Different Hands: On a Late Fourteenth-Century Carthusian Inkwell

• FRITS SCHOLTEN •

for Hans

He looks up helplessly, the little man trapped in a hideously cramped Gothic structure (figs. 1, 3, 18, 19). His tonsure tells us that he is a monk. He thrusts his arms skyward, but there are no hands in the sleeves of his habit; they are hollow and empty. The Rijksmuseum recently acquired this unusual boxwood miniature – it is barely nine centimetres tall – thanks to a gift from a major benefactor.[1] The small object is as touching as it is amusing, not least because of the realistic portrayal of the imprisoned monk's face and his uncomfortable position. The architectural shape and motifs notwithstanding, the straitjacket holding him fast is not actually a building – it is a Gothic pulpit on three claw feet. Each of the five sides is decorated with three registers, one above the other, separated by a small moulding. The lowest zone is filled with pointed quatrefoils, the one in the middle with an arcade of overlapping lancet arches containing minuscule rosettes in the interstices, and the uppermost with a band of what are known as quatrefoils *à orbevoies*, motifs frequently found in similar combinations in fourteenth-century miniatures and micro-architecture.[2] The crown is a scalloped edge with fleurons. Over the full length of each transition between two sides there is a stepped buttress. Roof-shaped finials

< *Fig. 1*
A Monk in a Gothic Pulpit, Paris or Southern Netherlands, c. 1380-1400. Box, 9.2 x 5.7 x 4.4 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-2017-48; gift of H.B. van der Ven, The Hague, 2017.

like the ones here are, it is true, never found on real pulpits – which always have a flat edge for practical reasons – but they do occur in medieval church architecture.[3] The whole piece is a typical Gothic arcade arrangement that is found in many variations in the fourteenth century, from margins for miniatures to furniture and altarpieces.[4] Fourteenth- and fifteenth-century pulpits in wood and stone with a comparable Gothic shape and decoration on the sides have survived here and there in England and the German-speaking countries.[5] A good example is the pulpit in Mellor (Derbyshire), which dates from around 1350-60 and was carved from a single solid block of oak. It is one of the earliest surviving pulpits in Great Britain (fig. 2).[6]

The miniature pulpit dates from roughly the same period. The style of the carving and recent carbon dating measurements of a minuscule sample of the wood enable us to date the object to the late fourteenth century with certainty.[7] This was the era of the birth of the autonomous miniature sculpture in boxwood in Europe, concentrated at this time chiefly in and around Paris. The surrounding regions, particularly Picardy, Normandy and Brittany, were the main suppliers of the slow-growing box (*Buxus sempervirens*), a dense hardwood with a fine grain that polishes particularly well. It was ideal for making

small, useful utensils and sculptures, very similar to ivory in its properties and applications. A French source dated 1360 explicitly mentions the kind of objects that were made out of box: as well as writing boards and spice boxes there were also small sculptures ('ymages de buix').[8]

Fig. 2
Pulpit, c. 1350-60. Oak. Mellor (Derbyshire, UK), St Thomas's Church. Photo: Mellor Parish Centre / Hilary Atkinson

Unusual Writing Materials

But what was this curious miniature pulpit for? Was it simply a light-hearted little sculpture in its own right, made to entertain? Or was it an amusing, yet practical object? The surprising answer is found inside the monk's hollow sleeves. They are stained with a dark layer of dry ink, which proves that this is a unique, as far as we know, example of a micro-carving inkwell; it is made from a single piece of box, including its three claw feet.[9] Although the object shows clear signs of use, we cannot rule out the possibility that it was originally made as a model for a piece to be carried out in silver.[10] The wood was completely hollowed out and has an opening for filling it at the bottom, which could be sealed with a cork or a wooden stopper soaked in oil (fig. 3).[11] The pen or quill would be dipped into the ink through the monk's empty sleeves.[12] Although unique in its iconography as a miniature pulpit, in terms of the basic shape the inkwell ties in with other small, luxury items of the time, as a fourteenth-century hexagonal pewter salt with a flap on the top on three similar claw feet illustrates (fig. 4).[13]

As far as we know, no other luxury inkwells or complete writing sets made in the Middle Ages have survived, but they do appear in inventories.[14] On the list of the effects of the French king, Charles V, drawn up in 1379-80, there are no fewer than seventeen inkwells ('ancriers') and writing desks ('escriptoires', 'escriptouères'); some were made of 'ybénus' (ebony), but most were of precious metals, usually partly enamelled.

Complete 'escritoires' like these would contain one or more inkwells, as well as sand shakers, pen-holders, metal quill pens, penknives and small scales with sets of weights.[15] According to inventories compiled in 1401, 1413 and 1416, the king's brother, the splendour-loving Jean, Duc de Berry, owned various individual inkwells and in 1406 and 1414 was presented with two large silver-gilt escritoires by his secretaries.[16] In 1453 there were two cypress wood ink holders in the

confiscated estate of the fabulously rich French merchant Jacques Coeur (1395-1456) of Bourges.[17]

However, one looks in vain for such writing sets or opulent inkwells in medieval depictions of writers at work – often evangelists or church fathers. In their day-to-day work, professional scribes and copyists usually used quite simple, portable ink holders: a cylinder made of leather, metal, glass or wood that could be sealed, or the sawn-off tip of a cow's horn.[18] There were also plain, round, glass or earthenware pots or bottles that stood on the desk.[19] There is a rare illustration of an inkwell with more than one opening at the top in a book of hours for Alphonse v of Aragon dating from around 1440. In his left hand St Luke holds one in which he has just dipped a quill pen, and there is another on a shelf in the side of his writing table (fig. 5). In a Southern German portrait of around 1500 we find a young artist engaged in trimming his pen; on the desk in the foreground is a small rectangular inkpot made of wood. The wooden stopper, which has a screw thread, lies beside it, along with a pen-and-ink drawing of Adam that the man has evidently just done (fig. 6). The picture of the maker of writing materials Peter Schmid in the *Hausbuch der Landauerschen Zwölfbrüderstiftung* of 1565 shows how this 'Kalamalmacher' produced small round inkwells turned from blocks of wood and finished with a file (fig. 7).[20] The type of inkwell cast in pewter or lead found in an excavation at Egmond Castle (Stedelijk Museum, Alkmaar) was probably likewise produced in quantity. It is octagonal, and the sides are decorated with a simple repeating geometric pattern (fig. 8).[21] Given the totally anomalous nature of the pulpit inkwell in the Rijksmuseum, it is likely that it was a special design. Far from being a standard product from an inkpot maker for the everyday work of a monk or clerk, it was an occasional object made

Fig. 3
Underside of *A Monk in a Gothic Pulpit* (fig. 1).

Fig. 4
Hexagonal Salt, Decorated with the Annunciation and the Coats of Arms of England and France, England, c. 1320. Pewter, 6.4 x 7.9 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. 4474-1858.

Fig. 5
St Luke in his Study, miniature from a Psalter and Hours for Dominican use, made for Alphonso of Aragon, Spain, Aragon, 1436-43. London, British Library, Add Ms. 28962, fol. 34v.

Fig. 6
Portrait of a Young Artist, Southern Germany, c. 1500. Oil on panel, 45.7 x 32.8 cm. Chicago, The Art Institute, The Charles H. and Mary F.S. Worcester Collection, inv. no. 1947.77.

Fig. 7
Maker of Writing Utensils ('Kalamalmacher') Peter Schmid, illustration in the *Hausbuch der Landauerschen Zwölfbrüderstiftung*, Nuremberg, 1565. Watercolour and ink on vellum, 298 x 207 mm. Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, *Hausbuch der Landauerschen Zwölfbrüderstiftung*, vol. 1, inv. no. Amb.279.2, fol. 45v.

on commission by a talented woodcarver. What all these other examples do tell us, though, is that inkwells were routinely made from wood, a material that would not immediately suggest itself for this purpose.

A World Upside Down?

At first sight, the message conveyed by the curious conceit of a monk in a pulpit seems to contain a certain element of gentle mockery or amusement. It is reminiscent of carvings on choir stalls and misericords, of the small, likewise subversive scenes in the margins and *bas-des-pages* of illuminated manuscripts which often poke fun at the clergy,[22] and of the mid-twelfth-century bronze monk, writing as he sits on a dragon (fig. 9).[23] The two claw feet of the inkwell are positioned such that they give the impression that they are continuations of the monk's legs, creating – intentionally or otherwise – a comic effect that reminds one of the *grylli*, fantastical beings, human heads perched straight on to a pair of human or animal legs, that populate the margins of countless Gothic manuscripts (fig. 10).[24] In this upside-down world in which all the traditional roles are switched, there are also images of figures in pulpits – clerics, often animals, too – giving expression to specific, usually mocking sayings of a kind reminiscent of the inkwell.[25] The satirical saying 'when the fox preaches, look to the geese' is often found in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century illuminated manuscripts and carvings

Fig. 8
Inkwell, found in an excavation at Egmond Castle.
Lead, h. 6 cm.
Alkmaar, Stedelijk Museum, inv. no. h0997.

Fig. 9
Monk-Scribe astride a Wyvern, Northern Germany, Magdeburg, mid-twelfth century.
Brass, h. 23.8 cm.
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jack & Belle Linsky Collection, 1982, inv. no. 1982.60.396.

Fig. 10
Monk-Gryllus ('headfooter') Being Kissed on his Backside by a Knight Templar. Detail in the right margin of Jacques de Longuyon, *Les voeux du paon*, Northern France or Southern Netherlands (Doornik?), c. 1350. Watercolour on vellum, 245 x 178 mm. New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS G.24, fol. 70r.

Fig. 11
'When the Fox Preaches', Misericord Decoration from St Lucien Abbey, Beauvais, 1492-1500. Oak, 26,3 x 53 x 15 cm. Paris, Musée de Cluny, Cl. 19630. Photo: © RMN-Grand Palais (musée de Cluny - musée national du Moyen-Âge)/Thierry Ollivier.

Fig. 12
A Monkey Preaches as a Monk from the Pulpit. Detail from the *bas-de-page* of a Psalter, Flanders (Ghent?), c. 1300-25. Watercolour on vellum, 96 x 60 mm. Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 3384, fol. 132v.

on misericords.[26] Musée Cluny in Paris holds a late fifteenth-century example that came from the abbey in Beauvais (fig. 11).[27] The clergy are also mocked in the *bas-de-page* of a missal, illuminated by Petrus de Raimbeaucourt in Amiens in 1323, where four monkeys tease a writing monk, while a *bas-de-page* in an early thirteenth-century Flemish psalter shows another monkey – with a tonsure! – standing in a pulpit, arms raised, as he preaches his message to a small group of people and apes (fig. 12).[28]

The absence of the monk's hands, however, suggests another, perhaps less satirical interpretation.[29] Because the pulpit is the platform for preaching and spreading the word of God, the image could also be interpreted as a general allusion to the work of a scribe, who effectively does the same with his written word – ensuring the multiplication of religious texts. The copyist thus takes on the role of the preaching monk, with his quill replacing the latter's hands and mouth. Such an interpretation assumes that the inkwell was used in a monastic setting, on an abbot's desk or in a monastery scriptorium, the place where most writing was done in the Middle Ages. References to the work of their makers, writing and illumination, also appear in the margins of illuminated manuscripts – most of which come from the same monastic world – which would seem to attest to a need for personalisation and self-manifestation similar to that expressed by the unusual iconography of the inkwell (fig. 13).[30] There is a striking resemblance between

Fig. 13
Self-Portrait of a Monk Writing. Detail in the margin of a manuscript of William Langland's *Piers Plowman*, England, 1427. Ink on vellum, 225 x 162 mm. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 104, fol. 52v.

Fig. 14
Bas-de-page in a book of hours, France, Saint-Omer, between 1320 and 1329. Tempera and gold on vellum, 156 x 110 mm. New York, The Morgan Library & Museum, MS M. 754, fol. 16v.

the monk in the inkwell and one on the *bas-de-page* of a book of hours dating from the second quarter of the fourteenth century, who seems to have stuck his head and arms through the vellum (fig. 14).[31] In a secular setting, for example in the office of a wealthy merchant or a clerk at a university, the inkwell would lose some of its eloquence and pithiness and have had at most a mildly scornful significance.[32]

Writing in Silence

There is one interpretation of the image that goes beyond the general association with the work of the monks in scriptoria. The explanation stems from the ideas of the Carthusians, who played a prominent role in copying and disseminating religious texts in the Middle Ages. Unlike most monastic orders, these monks lived in isolation from the world, in remote places. They had a strict rule of silence that was only suspended for a few hours a week.[33] In the silence of their monasteries, the Carthusians devoted themselves chiefly to writing. They did not have a shared scriptorium, each monk worked in his own cell.[34] Guigo, de fifth prior-general of the order and also prior of the Grande-Chartreuse near Grenoble, described this silent task explicitly in his *Consuetudines Cartusiae*, the first codification of the Carthusian rule: 'In them [books] we can proclaim God's words through our hands, which we cannot do with our mouths.'[35] It is exactly this that the inkwell appears to embody. The monk has slumped down into the pulpit, powerless to address the crowd below him. His sermon would hang in the air, which is why his mouth is closed. However, he 'lends' his hands to the scribe, probably also a Carthusian, thus making the dissemination of God's word possible, where 'hand' can be understood both literally – as a part of the body – and in the metaphorical sense of 'writing'. The symbolic transfer of hands embodies the spread of the divine message through the written word.

This notion is not as strange as it might appear at first sight, for disembodied hands were not unknown to people in the Middle Ages. We find numerous other examples of the symbolic use of autonomous limbs and other body parts, including hands and arms, in this period.[36] The Christian cult of relics, which was

widespread throughout medieval Europe, was based on the literal fragmentation of the body. This led to the mass division of the dead bodies of (supposed) saints and martyrs, for devotions and liturgy, but also, for instance, of nobles, who thereby ensured that their bodies were buried *ad sanctos* in various places. Bodies were divided in the expectation that on the Day of Judgment the redeemed souls would rise up in a pure, whole body, although this question of fragmentation and re-assembly was not undisputed by medieval theologians.[37] The individual body parts of saints were visualised in costly reliquaries in the shape of the part they contained. As well as reliquaries in the shape of heads and busts, the silver-gilt arms and hands are most appealing. These were not used solely for keeping holy relics, often not even hand or arm relics – but could also be used in the liturgy or in secular rituals to underpin the celebrant's own gestures.[38] A performative and theatrical use like this lent these hands a well-nigh autonomous character; they became divine instruments, sceptres almost, that conferred extra authority on the owner or user, or could intervene by means of miracles on earth. With the pen in its hand, an arm reliquary of St Luke actually refers to the writing of his gospel and so closely approaches the world of the inkwell (fig. 15).[39] This valuable object reflects the fact that the writing hands of the copyists in monasteries in the early Middle Ages were sometimes venerated as relics because of their role in spreading God's word.[40]

In the book of hours of the Marshall of France, Jean II le Meingre, called Boucicaut, which was illuminated in 1408 by the anonymous Parisian Master of Boucicaut, there is a miniature of St Bridget of Sweden that presents an interesting parallel with the handless monk in the inkwell.[41]

Fig. 15
Reliquary Arm of St Luke, Naples, before 1338. Silver gilt, enamel (champlevé), rock crystal, h. 48 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. OA 10944. Photo: © RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre)/ Jean-Gilles Berizzi.

Fig. 16
BOUCICAUT MASTER, *The Prayers of St Bridget of Sweden Heard*, miniature in the Heures du Maréchal Boucicaut (Jean II le Meingre), Paris, c. 1408. Tempera and gold on vellum, 275 x 190 mm. Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, inv. no. Ms. 2, fol. 42v. Photo: © RMN-Grand Palais/ Agence Bulloz

The saint stands in an enclosed landscape against the background of a screen. Her face is upturned and her arms are raised, but like the monk in the inkwell, her hands have also vanished.

Miraculously they hover heavenwards to be received on the way by an angel. This exceptional miniature depicts God hearing St Bridget's prayer; her severed but devoutly folded hands symbolize the entreaties formulated in her thoughts (fig. 16). We cannot entirely rule out the possibility that that the little monk in the pulpit did once have hands that could be inserted in the sleeves as stoppers. They would certainly have made the meaning of the object even more pointed: the act of opening the inkwell by removing the hands would have taken on the same symbolism as St Bridget in the miniature. Because the user of the inkwell would then literally take the little monk's hands into his own, he would also take on his role as a disseminator of the word of God.

Conceptually linked, but in a sense reversed, are the manicules, the disconnected, pointing hands of the scribe or illuminator drawn in the margin of a manuscript, placed there as text markers (fig. 17).[42] Developed in medieval scriptoria, these manicules live on to this day as direction indicators, underlining yet again that this idea of a performative body part as a *pars pro toto* has a long history.[43]

A 'menu euvre'

If the Carthusian iconography of the inkwell really does hold water, the object must have belonged to an affluent monk in one of the numerous monasteries that had been established in Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries since the foundation of the Carthusian order.[44] There were fourteen in the Low Countries alone, eight of them in the Southern Netherlands.[45] Many were founded under the patronage of a member of the nobility so that there were close ties with the aristocracy and nobles often joined the strict order.[46] These relationships meant that the monasteries also invested in art, in contravention of the original rule of austerity.[47] The best-known Carthusian foundation, or charterhouse, in the late Middle Ages is that of Champmol near Dijon, established by Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (r. 1363-1404), and his son and successor John the Fearless (r. 1404-19) between 1377 and 1410.[48] It was the order's most lavishly furnished and decorated charterhouse and the only one in the Middle Ages to house monumental sculpture.[49] The complex also contained twenty-four cells, twice as many as most other charterhouses. From 1384 onwards, the Champmol accounts show annual purchases of writing desks ('escriptoires') and inkwells (pewter 'encriers' and 'cornettes' made of horn), as well as all sorts of other writing materials and objects to equip the cells and the scriptorium. However, no direct parallel with the Rijksmuseum inkwell has been found.[50] The entries all relate to the regular purchases needed for the normal running of a monastery and not to personal commissions or gifts – the category in which we must place the miniature pulpit.

The idea that the provenance of the Rijksmuseum's inkwell must be sought in a distinguished and 'noble' charterhouse like Champmol is underpinned

Fig. 17
Manicule in the *Maastricht Hours*. Detail in a book of hours from Liège, first quarter of the fourteenth century. Tempera and gold on vellum, 95 x 70 mm. London, British Library, Stowe 17, fol. 193r.

Fig. 18
Face (frontal) of *A Monk in a Gothic Pulpit* (detail of fig. 1).

Fig. 19
Face (profile) of *A Monk in a Gothic Pulpit* (detail of fig. 1).

by the quality and style of the carving. There are remarkable stylistic parallels, particularly in the monk's face, with other, more monumental courtly sculptures of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries that could suggest a more precise origin for the object. The monk's face, small as it is, is surprisingly realistic, with touching, almost portrait-like features (figs. 18, 19). The parallels are evident in his wide-set, almond-shaped eyes, his slightly curved nose, the frown lines in his forehead, the grooves beside the mouth to mark the cheeks and his pointed chin. In the second half of

Fig. 20
ELYAS SCERPSWERT, *Reliquary Bust of St Frederick*, Utrecht, 1362. Parcel-gilt silver, 45.2 x 24.2 x 17.5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-NM-11450; purchased with the support of the Rembrandt Society and the Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap.

Fig. 21
Ring of John the Fearless, Paris, c. 1410. Gold, agate, emerald, ruby, translucent enamel, diam. 2.3 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. OA 9524. Photo: © RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) /Jean-Gilles Berizzi.

Fig. 22
Carthusian Monk Kneeling in Prayer (detail of the face), France, Dijon, c. 1400. Marble, 24.1 x 14.7 x 7.6 cm. Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, the John L. Severance Fund, inv. no. 1966.113.

the fourteenth century, such realism increasingly became an essential characteristic of the sculpture in the Southern Netherlands and France, culminating in the oeuvres of the leading sculptors of the age, mainly artists from the Low Countries, such as Jean de Liège, André Beauneveu, Jean de Marville, Jacques de Baerze and Claes Sluter.[51] They worked for the French courts of Charles V (r. 1364-80) and Charles VI (r. 1380-1422) in Paris, or for other high nobles in and around the Valois dynasty, including Charles V's brothers, Jean, Duc de Berry, and Philip the Bold.[52] This naturalism had already cautiously raised its head, for instance in the face of the Utrecht bishop St Frederick in his reliquary bust made by the Utrecht goldsmith Elyas Scerpswert in 1362 (fig. 20),[53] and in the ivory carving made at about this time in artistic circles around the French and Burgundian courts. Examples include a standing angel in New York,[54] an Annunciation group from Langres, which is associated with the patronage of Philip the Bold,[55] and even the minuscule portrait of John the Fearless in a cameo ring (fig. 21).[56] Here we find similar almond eyes with thick eyelids, the same angular jaw-line and prominent mouth and chin. Features of the same kind also occur in two kneeling Carthusians in marble in Cleveland (fig. 22),[57] and in a number of *pleurants* or 'weepers' on the graves of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless in Dijon (fig. 23), one of whom – a Carthusian monk – even holds his hands up in a gesture strikingly like that of the monk in the inkwell (fig. 24).[58]

Records in the archives confirm that the great sculptors in this Parisian and Flemish milieu also turned their hands to such small sculptures in ivory or box.[59] It is, for example, documented that in 1377 Jean de Marville, Philip the Bold's court sculptor, received twenty-six pounds of ivory to be used for carvings for the duke.[60] Remarkably,

Fig. 23
CLAUS SLUTER (c. 1360-1406) and CLAUS DE WERVE (?-1439), *Mourner with Headband from the Tomb of Philip the Bold* (detail of the face), France, Dijon, c. 1404-10. Vizille alabaster, h. 42 cm. Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. no. 1940.128; purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund.

Fig. 24
JEAN DE LA HUERTA (?- after 1462), *Carthusian Mourner with Raised Hands from the Tomb of John the Fearless* (detail of the upper body), France, Dijon, c. 1443-56. Salins alabaster, h. c. 40 cm. Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. no. ca 1416 n° 39; attribution du Conseil Général de la Côte d'Or, 1827. L'oeuvre est classée au titre des monuments historiques depuis 1862. Photo: © Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon/ François Jay.

it is explicitly noted by his name that he was 'son tailleur de menus euvres' (his carver of small works), a description also given to the woodcarver Jehan de Liège, who was likewise in the service of Philip the Bold.[61] Small-scale sculpture was evidently De Marville's principal field of work, which comes as a surprise because nowadays we know him primarily as the maker of the first version of the monumental tomb for Philip the Bold. It was, though, by no means unusual for artists to work in different mediums: alternating between carving in wood, ivory and stone was common in Paris from the thirteenth century onwards.[62]

It is against this background that the creation of the miniature pulpit has to be seen. Not as the product of a specialist craftsman in Paris, such as a *tabletier* (a maker of luxury writing desks, chessboards, combs and caskets) or a professional inkwell maker;[63] in view of the unusual sculptural concept and the skilful and natural characterization of the monk's face it is much more likely to be an original creation by a leading sculptor and woodcarver – an *ymagier tailleur*, who was accustomed to think and work both on a monumental scale and at the miniature format of an inkwell.[64]

ABSTRACT

A recently acquired late fourteenth-century boxwood micro-sculpture of a monk in a pulpit is in fact an extremely rare example of a late medieval inkwell. The object's unusual iconography seems at first to be mocking in intent, given the awkward way in which the monk, arms upraised and missing his hands, is imprisoned in his pulpit. He conjures up associations with amusing illustrations in the margins of manuscripts and the often anti-clerical ridicule expressed by the carvings on misericords. And yet it is quite conceivable that the object had a serious purpose. The silent monk, who 'lends' his hands to the owner of the inkwell, is probably a Carthusian who, according to the Rule of his order, may not speak, and can only spread the word of God in writing. In view of the style and quality, this curious little carving has to be attributed to a prominent sculptor who was active in Paris or the Southern Netherlands around 1380-1400. He must have made it as a special commission, probably for a monk in a distinguished charterhouse.

NOTES

* My thanks to Anne-Maria van Egmond, Konrad Karrasch, Ingmar Reesing, Matthew Reeves and especially Hans van der Ven for their assistance with this article.

1 This is a gift from Hans van der Ven of The Hague in 2017. The object was purchased from the London art dealers Sam Fogg Ltd., which had acquired it earlier that year from the London dealer Matthew Holder. He had bought it in the French art trade. For a monk in a cramped wooden housing see J. Brouwers, *Het hout*, Amsterdam/Antwerp 2014, p. 10.

2 For quatrefoils *à orbevoies*, see R.W. Lightbown, *Secular Goldsmiths' Work in Medieval France: A History*, London 1978, p. 45. Similar quatrefoils also decorate the hem of the mitre and the bottom of the bust of the 1363 reliquary of St Frederick by Elyas Scerpswert (see here, fig. 20). The same ornament also appears at the top of an arcade wall in the upper zone of a famous table fountain (Paris?, fourteenth century) in Cleveland, see Stephen N. Fliegel and Elina Gertsman, *Myth and Mystique: Cleveland's Gothic Table Fountain*, Cleveland/London 2016, p. 38 and figs. 33-37. Cf. also the reconstruction of the rood loft in Sainte-Chapelle in Bourges, see Élisabeth Antoine et al. (eds.), *Art from the Court of Burgundy, 1364-1419*, exh. cat. Dijon (Musée des Beaux-Arts of Dijon)/Cleveland (The Cleveland Museum of Art) 2004, p. 179, fig. 1.

3 For a comparable shape in architecture see the lantern above the octagonal tower in Ely Cathedral (England), built around 1322-40, in Fliegel and Gertsman 2016 (note 2), fig. 32. Cf. also the exterior of the choir of a church in a miniature in Marina Belozerskaya, *Luxury Arts of the Renaissance*, London 2005, fig. IV-8 (illumination in Betrandon de la Broquère, *Advis directif pour faire le passage d'Outremer*, Lille 1455; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 9087, fol. 152v). It is also conceivable that the corners of the miniature pulpit originally had low tops with small pinnacles, like those in the building in a miniature from a Dutch prayer book of around 1485, see Anne Margreet W. As-Vijvers and Anne S. Korteweg, *Splendour of the Burgundian Netherlands: Southern Netherlandish Illuminated Manuscripts in Dutch Collections* (in association with Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, and the Royal Library of the Netherlands, The Hague), Zwolle 2018, p. 252, fig. V.3.2 (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, Ms. W.182, fol. 25v).

4 For a margin of a miniature see Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art*, London 1995, fig. 69 (illumination in *Vie de Saint-Denis*, 1317; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 2091, fol. 111r). The two large altarpieces Jacques de Baerze made in the last decade of the fourteenth century for Philip the Bold (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon), with similar decorative elements, such as the blind tracery and the lancet arches, also provide good comparisons.

5 John Charles Cox, *Pulpits, Lecterns, and Organs in English Churches*, London 1915, pp. 9, 46 (Banwell, Somerset, c. 1480), 25, 68 (Southwold, Suffolk, c. 1450), 49, 58 (Halberton, Devon, c. 1420), 73 (Monksilver, Somerset, c. 1500), 76 (North Petherton, Somerset, c. 1413). Franz Rademacher, *Die Kanzel in ihrer archäologischen und künstlerischen Entwicklung in Deutschland bis zum Ende der Gotik*, Düsseldorf 1921, esp. pp. 24, 32 and fig. 4 (Cologne, Schnütgen Museum,

1491), p. 32 and fig. 7 (Nienberge near Münster, c. 1500), p. 39 and fig. 12 (Mainberg, 1486). The fifteenth-century pulpit from Koudewater monastery (Rijksmuseum, inv. no. BK-NM-1218) is the same basic shape, but the decoration on the sides is different.

6 Cox 1915 (note 5), pp. 25-26, 56-58.

7 See Re.S.Artes Analysis Report: R 142928B, 9 August 2017 (object file, Rijksmuseum). The felling date of the box tree that supplied the wood for the object falls somewhere between around 1380 to 1430; after calibration, the test gave a date of 1296-1402. If we combine the two results, the most likely date for the creation of the inkwell lies in the last decades of the fourteenth century.

8 This source was published in among others Victor Gay, *Glossaire archéologique du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance*, vol. 1, Paris 1887, p. 235 (under 'buis'); Antje Kosegarten, 'Inkunabeln der gotischen Kleinplastik in Hartholz', *Pantheon* 22 (1964), pp. 302-21, esp. pp. 302-04; Paul Williamson, 'Thoughts on Two Small-Scale Medieval Sculptures', in Andrea von Hülsen-Esch and Dagmar Täube, *Luft unter die Flügel... Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Kunst. Festschrift für Hiltrud Westermann-Angerhausen*, Hildesheim 2010, pp. 166-72; Barbara Boehm and Alexandra Suda, 'The material', in Lisa Ellis and Alexandra Suda (eds.), *Small Wonders: Gothic Boxwood Miniatures*, Toronto 2016, pp. 12-17; Frits Scholten, 'The Boxwood Carvers of the Late Gothic Netherlands' and 'Statuettes, "Taillee en bois bien fecte"', in Frits Scholten et al., *Small Wonders: Late-Gothic Boxwood Micro-Carvings from the Low Countries*, exh. cat. Toronto (Art Gallery of Ontario)/New York (The Metropolitan Museum of Art)/Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 2016, pp. 13-78, esp. pp. 20-21, and pp. 428-74, esp. pp. 428-32.

9 For similar claw feet see Ernst Günther Grimme, 'Die grossen Jahrhunderte der Aachener Goldschmiedekunst', *Aachener Kunstblätter* 26 (1962), no. 28 (early fifteenth-century pax; Aachen, Domschatz); Paul Williamson and Glyn Davies, *Victoria and Albert Museum: Medieval Ivory Carvings, 1200-1550*, vol. 1, London 2014, no. 49 (tabernacle polyptych, Cologne or Middle Rhine, c. 1310-20). Cf. also the position of the three claw feet with the three feet – seated lions – on the mount of a miniature reliquary bust in box in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, which Williamson attributed to Jacques de Baerze, see Williamson 2010 (note 8), and with those of the salt in fig. 4 (see also below, note 13).

10 Box was frequently used for carving models and moulds. For wood as a material for inkwells see Claus Maywald-Pitellos, *Das Tintenfass. Die Geschichte der Tintenaufbewahrung in Mitteleuropa (Deutschland)*, Berlin 1997 (diss. Freie Universität, Berlin), pp. 106, 202. Also, among others, Christopher de Hamel, *Scribes and Illuminators: Medieval Craftsmen*, London (British Museum) 1992, pp. 29-32; Kathleen L. Scott, 'Representations of scribal activity in English manuscripts c. 1400-1490. A mirror of the craft?', in Michael Gullick (ed.), *Pen in Hand: Medieval Scribal Portraits, Colophons and Tools*, Walkern 2006, pp. 115-49, esp. pp. 132-33 and figs. 13, 20-22; Michael Gullick, 'Self-referential portraits of artists and scribes in Romanesque manuscripts', in Michael Gullick (ed.), *Pen in Hand: Medieval Scribal Portraits, Colophons and Tools*, Walkern 2006, pp. 97-114, esp. pp. 7-8.

11 Maywald-Pitellos 1997 (note 10), pp. 98, 106, 204.

12 Written on the underside in dark brown or black ink are the letters P G U U, an addition in an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century hand whose significance remains a mystery.

13 Anthony North, *Pewter at the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London 1999, p. 40 (no. 1) (England, c. 1320, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. 4474-1858). Cf. also 'een kroes dat stoet op drie voeten' (a cup that stands on three feet) in the accounts of the Counts of Holland in 1390, see A.-M. van Egmond, *Opgetekend. Materiële representatie aan het Haagse hof 1345-1425*, (unpub. diss. University of Amsterdam 2019) Amsterdam 2019, p. 198 (referring to The Hague, National Archives of the Netherlands, Archive of the Counts of Holland, inv. 1245, fol. 61r).

14 Some leather inkwells or cases for inkpots, pens and penknives have survived. They include a *cuir bouilli* inkwell in the Cleveland Museum of Art (inv. no. Sundry Purchase Fund 1967.140.a: North Italy, c. 1425-50), a similar *cuir bouilli* example in the British Museum (see De Hamel 1992 (note 10), fig. 25), and a pen case in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (inv. no. 8386-1863: Italy, fifteenth century, *cuir bouilli*). See also https://nl.pinterest.com/claudinebrunon/encrier-portatif-et-calemar/ (consulted 24 December 2017).

15 See Jules Labarte, *Inventaire du mobilier de Charles v, roi de France*, Paris 1879, nos. 1890 ('escriptoire d'argent doré'), 1987 ('ancrier d'argent doré'), 2214 ('ancrier d'ybénus'), 2239 ('cornet à anque, d'argent blanc'), 2252 ('vieil cornet d'yvire, à mectre enque'), 2273 ('hault encrier d'ybénus'), 2434 ('encrier d'argent doré'), 2442 ('encrier d'argent, doré par ses souages'), 2728 ('encrier d'argent doré'), 2818 ('petit cornet d'argent doré'), 2828 ('escriptoire d'or'), 2821 ('escriptoire d'or, à façon d'une gayne à barbier'), 2822 ('autre escriptoire d'or esmaillée d'azur'), 2823 ('autre escriptoire d'or, poinçonnée à fleurs de lys'), 3118 ('encrier d'argent doré'), 3124 ('escriptoire'), 3126 ('escriptoire d'argent blanc'). Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, holds a pewter sand shaker (or salt) (inv. no. F 3147; Netherlands, c. 1450-1525). For a sixteenth-century example in ebony with a gold sand shaker, gold pen, three small knives and a lead inkwell in the inventory of Emperor Charles v in Brussels, see Fernando Checa Cremades, *Los inventarios de Carlos V y la familia imperial/The Inventories of Charles V and the Imperial Family*, vol. 1, Madrid 2010, p. 184.

16 Jules Guiffrey, *Inventaires de Jean Duc de Berry (1401-1416)*, 2 vols., Paris 1894-96, vol. 1, pp. LVIII, CXXXV, CXXXVI, and pp. 87 (no. 282: 'Item, une escriptoire de bois marquetée, où il a dedens uns grans cyzeaulx de fer dorez et un gannivet [canivet: penknife] qui a le manche d'argent esmaillié. Ainsi declairé en la VI^e^ partie dudit CI^e^ fueillet'; no. 285), 88 (no. 286), 96 (no. 323), 304 (no. 1140: 'Item, ung grant ancrier d'argent blanc, ouvré par dessus et alentour le pié aux armes de Monseigneur, séant sur pluseurs ours; lequel ancrier fut donné à mondit Seigneur par ses secretaires, aux estrainnes, le premier jour de janvier l'an mil quatre cens et quatourze'); ibid., vol. 2, pp. 75 (no. 627), 136 (no. 1077), 234 (no. 440). The accounts of the Dukes of Burgundy record just a few commissions for inkstands, one of them intended for Isabella of Bourbon, the second wife of Charles the Bold. It was purchased from the Brussels goldsmith Ector van Himsseghem in 1456-57 ('pour avoir garny d'argent une escriptoire de cyprès, à façon de coffret, laquelle a donné à madame de Charrollois'). There were also regular purchases of all sorts of other writing materials, such as 'Pappier et parchemin pour les secretaires de ms – pour papier, parchemin, encre, cire et autres choses nécessaires, employées pour le fait des escriptures' in 1412; see Comte de Laborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne. Études sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XV^e^ siècle, et plus particulièrement dans le Pays-Bas et le Duché de Bourgogne*, 3 vols., Paris 1849-52, vol. 1 (1849), pp. 34 (no. 37), 100 (no. 274), 101 (no. 276), 106 (no. 294), 155 (no. 497), 466 (no. 98). See also Bernard Prost, *Inventaires mobiliers et extraits des comptes des ducs de Bourgogne de la maison de Valois (1363-1477)*, vol. 1 (Philippe le Hardi, 1363-71 period), Paris 1902, pp. 105-06, no. 658 ('Acheté, le 5 mai [1367], pour la somme de 8 fr., de Jehan Guerart, guaignier, demourant à Paris', '7 escriptoires garnies et estoffées de cornès, de bourcetes et de laz de soie ..., pour les secretaires et clercs d'office de l'ostel de Mgr., auxquels Mgr les a donnez de grace especial'), and p. 584, no. 3104 ('20 avril, 14 fr. pour 9 escriptoires de grant roole, dorées, garnies et estoffées de soie, desquelles Mgr fit livrée ... à ses secretaires, c'est assavoir es ans 1376 darrenierement passé et [1]377 present').

17 See also Gay 1887 (note 8), pp. 631-32 (under 'encrier'), which refers to sources with inkwells in ebony, silver-gilt and gilded copper, pewter or cypress: 'A Alain de Lacroix, 2 ancriers de cyprès, vendus 20 s' (from Jacques Cœur's belongings, 1453).

18 Maywald-Pitellos 1997 (note 10), pp. 92-93; Gullick 2006 (note 10), pp. 7-8. The Duc de Berry owned a small box in blue stone in the shape of an inkhorn, made in Paris 'en manière d'un cornet à mectre ancre', see Guiffrey 1894 (note 16), p. 90, no. 298.

19 For example the image of the seated St Bridget of Sweden by the Master of Soeterbeeck, c. 1470 (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1916, inv. no. 16.32.193), see William D. Wixom, *Late Medieval Sculpture in the Metropolitan 1400-1530*, New York 2007, p. 30; also Kosegarten 1964 (note 8), esp. p. 308 and fig. 8 (a figure of the Virgin holding an inkpot that Jesus uses as he writes); and Christa Grössinger, 'Tutivillus', in Elaine C. Block et al. (eds.), *Profane Images in Marginal Arts of the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the VI Biennial Colloquium Misericordia International, University of Sheffield 18-21 July 2003*, Turnhout 2009, pp. 47-62, esp. p. 49 and fig. 3.3 (the top of a choir stall with the devil Tutivillus and an exaggeratedly large inkwell). Further see the website http://arhpee.typepad.com/enluminure/ of Claudine Brunon, an independent researcher into historical writing and illumination techniques (consulted 24 December 2017).

20 *Hausbuch der Landauerschen Zwölfbrüderstiftung*, vol. I, inv. no. Amb.279.2, fol. 45v (vellum, 298 x 207 mm); his fellow townsman, Ulrich Huber, is pictured engaged in making etuis and writing cases for inkwells and pens in the *Hausbuch der Mendelschen Zwölfbrüderstiftung* of 1535, see Nuremburg, Stadtbibliothek, *Hausbuch der Mendelschen Zwölfbrüderstiftung*, vol. 2, inv. no. Amb.317b.2, fol. 153v (paper, 288 x 204 mm). In the German-speaking countries the term *Kalamal* is used for writing materials including the ink holder; in French it is *galimard*. Both derive from the Latin *calamus* (reed pen). Dürer bought a 'calamar' in Antwerp on his journey through the Low Countries in 1521. For *Kalamal* see, among others, Berhard Bischoff, *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters*, Berlin 1979 (*Grundlagen der Germanistik*, vol. 24), pp. 29-33; Wilhelm Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, Graz 1958, pp. 225ff.; Maywald-Pitellos 1997 (note 10), pp. 92-93.

21 *Thuis in de Late Middeleeuwen: Het Nederlands burgerinterieur 1400-1535*, exh. cat. Zwolle (Provinciaal Overijssels Museum) 1980, no. 301.

22 For this phenomenon see Camille 1995 (note 4), esp. pp. 11-55. See also Grössinger 2009 (note 19) on the devil Tutivillus, who ridiculed the clergy for rushing through the service. Further, Sylvie Bethmont-Gallerand and Christine Leduc, 'Le diable, les bavardes et les clercs. Un motif iconographique et ses variations dans la peinture murale, la sculpture, et la gravure médiévales et leurs sources textuelles', *Art sacré* 18 (2001), pp. 215-33. G.R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, Oxford 1966. For monks and humour, particularly the genre of the *ioca monachorum*, see among others Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, Princeton (NJ) 1973, pp. 420-35; Jacques Le Goff, 'Le rire dans les règles monastiques du haute moyen âge', in C. Lepelley et al. (eds.), *Haut moyen-âge: culture, education et société. Études offertes à Pierre Riché*, Nantes 1990, pp. 93-103; Jacques Le Goff, 'Laughter in the Middle Ages', in Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg (eds.), *A Cultural History of Humour*, Cambridge 1997, pp. 40-53, esp. pp. 44-51; Danuta Shan, 'Laughter and Humour in the Early Medieval Latin West', in Guy Halsall (ed.), *Humour, History and Politics in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Cambridge 2004, pp. 25-47.

23 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jack & Belle Linsky Collection, 1982, inv. no. 1982.60.396 (*Monk-Scribe on Dragon*, brass, h. 23.8 cm, Magdeburg, mid-twelfth century), see William D. Wixom (ed.), *Mirror of the Medieval World*, New York 1999, pp. 66-67 (no. 80). Cf. also sixteenth-century character jugs with monks; see Sebastiaan Ostkamp and Ingeborg Unger, 'De "sprekende" monnik uit Culemborg', *Vormen uit vuur. Mededelingenblad Nederlandse Vereniging van Vrienden van Ceramiek en Glas* 2007, nos. 2, 3, pp. 26-41. With thanks to the anonymous reviewer of this article.

24 For *grylli*, see among others Jurgis Baltrusaitis, *Das phantastische Mittelalter: Antike und exotische Elemente der Kunst der Gotik*, Berlin 1997, pp. 17-27; Camille 1995 (note 4), passim.

25 Elaine C. Block, *Corpus of Medieval Misericords in France, XIII-XVI Century*, Turnhout 2003, pp. 25, 248 (Rodez), 30, 254 (Lisieux), 37, 261 (Chezal-Benoît), 52, 273 (Évreux), 67, 291 (Vertheuil), 83, 308 (Nozeroy), 124, 358 (Lautenbach). Christa Grössinger, *The World Upside-Down: English Misericords*, London 1997, pp. 114-19. Christel Theunissen, *Koorbanken in Brabant 1425-1550. 'Van goeden houte gemaekt'. Het werk van laatmiddeleeuwse schrijnwerkers en beeldsnijders*, Nijmegen 2017, pp. 188-89.

26 Elaine C. Block and Kenneth Varty, 'Choir-Stall Carvings of Reynard and Other Foxes', in Kenneth Varty (ed.), *Reynard the Fox: Social Engagement and Cultural Metamorphoses in the Beast Epic from the Middle Ages to the Present*, New York 2000, pp. 125-62, esp. pp. 140-48; Janetta Rebold Benton, *Medieval Mischief: Wit and Humour in the Art of the Middle Ages*, Stroud 2004, pp. 77-78 and fig. 11.27; Paul Hardwick, *English Medieval Misericords: The Margins of Meaning*, Woodbridge 2011, p. 49. For a manuscript with this illustration in the margin see *Horae, gebeden, Passie ons liefs Heeren metten uren ghedeilt*, book of hours, Ghent (?), c. 1475, Utrecht, Museum Catharijneconvent, inv. no. BMH h66, fol. 53r.

27 See Block 2003 (note 25), pp. 138, 373 (Paris, Musée de Cluny, from St Lucien Abbey, Beauvais). Nicole R. Myers (ed.), *Art and Nature in the Middle Ages*, exh. cat. Dallas (Dallas Museum of Art) 2016, no. 63. There are English examples in Ripon, Beverley and Bury St Edmunds, see George L. Remnant, *Catalogue of*

Misericords in Great Britain, Oxford 1998, pl. 35, fig. c.

28 The Hague, Royal Library of the Netherlands, ms. D.40, fol. 124r, see Camille 1995 (note 4), pp. 25-26 and fig. 9; Lilian M.C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1966, pl. XXV, fig. 119 (Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliothek, G.K.S. 3384, fol. 132v).

29 Unless the object imitates a real inkwell, with a monk drowning in the ink. With thanks to Konrad Karrasch (Ełk, Poland) for this suggestion, which in the absence of examples of pentagonal inkwells dating from the Middle Ages cannot be substantiated.

30 Virginia W. Egbert, *The Medieval Artist at Work*, Princeton 1967, pp. 32-33; Camille 1995 (note 4), pp. 147-52, figs. 9, 80, 83; Gullick 2006 (note 10), passim; Scott 2006 (note 10), passim. Elisabeth Pellegrin, *Manuscrits latins de la Bodmeriana*, Cologny-Geneva 1982, pp. 265-80.

31 Camille 1995 (note 4), fig. 24 (erroneously referring to fol. 65v); see also Randall 1966 (note 28), pl. CXXXV, fig. 645 (picture of the scribe and monk Johannes with his signature – 'ego Johannes scripsi hunc librum' – in the *bas-de-page* of an antiphonary from the Cistercian monastery of Beaupré near Gramont (Belgium), 1290, vol. 3, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, inv. no. W.761, fol. 1).

32 Suggested by Frits van Oostrom (email of 16 November 2017) and Matthew Reeves (in his documentation of the inkwell for Sam Fogg Ltd. respectively; in object file, Rijksmuseum).

33 For the history and environment of the Carthusians see among others Johan Peter Gumbert, *Die Utrechter Kartäuser und ihre Bücher im frühen fünfzehnten Jahrhundert*, Leiden 1974; Marijan Zadnikar (ed.), *Die Kartäuser. Der Orden der schweigenden Mönche*, Cologne 1983; H.M. Blüm, 'Einführung in die Spiritualität der Kartäuser' and 'Wie lebt der Kartäuser?', in Zadnikar (ed.) 1983, pp. 15-19 and pp. 29-37; Bruno Barber and Chistopher Thomas, *The London Charterhouse*, London 2002; Tom Gaens and Jan De Grauwe, *De kracht van de stilte. Geest en geschiedenis van de kartuizerorde*, Louvain 2006; Krijn Pansters (ed.), *The Carthusians in the Low Countries: Studies in Monastic History and Heritage*, Louvain 2014; James Hogg, 'The Carthusians: History and Heritage', in Pansters (ed.) 2014, pp. 31-56.

34 For a Carthusian's writing materials see Gumbert 1974 (note 33), pp. 308ff.

35 Guiges Ier, Prieur de Chartreuse, *Coutumes de Chartreuse. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes par un chartreux*, Paris 1984. Guigo de Karthuizer, *Gewoonten. Een leefregel voor kluizenaars in gemeenschap* (Tim Peeters, transl., and Guerric Aerden, ed.), Budel 2011, p. 92 (section 28.3).

36 Conversely, the quill pen was proverbially also credited with an independent, performative character, as we see in the expression *currente calamo* (literally 'with the pen running on') to describe the ad hoc translation or mechanical copying of texts, see Frits P. van Oostrom, *Lantsloot vander Haghedochte. Onderzoekingen over een Middelnederlandse bewerking van de Lancelot en prose*, Amsterdam 1981, p. 163.

37 Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*, New York 1992, esp. pp. 11-13, 239-98.

38 Cynthia Hahn, 'The Spectacle of the Charismatic Body: Patrons, Artists, and Body-Part Reliquaries', in Martina Bagnioli et al. (eds.), *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and the Devotion in Medieval Europe*, Baltimore 2010, pp. 162-72, esp. 166-67 and cat. no. 109.

39 Bagnioli et al. (eds.) 2010 (note 38), cat. no. 109 (entry by Elisabeth Antoine).

40 Camille 1995 (note 4), p. 24.

41 See Élisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, *Paris 1400: Les arts sous Charles VI*, exh. cat. Paris (Musée du Louvre) 2004, p. 280 (and no. 172).

42 See e.g. Joan A. Holladay, 'The Willehalm Master and his Colleagues: Collaborative Manuscript Decoration in Early-Fourteenth-Century Cologne', in Linda L. Brownrigg (ed.), *Making the Medieval Book: Techniques of Production (Proceedings of the Fourth Conference of the Seminar in the History of the Book to 1500, Oxford, July 1992)*, Walkern 1995, pp. 678-91, esp. pp. 72, 73 and fig. 9. A disembodied hand, floating in the sky, was also used as a *pars pro toto* for divine intervention; see e.g. As-Vijvers and Korteweg 2018 (note 3), p. 185, fig. IV.3.4.

43 The *Handtreubroschen* ('faithful hand brooches'), circular brooches formed from two pairs of hands grasping one another as the sign of a loving relationship, are a good secular example of the use of separate hands and arms; see Christine Descatoire (ed.), *Treasures of the Black Death*, London (The Wallace Collection) 2009, nos. 38, 39 (brooches) and 46 (belt decoration).

44 For the growth of the order in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries see James Hogg, *Die Ausbreitung der Kartäuser*, Salzburg 1987 (*Analecta Cartusiana*, vol. 89), esp. pp. 8ff.

45 Herne (1314), Bruges (1318 and 1348), Antwerp (1324), Ghent (1328), Diest (1328), Geraardsbergen (1329), Arnhem (c. 1335), Liège (1357), Roermond (1376), Utrecht (1392), Amsterdam (1393), Zierikzee (1434) and Delft (1474). See Gumbert 1974 (note 33), p. 10; Frits P. van Oostrom, *Nobel streven. Het onwaarschijnlijke maar waargebeurde verhaal van ridder Jan van Brederode*, Amsterdam 2017, p. 47 (map).

46 Dennis D. Martin, '"The Honeymoon was over": Carthusians between Aristocracy and Bourgeoisie', in James Hogg (ed.), *Die Kartäuser und ihre Welt. Kontakte und gegenseitige Einflüsse*, 3 vols., Salzburg 1993 (*Analecta Cartusiana*, vol. 62), vol. 3, pp. 66-99, esp. p. 69. See also Vincent Tabbagh, 'The Pious Foundations of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless, 1360-1420', in exh. cat. Dijon/Cleveland 2004 (note 2), pp. 166-68 (including Bourgfontaine, a Carthusian double monastery founded by Charles de Valois in 1325).

47 Remmet van Luttervelt, 'Schilderijen met karthuizers uit de late 15de en vroege 16de eeuw', *Oud-Holland* 66 (1951), pp. 75-92; Alain Girard and Daniel Le Blévec (eds.), *Les Chartreux et l'art. XIVe-XVIIIe siècles* (*Actes du colloque international d'histoire et de spiritualité cartusiennes de Villeneuve-lès-Avignon 1988*), Paris 1989; Alain Girard, 'Le décor en Chartreuse. La place de la chartreuse de Villeneuve-lès-Avignon dans le développement de l'image', in *Le décor des églises en France méridionale, XIIIe- mi. XVe s.*, Toulouse 1993 (*Cahier de Fanjeaux*, vol. 28), pp. 363-84; Frits Scholten, 'A prayer-nut for François du Puy', *The Burlington Magazine* 153 (2011), no. 1300 (July), pp. 447-51.

48 Renate Prochno, *Die Kartause von Champmol. Grablege der burgundischen Herzöge, 1364-1477*, Berlin 2002; exh. cat. Dijon/Cleveland 2004 (note 2), pp. 169-74.

49 Prochno 2002 (note 48), p. 6.

50 Cyprien Monget, *La Chartreuse de Dijon d'après les documents des archives de Bourgogne*, vol. 1, Montreuil-sur-Mer 1898, pp. 190, 409-19, no. 31 (*Livres pour la Chartreuse-Ecrivains et Elumineurs*, 1388-1399) and esp. pp. 415-18 (published by the head of the scriptorium, Dom Thiebaut, for writing and copying books, with on p. 418: 'Pour cornettes [encriers: inkhorns] de corne et une d'estewg [étain: tin]', 'Pour une grosse escriptoire à porter en l'église, pour mettre plusieurs plumes taillées de diverses tailles', and 'Pour une escriptoire pour un Religieux de la dite maison, pour ce que le dit Dom Thiebault pardi la soye [perdit la sienne], quant le dit Dom Thibault fu à Paris pour le fait des livres, ensemble le cornet [encrier])'. See also Marie-Françoise Damongeot-Bourdat, 'The Manuscripts of the Chartreuse de Champmol', in exh. cat. Dijon/Cleveland 2004 (note 2), pp. 208-11.

51 Ulrike Heinrichs-Schreiber, *Vincennes und die höfische Skulptur. Die Bildhauerkunst in Paris 1360-1420*, Berlin 1997, pp. 86-106.

52 Cf. Susie Nash, *"No Equal in Any Land": André Beauneveu, Artist to the Courts of France and Flanders*, exh. cat. Bruges (Groeningemuseum) 2007, figs. 1-11, 65; exh. cat. Paris 2004 (note 41), fig. 8 and nos. 1 (statues of Charles VI, Isabeau of Bavaria and Jeanne de Boulogne, c. 1389-93), 16 (bust of Marie de France, c. 1380-81), 19 (*gisant* of Thomas le Tourneur, 1350-75), 29D (*gisant* of Renaud de Dormans, end of the fourteenth century).

53 See Louise E. van den Bergh-Hoogterp, *Goud- en zilversmeden te Utrecht in de late Middeleeuwen*, 2 vols., The Hague/Maarssen 1990, vol. 2, pp. 462-93, esp. pp. 476-87. Scerpswert worked for prominent patrons and was one of the leading goldsmiths in the Low Countries. His son Willem started work as a goldsmith in Paris in 1391; his clients included Philip the Bold.

54 New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 41.100.164 (Paris, c. 1370-80, h. 14.6 cm). See Peter Barnet (ed.), *Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age*, Detroit/Princeton (NJ) 1997, no. 29.

55 Langres, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, inv. no. 844.3.4 (Paris or Sicily, last quarter of the fourteenth century, h. 27.5 cm).

56 See exh. cat. Dijon/Cleveland 2004 (note 2), nos. 55, 56.

57 See exh. cat. Dijon/Cleveland 2004 (note 2), no. 96.

58 Heinrichs-Schreiber 1997 (note 51), figs. 59, 61, 64, 67, 70, 84, 95, 98, 99. Cf. e.g. the weepers by Claes Sluter and Claes de Werve on the tomb of Philip the Bold in Cleveland, see exh. cat. Dijon/Cleveland 2004 (note 2), pp. 230-33 (esp. nos. 4, 9, 18, 24) and on the tomb of John the Fearless by Jean de la Huerta and Antoine de Moiturier, see Sophie Jugie, *The Mourners: Tomb Sculptures from the Court of Burgundy*, New Haven/London 2010, pp. 86 (no. 60), 90, 91 (no. 63), and for the weeper with raised

hands, p. 114 (no. 79) (with thanks to the anonymous reviewer of this article, who drew this to my attention).

59 For attributions of some surviving pieces to the artistic circle of André Beauneveu and Jacques de Baerze see Williamson 2010 (note 8); Scholten in exh. cat. Toronto/New York/Amsterdam 2016 (note 8), pp. 428-74, esp. p. 431; Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *Ivoires médiévaux, v-xv^e siècle* (*Catalogue Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'art*), coll. cat. Paris 2003, pp. 452, 457, 458 (no. 199) and pp. 499, 500 (no. 230); Lothar Lambacher (ed.), *Schätze des Glaubens. Meisterwerke aus dem Dom-Museum Hildesheim und dem Kunstgewerbemuseum Berlin*, exh. cat. Berlin (Bode-Museum) 2010, no. 56.

60 See Prost 1902 (note 16), p. 568, no. 3035 ('Le 27 janvier, 26 fr. dus à Jehan Girart, tabletier, de Paris..., pour 26 l. d'ivoire que Mgr fit pranre et acherer de lui, et icelli fit baillier à Mainreville [Jean de Marville], son tailleur de menus euvres pour faire certines besoignes que Mgr lui avoit enchargiées.'). Further Elizabeth Sears, 'Ivory and Ivory Workers in Medieval Paris', in Barnet 1997 (note 54), pp. 18-37, esp. p. 25; Sarah M. Guérin, 'Synergy across Media: Gothic Sculptors of Wood and Ivory', in Glyn Davies and Eleanor Townsend (eds.), *A Reservoir of Ideas: Essays in Honour of Paul Williamson*, London 2017, pp. 123-36, esp. p. 125.

61 Jehan de Liège lived and worked in Dijon as a 'tailleur de menues euvres en pierre et en bois'. See Monget 1898 (note 50), p. 144: 'Pour les sièges du chœur des Pères, on emploie du bois de noyer fourni par Humbert Vincent de Brochon, Jehan le Rousselet de Gevrey, Jehan Pillatey de Meuilley. L'execution de ces stalles est confiée à un maître de menuiserie que les Comptes désignent simplement comme charpentier, Jehan de Liège, qui paraît à la Chartreuse pour la première fois, mais sur lequel nous reviendrons par la suite, à l'occasion de la Chaère du prestre, chef-d'oeuvre de menuiserie et de sculpture sur bois exécuté par cet artiste, et dont un fragment nous a été conservé.' (1384); http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5760038s/f362.item.r=sculpture. Not to be confused with his more famous namesake, who made, among other things, the tomb of Jeanne of Brittany in Orleans. See also exh. cat. Dijon/Cleveland 2004 (note 2), p. 182.

62 Guérin 2017 (note 60).

63 In early fifteenth-century Paris, most *tabletiers*' workshops were in rue de la Tableterie, where combs, writing cases and other ivory accessories were made and sold; Sears 1997 (note 60), p. 30 and note 71.

64 This practice is also in line with the guild rules in Paris at that time, which gave the *ymagier* a broad area of work that could cover every cuttable material, including bone, ivory and wood; Sears 1997 (note 60), p. 23; Sarah M. Guérin, 'An Ivory Virgin at the Metropolitan Museum, New York, in a Gothic Sculptor's Oeuvre', *Burlington Magazine* 154 (2012), no. 1311 (June), pp. 394-402.