The printed books of hours of Thielman Kerver: *exploring printer, shop, community and book.*

A Senior Honors Thesis in the Department of Art and Art History
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Introduction:

I discovered the books of hours of Thielman Kerver through my research on a group of manuscript and print fragments in Tisch Library's Special Collections. In a collection of uncatalogued, unidentified fragments, I found a printed folio from one of Kerver's books of hours, although I did not know its maker or provenance. (Figure 1.1) The layout of the folio was similar to contemporary manuscript books of hours. The devotional text at center was framed with elaborate, printed borders. In the lateral borders on each side were three stacked images forming a typological trio: one image from the New Testament at the center, and two images from the Old Testament to the top and bottom. Each image was identified by texts from the Bible, in the bas-de-page these texts were framed on either side by images of prophets. Appropriating the format of the traditional author portrait, these figures authenticated the text and images. Small, illuminated initials completed the complex play of image and text: red, blue and gold, they marked the start of phrases and prayers.

I became interested in the active negotiation between the physical qualities of print and manuscript cultures, played out on the surface of the fragment. In what context had print and manuscript cultures combined, giving birth to this complex identity which lay somewhere in between? Plunging into research in pursuit of the folio's origins, I soon realized exactly how complex my task was to be. Kerver was one of a number of Parisian printers of books of hours, men named Jean Dupré, Anthoine Vérard, Simon Vostre and Philippe Pigouchet, and Germain and Gilles Hardouyn.[1] Collectively, these printers and publishers and some of their less prolific fellows produced a full 1300 of the 1500 editions of books of hours printed in sixteenth century

[1] Alfred W. Pollard. *Fine Books.* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; London: Methuen & co. Ltd, 1912): pg. 71

France.[2] Despite the monumental nature of this production, the printers and their books are only sporadically considered in the literature. Furthermore, paging through the dusty catalogues that record and categorize the thousands of books which have survived through the centuries, it became immediately apparent that these Parisian printers were fond of exchange.[3] Printers borrowed, sold, and copied each other's images; they exchanged types and often commissioned new designs from similar artists ateliers, making their books of hours an impossibly tangled web of related artifacts.[4] In the world of early Parisian print, the idea of copying and innovation important in the manuscript world dominated the processes of image design for books of hours.[5] The quest to identify the mystery folio quickly became a question of sorting out a closely knit network of print shops.

The complex connections between the Parisian printed books of hours are a microcosm of the many overlapping narratives which defined the early Parisian print community. Kerver's shop was at the center of a webbed community that relied on a host of other printers and artisans; the narrative of his shop and printed books is not a single story but part of the discourse of early printing in Paris. Although Thielman Kerver is present throughout the body of this thesis, his life and shop practices are presented as a way in which to better contextualize and discover his printed books of hours.

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[2] Virginia Reinburg, "Books of Hours". *The Sixteenth Century French Religious Book.* eds. Andrew Pettegree, Paul Nelles, and Phillip Conner. (Burlington: Ashgate, 2001): pg. 73.

[3] For good catalogues of early printed books of hours, see: Hugh Davies, *Catalogue of a collection of early French Books in the Library of C. Fairfax Murray*, Vol. 1, 2 vols. (London: Holland Press, 1965). and Ina Nettekoven and Heribert Tenschert, . *Horae B.M.V. : 158 Stundenbuchdrucke der Sammlung Bibermühle, 1490-1550* (Ramsen: Antiquariat Bibermühle, 2003) see also the works of Phillipe Renouard, such as: *Imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, fondeurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu'à la fin du seizième siècle.* (Paris: Libraire A. Claudin, 1901).

[4] See: Ruth Mortimer. *Harvard College Library., Dept. of Printing and Graphic Arts: Catalogue of books and manuscripts* , Vol. 1 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964): pp 366-369 for a list of plates and subjects exchanged or copied among the more famous Paris hours printers.

[5] James Douglas Farquhar. *Creation and Imitation: The Work of Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illuminator.* (Fort Lauderdale: Nova/NYIT University Press, 1976): pg 73.

In any case, we know little about Kerver's life. In 1904, Anatole Claudin published his *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France au Xv et au XVIeme siècle*.[6] The two volume *Histoire de l'imprimerie* includes brief biographies of Paris' early printers, giving general overviews of their respective production and careers. This eighteen page chapter remains the only discussion of Thielman Kerver's print production. Although Claudin's research provides a useful starting point, some of the work of this thesis was to better flesh out Kerver's bibliography, and in particular better establish the members of the print community with whom he collaborated. In the tradition of manuscript studies, phantasmical figures have sometimes become a path through which art historians access books and their context. Michael Camille's study *The Master of Death*, has been one of the models for this thesis. Camille's study examines the work of a single manuscript illuminator, Pierre Remiet, whose name is found only once, next to a blank space which had never received its illumination. In his introduction Camille describes his interest in Remiet not as an interest in the oeuvre of a single master artist, but as an interest in the work, life, and practices of an average illuminator in fourteenth century Paris:

> Here is a talent that was by no means as innovative as Jean Pucelle had been in the 1320s or the Limbourg brothers were to be after 1400. Yet for me this is an advantage, since my goal is not to 'discover' a long-forgotten genius in the line of great anonymous medieval masters, but rather to imagine the working world of an ordinary artisan making run-of-the-mill products in the proto-industry of the fourteenth-century Parisian book trade.

By following the trail of this ghost-illuminator, Camille examines the dynamic community of manuscript production of which Remiet was a part. Camille's efforts are a model for this thesis not only in that they start with a little known, phantasmical figure, but in that Camille examines the identity of Remiet's works through the socio-historical circumstances in which they were produced. My exploration of Kerver's books of hours expanded out from Thielman Kerver, to his print shop, to the street of rue Saint Jacques, and finally to the network of ateliers and printers

[6] Claudin, Anatole. *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France au Xv et au XVIeme siècle*, Vol. II (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1904)

who contributed to Kerver's production of books of hours. Ultimately, this thesis proposes that printer, shop, collaborative production, and object-function are all fragments of a larger whole, which together help us to gain a more nuanced image of Kerver's books of hours' relationship to print and manuscript cultures.

My definition of 'print' culture is positioned primarily against Elizabeth Eisenstein's concept as articulated in *The printing revolution in Early Modern Europe* of print as *essential,* the idea that fixity, standardization, reliability, are inherent qualities of print itself.[7] Instead, this thesis operates according to the idea of print culture proposed by Adrian Johns in his book, *The Nature of the book: print and knowledge in the making*.[8] Johns disputes the idea of print and print culture as having fixed characteristics, suggesting instead that Eisenstein's is a definition we have arrived at through prolonged processes of historical construction.[9] Johns proposes instead that there have been multiple print *cultures*, and contends that it is the historical circumstances in which these books were produced and received that articulates the definition of each one of these cultures of print:

> A new historical understanding of print is needed…One immediately evident feature will be its regard for the labors of those actually involved in printing, publishing and reading. Another will be its respect for their own representations of printing…local cultures created their own meanings with and for such objects.[10]

Print culture is the product of the printers who printed it, the mode of production that produced it, and the historical environment which shaped these books' reception. In the case of Thielman Kerver and his books of hours, print culture was also the child of manuscript culture. My

[7] Elizabeth L. Eisenstein. *The printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983): especially her second chapter, "Defining the Initial Shift", pp. 12-40 where Eisenstein articulates the idea of fixed print most clearly with relation to her discussion of print's standardization of texts; see. pp. 23-24.
[8] Adrian Johns. *The Nature of the book: print and knowledge in the making.* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998).
[9] Johns, *Nature,* pg. 3
[10] Johns, *Nature,* pp. 28-29

exploration of the printer, production, and function of the books of hours of Thielman Kerver, is an effort to articulate what *their* print culture was.

In this thesis, I have looked to two bodies of literature to reconstruct the identity of Kerver's books of hours: scholarship on early print and on the Parisian printers, and scholarship on books of hours and their function. I have sought to bring these two together in my thesis, to gain a better and more complete picture of how Kerver's printed books of hours functioned in context. My first two chapters address the scholarship on early print, and the characteristics used to evaluate the relationship between early print and manuscript. In a series of lectures delivered in 1960 and later published in a volume entitled, *The Fifteenth Century Book: the scribes, the printers, the decorators,* Curt Bühler first suggested that profound connections existed between early print and manuscript.[11] Sandra Hindman, in an essay published in, *Pen to Press: Illustrated Manuscripts and Printed Books in the First Century of Printing*, expands on this narrative by exploring the incunabula's fruitful experimentations with a mixture of print and hand-painted elements in illustration.[12] Hindman suggests that early print and manuscript had fundamental similarities, of iconography, of illustration materials, and of format.[13] These early studies frame my work on Kerver's books of hours. They provided the grounds for an analysis of Kerver's works which does not isolate his print production, but rather seeks to better understand Kerver's printed hours by looking at their connections to manuscript production.

Although few scholars have published works on Kerver's contemporaries, Mary Beth Winn's work on Anthoine Vérard and his fellows in the print community has been crucial in

[11] Curt Bühler. *The Fifteenth Century Book: the scribes, the printers, the decorators.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960): pg
[12] Sandra Hindman, "Cross-Fertilization: Experiments in Mixing the Media". *Pen to Press: Illustrated Manuscripts and Printed Books in the First Century of Printing*. (Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1977): pg. 104
[13] Hindman, *Cross-Fertilization,* pg. 107

providing a groundwork for analyzing the specific world of Parisian print.[14] Winn's book on Anthoine Vérard's luxury manuscript-like editions, *Antoine Vérard: Parisian publisher 1485-1512: prologues, poems and representations,* strives to articulate the nature of Vérard's role as a publisher in the early print market. Winn's research sheds light on the many roles performed by early publishers, and also explores Vérard's self formulation as 'author' of the books he produced—claiming responsibility for texts which were often not his own. Winn's scholarship on printed colophons and borders have also been crucial in providing a basis for analyzing the effects of the new printing mass market on Kerver's works.[15]

Although Winn's works provide some of the only detailed analyses of printed hours in an extremely limited field, her focus on Vérard's role neglects the contributions of other printers and illuminators in his works.[16] Because Winn focuses on the myriad important roles Vérard plays in his production, this leaves little space for acknowledging the contributions of others.[17] This is somewhat surprising as Vérard was only a publisher, and therefore relied entirely on printers to produce his works.[18] Additionally, Vérard's luxury editions required the work of a veritable host of illuminators and artists. Vérard's books of hours, and those of Thielman Kerver, were not created in isolation, but rather depended on local communities of illuminators, engraving designers, printers, and book-binders to produce a single book of hours.

Analyses of early print production have tended to ignore not only the inherently collaborative nature of early print production, but the critical importance of ongoing connections

[14] Mary Beth Winn. *Antoine Vérard: Parisian publisher 1485-1512: prologues, poems and representations.* (Genève: Libraire Droz, 1997), by the same author, see also: "Illustrations in Parisian Books of Hours: borders and repertoires". *Incunabula and their readers. Printing, selling and using books in the fifteenth century.* London, England: British Library (2003). pp. 31-52. and "Printing and Reading the Book of Hours: Lessons from the Borders". *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 81 (1999): 177-204.
[15] Mary Beth Winn, "Printing and Reading the Book of Hours: Lessons from the Borders". *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* (81)(1999): pp. 177-204.
[16] Winn, *Anthoine Vérard.,* pg. 38
[17] Winn, *Anthoine Vérard* pg. 38
[18] Winn *Anthoine Vérard,* pg. 20

to manuscript production. Hindman's examination of the relationships between manuscript and print focuses on visual experiments with illustration materials, and although she 'gestures' at the possible fruitfulness of production-based connections, Hindman does not pursue this line of inquiry.[19] However, research on the manuscript ateliers which designed Kerver's engravings, such as the work of Geneviève Souchal on the Master of the Sainte Chapelle Apocalypse Rose, and Caroline Zöhl on Jean Pichore, reveals the critical importance of these figures for the production of early printed books of hours.[20] Examining the relationships between printers and their colleagues in the manuscript industry will help to better articulate the importance of the connections between the print and manuscript cultures in early sixteenth century Paris.

In Chapters 1 and 2, I analyze the production of Kerver's books of hours, suggesting that production is a fruitful way in which to analyze the connections between the print and manuscript worlds. In Chapter 1, I lay the groundwork for this analysis by examining the life and shop practices of Thielman Kerver himself, reassembling the scant facts we have concerning Kerver's life. Compiling Kerver's bibliography better situates Kerver both within his social milieu and with relation to the community of printers essential to the daily operation of Kerver's shop. By examining the evolution of Kerver's business partnerships, I suggest the importance of collaboration to Kerver's shop at various stages in its growth. This first chapter demonstrates that in reconstructing the bibliography and business practices of Thielman Kerver, we must

[19] Hindman, *Cross-Fertilization,* pg. 102 For discussion of production and connections between print and manuscript, see Paul Saenger's article: "Colard Mansion and the Evolution of the Printed Book" *The Library Quarterly,* 45 (4)(Oct, 1975): 405-418 which acknowledges a broader-based continuity between manuscript and print worlds, not only the physical characteristics of the early printed books but the individuals whose production extended from manuscript to print world, and therefore a continuity in methods of production!

[20] Geneviève Souchal. " Un Grand peintre français de la fin du XVe siècle, le Maître de la 'Chasse à la Licorne'" *Revue de l'Art 22* (1973): 22-50. See also Ina Nettekoven's work on the Master of the Sainte Chapelle Apocalypse Rose, *Der Meister der Apokalypsenrose der Sainte Chapelle und die Pariser Buchkunst um 1500* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2004). Caroline Zöhl. *Jean Pichore: Buchmaler, Graphiker und Verleger in Paris um 1500.* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004): tables and images consulted.

inherently explore relationships with individuals beyond the circumscribed premises of a single shop.

Chapter 2 expands on the importance of a broader community to Kerver's production. In this chapter I demonstrate the importance of the manuscript model of production to Kerver's own production which relied on a network of shops and artisans, and reevaluate the traditional categories used to connect manuscript to print. I suggest that print needs to be evaluated not solely on the basis of manuscripts as a visual model, but also in looking to the profound ways manuscript culture also provided the early printers with a model for production. Finally, taking as a starting point the circumscription of Kerver's production within a manuscript model, I demonstrate the importance of the method of 'creative copying' in designing Kerver's engravings. This chapter reiterates the importance of a broader community to Kerver's production, and proposes new ways in which to construct connections between manuscript and print in Kerver's books of hours.

My final chapter seeks to bridge the gap between the discussions of the production and function of Kerver's printed books of hours. The general dearth in publications on the Parisian printers themselves has also resulted in a large gap between the two, most easily definable aspects of the identity of Kerver's books of hours: their identity as 'print', and their function as books of hours. This gap is problematic, as production/media and function are intertwined in Kerver's books of hours. The expansive literature on early, manuscript hours pays close attention to the role of images in dictating the function and the reading practices associated with books of hours. Roger Wieck's publication, *Time Sanctified: the book of hours in medieval art and life,* details the standard illustration for each section of the book of hours, and sheds light on the

function of each image in its devotional context.[21] However the brief scholarship on early printed books of hours has failed to create a connection between the printed books of hours and the function of their imagery.

The need to connect print context and image function is especially relevant for Kerver's borders. Kerver's borders present expansive narrative cycles of imagery, cycles made possible by the relatively inexpensive process of printing marginal imagery as opposed to painting marginal cycles. [22] Mary Beth Winn acknowledges the impressive variety of marginal imagery and examines the marginalia in their function as important tools for competition in the early print market, but she is uninterested in the narratives themselves.[23] However scholarship in the past fifty years has demonstrated how crucial marginalia are to understanding the devotional function of texts, and therefore in shaping the identity of the text. Lucy Sandler's studies of the Luttrell Psalter, and Mary Carruthers' research on devotional mnemonic practices demonstrate how marginalia not only served as markers for important prayers or texts, but how hybrid grotesques and amusing images of 'digestion' modeled how a book should be read, positioning the reader with relation to the text at center.[24] Furthermore, Michael Camille demonstrates in his well-known study, *Image on the Edge: the margins of medieval art,* how manuscript marginalia were crucial in affirming and often questioning the authority of the text at center. Marginalia in devotional texts positioned the reader and shaped the function of the devotional text at center, and the role of marginalia in a new print context have yet to be adequately studied. It is only by

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[21] Roger Wieck. *Time Sanctified: the book of hours in medieval art and life.* (New York: George Braziller, 1988)
[22] Eamon Duffy. *Stripping of the altars: traditional religion in England, c. 1400-1580*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992): pp. 230-231.
[23] Mary Beth Winn, "Illustrations in Parisian Books of Hours: borders and repertoires". *Incunabula and their readers. Printing, selling and using books in the fifteenth century.* London, England: British Library (2003). pp. 31-52.
[24] Lucy Freeman Sandler, "The Word in the Text and the Image in the Margin: The Case of the Luttrell Psalter". *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery, Essays in Honor of Lilian M. C. Randall, v. 54* (1996): pp 87-99 and Mary Carruthers. *The Craft of Thought: meditation, rhetoric and the making of images, 400-1200.* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998): especially Chapter 3, "Cognitive images, meditation, and ornament".

bridging the gap between discussion of print and print production, and discussions of the role of imagery in the book of hours, that a more full understanding of the multiple identities of Kerver's books of hours can be reached.

In Chapter 3, I conclude with a detailed analysis of the objects themselves. Kerver's hours both appropriated traditional manuscript marginalia, and mobilized them in new ways to authenticate their own authority as devotional objects. Kerver's borders heightened the experience of the devotional narrative at center and bolstered the effectiveness of Kerver's books of hours. A series of borders based on the Biblia Pauperum blockbooks presented readers with biblical typologies for meditation, and gave the reader an authoritative compendium of Old and New Testament types and models. The Apocalypse borders also heightened the devotional experience. The first section of Apocalypse borders accurately figure the text of Revelations, and are presented as a factual representation of the events of Saint John's vision. The second section of these borders focused on a more immediate aspect of the Apocalypse for a sixteenth century viewer: the wrath of God on earth. The final eleven images from the cycle both used the earlier sections' claim to factuality, and created a marked visual contrast through the immediacy of their imagery and setting, to more potently render these events as the reader's real future. The borders shaped the reader's devotional process and authenticated the devotional valor of Kerver's books of hours themselves.

This thesis by no means addresses all aspects of Kerver's books of hours. However, my goal is to address certain gaps I have perceived in the literature, and to demonstrate how the printed books of hours of Thielman Kerver are the product of their specific print culture. This print culture was dependent on the influence of the local Parisian community of books producers, and profound interactions with manuscript culture. The specific context of Kerver's books of

hours allows for a fuller understanding of how these devotional objects functioned. This thesis will not explore the broad dynamics between manuscript and print, but rather will seek to define how these are related in Kerver's printed books of hours. It is with Thielman Kerver, the phantasmical figure who printed the fragment in Tisch's archives, that we will navigate these complicated paths.

Figure 1.1: Folia with woodcut marginalia; Kerver, 1505. Medford, Tisch Library Special Collections, b26.

Chapter 1:

Thielman Kerver, a biography of printer and community

Anatole Claudin's two volume book, *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France au Xv et au XVIeme siècle,* is a collection of brief accounts of the lives and careers of the early French printers. In this chapter, I use Claudin's text as a starting point to reconstruct Kerver's biography and shop practices. Claudin's account of Thielman Kerver's life and career provides a basic outline of Kerver's early beginnings in Paris in 1497 and of his most characteristics works, his printed books of hours.[25] Claudin does not delve very far into the life of Thielman Kerver; outside of the facts which sum up Kerver's career, Claudin includes a passing mention of Kerver's wife, Yolande de Bonhomme, his six children, and Kerver's date of death in 1522.[26] Part of the goal of this chapter is to expand on this scant biography. The records of Kerver's real-estate acquisitions, his land holdings, and even a brief—unconfirmed—mention of a title of nobility, establish that Kerver had relatively high financial status by the end of his career. The scant records of Kerver's life help to reconstruct the status of an important printer at the end of his career.

Claudin's brief account also mentions Kerver's partnerships during his twenty-five year career. Kerver had four important partners: Jean Philippe de Kreuznach, Georg Wolff, Gilles Remacle and Guillaume Eustache. Following the passing references to Kerver's collaborators from Kerver's chapter to their own entries in Claudin's encyclopedic text reveals the highly interconnected nature of the early Parisian print community. Although Claudin mentions the

[25] Anatole Claudin. *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France au Xv et au XVIeme siècle*, Vol. II (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1904) pp. 269-286.
[26] Claudin, *Histoire.,* pg. 287.

collaborations between Kerver and Philippe, Wolff Remacle and Eustache, his brief discussions of each of these printers and publishers do not articulate the fundamental importance of their relationships with one another. Although Claudin lists each printer in his own separate section, the careers and shops of these men are in fact highly connected to those of their fellows—discussed in other entries lying in nearby pages. This chapter will explore these partnerships more deeply, and establish their critical importance to Kerver and the livelihood of his shop.

Kerver's critical dependence on collaborators and financial backers is not exclusive to his shop, but a common practice among the early Paris printers.[27] Despite the frequency and importance of collaborations between printers, current scholarship on early printers tends to undercut the role of outside partners and shops in favor of a singular focus on one printer or publisher. Mary Beth Winn's book on the publisher, Anthoine Vérard, *Antoine Vérard: Parisian publisher 1485-1512: prologues, poems and presentations* focuses on the role of Vérard in his shop and neglects the role of others in Vérard's editions. Interestingly, the idea of Vérard as sole agent of his printed works is an idea the publisher himself actively sought to cultivate. Anthoine Vérard was a powerful publisher with a sizable ego, and is often found depicted in his more important editions in the guise of author-creator.[28] Images of Vérard in the frontispieces of his editions replace those of the author or translator, and Vérard equates himself, the material producer of the text, with the creator.[29] As Winn acknowledges however, Vérard self-conscious claims for "authorship", are undermined by his own dependence on a network of individuals for his productions:

> Vérard employed a host of printers, proof-readers, editors, copyists, writers and artists, as well as merchants and clerks…His position at the hub of an enormous commercial network at a time of

[27] Annie Charon-Parent, *Les métiers du livre à Paris au 16e siècle (1535-1570).* (Geneva: Libraire Droz, 1974): pg 131
[28] Mary Beth Winn. *Antoine Vérard: Parisian publisher 1485-1512: prologues, poems and presentations.* (Genève: Libraire Droz, 1997): pg. 67-69.
[29] Winn, *Anthoine Vérard.,* pg. 69

> tremendous transition and upheaval establishes Anthoine Vérard as the first great "marchand libraire"[30]

Although Winn acknowledges the importance of a network of individuals to Vérard's production, and later problematizes his claims to sole textual authorship, she does not critically examine Vérard's claims regarding the physical production of his books.[31] Vérard's claims for sole agency in the physical composition of the book are just as problematic as his claims for authorship because, as Winn states, they are in fact dependent on "printers, proofreaders, editors, copyists, writers, and artists." Although Vérard often erased the marks of the printers who produced his texts, beneath Vérard's self-formulation as creative mastermind was an essential network of collaborators.[32]

This chapter will explore the scant biography of Thielman Kerver, examining records of Kerver's life not just for biographical information about Kerver himself but for information regarding his partners and collaborators. I will use this information to reconstruct the fundamental ways in which Kerver's partners and collaborators were essential to the establishment of Kerver's print shop. First, I will provide a brief biography of Kerver, which will situate Kerver socially in early sixteenth century Paris. Second, I will provide an overview of the members of the Paris print community who are relevant to Kerver and his production, both competitors in the market for printed hours and collaborators. This section will help to articulate Kerver's own position with relation to his fellows. Finally, I will examine specific ways in which Kerver collaborated with this community through the critical role Kerver's partnerships played in allowing Kerver to operate his shop, as well as the evolving character of these partnerships as

[30] Winn, *Anthoine Vérard,* pg. 38
[31] Winn, *Anthoine Vérard,* pg. 37
[32] Winn, *Anthoine Vérard,* pg. 20

Kerver's shop grew more established. These analyses will demonstrate Kerver's reliance on a network of fellow printers and publishers, and the inherent openness of Kerver's print shop.

Thielman Kerver and his origins:

Thielman Kerver was born in Koblentz, a town in the Rhineland, but by 1497 he was selling printed books of hours out of a shop on the Pont Saint Michel in Paris.[33] Although Kerver's own early connections to the print world are unknown, Kerver's wife, Yolande Bonhomme, was the daughter of Pasquier Bonhomme, a *grand libraire* for the university who printed the first text in French in 1476. Together, Yolande de Bonhomme and Thielman Kerver had six children: Jean, Thielman II, Jacques, Michel, Madeleine and Marguerite. Jean dies before his father, but both Thielman II and Jacques succeed Kerver in the printing business. Through the succession of his sons, the Kerver name did not end with Thielman Kerver I's death in 1522, but was an important force in the Parisian printing world through 1583.[34]

Although Kerver had a modest start in the printing industry, selling books printed for him by Jean Philippe de Kreuznach, by 1501 Kerver was nominated to the office of libraire juré.[35] The libraire jurés were a group of twenty-four booksellers licensed by the University of Paris; the office was also one with considerable advantages for the bookseller and was also a privileged position in the bookselling industry.[36] Over the course of his career, Kerver built a formidable business and became one of the most important early French printers and by the time of his death

1 Claudin, *Histoire,* pp. 269-270

[34] Karen Lee Bowen, *Christopher Plantin's books of hours: illustration and production.* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf Publishers, 1997): pp. 38-39.

[35] Ina Nettekoven and Heribert Tenschert, . *Horae B.M.V. : 158 Stundenbuchdrucke der Sammlung Bibermühle, 1490-1550* (Ramsen: Antiquariat Bibermühle, 2003): no. 33.

[36] Denis Pallie. "L'office de libraire juré de l'Université de Paris pendant les guerres de religion " *Bulletin du bibliophile*, (1): 2000, pp. 47-48.

Kerver possessed considerable personal wealth and status.[37] In a document published in 1717, the *Généalogie des seigneurs de Bernay, près Rosoy en Brie,* Thielman Kerver (I) is listed as a lord of Mory.[38] Kerver owned 100 hectares of land in the regions surrounding Paris: in Ormeux en Brie 27 hecatres, in Mory en France 65 hectares, and smaller plots in surrounding areas.[39] This land would have provided valuable resources to run a large household like Kerver's, as well as furnishing Kerver with the liquid capital to fund his book productions to purchase necessary print materials.[40]

Kerver also held properties within Paris, one of which would have served as his residence and the site of his shop, the others as properties for rent to generate profit.[41] Over the course of his career, Kerver moved his shop three times; he owned two of the buildings where he set up shop and two additional houses.[42] Kerver's first shop was on the Pont Saint Michel, at the sign of the Unicorn, a residence he sold to Gilles Remacle in 1499.[43] After moving from the Pont Saint Michel, Kerver operated alternately out of a shop on rue Saint Jacques near the location of the first Paris press in the cloister of Saint-Benoît, out of a shop on rue des Mathurins, and finally moved back to a different residence on rue Saint Jacques in 1519.[44] Records of these purchases help to establish the extent of Kerver's wealth: the house Kerver purchased in 1519 had a value of 5000 livres tournois and was the former residence of the archbishop of Tours, Christophe de

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[37] Charon-Parent, *Métiers,* pg. 193
[38] Philippe Renouard. *Documents sur les imprimeurs, libraires, cartiers, graveurs, enlumineurs, parcheminiers, et papetiers ayant exercé à Paris de 1450 à 1600.* (Paris: Libraire de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris, 1901): pg 22.
[39] Parent, *Métiers,* pg 196
[40] Parent, *Métiers,* pg. 199.
[41] Parent, *Métiers ,* pg. 201.
[42] See: Philippe Renouard. *Imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, fondeurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu'à la fin du seizième siècle.* (Paris: Libraire A. Claudin, 1901). pp. 198-201. and Philippe Renouard. *Documents sur les imprimeurs, libraires, cartiers, graveurs, enlumineurs, parcheminiers, et papetiers ayant exercé à Paris de 1450 à 1600.* (Paris: Libraire de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris, 1901): pg 141-144.
[43] Philippe Renouard. *Imprimeurs parisiens, libraires, fondeurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu'à la fin du seizième siècle.* (Paris: Libraire A. Claudin, 1901). pg. 198.
[44] Renouard, *Imprimeurs,* pg 198-201.

Brilhac.[45] Although information on Kerver's life is scant, the records of his real estate purchases suggest that by the end of his life Kerver held considerable financial wealth. Kerver's status as a wealthy printer placed him at the upper end of the hierarchy in the print world, and gained him a place in the upwardly mobile bourgeois class of early sixteenth century Paris.[46] The wealth Kerver gained by the end of his life would also give him considerable business advantages in the printing business, where types, paper, parchment and plates for illustration were all expensive.[47]

Thielman Kerver came to Paris from his native Koblenz under unknown circumstances, and the specifics of his life are little known. This chapter will now turn to the dense community in which Kerver printed his books of hours, and finally will use more evidence from Kerver's biography to reconstruct the inherently collaborative nature of Kerver's shop.

Kerver and his world, Rue Saint Jacques and the community of the book:

Kerver's printing world was a dense network of tradesmen and shops, operating out of a closely knit quartier in late medieval Paris. Ulrich Gering de Beromünster, Michael Friburger de Colmar and Martin Krantz de Strasbourg established the first commercial press in 1472 on rue Saint Jacques, part of the traditional quartier of the manuscript trade, and many of the early Parisian printers followed suit.[48] These printers established their shops on rue Saint Jacques, on the Pont Saint Michel and Île de la Cité, next to the court, and the area around the Sorbonne, sharing these spaces with the shops of parchment makers, illuminators and scribes.[49] (Figure 2.1)

[45] Renouard, *Documents,* pg. 141
[46] Charon-Parent *Métiers.,* pg. 193.
[47] Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer, "Fabriquer un livre au XVI siècle". *Histoire de l'édition française: le livre conquerant.* (Paris: Promodis, 1983): pp. 279-280.
[48] Frédéric Barbier. Paris: capitale des livres, le monde des livres et de la presse à Paris, du Moyen Âge au xxe siècle. (Paris Biblothèques: Presses Universitaires de France, 2007). pp. 59-70
[49] Annie Charon-Parent, "Le monde de l'imprimerie humaniste: Paris". *L'histoire de l'édition française: le livre conquerant*, ed. Henri Jean-Martin and Roger Chartier (Paris: Promodis, 1983): 243

Over the next decade, the printing market in Paris expanded. In 1476 Pasquier Bonhomme printed the first text in French: les *Chroniques du Roi*. The Bonhommes, already an important family in the manuscript world would lead the market in vernacular productions.[50] Between 1485 and 1500, the production and number of printers in Paris would greatly increase. Particularly in the realm of liturgical book production, Paris became a formidable force in the new printing world. Books of hours proved a specialty of the Parisian printers, and Paris became the leading producer of books of hours in a market formerly dominated by the commercial manuscript scriptoria of Bruges and Ghent.[51]

Among the printers and publishers who were Kerver's competitors in the market for printed books of hours in Paris were Jean Dupré, Anthoine Vérard, Simon Vostre and his partner Philippe Pigouchet, and the Hardouin brothers, German and Gilles.[52] These men too established their shops in the areas around the Île de la Cité and rue Saint Jacques, concentrating the fledging print market in a Parisian quartier already dominated by manuscript production. Their rapidly moving presses produced an average of 29 editions of books of hours per year between 1501 and 1510, each edition ranging between 600 and 1200 exemplars.[53]

Although the contemporary market was virtually flooded with printed books of hours, Kerver and his contemporaries varied their productions and catered to different audiences. Anthoine Vérard and the Hardouin brothers specialized in luxury editions of books of hours. [54] Vérard's editions are often illuminated so extensively it is nearly impossible to discern that they

[50] Mary and Richard H. Rouse. "The Family and Neighborhood of Andry Le Musnier: The Printing Pres and the rue Neuve Notre-Dame". *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commerical Book Production in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500.* (Turhout: H. Miller, 2000): pp. 324.
[51] Nicolas Barker. "The Printed Book of Hours". *The Book Collector*, 53 no. 3 (Autumn, 2004): pg. 2
[52] Barker, *Printed,* pp. 3-4.
[53] Bowen, *Christopher Plantin,* pg. 26
[54] Bowen, *Christopher Plantin,* pg. 28.

are, in fact, printed.[55] Vérard produced two types of luxury editions. The first were those produced for a specific patron; these were the most lavishly illuminated, and were often commissioned by members of the French royal family, including King Charles VIII, Louis VII and Anne de Bretagne.[56] (Figure 2.2) However Vérard also produced some deluxe copies for general sale in his shop. These were slightly less luxurious, often with spaces left blank for the customer to fill in their coat of arms.[57] The clientele for this second group would most likely have been wealthy noblemen or bourgeois, looking to obtain these books as status symbols as well as tools of devotion.[58]

Kerver himself produced editions characterized by parchment supports, extensive woodcut marginalia and engraved images, and basic illuminated initials in red and blue with gold or yellow highlights. (Figure 1.1) These editions were neither as expensive as Vérard's, nor as cheap as the most basic copies available on the market: printed on paper with woodcut illustrations and often without marginalia. Kerver's use of extensive illustration material, engravings, and illuminated initials would have added to the cost of his editions.[59] Simon Vostre, a publisher who had a longstanding partnership with the printer Philippe Pigouchet, produced works similar to Kerver's: often produced on vellum, with extensive illustration and some minimal illumination.[60] (Figure 2.3) Vostre did differentiate his products from Kerver's by providing versions of the devotional text for specific regions, called 'uses'. The use of a book of hours indicates adjustments in the texts made for a particular region.[61] While Kerver's books of hours were often for the use of Rome, the most general form of the text for use throughout

[55] Winn, *Anthoine Vérard.,* pg. 31
[56] Winn, *Anthoine Vérard,* pg. 102
[57] Winn, *Anthoine Vérard,* pg. 102
[58] Winn, *Anthoine Vérard,* pg. 102
[59] Bowen, *Christopher Plantin,* pg 91
[60] Bowen, *Christopher Plantin,*pp. 34-35.
[61] Wieck, *Anthoine Vérard,* pg. 158

Western Christendom, Vostre focused on texts for the use of Paris, Rouen, or other regions in France.[62] It is more difficult to determine who Kerver and Vostre's customers may have been, since unlike Vérard's editions their copies do not tend to include the coats of arms or specialized details that indicate audience or patron. Most likely, their customers belonged to the largest customers of the book of hours: a group composed of lawyers, financiers and officials of royal, provincial and municipal government.[63] The range of productions produced in Paris evidence the printers' attempts both to provide a devotional text that was in high demand, and to tap into niches in the market for books of hours of different types and prices ranges.[64] Vérard, Vostre, and the Hardouins were Kerver's principle competitors in the printing industry. The differences between the editions produced by Parisian printers helps to articulate possible audiences for their respective editions. Although Kerver's editions were not as expensive as those produced by Vérard or the Hardouins, his use of engravings, parchment, and illuminated initials would have made his printed editions suitable for a member of the bourgeois class.

It was not only Kerver's competitors who were found locally, but also Kerver's closest business associates. Jean Philippe, who printed Kerver's first books of hours during the period from 1497 to early 1498, worked with Georg Wolff at the sign of Saint Barbara from 1494-1495 on the rue Saint Jacques and finished his career on the nearby rue Marcel.[65] Georg Wolff, Kerver's first partner, started working at the Soleil d'Or on rue Saint Jacques, and later worked with Philippe at the shop under the sign of Saint Barbara. Wolff drops out of the historical record after his partnership with Kerver dissolves in 1499.[66] Gilles Remacle and Guillaume Eustace, for

[62] Bowen, *Christopher Plantin.,* pp. 34-35
[63] Virginia Reinburg. "Books of Hours". *The Sixteenth Century French Religious Book.* eds. Andrew Pettegree, Paul Nelles, and Phillip Conner. (Burlington: Ashgate, 2001): pg 71
[64] Roger Wieck. *Time Sanctified: the book of hours in medieval art and life.* (New York: George Braziller, 1988): pp. 27-28.
[65] Claudin, *Histoire,* pp. 235-241.
[66] Claudin, *Histoire,* 95-105

whom Kerver printed books of hours from 1500 to sometime in 1504, had shops on the Pont Saint Michel and on rue de la Juiferie, respectively.[67] Both Wolff and Philippe were smaller printers.[68] Unable to afford the expenses of maintaining their own independent shop, they made their money printing for other printers with more financial resources.[69] Gilles Remacle may have been a printer, but it is most likely he was just a publisher, who paid printers like Kerver to produce the books they sold in their shops.[70] Guillaume Eustace was a more prominent publisher, and he held the title of Bookseller and Bookbinder to the King.[71] Kerver's collaborators occupied different spaces in printing industry's hierarchy. Delineating each of their respective roles and places in the Parisian printing world helps to define Kerver's own status and place as he moved through his career partnerships with each of them.

In the same way in which the manuscript *libraires* relied on a network of shops and artisans in order to complete a single manuscript, the financial viability and daily operation of Kerver's shop relied on Kerver's fellows in the print world.[72] The next section will focus on examining each of these important partnerships, and how they help to reconstruct the status and growth of Kerver's print shop. Analyzing these partnerships will also help to clarify the types of collaboration necessary to the livelihood of Kerver's shop. The inherently open and collaborative nature of Kerver's printing business dissolves the idea of an isolated print shop and suggests that printers relied on a network of individuals and shops to produce each edition.

Kerver and his associates, the business of composite printing:

[67] Claudin, *Histoire* pp. 547-549.
[68] Claudin, *Histoire,* pp. 95-105 and pp. 235-241.
[69] Charon-Parent , *Métiers,* pp. 131-132.
[70] Claudin, *Histoire* pg. 547
[71] Claudin, *Histoire,* pg. 548-549.
[72] Allen S. Farber. "Considering a Marginal Master: The Work of an Early Fifteenth-Century Illuminator". *Gesta* 31 no. 1 (1993): pg. 31.

Kerver's business partnerships were crucial to the operation of his print shop. After 1505 Kerver was established enough to produce his works independently and eventually he would obtain high financial and social status. However, during the earlier part of his career Kerver had a number of long-term partnerships. These partnerships gave Kerver assistance with the considerable investments necessary for starting a printing shop, as well as helping Kerver to fund individual editions. Even the basic stock required for printing was expensive. A reasonably fashionable type—the 'Cicero' consisted in some 60,000 pieces and cost as much as 18 livres tournois 12 sols in 1543.[73] An average book of hours might sell for only 7 sols tournois, which means that a printer would need to sell 53 books just to recoup the cost of the type.[74] Presses themselves ranged from 18 to 34 livres tournois—with a fully equipped press at the top of that range.[75] Plates and woodcuts were also a considerable investment, ranging from 2 to 15 sols tournois for a single woodcut and two to three times more for engravings like the ones used by Kerver.[76] As a result, printers often formed partnerships with fellow tradesmen, or sometimes with partners outside of the trade, to share the burden of these costs.[77]

These partnerships were important not only for the financial support they provided, but for the contributions they made to Kerver's stock of print materials. Again, this was particularly important for Kerver early on in his career, when he had not yet gathered the funds to purchase new stock. Winn has demonstrated how the Parisian printers relied on the diversity of their illustration material, particularly of their borders, in order to differentiate their products from

[73] Veyrin-Forrer, *Fabriquer,* pg. 279
[74] Bowen, *Christopher Plantin,* pg. 88. The relative price of type based on a basic printed book was calculated using 20 sols tournois/livre tournois.
[75] Charon-Parent, *Métiers,* pg. 92.
[76] Bowen, *Christopher Plantin,* pg. 85.
[77] Charon-Parent, *Métiers,* pg. 135

their fellows.[78] A printer's stock was crucial to their ability to establish a niche aesthetic and market. Kerver's partnerships are evidence that from a very practical standpoint, print shops and printers were not isolated and independent figures, but that they functioned in collaboration with one another. This section will detail the interactions between Kerver and his four main partners: his initial partnership with the printers Jean Philippe de Kreuznach and Georg Wolff, and his long-term arrangements with publishers Gilles Remacle and Guillaume Eustace. Following the evolving nature of Kerver's collaborations will illustrate how Kerver used different types of partnerships at various stages of his career, and the vital importance of these partnerships to the liability of his shop at different points in its evolution.

Kerver's two earliest arrangements with the printers Jean Philippe de Kreuznach and Georg Wolff helped Kerver to gather print stock at an early stage in his career and cushion the financial burden of entering the market. By partnering with Philippe and Wolff, two smaller printers, Kerver was able to break into the print industry and establish his shop. Both Philippe and Wolff were fellow members of the local German community, Jean Philippe de Kreuznach and George Wolff were actually former business partners and had worked together briefly from 1494-1495. [79] When Kerver first opened up shop in 1497, he was just a bookseller, and Kerver commissioned Philippe to print a number of books of hours.[80] These works would have been executed by Philippe in a separate print shop as Kerver did not yet have an atelier of his own,

[78] Mary Beth Win, "Illustrations in Parisian Books of Hours: borders and repertoires". *Incunabula and their readers. Printing, selling and using books in the fifteenth century.* (London, England: British Library, 2003). pg 43.
[79] In situations in which booksellers hire a printer to execute works for them, the printer may use his own stock of fonts, images, etc., to execute the work for the bookseller—often inserting the bookseller's mark or name in front and thus marking it as a production of that bookseller's shop; or the bookseller would provide the printer with his own stock of images and fonts, keeping the outside production consistent with the rest of the bookseller's works. Publishers such as Antoine Vérard and Simon Vostre, although they did not print in their own right, each possessed a stock of images and types which they would lend out to the shop currently executing their works. See Charon-Parent, *Métiers,* pp. 131-136; Claudin, *Histoire* pp. 508-517 on Vostre.
[80] Claudin, *Histoire* pp. 235-241.

possibly Wolff's former shop on rue Saint Jacques, which Philippe took over after his brief partnership with Wolff ended.

The partnership with Philippe would have allowed Kerver to print books without having to immediately come up with the money to invest in his own shop and presses—allowing him to cut some initial costs. Although Philippe executed the actual printing of these first books of hours, Kerver did provide Philippe with all of the necessary type and illustration material for the execution of these works—as well as either money for parchment and ink, or the materials themselves.[81] This is evidenced by one of the earliest editions Philippe printed for Kerver, a book of hours for the use of Sarum, where Philippe uses what are known to be Kerver's first set of woodcuts to illustrate the book.[82] (Figure 2.4) Kerver's dependence on an outside shop to actually produce his works was a common practice of printers in the contemporary print world. Indeed, a contract drawn up between Thielman Kerver II, Kerver's son, and the printer Jean Gemyn reproduces a similar agreement: Gemyn agreed to give Kerver a percentage of all the editions he printed in exchange for Kerver's furnishing Germyn with two presses and a small type.[83] Thielman II is obviously in a more favorable position in 1547 than his father was in 1497, and is able to furnish Gemyn with both type and printing presses. Kerver's partnership with Jean Philippe, a small printer with his own press, allowed Kerver to start printing and building capital without having to immediately invest in a shop and press of his own.

Kerver apparently gained enough capital after his partnership with Philippe to start his own shop. At the end of 1497, Kerver partnered with Georg Wolff and started printing as well as

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[81] Claudin, *Histoire* pp. 235-241.
[82] Early English Books Online, Book of Hours (Salisbury), 1497, STC/ 107:23, accessible at: *Early English Books Online.* ProQuest LLC, 2002-2003. http://eebo.chadwyck.com/search/full_rec?SOURCE=var_spell.cfg&ACTION=ByID&ID=99841270&ECCO=undefined&FILE=../session/1327881211_9594&SEARCHSCREEN=CITATIONS&DISPLAY=AUTHOR and Ina Nettekoven. *Der Meister der Apokalypsenrose der Sainte Chapelle und die Pariser Buchkunst um 1500* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2004): table on page 121 for a full list of these woodcuts.
[83] Charon-Paren, *Métiers,* pg. 131

selling books out of a shop on the Pont Saint Michel.[84] Smaller printers often formed partnerships in order to remain independent from a publisher or *libraire.*[85] Wolff and Kerver would have shared the costs of operating presses and buying stock, enabling them to maintain their foothold in the printing business. Wolff not only shared the financial burden of running a print shop, but contributed to Kerver's print stock. Wolff was also a 'tailleur', woodcutter, and he carved some of the ornamental woodcut margins found in Kerver's works. Wolff's name is found in a few of the strips, as well as his patron saint, Saint George.[86] He also made other contributions to Kerver's print stock: bringing to Kerver's shop a smaller and larger roman type, based on prototypes from the shop of his former employer, Ulrich Gering.[87] It is also possible that he helped Kerver to purchase his first set of engravings, however it is Kerver who keeps these plates after their partnership dissolves. [88] The expense of illustration material prompted many printers to make similar arrangements, and to share the costs of commissioning cycles of plates.[89] Either way, Wolff contributed at least the roman type Kerver used for the remainder of his career, and a series of woodblock borders. Kerver's partnerships served not only to share financial responsibility, but also allowed Kerver to build up his print stock and illustration material.

Kerver's partnership with Wolff and the arrangement between Kerver and Philippe demonstrate that Kerver's initial production relied on cooperation with different members of the print world. It is the collaborative nature of the Paris print world, and the movement of people and materials from shop to shop, which allowed Kerver to publish his first works. However the

[84] Claudin, *Histoire* pp. 269-270.
[85] Charon-Parent, *Métiers,* pg. 131.
[86] Claudin, *Histoire,* pg. 101.
[87] Claudin, *Histoire,* pp. 95-105.
[88] Ina Nettekoven, *Der Meister der Apokalypsenrose,* table on pg. 121.
[89] Charon-Parent, *Métiers,* pg. 87

specific types of arrangements Kerver made with Philippe and Wolff are also informative, and illustrate how Kerver gained his foothold in the printing industry. In his early career, Kerver formed partnerships with two smaller printers, which enabled Kerver to alleviate the financial burden of establishing a shop and to build his stock. These partnerships were well suited to a printer in the early stages of his career.

Kerver's later partnerships with the publishers Gilles Remacle and Guillaume Eustace served different purposes. Gilles Remacle was a licensed bookseller of the University of Paris like Kerver, while Guillaume Eustace was a more important figure in the Paris printing world, a publisher who was bookseller to the king.[90] Kerver had similar arrangements with both Remacle and Eustace, printing works that were then sold independently by Remacle and Eustace in their own shops.[91] The arrangements with Remacle and Eustace would have given Kerver a stable source of income. Remacle and Eustache would probably have paid Kerver by the day to print a given edition of a book of hours, specifying a specific timeframe in which the edition must be completed.[92] Either way, this was a more certain source of income than having to print an edition, and wait anxiously to see whether it would sell. The partnerships with Remacle and Eustace also ensured that Kerver had a venue in which to sell his books, and gave him a definite source of income. The appearance of Kerver's mark in almost all of the editions for Remacle and Eustace moreover, would have allowed Kerver to advertise in other shops.[93]

The differences between Kerver's partnerships with Philippe and Wolff, and Remacle and Eustace demonstrate how the types of partnerships Kerver made evolved as his shop grew.

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[90] Claudin, *Histoire,* 548-549.
[91] Although Anatole Claudin, in his Histoire de l'imprimerie en France suggests that Remacle printed a few editions on his own account it seems that Kerver printed the majority of his works and he may have been only a publisher. Claudin, *Histoire,* pg 547.
[92] Charon-Parent, *Métiers,* pg. 129.
[93] See Nettekoven and Tenschert, *Horae B.M.V.,* nos. 26-37.

By 1500, Kerver had his shop and a growing stock of printed materials. During the first three years of his career, Kerver acquired a set of woodblocks and a set of engravings for his main illustrations, as well as continually building his cycle of woodblock borders.[94] He no longer needed partners who would help him to build a print shop, but partners who would help him to maintain his financial viability and independence. Kerver's work with two publishers and booksellers gave him an assured source of income and venues in which to sell and advertize his books.

Production for Gilles Remacle and Guillaume Eustace appears to have ended right as Kerver started to use new plates from the workshop of Jean Pichore.[95] (Figure 2.5) Why the apparent stop in production for Remacle and Eustace? It is possible that they did not favor the introduction of Pichore's new plates, whose style differed considerably from the earlier plates by the Master of the Sainte Chapelle Rose. (Figure 2.6) However it should also be noted that by this time Kerver was a more established libraire-imprimeur. He became a licensed bookseller of the university at least by May 1501, when he appears in a colophon listed as a libraire juré.[96] This was an office one had to pay for, and entailed a certain amount of status within the book-producing community.[97] Often libraire-jurés did not require the same type of financial assistance as smaller booksellers did, and certainly the status and property Kerver had achieved—if only by the end of his life—suggests that he did enjoy a certain amount of financial ease.[98] As Kerver gained more financial viability and independence, he no longer required financial partners.

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[94] Nettekoven and Tenschert, *Horae B.M.V.,* no. 26-37. This lists 12 editions Kerver produced from 1498 to 1504, and includes lists of the main illustration cycles used, as well as the border cycles used.
[95] Nettekoven and Tenschert, *Horae B.M.V.,* no. 37—an edition from 1503 (1504?) is the last place we see the appearance of Remacle's name, and Eustace's production with Kerver seems to have stopped two years earlier. This is relying on Nettekoven and Tenschert's examples and reference to the British Library's online incunabula catalogue—which together seem to be the most complete catalog of Kerver's works.
[96] Nettekoven and Tenschert, *Horae B.M.V.,* no 33
[97] Barbier, *Paris,* pg 200.
[98] Charon-Parent, *Métiers,* pg. 130

Conclusion:

The progression in the character of Kerver's partnerships evidences how different types of partnerships suited Kerver's needs as he struggled first to establish his print shop, and then to maintain that print shop. The partnerships with printers Jean Philippe and Georg Wolff were crucial to the first stage of Kerver's career. Kerver's partnership with Philippe enabled him to start printing without having to purchase a shop or printing press. It is possible that the returns from these first books allowed Kerver to purchase his shop and press, or that during this time he was able to find another source of capital. The partnership with Wolff gave Kerver someone with which to share the burden of running a print shop, and of acquiring illustration and print stock. Wolff made definite contributions to Kerver's print stock by bringing to Kerver's shop two types and carving a series of woodblock borders, but it is also possible he helped to fund the purchase of Kerver's first set of engravings. The partnerships with publishers Gilles Remacle and Guillaume Eustace served a different purpose. They gave Kerver an assured source of income, and also gave Kerver two venues in which to sell and advertise their books. These partnerships allow us to track the evolving status of Kerver's shop, and by 1505, Kerver appears to have gained enough financial stability and status to fund his enterprise independently. Finally, these partnerships underline the inherently collaborative nature of business in the early printing world, where printers relied on a network of other members of the community in order to successfully run their shops.

The interactions between Kerver and his fellows in the tightly knit community around rue Saint Jacques helped provide the tools and materials for his productions. The necessity of these relationships to Kerver's production can help us to reevaluate the idea of the early print shop as an isolated entity. Kerver's shop operated through connections to other shops, and his

collaborators were not secondary but fundamental to its production. Against the facts of Kerver's business practices reevaluate Anthoine Vérard's heady claim for sole agency and physical "authorship" of his printed books.

One final episode from Kerver's life opens up new ways in which to interpret the importance of the collaborative print trade. Although there do not appear to have been any other major and consistent business arrangements between Kerver and other booksellers or publishers for the remainder of his career, Kerver did continue to benefit from his close connections to other printers. In 1505, Kerver introduced the first seven plates from a new cycle of engravings, the designs of the workshop of contemporary manuscript illuminator Jean Pichore.[99] (Figure 2.5) Interestingly, these plates are exact duplicates of the engravings used by Jean Pichore in his own printed book of hours, produced in association with Remy de Laistre in 1504. [100] Pichore, although a manuscript illuminator by trade, had a short stint in the printing world, producing two editions in association with de Laistre before going back to the manuscript illumination business.[101] It appears that at the end of this venture Pichore was looking to sell the engraved plates he had used for this edition. Kerver bought seven of the engravings and his colleague Simon Vostre bought the remainder of the set.[102] Later, in 1507, Kerver commissioned the remainder of the cycle from Jean Pichore's atelier.[103]

Not only does the exchange with Pichore reiterate the importance of a broader print community to the operation of Kerver's print shop and his acquisition of print stock, but it

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[99] Caroline Zöhl. *Jean Pichore: Buchmaler, Graphiker und Verleger in Paris um 1500.* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004): pg 174. These seven plates are: the Martyrdom, Visitation, Magi, Presentation, Raising of Lazarus, Crucifixion and Pentecost. In 1506 Kerver introduces three new plates: the Annunciation, the Birth, and the Flight into Egypt, which are original designs except for the image of the flight, which is a copy of a design executed for the Hardouin brothers.

[100] François Avril and Nicole Reynaud. *Les manuscrits à peintures en France: 1440-1520.* (Flammarion: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1994): no 157.

[101] Avril and Reynaud, *Les manuscrits*, no. 157

[102] Again, see Zöhl's table for the plates purchased by Simon Vostre, Zöhl, *Jean Pichore,* pg. 174.

[103] Zöhl, *Jean Pichore,* pg. 174

records an exchange between Kerver and a prominent member of the manuscript trade. In this chapter, I have focused on the place of Kerver's shop in the Paris print world. I have used this space to analyze how Kerver's shop fit into this group, and the critical ways in which Kerver collaborated with his fellows in the printing world. In the next chapter, I will use this model of the collaborative print shop to examine the fruitful ways in which Kerver's shop interacted with individuals from the world of manuscript production. In Chapter 2, I will further expand on the model of Kerver's inherently open and collaborative print shop, and examine how the critical connections between Kerver's shop and members of the manuscript trade can allow us to reconstruct Kerver's production in terms of manuscript production.

Figure 2.1: Map of Rue Saint Jacques, and the print quartier on the left bank.
*(*Mary and Richard H. Rouse. *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commerical Book Production in Medieval Paris, 1200-1500. (*Turhout: H. Miller, 2000))

Figure 2.2: Unknown, Tree of Jesse; printed for Anthoine Vérard, illuminated by the Master of the Mettler-Pèlerinage, 1494.
(Ina Nettekoven and Heribert Tenschert, . *Horae B.M.V. : 158 Stundenbuchdrucke der Sammlung Bibermühle, 1490-1550 (*Ramsen: Antiquariat Bibermühle, 2003): no. 3.)

Figure 2.3: Master of the Sainte Chapelle Apocalypse Rose, David and Bathsheba. Simon Vostre, 1498 edition.

(Geneviève Souchal. “Un Grand peintre français de la fin du XVe si`cle, le Maître de la ‘Chasse à la Licorne’” *Revue de l’Art 22 (1973): fig 78.*)

Figure 2.4: Master of the Sainte Chapelle Apocalypse Rose, Annunciation. Jean Philippe for Thielman Kerver, 1497. Princeton, Firestone Library, Rare Books, William H. Scheide Library, 4.3.5.

Figure 2.5: Atelier of Jean Pichore, the Martyrdom of Saint John at the Latin Gate; 1504, Remy de Laistre (Caroline Zöhl. *Jean Pichore: Buchmaler, Graphiker und Verleger in Paris um 1500.* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004))

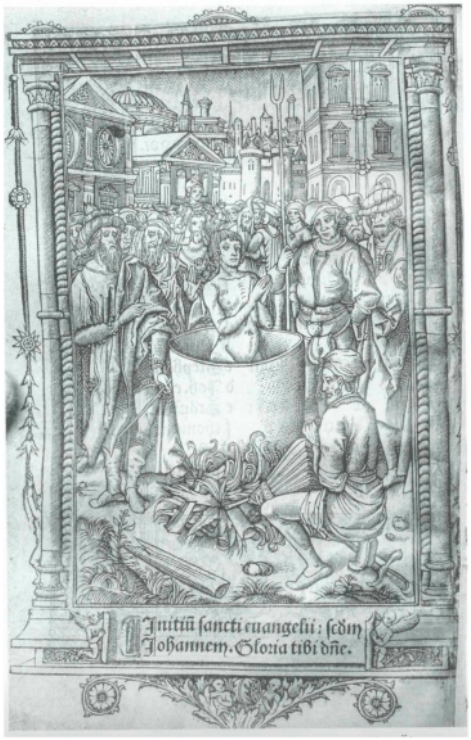

Figure 2.6: Master of the Sainte Chapelle Apocalypse Rose, Annunciation; from Kerver, 1505. Cambridge, Harvard Houghton Library, Houghton TYP 515.05.262

Chapter 2:

'Print' culture and manuscript production

Thielman Kerver produced his books of hours in a context where print and manuscript cultures thrived alongside one another. Kerver not only shared his street with manuscript workshops like those of the Master of the Sainte Chapelle Apocalypse and Jean Pichore, but he relied on these workshops for the designs of his engravings and illumination of his pages.[104] Scholarship on incunabula and early print has long acknowledged the intimate connection between early print and manuscript. Sandra Hindman, in her essay in *Pen to Press: Illustrated Manuscripts and Printed Books in the First Century of Printing*, summarizes this view concisely, "Numerous instances of copying, from manuscripts to printing, certainly support the generally accepted claim that the early printers turned to manuscripts for their models."[105] A French book of hours with typological borders modeled on the borders of Parisian printed hours is a reminder that the exchanges between manuscript and print were not uni-directional. (Figure 3.1) Printed books and manuscripts engaged in fruitful exchanges of visual modeling, both from manuscript to print, and from print to manuscript.

Connections between manuscript and print are often established through visual similarity, using markers such as the appropriation of manuscript layouts, scripts, illuminations or the use of vellum as a support to define this relationship. Figures in the early Paris print world like Anthoine Vérard specialized in producing "deluxe" manuscript-like editions of vernacular texts

[104] See Ina Nettekoven and Heribert Tenschert, *Horae B.M.V. : 158 Stundenbuchdrucke der Sammlung Bibermühle, 1490-1550* (Ramsen: Antiquariat Bibermühle, 2003): nos. 26-37, nos. 53-64, and nos. 117-119, which have engravings by the Master of Sainte Chapelle and 53-64, and 117-119 have engravings by Pichore's atelier.
[105] Sandra Hindman, "Cross-Fertilization, Experiments in Mixing the Media". *Pen to Press: Illustrated Manuscripts and Printed Books in the First Century of Printing*. Sandra Hindman and James Douglas Farquhar, eds. (Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1977): pg 102.

and books of hours.[106] (Figure 2.2) Although Kerver's standard books of hours have some of the traditional "manuscript" characteristics of early print, they were often printed on vellum with illuminated initials, and similar in layout to contemporary manuscript books of hours, his editions have fewer physical affinities to manuscript exemplars than those of contemporaries like Vérard.[107] Based on this lack of physical similarity to the manuscript model, Karen Lee Bowen categorizes Kerver's books of hours as "non-manuscript like".[108] However Bowen's assertion of the distance between Kerver's books of hours and the manuscript world is misrepresentative. The manuscript world did not only shape emergent print culture by providing visual models, but also provided a model for mode of production as this chapter will illustrate.

In *Pen to Press,* Sandra Hindman suggests that places and modes of production can be equally important in establishing connections between early print and manuscript, "Analogies between the decoration and script of the Giant Bible of Mainz… the Gutenberg Bible, and other productions in the area of Mainz firmly situate the Gutenberg Bible within manuscript production of the mid-fifteenth century."[109] Paul Saenger goes further than Hindman in an article published on Colard Mansion, a scribe and printer who executed numerous works for Louis of Bruges, stating, "The achievements of early printers of vernacular texts, such as Colard Mansion of Bruges, must be understood in the context of the evolution of manuscript-book production."[110]

Modes of production reveal new ways in which to define the connection between print and manuscript, and the influence of a strong manuscript culture on the fledgling print industry. This chapter will reevaluate Bowen's characterization of Kerver's work as "non-manuscript like"

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[106] Mary Beth Winn. *Antoine Vérard: Parisian publisher 1485-1512: prologues, poems and presentations.* (Genève: Libraire Droz, 1997): pg 31.
[107] Winn. *Antoine Vérard,* pg 31.
[108] Karen Lee Bowen. *Christopher Plantin's books of hours: illustration and production.* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf Publishers, 1997): pg. 41
[109] Hindman, *Cross-Fertilization,* pg. 102
[110] Paul Saenger, "Colard Mansion and the Evolution of the Printed Book" *The Library Quarterly,* 45 no. 4 (Oct, 1975): pg 405.

by examining the connections between Kerver's production and contemporary manuscript production. In the first section of this chapter, I will examine the production of one of Kerver's books of hours, a 1505 edition now in Harvard's Houghton library. This section will demonstrate the similarities between Kerver's production method and the standardized methods used in the contemporary manuscript trade. After analyzing Kerver's production process, I will demonstrate the importance of reframing Kerver's production in a manuscript context through an analysis of the designing of Kerver's engravings, which relied on the process of 'creative copying' important in manuscript illumination. The important connections between the print and manuscript communities in early sixteenth century Paris created a hybrid print-manuscript culture, out of which Kerver's books of hours emerged.

Kerver's production:

In Chapter 1, I discussed the importance of the book production community for Kerver's shop by analyzing the crucial financial support given to Kerver by his partnerships, as well as the role figures like Georg Wolff and Jean Pichore played in building Kerver's stock of print materials. Just as the print community was important to the livelihood of Kerver's shop, Kerver's production of printed books of hours relied on many individuals in the broader book community. The streets around Kerver's shop were home to paper and parchment makers, type founders and ink makers, illuminators, and professors and students who would occasionally pick up work correcting proofs.[111]

[111] Michael Camille. *Master of Death: The Lifeless Art of Pierre Remiet, Illuminator.* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996.) pg. 26.

This network of shops sprang up in response to the demands of the increasingly standardized manuscript market, which relied on all of these shops for production.[112] In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a growing class of lay, upper-middle class readers greatly increased the demand for books.[113] In order to more efficiently produce manuscripts, the production process was divided up into many different, standardized steps. As a result, most manuscripts went through the hands of many artisans, each of whom performed a clearly defined task before passing the manuscript to the next shop, marshaled along by the *libraire* or bookseller who had commissioned the work. In order to complete a book the parchment needed to be prepared by a parchment maker, the gatherings of folios needed to be constructed, pricked, and ruled, the text written, the initials and borders illuminated, and finally the miniatures needed to be painted, before the book arrived, completed and ready to be sold in the shop of a *libraire.*[114] The standardization of tasks and steps allowed the book to be more efficiently completed by these many different individuals.[115] Additionally, the proximity of the different ateliers and individuals required to complete a manuscript facilitated the necessary cooperation between workshops.[116]

To produce a book of hours Kerver followed a multi-step process analogous to the one used in contemporary manuscript production, and which relied on a similar network of local shops and artisans. I will explore these parallels by analyzing the production of the 1505 edition

[112] Allen S. Farber. "Considering a Marginal Master: The Work of an Early Fifteenth-Century Illuminator". *Gesta* 31 no. 1 (1993): pg. 31.
[113] Paul Saenger, "Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages". *The culture of print: power and the uses of print in early modern Europe.* ed. by Roger Chartier. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989): pg.
[114] Donal Byrne, "Manuscript Ruling and Pictorial Design in the Work of the Limbourgs, the Bedford Master and the Boucicaut Master." *The Art Bulletin* 66(1) (Mar., 1984): pg. 118
[115] Farber, *Marginal* pg. 31
[116] Farber, *Marginal,* pg. 31

now in Harvard's Houghton Library.[117] (Figure 3.2) I have chosen the Houghton Hours because it is representative of the majority of Kerver's production, but I will cite other examples from Kerver's production to illustrate the range of Kerver's editions. The first step in production was to procure the materials necessary for printing: materials like ink, paper or parchment, as well as types, fonts, and engravings or woodblocks. Paper and parchment were very expensive, and like many of Kerver's hours the Houghton Hours has a parchment support.[118] However, once the capital was gathered Kerver would have ready access to materials like parchment in the area around rue Sainte Jacques—hence the origin of the street name, rue de la Parcheminerie.[119] The accessibility of parchment was due to the established manuscript workshops in the area, but materials exclusive to print, like type-founding, were newly developed crafts whose practitioners also set to work in the print quartier.[120]

After Kerver's materials were assembled, the next step was to obtain a copy of the text and prepare a manuscript exemplar which outlined the text to be printed and the arrangement of text and image on each page. Kerver would first need to summon a member from one of the local orders of friars, who would compile the proper text for the region and type of book of hours Kerver wanted.[121] As is the case with most of Kerver's printed books of hours, the Houghton Hours is according to the use of Rome. The use of Rome is the most generalized use for a book of hours, and its offices were appropriate for use throughout Western Christendom.[122] Kerver

[117] Harvard University, Houghton Library, TYP 515.05.262
[118] Jeanne Verriyn-Forrer. "Fabriquer un livre au XVIe siècle". *L'histoire de l'édition française: le livre conquerant*, ed. Henri Jean-Martin and Roger Chartier (Paris: Promodis, 1983) pg 280.
Annie Charon-Parent. *Les métiers du livre à Paris au 16e siècle (1535-1570).* (Geneva: Droz, 1974): pg. 55 states that parchment was used only for luxury editions.
[119] Charon-Parent, *Métiers,* pg. 55
[120] Charon-Parent, *Métiers,* pg. 81
[121] Charon-Parent, *Métiers,* pg. 122; the original French text reads, 'un religieux'.
[122] Roger Wieck. *Time Sanctified: the book of hours in medieval art and life.* (New York: George Braziller, 1988): pg. 158. A complete list of Kerver's texts in the Houghton edition is: an almanac, a table of contents, a calendar, the four gospel lessons, the Passion of Saint John, the Hours of the Virgin, the Penitential Psalms, the Office of the

would also need to make decisions regarding type, language, and the format of the text in order to prepare the exemplar.[123] The Houghton Hours is printed using the roman type given to Kerver by Georg Wolff, and is executed in both red and black ink. (Figure 3.3) Kerver used black ink for the majority of the text, but captions in the borders, incipits, and the colophon are printed in red. The text itself is in Latin, with small explanatory captions for the narrative borders in either French or Latin, depending on the border cycle. Next, Kerver would need to decide on the format of the text. The Houghton Hours is printed in octavo format, so each gathering of folios was produced by folding a single sheet of vellum enough times to produce 8 leaves of paper. Finally the manuscript exemplar was marked up to determine where each printed page would start and end.[124] Only once all of these decisions were made, did the printing process itself begin.

Kerver had control over all these factors of the text's layout and composition, giving him a considerable role in the decision making process. However, this role was not unlike that of the commercial manuscript *libraire,* who was also responsible for procuring an exemplar and deciding on the layout or illustration of his texts.[125] In this first stage, the production model deviates essentially only in the fact that pricking and ruling the individuals pages was no longer an essential part of the preparation, as the text was printed and not written by a scribe. Furthermore, despite the fact that ruling was no longer essential, the Houghton Hours does have hand-ruling, reiterating the importance of the manuscript model in shaping the idea of the early book and its function.

Dead, the Hours of the Trinity, the Hours of the Holy spirit, the Hours of the Cross, the Hours of the Conception of the Virgin, and the hours of Saint Barbara, suffrages, and the Seven Prayers of Sainte Gregory.

[123] Elizabeth Eisenstein. *The printing press as an agent of change.* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1979): pg 87.

[124] Parent, *Métiers* pg 122.

[125] Wim Blockmans, "Manuscript Acquisition by the Burgundian Court and the Market for Books in the Fifteenth-Century Netherlands" in *Art Markets in Europe, 1400-1800.* ed. by Michael North and David Ormrod. (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1998): pg. 9

The next stage, the actual composition and imposition of the text, is the most obvious deviation between manuscript and print production. During this step, the type for each side of a folio was laid out by a compositor and then printed. A member of Kerver's shop, the compositor, laid out the lines of text in type one by one and placed them into a frame, called a galley.[126] Setting type invariably differed from the hand-written production of a scribal text, however the final step in preparing the Houghton Hours for printing: the placement of wooden marginalia into the gaps in the text, reveals that even this step maintained connects to manuscript production.[127] Because woodblocks and type used a relief-printing system, meaning the raised portions of the block were inked and made contact with the paper, the woodblocks Kerver used for border cycles could be printed along with the type.[128] The printed borders framed each page. In the Houghton Hours these borders include Kerver's standard cycles of both narrative and non-narrative imagery, which like manuscript books of hours provide a devotional gloss on the text at center. The non-narrative cycles include grotesques, hunting scenes, and ornamental plates with putti and vases. (Figure 3.4) The narrative cycles include a cycle of Creation scenes, a cycle of biblical typologies, and a cycle of Apocalypse images.[129] (Figure 3.5) It is uncertain how the appropriate narrative cycles would have been signaled to the compositor laying them out, but it is possible that they were marked on the manuscript exemplar. Similar instructions to illuminators indicating appropriation illustrations have been found in manuscripts.[130] After the woodblocks and furniture had been inserted, and the full forme prepared, the page could actually be printed. The insertion of complicated narratives of marginalia into Kerver's books of hours reiterates the

[126] Veyrin-Forrer, *ibid.,* pg. 284.
[127] Veyrin-Forrer, *ibid.,* pp. 284.
[128] Karen Lee Bowen and Dirk Imhof. *Christopher Plantin and engraved book illustrations in sixteenth century Europe*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). pp. 17-31.
[129] For in depth discussion of these cycles, please see Chapter 3.
[130] Jonathan Alexander. *Medieval Illuminators and their methods of work.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992): pg. 56

inherent continuity between the reception and function of the pages of Kerver's devotional texts to the manuscript tradition.[131]

Like the manuscript *libraire* who had to move his manuscript from scribe to illuminator, Kerver was also reliant on a similar network of shops in order to produce the illustrations in his editions. Both the designs for woodcuts and for the main engravings needed to be commissioned from an artist's atelier, and in Kerver's case, he commissioned his designs from contemporary manuscript ateliers. All of Kerver's woodcut borders were commissioned from a single artist's ateliers, the Master of the Sainte Chapelle Rose.[132] The main engravings for the Houghton editions include plates from two different cycles, by two different artists. Of the nineteen total images, twelve are commissioned from the Master of the Sainte Chapelle Rose, one example is the Annunciation image, used to mark 'matins' from the Hours of the Virgin. (Figure 3.6) Kerver began using this cycle in 1497, and used individual engravings from the cycle until his death in 1522. The remaining seven images were commissioned from the workshop of another contemporary illuminator, Jean Pichore, an example of this cycle from the Houghton Hours is the dramatically composed image of the Presentation.[133] (Figure 3.7)

After Kerver had purchased the designs from the atelier, he still needed to procure the blocks which would allow him to use the images, and so he would need to have the blocks engraved at a separate shop by a "tailleur d'histoire"—a 'cutter' of print blocks. There were two communities of tailleurs in Paris, one located on the rue de Montorgueil and the other in the

[131] This topic will be further discussed in Chapter 3.
[132] Ina Nettekoven and Heribert Tenschert, . *Horae B.M.V. : 158 Stundenbuchdrucke der Sammlung Bibermühle, 1490-1550* (Ramsen: Antiquariat Bibermühle, 2003): nos. 26-37, nos. 53-64, and nos. 117-119. On the Master of the Sainte-Chapelle Rose, see: Geneviève Soucal. " Un Grand peintre français de la fin du XVe si`cle, le Maître de la 'Chasse à la Licorne'" *Revue de l'Art 22* (1973): 22-50. See also Ina Nettekoven, *Der Meister der Apokalypsenrose der Sainte Chapelle und die Pariser Buchkunst um 1500* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2004): the tables on pp. 119-123 list all engravings commissioned and their dates of introduction.
[133] On Jean Pichore, see: Caroline Zöhl. *Jean Pichore: Buchmaler, Graphiker und Verleger in Paris um 1500.* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004): tables and images consulted, the table on page 174 lists all the images commissioned and their dates of introduction.

quartier of rue Saint Jacques. Only after the designs had been commissioned, and the blocks had been cut, would they be ready for use. In order to adorn his editions with imagery, Kerver not only relied on similar strategies of multi-stepped production, but also on existing networks and connections between book producers and illuminators, as well as newer connections between his print shop and engravers and woodcutters.

Kerver's use of engravings for all the main images in his books of hours required him to use yet another shop in order to actually insert the engraved image into his books of hours, and also considerably augmented the price of executing his editions. Engravings required a different printing press than woodcut and type and as a result Kerver had to pay to have the sheets with engravings printed in a separate shop.[134] Engravings, unlike woodcuts, are intaglio prints and required the use of a roller-like press, which squeezed the paper into the inked lines on the engraving, producing an image. (Figure 3.8) Kerver would not have had such a press in his shop.[135] As a result, after printing the type and woodcut images Kerver needed to send all of the sheets requiring engravings to a separate shop, where the engraved illustrations would be carefully printed to ensure that type and image lined up properly.[136] Because of the extra expense involved in carving engraved plates and the additional printing step, Kerver's books with engravings would have been much more expensive than comparable copies with woodcut illustrations. Records from Antwerp printer Christopher Plantin's press state that a book of hours with woodcuts sold for 7 sols tournois, while a copy with engraved illustrations and borders could cost 8 flourions (or 160 sols tournois). [137] The process of obtaining and using engravings

[134] Bowen and Imhof, *Engraved book illustrations,* pg. 21
[135] David T. Pottinger. *The French Book Trade in the Ancien Regime, 1500-1791*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958): pg. 318
[136] See Karen Lee Bowen. *Christopher Plantin and engraved book illustrations in sixteenth century Europe.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008): pp. 89. pp. 17-31 for a full description.
[137] Karen Lee Bowen. *Christopher Plantin,* pg 91

was highly involved and complex, involving Kerver's shop, an artist's atelier, engraver and an outside printing shop.

The printing of type, borders, and engraved images still left the Houghton edition unfinished.[138] Like many of Kerver's editions, the Houghton edition includes illuminated initials which resemble simpler initials in contemporary manuscripts. The Houghton Hours has a basic model of illuminated initial: letters with a base in red, blue, or red and blue, with the letter itself traced in yellow or gold leaf. (Figure 3.9) These initials appear in nearly every extant edition of Kerver's hours. However Kerver's editions occasionally have more detailed illuminated initials. The intricacy of the initial could vary, giving the customer some control over the aesthetic of the finished book as well as the price range. [139] One edition, produced in 1517, includes smaller floral forms in the bow of the letters (Figure 3.10) The illuminations would have been completed by an initialer outside of Kerver's shop, probably by one of the local members of the Paris book trade that still flourished in Kerver's neighborhood.[140] The patron may have added the more elaborate initials after the sale of the book or Kerver himself could have arranged for the illumination.

These illuminated letters not only increased the value and beauty of the manuscript, but served as signposts and guides through the text.[141] Kerver's illuminated letters followed the hierarchic system of organization used in contemporary manuscript production. The size of the illuminated letters indicated the importance of the text: the incipit for the hours have the largest

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[138] John L. Flood. "Volentes sibi compare infrascriptos libros impressos' Printed Books as a Commercial Commodity in the Fifteenth Century". *Incunabula and their readers. Printing, selling and using books in the fifteenth century.* London, England: British Library (2003): 139-142.
[139] James Douglas Farquhar. "The Manuscript as a book." *Pen to Press: Illustrated Manuscripts and Printed Books in the First Century of Printing*. ed. Sandra Hindman and James Douglas Farquhar . Washington D.C.: Library of Congress (?) 1977: pg. 64
[140] Margaret M. Smith. "Patterns of Incomplete rubrication in incunables and what they suggest about working methods." *Medieval Book Production Assessing the Eviden.* Linda L. Browning, ed. (Vermont: Meriden-Stinehour Press, 1990): pg. 140
[141] Farquhar, *Manuscript,* pg. 64-65

illuminated initials taking up three lines of text, the initials which indicate the start of a new prayer or response span two lines, and the smallest indicating the start of a sentence only one.[142] The ubiquity of illuminated letters in early print editions suggests that books were considered incomplete without these additions, which lent not only a sense of legitimacy through association with the manuscript form but allowed readers to use the signposts for reading to which they were accustomed.[143]

Although the Houghton edition has only illuminated initials, Kerver also produced some books of hours fully illuminated by contemporary Parisian ateliers. The June 20, 1500 edition Kerver printed for Guillaume Eustace was illuminated by the Parisian Master of Jacques de Luxembourg, who also worked for Antoine Vérard.[144] (Figure 3.11) There are also examples that Kerver printed on his own account and had illuminated, such as the July 23, 1517 edition, illuminated by the Master of the Chronique Scandaleuse—an artist employed by Kerver's competitors the Hardouyn brothers. The Hardouyn brothers apparently rented out their illuminators' services to other Parisian printers, and the Master of the Chronique Scandaleuse's work is seen in the editions of a number of Kerver's contemporaries.[145] In order to complete the production of the Houghton Hours, and other more elaborate editions, Kerver relied again on the established connections between illuminators and men of the book trade.

Kerver's production was a highly involved process. The strategy Kerver used to produce the Houghton Hours bore potent similarities to manuscript production and required a series of standardized steps in order to efficiently produce a complex book. The book is passed from

[142] Farquhar, *Manuscript.,* pg. 64
[143] Smith, *Patterns,* pg. 34
[144] Nettekoven and Tenschert, *Horae B.M.V.* no. 31.
[145] Nettekoven and Tenschert, *Horae B.M.V.* no 63.

printer to engraving printer to illuminator to binder, each of whom performed a given task.[146] This analysis has also demonstrated how Kerver's shop relied on the network of shops established by manuscript producers in order to produce his printed editions. Far from completing all the steps needed for production under one roof, the production of the Houghton Hours relied on individuals from the same professional community of book producers as contemporary manuscripts. The essentially collaborative nature of Kerver's business practices was reinforced by the essentially collaborative nature of his book production. Furthermore, the use of elements such as printed marginalia and illumination reiterates that this early moment of print was a moment of transition, between manuscript and print.[147] These post-print additions were not auxiliary, but essential to the completion and function of the book. In the next section, I will discuss how we can use the context of manuscript production to understand the designing of Kerver's engravings.

Design of illustrations and their use in Kerver's hours:

Kerver's books of hours are striking for their sheer volume of illustration material, carefully placed on each page to achieve harmony between border and main image, and from page to page. These engravings are an essential part of the book, however they are not 'unique' to Kerver's hours. In fact, the images in Kerver's books of hours have many permutations and variations in the publications of his fellow printers and publishers. The image of the Annunciation that marks the start of the Hours of the Virgin in Kerver's books of hours (Figure 3.6) finds a closely structure counterpart in the books of hours of publisher/printer duo Simon Vostre and Philippe Pigouchet (Figure 3.12), and yet another closely related permutation in the

[146] Farquhar, *Creation and Imitation. ibid.,* pp. 41-42.
[147] Flood, *Volentes,* pg. 140

hours of Gillet Hardouin (Figure 3.13). All of these images, slight variations on similar compositions, were circulating at about the same time. Kerver's engraving was part of a set he commissioned in 1497, the Simon Vostre and Philippe Pigouchet image part of a set of engravings commissioned one year earlier, in 1496, and the Anthoine Vérard engraving belonged to a set also commissioned in 1497.[148]

How do we articulate the relationship between all of these images, all permutations on the same composition? In his catalogue of early printed books in the library of Charles Fairfax Murray, Hugh Davies frames these images as the products of one of these shop's imitators, the shop of publisher-print duo Simon Vostre and Philippe Pigouchet:

> These cuts were evidently very favourably received by Pigouchet's rivals and imitators, for one finds several close copies and adaptations in the various productions of other presses; e.g. J. Poitévin for Vérard…N. de la Baree…Wolff & Kerver, A Chappiel for Hardouyn.[149]

For Davies, the transmission of engravings between Parisian printers is essentially a question of originality and imitation. This view is widespread in the scholarship on Parisian printed books of hours. Texts that deal with the illustration material of the printed horae almost always record when plates debuted by one printer are used again or copied by another printer.[150] In a catalogue of early print in the Harvard collection, Ruth Mortimer suggests that the 'originality' question is an inevitable one for all printed hours:

> The whole question of convention vs. originality in illustration and decoration enters here…it is impossible to state exactly where certain sets of blocks and distinctive styles began…the charts of the Harvard editions demonstrate the intricate pattern of copying.[151]

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[148] Isabelle Delaunay. *Echanges artistiques entre livre d'heures manuscrits et imprimés produits à Paris (vers 1480-1500).* Thèse de doctorat nouveau régime sous la direction du professeur F. Joubert octobre 2000. Université de Paris IV Sorbonne: pgs. 200-207.

[149] Hugh Davies. *Catalogue of a collection of early French Books in the Library of C. Fairfax Murray*, Vol. 1, 2 vols. (London: Holland Press, 1965): pg. 165

[150] Nettekoven, *Meister.,*see sets of tables at the back: 119-123. Zöhl, *ibid.,* see tables at back: 170-178

[151] Ruth Mortimer. *Catalogue of books and manuscripts* , *Vol. 1* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964): pg 364

The analysis of image transmission in the Paris print world as a problem of original and imitation is problematic for two reasons. Firstly, this view treats the plates and compositions as if they were the especial property of the printer who had commissioned them. Although the plates themselves were the property of the printer who paid for the engraving, there is little evidence that the Parisian printers viewed the images inscribed on them as 'copyrighted'. Copyright laws for imagery did not really exist in the early sixteenth century.[152] Moreover, the images themselves were not "original" compositions in the modern sense: intellectual property which belongs to a particular artist.

Positing the engravings of Vostre and Pigouchet as 'originals', and the works of Kerver and his fellows as 'imitations', problematically circumscribes these images within a modern discourse of originality. According to this concept, ideas of 'innovation' and 'imitation' are inherently opposed in the artistic process.[153] However, as James Douglas Farquhar suggests:

> The concept of imitatio permeated medieval life; it was a common ethical practice in the visual arts, just as it was in music, spiritual and everyday matters… An artist was not expected to overthrow tradition; that is a post-renaissance value…Superior models, whether the work of a great master or one with the greatest reputation, were essential; through imitation one grasped the work of the master and developed an individual style."[154]

It is this second point that I will focus on in this section, which will reevaluate the designing of Kerver's engravings and those of his fellows in their context of manuscript production. Kerver's images were the products of manuscript ateliers, and my analysis suggests that the similarities between images circulating in the print world can be explained not by the widespread proliferation of dishonest copying practices, but by these ateliers' use of the process of "creative copying". First, I will outline the model of 'creative copying', second I will apply this model to

[152] Lisa Pon. "Prints and Privileges, Regulating the Image in 16th century Italy". *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin,* Vol 6 (2) (1998): pg 40
[153] Jonathan J. Alexander. "Facsimiles, Copies and Variations: The Relationship to the Model in Medieval and Renaissance European Illuminated Manuscripts." *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies and Reproductions.* (Trustees of the National Gallery of Art: Washington, D.C., 1989): pg 60
[154] James Douglas Farquhar. *Creation and Imitation: The Work of a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illuminator.* (Fort Lauderdale: Nova/NYIT University Press, 1976): pg 73

the work of a fifteenth century manuscript illuminator, Willem Vrelant, examining creative copying's use in the manuscript world. Finally, I will apply this model to Kerver's engravings and use creative copying to reformulate the relationship between Kerver's engravings and those of one of his competitors, Simon Vostre. I suggest that this relationship is not between original/imitation, but between different iconographic solutions to a single composition by the same manuscript atelier.

The modernist tension between innovation and imitation is irrelevant to the designing of Kerver's engravings.[155] Rather "creative imitation" was an important method for generating new imagery in contemporary manuscript production.[156] Creative copying can be broken down into two essential processes. The first is the identification of a desired or admired model. Copying placed a premium on the 'parent' image, the process identified an admired model to be incorporated into a new image.[157] By drawing on the characteristics of the model, the new image sought to appropriate for itself the model's desired or successful properties.[158] Second, and related to this, is the transformation of the new work through an active engagement with the 'parent' work. [159] The artist of the new work actively mediated or translated the desired aspects of the model, rendering it in a new "language" and providing it with a new setting in their own work.[160] Through the identification and appropriation of a specific characteristic of an admired model, and through the transformation and assimilation of this motif, medieval artists generated new compositions. The models for new illuminations could be other, complete illuminations,

[155] Alexander, *Facsimiles,* pg. 60
[156] Farquhar. *Creation,* pg 73
[157] Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi : copying and the Italian Renaissance print* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004): pg 23-25.
[158] Pon, *Raphael,* pp. 23-25
[159] Pon, *Raphael,* pg. 33-37, Pon uses the idea of *translation*, that is a process of transformation which implies that the copyist mediates the model through use, he/she literally 'translates' the motif or model from the original language into a new one.
[160] Pon, *Raphael,* pp. 33-38

examples found in model books, or works of art in an entirely different medium.[161] Although imitation was an important part of image generation, few images were actually exact "copies" of other images but more often creative composites of many other iconographic models.[162] In manuscript illumination, practices of copying and creative combination did not preclude the creative nature of artistic practice: rather it was through this process of appropriation and recombination that the artist created new compositions.[163]

The work of fifteenth-century Bruges illuminator Willem Vrelant provides a good example of the use of creative copying in a manuscript context.[164] Vrelant used a pastiche of sources in order to construct his images, including earlier examples from the late fourteenth century as well as more contemporary examples from the workshop of the Boucicaut master.[165] Vrelant's use of models from the Boucicuat Master can be seen in Vrelant's architectural settings.[166] Vrelant derived his model for a small rectangular room, seen from the side or an oblique angle, covered by a wooden barrel vault and pierced by a window from the Boucicaut Master. One example of this setting in Vrelant's oeuvre is Vrelant's Evangelist portrait of Saint Mark, now in Walters 240.[167] (Figure 3.14) This setting originally appeared in an image from a book of hours of the *Mass of the Dead,* by the Boucicaut Master. (Figure 3.15)

What is interesting about Vrelant's adaptation of this setting is that he not only adapts an attractive iconographic solution from the Boucicaut Master, but that he manipulates this model according to the needs of his own image and uses the architectural setting in order to draw

[161] Alexander *Medieval Illuminators.,* pp. 125-126.
[162] Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators,* pg. 139
[163] Alexander *Medieval Illuminators.,* pg. 145
[164] Farquhar, *Creation,* pg. 43
[165] Farquhar, *Creation,* pp. 44-45.
[166] Farquhar, *Creation,* pg. 51
[167] Farquhar, *Creation,* pg. 51

attention to specific areas.[168] In Vrelant's image of the *Mass of the Dead,* he uses the horizontal line of the barrel vault to emphasize the progression of the image towards the altar in a manner very similar to the Boucicaut Master's own interpretation (Figures 3.15 and 3.16). However Vrelant also makes important changes to the Boucicaut model. First, Vrelant emphasizes the progression from right to left in his miniature by presenting the room at a slight angle. This opens up the space behind the altar, which was difficult to see in the Boucicaut Master's image, and focuses the attention around the altar and the mass. Vrelant also chooses to emphasize the linear nature of the barrel vault by constructing it out of wooden slates, further drawing the eye to the altar. Willem Vrelant's creative use of models from the repertoire of the Boucicaut Master illustrates the two basic principles of creative copying laid out earlier: the appropriation of a desired or admired model, and the modification of that design to generate a new composition.

Before moving on to an analysis of the importance of creative copying for Kerver's designs, it is first important to acknowledge certain practical reasons for the similarity between Kerver's engravings and those of his fellows. By the fifteenth century, the iconography of books of hours was extremely standardized and there was little variation in images used for the main illustrations.[169] All of the Parisian printers had to print books of hours with a finite number of possible variations on these standard cycles of imagery.[170] The imagery for the Hours of the Virgin was particularly well-established, and of the image cycles common for each of the eight canonical hours of the day (Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, Nones, Vespers, Compline) the only image which consistently varied was for Compline, which varied between: the Coronation

[168] Farquhar, *Creation,* pp 51-52
[169] Roger Wieck. *Time Sanctified: the book of hours in medieval art and life.* (New York: George Braziller, 1988): pg. 60
[170] Winn. "Illustrations in Parisian Books of Hours: borders and repertoires". *Incunabula and their readers. Printing, selling and using books in the fifteenth century. (*London, England: British Library, 2003). pg 33

of the Virgin, Flight into Egypt, Massacre of Innocents, the Assumption or Dormition.[171] It is therefore unsurprising that Kerver and Vostre would have similar cycles of engravings. Additionally, if Kerver and Vostre's cycles are similar in style and composition, this can be accounted for by the fact that both Kerver and Vostre commissioned their sets from the same artist's ateliers: Kerver's 1497 set and Vostre's 1495 and 1496 sets were commissioned from the workshop of the Master of the Sainte Chapelle Apocalypse Rose and the sets first introduced by both in 1505 were commissioned from the workshop of Jean Pichore.[172] It is unsurprising that Vostre and Kerver would commission designs from the same ateliers. Both the Master of Sainte Chapelle and Jean Pichore were prominent artists in contemporary Paris whose patrons included members of the court, and were popular with Vostre and Kerver's fellow printers.[173]

Nonetheless, Kerver and Vostre's images betray strong similarities. However, these similarities can be explained by the convention of creative imitation used to generate compositions by the artists' ateliers. I will explore how creative copying was an essential part of the designing of these engravings by examining the image of Bathsheba Bathing from the sets commissioned by Kerver and Vostre from the Master of the Sainte Chapelle Apocalypse Rose. I will first illustrate how the Master of Sainte Chapelle's use and reuse of similar elements from within his own oeuvre establishes that neither Kerver, nor Vostre, was 'copying' the engravings of the other, but rather that this was the result of the artistic practices of the atelier. Second, I will look at examples of compositions from French books of hours which could have served as models for the Master of Sainte Chapelle's composition, establishing the Master's use of

[171] Wieck, *Time Sanctified.,* pg. 70-72
[172] Barker, *Printed Books,* pp. 4-5.
[173] Souchal. " Un Grand peintre français de la fin du XVe siècle, le Maître de la 'Chasse à la Licorne'" *Revue de l'Art 22* (1973): 22-50 on Master of the Sainte Chapelle Apocalypse Rose and Sophie Vassagnes-Brouquet. *Un manuscript d'Anne de Bretagne: Les vies des femmes célèbres d'Antoine Dufour* (Rouen: Editions d'Ouest-France, 2007): pp 33-41

modeling to generate compositions. Third, I will illustrate how the process of creative copying allows the Master of Sainte Chapelle to create a number of different iconographic solutions, with different iconographic symbolism. By placing Kerver and Vostre's images in the context of the Master of Sainte Chapelle's own artistic practices we can understand the connection between Kerver and Vostre's engravings, and situate their production in the context of manuscript production. Furthermore, this analysis will demonstrate how the Master of Sainte Chapelle uses creative copying to create important the *differences* between compositions. These differences have generally been glossed over in the literature, which emphasizes their similarities.

Both Kerver and Vostre commissioned images of Bathsheba Bathing to introduce the Penitential Psalms. (Figures 3.17 and 2.4)[174] The two compositions are very similar: a nude Bathsheba with long flowing hair is at center immersed in a fountain, and a maidservant offers her a mirror, fruit, a pitcher, and a comb—although this last element is absent in Kerver's cut. Bathsheba's crumpled clothing and shoes lie at the front of the fountain. Meanwhile, from a castle in the upper left corner, David leans out of a window draped with a textile with a pomegranate design. Although the basic compositions of these images are similar, this cannot be attributed to Kerver's imitation of Vostre's engravings, because both images fit the common iconographic solutions the Master of Sainte Chapelle used for this scene. This is demonstrated by the Master of Sainte Chapelle's illumination of the same subject in the Hours of Georges Séguier, which shares most of the characteristics of the two engravings (Figure 3.18). The Séguier Hours reproduces the general layout of the two engravings, with the exception of the maidservant offering fruit, who has moved to the right side of the composition. The oeuvre of the Master of the Sainte Chapelle Apocalypse Rose is known to be fairly consistent, and once the

[174] Roger Wieck, *Time Sanctified,* pg. 99

artist found a solution to a particular composition he tended to use it again and again.[175] Kerver's engraving is not an act of imitation, but rather both these compositions represent two slightly different iconographic solutions produced by the Master of Sainte Chapelle in response to the two printers' commissions.

The Master of Sainte Chapelle did not create this composition from scratch, but used the common practice of creative copying and looked to iconographic precedents. One example of an image that may resemble the Master of Sainte Chapelle's model comes from a Lyonnais hours produced in 1484 and now in the Pierpont Morgan Library. (Figure 3.19) This illumination uses a similar composition, in which David, framed by the portal of his castle, gazes lustfully at a nude Bathsheba, who seductively cradles her own breast. Another French example from the third quarter of the fifteenth century, now in Princeton's collection, is even more similar to the illumination of the Master of Sainte Chapelle. (Figure 3.20) Here, David leans out of a window from a castle whose sloping perspective recalls the equally extreme lines of the Master of Sainte Chapelle's composition. Although Bathsheba bathes in a pool in the older manuscript example, the rectangular shape of the fountain, and lion's head which spews water into the pool, also recall the shape of the fountain and lion's head in the Hours of Georges Séguier and in Kerver's engraving. Bathsheba's nude form in the Princeton example is also highly reminiscent of the shape in the works of the Master of Sainte Chapelle, slender, with an elongated abdomen and slightly curved position.

These two examples help to articulate how the Master of the Sainte Chapelle looked to preexisting examples of Bathsheba Bathing in order to establish at least the basic aspects of his own composition: the placement of Bathsheba, David's position and his castle, and even some details of the fountain. Therefore, not only do the engravings of Kerver and Vostre fit into the

[175] Souchal, *Grand peintre,* pg 23

Master of Sainte Chapelle's broader program of iconographic solutions, but the Master of Sainte Chapelle is clearly looking to other, older compositions and appropriating their iconographic solutions for his own works. Although I am not suggesting that either of these illuminations were the actual model for the Master of Sainte Chapelle's compositions, they illustrate that the Master of Sainte Chapelle was clearly using the practice of creative copying in order to establish the environs and figure of his bathing Bathshebas. The Master of Sainte Chapelle's reappropriation of other, older models to generate his compositions further destabilizes the biased original/imitation assessment of modern scholarship, by demonstrating that the Master's works were not only the production of recombined compositions from his own oeuvre, but of other the compositions of illuminators.

Finally, it is important to acknowledge that although the similarities between these images are often highlighted as evidence of 'copying' amongst printers, the Master of Sainte Chapelle's compositions differed in importance ways, creating varied iconographic meanings. I have not yet had the opportunity to conduct an exhaustive search for the Master of Sainte Chapelle's manuscript models. However, by illustrating the careful variations the Master of Sainte Chapelle made within his own oeuvre, we can still extend this analysis to understand how the artist used creative copying to generate different images, with different iconographic symbolisms. The Princeton model (Figure 3.20) most resembles the Master of Sainte Chapelle's treatment of Bathsheba Bathing in the Séguier Hours. In the Hours of Georges Séguier, the Master of Sainte Chapelle took advantage of intense perspective to create an open space behind Bathsheba, and open up the composition. This openness is enhanced by the greater space the Master of Sainte Chapelle leaves between maidservants and the fountain in the Séguier Hours, and by the relative simplicity of design and absence of detail in the illumination. In the two

engraved images, the Master of Sainte Chapelle has created a more highly detailed composition. The space behind Bathsheba is filled in both compositions: in Vostre's image by a profusion of delicately rendered foliage, and in Kerver's image by a brick wall and a raging battle. In summary, in the engravings the Master of Sainte Chapelle has taken advantage of the graphic qualities of line to create highly ornamented spaces, layered spaces, which use differently articulated surfaces to create depth in the place of the clean-lined perspective he uses in the Séguier Hours.[176]

The Master of Sainte Chapelle's variations on these three compositions also articulate different layers of iconographic meaning. The Master of Sainte Chapelle includes iconographically significant details in the engravings, which are again absent in the manuscript illumination. In Kerver's image, Bathsheba's two maidservants offer her figs, an urn, and a mirror. In Vostre's image, four maidservants offer figs, a mirror, a cup and a comb. The image of David gazing at Bathsheba while she bathes as the introductory miniature of the Penitential Psalms was used to condemn the sins of adultery and murder.[177] King David, after seeing Bathsheba bathing one day outside the palace walls, decides to send her husband Uriah off to the frontlines, carrying a letter to David's chief of staff with a letter condemning its bearer to death.[178] After Uriah has been sent off to war and to his death, David impregnates Bathsheba, thus committing the double sin of adultery and murder. Although the composition in the Hours of Séguier aptly conveys David's impure lust for Bathsheba by highlighting the explicit direction of his gaze towards the nude Bathsheba, the details provided by Kerver and Vostre's images elaborate on this iconography.

[176] Souchal, *Grand peintre,* pg. 26
[177] Wieck, *Time Sanctified,* pg. 98.
[178] Wieck, *Time Sanctified,* pg. 98

The inclusion in Kerver and Vostre's image of the mirror, the figs, and the comb add an interesting gloss on the narrative of David's sin. By including the mirror and comb, the Master of Sainte Chapelle focuses attention on Bathsheba's own vanity. The comb suggests that Bathsheba is preoccupied with her own appearance, and this suggestion is rendered more explicit by the fact that as David gazes at Bathsheba, Bathsheba gazes at herself in the mirror. The maidservant's offering of figs implies the lavishness and excess of Bathsheba's lifestyle, as well as recalling the original female sin, when Eve took the fruit from the Tree of Knowledge. These elements, along with the crumpled clothing included in all three images, effectively condemn Bathsheba for her own blatant display of her body, implicating her in the narrative of lust and sin. In Kerver's cut, an extra layer is added to this narrative through the inclusion of the raging battle in the foreground, which kills Bathsheba's husband Uriah. In Kerver's image, it is not only David who is to blame for the death of Uriah, but also Bathsheba who is indirectly responsible for her husband's death because of the sinfulness of her own lifestyle.

Although these three compositions are similar, the Master of Sainte Chapelle's manipulation of different iconographic elements changes the effective meaning of each image. The Hours of Séguier are the simplest, and highlight David's gaze at Bathsheba; Vostre's engraving expands on this narrative by implicating Bathsheba in the sin of lust by including elements which suggest her vanity, and condemn her display of her own body; finally Kerver's cuts include all of these iconographic elements, as well as the battle which kills Uriah, drawing clearer attention to David's additional sin of murder. This analysis has not only demonstrated that the similarities between Kerver's and Vostre's compositions can be attributed to the artistic practices of the Master of Sainte Chapelle, but that there are also significant differences in the compositions. The Master of Sainte Chapelle carefully manipulated models in order to create

images with different iconographic meanings.[179] Here, I used the Master of Sainte Chapelle's own works to illustrate the importance of shifts in iconographic elements, but further research may help to explain the sources for more detailed imagery in the engravings.[180] The process used by the Master of Sainte Chapelle to design Kerver's engravings embodies Lisa Pon's idea of copying: a process which not only appropriates desired models, but which transforms them.

This examination of the creative practices the Master of Sainte Chapelle used to design Kerver and Vostre's engravings suggests that the modern concept of 'originality' is inept to articulate the relationships between the engraved images of the Parisian printers. The disjunction between Kerver's shop practices and manuscript production compromises our ability to explain the identity of Kerver's images. Looking more broadly at the work of the Master of Sainte Chapelle, and the place of Kerver's engravings within that oeuvre, reveals how the production of the early printers still operated according to the rules of contemporary manuscript illumination. Kerver's engravings are not only produced by an illuminator of manuscripts but share in the same principles of creation and imitation that propelled the art of illumination, particularly in the increasingly standardized world of fifteenth century illumination.[181]

Conclusion:

Kerver's production exhibits important connections to contemporary manuscript production, and these connections can help us to better understand Kerver's printed books of hours. This chapter started by analyzing how the production of Kerver's books of hours relied on

[179] Although it is not possible to address this question here, it should be noted that the largest iconographic differences are between the Master of Sainte Chapelle's engravings and his illumination. An interesting question would be whether this had to do with the different patrons and audiences of these two types of imagery, or if it had to do with graphic qualities of engravings versus the painterly qualities of illumination.
[180] It is also possible that these were original iconographic inventions of the Master of the Sainte Chapelle Apocalypse Rose.
[181] Saenger, *Colard Mansion,* pp. 410-411.

a tightly knit book community. Although Kerver executed the actual printing of his text and woodcuts in his own shop, the designing of marginal and main illustrations, the printing of the engravings, and the illumination of initials, and sometimes editions, all necessitated reliance on a network of individuals outside of Kerver's shop. This multi-step process not only used many of the steps necessary for manuscript production, but relied on the network of shops and ateliers which had sprung up during in the late middle ages to accommodate an increasingly standardized process of manuscript production. The careful coordination of steps and relationships between shops was essential both to contemporary manuscript production, and the production of Kerver's books of hours.

In the second section, I analyzed how the designing of Kerver's engravings also relied on the traditions of manuscript production and rejected the suggestion that Kerver's engraving cycles 'imitated' those of his contemporary Simon Vostre. By placing both of these cycles within the oeuvre of the Master of Sainte Chapelle, who produced these designs, I analyzed how these similarities were produced through the atelier's reliance on 'creative copying'. I examined the reliance of the Master of Sainte Chapelle on certain repeated iconographic compositions for the three different images of Bathsheba Bathing, but also explored how the Master of Sainte Chapelle's creative manipulation of compositions allowed him to create compositions with different iconographic resonances. Ultimately, this analysis suggested the vital importance of viewing Kerver's printed books of hours in their broader context: a fledgling print culture heavily influenced by the manuscript world.

This chapter has explored the extensive and fundamental ways in which the production and designing of Kerver's books of hours were influenced by the manuscript model. However, if Kerver's books of hours are in many ways circumscribed within the tradition of manuscript

production, the new conditions of the print market also exerted an inescapable force. The introduction of printing, despite flourishing mass production of manuscripts in places like Paris, greatly increased the rate at which books could be produced.[182] The men and women of the book-trades were now frequently producing on speculation instead of for a single customer who had already commissioned the book.[183] Kerver needed a way to market his book of hours, in a highly competitive market also occupied by men like Antoine Vérard, Gilles and Germain Hardouyn, and Simon Vostre.[184] The shifting conditions of the market made their mark on the physical appearance of Kerver's books. Some of these changes, like title pages, were new to books. A sort of evolution of the scribal colophon, the appearance of a title page with Kerver's mark at the front of Kerver's books advertised his editions as his own shop's particular products, a sort of proto-name brand.[185] Other elements, like marginalia, were used in new ways. Although marginalia in books of hours had always been a site of profusion for imagery, Kerver and his fellows used these spaces to create elaborate and varied narratives, to differentiate their products from the products of others.[186] The colophons of Kerver's books also evolved in function. Long a space where scribes had recorded their own names and the date and place of production, Kerver used the colophon to list the textual contents of his books of hours and draw attention to prayers or texts in the vernacular, highlighting the comprehensiveness and utility of his books.[187] Kerver's books introduced new elements, and used old ones in different ways in order to adjust to the demands of a shifting market.

[182] Flood, *Volentes.* pg. 141
[183] Flood, *Volentis.,* pg. 141-142.
[184] Bowen, *Christophe Plantin*, pp. 27-41.
[185] Eisenstein, *Printing revolution,* pg. 59
[186] Winn "Printing and Reading the Book of Hours: Lessons from the Borders". *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 81 (1999): pg. 178
[187] Winn, *Printing and reading,* pg. 180

Kerver's books of hours are at the cusp of manuscript and print; steeped in both sides of these book-cultures, they illustrate a transition from manuscript to print which was a highly complex, and slow evolution. Moreover, they demonstrate the fundamental ways in which the 'two' communities of book producers really existed in tandem. The production of Kerver's books of hours relied on a web of shops and artisans, both from printing industries and manuscript industries. Kerver's books are literally shaped and produced through their reliance on the multiplicity of early print culture.

Figure 3.1—Book of Hours with *Biblia Pauperum* borders. New York: Library, Morgan Library, H.5.

Figure 3.2- Master of the Sainte Chapelle Apocalypse Rose, Nativity; Kerver, from 1505. Cambridge, Harvard Houghton Library, Houghton TYP 515.05.262

Figure 3.3- Red and black printing in roman type; Kerver, from 1505. Cambridge, Harvard Houghton Library, Houghton TYP 515.05.262

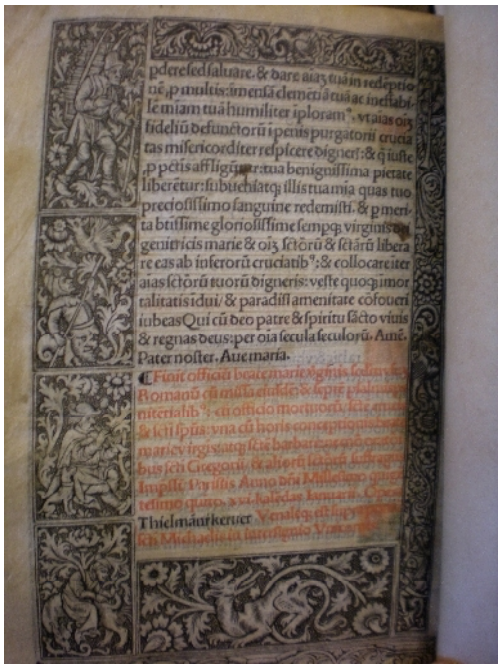

Figure 3.4 – A non-narrative example of Kerver's borders; Kerver, from 1505. Cambridge, Harvard Houghton Library, Houghton TYP 515.05.262

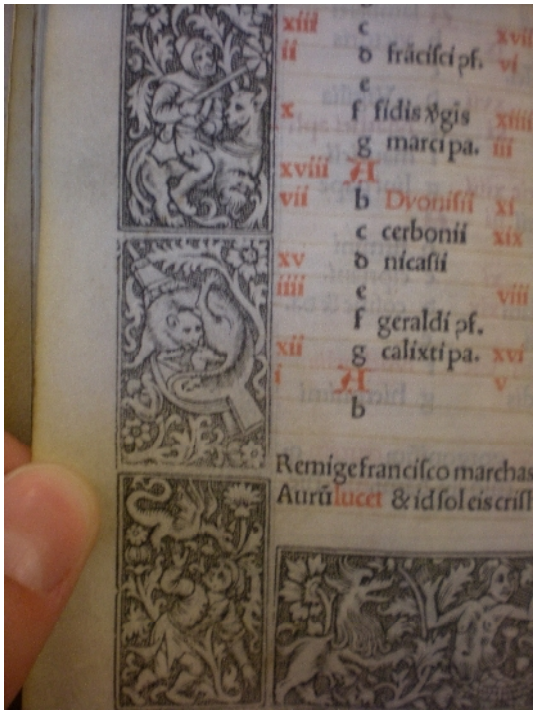

Figure 3.5- The first day of Creation, from Kerver's Creation borders; Kerver, from 1505. Cambridge, Harvard Houghton Library, Houghton TYP 515.05.262

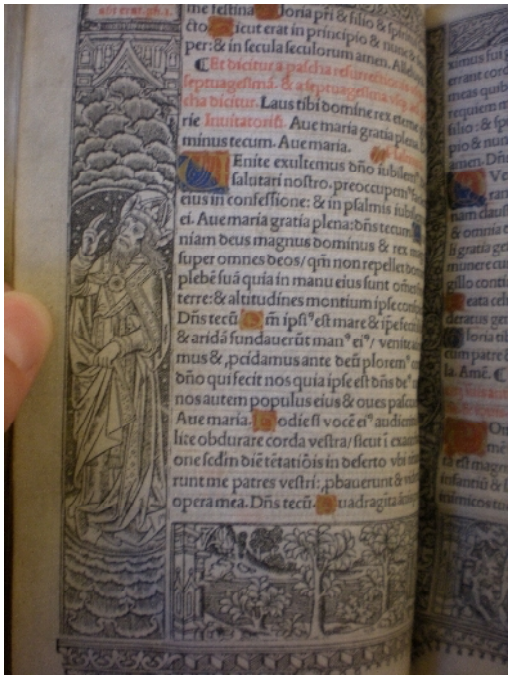

Figure 3.6- Annunciation; Kerver, from 1505. Cambridge, Harvard Houghton Library, Houghton TYP 515.05.262

Figure 3.7- Presentation; Kerver, from 1505. Cambridge, Harvard Houghton Library, Houghton TYP 515.05.262

Figure 3.8- Diagram of ink placement in intaglio versus woodcut printing.

"Printmaking," (Crown Point Press, 2008) *http://www.crownpoint.com/files/images/diagram.gif*.

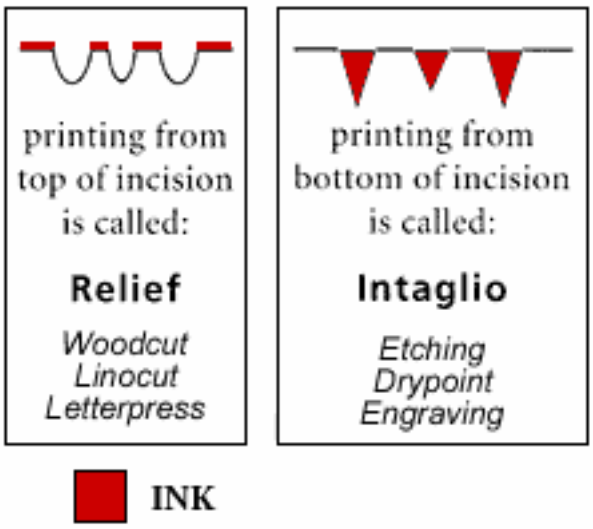

Figure 3.9- Kerver's standard illuminations in red, blue and gold. Also visible is hand-ruling in red; Kerver, 1505. Cambridge, Harvard Houghton Library, Houghton TYP 515.05.262

Figure 3.10- Example of more ornate illuminated initial; Kerver, 1517.
(Nettekoven, Ina and Heribert Tenschert, . Horae B.M.V. : 158 Stundenbuchdrucke der Sammlung Bibermühle, 1490-1550 (Ramsen: Antiquariat Bibermühle, 2003): no. 64)

Figure 3.11- Fully illuminated page, completed by the Master of Jacques de Luxembourg; Kerver, 1500.
(Nettekoven, Ina and Heribert Tenschert, . Horae B.M.V. : 158 Stundenbuchdrucke der Sammlung Bibermühle, 1490-1550 (Ramsen: Antiquariat Bibermühle, 2003): no 31.)

Figure 3.12- Annunciation; Simon Vostre, 1505.
(Geneviève Souchal. " Un Grand peintre français de la fin du XVe si`cle, le Maître de la 'Chasse à la Licorne'" *Revue de l'Art 22* (1973): fig 13)

Figure 3.13- Annunciation; Gillet Hardouin, 1503.
*(*Geneviève Souchal. " Un Grand peintre français de la fin du XVe si`cle, le Maître de la 'Chasse à la Licorne'" *Revue de l'Art 22* (1973): fig 14*)*

Figure 3.14- Willem Vrelant, Saint Mark; Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, W. 240, folio 387v

(James Douglas Farquhar. *Creation and Imitation: The Work of a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illuminator.* (Fort Lauderdale: Nova/NYIT University Press, 1976): fig 15)

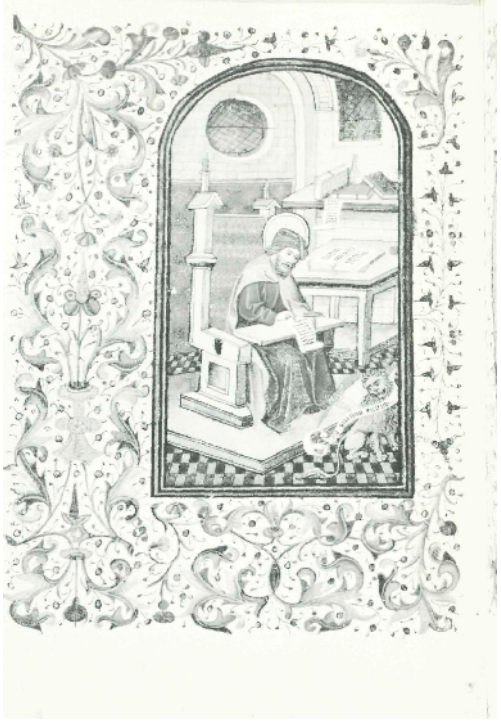

Figure 3.15- Boucicaut Master, Mass of the Dead; Cracow, Museum Nardodowe, Ms. Czart. 2032
(James Douglas Farquhar. *Creation and Imitation: The Work of Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illuminator.* (Fort Lauderdale: Nova/NYIT University Press, 1976): fig 30)

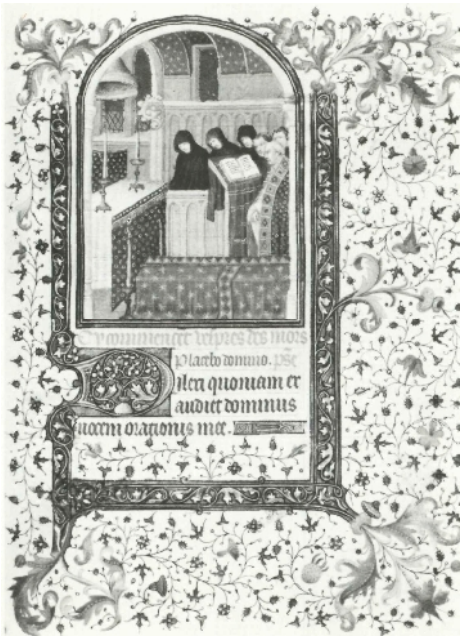

Figure 3.16- Willem Vrelant, Mass of the Dead. Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, W. 240, folio 267v

(James Douglas Farquhar. *Creation and Imitation: The Work of Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illuminator.* (Fort Lauderdale: Nova/NYIT University Press, 1976): fig 31)

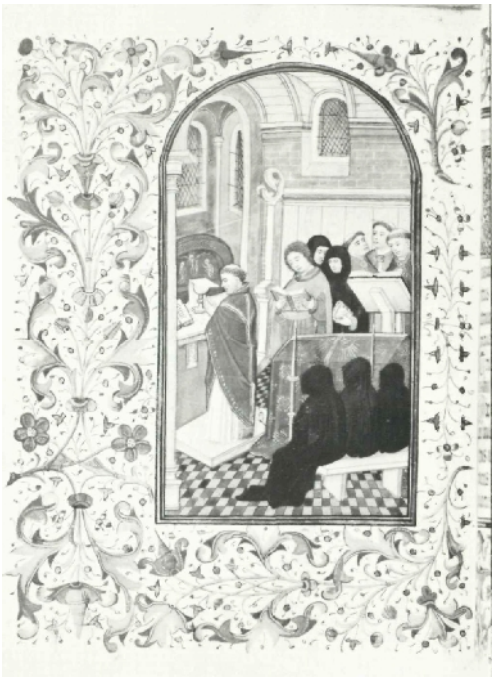

Figure 3.17- Bathsheba Bathing; Kerver, 1505. Cambridge, Harvard Houghton Library, Houghton TYP 515.05.262

Figure 3.18: Master of the Sainte Chapelle Apocalypse Rose, Bathsheba of Bathing, from the Hours of Georges Séguier. Chantilly: musée Condé.
(Geneviève Souchal. "Un Grand peintre français de la fin du XVe si`cle, le Maître de la 'Chasse à la Licorne'" *Revue de l'Art* 22 (1973)*:* fig 77.)

Figure 3.19- Bathsheba Bathing; France, Lyons, 1487. New York: Library, Morgan Library, M. 1162; fol 102v

Figure 3.20- Bathsheba Bathing; French, 3rd quarter of the 15th century. Princeton, Firestone Library, Garrett 52: fol. 63r

Chapter 3:

The printed border as devotional tool

The borders of Thielman Kerver's books of hours are filled with imagery. Mostly narrative, these border cycles illustrate lives of saints and Old Testament figures, Creation, the Apocalypse, the Dance of the Dead, and biblical typologies, not to mention various grotesques, hunting scenes and panels of ornament. (Figure 1.1) Kerver highlighted the importance of these borders to his books of hours in the colophons printed at the back of each edition, drawing attention to the beauty and variety of their imagery.[188] Although the plethora of images in Kerver's printed margins no doubt helped him to sell his printed hours, this chapter will address

[188] A colophon from a 1506 edition reads: "avec plusieurs belles hystoires de la Bible, avec les figures de l'apocalipse et plusieurs aultres"; translation: "With various beautiful images from the Bible, with the figures of the Apocalypse and many others". *taken from:* Mary Beth Winn. "Printing and Reading the Book of Hours: Lessons from the Borders". *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 81 (1999): pg 181

how Kerver's borders shaped readers' devotional practices, and also how the borders helped to construct Kerver's books of hours as an ideal devotional tool.

The way these books were marketed helps to reconstruct the place of the border in generating an effective devotional product. The colophon for a 1533 edition printed after Kerver's death by his wife, Yolande Bonhomme, markets itself as an effective devotional tool by enlisting Saint Gregory the Great's famous adage that pictures serve as the "Bibles of the Poor":

> "Hore beatissime virginis Marie, secundum usum Romanum, novis figures nuper adornate, ne cab re quidem, quam enim doctis intelligentiam prebent litere, hanc, procul dubio, rudibus ac idiotis prestant imagines, secundum protritam hanc sententiam: 'Pictura est laicorum scriptura'; per illam namque res signatas legunt et capiunt qui literas non norunt."

In her article on the colophons and borders of the early Paris printers, Mary Beth Winn questions the validity of Bonhomme's claim that through her pictures the illiterate could 'read' the holy text.[189] Winn ultimately denies Bonhomme's claim that her pictures could serve as Bibles to the illiterate, and suggests instead that the colophon was meant to highlight the didactic utility of Bonhomme's printed borders.[190] Winn concludes her article with this suggestion, but does not take the analysis further, or look to how the borders themselves participate in projecting didactic authority.

Whether to sell books of hours or no, the idea of images as the Bible of the Poor came from a highly authoritative source, Saint Gregory, and the statement held potency throughout the Middle Ages. It was repeated over and over again and images, if problematic-- particularly in an era where the Reformation was bubbling in neighborhood Germany—were viewed as having a devotional potency one could not reach with words alone.[191] During the Late Middle Ages, images were a point of contention and fears of idolatry were renewed, but images, as always, had

[189] Winn, *Printing and Reading,* pp. 177-204.
[190] Mary Beth Winn. *Printing and Reading,* pg. 196
[191] Katherine Karreick. *Popular piety and art in the late Middle Ages: image worship and idolatry in England, 1350-1500.* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002): pp. 48-50.

their champions.[192] A popular tale, *Dives and Pauper,* records a fictional dialogue between a worldly layman and an orthodox clergyman regarding the merits or evils of imagery. The worldly layman Dives lists numerous defenses of the use of imagery: they stir people's minds to think of holy events, they move viewers' affections and hearts to devotion, and they were books to the common people.[193] If images needed to be circumscribed and used in particular ways, they were also the keys to heightened emotive and spiritual devotions. In making a claim for the potency of her images for the 'unlettered', Bonhomme relied on a body of contemporary authority that supported her claim and the authority of her texts as devotional tools.

However in her colophon, Bonhomme mobilizes Saint Gregory's suggestion not in isolation, but in the context of a description of her own book of hours; effectively, Bonhomme appropriates Saint Gregory's authority in order to market her book of hours as an authoritative devotional tool. Bonhomme is not only highlighting the didactic utility of her borders, but using Saint Gregory's well-known truism to make claims for her own books of hours as superior tools of devotion. In effect, she actively appropriates Saint Gregory's authority in order to bolster, to lend authenticity, to her own books of hours and their devotional utility. Although this colophon post-dates Kerver's editions, Kerver's own efforts to highlight the comprehensiveness of his various borders suggest that a similar motivation was at work in his own texts. Furthermore, the analysis in this chapter will reveal that Kerver's choice of marginal narratives reinforce the didactic authority of his books of hours claimed by Bonhomme for her own texts.

In this chapter, I want to explore how Kerver's narrative borders participate in authenticating and bolstering the devotional utility of his books of hours. By analyzing how the narrative borders of Kerver's books of hours shape reading practices, I will explore how these

[192] Karreick, *Popular,* pp. 48-50.
[193] Karreick, *Popular* pg. 48.

borders construct particular didactic glosses on the devotional texts, and actively position Kerver's books of hours as devotional tools. First, I will examine how Kerver's borders function both within the traditional paradigm of manuscript marginalia discussed in the scholarship, and how the narrative of Kerver's borders is crucial to their function. Second, I will examine the reading practices constructed by Kerver's borders through the typological borders based on the *Biblia Pauperum,* and place these borders in the context of Late Medieval devotional practices. Finally, I will examine Kerver's most complicated set of borders, his Apocalypse borders: their affirmations of their own factuality and how their eschatological narrative frames the devotional practices of the individual reader within a daily struggle for salvation or damnation.

The Border and the page:

Kerver's books of hours use printed marginalia to heighten the practice of devotional reading, relying on the same conception of the relationship between margin and center as manuscript hours. In Kerver's books of hours the printed border framed the text in devotional narratives that could be read independently or in conjunction with the hours, and Kerver's production reflects an attentiveness to the interaction between the text and these narratives. [194] The woodblocks used to print the margins were laid down and printed with the pages of text. The pairing of texts and borders was not mechanized, but well thought-out. Throughout his career, Kerver followed a specific progression of border cycles in his books of hours. Cycles of grotesques are followed by images from the lives of saints or biblical figures. (Figures 3.4-3.5) These are followed by a cycle of Creation images, and then biblical typologies. Next come a cycle of the Apocalypse, then a Dance of Death cycle, generally concluding with grotesques and ornamental panels. Kerver did add to this narrative—the Dance of Death is a later addition,

[194] Winn, *Printing and Reading,* pp. 203-204.

added around 1510—but once introduced, a narrative group was always placed in a particular location. Moreover, Kerver paired certain cycles with particular texts in the hours: the Creation cycle and biblical typologies always accompany the hours of the Virgin, the Apocalypse accompanies a prayer for before and after mass and the Penitential Psalms, and the Dance of Death, the Office of the Dead. Kerver carefully thought out his choice of cycles, and paired the narratives with related texts. This pairing encouraged the reader to consider the borders' themes in conjunction with the texts at center, creating a more complex devotional practice.[195]

Kerver's borders function within the traditional conception of the border as a space which heightens the devotional experience of the text. Although the border is 'marginal' in placement, it was an essential element of the manuscript.[196] In Michael Camille's view, Gothic marginalia work by undermining and reversing the ideology of the central text.[197] Thus margin and center are suggestive not only of physical placement on the page, but also of ideological narratives at the margin and center of medieval society.[198] Kathryn A. Smith, in her discussion of the historiographical approach to the idea of 'margin', suggests that by starting from the central text and working out, Camille's analysis created an inherent division between the ideologies of margin and center.[199] Instead, she proposes that analyses start at the margin and work in, formulating the margin as a space through which the reader could more fruitfully access the text at the center, sometimes subversively but sometimes without questioning the text's ideology.[200]

Numerous scholars have explored the potential of the generative margin. In her discussion of the Luttrell Psalter, Lucy Sandler discusses the importance of marginalia in the

[195] Winn, "Printing and Reading the Book of Hours: Lessons from the Borders", *ibid.,* pg. 198, although Winn sees these narratives as more contradictory than complementary.
[196] Kathryn A. Smith, "Margin". in *Medieval Art History Today: Critical Terms*, special issue of *Studies in Iconography*, ed. Nina Rowe, 33 (2012): pg. 3.
[197] Smith. *Margin.,* pg. 6
[198] Smith, *Margin.,* pg. 6
[199] Smith, *Margin.,* pg. 7
[200] Smith, *Margin.,* pg. 7

context of the productive reading experience.[201] An example in the Luttrell Psalter of rowers, seated in a boat, pulled by two men visualizes key words from Psalm 88, found next to the image.[202] (Figure 4.1) Sandler suggests that by reassembling these elements in the mind, the reader derived the essential theme of the psalm.[203] Sometimes, marginalia were models for the process of meditative reading itself. Mary Carruthers discusses marginalia depicting literal digestion and consumption as reminders for readers to thoroughly 'digest' the text, chewing on its words. These swallowing figures are mini-reenactments of the reading techniques readers needed to apply to the text at center.[204] In Carruthers' words, this "punning, witty fun of the margin tuned the mind to be receptive to layered meanings, metaphors and allegories".[205] Marginalia encouraged a particular type of dissection and close reading, they literally turned on the process of active devotional engagement .[206] Although these various interpretations differ in the view of the essential, ideological thrust of marginalia, the border is always seen as a generative space. If the border's position with relation to the text at center was sometimes subversive, sometimes productive, the border provided an impetus for a more productive reading of the central text. The border stimulated and turned on the mind of the reader, and by encouraging more active reading practices, helped to unlock the devotional narrative at center through miniaturized processes of textual deconstruction.

Kerver's borders fall within Smith's characterization of the margin as an integral part of the page's ideology, which heightens reception of the text. However Kerver's borders function

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[201] Kathryn A. Smith. *Art Identity and Devotion in Fourteenth Century England: Three Women and their Books of Hours.* (Toronto and Buffalo: The British Library and University of Toronto Press, 2003): pp. 168-169.
[202] Lucy Freeman Sandler, "The Word in the Text and the Image in the Margin: The Case of the Luttrell Psalter". *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery, Essays in Honor of Lilian M. C. Randall, v. 54* (1996): pp. 96-97
[203] Sandler, *The word,* pp. 96-97
[204] Mary Carruthers. *The Book of Memory.* (Cambridge, UK, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990) pg. 163-165.
[205] Carruther, *Book,* pg. 163-165
[206] Carruthers, *Book* pp. 163-165

differently than the Gothic examples discussed by Camille, Sandler and Carruthers. Instead of using marginalia to encourage productive deconstruction of individual phrases of text, Kerver's borders provide a coherent moralizing commentary which glosses the text of the hours but does not question its authority. Kerver's borders frame the reader's devotions in an eschatological narrative from Creation to Apocalypse, which directs the meaning of the devotions themselves. Kerver's narrative borders had precedents in fifteenth century manuscript examples. Complex cycles involving images of Creation, the lives of Christ and the Virgin, and cycles of the Apocalypse were used in early fifteenth century books of hours such as the Bedford and Rohan Hours.[207] These cycles had older roots in texts such as the thirteenth century Bible moralisée, but the fifteenth century saw an increasing introduction of complex visual exegetical cycles into the margins of books of hours.[208] Like these older manuscript examples, Kerver's borders frame the devotional text at the center in a temporal narrative which charts the entirety of mortal existence. The book of hours is no longer a document related exclusively to the daily devotions of the individual viewer, but rather the viewer is asked to consider the book of hours and their devotions in broader theological, and eschatological, terms.[209] Framing the text of a book of hours in a narrative battle of eternal life versus eternal damnation formulates the book itself as an important devotional tool. In fact, Kerver's borders shore up the authority of the text.

The printed marginalia of scholastic texts provide a useful corollary for how Kerver's borders authenticate his books of hours. The marginalia of early printed editions of religious or classical texts often provide hefty citations and cite authoritative sources for the text at center. These citations often serve as 'buttresses' to the main text, edifying and shoring up the authority

[207] Richard K. Emmerson. "The Apocalypse Cycle in the Bedford Hours". *Tradition, vol 50.* (1995): pp., 173-174, 177.
[208] Emmerson, *Apocalypse Cycle,* pg. 178
[209] Elina Gertsman. *The dance of death in the Middle Ages: image, text and performance.* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010): pg. 170.

of the central text by providing citations that justify and corroborate the arguments being made by the author.[210] One example is the comprehensive edition of Virgil's works published by Sebastian Brant, a prominent German humanist, in 1502.[211] (Figure 4.2) This edition brought together Virgil's works, Donatus' Vita, and the commentaries of Servius, Landino, Mancinelli and Domenicus Calderini. In the 1502 edition Brant's extensive marginalia, which cited five classical and medieval authorities, allowed him to make claims for his edition's exemplary status as a comprehensive, authoritative edition of the classical poet. [212] Printed marginalia not only allowed publishers and printers to assert the quality of their own editions, but also participated in the act of positioning the reader with relation to the text.[213] Marginal commentaries invited readers to enter the 'house' of the text through appropriate lines of thought set forward in the citations, and presented arguments for particular ways in which the texts should be viewed.[214]

Like printed marginalia, Kerver's narrative borders formulate the book of hours as an authoritative devotional text that will help the reader to reach their own spiritual salvation. They provide authoritative compendiums of devotional imagery, and provide glosses on the text at center which shapes and direction devotion in particular, didactic ways. In the next section, I will explore how the biblical typologies of Kerver's books of hours are positioned as tools through which the Christian reader can draw parallels and connections between the Old Testament and New, and models through which the reader should shape their own behavior. In the final section I will analyze how the Apocalypse borders more complexly assert their own textual authority,

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[210] William W. E. Slights. *Managing readers*: *Printed Marginalia in English Renaissance Books*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001): pp. 20-21
[211] Princeton University, Junius Morgan Collection: 2945.1502.4q
[212] Eleanor Winsor Leach, "Illustration as Intepretation in Brant's and Dryden's Editions of Vergil". *The Early Illustrated Book: Essays in Honor of Lessing J. Rosenwald.* ed, Sandra Hindman (Washington: Library of Congress, 1982): pg 176.
[213] Slights, *Managing readers*, pg. 20
[214] Slights, *Managing readers*, pg. 41

and also use the overarching eschatological narrative to entreaty the reader to continue their devotions.

The biblical typologies:

Kerver's cycle of biblical typologies provides moral solutions and models for the reader. The source for this imagery and format are the *Biblia Pauperum*, or the 'Bibles of the Poor'. [215] (Figure 4.3) The *Biblia Pauperum* emerged in manuscript form as early as the late 12th century, and were published in blockbook format in the 1460s. [216] The *Biblia Pauperum's* models work by creating series of visual and textual analogies, called 'typologies'. The texts presented a group of between 40 to 50 types, composed of two Old Testament scenes, the 'types', and one New Testament scene, the 'antitype', related by their participation in a similar event or action. [217] The antitypes referred either to an event, person, or a symbol, which was the historical fulfillment of the corresponding event, person or symbol in the Old Testament type.[218] Three sets of texts surrounded these images in the blockbook: the *titulus*, punning captions which draw attention to the similarity of events, persons, or symbols; the prophecies, which give the prophecies from the Latin Vulgate and function on a literal as well as typological level; and the *lectiones*, which outline the more obvious parallels between the Old and New Testament images.[219] In the *Biblia Pauperum*, the pairing of image and text becomes a powerful meditative tool through which a user is able draw parallels between the three images and garner new meanings for the symbols

[215] Mary Beth Winn. "Illustrations in Parisian Books of Hours: borders and repertoires". *Incunabula and their readers. Printing, selling and using books in the fifteenth century.* London, England: British Library (2003). pp. 31-52.
[216] Henry, *Biblia,* pg. 39
[217] Avril Henry. *Biblia Pauperum: a facsimile edition*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987): pg 4
[218] Henry, *Biblia,* pg. 10
[219] Henry, *Biblia.,* pp. 8-9

and events presented in the three images. [220] It is not just the text that is used to draw the parallels between the types and antitypes, but the images themselves. Through specific formal parallels between key elements of the images, the image itself becomes a way to 'read' the significance of these events. Visual parallels between significant symbols: such as the cross and objects in the Old Testament images, provide the viewer with another tool through which to meditate on the webs of connection between historical ages forged by the divine will.[221]

Kerver's *Biblia Pauperum* cycle is a slightly simplified version of the blockbook editions. It is composed of sets of three images which are arranged laterally in the outer border of each pages' margin. (Figure 1.1) At the center is a New Testament image, and the antitype for the two Old Testament types, which are found above and below the New Testament image. In Kerver's books of hours, each image is accompanied by its biblical source text. The citation for the antitype is split between the two caption boxes in the lateral border, and the citations for the two types are printed in the bas-de-page, the topmost caption for the topmost image, and the bottommost caption for the bottommost image. Two prophets, who in the original blockbook Biblia Pauperum are pictured along with the prophecies that foretell the New Testament fulfillment of the Old Testament type, frame the citations in the bas-de-page.[222] The New Testament images proceed chronologically through Kerver's borders, but the Old Testament images are given only as they are typologically related to the New Testament images. Kerver's borders adapt the *Biblia Pauperum* models in certain ways. Kerver includes some typological sets which are not found in the blockbook facsimile I used for comparison and he also uses only one set of texts, the *lectiones*.[223] Finally, the images are compressed to fit into the smaller space

[220] Henry, *Biblia,* pg. 16
[221] Henry, *Biblia,* pg. 28
[222] Henry, *Biblia,* pp. 8-9
[223] I used Avril Henry's facsimile and edition, cited above.

of the border. Although the images and captions in Kerver's borders are a reduced version of the elaborate *Biblia Pauperum* pages, they preserve the *Biblia's* essential characteristic: the use of similitude to create parallels between events and persons, and the use of notable differences between the types which allow the reader to see how the New Testament was the essential fulfillment of the Old. The *Biblia Pauperum* cycle heightens the moralizing power of Kerver's narrative by presenting an image cycle that breaks historical distance through analogy and construes all events according to a pattern of divine will, and most crucially, by incorporating the reader and their own actions into this narrative.[224] By analyzing one of these typological sets in depth, we will more fully examine their function.

Each set of typological images contains multiple levels of meaning, from relatively basic to complex. The potency of meditation depended on the reader, and the depth of meditative contemplation.[225] In our example, the Old Testament types in Kerver's borders are: Abraham and Isaac on their way to Mount Moriah and the prophet Elijah with the Widow of Zarephath; and the New Testament type is Christ carrying the cross to Golgotha. The citations for each of the image-types are, respectively: Genesis 22:6, 1 Kings 17:12, and John 19:17. [226] (Figure 1.1) The basic parallel between the three stories highlights the theme of an initial sacrifice, and an ultimate reward. Abraham and Isaac are on their way to Mount Moriah, where Abraham is prepared to sacrifice his son, however God's angel will stop Abraham from completing this gruesome task and Abraham is rewarded for his faith. The Widow of Zarephath is a poor woman, depicted in Kerver's image carrying two sticks with which she must make soup to feed her ill

[224] Richard K. Emmerson "Figura and the Medieval Typological Imagination" *Typology and English Medieval Literature.* (New York: AMS Press, 1992): pg. 30
[225] Tobin Nelhaus. "Mementos of Things to Come: Orality, Literacy and Typology in the *Biblia Pauperum". Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, circa 1450-1520.* Sandra Hindman, ed. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991): pg. 317
[226] The citation from John 19:17 reads: "Et baiulans sibi crucem exivit i eum q dicit Calvariae locu hebraice Golgotha.Jo.19". The citation from Genesis 22:6 reads, "Tulit quoqm ligna olocausn:et iposuit iup ysaac.Gen.22". The citation from 1 Kings 17:12 reads, "En colligo duo ligna ut ingrediar: et facia illud.3.re.17".

son. Despite her penury, the Widow takes in Elijah, who resurrects her son when he dies of his illness. Christ at the center, carrying his cross, is prepared to make the ultimate sacrifice for mankind.

The initial simplicity of the analogies between images is, however, complicated by the more specific dynamics between each of the types and the central antitype. These complications are a reminder that Christ's sacrifice is the ultimate sacrifice, allowing the central antitype to serve as the fulfillment of the types. For example, both Abraham and Isaac can be seen as fulfilling one aspect of Christ as martyr. Abraham is willing to sacrifice his only son to prove his faithfulness to God, however Isaac is ultimately the individual who will be sacrificed. The contrast between Isaac's ignorance of his fate and Christ's consciousness is crucial to positing Christ as the superior martyr.[227]

The episode with Elijah and the Widow Zarephath also complicates the narrative's simplistic analogy between types. The Widow's sacrifice leads to the resurrection of her son, sacrifice leading to life as with Christ. However the widow's tale more powerfully highlights the promise of resurrection and eternal life than the Abraham and Isaac example because the widow's son has already died, and is resurrected through God's mercy. The images play on the reader's inability to locate a single figure which anticipates Christ.[228] This not only encourages further meditation, but also highlights the fact that there is no Old Testament type which possessed all of Christ's characteristics, and that it was only Christ himself who was the true savior of mankind. The juxtaposition of scenes contains multiple levels of complexity, and depending on the reader, meditation could be deeper or more basic.[229]

[227] Henry, *Biblia,* pg. 99
[228] Henry, *Biblia,* pg. 16
[229] Henry, *Biblia,* pg. 16

Although the basic strategy for devotional exegesis in Kerver's *Biblia Pauperum* borders is typology, Kerver's borders rely on a wealth of analogical methods to derive meaning.[230] Visual as well as allegorical analogies are vital in extrapolating the full meditative potential from Kerver's types.[231] The Abraham and Isaac, Christ with Cross and Widow of Zarephath type provides one example of how Kerver's borders exploit visual parallels between events as a tool for meditation. [232] All three of these images highlight symbolic wood: Isaac carries a bundle of sticks, Christ carries the cross, and the Widow carries two sticks which form a cross-like shape. These visual parallels provide different focal points for meditation, delving into more specialized parallels between type and antitype. Isaac carries the wood with which he will be sacrificed as does Christ, and the wood which nourishes the Widow and her son is like the wood of the Cross which will nourish us. [233] The visual parallel created between the wood in the three images expands the meditative possibilities, highlighting a common symbol. As in the tensions between the three biblical passages, we find that it is the New Testament antitype which is the embodiment of both Old Testament types. Christ's cross performs both the sacrificial function of Isaac's bundle of sticks, and the nourishing function of the Widow's. By presenting not only textual and historical types, but symbolic, visual ones, Kerver's *Biblia Pauperum* borders call for the reader to deepen their meditation and allow their mind to wander through a series of textual and image-based parallels and analogies.[234]

Kerver's borders encourage a relatively flexible devotional practice, which encourages viewers to mentally wander through biblical similitudes. However, as in the *Biblia Pauperum,*

[230] Richard K. Emmerson "Figura and the Medieval Typological Imagination" *Typology and English Medieval Literature.* (New York: AMS Press, 1992) *(*pp. 8-33)
[231] Emmerson, "Figura" *ibid.,* pg.
[232] Emmerson, "Figura" *ibid.,* pg.
[233] Henry. *Biblia,* pp. 99-100
[234] Nelhaus, *Mementos.* pg. 318

the lessons of the borders are circumscribed by the desire to illustrate a moral.[235] The types allow the individual Christian to draw not only parallels between the Old and New Testaments, but to derive moral lessons from these types.[236] Returning once again to the Abraham and Isaac, Christ with Cross, and Elijah and Widow example, here the ultimate lesson for the Christian reader is that sacrifice leads to salvation. The morals drawn from the *Biblia Pauperum* were not only lessons to be learned and memorized, but are part of a broader process of spiritual modeling which permeated the life of the reader and encouraged them to model their own actions on the virtuous acts of the New and Old Testament types.

The *Biblia Pauperum's* function in a process of spiritual modeling is demonstrated through its permeation of explicitly performative contemporary spaces. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, various towns had processions on the feast day of Corpus Christi which were based on the typologies of the Biblia Pauperum.[237] The records of the town of Ingolstadt in modern Germany describe a procession performed on the feast day of Corpus Christ in 1507 based on the *Biblia Pauperum*, and the French town of Béthune has records for a similar procession performed in 1562.[238] In the account from the town of Béthune, the procession is described as a series of groups of three, one of the individuals dressed as a New Testament figure, and the other two dressed as Old Testament figures. The New Testament figures represented events from the Annunciation to the Last Judgment, and the other two figures were suitable types for each of these events. [239] Furthermore, at least in the Ingolstadt procession, the

[235] Emmerson, *Figura,* pg. 21
[236] Emmerson, *Figura,* pg. 30
[237] Neil C. Brooks. "An Ingolstadt Corpus Christi Procession and the Biblia Pauperum" *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology,* 35 no. 1, (Jan, 1936): pp. 1-16
[238] Brooks, *Ingolstadt,* pg. 2
[239] Brooks, *Ingolstadt,* pg. 2

order of procession of these groups corresponds to their order in the *Biblia Pauperum* blockbook published by Albrecht Pfister in Bamberg.[240]

The transformation of contemporary villagers into biblical types is interesting in considering exactly how the typological patterns of thought used in Kerver's borders permeated the contemporary spaces of the reader's lives. First of all, the fact that processions based on the *BP* types were occurring in contemporary towns suggests that the types would have been relatively well known. Therefore, it is likely that Kerver's readers would have had a frame of reference for his typological borders, enabling them to better contextualize and understand these types. Secondly, in viewing their contemporaries dressed as biblical figures, I would suggest that onlookers were encouraged to see these types as models for their own lives. The movement of the *Biblia Pauperum* types from book to parade demonstrates how these types held significance as models for devotional *action* as well as models for contemplation.

Examining an example of a late medieval morality play entitled, *Mankind,* can not only provide a broader context for Kerver's borders, but will provide more concrete evidence for how typologies functioned as models for contemporary readers. The play *Mankind,* a popular English fifteenth century morality play, has a deceptively simplistic plotline.[241] A young farmer named Mankind is tempted by a group of devils named Nought, New-Guise, Nowadays, Mischief and Titivillus, while he attempts to sow his field. A priest, named Mercy, helps Mankind to resist the devils, however Titivillus is able to get Mankind to lose his temper. Mankind throws aside his sowing, and turns to a life of sin. After professing his allegiance to the devils and their way of life, he quickly realizes his error and, in his despair, prepares to hang himself. Mercy, however,

[240] Brooks, *Ingolstadt,* pg. 8
[241] Clifford Davidson. "Visualizing the Moral Life: Medival Iconography and the Macro Morality Plays". (New York: AMS Press, Inc, 1989): pg 15

comes to his rescue and in the end Mankind repents instead of ending his own life.[242] The basic tale of temptation, failure, then repentance, is not highly complex, but through the textual and visual parallels made between the characters and allegorical and biblical figures more complex lessons come to light.[243]

One example of the fruitful analogies made in Mankind is the treatment of the figure of Mankind himself. *Mankind* relies heavily on iconographic, visual parallels—made through the bodies of the actors themselves—in order to illustrate similitudes between its contemporary characters and biblical figures.[244] In the beginning of the play, Mankind is most often shown digging peacefully with a spade, dutifully completing his sowing. The image of a man sowing had iconographic parallels in contemporary late medieval art with the image of Adam following the Expulsion, when he was commonly pictured with a spade, signifying his fallen state.[245] By paralleling the image of Mankind sowing with the image of Adam working, the figure of Mankind reminds viewers that although Mankind's labor is the result of the Fall, through submission to God and dutiful spiritual cultivation all can reach the kingdom of Heaven.[246] Mankind with spade and Adam with spade are images emblematic of the fallen human condition, but also the spiritual growth of Mankind, represented through his growing crops.[247] Through specific, visual parallels, *Mankind* provides the play's viewers with a model for regaining heaven.

The morality play *Mankind,* like Kerver's borders, provides spiritual lessons through textual and visual typological parallels. *Mankind* is useful because it demonstrates the way in

[242] Davidson, *Visualizing,* pp. 15-45. Davidson never gives a full summary of the events of the play, rather he scatters them throughout his argument.
[243] Davidson, *Visualizing* pp. 15-16
[244] Davidson, *Visualizing,* pg. 29
[245] Davidson, *Visualizing,* pg. 29
[246] Davidson, *Visualizing,* pp. 29-30.
[247] Davidson, *Visualizing,* pg. 30.

which biblical types could serve as contemporary models. By structuring a story set in the contemporary world through biblical events, *Mankind* suggests that a web of divine control underlies and orders the contemporary world. The protagonist Mankind literally reenacts the actions of his biblical predecessor, Adam, positioning himself within this narrative and serving as an access point for the process of biblical modeling for the viewers. *Mankind* knits the actions and life of a contemporary figure into the divine narrative, emphasizing the fact that contemporary figures too are ruled according to the divine plan. The play's call for contemporary viewers to frame themselves in the same way is emphasized quite blatantly by the fact that the main protagonist is named "Mankind". *Mankind* not only encourages the viewer's participation by presenting them with visual parallels which they must extrapolate and 'set going' themselves, but provides a model for how contemporary viewers must appropriate the actions and bodies of biblical figures. The 'iconographic' similitudes between the protagonist Mankind's body and the body of Adam demonstrates the circumscription of his contemporary narrative within a biblical type of the pious life, and therefore demonstrates the reader's ability to model their actions, to *live out,* a life which is itself a 'type' for the virtuous lives of biblical heroes.

Although Kerver's borders do not explicitly contain links between the contemporary and biblical worlds, the obvious applicability of its lessons to a Christian reader's life suggests that it too called for a similar process of modeling. Just as the play *Mankind* used iconographic similitudes to transcend the confines of historical time and connect temporally disparate narratives, The *Biblia Pauperum* borders transcend a historical reading of time. These images are stitched together not by a chronological relationship, but by divine providence and essential moral and spiritual implication.[248] "Normal" time is subverted, replaced by a system which determines similarity based on similitude of actions or of morality. The submission of normal

[248] Nelhaus, *Mementos,* pg 313.

time to a sacral ordinance is crucial to the moralizing function of Kerver's borders, because it presents them as exemplars of the continual process of modeling. Tobin Nelhaus aptly sums up this idea:

> In recalling the past and ensuring that the knowledge of the ancestors remains alive, typology introduces a nonlinear concept of time akin to that of ritual. History is filled with analogous moments which reappear with each spiritual cycle. The Old Testament past is fulfillment in the New Testament past; but this in turn proffers the hope and signs of a present-day fulfillment, its presence felt in everyday reality; and the promise awaits final fulfillment in the Second Coming.[249]

New and Old Testament types were knit together and fulfilled by God. The *Biblia Pauperum* borders invite the reader to participate in this process of spiritual knitting, by meditating and deriving models for their own bodies and actions from the types presented. Kerver's borders are an authoritative compendium, through which the Christian reader can draw parallels and connections between the Old Testament and New, and align their own existence according to the patterns, types and morals of God's divinely ordered universe. It is important to note however that there was not only one 'correct' way to read Kerver's *Biblia Pauperum* borders, and the borders could also be used as a meditative space which allowed the reader to generate and meditate on patterns of similarity and difference between the types and antitypes presented.

Kerver's Apocalypse borders:

The above section discussed the process of meditative modeling facilitated by Kerver's *Biblia Pauperum* borders. Like the *Biblia* borders, Kerver's Apocalypse cycle also framed the devotional text at center in a narrative which positioned contemporary time within divinely ordained history. Despite the differences in narrative overtones, the Apocalypse borders and *Biblia Pauperum* borders structure devotional practices through a similar combination of didacticism, and encouraged performance. The Apocalypse images include 55 individual pieces,

[249] Nelhaus, *Mementos* pg. 313

laid out in twos in the lateral border of each page.[250] The cycle has two parts: the first forty-four pieces are taken directly from the Book of Revelations, 1-13, and are accompanied by captions in Latin. The final 11 pieces are structured differently, and are loosely adapted from the sixteenth book of Revelations with French captions.

In this section, I will delve further into the unification of devotional practice with the divine narrative by examining the specific function of the Apocalypse cycle as a devotional tool. First, I outline the framework of the first part of Kerver's Apocalypse cycle, the 44 initial pieces, focusing on how these borders project a claim to literal, text-based accuracy. I will also consider the significant role played by the image of Saint John the Evangelist, who serves a role not only as the traditional, revelatory vision-guide, but to emphasize the authority of the text-based image and position the reader as the pupil/observer of the didactic text. The figure of Saint John encouraged the reader to frame the text in a particular way, attentively reading and interpreting the borders as a factual compendium, creating a relationship similar to the one forged between the *Biblia Pauperum* border and reader. Finally, I will examine the role of the final eleven scenes in reframing the first forty-four panels. The final eleven scenes appropriate the claimed authority of the initial forty-four panels to lend credibility to its harrowing images of the end of the world. However these images are more immediate and unmediated than the first part of the cycle, they break down the barrier between reader/image and instead encourage the reader to project themselves and their contemporary world onto the images. By continually performing Apocalypse and devotion, the reader strove towards the assurance of salvation, just as the *Biblia Pauperum* borders offered a path towards spiritual reform and harmony with the divine plan.

The first forty-four panels of Kerver's cycle are a chronological illustration of the Book of Revelations, books 1-13. The illustration of the Apocalypse according to a chronological

[250] Cambridge, Harvard University: Houghton TYP 515.05.216

breakdown of Revelations had precedents in early fifteenth century manuscripts such as the *Flemish Apocalypse,* completed around 1400.[251] Perhaps more significantly, both Anton Koberger and Albrecht Dürer had recently completed printed cycles of Apocalypse imagery: Koberger in his 1483 German Bible and Dürer in his 1498 Apocalypse cycle.[252] Dürer and Koberger's cycles were considerably briefer than Kerver's, Koberger's constituted only eight total images and Dürer's only fifteen, and so neither can be an artistic model for Kerver's cycle. [253] However, Dürer was an influential artistic model in contemporary Paris print.[254] It is possible that the circulation of Dürer's 1498 Apocalypse inspired Kerver's inclusion of the cycle in his books of hours, which Kerver incorporated starting in 1504/1505.[255]

Although Kerver's cycle and the German cycles differ in scope they are similar in their mutual adaptation of a chronological sequence.[256] English Apocalypse manuscripts took a similar chronological approach and illustrated almost every passage from Revelations in a series of 90 images.[257] In fact, Kerver's borders evidence explicit schematic connections to these earlier series. Both Kerver's borders and the earlier English examples reverse the scenes for Revelations 5:2-5, in which John is counseled by the Elder, and the scene for Revelations 4:9-5:1, in which the twenty-four Elders and the beasts worship the Lord, who holds the open book.[258] This manipulation of the two scenes allowed the image of John's distress about the inability to find an individual worthy of opening the book to be 'solved' by Christ's image, with the opened book,

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[251] F. Van der Meer, *Apocalypse: visions from the Book of Revelation in western art.* (New York: Alpine Fine Arts Collection, 1978): pp. 203-235
[252] O'Hear, *ibid.,* pg. 136
[253] O'Hear, *ibid.,* pg. 136.
[254] Alfred W. Pollard. *Fine Books* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd. , 1912): pg. 178
[255] Ina Nettekoven and Heribert Tenschert, . *Horae B.M.V. : 158 Stundenbuchdrucke der Sammlung Bibermühle, 1490-1550* (Ramsen: Antiquariat Bibermühle, 2003): no.
[256] O'Hear, *ibid.,* pg. 135
[257] O'Hear, *ibid.* pg. 136
[258] Suzanne Lewis. *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-century Illuminated Apocalypse.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995): pg. 71

which then starts the cycle of images for the third.[259] Similarly, Kerver's cycle follows the English Apocalypse's reversal of the order of the vision of the lamb in Revelations 5:6 and the vision of the Lamb taking the book, in 5:7-14, first providing the image of the Lamb taking the book, and then the image of the Lamb (now with book), worshipped by the celestial audience.[260]

The appropriation of this detailed, extensive model for Kerver's cycle has significant implications for the role Kerver's cycle played in the borders of his books of hours. Instead of providing a cycle of images loosely interpreted from the text of Book of Revelations, Kerver's cycle is explicitly tied to the text. Although Kerver's cycle is certainly less extensive than the ninety-images of the older English examples, this does not actually come from the borders' collapsing of more scenes into fewer panels. Rather, Kerver's panels are fewer in number because they eliminate the visual treatment of books 14-15, and 17-22, except for one image of the Last Judgment. In fact, as demonstrated above, Kerver's cycle follows these older models fairly closely, and includes a profusion of text-based details.[261] One good example of the closeness of Kerver's images to the text-based model is the image illustrating Revelations 4:8-10. (Figure 4.4) This image faithfully represents the passage in Revelations in which Saint John sees the image of Majesty of the One seated on a rainbow, encircled by the four beasts and worshipped by the twenty-four elders, in front of which seven lamps burn.[262] Another example of the tight relationship between text and image is the illustration of the opening of the fifth seal, Revelations 6:9-11. This image illustrates the souls of the martyred, crowded under an altar. The artist has not only represented the crowded figures and the altar, but the angel who approaches with white robes for each martyr and the ruptured ground underneath the altar, an indication of

[259] Lewis, *Reading,* pg. 71
[260] Lewis, *Reading,* pg. 75
[261] This analysis is based on Lewis' compilation of image cycles, pp. 58-204.
[262] Lewis, *Reading* pg. 68

the earthquake which occurs when the sixth seal is broken.[263] (Figure 4.5) The visual richness of these images not only highlight the most attractive aspect of the book of Revelations, its wealth of imagery, but emphasize their own accuracy by including a wealth of details from the text of Revelations.[264]

Although the English models also used detailed imagery to illustrate Revelations, the reason for including these details differed markedly. Whereas the English sources used detail to document the visionary experience of Saint John, which was then relived by the viewer, Kerver's borders use detail to assert their own authenticity, and their fidelity to the text. This is key to pinpointing the function of Kerver's cycle. This section will illustrate the importance of textual fidelity to the construction of Kerver's cycle in two ways: through the use of captions, and through the figure of Saint John. Each image in Kerver's cycle is supported by a quotation in highly abbreviated Latin from the Book of Revelations. Although these citations are highly abbreviated, Kerver emphasizes the biblical authenticity of these captions, by including at the end of each caption the number of the book from which the text was adopted. (Figure 4.5) The validity of these captions as actual 'captions', in that they detail what is being depicted in the image above, is debatable. They are so highly abbreviated that they often use only a few words to stand in for an entire sentence. However, the Book of Revelations was an extremely popular text in the Middle Ages and the viewer's familiarity with the text of Revelations, in addition to the viewer's probable familiarity with imagery from the Apocalypse, may have allowed the viewer to identify at least the basic element of the scene without trouble. If the viewer's 'visual-literacy' allowed the image to be identified without actually having to read the caption, this suggests that the captions did not function to identify imagery. Rather, I would suggest that the

[263] Lewis, *Reading,* pg. 85.
[264] Emmerson, *Apocalypse Cycle,* pg. 179; Lewis, *Reading,* pp. 2-3

importance of these captions was not so much to aid in actually identifying the images themselves, but as claims for the authority of the images. The captions validate the authority of the image, by providing an 'image'/symbol of the textual authority from which they were derived.[265]

Biblical texts and glosses were also used to support the authority of the images in the English examples, but the relationship between text and image was constructed differently. If the Apocalypse cycle in Kerver's books derived authenticity from text, in the English examples, images had an important interpretive role, and were used to unlock, to set going, the mysteries of the text.[266] This contrast illustrates an essential difference between the English examples and Kerver's images: the relationship between image and viewer.

The respective function of the Apocalypse images in Kerver's borders and the thirteenth century English examples can be better established by examining the differing roles of Saint John the Evangelist in the images. The figure of Saint John served as an access point to the visions of the book of Revelations. John's shifting position in Revelations, sometimes as a participant and sometimes as an onlooker paralleled with the reader himself, allowed him to mediate between his spectacular visions and the viewer in images of Revelations.[267] The body of Saint John shifts as he changes roles. Saint John as author holds his book as a prop, or sometimes takes out sharpened pen to write while Saint John as spectator/voyeur points, or sits back and watches the events of the visions. (Figures 4.4, 4.5, 4.6, 4.7)

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[265] Tobin Nelhaus. "Mementos of Things to Come: ORality, Literacy and Typology in the *Biblia Pauperum"*. *Printing the Written Word: The Social History of Books, circa 1450-1520.* Sandra Hindman, ed. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991): pg. 317; Nelhaus discusses the importance of the tituli and exegetical texts in the *Biblia Pauperum* in the context of a increasing text-based as opposed to oral society; in which the captions authorize the image, validating both the image itself and the veracity of the image's moral.
[266] Lewis, *Reading,* pg. 3
[267] Lewis, *Reading,* pg. 19

However the figure of Saint John in the English Apocalypses not only guided the viewer through the fantastic events unfolding, but was a model for the viewer for how they themselves should experience and receive the images. In the English example, the body of Saint John encouraged the viewers to actively engage in the images.[268] The images of the thirteenth century Apocalypses articulate the different ways Saint John engages with the images not only through the position of his body, but through his senses: he presses his ear to the frame, he shields his eyes from blinding light.[269] (Figure 4.8-4.9) These positions not only identify Saint John's performance of a certain role: author, spectator, or participant, but clarify his sensory experience of the image/visions. This emphasis on John's *experience* of the imagery can be explained by the contemporary view towards the role of Apocalypse imagery. Michael Camille suggests that earlier examples saw Apocalypse cycles as a series of visions to be re-experienced continually by the viewer:

> John is present…as the percipient—as witness, not author, of these events. His authority is vested not so much in his having written down what he saw as in his having seen it…For the medieval visualisers, the Apocalypse had been not so much a text but a series of experiences, all of which were witnessed, felt and understood by the saint.[270]

Primarily, then, Saint John was a model not only for how the reader should look at the images, but how they should experience their own vision. It was through this process of reenactment and *visualization*, not through reading, that readers actually comprehended the invisible mysteries of Revelation.[271] Only by experiencing the bewildering and mysterious imagery of Revelations in a

[268] Lewis, *Reading,* pg. 19
[269] Lewis, *Reading,* pg 20
[270] Michael Camille. "Visionary Perception and images of the Apocalypse in the Later Middle Ages". In R. Emmerson and B. McGinn (eds), *The Book of Revelation in the Middle Ages.* (New York: Cornell University Press): pp. 287-8.
[271] Lewis, *Reading,* pg. 6

through a devotional visionary experience, could readers begin to understand the mysteries of the text.[272]

In Kerver's cycles, Saint John's responses to the images are characterized not by visceral, bodily experience but by expressions of wonderment, puzzlement, and occasionally by indicating an event to the viewer. (Figures 4.7, 4.10) Although Saint John still serves as a visionary guide, he does not engage through the senses, but primarily through responses which suggest his intellectual engagement with the events unfolding. These responses have little to do with an active response to a "lived" visionary experience.

Most important however, is Saint John is shown *reading* in many of these images. One example is the image of the presentation of God's two witnesses from Revelations 11:3-6, Saint John is actually shown *reading* his book, the account of Revelations. (Figure 4.11) In another image from Book 11:11-14, the resurrection of the witnesses, Saint John appears to be indicating a specific place in the text with his left index finger. (Figure 4.12) Although Saint John still acts as a mediator and positions the viewer's experience with relation to the images, instead of modeling for the viewer visceral, physical, and active ways in which the reader should participate in a process of *re-visioning*, Saint John encourages viewers to read these images, to see them but not to experience them.

Effectively, the figure of Saint John models intellectual and removed contemplation by the viewer as the ideal. This form of meditation encourages comprehension based not on an interactive visionary experience but on the study of text. This is a stark contrast from the approach of the earlier English Apocalypses – which used images precisely because text alone could not lead to full comprehension of the mysteries of Revelations.[273] Therefore, the shifting

[272] Lewis, *Reading,* pg. 3
[273] Lewis, *Reading,* pg. 3

role of Saint John is important not only because it changes the relationship between image and viewer, but because this new role asserts that the meaning of Revelations can be found by the reader in the *text,* or in the accurately shaped images which illustrate that text.

This new relationship between text and image in Kerver's Apocalypse borders explains why the exactitude of the imagery itself was important: because the authority of Kerver's images is based on their exact recording of the text. Saint John's finger, pointing to his book sometimes, and pointing to images other times, asserts that text and image are equivalent. This accuracy is crucial to the Apocalypse borders' ability to function as a devotional tool, and both the captions and the figure of Saint John make claims for the authoritative accuracy of the borders—whether or not these claims were true. Both captions and the figure of Saint John are important in orienting the relationship between image/reader as one of authority/pupil, and at the same time in confirming the factuality and accuracy of the images themselves.

Kerver's Apocalypse borders did not exist in isolation, but were part of an eschatological *narrative*, which was meant to explicitly figure the reader's devotions within the broader divine plan. In her book, *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-century Illuminated Apocalypse,* Suzanne Lewis highlights the significance of the way the thirteenth century English Apocalypses reframed the episodic fragments from the book of revelations within an overriding narrative:

> Operating within a belief system that regards time as the sequential revelation of God acting purposefully in history is the medieval conviction that every sequence of events that occurs is a "story", that all events have a causality, meaning, and finality, although they are often known only to God.[274]

Narrative is the tool by which the events of the Apocalypse are connected to a broader discourse of divine will, of which the reader is also a part. This narrative allows the biblical-historical event of Saint John's vision to be refigured as the events awaiting the viewer themselves. This

[274] Lewis, *Reading,* pg. 53

last section will demonstrate how the final eleven plates from Kerver's Apocalypse borders both appropriate the claimed authority of the first part of the Apocalypse cycle and use important visual differences in order to figure the events of the Last Days as the reader's own fate.

An early sixteenth century viewer would have been accustomed to viewing the Apocalypse as an immediate and real-world possibility. A culture of apocalyptic speculation pervaded the lives not only of radical sects, but of the lives of educated men and women.[275] Threats to Western Christendom like the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople were interpreted as God's punishment for the sins of mankind, and the rapid spread of syphilis was interpreted as a portent of the approaching apocalypse because of its plague-like symptoms.[276] The Apocalypse was not a distant event, but a very real and very immediate possibility. The potential immediacy of the events of the Apocalypse would have heightened the emotive power of Kerver's borders for the viewer as they paged through the text of their book of hours.

The final eleven panels of Kerver's Apocalypse borders play on the Book of Revelation's status not only as biblical record as attested to by the didactic figure of John, but as the recorded and real events of the future. These final frames break both visually and through narrative with the first forty-four panels. (Figure 4.13) These images depict only certain identifiable images, most of which come from Chapter 16 of Revelaitons. Chapter 16 describes the unleashing of the Vial or Bowl judgments by God's angels on his enemies on earth.[277] In the actual text of Revelations, God sends out seven angels, each with a vial to be poured out over earth. Each of these vials sets off some form of destruction for earthly inhabitants, the first inflicts wounds on men and beasts, the second turn the seas to blood, the third turns the rivers to blood, the fourth

[275] Natasha F. H. O'Hear. "Contrasting Images of the Book of Revelation In Late Medieval and Early Modern Art: A Case Study in Visual Exegesis". (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011): pp. 146-147.
[276] O'Hear, *ibid.,* pp. 146-147
[277] Lewis, *ibid.,* pg. 154

cases the son to rain down heat and fire, the fifth destroys the throne of the beast, the sixth dries up the river Euphrates and the seventh causes unclean spirits to emerge from the mouths of the beast dragon, and false prophet. Chapter 16's narration of God's wrath against his earthly enemies details some of the most immediate, devastating events of the Apocalypse on earth's inhabitants.[278]

In the place of the earlier, faithful reproduction of images from the text of Revelations, Kerver's final panels reconstruct a narrative which often deviates from biblical sources in favor of creating a emotionally charged vision of destruction. The first four images appear to loosely conform to the pouring out of the first three vial Judgments, and deal more indirectly with the destruction wrought on the earth itself. They highlight the destruction of the earth: the transformation of seas and rivers into blood the effects of the second and third vials; the destruction of the earth by fire, the work of the fourth vial; and another image with birds grouped around dripping trees on the second page. The panels then turn towards the effects on humanity: hail raining from the sky; men, women and children falling during an earthquake; skeletons emerging from the grave; and piled bodies fill an entire frame. The goal of these images is not to accurately represent biblical texts for didactic purposes, but to create images that connect emotionally with the viewer by virtue of the destruction they depict.

The final images differ from the first group of Apocalypse images not only in the treatment of narrative and text, but use formatting and visual differences to heighten the immediacy and power of their images. Firstly, their captions are in French, and the French itself is less abbreviated, and much more readable. These captions are not meant to display the textual authority of the imagery, indeed the imagery itself does not conform to a particularly well-defined textual tradition. Rather, they are meant to render the apocalyptic events depicted more

[278] Lewis, *ibid.,* pg. 154

vividly by adding description. The caption: “All humans will die, men, women and children” accompanies an image of dead men, women and children, highlighting the all-encompassing, utter destruction of the Last Days. (Figure 4.14) Other captions function by explicitly reformulating imagery in the language of the contemporary world. One example is the caption found in the middle of two images depicting the burning landscape and trees dripping blood which states, “Castles, houses and churches: all will burn”. (Figure 4.15) This caption draws attention not only to the destruction of worldly possessions, but by mentioning “houses” and “castles”, figures this destruction in terms of the cities and spaces where the viewer may themselves live. The French captions directly address the viewer in their own vernacular, and these captions are used not to shore up the borders’ authority but to provide narrative glosses on the imagery which highlight the imminent nature of the Apocalyptic destruction.

These panels are also rendered more immediate by the absence of the guiding figure of Saint John. The absence of the figure of Saint John eradicates the model for intellectual remove offered to the viewer in the first set of Apocalypse images, leaving the reader to contemplate the images directly. The pairing of the seventh and eighth images demonstrate the potential impact of the immediacy of the relationship between reader and image. (Figure 4.16) In the first image, men and women in contemporary dress raise their hands, pleadingly, to the sky. They crowd the image, filling the entire frame of the vignette. In the second image, the crowd of human beings has been transformed into a pile of skeletons, laid out in the place of their living counterparts—a reversal of the status of living and dead. Moreover, this pair of images leads directly to the image of the piled bodies of dead women and children, on the recto of the page. (4.14) Stripped of the emotionally removed framework of the first set of Apocalypse images, viewers are directly confronted with the horrors of the Last Days. In the piled skeletons and bodies of men, women

and children, they were meant to see themselves. These two shifts to the devices which frame the final eleven images remove the viewer from the process of intellectual and removed contemplation of biblical events, and move these events directly into the space and life of the viewer.

The Apocalypse is a factual inevitability, imminent in the sixteenth century world of the viewer. The inevitability of Apocalypse is also a reminder of the inevitability of the Last Judgment. After the cycle of paired images was complete, the reader would turn the page to see a full side-panel of the Last Judgment, the final panel in the series. (Figure 4.17) Christ sits victoriously on top of a globe, flanked on either side by Mary and Saint John the Evangelist. Angels blast triumphantly on horns, awakening the dead who emerge from their graves with the help of angels. Although the caption at the top highlights the joyousness of these events, reading, "Come happy/joyous ones, possess the kingdom", this happiness is tempered by the warning at the bottom, "Go evil ones to the eternal fire" (Mathew 25:41). The final panels message both of hope and of fear reminds the viewer of the consequences of the Apocalypse, after the destruction is finished. Eternal life can be spent either in heaven or hell, depending on the life lived by the reader.

The final panels of the Apocalypse cycle place the reader in direct contact with horrifying images of the Apocalypse, encouraging them to directly engage with the imagery and to project themselves onto the images of men, women and children depicted. By employing captions in the vernacular which highlight the dramatic and traumatizing events of the last days, and by removing the figure of Saint John, the final images of the Apocalypse cycle remove the safe hermetical seal which insulated the first set of Apocalypse images and signal the very real eventually of the Apocalypse. Instead, the reader is confronted with images which bear directly

on their own lives and homes, or castles as the case may be. The reader's continual performance of the Apocalyptic future through these final panels is a reminder of the importance of their devotions and a spiritual life well-lived.

The deliberate shift in narrative strategy: from biblical and text-based, to an immediate and emotive narrative of the viewer's own future create two mutually enforcing interpretations of the Apocalypse. The first forty-four images are highly textually based, and their use of captions highlights the accuracy of the images as representations of the text. The captions and figure of Saint John are crucial to affirming the accuracy of these images. Moreover, Saint John is a model for how the reader should approach the text, attentively reading the borders as a biblical/historical document. The final panels both appropriate the authority of these first panels and shift the visual framework of the panels in order to turn the Apocalyptic narrative into a vivid and immediate depiction of the eschatological events of the viewer's own future. Kerver's borders mediate between the two aspects of the book of Revelations: both as a factual record of a vision by a biblical figure, and as the portents of the actual, real future. The Apocalyptic borders' framing of the contemporary world within the eschatological narrative of God's divine history gives Saint John's entreaties to *read* the text a feverish importance. Perhaps Saint John's book, over which he intently pours, may gesture towards Kerver's own books of hours.

Conclusion:

Kerver's books of hours are self-consciously authoritative and didactic devotional tools. Kerver explicitly chose borders which meditate on the moral existence and the spiritual devotional life of the reader. These borders not only made his books of hours effective devotional tools, but also consciously asserted the authority of the text and images themselves.

The *Biblia Pauperum* borders used a series of similitudes which knitted together biblical past and contemporary present. Breaking the boundaries between biblical and contemporary worlds, the *Biblia Pauperum* borders called for readers to model their own actions and spiritual lives on those of biblical models—incorporating themselves into the divinely ordered narrative by appropriating exemplary spiritual models. Furthermore, the *Biblia Pauperum* borders also provided a potent tool for meditative devotion. By presenting this compendium of authoritative models in the borders of his books of hours, Kerver more explicitly frames his book of hours as an authoritative devotional tool.

The Apocalypse borders reiterate connections between biblical past and present, but graft an eschatological bent onto the narrative. The first section of these borders used detailed illustrations and captions to create literal, text-based imagery. The figure of Saint John the Evangelist, pointing to his book in the borders, encouraged the reader not to experience these images through visualization, as had older thirteenth century examples, but to read and absorb them intellectually, learning their lessons. Thus, caption, image, and model-figure created mutually reinforcing narratives of the authority of Kerver's borders. The second section of these borders focused on a more immediate aspect of the Apocalypse for a sixteenth century viewer: the wrath of God on earth in Revelations 16. The final eleven images from the cycle both used the earlier sections' claim to factuality, and created a marked visual contrast through the immediacy of imagery and setting, to more potently render these events as the reader's real future. The borders shaped the reader's devotional process and authenticated the devotional valor of Kerver's books of hours themselves, allowing Kerver's books of hours to live up to their own claimed superiority in their colophons and title pages.

These borders worked not only separately, but together as a single narrative running throughout the margins of Kerver's books of hours. By placing the *Biblia Pauperum* cycle in the middle of the Creation and Apocalypse cycles which highlight the beginning and end of mortal human life, Kerver more explicitly reminds the reader of their participation in God's own narrative. In fact, as a bridge between biblical and contemporary temporalities, the *Biblia Pauperum* borders would allow the viewer to draw parallels between the biblical narratives of Creation and the Apocalypse and their own lives.

Figure 4.1: Rowers in the Margin of the Luttrell Psalter; Luttrell Psalter, London BL. Add. MS 42130, fol. 160.
(Lucy Freeman Sandler, "The Word in the Text and the Image in the Margin: The Case of the Luttrell Psalter". *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery, Essays in Honor of Lilian M. C. Randall, v. 54* (1996): fig. 26)

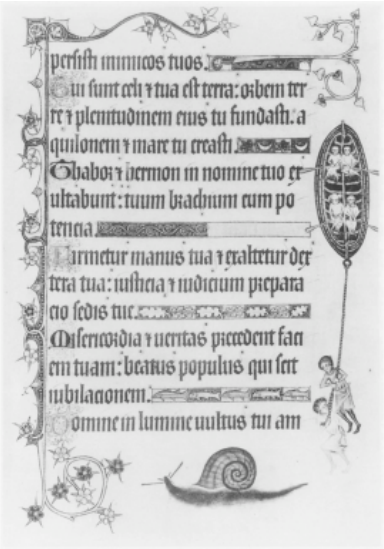


Figure 4.2: Leaf from the third book of the Georgics; Johann Grüninger for Sebastian Brant, 1502. Medford, Tisch Library Special Collections, b16

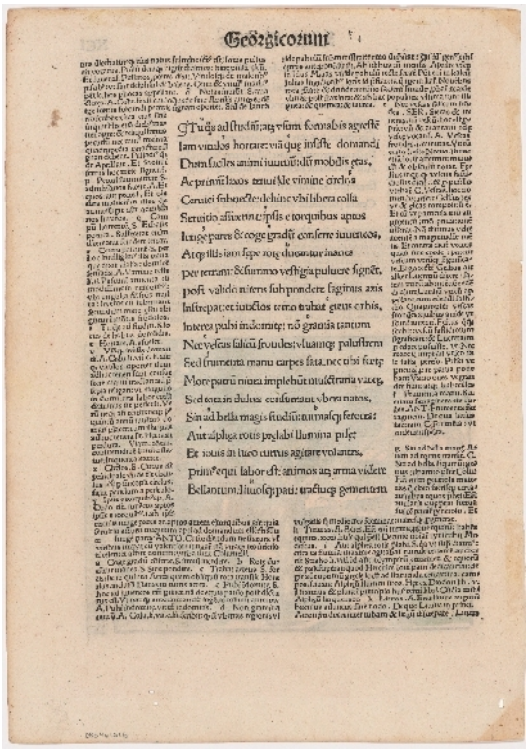


Figure 4.3: Leaf from a blockbook *Biblia Pauperum;* Netherlands, 1465. London, Victoria & Albert, E.687-1918

Figure 4.4: Illustration of Revelations 4:8-10; Kerver, 1505. Cambridge, Harvard Houghton Library, Houghton TYP 515.05.262

Figure 4.5: Revelations 6:9-11; Kerver, 1505. Cambridge, Harvard Houghton Library, Houghton TYP 515.05.262

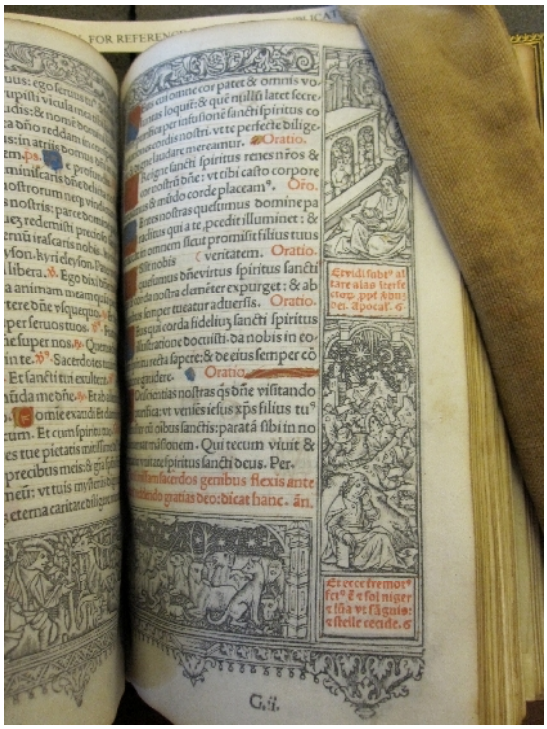
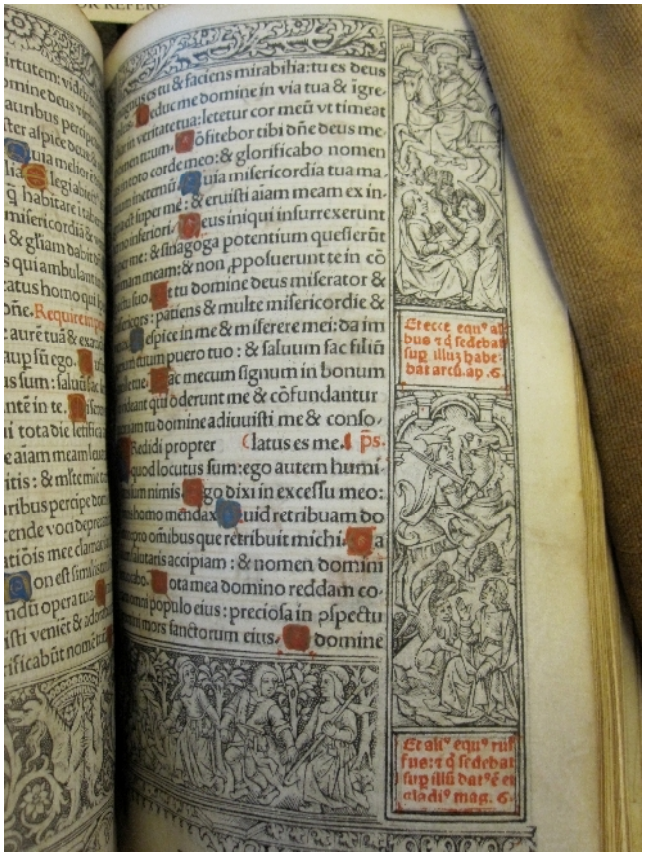


Figure 4.6: Saint John reclining with his book; Kerver, 1505. Cambridge, Harvard Houghton Library, Houghton TYP 515.05.262

Figure 4.7: Saint John pointing; Kerver, 1505. Cambridge, Harvard Houghton Library, Houghton TYP 515.05.262



Figures 4.8: Saint John Listening; Apocalypse, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS Ludwig III. I, fol. 26v
(Suzanne Lewis. *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-century Illuminated Apocalypse.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995): fig. 115)

Figures 4.9: Saint John Looking; Apocalypse, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, MS Ludwig III. I, fol. 19
(Suzanne Lewis. *Reading Images: Narrative Discourse and Reception in the Thirteenth-century Illuminated Apocalypse.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995): fig. 83)

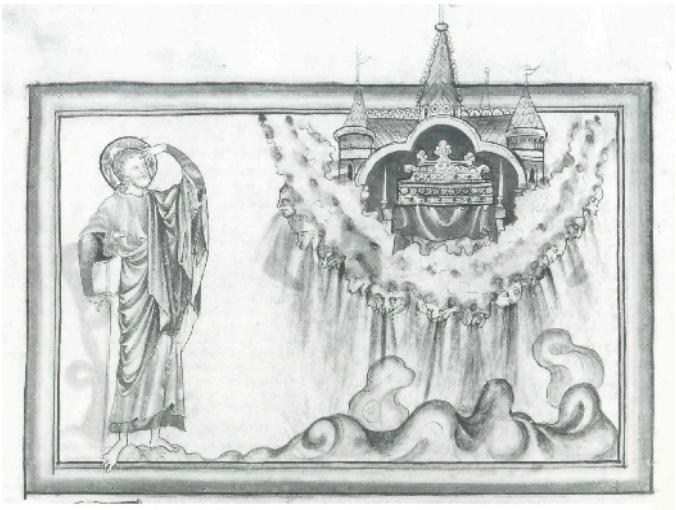


Figure 4.10: Saint John puzzled; Kerver, 1505. Cambridge, Harvard Houghton Library, Houghton TYP 515.05.262

Figure 4.11: John reading, Kerver, 1505. Cambridge, Harvard Houghton Library, Houghton TYP 515.05.262

Figure 4.12: John pointing to place in the text, Kerver, 1505. Cambridge, Harvard Houghton Library, Houghton TYP 515.05.262

Figure 4.13: The first two panels; Kerver, 1505. Cambridge, Harvard Houghton Library, Houghton TYP 515.05.262

Figure 4.14: The ninth panel and tenth panels; Kerver, 1505; Cambridge, Harvard Houghton Library, Houghton TYP 515.05.262

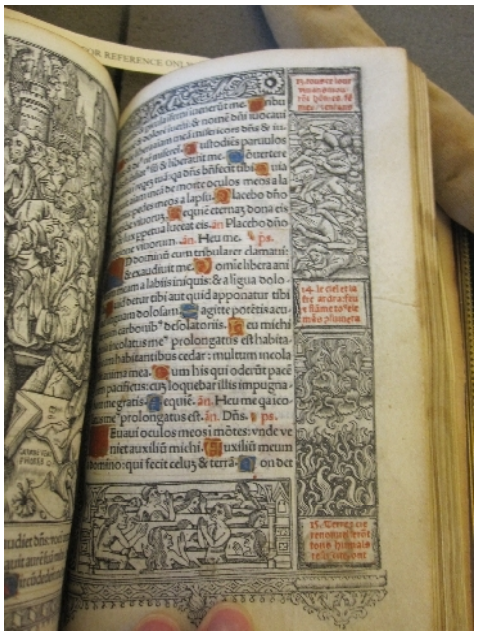


Figure 4.15: The third and fourth panels; Kerver, 1505. Cambridge, Harvard Houghton Library, Houghton TYP 515.05.262

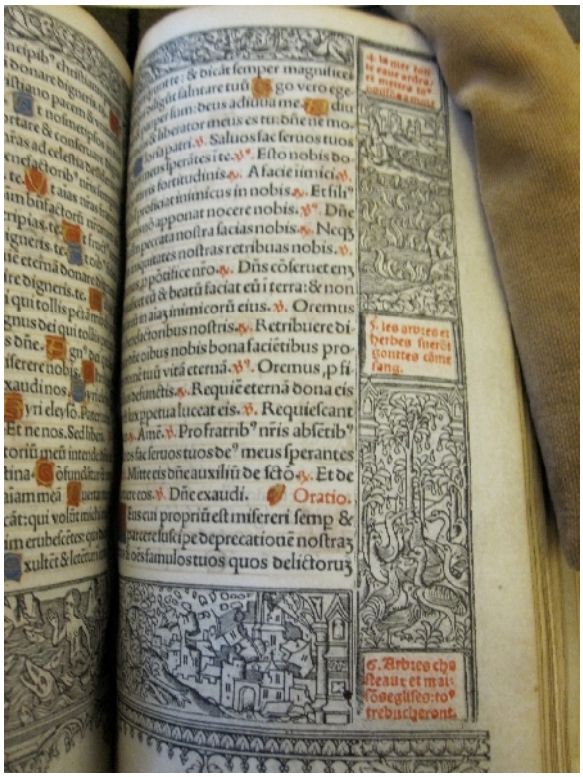


Figure 4.16: The seventh and eight panels. Kerver, 1505; Cambridge, Harvard Houghton Library, Houghton TYP 515.05.262

Figure 4.17: The Last Judgment panel. Kerver, 1505; Cambridge, Harvard Houghton Library, Houghton TYP 515.05.262

Conclusion:

This thesis focused on the printed books of hours of one printer, Thielman Kerver. In order to gain a fuller picture of the ways in which print and manuscript were negotiated in Kerver's hours, this thesis used different lines of analysis. The printers, their shops, their production, and the books themselves, gave layers of nuance to the shape of print and manuscript cultures in Kerver's books of hours. If answering these questions only reveals that the negotiation between print and manuscript in Kerver's hours is webbed and complex, our understanding also becomes fuller. As Adrian Johns has suggested, it is only through the local, specific, and nuanced conditions of production and reception that we can fully understand the print culture of Kerver's books of hours.[279] In the case of Kerver's books of hours, it becomes

[279] Adrian Johns. *The Nature of the book: print and knowledge in the making.* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998): pp. 28-29

apparent that we must *redefine* print culture. Print culture in Kerver's books is inherently also manuscript culture. Despite the changes brought about by the printing press, Kerver's books are documents of ongoing connections to manuscript culture, and this thesis has demonstrated that it was the critical interaction of manuscript and print which shaped Kerver's books of hours.

Kerver's books of hours are also a microcosm of broader shifts and trends in the evolving world of contemporary Paris print. If this thesis has explored how the print culture of Thielman Kerver's books of hours was inherently entwined with the contemporary culture of manuscripts, coming to the end of this journey means acknowledging the impending changes in the wider world. This would seem to land us squarely in Elizabeth Eisenstein world, who paints this as an era of revolutionary change in which the rapid emergence of text from press pushed forward the revolutions of the sixteenth century.[280] Printed books were produced in infinitely higher volume; they were cheaper and more accessible than manuscript. This shift in the accessibility of text did ultimately produce differences in the relationship between reader and book.[281] For the printers themselves, the new print market was more competitive, and demanded the marshalling of new tools. Printers, including Kerver, adopted the use of title pages and tables of contents to endear their products to customers.[282] Yet again, Kerver's books of hours demand more nuance.

By returning to Kerver's borders we can ask questions about the causes of these shifts. Although Kerver's borders are meant to heighten devotional practice in the same way as their marginal manuscript fellows, their use of narrative suggests that changes were occurring. These shifts were not between print and manuscript, but between earlier Gothic marginalia, which aided in meditation through processes of productive textual deconstruction, and the increasing

[280] Elizabeth L. Eisenstein. *The printing revolution in Early Modern Europe.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983): pp. 16-17.
[281] Eisenstein, *Printing,* pg. 34
[282] Eisenstein, *Printing,* pg. 21

use of narrative marginalia in fifteenth century manuscripts.[283] In *Image on the Edge,* Michael Camille suggests an explanation for these shifts:

> In Italy, the margins became pseudo-classical triumphal arches, monumental frames for viewing new humanist texts…A great rift opens up between words and images, and language is now in a separate realm, written in discrete boxes or in fields hanging in the picture space.[284]

The relationship between margin and center was changing. In Kerver's books of hours, the printed text is shorn up, validated, glossed but not deconstructed. Yet the shift in the relationship between margin and center had started long before the dawn of the printing press, as Camille himself points out.[285] The differences between Kerver's marginalia and earlier Gothic marginalia signal shifts in reading practices that, independent of the printing press, produced changes in the form and function of books.

Expanding beyond the analyses of this thesis, Kerver's later books of hours provide evidence that the role of the book continued to change rapidly in the sixteenth century. The books of hours that have been the subject of this thesis have primarily come from Kerver's earlier years of production, from 1497 through 1510. Although Kerver's production remained fairly consistent through 1517, in this year Kerver started to radically change the format of his books of hours. In two extraordinary editions from 1519 and 1522, the number of main illustrations in Kerver's hours increased from the original 18 to 46 and then to 58.[286] Kerver added full-page illustrations for each month in the Calendar, and expanded the illustration cycles for the Hours of the Cross and the Office of the Dead.[287] Additionally, every main illustration in

[283] Richard K. Emmerson. "The Apocalypse Cycle in the Bedford Hours". *Tradition, vol 50.* (1995): pp., 173-174, 177.
[284] Michael Camille. *Image on the edge: the margins of medieval art.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992): pp. 157-158
[285] Camille, *Image,* pp. 153-160.
[286] Nettekoven and Tenschert, *Horae B.M.V,* no. 116 and 117.
[287] Nettekoven and Tenschert, *Horae B.M.V,* no 119; Wieck, *Time Sanctified, ibid,* pp. 89-93, 124-136.

these editions was accompanied by a full caption, which provided summaries of the image's content and a moralizing gloss.[288]

These late editions are a complete departure from Kerver's earlier model. Their expansive new iconographic cycles and more forcible emphasis on the didactic role of the image suggest that these shifts are not only aesthetic but involve deeper shifts in function. The colophons for these editions support the idea that Kerver was seeking to market a newly comprehensive devotional product. The title page for the 1519 edition reads: "with many beautiful images, newly printed…these hours for the use of Paris, complete without requiring anything".[289] Kerver later books of hours aggressively shift to compete on the market, but their changing form is also part of a general movement towards increasingly didactic books of hours already seen in the later fifteenth century. If the printing press and the new mass print market changed the relationship between reader and text, it was accelerating changes which had already begun to take place.[290]

Kerver's later books of hours evidence the combined effects of the printing press, and shifts in the role of the book of hours itself. The sixteenth century brought more change. The years following 1500 saw not only the accelerated influence of the printing press, but important religious changes swept in by the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Under the auspices of the Reformation and Counter-reformation, the religious framework which shaped devotional practice shifted.[291] Although the book of hours as a devotional object would remain popular throughout the sixteenth century, by the time the seventeenth century dawned their production

[288] Nettekoven and Tenschert, *Horae B.M.V,* no. 118 and 119
[289] Nettekoven and Tenschert, *Horae B.M.V,* no. 119; the original colophon reads: "auec plusieurs belles hystoires nouuellement impriees…ces presentes heures a lusaige de Paris toutes au long sans rien requerir"
[290] Sandra Hindman, "Authors, Artists, and Audiences". *Pen to Press: Illustrated Manuscripts and Printed Books in the First Century of Printing*. Sandra Hindman and James Douglas Farquhar, eds. (Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1977): pp. 195-196
[291] Eamon Duffy. *Marking the hours; English people and their prayers, 1240-1570.* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2006): pg 176

had all but petered out.[292] It was the changes brought about by the printing press and religious reformation that forged a new relationship between reader and their devotional text, although only further research will be able to define how these two shifts interacted to shape Kerver's later book of hours. The printed books of hours of Thielman Kerver are on the cusp of many shifts. Poised on the quicksand-like ground of the early sixteenth century, they linger a little longer at the crossroads.

Figure 5.1: Betrayal with caption; Kerver, 1519.
(Ina Nettekoven and Heribert Tenschert, . *Horae B.M.V. : 158 Stundenbuchdrucke der Sammlung Bibermühle, 1490-1550 (*Ramsen: Antiquariat Bibermühle, 2003): no. 3.)

[292] Duffy, *Marking the hours,* pp. 176-177.

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