and a single-story *a* and *g*. It is often written with an emphatic slant, a strong differentiation between thick and thin lines, and playfully decorated ascenders and descenders. This script became standard in fifteenth-century Burgundian courts, especially with manuscripts made for Philip the Good (r. 1419–67). Because Johannes de Ecclesia was able to produce many different scripts, it is difficult to know whether he did in fact write this, or indeed, whether he flourished the initials and filled them with tiny faces of men. If Johannes de Ecclesia was indeed writing in this style around 1390, then this would support the notion that he had spent some time at a court, and that he was an early adopter of a new script sort.

Johannes de Ecclesia inscribed the **hymns of the Hours of the Cross** in a variety of visually arresting display scripts (fig. 10). The text takes only the hymn from each of the hours, resulting in four-line stanzas with an *aaaa-bbbb-cccc* rhyme scheme; however, the scribe arranged the lines with a ragged right edge as if they were prose. I know of no other manuscript in which a scribe isolates these texts, which are normally integrated into the Hours of the Cross rather than written as a separate entity. Isolating them allowed the scribe to present an array of ten phrases, which tell an abbreviated story of the Passion, each of them presented in a different script.

He arranges the ten scripts in order from largest to smallest, alternating between *textualis* and *hybrida* letterforms. They begin with a **prologue** (*Adoramus te Christe...*), written in a large *textualis formata*, ruled for 13 mm, which is very large for the width of the column and serves as a title or banner. Next comes the text for **matins** (*Patris sapientia veritas divina...*), this time written in a *textualis* with long ascenders, including decorative arabesques over the tall *s*. It is ruled for 10 mm and inscribed with a wide nib. Slightly smaller, the text for **prime** (*Hora prima ductus est Ihesus ad Pylatum*) is presented in a compact and medium-sized *textualis*, ruled for 9.5 mm, and inscribed with a narrow nib. For **terce** (*Crucifige clamitant hora terciarum*), the words appear in a *hybrida* (therefore

with a one-storey *a*), looping ascenders and descenders, with the two-storey strokes at a 5° slant to the vertical, ruled for 6 mm, and inscribed with a medium nib. At **sext** (*Hora sexta Iesus est cruci conclavatus*), the scribe presents the words in a compact, medium-sized *textualis* inscribed with a medium nib without ascenders, ruled for 6 mm. For **none** (*Hora nona dominus Ihesus expiravit...*), he presents another *hybrida*, this time with a strongly backslanting *d*, and with a sharp distinction between thick and thin for the tall *s*, *h*, *l*, and *f*; it is ruled for 6 mm, and inscribed with a medium nib. Becoming smaller with every hour, **vespers** (*De cruce deponitur hora vespertina...*) appears in a *textualis* more compact than that used for sext, but similar to it; it is ruled for 4.5 mm and inscribed with a narrow/medium nib. The scribe writes the text for **compline** (*Hora completorij datur sepulture...*) in a script close to that of terce, but with more pronounced ascenders and descenders that double back to form loops with a more *currens* aspect; it is ruled for 4.5 mm and inscribed with a narrow nib. The penultimate line (*Has horas canonicas cum devotione...*) is written in a small *textualis*, ruled for 3.7 mm, and inscribed with a narrow nib. Finally, a **postscript** (*Domine ihesu xpriste fili dei...*) appears in the smallest script on the entire roll: a tiny, rounded hybrid, ruled for 3 mm and inscribed with a very narrow nib that minimizes differences between thick and thin.

In sum, the scribe has constructed an artificial text, one distilled from the Hours of the Cross, so that the layout of the text itself glorifies God with sheer craft skill and also reiterates the story of the god-man's physical expiration through the presentation of ever-smaller and more breathless letters. Johannes has used the scripts to embellish the sacred narrative, and perhaps he has also set out to imbue the script with more meaning related to Christ's Passion and death. Johannes seems to have found a method for anatomizing text to become the physical body: it is as if, over the course of this Passion text, Christ's breath floats out of him in ever-smaller gasps.

Although the text is indeed an account of the Passion distributed across the hours, it is also a virtuoso display of ten different scripts, written in the same ink and with a high degree of control. By writing in a variety of scripts, from very formal to less formal, including the voguish rounded *hybrid*, the scribe has turned the Passion of Christ into a performance of his own writing. The traces of this performance would have been visible to anyone approaching someone who was reading the recto of the roll, where the Hours of the Virgin and Penitential Psalms are copied. Specifically, anyone who was using the roll to read *terce* and *sext* of the Hours of the Virgin would simultaneously have been displaying this distinctive text to passers-by.

Although these ten scripts are distinct, there is no doubt that they were written by the same person, in the same ink, but with a variety of pens. They force us to acknowledge that a single scribe could master a plethora of scripts, that there is no one-to-one correspondence between ego and hand. Of course, it is clear from writing masters' sample sheets (to be discussed below) that scribes can form – and teach – a variety of scripts, but that fact is often overlooked when we are matching hands, because, as this array confirms, multiple distinct scripts can emanate from the same person.

Because the entire dorse was inscribed only after the recto had been inscribed and the extra parchment membranes interpolated, it seems likely that the scribe began the next text—the calendar—at the top of membrane 4 after a gap because he was used to working on codices and thought of fresh texts as belonging at the tops of fresh sheets of parchment. The calendar contains clues for localizing

the second campaign of work, although they are not straightforward. In particular, the calendar includes saints from the diocese of Thérouanne and also from the south-western Netherlands, including St Hunfrid of Thérouanne; St Audomar of Thérouanne and his translation in red; the translation of St Bertin, who was venerated in St Omer; and St Maximus, who was venerated in Ghent. These saints were venerated in the area near Thérouanne, near the modern French-Belgian border, and they may localize the roll, or at least the exemplar for the additions on the dorse, to that region.²²

The calendar may also, at first glance, seem to provide clues about the date, but these again are red herrings. The two computational circles for calculating the date of Easter begin with 1300 (fig. 11). Cataloguers often point to such circles as proof of date, because scribes and users would never need to calculate the date for Easter in the past, only in the future; therefore, the first date of the Easter calculation is often given as the date of a manuscript's production. In this case, however, 1300 does not accurately date the roll. By copying older diagrams and preserving the irrelevant date, was the scribe deliberately trying to make the roll seem older and more mysterious? At any rate, these technically intricate circles may serve the roll's function as a showpiece rather than as a utilitarian object. To use them in, say, 1395, would require that the reader begin at the segment labelled 1300, and then move his finger round and round the dial to count out 95 segments, representing 95 years. Clearly, that is not practical. When it was inscribed around 1390, this calendar either was not meant to be used, or else it was designed to be deliberately antiquating, perhaps to create a falsely aged object with extra intrigue.

To summarise: a scribe working in the 1390s received an unusual roll made 50 years earlier, added parchment to the middle and the end of the roll, inscribed some of that parchment with a red, blue, and gold display script, and flipped the roll over to copy a series of texts, including more display scripts and a calendar in a retardataire script with out-dated computational circles. In obfuscating the seams between the older work and his own, he demonstrated his mastery of older scripts.²³ Who was this scribe? His work appears in even more spectacular forms in another prayer book, in which he reveals his name: Johannes de Ecclesia.

Cologne, Kolumba, Ms. 13: A prayerbook with a variety of unusual scripts

Two passages in the roll are written in scripts bearing a remarkable similarity to those found in a prayerbook now in the Kunstmuseum des Erzbistums Köln (formerly called the Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, and also known as Kolumba), Ms. 13.²⁴ (See Appendix 2 for a pdf with

²² See the previous footnote.

²³ On archaizing scripts, see M. B. Parkes, 'Archaizing Hands in English Manuscripts', in *Pages from the Past: Medieval Writing Skills and Manuscript Books*, ed. Pamela Robinson and Rivkah Zim (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pt. IV, pp. 101-41.

²⁴ Before the codex entered the Kolumba collection, it went through several private hands in the twentieth century. It was described by S.C. Cockerell for the catalogue *Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Burlington, 1908), p. 121, nr. 249, plate 150. It was sold in the Holford sale 29/7/1929 lot 8; in the Chester Beatty sale 3/12/68 lot 21; and by H. P. Kraus, New York (1974), no. 29. See E.G. Millar, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts*, vol. II (Oxford, 1930), nr. 77, pp. 217-230, pl. CLXXXIII- CLXXXIV. It came into the collection of Renate König, for which see Joachim M. Plotzek et al., *Ars Vivendi, Ars Moriendi = [Die Kunst zu Leben, die Kunst zu Sterben], Exh. Cat., Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum*

scans of all of the folios in this manuscript.) First, the script of the *O intemerata*, in alternating gold, blue, and red *textualis* has a close analogue in the codex in a prayer dedicated to the Virgin in the codex (Kolumba 13, fol. 42r; fig. 12). Second, the nine scripts in the hymns of the Hours of the Cross strongly resemble a series of scripts in the codex from fol. 30r-39r (figs * 19-26). The overwhelming similarities of these features make plain that the same scribe, Johannes de Ecclesia, worked on both manuscripts. In the codex, he had more space to experiment with other scripts, as well to work with a highly talented and unusual illuminator from southern Europe, probably Catalonia.

In both roll and codex, the scribe has experimented with chrysography, or writing in precious metals, a technique associated with earlier medieval gospel manuscripts destined for display. Gold letters require multiple steps to apply, including writing in coloured glue and then laying gold leaf foil over the glue, pressing it on and burnishing it. In neither roll nor codex has the scribe assigned the colours to alternating stanzas or sentences but has simply inscribed the first few lines in gold on a solid-coloured background, the next few in silver on black, the next in gold, blue, or red on naked parchment. In other words, the scribe did not use the colours to help articulate the meaning of the text, but rather to show off his abilities and create a pattern that increases the script's visibility. While the gold script on fol. 42r of the Kolumba 13, has remained fresh, preserved flatly as it is among the folios of a book, that on the Egerton roll has not fared as well, probably because the necessary curvature of the parchment can hurl flakes of paint like a gymnast's springboard. Although the gold leaf is malleable and pliable, the glue-gesso substrate that attached it to the page is brittle, and it flakes off when continuously bent and unbent. One should imagine that the gold on the roll once looked as fresh as that in the codex.

The alternating red, blue and gold script of the roll and the codex, although unusual, has several analogues. It can be compared with a New Testament made in Paris in the 1250s (New York Public Library, MA 134).²⁵ This Bible, which does not include the usual study aids, differs considerably from the 'pocket bibles' made in thirteenth-century Paris. Instead, it contains a number of gospel readings that have been emphasised through colour (fig. 13 and 14). While the famous opening line of the Gospel of John ('In the beginning was the word...') is inscribed in shiny burnished gold, the rest of the passage alternates between red and blue blocks. These have been carefully arranged so that the two-column page resembles a checkerboard. Mostly blocks comprise four lines, but they are adjusted slightly to preserve the rule that colours will form an inverted mirror across the central vertical axis formed by the gutter. In addition to highlighting the beginning of John, the scribe has also picked out passages from the other gospels to render in colour, which call attention to themselves when one flips through the book.

In addition to using metallic scripts, previous scribes also used alternating red and blue letters in order to bring visual intrigue to the page. Blocks of red and blue script likewise appear in the Life and

Köln (München: Hirmer, 2002), cat. 13, pp. 226-239. In 2017, she gave her manuscripts to the Kunstmuseum des Erzbistums Köln, now known as the Kolumba Museum.

²⁵ For a description, see J. J. G. Alexander, James H. Marrow, and Lucy Freeman Sandler, *The Splendor of the Word: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at the New York Public Library* (New York / London: New York Public Library / Harvey Miller, 2005), cat. 2, pp. 28-29.

Passion of St Denis, written and illuminated in Paris in 1317 (Paris, BnF, Ms. Fr. 2090-2092).²⁶ The manuscript came from a French courtly context. The first large miniature makes use of alternating red-blue display script as a label. It announces the presentation of the book to Phillip V, King of France (r. 1294-1322) by the abbot Gilles de Pontoise (fig. 15). The 16 other folios with illuminations, such as one depicting the conversion of St Denis (fol. 48v), brandish descriptive texts in alternating lines of red and blue. The colourful inks contribute to the decorative programme without necessarily articulating the text or making visible its internal hierarchies.

Manuscripts with scripts employing a similar approach to alternating colours largely appear in examples made at court. One manuscript contemporary with Johannes de Ecclesia's activity is a book of hours made in Avignon in the 1390s, with red, blue, and gold texts, which the scribe has further differentiated through size and script (BL, Harley 2979; fig. 16).²⁷ Many slightly later French book of hours have calendars that deploy gold letters as the highest level in the hierarchy, and then use alternating red and blue lines for the regular feasts. That these models were made in the courts of Avignon and Paris suggests that Johannes de Ecclesia spent time there and had access to courtly libraries.

An even more similar approach to Johannes de Ecclesia's colourful display scripts appears in a typological picture book of unusual format, which was made in the Netherlands and slightly post-dates Johannes's work: this manuscript comprises a series of parchment triptychs gathered into a booklet (London, BL, Kings 5; fig. 17).²⁸ Its intriguing painting has been attributed to the Master of the Hours of Margaret of Cleves (Lisbon, Museum Calouste Gulbenkian, Ms. LA 148), which was produced within a court culture, probably that of The Hague. The scribe of Egerton 3044 was more precise and produced more carefully crafted script than did the scribe of Kings 5. It is a particularity of Kings 5 that the manuscript was organised around the images, and the texts were added around them, in an inversion of the normal order of operations: the Master of the Hours of Margaret of Cleves apparently handed off the trifolios to a specialist scribe to add the unusual display scripts; however, that scribe was probably not Johannes de Ecclesia. What the two examples have in common, besides exhibiting experimental formats, is that neither scribe used the colours to articulate the meaning of the text, but only to give it visual dazzle and variety.

Besides script, Johannes de Ecclesia deploys another unexpected design tool: decorative ruling. In both Egerton 3044 and Kolumba 13, he has ruled the multi-coloured sections with pairs of parallel lines defining both the horizontal and the vertical confines of the text block. In the codex he experimented further by drawing the ruled lines in hues that contrast with that of the letters that will sit upon them. So painstaking was the scribe in this ruling that he changed colours at the top of the sheet,

²⁶ For a description, digital facsimile, and bibliography see <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8447296x/fl.item>

²⁷ The calendar features Sts Quiteria and Eulalia, which suggests a link with Catalonia. See Francesca Manzari, 'Harley MS. 2979 and the Books of Hours Produced in Avignon by the Workshop of Jean de Toulouse', *eBLJ* 2011, Article 11 [not paginated] (<http://www.bl.uk/ebj/2011/articles/pdf/ebjarticle112011.pdf> accessed 4 October 2020)

²⁸ Prof. James Marrow introduced me to this manuscript in 1995. For a description of Kings 5, including a full bibliography, see <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=7880&CollID=19&NStart=5>.

so that across the top of the solid blocks of blue paint are double red lines, which formed a stronger contrast and visual effect than red and blue together would have done. This ruling is a feat of concentration and a steady hand, as it forms an emphatic grid on the white page where any errors would be ruinous. Other than displaying skill, the bright double ruling serves to make the colours visually throb in a way that the Pointillists will exploit in the nineteenth century.

Alternating red and blue display decorative ruling appears in earlier manuscripts made for liturgical use. For example, this kind of technique appears in a large English choir psalter from Christ Church Cathedral priory, Canterbury, made after 1320, where some, but not all of the folios are ruled with bright red and blue parallel lines (Oxford, Bodleian, MS. Auct. D. 2. 2; fig. 18).²⁹ The line pairs add visual intrigue to the parchment surface, create a dazzling effect, and call attention to the organisation of the page. Double decorative ruling has few precedents in Netherlandish manuscripts; however, some manuscripts exhibit emphatic ruling as a prominent design feature. For example, a festal evangeliary from the Northern Netherlands (possibly Doetinchem), made in the last decade of the thirteenth century (Arnhem, Rijksarchief, PG 2; fig. 19), has thickly painted ruling in repeated colours: red, blue, and yellow.³⁰ In this liturgical manuscript, the display scripts were made with different tools and pigment from those used in Egerton 3044.

Johannes de Ecclesia may have seen manuscripts such as these, in which the scribe employs the ruling in the decorative program. I suspect that he sought out unusual liturgical manuscripts and noted their most salient design ideas, together with distinctive and ornate scripts from various courtly manuscripts, and then worked them into manuscripts of a different genre: prayerbooks.

Display scripts in Kolumba 13

A section in the roll with decorative scripts—namely, the hymns to be said during the Hours of the Cross on the dorse—bears a striking resemblance to a prayer written in an array of 26 different scripts in Kolumba 13, fols 32r-39r (fig. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27). This prayer to God was seldom copied and is not standard fare for a book of hours or prayer book of ca. 1390.³¹ Whereas Johannes

²⁹ Van Dijk, 21.

³⁰ The Canons Regular of the Monastery Bethlehem, Doetinchem owned the manuscript in the fifteenth century. See A.J.C. van Huygevoort, 'Een notitie over de boeken van het klooster Bethlehem te Doetinchem', *Middeleeuwse boeken en teksten uit Oost-Nederland*. A.J. Geurts (ed.) Nijmegen/Grave 1984 (Nijmeegse codicologische cahiers 2-3), pp. 66-78, with further bibliography.

³¹ The prayer inscribed on Kolumba 13, fols 32r-39r has no rubric. It is related to a prayer that appears in a fragment of an Icelandic manuscript, National and University Library of Iceland, Ms. AM 241a, fol. 34b, 13a-14a, a fragment written ca. 1300, which was the subject of a PhD thesis of Róbert A. Ottósson. A summary of the thesis defense was published: Róbert A. Ottósson, 'Diktorsvörn (Thesis Defense)', in *Islensk Tunga: Lingua Islandica*, ed. Hreinn Benediktsson (Reykjavik: Bókauktgáfa Menningarsjóðs, 1960), pp. 83-118. A transcription of the prayer, which is an expanded edition of the one that appears in Kolumba 13, but which is written on a fragment and ends *in medias res*, appears on pp. 114-115 of Ottósson's summary article. A similar prayer, indicated as an *Oratio Sancti Gregorii*, appears in Paris, Mazarine Library, Ms. 512, fol. 111r, a prayerbook made in Northern France, possibly at the Abbey of Saint-Amand, at the end of the ninth century. For a description, see <http://initiale.irht.cnrs.fr/codex/6582/9066>. The prayer can be classified as a lorica (breast-plate): a protective prayer.

presents the scripts on the roll in a rectangular unit, he arranges them in the codex in a series of eight folios, recto and verso. In both roll and codex he abides by the persistent medieval design principle: alternating contrasting elements. In countless manuscripts, decorative initials and flourishes toggle between red and blue. Here, scripts alternate between *textualis* and *hybrida*. This is telling, because it demonstrates that the scribe conceptualised *textualis* and *hybrida* as the two major entities from which to choose: they reveal his category formation. Moreover, the scribe plays with slant and density, so that the scripts display variety within this overarching organising principle. He frames the scripts with plenty of space around them, even though the textual logic of the groups of words continues uninterrupted from one folio to the next. Whereas the roll and its constituent scripts present a text that describes Christ dying on the cross—in which scripts continually diminish in stature—the codex lacks this sense of weakening breath over the series of folios. The shifting scripts do not articulate the meaning of the text; rather, they communicate abundance and innovation while presenting variety.

Instead, in the codex the scribe imagined each complete opening as a visually coherent unit: clearly, he was making a design choice rather than an authorial one. Nevertheless, he may have chosen scripts purposefully rather than randomly in his sampler. For example, the text on 34r lists categories of beings whom the speaker praises, and this section—due largely to the plural nouns—has many words ending in *s*: *digneris, sanctos, angelos, patriarchas, prophetas, apostolos, evangelistas, martyres, confessors, virgines, omnes, sanctos, electos*. Johannes de Ecclesia chose to inscribe this section with a script that has a particularly exuberant final *s*, one whose top stroke erupts into a notched descender. Matching this text with this script allowed Johannes de Ecclesia to pen multiple such ending *s*'s. If this were an isolated occurrence, one could attribute the use of this script to this text to chance. However, a similar list of plural beings appears on fol. 37v: *sanctos, archangelos, sanctos, patriarchas, prophetas, omnes apostolos et martyres confessores*. In the second instance, the scribe has again chosen a very similar script, one that again allows him to exploit the festooning tail of the many final *s*'s. Perhaps he acted out of pleasure: purposely choosing letterforms with superabundant streaming *s*'s to take advantage of the script's most prominent feature.

The section with unusual scripts begins with a historiated initial, which shows a male figure sitting cross-legged on the floor (fol. 32r), reading a manuscript, as if the illuminator were anticipating that the patron would become particularly absorbed in this section. Whereas many images in this period depict a donor holding a book but staring into space, as if transported into an ethereal world of prayer, the unnamed illuminator of this manuscript shows the young man intensely studying his fascinating possession as he sits in a rather undignified position on the floor. Is it possible that this figure represents not the book's patron, a man possibly called Nicholas, but rather his son? Perhaps the manuscript was made for a family. The wife/mother may be the smartly dressed woman who holds a pet squirrel by a leash (fol. 148v), and their son is the male figure in the initial.³² This would explain why he is represented seated on the floor sitting cross-legged: he is a child.

If that is the case, then one could compare this section in Kolumba 13 with a manuscript made for Maximilian I (1459-1519), which contains a child's ABC, presents a variety of scripts for the child

³² For squirrels and other pets owned by women, see Kathleen Walker-Meikle, *Medieval Pets* (Boydell, 2012).

to master, including texts written so that the syllables are written as separate units for easy parsing (Vienna, ÖNB 2368).³³ The young Maximilian I's manuscript also contains illuminated initials that show the young reader sitting close to the ground while reading a book, although in Maximilian's case, he appears with his tutor who guides him through the manuscript. Maximilian's book was made for him around 1465, that is, some seven decades after Johannes de Ecclesia made the Kolumba manuscript. Perhaps the collection of display scripts in Kolumba 13 was designed to delight and inspire a child, and that the scripts form a didactic tool to help the young reader to master any and all scripts he might encounter in his international career.

Backlighting then and now

Johannes de Ecclesia extends this *jouissance* to the page layout more generally. From fol. 32r to fol. 39r the page layout is not consistent; the changes within this section reveal aspects of his working method. In the first full opening of experimental scripts in the codex (32v-33r), he presents five different scripts, and in the second (33v-34r) he presents nine, and thereafter he presents two. His ruling reveals that he is in an experimental phase. Let me explain, using backlighted photography, an experimental imaging technique to reveal an experimental scribal technique.

Most of the folios in the manuscript are ruled with the same pattern of rulings on recto and dorse. Such is the case with fol. 31, where backlighting reveals this coordinated scheme (fig. 28). One can see the ruled lines, superimposed dorse and recto. The situation looks different on fol. 33, where Johannes is experimenting with display scripts. Examination of the folio under regular lighting reveals that there is no ruling at all (except the outside bounding lines), while backlighting (fig. 29) shows that the recto and dorse have completely different ruling patterns. Instead of actually inscribing rulings in ink or silver point or even blind, Johannes de Ecclesia probably used a system of backlighting to guide his script, with a separate piece of ruled parchment underneath the one he was inscribing. (In modern terms, this would be like writing on blank airmail paper by placing it atop a lined template.) With such a system, writing the recto would have been relatively straightforward, but writing the dorse would have been more difficult, as the marks on the recto would have interfered annoyingly with the marks one was trying to write. If he did use such a method, then my backlit method of detecting his process conceptually matches his production process.

In writing a variety of scripts with different sizes, heights, and spacings, Johannes must have been attempting to dazzle his audience with a high degree of complexity, but this proved arduous because the marks on the recto would interfere with the layout of the dorse. It would be like someone trying to compose a 3-beat waltz while a drum circle in the room were playing a 7:11 polyrhythm. Nevertheless, the scribe persevered and inscribed a second folio with disjointed recto and dorse, as backlighting reveals (fol. 34; fig. 30). But thereafter, he abandoned those efforts for a less complex

³³ For a description with bibliography and images, see the library's website: https://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_7039594&order=1&view=SINGLE. Maximilian I's first prayerbook has been made into a facsimile, for which see <https://www.ziereisfacsimiles.com/textbook-for-emperor-maximilian>

page design and settled instead on achieving variety by using different scripts with the same ruling. Studying the next folio (fol. 35) with backlighting reveals how he found a way to display variety and complexity, but at the same time limit the amount of interference from the recto when he was inscribing the dorse. Namely, he used nested or coordinated ruling, so that the front and back of the parchment would be in sync, as backlighting shows (fig. 31). He superimposed the scripts on either side of the membrane from fol. 35 through the end of this section, so that each opening presents just two scripts, which contrast visually, but which are always written on 8 lines per page. The recto and dorse use the same ruling matrix (although these are not inscribed on the parchment), so that the recto does not interfere with the dorse during the process of creation. Seeing these images with backlighting helps to tell the story of the scribe's experiments and thought processes.

Indeed, backlighting reveals other aspects of the scribe's process. For a prayer dedicated to St Nicholas, possibly the name saint of the manuscript's patron, Johannes de Ecclesia deploys one of the most lavish and painstaking scripts (Kolumba 13, fol. 41v; fig. 12* above). The initial contains a depiction of the saint as a bishop holding a lump of gold, which he is going to throw into the window of the daughters who cannot afford their dowry. A male patron would be consistent with the male pronoun endings on the prayers, and the images of a male figure in contemporary dress who appears in several initials in the codex, such as one on fol. 60 (fig. 32). The script looks as if it were vibrating: it comprises small strokes that do not touch. The hundreds of strokes have resulted in negative spaces that are all angled, giving the impression of letterforms broken on a sea of waves. In some ways, the dotted script resembles strapwork initials deployed in ascenders of certain display scripts, such as that a manuscript commissioned between ca. 1420 and ca. 1440 by Lord John Beaver, a monk at St Albans (fig. 33).³⁴ In this manuscript, containing commentaries to biblical texts, the extravagant colophon lists the contents of the manuscript, an anathema, and a note to say that John Beaver has given the book to God, the Virgin Mary, and the church of St. Alban. Unusually, the colophon comes at the beginning of the book rather than its end and was integral to its conception. This dedication, and the book's lofty recipient, warrant the highly flourished script.

The strapwork script in the St Albans manuscript comprises rhythmically broken strokes, not unlike the disciplined broken script that Johannes de Ecclesia uses in the suffrage to St Nicholas (Kolumba 13, fol. 41v). In both cases, the scribe's skill is offered as a gift to an otherworldly recipient. In Johannes's 'dot script', each minim is trisected with gaps, yielding a strobe-like effect that seems to glisten even more than chrysography. It is as if Johannes de Ecclesia were setting up a challenge: the materiality of gold vs. the scintillation of his own skill. As with the precise multicoloured ruling discussed earlier, here he is deploying techniques that anticipate the Pointillists by 500 years. The viewer has to complete the strokes in his or her mind to render them continuous.

A backlit image of folio 41 reveals another way in which Johannes de Ecclesia used negative space as a design element: the large display letters at the top of fol. 41v, written in a different script, constitute raw parchment defined by their ground, rather than by their figure. They are not made

³⁴ For a description and bibliography of London, BL, Royal Ms 2 F VII, see <https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=5815&CollID=16&NStart=20607>

of white paint laid atop a blue background, as one might think if one were presented with a conventional photograph of the folio, but rather blue paint framing blank parchment letterforms (fig. 34). This reversed figure-ground technique rendered errors impossible to erase, as we can see from the action Johannes took after he discovered that he had erroneously written the letters 'ni' twice on fol. 41v. Since scraping them out was not an option, and he apparently did not want to fill them with blue paint to make them disappear, he 'expunctuated' them by painting small dots of red paint above and below them, to indicate that the reader should ignore them.

The scribe reserves one of the most intricate scripts in Kolumba 13 for his own colophon (Kolumba 13, fol. 42v; fig. as above). There he identifies himself as Johannes de Ecclesia of Bruges: *Orate pro iohanne de ecclesia, scriptore istius libri commorante in villa brugensi*. That he uses the term *commorante in villa Brugensi* indicates that he was 'resident' in Bruges and very well could have been a foreigner. Many scribes moved to Bruges, where the book industry was thriving. Foreign-born scribes were not compelled to be or to become citizens of Bruges, nor to join the guild, before 1457.³⁵ Johannes de Ecclesia's name does not appear in the archives of Bruges, either in Latin or in a vernacular counterpart such as Jan van de Kerke or Johannes vander Kerke.³⁶ Alfons Dewitte suggests that 'Johannes de Ecclesia' was connected to the Church of St Donatian, the largest church in Bruges, and implies that the 11-meter roll—now Egerton 3044—formerly hung up in that church.³⁷ However, this seems to be a misidentification: the roll he mentions is inscribed with the *Salve Regina*, a text that does not appear on Egerton 3044.³⁸ Concrete evidence connecting the scribe with this church is lacking.

This script with which he writes the colophon (fol. 42v) appears nowhere else in his surviving repertory. It consists of a thick textualis outline infilled with negative cruciform shapes. Although it would first appear that the script had been inscribed with a wide nib, in fact, it was made with

³⁵ For the workshop practices of Bruges, see James Douglas Farquhar, "Identity in an Anonymous Age: Bruges Manuscript Illuminators and Their Signs." *Viator* 11 (1980), pp. 371-83; James Douglas Farquhar, "Manuscript Production and Evidence for Localizing and Dating Fifteenth-Century Books of Hours: Walters Ms 239." *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 45 (1987), pp. 44-88; Melanie E. Gifford, "Pattern and Style in a Flemish Book of Hours: Walters Ms. 239." *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 45 (1987), pp. 89-102; Saskia van Bergen, *De Meesters van Otto van Moerdrecht. Een onderzoek naar de stijl en iconografie van een groep miniaturisten, in relatie tot de productie van getijdenboeken in Brugge rond 1430* (Amsterdam: diss., University of Amsterdam, 2007); Saskia van Bergen, 'The Production of Flemish Books of Hours for the English Market: Standardization and Workshop Practices', *Manuscripts in Transition: Recycling Manuscripts, Texts and Images: Proceedings of the International Congress [Sic] Held in Brussels (5-9 November 2002)*, edited by Brigitte Dekeyzer and Jan van der Stock. *Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts*, pp. 271-83. (Leuven: Peeters, 2005).

³⁶ [W.H.J. Weale], 'Documents inédits sur les enlumineurs de Bruges', *Le Beffroi* IV, Bruges 1872-1873, pp. 111-119, 238-337. It should be noted, however, that the earliest account records for the guild of book producers dates from 1454.

³⁷ Alfons Dewitte, 'Johannes de Ecclesia, een vroege Brugse kalligraaf, 1350-1370', *Biekorf* 104 (2004), p. 90.

³⁸ Although Dewitte does not provide a reference for the roll with the *Salve Regina* in his 2004 article, he may be referring to an object he mentions in an earlier article, a *schrifttafel*—some kind of poster—with the *Salve Regina* which is documented as hanging in the Church of St Donatian in 1491. For this object, see Alfons Dewitte, 'Gegevens betreffende het muziekleven in de voormalige Sint-Donaaskerk te Brugge 1251-1600', [*Dewitte, 1974 #4650*] p. 146, n. 66. [This reference can't be expanded at the moment due to an IT problem.]

thousands of strokes applied with a narrow nib. The labour-intensive production—where the parchment shines through the letter forms—is revealed with backlighting (fig. 35).

The top of the folio with the colophon is blank at the top (fol. 42v). The backlit photograph also reveals the reason for this. The scribe was aware that the opaque paint, painted in preparation for applying metallic letters, interrupted the luminosity of the dorse of the same folio, and he therefore avoided inscribing the top 2/5 of the verso. Perhaps he learned from the error in judgment he made on fol. 41, where the thick pigment of his negative script does appear through the page and detract from the script on the other side of the membrane. He obviated this error on fol. 42, so that his delicate, lacy script begging the reader to 'pray for me' would have not the interference from the material on the other side. Seeing (photographs of) the backlit folios allows modern viewers to more carefully consider aspects of the parchment that Johannes himself took into consideration: its semi-transparency and luminosity of the material.

Historians of sculpture have noted how photography affects art historical interpretation.³⁹ It also affects, I would argue, interpretations of medieval manuscripts, whose individual folios have often been imaged as decontextualised planar units, but are in fact sculptural objects with multiple, ever-changing facets. The backlit images featured in this article likewise help to uncover some of the working methods of the scribe, which changed from one folio to the next. I made the backlit photographs myself in August 2019 in Cologne, although as of yet, purposeful, experimental, and context-specific photography of medieval manuscripts has not become mainstream practice. Although conservators use it regularly, art historians do not, as I believe they should. It is currently not commonplace for institutions to photograph manuscripts with backlighting or with other unconventional means, and such practices may have to at least begin with amateur photography. Photography itself can be a heuristic tool, a means by which knowledge can be made. The discussion above shows how backlighting helps to reveal how the scribe approached and solved design problems.

Codicology and Catalan features of Kolumba 13

What kind of manuscript is Kolumba 13, and who might have used it? Kolumba 13 is not a book of hours but rather a prayer book that contains daily masses, as well as masses to be recited throughout the year on major feast days. Like Egerton 3044, it was made in various campaigns of work: some sections are ruled in red, others in brown, and some are not ruled at all. Some of the parchment is thick and velvety, some is thin and waxy. Some sections have catchwords, and others do not. In both manuscripts Johannes de Ecclesia completed the respective finale. Namely, it is clear that Johannes de Ecclesia copied fols 32r-42v, which contain the display scripts discussed earlier, and which finish with his colophon. It is tempting to ascribe a magnificent product to a single genius. It is possible but far from certain that Johannes inscribed the entire codex; a chameleon with dozens of scripts within his purview, he may have executed the neat textualis in the rest of the folios. Even if he did, the manuscript still comprises distinct segments with different ruling and slightly different kinds of

³⁹ Heinrich Wölfflin, 'How One Should Photograph Sculpture (Translated by Geraldine A. Johnson)', *Art History* 36, no. 1 (2013), pp. 52-71.

parchment. (A summary of the quires, their contents, and their physical features appears in Appendix 3.) Separating the layers of work is complicated for several reasons: first, fol. 32r begins in the middle of quire 5 and is ruled differently from the beginning of the quire. Did Johannes de Ecclesia write the entire quire 5, or only the section after fol. 32r? If the latter, the situation implies that he either received a partially completed manuscript, or he was working in close proximity with another scribe.

The decoration in Kolumba 13 also complicates the stratigraphy. Nearly every folio features painted imagery: dogs tugging at *changeant* drapery, acanthus morphing into acanthus, squirrels running in a wheel, a boy fishing in a pond on the other side of the text block, butterflies, Halfling beasts, and several images of a male and a female patron. These paintings appear throughout the codex and are apparently made by the same hand. This implies that all of the copying was completed before the inscribed folios were handed to an illuminator, and makes less likely the theory that Johannes de Ecclesia received a partially completed codex and augmented it, as he had augmented Egerton 3044.

Several of the texts in Kolumba 13 are written in Catalanian (fols 2v-4r; figs). As Plotzek and others have suggested, both the illuminator and at least one of the scribes, possibly Johannes de Ecclesia, came from Catalonia or Spain.⁴⁰ The pen flourishes, which are quite fussy, may betray scribal training in Catalanian; they are comparable to those in the Ordinances of the 'Santa Confraria dels Clergues de la Ciutat Catalonia and Bisbat de Valencia', made after 1366 and written in Catalan (Bodleian Library MS. Span. c. 13).⁴¹ Likewise, the highly imaginative illuminations in Kolumba 13 resemble designs found in Catalanian manuscripts of the late fourteenth century. The region not only had a tradition of seafaring and trade, but it also produced lavish manuscripts in the mid-fourteenth century, including the 'Catalan map' (BnF, Ms. Esp. 30), made famous by its depiction of Mansa Musa, the emperor of Mali who undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca.⁴² This is not to say that Johannes de Ecclesia was responsible for creating the map, but that he may have come from a region with highly developed seafaring and manuscript-making cultures. In the fourteenth-century population records of Catalonia, the professions listed on tax rolls indicate a high proportion of people employed as shippers, seafarers, and stevedores, but there were others in crafts, including weavers, tanners, cobblers, silversmiths, and scribes.⁴³

Despite the Catalan features in Kolumba 13, Johannes de Ecclesia clearly indicates that he worked in Bruges, a location also consistent with features of Egerton 3044, which includes a calendrical text in Middle Dutch, saints from Théroutane, and illuminations from the Southern Netherlands. Is it possible that Johannes de Ecclesia was a scribe from Catalonia who came to Bruges together with an illuminator, and that the two produced manuscripts unlike any that had ever been made in the Southern Netherlands before? Perhaps, as Pere Bohigas has suggested, he Latinized his name to Johannes de Ecclesia from Joan d'Església or d'Esglésies, which would have been an ordinary

⁴⁰ Joachim Plotzek, as above.

⁴¹ For this manuscript, see <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/inquire/Discover/Search/#/?p=c+20,t+catalan,rsrs+0,rsps+50,fa+,so+ox%3Asort%5Easc,scids+,pid+ab4599e9-8f42-4060-b781-b7f320ad3798,vi+>

⁴² <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55002481n/f6.planchecontact>

⁴³ Robert S. Smith, 'Fourteenth-Century Population Records of Catalonia', *Speculum* 19, no. 4 (1944): 494-501. Accessed June 29, 2020. doi:10.2307/2853485.

name in Catalonia.⁴⁴ Of course, he could have been a Netherlander, and his vernacular name could have been Jan de Kerk. Another possibility is that 'de Ecclesia' referred to his working as a clerk for a church, the largest of which in Bruges was St Donatian's. However, no ecclesiastical records survive that would buttress this hypothesis.

Given the texts in the Kolumba manuscript that are in Catalan, and the Catalan nature of the illumination, the hypothesis that Johannes de Ecclesia hailed from Catalonia is plausible. Most of the texts in Kolumba 13 are in Latin; those in Catalan include paratexts such as the table of contents (fig. 36). The scribe calls attention to this text by deploying an unusual script: a textualis in alternating lines of blue and gold, which resembles the script on the roll, and also on Kolumba 13, fol. 42r. Given the quixotic decorative hues of the table of contents, it is likely that Johannes de Ecclesia inscribed it. The prominence, decoration and very existence of a table of contents in this manuscript is highly unusual, as prayer books usually lack these features.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the rubrics prefacing many of the texts, including the specialised masses, are given in Catalan. By inscribing the metatexts—that is, the rubrics and finding aids—in the vernacular, the scribe anticipated the needs of a Catalan-speaking patron who had an easier time navigating text in his native tongue than in Latin.

It is plausible that Johannes de Ecclesia served the community of expatriates in Bruges of Catalan speakers from the environs of Barcelona, Valencia, Mallorca, and the nearby islands. Perhaps the patron of Kolumba 13—quite possibly a man named Nicholas—formed part of the Catalan community in Bruges. The port town of Flanders was after all a trading metropolis, with enclaves of foreign nationals, including English traders (who were largely involved in the wool trade) and Italians involved in silk and banking. Famously, the Adorno family commissioned the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Bruges in 1429, which gave the Italian enclave a place to congregate in Bruges. Forming their own enclave, the Catalonians banded together with the Spaniards in Bruges, with whom they heard mass and buried their dead. One can imagine a wealthy Catalan trader named Nicholas, based in Bruges, who spent lavishly on fine handcrafted items. The manuscript he acquired was highly personalised and utterly innovative.

Another member of this Catalan community may have likewise commissioned a prayerbook from Johannes de Ecclesia: Oxford, Bodleian Canon Liturg. 251 (fig. 37). This book of hours was made in the Southern Netherlands—quite possibly in Bruges—and also has rubrics in the vernacular Catalan, used to signpost the prayers for a Catalan speaker. (See Appendix 4 for the contents of this manuscript.) This time, however, the scribe did not deploy display scripts, and he collaborated with a more garden-variety illuminator, one probably based in Bruges, who supplied full-page miniatures with stiff figures against backgrounds of precious metals. This illumination, in other words, embodies opposite values from Johannes de Ecclesia's: the illuminator relies on materials to make up for his deficit of skills.

⁴⁴ Pere Bohigas, *La Ilustración y la Decoración del Libro Manuscrito en Cataluña. Contribución al Estudio de la Historia de la Miniatura Catalana. Período Gótico y Renacimiento II* (Barcelona: Asociación de bibliófilos de Barcelona, 1967), p. 84. Repeated in Joachim Plotzek, 2002, p. 231.

⁴⁵ For a discussion of tables of contents in prayerbooks, see Kathryn M. Rudy, *Image, Knife, and Gluepot: Early Assemblage in Manuscript and Print* (Open Book Publishers, 2019), pp. 167–195.

The contents of Ms. Canon. liturg. 251 differ from many books of hours made in Bruges around 1390, in that the texts for the canonical hours are present, but texts for the masses of various holidays dominate the volume. The manuscript contains a calendar, Hours of the Virgin, Penitential Psalms and Litany, the Short Hours of the Cross; Masses for Easter, Pentecost, the Virgin, and Christmas; the common Marian prayers *O intemerata* and *Obsecro te*; and protective prayers with rubrics in Catalan.⁴⁶ Both Canon. liturg. 251 and Kolumba 13 can be counted among a relatively small number of books of hours written with rubrics in Catalan. They also both have several texts in common, namely, Masses for Christmas, the Virgin (Candlemas), and Easter, which are unusual for personal prayer books. Each of these texts is in Latin and rubrics in Catalan. As they are masses, they each contain Gospel readings. All four of the masses in Canon. liturg. 251 finish with the opening from the Gospel of John ('In principio erat verbum', 'In the beginning was the word'). At Easter and Christmas, the entire text is written out. Likewise, the entire opening of John is copied out in Kolumba 13 several times, despite the repetition it generates and parchment it wastes. This means that the first fourteen lines of John is copied multiple times in both manuscripts. The scribe, presumably Johannes de Ecclesia, in other words, supplied two Catalan speakers with specialised prayerbooks that included multiple copies of the same texts. These masses, as well as the Gospel readings they contained, must have been of particular relevance to members of the Catalonian expat community.

Moreover, in Kolumba 13 the illuminator has highlighted the first fourteen lines of John appears on several occasions. The passage accompanies an image of the male patron in his armour with his shield (fol. 60r) and possibly again three more times (70r, 114v, 129r). The full text also appears with an image of a king gazing at the text (138r), and with a female figure in contemporary dress holding a squirrel and pointing at the text (148v), with a bird (51v), a duck (81r), a pilgrim (90v), a dragon (100r), an angler (108r), and a lion (159r). Moreover, in the Easter Mass for Canon. liturg. 251, the reading from John (166v-167r; fig. 38) has some brown fluid spilled over it, which may be wax, signalling that an early user may have read this text by candlelight. That the scribe repeated the full text on multiple occasions, rather than telling the reader to refer elsewhere in the manuscript for the text, indicates that the book was destined for someone who had plentiful funds available, and who lacked the skill or patience to flip around in the book. This was a layperson who also relied on the extra finding aids—the table of contents and the vernacular rubrics—to navigate through the book. The scribe obliged by making the script as legible, colourful, signposted, and repetitious as it needed to be to make it user-friendly for the lay reader. Although Canon. liturg. 251 is a less lavish production, with fewer texts and fewer masses, the scribe also repeats the first fourteen lines of John in this manuscript. Although the text itself is common, its emphatic repetition links it with Kolumba 13.

The calendars of all three manuscripts—Kolumba 13, Egerton 3044, and Canon. liturg. 251—follow Southern Netherlandish models, and there is nothing Catalan about the saints they list. Although the three calendars include different saints and were copied from different exemplars, they have a very similar script, layout, and decoration, including red and blue penwork (fig. 39). If Johannes de Ecclesia was responsible for all of the components added to Egerton 3044 ca. 1390, then he also executed the calendar in Kolumba 13.

⁴⁶ I thank Elvira Mocholi for correcting my Catalan transcriptions.

Taking the three manuscripts together and considering their shared features helps to impose structure on a complex field. This table provides a summary:

	Egerton 3044	Kolumba 13	Canon Liturg. 251
Colophon by Johannes de Ecclesia		✓	
Elaborate display scripts	✓	✓	
Texts in Catalan		✓	✓
S. Netherlandish painting	✓		✓
Catalan painting		✓	
Distinctive calendar decoration, with barbed 'nones' and 'ides' abbreviations in alternating red-blue	✓	✓	✓
Script in gold	✓	✓	
Script in blue	✓	✓	✓
Masses for major holidays, with the first 14 lines of John written out		✓	✓

Perhaps Johannes de Ecclesia joined a large ex-pat community within the large mercantile town in Bruges. He picked up at least one commission in Bruges from a Catalan-speaker (Kolumba 13), and perhaps picked up others (such as Oxford 251). Did he also speak Dutch and inscribe the Middle Dutch prayer on the dorse of Egerton 3044?

One likely scenario is that Nicholas was a Catalonian merchant or knight who lived in Bruges, knew Johannes de Ecclesia and placed an order for an exquisite prayer book from his countryman. When the scribe asked the patron what he wanted, perhaps the scribe pulled out the roll, now Egerton 3044, to show the patron what was possible, and Nicholas settled on nothing less than all the scripts in the roll plus more, and even gave the scribe license to invent some new ones. Seeing the roll would certainly have given the patron confidence in the scribe's abilities to invent out of the box.

Sources and Experimentation

Johannes de Ecclesia was in the vanguard in applying elaborate ornament to scripts in private prayerbooks. As I have shown earlier, the manuscripts with the most similar approaches to his decorated letters have come from different times, places, and genres. Those with related scripts, such as the Vie de St Denis, have been items made at court for royal patrons. Some with similar approaches to colour and script variety are liturgical manuscripts, where scribes often used several scripts of different sizes, styles, and colours not only to decorate the text, but to articulate its meaning (to differentiate main text from gloss, verse from response, or canon from subsidiary mass components). Earlier liturgical manuscript makers also dabbled in highly chromatic scripts, where the various colours did

not necessarily articulate meaning. Johannes may have found inspiration in multi-coloured scripts arranged to present a splash of hues in a giant manuscript such as the Bury Bible, made in England in the 1130s (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 21).⁴⁷ In this manuscript, openings of major texts are inscribed in a variety of bright hues, so that capital letters spell out the incipits in a great splash of colour. English examples of this approach to colour abound, including the Samson Pontifical, in which the scribe calls attention to certain passages by writing them in alternating lines of red and green ink, and also provides rubrics in a different script from that of the body of the text (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 146).⁴⁸

Johannes must have seen a variety of luxury manuscripts, especially ceremonial liturgical manuscripts, to have been aware of these techniques. In other words, he must have had access to a variety of highly crafted books with display scripts, for he seems to have been inspired by something spectacular, such as the Codex Argenteus, a sixth-century manuscript written in silver and gold on prepared purple parchment (now in the Uppsala University Library).⁴⁹ This manuscript may have been made in Ravenna, and its location in the late middle ages is unknown. Other liturgical manuscripts written with chrysography on purple-stained parchment were created in Britain (such as the Lindesfarne gospels) and on the Continent (such as the lavish Ottonian manuscripts made at the Abbey of Echternach, and the Rossano Gospels). Any of these or their cognates written in metallic inks on stained parchment and may have inspired the fourteenth-century scribe. Or, our scribe may have also seen manuscripts from other faith traditions, as chrysography is common in Islamic and Jewish texts: many Korans and Haggadot use golden letters on coloured panels. For example, the Sarajevo Haggadah was made in Barcelona around 1350, when Johannes may have been living there.⁵⁰ Barcelona had a thriving Jewry in the mid-fourteenth century, and Johannes very well may have encountered this or other Haggadot with ornate text panels, gilt Hebrew letters on painted backgrounds, or other decorative letterforms that informed his creativity.⁵¹ Jews were prominent in maritime trade of silk, dyestuffs, and finished artisanal goods, making interfaith contact among artisans likely. Catalonia, where a significant population of Jews lived until the Expulsion of 1492. Johannes's situation is consistent with one in which he gathered knowledge from a variety of sources and traditions, and then applied it to the prayerbooks he wrote.

Several European Christian scribes explored the technique of using colour-field text blocks during the century after Johannes de Ecclesia had done so. Around 1480 in the Southern Netherlands,

⁴⁷ For a description and full digital facsimile of the Bury Bible (Cambridge, Parker Library, Ms. 21), see <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/nm203xw8381> (consulted 18 June 2020)

⁴⁸ For a description and images of the Samson Pontifical, see <https://universalviewer.io/uv.html?manifest=https://dms-data.stanford.edu/data/manifests/Parker/wy783rb3141/manifest.json#c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=156&xywh=-3544%2C-504%2C17295%2C10059>

⁴⁹ For images, see <http://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record%3A60279&dswid=-7737> (consulted 2 December 2019).

⁵⁰ The manuscript is held in Sarajevo, National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. See Adam S. Cohen, 'Freedom and Slavery in the Sarajevo Haggadah', *Ars Judaica: The Bar Ilan Journal of Jewish Art*, v15 (2019): 15-28, with further references.

⁵¹ E. Ashtor, 'The Jews in the Mediterranean Trade in the Later Middle Ages'. *Hebrew Union College Annual* 55 (1984): 159-78.

one scribe made the famed 'Black Manuscript' now housed in the Morgan Library (MS M.493).⁵² The technique for creating its silver script, which pulsates against black parchment, recalls a passage used in Kolumba 13, fol. 42r. Several lesser-known manuscripts were also made on prepared parchment with metallic script, such as one made in Burgundian *batarde* (*hybrida*) apparently designed to teach a child her ABCs in the 1470s (fig. 40). (It is therefore possible that both Johannes and the later Burgundian scribe used unusual scripts in order to engage children.) In the Burgundian ABC book, the scribe has made a mistake and written *adveniat regnum* twice. Because he could not scrape out the words, he has expunctuated them in gold dots – an elegant solution, related to that which Johannes de Ecclesia had used 80 years earlier. Experiments with chrysography abounded in the fifteenth century. In the Solvay collection in Brussels, the parchment of a small prayerbook from ca. 1500 has been prepared with a thick layer of paint, which forms an opaque black surface, against which silver and gold letters shimmer (fig. 41).⁵³ This postdates Johannes de Ecclesia's experiments with chrysography for prayerbooks by more than a century.

The use of such fancy techniques seems to have been a pan-European phenomenon in the fifteenth century. In Italy, makers of the Durazzo Hours (Genoa, Biblioteca Civica Berio, m.r. C.f. Arm. I) applied gold lettering to purple-stained parchment.⁵⁴ Meanwhile, a prayer book made in England in the mid-fifteenth century (Oxford, Queen's College Ms. 357), likewise uses gold letters at the top of the hierarchy of scripts and decoration. Specifically, gold script is reserved for the highest level 'rubric', as in the expanded version of the Ave Maria, in which the golden words spell out the quintessential Marian prayer (fig. 42). In another section of the manuscript, areas of 'purple' parchment inscribed with gold accompany large images and provide prayers to be said alongside them (fig. 43). These forays into extreme decoration for prayerbooks largely postdate the decades when Johannes de Ecclesia was active. Throughout the fifteenth century, more scribes applied display scripts, chrysography, and stained parchment to private prayer books, following in the wake of Johannes de Ecclesia.

Most of these experiments post-date the invention of the printing press and to some extent harkened to a pre-printed age when books had to be hand crafted, as there was no mechanical means to produce letters on the page. Patrons who chose manuscripts over printed books after ca. 1455 must have deliberately opted for the sumptuousness associated with parchment, body colours, precious metals, and painstakingly honed skills. And the function of the illuminated manuscript shifted somewhat; it may not be an oversimplification to state that after 1460 manuscripts occupied a role as

⁵² For images and an overview, see <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/Black-Hours> (consulted 2 December 2019).

⁵³ Georges Colin; Marie-Thérèse Lenger; Anne Rouzet; Franz Schauwers, *Bibliothèque de Madame Louis Solvay* (Bruxelles: Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, 1965-1969), vol. I, p. 4, no. 7. *Contra* this catalogue entry, the manuscript is not a book of hours. For the technique, see Rita Araújo, Paula Nabais, Isabel Pombo Cardoso, Conceição Casanova, Ana Lemos, Maria J. Melo, 'Silver paints in medieval manuscripts: a first molecular survey into their degradation', *Heritage Science*, December 2018, 6:8, pp. 172-177. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40494-018-0172-7> (Rita Araújo et al., 'Silver Paints in Medieval Manuscripts: A First Molecular Survey into Their Degradation', *Heritage Science* 6, no. 1 (2018), p. 8).

⁵⁴ A facsimile of the Durazzo Hours was produced in 2008. See that, and the commentary volume by Andrea De Marchi, *Il libro d'ore Durazzo: volume di commento* (Modena: Panini, 2008).

prestige object, while the printed book as utilitarian object. With these divergent roles, scribes and illuminators has an impetus to emphasise the sumptuousness of their wares. Johannes de Ecclesia's books, which predate the printing press, are even more unusual and prodigious, since they are not reacting against print, as are the most compelling comparanda.

While all of these examples illuminate the word of God with chrysography against a painted textblock in exquisite prayerbooks, not a single one predates the work of Johannes de Ecclesia. He may have been the first to apply such techniques to prayerbooks. To find models for his work, we need to turn elsewhere.

Script samplers

In both Egerton 3044 and Kolumba 13, Johannes was creating script samplers, for which precedents occur in another genre altogether: master scribes' advertisements. The earliest surviving example in the West, from a writing master in Oxford, dates from the early fourteenth century (fig. 44).⁵⁵ Because it was used as binding material for a fifteenth-century gradual, it has been cut down and damaged. S. J. P. Van Dijk attributes its yellow discoloration to its exposure as a poster, and, as is consistent with its function as a poster tacked to a wall, it is inscribed only on one side. The sheet advertised the various scripts that the medieval master scribe could execute; customers could order manuscripts in the scripts displayed. This Oxford scribe apparently specialised in producing liturgical manuscripts and chant, and the sample texts he includes on this sheet all come from a variety of service books. He is also careful to demonstrate his ability to write musical staves and notes. The Oxford advertisement and two others are the only surviving examples that predates Johannes's work.⁵⁶ The others, which date from the fifteenth century, are Continental.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ The early fourteenth-century English sheet is Bodleian, Ms. e Mus.198*; for images see <https://iiif.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/iiif/viewer/e8d0a135-107d-4b6b-908d-2ed2381fba38#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=2&r=0&xywh=-925%2C0%2C4588%2C3995>. The metadata on the website identifies the sheets as fragments from a gradual, which is misleading. See S. J. P. Van Dijk, 'An advertisement sheet of an early fourteenth-century writing master at Oxford', *Scriptorium* 10 n°1, 1956, pp. 47-64; <https://doi.org/10.3406/scrip.1956.2651>

⁵⁶ See S.H. Steinberg, 'The *Forma Scribendi* of Hugo Spechtshart', *The Library*, Volume s4-XXI, Issue 3-4, December 1940, pp. 264-278.

⁵⁷ S.H. Steinberg, 'Medieval writing-masters', *The Library*, Volume s4-XXII, Issue 1, June 1941, pp. 1-24; S.H. Steinberg, 'Medieval writing-masters', *The Library*, Volume s5-II, Issue 2-3, September 1947, p. 203; S. H. Steinberg, 'A hand-list of specimens of medieval writing-masters', *The Library*, Volume s4-XXIII, Issue 4, March 1942, pp. 191-194. To these, Peter Kidd has identified one further example in the Free Library of Philadelphia. It should be noted that Johannes de Ecclesia's work does not resemble a pattern sheet. Pattern sheets often present capital letters as models for uncials; they are often presented in large format, with the alphabet sprawled out across the page. Johannes de Ecclesia is not using scripts in this way and is not particularly interested in capitals, which bear the decorative burden in most other manuscripts. See Susan Madigan, 'A fourteenth-century Catalan Pattern Sheet in Milan', *Scriptorium* 47,1 (1993), pp. 26-36.

Typical of the genre, two fragments, recovered from a book binding, were part of a poster artfully inscribed by Herman Strepel to advertise his calligraphy classes in Münster (fig. 45 and 46).⁵⁸ He wrote his name in gold script in a blank area in one of the sheets, and added a date of 1447 in the same golden script, and then repeated his name below in red, realizing perhaps that the gold is difficult to parse (fig. 47). The gold script is similar to the one Johannes de Ecclesia used to write the *O intemerata* on the roll, which suggests that this kind of script was in the purview of a secular writing master.

As with a master laying out an advertisement, Johannes (at least in the florid sections of both roll and codex) ruled only enough parchment for one script at a time. Likewise, in each of the posters, the various blocks are ruled for script of a particular size. This mode of writing involves conceptualising text as a stand-alone block of particular dimensions, rather than an entire text with continuous textual logic. This is clear in the case of Kolumba 13, where the evidence of the back-lighted folios demonstrated that the scribe was—at least in some sections of the book—organising the parchment as a carrier for scripts rather than as a carrier for texts.

It is possible that Johannes de Ecclesia was exploiting some of the strategies used by master writers—glimmering, eye-catching golden letters, an unusual format, contrasting blocks of script—and employing the roll as a public-facing poster, something designed to attract attention from potential clients. These may have been patrons seeking to order a manuscript, rather than students seeking instruction. Perhaps he hung the roll in the window of his shop or found some other way displaying his talents from floor to ceiling, perhaps arranging the roll so that his *O intemerata* would coruscate and attract customers. In fact, that section of the roll—as you will know if you have constructed a paper facsimile—could attract passers-by with the tri-coloured *O intemerata*, and the eye-catching miniature of the Crucifixion. Customers who flipped the roll over at that point would have seen part of the calendar, plus a verse prayer for learning the saints' days of the year, together with a set of instructions in Dutch (Egerton 3044, dorse). They would have seen a broad sample of the scribe's capabilities. If he did in fact hand the roll up, then this may account for the additional wear on the ends that resulted in damage and eventually loss.

When he obtained the roll and enhanced it, Johannes de Ecclesia may have been producing an object that was difficult for passers-by to ignore. Then, as now, the roll cannot be read discretely: it requires large bodily gestures that call attention to the reader and his ostentatious roll. The Kolumba codex, on the other hand, does not afford the same possibilities of display, as pages only reveal themselves to those handling it, not to casual passers-by. The two objects therefore have different functions. For the roll, Johannes produced an object that would showcase his skills to the widest possible audience in the era before mechanical reproduction. For the codex, he pulled out many items from his toolbox of display techniques—negative letters, dotted letters, metallic letters, contrasting letter sorts with ornamented ascenders, and applied them—unusually—to a prayerbook. He produced an object for private devotion that may have been seen by very few people, while the roll, also an object of private devotion, has display invested in its very gestures.

⁵⁸ Joris Reynaert, 'Visions on the Art of Writing in the Late Middle Ages. "Laus Scripturae" in Jan van Boendale, Jean Gerson, Hermann Strepel', 53(2011), pp. 123-52.

As with the prayer books most comparable to Johannes de Ecclesia's work, comparable books of sample scripts all postdate the 1390s, the period of Johannes's activity.⁵⁹ The most spectacular example was produced by the Hungarian scribe Georg Bocskey (d. 1575) who inscribed the *Mira calligraphiae monumenta* in 1561 - 1562 (fig. 48). His scripts are fussy, varied, and highly inventive. Three decades later, in 1591 - 1596, Joris Hoefnagel added the illumination, which matches wits with the highly inventive letterforms.⁶⁰ That Bocskey worked for the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I, and Hoefnagel for Ferdinand I's grandson Rudolph II, further attests to the ways in which courts nurtured extravagant innovation.

Printed books of scripts, which largely functioned as writing masters' instruction books, were produced in Europe from the fifteenth century onward. They often reflect the national character of scripts and might contain alphabets as well as sample passages in a variety of styles, often highly ornate, with samples of ascenders, descenders.⁶¹ Leonhard Wagner (1454 - 1522) made a notable example.⁶² His sample book contains one hundred scripts, on per page, which he identifies with such descriptive titles as 'Rotunda', 'Eversalicana', 'Papalicana', 'Fractura Germanica', and 'Altana' (fig. 49). In using these descriptors, he demonstrates his awareness that some scripts originated in particular locations. His project has an element of preserving cultural heritage, as the work of any collector does. One idea marks Wagner's project as vehemently post-printing: he is concerned only with the possibilities of black ink, not of colours or gold. Moreover, he turns each script into an image, partly by filling in the empty space with strapwork initials. Thus, although Johannes de Ecclesia may have been constructing master-writer's script samplers at one level, his project differed significantly from that of Wagner and the other post-printing masters, for Johannes de Ecclesia's book brandishes samples, but they also add up to complete texts that constitute a coherent book.

Although pre-1390 script samplers survive, none contains such a wide variety of scripts as Johannes deploys in the Kolumba manuscript. What is unusual is that he assembles so many scripts associated with ceremonial display (chrysography of early medieval gospel manuscripts, the blue writing of French presentation volumes, the very tall letters one might find in the first line of an indulgence or legal document) and combines them in a manuscript type not associated with any of these purposes: a prayer book.

⁵⁹ See Robert W. Scheller, *Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900 - ca. 1450)* (Amsterdam: University Press, 1995), with many examples; S. P. Madigan, 'A Catalan Pattern Sheet in Milan', *Scriptorium: Revue internationale des études relative aux manuscrits*, 47 (1993), 26-36; for a fifteenth-century English example (London, BL, Sloane Ms. 1448A), see Janet Backhouse, 'An Illuminator's Sketchbook', *The British Library Journal* 1 (1975), pp. 3-14.

⁶⁰ Los Angeles, Getty Museum, Ms. 20. For a description, images, and bibliography, see <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/1487/joris-hoefnagel-and-georg-bocskey-mira-calligraphiae-monumenta-flemish-and-hungarian-fols-1-129-written-1561-1562-illumination-added-about-1591-1596/> [consulted 10 October 2020].

⁶¹ These sample books were the topic of Marc Smith's 2020 Lyell Lectures.

⁶² Wagner's book of scripts was made into a facsimile: Leonhard Wagner, *Proba Centum Scripturarum. Ein Augsburger Schriftmusterbuch aus dem Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Carl Wehmer, Faks.-Ausg. ed. (Leipzig, 1963 [1969]).

Conclusions

Johannes de Ecclesia, who took credit for the spectacular scripts in Kolumba 13 when he inscribed his name, can be none other than the scribe who added membranes and passages to the unusual and magnificent roll, Egerton 3044. This highly skilled and innovative scribe probably worked for the Catalan expat community in Bruges around 1390. He may have also made a small prayerbook in Latin and Catalan with added Southern Netherlandish illuminations (Bodleian, Canon. Liturg. Ms. 251). It would seem that Johannes de Ecclesia was not only inventing letterforms, copying unusual texts, making bilingual editions to help his international patrons orient themselves in the book, absorbing and filtering ideas from a wide variety of design exemplars, but also quite possibly using his powers of letter design to make books that would keep men, women and children all engaged.

Johannes de Ecclesia eschewed some of the simple forms of display scripts—such as running titles in alternating red and blue capital letters, which often appear on the headers of thirteenth-century bibles. While he does engage in the favourite medieval aesthetic of toggled contrasts (red, blue, red, blue; or in his case, *hybrida*, *textualis*, *hybrida*, *textualis*) he carefully chooses scripts that will showcase his talents. Paleographers often try to identify hands, but I doubt that anyone seeing Johannes de Ecclesia's *hybrida* would associate him with a manuscript he had written in a *textualis*. A script, at least for the very skilled, was not unique to a person, any more than a person was unique to a script. It is possible that his original audience perceived the scripts to be as flashy and impressive as we do. Nevertheless, the prayerbooks he made were heavily used, possibly by their early owners, who apparently considered them utilitarian objects.

Observations and evidence presented in this article are consistent with a scenario in which Johannes de Ecclesia came to Bruges from Catalonia, via courts such as those in Avignon and Paris, before settling in the book-making city of Bruges. His journey afforded him the opportunity to study courtly and ecclesiastical manuscripts along the way, and he may have either spent time in England or encountered English manuscripts, as well. He then applied these lessons in new ways to prayerbooks, which were the main book type demanded by the denizens of his adoptive city, Bruges. There he collaborated with local illuminators and at least one who had also emigrated from a Catalan area, such as Valencia, Barcelona, or Mallorca. That he lacks a *rotunda* suggests that he may not have been trained in this region, but had received his training in the north, or in a place such as Avignon or Paris, a courtly setting where he could have seen a wide variety of courtly manuscripts, including high-prestige liturgical manuscripts, which would have provided him some models. Rather than writing in scripts associated with Catalonia, he mastered northern European scripts and was even able to imitate older scripts. What is clear is that Johannes worked in Bruges, wrote in flawless Catalan, received at least one and probably at least two commissions from Catalan speakers, worked with an illuminator trained in Catalonia or Spain, and had most probably seen a large variety of display manuscripts made for altar and court.

As a mercantile city, Bruges attracted traders, bankers, and craftspeople from language groups across Europe. Clearly living in Bruges was important to his self-identity, as at the end of his request for prayers on fol. 42v of Kolumba 13, he carefully squeezed in the note that he was active in that

town. Beginning around 1360, Bruges was a maritime trading post where ships originating from the Adriatic to the North Sea docked to trade in iron, lumber, wool, silk, spices, dyestuffs, gold, and finished crafted items.⁶³ Capital and fortunes created a moneyed class who bypassed the nobility, but who wanted to demonstrate their taste by commissioning exquisite objects. Bruges was the centre of the manuscript-making world, and as such was the land of opportunity for scribes and illuminators. It had a growing merchant class, who bought books, among other crafted items. with the English across the channel coming there to avail themselves of the supply of highly colourful Latin books of hours. The patron of Kolumba 13, whose name may have been Nicholas, may have been a Catalonia trader who spent his wealth in this way. It is possible that Nicholas was married to the woman who appears in expensive garb with a pet squirrel, and that their child is the seated male figure in the initial prefacing the major section with display scripts. Perhaps the fancy scripts were designed to make reading appeal to a child, and also to teach him to read a variety of scripts he might encounter in an international career. If Bruges was a melting pot for high-end international trade, Johannes participated in a microcosm of that urban setting, uniting the most spectacular highly crafted letterforms he had absorbed across the elite centres of Europe, and deploying them with the physical materials that both resulted from and depended upon that trade.

The era around 1390 was quite 'International', with Catalanian artists in dialogue with those in France and Italy.⁶⁴ Although the term International Style is now discredited, the constellation of objects discussed in this paper shows that indeed, there was a strong and significant movement of people around Europe, with important nodes in England, Bruges, and Catalanian, where images and ideas were spread. If my hypotheses are correct, then Johannes de Ecclesia pulled ideas from manuscripts of many locations, styles, and purposes, and then combined those ideas in hitherto unseen ways.

I have not been able to put my finger on a convincing precedent for Johannes de Ecclesia's work that is within the same century (late fourteenth) and in the same genre (prayerbooks). Johannes may have travelled broadly and seen many manuscripts, including luxury manuscripts with chrysography, for in 1390 he was in the avant-garde for using them in prayerbooks. He seems to have been responding to manuscripts from several places and genres, including liturgical display volumes and masters' writing sheets. Armed with such models, he invented display scripts by combining ideas. He either reached for precedents and models far from the exemplars available to most members of the laity, or, in the case of the negative writing and the dot writing, he may have invented them. In deploying a range of scripts on Egerton 3044, and an even broader range of scripts in Kolumba 13, Johannes was presenting his abilities as a scribe, in a way akin to writing masters' model sheets, which were displayed as an advertisement of their makers' wares. Such fancy scripts only re-emerged in larger numbers after 1450, possibly in response to the printing press, when craftspeople and their customers wanted to define hand-written books as luxurious, prestigious, hand-crafted, and materially opulent.

⁶³ Fn Blockmans\$ [book is in my office; I'm locked out]

⁶⁴ Millard Meiss, 'Italian Style in Catalonia and a Fourteenth Century [sic] Catalan Workshop', *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 4 (1941): 45-87.

Johannes is demonstrating his process of creativity: to gather ideas from many sources, select them carefully, invent some new forms based on the old, and deploy them in an arrangement hitherto unattested. Being an outsider may have forced him to work harder to gain authority/notoriety/fame. It is possible that his position as outsider liberated him from the corset of conservatism that would have gripped scribes who advanced through rigid local structures, either in monasteries or in professional milieux. In Egerton 3044 and Kolumba 13, we see evidence of different kinds of creativity, in both the intangible and tangible senses of the word: creativity as a thinking process, and as an act of creating *something*. His outside status may have helped him be more creative, in both senses of that word.

Appendix 1: DIY facsimile of Egerton 3044

“What I cannot build, I cannot understand.” –Richard Feynman.

On 6 April 2016 I commissioned photography of the entire roll, front and back.⁶⁵ The photographer made the images in pieces. These have been stitched together and arranged into a pdf, appended to this article, which you can print to make your own paper facsimile: print it out with a colour copier on A4 paper; trim it; fold the sheets lengthwise; and tape the components together to study the roll in its approximate rich and complicated physical context.⁶⁶ The 1:1 paper replica of this unwieldy object helps to test its qualities. Note, however, that the paper facsimile behaves differently from the parchment original: whereas the paper is limp, crinkly and resistant to rolling (because of the fold and the tape), the original is more springy, and—because it contains material ‘memory’—wants to snap back into its rolled form when unfurled.

The pdf is attached below.

⁶⁵ The British Library, which charged me £314.34 for the images, has now mounted those photos on its website, at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Egerton_MS_3044

⁶⁶ The appendix therefore assumes that this article can only be presented in an electronic journal. I thank Andrew Demetrius in the School of Art History at St Andrews for preparing the pdf.

Appendix 2: Digitized copy of Cologne, Kolumba, Ms. 13

The pdf is attached below.

Appendix 3: summary of the quires, their contents, and their physical features appears

Because of the travel ban, I have not yet been able to travel to Cologne to check some details of this appendix. It will be appended in the final version.

Appendix 4: Contents of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canon. liturg. 251

Manuscript on parchment, 245 folios, parchment. Book of hours in Latin with rubrics in Catalan, made ca. 1390, probably in Bruges. Its contents differ from many examples made in Bruges around 1390, in that the texts for the canonical hours are present, but texts for the masses of various holidays dominate the volume. The Crucifixion miniature (fol. 1r) has been misbound; it should be a verso, as a grimy thumb print—caused from extensive handling—is now near the gutter. It probably faced the Hours of the Cross (fol. 151r). Furthermore, a miniature, now missing, would have prefaced 119.

Bibliography:

Pächt and Alexander vol. I, p. 617; Pere Bohigas, 'El repertori de manuscrits catalans', *Estudis Universitaris Catalans*, XII 1927, 414. ff; and Pere Bohigas, 'El repertori de manuscrits catalans de la Fundació Patxot: Missió de París, Biblioteca Nacional (1926-1927)', *Estudis Universitaris Catalans*, 16, (1931), pp. 82-111 and 213-310.

Image contents:

2 full-page miniatures

1r: Crucifixion (misbound; probably belongs as a verso before 151r)

92v: Massacre of the Innocents

Textual contents:

2r-13v: **Calendar** [noteworthy feasts include 30 January, Bathildis, queen of France; 6 Feb, Amandi in red (Bruges); 23 Feb, Milburga, virgin (England); 1 March, David, bishop, confessor (England); 7 May John of Beverly, bishop of York (England); 17 May, Brandan (Brandarij), martyr (Bruges); 7 June (usually celebrated on 8 June), William, bishop of York (England); 14 June, Basil the Great, bishop of Caesarea, confessor, in red (Bruges); 25 June, Eligius, bishop of Noyon, in red (Bruges); 1 Sept, Giles (Egidiij), abbot, in red (Bruges); 1 Oct, Remegius and Bavo in red (Bruges); 9 Oct, Dionysius in red (Bruges); 14 Oct, Donatian in red (Bruges); 1 Dec, Eligius in red; 18 Dec, Lazarus, bishop of Marseilles (usually on 17 Dec). This calendar lacks an entry for the martyrdom of St John before the 'porta latina', which is nearly universal in European calendars for 6 May.

14r-118v: Hours of the Virgin

119r-150v: Penitential Psalms and Litany

151r- 156v: Short Hours of the Cross

156v-168v: Mass for Easter, rub: Asi commensa la missa de pascha

168v-177v: Mass for Pentecost, rub: Asi commensa la missa de penthecoste

177v-186r: Mass of Our Lady, rub: Asi commensa la missa de nostra dona

186r-194v: Mass for Christmas, rub: Asi commensa la misse de nadal

195r-201v: O intemerata

201v-209r: Obsecro te

209r-217v: Protective prayer with a rubric in Catalan (*rub*: Si alcun aura tribulacio o freytura o iaura en preso o aura ira de senyor o aura qualq[uiet?] tribulatio dira xxx dies aquesta oracio e fie cert que deus loira en tal manera que la tribulatio tornara en consolacio axi mateix si la diu per altri com p[er] si. [To anyone who has an affliction or need or is in prison or is suffering the anger of the Lord or has any affliction, who says this prayer for 30 days, it is certain that God will hear him in such a way that the affliction will become consolation, whether he says it for himself or for someone else.] *inc*: [210r] O, dulcissime domine Ihesu Christe verus deus qui de sinu patris omnipotentis missus....[very worn]

218r-226r: *rub*: Tothom qui dira aquesta oracio deus esta la deu dir ab gran devocio es deu levar en peus et can la aura dita tota deu dir aquest psalm que es appellat Confitemini et son xxx veses et a cascun vers se deu agenoylar et dir Gloria patri lo qual salm es aquest ques seguex. *inc*: Confitemini domino...

226r-227r: Seventy-two names of the Virgin

227v-231r: Prayer for mercy (rubric damaged)

231r-237v: *rub*: Aquesta orato deval escrita feu sent Agosti. *inc*: Iuste iudex Ihesu Christe regum rex...

238r-241r: Prayer based on the words of the Ave Maria

241v-242v: Prayer to Mary

242v-245r: Stabat mater (rhyming), with a rubric indicating that Pope Boniface gave an indulgence of 7 years and 44 days to anyone who reads it.

Figures

1 Prayer book in Latin and Catalan, Bruges, ca. 1390. Köln Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, fol. 42v

2 Life of St Adrian, frontispiece, with border decoration depicting inter alia a vial with a small scroll. Vienna, ÖNB, Ser n 2619, fol. 3v

3 Vienna, ÖNB, Ser n 2619, fol. 3v, detail of the previous image.

4 The top half of the recto of the roll. Digital images displayed in segments. British Library, Egerton Ms. 3044

5 Section of the roll's recto, from bottom of 5bis to the top of 6, which includes the beginning of the *O intemerata*

6 Overview of the figurative imagery on the roll (digital composite image)

7 Diagram with membranes and contents: a stratigraphic overview of Egerton 3044

8 Diagram showing the overlap and underlap of the membranes of Egerton 3044

9 Detail of Egerton 3044, with the *O intemerata*

10 Detail of Egerton 3044, with hymns to be said at the Hours of the Cross

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- 11 Detail of Egerton 3044, with a false date (1300) given in a computational diagram
 - 12 Prayer book in Latin and Catalan, Bruges, ca. 1390. Köln Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, fol. 41v-42r
 - 13 Incipit of the Gospel of John, MA 134, fol. 127v (p. 252)
 - 14 Gospel of John, New York Public Library, MA 134, pp. 302-303
 - 15 Presentation of the manuscript to Philip V, King of France, in the Life and Passion of St Denis, written and illuminated in Paris, 1317. Paris, BnF, Ms. Fr. 2090-2092, fol. 4v
 - 16 Folio with the Raising of Lazarus, in a book of hours made in Avignon in the 1390s. BL, Harley 2979, fol. 87v
 - 17 Adoration of the magi with Old Testament prefigurations, in a Biblia pauperum made for Margaret of Cleves, probably in The Hague. London, BL, Kings 5, fol. 3r
 - 18 Folio ruled with pairs of lines. Oxford, Bodleian, MS. Auct. D. 2. 2
 - 19 Missal with coloured ruling. Arnhem, GM, PG 2, fol. 8v
 - 20 Opening of a prayer book in Latin and Catalan, Bruges, ca. 1390, with an initial showing a boy sitting cross-legged on the ground. Köln Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, fols 31v-32r
 - 21 Opening of a prayer book written in five different scripts, Bruges, ca. 1390. Köln Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, fols 32v-33r
 - 22 Opening of a prayer book showing nine different scripts, Bruges, ca. 1390. Köln Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, fols 33v-34r
 - 23 Opening of a prayer book showing two different scripts, Bruges, ca. 1390. Köln Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, fols 34v-35r
 - 24 Opening of a prayer book showing two different scripts, Bruges, ca. 1390. Köln Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, fols 35v-36r
 - 25 Opening of a prayer book showing two different scripts, Bruges, ca. 1390. Köln Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, fols 36v-37r
 - 26 Opening of a prayer book showing two different scripts, Bruges, ca. 1390. Köln Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, fols 37v-38r
 - 27 Opening of a prayer book showing two different scripts, Bruges, ca. 1390. Köln Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, fols 38v-39r
 - 28 Folio from a prayer book in Latin and Catalan, photographed with back lighting. Bruges, ca. 1390. Köln Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, fol. 31r
 - 29 Folio from a prayer book in Latin and Catalan, photographed with back lighting. Bruges, ca. 1390. Köln Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, fol. 33r
 - 30 Folio from a prayer book in Latin and Catalan, photographed with back lighting. Bruges, ca. 1390. Köln Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, fol. 34r
 - 31 Folio from a prayer book in Latin and Catalan, photographed with back lighting. Bruges, ca. 1390. Köln Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, fol. 35r
 - 32 Male patron (Nicholas?), kneeling opposite the incipit of the Book of John while an angel gives him his helm and shield. Prayer book in Latin and Catalan, Bruges, ca. 1390. Köln Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, fol. 60r
 - 33 Colophon. London, British Library, Royal Ms. 2 F VII, fol. 1v
 - 34 Folio from a prayer book in Latin and Catalan, photographed with back lighting. Bruges, ca. 1390. Köln Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, fol. 41r.
 - 35 Folio from a prayer book in Latin and Catalan, photographed with back lighting. Bruges, ca. 1390. Köln Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, fol. 42v.
 - 36 Table of contents, Prayer book in Latin and Catalan, Bruges, ca. 1390. Köln Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, fols 2v-3r
 - 37 Opening at nones of the Hours of the Virgin, with a full-page miniature depicting the Massacre of the Innocents. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canon Liturg., fols 92v-93r
 - 38 Gospel of John. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Canon Liturg. 251, fols 166v-167r
 - 39 Calendars from three manuscripts associated with Johannes de Ecclesia
 - 40 Folio from a child's ABC and beginning reader, S. Netherlands, ca. 1470. New York, Columbia Univ Library, Plimpton Ms. 287
 - 41 Opening from a prayer book, made in the Southern Netherlands ca. 1500, in metallic ink on parchment painted black. Brussels, Royal Library, Solvay Collection, item FS IX 7A, fols 2v-3r
 - 42 Opening from an English prayerbook, with a full-page miniature depicting the Annunciation, and a prayer built around the Ave Maria. Oxford, Queen's College, Ms 357, fols 2v-3r
 - 43 Opening from an English prayerbook, with a full-page miniature depicting the Ascension facing a prayer to that theme. Oxford, Queen's College, Ms 357, fols 89v-90r

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- 44 Master scribe's advertisement (fragment). Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. e Mus. 198*
- 45 Herman Strepel, fragment of a poster to advertise his calligraphy classes, Münster, 1447. Parchment. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 76 D 45, no. 4A
- 46 Herman Strepel, fragment of a poster to advertise his calligraphy classes, Münster, 1447. Parchment. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 76 D 45, no. 4B
- 47 Herman Strepel, fragment of a poster to advertise his calligraphy classes, Münster, 1447. Parchment. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 76 D 45, no. 4Bv, detail
- 48 Selection of folios from the *Mira calligraphiae monumenta*, inscribed by Georg Bocskay (Hungarian, died 1575) and illuminated by Joris Hoefnagel (Netherlandish / Hungarian, 1542 - 1600). Written in 1561 - 1562; illumination added 1591 - 1596
- 49 Leonhard Wagner, Sample of Altana script, from his *Proba centum scripturarum una manu exaratarum*, printed in 1507