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Fragmented Ornament: An Analysis of Print Reproductions of Medieval Ornament and Decoration during the Gothic Revival

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Fragmented Ornament: An Analysis of Print Reproductions of Medieval Ornament and Decoration during the Gothic Revival

By

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Art History, Hunter College
The City University of New York

May 8, 2019

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Introduction

An interest in Gothic art and architecture in England in the first half of the nineteenth century, a period also known as the Gothic Revival, led to the publication of books that reproduced images of medieval ornament and design by antiquarians such as Henry Shaw and Owen Jones. These books were intended to serve as educational models for artists, designers, and the public, and can be considered in association with other initiatives intended to educate people during this time, such as nationally-funded schools for design. The ornament and design elements reproduced in these printed books, often referred to as “specimens,” were displayed on the printed page alone, parsed from their original context, thus allowing the reader to focus on individual elements of medieval decoration without being distracted by extraneous components not considered important by the person who created the print. This narrow scope allowed for a deeper understanding of a certain part of a medieval illuminated manuscript or object, but since what was depicted was just a small part of a whole, the general context was missing, and the larger picture could not be understood. This action of selecting parts from a whole and de-contextualizing them on the printed page resulted in the creation of a medieval art history that subscribed to contemporary Victorian tastes. These prints had the potential to present an incomplete perspective of medieval ornament and design, although this was acceptable, since contemporary art theory advocated against direct replication.

Victorian taste was largely informed by Gothic aesthetics associated with the Gothic Revival. Theorists such as A.W.N. Pugin, John Ruskin, and Owen Jones believed that Gothic ornament and design was superior to the ornamental art being mechanically produced during their time, and therefore thought that it was important for principles of Gothic art to be taught to artists and designers. As A.W.N. Pugin wrote in The True Principles of Pointed or Christian
Architecture from 1841, architects and designers should “banish features ‘not necessary for convenience, construction or propriety’.”¹ Ornament should therefore not be applied directly to structures or objects, but instead should be incorporated into the form of whatever it is adorning, which is how ornament was employed on Gothic structures. Similarly, Owen Jones’s *The Grammar of Ornament* from 1856, which presented examples of ornament from different art historical periods, including the Gothic era, adhered to principles similar to Pugin’s in regards to the application of ornament onto structures. Jones believed that good design should be based off of natural forms, in which lines and shapes symbiotically work together to create a unified form, and that medieval design, in addition to designs from other cultures, demonstrated that idea. He also believed that ornament that directly replicated natural motifs, such as Roman ornament, was not good. Jones’s *Grammar* was intended to set a precedent for what principles good design should adhere to in the Victorian era, and as Stacey Sloboda has observed, architecture designed by Owen Jones after publication of his *Grammar* evince a blend of “Islamic, Greek, medieval, and other styles based on the ornamental theory laid out in the *Grammar.*”²

These principles, which Michael Snodin has called “a cornerstone of Victorian design reform,”³ were some of the guiding ideas of the government-led design schools that aimed to shape design. National educational initiatives such as the Normal School of Design, started in 1837, sought to educate designers to create a solidified national taste⁴. Reformers such as William Dyce, Henry Cole, Owen Jones, and Charles Eastlake believed that not only should

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³ Snodin, *Design & the Decorative Arts: Britain, 1500-1900*, p. 351
designers be educated, but also that the art market needed to be regulated by rules for design. In 1835-1836, the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Arts and Manufacturers aimed to develop a way to educate the public about good taste. By educating the market, in addition to educating designers, standards of beauty and good taste were intended to be controlled by sophisticated patrons, and manufacturers would be able to create objects in good design, instead of bad design that was subject to the poor taste and the judgment of the uneducated masses.

Christopher Dresser is an example of one designer who attended the Government School of Design in London, where he became influenced by the theories of Pugin and Jones and created works of art that incorporated ornament into the structure, thereby abstracting natural motifs to fit the shape of the object they adorned.

The Gothic Revival was also a product of a religious revival in England during the early nineteenth century. As Philip Aspin notes, the Gothic style was considered more religious than Classical architecture, the latter which was “appropriate enough for ‘civil and social life’” but was not as suitable for religious structures as the Gothic style was, for in a Gothic cathedral “the visitor ‘instinctively experiences a frame of mind that fits him for prayer and contemplation’.”

The Gothic Revival also “drew strengths from a generally patriotic attitude of the past,” which considered the medieval Gothic style to be an indigenous English product. This revival was supported as early as the late eighteenth century. William Gilpin’s Observations Relative Chieffly

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5 Brolin, Flight of Fancy: The Banishment and Return of Ornament, p. 87
to Picturesque Beauty from 1786 claimed that English Gothic buildings were “unrivalled among
foreign nations,” and were created “without searching the continent for models,” and John Carter
wrote in the 1770s that it was important to revive the Gothic because doing so would bring “back
the taste of Englishmen.”9 The Gothic Revival was not fully developed until the nineteenth
century, when there was a religious revival, of which the Gothic was the “principle expression.”10

Thus, the Gothic Revival can be considered the result of both an interest in the style
associated with England’s religious past, as well as an appreciation of Gothic design principles.
As Jones stated in a lecture titled “On the Influence of Religion upon Art” from 1835, which he
recited at the Architectural Society in London, architecture and design was in decline due to an
absence of religion, since a strong religious identity that historically had led to good design was
absent in modern England.11 According to Michael Snodin, this perceived lack of good design
combined with a decline in religious identity led to the construction of new churches as well as
the restoration of “almost every ancient church in the country in what was seen as the medieval
manner.”12 The decision to rebuild the New Palace of Westminster in the Gothic style, which
“was an official recognition” that the Gothic style “represented the truest expression of British
history and national identity,” also demonstrates England’s appreciation of the Gothic.13 Built
between 1840 and 1870, the reconstructed Westminster represented the Gothic principles of art
A.W.N. Pugin advocated for in his True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture. Instead
of ornament being applied on top of structures, it was instead constructed as part of the structure,

9 Bradley, “The Englishness of Gothic,” p. 325
10 Snodin, Design & the Decorative Arts: Britain, 1500-1900, p. 348
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12 Snodin, Design & the Decorative Arts: Britain, 1500-1900, p. 348
13 Ibid., p. 348
which is how Gothic ornament was applied to architecture as well in other objects including illuminated manuscripts (fig. 57).

The New Palace of Westminster is an example of a structure that followed rules for design in Pugin’s *True Principles*. It is an example of something that not only adhered to the principles of Gothic art, but also emulated extant examples of it, since it is very close in appearance to medieval structures. Another example of the way Gothic design principles that adhered to in a way that manifested in Gothic style emulation can be seen in a length of roller-printed cotton from 1830-1835 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 58). This textile comprises Gothic motifs such as heraldry and pointed arches, thus utilizes an iconography associated with what must have been extant Gothic examples. Christopher Dresser, on the other hand, created objects that were inspired by principles of Gothic art, as well as other designs considered by theorists including Owen Jones to be representative of good design. Although created slightly later than the roller-printed cotton, a biscuit box with cover designed by Dresser in 1870 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art demonstrates the way principles of Gothic art could be employed in decorating something without directly replicating Gothic motifs (fig. 59). This box comprises designs that reference arches and other natural motifs present in Gothic design, but does not copy them directly. In contrast to the roll-printed cotton, the forms on this box adhere to Pugin’s and Jones’s principles in the way the forms reference nature, symbiotically relate to one another, and create forms that are not direct replications. These principles of ornament were intended to reform design in the nineteenth century.

Aside from government-led design education initiatives that were intended to teach designers about good design, printed books that classified and organized examples of ornament helped disseminate these principles to artists and designers, and were also available to the
general public. Many printed books containing examples of ornament were produced using chromolithography, a new method for printing color images more quickly than other color printmaking methods such as color engraving or woodcut. As a result, printed books of medieval ornament were easy to obtain and were more accessible than genuine works of medieval art, thereby giving people access to learning about medieval art. According to Ezra Shales, chromolithography connected “antiquarianism,” or the study of history through the interpretation of antique objects, “directly to contemporary consumption.”¹⁴ Chromolithographic printing firms such as Day and Son were prolific, printing many works in color for Owen Jones and other historians. The firm won an award at the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations in 1851 for their display of prints they created using this new medium.¹⁵

Nineteenth-century printed reproductions of Gothic aesthetics were not physical architectural examples, however, they depicted examples of medieval art that followed principles also present in medieval architecture. According to Alice H.R.H. Beckwith, there was a “Victorian sensitivity” to the connection between medieval books and architectural ornament, as demonstrated by John Ruskin referring to illuminated manuscripts as “pocket cathedrals” and Pugin using “illuminated manuscripts as sources of design in restoring ancient medieval churches and in creating new Gothic Revival structures.”¹⁶ Henry Shaw’s *Illuminated Ornaments* from 1833 presents examples of letters from illuminated manuscripts that demonstrate Gothic design principles in which natural motifs and designs enforce the structures rather than simply

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adorning them (fig. 16). Henry Shaw was an antiquarian who published many books about “historic ornament for architects and other designers.”17 As Beckwith has explored, books such as *Illuminated Ornaments* “opened the public’s eyes to the aesthetic and historical value of manuscript arts and led to the fashion for illuminated sacred and secular texts in the Victorian period” in addition to “sensitizing their [Shaw and Sir Frederic Madden’s] readers to the relationships between the art of the book and other art forms.”18

These books were educational in nature and intended to be read by many people in addition to designers. As Clive Wainwright has noted, A.W.N. Pugin was interested in producing books cheaply in order to reach a wide audience. His first book *Gothic Furniture of the 15th century* designed and etched by A.W.N. Pugin was bound in a “trade cloth,” a “new departure in cheap mass-production” that enabled the work to “sell well.”19 A.N.L. Munby also stated that chromolithography enabled the cheap reproduction of miniatures in books by Shaw as well as by Henry Noel Humphreys and Owen Jones to be “catered for the growing public.”20 This public was interested in creating their own illuminations based off of manuscript illuminations, and used printed reproductions as models. As Roger Wieck has also written, “appreciation of illumination by the masses in the nineteenth century came about less from contact with the original than from exposure to reproduction,” which led to what he calls the “cult of the

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18 Ibid., p. 30
alphabet.”\footnote{Roger Wieck, “Folia Fugitiva: The Pursuit of the Illuminated Manuscript Leaf” \textit{The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery}, Vol. 54, Essays in Honor of Lilian M.C. Randall, (1996), p. 243-244} This “cult” was “devoted to reproducing alphabets,” and was unified by a passion for painting illuminated initials from books comprising reproductions of medieval letters from illuminated manuscripts, which Henry Shaw’s book \textit{Alphabets, Numerals and Devices of the Middle Ages} from 1843 can be considered one of.\footnote{Weick, “Folia Fugitiva: The Pursuit of the Illuminated Manuscript Leaf,” p. 244. Roger Weick has cited books by F.G. Delamotte such as \textit{Ornamental Alphabets, Ancient and Mediaeval,} and \textit{Mediaeval Alphabets and Initials for Illuminators} as examples of books meant for nineteenth century people to copy initials.}

Aside from the influence of printed ornament books on the exact replication of medieval ornament, these books influenced the production of Gothic aesthetics in other areas as well. As Munby has written, “the decorative qualities of illuminated manuscripts were being drawn upon by artists and architects,” such as a portrait of Sir Thomas Dick Lauder and his wife painted by William Nicholson in 1821 who are painted in medieval clothing, and A.W.N. Pugin’s decoration of Scarisbrick Hall in Lancashire in 1837 in a Gothic aesthetic.\footnote{Munby, \textit{Connoisseurs and Medieval Miniatures, 1750-1850}, p. 142}

The popularity of printed books of medieval ornament and design also strengthened the art market for medieval manuscripts. As Beckwith has noted, auction records for medieval manuscripts from this time period demonstrate that illuminated manuscripts, such as the \textit{Pontificals of Jouvenel des Oursins}, selling for much more than they had sold for in the past. She attributes this to “popularizers of these treasures” or printed books of medieval ornament and design by Henry Shaw, Owen Jones, and Henry Noel Humphreys.\footnote{Beckwith, \textit{Victorian Bibliomania: The Illuminated Book in 19th-century Britain}, p. 12} The market for illuminated manuscripts and other medieval objects was strong during the nineteenth century due to the popularization of Gothic aesthetics of the Gothic Revival. Although not reproductions, the
practice of clipping and collecting segments from medieval manuscripts was also a nineteenth-century phenomenon related to an interest in Gothic art.Parsed from their original context by being physically removed from medieval illuminated manuscripts, fragments of miniatures and decorated initials were cut out, sold, and rearranged into new collections, in which they were sometimes collaged together to make new compositions. This process presented the collector’s aesthetic choice and their interpretation of how medieval design should be organized.

This thesis analyzes the way examples of medieval ornament and design, reproduced in printed books, as well as cut out from medieval manuscripts, were separated from their original contexts, and questions the effect this practice had on creating an understanding of medieval art during the nineteenth century. Both nineteenth-century phenomena demonstrate how examples of medieval aesthetics were replicated and reorganized, thus highlighting certain parts over others, which had the potential to affect an understanding of medieval art history. Michael Twyman, Alice H.R.H. Beckwith, and Joan M. Friedman have written about printed “specimen” books in the context of technical print innovations including chromolithography. This thesis builds on their analysis by considering the function of color prints in creating likenesses, and whether or not it was possible for a likeness to be achieved, and therefore if it was possible for prints to function as educational devices. This analysis is considered in relation to theories about reproduction from nineteenth century theorists who wrote about principles of Gothic design they believed would improve modern design.

Chapter One contextualizes the replication of medieval ornament and design principles in relation to nineteenth-century theories about reproduction. Both A.W.N. Pugin and John Ruskin believed that modern design was in decline, and that adhering to Gothic aesthetic principles would reform it, however their approaches to how Gothic design should be reproduced in the
nineteenth century were different. Whereas Ruskin did not approve of using machines to produce ornament and design, since he thought that something made by hand demonstrated human intellect, contemplation and judgment more than machine-produced decoration, Pugin was not opposed to mechanical reproduction. Despite these differences between the theorist’s opinions about how ornament and design should be made, both agreed that whatever it was that was being reproduced should not be a direct copy. This chapter considers Ruskin and Pugin’s ideas about replication through analyzing printed books from the nineteenth century that replicated Gothic ornament and decorative motifs, and argues that although books such as The Song of Songs and Floriated Ornament comprise decorative motifs that demonstrate a Gothic aesthetic, they are not direct copies. Instead, the illustrations in the books are nineteenth-century inventions, due to the use of chromolithography to produce them, the application of Gothic design principles, and, specifically in Floriated Ornament, the isolation of decorative motifs on the page. Gothic ornament from the Middle Ages was never separate from a manuscript, object, or building it was adorning, but in the nineteenth century books were printed that depicted examples of ornament in isolation.

Chapter Two analyzes how developments in color printing in the nineteenth century led to the production of printed books of ornament and design that were intended to encourage the creation of good design. Michael Twyman, Tanya Szrajber, and Joan M. Friedman have written about how chromolithography, patented by Godfroy Engelmann in 1837, revolutionized color printing, and Abraham Thomas has explored how Owen Jones’s Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra from 1842 can be considered in relation to government initiatives to
improve good design. To reproduce faithfully ornament that was considered representative of good design, color had to be included in prints, and chromolithography allowed for a range of colors and shading to be achieved. This chapter further considers the role chromolithography played in the creation of educational ornament books, but argues that not only the addition of color, but also the composition of color prints in books such as Owen Jones’s *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra* and *The Grammar of Ornament*, enabled these prints to function as educational devices. Not only did the prints in these books by Owen Jones, and others, reproduce color, they also presented these color prints in a neutral viewing space in which they could be studied. By decontextualizing examples of ornament, in color, from many art historical periods, including the Gothic era, these books allowed for the reader to focus in on the designs without being distracted by extraneous elements. This argument contributes to this thesis’s interpretation of reproduction during the nineteenth century, since although these prints were reproductions of ornament and design examples, they were not direct copies. Rather, they were interpretations, not copies, since only one part of a larger whole was being reproduced.

Chapter Three specifically analyzes the reproduction of medieval ornament and design in the context of color printing developments during the nineteenth century. Although Owen Jones’s books reproduced examples of Gothic design, in addition to design from other cultures, books by Henry Shaw specifically focused on medieval aesthetics in the same format as Jones’s books. Shaw’s books reproduced small portions of ornament and design in color with the intention of serving as educational examples, and as Sandra Hindman has stated, Henry Shaw

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was aware of the educational value reproductions of medieval ornament had. This chapter considers the role color printing played in the production of reproductions of medieval ornament and design by serving as an overview of the development of color printing technologies during the nineteenth century. As Joan M. Friedman has observed, color printing evolved from hand painting and wood engraving to chromolithography during the nineteenth century. This chapter references Friedman’s analysis of the different methods used to print in color, and the effect each medium had in producing educational examples in *Illuminated Ornaments, Alphabets, Numerals, & Devices of the Middle Ages*, and *The Decorative Arts Ecclesiastical and Civil of the Middle Ages*, all by Henry Shaw.

Prints of ornament and design had the potential to present an incomplete perspective of medieval ornament and design. However, examples of ornament and design reproduced on the printed page were displayed as fragments from a whole, and therefore the whole picture was not presented to the reader. Chapter Four considers how reproduction prints presented in a de-contextualized composition had the potential to misrepresent what it was they were attempting to depict, through analyzing John Obadiah Westwood’s *Sketches and Proofs for Illuminated Illustrations of the Bible: Copied from Select Manuscripts of the Middle Ages*, which includes chromolithographs of miniatures and other elements from illuminated manuscripts that Westwood did not copy faithfully. This chapter also considers the authenticity of similar types of printed images from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of which print reproductions from the nineteenth century can be considered descendants.

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These earlier examples, such as Cassiano dal Pozzo’s *Antichità Diverse* from the seventeenth century that depicted antique objects, comprise reproductions of specimens that were simplified and decontextualized so they could be studied more easily as well. Stephanie Moser has acknowledged in her analysis of the *Antichità Diverse* that this practice resulted in prints that did not accurately convey what was being illustrated. Similarly, Anne Secord has explored how eighteenth and nineteenth-century botanical prints, which intended to educate people about plants, were not trusted as reliable educational resources by their contemporaries. This chapter builds on these arguments by considering how nineteenth century medieval ornament prints, due to their shared composition and de-contextualized nature with other kinds of prints about which authenticity has been questioned, could potentially be considered inauthentic as well.

Nineteenth-century prints of medieval ornament and design were presented as fragments that allowed the reader to analyze the ornament or design being discussed without being distracted by extraneous elements. These fragments, separated from their original contexts, did not present the whole picture. Therefore, despite their didactic purpose, this thesis argues that they were not able to affect an accurate understanding of medieval art. Chapter Five analyzes clippings of illuminations, letters, and borders from actual medieval manuscripts that were sold and collected during the nineteenth century, and their role in the development of an understanding about medieval art. Although they are not reproductions, clippings from medieval manuscripts are similar to print reproductions in that they are also examples of medieval ornament and design that have been removed from their original context. Therefore, by studying and collecting examples of clippings, people in the nineteenth century were only seeing one part of a larger picture, similar to how printed reproductions only illustrated a small part of a whole object. Sandra Hindman and Roger Wieck have analyzed the history of this nineteenth-century
phenomena of clipping parts of medieval manuscripts out and selling them to various collectors, who in many cases arranged them in new compositions. This thesis builds from their analysis by considering clippings in relation to printed reproductions of medieval ornament, since both reorganized visual information from the middle ages in the nineteenth century, thus they both contributed to a public understanding of medieval art.

Chapter I. The Gothic Revival and Replication

The Gothic Revival style in art, architecture, and interior design appropriated Gothic aesthetics in the nineteenth century, a time when many art theorists such as John Ruskin believed that the proliferation of industrially manufactured objects led to an aesthetic crisis. Both Ruskin and A.W.N. Pugin wanted artists and designers to adhere to principles of Gothic design that would improve modern design, rather than the direct copying of medieval art and architecture. However, their approaches to how Gothic design should be reproduced were different. Whereas Ruskin did not approve of using machines to produce ornament and design, but Pugin was not opposed to mechanical reproduction. Despite these differences between the theorist’s opinions about how ornament and design should be made, both agreed that whatever it was that was being reproduced should not be a direct copy. This chapter considers the practice of reproducing examples of medieval ornament and design in printed books in the context of contemporary theories related to the Gothic Revival, which opposed direct emulation. By reviewing nineteenth-century attitudes about Gothic design that were opposed to the direct replication of Gothic art in the modern era, this chapter argues that books of prints depicting medieval ornament and design elements were not copies, but were instead interpretations. Since this chapter argues that these prints were not direct copies, it adds to this thesis’s general questioning of the way printed
reproductions of ornament and design functioned as educational devices for informing the Victorian era’s understanding of medieval art.

According to Debra Schafter, Ruskin believed that mass production, and therefore the absence of the artist’s presence in art, led to bad design. Because industrially-produced ornament was “wholly inconsistent” with nature, which came from God, manufactured ornament and design was a “downright and inexcusable lie,” according to Ruskin. Therefore, to bring morality and good taste back to the visual arts, artists and designers should reject industrialization and revert back to the aesthetics of a purer time which, according to Ruskin, as well as A.W.N. Pugin, a contemporary of Ruskin, was the Middle Ages. Both Ruskin and Pugin believed that the Middle Ages, and in particular the Gothic era, was the most ethical and principled society due to the period’s lack of industrialization, its connection to the natural world, and its ubiquitous Christian nature. Reverting back to Gothic design would reform design, and therefore society. Although both Pugin and Ruskin approved of Gothic aesthetics, they differed in their views regarding the use of manufacture to replicate it. Ruskin believed that the ornament employed in Gothic art and architecture was successful because it reflected the importance of each individual’s soul in Christianity and was not held to one standard form. This allowed each craftsman to express their own individual and unregulated spirit, which could only be achieved through handmade craftsmanship. The Christian spirit was a spirit that celebrated the uniqueness of individuals, and according to Ruskin, this spirit could be defined by the

\[\text{28 Ibid., p. 17}\]
exhortation of “Do what you can, and confess frankly what you are unable to do; neither let your effort be shortened for fear of failure, nor your confession silenced for fear of shame.”

Ruskin believed that modern England, which was like ancient Greece in that “it intensely desires, in all things, the utmost completion or perfection compatible with their nature,” needed to return to the less inhibited, more spirited Gothic. Although perfection was a “noble character in the abstract,” he believed it “becomes ignoble when it causes us to forget the relative dignities of that nature itself,” which is, according to Ruskin, “liable to faults and shortcomings.” He believed that perfection was not possible, since although he could recreate it, it does not involve contemplation and judgment. He explained that,

> You can teach a man to draw a straight line, and to cut one; to strike a curved line, and to carve it; and to copy and carve any number of given lines or forms, with admirable speed and perfect precision; and you find his work perfect of its kind: but if you ask him to think about any of those forms, to consider if he cannot find any better in his own head, he stops; his execution becomes hesitating; he thinks, and ten to one he thinks wrong; ten to one he makes a mistake in the first touch he gives to his work as a thinking being.

Ruskin’s opposition to perfection led him to believe that art produced by machines, which enabled workers to fabricate perfect, uniform examples of ornament, was not as good as ornament created by hand. In his Appendix XVII of *The Stones of Venice*, Volume 1, he wrote that “therefore, in ornament, whenever labor replaces what was better than labor, that is to say, skill and thought; wherever it substitutes itself for these, or negatives these by its existence, then it is positive evil.” Further, he explained that “the evidence of labor,” by which he means creating ornament by hand and not machine, “is not only a good when added to another good,

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30 Ibid., p. 161
31 Ibid., p. 161
but the utter absence of it destroys good in human work. It is only good for God to create without toil; that which man can create without toil is worthless: machine ornaments are no ornaments at all.”

Although Ruskin believed ornament should not be manufactured, A.W.N. Pugin believed that some objects created in the Gothic Revival style, such as chromolithographed printings in his book *Floriated Ornament*, from 1849 (Fig. 1) could be produced industrially, since processes such as chromolithography resulted in relatively inexpensive books that could be purchased and read by a wider audience. According to Clive Wainwright, Pugin approved of industrialization in the use of object manufacturing and building because he believed that “it is only when mechanical invention intrudes on the confines of art, and tends to subvert the principles which it would advance, that it becomes objectionable.” In Pugin’s *True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture*, Lecture 1, in which he exalts Christian Gothic, or “Pointed,” architecture as an example of good taste, he states that the “two great rules for design are these: 1st, that there should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction, or propriety,” and “2nd, that all ornament should consist of enrichment of the essential construction of the building.” According to Pugin, “the neglect of these two rules is the

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33 Wainwright, *Book Design and Production*, p. 164
cause of all the bad architecture of the present time." As Clive Wainwright analyzes, Pugin was more concerned with the inherent form and design of a building’s ornament, not the method by which the designs were created. Pugin’s argument, according to Wainwright, was not in opposition to mechanical means for creating ornament, as evidenced by his use of steam carving machines in the construction of Westminster Palace, which Pugin designed. Therefore, in Pugin’s view, although the Gothic Revival was a product of growing sentiments against industrialization, mechanically reproducing Gothic objects was acceptable as long as the technology used did not adulterate the Gothic aesthetics in any way.

Ruskin and Pugin’s did not approve of direct replication, and their opinions on the matter can be considered when analyzing examples of books with prints of medieval ornament and design. Owen Jones’s *The Song of Songs* (Fig. 2), although not a book of isolated reproductions of medieval ornament, consists of decorations and motifs reminiscent of those found in medieval manuscripts from the Gothic era. It goes without saying that Owen Jones’s *The Song of Songs* is not a medieval manuscript. Also known as the “Song of Solomon,” the text is a poem from the Old Testament about the love between a man and a woman. Its romantic nature, as well as its connection to the Bible and Christianity, explain why Owen Jones chose it as the text in which to design and illustrate a Gothic Revival style. However, the images in the book are not illuminated, or painted by hand like they would have been in the Middle Ages, and instead were produced using the method of chromolithography. Printed on modern paper and not parchment which was used in book production in the Middle Ages, clearly-printed elements of ornamental decoration can be seen, such as in some of the red elements, as well as in the blue ink used for some of the line fillers (Fig. 3). In a version of the text at the Getty Research Institute, the title of the volume

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36 Ibid., p. 1
is embossed on the cover of an example of the text published in 1849 by Longman & Co., London\textsuperscript{37} (Fig. 4), and although published in the middle of the nineteenth century, the letters that make up the book’s title are rendered in a stylized Gothic script, reminiscent of one found in a book from the fourteenth century. Surrounding these letters are flowing decorative motifs that reference the natural world, such as leaves, ferns, and flowers. The text and ornamentation are framed by decoration that do not reference nature but are instead purely geometric and somewhat abstract. The edges of the upper board are lined with a pattern that includes references to nature and geometric abstraction, both of which are entwined within one another in an endless repetition that surrounds the border and contains the entire design of the surface.

The “medievalizing” motifs present on the exterior of the book continue inside the thirty-two-page volume, where medieval aesthetics manifest in Gothic-style text as well as illuminations produced by the method of chromolithography. Starting with the title page inside the book (Fig. 2), which includes information about the publisher and the date the book was published, each page is decorated with floral designs, traceries, and letter types reminiscent of those found in medieval illuminated manuscripts from the Gothic era. According to Otto Pächt, Gothic illuminated manuscripts often contained scroll-like ornament in the margins of folios than earlier manuscripts, in which scroll ornament primarily decorated large incipit initials. Instead of only decorating initials, “these extensions of the initial completely fulfil their new geometrical role by framing the text; they deny their proper plant origin- except at terminals- and become straight border edging which here and there.”\textsuperscript{38} A Book of Hours ca. 1316-1331 from the Morgan

\textsuperscript{37} Owen Jones, \textit{The Song of Songs}, 1849
Library and Museum in New York (G. 50)\(^{39}\) epitomizes examples of decorative ornamentation that was used to articulate and decorate certain letters in text as well as the margins of pages that resembles the type of scrollwork Pächt describes. The margin is a place for decorations that are geometric and not plant-like, although they reference plant structures, which Pächt defines as drollery, or “a world of shapes” that “surround the field of script” and “offers not only the possibility of a free play of fantasy or humorous representation.”\(^{40}\) MS G.50, although not a poetic Bible verse, is decorated using Gothic motifs that were later appropriated during the nineteenth-century Gothic Revival. Folio 81r in the manuscript (Fig. 5) depicts death, or the Eighth Age of Man, and also includes blue, red, green, and gold to enhance the page in both the initial and the border decoration, adding a decorative and luxurious touch to the meaning of the words. The illuminated initial, or the first letter of the text, signifies the importance of the text following that letter, and demonstrates “an interior” that has been “suddenly emptied of all ornament, which is now confined to filling only the initial’s framework,”\(^{41}\) a trait Otto Pächt attributes to initials from the twelfth century onward. Jones’s prints throughout *The Song of Songs* are similar in style and function to MS G.50, as both embellish both the margins of the page and the text itself in a similar way.

Another example of a medieval manuscript that used similar decorative motifs as Jones did in *The Song of Songs* is a Book of Hours from England at the Morgan Library and Museum ca. 1405-1415, MS M.99\(^{42}\) (Fig. 6). The decorations in this manuscript include faint traceries around the texts, which gives the reader a visually interesting space on the page in which to take

\(^{39}\) MS G.50, The Morgan Library and Museum, New York
\(^{40}\) Pächt, *Book Illumination in the Middle Ages: An Introduction*, p. 144
\(^{41}\) Ibid., p. 92
\(^{42}\) MS M.99, The Morgan Library and Museum, New York
in and consider the texts they just read. Although Jones’s *The Song of Songs* is not a Book of Hours, or a personal prayer book that follows the Hours of the Virgin prayer cycle, both Jones’s book and MS M.99 evince a similar style of ornamental decoration. According to Robert G. Calkins, during the Gothic period, “ordinary text pages throughout the book increasingly received marginal ornament” in Books of Hours, and many books had “extensions of large decorative or historiated initials projected down the adjacent margin and frequently turned and spread through the top and bottom of margins,” in which “budding leaves and acorns sprouted from these branches, and the foliage became more dense as the branches grew.”43 MS M.99, although created slightly later than the Gothic era, exhibits some of the natural motifs to which Calkins refers. *The Song of Songs* includes similar traceries in the form of a flowing cascade of lines and natural motifs, which embellish the words and give the reader the opportunity to take a visual break from the words. Also included is a hierarchy of ornament common in medieval illuminated manuscripts, in which more important elements such as the first letter of text, were more decorated than less important parts. Additionally, Jones included line fillers such as those found in illuminated manuscripts, which utilized negative space in text lines where there was no text as space for further decoration (Fig. 3). By comparing Jones’s book with medieval examples, it is clear to see that he was interested in both the aesthetic form of Gothic manuscript illuminations, as well as the way they functioned in conjunction with the text.

Although the ornament in Jones’s *The Song of Songs* is extremely close to the style of illuminated manuscripts from the Gothic era, they are not direct reproductions. Nowhere in the book does Jones cite a direct source he copied the designs from, which suggests that they are

original compositions created by Jones that were just inspired by medieval manuscript illumination. Consisting of chromolithographs and not paintings, Jones’s book could never truly emulate the complexities of illumination. For instance, Jones’s initial “O” is surrounded by a gold-yellow color that looks as if it is trying to replicate the effects of gold leaf used in decorated initials in medieval manuscripts. As Christopher de Hamel explains, in medieval manuscripts “initials were graded in relation to each other not just by size but also by varying amounts of gold.” The application of gold therefore “became a major element in defining status in the hierarchy of ornament within a manuscript,” or in other words, gold was not only applied to manuscripts, but it had a variety of functions in manuscripts. Conversely, in Jones’s book, gold leaf is not used, as it was in the initial on fol. 81r in MS G.50, and therefore Jones’s initial is flatter, duller, and does not convey the same meaning that authentic examples of gold used in illumination does. This practice was acceptable during the Gothic Revival, since as Pugin discussed in his *True Principles*, people were not encouraged to copy Gothic design directly, but were encouraged instead work from the “fundamental” principles of it.

Pugin’s *Floriated Ornament* depicts similar Gothic-looking designs, which are isolated in the middle of the printed page. These designs were inspired by medieval ornament from Antwerp Cathedral, but are not direct reproductions of those designs. After learning that the foliage that made up the Gothic forms of the cathedral had been inspired by the gardens there, Pugin decided that the foliate work in Gothic buildings were the closest approximations to nature. Therefore, Pugin’s *Floriated Ornament* does not directly replicate, rather it derived

45 Snodin, *Design & the Decorative Arts: Britain, 1500-1900*, p. 349
46 A.W.N. Pugin, *Floriated Ornament*, 1849
47 Pugin, *Floriated Ornament*, p. 1
inspiration from, Gothic sources. In the book’s introduction, he wrote that the great difference between ancient and modern artists in their adaptation of nature is that “the former,” meaning the ancient, or medieval, artists, “disposed of leaves and flowers of which their designs were composed into geometrical forms and figures… to fill up the space… not to destroy the consistency of the form they were employed to decorate.” The modern, or contemporary artist, on the other hand, employed a “fictitious idea of relief instead of a well-defined, clear beautiful enrichment, in harmony with construction of the part,” which results in a “confused effort.”

*Floriated Ornament* was an attempt to remedy design by introducing Gothic design as a source for artists, designers, as well as those interested in studying medieval art, although they were not encouraged to replicate directly Gothic design.

Owen Jones’s *Song of Songs* and A.W.N. Pugin’s *Floriated Ornament* produced designs that were not explicitly derived from an original medieval source, but instead were designs inspired by medieval principles of ornament. Even though they were rendered as prints, from which numerous copies could be replicated, the designs themselves were not directly reproduced from a medieval source. As stated above, direct replication from nature or examples of ornament and decoration from the Gothic era was not recommended, but interpretations were acceptable. Also, since there was a general interest in art from the Gothic period, interpretations of Gothic ornament were popular. However, publications such as *The Art Journal*, published from 1849-1912 by George Virtue in London, present a contrasting perspective on replication of medieval art that was opposed to all aspects of the Gothic Revival. As George P. Landow notes, an article in the 1851 edition by an anonymous author about the work of Adrian van Ostade aimed to

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48 Ibid., p. 2
49 Ibid., p. 2
denigrate Gothic Revivalism.\textsuperscript{50} The author of the article asserted, “we live in an age when attempts are being made, both with pen and pencil, to carry art back to its primitive state of semi-barbarism, and to hold this up as the standard of perfection,” and argued that there was an attempt to “retrograde five or six centuries in painting\textsuperscript{51}.” Another article, from the July 1851 issue titled “The Pre-Raphaelites,” criticized the “Gothic school, or that school which might be engendered by the contemplation of monumental brasses or ancient stained glass windows” by disparaging their use of color, which he likens to “early pictures” and “‘illuminated missals’ in which ‘no signs of either classification or subordination [appear]; on the contrary, blue, red, yellows, and green struggle for superiority.’”\textsuperscript{52}

The same journal, however, as Landow notes, published positive reviews of Henry Noel Humphrey’s \textit{Art of Illumination and Missal Painting} and Henry Shaw’s \textit{Decorative Arts of the Middle Ages}, which were books created in the nineteenth century that replicated medieval decoration and ornament.\textsuperscript{53} This publication suggests that although the journal was opposed to pre-Raphaelite painting, which aimed to emulate aspects of medieval art, it was accepting of books that replicated ornament for educational or antiquarian purposes. This view is in contrast with that of Pugin, which was that although direct emulation was bad, utilizing elements of medieval art in contemporary art was good. According to Pugin, as explained in his \textit{True Principles}, Gothic art and architecture employed ornament that did not directly reproduce nature but was “composed into geometrical forms and figures” that did not “destroy the consistency of

\textsuperscript{50} George P. Landow, “The Art Journal, 1850-1880: Antiquarians, the Medieval Revival, and the Reception of Pre-Raphaelitism,” \textit{The Pre-Raphaelite Review} 2, (1979), 1

\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., 1

\textsuperscript{52} Ibid., 1

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., 2
the particular feature or object they were employed to decorate." In other words, Gothic ornament derived from geometric shapes and designs from nature that were used to embellish the forms of the structures or objects they were a part of, to present one unified plane, object or surface.

In terms of replicating examples of ornament specifically, both Pugin and the writers and editors of The Art Journal were on the same page. Volume 11 from 1849 presents “Original Designs for Manufacturers,” which consist of etched floral motifs intended for various manufactured objects, such as designs for a cornice molding and a candlestick (Fig. 7). Although the journal is presenting these designs, it cautions readers that it is “not generally recommended that objects should be produced in a manufactured state precisely as they are here represented; in many cases the designs are to a certain extent unsuitable for execution; but it must be evident that such artists are able to produce the designs in question, are competent to produce others modified by necessity, economy, or the requirements of the manufacturer. The journal also contains some instances in which medieval ornament could be applied to contemporary design, as discussed in another article “Examples of Medieval Art Applicable to Modern Purposes” (Fig. 8). The highly ornamented objects, or “subjects,” depicted in the article were “selected on the principle,” of “exhibiting as much variety as possible, so that all classes of manufacturers and decorators may receive hints and suggestions which their own taste and practical knowledge may enable them to apply, or to vary according to the purposes for which they are required.”

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55 *The Art Journal*, 1849
the *Journal* is suggesting that designers or other people creating art in the Gothic style do not copy the ornament directly, rather use it for their own purposes.

To replicate something precisely is not possible, and as nineteenth-century theorists writing on reproduction stated, attempts at it were not tasteful. Although *The Song of Songs* and *Floriated Ornament* present an articulation of Gothic style rather than a direct emulation of it, other books of ornament and design such as those by Owen Jones, Henry Shaw, and others, attempted to directly replicate examples of ornament through chromolithography and other methods of reproduction. However, it can be argued that the design elements they depicted were not direct replications, since these antiquarians chose to only replicate small parts of an illuminated manuscript or other medieval object, instead of the whole thing. The way examples of ornament and design were isolated on the page and removed from their original context presented a new way of looking at medieval aesthetics that was intended to educate people. Therefore, re-contextualized elements of medieval aesthetics adhered to nineteenth century theories which opposed direct replication, while still presenting as reproductions.

**Chapter II. Color Printing and the Production of Medieval Aesthetics**

To create ornament that represented good design from the Gothic era that was intended to educate modern people, color had to be included in prints, and chromolithography allowed for a range of colors and shading to be achieved. As discussed in the previous chapter, prints that represented principles of Gothic design were not copies of medieval ornament and design, but were instead interpretations of those elements. However, although not direct replications, books that presented elements of medieval ornament and design were intended to be educational. This chapter considers the role chromolithography played in the creation of educational ornament
books, and analyzes the way color was used to create educational prints in books such as Owen Jones’s *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra* and *The Grammar of Ornament*. Not only did the prints in these books and others reproduce color, they also presented these color prints in a neutral viewing space in which they could be studied. By decontextualizing examples of ornament, in color, from many art historical periods, including the Gothic era, these books allowed for the reader to focus in on the designs without being distracted by extraneous elements. This type of replication during the Gothic Revival, and in particular the reproduction of Gothic aesthetics, was the product of new, expedient, and more cost-effective mechanical forms of mass printing, in particular chromolithography.

By the year 1849, when *The Song of Songs* was published, England was experiencing industrialization in full force. Advancements made to agriculture and manufacturing during the eighteenth century, caused in part by the invention of the steam engine, led to further industrial development in the nineteenth century, which defined the mechanization of production, including textile manufacturing.\(^5^8\) Industrial innovation was what mostly shaped the reproduction of objects and printed images, and it was legally regulated and defined by patents, such as one found in the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, published in London on December 7, 1860 which, according to the inventor H.G. Collins, was an “improved mode of obtaining impressions on an enlarged or diminished scale from engraved plates or other printing surfaces.”\(^5^9\)

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Chromolithography, in particular, was a new technology that enabled color images to be quickly produced and disseminated, and was cheaper than color etching, color engraving, or hand-coloring prints. The role of the visual arts in the rapid pace of the industrialized nineteenth century was explored by Charles Baudelaire in *The Painter of Modern Life*, in which he stated that “the technical means that is the most expeditious and the least costly will obviously be the best. The more beauty that the artist can put into it, the more valuable will be his work; but in trivial life, in the daily metamorphosis of external things, there is a rapidity of movement which calls for an equal speed of execution from the artist.”  

Although Jones’s *The Song of Songs* is not a depiction of modern life, it does contain printed imagery that represents the modern moment in which he was working, a moment defined by innovation and speed. Baudelaire appreciated the rapid means for depicting the rapid course of modern life by highlighting the use of lithography specifically, saying that it is better than “pastel, etching and aquatint,” which have “one by one contributed their quota to that vast dictionary of modern life,” leaving the way for lithography that, according to Baudelaire, was able to “reveal itself as admirably fitted for this enormous, though apparently so frivolous a task,” referring to depicting his contemporary moment.  

Walter Benjamin, although writing in the twentieth century, also acknowledged the important role lithography played in the 1800s. His essay *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* accredited lithography to being a “technique of reproduction that reached an essentially new stage,” that was a “more direct process distinguished by the tracing of the design on a stone rather than its incision on a block of wood,” and therefore “enabled graphic  

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61 Ibid., p. 4
art to illustrate everyday life.” Although Benjamin’s argument should be considered in the context of photography and later forms of image reproduction, his ideas about the nature of reproduction in the nineteenth century can be applied to the way mechanical means for reproduction were used to reproduce images in both number, by way of the printing method, as well as in terms of aesthetic revival, since the Gothic Revival was a “reproduction” of a Gothic style.

Chromolithographic reproductions of ornament functioned as brightly-colored prints that resembled ornament and decoration, however their nature as prints meant they were not authentic examples of medieval design. By reproducing ornament through chromolithography, historians such as Jones and Shaw were able to shape taste by publishing and disseminating examples of what they thought the right application of ornament looked like for contemporary artisans. Although other print media could reproduce images, chromolithography enabled vividly-colored images to be reproduced quickly, resulting in wider access. In chromolithographed books, such as Henry Shaw’s *The Decorative Arts Ecclesiastical and Civil of the Middle Ages* from 1851, colored plates illustrated what Shaw determined to be important examples of ornament and design from the Middle Ages. Similarly, although not in relation to decoration from the Middle Ages, Jones’s *Plans, Elevations and Details of the Alhambra* from 1845, and *The Grammar of Ornament* from 1856 also utilized chromolithography to reproduce examples of ornament from non-Christian contexts, including ancient Rome, Egypt, and Moorish Spain. Jones’s focus on Gothic art, including his 1849 *The Song of Songs*, in addition to his interest in art from other cultures and time periods, suggests that he did not think good design was only the product of Western culture. However, he did think that ornament from other cultures was appropriate

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62 Ibid., p. 2
because it shared similar qualities with Gothic art.\textsuperscript{63} Regardless of the ideological difference between Shaw and Jones, both wanted to disseminate examples of ornament and design and did this through the medium of chromolithography. Both scholars not only used chromolithography, but also presented their images in a similar way. By decontextualizing the example of ornament or decoration chosen by the artist from its original source and isolating it on a white page in a book, both Jones and Shaw were able to highlight the decorative element they thought best exemplified their idea of good design and taste.

Patented by Godefroy Engelmann on July 31, 1837, chromolithography aimed to reproduce art “by imitating all the nuances and the entire effect of painting.”\textsuperscript{64} Although photography by this time had been invented and was also an option for capturing the likeness of something, chromolithography enabled a variety of color to be reproduced that resulted in a clearer likeness of something. Chromolithography was a suitable method for reproducing “specimens” of ornament and design because it was able to emulate the shading and gradients present in medieval illuminations, enamels, tapestries, architectural elements, and more. It derived from lithography, which was invented by Alois Senefelder around 1798 and was innovative not only because it entailed the printing from stones, as Joan M. Friedman explains, as well as printing from a flat surface, which did not require the incising of a plate required of intaglio printmaking.\textsuperscript{65} This form of chromolithography was present in Jones’s \textit{The Song of Songs}, which was more advanced than earlier examples of the technique in terms of its shading and range of color. Constructing a public knowledge about art history required the organization

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{Owen Jones, \textit{Grammar of Ornament}, Chapter XVI. “Medieval Ornament”, p. 3}
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of images for study, and print reproductions, in addition to parts of medieval manuscripts that were cut out and rearranged into nineteenth-century arrangements served this purpose.

According to Julie Codell, although photographs were being used to record art by the mid-nineteenth century, as demonstrated by the British Museum hiring its first official photographer in 1853, photographs were not as clear as prints were, therefore engraving and chromolithography were relied on for the reproduction of objects for study, such as those made of Italian Renaissance paintings published by the Arundel Society.

What made chromolithography an ideal method for reproducing paintings and other objects in color was the way the medium was able to combine colors seamlessly together. According to Tanya Szrajber, chromolithography, which was first presented to the Mulhouse Industrial Society in 1836, was described in a document submitted to the Prefecture of the Department of Haut-Rhin as an invention that combined colors by producing impressions “in a uniform manner, meaning precise registration.” In her description of Engelmann’s document submitted to this patent, Szrajber explains that Engelmann argued that nobody who had worked in earlier forms of the chromolithographic process had been able to combine or blend colors in as effective a way as his method. Engelmann’s method or creating blended colors was described in the document as beginning with tracing the design onto four stones. Next, a single color was used on each stone to render the aspects of the image that had that color. For example, each part of an image that had yellow was drawn in a lithographic crayon or pen on one stone, each part that required red was rendered on another stone, and each blue part of the image was rendered on

67 Ibid., p. 7
68 Szrajber, “Documents on Godefroy Engelmann's ‘Chromolithographie,'” p. 415
the third stone, leaving the fourth stone for black or shaded parts of the image. The print would then be created by layering the stones over one another, and by layering or combining certain colors together; with this method, various gradients could be created that resulted in a wider range of color options for the printmaker.69

This method, which was officially titled “chromolithography” in an addendum to their patent on December 22, 1836,70 acknowledged color blending and the awareness of the function of complementary colors in producing light and nuance in an image, and could possibly have been influenced by Goethe’s color theory, which set the precedent for the combination of colors in the nineteenth century. Goethe’s color theory, which he described in his 1810 book *Theory of Colors*,71 considers colors in terms of light and dark. He believed that light and dark were not pure entities, and that the inclusion or exclusion of light or dark in one another created a range of colors. This idea that absolute colors do not exist, and instead colors are defined by light’s interaction with darkness, was also present in his color wheel, which related colors to complementary colors. According to his theory of the color wheel (Fig. 9), colors, which were created in relation to light or dark, are also related to one another, since, according to Goethe’s description of the color wheel in the section “Completeness and Harmony” from his *Theory of Colors*, “when the eye sees a color it is immediately excited and it is its nature… at once to produce another which is the original color, comprehends the whole chromatic scale.”72

69 Ibid., p. 415
70 Ibid., p. 417
72 Ibid., p. 317
The acknowledgment of the separation and therefore the relationship between colors relates to Engelmann’s concept of strategically placing certain colors on top of one another to produce gradients in shade as well as a wider breadth of colors that earlier methods of color lithography were not able to achieve. Aside from Frederic Emile Simon who, according to Michael Twyman, was one of the first to produce examples of “rainbow printing,”73 in which different colored lines intersected on paper to produce a cross-hatched area of shading or color variety, in a similar way that etching produced shading through cross-hatching, many early printmakers creating lithographs with colors were primarily rendering solid areas of color, since shading was difficult to achieve. According to Twyman, early colored lithography started in Germany, and was particularly popular among cartographers who used lithography for map printing, and began to utilize color in certain areas. For instance, Johann Hieronymous Stolz used lithography for printing maps, and included solid areas of color to enhance the aesthetic effect of his maps.

Other examples of solid colors used by way of the lithographic method were books designed by Wilhelm Zahn in 1828-1829, which included reproductions of decorations from Pompeii and Herculaneum. These books intended to record the wall painting found in newly-discovered classical sites, and did so through precise and detailed line work. Although aesthetically pleasing, the colored parts of these lithographs are not entirely descriptive, since they are only rendered in solid colors. Therefore, according to Twyman, the nuances of the colors were not described, and only a general impression was. Additionally, although many

prints had various colors used in one plate, many aspects of the plate were hand-painted, which was a common practice. \(^{74}\) (Fig. 62)

As colored lithography advanced into Engelmann’s patented chromolithography in 1837, this idea of the specimen book, in which images are created in reproducible books that could be studied or further copied, evolved. Since chromolithography allowed for the layering of colors to create a wider breadth of colors and also achieve shading and gradient, more complex types of “specimens” could be rendered, and the function of these books, which was to educate, could be possible, since more faithful renderings of objects or designs could occur. An example of the advanced replication that was possible with chromolithography is Owen Jones’s *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra* from 1842. \(^{75}\) This book contained numerous examples of chromolithographed details from the Alhambra in Granada, Spain, and is a complex example of how chromolithography was used to represent details of ornament and design (Fig. 10). Printed in twelve parts between 1836 and 1845, it was initially printed by the firm Day and Haghe, later known as Day and Son, but then the printing process was taken over by Jones himself. In a letter from June 1836 to Joseph Bonomi, he stated that “when my work was printed at the printers a most horrid waste of time, paper, and consequently money, took place.” \(^{76}\) Since the chromolithographs in the book are very advanced, it makes sense that Jones would be interested in printing the entire thing himself. The volumes in the book, which were prepared by strictly observing the Alhambra with Jules Goury over the course of six months, \(^{77}\) evince not

\(^{74}\) Ibid., p. 79-81
\(^{75}\) Jones, Owen. *Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra*, 1842
\(^{76}\) Jones, via Thomas, “Colour Printing and Design Reform: Owen Jones and the Birth of Chromolithography,” p. 109
\(^{77}\) Abraham Thomas, “Colour Printing and Design Reform: Owen Jones and the Birth of Chromolithography,” p. 102
only a detailed overlaying of lithographic stones that produced a variety of colors, but also an intricate study of the linear quality of many architectural and decorative motifs.

Although more advanced, this study can be considered a continuation of earlier examples of prints that aimed to educate artists, designers, and the public about the history of design. According to Abraham Thomas, Jones’s book on the Alhambra should be considered in the context of government sponsored initiatives aimed towards improving art and design, because it served as an educational tool to teach people about designs they may have not known about, and chromolithography helped those designs disseminate in high quality and in mass quantity. Although he did not share similar views with Ruskin and Pugin regarding the moral uplifting that copying medieval manuscript illuminations could bring, he did think that copying and recording medieval aesthetics was important, since it was a source of education. As explained by Thomas, in a lecture to the Society of Arts in 1852, Jones stated that he “respected the attention to detail and the research into medieval craftsmanship” that resulted in the reproduction of medieval motifs in educational books, however he was not interested in the revival of the medieval style. Rather, he believed that “the focus should be on identifying principles held within these objects and buildings in order to learn crucial lessons which would allow contemporary designers to create a single unique and appropriate style.” Although Jones had created The Song of Songs only a few years prior, which contains numerous examples of medieval design, his 1852 statement suggests that his earlier reproduction of medieval aesthetics was based not on an interest in medieval culture and religion itself. Rather, he believed that medieval aesthetics

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78 Ibid., p. 117
79 Ibid., p. 117
epitomized good design, and therefore reproducing them falls in line with his general interest in educating designers.

Jones’s *The Grammar of Ornament*, which he published through Day and Son in 1856, similarly utilized chromolithographed plates to depict ornament and decoration to suggest proper taste. This volume, which, according to Joan M. Friedman, was “one of the greatest monuments of color printing in the nineteenth century,” was a “culmination of Jones’s interest in decorative designs of historical and foreign cultures,” and it was the “first systematic, historical presentation of ornamental motifs, from nomadic tribes and the ancient world through the middle ages and the renaissance and as far afield as China.” Each of the book’s one hundred plates, published in ten parts, included “twenty to sixty examples of ornamental motifs” that presented ornamental motifs derived from a variety of sources, whether printed, architectural or other. He presented these motifs isolated on the white page, decontextualized from their original source, which provides a neutral viewing space in which to contemplate or study these images. Although seemingly unbiased, his depictions correspond with his written descriptions of the types of ornament associated with specific cultures and time periods, most of which take a critical approach. In general, Jones believed that good design is that which corresponds to nature, as stated in the book’s preface: “whenever any style of ornament commands universal admiration, it will always be found to be in accordance with the laws which regulate the distribution of form in nature.” However, Jones was not a proponent of specifically replicating nature, and instead thought designers should take from nature in order to create their own designs. In his “General Principles” in the *Grammar of Ornament*, he stated that “Flowers or other natural objects should

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not be used as ornaments, but conventional representations founded upon them sufficiently suggestive to convey the intended image to the mind, without destroying the unity of the object they are employed to decorate.\textsuperscript{82} In this regard, Jones shares a similar opinion with Pugin, which is that natural motifs should not be directly replicated in ornament, and instead should be implied through design. This book, which Jones titled a “Grammar,” is, according to Friedman, appropriately titled, since Jones intended for his work to serve as an educational source.\textsuperscript{83} Therefore, both good and bad design had to be presented, in order to show designers not only what to emulate, but also what to avoid. Jones articulates this view in his text, such as in his descriptions of Roman and Islamic ornament, especially that found at the Alhambra.

Jones is critical of Roman ornament because it replicated plants, flowers and other elements from nature too directly instead of deriving inspiration from their forms to create interpretations of nature. Roman ornament, in opposition to Gothic ornament, adhered too closely to nature and therefore did not coincide with the structures it was employed to adorn. He wrote that their strengths resided not in their religious structures, but in their structures for public, daily life. This reasoning was because, in his opinion, Roman ornamental articulation of architecture was unsuccessful (Fig. 11). According to Jones, “the Romans ceased to value the general proportions of the structure and the contours of the moulded surfaces, which were entirely destroyed by the elaborate surface modelling of the ornaments carved on them; and these ornaments do not grow naturally from the surface, but are applied on it.”\textsuperscript{84} Not only did he believe that Roman ornament was problematic, he thought that the reason ornament in his

\textsuperscript{82} Owen Jones, The Grammar of Ornament, General Principles, Proposition 13, p. 4
\textsuperscript{83} Friedman, Color Printing in England, 1486-1870: An Exhibition, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, 20 April to 25 June, 1978, p. 53
\textsuperscript{84} Owen Jones, The Grammar of Ornament, “Roman Ornament,” p. 44
contemporary England was equally so was because these Roman motifs were over used.

According to Jones, “The fatal facilities which the Roman system of decoration gives for manufacturing ornament, by applying acanthus leaves to any form and in any direction, is the chief cause of the invasion of this ornament into most modern works. It requires so little thought, and is so completely a manufacture, that it has encouraged architects in an indolent neglect of one of their especial provinces, and the interior decorations of buildings have fallen into hands most unfit to supply their place.”

Jones believed that many cultures created ornament that subscribed to his idea of what good ornament should be, which is that which implies nature but does not directly replicate it. However, he generally felt that regardless of where the ornament came from, the thirteenth century presented the best styles around the world. In his chapter on Medieval Ornament, Jones states,

In the thirteenth century, beyond all others, architecture was in its zenith. The mosques of Cairo, the Alhambra, Salisbury, Lincoln, Westminster, all possess the same secret of producing the broadest general effects combined with the most elaborate decoration. In all these buildings there is a family likeness: although the forms widely differ, the principles on which they are based are the same. They exhibit the same care for the leading masses of the composition, the same appreciation of the undulations of form, the same correct observation of natural principles in the ornamentation, the same elegance and refinement in all the decoration.

Jones approved of the Alhambra, which he thought represented “every principle which we can derive from the study of ornamental art.” According to Jones, in Moorish architecture “does not the decoration arise naturally from the construction, but the constructive idea is carried out in every detail of the ornamentation of the surface.” This “constructive idea” consists of lines,

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85 Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*, “Roman Ornament”, p. 44
which “grow out of each other in gradual undulations; there are no excrescences; nothing could be removed and leave the design equally good or better.”\footnote{88} (Fig. 12) Clearly, Jones’s endorsement of the Alhambra was not only an expression of his personal taste, but also a suggestion for those reading his book to feel the same way. By reading his descriptions and studying his detailed and richly-colored chromolithographed plates, one would certainly be persuaded by Jones’s opinion and agree with him that the Alhambra embodies a very strong and successful design. The richly-colored plates depicting ornament from the Alhambra represent how the decoration of the structure is not situated on top of it, as in it is applied to it, rather it is integrated with the construction or form of the building.

According to Jones’s *The Grammar of Ornament*, Gothic ornament shared this aspect of design with that found at the Alhambra, since ornament in “Early English” ornament, specifically, was “always in perfect harmony with the structural features, and always grows naturally from them.”\footnote{89} However, this style “remained perfect only so long as the style remained conventional,” since “as this style became less idealized and more direct in imitation its peculiar beauties disappeared, and it ceased to be an ornamentation of structural features, but became ornament applied.”\footnote{90} Before “Early English” ornament became more like applied ornament than ornament that complemented other forms, many illuminated manuscripts, according to Jones, featured examples of good ornament. Plate LXXI in his section on Medieval Ornament features an example of an illuminated letter “N,” which is “not surpassed by any example in the subsequent styles we have reproduced” (Fig. 13). The letter, according to Jones, fulfills the true purpose of illumination, since “the letter itself forms the chief ornament; from this springs a main

\footnote{88} Ibid., p. 3  
\footnote{89} Ibid., p. 3  
\footnote{90} Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament*, “Medieval Ornament,” p. 3
stem, sweeping boldly from the base, swelling out into a grand volute exactly at the point best adapted to contrast with the angular line of the letter.”

Additionally, Jones describes the color of the initial as being “most beautifully balanced and contrasted,” which is evident in the chromolithograph. However, Jones cites Number 12, Plate LXXI, which is the initial “N,” as being “from the Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages—Humphreys,” and it is notable that the colors of the letter are different from the reproduction Jones cites as his source for the chromolithograph. Specifically, the colors in Humphrey’s reproduction are slightly brighter than the colors in *The Grammar of Ornament’s* reproduction, which are darker. This letter “N” is indeed present in Henry Noel Humphrey’s book “The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages: an account of the development and progress of the art of illumination, as a distinct branch of pictorial ornamentation, from the IVth to the XVIIth centuries,” published in 1849 by Longman and Brown in London, in Plate IX (Fig. 14).

*The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages* was written by Henry Noel Humphreys but illustrated by Jones, and therefore it is notable that Jones cites his reproduction of his initial “N” as being from Humphreys’s book, and not from a book illustrated by him nor from the original illuminated manuscript from which the initial came. Plate LXXI in *The Grammar of Ornament* is titled “Illuminated MSS., No. 1.” and includes fragments of ornament from other illuminated manuscripts. Numbers “1-12,” for instance, are “of the 12th century; 13 is of the 13th century.” Besides those, numbers “12 and 13” are cited as being “from the Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages.—Humphreys,” and “The remainder of the Ornaments on this Plate from the

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91 Ibid., p. 3
92 Henry Noel Humphrey, *The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages: an account of the development and progress of the art of illumination, as a distinct branch of pictorial ornamentation, from the IVth to the XVIIth centuries*, published in 1849 by Longman and Brown in London, Plate IX.
British Museum.” In contrast, Humphreys’s depiction of the initial “N” is cited more specifically as being “A Bible of the Twelfth Century, Now Preserved in the British Museum.” Jones’s choice not to cite the original manuscript the initial “N” that came from in The Grammar of Ornament speaks to how chromolithographs of ornament could be parsed from their original source and re-contextualized onto the printed page, which effectively defines it as a nineteenth-century product instead of a medieval one.

It was critical for color to be reproduced faithfully for these reference prints to function properly. Jones believed that color was a complementary feature that was crucial for the creation of design. As stated in Proposition 14 in The Grammar of Ornament, Jones understood that “Colour is used to assist in the development of form, and to distinguish objects or parts of objects one from another.” Therefore, it was important to reproduce color that was close to the color found in the architectural or design element being replicated. This color also should match the original in tone, as well as in shade, to look as natural as possible, as described in Jones’s Proposition 22, which states that “The various colours should be so blended that the objects coloured, when viewed at a distance, should present a neutralised bloom.” Chromolithography was an excellent method for producing this kind of range in color that could be printed and disseminated more easily than intaglio printmaking methods or hand-coloring.

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94 Humphreys, “List of Plates,” The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages: an account of the development and progress of the art of illumination, as a distinct branch of pictorial ornamentation, from the IVth to the XVIIth centuries
95 Owen Jones, The Grammar of Ornament, p. 6
96 Owen Jones, The Grammar of Ornament, p. 7
Chapter III. Henry Shaw and the Evolution of Colored Medieval Ornament Reproductions

The replication of ornament and decoration by way of chromolithography allowed for quality images that captured the tonal nuance found in examples of historic design, which were able to be reproduced easily. This reproduction could potentially reach many people since by reproduction, they could be obtained by more people than one medieval manuscript or other example of medieval art could. However, chromolithography evolved from a long lineage of earlier color printing innovations. Before chromolithography, which was derived from lithography, printed color images were created by way of color intaglio or relief printing. Through looking at the career of Henry Shaw, who created color reproductions of medieval art and architecture, first through color etchings and color woodblock printing, and then through chromolithography, the evolution of color printing technology in the context of medieval ornament reproduction can be understood.97

This chapter considers the development of color printing technologies and the way each method aimed to reproduce color faithfully in order to provide educational examples, even though as this thesis has argued, books comprising prints of medieval ornament and design were not direct replicas. Since books by Henry Shaw were similar to books by Owen Jones in terms of the de-contextualization of ornament and design and the use of color, and books by Owen Jones were considered educational devices, Henry Shaw’s books are considered as educational devices as well.

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97 Friedman, Color Printing in England, 1486-1870: An Exhibition, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, 20 April to 25 June, 1978, p. 17
Henry Shaw was elected to the Society of Antiquaries in 1833 and illustrated about nineteen books between 1823 and 1866.\textsuperscript{98} His works consisted of “specimen” pattern books such as \textit{Illuminated Ornaments} from 1833, \textit{Alphabets, Numerals and Devices of the Middle Ages} from 1843, and \textit{The Decorative Arts Ecclesiastical and Civil of the Middle Ages} from 1851. According to Sandra Hindman, Shaw fully acknowledged the educational value of easily reproducible images of medieval ornament. As Hindman writes, Shaw wrote to the librarian at the South Kensington Museum in 1855, inquiring into whether they would be interested in purchasing facsimiles from him, since, according to Hindman, “the range of illumination available for students was far too narrow.”\textsuperscript{99} As Shaw wrote to the South Kensington Museum,

> the specimens at present in the collection have been taken from one class of manuscripts, large choral books… examples of Italian and German art of the 15\textsuperscript{th} and 16\textsuperscript{th} centuries… would it not be advisable to supply…your deficiencies by carefully executed facsimiles of a page or two of the most choice manuscripts… These facsimiles would have an advantage… over the originals from their freshness and completeness deteriorated from constant use, exposure or ill treatment.\textsuperscript{100}

Hindman points out that although the South Kensington Museum did not respond to his 1855 inquiry, in 1866 the museum acquired most of his entire collection of illuminated drawings for more money than they used to purchase original works of medieval illumination. For instance, the museum acquired a portfolio of medieval illumination for fifteen pounds, whereas it paid forty-two pounds for three of Shaw’s recreations of borders attributed to the artist Apollonius Bonfratelli.\textsuperscript{101}

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\textsuperscript{98} Sandra Hindman, “Facsimiles as Originals: An Unknown Illuminated Manuscript by Henry Shaw.” \textit{(The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery,} vol. 54, 1996, p. 225

\textsuperscript{99} Ibid., p. 226

\textsuperscript{100} Watson, 1995, via Hindman, “Facsimiles as Originals: An Unknown Illuminated Manuscript by Henry Shaw,” p. 226

\textsuperscript{101} Ibid., p. 227
The composition of Shaw’s printed reproductions of medieval ornament and decoration implies their intended function as educational aids for contemporary designers. The isolated nature of Shaw’s examples of ornament and design on his pages allow the viewer to study the images closely, without distraction, and their colors allow the viewer to understand the painterly quality of original, hand-painted illuminated manuscripts. This, in addition to the reproducible nature of the books, allowed for them to be suitable educational tools for the dissemination of medieval aesthetics.

Although medieval specimen books were educational through the inclusion of images of decorations from medieval books, many books by Henry Shaw also contained written scholarship about medieval manuscripts and other art objects. Shaw, an antiquarian as well as a draftsman and book designer, believed that medieval aesthetics should be written about and disseminated for all. For instance, in the introduction to Shaw’s *Illuminated Ornaments* from 1833, he remarks that few books at the time of his present’s book publishing had attempted to study the “art of ornamenting manuscripts in gold, silver, and colors, which prevailed in Europe from the fourth to the sixteenth centuries, inclusive, and which forms the connecting link between the ancient schools of painting…”\(^{102}\) Because few examples of illustrated scholarship for medieval art existed prior to his, Shaw wanted “the object of the present introduction” to “offer some general remarks on the practice and style of ornamenting manuscript volumes.”\(^{103}\) However, he acknowledged that his introduction as well as the descriptions would be vague, and


\(^{103}\) Ibid, p. 2
that the reader’s primary point of entry into learning about medieval design was through the images in the book. Shaw intended for this generalizing introduction to be a way for people to delve deeper into the study of medieval art since, according to his introduction, this left “the history of the higher grade of miniature painting- its rise, decline, revival, and final extinction- to those who may hereafter be enabled to enter on it more fully.”\(^{104}\)

His introduction continues to provide a brief overview of various examples of book painting from different cultures and periods, in particular focusing on the ways color was applied to various examples. For instance, he described the Egyptian practice of depicting “mythological figures” in “red, blue, green, yellow, and white colors,” and in particular rubricating, or writing some letters in red paint, which is represented by some books such as the “Medicean copy of Virgil” and “the Alexandrian Codex.”\(^{105}\) His history continues on to describe some methods of Greek color application, in particular the use of “cinnabar” and vermillion, as well as the techniques for “laying on and burnishing gold and silver,” which occurred in books from “the oriental nations” as well as the Greeks, and also the beginning of when vellum was painted purple and inscribed in silver or gold letters, which according to Shaw “took place at the commencement of the third century,” and “for upwards of a hundred years the practice seems to have continued of rare occurrence, but towards the end of the fourth century, we learn from a well-known passage of St. Jerome, that it had become more frequent.” His attention to color suggests his belief that it was important to study color in order to understand examples of ornament and design. Printed using copperplate line etchings, many of the initials, according to

\(^{104}\) Ibid, p. 2 
\(^{105}\) Ibid, p. 3
Joan M. Friedman, were “finished with watercolors applied by hand.” Although more advanced printmaking technology would be used by Shaw later in his career, the color etchings with hand coloring in this book nevertheless evince the colors Shaw observed in the examples he copied, and therefore the book served an educational purpose.

After his overview in *Illuminated Ornaments*, Shaw explores specific examples of manuscript illuminations through written descriptions as well as printed replications. His description of “The Durham Book,” or “Saint Cuthbert’s Gospels,” (Fig. 15) makes up the second chapter of his book, and aims to educate the reader both through written history as well as printed image, since the book was at the time included in Sir Robert Cotton’s library, according to Shaw, which later became the founding collection of the British Library, where the manuscript currently is held. However, his written description is far less detailed and educational than his printed description. The descriptions were written by Sir Frederic Madden, who at the time was the assistant keeper of manuscripts, and focus not on visual analysis but instead on the history of the book. For instance, Madden begins his description by listing the codicological structure of the book, the compositional layout of the text, the contents of the text, and the history and provenance of the book. The only aspect of visual analysis present in his discussion is his description of the illuminations that he discusses vaguely: “Prefix to each Gospel are paintings representing one of the Evangelists, (all engraved in strutt’s Horda) and a tessellated Cross, executed in the most elaborate and beautiful manner. The commencement of each Gospel is also illuminated in large capital letters, many of which are most elegantly and skillfully executed, as the specimen selected from the beginning of St. Matthew’s Gospel will prove, the

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107 Shaw, *Illuminated Ornaments*, “Durham Book,” Section II
first words which are: ‘Xpi (Christi) autem generatio sie erat.’ Therefore, whereas the text is described by Madden, prints describe the visual qualities of the manuscript.

His short visual description acts as a preface to his summary of the text included in the manuscript, which is fitting, since the images in the manuscript, as he described, also function to preface the texts in the manuscript. Since visual analysis of the illuminations is not the focus of the text, the print by Shaw provides the reader with further information. Not only does his reproduction of the “beginning of St. Matthew’s Gospel” represent the sweeping geometrical interlacing the illumination in the original manuscript consists of, it also captures the vibrant application of ink to the image. Although unmixed and solid, which holds true to the way ink is applied in the original manuscript, Shaw was able to depict a broad range of colors, ranging from lavender to turquoise to deep red. His descriptive use of colors can be seen throughout all of his reproductions in this book, which are isolated on the page. However, most of the colors are unmixed since copperplate etching was limited in its capacity to create gradients and shading.

These reproductions, therefore, are bold in solid color, which is not to say that etching was not an effective method, but that chromolithography would later offer a more successful method of reproducing a range of color and tone (Fig. 16). To replicate manuscript illuminations that were more painterly, Shaw relied on hand coloring, which speaks to the limitations of etching in reproducing works in color. For instance, images in Section X of his book that replicate illuminations found in “a small folio MS. In the Royal Library, marked 2 B. vii. In the British Museum,” or Queen Mary’s Psalter (Fig. 17) consist of “two parties of mummers, some females playing the tambourine, two apes playing the fiddle and harp, and four groups,” form

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108 Shaw, *Illuminated Ornament*, Ch. 2
“part of a series to illustrate the legend and miracles of the Virgin Mary.”\textsuperscript{109} According to Marrow, these illustrations “exhibit great skill in grouping and design,” however it is through Shaw’s color etchings with hand coloring that the reader can also glean the expressive, watercolor-like quality of the illuminations. This example speaks to how Shaw was able to introduce subtly light colors, gradient and tonal range, but to do this he had to rely on hand-coloring, a method not as expedient as printing. Later developments in chromolithography would retain the painted effect achieved through hand coloring, but allow for these types of print reproductions to be produced more expediently.

Since medieval illuminated manuscripts consisted of both individual miniatures and borders as well as decorated text, Shaw’s \textit{Illuminated Ornaments} depicts the way colors and methods of ornamentation were incorporated into text. For instance, example XII\textsuperscript{110} depicts individual letters from “The Royal MS 6 E. ix,” and example XXV\textsuperscript{111} depict “specimens” from an “alphabet of small capital letters” from “Harleian collection Nos. 4374-5,” which both represent how letters in medieval manuscripts functioned both as decorative painting and text (Fig. 18). The book also presents how these decorative letters functioned in context with a longer system of letters, such as an example XIII\textsuperscript{112} (Fig. 19) from “a MS. In the Royal Library, numbered 20 D. x. containing copies of documents concerning the peace of Bretigny, between England and France, in 1360, the treaty of Belle-ville, for the delivery of the Duke of Berry, and the Count d’Alencon, in 1366, the grant of Acquitaine to the Black Prince, by Edward III. In 1362 and the Truce with Scotland, in 1357.” The two printed reproductions on the adjacent page

\textsuperscript{109} Shaw, \textit{Illuminated Ornaments}, Section X
\textsuperscript{110} Ibid., example XII
\textsuperscript{111} Ibid., example XXV
\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., example XIII
depict historiated initials, or decorative initials that visualize what the text is describing. Whether contextualized with text or not, the decorative letters, which either interact with other letters in a section of text, or are depicted independent of other text, are rendered surrounded by blank white space, which makes them easy for the reader to closely analyze them. Although the printed images are copies from the manuscripts the texts are describing, this way of de-contextualizing removes the images from their original context and therefore creates a new type of image. The reproduction of color, as well as the de-contextualized compositions the examples of medieval ornament and decoration were in on the page, enabled *Illuminated Ornaments* to be an educational device, which Shaw intended this book to be, since his introduction states that this book was intended to serve as an introduction to understanding medieval manuscripts. Although effective in its function, which was to reproduce images from medieval examples, hand coloring was required to emulate the medieval illuminations Shaw wanted to portray.

Later, Shaw’s *Alphabets, Numerals & Devices of the Middle Ages*\(^\text{113}\) from 1843 reproduced examples of medieval ornament entirely through printing since, as Friedman has said, by the 1840s efficient printing methods were prevalent enough to replace hand coloring.\(^\text{114}\) Both *Illuminated Ornaments* and *Alphabets, Numerals & Devices of the Middle Ages* reproduced medieval decorative “specimens” on the page, however *Alphabets, Numerals & Devices of the Middle Ages* specifically focused on examples of medieval text and was colored entirely by printing methods. This book requires the reader to use the printed images instead of written descriptions and explanations as their only source of information. Here, Shaw may have anticipated that his readers by 1843 had been exposed to other kinds of “specimen” books and

\(^{113}\) Henry Shaw, *Alphabets, Numerals & Devices of the Middle Ages*, 1845

therefore did not need to rely on historical scholarship to be explained the medieval aesthetics at hand, or perhaps this book was purely intended to provide aesthetic guidance and not any sort of scholarly historical context. Regardless of the reason behind his choice to exclude text, or his intended audience for each book, his method of printing de-contextualized examples of medieval design in *Alphabets, Numerals & Devices* is similar to *Illuminated Ornaments*, and therefore both could have functioned as educational models.

Whereas *Illuminated Ornaments* relied on hand coloring to describe medieval designs found in medieval books, according to Friedman, versions of Shaw’s *Alphabets, Numerals & Devices* were “entirely printed in color… using successive wood blocks for each color”115 (Fig. 20) but also uses some black and white lithography to depict some examples. However, the version she references was from 1845 published and by Charles Wittingham, whereas the version consulted at the Getty Research Institute is from 1843, was published by William Pickering, and contains chromolithographs. This means that Shaw was printing this book between 1843 and 1845 using both chromolithography and woodblock printing. Although he was as interested in depicting color, however, he was equally interested in representing the linear qualities of letters. For instance, whereas Shaw was able to showcase the colors in the foliate, intricately drawn and richly colored letters “From Fust and Schoffoers Bible”116 from the “British Museum” dated 1462 (Fig. 21) using color printing, he used black and white lithography to depict letters from “From the Missal Trajectense”117 that Shaw dated to 1515 (Fig. 22). The most evident visual comparison between both examples is the use of line. Whereas the main descriptive point Shaw

115 Ibid., p. 18
116 From “Fust and Schoffoers Bible”, Henry Shaw, *Alphabets, Numerals & Devices of the Middle Ages*, 1845
117 From the “Missal Trajectense”, Henry Shaw, *Alphabets, Numerals & Devices of the Middle Ages*, 1845
was trying to convey through his illustration of letters from Fust and Schoिफfoers Bible was how the illuminator richly applied colored ink in both solid blocks of color and in gradients, the strength of the letters Shaw reproduced from the Missal Traiectense is in the drawn compositional system within each square. Shaw’s reproduction of these shapes containing letters present intricate linear designs that rely on clear line and simple black and white distinctions. *Alphabets, Numerals & Devices* reflects how Shaw was conscious of line, although he did not produce all examples in his book in lithography, since it was also important to replicate color to convey an accurate idea of what medieval text decoration looked like in the middle ages to his readers.

By the time Shaw created *The Decorative Arts Ecclesiastical and Civil of the Middle Ages*, from 1851, he was using chromolithography to reproduce color. According to Friedman, “Shaw abandoned wood block color illustrations for his antiquarian works because of the time and expense involved.”\(^{118}\) This book was also printed by Charles Wittingham, although the lithographer is unknown,\(^{119}\) and presents both printed and written descriptions of medieval decorative art examples including enamel, metal work, stained glass, Venetian glass, and embroidery. Here Shaw still uses intaglio etching when replicating works in which color was not important, however he thoroughly relies on chromolithography when the subject he is reproducing is of significant colored interest. “A triptych of encrusted enamel” is an exquisite example of gold color combined with strong blues, greens, and reds to replicate a richly-detailed enamel triptych made for “The Earl of Shrewsbury,”\(^{120}\) according to Shaw (Fig. 23), and his

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\(^{119}\) Ibid, p. 50

\(^{120}\) Fig. 2, “A Triptych, in the possession of the Rt. Hon. The Earl of Shrewsbury,” from *The Decorative Arts Ecclesiastical and Civil of the Middle Ages*, Henry Shaw, 1851.
depiction of stained glass “from the Cathedral at Chartes,” which Shaw dates to the thirteenth century (Fig. 24), and an example of embroidery “from the Pall belonging to the Ironmonger Company” (Fig. 25) are beautifully chromolithographed images. In both, it is clear that the colors are bolder than in the other examples discussed. Similarly, in “A Pyx from a Drawing in the Possession of the Society of Antiquaries,” (Fig. 26) displays a wide range of colors, as well as gradient and shading. What is interesting to note in this print is that the range of tone is created in the colors used, as well as through the use of thin, close together black lines. Although Shaw was using chromolithography to reproduce color, he still relied on black lines to more accurately depict certain objects. Also of note is Shaw’s choice to reproduce two examples from illuminated manuscripts, but not in color (Fig. 27).

Shaw still relied on black and white engravings and wood cuts for his depictions of other objects with strong linear design. For instance, examples of metal or iron work from the middle ages are rendered in black and white in order to convey the intricate linear basis for the design’s composition, as demonstrated by his depiction of iron work “From the Cathedral of Notre Dame at Paris” (Fig. 28) In both his written observations and his depiction of the iron work, Shaw chooses to emphasize the scrolling foliate form the iron takes. According to Shaw, the iron work at Notre Dame “is supported by three hinges formed of branches springing from foliated bands, and separated from each other by scroll work of a similar character,” which are “composed of

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121 Fig. 25, “From the Cathedral at Chartes,” from The Decorative Arts Ecclesiastical and Civil of the Middle Ages, Henry Shaw, 1851.
122 Fig. 34, “From a Pall belonging to the Ironmonger’s Company,” from The Decorative Arts Ecclesiastical and Civil of the Middle Ages, Henry Shaw, 1851.
123 Fig. 3, “A Pyx in the form of a Dove, in the possession of H. Magniac, Esq.” from The Decorative Arts Ecclesiastical and Civil of the Middle Ages, Henry Shaw, 1851.
124 Fig. 18, “From the Cathedral of Notre Dame at Paris” from The Decorative Arts Ecclesiastical and Civil of the Middle Ages, Henry Shaw, 1851.
birds, lizards, roses, grapes, and different kinds of foliage, employed with a degree of profusion, and chafed with an amount of delicacy calculated to show that their cast could have been a matter of but little consideration.” His focus on the linear quality of the iron that consisted of these “delicate… branches springing from foliated bands” is clearly conveyed in his print, in which there is an emphasis on the scrolling linearity and not the shading or coloring of the gate. Further, his interest in the linearity of medieval iron is conveyed through his inclusion of an incipit letter that prefaces his description of the iron work from Notre Dame, which was “taken from a MS. of the thirteenth century in the Museum at Glasgow” (Fig. 29). Although, according to Shaw, the letter consisted of “burnished gold, the ground blue, and the leaves blue, green, and brown alternately,” he decided to depict the initial in black and white instead of chromolithography. Although the letter is described to be vividly colored, Shaw chose to reproduce it without color in this context because it reflects the medieval interest in scrolling foliate forms that are also in the iron work the section is describing.

As chromolithography advanced, it was used by many such as Owen Jones and Henry Shaw to replicate examples of medieval aesthetics. Selecting parts of the manuscript or art object that were of interest was a form of judgment that presented personal taste rather than objective visual fact, and the way this art was composed on the page reflected this subjective understanding of it. By isolating a reproduction on a page, parsed from its original context, the artist was able to re-contextualize it for the sake of Victorian comprehension. Although parts of medieval decorative arts were copied in printed books, they adhered to the beliefs of theorists such as Pugin and Ruskin who opposed direct replication because only parts of the manuscript or art object were reproduced. However, due to the nature of de-contextualized prints not being

\[125\] Ibid. Fig. 18
copies, their function as educational devices could be questioned. This discrepancy between recording visual information and applying aesthetic judgment could have affected the trust one had in a printed image, since any printed image is a subjective interpretation of the artist.

**Chapter IV. Authenticity of the Printed Image**

Chromolithography was used to reproduce images for educational purposes, however as discussed in previous chapters, these images were not true reproductions of medieval ornament and design. Instead, they were nineteenth century interpretations of medieval aesthetics, and therefore this thesis has questioned whether or not they could function as accurate depictions with the purpose of educating people. This chapter analyzes how chromolithography, although used to create vivid prints in a range of colors, sometimes was not trusted as a method for authentically reproducing an original work of art. For instance, *Nature and Art*, a serial publication published by Day and Son (Fig. 30), was a periodical that included a segment titled “On Sketching from Nature” that included chromolithographed reproductions of paintings for the purpose of teaching readers about how to paint different subjects. In one “On Sketching from Nature” (Fig. 31) from January 1, 1867¹²⁶ Aaron Penley, a professor of Landscape Painting at the Royal Military Academy in Woolwich, describes his distrust in lithography, or the process of reproductions being reproduced by “steam,” as a means for faithful reproductions of paintings, although he admits that “improvements had been made”¹²⁷ in the process. He remarks to his readers that:

> I confess I doubted whether the reproductions of my original drawings would be presentable, so many thousands having to be printed, and by the steam press too; but it is encouraging to find this difficulty better and better overcome by the extreme care and

study exercised in making the means sufficient to the end. This is very evident from the
great improvement in the colouring of the last subject, where the tints, with one exception
only (the green tint on the shadowed side of the hut, which should have been more grey),
are really good, and admirably suited for the learner to copy.\textsuperscript{128}

Despite its closeness to painting, and improvements made in the printing technology,
chromolithographs as well as other prints could never be the same as an original. Therefore,
printed reproductions could misrepresent a subject, even though the technology employed in the
nineteenth century to create the reproduction was closer to the original than it had been
previously. In the context of the replication of medieval imagery, Henry Noel Humphreys, an
artist and naturalist who was interested not only in reproducing medieval ornament though
chromolithography, but in creating his own designs inspired by medieval miniatures “in the spirit
of medieval illumination” as well, was not always successful in rendering successful copies.\textsuperscript{129}

For instance, Humphreys’ \textit{Illuminated illustrations of Froissart selected from the MS. in the
British Museum}, published by William Smith in London in 1844 (Fig. 32) contains figures that,
according to Friedman, display a characteristically Victorian “cuteness” not to be seen in
authentic Gothic art.\textsuperscript{130} The likeness of the printed image to its original source in the first half of
the nineteenth century was therefore subject to interpretation.

Additionally, John Obadiah Westwood’s \textit{Sketches and Proofs for Illuminated
Illustrations of the Bible: Copied from Select Manuscripts of the Middle Ages\textsuperscript{131}} from 1846-1847
located at the Getty Research Institute is an example of the limitations chromolithography had as

\textsuperscript{128} Ibid., p. 13
\textsuperscript{129} Friedman, \textit{Color Printing in England, 1486-1870: An Exhibition, Yale Center for British Art,
New Haven, 20 April to 25 June, 1978}, p. 58
\textsuperscript{130} Ibid., p. 58
\textsuperscript{131} J.O. Westwood, \textit{Sketches and Proofs for Illuminated Illustrations of the Bible: copied from
select manuscripts of the Middle Ages.} 1846-1847, Getty Research Institute, Accession Number
920003
a medium for producing reproductions.\textsuperscript{132} This book is the galley proof of a published volume that consists of chromolithographic reproductions of medieval miniatures. This volume contains the preparatory pencil drawings of the original miniatures Westwood was copying, the initial black and white lithographed outline of the print made from the pencil drawing, and the subsequent chromolithographed print made from the black and white outline. In addition, the volume includes six actual medieval miniatures that Westwood copied that had been cut out from illuminated manuscripts.

As Sandra Hindman notes, this book at the Getty Research Institute is significant because it documents the process of creating chromolithographs as well as includes the medieval “extra-illustrations.”\textsuperscript{133} According to Hindman, “It was as though in this special volume Westwood was still clinging to the residual aura of the medieval manuscript book in the age of print, despite the fact that he successfully marketed the work as an inexpensive illustrated Bible rather than as a collection of facsimiles from illuminated manuscripts.”\textsuperscript{134} The purpose of the book was to replicate miniatures from illuminated manuscripts that depicted subjects such as medieval dress, armor, and carpentry through chromolithography. However, the cut miniatures in the book that are the sources for the reproduced chromolithographs are richer in color and technique than the copies of them, which suggests the limitations chromolithography had. (Fig. 33) For instance, a Massacre of the Innocents miniature, excised from an illuminated manuscript, presents a painted complexity that is not present in the chromolithographed reproduction. Mary’s dress contains gold and red, whereas Westwood’s copy presents Mary wearing a simpler version, and the

\textsuperscript{133} Ibid., p. 123-125
\textsuperscript{134} Ibid., p. 123-125
yellow and gold used in the trompe l’oeil frame in the original miniature is also not present in the print, in which it is more yellow and flat. Westwood similarly took license to change parts of the miniature in his painting, by moving the text with the decorated initial, which was originally painted with gold leaf, down into the area where in the original there is a bas-de-page depicting the Flight into Egypt. Westwood evidently chose to omit that scene to present the Massacre scene more fully. In reproductions of the book where the original medieval miniature is not present, the reader would not know that the image is not a direct copy, when in reality Westwood had altered the image to appear how he wanted.

Another instance in the book in which Westwood combined together separate elements to present an image of medieval art that is completely his invention is evident in the case of an ornamental border (Fig. 34). This border, which had been cut from an illuminated manuscript, is paired with a pencil rendering of a miniature, the source of which is not present in the book. It is unclear whether or not the miniature and the border co-existed on the same folio in the same manuscript as Westwood has suggested by placing them together. However, through rendering a chromolithograph based off of the pairing, he suggests to readers that the two elements were once together, serving as one unified image, in what Sandra Hindman calls a pastiche. In the black outline version of his composition, he has also added a caption that reads “The Entry of Christ into Jerusalem,” which aids his pedagogical intentions. The combination of both elements was completed in the creation of a chromolithograph, depicted in the volume, in which the original medieval border in the book is reproduced very carefully. The color version of the miniature contains elements not present in the pencil or black outline version, and it is uncertain if his color is faithful to the original miniature he copied, since that miniature is not present.

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135 Ibid., p. 125
According to Hindman, Westwood believed that his “facsimiles” were “substitutes for a lost monumental art,” since Westwood stated that “England is intrinsically very poor in the productions of middle-age art.” This criticism suggests that perhaps Westwood decided to parse together separate elements to create a complete picture of medieval art, which he felt was hard to find, from fragments of it.

Chromolithography was able to create a wide range of colors that intended to contribute to the reproduction of ornament. Although these reproductions aimed to emulate colors found in original medieval art examples, they were still nineteenth century interpretations, as demonstrated by Westwood’s book. These interpretations are further removed from the medieval examples they aimed to emulate by the way they were composed on the page, de-contextualized from their original sources. As this thesis has argued, although de-contextualization examples of ornament and design intended to allow readers to closely study just one part of something, it also led to a misconstrued idea of what was depicted, since context was not present. Nineteenth century reproductions of medieval ornament and design are similar in composition to print reproductions of natural history specimens and antique objects from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in which key attributes were similarly highlighted over others. Therefore, these types of illustrations can be considered a precursor to the way elements of ornament were depicted and printed in the nineteenth century, especially because the validity of these illustrations has been questioned.

Stephanie Moser argues that although these drawings aimed to represent specimens, illustrators “went beyond mere recording,” and instead altered “drawings of antiquities into

\[136\] Ibid., p. 125
interpretative statements” through the “conventionalization of artifact illustrations.” According to Moser, once one type of image was created to represent an object from antiquity, that drawn or printed image acted as “an authoritative ‘document’ in the service to the project of defining ancient objects,” and should therefore be considered as a contribution to a “new ‘science of antiquities’” that does not rely on faithful representation but instead acts as a general guideline for common attributes certain objects have. This perspective differentiates from the one acknowledged by Moser that defines antiquarian illustration “as a series of ‘hesitant and faltering first steps’ of archaeological illustration.” The method of employing a “selective and abstract” mode of representation instead of a more observed and detailed rendering Moser describes as “scientific realism” assumed that “accurate recording did not necessarily involve capturing all that was visible to the naked eye; rather, it demanded ‘selective looking,’ or an interpretation of a specimen’s primary characteristics.”

Moser explains the way the seventeenth century experienced the rise of a “research movement,” in which drawings of artifacts were considered to give insight into the past, which resulted in objects that previously had not been considered of much value to be more seriously considered. Small objects, such as those illustrated by Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588-1657) were done so in a way that “transformed the Renaissance ‘cabinet of curiosities’ model of inquiry into a more formal instrument for making knowledge.” Illustrations of Dal Pozzo’s collections comprise a bound album titled Antichità Diverse, in which various ancient Roman artifacts are arranged in groupings in a way similar to the way natural specimens were depicted in

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138 Ibid., p. 60
139 Ibid., p. 62
140 Ibid., p. 65
publications about natural history. For instance, the vessels are not accompanying any text and are instead isolated on the page, removed from their original contexts (Fig. 35). As Moser points out, the only indication of space in each illustration is the cross-hatching at the lower part of each figure.\textsuperscript{141} Some of Dal Pozzo’s illustrations in the Antichità Diverse were copied from a visual archive by Dal Pozzo called the Codex Ursinianus, however Moser acknowledges a difference between the two. Whereas the Codex Ursinianus rendered the vessels in a more detailed way, the Antichità Diverse rendered them more simplistically. This difference between the two texts, according to Moser, acknowledges that “antiquaries such as Dal Pozzo were less concerned with the exact physical appearance of individual objects than with establishing a basic typology of vase shapes.”\textsuperscript{142} (Fig. 36)

Examples of art objects and natural history specimens continued to be reproduced in texts during the eighteenth century in a way that presented simplified or idealized versions of them for educational purposes. These reproductions are isolated on the page in a way that presents them for the reader to study, which can be considered a precursor to the way medieval examples of ornament and design were depicted in the nineteenth century. Although each reproduction is accompanied by text, the prints are not rendered with any background or any contextualizing details, which, like in medieval art reproductions, creates a new kind of image for the purpose of study. For instance, a 1720 text titled Reflexions sur les deux plus anciennes medailles d'or romaines qui se trouvent dans le cabinet de S.A.R. Madame both describes and depicts examples of Roman portrait metals from the collection of S.A.R. Madame\textsuperscript{143} (Fig. 37). The book includes

\textsuperscript{141} Ibid., p. 69
\textsuperscript{142} Ibid., p. 72
\textsuperscript{143} Charles-César Baudelot de Dairval, Reflexions sur les deux plus anciennes medailles d'or romaines qui se trouvent dans le cabinet de S.A.R. Madame, Chez Jean-Baptiste Lamesle,
images of the metals that although are accompanied on the page by descriptive text, were rendered without any contextualizing visual details that would describe how the metals were used or what setting they functioned in. The book is organized in chapters relating to the development of the use of metals in ancient Rome, and particularly the history of two types of gold metals that were used in the context of the “Jeux Floraux,” or floral games, in Rome, which are present in the collection of S.A.R. Madame. This book not only describes a collection of antiquarian objects, but explores the history of certain metals within the collection, which is a different approach than simply listing and describing them. Writing about the history of objects that are in an antiquarian’s collection situates objects that were at the time de-contextualized in their cabinet of curiosities back into their historical context, however the illustrations of the metals themselves are de-contextualized.

Similarly, a dissertation written in 1734 for the Universität Wien by Ludwig Debiel titled *Dissertatio de nobilitate romana et ejus insignibus* is a study on ancient Roman nobility and their “signs,” which in this case are a variety of objects from portrait medals, as depicted in Chapter XIII, “De Nominibus Illustribus Gentis Romanae”¹⁴⁴ (Fig. 38) or the names of the nation’s noble Romans, as well as objects that reference ancient Roman nobles, such as crowns, as depicted in Chapter X, “De Coronis.”¹⁴⁵ (Fig. 39). Engravings of the objects described are present within the text and are simple linear representations that provide the reader with a rudimentary idea of what

¹⁴⁴ Ludwig Debiel, *Dissertatio de nobilitate romana et ejus insignibus* : honori perillustrium, reverendorum, praenobilium, nobilium, ac eruditorum dominorum AA. LL. & philosophiae doctorum cim in antiquissima, ac celeberrima Universitate Vienensis / promotore R.P. Ludovico Debiel ... ; inscripta ab illustriissima rhetorica Vienensi ; annò M.DCC.XXIV. Universität Wien, 1734. Archive.org, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Accession number 94-B5239, Chapter XIII
¹⁴⁵ Ibid., Chapter X
the object looks like. This book provides a history and analysis of ancient Roman culture through the study of antiques from the period and is not simply an inventory or description of individual objects. Rather, the book situates the object in the historical context it was once a part of through accompanying descriptive text with illustrations. However, the illustrations themselves are rendered simply and without contextualizing details.

Natural history specimens, such as preserved butterflies, shells, and minerals, were depicted in a similar way to antiquarian objects that highlighted key attributes to be studied. However, because these images were simplified and removed from their original context on the printed page, they also had the potential to be considered inauthentic. According to Anne Secord, although early nineteenth-century botanists “used pictures to attract novices to the study of science,” many botanists at the time such as Peter Rylands, James Edward Smith, and John Lindley opposed the use of images for learning about botany. As Secord explores, Peter Ryland wrote in “On the Abuse of Prints in Works on Natural History,” that “beginners should identify their finds by consulting written descriptions, rather than comparing specimens with pictures.” He believed that “the beginner who patiently observes a specimen with the help of written descriptions not only finds delight in investigating minutiae of structure but, on discovering the identity of the specimen by this means, is rewarded with ‘a calm philosophic pleasure’.”

147 Ibid., p. 36-38
148 Ibid., p. 36
149 Ibid., p. 38
James Edward Smith, who was the president of the Linnean Society of London, believed that the book *English Botany; or, Coloured Figures of British Plants*, which he wrote the descriptions for, did not “produce as wide ‘a taste for correct and scientific botany,’” but instead “‘a trivial and superficial knowledge of plants’” would be gained by readers focusing on the images and not the text. These botanists believed that illustrations were not the best way to learn about a subject, since, as John Lindley remarked in 1838, according to Secord, “very few persons know how to draw correctly, and still fewer are able to represent with the pencil with sufficient fidelity, what a description expresses in a few words.”

Before the nineteenth century when these botanists were arguing against the validity of studying images to understand scientific concepts, the way images of natural history specimens were presented in books was considered innovative. The method for grouping plants together by visual similarities, also known as the “natural method,” was pioneered by seventeenth-century naturalists John Ray and Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1656-1797). Through this method, one could search for information about a plant if its physical likeness was known, and what other plants it looked like as well. Daniela Bleichmar has described how Dezallier d’Argenville’s book about shells *L’Histoire naturelle éclaircie dans deux de ses parties principaux, la lithologie et la conchylologie* from 1742 is an example of how visual depictions of natural history became clearer and easier to use during the eighteenth century. Whereas the common method for arranging and displaying shells, plants, and other natural specimens in collections in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was in the *Wunderkammer*, which Bleichmar argues lacked a

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150 Ibid., p. 37
151 Ibid., p. 37
152 Ibid., p. 38
discernable sense of order, the eighteenth century gave new order to it, specifically with the rise of taxonomically illustrated texts. Instead of all types of natural specimens being organized with “medals, antiquities, and other works of human manufacture,” there was a new focus on taxonomical description in the eighteenth century.

Illustrated books such as d’Argenville’s *La Conchyliologie* (Fig. 40) separated shells into their own context, in which they could be studied both individually as well as in comparison to other specimens like them. These illustrations, which were paired with written descriptions of each specimen, according to Bleichmar, enabled either the “naturalist or collector” to “read the text, study the plate, and then examine a shell, comparing image, word, and object, constantly moving from one to the other.” As Bleichmar analyzes, similar texts to d’Argenville’s *La Conchyliologie* such as Carl Linnaeus’s *Philosophia Botanica* (Fig. 41) from 1751 organized natural history specimens on the page in a similar way. In both texts, written descriptions accompany visual descriptions that do not portray specific examples of the specimen being described, but instead depict generalized representations of the specimen. This generalization as well as de-contextualization presents each specimen as an object solely for human study.

Thomas Martyn’s *Thirty-eight plates, with explanations, intended to illustrate Linnaeus’s system of vegetables: and particularly adapted to the Letters on the elements of botany* from 1788 connects Linnaeus’s system of classifying plants by using the number of sexual parts in it

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155 Ibid., p. 89-90
156 Thomas Martyn, *Thirty-eight plates, with explanations, intended to illustrate Linnaeus’s system of vegetables: and particularly adapted to the Letters on the elements of botany*, Printed for B. White and Son at Horace’s Head, Fleet Street, London MDCCLXXVIII [1788]. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Accession number 2882-100.
to this contemporary method of natural history illustration.\textsuperscript{157} For instance, Plate VIII Letter XII (Fig. 42) depicts and describes the phenomenon of “diandria,” in which a plant becomes fertilized and reproduces.\textsuperscript{158} The left side of the opening depicts two plants, the Veronica Chamaedrys, or “Wild Speedwell,” and the Jasminum officinale, or “White Jasmine,” both of which show various components of the plant detached from the whole, as if dissected. Each “dissected” element of the illustration is described on the right side of the opening. For instance, both components labeled “a” in Fig. 1, Veronica Chamaedrys, are described as “The wheel-shaped corol, divided into four segments…,” and it is assumed that the component labeled “a” on in the middle of the figure is not a second flower, but is rather just an enlarged depiction of the flower already depicted on the right side of the page. According to Martyn Rix, not many of Linnaeus’s publications were illustrated.\textsuperscript{159} However, because his system for classification effectively broke down each flower to describe each sexual part, an illustration that reflected the broken down or dissected nature of the classification system was possible. By breaking down, or separating, parts of the flower, Martyn was able to describe the flower more fully, although his depiction of the flower does not reflect how the flower looks in real life.

Other publications that depicted botanical specimens illustrating Linnaeus’s systems for plant classification include those published serially. Magazines, such as William Curtis’s *Botanical Magazine* from the eighteenth century featured botanical illustrations that act as a precursor to how later similar periodicals would be illustrated in the nineteenth century. Volume VII of the periodical, which was published in 1794, is officially titled *The Botanical Magazine*;

\textsuperscript{158} Martyn, *Thirty-eight plates, with explanations, intended to illustrate Linnaeus’s system of vegetables: and particularly adapted to the Letters on the elements of botany*, Plate VIII Letter XII
\textsuperscript{159} Rix, *The Golden Age of Botanical Art*, p. 60
or, Flower-Garden Displayed: in which the most Ornamental Foreign Plants, cultivated in the Open Ground, the Green House, and the Stove, are accurately represented in their natural Colours. To Which Are Added Their Names, Class, Order, Generic and Specific Characters, according to the celebrated Linnaeus; their Places of Growth, and Times of Flowering: Together With The Most Approved Methods of Culture. The way depictions of plants are isolated on the page, removed from their natural contexts, which often were distant places such as the Americas, mirror their Linnaean descriptions on the opposite page. This de-contextualization of images reflects the way such plants were removed from their original environments and brought to Kew Gardens to be studied. These plants were interpreted not only through the Linnean method of classification and description, but through the lens of taste as well. The picturesque and idealized illustrations are truly “ornamental,” as described in the title of the magazine, and coincide with their scientific description as well as a paragraph describing their aesthetic qualities. For example, plate 226 in Volume VII (Fig. 43) depicts the Arabis Alpina, or Alpine Wall-Cress, which is accompanied by both the Linnean classification of its class and order, genus, and species, as well as a paragraph that lends aesthetic judgment onto the specimen. Although the Alpine Wall-Cress, according to Curtis, “Has no great pretensions to beauty,” it “brings with it a

160 William Curtis, *The Botanical Magazine; or, Flower-Garden Displayed: In which the most ornamental foreign plants, cultivated in the open ground, the green house, and the stove, are accurately represented in their natural colours. To which are added, their names, class, order, generic and specific characters, according to the celebrated Linnaeus; their places of growth, and times of flowering: together with The Most Approved Methods of Culture. A Work Intended for the Use of such Ladies, Gentlemen, and Gardeners, as wish to become scientifically acquainted with the Plants they cultivate.*, Stephen Couchman, London, Vol. II, 1794. The Project Gutenberg eBook.

161 Rix, *The Golden Age of Botanical Art*, p. 103

powerful recommendation, more especially if its flowers are not of the more common hue.”

Curtis did not think that this plant was particularly beautiful, however it was “perennial, hardy, herbaceous, of low growth,” and “rarely exceeding a foot in height,” which therefore made it a “suitable plant for the border of a small garden, or for the covering of rock work.”

The way the specimen is depicted reflects his description, as it indeed does not look like the most impressive or exotic flower. The aesthetic quality of plant specimens was a significant aspect of their description in the pages of Curtis’s Botanical Magazine, as ornamental-ness of each plant was a significant qualifier. For instance, although plate 228163 (Fig. 44) in the same volume, Bellis Perennis, or Major Flore Peno, also known as the Great Double Daisy, is described as “a plant common to Europe,” it is more “delightful” in “its wild state… in open situations,” and when “double,” “the daisy becomes much more ornamental,” especially red daisies. Therefore, it is only sometimes ornamental. In contrast, Plate 230164 (Fig. 45), the Plumbago Rosea, or Rose-Coloured Leadwort, which was “introduced to this country by the late Dr. Fothergill, in the year 1777,” is, according to Curtis, “one of the most ornamental plants which we keep in our stoves.”165

Edwards’s Botanical Register, published from 1815 to 1847, was a natural history text that continued the tradition of botanical illustration from the eighteenth century. Started by Sydenham Edwards, who was an illustrator for the Curtis’s Botanical Magazine in the early years of its publication, the publication was later edited after 1829 by John Lindley,166 who was an assistant secretary of the Horticultural Society’s garden in Chiswick and wrote many books on

163 Ibid., plate 228
164 Ibid., plate 230
165 Ibid., plate 230
botany such as *Illustrations of orchidaceous plants, by Francis Bauer... with notes and prefatory remarks by John Lindley*, which contained plates in lithography instead of etching which as more common at the time.\(^{167}\) According to Martyn Rix, Sarah Anne Drake was a chief artist to Lindley who contributed botanical illustrations to various publications such as “Ladies’ Botany,” published in 1834 to 1837, “Sertum Orchidaceum, a wreath of the most beautiful orchidaceous flowers,” from 1837-1841, in addition to Edwards’s Botanical Register.\(^{168}\) Therefore, it is possible that Drake contributed illustrations to Volume XV of the Register, in which plants are depicted in a similar decontextualized way as in Curtis’s *Botanical Magazine*.

However, whereas each written description in the Curtis’s *Botanical Magazine* included elements of aesthetic judgment, Edwards’s *Botanical Register* focuses on purely descriptive captions. For instance, plate 1220,\(^{169}\) “*Oenothéra vimínea*” (Fig. 46), or the Long-Branchied Oenothera, depicts idealized pink flowers in both open and closed states on long stems, and is accompanied by both a Linnean classification as well as a descriptive commentary. The commentary includes where the plant was from, in this case “the northern part of California,” and even where the drawing was made, which was “in the Garden of the Horticultural Society in September 1828.” It also includes a visual analysis of the plant that focuses on the formal qualities of it without including any element of aesthetic judgment.

*Stems* annual, somewhat erect, rod-like, about 3 feet high, smooth, purple, wavy, becoming woody at the base. Leaves smooth, linear-lanceolate, glaucous, somewhat wavy. Flowers large, pinkish-purple, opening during the day. Petals wedge-shaped,

\(^{167}\) Rix, *The Golden Age of Botanical Art*, p. 107  
\(^{168}\) Ibid., p. 109  
\(^{169}\) John Lindley, *Edwards’s Botanical Register, or, Ornamental Flower-Garden and Shrubbery: consisting of Coloured Figures of Plants and Shrubs, cultivated in British Gardens; accompanied by their History, Best Method of Treatment in Cultivation, Propagation, etc.*, James Ridgway, 169, Piccadilly, London, Vol. XV, 1829, Volume XV, Plate 1220
eroded, twice, at the least, as long as the calyx. Stigma thick, purple, 4-lobed; lobes spreading. Capsule pubescent, taper, furrowed.\textsuperscript{170}  

The composition of printed specimens in natural history publications is similar to the way antiquities were displayed in texts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and both types of illustrated reference books share similarities with the way printed books of medieval ornament organized and described examples of ornament and design in the nineteenth century. By decontextualizing images on the page, the creators gave the specimen space to be studied. However, by removing the original context, a new understanding of the specimen was created. Although this was an intentional decision made by the person making the print, printed reproductions in this format were intended to serve as educational models, their simplification led to some skepticism about their authenticity. Through reproduction, antiquarian and scientific perspectives could contribute to the public’s understanding of those subjects, which could be shared through printed material that was intended to be able to reach a wide audience.

Chapter V. Clippings from Medieval Manuscripts

The de-contextualization of fragments allowed for the reorganization of information that contributed to the creation of knowledge about medieval art. Although not printed reproductions, clippings of miniatures, initials, and other decorative elements were removed from illuminated manuscripts and sold to various collectors. This phenomenon can be analyzed in relation to printed reproductions that were isolated from the whole object they were a part of, since clippings were also de-contextualized from their original sources. The practice of removing miniatures, decorated initials, and ornate borders from the leaves of illuminated manuscripts

\textsuperscript{170} Ibid., Volume XV, Plate 1220
from the middle ages contributed to the Victorian context of reorganizing and dispersing medieval art, thereby affecting an understanding of what it was. Susan Stewart has explained how the capacity for an object to serve as a “trace of authentic experience” is represented by the concept of the souvenir.\footnote{Susan Stewart, \textit{On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection}. Duke University Press, Durham, (1993), p. 135} A souvenir from the past, which according to Stewart “is by definition always incomplete,”\footnote{Ibid., p. 136} effects a “miniaturization” of an experience that re-contextualizes an experience in a new space.\footnote{Ibid., p. 134} Thereby a souvenir that represents the past defines that past for the present in a way that is defined by its de-contextualization.

As Sandra Hindman describes, “nineteenth century art enthusiasts thought nothing of altering older artifacts to suit their tastes.”\footnote{Hindman, \textit{Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age}, p. 68} By isolating the painting from the rest of the book, Hindman writes, collectors were “elevating the work of the anonymous medieval illuminator to the status of the great masters,” which fits in with the nineteenth-century tendency of reconstructing or restoring medieval art in a way that subscribed to Victorian taste. Many structures were built in the Gothic style, and some extant buildings were altered to look more medieval, such as Viollet-le-Duc’s Vézelay and Notre-Dame.\footnote{Ibid., p. 68} Both MS M. 1067 and MS M. 1171 at the Morgan Library and Museum are examples of collections of miniatures that were cut from medieval manuscripts, and therefore serve as examples of the de-contextualization of medieval aesthetics and their re-contextualization into the nineteenth century. MS M. 1067\footnote{MS M.1067, \textit{Book of Hours}, ca. 1460, France. The Morgan Library and Museum, New York.} (Fig. 47) consists of nine full-page illuminations from France ca. 1460 in which miniatures, borders, roundels and initials are present which are thought to be cut from a book of hours that is
now in Florence at the Biblioteca Nazionale. These miniatures are placed in the center of a sheet of vellum as they are in MS M. 1171, which consists of eleven miniatures from the sixteenth century that were removed from the calendar of a Book of Hours. The provenance of both collections of cuttings does not suggest when the miniatures were removed from their original books, but it is clear that the reason these particular illuminations were excised was due to the fine quality of the paintings. Even though these painting were removed from the texts they were originally intended to accompany, which makes them incomplete, they still serve a function, albeit different from their original function, which is to serve as “highlights” from the books.

However, even though MS M.1171 is inherently incomplete due to its decontextualized nature, it was at one point even more so incomplete because it did not contain miniatures to represent each month of the year, which led to the miniature representing December to be created in the nineteenth century, according to the Morgan Library and Museum (Fig. 48). This miniature is clearly a Victorian reproduction because the face of the butcher in the foreground does not resemble the way faces were painted in the middle ages and is more charming than the more realistic faces in the preceding miniatures in the collection, like the Henry Noel Humphrey’s reproduction, which similarly evinces how Victorian art historians interpreted medieval art in a way that was influenced by contemporary tastes.

In addition to whole miniatures being cut from original illuminated manuscripts, smaller portions of manuscripts were also cut from their original pages, including historiated initials or other initials that are significant in their decoration. For instance, three initials in the collection of

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177 MS M. 1171, Album of Calendar Miniatures, Ca. 1517-1520, France. The Morgan Library and Museum, New York.
the Getty Museum, Ms. 47, Ms. 56, and Ms. 104, (Fig. 51) are small Italian initials that were removed from antiphonals. As Sandra Hindman notes, since antiphonals or large sheets of music typically consisted of mostly musical notation and the only area devoted to decoration was the incipit initial, it was common for the painted historiated initial, which in these cases contain high quality paintings which include gold leaf, to be cut from the page and then sold.\textsuperscript{179} Furthermore, according to Barbara Drake Boehm, by the nineteenth century choir books were already in bad condition due to their storage in monasteries not equipped for preserving books, and these books were often also damaged from use as an “integral part of the church service.”\textsuperscript{180} Therefore, they may have been easier to dissect since they were not maintained as well as more-precious manuscripts. The Getty initials were not reattached to a modern page but were kept as single detached leaves.

Conversely, collections of initials such as British Library Additional Manuscript 22310 were not only detached from their original books but were reassembled in a completely new pattern of organization on a modern page. These miniatures,\textsuperscript{181} acquired by the British Museum in 1858 from John Matthew Gutch, come from the same manuscript, and are pasted onto paper that is bound in an album with other cuttings. On folio 12 of the volume (Fig. 49) there are eighteen initials that are not historiated initials, as the Getty initials were, but are instead decorated initials with ink and gold leaf which came from a “choir book” or antiphonal as evinced by the red ruled lines on the edges of each initial which are remnants from the ruled pages of musical notation in which they were once included. These letters not only represent the

\textsuperscript{179} Hindman, \textit{Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age}, p. 73
\textsuperscript{181} Additional 22310, ff. 10 (1), 11 (1 and 3), and 12 (1-18), 2\textsuperscript{nd} or 3\textsuperscript{rd} quarter of the 15\textsuperscript{th} century. British Library, London.
de-contextualization but also the reorganization of medieval imagery during the nineteenth century. Similar to botanical illustrations from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that used numbers to match elements of a depiction of a natural specimen to its Linnean description on the opposite page of a natural history text, these initials are numbered in pencil below on the page, although what the number corresponds to is unclear. Owen Jones’s chromolithographed page in *The Grammar of Ornament* depicting the initial “N” similarly classified his “specimens” of medieval manuscripts with a number system, which connected each decontextualized example of ornament to the written description about the characteristics of Gothic art.

Miniatures and other decorative elements that were separated from illuminated manuscripts entered and exited collections, creating a provenance that reflects the ambiguous definition of something once it has been removed from its original context. For instance, the verso of Getty Ms. 91 (Fig. 50), a cut initial from an Italian antiphonal from the fifteenth century by Frate Nebridio contains the inscription “from the Cathedral of Como” in English. There are quite a few extant initials that contain this same inscription, such as one in the Chazen Museum’s collection, 1972.80, as discovered by Peter Kidd182 (Fig. 51). This historiated initial “D” from an antiphonal is also from the Cathedral of Como as described in the inscription on its verso (Fig. 52), which also contains ruled musical notation and song lyrics. As Kidd explains, this inscription, which reads “from the Cathedral of Como” also reads “Rogers Collection” and “1856.” Many initials inscribed “from the Cathedral of Como” came from the collection of William O. Ottley, which is the same collection the Chazen Museum and Getty initials are from as well. However, the Chazen initial evidently went on to be collected by Samuel Rogers, while

the Getty initial was collected by John Rushout by 1925, according to the Getty Museum. Samuel Rogers was a poet and a collector of antiquities, which were later sold in an auction after his death through Christie’s in 1856. Other cuttings from the Samuel Rogers collection are in the British Library’s collection as Additional Manuscript 21412, and were part of the Samuel Rogers Album before it was dis-bound and separated by the British Library after it acquired the clippings in 1856. These clippings consist of examples of ornate borders from illuminated manuscripts that have been decontextualized from the original pages they were cut from and re-contextualized in new arrangements on modern paper. These clippings are not as significant in decoration as the Getty initial or the Morgan full-page miniatures in their pictorial elements, but they are instead indicative of the broader nineteenth-century interest in ornament. Ornate borders typically surrounded pages with miniatures, historiated initials or significant text and were used to highlight those pages, whereas in their new context in the Samuel Rogers album they are reorganized to serve as decoration in their own right (Fig. 53). Although it is uncertain how this scrapbook of excised ornament functioned aside from just being a collection of decoration, as Roger Wieck has explored, Victorian people enjoyed copying miniatures and initials from illuminated manuscripts, which printed books of ornament and design provided models for. It is possible that these fragments similarly functioned as inspiration for individuals interested in creating their own examples of illumination, however regardless of the function of these cuttings, their de-contextualization and re-organization onto a modern page was a product of a modern Victorian’s interpretation and choice.

As Sandra Hindman explores, collectors such as Rogers who were interested in ornament were able to create collections of ornament from the “glut” of cuttings on the art market after the

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183 Hindman, *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age*, p. 65
Celotti and Ottley sales. Luigi Celotti was an “abbot turned art dealer” who acquired illuminated manuscripts from soldiers during February of 1798 when the Sistine Chapel was looted during a Napoleonic raid of Rome. According to Roger Wieck, these manuscripts were then cut apart and sold in the first sale of cuttings to ever take place that was through Christie’s in London on May 26 1825. William Young Ottley helped Celotti catalog this sale by arranging these clippings in order of “papal provenance” so that multiple collectors could own a piece of a manuscript owned by a significant figure. Similar to reproduced prints of medieval ornament, this practice helped “democratize” medieval art and made it accessible to people who perhaps could not have afforded a whole medieval manuscript. Undoubtedly this method also benefitted Celotti as well. Weick explains that Ottley purchased some clippings from Celotti’s sale as well, a few of which he later sold to Samuel Rogers in 1838 that make up what was once the Samuel Rogers Album now at the British Library.

Many other cuttings from Ottley’s collection were sold through the sale of his collection in 1838 to the British Library, including Additional Ms. 60630. These clippings were sold from the Ottley sale in 1838 to Samuel Sotheby, who later, according to the British Library, sold some of these clippings to Leopold de Rothschild and was kept at Ascott, near Wing, Buckinghamshire. This collection was purchased as “The Ascott Album” by the British Library in 1979 and was dis-bound by the Library sometime after then. In addition to individual cuttings not pasted down to modern paper, this collection includes cuttings of ornamental borders

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184 Ibid., p. 53
186 Ibid., p. 239
187 British Library, Ascott Album, Additional 60630, fol. 34, c. 1410-1430, purchased by William Young Ottley in 1838.
from illuminated manuscripts, like the Samuel Rogers Album, that were rearranged into new compositions (Fig. 54). Whereas the majority of reorganized borders in this collection, like the Samuel Rogers album, consist of three or four borders pasted side by side vertically on a page, folio 32 from the Ascott Album shows how cuttings were also used to make compositions that not only organized the clippings on the page but did so in a visually-interesting way.

This montage-like placement of clippings is also seen in British Library Additional Ms. 38896 which also was part of Samuel Rogers’s collection sold in 1856 (Fig. 55). The British Library describes this process as not a cutting of a miniature like those from the Morgan Library and Museum, but as a “montage consisting of a historiated initial ‘E’ of Christ and The Twelve Apostles seated in a domed hexagonal temple, in colours and gold; pasted below, a foliate bas-de-page with a half-length figure of a Prophet, probably David, pointing upward and bearing a scroll inscribed ‘In Te Dominus Speravi’ in a roundel, in colours and gold; a foliate bas-de-page inhabited with hybrid creatures, pasted vertically to the right of the initial ‘E,’ in colours and gold.”

The montage also contains “other small cuttings and some painted reinforcement, masking some of the discontinuity between the foliate friezes where they meet along the cut edges.” In this montage, decontextualized cuttings are not only pasted in a new modern arrangement, but instead are used to create a new composition that represents a full-page illumination. Morgan MS M.270 (Fig. 56) titled “Four Evangelists Single Leaf Montage” was, according to the Morgan Library and Museum, “excised ca. 1800 and the miniatures mounted in the present manner” from “one of the choir or gospel books in the Sistene Chapel commissioned by Pope Gregory XIII,” was then sold from Celotti to Anthony Molteno, who then sold it to

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188 British Library Additional Ms. 38896, c. 1390, Attributed to the Master of the Ashmolean Predella.
William Young Ottley, who then sold it in his 1838 sale not to Samuel Rogers, as with the previous examples, but to A. Firmin Ditot, after which it was acquired by Leo S. Olschki who then sold it to J. Pierpont Morgan in 1907.\textsuperscript{189}

The way cuttings from illuminated manuscripts were removed from manuscripts and re-arranged into new compositions demonstrates a public interest in medieval art during the nineteenth century. It is not clear if these collages and scrapbooks were used as inspirational material from which to create new designs derived from medieval design principles, however the rearranging of the fragments was itself a creative act that interpreted medieval aesthetics in the nineteenth century. Although collections of cuttings were not specifically intended to educate people, as printed reproductions of medieval ornament and design were, they are an example of how medieval aesthetics were altered and re-arranged during the Gothic Revival, affecting an understanding of medieval art during that time.

\textbf{Conclusion}

The separation and replication of medieval ornament and design examples both contributed to a nineteenth century understanding of medieval art history. Taking cues from the way natural history specimens and antiquities had been illustrated from the seventeenth through eighteenth centuries, nineteenth-century scholars and supporters of the Gothic style depicted examples of medieval art, or designs inspired by medieval design, in a way that focused on specific details of ornament or design. By de-contextualizing the ornament and design elements from what they were originally part of, nineteenth-century historians placed medieval examples into a new context for study. As nineteenth-century theory stated, direct replication was not

\textsuperscript{189} MS M.270, c. 1572-1585, The Morgan Library and Museum, New York.
encouraged, but rather the interpretation of design principles was believed to contribute to good design. This was due to contemporary theorists believing that decorative arts from their era were poorly designed because they included ornament that was not defined by strong principles of design. Therefore, although printed images emulated medieval ornament and design examples, they were actually nineteenth-century interpretations of them, since direct replication was not encouraged. These printed images were considered modern interpretations of medieval aesthetics, not attempts at direct replication, also because they were created by modern industrial methods for reproducing images in color, namely chromolithography, the nineteenth-century invention for creating color prints more quickly than through etching or other intaglio printmaking methods. Additionally, the composition of these prints contributed to their identity as interpretations, instead of direct replications, since only portions of an object were depicted on the page. The industrial way these images were made and their nature as de-contextualized fragments separate them from original examples of medieval art, both of which led to the creation of nineteenth-century images aimed to inform nineteenth-century design.

The introduction of this thesis cites Christopher Dresser as an example of someone who was influenced by the teachings of the government-sponsored schools for design. He, in addition to William Morris, has to be considered when thinking about the legacy of efforts to improve modern design by educating about Gothic design principles. Morris was a designer who is associated with the Arts and Crafts movement, which came slightly after the Gothic Revival, and demonstrates how principles of Gothic design were employed in art going forward from then. Examples of his work can be considered representative of the next step in the evolution of design reform as influenced by principles of design associated with the Gothic Revival. He is an example of someone who was interested in aesthetics from the Middle Ages, yet did not copy
them outright, instead opting to derive formal inspiration from them to create new designs. He used this inspiration to create repeating patterns which Elizabeth Carolyn Miller has called a “key feature across William Morris’s work and throughout the decorative arts and the art of the book,” that presents “patterns of rhythmic, repeating structures, mostly botanical in form.”

Morris derived inspiration from nature in patterns such as “Lea” (Fig. 60), a textile example of block-printed cotton designed by Morris and printed by Morris and Company circa 1885, as well as in “Pink and Rose,” (Fig. 61) a wallpaper sample designed by Morris but printed by Arthur Sanderson and Sons. Both of these pattern samples reference both nature and how nature was represented in medieval art, particularly in the tracery and acanthus ornamentation found in Gothic architecture. Morris intended his designs to sit in the middle of representation and innovation since he was opposed to “wasteful” ornament that did not serve the function of an object but still wanted surfaces and objects to have good design and tasteful ornament. In “Hopes and Fears for Art,” Morris said, “the simplicity of life, even the barest, is not a misery, but the very foundation of refinement,” suggesting that simple designs that did not need to rely on mimesis were the basis of good taste. The weaving and flowing of leaves, vines and fruits in “Lea” stand out with only an outline against a slightly gradient green background, which allows the viewer to view the whole composition as one continuous entity or focus in on one detail. The way the natural forms in this example are abstracted and symbiotically relate to one another to create a cohesive design that does not directly copy nature is an application of Gothic design principles as described by Pugin, Ruskin, and Jones. It does not include reproductions of whole

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flowers or plants, and instead focuses on one part of a flower or plant that Morris altered to create a new composition and design. Therefore, this pattern can be seen as a continuation of design principles from the Gothic Revival, and demonstrate how those principles influenced art and design going forward.

This thesis has considered medieval ornament reproductions that were intended to educate designers. Theorists such as Pugin and Ruskin believed that design from their era was in decline and that educating designers and artists to adhere to principles of Gothic aesthetics could improve it. Ornament books by Owen Jones, for instance, were educational devices that were intended to improve design, and have been considered by some scholars to be a product of the same general consensus regarding contemporary design that led to the development of government-sponsored movements to improve design. Books of ornament by Henry Shaw displayed examples of medieval ornament and design from illuminated manuscripts in a similar composition using colors as well, and the introduction to *Illuminated Ornaments*, he made clear that his book was intended to be used to learn about medieval art. However, the audience for Shaw’s books has not been clearly defined. Joan M. Friedman, Alice H.R.H. Beckwith, and Sandra Hindman have stated that books by Shaw and others were intended to be studied by the public, however it is not clear who exactly this public was. The theoretical writings of Pugin and Ruskin seem to be intended for designers and artists, but as Roger Wieck has noted, creating amateur illuminations was a popular pastime for the general public during the Victorian era as well. Therefore, it can be argued that books of ornament and design examples from the middle ages by Henry Shaw were intended to educate not only artists and designers, but also the general public as well. These books had the potential to inform both design and public knowledge about medieval art during the nineteenth century.
This thesis has developed from the work of scholars who have written about the history of the Gothic Revival, printed books of ornament and design, chromolithography, and the phenomena of removing examples of ornament from real medieval manuscripts. These phenomena contributed to a nineteenth-century understanding of medieval art, which designers were encouraged to utilize for creating nineteenth-century designs. This thesis opens the possibility for the exploration of ways ornament and design books or the contemporary design derived from such books had a direct impact on the general public. As William Morris’s designs demonstrate, attempts to reform design by educating designers about principles of design from the Gothic era, in addition to other art historical periods, were successful. A further analysis will determine what effect design reform initiatives had on the general public, who were also an audience of books of printed examples of Gothic ornament and design.
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Illustrations

Figure 1.

Figure 2.
Figure 3.

Figure 4.
Figure 5.

Figure 6.
Figure 7.
Figure 8.

Figure 9.
Figure 14.
Ten manuscript from which the opposite specimen is copied, (MS. Coll. Kers. B, a,) has been so often described, and is so well known by the appellation of "The Britannia Book," or St. Cuthbert's Gospel," that a brief notice of it will here only be necessary. It is a folio volume, written on two hundred and fifty-eleven leaves of thick vellum, containing the four Gospels in the Latin version of St. Jerome, in which are prefixed, on each page of the Evangels, The text is written in thick letterpress, in a bold open paper, corresponding in character with the several copies of the Gospel, called "St. Cuthbert," at Dunfermline, "St. Chad," at Lichfield, and "The Deanery," in the Bodleian Library. Preceded to each Gospel are paintings representing one of the Evangelists (all engraved in Worsley's Works) and a monochromatic Cross, consisting of the most elaborate and beautiful design. The ornamentation of each Gospel is also illustrated in large capital letters, many of which are most elegantly and skilfully executed, in the manner adopted from the beginning of St. Matthew's Gospel with great, the first words of which are, "Exeunt quinque," without punctuation or car. Between the lines of the text is introduced a Stasus Glose, of the highest value from its containing exact copies of the Northumbrian dialect, and at the close of the volume a note is added by the Saxon scribe, from which we learn its history. From this was compiled with the account of Stasus, Priest of Beverston, (who had the book before his eyes, in its pristine condition,) at the end of the eleventh century we may conclude, that the manuscript in question was written and illustrated in the cloister of St. Cuthbert, by Rudolph, Bishop of Durham, who succeeded to that see in the year 998, and died in 1031. His successor

* Judges, Ruth, and others are not worded in the book, which was lost in the year 927.
Figure 16.
Figure 17.

Figure 18.
Figure 19.

Figure 20.
Figure 25.

Figure 26.
Illuminated drawing by Giulio Clovio

Figure 27.
Figure 28.

Figure 29.

ANY interesting remains of wrought iron of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries will exist in our Cathedrals, Parish Churches, and other buildings; but we know of none so florid and so varied in design, or of finer execution than those spread over the western doors of the Cathedral of Notre Dame, at Paris. Nothing whatever is known of their history. There is a popular story connected with them that they were made by a locksmith who sold his soul to his Satanic Majesty, to ensure for his work an excellence which nobody should ever equal. But as the said tradition attributes their production to the 16th century, we may reasonably hope there is no foundation for it.

Each door is supported by three hinges formed of branches springing from foliated bands, and separated from each other by scroll work of a similar character. These enrichments are composed of birds, lizards, rosettes, grapes, and different kinds of foliage, employed with a degree of profusion, and chiselled with an amount of delicacy calculated to show that their cost could have been a matter of but little consideration.

Our example exhibits the half of one of the hinges, and its connecting scroll work.

Our initial is taken from a MS. of the thirteenth century in the Museum at Glasgow. The letter is of burnished gold, the ground blue, and the leaves blue, red, green, and brown alternately.
Figure 30.
Figure 32.
Figure 34.
Figure 35.

Figure 36.
Figure 37.
CAPUT XIII.
De Nominibus Illustribus Gentis Romanæ.

Eadem duet, si praeferar antiquitatis studiosi, varia de Narratorium, Nominibus, Cognominibus, Romanorum, diversitatis, & grandissima fave Voluminibus institutis, sumo eff., quod est. Ea de re plurimi scriptores Doctissimi Spanheimi, in Lib. de usi & praeferra
tia Nominum: antiquitatem, idem ut nullam praemium qui profet deliderat, aut ejus cogitaret. Menem profite non est, ille innumera, & quasi adeptationem utilissimum perier, multis dilacerare. Ailla sunt, & diversa ab illis Nominis, de quibus noto
bis hic firmo, intelligenter minimum illa Nomen, quod semel aquis illarum, & in societate accedente. Hac porvo vel a jurisprudentia, vel tarda illum latine, vel adjectis Repugnantiis, ait devitias Iam populi sumi origi
nem

Figure 38.

CAPUT X.
De Coronis.

Quamvis varia fuerat Romanorum coro
nus, quarum etiam scriptores mentione
re tamen ducentar delicibus, quae triumphantem de hodiern praprin metocheta; Sunt autem
Tractata; iuxta Abradii, Refrater, Valerii, Latini, trium
phalisi, Grammatici, Qurezum a qui admodum Parvaram, eique figuram videere hic apud creditissimum, vi triumphi lande dignitissimum reque antiquitatis perfectissimum D. Flincelli in novo rarissimo Han
diani, quem nostris idem manus condicavit, et curiosi insinuavit. Ita Itaque De Abradii, Quem primorum muri for
nare habet (etideo ut munitum, idem primi
fore) cuius meminit Avelli Galliis Noct. Antic.
Lib. V. c. 6. Morale eur corona, quae deserere a in
terreti, quae primam marum subito, inaqu vocum hiustum per unum adiecit, & quod addicere Silvius Earl. Lib.
XIII. Sic canamus:

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Cratiri capra villar hominem
Tempra Moralis eulis terri corona.
Tali eunibus Papirius, expugnato Septine, urbem triunphantis ingrediens et, ut collato Livius Lib.
X.
Figure 40.

Figure 41.
PLATE VIII. LETTER XII.

DIANDRIZ.

Fig. 1. Veronica Chamadrys. Wild Speedwell. 129—133.

a The wheel-shaped corolla, divided into four segments, the lowest (f) narrower than the rest.
b The calyx.
c The capsule.
d The calyx, wrinkled leaves, indented about the edge.

Fig. 2. Jasminum officinale. White Jasmine. 127—128.

a A front view of the monopetalous silver-shaped corolla, divided into five segments.
b A back view of the corolla.
c The tube of the corolla, with the anthers lying within it.
d The calyx, with the rudiment of the fruit.
e A leaf pinnate, with all the lobes distinct.
Figure 44.

Figure 45.
Figure 46.
Figure 51.

Figure 52.
Figure 53.
Figure 54.
Figure 55.

Figure 56.
Figure 59.

Figure 60.
Figure 61.

Figure 62.