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## EN GRANT AFFECTION: AN UNUSUAL PORTRAIT OF JEAN CHENART IN A FRENCH FIFTEENTH- CENTURY PRAYER BOOK IN THE PRINCES CZARTORYSKI LIBRARY IN CRACOW

The oldest printed catalogue of the Princes Czartoryski Museum, *Poczet pamiątek zachowanych w Domu Gotyckim w Puławach* [Account of Mementoes Preserved in the Gothic House in Puławy], which records the objects on display in topographical arrangement, lists, as item 1465, 'A manuscript of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. A prayer book written in Latin. Calendar and a few prayers at the end in French.' It was kept in the 'Cabinet upstairs,' next to a few other 'pious books,' on a shelf, below an Italian seventeenth-century domestic shrine in mosaic (preserved to this day, inv. no. XIII-3156).<sup>1</sup> The modest, although lavishly decorated manuscript did not arouse the curiosity of researchers and the reason for its inclusion in the jubilee exhibition organised on the occasion of the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Princes Czartoryski Museum in 2001 was not the artistic quality of the book, but rather its respected provenance – both the actual (the prince's secretary, Felicjan Biernecki [1775–1852/3], brought the valuable exhibit of the Gothic House from Sweden in 1810) and the legendary one, since, according to an unconfirmed local tradition of the Puławy museum the book was associated with the Polish Princess Catherine Jagiellon (1526–1583) who married John III Vasa, Prince of Finland and King of Sweden.<sup>2</sup> The first, and so far the only, researcher to have analysed the book was Barbara Miodońska. The scholar, while

emphasising the high quality of border decorations and the extensive calendar illustrations (consisting of zodiacal signs along with their traditional companion in the form of the 'labours of the months' cycle), devoted a few sentences to the first owner of the book, the Parisian burgher Jean Chenart, 'member of a religious brotherhood [...], whose likeness, showing him in adoration of the Cross, was painted in page 28 [of the manuscript].'<sup>3</sup> Yet, already at first sight it is clear that the scene in which Chenart was depicted can hardly be described as merely an adoration of the Cross [Fig. 1a]. Although he admittedly clasps the instrument of Christ's Passion between his two hands, his entire body is turned towards a miniature in the facing leaf (p. 29) showing a *Lamentation* group with *arma Christi* [Fig. 1b].<sup>4</sup> The depiction of the kneeling man opposite the neighbouring full-page miniature, with which the former forms a devotional *quasi*-diptych, makes the two images function as a representation of a universal act of prayer; an 'eternal adoration' directed at the tormented Son through the intercession of the suffering Mother. As Adam S. Labuda correctly observed, '[...] the way in which the relationship between "the figure of the donor" and the "pictorial representation" was visualised must be defined every time anew'.<sup>5</sup> Also in this instance, a precise

<sup>1</sup> *Poczet pamiątek zachowanych w Domu Gotyckim w Puławach*, Warszawa 1828, p. 120, item 1465. The manuscript is currently held in the Czartoryski Library and its shelf mark is 2948 I.

<sup>2</sup> B. MIODOŃSKA, K. PŁONKA-BALUS, *Puławska kolekcja rękopisów iluminowanych księżnej Izabeli Czartoryskiej* [The Puławy Collection of Princess Izabela Czartoryska's Illuminated Manuscripts], exhibition catalogue, The Czartoryski Museum, 28 September–28 October 2001, National Museum in Cracow, Kraków 2001.

<sup>3</sup> B. MIODOŃSKA, [in:] *ibidem*, pp. 28–29, Fig. 6.

<sup>4</sup> This subject, popular in the French books of hours from the second half of the fifteenth century as a companion to the *Obsecro te* prayer, was sometimes complemented with a likeness of a kneeling donor; see e.g. MS Don. f. 33, fol. 13<sup>r</sup> in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

<sup>5</sup> A.S. LABUDA, *Modlitwa, widzenie i przedstawienie w późnogotyckim obrazie Biczowania z kościoła świętego Jana w Toruniu* [Prayer, seeing and representation on the late-Gothic *Flagellation*



identification of the character of representation allows to distinguish in it individual features that set it apart from numerous other founder portraits depicted in the pages of illuminated books of hours dating from the period of their flowering. Therefore the miniature in question – regardless of the fact whether it is treated as an expression of a profound, personal religious experience of the donor or if it is considered merely as a manifestation of typical and widespread devotional practices of the epoch – seems to be the most puzzling component of the pictorial decoration of MS Czart. 2948 I.

The miniature was executed on the *verso* of a separate sheet that was sewn into the book independently of the quires (the *recto* of the sheet remained blank), which suggests that it was added to a finished book and that it bears no relationship to the manuscript's basic contents. There are no grounds for negating its conscious association with the neighbouring full-page miniature, so the questions about Chenart's likeness we formulate here are based on the assumption that his image was intended, according to his wishes, for the prayer book preserved in the Czartoryski Library. There is, of course, a possibility that it was added later, by chance, and was sewn into the book as a separate sheet bearing an indulgence prayer. This however, does not contradict (and, conversely, only emphasises) the fact that it exists as an independent work of art that can be analysed separately, regardless of the rest of the book. The proposed research procedure concerns three problems, each of which requires a different methodological approach. The first and at the same time the basic one, is the question of the identity of the portrayed person, which in turn will determine the iconographic formula of the representation, reveal the historical setting as well as the time and place of the production of the prayer book and its earliest history. The second problem, closely related to the so-called first art history, has to do with an attempt at determining the place of Chenart's portrait in the pictorial tradition. The third problem is the deepest-reaching, as it searches for the meaning that the sitter who commissioned the portrait associated with it himself.

The small prayer book on parchment (162 leaves, 120 by 85 mm), bound in re-used (?) threadbare purple velvet, secured with metal fittings and a clasp, was written in Latin and French in Gothic *textualis formata* script. At present, its decorative programme consists of eight full-page miniatures (heterogeneous in style, as they originated in different times) and stylistically homogeneous floral borders and initials in forms that are typical of Paris and the Ile-de-France area of the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>6</sup> This stylistic identification is confirmed by the

painting from St John's church in Toruń], [in:] *Magistro et amico – amici discipulique. Lechowi Kalinowskiemu w osiemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. J. Gądomski et al., Kraków 2002, p. 542.

<sup>6</sup> At an unspecified time (judging from the style of miniatures, it must have been in the first decade of the sixteenth century), two decorated leaves were added to the book (currently pages 26 and 62).

contents of the liturgical calendar which is closely associated with the diocese of Paris.<sup>7</sup> The text of the prayer book, for the most part following the standard contents of the hours, would have been typical if it had not been for prayers in French that escape the canon, added in pages 25–32 and 309–316.<sup>8</sup> Worthy of particular attention is the above-mentioned *oration* in page 28. Both the contents and form of the prayer are inseparably associated with the image of the adorant figure who is at the same time the narrator of the text, quoted below in the original spelling:

*Mon redempteur, qui tes pie[d]s et tes mains  
Laissas percier et en la croix esta[n]dre  
Pour rachet[er] de chartre les humains  
Dont ta[n]t de mal endura ta charte[n]dre  
De ton s[er]ua[n]t Jehan Chenart entendre  
Te plaise et icy la supplication  
Et a mercy doulx Jhesus vueille pre[n]dre  
Ton pelerin meu de devotion  
Qui visita en grant affection  
Mil CCC soixante et six iadis  
Ton saint sep[ul]cre en ceste intencion  
Quil gaigneroit apres mort pa[ra]dis*

The above text provides data that allow the identification of the person depicted, clearly determine the date of execution – shortly after 1466 – and reveal a motivation behind such an untypical portrayal.

The composition of the text is organised around a cross, whose slender shape, brought out by a distinct contour painted in gold ink, stands out against the 'background' covered in script and divides the text into two irregular columns that merge together. The letters, written in blue ink on both arms of the cross which were left in the natural colour of parchment, form the name

Their location within the book seems not to have been changed during the re-binding of the volume, as both of them are logically related to the already extant miniatures. *The Vision of Emperor Augustus* is facing *The Visitation*, and opposite *The Annunciation* there is *The Meeting of Joachim and Anne at the Golden Gate*, which supplements the iconographic programme of the prayer book with a Marian-Immaculist theme. K. PŁONKA-BĄŁUS, *Katalog rękopisów iluminowanych Biblioteki Czartoryskich* [Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts in the Princes Czartoryski Library], vol. II/2: *Francja XV–XVI w.* [France, 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> c.] (typescript).

<sup>7</sup> In the calendar, the names of local patron saints: Genevieve (3 January), Denis (9 October) and Saint Louis (15 August), were highlighted with letters in gold.

<sup>8</sup> The prayer book consists of the following texts, which were typically included in books of hours: the calendar (pp. 1–24), passages from the Gospels (pp. 24–45), Marian prayers (including *Obsecro te* and *Stabat Mater*, pp. 46–61); *Officium BMV* (pp. 63–162), the Seven Penitential Psalms (pp. 168–197), litany (pp. 197–212), *Officium de cruce* (pp. 212–308), *Officium mortuorum* (pp. 309–316) and the suffrages of saints (pp. 316–320).

and surname: *JEHAN CHENART*, criss-crossing and repeated twice. One can be sure that this inscription, bearing clearly personal overtones, was made on the patron's special order. As far as the structure of the text and kind of narration are concerned, this is a prayer that Kathryn Rudy called a 'prayer of entreaty' (hence the word *la supplication* in Chenart's mouth). In this kind of prayer, the adorant, speaking in the first person singular, directly addresses God, who is entreated in the second person singular (in Chenart's prayer, *mon redempteur qui tes pieds...* etc.; emphasis of the author), and awaits the fulfilment of the specific request expressed in the monologue.<sup>9</sup> The absence of the characteristic rubrics, that usually specify the extent of indulgence, and the distinctly indicative mood of the text suggest that Chenart's entreaty is not a typical indulgence prayer, although it is undoubtedly related to his pilgrimage (*peregrinatio*).<sup>10</sup>

The mesostic (an acrostic formed not by the initial, but middle letters of a text) made up of lines of the poem intertwinning with the silhouette of the cross, is reminiscent of a stylisation that texts were subjected to in the ancient tradition of visual poetry and prose that flourished in the Middle Ages, known as *carmina cancellata*, of which numerous examples survive.<sup>11</sup> The name and surname of the supplicant recorded in the mesostic has acquired here a distinct form of intext: letters, read vertically, are integral part of the prayer and at the same time retain their independent meaning. In the fifteenth century, acrostics introduced into rhymed prayers addressed to Christ, the Virgin Mary and saints were rare, but not unique. Johann B. Oosterman, who examined Flemish prayer books from the first half of the century in this regard, identified several dozen of such prayers in a dozen manuscripts. For our purposes, two such examples will be most instructive: the acrostic *IANVANHULST*, formed by the initial letters of a paraphrase of the *Salve Regina* hymn, being the name of the author of this paraphrase, in a Bruges prayer book (of the so-called Glasgow-Rouen Group), of

c. 1400–1410<sup>12</sup>, and the names *MARIA* and *LODEWICH* forming an acrostic in the Marian prayer (*Maria speghel van alre duecht...*) in folios 140–142 of the prayer book of Lodewijck Halyncbrood.<sup>13</sup>

However, it must be noted that the Flemish examples usually consist of text only and are not combined with miniatures. An exception are acrostics with the names of a married couple of Jan van der Scaghe and Anne de Memere depicted in the act of prayer in a miniature on the incipit page immediately preceding the text of their prayer in a Flemish book of hours that in the early modern period found its way to the Nová Říše abbey in Moravia.<sup>14</sup> What relates them to Chenart's prayer is their language: all the above-mentioned texts were written in a Flemish dialect comparable with the French used in the Czartoryski manuscript. Another common feature is the fact that, not accidentally, they are exceptional, having been made to order of particular persons, and are as unique as Chenart's supplication. However, in none of the Flemish examples is the relationship between the image, the text and the 'insert' – which plays the role of intext – as strong as it is in the Cracow codex. An example of a similar conception, chronologically remote, but such that nevertheless set a precedent, is the composition in fol. 3<sup>v</sup> and in a number of following sheets in *De laudibus sanctae crucis* (c. 840), depicting the Abbot of Fulda and Archbishop of Mainz Rabanus Maurus adoring, in the act of *proskynesis*, a large-size cross, brought out from the 'background' formed by the script of his poem, and filled with the letters making up a motto concealed in the anagram: *oro te ramus aramara sumar et oro*.<sup>15</sup> Both here as in Chen-

<sup>9</sup> K. RUDY, *Images, Rubrics, and Indulgences on the Eve of the Reformation*, [in:] *The Authority of the Word. Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe 1460–1700*, eds. C. Busaki, K.A.E. Enenkel, W. Melion, Leiden 2012 (Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture 20, 2011), pp. 446–448.

<sup>10</sup> For indulgences gained for visiting the Holy Land see A. VAUCHEZ, *Pelérinages et indulgences au Moyen-Âge*, "Il Veltro. Rivista della civiltà italiana", 43, 1999, pp. 275–286.

<sup>11</sup> It was a form used by Peter Abelard and Saint Bonaventure, among others. P. RYPSON, *Obraz słowa. Historia poezji wizualnej* [The Image of the word. The history of visual poetry], Warsaw 1989, pp. 23–41, mentions, for example, *Liber de distinctione metrorum*, a poetic epitaph for the husband of the Duchess of Pembroke, who died in 1363, written on the commission of the widow by Nicolas de Dacia and preserved in the British Library, MS Cotton Claudius A XIV, and in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10323.

<sup>12</sup> Prayer book, Bruges, 1400–1410, Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 2627, fol. 64, J.B. OOSTERMAN, *A Prayer of one's own. Rhymed Prayers and their Authors in Bruges in the First Half of the Fifteenth Century*, [in:] *Flanders in a European Perspective. Manuscript Illumination around 1400 in Flanders and Abroad. Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Leuven 7–10 September 1993*, eds. M. Smeyers, B. Cardon, Leuven 1995, pp. 739–740, Fig. 1.

<sup>13</sup> The *Maria speghel van alre duecht...* prayer in the Prayer book of Lodewijck Halyncbrood, Bruges, 1430–1440, Munich, Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 83, fols 140–142; J.B. OOSTERMAN, *A Prayer of one's own*, p. 735 (as above in footnote 12). It should be remembered that these poetic texts *par excellence* depended on North-French poetry from the circles of Guillaume de Machaut (1300–1377) and Jean Froissart (1337–1405); on this topic see J. REYNAERT, *Literatuur in de stad? Op zoek naar een voorgeschiedenis van het Gruuthuse-liedboek*, [in:] *De studie van de Middelnederlandse letterkunde: stand en toekomst, Symposium Antwerpen 22–24 september 1988*, eds. F.P. van Oostrom, F. Willaert, Hilversum 1989, pp. 35–48 (quoted by J.B. OOSTERMAN, *A Prayer of one's own* [as above in footnote 12]).

<sup>14</sup> L. CAMPBELL, *Jan van Scaghe and Anne de Memere, the First Owners of the Hours of 1480 in the Abbey Library at Nova Říše*, [in:] *Flemish Manuscript in Context. Recent Research*, eds. E. Morrison, T. Kren, Los Angeles 2006, pp. 1–7, Figs 1.1, 1.2, p. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Rabanus MAURUS, *De laudibus sanctae crucis*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS 652, fol. 3, published by

28.

**D**on redēpte qu  
**H**aillas perier  
**P**our rachet dec  
**D**onttat de m  
**D**e to suat Jehan Chenart  
**D**e plaise  
**E**t amery douly  
**D**on peleur m  
**D**ui visi ta e  
**M**. CCC. six  
**D**on saint seplē  
**Q**uil gaignerai

tes pies. & te mains  
 t en la croix estādie  
 artre les humains  
 l endura ta char tēd  
 entendre.  
 y la supplication.  
 elus vuelle p̄ed  
 u de deuotion.  
 grant affection.  
 nte & six. iadis .  
 e en ceste interaio  
 apres mort paradis

1 a, b. Jehan Chenart as a Jerusalem pilgrim adoring the *Lamentation of Christ* and *arma Christi*. Miniature in the so-called Chenart Hours, France, Paris, 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 15<sup>th</sup> c. (after 1466), MS Czart. 2948 I, pp. 28–29. Copyright: The Princes Czartoryski Foundation



art's prayer book, 'within [specially] applied shapes [...] another text has been ciphered'<sup>16</sup>, a text that underscores the meaning of the entire composition and is closely related to the main subject of the word-and-image combination which reveals the intrinsic meaning of the poem. In the poem of Rabanus Maurus it is the act of glorification of the True Cross – *Crux vera* – whereas in the Cracow hours, it is an individual prayer and an act of *imitatio Christi* depicted in the portrait of the book's owner together with a reference to his pilgrimage to follow in the footsteps of Christ along the *Via Dolorosa* in 1466. The question about the author of the poem and inventor of the idea combining the text with the portrait of pilgrim remains unanswered. The above-mentioned Flemish examples turn our attention towards the local 'Chamber of Rhetoric', the Bruges literary association known as Chamber of the Holy Ghost, which brought together the elites of the city who were at the same time members of religious confraternities (such as, for example, the Bruges confraternity of Our Lady of the Dry Tree). It is in such a milieu that Oosterman wants to see both Jan van Hulst and Lodewijck Halyncbrood<sup>17</sup>, leaving us with a suggestion that Jean Chenart may have had some links with the milieu of the Parisian Chamber of Rhetoric. The presence of acrostics in the hours of Jan van der Scaghe and his wife has not been examined so far, in other respects than using them as a means to identifying the married couple.<sup>18</sup>

Now it is time to ask about the identity of the adorant in the Cracow manuscript. The kneeling man looks to be about fifty years old. His likeness seems to emphasise some individual features and for sure testifies to his background in a particular social group: wealthy urban elite, yet not aristocracy. His full and, so to speak, common face with round chin, unshapely nose and little, as if swollen eyes,

is framed by dark, dishevelled hair that cover his ears and fall down in locks, forming a thin fringe on his low, balding forehead. Chenart is wearing a long raspberry *robe* and black shoes which, as can be inferred from colours and types of clothes in other contemporary portraits, was a dress reserved for wealthy burghers. A black *chaperon* has slipped down from his back on his back and he has a sizeable blue pouch attached to his belt. The accompanying coat of arms does not indicate a knightly status, nor is it, in all likelihood, a burgher's emblem. The alternating gold crowns – royal crowns and crowns of thorns – represented against the blue background of the shield, through their obvious associations with Christ's Passion, are rather reminiscent of a religious brotherhood or may be a kind of symbolic coat of arms (as is testified by its prominent location) related to some events, unknown to us, but apparently important for the owner of the prayer book.<sup>19</sup> The portrait was undoubtedly modelled on images decorating votive plaques, existing in large numbers, that after 1300 replaced wax figures used as *ex-voto* offerings in churches with a clearly defined intention – to accompany supplications or express gratitude – and were always provided with the name of their donor. One of such examples is a small silver enamelled plaque inscribed with the words '+P+. Sorelli' [Corelli?], commemorating the kneeling donor as a venerator of the Cross<sup>20</sup>, similar to Chenart. Or rather, while embracing the empty timber of the Cross with their both hands, they both follow the pattern of the figure of Mary Magdalene in the *Crucifixion* scenes. But this exhausts the list of similarities between the two compositions, which are restricted to adopting the same scheme of composition as a result of a similar commemorative function of both works.

The Parisian burgher secured his likeness firmly in a prayer book, ordering to be portrayed in the distinctive role of a pilgrim to Jerusalem. Yet, he is not carrying a staff, and on returning home, he apparently exchanged his pilgrim's bag for a decorated pouch. In a word, his appearance complies with the contemporary fashion of people of his class and social standing, and makes this image look like a universal representation. Only a sizeable branch of the Jericho palm (*Phoenix dactylifera*) in his hand is a sign of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem he had made. In medieval iconography, the palm branch was an attribute of those who completed this most important of the *peregrinationes maiores* and were for this reason colloquially called *palmieri*.

M. PERRIN, *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio medievalis*, vol. 100, Turnhout 2000. The unprecedented character of the work of Rabanus Maurus and its popularity in the Middle Ages and at the beginning of the early modern period are testified by the familiarity with the poem in the circles of the Heidelberg scholars (Jakob Wimpheling) around the year 1500, whereas the persistence of the tradition is attested by the history of a well-known visual poem in the form of a cross, written in the sixth century by Venantius Fortunatus, which reached Central Europe in transcripts and up until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had been known as the so-called Cross of St Thomas; see P. RYPSON, *Obraz słowa*, pp. 109, 131 (as above in footnote 11). It should be noted that in another page of Rabanus Maurus' poem there is a *carmen cancellatum* with a ciphered name of the author; it was published by Gustavus SELENUS (actually Prince August II von Braunschweig), *Cryptmetrices et cryptographie libri IX*, Lüneburg 1624, cap. 5, p. 140, and reproduced in P. RYPSON, *Obraz słowa*, p. 83, Fig. 39 (as above in footnote 11).

<sup>16</sup> R. KNAPIŃSKI, *Biblia w sztuce – słowo obrazem się stało* [The Bible in Art – a Word Became a Picture], „Studia Nauk Teologicznych PAN”, 4, 2009, pp. 292–293.

<sup>17</sup> J.B. OOSTERMAN, *A Prayer of one's own*, p. 735 (as above in footnote 12).

<sup>18</sup> See above note 14.

<sup>19</sup> Kathryn RUDY (*A Guide of Mental Pilgrimage. Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal Ms. 212*, „Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte”, 63, 2000, p. 501) considers a similarly rendered coat of arms (a blue shield studded with gold stars) to be 'nonsensical arms'.

<sup>20</sup> France, c. 1450, dimensions: 6 × 5.9 × 0.7 cm, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 610-1864; unpublished, except for an entry in the museum's on-line catalogue <<http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O120722/plaque-unknown>> (accessed on 19.11. 2015); the quoted commentary comes from the above entry. I am indebted to Dr habil. Marek Walczak for bringing this plaque to my attention.

The palm branch was a proof of Chenart's actual visit to the Holy Land, and at the same time, an important element distinguishing the members of the Jerusalem confraternities in processions held on Palm Sunday. In comparison to this naturalistically rendered attribute, the other symbolic element held in Chenart's hands has a metaphorical dimension – as this is how his 'own' large cross, inscribed with his name and clasped in his both hands should be interpreted – a cross that he is bearing in perpetuity in commemoration of his visit to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem in 1466 and which he had brought all the way to Golgotha in an act generally understood by his contemporaries as the imitation of Christ. Golgotha is symbolised by a stony hill and a scrap of grass on which Chenart kneels in his painted image. Even Adam's skull and bones – the 'iconographically idiomatic' attributes that customarily identify the hill where Jesus was crucified – are present there.<sup>21</sup> It may be said that in Chenart's image two levels of reality intermingle, one represented by means of the real (a palm) and the other of imagined (the Cross) devotional accessories, belonging to two different orders. Their mutual presence is related to eternity, imbuing the composition with a metaphoric quality whose meaning expresses the intentions of the patron and becomes a message conveyed to the future users of the prayer book.

Determining the name of the founders and users of manuscript books of hours, especially those coming from the urban milieu, can rarely be supplemented with detailed information concerning their lives. Fortunately, in this case it was possible to reconstruct the vita of Chenart almost in its entirety. *Sire Jehan Chenart bourgeois de Paris* appears in documentary materials in 1443 and his career can be followed for the years 1450–1476. The wealthy spice merchant (*epicier*), owner of numerous real estate properties in Paris (an *hôtel* in rue St-Denis, houses in rues: St-Martin, Aubry-le Boucher, Du Temple and St-Saveur, among others) and member of the city council (1450–1452), had also been the city's long-time (1454–1485) financial officer (*garde de la monnaie de Paris*).<sup>22</sup> For the present argument however, it would be more pertinent to focus on his involvement in the city's religious life as well as his public and charitable activities, which consisted in managing hospitals and a membership in confraternities caring for pilgrims: the Confrérie du Saint-Sepulchre (from 1450) and the Confrérie de St-Jacques-aux-Pelerins (1458–1461 and 1472–1476). In 1486 his charitable career was crowned with the office of the principal (literally 'procurator', *prévôt*) of the Grande Confrérie de Notre-

Dame.<sup>23</sup> It is no wonder, then, that after his death on 19 December 1492 his body was put to rest in the Parisian church of Saint-Sepulchre that he had been so closely associated with.<sup>24</sup> His tomb disappeared in 1791, together with the church that was demolished during the French Revolution. As a result, the only surviving trace of the Parisian burgher – and, indirectly, also of the existence and activities of the Confraternity of the Holy Sepulchre – is the modest miniature in MS Czart. 2948 I.

Both the subject of the miniature and the function of the word-and-image combination of which it is a part, are related to pilgrimage religiosity in its broadest sense, which at the end of the Middle Ages was an important form of devotion recorded in art in various visual media. It must be noted that independent images of pilgrims holding palm branches were very rare in that period. They appeared occasionally already in the thirteenth century (e.g. a fresco in the crypt of St Nicolas church at Tavant, c. 1250) and could be sometimes seen as a kind of staffage in maps showing the roads to Jerusalem. They were also encountered in sepulchral sculpture, although such instances are considered a rarity according to the current state of research. It is generally assumed that independent – individual or group – portraits of particular pilgrims, especially members of the Jerusalem confraternities, established for good as late as in the first quarter of the sixteenth century and were a Netherlandish speciality.<sup>25</sup> This contention, however, seems to be challenged by the portrait of Chenart, which, within its modest iconographic context, becomes almost a *unicum*, for the status of the image of Jean Godin de Bavay d'Aberchicourt (†1522)<sup>26</sup>, shown with his family (whose members are holding palm branches in their hands!) in adoration of a *Resurrection* scene against the view of Jerusalem in the background, which is hypothetically dated to the mid-fifteenth century, is open to question. The year 1465, inscribed on the frame as the date of the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, does not refer to the execution of the painting which, in its current state, seems to be a later, probably seventeenth- or eighteenth-century copy of a lost original. Details of costumes, especially the hennin of Jeanne de Salambiens, Godin's wife, indicate that the original may have origi-

<sup>21</sup> A similar role is played by a human skull shown in an architectural niche below the miniature depicting *Lamentation* in fol. 103 in the prayer book of Jean de Trompes, which is 'not only the *memento mori* but also recalls the site where the Crucifixion and Lamentation took place', K. RUDY, *A Pilgrim's Book of Hours: Stockholm Royal Library A 233*, "Studies in Iconography", 21, 2000, p. 258.

<sup>22</sup> On Chenart's biography see J. FAVIER, *Paris au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1997, pp. 423, 425; V. WEISS, *Jehan Chenart, un officier de finances*, "La Cité", 28, 2009, pp. 14–19.

<sup>23</sup> V. WEISS, *Jehan Chenart*, pp. 17–19 (as above in footnote 22).

<sup>24</sup> The no longer extant collegiate church of Saint-Sepulchre was founded, together with its hospital, by Louis de Bourbon Count of Clermont in 1325 with the intention of assisting pilgrims returning from Jerusalem. The Confraternity of the Holy Sepulchre (Confrérie du Saint-Sepulchre) functioned there from 1336. See H. SAUVAL, *Histoires et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris*, vol. 1, Paris 1724, p. 496. See <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k1040561p>> (accessed on 5.11.2016).

<sup>25</sup> *Medieval Memoria Online – Representations of Jerusalem pilgrims* <<http://memo.hum.uu.nl/jerusalem/pages/dutchphenomenon.html>> (accessed on 10.08.2014).

<sup>26</sup> See <<http://memo.hum.uu.nl/jerusalem/pages/45.shtml>> (accessed on 5.11.2016).

nated at about mid-fifteenth century, that is, could have been almost contemporaneous with the portrait of Chenart in his illuminated manuscript.<sup>27</sup> In order to determine the accurate position of these works within the still insufficiently researched historical material, it is necessary to systematise the artistic phenomena produced as a result of late medieval pilgrimages.

The lively movement of pilgrimages to the Holy Land, that had been growing since the fourteenth century under the tutelage of the Franciscans, encouraged the development of a specific genre of literature, namely accounts of the journey and guidebooks for pilgrims, which nowadays serve as a valuable source of information on both the pilgrimage and liturgy.<sup>28</sup> For the art historian, however, of greater importance are illuminated manuscripts considered as sources of imagery associated with the practice of pilgrimage and the related piety. One of such books is MS 212 in the Bibliothèque d' Arsenal in Paris, being a kind of a *vademecum*. It is illustrated with drawings depicting standard biblical subjects which specify the locale of events and in this way guided the pilgrims to sites of indulgences, sanctified by the events from the life of Christ and his deeds, and thus enabled the pilgrims a kind of 're-creation of Christ's life'.<sup>29</sup> The pride of place among these manuscripts must be given to private prayer books, but also they were frequently designed as illustrated guidebooks to the Holy Land and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and were aimed

to accompany a real or spiritual pilgrimage.<sup>30</sup> For instance, a manuscript held in the Bibliothèque municipale at Tours (according to Gregory Clark, 'le plus curieux' because of its written contents juxtaposed with an extensive illustrated Passion cycle), with miniatures accompanying a number of prayers recommended to be said by pilgrims *in situ*, in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, could have served to deepen their religious experience only to a limited degree, as is testified by its contents.<sup>31</sup> The absence of proprietary signs of any kind: coats of arms or owners' portraits, results in the fact that these little books are anonymous and, thanks to their extensive imagery could have been used by anyone and at any time, both in Jerusalem and at home, as stimuli to conducting spiritual pilgrimages. This anonymity separates the above-mentioned manuscripts from the very personal Chenart's book of hours to a no lesser degree than their different liturgical contents, function and the resulting painted decoration. The MS Czart 2948 I is a standard prayer book that was unusually supplemented by an independent portrait – a testimony to the religious attitude of its founder who made sure to be specifically portrayed in its pages. Closer affinities relate the Cracow book with the Southern-Netherlandish manuscript held at the Royal Library in Stockholm which combines the function of a *vademecum* with the textual contents focused on contemplating the Passion, in which the members of the patron's family participate in perpetuity as living witnesses. However, this work differs from the Czartoryski book not only as far as its contents are concerned, but it is also rather late, dating from the very end of the fifteenth century. Yet, as examples of painted pilgrim portraits are almost absent before 1500, the images of manuscript users portrayed as pilgrims, with palm branches in their hands, are a natural context for Chenart's portrait. In fol. 86<sup>v</sup> the whole family of the patron (identified as Jean de Trompes) is shown in prayer to the Resurrected Christ, while the following folios (56<sup>v</sup>–57<sup>r</sup>) depict a man with a palm branch in his hand, just like Chenart, in adoration of the Crucifixion and then (fol. 103<sup>v</sup>) of the Lamentation and *arma Christi*. Miniatures illustrating the Passion episodes are always accompanied by the image of the manuscript's user, which in reality makes him,

<sup>27</sup> Other independent portraits of Jean and Jeanne, in which they are shown in half-figure with palms in their hands, are dated to the beginning of the sixteenth century (1503?) and also known only in later copies; see <<http://memo.hum.uu.nl/jerusalem/pages/61.shtml>> (accessed on 5.11. 2016).

<sup>28</sup> Of the 197 pilgrims who left Venice aboard of *Loredana* in the spring of 1458 and reached Jaffa on 19 June that year, six kept diaries and drew maps of their journey. See J.R. MITCHELL, *The Spring Voyage. The Jerusalem Pilgrimage in 1458*, New York 1964, quoted after P. ARAD, *As If You Were There: the Cultural Impact of two Pilgrims' Maps of Holy Land*, [in:] *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, eds. B. Kühnel, G. Noga-Banai, H. Vorholt, Turnhout 2014, p. 316. On medieval pilgrimage in general see: F. RAPP, *Les pèlerinages dans la vie religieuse de l'Occident médiéval aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, [in:] *Les pèlerinages de l'Antiquité biblique et classique à l'Occident médiéval*, ed. F. Raphael et al., Paris 1973, pp. 119–160; A. SUMPTION, *Pilgrimage. An Image of Medieval Religion*, London 1975; H. MANKOWSKA, *Jerozolima – Rzym – Compostela. Wielkie pielgrzymki średniowiecza* [Jerusalem – Rome – Compostela. The great pilgrimages of the Middle Ages], Wrocław 2008. My thanks for valuable remarks on medieval pilgrimage are due to Dr habil. Wojciech Mruk of the Institute of History of the Jagiellonian University.

<sup>29</sup> K. RUDY, *A Guide of Mental Pilgrimage*, pp. 496–514 (as above in footnote 19); T. SIEW, *Pilgrimage Experience: Size and Medium*, [in:] *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, pp. 84–93 (as above in footnote 28); the quotation is from M. KIRKLAND-IVES, *Capell nuncupato Jherusalem noviter Brugis: The Adornes Family of Bruges and Holy Land Devotion*, "The Sixteenth Century Journal", vol. 39, no. 4 (Winter 2008), p. 1054.

<sup>30</sup> N. MIEDEMA, *Following in the Footsteps of Christ. Pilgrimage and Passion Devotion*, [in:] *The Broken Body. Passion Devotion in Late Medieval Culture*, eds. A.A. MacDonald, H.N.B. Ridderbos, R.M. Schlusemann, Groningen, 1998, s. 73, remarks that at the end of the fifteenth century the popularity of actual pilgrimages started to decline and these were replaced by mental voyages, as a result of changes in the spirituality and the *devotio moderna* turn.

<sup>31</sup> MS 219, Southern-Netherlandish illuminator, c. 1460–1465. The manuscript, written in Latin and French, contains excerpts from the Passion according to the four Evangelists, the Mass of the Name of Jesus, Marian suffrages arranged according to canonical hours and a litany; G. CLARK, *Le manuscrit 219 de la Bibliothèque municipale de Tours. Un guide pour la visite de l'église du Saint Sépulchre à Jérusalem*, "L'art de l'enluminure", 29, juin–juillet–août 2009, pp. 2–19.



with every turning of a page, mentally follow in the footsteps of Christ. Iconographic affinities between the adoring figures in both manuscripts are rooted in the function and contents of the books. But the portrait of the kneeling pilgrim in MS Czart. 2948 I (in contrast to the likenesses of Jean de Trompes and his relatives) bears no relation to the use of the book during a real or mental pilgrimage, and is only an unusual visualisation thereof.

The type of narration employed in the Cracow miniature, which casts the observer in the role of a neutral viewer, prevents us from classifying the image as a stimulant to a deepened, mystical contemplation of the Passion, and allows the image to be seen only as a *r e p r e s e n t a t i o n* of the portrayed person. Since the basic function of Chenart's manuscript was its use as a prayer aid, and the work did not aspire to be a catalyst for contemplation. It was one that built up in its user the hope for salvation expressed by means of illustrating his devotion and his perpetual adoration recorded as a specific act of piety intended as a commemoration and by the same token, as a self-creation of the manuscript user. This is indicated by the repetition of Chenart's given name and surname, according to Oexle, 'the most important substratum of memory', and corroborates the inclusion of Chenart's portrait in the large family of medieval *memoriae*.<sup>32</sup> The authors of the *Medieval Memoria Online* project include in this category also the numerous likenesses of pilgrims from the first half of the sixteenth century, equalling – as far as their message is concerned – the portraits of donors, painted on lateral wings of altarpieces, with individual painted memorials or group portraits of confraternity members.<sup>33</sup> And, until an earlier example turns up, the portrait of Chenart will remain an early and hitherto unknown precedent for such likenesses.

But this does not exhaust the research possibilities latent in the seemingly modest little portrait. While analysing the intermingling of the prayer text with the drawn cross-shaped diagram, which in a way transcends the composition and, because of its central location, is its intrinsic centre, we enter – whether we like it or not – the sphere of emotions associated with an individual, and at the same, communal experience of *excitatio religionis* – common to the entire medieval society. In this context, it is well worth recalling the unusual way in which the text of prayer was

written in a Northern-Netherlandish prayer book for the monastic use.<sup>34</sup> There, a huge nail dripping with blood is shown breaking into the text of prayer; it was painted as if nailed into the middle of a parchment leaf, just before the eyes of the prayer book readers. This hyperbolically exaggerated element of *arma Christi* – evidently used here, in the words of Mitzi Kirkland-Ives, as one of the 'mnemonic devices to reconstruct internally the narrative of Christ's last tormented hours'<sup>35</sup> – when contrasted with Chenart's cross, patently shows the difference between the 'empathic' devotional image, that could be grasped by the spiritually prepared monastic community, and the image in the Czartoryski prayer book, intended for quite a different audience, one that by definition was outside the sphere of contemplation and mysticism. For such a reader, the imitation of Christ was not only an essential condition of a good life, but above all a guarantee of 'good death', while the intrinsic value of the readiness to take 'one's own' cross, mentioned four times in the Gospels (Mt 16, 24, Mt 10, 38, Mk 8, 34, Lk 9, 23), found a literal expression, for example, in the depiction of a man, bent down under the burden of the cross carried on his back, who approaches the crucified Saviour represented in the middle ground of a drawing from the end of the fourteenth century (Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, MS 1404, fol. 37<sup>v</sup>), repeated in a fifteenth-century *Ars moriendi* (London, Wellcome Historical Medical Museum and Library, MS 49, fol. 62).<sup>36</sup> The acts of repentance recommended by the clergy, including prayer, pious reading, attending the Mass, charitable foundations, merciful deeds and pilgrimages were for Chenart and his contemporaries an obvious condition of accord with God. Fulfilment of this condition was a proof of the lawful membership in the Christian community and an expression of a hope for salvation.<sup>37</sup> This hope is conveyed *verbatim* in the conclusion of the prayer written in the Cracow manuscript and reveals one of the main motives for commemorating by Chenart his pilgrimage, undertaken *en ceste intention quil gaigneroit apres mort pa[ra]dis*. And precisely this,

<sup>32</sup> It is not a coincidence that in the medieval culture that favoured anonymity, the names of people – both living and dead – had appeared, since the remotest past, precisely in commemorative liturgy; O.G. OEXLE, *Memoria i przekaz memoratywny we wczesnym średniowieczu* [Memoria and memorial transference in the early Middle Ages], transl. S. Kwiatkowski, [in:] *Spółczesność średniowiecza. Mentalność – grupy – formy życia* [The society of the Middle Ages. Mentality – groups – life forms], Toruń 2000, pp. 55–56. s. 24.

<sup>33</sup> *Leven na de dood. Gedenken in de late Middeleeuwen*, ed. T. van Bueren, with contribution of W. VC. M, Wüsterfeld, exhibition catalogue, Museum Catharijnen Convent Utrecht, Turnhout 1999, pp. 76–79, Figs 69–70, p. 80, Fig. 72, p. 230, cat. 84.

<sup>34</sup> Rotterdam, Gemeentebibliotheek, MS 96 E 12, fol. 28<sup>v</sup>. The following leaves illustrate the remaining Instruments of the Passion in a similar manner. The textual part of the prayer book contains, among others, instructions related to visiting an available 'replica' of the Holy Sepulchre, which testifies to the process of transposing meanings to substitutes of places; K.M. RUDY, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent. Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages*, Turnhout 2011 (Disciplina monastica, 8), Fig. I, pp. 222–228 and 395–396. For medieval Passion-related diagrams see D.S. AREFORD, *The Passion Measured. Late Medieval Diagram of the Body of Christ*, [in:] *The Broken Body*, pp. 211–238 (as above in footnote 30).

<sup>35</sup> M. KIRKLAND-IVES, *Capell nuncapato Jherusalem*, p. 1058 (as above in footnote 29).

<sup>36</sup> R.N. SWANSON, *Passion and Practice: the Social and Ecclesiastical Implications of Passion Devotion in the Middle Ages*, [in:] *The Broken Body*, Pl. 5, p. 13 (as above in footnote 30); J. NORTH, *Ambassadors of Holbein and the World of the Renaissance*, London 2004, p. 259, Fig. 73.

<sup>37</sup> N. MIEDEMA, *Following in the Footsteps*, p. 75 (as above in footnote 30).

in its basic meaning consciously devised by the patron, is the very essence of Chenart's memorial. In fashioning his image, he used the Cross and the pilgrim's attribute that could have also been an emblem of his actual noble rank. The presence of the palm branch unequivocally defines the kneeling man as a supporter of the piety connected with pilgrimage, stimulated by the desire to earn indulgence, and fed by appropriate literature, mainly the pilgrims' itineraries. It stood in direct opposition to spiritual pilgrimages, practised for the most part in the enclosed religious communities. Particularly instructive for the proper understanding of such monastic practices may be Henry Suso's *Vita*, intended for the mystic's spiritual daughter, Elsbeth Stigel, and written with her contribution around 1360. This peculiar autobiography of Suso contains detailed descriptions of individual stages of this unusual way of the Cross, performed by him in the Dominican friary in Ulm. It started at the crucifix in the friary's chapter house and ended in the chancel of the church, before the image of the Lamentation (a Pietà?).<sup>38</sup> From this account we learn directly about the actual role of images in these practices and indirectly also about the fact that spiritual pilgrimages were regarded not so much as substitutes of the real ones – and intended for people who for various reasons were unable to personally travel to the Holy Land – but rather as a sophisticated spiritual form of the *imitatio*, stimulated by an extensive reading of texts of the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* kind considered in its broadest sense. In this light, *peregrinatio spiritualis*, close to mystical experience, was the summit of a monastic *vita contemplativa*. Apparently, for Jean Chenart it was the active life that counted. So, he belonged to the majority of the average users of artistically mediocre book of hours, often serial products made to cater to the needs of their mediocre audience, for whom the standardised texts and unpretentious imagery was all they needed. This world was aptly characterised by Craig Harbison who considered the 'prayerbook mentality' a distinctive feature of the mentality and popular religiosity of the fifteenth century.<sup>39</sup> It was a world in which the piety, just like other social rituals, was based on formalised but strong emotions (after all, what else does the famous historian convey when he writes that, 'a great mourning, a moving sermon or the mysteries of the faith aroused emotions that were manifested in streams of tears'<sup>40</sup>?).

The phrase 'en grant affection' in Chenart's mouth is not exceptional. As early as the twelfth century, the term *affectus* appeared repeatedly in the treatise *De Virtute orandi* (*De modo orandi*) written by Hugh of St Victor (1096–1141)

in 1128–1138, who by virtue of his declaration that 'in affectibus pietatis est omnis virtus orandi' (Cap. 7) made the pious emotion an essential condition of a decent prayer. The almost 266 surviving copies of this work, executed in the period from the twelfth to the fifteenth century (over a hundred copies date from the fifteenth century), attest to the fact that this must have been a universal belief.<sup>41</sup> Johanna Scheel assumed on this basis that expressing emotion was a constitutive element of the images of founders and adorants in fifteenth-century panel painting and manuscript illumination, and remarked that it was precisely the portrayal of emotion, clearly combined with the proper experience of prayer, that imposed the manner of representing the prayer in paintings. In the case of the miniature in the Czartoryski manuscript, the end result was augmented by the physical association of the image and text, put in the mouth of the prayer book's founder, identical with its user. Is this a sufficient basis for considering 'the case of Chenart' from the point of view of the affect studies, following the recently launched methodological proposal that also the above-mentioned author refers to? It seems that the ambiguity of terms, such as feeling, emotion and affect, that are often used interchangeably (and of which also Johanna Scheel is well aware<sup>42</sup>) prevents us from simply explaining the 'prayerbook mentality syndrome' using the vocabulary of affective art history.<sup>43</sup> Furthermore, the static portrait of the pilgrim-founder, totally devoid of the 'dynamic of emotions', is rooted, both visually and thematically, in timeless perspective and belongs to the category of generic representations. But, I shall risk a contention that it was precisely the affect, expressed by the words put in the mouth of Chenart, that imparted to his portrait in the Book of Hours 2948 I the fullness of artistic quality, and that it was an individual manifestation of the collective, communal and half-conscious experience and expression of medieval man's condition in relation to his Creator.

<sup>41</sup> J. SCHEEL, *Das Altniederländische Stifterbild. Emotionsstrategien des Sehens und der Selbsterkenntnis*, Berlin 2014 (Neue Frankfurter Forschungen zur Kunst, 14), p. 150.

<sup>42</sup> Ibidem, pp. 168–169.

<sup>43</sup> The confrontation of the results of the research on affects, carried out in psychology and the natural sciences (biology and neurobiology), with the methods employed by the humanities, that has been taking place since the 1990s, poses a question how the theory of affects could be used in the interpretation of a work of art, including medieval art, which is a topic of my separate research. In the existing literature the problem was formulated by Johanna Scheel (ibidem, pp. 118–128 [with bibliography]). On the Polish soil, the problem of the importance of affect theory for the study of medieval history was recently discussed by J. TOKARSKA-BAKIR, *Podminowane średniowiecze. Mediewistyka po przełomie afektywnym* [The undermined Middle Ages. Medieval studies after the affective breakthrough], [in:] *Kultura afektu – afekt w kulturze. Humanistyka po zwrocie afektywnym* [The culture of affect – affect in culture. The humanities after the affective turn], eds. R. Nycz, A. Łebkowska, A. Dauksza, Warszawa 2015, pp. 27–48.

<sup>38</sup> J. van AELST, *Visualising the Spiritual: Images in the Life and Teachings of Henry Suso (c. 1295–1366)*, [in:] *Speaking to the Eye. Sight and Insight through Text and Image (1150–1650)*, eds. T. de Hemptinne, V. Fraeters, M.E. Góngora, Turnhout 2014, p. 135.

<sup>39</sup> C. HARBISON, *Vision and Meditation in Early Netherlandish Painting*, "Simiolous", 15, 1985, p. 87.

<sup>40</sup> J. HUZINGA, *Jesień średniowiecza* [The Autumn of the Middle Ages], transl. T. Brzostowski, vol. 1, Warszawa 1978, p. 42.