

An Early Sixteenth-Century Flemish Chasuble at the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston

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Fig. 1. Flemish, *Chasuble with Scenes from the Lives of Christ and the Virgin* (front), ca. 1510, silk, velvet, gold- and silver-wrapped thread, linen, 105 x 64.2 cm, The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.

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* An earlier version of this paper was presented at the College Art Association 2020 Annual Conference. I would like to thank the organizers of the panel and the audience for their helpful comments. I am grateful to my advisor, Diane Wolfthal, for introducing me to this wonderful object. Many thanks also to Emma Cameron, Christine Gervais, and Ingrid Seyb at the MFAH for their generous support throughout this research project, and to the anonymous peer-reviewers and the editors at *VENUE* for their careful reading and many valuable insights and comments. Special thanks are due to Rex Koontz, Professor of Art History at the University of Houston, who has encouraged me to carry this project further.

In November 2018, the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston (MFAH) acquired a Renaissance chasuble in excellent condition from the London based art dealer Sam Fogg.¹ (Figs. 1–2) Complete and ornate Renaissance church vestments in such good condition have become a rare sight on the art market. The majority of those that have

withstood the wear of centuries either remain in church sacristies or have already been accessioned by museums such as the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Art Institute of Chicago, and the Cleveland Museum of Art. This chasuble is MFAH's first accession of a Renaissance period liturgical



Fig. 2. Flemish, *Chasuble with Scenes from the Lives of Christ and the Virgin* (back), ca. 1510, silk, velvet, gold- and silver-wrapped thread, linen, 119.8 x 73 cm, The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston.

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vestment. It features masterful Netherlandish embroidery and provides valuable comparative material to the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spanish chasubles in the museum's collection.²

The chasuble features sumptuous crimson velvet. The elaborate pomegranate motif enclosed by a polylobate pattern is brocaded with wefts of gold metal threads. The vertical band in the middle of the front side, called a pillar orphrey, and the cross orphrey on the back illustrate episodes from the life of Christ and the life of the Virgin Mary. While the pillar orphrey does so in vibrant colors of red, green, and blue, the cross orphrey shimmers with an exuberance of gold. The creator(s) of both orphreys lavishly used *or nué* (shaded gold), the celebrated embroidery technique that was well established by the fifteenth century and is best represented by the set of vestments commissioned by Philip the Good, the duke of Burgundy, for the Order of the Golden Fleece.³ The chasuble has been tentatively dated to the early sixteenth century.⁴ However, the striking violin shape of the chasuble front, also known as the "fiddle-back" style, was not developed until the seventeenth century.⁵ This suggests that the chasuble was probably still in use at least a century

later, and was altered into a more fashionable format.⁶

Although the chasuble form originated from the bell-shaped mundane upper garment called *paenula* worn in the Greco-Roman world, by the eleventh century it had become an obligatory vestment for priests.⁷ The MFAH chasuble would have been an important visual focus of the ritual. Through detailed technical analysis in the following pages, I seek to retrieve the dramatic visual effect of the chasuble when it was used in its original, liturgical context—an aspect that is probably difficult to envision today when it is displayed in the museum under ample and stable electric light. I argue that the artist took into consideration the reception of the audience and the dynamic interactions between the chasuble, the movements of the officiants, and the condition of light. The visual impact, combined with the biblical and apocryphal stories embroidered on the chasuble, could facilitate the congregation's perception of the transubstantiation miracle in a very compelling way.⁸

The Brocaded Velvet

In the sixteenth century, velvet was already established as the standard material for making chasubles.⁹ Upon closer inspection, this crimson cut-pile velvet has a

design that is formed with another higher register of cut pile (Fig. 3, detail a), which creates subtle variations that enhance the velvet's visual appeal. Such so-called pile-on-pile velvet is more complex and labor intensive to make, thus more luxurious.¹⁰ Sometimes, instead of the piled surface, areas of the velvets are woven with ornate patterns in gold brocade, making them even more sumptuous, as is the case here.¹¹ On the MFAH chasuble, the brocade was created with gold and silver metal-wrapped threads, and it constitutes the elaborate pomegranate pattern on the velvet. According to textile historian Lisa Monnas, the ever-present pomegranate design, sometimes identified as artichoke or pineapple, was adapted from Asian motifs by Italian velvet designers through their trading contacts in the Muslim Levant region and with the Mongol empire in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹² The different textures and shades on the pomegranates are achieved through the *bouclé* technique (Fig. 3, detail b), which was developed by Italian weavers around the 1420s.¹³ In this technique, the gold metal wefts are twisted to form tiny loops that are raised from the surface. Compared to the wefts that lay flat, these loops reflect light in different directions,

and therefore glisten with a higher intensity.

The Embroidered Orphreys

With narrative episodes in colorful expression and a liberal use of gold metal threads, the embroidered panels on the two orphreys are the most eye-catching part of the chasuble. They illustrate biblical and apocryphal subjects in nine compartments, from top to bottom, with the Nativity of Christ, Presentation of Christ at the Temple or the Circumcision, and the infant Mary with Saints Anne and Joachim¹⁴ on the pillar orphrey (Fig. 1), and the Holy Ghost, the Annunciation flanked by two prophets from the Hebrew Scriptures, the Presentation of the Virgin Mary, and the Visitation on the cross orphrey (Fig. 2).

To translate a drawn or painted design to a different medium while making the most of the medium's unique features, the embroiderer applied a variety of methods. In the first place, *or nué* was used on every panel. In this technique, gold metal threads are laid horizontally on the ground fabric (Fig. 4). They are held in place and fixed to the ground fabric by couching stitches sewn with colored silk. Each couching stitch holds two gold metal threads. These stitches not only serve this practical function, but they are also the constituent



Fig. 3. Detail of the MFAH Chasuble, showing the pile-on-pile velvet (a) and *bouclé* technique (b).
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Fig. 4. Detail of the MFAH Chasuble, showing the *or nué* technique. Photo was taken by the author.

elements that give color and shape to the images on the orphreys.

Because these couching stitches enwrap the gold metal threads, it may be argued that they dampen the embroidery's luminosity and make it appear duller and less sumptuous. But in fact, they create a more complex light effect that can be quite unexpected. In his nuanced analysis of the Burgundian paraments of the Order of the Golden Fleece, art historian Andrew Hamilton makes the apt analogy between *or nué* and the light effect created with a Venetian blind. He argues that the couching stitches function like the slats, while the gold metal threads are the light that shines through. And, just as light still shines through when the slats of a blind are shut tightly, even when the couching stitches are dense and placed close to each other, the faint golden glow is still palpable underneath the silk stitches.¹⁵ The embroidery would glisten and sparkle even in the densely couched areas that appear to have no gold, as if light shines from within the scenes.

By adjusting the placement, amount, and color properties of the couching stitches, the embroiderer could achieve various visual effects. On the MFAH chasuble, the vibrant colors of the pillar orphrey (Fig. 1) form a strong contrast to the overall golden outlook of the

cross orphrey (Fig. 2), where the colored silk couching stitches are only sparsely used, leaving a large portion of the gold metal threads uncovered.¹⁶ Moreover, the colors of these couching stitches are paler and duller than on the pillar orphrey; thus, they complement very well the golden outlook instead of clashing with it.¹⁷

While *or nué* was mainly used for areas of clothing and architecture to give an impression of material splendor, the figures' faces do not show gold metal threads. Take Joachim's profile in the panel of *Presentation of the Virgin Mary* (Fig. 4) for example: the golden threads form U-turns around his hair and face, leaving the rough ground fabric to serve as the skin, on which Joachim's bearded facial features were stitched with black, brown, and madder silks. But it seems that the ground fabric is too rough for the refined young features of Gabriel and the Virgin; thus, their faces in the *Annunciation* scene were created upon a smoother material (Fig. 5). Apparently, this material is partially covered by an ivory-colored silk, which constitutes the highlights on the faces (Fig. 6). The stitching technique used here is split stitch, where each stitch goes backward and splits the fibers of the previous stitch before it goes forward. This technique creates a denser



Fig. 5. Detail of the MFAH Chasuble, showing the embroidery of the *Annunciation*.
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coverage of the ground fabric and makes the surface appear smooth and refined, capable of rendering subtle details. For this reason, split stitch is also called “needle painting.”¹⁸

Apart from *or nué* and split stitch, the embroiderer also used other techniques to achieve

various effects, especially on the *Annunciation* panel. For example, while chain stitch was used for rendering the straight portion of Gabriel’s hair (Fig. 6), a different type of stitch with rougher texture was used for the curly part. Thicker gold metal threads accentuate some of the outlines. They

are either fixed to the ground fabric with couching stitches, such as those that form the upper edge of Gabriel's wing, or sewn down with stem stitches, which create a pattern of twist, such as the border of Gabriel's banderole and the Virgin Mary's halo. To achieve a raised effect for the four-lobed pattern on the floor tiles, the embroiderer

used bullion stitch, in which the gold metal thread was wrapped around the needle to form a coil and then sewn down on the ground fabric. In addition, red couching stitches form the so-called diaper pattern in the background. They also fix the gold metal wefts to the ground fabric, being decorative and functional at the same time.



Fig. 6. Details from the MFAH Chasuble, showing the face and hair of angel Gabriel in the *Annunciation* embroidery. Photo was taken by the author.

Iconography

The Virgin is featured prominently on the two orphreys, more so than Christ.¹⁹ She is present in every narrative panel, most notably the two lavishly embroidered scenes of *The Annunciation* and *Presentation of the Virgin Mary at the Temple*. The popularity of Marian devotion reached new levels during the high Middle Ages and grew continually throughout the late medieval and Renaissance eras. Mary's genealogy and stories of her life were made familiar through widely circulated texts like Jacobus da Voragine's *Golden Legend* and the ever-present images of her in both religious and secular settings.²⁰ But Mary's prominence on the MFAH chasuble probably had more specific significance. It is possible that the chasuble belonged to a church that had the Virgin as its titular figure, or it could be that the chasuble was made to be worn during feasts dedicated to her. It could also be the case that the donor of the orphreys was particularly devoted to the Virgin.²¹

The *Annunciation* panel (Fig. 5) follows the conventional iconography in Northern Renaissance paintings, which shows Mary and Gabriel in an interior setting surrounded by domestic furnishings.²² In terms of the holy figures' postures, the closest I have come across is an *Annunciation* painted

by an obscure painter referred to as the Master of Saint John the Evangelist (Fig. 7). In both renditions, Mary opens her hands outward in a gesture of awe.²³ Her haloed head tilts back towards the angelic messenger, who is draped in a white alb underneath a billowing cope. In both renditions, Gabriel is holding a staff with one hand while gesturing towards heaven with the other. Even the ways in which the figures' draperies spill over the floor are comparable. Peculiar to the chasuble's *Annunciation* is the mannerist way in which the archangel tilts his head away from the Virgin. I have not seen such expression elsewhere.

Another potential visual source for the embroidery design is the Office of the Virgin in illuminated Books of Hours. Particularly, images showing the Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple in a group of late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century French Books of Hours in the Morgan Library & Museum in New York bear strong resemblance to the embroidered panel with the same subject (Fig. 8).²⁴ The illuminations appear in the Office of the Virgin. All of them show the small figure of Mary ascending a staircase with vaulted arch, while her parents Saints Anne and Joachim stand on the left side and watch her attentively.



Fig. 7. Master of Saint John the Evangelist, *Annunciation with Saints Lazarus and Anthony Abbot, Catherine of Alexandria and Clare, Anthony of Padua and John the Baptist, Francis and Jerome*, 1490–1500, tempera on panel, 234 x 223 cm. Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan.

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Fig. 8. Detail of the MFAH Chasuble, showing the embroidery of *Presentation of the Virgin Mary in the Temple*. Photo was taken by the author.

These elements all correspond to those on the MFAH chasuble. It is possible that the designer of the embroidery drew inspiration from illuminations in Books of Hours, given their immense popularity—they are sometimes called “medieval bestsellers”—and the essential place of the Office of the Virgin within them.²⁵

A further detail that attests to the affinity between manuscript illumination and the MFAH chasuble embroidery are the bands of meandering clouds, whence the prophets emerge on the short arm of the cross orphrey (Fig. 9). They are fashioned in a stylized manner typical of how clouds are rendered in medieval and Renaissance manuscripts.²⁶

The Chasuble as Liturgical Spectacle

Several inconsistencies can be discerned among the orphrey panels. Apart from the difference in color schemes between the pillar and cross orphreys already mentioned, the execution of the needlework also differs considerably. This is especially evident in the garments worn by some of the figures. On *The Annunciation* and *The Presentation of the Virgin Mary* panels (Figs. 5 and 8), folds are delineated with soft and undulating lines, and volume of the draperies is built up convincingly with silk threads of

varying shades. By contrast, garments on the pillar orphrey and on *The Visitation* panel of the cross orphrey are less naturalistic due to excessive linearity in the folds and a lack of gradation in the use of colors. These discrepancies suggest that the orphrey panels were made by different embroiderers. Similar to many liturgical vestments, the MFAH chasuble is a work of assemblage, and it went through a series of alterations before reaching the appearance we see today.²⁷ The orphrey panels were sewn together and then joined with the velvet, which was also assembled from several pieces. This is evident from the seams between the embroidered panels and those that run across the velvet in the middle of the front side, at the shoulders, and at the bottom of the back side. Collecting all the pieces to be used for the chasuble could be a gradual process, especially if they came from different sources—whether directly commissioned by members of a church, recycled from other garments,²⁸ or donated by wealthy patrons²⁹—and arrived at the church sacristy at different times.

When assembling the pieces, the artist often had to work in a creative and flexible manner with what was available rather than following a predetermined design or fixed scheme. If this was the case



Fig. 9. Detail of the MFAH Chasuble, showing one of the prophets on the cross orphrey.
Photo was taken by the author.

for the MFAH chasuble, it could not only explain the visual discrepancies between the different panels, but also account for yet another inconsistency between them: apart from the placement of *The Annunciation* panel, which is expectedly put at the most prominent position

given the critical importance of Christ's Incarnation to the ritual of Mass, the arrangement of the rest of the narrative scenes is quite puzzling, as they neither obey chronological order nor follow any apparent iconographic logic. The license in the order suggests that

narrative specificity was not held to an exacting standard. Instead, visual coherence and visual impact were the goals that took precedence. For the pillar orphrey in the front, the color scheme is unified with vibrant colors of red, green and blue, while the cross orphrey has all the sumptuous panels that sparkle with golden light.

Such arrangement took consideration of the varied ways in which the vestment would be displayed at different moments of the liturgy and helped convey the transubstantiation doctrine in a more persuasive way. From the thirteenth century, it became a common practice for priests to turn their backs to the congregation and face the altar at the moments of consecrating the eucharist species and the elevation of the Host.³⁰ Therefore, only the back of the chasuble would have been visible to the lay audience,³¹ and understandably it is often more lavishly decorated than the front, as is the case here.³² The bottom panel on the cross orphrey (Fig. 2) that shows *The Visitation*, however, displays vibrant colors and therefore creates a visual disjunction with the above panels. The incoherence may appear quite jarring in a static museum display but actually makes liturgical sense. When a priest elevates the Host or the chalice, the deacon(s) kneeling behind him would

lift the bottom of his chasuble³³—a detail commonly recognized and illustrated in pictorial renditions of this ritual moment, such as *The Mass of Saint Giles* (Fig. 10). In doing so, they would ensure that the cross orphrey remained a coherent display of golden splendor during the most important moment of the Eucharist liturgy. Another factor to consider is that the bottom panel must have suffered the most wear and tear because of this bending motion. Therefore, it could be that a more durable panel with more couching stitches was put at the bottom to withstand the stress.

It can be instructive to imagine the chasuble being worn by a priest during Mass in its original, early modern setting. Many components on the chasuble can be activated by light, such as the pile-on-pile pattern of the velvet, the *bouclé* loops on the brocade, the *ornu * embroidery, the sleek surface of the “needle painting,” and the patterns and motifs that are set in relief. The chasuble would have been galvanized by the iridescent light filtered through stained glass windows and by the flickering candlelight in a church, thus becoming a transcendent sight that heightened spirituality and intensified the sacramental mystery. As the priest stood up from a kneeling position and raised his arms to elevate the eucharistic Host, the



Fig. 10. Master of Saint Giles, *The Mass of Saint Giles*, ca. 1500, oil on oak panel, 62.3 x 46 cm, The National Gallery, London. ©The National Gallery, London (CC BY-NC-ND).

cross orphrey was also elevated. To the congregation farther away in the back, the chasuble at the climactic moment might just look like a glowing cross, and the Holy Ghost at the top of the cross orphrey echoed the shape of the Host. The dramatic visual effects of the chasuble and the alignment of the elevated Host, the Holy Ghost, the Annunciation scene, and the cross, would facilitate the audience's understanding of the teachings that were, and still are, at the heart of the Catholic faith: that humanity is redeemed through Christ's Incarnation and his death on the cross, and that the consecrated eucharist species are the real body and blood of Christ, begotten through the Holy Ghost, just as "Word was made flesh"³⁴ in the Annunciation.

The 2020 CAA session focused on recent acquisitions at the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, the intended site for the 2020 MAHS meeting. The meeting was cancelled due to COVID-19, and the 2021 meeting was virtual. MAHS finally did meet in Houston in 2022.

¹ For a more detailed description of its condition, see Matthew Reeves, “Chasuble with Scenes from the Lives of Christ and the Virgin,” in *Late Medieval and Renaissance Textiles*, by Rosamund Garrett and Matthew Reeves (London: Sam Fogg, 2018), 58; the full provenance information provided by MFAH is as follows: “estate sale of Marzell von Nemes, Helbing, Munich, 1931; Maîtres Chapelle et Martin, Versailles, c. 1933–34; collection of Charles Ratton (1895–1986), Paris; Sam Fogg, London, 2018; purchased by MFAH, 2018” (“Unknown Flemish Chasuble with Scenes from the Lives of Christ and the Virgin,” The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, accessed February 20, 2022, <https://emuseum.mfah.org/objects/140412/chasuble-with-scenes-from-the-lives-of-christ-and-the-virgin>).

² The accession numbers of the Spanish chasubles are 36.38, 36.39, and 36.52.

³ One of the most impressive of these liturgical vestments is the *Marian Mantel*, which is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. An image is available at “Marienmantel des Meßornats des Ordens vom Goldenen Vlies (Pluviale),” Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, accessed February 20, 2022, <https://www.khm.at/objektdb/detail/86220/>.

⁴ Both Sam Fogg and the MFAH have dated the chasuble to around 1510. More precise dating and identification of the materials can be achieved by technical examination of the dyestuff, the selvedge, and the twist of the ground weave thread. A visual inspection of the underside is also desirable. However, it is covered by a linen cloth, which was probably added in the early

twentieth century. I would like to thank Ingrid Seyb, conservator at the MFAH, who provided me with this information. For the importance of inspecting the underside of velvets, see Lisa Monnas, “Introduction,” in *Renaissance Velvet* (London: V&A, 2012), 14–15; For dating church vestments in general, see Pauline Johnstone, *High Fashion in the Church: The Place of Church Vestments in the History of Art from the Ninth to the Nineteenth Century* (Leeds: Maney, 2002), 70, 141.

⁵ For the “fiddle-back” shape, see Christa C. Mayer-Thurman, *Raiment for the Lord's Service: A Thousand Years of Western Vestments* (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1975), 40; and Elizabeth Coatsworth and Gale Owen-Crocker, *Clothing the Past: Surviving Garments from Early Medieval to Early Modern Western Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 135.

⁶ For more examples of chasubles whose shape were altered at a later time, see Coatsworth and Owen-Crocker, *Clothing the Past*, 120–58.

⁷ Joseph Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient* (Freiburg: Herdersche, 1907), 169–71, 239. See also Maureen Miller, *Clothing the Clergy: Virtue and Power in Medieval Europe, c. 800–1200* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014), 11, 15, 34.

⁸ For a discussion of church leaders' efforts to inculcate the laity with Catholic doctrines through every aspect of the ritual, see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 98–108, esp. 103.

⁹ Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, 185.

¹⁰ The irregularly spaced, light-yellow stripes that run vertically through the length of the velvet seem to be the result of discoloration in those pile warp threads. A lab report on the silk threads and the dyestuff will probably shed light on the precise cause of the discoloration.

¹¹ In Renaissance paintings, gold brocade velvets are reserved for holy figures and people with high prestige, such as Saint Donatian in Jan van Eyck's *Virgin and Child with Canon van der Paele* in Groeningemuseum, Bruges, or the young Magus in Rogier van der Weyden's *Saint Columba Altarpiece* in Alte Pinakothek, Munich. For a comprehensive examination of fabrics represented in paintings, see Lisa Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters: Silk Fabrics in Italian and Northern Paintings, 1300–1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

For extant examples of Renaissance gold brocade velvet, see the fifteenth-century Dalmatic in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1975.1.1807, "Dalmatic, 15th Century," The Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed February 25, 2022, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/461237>) and a sixteenth-century Dalmatic in the Victoria and Albert Museum (T.372-1976, "Dalmatic, 1530–1569 (Made)," Victoria and Albert Museum, accessed February 25, 2022, <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O353555/dalmatic-unknown/>).

¹² Monnas, "Introduction," 12–13.

¹³ Monnas, "Introduction," 19.

¹⁴ The identification of this embroidery panel is debatable. It does not seem to follow any iconographic convention. The figures are so identified mainly because the small child held by the elderly woman is draped in a blue garment, which is characteristic of the Virgin.

¹⁵ Andrew Hamilton, "The Art of Embroidery in the Burgundian Paraments of the Order of the Golden Fleece," in *Staging the Court of Burgundy: Proceedings of the Conference "The Splendour of Burgundy," Groeningemuseum, Brugge, 27 March–21 July 2009*, ed. Wim Blockmans et al. (Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2013), 153.

¹⁶ According to Ingrid Seyb, the bright pink stitches under the three arches on the pillar orphrey and the arch at the bottom of the cross orphrey are probably later additions. See Ingrid Seyb, "Conservation Summary," MFAH curatorial file, September 13, 2018.

¹⁷ Although there is also the possibility that the original colors of the threads have faded.

¹⁸ Hamilton, "The Art of Embroidery," 154.

¹⁹ This aspect is not unprecedented, but still quite unusual for surviving chasubles. I only found two that are comparable to the MFAH chasuble in this respect. Both are in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, with accession numbers 329–1908 and T.27–1922. The so-called *Pienza Cope* is also unusual, as its embroidery panels feature female holy figures exclusively (see Wendy R. Larson, "Narrative Threads: The Pienza Cope's Embroidered 'Vitae'

and Their Ritual Setting,” *Studies in Iconography* 24 [2003]: 139–63).

²⁰ For the development of Marian devotion during the medieval and Renaissance eras, see Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 191–332.

²¹ Timothy B. Husband, “Ecclesiastical Vestments of the Middle Ages: An Exhibition,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 29, no. 7 (March 1971): 289. I follow the same argument given by Husband here for the figure of Saint George on a fifteenth-century chasuble.

²² Some examples of such *Annunciation* paintings include Robert Campin’s *The Annunciation Triptych* (56.70a–c, image available at “Annunciation Triptych (Merode Altarpiece), ca. 1427–32,” The Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed February 24, 2022, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/470304>) and two panels by Hans Memling (17.190.7, image available at “The Annunciation, ca. 1465–70, Hans Memling, Netherlandish” The Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed February 24, 2022, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437490>; and 1975.1.113, image available at “The Annunciation, 1480–89, Hans Memling, Netherlandish,” The Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed February 24, 2022, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/459055>) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA), and Rogier van der Weyden’s Louvre panel (INV 1982, image available at “L’Annonciation, 1400/1500 (XV^e siècle), Weyden, Rogier van der, Atelier de Pays-Bas du Sud, École de,” The Louvre,

accessed February 24, 2021, <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010061889>).

²³ This hand gesture is similar to those of the preachers in Fra Angelico’s *The Coronation of the Virgin* in the cell of San Marco, Florence. See Michael Baxandall, *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 65–66. Based on primary sources, Baxandall interprets this gesture as indicating that the preachers are discussing holy matters, even though none of the preachers has his mouth open in Fra Angelico’s painting.

²⁴ The illuminations in question can be found on MS H.5 fol. 30r, MS M.231 fol. 31r, MS M.1001 fol. 18r, MS M.189 fol. 17r, MS M.131 fol. 25r, and MS M.179 fol. 60v (images available at “Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts,” The Morgan Library and Museum, accessed February 23, 2022, <https://www.themorgan.org/manuscripts/list>).

²⁵ Roger S. Wieck, “Introduction,” in *Painted Prayers: The Books of Hours in Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York: George Braziller, in association with the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1997), 9–25.

²⁶ For one example, see the clouds beneath the angels in Jean Pucelle’s illumination of *The Crucifixion* in *The Hours of Jeanne d’Évreux*, fol. 68v, which is in the collection of MMA (accession no. 54.1.2, image available at “The Hours of Jeanne d’Évreux, Queen of France, ca. 1324–28, Jean Pucelle, French,” The Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed February 24,

2022, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/470309>).

²⁷ The alterations of the MFAH chasuble include the “fiddle-back” shape in the front, the linen lining added at a later time, and the pink stitches under several of the arches on the orphrey; see endnotes 5, 4, and 16 above respectively. For more examples that demonstrate these aspects of the liturgical vestments, see Elizabeth Coatsworth, “Survival, Recovery, Restoration, Re-Creation: The Long Life of Medieval Garments,” in *Refashioning Medieval and Early Modern Dress: A Tribute to Robin Netherton*, ed. Gale R. Owen-Crocker and Maren Clegg Hyer (Suffolk, UK: Boydell & Brewer, 2019), 63–65; and Christa C. Mayer-Thurman, “Ecclesiastical Textiles,” in *European Textiles in the Robert Lehman Collection* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001), 35–172.

²⁸ For example, the orphrey panels of a cope could be recycled and used on a chasuble. See the so-called *Butler-Bowdon Cope* (accession no. T.36–1955) and the Chasuble (accession no. 329–1908) in the Victoria and Albert Museum. See also Coatsworth and Owen-Crocker, *Clothing the Past*, 115, 151.

²⁹ A prominent donor of liturgical vestments was the Duchess Matilda of Saxony (1156–89). See Jitske Jasperse, “Matilda of Saxony’s Luxury Objects in Motion: Salving the Wounds of Conflict,” in *Moving Women Moving Objects (400–1500)*, ed. Tracy Chapman Hamilton and Mariah Proctor-Tiffany (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 95–103.

³⁰ Martin Kemp, *The Oxford History of Western Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 138.

³¹ For churches installed with a rood screen, the congregants could still be able to observe the Mass ritual through openwork and squints on the screen. See Paul Binski, “The English Parish Church and Its Art in the Later Middle Ages: A Review of the Problem,” *Studies in Iconography* 20 (1999): 12–14.

³² See the curatorial remarks on a fifteenth-century chasuble (accession no. T.256 to B-1967) in the Victoria and Albert Museum (image available at “Chasuble, 1400-1430 (Made),” Victoria and Albert Museum, accessed February 24, 2002, <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O84718/chasuble-unknown/>). See also John T. Doherty, “Ecclesiastical Vestments in the Modern Church,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 29, no. 7 (March 1971): 312.

³³ Adrian Fortescue, J. B. O’Connell, and Alcuin Reid, *The Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described* (London: Black, 2009), 140.

³⁴ John 1:14 (King James Version).