

The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt



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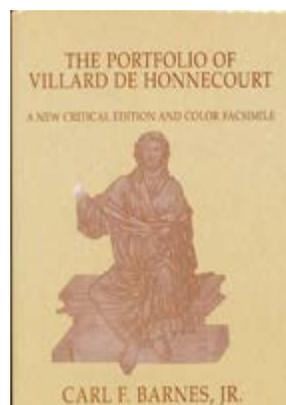
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This site brings together a variety of information concerning the portfolio of thirty-three leaves of drawings and recipes (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Fr 19093) of the 13th-century Picard artist Villard de Honnecourt, including several of my articles on the portfolio and an in-progress revision of my 1982 critical bibliography, *Villard de Honnecourt, the Artist and His Drawings* (Boston: G. K. Hall).

This is a large undertaking and must be broken into subheadings to be useful.

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 - A short [biography](#) of Carl F. Barnes, Jr.
 - A list of my [publications and presentations](#) on Villard de Honnecourt.
 - My [biography](#) of Villard in the *Dictionary of Art*.
 - An English translation of "Le '[Problème](#)' de Villard de Honnecourt."
 - An (in progress) revision of my 1982 Villard [bibliography](#).
 - A checklist of [subjects](#) in the portfolio, by folio.
 - An essay on the proper [designation](#) of the



Villard assemblage.

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Carl F. Barnes, Jr.

is professor emeritus of art history at Oakland University in Rochester, Michigan, where he taught from 1971 to 2001. He was educated at Christchurch School, Virginia (Diploma, 1953), Washington and Lee University (B.A., 1957) and Columbia University (M.A., 1959; Ph.D., 1967) where he was a student of Robert Branner. Before coming to Michigan, Barnes taught at the Pennsylvania State University (1960-1966) and at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (1966-1971). Barnes has served as president of the International Center of Medieval Art (ICMA, 1978-1981) and of the Association Villard de Honnecourt for the Interdisciplinary Study of Medieval Technology, Science, and Art (AVISTA, 1990-1991). He has published on medieval art and architecture in such scholarly publications as *Art Bulletin*, *Avista Forum Journal*, *Gesta*, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, *Manuscripta*, *Scriptorium*, and *Speculum* and is author of *The [Portfolio](#) of Villard de Honnecourt*, a critical facsimile edition with all leaves reproduced in color at full-size. Barnes lives in Rochester Hills, Michigan, with his wife, Anna, and a



Siamese cat named
Villard.

Barnes has published a book about his family and himself, [*Carefree, a Memoir of My Father and Family*](#)

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Carl F. Barnes, Jr. Translation

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Revised 31 October 2011

Villard de Honnecourt

by

Carl F. Barnes, Jr.

from

Macmillan Dictionary of Art

(London, 1996), vol. 32, pp. 569-571

Villard de Honnecourt (fl. c. 1220s?-1230s?). Picard artist.

1. Life and Career

Villard de Honnecourt is known only through a portfolio of 33 parchment leaves containing approximately 250 drawings preserved in Paris (Bibl. nat. de France, MS. Fr. 19093). There is no record of him in any known contract, guild register, inscription, payment receipt, tax record, or any other type of evidence from which the names of medieval artisans are learnt. Villard's fame is due to the uniqueness of his drawings and 19th-century inventiveness in crediting him with having "erected churches throughout the length and breadth of Christendom" without any documentary evidence that he designed or built any church anywhere, or that he was in fact an architect.

Who Villard was, and what he did, must be postulated from his drawings and the textual addenda to them on 26 of the 66 surfaces of the 33 leaves remaining in his portfolio. In these sometimes enigmatic inscriptions Villard gave his name twice (*Wilars dehonercort* [fol. 1v]; *Vilars dehoncort* [fol. 15r]), but said nothing of his occupation and claimed not a single artistic creation or monument of any type. He addressed his portfolio, which he termed a "book," to no one in particular, saying (fol. 1v) that it contained "sound advice on the techniques of masonry and on the devices of carpentry . . . and the techniques of representation, its features as the discipline of geometry commands and instructs it."

Villard probably was born in the village of Honnecourt-sur-l'Escault (Nord), south of Cambrai, in Picardy, France. When he was born is unknown, and nothing is known of his early training. The claim that he was educated in the Cistercian monastic school at Vaucelles is unsubstantiated. The tradition that Villard knew Latin is suspect: the one Latin word attributed to him, LEO (fols. 24r and 24v), is probably a 1533 addition to the portfolio.

When Villard made his drawings is unknown. Most of the identifiable monuments he drew date in the first quarter of the 13th century. Nothing Villard drew can be securely dated after c. 1240, suggesting that he may have been active earlier, in the 1220s and 1230s. It is unknown when and where he died.

Villard traveled extensively, but we do not know why. If his drawings of architectural monuments prove that he actually visited these monuments, rather than that he knew some or all of them through drawings

such as his own, he visited the cathedrals of Cambrai, Chartres, Laon, Meaux, Reims, and the abbey of Vaucelles in France; the cathedral of Lausanne in Switzerland; and the abbey of Pilis in Hungary. [Since I wrote in 1995 that Villard was at Pilis, I have been persuaded through discussion with Nigel Hiscock that while Villard *may* have been there, his drawing of the church pavement on fol. 15v does not prove so beyond all doubt.] He claimed (fol. 9v) to have "been in many lands" and (fol. 10v) that he "had been sent into the land of Hungary" where he (fol. 15v) "remained many days." But he did not say who sent him, or when or for what reason he was sent.

During a period of perhaps five to fifteen years, Villard made sketches of things he found interesting. At some unknown time in his life, he decided to make his drawings available to an unspecified audience. He arranged them in the sequence he wished, and then inscribed certain of them, or had them inscribed. These inscriptions are all by one professional scribal hand, and fit around the drawings with some care. The language is the basically the Picard dialect of Old French, with some Central French forms rather than Picard forms used consistently, for example, *ces* and *ceus* rather than *ches* and *cheus*. Occasionally, the different dialects exist side by side: on fol. 32r both the Picard *chapieles* and Central French *capieles*, "chapels," are found. The inscriptions vary in nature, some being explanations (e.g., fol. 6r: "Of such appearance was the sepulchre of a Saracen I saw one time"), others being instructions (e.g., fol. 30r: "If you wish to make the strong device one calls a trebuchet, pay attention here").

The Villard portfolio was rediscovered and first published in the mid-19th century during the height of the Gothic Revival movement in France and England. For this reason, Villard's architectural drawings, which comprise only about 16% of the total, attracted the greatest attention. This led writers to conclude that he was an architect, an assumption based on a fundamental error: the practical, stereotomical formulas on fols.20r and 20v were taken as proof that Villard was a trained mason, and it was not discovered until 1901 that these drawings and their inscriptions are by a later hand.

Since the 1970s there has been growing suspicion that Villard was not an architect or mason. It has been proposed that he may have been "a lodge clerk with a flair for drawing" or that his training may have been in metalworking rather than in masonry. The question is not yet resolved, but it may no longer be automatically assumed that he was a mason. It may be that Villard was not a professional craftsman of any type, but simply an inquisitive layman who had an opportunity to travel widely and took the seemingly unusual step of recording some of the things he saw during his travels.

2. The Portfolio

The portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt consists of 33 parchment leaves in a brown pigskin portfolio or wallet. This portfolio wraps around the back of the leaves and its two flaps overlap across the front to protect its contents. This portfolio may be the original container of the leaves, and formerly had buttons and leather thongs to hold it closed. The parchment leaves themselves generally are of poor quality, and variations in their sizes and textures suggest that Villard acquired them individually at different times in different places. These leaves are irregular in size but average 23-24 cm in height by 15-16 cm in width and are now stitched into the portfolio along their inner edges.

The 33 leaves of the Villard portfolio are arranged into seven gatherings as follows:

Quire	Bifolios	Folios	Total Leaves

I	3	1	7
II	2	3	7
III	1	1	3
IV	2	0	4
V	0	2	2
VI	4	0	8
VII	1	0	2
Totals	13	7	33

This assemblage is commonly called an *album de croquis* in French and a "sketchbook" in English. Neither term is accurate if one imagines a bound book of blank parchments leaves awaiting drawings. While Villard owned the portfolio, and even when it left his hands, the leaves were not stitched together or to the portfolio itself.

As many as 31 leaves are claimed to have been lost from the portfolio, but this figure is too large. Based on physical evidence (mainly fragmentary tabs), textual evidence (two references [fols. 14v and 30r] to drawings now missing), and gaps in 13th-century and 15th-century pagination schemes, the maximum number of leaves that can be proven to be lost from the portfolio is 13, with the possible loss of two additional leaves. Of these, the contents of at least two can be identified from inscriptions on surviving leaves: drawings of Cambrai Cathedral; and a drawing (elevation?) of a catapult. Eight leaves have been lost since the 15th century, and the other five to seven leaves disappeared earlier. There have been no leaves lost from the portfolio since the 18th century.

The subjects of Villard's drawings and inscriptions fall into ten categories: (i) animals, (ii) architecture, (iii) carpentry, (iv) church furnishings, (v) geometry, (vi) humans, (vii) masonry, (viii) mechanical devices, (ix) recipes or formulas, and (x) surveying. Puzzled by the variety of subjects treated by Villard in such random fashion, some writers have suggested that the leaves have been shuffled around in the portfolio and that this, coupled with losses, explains the pell-mell character of what remains. The effect of arbitrariness is real, but not because the leaves in the portfolio have been shuffled since it left Villard's hands. Codicological analysis shows that the seven gatherings are in the sequence Villard himself left them, and that within these gatherings the individual folios and bifolios are essentially as he arranged them.

Villard made his drawings over the years without any apparent master plan. The number of palimpsests in the portfolio indicate that at times he had no blank surfaces on which to draw, so he had to erase one drawing to make another. For the same reason he was forced to juxtapose drawings of unrelated subjects on individual leaves.

Villard's drawing technique was fairly complex, especially when he drew drapery. The preliminary drawing was done in leadpoint, contour first, then content. This contour was next reinforced with a light sepia wash. This completed most of his figure drawings, but some (e.g., fol.3v) he took several stages farther, first by a dark inking of contours and drapery folds, then by using leadpoint to shade drapery folds. For his architectural drawings, Villard employed pin-prick compass, straightedge, and in two instances, the Chartres and Lausanne roses on fols.15v and 16r, respectively, a circular template.

Villard was at his best rendering drapery and small objects, including insects (fol. 7v), and was less

successful in human figures, some of which are mere stick figures (fols. 18v and 19r). His treatments of the nude male figure after antique models (fols. 6r, 11v, 22r, and 29v) are among his more interesting drawings. Without exception, his architectural drawings vary from the actual buildings themselves. This has been explained as Villard's attempt to modify or "modernize" whatever he saw. Villard may have attempted this, but his architectural drawings suggest he understood very little about stereotomy and the actual design and construction of medieval buildings.

3. History and Significance

The history of Villard de Honnecourt portfolio is very imperfectly known. There is no proof that Villard left his drawings to a building lodge, and it has been plausibly proposed that they survived not for their utilitarian value but for their unique antiquarian appeal.

Sometime after Villard several leaves were scraped down, and the "how to" drawings mentioned above were added to fols. 20r and 20v. The formulaic *par chu fait om . . .* ("by this [means] one makes . . .") inscriptions on this leaf are written in a pure Picard form of Old French. There is internal evidence that these formulae may have been copied from a treatise on practical or constructive geometry. The same hand added repetitious (fols. 6v) and sometimes incorrect (fol. 15r, bottom drawing) inscriptions to the portfolio. Somewhat later in the 13th century a different hand did the same.

Sometime in the 13th century after the portfolio left Villard's possession, an attempt was started to paginate the portfolio by lettering each leaf, but this was abandoned on the first leaf of Gathering II. In the 15th century someone named Mancel attempted two different pagination schemes, each of which is inconsistent within itself. We learn that eight leaves have been lost since Mancel's time, because on fol. 33v he noted that "in this book are 41 leaves." Two 18th-century Arabic numbering schemes confirm that the 33 leaves now in the portfolio were in their current sequence at that time.

The portfolio belonged to the Félibien family by 1600, and passed from this family, probably through a bequest of Dom Michel Félibien, to the Parisian monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. In 1795 it became a part of the French national collections, and was catalogued in the Bibliothèque nationale as MS. Lat. 1104. In 1865 it was assigned its current shelf number.

The Villard portfolio is a unique and valuable artifact. From it we learn something of the life and interests of a 13th-century artist. Through careful analysis of it, we can recreate the steps of that artist's drawing technique. Through codicological investigation of it we can determine what he thought was more and less important in certain of his drawings.

Since its rediscovery and publication in the 19th century, the Villard portfolio has been interpreted in various ways. The least persuasive of these are that it was an encyclopedia of architectural knowledge, that it reveals the secret of stereotomical practices of the Gothic period, or that it was a *Bauhüttenbuch*, a shop manual of a north French building lodge. The most that can be accurately claimed is that the Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt records in visual form the multitude of interests of an intelligent, well-traveled 13th-century Picard and consists of drawings possibly but not certainly made for mnemonic use as a model book.

4. Bibliography

Click here ([X](#)) to see the "Villard Bibliography" sub-page of this Web site.

22 December 2003

The 'Problem' of Villard de Honnecourt

by

Carl F. Barnes, Jr.

Original English Text of
"Le 'Problème' de Villard de Honnecourt,"
Les Bâisseurs des Cathédrales Gothiques
(Strasbourg, 1989), pp. 209-223

Dedicated to the Memory of Robert Branner

(1927-1973)

Since 1849 there has been an almost absolute belief that the 13th-century Picard draftsman Villard de Honnecourt was a professional architect or master mason. This is not based on anything Villard claimed about himself, or because we know of any building he designed or built. It is because Jules Quicherat, the first serious commentator on the Villard drawings, wrote that Villard was an architect.(1) This designation is still current in most standard encyclopaedias,(2) although in recent years scholars have come to question this traditional designation. I was the first to do so, in a paper entitled "Villard de Honnecourt: Architect or Dilettante?," delivered to the Society of Architectural Historians in Los Angeles, California USA on 3 February 1977.(3) Others have since followed my lead or independently have come to the same conclusion.(4)

I originally was inspired to rethink the traditional view that Villard was a professional architect through conversations with Robert Branner and by this comment in one of the last things he wrote: "Despite his [Villard's] fame and undoubted interest, the question that has always bothered me has been: Was Villard in fact an architect or only a lodge clerk with a flair for drawing?"(5) The "Problem of Villard de Honnecourt" has not been solved, and Branner's question is no less valid today than it was in 1973. I would like to present here ten reasons, based on the paper presented in Los Angeles, for reconsidering the traditional view that Villard de Honnecourt was a professional mason.

(1)

When Villard added inscriptions to the drawings in his portfolio, or had them inscribed,(6) he included his name twice,(7) but nowhere did he say who he was personally or professionally. He asked that people remember him and pray for his soul,(8) a very human but in no sense professional claim on history. One

may not assume that Villard omitted mention of his profession or accomplishments because he was too modest to do so. The very act of recommending his drawings to others demonstrates Villard's pride both in himself and in his drawings. He claimed to have travelled widely.(9) And he gave advice freely, several times claiming proudly, in effect, "if you want to do such and such, this is the way to do it."(10)

If Villard was a professional in some craft guild, why did he not employ the title "master" (*maître, magister*)? From Nicolas of Verdun on the Shrine of the Virgin at Tournai in 1205 to Hugues Libergier on his tombstone at Saint-Nicaise at Reims in 1263 (Fig. 1) (12),

Figure 1. Reims, Cathedral of Notre-Dame: Tombstone of Hignes Libergier, Architect of Saint-Nicaise at Reims, 1263 (Photo: Carl F. Barnes, Jr.)

master craftsmen signed their works and employed the title "master" if they were entitled to do so. Architects honored themselves, or were honored by others after their deaths, in prominent inscriptions on the buildings they had built.(13)

But, given every opportunity to do so, Villard did not give himself a title. I submit that he did not call himself "Master Villard" because he was not a professional in any of the arts.

(2)

It being assumed that Villard de Honnecourt was an architect, every building shown in his drawings, and some not shown, have at one time or another been attributed to him.(14) These attributions range from the randomly impossible, such as Emile Mâle's claim that Villard "... s'en va aux extrémités du monde chrétien bâtir des églises..."(15) to absurd specifics, the foremost example of which may be the claim that in 1215 Villard and Pierre de Corbie made a plan for Reims which was rejected and which they subsequently used at Cambrai in 1227.(16)

The facts are quite different. There is not any building of any type, extant or destroyed, anywhere, that can be securely attributed to Villard. He is unknown from any building contract, cornerstone or labyrinth inscription, guild register, payment receipt, tax record, tombstone, or any other type of evidence from which the names of medieval builders are learned. Villard is known to history uniquely through his portfolio. And in this portfolio this otherwise proud man says nothing whatsoever of having been involved in the design or construction of any building or any part of any building.

The eight identifiable buildings recorded in Villard's drawings (Cambrai, Chartres, Laon, Lausanne, Meaux, Pilis, Reims, and Vaucelles) (17);obviously cannot all have been designed and/or built by one individual. It is not even certain that Villard visited all eight of the sites that can be identified in his drawings. It is possible, perhaps likely, that he did so; but Villard could have copied drawings of buildings which he never actually saw *in situ*.

Villard's drawings of parts of Gothic buildings does not prove that he was the architect of any one of them. In sum, there is no unequivocal evidence to associate Villard with the design or construction of any Gothic building or any part of any Gothic building.(18)

(3)

Since nothing whatsoever is known about Villard except what can be deduced from his portfolio, how one interprets the portfolio determines how one categorizes Villard. Scholars are thoroughly divided on the nature, and therefore the purpose, of Villard's drawings. On the one hand, there is what might be called the "Swiss-German School," founded by Hans R. Hahnloser, who believed the portfolio is a *Bauhüttenbuch*, and whose motto is perhaps best expressed by Paul Frankl as "[the Villard portfolio] is a textbook encompassing everything a Gothic architect needed to learn."(19) The alternate interpretation of the nature of the Villard portfolio is that of the "French School" which, while generally accepting the view that Villard was an architect, steadfastly denies Hahnloser's contention that the portfolio is a *Bauhüttenbuch*. The French generally term the portfolio an *album*, and Viollet-le-Duc's characterization of it summarizes fairly the French view: "[L'album de Villard de Honnecourt n'est] ni un traité, ni un exposé de principes classés avec méthode, ni un cours d'architecture théorique et pratique, ni le fondation d'un ouvrage [sur l'architecture]." (20) With the notable exceptions of François Bucher and John Harvey, most American and British scholars side with the French.(21)

Ironically, the multiplicity of subjects in the portfolio provides each "school" adequate evidence that its interpretation is the correct one. The French applaud Villard's versatility; as early as 1859 Prosper Mérimée compared Villard to Leonardo da Vinci for his multiplicity of interests(22) and view the drawings as the *carnet de voyage* of an individual of exceptional interests. The *Bauhüttenbuch* advocates see the variety of subjects as certain proof that the Gothic architect had "omnivorous curiosity"(23) and, since Villard had such curiosity, he *per force* has to have been an architect.

No one will ever know precisely why Villard made his drawings. Yet it is relatively easy to demonstrate that the portfolio could not have been a *Bauhüttenbuch*, a "practical encyclopaedia of building arts and crafts compiled for the permanent 'lodge' of a great church..." We have the portfolio rather as Villard himself arranged it and left it to posterity, with minimal loss of leaves since the 13th century.(24) Any neutral observer, confronting the arbitrariness of Villard's drawings,(25) has to question the view that the portfolio was an encyclopaedia.

It is no more rational to view the Villard portfolio as a treatise or manual. If it were a treatise, its text should be as important as its illustrations. But the captions were added, in no apparent pattern, after the drawings were made. The significance of this has been characterized best by Lon R. Shelby: "Even a brief perusal of the contents [of the Villard portfolio] should convince a reader that it is not an illustrated textbook; at the most it is a texted illustration-book."(27)

The French view of the Villard portfolio as an album in the sense of a prefabricated sketchbook of bound, blank leaves is untenable.(28) The best that can be said is that over an unspecified period of time Villard made a number of drawings of diverse subjects, including architecture. These drawings he ultimately decided to inscribe, or to have inscribed, for an unspecified audience. This scarcely constitutes convincing proof that Villard was an architect.

(4)

On the 33 surviving leaves of the Villard portfolio there are approximately 250 different drawings.(29) Of these 250 drawings, 74 (approximately 29 percent) concern architecture in its broadest sense, excluding carpentry and church furnishings. Of these 74 drawings, 33 are not by Villard.(30) Thus Villard's drawings that concern architecture total 41 in number, about 16 percent of the surviving drawings.(31) It seems reasonable to expect that a Gothic mason, no matter how curious or omnivorous, would have included a

higher percentage of architectural drawings than this among his creations, whatever their purpose.

This is speculation, admittedly; but there is an unexpected pattern to Villard's drawings of architecture. About half are views and plans of architecture, and about half appear to concern stereometry or masonry construction. But in fact, about half of these latter do not concern stereometry, being drawings of templates of profile designs.(32) While there is some room for difference of interpretation, it can be argued that only nine of Villard's 250 surviving drawings (three percent) concern stereometry.(33) This is a modest number indeed for a portfolio that Paul Frankl termed "a textbook encompassing everything a Gothic architect needed to learn."

(5)

Jules Quicherat and other 19th-century writers who created the tradition that Villard de Honnecourt was an architect-mason did so in large part due to the stereometric instructional drawings found on fol. 20r and the top of fol. 20v (Fig. 2). These drawings and their inscriptions offer specific, practical advice to masons, for example, how to find the center of a column, how to cut an oblique voussoir, how to make the area of the walks of a cloister equal to the area of its garth.(34) Each instruction begins the same way, *par chu* ... ("by this [means one accomplishes such an such])," and these drawings and inscriptions probably were copied from a slightly earlier 13th-century treatise on practical geometry.(35)

Whether or not copied from an older treatise, these drawings and inscriptions are not by Villard. They are addenda to the Villard portfolio on palimpsest leaves. This was first realized only in 1901,(36) which means that everyone in the 19th century who "created a career" for Villard did so under the misconception that the stereometric drawings were by Villard. To define a profession this way is like judging an artist's style totally on restorations and forgeries.

It has long been claimed that so-called "Master II" was an apprentice or pupil in the lodge in which Villard worked,(38) and more recently it has been proposed that Villard worked with "Master II" to get his portfolio organized into something useful.(39) The simple truth is that nothing whatsoever is known of "Master II." Whoever he was, his appearance in the portfolio does nothing to strengthen the claim that Villard was a professional mason. If anything, his appearance weakens that claim, in since "Master II" made palimpsests of certain of Villard's leaves in order to add true practical advice on stereometry.

(6)

Villard gives advice in a number of places in his portfolio. However, except for his recipe for a Cannabis-based painkiller on fol. 33v, most of his advice concerns mechanical devices(40) and is quite vague. For example, for the portable candleholder, he says, "See here a sconce that is good for monks in order to carry their burning candles. You are able to make it if you know how to design."(41) In his designs of church furniture,(42) he gives details about the numbers of pieces, or parts, but not how to assemble them.

Only once does Villard attempt to give advice about construction or architecture. On fol. 9v a long inscription describes the elevation of the Laon tower drawn on fol. 10r (Fig. 3). After describing the various stages of the tower, Villard concludes, "... and so consider, for if you wish to build great pier-buttresses, it behooves you to have [pier-buttresses] that have enough depth. Take care in your affair and you will act wisely and nobly."(43) Such advice is about as useful as telling someone to "drive carefully" or "take care."

Villard's instructions are vague, inconsistent, and very different from those found in technical treatises such

as Theophilus Presbyter's *De diversis artibus* or Mathes Roriczer's *Buchlein von der Fialen Gerechtigkeit*.(44) Villard's drawings and inscriptions do not constitute a technical treatise, and in the one place where he gives advice on construction, that advice is common-sense commentary, not technical instruction.

(7)

The key to medieval design of real and micro-architecture was quadrature or rotation-of-squares. And yet, nowhere in the portfolio is there any proof that Villard understood this method of design. The celebrated "face in the square" on fol. 19v (Fig. 4) is not rotation of squares. As Paul Frankl noted long ago, it is a scheme of bisecting diagonals used to transfer designs from one scale to another, as from a cartoon on parchment to stained glass or fresco.(45) There is but one instance in which Villard drew a square-within-a-square which could lead one to believe he understood quadrature. In a sketch of two wrestlers on fol. 19r, one square defines the shoulders (top), backs (sides) and knees (bottom) of the figures, and a rotated square within that square appears to define the beltlines of the figures (Fig. 5). However, the two squares were added after the figures were drawn, and could not have generated the design.(46)

In his one architectural drawing clearly involving quadrature, the rose window of the south arm terminal at the Cathedral of Lausanne, Switzerland, Villard completely misunderstood what he saw (Figs.6 and 7). Robert Willis observed in 1859 that in Villard's drawing, "the unique principle of this remarkable composition is totally lost."(47)

Villard clearly misunderstood the design principle of the Lausanne rose, which is that of quadrature: "Only someone still not totally imbued with the rotational precepts could have so thoroughly botched up an obvious design."(48) Several explanations for this have been offered: that he was attempting to "modernize" the design; and that he did the drawing long after he had seen the rose and had forgotten its details. Recently, an intriguing third explanation has been set forth, namely, that Villard drew with templates that created a crude and inexact system of quadrature but which prevented him from transposing the designs of his model exactly.(49)

The simple truth is that throughout his drawings Villard's geometry is inconsistent and arbitrary. And he seems not to have known the most elemental and fundamental of all medieval "design generators."(50)

(8)

Villard's drawings do not reflect the true proportions of the buildings he drew. This is most notably true of his drawings of Reims, begun in 1211 and thus underway for perhaps ten to twenty years when Villard visited the site. Reims is characterized in interior elevation by a clerestory which is the same height as the main arcade, the two separated by a band triforium (Fig. 8). Villard drew something quite different: a building with a tall triforium and clerestory windows approximately the same size as those in the aisles (Fig. 9). Villard's Reims is more Burgundian than Champenois in proportion.

To explain the discrepancy between Villard's Reims and the "real Reims," it has been argued that Villard improved the design he actually saw;(51) that he did not see the completed building and, therefore, guessed incorrectly at what the completed structure would have been;(52) and that he based his drawings on drawings he saw in the chantier at Reims, details of which were subsequently modified or omitted when actual construction was carried out.(53)

It is impossible to determine precisely when Villard was at Reims and, therefore, how much of the

completed cathedral he could have seen when he was there. The idea that his omission of vaults in his drawings proves that he was there before the vaults were in place is unconvincing, a point made by Francis Salet in 1967.(54) Villard probably omitted vaults because he could not figure out a way to draw the projection towards the viewer (55) and because, had he attempted to draw the curvature of the vaults, he would have hidden details, especially of the window tracery, which were of special interest to him.

Villard simply misunderstood the proportions of Reims, a failing best characterized by Peter Kidson: "The man who drew the elevation of Reims [fol. 31v] knew nothing of the geometrical system which determined the relations between its stages. What he drew was nonsense; something which betrays either a garbled misunderstanding or else total ignorance of the ways in which contemporary cathedral designs were put together."(56)

This is a harsh but accurate criticism; and it characterizes the simple truth that Villard understood little of the proportions of the architecture he saw around him. The argument is not that Villard's drafting cannot be favorably compared with that of a modern architect. Such a comparison would be absurd, not merely unfair; the argument is that Villard misunderstood the design of the architecture he saw.

(9)

It is reasonable to expect a Gothic architect to understand the construction he observed. However, Villard misunderstood the construction of Reims. In his aisle window he has the aisle vault springers at the level of the springing of the lancet arches in the aisle window, whereas in fact they are lower.(57)

His drawings of the buttressing system at Reims reveal a fundamental misunderstanding of how the flyers had to work. In the actual building the lower flyer abutts the clerestory wall at the level of the springing of the main vaults, well above the springing of the main vaults at the level of the bottom of the clerestory oculus, and the upper flyer abutts the dripwall of the clerestory. Villard has misunderstood this completely and locates his lower flyer at the level of the springing of the main vault and his upper flyer at the level of the top of the clerestory lancets (cf. Figs 8 and 9). This has the effect of leaving him no space for the clerestory oculus, as Branner pointed out long ago. Far from being "the most forceful architectural design of the thirteenth century ... [showing] a straightforward and clear vision of a mature master mason who not only understood a complex combination of parts but also their structural dynamics,"(58) Villard's "shifting the buttresses downward would be considered nothing short of irresponsible on the part of any master mason."(59)

Likewise, in his exterior elevation drawing of Reims Villard locates the flyers (not shown) but their emplacements are indicated by capitals between the clerestory windows differently both from his section drawing and from the reality of the building itself (Figs. 10 and 11). It asks much indeed to accept as a master mason one so inconsistent and indifferent to the structural realities of the architecture of his day.(60)

Villard's drawings of Reims on fols. 30v through 32v prove that he was quite interested in details of the masonry of the cathedral. He was especially interested in the windows, so much so that François Bucher has proposed that Villard was a sub-contractor for the windows of the building.(61) Villard gave many window details on fol. 32r (Fig.10), some of which relate to the divisions show in the right window of the chapel on fol. 30v.

However, the accuracy of these details as contrasted with the inaccuracy of his pier designs raises the question as to why is there such a difference? Of his pier plans Villard says, "... throughout all these pillars

the joints are as they ought to be."(62) But, in fact, they are not: Villard has shown the embedded colonnettes set perpendicular to, not parallel and mortared with, the joints of the pier core.(63)

Yet the profile of the pier is rendered very accurately, including the setbacks of the plinth. This contradiction between exterior and interior exactitudes raises a critical question about Villard's stereometric competency: how could he fail so miserably to understand the construction of a pier and at the same time render so correctly its profile? It could be that Villard was at Reims after the piers were in place, so that while he could measure the pier profile, he could not observe the internal configuration of the pier. This may be, but Villard himself provides the explanation for the discrepancy. He begins his inscription concerning the window pieces, "See here the templates of [the windows of] the chapels of this page therebefore [fol. 31v]"(64) In short, Villard was drawing not from real architecture, but from models for real architecture. Templates provide exact profiles, and these Villard could understand. But even with the actual Reims piers before him, he could not understand their construction.

(10)

Even a hurried look through Villard's drawings shows that he was at his best when representing small objects, whether small bronze *ars sacra* pieces such as the Crucifixion on fol. 8r (Fig. 13), or animals as small as insects such as common flies and crayfish.(65) In such drawings his proportions and his details are impressive. And certain of his drawings are most likely copied from manuscript illuminations and initials (Fig. 14).(66) In sum, we have in these small drawings the habits and skills of a man accustomed to working at small scale, not the gigantic sizes of buildings.

Villard's drawing technique is that of a metalworker, especially a niello worker, as I analyzed in detail in a study published in 1981 in *Gesta*.(67) It is not necessary to associate Villard with any profession, but if one insists on doing so, metalwork rather than architecture, is the best possibility.

Conclusion

The "Problem of Villard de Honnecourt" remains to be solved. My challenge to the tradition that Villard was a Gothic architect belittles neither him nor his drawings. Villard was, in the best sense of the word, a dilettante, "one who delights in the world around him." No profession explains the multiplicity of Villard's interests, and we are the richer for it.

My challenge to the view that Villard was a master mason is to try to break down the stereotype of Villard. Only if we escape this bind can we look freshly at, and learn anew from, Villard's portfolio of drawings. By this means alone can we see Villard's work freshly, and with the same engaging enthusiasm with which he viewed the world around him. And therein lies the hope of someday solving the "Problem of Villard de Honnecourt."

Endnotes

(1) Jules Quicherat, "Notice sur l'album de Villard de Honnecourt, architecte du XIIIe siècle," *RA*, ser. 1, vol. 6 (1849), pp. 65-80, 164-188, 209-226, and pls. 116-118. For the literature on Villard from 1666 through 1981, see Barnes, Villard. [For literature on Villard 1982-1998 [click here](#) to see "Villard Bibliography."]

(2) E.g., *Der Grosse Brockhaus*, 17th rev. ed., Weisbaden, 1957, XII, p. 203. By contrast, Emmanuel Bénézit,

Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs, et graveurs, rev. ed., Paris, 1976, X, p. 512, treats Villard simply as a draftsman.

(3) See *JSAH*, 36 (1977), p. 214. I have presented modified versions of that paper some twenty times since it was first delivered, and I would like to acknowledge the support of Jean Bony who heard that first 1977 presentation and encouraged me to develop my thesis. I have benefitted greatly from conversations Harry B. Titus, Jr.

(4) See Barnes, *Villard*, pp. 102-104. Questioning the tradition that Villard was an architect has caused confusion: "To the 19th century Villard was the most celebrated of Gothic architects. In recent literature he appears as no architect at all, but as a master mason, a carver, a metalworker curious about building, an administrator, and even as a cleric dabbling in architecture," (Franklin Toker, "Gothic Architecture by Remote Control: an Illustrated Building Contract of 1340," *AB*, 67 (1985), pp. 67-95, esp. p. 67.

(5) Robert Branner, "Books: Gothic Architecture," *JSAH*, 32 (1973), pp. 327-333, esp. p. 331.

(6) It is not certain that Villard himself added the inscriptions to his drawings. He may have employed a professional scribe. See Carl F. Barnes, Jr., "A Note on the Bibliographic Terminology in the Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt," *Manuscripta*, 31 (1987), pp. 71-76

(7) Fol. 1v (*Wilars dehonecort*) and fol. 15r (*Vilars de honcort*). A 13th-century addition to the portfolio on fol. 15r calls him "*Ulardus d[e] hunecort*," and a 15th-century addition on fol. 3r terms him "*de honnecor*."

(8) Fol. 1v: *Wilars dehonecort vos salve et si proie a tos ceus qui de ces engins ouverront con lon trovera en cest liivre quil proient por sarme et quil lor sovienge de lui.*

(9) Fol. 9v: *Jai este en mult de tieres*

(10) E.g., fol. 17v: *si vos voles vier .i. bon conble legier a vote de fust prendes aluec garde; fol. 30r: se vos voles faire le fort engieng con apiele trebucet prendes ce garde.*

(11) HOC OPUS FECIT MAGISTER NICOLAUS DE VERDUN ... ANNO INCARNATIONE DOMINI MCCV. See Konrad Hoffmann, *The Year 1200*, New York, 1970, I, pp. 92-94.

(12) ICI GIT MAISTRE HUES LIBERGIERS QUI COMMENSA CEST EGLISE AN LAN DE LINCARNATION MCC ET XXIX....

(13) E.g., Jehan des Chelles at Notre-Dame in Paris, 1258; Robert de Luzarches and Regnault and Thomas de Cormont at Notre-Dame in Amiens, 1288; Jean le Loup, Bernard de Soissons, Jean d'Orbais, and Gaucher de Reims at Notre-Dame in Reims, ca. 1300; Erwin von Steinbach at Notre-Dame at Strasbourg, 1316. These examples are all probably later than the inscriptions in the Villard portfolio, but the suggestion that it was not "normal" before ca.1250 for masters to use the title "Master" is disproved by Nicolas of Verdun. Also, master architects contemporary with Villard did use the title, e.g., at the Church of Notre-Dame at Audenarde, Belgium: ANNO DOMINI M°CC°XXX°IIII° III ID[US] MARTII INCEPTA FUI[T] ECCL[ESI]A A[B] MAG[IST]RO ARNULFO DE BINCHO. See Henri Stein, *Les architectes des cathédrales*, Paris, 1928, p. 44).

(14) See Barnes, *Villard*, p. 107, for a list of buildings attributed to Villard.

(15) Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France*, 6th ed., Paris, 1925, p. 54.

(16) Charles Bauchal, *Nouveau dictionnaire biographique et critique des architectes français*, Paris, 1887, p. 568.

(17) Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Cambrai, France: plan on fol. 14v and reference to drawings now lost; Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Chartres, France: nave labyrinth on fol. 7v; west facade rose on fol. 15v; Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Laon, France: tower plan (and pinnacle elevation?) on fol. 9v, tower elevation on fol. 10r; Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Lausanne, Switzerland: south arm terminal rose on fol. 16r; Cathedral of St. Etienne at Meaux, France: plan on fol. 15v; Cistercian Abbey Church of Notre-Dame at Pilis, Hungary: transept pavement on fol. 15v; Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Reims, France: nave aisle window on fol. 10v, radiating chapel interior on fol. 30v, radiating chapel exterior on fol. 31r, nave exterior and interior elevations on fol. 31v, various pier and mullion plans and sections on fol. 32r, and section of choir buttresses on fol. 32v; Cistercian Abbey Church of Notre-Dame at Vaucelles, France: plan on fol. 17v.

NOTE ADDED 2006: Reconsideration of the portfolio suggests that Villard's drawing of the pavement of an Hungarian church (fol. 15v) cannot be categorically associated with the Cistercian church at Pilis.

(18) Few scholars now attribute any building to Villard. The major exception to this generalization is François Bucher, who attributes the Collegial Church at Saint-Quentin, near Villard's birthplace, to Villard. See Bucher, "Villard," p. 25: "It is even possible to defend his [Villard's] presence as *maître d'oeuvre* [at Saint-Quentin] from 1233 onward." Bucher may be basing his attribution on Charles Journel, "Vilars d'Honnecourt et la collégiale de Saint-Quentin," *Mémoires de la société académique des sciences, arts et belles lettres, agriculture, et industrie de Saint-Quentin*, ser. 5, 3 (148), pp. 97-109. I am indebted to Roland Bechmann for this reference. Attribution of Saint-Quentin goes back to Pierre Bénard, "Recherches sur la patrie et les travaux de Villard de Honnecourt," *Travaux de la société académique des sciences, arts et belles-lettres, agriculture, et industrie de Saint-Quentin*, 3rd ser., 6 (1864), pp. 260-280.

As for Hungary, nothing whatsoever is known of the purpose of Villard's trip there; see Ladislás Gál, *L'architecture religieuse en Hongrie du XIe au XIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1929, pp. 232-243, esp. p. 242: "En fin de compte, on doit avouer que ... le séjour de Villard en Hongrie et qui concern son activité dans ce pays, est actuellement indéterminable." László Gerevich, "Villard de Honnecourt magyarországon," *Művészettörténeti értesítő*, 20 (1971), pp. 81-105, notes that Villard visited Pilis but categorically denies that he can be associated with the design or construction of any Hungarian building.

(19) Paul Frankl, *The Gothic, Eight Centuries of Sources and Interpretations*, Princeton, 1960, p. 36. This claim has been most recently criticized by Peter Kidson, review of Bucher, "Villard," *JSAH*, 40 (1981), pp. 329-331, esp. p. 330, "... anyone who wishes to insist that Villard really did know what every genuine medieval architect knew certainly has a lot of special pleading on his hands."

(20) Eugene Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, "Album de Villard de Honnecourt, architecte du XIIIe siècle," *RA*, n. s., 7 (1863), pp. 103-118, 184-193, 250-258, 361-370, esp. p. 104.

(21) For Bucher's view, which closely follows those of Hahnloser and Frankl, see "Villard," pp. 15-193; for Harvey's view, see John H. Harvey, "The Education of the Mediaeval Architect," *JRIBA*, 53 (1945), pp. 230-234, esp. p. 232.

(22) Prosper Mérimée, "Album de Villard de Honnecourt," *Moniteur universel* (20 December 1859), reprint: *Etudes sur les arts du moyen age*, Paris, 1969, pp. 229-270, esp. p. 232.

(23) Bucher, "Villard," p. 7.

(24) See Carl F. Barnes, Jr. and Lon R. Shelby, "The Codicology of the Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS Fr. 19093)," *Scriptorium*, 42 (1988), pp. 20-48. The maximum loss of leaves from the portfolio that can be proved on a physical or textual basis is 13, with the possibility of two additional losses.

(25) The randomness of the Villard drawings has troubled a number of writers, e.g., Ernest Renan, "L'art du moyen age et les causes de sa decadence," *Revue de Deux-Mondes*, 40 (1862), pp. 203-228, esp. p. 215, "L'ivresse de combinaisons hardies que chaque page [du portfolio] révèle donne de l'inquiétude;" Louise Lefrançois-Pillion refers ("Un Maître d'oeuvre et son album: Villard de Honnecourt," *Maîtres d'oeuvres et tailleurs de pierre des cathédrales*, Paris, 1949, pp. 61-70, esp. p. 65) to the leaves themselves as "pêle-mêle."

(26) Willis, *Wilars*, p. 14.

(27) Shelby, Review of Hahnloser, *Villard*, p 497.

(28) Barnes, "Drapery," p. 205 n. 14.

(29) It is impossible to get a precise count of the individual drawings in the portfolio, because no two commentators agree on what constitutes a distinct drawing, e.g., Hahnloser found 163 "human and sculptural representations," whereas Bucher found 94. See Bucher, "Villard," pp. 30-31.

(30) See (5) below.

(31) The Villard drawings of architecture are as follows: fol. 9v, 2; fol. 10r, 1; fol. 10v, 1; fol. 14v, 2; fol. 15r, 2; fol. 15v, 3; fol. 16r, 2; fol. 17r, 1; fol. 18r, 1; fol. 20v, 3; fol. 21r, 7; fol. 30v, 1; fol. 31r, 1; fol. 31v, 2; fol. 32r, 19; fol. 32v, 1. This is a generous count, taking, for example, the Reims nave interior and exterior elevations on fol. 31v as two drawings.

(32) See (9) below.

(33) Pier plan on fol. 15v; four voussoir designs on fol. 21r; four Reims pier plans on fol. 32r. A drawing on fol. 5v may show the joining of two voussoirs and where the joint should be relative to the foliage decoration. However, Pamela Z. Blum has suggested to me that this drawing may represent the border design in a stained glass window rather than voussoirs.

(34) For an explanation of three of the guides to cutting voussoirs, see Robert Branner, "Three Problems from the Villard de Honnecourt Manuscript," *AB*, 39 (1957), pp. 61-66 and Roland Bechmann, "About some Technical Sketches of Villard de Honnecourt's Manuscript. New Light on Deleted Diagrams: an Unknown Drawing," *British Journal of Historical Studies*, 21 (1988), pp. 341-161.

(35) Robert Branner, "A Note on Gothic Architects and Scholars," *Burlington Magazine*, 99 (1956), pp. 372 and 375. For the view that these drawings and inscriptions were not copied from an existing treatise on practical geometry, see Lon R. Shelby, "The Geometric Knowledge of Mediaeval Master Masons," *Speculum*, 47 (1972), pp. 395-421, esp. pp. 408-409. I accept Branner's view on this particular question.

(36) F. E. Schneegans, "Über die Sprache des Skizzenbuches von Villard de Honnecourt," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 25 (1901), pp. 45-70.

(37) It is understandable that 19th-century scholars were misled by the textual and visual evidence, since they did not realize that two individuals were involved. But, it is unacceptable for 20th-century scholars who know better to ignore this distinction of hands because it is inconvenient to their thesis that Villard was an architect, e.g., Claude Lalbat, Gilbert Margueritte, and Jean Martin, "De la stéréotomie médiévale: la coup des pierres chez Villard de Honnecourt," *BM*, 145 (1987), pp. 387-406, which claims that study of certain of the stereotomical drawings on fols. 20 and 21 establish "une filiation directe de Villard de Honnecourt aux auteurs [des traités de stéréotomie] de la Renaissance" but then notes (p. 406 n. 10) that the authors do not take into account that the drawings and the inscriptions in question are not by Villard.

(38) Hahnloser, *Villard*, pp. 194-200, esp. 195: "... Nachfolgern an der gleichen Bauhütte ..." Hahnloser was the earliest writer to be this explicit, but the idea that Villard was an architect in a north French building lodge is much older. Uberwasser, "Masz," pp. 259-260, made the same claim at the same time independently of Hahnloser.

(39) Bucher, "Villard," p. 29

(40) Fols. 5r (perpetual motion machine), 9r (handwarmer, "sing-and-cry"), 17v (portable candle holder), 30r (catapult).

(41) *Vesci une esconse qui bone est a mones por lor candelles porter argans. Faire le poes se vos saues torner.*

(42) Fols. 6v and 7r.

(43) *Et si penseiz car se vos voles bien ovrer de toz grans piliers forkies vos covient avoir qui ases aient col. Prendes garde en vostre affaire si feres que sages et que cortois.*

(44) John G. Hawthorne and Cyril Stanley Smith, eds., *The Treatise of Theophilus*, Chicago, 1963; Lon R. Shelby, *Gothic Design Techniques, the Fifteenth-Century Design Booklets of Mathes Roriczer and Hanns Schmuttermayer*, Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1977.

(45) Paul Frankl, "The Secret of the Medieval Masons," *AB*, 27 (1945), pp. 46-64, esp. pp. 57-58.

(46) The arbitrariness of the "geometry" on fols. 18r, 18v, 19r, and 19v has long been recognized, e.g., Quicherat, "Notice," p. 211. It is less commonly recognized that in about half of the drawings on these folios, the geometry was applied to the figures rather than being used to generate the figures. This was discovered through examination of the portfolio by Lon R. Shelby in 1981, although as early as 1949 Louise Lefrançois Pillion, "Un Maître d'oeuvre," p. 67, had written that it was her instinct that the figures on these folios came before the geometry. See also Pierre du Colombier, *Les chantiers des cathédrales*, Paris, 1953, p. 86.

(47) Willis, *Wilars*, p. 99

(48) François Bucher, "Medieval Architectural Design Methods, 800-1500," *Gesta*, 11/2 (1972), pp. 37-51, esp. p. 40.

(49) Rebecca Price-Wilkin, "Villard de Honnecourt's Use of Templates in his Drawings," a paper presented at the XXIVth International Congress on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan USA, 6 May 1989.

(50) A number of authors posit that Villard understood quadrature, esp. Uberwasser, "Masz," p. 261, and

Maria Velte, *Die Anwendung der Quadratur und Triangulatur bei der Grund- und Aufrissgestaltung der gotischen Kirchen*, Basel, 1951, pp. 53-54, with reference to his plan of the Laon tower (Fig. 7). However, after careful analysis, these two authors, in the words of Robert Branner (review of du Colombier, *Chantiers*, AB, 37 [1955], pp. 61-65, esp. p. 63) "...with reasoned explanations, arrive at completely different explanations of the plan, and neither is completely convincing."

(51) Bucher, "Villard," p. 164, with reference to Saint-Quentin.

(52) Hans R. Reinhardt, *La cathédrale de Reims*, Paris, 1963, pp. 83-88. Reinhardt also argues that when Villard made his Reims drawings, "il a introduit sur place les transformations qu'il envisageait à la cathédrale picarde [de Cambrai]."

(53) Henry Baily Garling, "Some Remarks on the Contents of the Album of Villard de Honnecourt," *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 10 (1858-59), pp. 13-20.

(54) Francis Salet, "Chronologie de la cathédrale de Reims," *BM*, 125 (1967), pp. 347-394, esp. p. 381.

(55) James Smith Pierce, "The Sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt," *New Lugano Review*, 8-9 (1976), pp. 28-36, esp. pp. 35-36.

(56) Kidson, Review of Bucher, "Villard," p. 330.

(57) See comparison illustration in Branner, "Origin," p. 141 fig. 10.

(58) Bucher, "Villard," p. 172.

(59) Branner, "Origin," p. 137.

(60) My colleague François Bucher has pointed out to me in conversation that Villard apparently understood "tas de charge" masonry, based on his drawings of vault springers, especially fols. 30v and 32v. In these two drawings Villard certainly appears to show the form of the lower course of the vault springers cut from individual stones to the level where the ribs separate. This does not mean Villard understood their structural function.

(61) Bucher, "Villard," pp. 24 and 164.

(62) "*Par tos ces piliers sunt les loizons teles com eles i doivent estre.*"

(63) See Dieter Kempel, "Le Développement de la taille en série dans l'architecture médiévale et son rôle dans l'histoire économique," *BM*, 135 (1977), pp. 195-222, esp. p. 219 n. 27 for a list of Villard's errors at Reims. Kempel notes (p. 202) that Villard "s'est maintes fois trompé en ce qui concerne les détails de la cathédrale de Reims."

(64) "*Vesci les molles des chapieles de celle paigne la devant*" See Barnes, "Bibliographic Terminology," p. 74, for an explanation of this "bibliographic" term.

(65) Fol. 7v.

(66) The two evangelist symbol figures on fol. 13v have been linked to the Evangelistary of St. Médard de Soissons (Paris, Bibl. nat., MS Lat. 8850). See Renate Friedländer, "Eine Zeichnung des Villard de

Honnecourt und Ihr Vorbild," *Walraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, 34 (1972), pp. 349-352.

(67) Barnes, "Drapery," pp. 199-206.

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- Hahnloser, *Villard* Hans R. Hahnloser, *Villard de Honnecourt, Kritische Gesamtausgabe des Bauhüttenbuches ms. fr 19093 der Pariser Nationalbibliothek*, Vienna, 1935, 2nd rev. ed., Gratz, 1972
- JRIBA *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*
- JSAH *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*
- RA *Revue Archéologique*
- Überwasser, "Masz" Walter Überwasser, "Nach rechtem Masz [Mass]: Aussagen über den Begriff des Maszes in der Kunst des XIII.-XVI. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlung*, 56 (1935), pp. 250-272
- Willis, *Wilars* Robert Willis, *Fac-simile of the Sketch Book of Wilars de Honnecourt with Commentaries and Descriptions by M. J. B. A. Lassus and by M. J. Quicherat: Translated and Edited with Many Additional Articles and Notes by the Rev. R. Willis*, London, 1859

21 April 2001 / 6:25:04 PM

Villard de Honnecourt: A Critical Bibliography

Carl F. Barnes, Jr.

Nearly all the literature published on Villard before the early 1980s, and even much that has appeared since then, either ignores the egregious blunders of his drawings or seeks to explain them away by special pleading of various kinds, evidently from a sentimental attachment to the notion that Villard was a practicing architect.

—Christopher Wilson

This work-in-progress is a large project and must be broken into sections to be useful.

- [Introduction and Bibliographic Note](#)
- [Facsimile Editions \(Printed\)](#)
- [Facsimile Editions \(Electronic\)](#)
- [Writings from 1666 to 1849](#)
- [Writings from 1850 to 1899](#)
- [Writings from 1900 to 1949](#)
- [Writings from 1950 to 1981 \(Limit of the first Edition\)](#)
- [Writings from 1982 to 1999](#)
- [Writings from 2000 to 2009](#)
- [Writings from 2010 to Present](#)
- [Miscellaneous Items](#)
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Author Index	Subject Index
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The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt

Paris, Bibl. nat., MS Fr 19093

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Quick Checklist of Subjects by Folio

Folio	Subjects, Top to Bottom
1r	Miscellaneous / Felibien Inscription / Saint-Germain-des-Pres Number
1v	"Preface" / Seated Apostles / Man and Woman / Tumbler (Salome?)
2r	Villard, who went to Hungary / Snail
2v	Crucifixion
3r	Later Copy of 2v / later Pilaster
3v	Pride / Humility
4r	Bear / Swan / Architectural Motif (Heavenly Jerusalem?)
4v	Ecclesia
5r	Perpetual Motion Device
5v	Leaf Faces / Leaf Rinceau / Leaves
6r	Tomb of a Saracen
6v	Horologe / Dragon
7r	Lectern
7v	Insects / Labyrinth
8r	Crucifixion Group / later "Greek" Inscription, date 1533
8v	Two Mounted Knights
9r	Gamblers / Tantalus Cup / Handwarmer
9v	Laon Tower Plan / Turret / Bearded Head
10r	Laon Tower Elevation

- 10v Virgin and Child / Reims Nave Aisle Window
- 11r Seated Christ / Dragon on Foliate Motif
- 11v Standing Nude beside Altar
- 12r Prostitute who appeared before Solomon
- 12v Seated Knight / Bishop / Magus pointing at a Star
- 13r Unidentified (Joseph and Brothers? Christ before Caiphias?)
- 13v Deposition / Lion and Ox Evangelist Symbols
- 14r Seated Knight with Falcon and Lady
- 14v Wrestlers / Cistercian Squares Church Plan / Cambrai Choir Plan
- 15r Plan "devised" by Villard and Pierre de Corbie / Meaux Choir Plan
- 15v Hungarian (Pilis?) Paving Tiles / Pier Plan / Chartres West Rose
- 16r Lausanne South Transept Rose / Seated Figure (Moses removing Sandals?)
- 16v Majestas Domini
- 17r Vaucelles Choir Plan / Prone Sleeping Apostle
- 17v Roofing Schemes / Sconce
- 18r Bearded Head / Beginning of Geometrical Figures
- 18v Geometrical Figures
- 19r Geometrical Figures
- 19v Geometrical Figures, including "Face in the Square"
- 20r "By this means one . . ." (Palimpsest later than Villard)
- 20v "By this means one . . ." (Palimpsest later than Villard)
- 21r "By this means one . . ." (Palimpsest later than Villard)
- 21v Wheel of Fortune / Two later Recipes (Waterproofing / Depilatory)

- 22r Leaf Faces / Standing and Seated Nudes
- 22v Carpentry Devices
- 23r Carpentry Devices
- 23v Seated Sleeping Apostle / Soldier Mounting a Horse
- 24r Lion Training
- 24v Frontal Lion / Porcupine
- 25r Seated King (Solomon?)
- 25v Standing Christ with Disk / Archer and Spearman
- 26r Parakeets / Man playing a Violin / Dog / Woman with Bird / Dog
- 26v Three Scenes of Lion Killing
- 27r Gladiator(?) and Lion / Martyrdom of Sts. Cosmas and Damian
- 27v Two Side Views of Choir Stalls / Christ (?) Blessing
- 28r Prophet with Scroll / Apostle (St. John the Evangelist?)
- 28v Flagellation of Christ / Arrest of Christ
- 29r Side View of Choir Stall
- 29v Man in Chlamys
- 30r Plan of a Trebuchet
- 30v Reims Radiating Chapel Interior
- 31r Reims Chapel Exterior
- 31v Reims Nave Interior and Exterior Elevations
- 32r Reims Pier Plans and Templates
- 32v Reims Choir Buttresses
- 33r Cannabis Elixir Recipe / Flower Color Preserver Recipe
- 33v J. Mancel Comment (15th Century) that "there are 41 leaves in the book"

Revised 23 February 2005

What's in a Name?

The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt

by

Carl F. Barnes, Jr.

from

AVISTA Forum Journal, 12/2 (2001), pp. 14-15

One of the problems presented by the assemblage of thirty-three parchment leaves with drawings, recipes, and geometric formulae shelved as MS Fr 19093 in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris is what to call it. It has had, and continues to have, numerous appellations for two reasons. The first is that no one knows what its actual purpose was. The second is that different authors have named it depending on what they *wanted* it to be.

Whatever the designation given, it universally includes the name Villard de Honnecourt, overlooking (or worse, knowing but ignoring) the fact that the assemblage contains inscriptions by at least four different scribes, geometric formulae by at least two different hands, and drawings by an indeterminable number of contributors.

What did Villard de Honnecourt himself term this ensemble? For him, it was a book (*livre*). As I have demonstrated elsewhere,(1) Villard thought of it in bibliographic terms, given his references to pages (*pagnes*) and leaves (*feuilles*). Today, no one or virtually no one refers to the assemblage as a "book."

What, then, should it be called? What designation can be found that is both accurate and neutral? One can begin to find the proper term by the process of elimination. The most misleading designation, by far, is Hans Hahnloser's *Bauhüttenbuch* or its equivalents in French, *livre de chantier*, and in English, "lodgebook" or "shop manual."(2) These terms do not describe the physical composition of the assemblage but, rather, they define what Hahnloser believed its purpose to have been. Those who followed his lead made the assemblage much more formal than it actually is, using such terms as "treatise" while referring to its "chapters" and its encyclopedic character.(3)

Anyone who holds to the *Bauhüttenbuch*-treatise-encyclopaedia designation should memorize the following words from that great encyclopedist, Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc:

Le carnet (de Villard de Honnecourt) n'est...ni un traité, ni un exposé de principes classés avec méthode, ni un cours d'architecture théorique et pratique, ni le fondation

d'un ouvrage (sur l'architecture).(4)

French authors have traditionally used one of two designations, *album* or *carnet*, the latter currently being in vogue. According the *Petit Robert*, an *album* is "un cahier ou classeur (=portefeuille ou meuble à compartiments qui sert à classer des papiers) personnel destiné à recevoir des dessins, photos, des autographes, des collections diverses," and a *carnet* is defined as "un petit cahier (=assemblage des feuilles de paper cousues, agrafées ou pliées ensemble et munies d'une couverture) de poche destiné à recevoir des notes, des renseignements." In a literal sense, the Villard assemblage is not now and never has been an *album* because it is not divided into pockets or sections. The term *carnet* is preferable as an accurate and neutral description of the assemblage as it now exists, although when the assemblage left Villard's possession the leaves were not stitched together.(5)

American and English authors have favored the designations "manuscript," "modelbook," "notebook," and "sketchbook," the latter being the most commonly used.(6) The Villard assemblage was handwritten and hand-drawn, thus is technically a "manuscript." However, to most medievalists, the word "manuscript" conjures up an image of a formal production, such as a sacramentary or a book of hours. The Villard assemblage may have been intended as a modelbook or *aide-mémoire*, but neither that intention nor its eventual use as such can be proven. "Notebook" and "sketchbook" are not acceptable because each connotes a bound assemblage of blank leaves, such as one might now buy in an office supply store, awaiting sketches and/or text. This was not true of the Villard assemblage; to imply so is inaccurate and misleading.

What term should be used in English? I propose "portfolio," drawing in part from the French definition of *album*. At the Thirty-fifth International Congress on Medieval Studies in Kalamazoo in May 2000, I served as organizer and presider of an AVISTA (Association Villard de Honnecourt for the Interdisciplinary Study of Medieval Science, Technology, and Art) session. In doing so, I insisted that the speakers in my session uniformly use the designation "portfolio." Speakers in other sessions variously used "manuscript," "modelbook," "notebook," and "sketchbook," although some used "portfolio." In questions following the papers presented in my session, a member of the audience asked why the speakers used the term "portfolio," commenting that to him it was too formal a designation, suggesting the august credentials of a diplomat.

If "portfolio" had *only* the sense of "the office or post of a cabinet member or minister of state," the word would not apply to the Villard assemblage (unless he went to Hungary as ambassador plenipotentiary from the court of France). A more basic and more-widely understood definition of "portfolio," as given in the *American Heritage Dictionary*, is "a portable case for holding material, such as loose papers, photographs, or drawings" or "the materials collected in such a case, especially when representative of a person's work."

This describes precisely what the Villard assemblage was and is, even though the leaves have now been stitched into the leather cover. One of the problems is that most people who write about the contents of the Villard assemblage have not seen the original. Most people know the drawings only from one or more of the eleven facsimile editions and these publications are all rather formal productions. They conceal the reality that the Villard assemblage is a small ($\pm 6\text{-}1/2 \times 10\text{-}1/2$ in.) portable object that Roland Bechmann called a "pocket book."(7) It was carried about in a pocket in Villard's garments, and the leather cover served to protect the parchment leaves during Villard's travels.

If there is any group, anywhere, whose members should at all times strive for accuracy in every aspect of their dealings with and studies of the Villard assemblage, it is the Association Villard de Honnecourt for

the Interdisciplinary Study of Medieval Science, Technology, and Art. For Avistonians and all others who concern themselves with Villardiana, a start towards such accuracy would be to adopt the term "portfolio" to designate the Villard assemblage accurately and without prejudice.

NOTES

1. Carl F. Barnes, Jr., "A Note on the Bibliographic Terminology in the Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt," *Manuscripta*, vol. 31 (1987), pp. 71-76.
2. Hans R. Hahnloser, *Villard de Honnecourt, Kritische Gesamtausgabe des Bauhüttenbuches ms. fr 19093 der Pariser Nationalbibliothek*, Vienna, 1935; 2nd rev. ed. Graz, 1972. Hahnloser was followed in his interpretation by his student, François Bucher, in "The Lodgebook of Villard de Honnecourt," *Architector, the Lodgebooks and Sketchbooks of Medieval Architects*, I, New York, 1979, pp. 15-193.
3. For example, John H. Harvey, "The Education of the Mediaeval Architect," *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, vol. 53 (1945), pp. 230-234, esp. 232, where the Villard assemblage is characterized as a "practical encyclopaedia of building arts and crafts compiled for the permanent 'lodge' of a great church..."
4. Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, "Album de Villard de Honnecourt, architecte du XIIIe siècle," *Revue archéologique*, n.s. vol. 7 (1863), pp. 103-118, 184-193, 250-258, 361-370, esp. 104.
5. Carl F. Barnes, Jr. and Lon R. Shelby, "The Codicology of the Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS Fr 19093)," *Scriptorium*, vol. 47 (1988), 20-48.
6. For example, Theodore Bowie, *The Sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt*, Bloomington, IN, 1959; 2nd ed. 1962.
7. Observation made by Roland Bechmann during the question period after the session.

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The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt

A New Critical Edition and Color Facsimile

by

Carl F. Barnes, Jr.

a Special Publication in the Series

***AVISTA Studies in the History of Medieval Technology, Science
and Art***

Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2009 / ISBN 978-0-7546-5102-9 / \$144.95 / £75.00

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The first-ever facsimile edition of the Villard portfolio to reproduce all 33 leaves and the cover in full color at original size.

Every drawing is analyzed individually for subject, size, technique, condition, style, attribution, and iconography.

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Villard de Honnecourt: A Critical Bibliography

Carl F. Barnes, Jr.

REVISED ELECTRONIC EDITION



Villard de Honnecourt: Plan and Elevation of one of the Towers of the West Facade of the former Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Laon (Aisne), France. Drawing (silverpoint and ink on parchment), made between *ca.* 1220 and *ca.* 1240 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS Fr 19093, Fols. 9v and 10r; photo: Bibliothèque nationale)



Notice

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Note to this Revised Electronic Edition

The first edition of this book, *Villard de Honnecourt: The Artist and His Drawings, A Critical Bibliography*, published in 1982 by G. K. Hall in its *A Reference Publication in Art History* series has long been out of print. This revised edition is intended to make available to scholars once more, this time by means of the Internet, the Villard bibliography concerning the artist and his drawings.

I have decided to use the Internet because it would not be economically feasible to publish this material in traditional book format, and because the Internet is a new technology. Had the Internet existed in the 1220s or 1230s, Villard would have loved it! Moreover, Internet publishing allows additions, revisions, and corrections to be made in a way impossible with traditional publishing.

This revised electronic edition permits not merely bringing the Villard bibliography up-to-date and, I hope, keeping it up-to-date. It also permits the inclusion of items overlooked in the first publication and corrections to the earlier text.

Now that my detailed study of the Villard portfolio, *The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt, A New Critical Edition and Color Facsimile* (Barnes, **F.XII**) has appeared, the essay material in my 1982 book (Barnes, 1982.1) on Villard's life has been supplanted. For this reason, that material has now been removed from this website. What remains here is the bibliographic note and the bibliographic entries.

In my facsimile edition the bibliography was closed in 2007. However, publication was delayed until 2009, the copyright date found in the publication. Astute users who do not know of the delay in publication might assume that I missed some major Villard studies published in the period 2007-2009. I may, indeed, have done so, but I direct your attention here to some of the more important recent studies included in this online bibliography: Barnes, 2007.2, Barnes 2009.1, Brooks, 2008.5, Walton 2008.6, Wirth 2008.4.



Bibliographical Note

The portfolio of drawings by Villard de Honnecourt now in Paris (Bibliothèque nationale, MS Fr 19093) is a unique survival of thirteenth-century Europe. This uniqueness has had two unfortunate consequences. It has made the drawings and their artist famous beyond all justification. And it has engendered endless speculation as to their purpose and his career.

Villard provides very little information about himself or his activities. Most of what medievalists teach and write about Villard is not based on the dual contents of his portfolio, his drawings and the inscriptions added to certain of these, but on what interpreters have had to say. Always suspect, this practice is utterly unacceptable in the case of Villard because so many commentators have been manifestly incorrect in their interpretations. Even worse, many of these interpretations have become accepted as fact and perpetuated as such.

If a bibliography can be said to have a thesis, that of this critical Villard bibliography is to identify the sources of the many errors concerning Villard and his drawings and to demonstrate how, and by whom, these errors have been repeated down through the years. Yet, lest this effort deteriorate into a merely negative critique, I have also attempted to show the origin of those theories on Villard that are today both current and valid.

The bibliography on any subject is much like a shotgun blast: dispersion increases as it moves in time away from its source. In the sixty-five years since publication of the Hahnloser facsimile edition (**F.V**) of the Villard portfolio in 1935, Villard has become a standard fixture in the general literature on medieval art. To locate and cite every published reference to Villard and his drawings is impossible. I have attempted to include those references devoted specifically to one or another problem presented by the portfolio, as well as those more general items that, while frequently concerned with Villard but indirectly, nonetheless make significant observations.

Conversely, anyone seriously interested in Villard should be familiar with all writings concerning him and his drawings, since these writings are the sources of our current state of understanding (or misunderstanding) of Villard and his portfolio. I believe I have included virtually every bibliographic reference to Villard published before 1900, as well as the great majority of those published since.

All entries are listed in chronological order of appearance by year. For the entries up to 1981, authors are listed alphabetically by last name under each year. In the cross-references, entries are specified by author-year-item, for example, Branner, 1958.1. For the entries added to this revised edition, entries are by year and author but the authors' names are not necessarily in alphabetical order in each year's listing. This is because additions are being made as found, and changing the reference numbers for each year would make maintaining a useful subject index impossible.

The twelve printed facsimile editions of the portfolio are listed and analyzed separately and are referred to simply by the last name of the author and the sequential number of the facsimile (e.g., Omont, **F.III**). Entries from multi-volume dictionaries and encyclopaedias are all contained under the year of publication of the first volume of the series. Unless otherwise indicated by an asterisk (*), I have examined all sources on which the entries are based. In every case I have gone to the first edition of any given work if at all possible. When this has not been possible, I have clearly indicated by double asterisks (**) which edition was employed, although the entry itself appears under the year of publication of the first edition of the work in question.

In all bibliographic citations of articles, inclusive pagination is given. In bibliographic citations of books, inclusive pagination is given if there is a specific section or chapter devoted to Villard (e.g., Lance, 1872.1 or Gimpel, 1976.2). However, in many books Villard is discussed in a number of places with no "main entry" (e.g., Cerf, 1861.1; Focillon, 1938.1). In these instances it has not been possible to give inclusive pagination in the bibliographic citation. In all annotations specific page numbers of the edition employed are provided with principal points summarized or quotations included: Lefrançois Pillion (1949.3) "Stresses the unique significance of the portfolio, suggesting (p. 62) that it has lost twenty to twenty-five leaves and noting (p. 65) that its *pêle-mêle* character and cluttered drawings are attributable to the high cost of parchment." In addition, the Villard drawings employed in each entry are listed, together with their source if this can be determined. Where no source is listed, the illustration was made from the black-and-white Bibliothèque nationale negative.

A note of caution is in order concerning references on which I relied. I have assumed that the official indexes to various journals are accurate and, if they contain no listing for Villard, that the journal in question has no material on him. However, in actual practice this is not always so, the *Bulletin monumental* being a notable case of incomplete indexing. Of course, published indexes always appear after (sometimes long after) the materials on which they are based. More recent issues of many journals have not yet been indexed. In these cases I went to the journals themselves. A list of indexes consulted follows this note.

After some vacillation, I decided to include all obtainable reviews of the various facsimile editions of the Villard portfolio. Certain of these are perfunctory and more announcements than critical analyses. Others, however, contain major essays on Villard and his drawings in addition to posing significant questions yet to be answered. It proved impossible to secure a number of late 1930s German newspaper reviews of the first edition of the Hahnloser facsimile. The second edition of Hahnloser lists most of these.

Since the publication of the first edition of this bibliography, hundreds of websites have been established that contain material about Villard. For the most part, these are repetitive, unscholarly, and sometimes simply bizarre, for example, claiming that the portfolio was an instruction manual for elementary school students. I have included only those electronic items that I consider serious or useful. This is a personal judgment, of course, and cannot not be taken as definitive.

In preparing this or any study of Villard de Honnecourt, a minimum of four editorial decisions have to be made. The first is what name to employ for Villard himself. The second is what to call his assemblage of leaves. The third is what to term the writing that appears on certain of these leaves. And the fourth is how to designate the leaves themselves.

Villard gives his name twice in his portfolio, spelled two different ways: "Wilars dehonecort" (fol. 1v) and "Vilars de

honnecort" (fol. 15r). Later additions to the portfolio give his last name as "De Honnecor" (fol. 3r, fifteenth century) and as "De Honnecourts" (fol. 23v, fifteenth century or later). A thirteenth-century addition to the portfolio (fol. 15r) gives his name in Latin as "Ulardus d[e] Hunecort." Various writers since 1858 have employed "Vilars," "Vilart," "Villars," "Villart," "Villardt," "Villard," and "Wilars." Omont (F.III) proposed that the correct name is "Vilars," the modern equivalent of the medieval French being "Huillard." My personal inclination, based on a comment by my colleague Meredith P. Lillich, is that if a man answered to "Wilars dehonnecort" he should not be called "Villard de [or of] Honnecourt." But I have, with some misgiving, followed the most common practice and have used simply "Villard" or "Villard de Honnecourt." However, all citations indicate the name used by the author of the study cited.

Villard in three places (fols. 1v, 9v, and 14v) terms his portfolio a "book" (*livre*) but nowhere gives it a title (see Barnes, 1987.3). Different authors have employed a great variety of designations, including "book," "encyclopaedia," "lodge book," "model book," "notebook," "sketchbook," "shop manual," "textbook," and "treatise," to cite but the most commonly employed terms. In the recently-published Dictionary of Art, the portfolio is given at least six different designations: "notebook," "pattern book," "portfolio," "sketchbook," "textbook," and *livre de portraiture*, a designated I've never encountered before.

The designation employed by any given author is his or her personal choice, as is the way Villard's name is spelled; but this choice has an effect on the reader. These designations are neither neutral nor synonymous. The title employed usually indicates the purpose the author assigns to the portfolio. For Hahnloser the portfolio was a "lodge book" (*Bauhüttenbuch*). For Frankl, on the basis of Hahnloser's interpretation, it was a textbook" (*Lehrbuch*).

The French most commonly refer to the portfolio as an *album* ("carnet de notes de voyage") or as an *album de croquis*, which translates into English as "sketchbook." More recently, an important French publication has used the term *carnet*, suggesting a less formal arrangement than *album* (see F.VIII). The designation most frequently employed by American and British writers is "sketchbook" (or "sketch book"), and appears to be interchangeable with the designation "notebook." A number of writers refer to the portfolio as a "model book," meaning that it provided or was intended to provide iconographic and/or stylistic models. Yet others employ "notebook," "sketchbook," and "model book" as synonyms.

In the first edition, I used the literal and non-inferential designation "manuscript." However, the designation "manuscript" is inaccurate. While the production was hand-drawn and hand-written and thus a manuscript in a literal sense, it was not a formal book production such as a Book of Hours or an *Evangelary*. Detailed codicological examination of the cover and its contents (see Barnes and Shelby, 1988.1) proves that it is more accurate to term the assemblage of Villard's drawings a "portfolio"—in the dual sense given in the American Heritage Dictionary: 1. a portable case for holding material, such as loose papers, photographs, or drawings; 2. the materials collected in such a case, especially when representative of a person's work—than it is to term it a "manuscript." The entries in this update reflect this realization.

What one terms the writing Villard (and others) added to certain of the drawings in the portfolio is likewise a decision based on one's interpretation of the purpose of the portfolio and its drawings. Among the designations used by various authors are "addenda," "captions," "comments," "descriptions," "instructions," "legends," "notes," and "text." These are no more interchangeable than the various titles employed, since each has a specific connotation if not a precise definition. Villard's writings in the portfolio are *all* addenda in the sense that they were added after the drawings were made. They also are variously comments, explanations, or instructions, depending on what they say.

When Villard notes (fol. 6r) "Of such manner was the sepulchre of a Saracen I saw one time," he is simply identifying the subject of the drawing. When he says the same thing of a horologe (fol. 6v), he adds a written description of its various parts. When he draws a trebuchet (fol. 30r), his text is different. He gives specific dimensions—the only drawing in the portfolio for which he provides measurements—and he says, "If you wish to make the strong engine called a trebuchet, pay attention [to these instructions]." Thus Villard's addenda had, as did his drawings, various purposes. Since the purpose of this bibliography is not primarily to explain either Villard's drawings or his written addenda to them, I have employed the word "inscriptions" for his written comments in the literal sense of something "written in," without attempting to suggest specific reasons for his having done so.

The final "judgment call" one has to make is what to call the surfaces containing the drawings and inscriptions. Villard himself refers to them as "leaves," as one would expect of a medieval writer, although in one place he employs "leaf" in the modern sense to indicate not a single piece of parchment but "pages" in the sense of the front and back of a single leaf (see Barnes, 1987.1). Since the greater number of commentators on Villard knew the portfolio only through one or more of its facsimile editions, not having seen the original, they generally refer to "plates" as numbered in whatever edition(s) they consulted.

This is confusing since the different facsimile editions employ different numbering schemes, using both Arabic and Roman numerals and apply different numerical designations to the same original leaf. Some authors omitted one or more leaves or, in the case of Bowie (**F.V**), rearranged the sequence of the leaves. Certain of the earlier commentators correctly designated the leaves as "folios." This is the system I have adopted. It is the standard means of designating leaves in medieval manuscripts and was the medieval method of doing so. There are now thirty-three leaves in the Villard portfolio, hence sixty-six different surfaces. Each leaf is given one number (1, 2, 3, etc.). The right or front (Latin: *recto*) surface of each folio is indicated by "fol." plus a number plus the letter "r" (e.g., fol. 14r). The rear face of the same leaf is designated by the same number plus the addition of the letter v (Latin *verso* = back, rear) (e.g., fol. 14v).

Adopting this scheme for designating the different leaves of the portfolio has the advantage of historical precedent. It has the disadvantage of introducing yet another scheme of numbering for the leaves. However, the individualistic designations employed by various authors have resulted in chaotic cross-references. One cannot know from a given study if the author is employing "plate" to indicate his or her illustration, one of the facsimile plates, or a specific drawing by Villard. Moreover, the term "plate" has a misleading contemporary connotation that suggests to most people a full-page illustration. I use the term "figure" to indicate a given drawing by Villard on a specific folio. It is to be hoped that future commentators on the Villard portfolio will abjure all personal numbering schemes and employ the historic medieval scheme which is both simple and explicit.

In "Writings about Villard and His Drawings, 1666-Present" I have given the site name only of churches commonly associated with Villard, for example, "Reims," not "Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Reims." For full identification of the churches in question, see the "Appendix: Churches Attributed to Villard."

Many colleagues, some now deceased, have called my attention to references I might otherwise have overlooked. I am especially grateful to the following for having provided materials otherwise inaccessible to me: László Gerevich (Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest), Gloria Gilmore-House (International Center of Medieval Art, The Cloisters), Jean Gimpel (Gimpel Fils, London), Peter Kurmann (Free University, Berlin), Walter C. Leedy (Cleveland State University), Stephen Murray (Columbia University), Lon R. Shelby (Southern Illinois University, Carbondale), Thomas Thieme (Chalmers School of Architecture, Göteborg), Harry B. Titus (Wake Forest University), and Jan van der Meulen (Cleveland State University). Professor Thieme rendered a special service by surveying Scandinavian literature on medieval art for references to Villard. Laszlo J. Hetenyi of Oakland University translated Hungarian items for me, and I was assisted with translations from German by Susan Piotrowaki of the University of Oklahoma and by Robert E. Simmons of Oakland University.

Since the appearance of the first edition a number of colleagues called to my attention items overlooked in 1982. I am grateful to them, most especially Dr. Robert W. Scheller of the Kunsthistorisch Instituut of the University of Amsterdam and George Szabo, former Curator of the Robert Lehman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum in New York. These additions are incorporated here under their appropriate years.

In the first edition I stated (p. 105) that the Villard portfolio had only been exhibited twice at the Bibliothèque nationale, and had never been loaned for exhibition elsewhere. Dr. François Avril, former Conservateur des Manuscrits Occidentaux at the Bibliothèque nationale, generously sent me a letter (18 June 1983) listing exhibitions of which I was unaware: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale: "Exposition du Moyen Age," 1926, no. 23; London, Burlington House: "Exhibition of French Art," 1932, no. 40e; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale: "Les manuscrits à peintures des Bibliothèques nationales et municipales ayant figuré à la 'French Art Exhibition' de Londres," 1932, no. 11; Paris, Sainte-Chapelle: "Saint-Louis," 1960, no. 142; Paris, Musée du Louvre: "Cathédrales," 1962, no. 171. More recently, the portfolio was exhibited in Strasbourg (see Barnes, 1989.1).

Monsieur Avril also explained the circumstances in which Henry Adams saw the Villard portfolio ca. 1900. Beginning in 1878, the portfolio "a été exposé de façon permanente dans la Galerie Mazarine de la Bibliothèque nationale" along with other fine manuscripts (see 1878.1). I am very grateful to Monsieur Avril for having supplied this information.

My colleague, the late François Bucher, called to my attention a curious "pseudocopy" of the Villard portfolio made in the mid-nineteenth century by the architect William Burges, the first person to write in English on the Villard portfolio (see Burges, 1858.1). This object is now in the Library of the Royal Institute of Architects in London and consists of drawings on thirty-six sheets of vellum, drawings characterized by Professor Bucher in a letter of 16 September 1988 as "histrionic, full of mere convention divorced from patient observation of facts."

The great majority of bibliographic items concerning Villard had to be secured through interlibrary loan from various institutions. Without the expertise and efforts of Ms. Linda Guyotte and Ms. Mary Wright of the Kresge Library at Oakland University, who tracked down and secured for me so many items for the first edition, this bibliography could not have been prepared. Since 1981 it has been easier to obtain interlibrary loan items directly by e-mail, but without the staff at Kresge Library, this revised edition could not have been completed.

The first edition of this bibliography was edited by Herbert L. Kessler of The Johns Hopkins University, to whom I remain most grateful. This revision was edited by me. Errors and omissions are thus my responsibility, not Professor Kessler's.

I hope this updated edition of my Villard bibliography will prove useful to scholars. And I request, as I did in 1982.1, that anyone who uses it and knows of titles missed or other errors please contact me at cfbarnes@comcast.net.

Carl F. Barnes, Jr.

Rochester Hills, Michigan

27 July 2009





The Twelve Printed Facsimile Editions

To date (2009) twelve printed facsimile editions of the Villard portfolio have been published. These vary in nature and in content, and none is a facsimile in the literal sense of an "exact replica." The only facsimile to publish the Villard folios in color, a key to understanding Villard's technique of drawing, is that by Barnes, **F.XII**.

There is available a CD-ROM that reproduces the leaves in color: *Le carnet de Villard de Honnecourt: L'art et les techniques d'un constructeur gothique*. Commentary by Roland Bechmann. (L'Œil de l'historien.) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Hexagramm, and SDI, 2001. CD-ROM (Mac and Windows). Review in *Speculum*, vol. 77 (2002), pp. 485-487.

Certain editors (Lassus, Willis, Bowie, and Bouvet) omit folios from their editions. Lassus, Willis, Bucher, Chanfon, and the Dover edition intersperse their commentaries and reproductions of the folios. Because the various editors have employed different numbering schemes for the folios, a concordance between the first eight editions and the portfolio itself is provided.

Note: Roland Bechmann's *Villard de Honnecourt, La pensée technique au XIIIe siècle et sa communication* (1991.4) is not included here because while he deals with architectural and technical drawings in the portfolio, he has rearranged the drawing into what he believed were related categories.

For electronic facsimiles on the internet, see [Electronic Facsimiles](#).

F.I

LASSUS, J[EAN]-B[ATISTE]-A[NTOINE]. *Album de Villard de Honnecourt: Architecte du XIIIe siècle, manuscrit public en facsimile*. Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1858. Photographic reprint. Paris: Léonce Laget, 1976, xviii + 189 pp., 72 pls. + text figs.

This was the first facsimile edition of the Villard drawings and remains the only extensive scholarly edition in French. It served as the basis for later editions, especially that of Willis. This edition was substantially completed in manuscript form by Lassus when he died on 15 July 1857. Final editing and actual publication was by Alfred Darcel, a pupil of Lassus who was charged with this responsibility by the Lassus family. According to Darcel in his "Notice sur Lassus" (pp. ii-ix), "j'y ai travaillé avec un pieux respect pour sa [Lassus's] mémoire . . . et conformément à ses manuscrits."

Lassus (1807-1857) is best known for his work as a restoration architect, sometimes in collaboration with Viollet-le-Duc, on such Gothic monuments as the cathedrals of Chartres and Paris and the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris. He published extensively on his restoration work and shared with Viollet-le-Duc an unrestrained belief in the "rationalism" of French Gothic architecture. He viewed Gothic as "notre art national," and had an intense loathing for the neoclassical revival in the France of his day. It was in defense of this view that he undertook publication of the Villard drawings, and in his "Preface" (pp. xi-xviii) he explains his views in strong terms, accusing the neoclassicists of being *pygmées* of ignorance concerning the history of architecture and construction.

Lassus, in his preface (p. xvi), gives a more specific reason for publishing the Villard drawings: "bien que cet ouvrage du célèbre architecte du XIIIe siècle me soit qu'un simple album de voyage, l'habileté des dessins et la variété des objets qu'il contient permettent cependant d'apprécier l'étendue des connaissances théoriques et pratiques de ces grands artistes qui ont élevé nos admirables cathédrales." Lassus acknowledges (p. x) that it was Quicherat (1849.1) who first brought the Villard drawings to public attention and that he agrees with Quicherat's conclusions and explanations, his purpose being to make the entire content of the portfolio available to the public.

Following his preface is a long (pp. 1-41) essay entitled "Considérations sur la renaissance de l'art français au XIXe

siècle," which defends the Gothic revival and his own views but does not even mention Villard.

Lassus then (pp. 43-52) offers a biography of Villard, based on the contents of the portfolio. Lassus's main points are that Villard was active between 1230 and 1250 at the outside, and he attributes (p. 45) to Villard the design of the choir of Cambrai, which Lassus dates 1227-1251. He proposes (pp. 50-51) that on the basis of his fame at Cambrai, Villard was called to Hungary where, *ca.* 1250, he designed Kassa and assisted in the restoration of other Hungarian churches destroyed during the Tartar invasion of 1242. Lassus also suggests (p. 51) that Villard may have been at least indirectly involved in the design of Marburg. At the end of this brief summary of Villard's career, Lassus terms (p. 52) the manuscript an *encyclopédie pratique* and dates it in the second third of the thirteenth century.

Lassus next gives (pp. 53-56) an analysis of the portfolio itself, before considering the folios one by one. He observes that while its binding is thirteenth-century, the drawings were made before being installed in this binding because one drawing continues through the gutter. Lassus's examination of the manuscript led him to propose (p. 54) that twenty-one leaves (forty-two pages) are missing. His "table of contents" of the Villard drawings is taken from Quicherat, but he notes (p. 55) that the actual arrangement of materials "résulterait pour nous une confusion fâcheuse."

Lassus's plates are lithographs, slightly larger than the originals, by an artist named Leroy who died just after completing his work. Folios 3 and 33 are omitted and eight comparative supplemental plates (LXV-LXXII) are included. All plates are numbered sequentially in Roman numerals and are separate from the text. Some plates have been inverted, top-to-bottom, from their arrangement in the portfolio.

The Lassus plates have frequently been reproduced elsewhere without warning that they are lithographs after the originals. All who study Villard should be aware of this.

F.II

WILLIS, ROBERT. *Facsimile of the Sketch Book of Wilars de Honecort with Commentaries and Descriptions by M. J. B. A. Lassus and by M. J. Quicherat: Translated and Edited with Many Additional Articles and Notes by the Rev. R. Willis.* London [Oxford]: John Benry and James Parker, 1859, ix + 243 pp., 73 pls. + text figs.

Willis (1800-1895) was an ordained minister who held the Jacksonian Professorship of History at Cambridge University. An individual of varied interests—he wrote on chess strategy, on the relationship between the vowel sounds of the human voice and the notes of pipe organs, and on mechanics for engineers—Willis is now best known for his architectural histories of a number of important English cathedral foundations, most notably Canterbury and Winchester, and for his edition of the Villard portfolio. He also wrote a dictionary of medieval architectural terms, and his interest in medieval architectural practice probably explains his interest in Villard.

Willis's edition of the Villard portfolio is essentially an English translation of the Lassus edition with extensive additional commentary by Willis, enough to justify his comment (p. vii) that "The text of the present volume differs in many respects from that of the French edition. . . ." In his preface (pp. v-ix) Willis says (p. vii) that the existence of the Villard portfolio came to his attention through the article by Quicherat (1849.1), the first part of which Willis included (pp. 1-7) in translation in his edition. In 1851 Willis "obtained [from the Bibliothèque impériale in Paris] the rare privilege of tracing those of its [the portfolio's] pages which interested me as belonging to architecture and mechanism [i.e., mechanics]." He was preparing his own, English edition of the portfolio when he learned of Lassus's efforts and was thereby "induced to postpone the publication of the results I have arrived at."

It is not clear from his edition whether or not Willis was personally acquainted with Lassus (whom he praises on p. ix of his preface), although Lassus corresponded with James Henry Parker, the antiquarian-archaeologist who published the Willis facsimile.

Willis's justification for his facsimile of the Villard portfolio was twofold. One was his belief in the importance of the portfolio itself. The second was his belief that the Lassus edition was incomplete (p. viii): "But as his [Lassus's] labours have been unhappily cut short and left imperfect, I have ventured to add to them my own, and to attempt the formation of a commentary that should include the opinions of writers who have as yet interested themselves in the question [of the portfolio]." When this was written, only a few writers had shown any interest, as the entries in this

bibliography show.

Willis's facsimile is organized as follows: Preface (pp. v-ix), in which he summarizes the importance of the drawings and recounts his own involvement with the portfolio; Table of Contents (p. x); List of Plates (pp. xi-xii); translation of the first part of the Quicherat 1849 article (pp. 1-7), followed by a two-page (pp. 8—9) commentary on Villard's activities in Hungary; "Description of the Manuscript and Its Contents" (pp. 10—15) followed (p. 16) by a diagram of the codicological reconstruction of the manuscript; and a "Classified List of Subject Matter" (pp. 17-20) arranged as follows: sacred or emblematical figures, secular human and animal figures, architecture and construction plans and drawings, practical geometry, masonry, carpentry, machines, and receipts [formulas]. Willis omits "as foreign to the illustration of our artist" Lassus's long essay defending the Gothic style. The greater part of Willis's facsimile (pp. 21-238) consists of his "Explanation of the Plates."

Willis's organization of these involves reproducing the Lassus lithographs, each followed by commentary; thus the folios are separated by text and difficult to compare. He employs Lassus's numbering scheme. Both in the text and footnotes, Willis carefully notes whether the commentary is his own or whether it is translated from Lassus or from Quicherat. Willis provides with most plates, where appropriate, transcriptions of the Picard inscriptions, the Lassus French translations, and the best English translations to date, far more accurate than those in the Bowie (F.V) facsimile. Willis's most extensive additions to or revisions of Lassus's commentary occur in connection with the geometrical and stereometrical drawings found on fols. 20r and 20v. Willis did not realize that these drawings were not by Villard.

For Willis, the significance of the Villard portfolio was in what it revealed about thirteenth-century drawing (p. v): "The manuscript which is the subject of the present volume is a most valuable monument for the state of delineation in the thirteenth century." He also claims that "The architectural drawings are especially interesting for the light they throw upon mediaeval [architectural] practice.' In the first connection, Willis notes that Villard drew after the antique and makes the claim that he also drew "from living models set in attitudes for the purpose [of making academic studies]." Willis praises Villard's architectural drawings for their interest as distinct from "the mechanical copying which is the reproach and misfortune of our own [age]," but he appears to be suspicious of Villard's powers of observation. It is Willis who first set up (p. vi) the dubious proposition that "Villard appears even to have altered parts of the buildings he was sketching, improving them as he thought, and giving them a more fashionable air as he went along, to save himself the trouble of doing so when he wished to engraft them upon one of his own designs."

One of the most useful parts of the Willis facsimile is his "Description of the Manuscript and Its Contents" (pp. 10-20) based on Burges (1858.1), Lassus, and Quicherat (1849.1). Until Barnes and Shelby (1988.1) this was the most precise English summary of the codicological state of the portfolio. His principal points are (p. 12) that twenty-one leaves can be proved to be missing from the manuscript, that (p. 14) the manuscript is a "veritable sketch—book" for which "the sketches were made at separate times," and that the drawings are not "a collection made up or rearranged in after-life by its possessor." Willis also noted that the "inscriptions are subsequent additions [to the drawings] for the information of posterity, and [were] not contemplated at the time the drawings were made, for no space had been reserved for them." Save for the number of folios Willis estimates to be missing, these observations or interpretations are generally accepted as correct even today.

For all his interest in Villard, Willis was not greatly concerned with Villard's professional career. As his title indicates, he accepted without question Lassus's and Quicherat's view that Villard was an architect, and Willis refers (p. v) to Villard's "practice [of architecture]." But he was not interested in what buildings Villard may have designed. In his preface (p. v) he attributes Cambrai to Villard, but in discussing (pp. 86-90) Villard's drawing of the plan of Cambrai (fol. 14v), Willis appears to deny or to question this attribution. He reports (pp. 8-9) the "state of the question" of Villard's association with Hungary based on Henszlmann (1857.1) but takes no stand on the various attributions made.

The Willis facsimile has never been reissued and remained from 1859 to 1959, when the Bowie facsimile (F.V) appeared, the only English edition of the manuscript. These have subsequently (1979) been joined by the Bucher facsimile (F.VI). The Willis facsimile was, therefore, for a century the only source on the Villard manuscript for English-speaking scholars. Long out of print and what Robert Branner (1960.4) termed a "bibliographic rarity," the Willis edition was superseded in 1935 as the most critical edition of the Villard manuscript by the Hahnloser facsimile.

F.III

BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, ed. H[ENRI AUGUSTE O[MONT]]. *Album de Villard de Honnecourt: Architecte du XIIIe siècle.* Paris: Herthaud Frères, n.d. [1906]. Reprints. Paris, 1927 and 1931, 18 pp. + 68 pls.

Born the year that Lassus died, Omont (1857-1940) was *Conservateur en Chef* of manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale from 1903 until 1935 and is credited with much of the organization and prestige of that research facility. Omont published hundreds of catalogs and other works on the manuscripts in his care, and his edition of Villard, published three years after he became conservator, was but a minor effort in a long career.

Omont appears to have had no special interest in Villard *per se*. It is unclear why he published a facsimile edition of the Villard manuscript unless it was to provide the public with an inexpensive edition of Villard by contrast to that of Lassus or whether by 1906 the Lassus edition was out of print. His motivation may have been to provide a more accurate edition, since his plates are glass negative prints of, rather than lithographs made after, the originals. The Omont edition is brief and uncritical, summarizing the earlier literature on the manuscript and tracing its history down to 1865 when it was assigned its current shelf number in the Bibliothèque nationale. He gives a transcription of the manuscript inscriptions and a brief description of the contents of each folio, together with a brief index arranged by subject.

A trained codicologist, Omont designated the manuscript folios as folios, but only as secondary to his plate numbers. He estimated that thirteen folios are missing from the manuscript. Omont reproduced each of the thirty-three extant folios and provided unnumbered illustrations of the binding of the manuscript itself. Since Omont illustrated folios omitted by Lassus and Willis, his numbering scheme (in Roman numerals) is different from theirs (see "Concordance between the Portfolio and Facsimile Editions").

F. IV

HAHNLOSER, HANS R[OBERT]. *Villard de Honnecourt: Kritische Gesamtausgabe des Hauhüttenbuches no. fr. 19093 der Pariser Nationalbibliothek.* Vienna: Anton Schroll & Co., 1935, xi + 342 pp., 66 pls. + text figs.

2d rev. and enlarged edition. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1972. xi + 404 pp., 66 pls. + text figs. [All references below are to the second edition.]

This is the most scholarly edition of the Villard to date. Hahnloser considered and studied virtually every aspect of the drawings and inscriptions. There are, however, two difficulties with Hahnloser's edition that must be faced by all who use it. One is that it is written in some of the most abstract philosophical German ever put to paper and is, therefore, very difficult to read. The other is that Hahnloser, as his subtitle indicates, firmly believed that the Villard portfolio was a lodge book (*Bauhüttenbuch*) and approached every question with this predisposition. Most readers will find certain interpretations and conclusions forced to satisfy this prejudice.

Hahnloser (1899-1974) was a Swiss art historian trained in Vienna under Julius Von Schlosser (1914.3) and was later professor of art history at the University of Bern. Interested in modern as well as medieval art, Hahnloser is known principally as a medievalist and mainly for his facsimile of the Villard portfolio, the most frequently cited source for any Villard question since 1935. Hahnloser also published a facsimile of the Wolfenbüttel model book (*Das Musterbuch von Wolfenbüttel*, Vienna, 1929) and a study of the stained glass and altars in Bern Cathedral (*Chorfenster und Altäre des Berner Munsters*, Bern, 1950).

The organization of Hahnloser's facsimile is the following: "Vorwort zur Zweiten Auflage" (pp. ix-xi); "Einführung zur ersten Auflage" (pp. 1-4); "Sprachkritischer und ikonographischer Kommentar" (pp. 5-176); "Zur Literatur" [to 1935] (pp. 177-81); "Zur Technik des Buches" (pp. 182-88); "Erhaltung und Umfang der Handschrift" (pp. 189-93); "Villards Nachfolger am Werk" (pp. 194-200); "Villards Stilwandel und sein Verhältnis zum Vorbild" (pp. 201-15); "Der persönliche Zeichenstil des Künstlers" [i.e., Villard] (pp. 216-24); "Zur Biographie des Künstlers" (pp. 225-37); "Das Hüttenbuch [Villard portfolio] als Ganzes" (pp. 238-46); "Wahl und Wert der Exempel" (pp. 247-79); "Anhang," including Bibliography (pp. 280-81), "Reconstruction of the Foliation of the Portfolio" (pp. 282-87), Glossary (pp.

288-97), and Index (pp. 298-340); "Seit 1935 erschienene Spezial-Literatur" (pp. 341-42); "Nachträge von 1971" (pp. 343-403); 66 Tafeln; and 213 Abbildungen.

The "Supplement of 1971" is in effect an insert into the photographically reproduced 1935 edition and is keyed to the original page and plate numbers. For the most part, this supplement brings together literature and commentary published between 1935 and 1971, including models for and parallels to Villard's drawings published during that period. In no case did Hahnloser modify or recant any significant conclusion contained in the first edition (p. x). In the "Foreword to the Second Edition" Hahnloser complained (p. ix) that his designation of the Villard portfolio as a *Bauhüttenbuch* had not been accepted by French scholarship which persisted in employing the "falschen Ausdruck 'Album.'"

Hahnloser's reproductions of the portfolio folios are photographs of the originals reproduced at approximately the same size as the latter. His reproductions are the best in print and, together with those of Bouvet, are the easiest to study because they are reproduced without intervening text and commentary and without cropping or inversion. Hahnloser termed the folios *Tafeln* (plates) and thus has a total of sixty-six, counting each face of each folio as a *Tafel*. Along the outer edges of the reproductions appear small Arabic letters referring to different details and inscriptions found on the folios themselves, to which the commentaries are keyed. These letters are visible yet sufficiently inconspicuous so as not to detract from the reproductions themselves. This scheme is preferable to that of adding handwritten letters to the reproductions themselves as it was employed by Bowie in his first edition.

There are many "firsts" in Hahnloser's facsimile, which is why it is an irreplaceable source. Hahnloser was able to obtain authorization from Henri Omont in 1926 to have the portfolio unbound (pp. 4, 283) so it could be examined as never before or since. He was also able to employ ultraviolet light and ultraviolet photography in his examination and thereby discovered inscriptions (fols. 1r and 23v) not previously seen or deciphered. Finally, he was able to examine the remains of cut folios disengaged from the gutters of the extant bifolios when the portfolio was unbound. He complains in several places that these were lost, and that certain folio "tails" were reversed when the portfolio was rebound, falsifying the codicological (re)construction of the portfolio as it exists today. [This author's examination of the Villard portfolio does not confirm this claim.]

On the basis of this examination, Hahnloser proposed (chart on p. 192) that the portfolio originally contained a minimum of fifty-six leaves plus a probable eight more, hence a total of sixty-four, of which thirty-three now remain. Thus only about half of the original is now extant.

Another very significant "first" of the Hahnloser facsimile is that he was the first art historian to recognize the different hands at work in the portfolio. On the basis of Schneegans' study (1901.1) of the inscriptions, Hahnloser identified two artists other than Villard, individuals whom he designated as Master II and Master III, using the Latin designation *magister* (pp. 194-200 and *passim*). Hahnloser reversed Schneegans' order, believing (p. 194) that the latter's "Ms. 3" "unmittelbar nach Villard am Buch gearbeitet hat." The key to Hahnloser's basic thesis is that Master II and Master III were followers of or successors to Villard in the same lodge (p. 199), "... es ist nicht als personalisches 'Album,' 'Skizzen-buch' oder 'Promemoria' entstanden, sondern als ein wirkliches Bauhüttenbuch; es ist tatsächlich in derselben Sprach- und Baugegend, d. h. von den Nachfolgen der gleichen pikardischen Werkstatt benützt worden...." This single sentence states the tradition that Hahnloser established concerning the Villard portfolio. Only in recent years has the rigidity of his interpretation been challenged.

Hahnloser's principal interest in Villard's life was not so much in the specifics of his career as in his artistic personality. He believed (p. 232) that Villard worked *ca.* 1230-1235 and that he was a "fertiger Meister" when he went to Hungary *ca.* 1235, either through his Cistercian connections or due to his association with Cambrai, but what he built in Hungary is unknown: "Was Villard in Ungarn gebaut hat, wird zu weiteren Funden ein Geheimnis bleiben." However, Hahnloser was not inclined (p. 226) to attribute Cambrai to Villard. The one building that Hahnloser proposes (pp. 236-37) Villard may have designed is Saint-Quentin, adopting the thesis of Bénard (1864.1).

Much consideration is given to Villard as an artistic personality, especially in the sections "Villard's Stylistic Development and his Treatment of Models" (pp. 201-15), "The Personal Drawing Style of the Artist" (pp. 216-24), and "The Selection and Usefulness of [Villard's] Models" (pp. 247-79). Hahnloser's contention is that Villard selected

models for different reasons, either for their beauty or for their practicality (ideally combining the two when possible), and that he treated different models in different ways. Hahnloser's most controversial conclusion (p. 207 and elsewhere) is that Villard's human figures in which the facial features are missing were drawn from sculpture: "Wir dürfen demnach jene Zeichnungen, bei denen die Innenzeichnung der Köpfe fehlt, als Abbilder von Skulpturen (oder, wenn es der Gegenstand fordert, nach der Natur) ansprechen." This is a very doubtful proposition indeed, but typical of Hahnloser's personal approach to Villard as an artist.

Hahnloser's approach to Villard is unique among commentators. In the same way that Bucher in his facsimile attempted a more detailed biography of Villard than anyone to date, Hahnloser attempted a psycho-artistic analysis approached by no one before or since 1935. His analysis is intensely subjective and personal, with the result that one agrees or disagrees strongly. Whatever his shortcomings or limitations, Hahnloser attempted more thoroughly than any other author to solve the riddles of the artist who (p. 2) "biete vorläufig noch mehr Ratsel als Lösungen" (see Gall, 1925.1).

F.V

BOWIE, THEODORE [ROBERT]. *The Sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, n.d. [1968 but © 1959]. 80 pp. [There is confusion about the proper bibliographic designation and dates of the three printings of this item. Bowie's (p. 9) claims that the two earlier editions were printed privately, but each carried an Indiana University copyright dated 1959. Bowie also states that the second printing was in 1961, when in fact the date was 1962. Both editions were distributed by George Wittenborn, New York. The second printing or edition is termed "revised" in its preface, but differs very little from the first edition save as noted below. The first two editions have translations and brief commentaries preceding the illustrations; the third edition has these on pages facing the appropriate illustrations.]

This was the second English edition of the Villard portfolio, appearing exactly a century after that by Willis. It was later followed by the English edition of Bucher, both now out-of-print. Bowie's edition is a facsimile only in a very special sense, and less so than any other facsimile discussed in this section. It does reproduce most of the Villard folios but these are arranged in a sequence different from that of the portfolio itself. Bowie claims (p. 5) that his arrangement is based, insofar as possible, on the "logic of their [the folios'] subject matter." Admitting this to be a "major liberty," one of the great understatements in all Villard literature, Bowie attributes this idea to the warm encouragement of Erwin Panofsky and other scholars.

Bowie's edition is very difficult to use when studying the original portfolio or when comparing it with other facsimiles that are arranged, in Bowie's phrase, in the "official order." In all three Bowie editions there is a Table of Concordance at the back. In the second and third editions, in response to Barnes's review (1960.1), a concordance number is given with each plate, keyed to Hahnloser. This is not as useful as might appear, however (assuming that the user has the Hahnloser facsimile available), for the following reasons: it is keyed to Bowie's arrangement of the folios, as is the "Table of Concordance;" it contains errors (Bowie's pl. 17 = Hahnloser Taf. 33, not his Taf. 38; Bowie's pl. 41 = Hahnloser Taf. 28, not his Taf. 23); and it is given in a confusing manner (Hahnloser's plates are assigned Roman numerals rather than Arabic, and in the third edition each number is preceded by "C.", for example, "C.XI", with the "C" standing for concordance and not the Roman numeral for 100). Because of this and because Bowie omitted fols. 33r and 33v—until 1978, the Bibliothèque nationale did not possess negatives of fols. 33r and 33v, which may explain their omission by Bowie—it is virtually impossible to compare Bowie's edition with the original or with other facsimile editions without recourse to a separate concordance (see pp. ØØØ).

Bowie's plates are photographic reproductions after negatives in the Bibliothèque nationale, apparently the same negatives employed by Hahnloser. Bowie's notes when he turns a folio 45° or 90° but he fails to note anywhere (save regarding fol. 21r where a recipe has been omitted) that he has severely cropped his reproductions, occasionally eliminating materials and giving the misleading impression to anyone unable to examine the portfolio or other facsimiles that the original portfolio is a much neater production than it actually is. In response to Branner's review (1959.2), in the third edition Bowie removed Arabic letters which he (?) had inked in on his illustrations and which were easily confused with earlier additions to the portfolio. This apparently explains the severe cropping of illustrations in third edition.

Bowie states (p. 5) that his edition is, "neither critical nor scholarly... [and] is intended for the nonspecialist." He admits that most of the contents of his introduction are based on earlier writers and he adds nothing new to understanding the Villard portfolio.

In 1982 Greenwood Press, Publishers, Westport, CN issued a handsome hardback reprint of the 1959 edition of the Bowie facsimile, including its misprints and omitted folios. The differences from the earlier editions are that (a) the folios (called "plates") are presented in Bowie's order but each is faced with Bowie's identifications and translations of the inscriptions; (b) the confusing lettering with the different drawings have been removed; (c) a new page called "The Plates and Their Inscriptions" has been inserted; fol. 21v is placed at the end of the folios and is numbered as Plate 64.

Bowie (1905-1995) was an American art historian at Indiana University who was interested in many aspects of art. He wrote on film, on Baudelaire, and on the art of the Far East. He also collaborated on an edition of the drawings of Jacques Carrey de Lyon made in Athens in 1674.

F.VI

BOUVET, FRANCIS. "L'Album de Villard de Honnecourt." In *La France glorieuse au moyen Age*. Paris: Club des éditeurs, 1960. Unpaginated.

This presentation of the Villard portfolio is along the lines of that by Omont in the sense that it offers little critical commentary, and to that by Bowie's in the sense that Bouvet omitted fols. 33 and 33v which did not interest him. Bouvet claims he "n'a d'autre ambition que de faciliter l'examen des planches [which he assigns Roman numerals], et de restituer— dans la mesure possible—l'esprit extraordinairement vif et curieux de seul témoignage que nous possédons sur ce qu'il est convenu d'appeler le Haut Gothique."

Bouvet in fact does this better than any other facsimile edition except Hahnloser's by reproducing the Villard folios as contained in the portfolio itself, uninterrupted by intervening commentary. The author notes that he reproduces the "plates" as they appear in the portfolio, including inversions, but does not give the source of his plates. I was able to obtain this publication only in an electrostatic photocopy, from which it is impossible to discern the details of the reproductions. They *appear* to be made from photographic negatives, assembled to replicate the foliation of the portfolio itself. [**Addendum**, 26 April 2007: Dominic Boulerice kindly confirmed that the Bouvet plates were made from photos of the original plates and are not re-drawings of the original leaves.]

Bouvet provides literal French translations of the Villard inscriptions, the most accurate French translations published to date. The author's brief commentary preceding the translations is enthusiastically misleading on several points, yet contains certain important and restrained observations. Bouvet claims that the Villard portfolio is one of only two medieval documents providing information on craft techniques, the other being Theophilus's *Diversarium artium schedula*. On the other hand, he resists speculation about who Villard was in a professional sense, save to claim that he was "incontestablement 'du batiment'" and that he may have worked for the Cistercians. Bouvet does not attribute any building to Villard, and concerning his trip to Hungary he says, "La date, l'objet et l'emploi du temps de ce voyage sont autant de mystères pour nous."

Bouvet traces briefly the history of the portfolio, basically summarizing Omont's account with some commentary on additions made after the portfolio left Villard's possession. He is very critical of Villard as a draftsman ("ses notions de perspective sont enfantines") and of his use of geometry.

The title of this book is taken from an essay by Marcel Aubert, and readers are cautioned that Bouvet's essay is not included in the first edition (Paris, 1949).

F.VII

BUCHER, FRANÇOIS. "[The Lodge Book of] Villard de Honnecourt." In *Architector: The Lodge Books and Sketchbooks of Medieval Architects*. Vol. 1. New York: Abaris Books, 1979, pp. 15-193.

This is the third English facsimile of the Villard portfolio and the only one to form part of a larger undertaking, a four-volume survey of medieval architectural drawings. Bucher (1927-1999) was professor of fine arts at Florida State University at Tallahassee and published extensively on medieval architecture and manuscripts, especially concerning architectural design, as well as on Joseph Albers. He is a former president of the International Center of Medieval Art and was the first editor of its journal, *Gesta*. Bucher was educated in his native Switzerland and was a student of Hahnloser, whom he terms (p. ii) his "mentor" and to whose memory he dedicated this volume as well as **1977.2**. Hahnloser had planned to prepare an introduction for this section of Bucher's facsimile but died in 1974 before this was accomplished.

Bucher's organization of his facsimile is as follows: Introduction (p. 15); "Tentative Biography" [of Villard] (pp. 15-26); [Villard's Role in the Tradition of] "The Humanist Architects" (pp. 27-28); "Appendix I: Physical Description, Purpose, and History" [of the Portfolio] (pp. 28-30); "Appendix II: Contents, Style, and Iconography" [of the Portfolio] (pp. 30-33); Conclusion (pp. 34-35); Bibliography (pp. 36-39); and Glossary (p. 40). [Additional discussion of Villard is promised in vol. 4 of this publication, not yet published.]

These sections are followed (pp. 42-176) by photographic reproductions of the portfolio folios at actual size without cropping and without inversions. No folios are omitted. Bucher's illustrations are quite dark, with an unpleasant, muddy gray tone. However, this printing serves better than that of any other facsimile to convey a sense of the variations in texture and tone of the original folios. Bucher employs Hahnloser's scheme of designating each surface of each folio with an Arabic number as if it were a plate, hence a total of sixty-six pages or plates. Because this portfolio is but a part of Bucher's planned total study, it is designated "V" for cross-referencing purposes, hence each folio number is preceded by "V," for example, "V1" (fol. 1r), "V2" (fol. 1v), etc. Bucher indicates different details, figures, or scenes on various folios as "a," "b," "c," etc., although this is not done consistently.

Bucher intersperses his commentaries and his reproductions of folios. For the most part, folio and related commentary are contained on facing pages although certain extended commentaries disrupt the neatness of this scheme. Within his commentaries he provides English translations of the portfolio inscriptions, but no transcriptions of the original inscriptions are given, rendering the glossary rather useless. Bucher's translations of the portfolio inscriptions are his own (p. 41) in which "we adhered to the often clumsy style and punctuation of the inscriptions which frequently differ from previously published interpretations in order to approximate the basic fabric of the original [inscriptions]." By and large, Bucher's translations are somewhat "free," and Willis's translations are preferable to Bucher's.

Bucher's facsimile terminates (pp. 177-93) with forty-one figures to accompany and supplement the Villard drawings. Many of these figures are found in (and are taken from?) Hahnloser, but some reconstruction drawings of Villard's mechanical devices (e.g., sawmill, fol. 22v) and certain perspective renderings of other Villard drawings (e.g., horologe, fol. 6v, and lectern, fol. 7r) are helpful in visualizing what Villard may have observed and/or intended the viewer to understand.

The interpretation Bucher gives to the Villard portfolio (p. 15, "our most direct visual witness to the expansive attitude of the first three decades of the thirteenth century") is standard. But his specific view that the portfolio was a lodge book follows Hahnloser's interpretation closely. In addition, Bucher is a disciple of Paul Frankl (1960.6) in believing that Villard attempted to organize his manuscript into a 'text [book] which others would consult' (p. 26). Bucher cites (p. 28) Frankl's claim that Villard was "the Gothic Vitruvius" and says he is not unjustly so designated.

For Bucher, Villard was an architect, but he insists on two qualifications in this regard. The first is that Villard was quite versatile, worked in stone and in timber, and may have also been a sculptor in stone and wood, possibly also in metal (or, at least, that he was interested in metalwork). The second is that Villard was at best an individual with "mediocre design talents" (p. 18) who "was probably never given a major commission" (p. 27). This view does not accord well with Bucher's attribution of work to Villard (see below). His best summary (p. 26) of Villard as medieval artisan may be this: "Villard strikes me as a busy individual who may never have realized his professional limitations."

What Bucher terms "A Tentative Biography [of Villard]" (pp. 15-26) is more detailed than any offered to date and is the only attempt to reconstruct his entire professional life. According to Bucher, Villard was born *ca.* 1175 at Honnecourt and entered the architectural profession at Vaucelles where he was a journeyman after 1190, becoming a

master *ca.* 1216 when the choir there was largely completed. It was at this time that Villard began making his drawings.

During the next five years, *ca.* 1215-1220, Villard traveled around northern France, visiting Laon, Meaux, Reims, and Chartres where he may have been employed as a sculptor on the south arm porch *ca.* 1217. At about the same time he may have made a trip to the Meuse Valley region to study metalwork, and he visited Reims to study and to sketch sculpture. Sometime after 1221 he was called to Hungary, either by the Cistercians or due to some association with Saint Elizabeth of Hungary. Bucher postulates that Villard may have passed through Bamberg where his drawings (fols. 9v and 10r) of the then-new Laon tower influenced the design of the Bamberg towers.

Bucher does not attribute any Hungarian architectural commissions to Villard, insisting that he may not have remained in Hungary for a very long time. He does suggest that Villard may have designed choirstalls for installation in one or more Hungarian churches, and he accepts Gerevich's contention (1974.1) that Villard "may have designed and/or participated in the construction of the tomb of Gertrude de Meran at Pills Abbey." Villard then returned to France, passing through Lausanne *ca.* 1226/1227, possibly after an excursion into Italy that may have included visits to Milan and Venice. Back in France, Villard found work as a subcontractor at Reims, where he was responsible for aisle window and triforium arcade tracery and for *tas de charge* vault springers and later discarded vaulting ribs.

Finally, in 1233, Villard became associated with work at Saint-Quentin and also possibly with work at Cambrai. Bucher accepts Bénard's interpretation (1864.1) that Villard had a hand in the design of the Saint-Quentin choir (see Bucher, 1977.2; Barnes, 1978.1; Bucher 1978.3). Bucher states this in different ways in different places, but his most unqualified claim (p. 25) is that "It is even possible to defend his [Villard's] presence as *maitre d'oeuvre* [at Saint-Quentin] from 1233 onward." Since Bucher categorically denies that Villard was a cleric, this means master of the architectural work, not keeper of the *fabrica*. It may be that Villard did not remain at Saint-Quentin very long. His drawings show none of the newer architectural forms or ideas employed there, or elsewhere, and Bucher seems to suggest that by the mid-1230s Villard was something of an anachronism. Then, *ca.* 1235 he began, with the assistance of Master II, to attempt to organize his sketchbook into a lodge book for the benefit of others, although much of his material was then out-of-date and no longer useful. Villard would have died, according to Bucher, *ca.* 1240, perhaps some sixty-five years of age.

One may or may not accept the specifics of Bucher's essay on Villard's life and career, but no one has better evoked the mood of the world in which Villard must have lived and worked.

In the sections (pp. 28-35) in which Bucher treats the history and significance of the portfolio, his commentary very closely follows that of Hahnloser. Bucher accepts the portfolio as a lodge manual and sees it as a treatise so well organized that he refers to its "chapters." He proposes (p. 28) that the portfolio originally consisted of six quires of sixteen leaves each (ninety-six pages) and states that the original "total number of pages was a minimum of eighty-two." He also claims that the folios were in Villard's day larger (255 mm x 180 mm) than they are now, and he estimates that there were originally between 341 and 425 drawings of which 256 remain.

Bucher dates (p. 29) the drawings between *ca.* 1215 and *ca.* 1235. His most distinct departure from Hahnloser and others is his contention (pp. 29, 118, 122) that Master II worked with, not later than, Villard in redoing certain of the folios, although this Master II inherited the portfolio from Villard.

Bucher believes that Master III may have been a cleric and that the portfolio, no longer of any use to the architectural profession after *ca.* 1240, became something of a curiosity and entered one or more clerical libraries where it was preserved for the very reason that it was no longer practical.

F.VIII

ERLANDE-BRANDENBURG, ALAIN, RÉGINE PERNOUD, JEAN GIMPEL, ROLAND BECHMANN.

Carnet de Villard de Honnecourt, Paris: Éditions Stock, 1986; 128 pp., 66 plates + 1 text figure.

This paperback facsimile edition of the Villard portfolio is unique in that it is the only one that is a collaborative effort. The intention of the authors was to make available to non-specialists a complete set of illustrations of the 33 leaves of

the Villard portfolio, and this is essentially a non-scholarly edition despite the very academic credentials of one of the collaborators, Alain Erlande-Brandenburg. The essays of the four authors discuss various aspects of Villard's drawings, and their commentaries vary in quality.

A notable departure from earlier French facsimile editions (**F.I**, **F.III**, and **F.VI**) is that in this edition the portfolio is termed a *carnet* rather than *album*, the traditional French designation. *Carnet* is preferable because it suggests a less formal codicological construction than *album*, just as "portfolio" is a more accurate rendering in English than "manuscript."

Régine Pernoud ("Villard, témoin de son temps," pp. 9-16) attempts to recreate a biography for Villard, and to place him in context. Much of what she proposes is unfounded and her essay must be used with caution. Pernoud's interpretation of Villard's life and career is traditional, and she compares (p. 9) the intention of Villard's *carnet* to that of Theopolius Presbyter's *Diversarum artium schedula*. Her persuasiveness is weakened by errors, for example, misidentifying (p. 11) the Chartres rose (fol. 15v) as being at Reims, and failing to differentiate between Villard and Master II.

Alain Erlande-Brandenburg's essay ("Villard de Honnecourt, architecture et sculpture," pp. 17-25) is a better effort. He analyzes Villard's architectural and sculptural drawings and his conservative artistic tastes, and he is rare among French authors in recognizing ("Introduction," p. 6) that Villard's profession is unknown: "L'analyse du document [=portfolio] ne nous apporte aucune certitude sur le métier exercé par Villard." While Erlande-Brandenburg departs from tradition on this point, his view that Villard intended to organize the portfolio into chapters follows the Frankl (1960.6) and François Bucher (F.VII) tradition. The author makes no attempt to justify his claim that at least eight of the leaves lost from the portfolio concerned architecture.

The essay by Jean Gimpel ("Villard de Honnecourt, architecte-ingénieur," pp. 27-38) is essentially repetition of material Gimpel has published elsewhere (1958.3, 1970.1, and 1976.2), although here he analyzes Villard's mechanical drawings one by one. Gimpel believes that Villard was something of a cross between Vitruvius and Leonardo da Vinci who has never been properly honored by French officialdom. In his efforts to redress this oversight—in 1983 Gimpel founded the *Association Villard de Honnecourt* in Honnecourt and was responsible for having a model of Villard's saw (fol. 22v) constructed in the town square—he has proven to be more enthusiastic than accurate about his hero.

Roland Bechmann's study ("Les dessins techniques du Carnet de Villard de Honnecourt," pp. 39-50) is a thoughtful and informative essay by an architect and historian. Bechmann has discovered the purpose or function of several of Villard's drawings that had remained mysteries to earlier scholars, for example, the cross-bow on fol. 22v "which cannot miss" (*ki ne faut*) (1986.2). In this study his focus is on Villard's perspective schemes and examples of practical or constructive geometry, but readers should be aware that Bechmann does not distinguish between drawings by Villard and those by Master II.

The illustrations of the leaves in the portfolio are termed *planches*, and are reproduced after negatives in the Bibliothèque nationale. These reproductions are for the most part printed too darkly, and have the unpleasant muddy appearance of the reproductions in the Bucher facsimile (F.VII). The transcriptions of the written addenda to certain of the drawings (pp. 121-127) are carelessly done and inconsistent in conveying Villard's abbreviations. The French translations of these addenda are rather freely rendered, and those in Lassus (F.I) and Bouvet (F.VI), especially, are preferable. The transcriptions and translations are accompanied by folio numbers as well as by *planche* numbers.

This facsimile contains summary bibliography.

Note: This edition of the portfolio has been translated into Italian and into Spanish.

Italian:

Spanish: *Villard de Honnecourt, Cuaderno*, Madrid: Ediciones Akal, S.A., 1991. In the series *Fluentes de Arte*, vol. 9, translated by Yago Barja de Quiroga. This is a literal translation of the French edition. The plates are a bizarre mauvish pinky color.

F.IX

CARREIRA, EDUARDO. *Estudos de Iconografia Medieval - O Caderno de Villard de Honnecourt, Arquiteto do Século XIII*, Edição, Tradução e Comentários: Eduardo Carreira, Brasília: Editora Universidade de Brasília, 1997.

I have not seen this publication, called to my attention by Marcus Rezende, who informed me that "It contains all the folios, the original texts, a Portuguese translation, and a short 'explanation notes' page by page, a small glossary of Gothic architecture and a bibliography containing references to the six [facsimile] editions and 19 references of 'Estudos de Interesse.'"

F.X

CHANFÓN OLMOS, CARLOS. *Wilars de Honnecourt, su Manuscrito*, Colección Mexicana de Traductores. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1994; 308 pp. + illus, maps.

This is the only Spanish edition of the portfolio I have found to reproduce all 33 leaves, recto and verso, although it is based on a 1978 publication (that I have been unable to obtain) by Chanfón, *El libro de Villard de Honnecourt, Manuscrito del siglo XIII*. Chanfón (1928-2002) was a Mexican professor of architecture trained in classics and philosophy and a specialist in the theory and practice of restoration of historic monuments.

Chanfón's approach to Villard (who, in this work, he consistently called Wilars de Honnecourt) is (p. 9) that he was a Picard "master builder" (*maestro constructor*) whose drawings and commentaries were ultimately passed on to his apprentices. The author dates Villard's activities between 1220 and 1250.

The author relies heavily on Viollet-le-Duc (**1854.1**) and Bechmann (**1991.4**) for his interpretations and, overall, these are dated. His view of the portfolio (p. 12) is that it is an "*auténtico Tratado de Arquitectura*."

The illustrations in the text are for the most part reproductions of illustrations in Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire raisonné* (**1854.1**). It is impossible to tell the source of the illustrations of the leaves. The drawings are thin line drawings with no indication of the edges of the leaves. My first impression is that they were reproduced after the Lassus lithographs, but there are many inconsistencies. For example, the drawings are not the same size, some being smaller and some being larger; on fol. 10r, both Mancel's and C-18's paginations are reproduced but on fol. 30r and elsewhere Mancel's is missing; the centerpoints of the arcs on the choir stall on fol. 29r are missing.

The leaves are not presented facing one another, the back of each page being given over to text: the original Picard, French, and Spanish. The transcriptions are mostly accurate and the French translations attempt to be literal. The Spanish translations are somewhat freer.

F.XI

ANON. *The Medieval Sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt*, Mineola: Dover Publications, Inc., 2006; ix + 146 pp.

This is a curiously eclectic edition of the portfolio. The commentary and translations are taken from the Bowie facsimile (**F.V**) and the plates are from the Willis facsimile (**F.II**) which were reproduced from the Lassus facsimile (**F.I**). The leaves are here reproduced in the order found in the portfolio and not in Bowie's rearranged sequence. Included are the eight supplemental drawings from the **F.II** edition.

It is misleading that this edition calls the portfolio a "sketchbook" and that the leaves are called "plates." See "[What's in a Name?](#)"

F.XII

BARNES, CARL F. JR. *The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt, A New Critical Edition and Color Facsimile*, Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009; xxvi + 266 pp., 49 in-text figures, 48 black and white plates, 71 color

plates.

This is the most recent published facsimile of the portfolio and the only facsimile edition to reproduce the front and back covers and all thirty-three leaves of the Villard drawings in full color and the same size as the originals.

In addition to the Acknowledgements and the Preface, the text is divided into three chapters: "The Portfolio, pp. 1-29; "The Individual Folios," pp. 30-230; "Villard de Honnecourt: A Minimalist Biography," pp. 215-230. This is followed by a "Glossary" (pp. 231-239) prepared by Dr. Stacey L. Hahn, Associate Professor of French at Oakland University, Rochester Michigan; a "Bibliography," pp. 241-253; an "Iconographical Index of Drawings, pp. 255-257; and an "Index" (pp. 259-266).

The overall approach to Villard follows what Barnes has proposed over some forty years in various writings. The author continues to argue that Villard was not a professional architect or master builder, that Villard may have used a professional scribe to add captions to certain of the drawings, and that there is still no obvious explanation for why the artist drew the mishmash of things he drew. However, Barnes does suggest that Villard may have been employed as a lay representative or agent of the bishop and/or chapter of Cambrai cathedral. In this connection, his detailed drawings of construction at Reims and church furnishings could have been useful to the bishop and/or chapter at Cambrai where a new cathedral was begun *ca.* 1220. It is likewise possible, although not proven, that Villard was sent by the bishop and/or chapter of Cambrai to Hungary to obtain a relic of St. Elisabeth of Hungary (d. 1231; canonized 1235), who helped fund the new construction at Cambrai. See Barnes 2007.2.

Chapter I studies the physical makeup of the portfolio, and its history from the 17th century to the present. The most novel proposal in this chapter is that the traditional attribution of scrips accompanying the drawings to three individuals (Villard, so-called Masters II and III) is too few and that eight different hands can be seen in the calligraphy. The chapter also has a section devoted to Villard's Use of Language and his Technical Vocabulary. The hands identified by Barnes, with their dates are: Hand I (Villard or his scribe); Hand II (Schneegans' "Master III," Hahnloser's "Master II"), 1240s/1250s?; Hand III (Schneegans' "Master II," Hahnloser's "Master III"), 1250s?; Hand IV, 1275/1300?; Hand V (Jehanne Martian), 14th century; Hand VI (J. Mancel), 15th century; Hand VII, 1533; Hand VIII, 1600s/1700s. The author makes the point that terming any of these hands "masters" is misleading because nothing is known about the profession of any one of them, including Villard.

The bulk of the book is Chapter II which analyzes each folio, giving size and condition, codicology, paginations, and a concordance with earlier facsimile editions (**F.I-F.XI** above). Next every drawing on each folio in the portfolio is analyzed individually, a first in Villard studies, giving size and drawing technique. Where there are captions or inscriptions, each is transcribed, then translated literally and freely. For example, fol. 15v:

Transcription: *Jestoie une fois en hongrie la u ie mes maint ior la vi io le pavement dune eglise de si faite maniere.*

Literal Translation: I was once in Hungary, there, where I remained many days. There I saw the pavement of a church made in such manner.

Free Translation: I was once in Hungary where I stayed a long time. There I saw a church pavement that looked like this.

Another first of this facsimile is Professor Hahn's Glossary that translates every word, Picard and Latin, into English.

UNDER CONSTRUCTION





The Electronic Facsimile Editions

There currently exist five "electronic facsimiles" of the Villard portfolio of which I am aware, four on the internet and one on CD. These are facsimiles only in the sense that they (except **2**) reproduce all the leaves in the portfolio. Only **4** reproduces the leaves in color.

1.

WOODROW, ROSS. *Album of Villard de Honnecourt* c. 1230-35. Newcastle [Australia]: The University of Newcastle, 2000.

This edition is a "facsimile" only in the sense that it reproduces each of the 33 folios, recto and verso, in a digitalized black and white format. The leaves are also called "pages," these being keyed to the folio numbers, e.g. fol. 2v = p. 4.

Commentary is limited to an introduction, and the unique value of this item is that it makes available to anyone with Internet access all the leaves of the portfolio. The images vary in quality (sharpness) and in some instances it is difficult to read the inscriptions.

The images were scanned digitally from what the Woodrow calls a privately printed edition of the portfolio that appeared in Paris in 1927, printed by Catala Frères, apparently the 1927 reprint of the Omont edition (F.III).

Villard's profession is not addressed. The assemblage is termed a "portfolio."

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2.

GAGNE, CLAUDE. *The Album de Villard de Honnecourt*. n.d.

This is a facsimile edition only in the sense that it reproduces the leaves in the portfolio that are taken from Lassus (**F.I**) and interspersed in the author's textual commentary. The inscriptions on the leaves themselves are not given, save in summary form. The author believes that the Lassus edition is "sans aucun doute la meilleure [édition]" and "pour la partie technique, le travail de Lassus, publié dans l'édition de Laget [en 1976] reste pertinent."

Gagne's interpretation, from a freemasonry perspective, is that Villard was an apprentice, both in his metier and in life, and (p.3) that he was working toward becoming a *magister latomus* or *maître d'oeuvre* in the *metier* of construction. The portfolio is called both an "album" and a "carnet."

Gagne has some personal interpretations that run at odds with generally accepted interpretations, for example, that the letters **AGLA** on fol. 8r are not botched Greek, but a Hebrew Kabbalistic acronym for *Ateh Gibor Le-olam Adonai*, "God is mighty forever."

He suggests that the crouched figure hiding his face on fol. 23v is behaving as if the departing horseman "lui causait un grand chagrin," whereas the two figures, of very different scale, probably are unrelated iconographically.

The identificatuion of the figure *Ecclesia* on fol. 4v as the "Reine du Ciel" is simply incorrect.

A suggestion that I find appealing is that the standing nude on fol. 11v "... n'est peut-être pas de la main de Villard."

3.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE. *Le carnet de Villard de Honnecourt, L'art et les techniques d'un constructeur gothique*, CD, 2001.

The interpretations on this CD are largely those of Roland Bechmann. See my review in *Speculum*, vol. 77 (2002), pp. 485-487.

4.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE. *Le [carnet de Villard de Honnecourt](#)*, n.d.

This is the only means of obtaining color images of the portfolio on the internet, as far as I know. These images are of acceptable quality and generally accurate in color. Each face of each leaf is termed a "folio," so that this accounting of the portfolio assigns it 66 folios. There are brief commentaries with most of the leaves. The approach to Villard is traditional, essentially the interpretation of Roland Bechmann as in **3.** above.

5.

ASSOCIATION VILLARD DE HONNECOURT. *Le [carnet de Villard de Honnecourt](#)*, n.d.

NOTE: This is the website (<http://villarddehonnecourtfree.fr>) of the French society devoted to the Villard portfolio, headquartered in the village of Honnecourt (Nord), the presumed birthplace of Villard. Oddly, the site does not illustrate the reconstruction of Villard's hydraulic saw (fol. 22v) erected in the village square in 1984.

The site gives an overview of the history of the village, and a summary biography of Villard, called a "maître d'oeuvre," dating his activities to the 12th century rather than to the 13th century. The section "Le carnet de Villard" presents each of the remaining 33 leaves in black-and-white, apparently reproduced from the Stock edition of the portfolio (**F.VIII**). Each leaf, unfortunately called a "planche" and numbered consecutively in Roman numerals, has three texts: title (in red, without indicating that the title is supplied by the association); original text (in black); modern French translation (in blue).

The titles are occasionally misleading. For example, fol. 2r reads "De hennecort ci quil fut en hongrie (xv e siecle). Other than mistaking the first "o" in "Honnecourt" as an "e," one is left with the impression that "xv e siecle" is part of the original inscription rather than a modern dating of the inscription. The group on fol. 13r is called "le roi justicier," whereas the iconography of the drawing is unknown and disputed. The seated couple on fol. 14r is identified as two men, not as a man and a woman.

The transcriptions of the original inscriptions present some major problems. For example, the inscription on fol. 5r concerning the perpetual motion device is rendered as "maint jorse sunt despute de faire torner une ruee par li seule ..." whereas it should read "maint ior se sunt maistre despute de faire torner une ruee par li seule"

It is a major surprise to find on fol. 30v a translation of "dautretel maniere doivent celes de canbrai so[n](= si on) fait droit" as "Celles de Cambrai doivent differentes, si on les construit." As best I know, this is the only translation anywhere of this inscription to claim the Cambrai chapels must be different from those at Reims if built (correctly).

This site should be used with great care.



5 November 2006



Writings on Villard de Honnecourt, 1666-1849

1666.1

FÉLIBIEN [des AVAUX], ANDRÉ. *Entretiens sur les vies et les ouvrages des plus excellents peintres anciens et modernes*. Paris: Sébastien Mabre Cramoisy. **2nd ed. 1696.

The first (1666) edition of this work probably contains the earliest published reference to Villard's drawings, although Villard is not specified by name. Félibien states (vol. 1, p. 520), "Il m'est tombé depuis peu entre les mains un vieux livre en parchemin d'un Auteur François, dont les caractères et le langage témoignent être du douzième siècle. Il y a quantité de figures à la plume qui font connoître que le goust de desseigner estoit alors aussi bon [en France] que celui d'Italie l'estoit du temps de Cimabue."

As the Villard portfolio was in the possession of the Félibien family in the late 16th century, it is reasonable for Félibien to have had it "fall into his hands."

André Félibien (1619-1695) was court historian to Louis XIV and secretary to the royal Academie de l'architecture in Paris. His analysis of Villard's drawings, which he misdated to the 12th century, may have been sincere, although it has unmistakably chauvinistic overtones. Frankl (**1960.6**, p. 35) notes that Félibien was a "confirmed classicist [who] scarcely had the right perspective to appreciate Villard's book fully."

1825.1

WILLEMIN, NICOLAS X., and ANDRÉ POTTIER. *Monuments français inédits pour servir à l'histoire des arts depuis le XVIe siècle jusqu'au commencement du XVIIIe [siècle]*. Vol. 1. Paris: Chez Mlle. Willemin, p. 62 and p1. 102.

Contains the first published Villard drawings, an engraved composite by Willemin of the leaf-face on fol. 5v, the seated couple on fol. 14r, and the man mounting a horse on fol. 23v. According to Willis (**F.II**), Pottier wrote his commentary on the basis of Willemin's engravings and did not examine the portfolio itself.

Despite the incorrect late dating of the drawings and his interest in them only as examples of costuming, Pottier left an important legacy to French scholarship because he was the first to term the portfolio an album, considering it to have been a notebook.

This one-page work is more significant than might appear, since it brought the Villard portfolio to the attention of Quicherat (**1849.1**).

1849.1

QUICHERAT, JULES [ETIENNE JOSEPH]

. "Notice sur l'album de Villard de Honnecourt, architecte du XIIIe siècle." *Revue archéologique*, 1st ser., vol. 6, pp. 65-80, 164-88, 209-26, and pls. 116-18.

The first serious study of the Villard portfolio, brought to Quicherat's attention by the publication of Willemin and Pottier (1825.1). Villard scholarship may be said to have begun with this study by Quicherat (as he himself claimed; see Quicherat, 1876.1). It prompted the increased attention to the portfolio in the second half of the 19th century, including publication of the Lassus facsimile edition (F.I) nine years later.

Quicherat's study remains a major source on Villard, partly because of his analyses, but mainly because of his classification of the portfolio's subject matter. This first attempt at classification is still the most widely used. Quicherat's classification (p. 72) is: (i) mechanics, (ii) practical geometry and trigonometry, (iii) stone-cutting and masonry, (iv) carpentry, (v) design of architecture, (vi) design of ornament, (vii) design of figures, (viii) furniture, and (ix) materials foreign to the expertise of the architect or designer.

The two shortcomings of this classification are immediately apparent: category nine is an uninformative throwaway; and the entire scheme depends on the belief that Villard was an architect.

While Quicherat was interested only to a limited degree in Villard as an architect, he was the first author to term him one, starting a tradition that persists today. Quicherat attributed (p. 69) the design of the choir of Cambrai, 1230-1243, to Villard and established (pp. 70-71) the idea that Villard was so well-known as an architect that he was called to Hungary between 1244 and 1247 to build one or more unspecified churches after the expulsion of the Tartars from that country.

While these and other undocumented assumptions or outright errors (e.g., misattribution to Villard the statement that the tower of Laon was "la plus belle tour qu'il y ait au monde") stem from Quicherat, his principal interest was in Villard's "engines" and his use of geometry in design. In this connection, Quicherat terminated (p. 226) his study with the famous quotation from Vitruvius' (*De Architectura*, bk. 1, chap. 1, sec. 3) about the areas of expertise required by the architect. Despite his warning about the differences between the Vitruvian Age and that of Villard, this is the basis for the tradition of referring to Villard as the "French Vitruvius."

Quicherat redrew thirty-one of Villard's figures to accompany his text, and provided three plates of drawings from the portfolio: 116 (Saracen tomb on fol. 6r), 117 (seated nude on fol. 22r; sleeping apostle on fol. 23v), and 118 (horologe on fol. 6v; lectern on fol. 7r; man in chlamys on fol. 29v). These plates were engraved by Ch[arles?] Saunier after drawings by Quicherat. Quicherat correctly designated materials in the portfolio by folio. See Quicherat, 1886.1.





Writings on Villard de Honnecourt, 1850-1899

*1852.1

TOURNEUR, VICTOR. Article in *Travaux de l'Académie de Reims*, vol. 17.

Cited by Chevalier, **1905.1**, vol. 2, col. 4677, as referring to Villard on p. 50.

1854.1

VIOLLET-LE-DUC, EUGÈNE EMMANUEL. *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle*. 10 vols. Paris: Ve A. Morel et Cie, Editeurs, 1854-1868.

Contains various references to Villard. He notes (vol. 1, p. 111, s.v. "architecte") that Villard "dirigea peut-être les constructions de la cathédrale de Cambrai and that Villard was called to Hungary "pour entreprendre d'importants travaux." In vol. 2 (p. 317, s.v. "cathédrale") , Viollet-le-Duc attributes Reims to Robert de Coucy and claims that Villard was his "contemporain et ami" although he does not attribute to Villard any part in the design of Reims. He does cite (vol. 2, p. 321) Villard's drawings of Reims as partial proof that the work at Reims was well-advanced by 1230, hence indirectly assigning the Villard drawings to that date.

In his long article on sculpture (vol. 8), he devotes pp. 265-267 to the significance of Villard's geometric schemes for designing figures, claiming that these stem from Egyptian art as passed into medieval Europe by way of Byzantium, and that such schemes were intended for ordinary artists, not for the great masters. He here dates the portfolio to the middle of the 13th century.

1856.1

RAMÉ, ALFRED. "Notes d'un voyage en Suisse," *Annales Archéologiques*, ed. Didron, vol. 16 (1856), pp. 49-64. States (pp. 57-58) that Villard—spelled "Vilars"—was a Picard architect who visited Lausanne in the mid-13th century and drew the south rose of the cathedral, a drawing that "ne brille pas par la précision et la fidélité." Ramé claims that Villard's wrestlers on fol. 14v were drawn from wrestlers on choir stalls at Lausanne and not from his imagination.

Ramé asks (p. 63) if Villard, architect of Cambrai and admirer of Laon, could have been the architect who introduced the French style into Lausanne.

No illustrations.

1858. 1

BURGES, WILLIAM. "An Architect's Sketch-book of the Thirteenth Century," *The Builder*, no. 16 (15 November), p. 758; (20 November), pp. 770-72.

Burges was one of the first non-Frenchmen to examine the Villard portfolio, and he provides an amazing amount of

detailed analysis and commentary crammed into three pages.

He refers to the promised Willis facsimile (**F.II**) and had studied the Lassus facsimile (**F.I**), which he criticizes on several counts: that Villard's underdrawings are not reproduced in Lassus's lithographs; that Lassus's interpretations of Villard's intentions are sometimes uninformative or possibly incorrect; and that Lassus is given to unfounded speculation, for example (p. 758), Lassus's attribution of Cambrai and Kassa to Villard "is pure conjecture; but, at least, has the merit of probability, and until we have something better to substitute [for it], will do as well as anything else. "

Burges also complains that Lassus misled him about Villard's name by gratuitously employing "Villard" rather than "Wilars", observing (p. 770n) that "we ought to give so accomplished a man as our author [Villard] the credit of spelling his own name correctly. "

Burges's study is divided into two parts. In the first, he deals mainly with the physical state of the portfolio and with Villard's drawing techniques. He notes that the binding is at least the second employed and that the leaves are not bound in their original sequence. Burges claims that Villard employed a bow-pencil, but not a bow-pen, and that he made use of compass and straightedge. He also claims that the nature of Villard's letters proves he used a crow- rather than a goose-quill pen for his captions. In the second part of his article, Burges summarizes the various subjects found in the portfolio, and concentrates on Villard's style and ability as a draftsman.

In general, he is very critical of Villard the draftsman. Regarding the architectural drawings, he complains (p. 758) of their "extreme inaccuracy and contempt of detail," but admits that this is at least in part due to the fact that Villard, like other architects of his time, employed models as points of departure only, altering them to suit his needs or sense of what was better and making no attempt at completeness. For example, in the case of the Lausanne rose (fol. 16r), Burges states that Villard's rendering "is by no means an improvement upon the original [design]." He is also critical of Villard's drawings of figures, which he places (p. 770) in four categories: those drawn (i) from life, (ii) after antique models, (iii) as compositions for or copies of contemporary subjects, and (iv) to show the art of portraiture. Burges is particularly suspicious of the utility of this last category, as well as its result, claiming that such schemes (and architectural books in general) are normally "useful only to those who can do without them." He concludes, "If our friend Wilars had studied the human or animal skeleton, instead of impossible squares and triangles he would, doubtless, have been a better artist, and *a fortiori*, a better architect. "

Burges makes only one tentative attribution of a work to Villard. Noting Villard's interest in Lausanne and the quality of his drawings of choirstalls (fols. 27v and 29r), Burges claims that the fact that Villard's wrestlers (fol. 14v) are found on the Lausanne choirstalls "would almost lead us to believe that Wilars de Honnecourt had something to do with the design of the [Lausanne] stalls."

Burges provides a number of details of Villard's drawings that he made as woodblock prints from his own copies of the original drawings in the portfolio. He insists these are not facsimiles, their purpose being to study Villard's techniques and to provide the reader with a feeling for the original drawings.

1858.2

GARLING, HENRY BAILY. "Some Remarks on the Contents of the Album of Villard de Honnecourt." *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, vol. 10 (1858-1859), pp. 13-20.

A paper delivered 15 November 1858 that is of greater interest for its condemnation of 19th-century architectural practice and for the comments and questions of fellows and guests in attendance (see below), than for anything Garling has to say about Villard or his portfolio, which Garling knew only in the Lassus facsimile (**F.I**).

Garling believed (p. 15) that the portfolio was "not a mere memorandum book for the author's own use, but that it was intended for the instruction of others," although he states specifically (p. 15), "There is no pretension to mystery; no secrets of craft [in the portfolio]."

Garling was impressed (p. 15) by Villard's versatility, claiming that the portfolio "embraces every department of an

architect's studies," but he was considerably less favorably impressed by Villard's skill as a draftsman. He criticizes (p. 14) the drawing of the Lausanne rose (fol. 16r) as made "from memory, and very incorrect." He explains the discrepancies between Villard's drawings of Reims and the actual building by the fact that Villard probably drew from working drawings which were later abandoned or modified. He dates (p. 13) Villard's activities to the period between 1230 and 1250 and claims "there is very strong reason for believing that he was the architect of the Choir of Cambrai."

Garling refers to the article "last week" of Burges (**1858.1**), who was in the audience and who summarized the contents of that article. Much of the discussion following Garling's presentation was directed at the hubris of Lassus, "who claimed for France the merit of almost all the great architectural works of the period."

Gilbert Scott praised (p. 19) Villard by stating that he "did not believe that architects of the present day could draw the figure so well as De Honnecourt."

1858.3

HENSZLMANN, IMRE. *Pesti Napló*, 9-dik évi folyam, 217. szám, 1858, Csütörtök, oct. 14. [*Journal of Pest*, volume 9., nr. 217, 14 October 1858], p. [2].

This short article is the summary by an unknown journalist of a meeting or conference organized by the Hungarian Science Academy on 11 October 1858 during which Henszlmann spoke about Gothic architecture, proposing that Villard was architect of Cambrai, Saint-Yved at Braine, and the Elisabethkirche at Kassa. Henszlmann was the first Hungarian to write about art history, in a short book about churches of Kassa, published in 1846. In that work he did not mention Villard, who had not yet come to his attention.

Cited by Gál (**1929.2**, p. 233) as an article in which Henszlmann claimed that Villard worked in Hungary between 1260 and 1270, called there by Stephen V.

1858.4

LASSUS, J[EAN]-B[ATISTE]-A[NIOINE]

See "The Facsimile Editions," F.I, 1st ed.

1858.5

MÉRIMÉE, PROSPER. "Album de Villard de Honnecourt," *Moniteur universel* (20 December). Reprints: *Études sur les arts du moyen âge*, Paris: Michel-Lévy Frères, 1875; **Paris: Flammeron, 1969, pp. 229-70.

While basically a review of the Lassus facsimile (**F.I**), Mérimée ranges afield in an attempt to place Villard in the general context of 13th-century art. He sees (p. 232) Villard as parallel to Leonardo da Vinci in his range of interests, the first author to make this comparison.

Mérimée concentrates on Villard's interest in antique sculpture and expresses amazement that Villard, as a professional architect, was interested in sculpture and painting. He attempts to determine the purpose of Villard's drawings, concluding that they and their captions were too random and inconsistent to have collectively served as a book of instruction for other masons. He terms (p. 230) the portfolio a "notation mnémonique à son [Villard's] usage particulier."

The 1858 article refers to Villard's drawings by Lassus's plate numbers, whereas the 1969 reprint employs photographic reproductions identified by folio.

1859.1

EITELBERGER, RUDOLPH VON. "Das Album des Villard de Honnecourt," *Mittheilungen der k. k. Central-Commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmaler*, 6 (June), pp. 145-149.

Cited by Renan (**1862.1**, p. 206 n. 4) and by Schneegans (**1901.1**, p. 53 n. 8) as published in Vienna and having to do with "proof" of the activities of Villard in Hungary. This is misleading. The article is essentially Eitelberger's review of the Lassus (**F.I**) facsimile edition that appeared a year earlier. The author claims (p. 145) that the Villard portfolio "is as important for understanding 13th-century architecture as the Plan of Saint-Gall is for studying 10th-century architecture" (*Dieses Album hat für des XIII. Jahrhunderts eine eben so grosse Bedeutung, als der Grundriss von St. Gallen für das X. Jahrhundert...*) Generally, Eitelberger dates Villard's activities later than the dates now commonly accepted. Eitelberger was the founder of the Vienna School of Art History and the first person to write in German about the Villard drawings.

Reproduces, redrawn, the Cistercian church plan on fol. 14v and the Hungarian pavement on fol. 15v.

1859.2

VIOLLET-LE-DUC, EUGÈNE EMMANUEL. "Première Apparition de Villard de Honnecourt, architecte du XIIIe siècle," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 1st ser., vol. 1, pp. 286-95.

An amusing imaginary piece in which Villard appears at night in Viollet-le-Duc's study demanding to know why Lassus (**F.I**) went to the trouble to publish his "carnets incomplets?" Villard explains the sources of certain of his drawings and stresses (p. 288) that the variety of subjects in his portfolio is due to the multiplicity of responsibilities of the medieval architect ("Nous n'avons pas inventé ce que vous appelez les spécialités, mot barbare comme la chose qu'il exprime").

Villard likewise defends his style of drawing and explains (p. 290) that he drew the Reims window (fol. 10v) when it was "encore sur l'épure" when he had been called to Hungary "vers 1250" to build Kassa, the drawing having been made because, "je ne voulais pas oublier cette forme des meneaux de Reims, pour m'inspirer au besoin."

Villard's most amazing revelation (p. 292) is that he and the aged Pierre de Corbie drew the plan of a church on fol. 15r as a project for Reims. Before vanishing, Villard promises to return to Viollet-le-Duc "et nous causerons." See Viollet-le-Duc, **1860.2**.

Reproduces the sleeping apostle on fol. 23v, the geometric sheep on fol. 18v, and the geometric wrestlers on fol. 19r after Lassus edition (**F.I**) lithographs.

1860.1

BURGES, WILLIAM. "Architectural Drawing," *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, vol. 11, pp. 15-23.

A paper read by Burges, a newly elected member of the institute, on 19 November 1860. In a brief survey of medieval architectural drawings from the plan of Saint Gall to Jan van Eyck's tower in St. Barbara, Burges briefly discusses (pp. 18-19) the Villard (called Wilars) portfolio which he had examined "two months ago" (September 1860?).

Burges claims that the Villard drawings "are the most perfect and largest collection of the [architectural] drawings of the Middle Ages which have come down to us." He praises Villard's drawing technique and claims that Villard was an architect, not a painter or sculptor as other have claimed. Burges was particularly favorably impressed by Villard the draftsman, referring to his "extreme precision of ... touch" and "decidedly good style of drawing." Burges explains Villard's variations from known models as being due to the fact that "when he copied any executed work, he copied it not as he saw it, but with variations of his own, and as he would execute it himself."

Reproduces his redrawing of the Cambrai plan (fol. 14v) and a detail of the Reims choir buttress (fol. 32v). See **1858.1**.

1860.2

VIOLLET-LE-DUC, EUGÈNE EMMANUEL. "Deuxième Apparition de Villard de Honnecourt à propos de la Renaissance des arts," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 1st ser., vol. 5, pp. 24-31.

Recounts the reappearance of Villard to Viollet-le-Duc (see **1859.2**) to describe to him a visit Villard made to Rome "vers 1260" at which time he was "ravi d'admiration" for ancient monuments and learned how much more sensitive and skilled French artists were than their Italian counterparts.

Villard thus demands (p. 26) to know why the great flourishing of art in France in the 13th century is not termed a renaissance. He points out to Viollet-le-Duc that the true French renaissance began in the late twelfth century, and that what passes for the French renaissance of the 16th century is but a superficial importation of a foreign style by a few *grandees*.

Villard insists throughout his monologue on the integrity of French Gothic art: "nos oeuvres sont roturières, elles sont sorties du peuple et sont restées [au] peuple."

Before vanishing, Villard gives Viollet-le-Duc "un petit volume relie en veau" (his portfolio?), telling him to read it for it is very interesting and instructive, having been written "longtemps après la Renaissance."

interested in geometry in painting and that in this sense his drawings do provide some insight into the geometric basis of medieval design (which he speculates may have been transmitted from ancient art through Byzantine art)

All references are to plates in the Lassus facsimile (F.I), and there are redrawings of certain of Villard's human figures from fols. 18r, 18v, 19r, and 19v, with detailed analysis of the geometry involved in the design; p. 191 contains an illustrated explanation of the use of the spiral in designing arches.

Viollet-le-Duc characterizes the manuscript as a "carnet de voyage," stating clearly (p. 104) that it is, "ni un traité, ni un exposé de principes classés avec méthode, ni un cours d'architecture théorique et pratique, ni le fondation dun ouvrage [sur l'architecture]."

1864.1

BÉNARD, PIERRE. "Recherches sur la patrie et les travaux de Villard de Honnecourt." *Travaux de la Société académique des sciences, arts et belles lettres, agriculture, et industrie de Saint-Quentin*, 3d ser. vol. 6, pp. 260-80.

Bénard notes (pp. 260-62) how little is known about Villard (active 1230-1260) and how little Villard tells about himself and his works in his portfolio, then offers an hypothesis of his own. He claims that in the thirteenth century Honnecourt was located in the Vermandois, not the Cambrésis, region of Picardie. Villard would therefore have been a native of the Vermandois probably associated in some way with Saint-Quentin, which had a priory in Honnecourt.

He then argues that Villard was not a modest individual and, had he been the architect of Cambrai, would not have referred to himself with the impersonal pronoun on (fol. 30v). Bénard thus denies the attribution of Cambrai to Villard, claiming (p. 266) that Villard drew his Cambrai and Reims drawings on the basis of visits to both these sites and on examinations of drawings at each site, but that in his own drawings he included no edifices which he built, his portfolio being "un simple carnet de notes et croquis de voyage."

He next (p. 267) surmises that for a building to be attributed to Villard, it must be in his native region, must date to the right time, and must have some extraordinary, previously unnoted connection with Villard's drawings. He finds that Saint-Quentin (choir dedicated in 1257) fits in every particular. Bénard claims to have discovered (when dismantling

an altar in a radiating chapel at Saint-Quentin) an engraving for a rose window with a "ressemblance extraordinaire" to Villard's drawing of the Chartres west rose (fol. 15v), and he concludes (p. 272), "il est évidemment impossible que celui qui l'a tracée n'ait pas en sous les yeux le dessin de l'album."

Bénard then (pp. 272-74) calls attention to the similarities between Villard's Hungarian pavement drawing (fol. 15v) and the pavement of the chapel of St. Michael in the axial west tower of Saint-Quentin: "il est d'ailleurs bien visible que les motifs des ... panneaux du dallage de la chapelle Saint-Michel dérivent du croquis de Villard, at qu'ils ont été composés sous leur inspiration."

The author concludes (p. 275) that Villard obviously was the architect of Saint-Quentin, employing ideas taken from locales as far away as Chartres and Hungary and as near as Reims.

*1864.2

BRUNET, JACQUES-CHARLES. *Manuel du librairie at de l'amateur des livres.* Vol. 5. Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, Fils et Cie.

Cited by Chevalier, **1905.1**, vol. 2, col. 4677, as referring to the Villard portfolio on p. 1233.

*1865.1

BÉNARD, PIERRE. "Recherches sur la patrie et les travaux de Villard de Honnecourt," *Mémoires [en archéologie] lus à la Sorbonne 1865-1866*, pp. 215-229.

Cited by Chevalier, **1905.1**, vol. 2, cols. 4676-4677, and as having been published separately (16 pp.) in Paris in 1865. Chevalier indicates that both are the same as Bénard, **1864.1**. See also Bénard, **1867.1**.

1865.2

RENAN, [JOSEPH] ERNEST. *Discours sur l'état des beaux-arts: Histoire littéraire de la France au quatorzième siècle.* vol. 2. Paris: Michel Lévy Frères.

Contains a number of passing references to Villard, mostly as contrasts between him and 14th-century French artists. Renan finds Villard to be superior to the latter since he sees 14th-century art as decadent (p. 234), "L'Album de Villard est un témoignage incomparable de la vie et de la jeunesse d'imagination qui distinguait alors [XIIIe siècle] nos artistes," and he mentions elsewhere (p. 214) that no 14th-century French artist is the equal of Villard (and others, such as Robert de Luzarches) in originality. While praising the Italian school as superior to the French school, he notes (p. 215) that at least three figures in the Villard drawings "sont des études faites sur l'antique ou le byzantin."

Renan attributes (p. 245) to Villard a very early emotional interpretation of the Crucifixion (fol. 2v) showing Christ as the "homme de douleurs."

1865.3

STREET, GEORGE EDMUND. *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain.* London: J. Murray, 2nd ed. London, 1869; rev. ed., edited by Georgiana King, New York: F. P. Dutton, 1914 (**reprint: New York: Benjamin Blom, 1969).

Discussing the triangular vaults found in the Cathedral of Toledo, Street notes (vol. 2, p. 236) that the plan by Villard and Pierre de Corbie on fol. 15r may be the "original scheme" for such vaults. He suggests that the Petrus Petri who was architect of Toledo may have studied with Villard and Pierre de Corbie, from whom he got the idea for triangular vaults, which he then (vol. 2, p. 237) developed into a "much more scientific and perfect form." Street cites the Willis facsimile as his source of information about Villard.

1865.4

WILPERT, ALCIBIADE. "Substructions de la seconde église de Vaucelles erigée an XIIIe siècle sur les plans et sous la direction de Villars d'Honnecourt," *Mémoires de la société d'emulation de Cambrai*, vol. 28, pp. 137-61.

The title of this article tells more than its text about the author's attribution of Vaucelles to Villard. On p. 143 he refers to fig. 1, which shows results of excavations carried out in 1861 superimposed on Villard's plan of Vaucelles (fol. 17r). While the details of the piers found are different from those drawn by Villard, the author states that Villard's plan shows what the Vaucelles choir looked like in overall layout.

1866.1

ASSIER, ALEXANDRE. *Notre-Dame de Chartres*. Collection Arthur Savaète, no. 9. Paris: Arthur Savaète, Editeur. **2nd rev. ed. 1908.

Following a brief characterization of Gothic architecture as *the* French national art where Assier cites Viollet-le-Duc, **1854.1** but in fact gives the latter's view as expressed in 1863.1, together with that of Lassus. Villard is discussed (pp. 53-54) as a wandering French artist who may have lived as late as 1300. This appears to be the latest date any commentator has assigned to Villard.

Assier credits Villard with Kassa, and states that he had very extensive knowledge of physics, mechanics, mathematics, medicine, and music. This claim must have been made with Vitruvius's list of the qualities of the ideal architect in mind.

Assier cites Lassus as his source of information on Villard.

*1866.2

HENSZLMANN, INRE. *Műrégészti Kalaúz* [Archaeological guide]. Budapest: n.p., pt. 2, p. 68.

Cited by Gál (1929.2, p. 235) as a study in which Henszlmann reversed his earlier view about Villard and Kassa, here claiming that Villard had not been associated with this church. In Hungarian.

*1867.1

BÉNARD, PIERRE. "Recherches sur la patrie et travaux de Villard de Honnecourt." In *La Collégiale de Saint-Quentin: Renseignements pour servir à l'histoire de cette église*. Paris: n.p., pp. 1-18.

Cited by Hahnloser (p. 280) and Héliot (1959.5, p. 49 n. 2) as equal to Bénard, 1864.1.

*1867.2

GRASSE, JOHANN GEORG THEODOR. *Trésor des livres rares et précieux, ou nouveau dictionnaire bibliographique*. vol. 1, pt. 2. Dresden: R. Kuntze.

Cited by Chevalier, 1905.1, vol. 2, col. 4677, as referring to the Villard portfolio on p. 320.

*1869.1

RENAN, [JOSEPH] ERNEST. *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. 25. Paris: Michel Lévy Frères.

Cited by several authors, e.g., Chevalier, 1905.1, vol. 2, col. 4677 and Gál, 1929.2, p. 232 n. 2, as concerning (on pp. 1-9) Villard's trip to Hungary.

1869.2

VERNEILH, JULES (Baron Jean-Baptiste-Joseph-Jules de Verneilh- Puyraseau). "Compte-rendu du dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle par M. E. Viollet-le-Duc." *Bulletin monumental*, vol. 35, p. 601.

One of the rare expressions of disinterest in the drawings of Villard as being unimportant. Verneilh's statement in full is, "L'album de Villard de Honnecourt, rédigé il est vrai à son usage [par Lassus?], semblerait indiquer que les architectes du XIIIe siècle étaient un peu sommaires dans leurs explications et leurs croquis, et s'en rapportaient, dans beaucoup de cas, à la pratique intelligente de leurs interprètes. Qu'importe, après tout? C'est par les oeuvres, non par lesur dessins, que nous devons les juger..."



1872.1

LANCE, ADOLPHE-ETIENNE. "Villard de Honnecourt," *Dictionnaire des architectes français*, Paris: Vve. A. Morel et Cie, vol. 2, pp. 327-328.

Attributes no buildings to Villard, and rejects as unsubstantiated Bénard's (1864.1) claim that Villard was the architect of Saint-Quentin. Lance refers to Viollet-le-Duc's (1854.1) assertion that Villard was architect of Cambrai. Villard's trip to Hungary is dated ca. 1244-ca. 1247, with nothing said about his activities there. Lance terms the portfolio a "recueil de croquis et des notes manuscrits" and credits Quicherat (1849.1) with bringing the portfolio to public attention, although reference is made to the Lassus facsimile.

*1872.2

PECHEUR, LOUIS. Article in *Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Soissons*, 2nd ser. vol. 3.. Article in *Bulletin de la Société archéologique de Soissons*, 2nd ser. vol. 3.

Cited by Chevalier, 1905.1, vol. 2, col. 4677, as referring to Villard on p. 206.



1875.1

BÉNARD, PIERRE. *Collégiale de Saint-Quentin: Discussion sur la nature et sur les causes de l'inclination des piliers du choeur et des transsepts*. Paris: Librairie centrale de l'architecture.

A short (19 pp.) publication discussing exactly what its subtitle promises. Villard's association with Saint-Quentin is only mentioned (p. 1) as having been brought to the public's attention by Bénard (1864.1). Bénard refers (p. 1) to Villard's "travaux" (i.e., his portfolio) having been revealed "il y a quelques années par MM. Lassus et Darcel."



1876.1

LECOCQ, ADOLPHE. "La Cathédrale de Chartres et ses maîtres-de-l'oeuvre," *Mémoires de la Société*

archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, vol. 6, pp. 396-479.

Contains several passing references to Villard and terms (p. 445) him one of the immortals of thirteenth-century French architecture.

Lecocq's principal interest in Villard was (p. 456 n. 1) in his drawing (fol. 22v) for a mechanical device that Villard claimed would make an angel turn so that it always faced the sun. Lecocq was interested in this because such an angel surmounted the chevet roof at Chartres until a fire in 1836. Lecocq terms Villard's mechanism "très grossier."

1876.2

QUICHERAT, JULES [ETIENNE JOSEPH]. "Un Architecte française du XIIIe siècle en Hongrie," *Revue archéologique*, nouv. ser. vol. 32, pp. 248-51.

Notice on a thirteenth-century epitaph of a mason named Martin Ravesv - found in 1869 during excavations of the Cathedral of Colocza in Hungary. Quicherat claims it may refer to an individual from Ravizy in the Nivernais region of France, hence a thirteenth-century predecessor to Villard de Honnecourt in Hungary.

Quicherat claims (p. 251) that Villard's "célébrité a pris naissance dans la *Revue archeologique*," apparently a reference to his earlier article. See Quicherat, 1849.1.

1879.1

HOUDOY, JULES. "Histoire artistique de la cathédrale de Cambrai, ancienne église métropolitaine Notre-Dame," *Mémoires de la Société de l'agriculture et des arts de Lille*, 4th ser., vol. 7 [1880], pp. 1-439.

The entire volume is devoted to Cambrai, but with little concern for Villard. Houdoy discusses him on pp. 22-23 only, noting that it is said that, after having built the abbey church at Vaucelles, Villard "fut très probablement aussi l'architecte du chœur de la cathédrale [de Cambrai]."

However, on p. 418, in a list of successive architects of the cathedral, Houdoy heads the list with Villard. He dates (p. 23) the Villard plan of Cambrai (fol. 14v) specifically to 1230 and claims that "le plan [de la cathédrale de Boileau] relevé avec soin lors de la démolition de la cathédrale, est absolument conformé au trace retrouvé plus tard sur l'Album de l'architecte du XIII^e siècle."

Houdoy refers to the article by Quicherat (1849.1) for information about Villard. It is likely that Houdoy did not examine the Villard portfolio, for he refers to it by its pre-1865 shelf designation (S.G. Lat. 1104).

*1881.1

BULTEAU, [L'Abbé] MARCEL-JOSEPH. *Notice archéologique sur les anciennes abbayes d'Honnecourt et de Vaucelles*. Lille: Imprimerie de L. Danel.

Cited in Baron, 1960.2, p. 96 n. 1. Chevalier, 1905.1, vol. 2, col. 4677, gives the publication date as 1882. This item is apparently the same as Bulteau, 1883.1.

*1881.2

DUAND, PAUL. *Monographie de Notre-Dame de Chartres* [de J.B.A. Lassus; Paris, 1842-1867], *Explication des planches*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale.

In his commentary on p1. V, the west rose of Chartres, Durand observes (p. 63) that Villard drew this rose in his album (fol. 15v) and stresses how Villard understood it: "Ce qui l'a frappé, c'est son apparence de légèreté et, en effet, son croquis n'a pas la même fermeté que l'original; il représente une découpe à jour telle qu'on observe à la fin du XIIIe siècle et aux XIVe et XVe [siècles] dans les fenêtres analogues."

Durand does not specifically state how he knew the Villard drawing, but considering that he was working on expansion of a study by Lassus, he surely must have known the Lassus facsimile.

Durand is one of the earliest authors to suggest that Villard specifically modernized his models, as distinct from merely noting that he altered them.

*1883.1

BULTEAU, [L'abbé] MARCEL-JOSEPH. "Étude historique et archéologique sur les abbayes d'Honnecourt et Vaucelles," *Mémoires de la Société d'émulation de Cambrai*, vol. 46.

The index volume (57 [1895]) for this journal for the years 1879-1895 lists no study by Bulteau, although this article is cited by several authors, e.g., Gál, 1929.2, p. 232. The correct reference apparently is *Bulletin de la commission historique du Nord*, vol. 16 (1883), pp. 1-III. See Bulteau, 1881.1.

1888.1

BULTEAU, [L'abbé] MARCEL-JOSEPH. *Monographie de la cathédrale de Chartres*, 2d rev. ed. Chartres: Librairie R. Salleret. [This was the first edition actually published; vol. 2 appeared in 1891; the title page carries the imprint "Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir."]

Bulteau claims (vol. 2, p. 26) that Villard visited Chartres ca. 1225 and was so struck by the beauty of its west rose that he made a drawing of it (fol. 15v) with the intention of using it at Cambrai, which Bulteau states Villard "devait reconstruire." Bulteau was the first author to realize (vol. 2, p. 382) that Villard's drawing of Pride (fol. 3v) was made after a relief on the porch of the south arm terminal at Chartres.

Bulteau claims (vol. 2, p. 26 n. 1) that Villard was born ca. 1190 and that his precious album had been exhumed from the Bibliothèque nationale and published by Darcel.

Vol. 3 of this work is an extensive bibliography by Gustave-X[avier?] J Sainsot, published in 1900 in which item no. 478 is the Lassus facsimile.

1888.2

TOURNEUR, VICTOR. *Description historique et archéologique de Notre-Dame de Reims*. Reims: L. Michaud. **7th rev. ed., 1907.

Discussing the question of the original architect of Reims, the author (p. 14) rules out Villard, to whom he attributes Braine and Saint-Quentin. Tourneur states that Villard's drawings of Reims do form an important part of his total collection of drawings.

1892.1

HAVARD, HENRY, ed. *La France artistique et monumentale*, vol. 1. Paris: Société de l'art français, 1892-1895.

In the study of Reims by Louis Gonse (pp. 1-24), the question of the architects of the building is considered. Gonse dismisses (p. 5) Villard with the comment, "On n'aurait davantage s'arrêter à Villard de Honnecourt, qui n'est venu du Cambrais à Reims qu'après l'achèvement des chapelles absidales [de la cathédrale]."

1894.1

DEMAISON, LOUIS. "Les Architectes de la cathédrale de Reims," *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, pp. 3-40.

In an extensive discussion of the architects of Reims based upon knowledge of its labyrinth, Demaison dismisses (pp. 10-11) the idea that Villard was involved in any aspect of the design of the building: "...rien absolument, ni dans les dessins [du manuscrit de Villard] eux-mêmes, ni dans les notes qui les accompagnent, n'autorise à supposer qu'il ait pris une part quelconque à la construction de notre édifice."

He mainly criticizes Bauchal (1887.1), but also refers to earlier claims by Paris (1856.1) and Cerf (1861.1) and notes that Tourneur (1888.2) and Gonse (1892.1) both give reasons for not associating Villard with the design of Reims.

Demaison dates Villard's visit to Reims ca. 1244 and he notes that "Villard paraît bien avoir été l'auteur" of Cambrai.

1895.1

ENLART, [DÉSIRÉ LOUIS] CAMILLE. "Villard de Honnecourt et les Cisterciens," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, vol. 58, pp. 5-20.

Rejects Villard as architect of Reims cathedral but accepts Bénard's claim (1864.1) that he was architect of Saint-Quentin after his return from Hungary. Enlart focuses (p. 18) on Villard's training, concluding that he was an ultraconservative who had to have received his early training as an architect at Vaucelles.

Whether he was later associated with the design of Cambrai, on the basis of his success at Vaucelles, Villard was called to Hungary from 1235 to 1250 to design one or more of ten Cistercian churches erected during that period (pp. 18-19). If Villard also worked for Hungarian bishops during his stay in Hungary, it was because he was recommended to them by the powerful and influential French Cistercians in that country

In passing, Enlart raises (p. 7) the question of whether or not the Pierre de Corbie mentioned on fol. 15r of the Villard portfolio might have been the Petrus Petri (d. 1290) who was the architect of the Cathedral of Toledo.

1898.1

MÂLE, EMILE. *L'Art religieux de XIIIe siècle en France: Étude sur l'iconographie du moyen âge et sur ses sources d'inspiration*. Paris: E. Leroux. **English translation: *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1948, pp. 54-55.

Cites Villard as proof of the Gothic artist's interest in nature and in drawing directly from nature, referring to his small animals (fol. 7v) especially, but noting that Villard visited a great lord's menagerie to draw his lion (fols. 24 and 24v) al vif. Mâle also attributes the two parakeets on fol. 26 to this menagerie, claiming incorrectly that Villard noted that these were in a menagerie and that they were drawn from life.

Mâle makes the most sweeping attribution of buildings on record to Villard: Saint-Quentin by name, but stating flatly that he "built churches through the length and breadth of Christendom."

References are to Lassus's plate numbers; reproduces a detail of fol. 26r after Lassus.





Writings on Villard de Honnecourt, 1900-1949

1901.1

SCHNEEGANS, F. E. "Über die Sprache des Skizzenbuches von Villard de Honnecourt," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, vol. 25, pp. 45-70.

A long and detailed analysis of the inscriptions in the Villard portfolio. Schneegans was the first author to observe that not all the inscriptions were by Villard, a fundamental discovery for accurate analysis of the hands in the portfolio and for understanding the work's early history.

Schneegans identified three different hands which he termed "masters" (abbreviated as "Ms."). Villard himself was Ms. 1. Ms. 2 wrote only in French (fols. 3v, 17r, 21v, and 31v). Ms. 3 wrote in French (fols. 6v, 13r, 18r, 20r, 20v, 21r, 22v, and 23r) and in Latin (fols. 15r, 16r, and 17r). On the basis of the handwriting styles and the philology of the inscriptions, the author dates the portfolio between ca. 1230 and ca. 1260.

Schneegans provides a detailed analysis of the different hands (pp. 48-53) and a glossary (pp. 67-70) that has served as the basis for all later glossaries.

WARNING! Hahnloser (F.IV, p. 194) believed that Schneegans's Ms. 3 came closer in time to Villard than Schneegans's Ms. 2, so he reversed Schneegans's designations:

Hahnloser's Mr. 2 = Schneegans's Ms. 3 and Hahnloser's Mr. 3 = Schneegans's Ms. 2. As noted above, Schneegans termed Villard Ms. 1, a scheme not followed by Hahnloser, who considered Villard as the first master but never designated him as Mr. 1.

1901.2

STURGIS, RUSSELL. *A Dictionary of Architecture and Building*. New York: Macmillan Co.

This is the earliest mention of Villard in a book by an American author, three years prior to that by Adams (1904.1).

Sturgis claims (vol. 3, col. 1048), "From internal evidence contained in the book [i.e., the Villard portfolio], it is supposed that he was one of the leaders in the development of Gothic architecture in the thirteenth century, and that he built, between 1227 and 1251, the choir of the cathedral of Cambrai.

Sturgis notes that various churches in Hungary, as well as Meaux and Vaucelles, have been attributed to Villard by different authors. He cites Willis in his bibliography and employs the spelling "Wilars."

*1901.3

WATSON, THOMAS LENNOX. *The Double Choir of Glasgow Cathedral: A Study of Rib Vaulting*. Glasgow: Hedderwick.

Cited by Fitchen (1961.4, p. 304) who includes a long quotation from Watson relative to Villard's device for lifting heavy objects (fol. 22v). Watson observes that if such lifting devices had been in common use, "the probability is that Vilars would not have thought it necessary to depict it." Watson's spelling of Villard as "Vilars" suggests he knew of Villard's drawings through the Willis facsimile.

1902.1

BRUTAIS, [ELIE] J[EAN]-A[UGUSTE]. "'Tiers-Point' et 'quint-point,'" *Bulletin archéologique*, pp. 273-279

Not concerned with Villard per se, but with the accurate use of the terms for third-point and fifth-point arches on fol. 20v (which are not by Villard). Brutails concludes that Villard and other Gothic architects used these terms in a vague way to indicate pointed rather than rounded arches.

1902.2

DEMAISON, LOUIS. "La Cathédrale de Reims, son histoire, les dates de sa construction," *Bulletin monumental*, vol. 66, pp. 3-59.

In a long analysis of the various visual documents that shed light on the dates of Reims, Demaison considers (pp. 17-21) the croquis of Villard. He terms them "exactes" with the reservation that Villard ignored features which he considered unimportant, added his own modifications, or drew from plans, details of which were subsequently modified or omitted when actual construction was done, for example, the crétiatus of the radiating chapels and the nave. He then dates (p. 20) Villard's drawing of the Reims nave window "vers l'année 1244" when Villard was on his way to Hungary following interruption of construction at Cambrai in 1243.

Demaison considers (pp. 20-21) Bénard's argument (1864.1) proposing Villard as architect of Saint-Quentin rather than of Cambrai and dating Villard's trip to Hungary ca. 1235. He appears to reject this interpretation, but claims that whether Villard was architect of Cambrai or of Saint-Quentin, his Reims drawings date to the second quarter of the thirteenth century and prove that the "chevet était alors terminé ou sur le point d'être, et les premières travées de la nef étaient au moins en cours de construction." Demaison discusses (p. 21 n. 1) Renan's (1862.1) late dating (1261-1272) of Villard's trip to Hungary and dismisses this as a possibility unless Villard made two trips there, one in the 1240s and a second in the 1260s when he worked at Kassa.

1902.3

ENLART, [DÉSIRÉ LOUIS] CAMILLE. "Notes sur quelques maîtres oeuvres: Villard de Honnecourt." In *Manuel d'archéologie française depuis les temps mérovingiens jusqu'à la renaissance*, vol. 1, *Architecture religieuse*, pt. 2, *Période française dit gothique, style flamboyant, renaissance*. Paris: Auguste Picard et Fils, 1902-1904. **Rev. ed. Paris, 1920, pp. 745-747.

Essentially repeats the contents of 1895.1. Enlart here claims that "on a des preuves" (without citing what these are) that Villard erected the sanctuaries of Vaucelles and Saint-Quentin and built some unspecified monuments, now all destroyed, in Hungary. He also states that Cambrai, Meaux, and Reims are wrongly attributed to Villard, and that Kassa, Marburg, and the Liebfrauenkirche at Trier are attributed to Villard without "preuve certaine." Dating (p. 746) Villard's death to ca. 1260, he again places Villard's trip to Hungary between 1235 and 1250.

Enlart concludes with the hypothesis that the portfolio, called a "manuscript," had been found at Cambrai by the sculptor Jean de Roupy (d. 1438) also known as Jean de Cambrai, who adopted certain of Villard's figures (e.g., the sleeping apostle on fol. 23v [incorrectly termed a seated figure and designated as fol. XLXVI by the author]) for the tomb of Jean, Duke of Berry, in the early fifteenth century. Enlart also claims that Jean de Roupy made some additions to the portfolio, one of which was the swan (Fr. cygne) of fol. 4r which, together with Villard's bear (Fr. ours) on that folio, forms a rebus symbolizing Duke Jean's "dame par amours," one Oursine; cf. the Très Riches Heures de Jean Duc de Berry (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS. 1284, fols. 26r and 112v).

1904.1

ADAMS, HENRY [BROOKS]. *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres*. Washington, D.C.: privately printed. **Reprint. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1963.

Adams was interested in Villard to the degree that Villard was interested in the west rose of Chartres (fol. 15v), although Adams claims (p. 65) that the Villard portfolio, called a "manuscript," "is the source of most that is known about the practical ideas of medieval architects." He terms Villard a "professional expert" of ca. 1200-1250 who came to Chartres and made a rough sketch of the west rose when it was relatively new.

He later (p. 114) offers Villard's sketch as proof that this rose was of "great value" to architects of the time (and incorrectly states that this rose was the only thing at Chartres of which Villard made a drawing). Yet later (p. 144) Adams proposes that while the transept roses probably had been completed by the time Villard visited Chartres, Villard consciously selected the west rose as a model because of "some quality of construction which interested him."

Adams is one of the first American authors to mention Villard (see Sturgis, **1901.2**), and he may have been the first American to examine the portfolio (see "Miscellaneous").

1904.2

LETHABY, W[ILLIAM] R[ICHARD]. *Medieval Art from the Peace of the Church to the Eve of the Renaissance, 312-1350*. New York: C. Scribner's Sons. **Rev. ed., edited by D[avid] Talbot Rice, New York: Philosophical Library, 1950.

One of the first English language surveys of medieval architecture to include commentary on Villard and his portfolio, variously called a "book," a "manuscript," and a "sketchbook." Lethaby refers to Villard a number of times, and summarizes (p. 181) his view of the portfolio by noting that its inscriptions indicate that it is "probable that the book was prepared to be handed on either to [Villard's] descendants, or to his guild, or for 'publication.'"

Lethaby accepts (pp. 124 and 181) the Bénard thesis (**1864.1**) that Villard may have been the architect of Saint-Quentin after his trip to Hungary, which is indirectly dated after 1230 since he also attributes Vaucelles, ca. 1230, to Villard and dates his visit to Reims ca. 1225.

Lethaby comments on other aspects of Villard's varied interests, misquoting him (p. 146) about the beauty of the Laon tower, but his principal interest in Villard is in his drawings of masonry. He notes (pp. 131-132) that Villard fully understood the construction of the Reims tracery, correctly showing (fol. 31r) the joggle joints required in this construction. In addition, he comments (pp. 119-120) in some detail on the significance of Villard's [*sic* = Master II's] use of three-, four-, and five-point arches (fol. 20r), claiming that these were shorthand geometric schemes which permitted construction without the use of large-scale working drawings: "the sketchbook of Villars de Honnecourt shows how much building recipes of this sort were valued."

Reproduces, after Lassus or Willis, a number of details from the portfolio.

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1905.1

CHEVALIER, CYR ULYSSE JOSEPH. *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen age: Bio-bibliographique*, 2 vols. Paris: A. Picard, 1905-1907.

Contains (vol. 2, cols. 4676-4677) a list of several nineteenth-century bibliographic items concerning Villard not found or cited elsewhere, e.g., Brunet, 1864.1; Grässe, 1867.1; Pécheur, 1872.2; Tourneur, 1852.1. Chevalier (vol. 2, col. 4676) terms Villard an *architecte* and gives the date 1262 without indicating to what the date refers [Villard's death?].

1905.2

FORSTER, CYULA H. "A műemlékek védelme a magyar kormány visszaállítása óta" [The protection of artistic monuments since reestablishment of the Hungarian government]. In *Magyarország műemlékei* [*The Artistic monuments of Hungary*]. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia.

Questions (p. 27) the attribution by Möller (1905.3) of a mason 's mark at Gyulafehérvár to Villard.

*1905.3

MÖLLER, ISTVÁN. "A gyulaféhevári székesegyház" [The Cathedral of Gyulafehérvár]. In *Magyarország műemlékei* [*The Artistic Monuments of Hungary*]. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia.

Cited by Forster (1905.2) and Gál (1929.1) as attributing a mason's mark at Gyulafehérvár to Villard. Both authors reject this attribution. In Hungarian.

1905.4

MÖLLER, ISTVÁN. "Építészeti emlékek Hunyadi János idejéből [Architectural Relics in the Age of Hunyadi János (1387-1456)]," *Magyarország műemlékei*, vol. 1, Budapest: Forster Gyula, 1905, p. 125.

The first Hungarian attempt to locate Villard at one or more building sites in Hungary where a mason's mark resembling a star or pentagram is found. The key passage is "We found in Gyulafehérvár Villard's mark and two from his pupils. Villard worked also in Zsámbék, and three of his pupils [worked] in Ják, Szentgotthárd and Léka. We found in Gyulafehérvár the mason mark of the master, who worked earlier in Léka, and after the Tartars he restaurated Ják. We know, also from the mason marks, that from Léka two other persons also went to Gyulafehérvár."

1905.5

FORSTER, CYULA H. "Műemlékek védelme a magyar kormány visszaállítása óta. 1897-1902 ["Monument Heritage Activity between 1867-1902," *Magyarország műemlékei* [Monuments of Hungary], vol. 1, ed. Gyula Forster, Budapest, 1905, p. 27.

Forster was director of the Hungarian Monuments Heritage Office. His only mention of Villard in this work is to cite the mention in Möller (1905.4) that in Zsámbék "on the south aisle exterior wall we find a master mason-mark that is the mark of Villard."

1906.1

OMONT, HENRI. see "The Facsimile Editions," **F.III**, 1st ed.

1909.1

FAURE, ELIE. *Histoire de l'art*, 5 vols. Paris: H. Floury, 1909-1911. **English translation: *History of Art*, vol. 2, *Mediaeval Art*. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1922.

In an enthusiastic essay on the influence of French Gothic art on thirteenth-century Europe, Faure cites (p. 346) as an example of French expertise abroad the visits of Martin Ragevy [sic] (see Quicherat, **1876.2**) and Villard de Honnecourt to Hungary, stating that both "built churches in distant parts of Hungary."

1909.2

PORTER, A[RTHUR] K[INGSLEY]. *Medieval Architecture: Its Origins and Development*, 2 vols. New York: Baker and Taylor.

Porter devotes (vol. 2, p. 185) only one paragraph to Villard, whom he terms "a master builder of the second half of the XIIIth century." He makes two unsubstantiated claims: that Villard went to Hungary "to take charge of the building of a church;" and that when Villard drew the tracery of a Reims window (fol. 10v) "he jotted down [in notes in the margin] that it was his intention to reproduce the design in the cathedral of Cambrai, which he was building at the time."

No illustrations.



1910.1

MORTET, VICTOR. "La Mesure de la figure humaine et le canon des proportions d'après les dessins de Villard de Honnecourt, d'Albert Dürer et Léonard de Vinci." In *Mélanges offerts à Monsieur Emile Chatelain*. Paris, n.publ., pp. 367-382.

Terms Villard an "architecte picard du XIIIe siècle," and claims that his drawings prove that geometry, not mathematics, was the basis of design and proportion in medieval art. Mortet states (p. 369) that Villard knew Latin and took his geometric design-schemata from a Latin, or possibly Picard, translation of a Latin, treatise on practical geometry (e.g., Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte- Geneviève, MS. 2200).

For Mortet (p. 372) the key to Villard's schemata is found in the "face in the square" on fol. 19v, which he terms "un véritable canon des proportions de la tête, bien que Villard de Honnecourt ne nous l'ait dit expressément," passed from Vitruvius to the Renaissance where it is found used by Albrecht Dürer and Leonardo da Vinci. According to Mortet, these artists and Villard employed a proportional system of four modules by four modules for the human head. In the "face in the square" the outer two vertical modules and the uppermost horizontal module determine the location of the hair, thus the face itself is designed with a proportion of 2 : 3. (For different interpretations of Villard's "face in the square," see Panofsky, **1921.1**, and Frankl, **1945.1**).

Reproduces after Lassus various of the geometric faces and heads on fol. 18v and the head of the seated Christ on fol. 16v, which he claims is designed on the same basis.

1910.2

SERBAT, LOUIS. "L'Age de quelques statues du grand portail de la cathédrale de Reims," *Bulletin monumental*, vol. 74, pp. 107-124.

Claims (p. 112) that the classical figures of Reims and Villard's "études de nu d'après l'antique" (fols. 6r, 11v, 22r, and 29v) prove that medieval artists were more capable of copying the works of antiquity than artists of the classical period would have been of copying medieval work.

Refers (p. 112 n. 4) to plates in the Omont facsimile (**F.III**) and reproduces (between pp. 122-123) Villard's *Ecclesia* figure (fol. 4v), apparently made from the same negative used for the Omont plate.



1911.1

JUSSELIN, MAURICE. "Une Maison du XIIIe siècle récemment découverte au cloître Notre-Dame, à Chartres," *Bulletin monumental*, vol. 75, pp. 351-395.

Compares (p. 386) the reliefs of a second-story window tympanum of a house from the former cloister of Chartres

discovered in May 1911 with Villard's dice-players (fol. 9r) and wrestlers (fol. 14v), dating the reliefs ca. 1225/1250 and claiming that Villard surely saw them, possibly in 1260 on the occasion of the dedication of the cathedral.

Jusselin notes that wrestlers are found on stalls at Lausanne, but that Chartres is the only place where Villard could have seen wrestlers and dice-players side by side. He observes that there are some differences between the Chartres reliefs and Villard's drawing, attributing this to the fact that Villard "dessinait de mémoire et ne respectait pas les formes des originaux."

Jusselin provides excellent photographs of the Chartres reliefs and reproduces the Villard figures from photographic negatives, possibly those used for the Omont facsimile (**F.III**).



1912.1

HAENDCKE, BERTHOLD. "Dürers Selbstbildnisse und 'Konstruierte Figuren,'" *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. 5, pp. 185-189.

Contains a brief reference to Villard's human faces with proportional schemata, especially the "face in the square" on fol. 19v. Its quadrature is compared with Mathes Roriczer's design schemes. Haendcke also mentions Lassus's plates XXIV and XXVI but describes the geometric drawings found on Lassus's plates XXXIV-XXXVI (fols. 18 and 19).

A parallel is drawn between Albrecht Dürer's division of the human face into horizontal proportional units and the drawing of two human faces in the upper right corner of Villard's fol. 18v, but there is no evidence that Dürer knew the Villard portfolio.

Panofsky (**1921.1**, p. 83 n. 52) claims that Haendcke gives a "false impression" when he states that Villard's two figures in pentagrams (bottom of fol. 18r) represent a proportional construction of an entire eight-faced figure.

1912.2

KUNZE, HANS. *Das Fassadenproblem der französischen Früh- und Hochgotik*. Leipzig: Oscar Brandsetter.

Although frequently cited in studies on Villard, this famous essay has very little to do with Villard or his drawings. Kunze mentions Villard in connection with three buildings: Chartres, Laon, and Reims. He states (p. 24, in n. 2 continued from p. 23) that Emile Boeswillwald could have restored a spire at Laon on the basis of Villard's drawing (fol. 10r) of its tower, and he accepts (p. 33 n. 1) the view that, in drawing the Chartres west rose (fol. 15v), Villard "improved it": "Villard de Honmécourt hat sie, mit einigen Veränderungen in Sinne einer stärkeren Durchbrechungen, also in Sinne einer stilistischen Weiterbildung, in einer Skizze wiedergegeben."

The most extensive discussion of Villard (pp. 52-64 *passim*) concerns his drawings of Reims, but Kunze draws few concise or convincing conclusions. His view is that Villard modified what he saw and/or that some of his drawings were his projections of what was intended, but subsequently modified, thus accounting for the discrepancies between the drawings and the actual fabric of the building itself.

Refers to the Lassus plates.

1912.3

LEFEBVRE DES NOËTTES, [Commandant] RICHARD. "La Tapisserie de Bayeux datée par les harnachement des chevaux et l'équipement des chevaliers," *Bulletin Monumental*, vol. 76, pp. 213-241.

Offers (pp. 222-224) Villard's drawing of two mounted knights (squires?) on fol. 8v as proof that the bit-bridle was in use as early as the thirteenth century, although no mention is made of fol. 3v where the same piece of harness appears to be shown. This is one of the earliest uses of Villard to prove the existence of a specific technological innovation

(see also Watson, **1901.3**).

Reproduces fol. 8v, probably after Omont.

1912.4

MIHALIK, JÓZSEF. *A kassai Szent-Erzsebet templom* [The Saint Elizabeth Church at Kassa]. Budapest: n.p.

Devotes pp. 15-20 to Villard and Kassa and concludes that Henszlmann (1858.3) misdated Kassa and therefore associated it with Villard for the wrong reason. After a summary of the Villard portfolio in which he concludes (p. 17) that Villard was not a very imaginative or talented designer, Mihalik dates Villard's visit to Hungary immediately after the Tartar invasion of 1242. Mihalik concludes (p. 20) that it is universally believed that Kassa was built by Villard and that Villard became known to Béla IV through his work at Cambrai, and he appears to accept the attribution of Kassa to Villard. In Hungarian.

Reproduces after Lassus details of fols. 10v (inscription) and 15v (pavement and inscription).



1913.1

SZABÓ, LÁSZLÓ. *Magyarország árpàdkori építészete* [Architecture in Hungary during the Arpad Age]. Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia.

Reviews (pp. 354-364) earlier claims about Villard's activities in Hungary, especially those of Henszlmann (**1857.1**, **1858.3**, **1866.1**). Szabó claims (p. 356) that the only certain information about Villard's activities in Hungary is that contained (fols. 10v and 15v) in the portfolio.

He supports (p. 360) the date 1244-1247 for Villard's trip to Hungary and the explanation that it may have been due to Villard's work at Cambrai, but insists this cannot be proved. He then raises the question of the correct interpretation of Villard's expression (fol. 15v) *maint jor* and the problem of whether Villard was "sent" or was "called" to Hungary.

Szabó concludes (pp. 361-364) with a comparison of the plans of Braine and Kassa, stating that Villard must have known Braine because of its proximity to Laon and to Reims.

His most important contention is that Villard was involved only in the design/construction of the foundations at Kassa, the church itself dating from the fifteenth century.

In Hungarian.

Reproduces details of fols. 2r, 10v, and 15v after Lassus edition lithographs.



1914.1

NICQ-DOUTRELIGNE, C[HARLES?]. "L'Abbaye de Vaucelles (Nord)," *Bulletin Monumental*, vol. 78, pp. 316-328.

Claims (p. 317) that in 1216 Abbot Robert de Saint- Venent "fit appel pour la construction du choeur à l'architecte Villard de Honnecourt, originaire d'un village voisin de l'abbaye et dont l'éducation artistique s'était formée sur les chantiers de Vaucelles."

This is the most specific claim of Villard's association with Vaucelles and is completely undocumented.

1914.2

VITZTHUM, GRAF. "Fragment eines Missale von Noyon mit Miniaturen von Villard de Honnecourt," Beiträge zur Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Antiquariat Jacques Rosenthal, (Munich: n.p.), vol. 1/4-5, pp. 102-113 and pls. XIV-XVI.

On the basis of style attributes (p. 113) to Villard the miniatures on six surviving folios of a lavish missal (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, MS. Typ 120H) made ca. 1200 for use in (and probably made in) the diocese of Noyon: "...des vorliegenden Fragments eines Missale von Noyon eigenhändige Arbeiten des Villard de Honnecourt erhalten sind."

This attribution is rejected by most scholars (see Hahnloser; Walters Art Gallery, 1949.5).

Reproduces a number of details of the Villard portfolio after Lassus.

1914.3

VON SCHLOSSER, JULIUS. "Materialien zur Quellenkunde der Kunstgeschichte, I: Mittelalter," *Kaiserlichen Academie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Sitzungsberichte*, vol. 177. p. 1-102.

Claims (p. 29) that Villard's *Skizzenbuch* proves that geometry dominated the design process of the Gothic period, and is "eine der wichtigsten Quellen zur Erkenntnis des innerem Wesens jenes Stils, den wir den gotischen zu nennen gewohnt sind."

1918.1

COULTON, G[EOERGE] G[ORDON]. "An Architect's Notebook." In *Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 476-480.

Translates an apparently random sampling of inscriptions from the Lassus facsimile into English with some additional commentary. Coulton claims (p. 476) that Villard "is the only medieval architect whose sketchbook has survived," but nowhere suggests how this relates to life in medieval Britain.

Coulton notes that it is probable that Villard designed Vaucelles, ca. 1230; another unspecified church in Hungary later; and the Saint-Quentin choir, ca. 1250.

Reproduces fols. 5r, 10r, and 10v after Lassus or Willis.

1919.1

LEFÈVRE-PONTALIS, EUGÈNE [AMÉDÉE]. "L'Origine des arcs-boutants," *Congrès Archéologique de France* (Paris), vol. 82, pp. 367-396.

In an analysis (p. 395) of the two-tier flying buttresses of Saint-Quentin, notes that the church was "construit peut-être par Villard de Honnecourt."

1921.1

PANOFSKY, ERWIN. "Die Entwicklung der Proportionslehre als Abbild der Stilenwicklung," *Monatshefte für*

Kunstwissenschaft, vol. 14, pp. 188-219. **English trans. "The History of the Theory of Human Proportions as a Reflection of the History of Styles." In *Meaning in the Visual Arts*. Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1955, pp. 55-107.

Argues that there are two basic schemes for determining human proportions: the "technical," in which proportions are determined without reference to the appearance of the object to be depicted (Egyptian scheme); and the "objective," in which the object depicted is observed from the point of view of its inherent mathematical relationships, with a geometric or mathematical system then established to control these (Greek and Renaissance schemes).

Panofsky sees the Gothic scheme, as exemplified by Villard, as parallel to the Egyptian scheme. The result is planimetric, with the purpose of the geometry being to establish forms, not proportions.

Panofsky discusses Villard on pp. 83-86 and concludes that his approach was thoroughly inorganic, forcing human and animal figures to fit a priori schemata which had nothing to do with nature or with what he terms natural forms. He suggests (p. 85) that while Villard's "face in the square" (fol. 19v) is found elsewhere (in a window at Reims), most of his schemata on fols. 18r, 18v, 19r and 19v are individual and very nearly "sheer fantasy."

Panofsky provides an interesting explanation of the two standing figures on the bottom of fol. 18r, seeing the difference between the two as an attempt by Villard to use geometry to transpose a frontal view into a three-quarter view. Elsewhere (p. 80 n. 42), Panofsky notes, with reference to the head of Christ on fol. 16v, that Villard was aware of the Byzantine "three-circle" scheme for determining proportions.

Reproduces (after Lassus?) drawings of various geometric constructions on the folios noted above, and a photographic detail of the "face in the square."

1922.1

GILLET, LOUIS. *Histoire des arts. Histoire de la nation française*, vol. 11. Paris: Librairie Plon-Nourrit et Cie.

Attributes (p. 126) Saint-Quentin to Villard and states that the portfolio contains fifty leaves. Gillet's enthusiasm for Villard, when compared with modern architects, has no parallel: "C'est un homme qui écrit le latin d'une manière qui embarrasserait plus d'un des ses confrères modernes, et qui est aussi savant qu'eux en épure, en mécanique, en géométrie."

1925.1

GALL, ERNST. *Die gotische Baukunst in Frankreich und Deutschland*, vol. 1: *Die Vorstufen in Nordfrankreich von der Mitte des Elften bis gegen Ende des Zwölften Jahrhunderts*. Braunschweig: Klinkhardt und Biermann. **2d rev. ed., 1955.

Contains several passing references to the Villard portfolio, termed (p. 52) a *Skizzenbuch*. Gall questions the usefulness of the portfolio in the study of medieval architecture, for in his section on "Sources and Monuments" (pp. 10-16) he says (p. 13) that the "bekannte 'Skizzenbuch' des Architekten Villard de Honnecourt bietet mehr Rätsel als Lösungen."

1926.1

DE LASTEYRIE [du SAILLANT], ROBERT [CHARLES]. *L'Architecture religieuse en France à l'époque gothique*. 2 vols. Paris: Auguste Picard, 1926-1927. [This work was edited by Marcel Aubert and published after De Lasteyrie's death.]

Contains (vol. 2, p. 601) a number of well-indexed references to Villard, mostly citing his drawings as proof of the existence of various architectural features which De Lasteyrie discusses; for example, the vault plan on fol. 21r proves that lierne and tierceron vaults existed in France earlier than in England (vol. 2, pp. 50-51).

De Lasteyrie's comments on Villard himself are limited to noting (vol. 2, p. 278) that his "album" proves how widely thirteenth-century French architects wandered in their work and (vol. 1, p. 221) that he may have been the architect of Cambrai.

Reproduces details of fols. 17r and 21r after Lassus.

1926.2

VAN MARLE, RAIMOND. "L'Iconographie de la décoration profane des demures princières en France et en Italie au XIVE et XVe siècles," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 5th ser., vol. 14, pp. 162-182, 259-274.

Two principal points are made. The first (pp. 166-167) is that the secular images in the Villard portfolio reflect the standard iconography of secular wall-painting in the thirteenth century, where landscape played no role.

The second (pp. 170 and 177) is that a later reflection of the same standard iconography is found in the (now disassembled) sketchbook of Pisanello in the Louvre. Van Marle claims (p. 273) that "le répertoire [de ces deux artistes] est exactement le même" but (p. 274) that this is due to their reflection of a common tradition and not to Pisanello's knowledge of the Villard portfolio.

It is suggested (p. 172) that Villard observed his lion, ostriches, porcupine, and other exotic animals in a menagerie.

Reproduces fols. 14r, 18v, and 23v (twice).

1927.1

BRIGGS, MARTIN S. *The Architect in History.* Oxford: Clarendon Press. **Reprinted in the series *Architecture and Decorative Art*, edited by Adolf K. Placzek. New York: Da Capo Press, 1974.

Claims (p. 94) that Villard was a professional master mason, "the only medieval architect of whom we have [in his portfolio] so full a record," and (p. 93) that his drawings of Reims were made to be used at Cambrai, thus apparently attributing Cambrai to Villard.

Reproduces fols. 17r and 29r after Lassus or Willis although reference is made to J. Quicherat, *Facsimile of the Sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt* (London, 1859), apparently an inaccurate reference to Willis.

1927.2

DIVALD, KÓRNEL. *Magyarország művészeti emlékei.* Budapest: n.publ..

Claims (p. 72) that Villard's visit to Hungary should not be measured in terms of years and that it is not known what he did while there. Divald proposes that Villard may have worked on fortifications for Béla IV and that if he worked on any cathedral, it would have been that at Eger.

In Hungarian.

1927.3

HASKINS, CHARLES HOMER. *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. **Reprint. New York: Meridian Books, 1957.

In a discussion of medieval zoology, Haskins makes (p. 329) passing note of the fact that Villard drew his lion (fols. 24r and 24v) from life. Haskins seems to suggest (p. 331) that Villard's portfolio, called a "sketchbook," provides information about medieval construction when he notes that "Even the artist's sketchbook fails us before the time of Villard de Honnecourt, and for long thereafter."

1927.4

OMONT, HENRI. See "The Facsimile Editions," **F.III**, 2d ed.

1927.5

PANOFSKY, ERWIN. "Über die Reihenfolge der Vier Meister von Reims," *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, pp. 55-82.

Although frequently cited in Villard studies, Panofsky has very little to say about Villard, noting (p. 55) only that Villard's drawings may provide secondary information about the history of the construction of Reims. He notes that it is uncertain when Villard was there, giving a date in all probability of between 1225 and 1235.

1928.1

COULTON, G[EOERGE] G[ORDON]. *Art and the Reformation*. Oxford: Blackwell. 2d ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953. **published as *Medieval Faith and Symbolism*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958.

Under the heading "Four Self-Characterizations" Coulton gives (pp. 95-109) a rather thorough summary of Villard's career as he understood it. He claims that Villard was a French master mason working ca. 1250 who died ca. 1260, although he states that Villard "wandered back to France" from Hungary after 1272. He attributes to Villard Meaux and Saint-Faron at Meaux (apparently unaware that Villard's plan on fol. 15r is misidentified as Saint-Faron at Meaux) and Cambrai and Kassa.

Coulton interprets the portfolio as both a wanderer's sketchbook and a technical manual showing "the variety of a master mason's jobs." He disagrees with Willis that the drawings were originally made in the portfolio as it now exists, arguing that they were copied therein from earlier sketches or from memory. He repeats (p. 219) the inaccurate claim that Villard called the Laon tower "the fairest he has seen in all his travels." Coulton claims (p. 206 n. 1) that Villard may have discussed architecture with Hugues Libergier.

Reproduces drawings, from Willis (?), of the Chartres west rose (fol. 15v), and fols. 7v and 18r.

1929.1

ANON. "A Thirteenth Century Glass Panel," *International Studio*, vol. 92 (March), pp. 40-41, 92.

Claims that a stained glass roundel with a Christ in Majesty figure from the Philadelphia collection of Raymond Pitcairn exhibited at the Demotte Gallery in New York in March 1929 is designed as a composite, based on drawings (head of Christ, fol. 16v; body of Christ, fol. 11r; and drapery of a seated king [Solomon?], fol. 25r) in the Villard portfolio.

The author states (pp. 40-41) that the panel "has, as far as can be ascertained by comparison, been inspired by some of the drawings of Villard de Honnecourt ... [and] although none [of these] can be said to be the exact model for this stained glass, [these drawings] have each some relationship with it." The author does not suggest that the panel itself is the work of Villard. The panel is said to have no major restoration and is dated (p. 92) ca. 1230.

Reproduces from the portfolio the details specified above.

1929.2

GÁL, LADISLAS. "Villard de Honnecourt." In *L'Architecture religieuse en Hongrie du XIIIe au XIIIe siècles. Études d'art et d'archéologie*. Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, pp. 232-243.

Discusses Villard and Hungary on the basis of three questions: when was he there (and how long did he stay)?; by whom was he sent?; and with what monuments was he associated as builder? Gál rejects (p. 233) Enlart's thesis (1895.1) that Villard came to Hungary ca. 1235 as too early and rejects Henszlmann's thesis (1858.3) that he was there ca. 1260-1270 as too late, adopting Quicherat's thesis (1849.1) that Villard was in Hungary between 1244 and 1251 during suspension of construction at Cambrai. His reasons for going were his devotion to Saint Elizabeth of Hungary and his response to the call of her brother, Béla IV, to help rebuild his country after the Mongol invasion of 1242.

Gál then reviews the various claims, especially those of Henszlmann (1857.1), concerning Villard's association with Kassa and states (p. 238) that the church was not built or rebuilt in the thirteenth century, thus Villard had nothing to do with it. Gál then considers other buildings, especially Jaák and Zsámbék. He criticizes (p. 241) Mööller's association (1905.2) of Villard with Gyulafehérvár as unacceptable and does admit that if Villard were in Pannonia, the former two projects were the most important underway at that time, and if Villard were connected with any building projects there, it could have been one or both of those.

Gal's conclusion (p. 242) summarizes the situation very honestly, "En fin de compte, on doit avouer que le dernier problème, soulevé par le séjour de Villard de Honnecourt en Hongrie et qui concerne son activité dans ce pays, est actuellement indéterminable." He notes that any definite association of Villard with any Hungarian building would have to be based on the discovery of new evidence. [See Gerevich, 1977.3]

1929.3

STEIN, HENRI. *Les Architectes des cathédrales gothiques*. Les Grands Artistes. Paris: Henri Laurens.

Claims (p. 40) that the portfolio is a unique survival of its type, composed by Villard with the "intention de [le] léguer aux gens de son métier." Stein takes the plan invented by Villard and Pierre de Corbie (fol. 15r) as proof of collaboration between Gothic architects.

Stein repeats (p. 43) the misattribution to Villard of the statement that the Laon tower is "the most beautiful in the world." He (p. 70) attributes the choir of Cambrai to Villard but notes (p. 108) that Kassa is attributed to Villard without "preuves suffisantes" and that the fact is that "on ne sait au juste quel rôle fut le sien sur la terre étrangère."

Reproduces fol. 15r with photo credit given to Berthaud, indicating the negative was the same one used for the Omont facsimile.

1929.4

VITRY, PAUL. *French Sculpture during the Reign of Saint Louis, 1226-1270*. Florence: Pantheon; New York: Harcourt, Brace, & Co. Reprint. New York: Hacker Art Books, 1973.

Vitry states (p. 54), "It is strange to note that in the designs of Villard de Honnecourt, several figures denoting a very great acquaintance with certain antique themes or types of costume and drapery are treated in their naked parts with a spirit of reality that is sometimes injudicious but is, nevertheless, concise and vigorous."

For a very different assessment, see Clark, **1956.2**.

1931.1

FOCILLON, HENRI [JOSEPH]. "L'Art de géométrie au moyen age." In *L'Art des sculpteurs romans, recherches sur l'histoire des formes*. Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux. **Reprint Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1964, pp. 209-222.

Discusses in detail Villard's use of geometry on fols. 18 and 19 for designing figures and indicating movement. Focillon rejects the idea (see Viollet-le-Duc, 1854.1) that Villard's interest in or use of geometry is haphazard, claiming (p. 211) that it is a system employed by all artists, that it closely parallels the one expounded by Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln, and that both learned it by means of translations of Arabic treatises on mathematics.

Focillon speculates (p. 217) that Villard may have known certain examples of Hiberno-Saxon work in which the same geometric motifs occur. More than most French writers, Focillon insists (p. 210) that the Villard portfolio is not merely an *album de croquis*, terming it a *travail concerté* or at least *notes mises au point*. He also emphasizes that while Villard was an architect and technician of construction, he possessed the great range of interests characteristic of Renaissance man and was a transition figure from Romanesque to Renaissance. Focillon's most accurate observation occurs in his opening sentence, "Nous ne savons rien, ou presque rien, de Villard de Honnecourt

Reproduces fol. 18r from Lassus.

1931.2

OMONT, HENRI. See "The Facsimile Editions," **F.III**, 3rd ed.

1932.1

SWARTWOUT, R.E. *The Monastic Craftsman*. Cambridge: W. Heffner and Sons.

The classic attack on Montalembert's "monastic artist" thesis in which Villard is identified as a lay architect, whatever his association with the Cistercians. Villard's architectural drawings are said (p. 116) to be "of the greatest excellence, but they are drawings of actual buildings for the most part, and by no means always correct in detail." This is noted in the context that there is no proof that medieval architects ever drew detailed working drawings for entire buildings.

Swartwout suggests (p. 102) that Villard's fol. 32r may indicate the types of templates or template models employed by William of Sens at Canterbury in the 1170s.

The author's information on the interpretation of Villard is taken principally from Briggs (1927.1) and Willis.

Reproduces fol. 31r after Lassus or Willis.

1933.1

HAHNLOSER, HANS R[OBERT]. "Entwürfe eines Architekten um 1250 aus Reims." In *Actes du XIIIe Congrès international d'histoire de l'art*. Stockholm: n.p., pp. 260-262.

Summary of a paper presented at the XIIIth International Congress on the History of Art held at Stockholm in 1933. Hahnloser's principal concern is the architectural drawings in the *Reims Palimpsest* (Reims, Archives de la Maine, MS. G.661), which he dates ca. 1250. Villard's portfolio is discussed briefly (p. 262) as a precursor to these finer architectural drawings and as confirmation of the Gothic architect's habit of balancing between practical experience (*Handwerk*) and theoretical treatises (*geometrischen Traktaten*) in creating their designs.

1935.1

AUBERT, MARCEL. Review of Hahnloser facsimile (**F.IV**). In *Bulletin monumental*, vol. 94, pp. 403-405.

A generally laudatory review claiming that "il [Hahnloser] a épuisé tout ce que l'on peut désirer savoir de 'l'Album' et de son auteur." This review was more important for what it did not say, since Aubert steadfastly referred to the portfolio as an album, thus indirectly rejecting Hahnloser's claim that it was a *Bauhüttenbuch* (see Hahnloser, 1971.4).

1935.2

HAHNLOSER, HANS R[OBERT]. "See "The Facsimile Editions," **F.IV**, 1st ed.

1935.3

MOREY, C[HARLES] R[UFUS]. Review of Hahnloser facsimile (**F.IV**). In *Art Bulletin*, vol. 17, pp. 509-511.

Terms (p. 509) Hahnloser's study "a beautifully executed book, the definitive monograph" on the Villard portfolio and appears to accept most of Hahnloser's interpretations and conclusions.

For Morey, the portfolio was a pattern book more than either an *album* or a *Bauhüttenbuch*, and he claims (p. 510) that many of the drawings (e.g., the Ecclesia figure, fol. 4v) clearly were copied from other pattern books.

More than any other reviewer, Morey does his own analysis of the contents of the portfolio and makes some very important observations. He considers in some detail Villard's drawing style and, especially, his approach to drawing as assembling parts rather than being concerned with the whole, a process Morey terms "progressive construction. (fols. 20r and 20v).

Morey observes (p. 510) that Master II's expression "par chu fait om" is a translation of stock Greek *OUTWS NOIEI* or Latin *sic quaeres* formulas in pattern books or instructional manuals, "whereby he [Master II] betrays his dependence on earlier collections [of recipes]."

Morey's summary of the importance of the Villard drawings is (p. 511) that "It is difficult to find a more suggestive material with which to build a theory of Gothic aesthetic."

1935.4

ÜBERWASSER, WALTER. "Nach rechtem Masz [Mass]: Aussagen über den Begriff des Maszes in der Kunst des XIII.-XVI. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlung*, vol. 56, pp. 250-272.

One of the most frequently cited studies on the use of *ad quadratum* and *ad triangulum* design principles in medieval art, principles of design "according to correct measure (*nach rechtem Mass*). Überwasser devotes a special discussion (pp. 259-261) to Villard, although Villard is also mentioned elsewhere.

Überwasser claims (p. 259) that the Villard portfolio has falsely been called a "sketchbook," since it contains "Blatt fiir Blatt . . . Anweisungen zum Planen von Bauten, Tier- und Menschenfiguren und von Maschinen." He says all these figures are for instructional purposes and that the geometry of each is clear, whether left exposed (fols. 18 and 19) or not. He does not accept the view (see Frankl, 1960.6) that these geometric schemata were secrets known to only a few, but rather, that they were commonly known and used by all designers. He notes that Villard's followers (*Werkstattnachfolgern*, i.e., Master II and Master III) knew and drew (fol. 20) the key to designing *ad quadratum* (quadrature) and that this is the same schema found later in Mathes Roritzer. He analyzes (pp. 260-261) these figures, admitting that while their purpose is not always clear, let alone obvious, their geometry is invariable.

Überwasser also claims (p. 261) that Villard understood the principle of *ad quadratum* design and could recognize it when it was in use, most notably in connection with the plan of the Laon tower (fol. 9v). Misquoting Villard on the "loveliness" of this tower, Überwasser reproduces (fig. 7) Villard's drawing with his own geometric overlay of rotating

squares to illustrate how the design was made. His conclusion, that it was designed from the outside in and from the bottom up, is the exact opposite of that reached by Velte (1951.3) in her study of the same problem (see Ackerman, 1953.1, and Branner, 1955.2).

Überwasser concludes (p. 261) that when Villard used the expressions *faire droit* and *droite montee* (fol. 30v) he meant that something had to be designed "according to correct measure," that is, on the basis of a standard geometric principle; and that because he understood these principles so well and could adopt them so widely, Villard should not be thought of as a little master like Roriczer but as a great master like Albrecht Dürer.

Überwasser refers (p. 260 n.1) to Hahnloser's pending publication of a facsimile edition of the Villard portfolio which he criticizes and claims should be published only after the appearance of this article.

1935.5

SWARZENSKI, HANNS. "Zwei Zeichnungen der Martinslegende aus Tournai," *Adolph Goldschmidt, zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag am 15. Januar 1933*, Berlin: Würfel Verlag, 1935, pp. 40-42.

Discusses the style of drawing of the legend of St. Martin of Tours on two leaves of a manuscript produced at Tournai (London, British Library, Ms. Add. 15216 [SIC = 15219]) and compares it to the classical style of Villard de Honnecourt and Nicolas of Verdun.

1936.1

HORVÁTH, HENRI. "Villard de Honnecourt et la Hongrie," *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie* (October), pp. 332-344.

Inspired by the Hahnloser facsimile, this study examines the relationship between Villard and Hungary. Horváth accepts (p. 332) Hahnloser's view of the portfolio as a *Bauhüttenbuch* and claims that its purpose was the instruction of other masons, Villard's variation from reality being a 'correction consciente du modèle.' He believes (p. 335) that Villard had played an important role in the construction of Cambrai and Meaux, and had worked possibly at Chartres and Reims before his visit to Hungary. He insists that Villard was an established master who was called to Hungary ca. 1235 by Béla IV or by the Cistercians.

Horváth's principal thesis (pp. 336 and 341) is that Villard's trip and works preceded the Tartar invasion and that he represents the last great wave of French influence on Hungarian Gothic art, "l'influence française . . . culmine en la personne de Villard."

He then considers one by one the buildings ascribed by earlier authors to Villard and concludes that not one can definitely be associated with Villard. For Horváth, Esztergom and Kassa are traditionally and circumstantially the most likely projects on which Villard worked, but no definite connection can be proven in either case. He does claim (p. 334) that the pavement design on fol. 15v of the manuscript is Roman work at the royal palace at Esztergom (see, however, Gerevich, 1971.3). Horváth dismisses (pp. 340-341) Eger, Gyulafehérvár, Jaák, and Zsámbék as Romanesque buildings completely different from Villard's style as known through his portfolio.

Reproduces fols. 2r, 10r, 10v, and 15v.

1936.2

RÉAU, LOUIS. Review of Hahnloser facsimile (**F.IV**). In *Gazette des beaux-arts*. 6th ser., vol. 16, pp. 265-266.

Terms the Hahnloser facsimile the monumental and definitive edition of the Villard portfolio and agrees (p. 265) that Hahnloser's designation of it as a *Baubüttenbuch* or *Livre de l'oeuvre* is more accurate than the traditional designation *album*. Réau characterizes (p. 265) the portfolio as being "un recueil de modèles de caractère didactique, à l'usage des architectes qui travaillaient avec lui [i.e., Villard] et sous sa direction. Réau also employs (p. 266) the term *Livre du*

chantier.

He summarizes Hahnloser's biography of Villard, which he apparently accepts: trained at Vaucelles, architect of Saint-Quentin, in Hungary no later than 1235 and possibly as early as 1220.

1936.3

WORMALD, FRANCIS. Review of Hahnloser facsimile (**F.IV**). In *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 68, pp. 251-252.

Emphasizes the thoroughness of Hahnloser's study, pointing out that it is much more than a straightforward facsimile edition. Wormald concentrates on Hahnloser's analysis of the form of the portfolio and Villard's style as an artist, noting that the leaves were originally kept, unbound, in a portfolio and (p. 252) that the *Hortus Delicarum* of Herrad of Landesberg was also originally so maintained. Wormald reports Hahnloser's conclusions that the Villard portfolio was a pattern book made by Villard for those working under him, and that Villard's figures without facial details are based on sculpted models whereas those with detailed facial features are based on painted models. He appears to accept both interpretations.

Wormald concludes (p. 252) that "The book [by Hahnloser] is packed with detail of every kind, almost too packed for comfortable and digestible reading."

1937.1

ANON. *Les Plus Beaux Manuscrits français du VIIIe au XVIe siècle conservés dans les bibliothèques nationales de Paris*. Catalog no. 73. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, pp. 39-40.

The Villard portfolio was exhibited showing fols. 18v and 19r, with the geometric figures of those folios termed "modèles de dessins." It is claimed that in these drawings proportions were determined by geometry and that, "Plus encore que les pages qui portent des dessins de sculpture et l'architecture les feuillets exposés révèlent un technique sûre.

Villard is said to have been born at the beginning of the thirteenth century and is called a "dessinateur," but no mention is made of him as an architect, possibly because "Nous ignorons les détails de sa carrière."

A detail of the Virgin and Child on fol. 10v appears on the title page.

1937.2

VAN MOE, ÉMILE-AURÈLE. "Les Manuscrits sous les capetiens," *Arts et métiers graphiques*, vol. 60 (1 November), pp. 40-41, 44.

One of a series of summaries of the periods of manuscripts exhibited in 1937 at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. The Villard portfolio is mentioned (p. 44) in passing as a "document unique ... de l'architecte Villard de Honnecourt, qui montre de si curieuses constructions géométriques pour mettre en place les figures animées.

Pages 40-41 present a full-scale, double-page spread of fols. 18v and 19r.

1938.1

FOCILLON, HENRI [JOSEPH]. *Art d'occident*. Paris: Armand Cohn. **English trans. *The Art of the West in the Middle Ages*. vol. 2, *Gothic Art*. London: Phaidon Press, 1963.

Contains scattered references to Villard, attributing (p. 49) to him the design of Saint-Quentin, stating (p. 66) that he went to Hungary as a designer of Cistercian buildings (none of which is specified). The author notes (p. 85 n. 1) that Villard was especially influenced by the sculpture of Reims and what Focillon terms the "Atticism of Champagne."

Focillon's most important observation (p. 192) is that "no one was ever more vigorously of his own time and that it is a mistake to view Villard as a precursor of the Renaissance. See, however, Focillon, **1931.1**.

1938.2

GEREVICH, TIBOR. *Magyarország románkori emlékei [Romanesque Artistic Relics in Hungary]* Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938, pp. 48-50.

Tibor Gerevich, uncle of László Gerevich (see **1971.3**), was for many years head of the Department of Art History at the University of Budapest. The older Gerevich proposes here that Villard's drawing of a Hungarian pavement (Fol. 15v) was based on a floor mosaic excavated at Székesfehérvár. This claim is more believable than his claim (pp. 49-50) that Villard was architect of Cambrai and was called to Hungary by Bela IV to build Buda Castle.

Illustrates Villard's Hungarian pavement drawing (Fol. 15v).

1939.1

ADHÉMAR, JEAN. "Villard de Honnecourt." In *Influences antiques dans l'art du moyen age français: Recherches sur les sources et les thèmes d'inspiration*. Studies of the Warburg Institute, no. 7. London: Warburg Institute, pp. 278-280. [Photographic Reprint. Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1968]

Calls (p. 278) Villard an "artiste rémois," the "meilleur élève français" of the Master of the Antique Figures of the north arm portals of Reims. While he suggests that Villard played an important role at Reims, collaborating with the architects, designing at their sides, and even offering his own designs (e.g., fol. 31v: dado arcade for the nave aisle wall), Adhémar stops short of terming Villard an architect. He apparently considers him to have been a sculptor, although he does not explicitly say so. He states that because Villard was called to Hungary ca. 1241, he knew only the north arm statues at Reims and not the more famous Visitation group of the central portal of the west facade.

Adhémar stresses Villard's knowledge of geometry from Vitruvius and his interest in antique statuary as a source for models. He concludes (p. 279) that Villard's drawing of what Villard termed a Saracen tomb (fol. 6r) was in fact an ivory Byzantine consular diptych (now lost), and that the drawing is so poor because Villard tried to alter the model which he had apparently seen only briefly and later drew from memory. This may represent an error on Adhémar's part, where Villard's statement that the drawing was of a tomb he once saw is taken as an indication that the drawing followed the encounter with the model rather than that the inscription was a later addition. Adhémar contrasts this drawing with Villard's more accurate renderings of nudes (fols. 11v and 22r) based on classical bronze statuettes (the sources of which Adhémar identifies; the statuettes are reproduced in pls. XXXIV and XXXV). He says these drawings are more accurate than that of the ivory because Villard had time to study these models with some care; but he concludes (p. 280) that Villard's drawings after the antique are nonetheless "étrange, mi-gothique, mi-classique."

Despite its brevity, this is one of the better analyses of Villard's attitude toward and ability to deal with antique models.

1940.1

SCHÜRENBERG, L[ISA]. "Villard de Honnecourt." In *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart, begründet von Ulrich Thieme und Felix Becker*, vol. 34. Leipzig: Verlag E.A. Seemann, pp. 368-369.

Gives a brief biography of Villard and a somewhat longer analysis of the portfolio, both closely following Hahnloser. The author states (p. 368) that the portfolio, made ca. 1230/1235, is now [since Hahnloser] correctly called a *Bauhüttenbuch* whereas formerly it had unjustly been termed a *Skizzenbuch*. She also claims that the portfolio, when Villard and his successors added inscriptions, became a teaching treatise (*Traktates*).

1940.2

VON STOCKHAUSEN, HANS-ADALBERT. "Zur ältesten Baugeschichte der Elisabethkirche in Marburg a[n]. d[er]. Lahn," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 9, pp. 175-187.

An attempt to determine the sources and dates of the choir of Marburg. The author traces the trefoil plan, and especially the construction, to France. The source of the construction of Marburg, on the basis of the building's details, is said to be Reims. Von Stockhausen compares Cambrai and Marburg in some depth, but rejects (largely by ignoring) the attribution of either church to Villard.

1942.1

KURTH, BETTY. "Matthew Paris and Villard de Honnecourt," *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 81, pp. 224, 227-228.

Traces the iconographic history of wrestlers (fol. 14v) and of the image of a man falling from a horse (fol. 3v) as found in Matthew of Paris's *Historia Maior* and the Villard portfolio. Kurth notes the parallelism of the two but stresses that whereas both of Paris's images were inspired by actual events, Villard's cannot be proved to be so.

She specifically associates (p. 228) Villard's figure of Pride with a relief at Chartres. Pointing out the common interest Matthew and Villard had in the antique and in animals drawn from life, Kurth nonetheless concludes (p. 228), "No direct influences [between the two artists] can be traced. Their stylistic ways are widely different."

Reproduces details of fols. 3v and 14v.

1943.1

PEVSNER, NIKOLAUS. *An Outline of European Architecture*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books. **7th rev. ed. 1963.

Terms (p. 94) Villard an architect and calls his portfolio a "textbook, prepared about 1235" which was addressed to his pupils. Pevsner claims that the portfolio is "invaluable as a source of information on the methods and attitude [of an artist?] of the thirteenth century."

While he summarizes and appears to emphasize the variety of subjects found in the portfolio (without distinguishing between Villard's drawings and later additions), he stresses (p. 116) the lack of imagination of the Gothic artist and his dependency on existing models. The author makes the sweeping and undocumented generalization that "Even Villard de Honnecourt copied [existing designs] in nine out of ten of his pages."

Reproduces fols. 14v, 17, and 30v after Lassus or Willis.

1943.2

DERCSÉNYI, DEZSUŐ. *A székesfehérvári királyi bazilika [The royal Basilica in Székesfehérvár]*, Budapest, Műemlékek Országos Bizottsága, 1943, pp. 28-29. This study attempts to link Villard's drawing of a Hungarian floor pavement (fol. 15v) and a floor mosaic in the Christian Museum at Esztergom. His thesis is unconvincing because the Esztergom example he used is not very like the Villard drawing and is part of the Schnütgen Collection from Cologne, Germany. His claim (pp. 28-29) that Villard's drawing may be based on a pavement design at Székesfehérvár seems

more probable.

Reproduces Villard's pavement drawing as Fig. 6.

1944.1

FRANKL, PAUL. Review of *A Brief Commentary on Early Mediaeval Church Architecture ...*, by Kenneth John Conant. In *Art Bulletin*, vol. 26, p. 200.

Villard is brought into this review as typifying the medieval architect who was "unable to explain his ideas save with the pencil alone," lacking the technical vocabulary necessary to explain verbally his ideas and design processes.

1944.2

LAVEDAN, PIERRE [LOUIS LÉON]. *L'Architecture française*. Paris: Librairie Larousse. **English trans. *French Architecture*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1956.

Makes (p. 45) the astonishing claim that Villard's notebooks [sic] are the only document from the Middle Ages "dealing with the practice of the architect's profession," and that the "regulations" therein seem to confirm that Viollet-le-Duc (1854.1, s.v. "proportion") was correct in insisting that geometry was the basis of design in medieval architecture.

1945.1

FRANKL, PAUL. "The Secret of the Mediaeval Masons," *Art Bulletin*, vol. 27, pp. 46-64.

Very important although brief commentary on the use of geometry in the Villard portfolio claiming (pp. 57-58) that Villard's "net of squares" (the human "face in the square" on fol. 19v) was not a system of design but a means of "enlargement of a small sketch to the desired size of the finished work," for which reason this geometry did not have to be as precise as that used by masons.

Conversely, Frankl states that the schemata for halving and doubling a square employed on fol. 20r by Master II, ca. 1260, were taken from Vitruvius and, although incomplete or unclear, prove the use of quadrature in medieval architecture long before it was more carefully explained by Mathes Roriczer and Hanns Schmuttermayer.

Reproduces a detail of fol. 20 after Hahnloser.

1945.2

HARVEY, JOHN H[OOPER]. "The Education of the Mediaeval Architect," *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, vol. 53, pp. 230-234.

Cites (p. 232) Hahnloser as proof that Villard was literate, writing in both French and Latin. Harvey then uses this statement as proof "that the highest class of craftsman-architect of the Middle Ages was literate."

He follows Hahnloser's *Bauhüttenbuch* theory, terming the portfolio a "practical encyclopaedia of the building arts and crafts compiled for the permanent 'lodge' of a great church, probably ... Saint-Quentin," and he suggests that Master II and Master III were Villard's successors in this lodge.

1946.1

KAYSER, HANS. *Ein harmonikaler Teilungskanon, Analyse einer geometrischen Figur im Bauhüttenbuch Villard de Honnecourt.* Zurich: Occident-Verlag.

An article-length (32 pp.) attempt to demonstrate the use of Pythagorean musical proportion as the basis for the geometry in three of Villard's figures: fol. 18r, two figures at the bottom; and fol. 19r, rightmost figure in the second row from the top. While the geometric design itself is unquestionably that generated from the Pythagorean monochord, Kayser does not convince the reader that Villard understood its musical basis. Kayser apparently worked from photographs of the original folios, and the significance of Kayser's claim may be summarized in his own admission (p. 30) that Villard's geometry does not match that of the Pythagorean design when correctly drawn.

Kayser makes a number of references to Hahnloser and clearly accepts his view that the manuscript was a *Bauhüttenbuch*, as his title proves.

1946.2

SAMARAN, CHARLES. "Lectures sous les rayons ultra-violets, V: L'Album de Villard de Honnecourt," *Romanis*, vol. 69 (1946- 1947), pp. 91-93.

Brief analysis of the inscriptions found on fols. 1r and 23v of the Villard portfolio that can be read only under ultraviolet light. Contains the same conclusions given more fully in his later study (1973.4) but dates the inscriptions to the reigns of Henry IV (1572-1610) or Louis XIII (1610-1643). Samaran claims (p. 91) that "aucun dessin nouveau n'est apperçu" when the manuscript was examined under ultraviolet light by Hahnloser.

1947.1

AUBERT, MARCEL. *L'Architecture cistercienne en France.* Vol. 1. Paris: Vanoest Editions d'art et d'histoire.

Compares (pp. 194-195) Villard's Cistercian church plan (fol. 14v) to that of Fontainjeans and to those of several English Cistercian churches (Byland, Dore, Waverley). On pp. 225-226 Aubert discusses Villard and Vaucelles, which he dates 1190-1235, and claims that Villard's plan (fol. 17r) of the Vaucelles choir is "sommaire mais précis." On p. 225 n. 5 Aubert cites Enlart (**1895.1**) and states that Villard "travailla sur les chantiers de Vaucelles, et peut-être en assumait la direction."

He also notes that Villard's Vaucelles plan was the source of inspiration for the plan (fol. 15r) devised in discussions with Pierre de Corbie.

Reproduces details of fol. 14v and 17r after Lassus.

1947.2

HECKSHER, WILLIAM S. "Bernini's Elephant and Obelisk," *Art Bulletin*, vol. 19, pp. 155-182.

Claims (p. 164) that "the palm for 'intended realism' has always gone to Villard de Honnecourt's famous lion" (fol. 24v), and that what is important is Villard's intention (*wollen*), not his actual achievement (*können*). On p. 164 n. 40 he notes that Villard's side view of the lion (fol. 24r) "has some merits for realism" and suggests two very close parallels, possibly models, for Villard's frontal view of the lion (fol. 24v): the lion of San Marco in Venice and that in Lambert de Saint-Omer's *Liber Floridus*, ca. 1120 (Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS. 92, fol. 56v).

1948.1

EVANS, JOAN. *Art in Mediaeval France, 987-1498.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Contains a number of references to Villard, most of which are taken from or based on earlier studies. Evans calls (p. 89) Villard an architect and claims (p. 126 n. 2) that he may possibly have been the architect of Saint-Quentin. She also proposes, at least indirectly, that he was a sculptor or that certain of his drawings were for sculpture, suggesting (p. 96 n. 5), after Adhémar (1939.1), that Villard may have been a pupil of the Master of the Antique Figures at Reims.

Reproduces fol. 16r.

**1948.2

WISSNER, ADOLPH. "Die Entwicklung der zeichnerischen Darstellung von Maschinen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Maschinenbaus in Deutschland bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts." Ph.D. dissertation, Universität München.

Not seen. Wolfgang Schöller (see 1978.6) called this unpublished work to my attention as containing a discussion of Villard's mechanical devices.

1949.1

DIMIER, M.-ANSELME. *Recueil de plans d'églises cisterciennes.* Paris: Librairie d'art ancien et moderne.

Discusses (pp. 39-41) the history of the Gothic choir at Vaucelles, dated 1190-1235, which because of its sumptuousness caused a great scandal in the Cistercian order. Dimier claims that Vaucelles "était et reste la plus grande de toutes les églises cisterciennes." In a note (p. 41 n. 67) he states "On croit que c'est Villard de Honnecourt qui en [i.e. , chœur de Vaucelles] fut l'architecte" but that the sole evidence for this belief is Villard's drawing of the Vaucelles plan (fol. 17r) and also the analogous plan (fol. 15r) done in collaboration with Pierre de Corbie.

Reproduces fol. 17r after Lassus.

1949.2

HAMANN-MacLEAN, RICHARD H. L. "Antikenstudium in der Kunst des Mittelalters," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. 15 (1949-1950), pp. 157-250.

Repeats (p. 193) Adhémar's (1939.1) and Hahnloser's identifications of antique models in what the author terms Villard's *Musterbuch*, illustrating a seated bronze statuette to which Villard's seated male figures on fols. 14r and 22r are compared. The author provides (p. 246) a brief list of Villard's studies after the antique: the two figures cited above, the leaf-faces (fols. 5v and 22r), two standing figures (fol. 28r). Hamann-MacLean believes Villard encountered most (all?) of these models at Reims.

1949.3

LEFRANÇOIS PILLION, LOUISE. "Un maître d'oeuvre et son album: Villard de Honnecourt." In *Maîtres d'oeuvres et tailleurs de pierre des cathédrales.* Paris: Robert Laffont, pp. 61-70.

Poetic view of Villard as (p. 63) "le type les plus illustre et le plus significatif de ces artistes français [du moyen âge] à l'étranger" and as (p. 70) "un prince de métier." Stresses the unique significance of the portfolio, suggesting (p. 62) that it has lost twenty to twenty-five leaves and noting (p. 65) that its *pêle-mêle* character and cluttered drawings are attributable to the high cost of parchment.

Lefrançois Pillion dates (p. 63) Villard's activity to 1230-1250 and his trip to Hungary to 1244-1247, attributing Kassa to him. She attributes no French buildings to Villard. Her analysis of Villard's wide range of interests leads to criticism of two of Hahnloser's claims: that Villard's figures with unfinished faces are based on sculpted models and that Villard did not know Latin. The author proposes that Villard was so technical-minded that he must have had some encounter with the *trivium* in a university setting.

She makes the important point (p. 67) that it is her instinct that Villard first made his drawings on fols. 18r, 18v, 19r, and 19v, then applied the geometric patterns to them.

Reproduces fol. 19r redrawn after Lassus.

1949.4

ÜBERWASSER, WALTER. "Massgerechte Bauplanung der Gotik an Beispielen Villards de Honnecourt," *Kunstchronik*, pp. 200-204.

Summary of a lecture in which Überwasser reaffirmed his belief (1935.4) that Villard understood both *ad quadratum* (fol. 9v, Laon tower plan) and *ad triangulum* (fol. 7r, lectern) geometric principles of design and that he designed from the outside in (see Velte, 1951.3).

Überwasser insists on the accuracy of quadrature for determining the correct replacements of all elements of a building, for example, piers, and claims that this can be proven by analysis of Villard's drawn plans although it is not readily apparent.

In the discussion which followed, Dagobert Frey suggested that Villard's geometric schemata were only aids to craftsmen and that in actual construction measurements had to be determined in more detail. Ernst Gall questioned whether Villard's plans could be executed and criticized the inaccuracies of his drawings of Reims, which accord neither with the building itself nor with one another.

1949.5

WALTERS ART GALLERY, THE. *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*. Baltimore: Trustees of The Walters Art Gallery.

Catalog of an exhibition held in Baltimore in 1949, with text by Dorothy Miner. Item 63 in this exhibition was a fragment of a missal made for Noyon use, from the Hofer Collection in Rockport, Maine (now, according to Scheller, 1963.5, p. 93, at Harvard University, MS. Typ 120H), which has been attributed to Villard (see Vitzthum, 1914.2). Miner (p. 25) agrees that the style of the figures in this manuscript is close to that employed by Villard but the "outright attribution of these paintings to Villard is no longer agreed to by scholars."





Writings on Villard de Honnecourt, 1950-1981

*1950.1

DEGENHARDT, BERNHARD. "Autonome Zeichnungen bei mittelalterlich Künstlern," *Münchener Jahrbuch*, vol. 3.

Not yet reviewed. Called to my attention by Wolfgang Schöllner (1978.6) as concerning Villard.

1950.2

HARVEY, JOHN H[OOPER]. *The Gothic World, 1100-1600: A Survey of Architecture and Art.* London: B.T. Batsford. **Reprint. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1969.

Emphasizes (pp. 7 and 26) the Villard portfolio as "a thoroughly practical 'building encyclopaedia.'" Harvey claims (p. 29) that Villard's drawings are "the earliest surviving [medieval] drawings which are strictly architectural," speaks of their "exquisite quality, precision, and finished technique," and apparently believes in the "secret of the medieval masons" theory, for he states (p. 22) that the portfolio "throws light on the secrets of the craft."

He cites Hahnloser (F.IV) as proof that Villard knew both French and Latin and calls Master II and Master III presumably the next two masters of the lodge," meaning the lodge which Villard headed. Despite his familiarity with Hahnloser, Harvey misattributes (p. 26) the celebrated phrase *inter se disputando* (fol. 15r) to Villard.

Harvey states (p. 69) that Villard probably was chief master of Saint-Quentin and possibly was designer of the Cambrai choir. He dates Villard's trip to Hungary before 1250 but does not attribute any specific buildings there to Villard. Much of this material is taken from 1945.2.

1951.1

PANOFSKY, ERWIN. *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism.* Latrobe, Pa.: Saint Vincent Archabbey Press. **2d ed. London: Thames and Hudson, 1957.

Claims (pp. 87-88) that the plan (fol. 15r) drawn by Villard and Pierre de Corbie proves that by the mid-thirteenth century "Scholastic dialectics had driven architectural thinking to a point where it almost ceased to be architectural." Panofsky notes that Master II's inscription *inter se disputando* is a specifically scholastic term and that this plan is an attempt to reconcile opposites (rounded and square chapels). He elsewhere (p. 77) claims that Villard observed and exaggerated the scholastic use of an enlarged central colonnette in the Reims triforium.

Reproduces fol. 15r and a detail of fol. 31v.

1951.2

ÜBERWASSER, WALTER. "Die Turmzeichnungen Villards de Honnecourt." In *Festschrift für Hans Jantzen.* Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, pp. 47-50.

A section of an article entitled "Deutsche Architekturdarstellung um das Jahr 1200" which reproduces Villard's horologe (fol. 6v) and Laon tower elevation (fol. 10v), claiming that both are based on the design principle of quadrature and that both illustrate the medieval principle of *reducciones formae et numeri* from actuality in order to indicate essentials.

1951.3

VELTE, MARIA. *Die Anwendung der Quadratur und Triangulatur bei der Grund- und Aufrissgestaltung der gotischen Kirchen.* Basler Studien zur Kunstgeschichte, no. 8. Basel: Verlag Birkhauser AG.

A short essay concentrating mainly on late Gothic uses of geometry in design, for example, by Mathes Roriczer and Lorenz Lechler. Velte analyzes (pp. 53-55) Villard's plan of a tower at Laon (fol. 9v) for the use of quadrature and, despite clearly noting that "Selbstverständlich ist eine händig auf das Pergament geworfene Skizze nicht so exakt wie der Pergamentriss einer Bauhütte," and admitting that one has to work downward from the keystone and from the inside out because the baseline is not included in the drawing, she concludes that Villard used quadrature to determine even the smallest details. The significance of this (p. 54) is "Somit hat man auch schon im frühen 13. Jahrhundert nach der Quadratur konstruiert."

Velte's thesis is illustrated in pl. VIII on p. 100.

1952.1

CROMBIE, A[LISTAIR] C[AMERON]. *Augustine to Galileo: The History of Science, A.D. 400-1650.* London: Falcon Press. **Rev. ed. *Medieval and Early Modern Science*, vol. 1, *Science in the Middle Ages: V-XIII Centuries.* Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1959.

Terms Villard a thirteenth-century architect and attributes (p. 205) to him "parts of Laon, Reims, Chartres, and other French cathedrals." Specific focus is on Villard's mechanical devices. It is claimed (p. 198) that if Villard's waterpowered sawmill (fol. 22v) represents something actually used, it is earlier by a century that the first documented example of this device in Europe.

Crombie also says (p. 211) that Villard's device for making an angel turn so its finger always points to the sun (fol. 22v) is the earliest known drawing of an escapement movement in the West.

Reproduces a cropped photograph of fol. 22v for which the source is given as the "Bodley's Librarian, Oxford."

1952.2

SALZMAN, L[OUIS] F. *Building in England Down to 1540: A Documentary History.* Oxford: Clarendon Press. 2d rev. ed. 1967; 3d rev. ed. 1979.

Does not refer to Villard as an architect but praises his drawings of architecture (p. 16) as "jottings for his own use, . . . workmanlike little drawings containing all the essential features of such plans [as were used in the thirteenth century] and perfectly comprehensible to any craftsman."

Salzman is especially taken by Villard's two drawings illustrating the principle of the hammer-beam (fol. 17v), noting (p. 18) that these must represent Villard's theories and not actual examples of the hammer-beam roof since no actual example "is known for about a century after Villard's time."

Reproduces fol. 15v, to which the statement cited from p. 16 refers.

1952.3

VON SIMPSON, OTTO. "The Gothic Cathedral," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 11, pp. 6-16.

Citing neither Bénard (1864.1) nor Enlart (1895.1), Von Simpson makes (p. 15) one of the strongest claims, without offering any proof whatsoever, that Villard "seems to have received his architectural training at the Cistercian monastery of Vaucelles and certainly was employed as an architect by the [Cistercian] Order." Von believes (p. 15) that "Villard was a distinguished architect" and notes, "Perhaps the most important single piece of evidence regarding the principles of Gothic design is the famous model by the Picard architect Villard de Honnecourt in the second quarter of the 13th century."

In discussing Villard's plan for the Laon tower (fol. 9v), Von Simpson repeats the misattribution to Villard of the statement that it was "the most beautiful in the world" and accepts Überwasser's claim (1949.4) that in Villard's drawing, all horizontal sections are recessed "according to true measure."

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1953.1

ACKERMAN, JAMES S. Review of *Die Anwendung der Quadratur und Triangulatur bei der Grund- und Aufriessgestaltung der gotischen Kirchen*, by Maria Velte. In *Art Bulletin*, vol. 35, pp. 155-157.

Complete summary of Velte's analysis (1951.3) of Villard's fol. 9v plan of the Laon Tower. Ackerman accepts Velte's contention that Villard's drawing proves the design principle of quadrature was known and used in the thirteenth century.

1953.2

DU COLOMBIER, PIERRE. *Les Chantiers de cathédrales*. Paris: Editions A. et J. Picard et Cie.

Accepts (pp. 63 and 86) Hahnloser's view that the Villard portfolio was a shop manual (termed by Du Colombier a *Baubuch*), although he insists it must be called an *album*. His view (p. 63) is that the portfolio began as a simple "recueil personnel de notes" and later evolved into a "vrai encyclopédie" concerning architecture, sculpture, and mechanics. However, Du Colombier insists that Villard's architectural drawings were mere suggestions, not models or working drawings. He considers (p. 86) the portfolio as the best existing proof of the combination of medieval architect and sculptor in one person but elsewhere (p. 22) claims that Villard was an inventor.

The main focus (pp. 86-90) of Du Colombier's interest in Villard is what the drawings reveal about the working procedures of the Gothic artist. He believes that while Villard may have drawn his lion (fols. 24 and 24v) *al vif*, as he claimed, there was interposed between model and drawing an unavoidable fixed mental image (*Gedankenbild*) of what a lion looked like established by authority and tradition, and Villard unconsciously employed this image. In Du Colombier's view, the more difficult the artist's task (for example, drawing something in movement or directly from nature) the more discernible this *Gedankenbild* will be.

The author raises the question of whether sculptors or painters first began to observe and model directly from nature and concludes that it was sculptors because painters relied longer on fixed formulas and geometric schemata. However, in examining (p. 86) Villard's use of geometric schemata (fols. 18, 18v, 19, 19v), he concludes that the relationship between the geometric figure and human or animal figure is at best arbitrary and that at least in some instances the geometric schemata "ont été ajoutés après coup."

1953.3

EICHLER, HANS. "Ein frühgotische Grundriss der Liebfrauenkirche in Trier," *Trier Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst des Trier Landes und seiner Nachbargebiete*, vol. 28, pp. 145-166.

Discusses (p. 145) the Villard portfolio, termed a *Bauhüttenbuch*, as the first example since Carolingian times of

architectural plans drawn on parchment. Eichler says that Villard drew his plans as models for his own work and that he copied these at least in part from larger working drawings in various workshops. He notes that Villard's plans have no indication of scale but insists that they have correct measure (*rechten mass*; see Überwasser, **1935.4**), being drawn according to binding geometric rules.

He suggests (p. 165) that there is a conceptual relationship in the choir plans of Cambrai, Braine, Marburg, and Trier, all stemming from Cambrai, whose plan Villard modernized when he drew it, but he does not attribute any of these buildings to Villard.

1954.1

DANIEL-ROPS, HENRI [pseud. for Henri Jules Charles Petiot]. *Comment on bâtissait les cathédrales. Visages de l'église*, no. 1. Paris: Le Centurion.

Essay with a thesis the exact opposite of Renan's (**1862.1**), namely, that Gothic cathedrals represent one of the greatest achievements of the human spirit and the Christian faith. Villard is taken (p. 42) as someone who belonged to the "aristocratie de son métier" and as proof of the extraordinary scientific knowledge possessed by thirteenth-century architects. Daniel-Rops stresses the idea that Villard is the best known of all medieval architects because of his portfolio.

1954.2

DEMAISON, LOUIS. *Cathédrale de Reims. Petites Monographies des grands édifices de la France*. Paris: Henri Laurens, Editeur.

Demaison here (p. 23) repeats in summary form his earlier (**1902.2**) study of Villard's relationship to Reims, dating his visit there to the second quarter of the thirteenth century and claiming that Villard's drawings reveal the state of construction of Reims at the time of that visit.

1954.3

SWARZENSKI, HANNS. *Monuments of Romanesque Art*, London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1954, fig. 547.

Illustrates, without commentary, Villard's "Sleeping Apostle" (fol. 23v), here dated *ca.* 1240, and a small 13th-century bronze image of the same subject (London, Peter Wilson Collection).

1955.1

ANON. *Les Manuscrits à peintures en France du XIIIe au XVIe siècle*. Preface by Andre Malraux. Catalog no. 8. Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, p. 11.

The Villard portfolio was exhibited to show fol. 4r. The brief text summarizes the contents of the portfolio, with one factual error: fol. 15 is said to contain plans of Meaux and Saint-Faron at Meaux in addition to the choir plan drawn by Villard and Pierre de Corbie. The portfolio is dated "milieu du XIIIe siècle" and Villard is called an architect. It notes that his use of geometry to permit rapid design of figures (fols. 18v and 19r) is found in contemporary French manuscripts and refers to a *Bible moralisée* (MS lat. 11.560) in the same exhibition (Catalog no. 6, p. 7).

1955.2

BRANNER, ROBERT. Review of *Les Chantiers des cathédrales*, by Pierre Du Colombier (**1953.2**). In *Art Bulletin*,

vol. 37, pp. 61-65.

Suggests (p. 64) that the chapter concerning the sculptor (in which the bulk of the discussion of Villard is found) "seems almost to have been an afterthought. It contains the main results of Hahnloser's study of Villard, and especially emphasizes the conclusion that what may originally have been an architect's sketchbook was soon transformed into a workshop accessory which was used as a kind of encyclopaedia of solutions to mathematical and structural problems and of models for sculptors."

Discussing the difficulty of discovering and correctly interpreting geometrical schemata in medieval buildings, Branner calls attention (p. 63) to the fact that Überwasser (1949.4) and Velte (1951.3) "with reasoned explanations, arrive at completely different interpretations of the plan [of the Laon tower as drawn by Villard, fol. 9v], and neither is completely convincing."

1955.3

Csemegi József. *A budavári főtemplom középkori építéstörténete [The Building History of the main Church of the Castle of Buda]*, Budapest, 1955, pp. 75-80.

Cited by Gerevich (1977.3, p. 179) as containing on pp. 73-80 "full ... literature on the supposed works of this architect [i.e., Villard] in Hungary."

Csemegi was an architect, architectural historian, and restorer of monuments in Hungary. In this article, he makes some unsubstantiated claims about Villard's relationship with Hungary, despite his assertion (p. 78) that we don't know what churches Villard built. Csemegi's principal claim here is that Villard was in Hungary after the Tartar invasion of 1241/1242 and (p. 80) that Villard built the castle church at Buda during the reign of Bela IV (1235-1270). Part of the author's justification is that he dates Villard's drawing of a nave aisle window at Reims (fol. 10v) after 1241, but this is too late by at least a decade.

There is a discussion of a pentagram or star mason's mark found widely in Eastern Europe that Csemegi attempts (pp. 75-78) to associate with Villard (fols. 9v, 18v, 19r) while admitting that this association is only probable, not proven.

1956.1

BOOZ, PAUL. *Der Baumeister der Gotik.* Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag.

Commonly cited in Villard studies, this work is mainly concerned with late medieval designers, for example, Lorenz Lechler, Mathes Roriczer, Hanns Schmuttermayer, *et alia*, and has little to do with Villard. Booz terms the Villard portfolio a *Musterbuch*, and his principal observation (pp. 73-74) is that Villard's renderings in perspective of parts of buildings (Laon tower, fol. 10r; exterior and interior of a Reims chapel, fols. 30v and 31r) are unusual, most medieval architectural drawings indicating details of construction and decoration only (cf. fol. 32r).

He insists that while Villard's drawings stand at the beginning of the appearance of orthogonal architectural renderings, his drawings do not have consistent one-point (Renaissance) perspective and could not have been of any help in actual construction. Booz claims (p. 74) that Villard copied his architectural drawings from a modelbook: "Ferner ist zu beachten, welcher Quelle all diese Zeichnungen entnommen sind, nämlich einem Musterbuch."

1956.2

CLARK, [Sir] KENNETH. *The Nude: A Study in Ideal Form.* Bollingen Series, vol. 35, no. 2. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Contains (p. 11) one of the harshest condemnations in print of Villard's ability to draw the nude figure, which is contrasted with his facility in rendering drapery: "This [the Villard portfolio] contains many beautiful drawings of draped figures, some of them showing a high degree of skill. But when Villard draws two nude figures [on fol. 22] in

what he believes to be the antique style the result is painfully ugly. It was impossible for him to adapt the stylistic conventions of Gothic art to a subject [the male nude] that depended on an entirely different system of forms. There can be few more hopeless misunderstandings in art than his attempt to render that refined abstraction, the antique torso, in terms of Gothic loops and pothooks." For a more positive view, see Vitry, **1929.4**.

Reproduces fol. 22r.1956.3

1956.3

VON SIMPSON, OTTO. *The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order.* Bollingen Series, vol. 48. New York: Pantheon Books.

Repeats much of the information, occasionally *verbatim*, from his earlier article (**1952.3**) but with additional comment.

Von Simpson stresses that Villard's portfolio proves that geometry was the basis of all medieval design. He concentrates on Villard on pp. 198-200, claiming that Villard may have worked under the architect of Chartres in his youth and that his "model book expounds not only the geometric canons of Gothic architecture but also the Augustinian aesthetics of 'musical' proportions," referring to Villard's idealized design for a Cistercian church on fol. 14v.

Von Simpson refers to Focillon's claim (**1931.1**) that there is at least a theoretical association in the geometry of Villard and Robert Grosseteste.



1957.1

BRANNER, ROBERT. "A Note on Gothic Architects and Scholars," *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 99, pp. 372, 375.

A reaction to Panofsky's thesis (**1951.1**) about the relationship between Gothic architects and scholastics in which Branner attempts to determine the source of Master II's designs on fols. 20r and 20v (termed pp. 39-40). He concludes that the source was an "archetype manuscript" written in Picardie ca. 1240-1250, after the portfolio left Villard's possession but before Master II made his additions.

On the basis of relationships between various Master II drawings, Branner suggests the archetype was a Gothic manuscript composed of two vertical columns of figures and captions. He emphasizes that this manuscript was probably a treatise on *practicae geometriae* and not a learned, theoretical treatise produced at, or for use in, a university. He thus concludes that the relationship between architects and scholastics in the thirteenth century was one of parallelism rather than one of direct influence.

On p. 372 n. 4 Branner says that the letters found in the gutter of fol. 20 "seem to be neither the hand of Villard nor that of Master 2; the writer of this lost text should perhaps be called Master 1."

1957.2

BRANNER, ROBERT. "Three Problems from the Villard de Honnecourt Manuscript," *Art Bulletin*, vol. 39, pp. 61-66.

Detailed explanation of the geometry, steps, and tools involved in executing three of Master II's masonry diagrams on fols. 20r and 20v of the Villard portfolio. These concern especially difficult problems: how to cut a voussoir for an oblique opening in a straight wall; how to cut a voussoir for a window opening in a curved wall; and the *en échelon* method of cutting voussoirs using a mason's square.

As an introduction to these analyses Branner notes (p. 61) that Master II's "drawings are so cryptic and the texts beneath them so brief, that no adequate explanations have been found for them."

1957.3

HOLT, ELIZABETH GILMORE. "Villard de Honnecourt." In *A Documentary History of Art*, vol. 1: *The Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Garden City: Doubleday & Co., pp. 88-91.

Terms Villard a thirteenth-century master-mason from northeastern Picardie and says (p. 89) that his "book was begun as a sketch book, but after years of compilation developed into a manual giving for the first time detailed instructions for the execution of certain objects with accompanying explanatory drawings."

Holt questions the attribution of Cambrai to Villard on the basis that "there are no correspondences between the building and his notebook to warrant this," apparently unaware of fol. 14v. She then states (p. 88) that it "is more probable that he was active in the building of St. Quentin."

Reproduces fols. 1v, 6v, 7r, 15r, 18r, 18v, and 24r with translations of the inscriptions based on Willis and Hahnloser.

1957.4

JANTZEN, HANS. "Das Bauhüttenbuch des Villard de Honnecourt." In *Kunst der Gotik, Klassische Kathedralen Frankreichs: Chartres, Reims, Amiens*. Rowohlt's Deutsche Enzyklopadie, vol. 48. Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH, pp. 81-84. English trans. *High Gothic*. London: Pantheon Books, 1962, pp. 85-90.

Terms (p. 81) Villard a Picard *Baiüttenmeister* of ca. 1235 and says (p. 82) there is a strong probability that he designed Saint-Quentin. Jantzen refers to Hahnloser (**F.IV**) and accepts the latter's view that the portfolio is a *Bauhüttenbuch* later used by other architects.

Admitting that Villard may not have been the greatest architect of his age and that the portfolio may at first appear disorganized, Jantzen claims that it in fact contains "notes on every aspect of the building crafts, technical procedures, and artistic composition (English trans., p. 85)." Jantzen believes that Villard's drawings of Reims were based on other drawings and attributes the discrepancies between Villard's architectural drawings and actual models (e.g., Chartres rose, Laon tower, etc.) to the fact that Villard illustrated essentials only.

He claims that Villard's drawings of animals and humans, whether or not they are based on actual models, are all determined by Gothic geometry.

Reproduces (redrawn after Hahnloser?) fols. 10r, 31v, and 32v. The frontal view of Villard's lion (fol. 24v) appears on the cover of the German paperback edition.

1958.1

BRANNER, ROBERT. "Drawings from a Thirteenth-Century Architect's Shop: The Reims Palimpsest," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 15, pp. 9-21.

Detailed analysis of architectural drawings dated between 1230/1240 and 1263/1270 in the Reims Palimpsest (Reims, Archives de la Marne, MS G.611), with several references to Villard's drawings. Branner claims (p. 19) that the Reims Palimpsest drawings "seem totally unrelated, in size and in detail, to the drawings in Villard's manual," but notes (p. 18) that the capitals in these drawings are similar to those drawn by Villard (for example, G.661 sheet B and Villard fol. 10r) and (p. 19) that Hahnloser had earlier (**1933.1**) noted a similarity between the choir stalls in each set of drawings

Branner gives (p. 19) the "ideal date" for Villard as 1230-1235.

1958.2

DIRINGER, DAVID. *The Illuminated Book: Its History and Production.* London: Faber & Faber.

In a general summary of the relationship between Gothic architecture and manuscript illumination in thirteenth-century France, Diringer claims (p. 277) that this relationship can be "best studied in an album of sketches, a sort of textbook on architecture, written c. 1235, by Villard de Honnecourt."

Much of Diringer's material is taken from Walters Art Gallery, **1949.5**.

1958.3

GIMPEL, JEAN. *Les Bâisseurs de cathédrales.* Le Temps qui court, no. 11. Paris: Editions du Seuil. English trans. (Carl F. Barnes, Jr.) *The Cathedral Builders.* New York: Grove Press, 1961; Eng. Trans. (Teresa Waugh) *The Cathedral Builders,* New York: Grove Press, 1983.

Chapter VII (pp. 105-143) concerns Gothic architects, and Villard's portfolio is taken as a "véritable encyclopédie" of the interests and concerns of a thirteenth-century architect. Gimpel uses Quicherat's categories (**1849.1**) of materials, which he misattributes to Lassus, and claims (p. 106) that the material lost from the portfolio concerned carpentry.

Gimpel attributes Vaucelles and Kassa, and possibly Cambrai, to Villard but focuses on two aspects of the portfolio: Villard's interest in mechanics and his knowledge of geometry, especially the Vitruvian principle of doubling a square. Gimpel emphasizes (p. 123) that Villard understood the principle of quadrature long before German designers of the late fifteenth century wrote about it.

Reproduces fols. 13r and 23r from the portfolio, both severely cropped, and a number of details. Each chapter is headed by a figure redrawn from the portfolio.

1958.4

HUYGHE, RENÉ, ed. *Larousse Encyclopaedia of Byzantine and Medieval Art.* Art and Mankind, vol. 2. Paris: Librairie Larousse. **English ed. London: Paul Hamlyn, 1963.

Contains several brief references to Villard, stressing (p. 345) that he was a "famous Gothic master [architect]" who traveled widely and (p. 376) that his curious notebook "... [is] valuable for our knowledge of medieval drawing techniques."

This is typical of the attempt to see Villard in two different ways: as (p. 238) an artist whose geometric designs reveal the abstract antinaturalism characteristic of medieval art and as (p. 318) one who "had an interest in nature and observation [of nature]," as his lion drawn *al vif* (fols. 24 and 24v) proves.

Reproduces details of fols. 14v, 19r, and 19v.

1958.5

KIDSON, PETER, and PARISER, URSULA. *Sculpture at Chartres.* London: Alec Tiranti. **Reissued. London: Academy Editions, 1974.

Kidson repeats the well-known Chartres models found in Villard's drawings: the relief of the Fall of Pride (fol. 3v), the nave labyrinth (fol. 7v), and the west rose (fol. 15v), then (p. 53) adds two additional items: corbels from the south arm porch (now preserved in the south-west tower tribune) which served as models for Villard's leaf-face (fol. 5v) and lion head (fol. 24v).

He also notes (p. 53 n. 26) that several of Villard's motifs (gamblers on fol. 9 and wrestlers on fol. 14v) are found on the *Maison canoniale* of the cloister at Chartres (see Jusselin, **1911.1**).

Kidson speculates (p. 53) that Villard himself may have been responsible for "the appearance of the current Reims style [of sculpture] at Chartres."

Reproduces details of fols. 3v, 5v, and 24v after Lassus or Willis.



1959.1

BOWIE, THEODORE ROBERT. See "The Facsimile Editions," **F.V**, 1st ed.

1959.2

BRANNER, ROBERT. Review of Bowie facsimile (**F.V**). In *College Art Journal*, vol. 18, no. 4 (Summer), p. 375.

General review of Bowie's facsimile, noting that it is welcome because no other facsimile is in print. Criticizes Bowie's use of Arabic letters inked in on the folios themselves.

1959.3

Encyclopaedia of World Art, vol. 15. London: McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., 1959-1962.

Contains scattered references to Villard and to his portfolio, but no specific entry devoted to either. Since the entries are by various authors, the portfolio is given several different designations: "livre de portraiture" (vol. 14, p. 305), "model book" (vol. 4, p. 475), "sketchbook" (vol. 4, p. 127), and "technical treatise" (vol. 4, p. 127).

The portfolio is also viewed in several different ways, for example, as "the first organic treatise on medieval architecture" (vol. 14, p. 385) and as "a model book in which, typical of the period, the artist reduces his subject to such a uniform style that it is often difficult to distinguish the technique in which they [sic] were originally executed."

It is elsewhere claimed (vol. 4, p. 127) that the portfolio "includes ideas of taste and precise judgments of quality ... [which] express the taste of the French monarchy and of the ecclesiastical and secular milieus which were bound to it." Villard is termed a Picard architect, and the portfolio is dated (vol. 2, p. 188) precisely to 1235. Only Kassa (now Kosice, Czechoslovakia) is attributed (vol. 4, p. 220) to Villard.

1959.4

GALL, ERNST. "Villard de Honnecourt." In *Les Architectes célèbres*, vol. 2. Edited by Pierre Francastle. Paris: Lucien Mazenod, pp. 36-37.

Notes (pp. 36-37) that Villard was born ca. 1200 near Cambrai, and that he is celebrated by his incomplete "cahier de croquis," a portfolio "unique en son genre," which came into the Bibliothèque nationale de France in 1865 [sic]. Gall claims that the buildings drawn by Villard are those which impressed him or those to whose construction he had personally contributed.

The only specific attribution to Villard seems to be Saint-Quentin; Gall says, "l'architecte [de Saint-Quentin] se servit de ces croquis [de Reims] comme modèle pour la construction des parties orientales de l'église abbatiale [sic] de Saint-Quentin," but it is unclear whether specific reference is to Villard or to a different architect who used Villard's drawings of Reims.

On p. 219 in an index Villard is mentioned in connection with his visit, dated ca. 1230-1235, to Hungary. It is claimed that he was then a mature man and an accomplished architect, but that there is no documentation for what he did or built in Hungary.

1959.5

HÉLIOT, PIERRE. "Chronologie de la basilique de Saint- Quentin," *Bulletin monumental*, vol. 117, pp. 7-50.

Suggests (p. 49) that Villard was the "auteur probable do l'abside et du choeur," dated ca. 1205/1220, of Saint-Quentin and (p. 50) calls attention to the many structural difficulties of the choir: "On pays cher la témérité du maître du choeur: sans doute Villard de Honnecourt en personne."

1960.1

BARNES, CARL F., JR. Review of Bowie facsimile (**F.V**). In *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 19, p. 85.

General summary of Bowie's facsimile, noting the difficulty of comparing it with the Villard portfolio itself and other facsimile editions because of Bowies unique arrangement of the folios.

Barnes argues that the Villard portfolio may have served different purposes at different times.

1960.2

BARON, FRANÇOISE. "Les églises de Vaucelles," *Cîteaux*, vol. 11, pp. 196-208.

Treats in detail the architectural history of the successive abbey churches at Vaucelles, with special attention to the role of Villard in the design of the Gothic church (Vaucelles III). Baron notes (p. 199) that the excavations in the 1860s (see Wilpert, **1865.4**) confirm the basic accuracy of Villard's plan (fol. 17r). On pp. 200-201 she adopts Enlart's thesis (1895.1) that Vaucelles III dates 1216-1235 and claims that the plan of a traditional Cistercian church (fol. 14v) is a sketch of Vaucelles II. This choir was demolished by Villard, who was the architect of Vaucelles III (p. 200): "Est-ce à dire que Villard ait été vraiment l'architecte qui, après en avoir conçu le plan [fol. 17r], assumé la direction des travaux de choeur de l'église do Vaucelles? C'est infiniment probable."

Baron offers the three "standard" presumptions for believing this: that Villard was from nearby Honnecourt; that he was trained in the abbey workshop; and that he probably directed work at Vaucelles before his trip to Hungary (after 1235).

Baron also calls attention (p. 208) to the resemblance between the Vaucelles plan and that (fol. 15r) designed by Villard and Pierre de Corbie.

Reproduces fol. 17r after Lassus.

[Note: Baron s article, "Histoire architecturale de l'abbaye de Vaucelles," *Cîteaux*, vol. 9 (1958), pp. 276-283, contains no mention of Villard.

1960.3

BOUVET, FRANCIS. See "The Facsimile Editions," **F.VI**.

1960.4

BRANNER, ROBERT. Review of Bowie facsimile (**F.V**). In *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, vol. 18, pp. 396-397.

Not so much a review of Bowie's edition (praised [p. 397] for its ready availability) as a short essay on the importance of the Villard portfolio for understanding the working procedures of the medieval architect. Branner claims (p. 396) that "no collection [of contemporary medieval textual] statements, however comprehensive, can provide as clear a

picture of his [= the medieval architect's] activities and interests as the 'sketchbook' of Villard de Honnecourt."

He claims here (but, see **1957.1**) that the portfolio, which he dates ca. 1230-1240, "reveals many relationships between the architect of 1230 and contemporary academic discipline." Branner comments on the fact that the portfolio proves that architects sometimes collaborated in designs but refers (p. 396) to the plan devised by Villard and Pierre de Corbie (fol. 15) as "somewhat monstrous."

1960.5

BRANNER, ROBERT. "Villard de Honnecourt, Archimedes, and Chartres," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 19, pp. 91-96.

A spirited defense of the accuracy of Master II's schema on fol. 20v for designing keystones using the Archimedes spiral, associated with such a spiral design engraved on the underside of a capital found at Chartres. Branner insists that Master II was more accurate than he is given credit for having been (see Brutails **1902.1**) and that modern scholars have misdefined, and therefore misunderstood, medieval three-point and five-point arches, which begin with one rather than with zero in counting divisions along the baseline.

In Branner's reconstruction (p. 93 fig. 4), a three-point arch has five points and four divisions along the baseline.

Branner dates Master II's drawings "about 1250," but notes that under ultraviolet light the same spiral design is found to have existed earlier. This he attributes to Villard, not to his Master I (see **1957.1**), indicating that Villard was familiar with designs based on the Archimedes spiral.

Branner terms Villard "a thirteenth-century Picard architect" and dates his visit to Chartres "probably in 1225."

Note: This article produced an exchange of charges and counter-charges between Branner and Leonard Cox over the correct interpretation of the use of the Archimedes spiral in general and at Chartres in particular [Cox's critique of Branner's article: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 20 (1961), pp. 143-145; Branner's reply: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 20 (1961), pp. 145-146; Cox's rebuttal: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 21 (1962), pp. 36-37; Branner's reply: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 21 (1962), p. 193]. None of these concerns Villard *per se* and therefore are not given individual entries.

1960.6

FRANKL, PAUL. "Villard de Honnecourt and Magister 3" and "Magister 2 and the Secret of the Lodges." In *The Gothic: Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 35-48 and 48-54.

Considers a number of problems connected with Villard and his portfolio and creates a biography of Villard: born ca. 1195; received the "first impulse toward his profession at Vaucelles;" probably next associated with Saint-Quentin as draftsman of its choir plan; visitor to Cambrai, but not its architect; ca. 1235-no later than 1242, in Hungary to build one or more major monuments, probably there through his association with Saint Elizabeth of Hungary; after 1242, back at Saint-Quentin; died ca. 1260.

Frankl believes (p. 40) that Villard was a painter and sculptor in addition to being an architect, proving that medieval craftsmen were not confined to the work of a single guild. He accepts Hahnloser's view (**F.IV**) that Villard did not attempt to make literal copies of the architecture he saw but that he "modernized" these to suit his own taste and for his own purposes. Frankl claims that Villard had no sense of historical development in architecture, that is, he was not interested in what was most recent in his day but in what was most useful to him.

He next analyzes the portfolio, concluding that seventeen leaves are lost and incorrectly stating (p. 37) that the better-quality leaves were reserved for the finer drawings. Frankl's view of the portfolio is that it began as a collection of sketches for Villard's personal professional use. When he became a teacher and headed his own lodge, he added drawings to serve as models for his students and ultimately added still more in an attempt to turn it into "a textbook

(*Lehrbuch*) encompassing everything that a Gothic architect needed to learn." Frankl is so convinced of his "textbook" designation that he refers (p. 39) to "chapters" in the portfolio.

In his section on "Villard de Honnecourt and Magister 3," Frankl analyzes the purpose of Villard's geometric figures and his notation (fol. 18v) that these drawings serve "*por legierment ovrer*." Incorrectly pointing out that Villard himself does not use geometric guidelines in designing or drawing his own figures, Frankl again (see **1945.1**) interprets the purpose of these geometric schemata not as means of designing figures *de novo*, but as a means of transferring his small-scale figures to a larger scale in "... a process of transference from the small drawing to the block [of stone] or wall surface ... [in which] Villard shows how one must invent that geometrical figure that approaches the contour or indicates important points of articulation [of the model]; but anything further is unnecessary..." (p. 52).

In his section on "Magister 2 and the Secret of the Lodges," Frankl's conclusion (p. 49) is that all the masonry drawings of Master II "can be thought of as problems of practical measurement." He notes that Villard's drawing of two wrestlers on fol. 19r proves that Villard knew the principle of quadrature, as did Master II, but that the usefulness of this means of dividing the sides of squares into halves, quarters, and eighths was not fully understood by either.

Frankl concludes (p. 54) that while there is no certain proof from the Gothic period, "...we are compelled to decide that the [quadrature] method of mensuration ... must be declared to be the secret of the Gothic free-masons...." Frankl's principal source is the Haholoser facsimile.

Reproduces details of fols. 18r, 18v, 19r, 19v, 20r, and 21r.

1960.7

FRISCH, TERESA C. "The Twelve Choir Statues of the Cathedral of Reims: Their Stylistic and Chronological Relation to the Sculpture of the North Transept and of the West Façade," *Art Bulletin*, vol. 42, pp. 1-24.

An attempt to date precisely Villard's Visit to Reims on the basis of the author's belief (p. 1) that Villard's drawing of the exterior of one of the radiating chapels showing statues above the *culées* (fol. 31) provides a *terminus ante quem* for these statues and other stylistically related works on the north arm facade and the west facade.

On pp. 4-5 Frisch analyzes the various dates given for Villard's visit to Reims and concludes that Villard was there after 1231, in 1232 "or only slightly thereafter." She argues that the key to this date is in Villard's comment (fol. 30v) about the chapels at Cambrai, as it reflects the uncertain future of construction at Cambrai after the death of its patroness, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, in fall 1231. Accepting this date, she then argues (p. 24) that Villard's drawing (fol. 10v) of the Reims aisle window proves that the nave there was under construction as early as 1232.

Frisch accepts without question the value of Villard's drawings as documentation ("Villard's testimony is of greatest consequence," p. 2) and offers no comment on why Villard shows the chapel vaults (fol. 30v) in an incomplete state, nor does she consider the consequences of the fact that his inscription about Cambrai was added after the drawing was made. Frisch accepts (p. 5) Villard as chief architect of Saint-Quentin, citing Bénard (**1867.1**) as her source.

Reproduces fol. 31r.

1960.8

GOMBRICH, E[RNST]. H. *Art and Illusion, a Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*, Bollingen Series XXXV-5, Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1960.

Villard is considered in the context of whether his images are "universals" (man, dog, tree) or "particulars" (Louis VIII, my pet mastif Rex, oak) and the author concludes (p. 152) that Villard represented universals and was therefore in the Platonic tradition. As for his "curiously stiff" lion on fol. 24v, Gombrich admits that the rendering is heraldic but that (p. 79) Villard "can have meant [with his statement that the lion was *contrefais al vif*] only that he had drawn his schema in the presence of a real lion."

Villard is called (p. 78) a "Gothic master builder" although no specific buildings are attributed to him.

Reproduces fols. 4r, 18v, 21v, and 24v from photographic negatives.

1961.1

AUBERT, MARCEL. "La Construction au moyen âge," *Bulletin monumental*, vol. 119, pp. 7-42, 81-120, 181-209, 297-323.

Notes (pp. 35-36) that Villard's Reims drawings (fols. 10v, 30v, 31r, 31v, 32r, and 32v) made when Villard was passing through that city, show a project for the chevet of the cathedral which "devait être modifié dans la suite et ramené à des proportions moins ambitieuses." Aubert claims (p. 36) that "maître" Villard's portfolio, called an *album*, remained for a long time in the lodge, where it was added to by his successors.

Reproduces fols. 15r, 16v, and 31v.

1961.2

BRANNER, ROBERT. *Gothic Architecture*. The Great Ages of World Architecture. New York: George Braziller.

Terms (p. 19) Villard "one of the most interesting architects of the early thirteenth century" and notes that his portfolio is "the only one of its kind prior to the fifteenth century to have survived."

Reproduces fols. 10r, 22v, and 29r.

1961.3

FITCHEN, JOHN. *The Construction of Gothic Cathedrals: A Study of Medieval Vault Erection*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

While not concerned with Villard's portfolio to the degree one might expect in a book with this title, Fitchen makes two important observations concerning the nature of Villard's architectural drawings. The first (p. 6) is that even with his captions, it is by no means always clear just what Villard intended to stress or demonstrate in his drawings.

The second (p. 7) is that Villard followed the standard artistic conventions of his time, intentionally distorting models, eliminating those things which did not suit his purposes (for example, the flying buttresses of the Reims nave, fol. 31v), and including things not present in reality if they did suit his purpose (for example, the large hand [of God?] in the Laon tower elevation, fol. 10r).

Fitchen terms Villard a well-trained and successful thirteenth-century French architect and states (p. 38) that "Hungary sent for and employed" Villard.

1961.4

GIMPEL, JEAN. See **1958.3**.

1962.1

BOWIE, THEODORE ROBERT. See "The Facsimile Editions," **F.V**, 2d ed.

1962.2

FRANKL, PAUL. *Gothic Architecture*. Pelican History of Art, no. Z19. Baltimore: Penguin Books.

Contains a number of passing references to Villard, three of which are of some interest. Frankl claims (p. 1) that Villard is the first writer to use the word *ogive* to refer to a rib vault. He also stresses the early occurrence of two other Gothic innovations in Villard's portfolio: the pear-shaped arch profile (p. 151, referring to fol. 21r); and the "pendant" Crucifixion image, "which may well have been intended as a guide for both sculptors and painters" (p. 254, referring to fol. 2v and/or fol. 8r).

Frankl makes (p. 125) the astonishingly inaccurate claim that Villard's unknown work in Hungary is the "only case of the [French] Gothic being exported through the activities of a Frenchman."

1962.3

JANTZEN, HANS. *Die Gotik des Abendlandes*. DuMont Kunstgeschichte Deutung Dokumente. Cologne: Verlag M. DuMont Schauberg.

Refers to the Hahnloser facsimile and basically follows Hahnloser's thesis (**F.IV**) concerning Villard. Jantzen (p. 19) calls Villard an "Architek ... um 1235" and refers to the portfolio as a *Bauhüttenbuch* or *Hüttenbuch*. He briefly discusses (p. 20) Villard's interest in Reims and dates his visit there "um 1230."

Jantzen misquotes (p. 40) Villard as having said that the Laon tower was the most beautiful he had ever seen.

Reproduces fol. 31v after Lassus or Willis.

1962.4

ROSS, D[AVID] J.A. "A Late Twelfth-Century Artist's Pattern-Sheet," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 25, pp. 113-128.

While discussing a late twelfth-century pattern sheet, (Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Codex lat. 1976, fols. 1-2), Ross questions the purpose of the Villard portfolio: "in some respects [the Villard manuscript] is an artist's pattern-book, though its miscellaneous contents cannot by any means all be made to fit that category [of manuscript]."

Ross calls the Villard portfolio both an *album* and a sketchbook and dates it to the first quarter of the thirteenth century, thus slightly later than the Vatican pattern sheet.

1962.5

WHITE, LYNN JR. *Medieval Technology and Social Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962.

Passing interest (p. 82) in Villard's water-powered saw (fol. 22v) as the first example in Europe since Ausonius's *Mosella* in the second half of the 4th century. White notes (p. 118) that Villard's drawing "presents the first industrial power-machine to involve two motions: in addition to the conversion of the wheel's rotary motion into the reciprocating motion of sawing, there is an automatic feed keeping the log pressed against the saw."

The author's other interest in Villard is in his *perpetuum mobile* (fol. 5r) and he quotes (p. 130) a description of such a machine by the Hindu astronomer and mathematician Bhaskara in his *Siddhanta siromani*, written ca. 1150 that could be the basis of Villard's device: *Make a wheel of light wood and in its circumference put hollow rods all having bores of the same diameter, and let them be placed at equal distances from each other; and let them all be placed at an angle somewhat verging from the perpendicular; then half fill these hollow rods with mercury: the wheel thus filled will, when placed on an axis supported by two posts, turn by itself.*

In general White is not impressed by Villard's mechanics: (p. 173) "[The] ... devices sketched by Villard are unworkable as automatic mechanisms and may be adduced only to show his ambitions rather than his achievement in

utilizing gravitational force.”

No illustrations.

1963.1

BOBER, HARRY. *The St. Blasien Psalter*. New York: H.P. Kraus.

Attributes a psalter in the H.P. Kraus Collection in New York to the scriptorium of the Benedictine monastery of Saint-Blasien in the western half of the diocese of Constance, dating this manuscript ca. 1230/1235. Bober notes (pp. 37-38 and 59-60) that several miniatures in this psalter bear close resemblance to drawings found in the Villard portfolio: two gamblers (fol. 9r), a sleeping apostle (fol. 17r), and another sleeping apostle and horse and rider (fol. 23v).

He attributes the sleeping apostle motif to Sicilian Byzantine mosaics but notes that the dramatic foreshortening found in these particular interpretations is too similar to the psalter to be related only thematically. He suggests (p. 38) that Villard either used the Saint-Blasien Psalter as his source or that both Villard and the master of the psalter had as inspiration one of the "remarkable German model-books of Byzantine themes" found in Germany from the late twelfth century on.

Bober concludes (p. 38): "For Villard, the pattern of this line of evidence is of considerable significance because it shows that we must look to him not so much as the source of so many of these [Byzantine-inspired] motifs, but rather as an alert artist who picked up new things as he went along, serving in turn as their most famous distributor. Finally, this particular group of drawings constitutes the first tangible evidence of his artistic contacts on his travels through the upper Rhineland."

Bober dates the Villard portfolio ca. 1235.

1963.2

BRANNER, ROBERT. "Villard de Honnecourt, Reims, and the Origin of Gothic Architectural Drawing," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 6th ser. vol. 61, pp. 129-146.

Detailed analysis of Villard's drawings of Reims (fols. 10v, 30v, 31r, 31v, 32r, and 32v) in which Branner concludes that Villard drew from the building itself and not from project drawings, in contrast to his Cambrai drawings which were from project drawings. He proposes (p. 138) that Villard's Reims drawings "give us a rather precise idea of the lost ones of Cambrai" and that Villard first visited Cambrai "probably about 1220" then, later, "probably about 1240-1245," visited Reims.

Branner compares Villard's drawings with their actual subjects at Reims, noting the discrepancies in each instance. From this comparison he concludes (p. 137) that "... Villard drew the elevations inaccurately from the cathedral of Reims itself. It is strange, when one comes to think of it, that he has ever been considered an accurate draftsman...."

Although Branner does not consider the question whether Villard was an architect, he notes (p. 137) that Villard's inaccuracy in drawing the Reims flying buttresses produces a solution that "would be considered nothing short of irresponsible on the part of any master mason."

Reproduces all of Villard's Reims drawings, except the templates (fol. 32r), together with comparable modern drawings or photographs of the Reims details drawn by Villard.

1963.3

REINHARDT, HANS. "Villard de Honnecourt." In *La Cathédrale de Reims*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France,

pp. 83-88.

Attempts to use the Villard drawings of Reims to answer four questions: when did Villard come to Reims?; did he draw from the actual construction or from the shop drawings of Jean d'Orbais?; if he drew the construction, what do his drawings tell about its state at the time of his visit?; and what was the purpose of his drawings?

Reinhardt concludes that Villard came to Reims from Laon ca. 1220; that his drawings are all from construction and not from shop drawings; that his drawings confirm the state of construction of at least parts of Reims ca. 1220; and that Villard made the drawings for application at Cambrai, although Reinhardt does not actually say that Villard was the architect of that cathedral.

Reinhardt explains the inaccuracies in Villard's drawings in two ways: since he drew from construction only, he had to guess at the intended appearance and details of projected work (and he frequently guessed wrongly); and because "il a introduit sur place les transformations qu'il envisageait à la cathédrale picarde [=Cambrai]."

Reinhardt's most novel suggestion (p. 87) is that there are no Cambrai drawings lost from the portfolio because, when Villard refers on fol. 14v to other drawings of Cambrai, he was alluding to the "modified" drawings of Reims. Reinhardt claims (p. 102) that Villard's fol. 32v helps to reconstruct the original, intended choir buttresses of Reims.

Reproduces all the Villard Reims drawings (fols. 30v, 31r, 31v, 32r, 32v) and fols. 9v and 14v.

1963.4

SCHELLER, ROBERT W. "Villard de Honnecourt (ca. 1230-1240)," *A Survey of Medieval Model Books*, Haarlem: De Erven F. Bohn N. V., pp. 88-93.

Provides a brief overview of the portfolio, noting (p. 88) that it "gives an insight into all the tasks a medieval architect was expected to cope with, as well as into his personal interests and problems" and proposes (p. 90) that there was "a utilitarian function of the collection [of drawings] over a long period." The author discusses the technique and source of Villard's *Muldenfaltenstil*. He also deals with the issue of what *contrefais al vif* (fols. 24r and 24v) meant and concludes that even if Villard did draw from life as we now understand the term, he mentally transformed his subject into a model.

Reproduces fols. 1v, 19r, 16v, and 27r after negatives in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

1964.1

MESSERER, WILHELM. "Vorzeichnungen." In *Romanische Plastik in Frankreich*. Cologne: Verlag M. DuMont Schauberg, pp. 57-60.

Contrasts the use of constructive geometry in designing Romanesque and Gothic figures and concludes that, whereas in Romanesque figures the geometric bases are discernible, the organic nature of Gothic figures conceals their geometric bases. He cites Villard's geometric drawings as exemplars of the Gothic practice but insists that Villard had no single system.

The basis of this short essay appears to be Focillon (**1931.1**).

Reproduces fol. 19r redrawn.

1964.2

MITCHELL, SABRINA. *Medieval Manuscript Painting*. Compass History of Art, no. 7. New York: Viking Press.

Makes (p. 21) the point that the Villard portfolio does not fall within the scope of manuscript painting, without saying why, but presumably because Villard's drawings are not polychrome. Mitchell claims (p. 22) that the Villard portfolio gives a good example of what medieval painters' model books must have looked like and that "it tells us a good deal about the spread of artistic ideas [in the thirteenth century]."

1964.3

KATZENELLENBOGEN, ADOLF. *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Mediaeval Art from Early Christian Times to the Thirteenth Century*, 2nd ed., New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1964; originally published in London: The Warburg Institute, 1939.

Has only the briefest mention of Villard (p. 72 n. 2), in which the author claims that Villard made his drawings of Humility and Pride (fol. 3v) from the Paris cycle of the Virtues and Vices rather than from the Chartres cycle. Cf. Bulteau, **1888.1**; Kurth, **1942.1**; Kidson and Pariser, **1958.5**.

1965.1

SCHULTZ, SIMONE. "Villard de Honnecourt et son 'carnet,'" *Oeil*, vol. 123, pp. 20-29.

A state-of-the-question essay in which the theses of a number of authors, most notably Branner, are presented and analyzed. Even though no buildings can be attributed to Villard and his portfolio provides less information about his career than many authors have claimed, Schultz argues on the basis of the portfolio that Villard is the best-known thirteenth-century architect, better known even than Robert de Luzarches or Pierre de Montreuil.

She denies that the portfolio was a treatise or collection of practical instructions yet terms it (p. 20) "le document le plus explicite [qui nous reste] sur l'art et le métier d'un architecte du XIIIe siècle."

Schultz concludes (p. 28) that while Villard was "ni grand architecte, ni grand sculpteur ... c'est à lui que nous devons l'essentiel de nos connaissances sur le 'condition intellectuelle' d'un architecte du XIIIe siècle."

1965.2

SHELBY, L[ON]. R. "Medieval Masons' Tools, II: Compass and Square," *Technology and Culture*, vol. 6, pp. 236-248.

Discusses (p. 240) fol. 20r of the Villard portfolio, termed a sketchbook, as proof of the existence in the thirteenth century of the compass or dividers consisting of two legs ending in needlepoints controlled by a tension bar and (pp. 242-243) in terms of Villard's technique of using a compass in certain of his drawings, for example, fol. 16r (reproduced from Bowie).

Referring to earlier analyses by Haholoser and Burges (**1858.1**), Shelby concludes that Villard used a compass to inscribe circles but that he did not use a bow-pencil or a bow-pen.

1966.1

AUBERT, MARCEL. *The Art of the High Gothic Era. The Art of the World.* New York: Greystone Press.

General treatment of Villard as representing the training required of a Gothic master mason, claiming (p. 24) that, on the basis of his portfolio, his "architecture is a pragmatic science, supported by the geometric and algebraic formulas his master had taught him." On p. 154 Villard's trip to Hungary is reported, his visit there associated with the Cistercians "with whom he was on friendly terms." Aubert states that Villard "was undoubtedly connected with the

building of Estergom and of Kassa."

A number of Villard figures, redrawn after the originals, are used as margin illustrations unconnected with the text. Fols. 17r (sleeping apostle only), 28r (prophet only), 29r, 30v, and 32v are included, redrawn after the originals.

1966.2

HARVEY, JOHN [HOOPER]. "The Mason's Skill: The Development of Architecture." In *The Flowering of the Middle Ages*. Edited by Joan Evans. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., pp. 81-132. Reprint. ****The Master Builders: Architecture in the Middle Ages.** New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1971.

Similar in content to his earlier studies (1945.2 and 1950.2). Harvey here states the French view that the Villard portfolio is an *album* and Hahnloser's view that it is a *Bauhüttenbuch*, and sides with Hahnloser, calling it (p. 38) "a sort of manuscript technical encyclopaedia of the building trades."

He indirectly attributes Saint-Quentin to Villard, noting (p. 82) that "Villard de Honnecourt's known journeys took him from Saint-Quentin in Picardy to Laon and Rheims, to Lausanne in Switzerland and across Austria to Hungary and back."

Reproduces fol. 10r and fol. 32v, the latter after Lassus or Willis.

1966.3

PEVSNER, NIKOLAUS; FLEMING, JOHN; and HONOUR, HUGH. *A Dictionary of Architecture*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books. ****Rev. ed.** Woodstock: Overlook Press, 1976.

An example of how Villard has become a part of the most general literature on architecture. Villard's biography is given (p. 536) as: active ca. 1225-1235; probably the architect of Cambrai; his book compiled for "learners in his lodge."

Pevsner claims that "Villard's book gives us the clearest insight we can obtain into the work of a distinguished master mason and the atmosphere of a [mason's] lodge."

1966.4

STODDARD, WHITNEY S. *Monastery and Cathedral in France*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press.

Terms (p. 135) Villard an architect born near Cambrai who "designed and supervised the construction of buildings in northern France." Stoddard discusses Villard principally in connection with Reims, and dates (p. 209) his visit there to the early 1230s, when he was either an architect or still an apprentice.

The author suggests that the sketches are inaccurate at least in part because Villard eliminated or simplified to capture what interested him most. Stoddard is inconsistent in his view of the portfolio, which he variously terms an *album* and a "lodge book." In one place (p. 135) he says it "probably served as a textbook for students in the lodge," but elsewhere (p. 202) claims it probably was a visual diary of his [Villard's] trips."

Stoddard proposes (p. 261) that the two male figures on fol. 28r were modeled after the figures of the Virgin and St. Elizabeth on the Reims west facade (central portal, right embrasure).

Reproduces fols. 10r, 28r, 30v, 31v, and 32v.

1967.1

DEUHLER, FLORENS. *Der Ingeborgpsalter*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co.

Contains several detailed comparisons of the miniatures in the Psalter of Queen Ingeborg of France (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 1695), probably ca. 1200, and those in the Villard portfolio, both from the point of view of iconography and from that of style. Deuchler notes (p. 50) their similar treatments of the motif of the sleeping apostle (fols. 17r and 23v), derived from Byzantine models.

In several places (pp. 124 and 180) Deuchler claims that Villard was more advanced in his treatment of *Muldenfaltenstil* drapery than were the artists of the psalter, for example (p. 124), "erst bei Villard de Honnecourt und in der Synagoge in Strassburg begegnet man einem absoluten stilistischen Einklang gebrachten Formelschatz."

1967.2

ESCHAPASSE, MAURICE. *Reims Cathedral*. Paris: Caisse nationale des monuments historiques.

Contains a brief reference (p. 22) to Villard and the windows of Reims, suggesting that it possibly was due to Villard that the Reims windows enjoyed widespread influence: "The windows at Reims were very much admired as soon as they were finished; Villard de Honnecourt drew them in his album of sketches and knowledge of them rapidly spread throughout 13th-century Europe."

Reproduces fol. 31r.

1967.3

HÉLIOT, PIERRE. *La Basilique de Saint-Quentin et l'architecture du moyen âge*. Paris: Editions A. et J. Picard et Cie.

Héliot makes a number of references (pp. 14, 41, 50, 61, 62, and 64) to Villard, and on p. 41 discusses briefly the tradition that Villard was the architect of Saint-Quentin. He comes down right on both sides of the question, stating that there is no proof whatsoever that Villard had anything to do with the church but that "il est seulement très vraisemblable que Villard bâtit les étages supérieurs de notre abside, sinon davantage."

Elsewhere (p. 64) he asks if Villard may not have been, in the decade 1220-1230, the second master at Saint-Quentin. Héliot also speculates (p. 50) that Villard may have worked on modifications at Vaucelles between 1216 and 1235.

Reproduces a drawing, apparently after Lassus, of the Villard plan (fol. 17r) of Vaucelles.

1967.4

HENDERSON, GEORGE. *Gothic. Style and Civilization*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Contains a number of references to Villard and his portfolio, the most important of which is his view of the purpose of the drawings. Henderson claims (p. 26) that the variety of subjects in the portfolio proves the "readiness [of the Gothic craftsman] to practice many arts concurrently" and that the portfolio was a "handbook, compiled for the instruction of apprentice cathedral builders."

He notes (p. 35) the similarity of Villard's drawing style to that found in the *Psalter of Queen Ingeborg of France* (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 1695; see Deuchler, **1967.1**) and he makes (pp. 86-87) an interesting contrast between Villard's sleeping apostle (fol. 23v) and Giotto's sleeping Joachim in *Joachim's Dream* (Padua, Arena Chapel).

Reproduces fols. 10r, 23v, 28r, and 31v.

1967.5

KIDSON, PETER. *The Medieval World*. New York and Toronto: McGraw-Hill.

Notes (p. 104) that pattern- and sketch-books were important in the Middle Ages for diffusion of stylistic ideas and terms Villard's portfolio a sketch-book. On pp. 71 and 104 Kidson proposes that Villard's sleeping apostle on fol. 17r may be derived from a mosaic of the Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane in the cathedral of Monreale, Sicily, possibly through the intermediary of a pattern-book.

Reproduces a detail of fol. 17r after Lassus or Willis.

1967.6

KURMANN, PETER. "Saint-Etienne de Meaux d'après Villard de Honnecourt," *Bulletin de la Société littéraire et historique de la Brie*, vol. 24, pp. 5-13.

Discusses the relationship between Villard's plan of the Meaux choir (fol. 15r) and that of the cathedral itself, as well as the relationship of both to Villard's plan of Vaucelles (fol. 17r) and to the plan designed by Villard and Pierre de Corbie (fol. 15r).

Kurmann notes (p. 8) that the "inexactitude flagrante de tous ces détails [piers, responds, buttresses] prouve de la façon la plus évidente que le plan [de Villard] n'est point un relevé exact, mais un simple croquis." However, he insists that Villard's drawing is important for showing the essentials of the Gothic choir plan of Meaux before this choir was substantially modified in the mid-thirteenth century.

Kurmann dates (p. 9) Villard's plan of Meaux between 1220 and 1235 and admits that the cathedral plan was then out of fashion. He explains that Villard probably was attracted to it because its scheme of noncontiguous radiating chapels was that of his homeland (Vaucelles, Notre-Dame-la-Grande at Valenciennes). But Villard was sufficiently observant to understand that the polygonal rather than the circular plan of the chapels at Meaux was something new, and he uncharacteristically drew window spacings, a possible indication that he found these unusual or satisfactory or both.

Reproduces fol. 15 and a detail of fol. 17.

1967.7

SALET, FRANCIS. "Chronologie de la cathédrale [de Reims]," *Bulletin monumental*, vol. 125, pp. 347-394.

Report on "le premier colloque international de la Société française d'archéologie (Reims, 1-2 juin 1965)," containing (pp. 348-362) a detailed analysis of the various interpretations of the labyrinth of Reims and the chronologies and roles of the architects it honored. Villard's association with Reims is mentioned (p. 381) only briefly, proof that the 'official' stance in France is that Villard was in no way associated with construction of the cathedral.

Salet notes that he does not believe that the absence of vaults in Villard's drawing of a radiating chapel (fol. 30v) proves that Villard was at Reims before the vaults were erected by ca. 1221, only that Villard eliminated the vaults "pour mieux faire voir ce qui l'intéressait, l'élévation et le dessin des fenêtres."

The same interpretation presumably applies to Villard's other drawings of Reims.

1967.8

WIXOM, WILLIAM D. *Treasures from Medieval France*. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art.

Catalog of an exhibition held in Cleveland in 1966-1967 in which Item IV-14 (p. 144) was a leaf from a missal made for Noyon use (now in Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University MS Typ 120, here dated ca. 1240/1250) showing the figures of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga*. Wixom calls attention to the relationship of these two figures to figures drawn by Villard ("especially similar to Villard's draped figures in their fluid linear style, tall proportions, rhythmic stance, and perky treatment of the features"), although he does not attribute the missal folio to Villard himself.

Wixom characterizes Villard's drawings as showing "remarkable facility in a decorative and expressive use of line as well as a keen eye for the essentials of the particular model before him," and he dates Villard's drawings after ca. 1250.

See Vitzthum, **1914.2**, and Walters Art Gallery, **1949.5**.

***1967.9**

WORRINGER, WILHELM. *L'Art gothique*. Paris: Gallimard.

This French edition of Worringer's famous essay *Formprobleme der Gotik* is said (*National Union Catalogue*, 1968-1972, vol. 103, p. 32) to have "planches provenant de l'Album de Villard de Honnecourt." Earlier German and English editions contain no reference to or illustration taken from the Villard portfolio.

1968.1

BOWIE, THEODORE ROBERT. See "The Facsimile Editions," (**F.V**), 3d ed.

1968.2

BRANNER, ROBERT. Review of *La Basilique de Saint-Quentin et l'architecture du moyen âge*, by Pierre Héliot, *Speculum*, vol. 43, pp. 728-732.

Branner rather optimistically says (p. 732) he is "delighted to report that Héliot no longer agrees with" the attribution of Saint-Quentin to Villard, but it is by no means clear that Héliot (**1967.3**) rejects that attribution.

1968.3

BUCHER, FRANÇOIS. "Design in Gothic Architecture: A Preliminary Assessment," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 27, pp. 39-71.

Discusses Villard (pp. 52-53) as a thirteenth-century architect who was less academic than his later Gothic counterpart, meaning that he apparently felt at ease in altering designs and models that he saw. Bucher emphasizes a different explanation of Villard's deviations from his models, however, saying that he was unable to understand or to remember the basis for design of these models.

He states, concerning the Lausanne rose (fol. 16r), that Villard "completely missed the simple geometric development [i.e., quadrature] on which the original concept was based, and which he should have remembered even if he drew the rose from memory.

Bucher analyzes the Lausanne window and proposes the "presumed original concept," which is closer in feeling to Villard's drawing than Villard's drawing is to the actual window. Bucher does not raise the possibility that Villard might have had as his model not the actual window but a project drawing with different details or an entirely different design.

Reproduces a detail of fol. 16.

1968.4

CORNELL, HENRIK. *Gotiken*. Stockholm: Albert Bonniers Förlag.

Villard is discussed briefly (pp. 105-177) in connection with Reims, principally in terms of his interest in antique-revival sculpture. The biography of Villard is short and traditional.

According to Thomas Thieme, this is the most extensive mention of Villard in all the art historical literature of Scandinavia. In Swedish.

Reproduces fols. 3v and 6r.

1968.5

LORGUES, CHRISTINE. "Les proportions du corps humain d'après les traités du moyen âge et de la Renaissance," *Information d'histoire et de l'art*, vol. 13, pp. 128-143.

Discusses (pp. 133-135) Villard's use of geometric schemata in designing the human face and body and the relationship of his schemata to those of classical antiquity. Lorgues claims that Villard's division of the face into three equal horizontal parts (top left of fol. 18v) stems from Vitruvius but that Villard's employment of geometric figures is generally arbitrary and less a system than a reflection of his fascination with various geometric figures (circle, equilateral triangle, square) commonly employed in medieval design.

She summarizes (p. 135) her analysis as follows, "Villard abandonne non seulement le canon constitué, mais aussi les figures géométriques arbitrairement 'canoniques,' et il lui est arrivé de géométriser après coup, au hasard d'inspiration, une figure dessinée d'abord sans l'aide d'un schéma."

Reproduces fols. 18v and 19v.



1969.1

BUCHER, FRANÇOIS. "Cistercian Architectural Purism." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 3, pp. 89-105.

Claims (p. 91) that no medieval commentator "was more clearly aware of the principles, possibilities, and limitations of the [square] Cistercian [church] plan than the early thirteenth century architect Villard de Honnecourt." Bucher compares Villard's Cistercian plan (fol. 14v) with a plan of Morimond, drawn to imitate Villard's style. It is not proposed that Villard designed Morimond.

Reproduces the Cistercian plan on fol. 14v, redrawn.

1969.2

EVANS, M. W. *Medieval Drawings*. London: Paul Hamlyn.

Terms (p. 14) the portfolio the "most comprehensive model-book" of the Middle Ages and proof that medieval artists worked in different media. The portfolio is dated ca. 1230-1240.

Evans does not speculate on Villard's primary profession as a craftsman and does not even mention architecture. Emphasis is on the technique and purpose of the drawings in the portfolio. Evans criticizes Villard's drawings as imprecise (when drawn from things he saw) and impractical, serving as guides rather than models because Villard stressed essentials only. It is claimed (p. 36) that Villard used geometry (fol. 19r) not to generate figures but to demonstrate how geometry underlies all art.

Reproduces fols. 6r, 6v, and 19r.

1969.3

SHELBY, LON R. "Setting Out the Keystones of Pointed Arches: A Note on Medieval 'Baugeometrie,'" *Technology*

and Culture, vol. 10, pp. 537-548.

Offers a variant of Branner's interpretation (**1960.5**) of how Master II used (fol. 20v) geometry to design keystones for arches. He states (p. 544) that while the Archimedian spiral works, it is unnecessarily complex, and in attempting to explain any medieval design schema, one should always seek the simplest possible solution.

Shelby terms (p. 537) Villard a thirteenth-century French master mason and dates Master II's additions to the portfolio later in the thirteenth century without specifying when Villard's activity ended.

Reproduces a detail of fol. 20v from Bowie.

1969.4

SWAAN, WIM. *The Gothic Cathedral*. London: Elek Books Limited.

Provides, especially pp. 90-99, a summary of Villard's career and analysis of the portfolio, termed an "album" and a "sketchbook." Swaan sees Villard as a man with a "most lively curiosity and intellect" and as "an artist-craftsman of many parts." He calls (p. 130) Villard a visiting master to Reims who conversed with Jean d'Orbais and on p. 96 the plan of the Cambrai chevet on fol. 14v is said to be "quite possibly Villard's own design," which would seem to indicate that Swaan attributes the design of Cambrai to Villard.

Scattered throughout are comments about specific drawings in the portfolio with good English translations of the original texts.

Reproduces fols. 5r, 9r, 10r, 15v, 22v, 24r, 29r, 31 r, and 31v after photographic negatives in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.



1970.1

GIMPEL, JEAN. "Villard de Honnecourt." In *Le Siècle de Saint-Louis*. Paris: Librairie Hachette, pp. 140-141.

An appendix to an essay by Robert Branner ("La Place du 'style du cour' de Saint Louis dans l'architecture du XIIIe siècle") in a collection of essays published to commemorate the 700th Anniversary of the death of Louis IX the Saint (d. 25 August 1270).

Gimpel draws a parallel between thirteenth-century France and twentieth-century America, claiming that both are characterized by a belief in progress based on technology and that each era is known for the way it exported its technological expertise throughout the world.

Gimpel gives, as a thirteenth-century French example, Villard's trip to Hungary. He claims that Villard would be right at home in New York with its glass-walled skyscrapers because these are the modern equivalent of the glass-walled cathedrals and churches of the thirteenth century.

Gimpel summarizes Villard's fascination with a variety of subjects, from the serious to the trivial (his mechanical gadgets), and compares this multiplicity of interests to that of Leonardo da Vinci. He dates the Villard portfolio between ca. 1225 and ca. 1250 and here, as elsewhere (**1976.2**), fails to mention that part of its contents are not by Villard.

1970.2

HOFSTÄTTER, HANS H. *Living Architecture: Gothic*. New York: Grosset & Dunlap.

Terms (p. 56) Villard a master builder whose drawings "reveal to us his intensive analysis of the great buildings of his

time."

Reproduces fol. 31r after Lassus.

1970.3

MURBACH, ERNST. *La Rose de la cathédrale de Lausanne. Guides de monuments suisses.* [Basel]: Société d'histoire de l'art en Suisse.

Attributes (p. 8) the Lausanne rose to Pierre d'Arras and dates it between 1217 and 1235. Murbach dates (pp. 3-4) Villard's drawing (fol. 16r) of the rose ca. 1230, "La composition géométrique de cette dernière [loi d'unité], à Lausanne, suseita, vers 1230, le vif intérêt du célèbre architecte picard, Villard de Honnecourt."

1970.5

SAUERLÄNDER, WILLIBALD. *Gotische Skulptur in Frankreich, 1140-1270.* Munich: Hirmer Verlag. **English trans. *Gothic Sculpture in France, 1140-1270.* New York: Harry N. Abrams, Publishers, 1972

Mentions Villard only three times in passing but makes two very important observations. The first (p. 26) is that "The fragmentary manuscript of Villard de Honnecourt is too heterogeneous in content, and contains too much that is curious and discursive, to have served as a pattern book for working craftsmen. Some of its sheets, however, may resemble the sketches of figures and scenes which the sculptors [of thirteenth-century France] had to work from. The drawings have been done with a pen, in a way that leaves the calligraphy noticeably regular and unemphatic. Figures are often shown in unusual positions or from unusual aspects, but this again may be due to the author's penchant for the curious and the unfamiliar."

The second (p. 42) is that by the expression *al vif* (fols. 24r and 24v, referring to his lion), Villard meant simply that he was not using traditional sources such as a pattern book or a bestiary but that he was drawing a lion as it is," whatever his model was.

It would appear that Sauerländer has a low opinion of Villard's drawings, although he does not specifically state so. In discussing (p. 447) the coronation tympanum, ca. 1230, of Saint-Etienne at Beauvais, he notes that the style is weak and that the drapery renderings are late examples of *Muldenfaltenstil* which are a 'mechanical repetition of antique' fold motifs." He compares this treatment to that of the metalwork of Hugo d'Oignies and the drawings of Villard.

1970.6

SENÉ, A[LAIN]. "Un Instrument de precision au service des artistes au moyen âge: L'equerre" *Cahiers de la civilisation médiévale*, vol. 13, p. 349-358.

Very similar to his later article (**1973.5**), with emphasis on the different types of masons' squares found in medieval representations. Sené stresses that the purpose of the type of square illustrated in the Villard portfolio (fols. 20r and 20v) is not to determine angles but to establish proportions based on the golden number. He claims (p. 356) that these squares have angles of 90°, 31°43'03", and 58°16'57", but it is very doubtful if the size of the drawings in the portfolio permits such detailed determinations, especially if he used the Lassus lithograph which he reproduces as his source.

Sené does not indicate that he is aware that the drawings on fol. 20r and 20v are not by Villard.

1970.7

SHELBY, LON R. "The Education of the Medieval English Master Mason," *Mediaeval Studies*, vol. 32, pp. 1-26.

Stresses (pp. 12-13) that the contents of Villard's portfolio are quite different from the passing references to "the technical knowledge required by a practicing mason" found in medieval scholastic treatises and most emphatically denies Frankl's contention (1960.6) that the Villard portfolio is a "textbook encompassing everything that a Gothic

architect needed to learn."

Shelby does not here (but, see Shelby, **1975.2**) contest Hahnloser's view that the portfolio was a *Bauhüttenbuch*, but he notes that it is a unique example of the period and that those who argue that it is "merely one of species that has otherwise disappeared have the burden of proof [that this is so] on their shoulders."

Shelby terms Villard a French master mason of the thirteenth century.

1971.1

FRISCH, TERESA C. "The Architect of the First Generations of the Gothic Period: Villard de Honnecourt." In *Gothic Art 1140-ca. 1450. Sources and Documents in the History of Art*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, pp. 43-51.

Confused and misleading summary of Villard's career based mainly on Hahnloser with translations of the Villard inscriptions taken mainly from Frankl (1960.6). Frisch states (p. 46) that Villard presided over a masons' lodge and claims (p. 44) that "the only known personal record of an architect's interests and concerns in the thirteenth century is the lodge book of Villard de Honnecourt."

Frisch basically associates Villard with the Cistercians but misidentifies (p. 44) the plan of Meaux (fol. 15) as that of a Cistercian church and incorrectly terms (p. 45) Saint-Quentin a Cistercian foundation.

Reproduces, as a frontispiece, fol. 10v from Hahnloser (misdated to 1953; apparently a mistyping of 1935).

1971.2

GEREVICH, LÁSZLÓ. "A Gótikus klasszicizmus és magyarország" [Gothic classicism and Hungary], *Magyar tudományos akadémiá*, vol. 20, pp. 55-72.

General essay concerning Villard and Hungary, the details of which the author exposes elsewhere (**1971.3**, **1974.1**, **1977.3**). What is emphasized here is that Villard cannot be disassociated from the appearance of French classical (High) Gothic style in Hungary ca. 1220 and that he may also have introduced French technological innovations into Hungary. In Hungarian.

Reproduces various details from the Villard portfolio.

1971.3

GEREVICH, LÁSZLÓ. "Villard de Honnecourt magyarországon" [Villard de Honnecourt in Hungary], *Művészettörténeti értesítő*, vol. 20, pp. 81-105.

The most extensive of Gerevich's studies of Villard's role in Hungary (see Gerevich, **1971.3**, **1974.1**, **1977.3**). He reviews the earlier Hungarian literature on Villard and categorically denies that Villard was involved in any way with the various buildings, including Kassa, attributed to him by one or another of these authors.

1971.4

HAHNLOSER, HANS ROBERT. "Nouvelles recherches sur le livre de Villard de Honnecourt. *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France*, pp. 95-96.

Unsigned summary of a presentation made to the society by Hahnloser in which he dated the last Villard drawings ca. 1235 and must have again made his plea that the French adopt his designation of the manuscript as a *Bauhüttenbuch*.

In answer to a question posed by Louis Grodecki, Hahnloser said that Villard's last visit to Reims was ca. 1235/1236

but that he had been at Reims earlier, prior to his trip to Hungary.

1971.5

KURMANN, PETER. "Le Croquis [du choeur de la cathédrale de Meaux] de Villard de Honnecourt." In *La Cathédrale Saint-Etienne de Meaux: Étude architecturale*. Bibliothèque de la société française d'archéologie, no. 1. Geneva: Droz, pp. 31-33.

Detailed analysis of the information provided by and the degree of correctness in Villard's plan (fol. 15r) of the choir of Meaux. Kurmann states that Villard's plan is a very significant document for Meaux because the choir was modified in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries after Villard made his drawing.

Kurmann claims (p. 32) that "le plan de Villard et celui du chevet actuel [de Meaux] sont si proches l'un de l'autre que Villard paraît bien avoir dressé effectivement le plan du choeur primitif." He also notes (p. 33) that Villard uncharacteristically drew in the plan of the windows of the choir and chapel walls, perhaps because he found these to be novel, or satisfactory, or both. See Kurmann, **1967.6**.

Reproduces a detail of fol. 15r showing the Meaux plan.

1971.6

MARCQ, MICHEL. "Cambrai." In *Dictionnaire des églises de France, Belgique, Luxembourg, Suisse*. Paris: Editions Robert Laffont.

Contains (vol. 5, p. V.B. 28) one of the most outstanding misquotations of Villard on record: "Godefroy de Fontaines (1220-1237) fit édifier le choeur [de la cathédrale de Cambrai] selon les dessins de Villard de Honnecourt, originaire du Cambrésis. Ce dernier se dit lui-même l'auteur du choeur de 'Notre-Dame-Sainte-Marie de Cambrai'; son album contient quelques [SIC] feuillets consacrés à cette construction qu'il aurait terminée vers 1251...."

1971.7

SHELBY, LON R. "Medieval Masons' Templates," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 30, pp. 140-154.

Shelby notes (p. 144) that "Several pages of Villard's *Sketchbook* contain evidence of the important place of templates in the work of mediaeval masons" and discusses the templates on fol. 32r, stressing that Villard proves in his inscription that thirteenth-century masons had a technical vocabulary for referring to moldings and templates for moldings.

Shelby notes (p. 145) that Villard used identifying marks on his template drawings, as well as on his drawings of the building of Reims itself, to indicate their specific features and the locations for which the templates were employed and that Villard's templates record the "work already accomplished at Reims by another master mason."

He briefly discusses Master II's hints (fol. 20v) about how templates are designed, noting that for the spire two templates were involved, one large (for the actual spire) and one small (for individual stones to be employed in construction of the spire). Shelby concludes (pp. 145-146) by noting that Master II refers to templates (molles) only, but seems to have indicated marking gauges as well, although he apparently had no exact technical term for this device.

Shelby again (see **1970.7** and **1975.2**) challenges the idea that the Villard portfolio was a textbook, stating that the drawings concerning stereometry raise more questions than they answer.

Reproduces details of fols. 20v, 21r, 31v, and 32v after Willis (**F.II**).

1971.8

WITTKOWER, RUDOLF. *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, rev. ed. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

In this edition only in Appendix II Wittkower gives (p. 159) what might be termed the "standard" humanistic view of Villard's treatment of the human figure as distinct from that of the Renaissance: "The contrast between Villard de Honnecourt's and Leonardo [da Vinci]'s proportioning of figures is a typical one: the mediaeval artist tends to project a pre-established geometrical norm into his imagery, while the Renaissance artist tends to extend a metrical norm from the natural phenomena that surround him."

1972.1

ACKLAND, JAMES H. *Medieval Structure: the Gothic Vault*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972, p. 78.

The one brief mention of Villard is dogmatic in the extreme: "About 1235 the notebook or textbook of Villard de Honnecourt from northern France indicates the range and complexity of the Gothic architect's training. Basing his arguments on his experience in Switzerland, Hungary, and France, he drew plans and elevations of choirs and facades [sic], window tracery, ingenious machines for construction, and figures as well as geometric constructions to demonstrate his competence as an architectural teacher."

1972.2

BUCHER, FRANÇOIS. "Medieval Architectural Design Methods, 800-1500," *Gesta*, vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 37-51.

Discusses briefly (p. 38) Villard's use of square schematism in his plan for a Cistercian church (fol. 14v) and relates the plan to that of Morimond. Bucher claims that Villard's caption with this plan is "condescending," but it is unclear why he believes so.

He appears to suggest (p. 40) that Villard learned the design principle of quadrature during his career or in the process of making his drawings: Villard clearly misunderstood it when he drew the Lausanne rose (fol. 16v). According to Bucher, "Only someone still not totally imbued with the rotational precepts could have so thoroughly botched up an obvious design;" but he used it in a playful manner in his drawing of "rotating masons" (fol. 19v). Bucher discusses the Master II quadrature drawings (fol. 20r) without noting that these are not by Villard.

Reproduces fol. 19v and a detail from fol. 20r.

1972.3

FRIEDLANDER, RENATE. "Eine Zeichnung des Villard de Honnecourt und ihr Vorbild," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, vol. 34, pp. 349-352.

Discusses the unusual iconography of Villard's drawing (fol. 13v) of the lion and the ox evangelist symbols in which the animals hold scrolls rather than codices. The author claims (p. 349) that the general source for this drawing is found in metalwork rather than stonework and (p. 350) that the specific source is the Evangelary of Saint-Médard de Soissons (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS Lat 8850), a Carolingian manuscript that shows (fol. 12r) the lion and the ox holding scrolls. Friedlander points out similarities of pose and details, for example, the tail of each animal wrapped around its advanced leg.

She also notes (p. 352 n. 15) that Villard must have been in Soissons because he is known to have worked in the region of Soissons and his Descent from the Cross on the same folio relates to an ivory known to have been in the treasury of the cathedral at Soissons.

Reproduces fol. 13v.

1972.4

HAHNLOSER, HANS ROBERT. See "The Facsimile Editions," **F.IV**, 2nd ed.

1972.5

MARCONI, PAOLO. "Il problema della forma della città. nei teorici di architettura del Rinascimento," *Palladio*, n.s. vol. 22, pp. 49-88.

In a long discussion of the importance of the pentagon in Renaissance fortification and town planning, Villard is cited (p. 69) as a medieval example of the survival of this magical and astrological geometric form from antiquity. Marconi claims that Villard employed it (fol. 18v) as a useful design mechanism.

1972.6

SHELBY, LON R. "The Geometrical Knowledge of Mediaeval Master Masons," *Speculum*, vol. 47, pp. 395-421.

Poses and answers two fundamental questions about geometry for masons as seen in the Villard portfolio: what kind of geometry did Villard and Master II employ (p. 398) and what was the source for this geometry (pp. 408-409)?

Shelby's answer to the first question is that medieval masons in general, including Villard and Master II, knew and employed "constructive geometry," not the "theoretical geometry" taught in the universities as part of the quadrivium. The latter required theorems and a knowledge of mathematics; the former was intended to produce practical results and required neither complex proofs nor any knowledge of mathematics.

His answer to the second question is that neither Villard nor Master II copied the examples of "constructive geometry" (fols. 20r, 20v, and 21r) from then extant treatises on geometry, although he acknowledges the existence of a Picard geometrical treatise, *Practike de Geometrie*, dated ca. 1275 (see Mortet, **1910.1**). Moreover, he suggests (p. 407) that Villard and Master II show no indication of familiarity with the latest theories and instruments (astrolabe or surveyor's quadrant).

Shelby's summary of the portfolio and its stereometric geometry is that (p. 408), "...there is not a whit of evidence for the existence at this time of other shop manuals of the masons' craft, let alone a continuing tradition of such books of which Villard's is the only survival ... [therefore] let us assume that the Sketchbook is what it appears to be, namely, an exceptional literary record of some of the oral traditions of the masons' craft."

Reproduces details of fols. 20r and 20v after Hahnloser.

1972.7

VON SIMPSON, OTTO. *Das Mittelalter*, vol. 2: *Das Hoch Mittelalter*. In *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 6. Berlin: Propyläen Verlag.

Contains a number of brief discussions concerning Villard and his portfolio (pp. 25-26, 43-44, 69, 81, 412), mainly a summary of Hahnloser's (**F.IV**) and Frankl's (**1960.6**) interpretations. Villard is called (p. 25) "a respected master architect ... highly educated, with secure judgment," and throughout the text the portfolio is called a *Bauhüttenbuch* or a *Musterbuch*. Von Simpson stresses that architects such as Villard were also responsible for sculpture and painting and that the basis of their work was geometry, termed the "secret of the masons."

His most important observations appear (p. 412) in an explanation of the discrepancies between Villard's drawing of the interior and exterior elevations of a Reims nave bay (fol. 31v) and the actual Reims nave. Von Simpson says that, leaving aside hastiness and carelessness on Villard's part, the difference is either the result of Villard's seeking to improve or modernize the design, altering its proportions to resemble those of Amiens, or of his copying at Reims a drawing which was later discarded or not followed. He also says one will never know which was the case since

Villard's visit to Reims cannot be dated (although he gives the date "um 1230") and the chronology of construction at Reims has not been precisely determined.

Reproduces the Cistercian church plan on fol. 14v and fol. 31v.

1972.8

WIXOM, WILLIAM D. "Twelve Additions to the Medieval Treasury [of the Cleveland Museum of Art]," *Cleveland Museum of Art Bulletin*, vol. 59, pp. 89-92.

Discusses a bronze figure of the mourning Virgin Mary from an early thirteenth-century *Crucifixion* group (Cleveland Museum of Art, 70.351) in the style of the Mosan goldsmith Master Gérard.

Wixom says (p. 89), "The Mary in Villard's drawing [fol. 8r, dated between ca. 1220/1230 and ca. 1250] is so similar to the Cleveland figure in pose--in the disposition of the arms, hands, and drapery folds--that we might even wonder, despite the few discrepancies, whether the [Villard] drawing actually depicts our bronze and the ensemble from which it comes.

Reproduces fol. 8r after Hahnloser.

1973.1

BRANNER, ROBERT. "Books: Gothic Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 32, pp. 327-333.

A "state of the question" essay on then-recent studies of various aspects of Gothic architecture in which Branner asked (p. 331) a question in passing that stimulated renewed interest in Villard and challenged the traditional view of his career: "Despite his [Villard's] fame and undoubted interest, the question that has always bothered me has been: Was Villard in fact an architect or only a lodge clerk with a flair for drawing?"

1973.2

DEUHLER, FLORENS. *Gothic Art*. Universe History of Art. New York: Universe Books.

Terms (p. 30) Villard a master mason and dates his drawings ca. 1220/1230. Deuchler's emphasis is on Villard's drawings as models for stone sculpture. He notes (p. 55) this specifically for the two figures on fol. 28r and claims (p. 81) that "the technique of cutting stone is illustrated in the architect Villard de Honnecourt's sketches."

Deuchler's best summary (p. 116) is as follows: "The fact that the *Muldenfaltenstil* appears in such a pronounced fashion in, of all places, the sketchbook of a master builder, suggests that the looped folds may in fact represent a series of ciphers for a sculptor's guidance; they may have been intended to show him where the hollows of the folds were to go. The drawing thus served an instructive function--a graphic, two-dimensional device to help the stone mason achieve a three-dimensional result."

Reproduces, redrawn (from Lassus?), fols. 14r, 28r, 31r, 31v, 32r, and 32v.

1973.3

ROBB, DAVID M. *The Art of the Illuminated Manuscript*. South Brunswick and New York: A.S. Barnes & Co.

Compares (pp. 215-216) Villard's drawing style with that found in contemporary north French *Bible Moralisee* manuscripts, claiming that both are related to monumental stone sculpture such as the Visitation group at Reims.

Robb describes Villard as "an itinerant architect of the early thirteenth century" and calls the portfolio a sketchbook.

Reproduces Villard's *Ecclesia* (fol. 4v).

1973.4

SAMARAN, CHARLES. "Le Carnet de croquis et de voyage d'un architecte française du XIIIe siècle (Villard de Honnecourt)," *Journal des savants*, pp. 241-256.

Excellent summary (pp. 241-246) of the early literature on Villard, followed by a review of the 1972 edition of Hahnloser (**F.IV**) with detailed analysis of the differences between it and the 1935 edition. Samaran accepts the view that Villard was an architect but denies that he was the "French Vitruvius" or that his portfolio was a systematic attempt to create a shop manual.

Samaran characterizes (p. 242) it as "une sorte de répertoire illustré des notions variées pouvant servir a une constructeur."

Appendix A (pp. 250-254) identifies the Alessio Fellibien (i.e. Félibien) mentioned on fol. 1r of the portfolio as the Seigneur de Tuilerie near Chartres who translated a part of Vasari's *Lives* into French after 1550 (Paris Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. Fr. 1229), noting that the inscription mentioning him cannot be as early as the 1482 date it contains.

Appendix B (pp. 254-256) identifies Mongoguie (?) on fol. 23v as Montgaunier, a farm near Chartres. See also Samaran, **1946.2**.

1973.5

SENÉ, A[LAIN]. "Quelques Instruments des architectes et des tailleurs de pierre au moyen age: Hypothèses sur leur utilisation." In *La Construction au moyen age, Actes du congrès de la société des historiens médiévalistes de l'enseignement supérieur public*, pp. 39-58.

Discusses the nature and use of the mason's square in medieval construction, employing the illustration of this tool from fol. 20v (top row, second figure from the left) of the Villard portfolio. Sené refers consistently to Villard and nowhere indicates that he realizes that the drawing in question is by Master II and not by Villard. He also discusses the problem of the quadrature and concludes that Lassus explained incorrectly Villard's (SIC = Master II's) understanding of this principle of design.

He refers to Branner (**1957.1, 1957.2**) and Shelby (**1965.2, 1970.7, 1971.7**) for more accurate assessment of this question.

Reproduces fol. 20v after Lassus.

1973.6

SWARZENSKI, HANNS. "Comments on the Figural Illustrations [in Lambert of Saint-Omer's *Liber Floridus*]," *Liber Floridus Colloquium, Papers Read at the International Meeting held in the University Library Ghent on 3-5 September 1967*, ed. Albert Derolez, Ghent, 1973, pp. 21-30.

States (pp. 22-23) "The Lion and the Porcupine in Villard de Honcourt's Sketchbook seem also to be based on the corresponding picture in a copy of the *Liber Floridus* [Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 92, fol. 56v]. That a picture with such strong appeal could be changed, seemingly so radically, from its original side view to a foreshortened frontal view is not without analogy and precedent in the first half of the 13th century, a period in which the problems of three-dimensional interpretations of a given subject or a well-established composition were eagerly explored and exploited. The fact that Villard labeled in his sketchbook the lion 'com on le voit par devant' and 'contrefais al vif'—and this was very well possible for lions were then kept and seen in menageries—only reveals how strongly Lambert [of Saint-

Omer]'s image of the Lion and Pig must have persisted into the 13th century.”

Reproduces (as fig. 27) fol. 24v after the negative in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, compared with Lambert's lion and porcupine (fig. 28).

1974.1

GEREVICH, LÁSZLÓ. "Tendenze artistiche nell'Ungheria angioina," *Accademia nazionale dei Lincei*, vol. 210, 121- [?].

A paper delivered at a colloquium held in Rome, 23-24 March 1972, on the subject "Gli Angioini di Napoli e di Ungheria." Gerevich cites (p. 123) Villard de Honnecourt as the probable sculptor of the destroyed tomb of Gertrude de Meran (d. 1213) found during the excavations at Pilis. See Gerevich, **1971.3** and **1977.3**.

1974.2

RAGUIN, VIRGINIA CHIEFFO. "The Genesis Workshop of the Cathedral of Auxerre and its Parisian Inspiration," *Gesta*, vol. 13/1, pp. 27-38.

Makes (p. 30) a convincing comparison between the drapery of a *Majestas* figure from a window formerly in the church at Gercy (now in Paris, Musée de Cluny) and that found in Villard's figures, noting that they both depend on Parisian *Muldenfaltenstil* origins.

Reproduces fol. 3v, detail of Humility.

1974.3

AYERS, LARRY M. "Problems of Sources for the Iconography of the Lyre Drawings," *Speculum*, vol. 49, pp. 61-68.

In discussing the Lyre drawings (bound in MS. 4 in Evreux, Bibliothèque municipale) as (p. 68) as a "specialized type of 'iconographical guide,'" the author characterizes the Villard drawings as a "randomly composed sketchbook," and a more personal creation than the Lyre set. Ayers notes (p. 61) "The collection of thirteenth-century drawings executed by Villard de Honnecourt ... reminds us that there was no lack of migrant artists during medieval times."

No illustrations.

1975.1

GRANDJEAN, MARCEL, and CASSINA, GAETAN. *The Cathedral of Lausanne*. Guides to Swiss Monuments. Basel: Société d'histoire de l'art en Suisse.

Dates (p. 27) the Lausanne rose between 1217 and 1235, attributing the design to Pierre d'Arras. The authors claim (p. 26) that Villard's drawing of the rose (fol. 16r), made about 1235, proves that the window has been noteworthy from the time of its creation.

1975.2

SHELBY, LON R. Review of Hahnloser facsimile **F.IV**. In *Speculum*, vol. 50, pp. 496-500.

Stresses the significance of the first edition of Hahnloser in Villard studies since 1935, then lists in detail the differences between the first and second editions.

Shelby provides an analysis of the contents of the Villard portfolio that leads him to reject Hahnloser's contention that it was a *Bauhüttenbuch* or that it was based on academic treatises (see Shelby, **1972.6**).

He proposes the counter hypothesis that Villard was a master craftsman, but not an architect, and that the portfolio was originally a "private sketchbook" which, for unspecified reasons, Villard decided to make public to an unspecified audience.

Shelby also rejects the claim of Hahnloser that Master II and Master III were pupils of Villard.

1975.3

TOMA, KATHY. "La Tête de feuilles gothique," *L'Information d'histoire de l'art*, vol. 20, pp.180-191.

Discussion of the origin and meaning of the leaf-face motif in medieval art, concluding that the motif can be found in Severan Roman monuments but that its association with Silvanus, deity of forests, is yet older. Toma claims the motif was used in medieval Europe in two not always distinct contexts: funerary and geometric.

It is in this second context that Villard appears, with the author suggesting (p. 180) that the Gothic period was the *age d'or* for the motif and that the Villard portfolio returned it to a place of honor. Toma suggests (p. 181) Gallo-Roman provincial works as the ancestors of Villard's leaf-face drawings (fols. 5v and 22r) but offers no specific sources or models.

Toma refers to her thesis on this subject (Université de Paris, n.d.), which may discuss Villard's connection with the leaf-face motif in greater detail.

Reproduces the leaf-face details of fols. 5v and 22r after Hahnloser.

1975.4

WIRTH, KARL-AUGUST. Review of Hahnloser facsimile **F.IV**. In *Pantheon*, vol. 33, pp. 79-80.

Praises the publication of the revised edition of Hahnloser because the first edition had become unavailable and because it was Hahnloser who had determined the way Villard is currently studied. Wirth reviews only the additions to the first edition and faults these on several counts: that Hahnloser unduly expanded and concentrated on some points which interested him personally while ignoring others of more general interest; that he missed a number of pertinent studies on Villard which had appeared after 1935 while uncritically accepting others of questionable merit.

Wirth also states that certain of Hahnloser's proposed models for Villard's drawings are unacceptable because they are later in date than the portfolio and represent iconographic types unknown in the thirteenth century.

1975.5

ZARNECKI, GEORGE. *Art of the Medieval World*, Library of Art History. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall; New York: Harry N. Abrams.

Discusses (pp. 379-380) Villard as a Picard architect but emphasizes that the portfolio, dated ca. 1220-1235, proves that craftsmen of the period were "masters of many trades." Villard is said to have done his figures, meaning the drapery of his figures, in a style which was "a very close imitation of the *Muldenstil* of Nicholas of Verdun and this he must have absorbed in his youth, presumably by studying original works of the Mosan artist."

Zarnecki assigns no specific buildings to Villard but claims that he "clearly headed" a mason's lodge for which he compiled the portfolio, termed a sketchbook.

Reproduces fols. 10v and 16v.

1976.1

BUCHER, FRANÇOIS. "Micro-Architecture as the 'Idea' of Gothic Theory and Style," *Gesta*, vol. 15, pp. 71-89.

Claims (pp. 72-73) that Villard's interest in nonstructural elements (choir stalls, clock towers, lecterns, etc.) used in conjunction with architecture proves the desire of Gothic architects "to control all phases of design," a practice the author says is represented in our own time by such architects as Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe, and others.

Bucher also notes (p. 85 n. 12) that Villard's fascination with mechanical gadgets of various types is not atypical of early thirteenth-century interests, citing as an example the gift of a hydraulic automaton to Frederick II by Saladin in 1232.

1976.2

GIMPEL, JEAN. "Villard de Honnecourt: Architect and Engineer." In *The Medieval Machine: The Industrial Revolution of the Middle Ages*, New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, pp. 114-146.

General summary of the traditional treatment of Villard as an architect associated with Cambrai and possibly with Saint-Quentin, seen against the prevalent background for training master masons in the thirteenth century.

Gimpel sees (p. 142) Villard's portfolio, called a sketchbook, as "astonishingly similar to Leonardo's famous notebooks," stressing that both men were practitioners of the mechanical arts, not humanists, in terms of classical education. Gimpel claims that Villard knew Vitruvius's *De Architectura* and was attempting to create a parallel to it.

This study by Gimpel (see also **1958.3** and **1970.1**) contains some of the better English translations of Villard's inscriptions.

Reproduces various details of Villard's drawings and fols. 5r, 10r, 18v, and 20r.

1976.3

GRODECKI, LOUIS. *Gothic Architecture*. History of World Architecture, no. 6. New York: Harry N. Abrams.

Given the use of Villard's fol. 30v on the dust jacket and the beautifully reproduced illustrations of fols. 30v, 31r, and 32r in the text, Grodecki has very little to say about Villard. He claims (p. 14) that Hahnloser's study of Villard was an attempt to prove that "the quest for geometric proportions was indeed a constant preoccupation in the Middle Ages." He notes (p. 58) that Villard drew the Laon towers [sic] in 1230 and "judged them to be without peer."

Grodecki dates (p. 34) the Villard portfolio to the second quarter of the thirteenth century and terms it a book or a notebook containing models and instructions.

1976.4

LASSUS, JEAN-BATISTE-ANTOINE. See "The Facsimile Editions," **F.I.**, 2nd ed.

1976.5

PIERCE, JAMES SMITH. "The Sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt," *New Lugano Review*, vol. 8-9, pp. 28-36.

An attempt to define the aesthetic basis of Villard's drawings, regardless of their intended purpose. Pierce claims (p. 28) that the common characteristic of all of Villard's drawings is their "quality of linear movement." Noting that it has long been realized that dynamic linearism is one of the principles of Gothic architecture, he employs several

expressions from Jacob Burckhardt as key concepts: "sheer rhythm of movement," "sprouting forces . . . individually expressed."

Pierce then analyzes a number of Villard's drawings, demonstrating that he was interested not merely in movement, for example, the "ceaseless rotation" of the four masons on fol. 19v, but (p. 32) in visual ambiguity and the creation of restless visual tension, as in the four masons based on a swastika design who between them have four, not eight, legs or the three fish bodies (fol. 19v) which share a common head.

Pierce claims (pp. 29-30) that Villard's geometry (fols. 18r, 18v, 19r, and 19v) may have been used to establish proportions or "as convenient devices for enlarging preparatory studies," but that this geometry was also employed to "animate the figures by establishing [oblique]

1976.6

THIEBAUT, JACQUES. "L'Iconographie de la cathédrale disparue de Cambrai," *Revue du Nord*, vol. 58, pp. 407-433.

Considers (p. 411) the traditional attribution of Cambrai to Villard and categorically denies the possibility, noting that the details, especially the piers, in his plan (fol. 14v) are incorrect. Thiebaut dates Villard's visit to Cambrai ca. 1230 and states that his plan is important for suggesting the state of construction of the Cambrai choir at that time.

1977.1

BRANNER, ROBERT. *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Passing mention (p. 22) of Villard as a north French artist working in the *Muldenfaltenstil*, dating his portfolio, termed a notebook, ca. 1240.

1977.2

BUCHER, FRANÇOIS. "A Rediscovered Tracing by Villard de Honnecourt, *Art Bulletin*, vol. 59, pp. 315-319.

Announces the rediscovery of a tracing (*épure*), in the first chapel on the north side of the ambulatory of Saint-Quentin, of a rose window similar in style to but differing in detail from the Chartres west rose on fol. 15v of the Villard portfolio. See Bénard, **1864.1**. This design, dated 1220/1235 and attributed to Villard, provides the basis for Bucher's conclusion (p. 319) that "I must stipulate Villard's presence in Saint-Quentin during the vital planning phase of the choir in the 1220s."

Bucher also notes that the tile patterns in the pavement of the chapel of Saint Martin in the axial western tower of Saint-Quentin are related to the pattern of a Hungarian paving tile drawn by Villard (fol. 15v), hence Villard's trip to Hungary is dated earlier here than it is in most scholarship.

1977.3

GEREVICH, LÁSZLÓ. "Pilis Abbey: A Cultural Center," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Hungaricae*, vol. 29, pp. 155-198.

Restates Gerevich's earlier (**1971.3**, **1974.1**) views on Villard's association with Pilis, especially as master sculptor of the tomb of Gertrude de Meran (d. 1213). Gerevich here suggests (p. 185) that Villard had previously been one of the sculptors of the south arm reliefs and statues of Chartres. Emphasizes Villard's drawings (fol. 15v) of a Hungarian church pavement the model for which was probably in the south arm at Pilis: one of Villard's five patterns (bottom left) is identical to an unusual pattern Gerevich excavated at Pius.

Reproduces a number of details from the Villard portfolio juxtaposed with likely sources and contains an extensive bibliography concerning Villard's visit to Hungary.

1977.4

KIMPEL, DIETER. "Le Développement de la taille en série dans l'architecture médiévale et son rôle dans l'histoire économique," *Bulletin monumental*, vol. 135, pp. 195-222.

Focuses on the use of templates for prefabrication of stone decorative and structural elements in 13th-century French architecture, especially at Reims and at Amiens. Villard's fol. 32 is cited (p. 199) as proof that templates were used at Reims and (p. 201) as proof that the decorative moldings of the windows were additions to the original construction.

Kimpel insists (p. 202) that Villard "s'est maintes fois trompé en ce qui concerne les détails de la cathédrale de Reims," and he specifies these errors on p. 219 n. 27.

He also notes that Villard's pier plan on fol. 15v is most improbable as an example of actual construction. Villard is cited on p. 214 as proving, in his fols. 22v and 23r, the technological revolution which accompanied prefabrication of architectural elements. Kimpel nowhere actually refers to Villard as an architect or mason.

Reproduces fols. 22v, 23, 31v, and 32r after Hahnloser.

1977.5

KOSTOF, SPIRO, ed. "The Architect in the Middle Ages, East and West." In *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 59-95.

Passing mention (pp. 89-90) only of Villard, terming him "a master mason of Picardy," and claiming that his portfolio is a pattern book based on lodge tradition and was not intended to circulate outside the trade, that is, that Villard participated in the "secret of the medieval masons."

Reproduces fols. 14v and 23r.

1977.6

ROSENAU, HELEN. "Notes on some Qualities of Architectural Seals during the Middle Ages," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 6th ser. vol. 90, pp. 77-84.

Terms (p. 77) Villard a thirteenth-century "architect, designer, and theorist" and claims that "His influence is to be recognized in the head sprouting with leaves on the plinth of the famous statue of a rider in Bamberg Cathedral." Rosenau appears to credit (p. 78) Villard with the design of a canopy now over a statue of the Virgin at Bamberg when she says that it "resembles closely, not only the towers of Laon Cathedral, but also a fairly accurate drawing [fol. 10r] of one of those towers in the design book by Villard de Honnecourt."

Reproduces fol. 10r.

1977.7

SHELBY, LON R. *Gothic Design Techniques: The Fifteenth-Century Design Booklets of Mathes Roriczer and Hanns Schmuttermayer*. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press.

Terms (p. 4) Villard's portfolio the "lone literary example of a thirteenth-century master mason's ideas and sketches [which] has survived." But on p. 153 n. 5 he restates Branner's question (1973.1) about whether Villard may have been only a lodge clerk with a flair for drawing, noting that if someone could prove that view, most of the traditional scholarship concerning Villard would be "upset."

1978.1

BARNES, CARL F., JR. "Letter to the Editor," *Art Bulletin*, vol. 60, pp. 393-394.

Refutes Bucher's claim (1977.2) that the drawing at Saint Quentin is by Villard, suggesting it may be a fake by Bénéard (1864.1) made in order to associate Villard with that church. Barnes questions whether the drawing was ever lost and raises the point that it requires a "stupefying series of interrelated coincidences" to make Bucher's thesis operable.

1978.2

BINDING, GUNTHER, and NUSSBAUM, NORBERT. *Der mittelalterliche Baubetrieb nordlich der Alpen in zeichenossischen Darstellung*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, pp. 1-21.

A general overview of the state-of-the-question of Villard and his portfolio, based on and adopting the theses of Hahnloser and Frankl (1960.6). The authors date (p. 3) Villard's activities, including his trip to Hungary, mainly in the 1230s and state (p. 5) that it is possible he worked on the tomb of Gertrude de Meran at Pilis (see Gerevich, 1974.1, 1977.3).

The thesis of this study (p. 2) is that the Villard portfolio was an *Arbeitsbuch* or *Lehrbuch*, an architectural *summa scientiae et artis* intended for use in a building lodge (*Bauhütte*), and that it is typical of its type (not one of which survives; see Shelby, 1977.7).

The most useful and original part of this study is an analysis (pp. 12-17) of Villard's system of perspective rendering in certain of his architectural drawings, for example, the Laon tower (fol. 10r) and the Reims chapels (fols. 30v and 31r).

Reproduces a number of details and fol. 10r after Lassus or Willis.

1978.3

BUCHER, FRANÇOIS. Response to "Letter to the Editor [Barnes, 1978.1]," *Art Bulletin*, vol. 60, p. 394.

Defends his claim (1977.2) that the drawing at Saint-Quentin is an original by Villard and argues that Barnes' opinion (1978.1) is invalid because the latter described a different drawing in a different chapel.

Bucher claims his research indicates that Villard died shortly after 1233 and that the drawing dates immediately after Villard's return from Hungary, at the latest between 1228 and 1233. Bucher stands by his claim that Villard was an architect but denies attributing to him the choir of Saint-Quentin, having proposed only that he was there during construction and offered advice, specifically, that he "contributed to its design; neither more nor less." However, see Bucher, F.VII.

1978.4

LAGERLÖF, ERLAND. "En Uppättningsritning från Medeltiden." In *Gotsland Fornsal (Sartryck ur Gotländskt Arkiv 1978)*, pp. 33-42.

Survey of medieval architectural engravings emphasizing an engraving of ca. 1300 for a retable from the crypt at Lojsta, Gotland. Passing reference is made (p. 41 n. 1) to Villard as "arkitekt" in quotation marks, suggesting that Lagerlöf questions this identification.

In Swedish with a short summary in German (p. 42).

1978.5

MURRAY, STEPHEN. "The Gothic Facade Drawings in the 'Reims Palimpsest,'" *Gesta*, vol. 17, pp. 51-55.

Discusses the differences in technique and execution of the two facade drawings in the Reims Palimpsest (Reims, Archives de la Marne, MS G.661). He concludes that one ("A") is an original, experimental design whereas the other ("B") is a copy of an older design, where there are few corrections and many pinprick guides which enabled the copyist to capture the details of the original.

Murray notes (p. 54) that Villard's drawings provide a reasonably contemporary parallel to these Reims drawings and that Villard's technique of lightly incised preliminary leadpoint lines, frequent corrections, and infrequent use of pinprick guides agrees with the technique of Reims "A." The conclusion from this, not actually stated by Murray, would seem to be that Villard's architectural drawings were not literal copies or tracings.

1978.6

SCHÖLLER, WOLFGANG. "Eine Bermerkung zur Wiedergabe der Abteikirche von Vaucelles durch Villard de Honnecourt," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 41, pp. 317-322.

Discusses (pp. 317-319) the history of construction of the Gothic church at Vaucelles, dating the crossing and transept 1192-1216 and the choir 1216-1235. Schöller claims (pp. 320-321) that while the Villard and Pierre de Corbie plan (fol. 15r) related to Vaucelles reveals numerous corrections under ultraviolet light, Villard's plan of the Vaucelles choir (fol. 17r) shows no corrections, "wie mach einem Vorbild kopiert."

He also notes that Villard drew the Vaucelles crossing and north arm of the transept, which he later erased. Villard attempted two different vaulting schemes, neither of which is satisfactory and neither of which probably reflects this part of the actual building.

Schöller speculates (p. 322) that the difference in accuracy between this area and the choir is explained by the fact that Villard copied a plan of the choir but experimented with this area. He also proposes, less convincingly, that Villard later erased this part of his drawing not because of his errors but because, having worked out his experiment on parchment, he no longer required the drawing.

Reproduces fols. 15r and 17r redrawn to show the original lines subsequently rejected or erased.

1978.7

BASFORD, KATHLEEN. *The Green Man*, Cambridge:D. S. Brewer, 1978; 2003 paperback reprint.

Analyses the tradition of foliate faces or heads in western European art from the Roman era. The four examples found in the Villard portfolio (fols. 5v and 22r) are classified (p. 15) as *Têtes de Feuilles* in which a human face undergoes metamorphosis into leaves or *vice versa*.

Reproduces the foliate faces from fols. 5v and 22r redrawn (after Lassus?).

1979.1

BUCHER, FRANÇOIS. See "The Facsimile Editions," **F.VII**.

1979.2

BUCHTHAL, HUGO. *The "Musterbuch" of Wolfenbüttel and Its Position in the Art of the Thirteenth Century.* Byzantina Vindobonensia, no. 12. Vienna: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

This item is included for what it does *not* say. In his extensive analysis of the Wolfenbüttel *Musterbuch* (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek, Codex Guelf 62, 2 Aug.), which Buchthal attributes (p. 68) to a Venetian artist copying from an earlier Venetian *Musterbuch*, the Villard portfolio is thoroughly ignored. Only on p. 15 does Buchthal even mention it, summarily dismissing it as "a collection of drawings."

1979.3

CALKINS, ROBERT C. *Monuments of Medieval Art*. New York: E.P. Dutton.

General commentary on Villard, called a French draftsman, active ca. 1225-1250, who produced a notebook. Calkins appears (p. 268) to question the habit of terming Villard an architect: "whether Villard was an architect as many scholars believe, or merely an artist, he is representative of a large number of medieval artisans who emerged from relative anonymity with the building of the High Gothic cathedrals."

Emphasis is on Villard as an example of the medieval artist who insisted on an "assertion of [his] individuality" rather than on an analysis of his drawings.

Reproduces fol. 6v.

1979.4

OST, HANS. "Eine Architekturzeichnung des 13. Jahrhunderts mit einem Exkurs zur Baugeschichte der Marienkirche in Reutlingen," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 42, pp.15-30.

Announces the 'rediscovery' of an architectural engraving on the wall of the Sudsakristei of the former Cistercian church in Reutlingen, first published in 1903 as the plan of a Gothic church with a polygonal choir.

Ost interprets (pp. 16-17) this engraving as the plan for a flat terminal Cistercian church and dates (p. 19) the drawing ca. 1250-1270. He believes (p. 20) that the Reutlingen engraving is very much like that (fol. 14v) in the *Bauhüttenbuch* of Villard ("wichtigstes Beispiel der Architekturzeichnung des 13. Jahrhunderts"), which he dates before 1235.

Ost does not propose that the Villard plan is the model or source for the Reutlingen engraving, or that Villard was responsible for it, merely that both are examples of the ideal plan of a Cistercian church. He proposes (p. 24) that if a model can be designated for the Reutlingen engraving, it probably should be the plan of the Cistercian church at Bebenhausen, consecrated in 1238.

Reproduces a detail of the Cistercian plan on fol. 14v.

1980.1

ANON. Review of Bucher facsimile (**F.VII**). In *Journal of the American Institute of Architects* (June), p. 63.

More an announcement than a review, where the unknown author misspells Bucher as "Boucher," and briefly summarizes the contents of the Bucher facsimile.

Reproduces fols. 31r and 32r, possibly after **F.VII**.

1980.2

BOULEAU, CHARLES. *The Painter's Secret Geometry: a Study of Composition in Art*, New York: Hacker Art Books.

Briefly summarizes (p. 60) Villard's use of geometrical figures in the design of the human figure as "simple and unpretentious, and their triangulation is quite arbitrary." Bouleau comments that Villard provides a clear example of the conflicting demands on the Gothic artist, that of drawing correctly from nature and employing predetermined and arbitrary geometric figures for drawings (cf. Huyghe, **1958.4**).

Bouleau states (p. 60), "Villard de Honnecourt was an architect, architecture was the leading art of his time, and it is patently clear that the geometry which governed decorative art and 'portraiture' governed architecture as well."

Reproduces a detail of a standing figure from fol. 18r (said to be a photograph from the Bibliothèque nationale de France but in fact a drawing made after a photograph) compared with a devil from the Psalter of Blanche of Castile (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 1186) employing a comparable geometric schemata.

1980.3

BUCHER, FRANÇOIS. "Les bâtisseurs du moyen-âge: l'architecture vernaculaire ou l'empreinte des particularisme locaux," *Dossiers histoire et archéologie*, vol. 47, pp. 62-88.

Discusses the responsibilities and pride of the "petits architectes du peuple" of the Middle Ages, in which category Bucher places Villard. Bucher stresses that these architect-contractors could not specialize exclusively in masonry projects but were responsible for a variety of tasks: building bridges, cisterns, fortifications, houses, and the design and construction of practical mechanical devices including weapons. In this latter connection Bucher discusses (pp. 68, 70) Villard's automatic saw (fol. 22v) and trebuchet (fol. 30r), providing a drawing reconstructing each.

Bucher insists that these versatile individuals were, while not as famous as the masters of significant ecclesiastical building projects, quite proud of their abilities and accomplishments. He cites (p. 82) Villard's pride (fols. 10v and 15v) in his trip to Hungary as proof of this claim.

Reproduces fol. 30 from a photographic negative.

1981.1

BARNES, CARL F. JR. "The Drapery-Rendering Technique of Villard de Honnecourt," *Gesta*, vol. 20, pp. 199-206.

On the basis of examining the drawings in the portfolio, claims that six separate steps can be seen in Villard's rendering of finished drapery: (i) leadpoint contour sketch, (ii) leadpoint drapery-fold sketch, (iii) lightly inked determination of contour, (iv) heavier inking of contour, (v) inking of drapery-fold contours, (vi) when present, leadpoint infilling of drapery folds.

Barnes argues that these steps parallel exactly those in metalworking, especially niello work, and reveal that Villard's professional training, and possibly his profession, was that of a metalworker rather than that of an architect.

Reproduces fols. 11r, 13r, 25r and 25v and details of fols. 3v and 16v after negatives in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

1981.2

BARNES, CARL F. JR. Review of Bucher facsimile (**F.VII**). In *Speculum*, vol. 56, pp. 595-598.

Contains a summary version of the analysis given here under "The Facsimile Editions," **F.VII**.

1981.3

KIDSON, PETER. Review of Bucher facsimile (**F.VII**). In *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 40,

pp. 329-331.

An essay-review in which Kidson picks up on the theme of Barnes (**1978.1**, **1980.1**, **1981.1**), Branner (**1973.1**), Recht (**1981.4**), and Shelby (**1975.2**) to question extensively and eloquently the traditional thesis that Villard was a Gothic architect-mason. Kidson poses penetrating questions to challenge this thesis, especially as articulated by Bucher, and by a series of carefully crafted points systematically destroys Bucher's various claims. Kidson's own view is expressed (p. 330) as "But anyone who wishes to insist that Villard really did know what every genuine medieval architect knew certainly has a lot of special pleading on his hands."

Kidson is sharply critical of Villard as architectural draftsman (p. 330): "The man who drew the elevation of Reims [fol. 31v] knew nothing of the geometrical system which determined the relations between its stages. What he drew was nonsense--something which betrays either a garbled misunderstanding or else total ignorance of the ways in which contemporary cathedral designs were put together." Kidson is far more favorably impressed by other Villard drawings, terming him (p. 329) "a superb exponent of the *Mulden[falten]stil*."

This review does contain minor factual errors. Kidson misattributes to Bénard (**1864.1**) the attribution of the choir of Cambrai to Villard. Bénard in fact rejected this attribution (first made by Quicherat, **1849.1**) and attributed Saint-Quentin to Villard.

1981.4

RECHT, ROLAND. "Sur le dessin d'architecture gothique," In *Études d'art médiéval offertes à Louis Grodecki*, ed. André Chastel *et alia*, Paris: Éditions Ophrys, pp. 233-250.

Discusses several aspects of Villard's drawings and Villard's terms referring to his drawings. Regarding the latter, Recht concludes (pp. 234-235) that Villard possessed no technical vocabulary and employed *portraiture* only in the general sense of "representation." Recht claims that to Villard *esligement* simply meant "level," not "plan;" and that *montee* meant "view," not "elevation." Recht also claims that Villard's expression *al vif* (fols.24r and 24v) only meant that he drew his lion from a specific model, not as a creative, invented image, and he had not seen an actual lion.

Recht takes Villard to task as an architectural draftsman. Noting (p. 235) that Villard employed three types of architectural drawings (plans, geometric elevations, and cavalier views), Recht claims that Villard's chief difficulty was his inconsistency: "Ce qui est le plus frappant chez Villard, c'est l'inégalité avec laquelle il aborde à différentes occasions une même problématique." He also states (pp. 235-236) that Villard is inconsistent, claiming to have understood quadrature but unable to recognize it in use when he drew the Lausanne rose (fol. 16r). It is Recht's opinion that Villard's drawings would have been totally useless to masons, and that only later in the 13th century did architectural drawings (e.g., the Reims Palimpsest [see Branner, **1958.1** and Murray, **1978.5**]; Strasbourg facade drawings) have sufficient detail and consistent geometrically-controlled perspective to have been useful to masons.

Recht gives Villard very little credit as an original, creative talent. He posits (pp. 234-235) that Villard copied his drawings from a *Musterbuch* without imposing his personal style or styles on what he copied.

Considering the fundamental question of Villard's career, Recht begins (p. 234) by contesting Hahnloser's (**F.VII**) contention that Villard was an architect and that his portfolio was a *Bauhüttenbuch*. Recht notes that there is no proof that the Pierre de Corbie with whom Villard collaborated on an architectural drawing (plan on fol. 15r) an architect and (p. 235) that there is nothing in the portfolio that proves conclusively that Villard himself was an architect: "... on serait tenté de le [= Villard] considérer non plus forcément comme l'architecte, mais comme un compilateur, perméable aux caractères formels spécifiques de chacune des images compilées."

Reproduces fols. 6v, 16r, 24v, 30v, 31r, and 32v from photographic negatives in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

1981.5

SHELBY, LON R. Review of Bucher facsimile (**F.VII**). In *Technology and Culture*, vol. 22, pp. 786-788.

The thrust of this review is the two German manuscripts published by Bucher. However, Shelby does note (p. 787) that Bucher was a student of Hahnloser (**F.IV**) in Switzerland and that he adheres closely to the latter's interpretation of Villard and his portfolio.

Dates the portfolio in the 1220s and 1230s.

No illustrations.





Writings on Villard de Honnecourt, 1982-1999

1982.1

BARNES, CARL F. JR. *Villard de Honnecourt, the Artist and His Drawings*, A Reference Publication in Art History, Boston: G. K. Hall, 1982.

The first edition of this book, an annotated bibliography of over 200 published references to Villard from 1666 to 1981, with a chapter (pp. xli-lvii) describing the content and approach of each of the seven facsimile editions of the portfolio published between 1858 and 1979. A concordance between the portfolio and each of these editions is provided (p. lvii).

In a long essay (pp. xix-xxxix) called "Introduction: The Manuscript and Its Artist," the author summarizes the history of the portfolio and scholarship about Villard, concluding (p. xxxix) that Villard cannot be associated with a specific profession and perhaps should be thought of as a 13th-century "dilettante . . . delighted in the world around himself."

This is the most complete reference source on materials concerning Villard de Honnecourt.

Reproduces fols. 9v and 10r.

1982.2

BUCHER, FRANÇOIS. "Villard de Honnecourt," *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects*, New York: The Free Press, 1982, IV, pp. 322-324.

A condensed version of the essay in F.VII, with some additional reconstructions of Villard's life and interpretations of his significance. The portfolio is called variously an "architectural treatise," a "lodgebook," a "manuscript," and a "sketchbook;" and it is incorrectly claimed (p. 323) that "Villard himself defines his manuscript as a treatise...." It is reported (p. 324) that the portfolio contains approximately 1215-1233 entries, but no explanation is given of what constitutes an entry. The portfolio leaves are referred to as pages, so that in Bucher's scheme the portfolio now has 66 pages.

Villard's activity is dated between *ca.* 1190 and the mid 1230s, and he is associated with the design or construction of Vaucelles (as journeyman), Pilis, Reims (subcontractor for detailed parts of the choir triforium and choir aisle windows), Saint-Quentin (consultant), and Cambrai. Villard is misquoted (p. 322) as having said that the towers of Laon were "the finest I have seen;" and it is suggested (pp. 322-323) that his drawings of Laon (fols. 9v-10) "may have occasioned an abrupt change in the design of the western tower of the cathedral [of Bamberg]."

Bucher explains discrepancies between Villard's drawings and their architectural sources as his willful modification of models. He proposes (p. 323) that Villard "unsuccessfully tried to predetermine the proportion of Human figures through geometric overlays [fols. 18r, 18v, 19r, 19v] so that 'work will be facilitated'."

Reproduces fols. 9r, 10r, 15r, and 30v. The drawing of the interior of the radiating chapel at Reims (fol. 30v) is captioned "Drawing of the choir at Reims Cathedral with masons' marks."



1983.1

BUCHER, FRANÇOIS. Review of Barnes, *Villard de Honnecourt*, in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 42 (1983), pp. 299-300.

A review of **1982.1** which describes (p. 299) its bibliographic analyses as "thorough, fair, and a pleasure to read ... and without a visible bias." Bucher proposes that the medieval architect was skilled in a number of crafts, and that "Villard's intent and purpose must be viewed more flexibly" than generally is done because of the lingering effects of 19th-century antiquarianism.

The author modifies his earlier (**1977.2; 1982.2; F.VII**) view that Villard played a major role in the design of Saint-Quentin, and notes (p. 299) that "While I once believed that he [Villard] may have assigned certain details of windows and the triforium gallery of the choir [at Reims] to his small shop, I am now more inclined to identify the specific marks that accompany the cross sections of mullions, embrasures and voussoirs as marks identifying the specific templates of details to which Villard refers [fol. 32] in his text."

1983.2

GETSCHER, ROBERT H. Review of Barnes, *Villard de Honnecourt*, in *Art Documentation*, May 1983, p. 83.

Terms the analyses of the 260 bibliographic entries on Villard and his portfolio "well-reasoned and opinionated" and notes that the indexes are inconsistent.

1983.3

MECKSEPER, CORD. "Über die Fünfeckkonstruktion bei Villard de Honnecourt und im später Mittelalter," *Architectura*, vol. 13 (1983), pp. 31-40.

Analyzes the drawing of Villard and the inscription of Master II (fol. 21r) for designing a tower with five edges or angles, and explains how this was done using a mason's square. The procedure is a variation of rotation-of-squares, and the author concludes (p. 36) that Villard's geometry was *geometria practica*, what Shelby (**1972.6**) termed "constructive geometry."

1983.4

VERDIER, PHILIPPE. "La 'Sepulture d'un Sarrazin' de Villard de Honnecourt," *Journal des Savants*, Paris, 1983, pp. 219-228.

Identifies (p. 228) the model of Villard's Sepulchre of a Saracen (fol. 6r) as a lost Hellenistic monument, probably earlier than the Monument of Philopappos in Athens, erected A.D. 114/116. Verdier is the first author ever to claim (p. 219) that Villard travelled in the Near East, describing the drawing as "la mise en point d'un croquis levé au cours d'un voyage dans le royaume de Jérusalem." Verdier did not know about the preliminary drawing for Villard's Sepulchre of a Saracen (see Barnes and Shelby, **1986.1**).

Reproduces fol. 6r.

1984.1

BECHMANN, ROLAND. *Les racines des cathédrales: l'architecture gothique, expression des conditions du milieu*, Paris: Payot, 1984.

Terms (p. 150) Villard an "architecte de l'époque gothique" and calls (p. 191) his portfolio a "carnet de chantier." Villard is nowhere discussed in detail, but various of his drawings are used to illustrate or to prove points the author makes about Gothic design and construction. One of his more interesting observations (p. 244) is that Villard's

groundplans with vaulting patterns shown, e.g., Vaucelles (fol. 17r) proves that at the outset of design the vaultings of churches were known.

Other observations are (p. 233) that the geometric figures on fols. 18v and 19r have the geometry drawn over the previously-drawn figures, and that the purpose of the geometry was to permit transfer of the design from one medium to another; and (p. 256) that the the earliest known example of the *vérin* (screw-driven hoist) is shown in Villard's fol. 22v.

Reproduces numerous figures after Lassus. In some instances details are juxtaposed which are on separate folios in the portfolio itself.

1984.2

FERGUSSON, PETER. *Architecture of Solitude, Cistercian Abbeys in Twelfth-Century England*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984, pp. 78-79.

Dates the Villard portfolio "about 1230" and says (p. 78) that Villard's Cistercian church plan based on squares (Fol. 14v) proves the currency of that design scheme; and notes that Villard drew his plans without thick [solid?] walls. [This is true only of Villard's Cistercian church plan; in every other church plan he drew a double wall.]

Illustrates fol. 14v, called fol. 28b.

1984.3

MURDOCH, JOHN E. *Album of Science: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1984.

The stereotomy drawings found on fol. 20r are reproduced on p. 169 as fig. 153 and mistakenly attributed to Villard. In the lengthy caption, Villard is called an "architect and scholar, who was responsible for developing plans for several churches and abbeys."

On p. 226 fig. 203 there is a collection of pictures of lions from medieval works, including Villard's drawing (fol. 24v) of lion and porcupine.

Illustrations apparently from Bibliothèque nationale negatives.

[Reference provided by Scott L. Montgomery]



1985.1

ADAM, JEAN-PIERRE and PIERRE VARÈNE. "La scie hydraulique de Villard de Honnecourt et sa place dans l'histoire des techniques," *Bulletin monumental*, vol. 143 (1985), pp. 317-332.

Demonstrates that water-powered wheels and the long saw were in use in western Europe since antiquity, and cites (p. 319) two literary mentions from the 4th century A.D. of hydraulic saws, one by Gregory of Nyssa in his *Homilia* and one by Decimus Magnus Ausonius in his poem *Mosella*.

The authors report that no archaeological evidence of such mechanisms survives, and claim (p. 321) that the drawing by Villard of a hydraulic saw (fol. 22v) is the earliest known representation of this device. It is noted (p. 322) that it is impossible to understand the mechanics of Villard's saw, either because he did not understand how the saw worked, or because of his personal system of twisted perspective used in his drawing, or both. Villard's drawing is analyzed, and two reconstruction drawings are included (p. 320 figs. 5 and 6) to make his drawing more comprehensible.

Villard is termed (p. 321) a Picard architect of the period 1220-1240 and his portfolio, called a *carnet*, is characterized

as "un véritable préfiguration des carnets des ingénieurs de la Renaissance italienne."

Reproduces a detail of fol. 22v after Lassus.

*1985.2

BECHMANN, ROLAND. "Villard de Honnecourt: architecte et ingénieur médiéval," *Pour la science*, vol. 94 (August 1985), pp. 69-75.

Not yet seen.

1985.3

GEREVICH, LASZLO. "Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen in der Zisterzienserabtei Pilis," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Hungaricae*, vol. 37 (1985), pp. 111-152.

A well-illustrated summary of Gerevich's earlier publications on his excavations at Pilis (**1971.2, 1971.3, 1974.1, and 1977.3**).

1985.4

TOKER, FRANKLIN. "Gothic Architecture by Remote Control: an Illustrated Building Contract of 1340," *Art Bulletin*, vol. 67 (1985), pp. 67-95.

Notes briefly (p. 67) the "current confusion about Villard de Honnecourt: To the 19th century Villard was the most celebrated of Gothic architects. In recent literature he appears as no architect at all, but as a master mason, a carver, a metalworker curious about building, an administrator, and even as a cleric dabbling in architecture." Toker then includes (p. 69) Villard in a list of "Gothic masters [who] executed buildings far from their home base[s]."

The author claims (p. 85) that Villard included dimensions on his drawing of a catapult; but these numbers are done with a different pen and in an ink different from either the drawing or its inscription, and are a post-medieval addition to the leaf.

1986.1

BARNES, CARL F. JR. "Villard de Honnecourt," *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, vol. 11 (1986), p. 448.

Short summary of the entry in the *Dictionary of Art* (**1996.1**) with minimal bibliography. Notes that there is no proof that Villard was an architect and that his drawing technique suggests he may have been trained as a metalworker.

No illustrations.

1986.2

BARNES, CARL F. JR. and LON R. SHELBY. "The Preliminary Drawing for Villard de Honnecourt's 'Sepulchre of a Saracen'," *Gesta*, 25/1 (1986), pp. 135-138.

Announces (p. 135) that the authors have found in the Villard portfolio about a dozen previously unknown preliminary drawings on palimpsest leaves, one of the most significant of which is the preliminary drawing on fol. 5v for Villard's "Sepulchre of a Saracen" on fol. 6r. The drawing is illustrated and analyzed, and the authors offer (p. 137) a reconstruction of Villard's drawing with its pediment restored. It is argued that Villard's model was a late antique funerary monument (cf. Verdier, **1983.4**), not a Roman or Byzantine consular ivory (Adhémar, **1939.1**).

Reproduces fols. 5v and 6r.

1986.3

BECHMANN, ROLAND. "L'arc de Villard de Honnecourt: un piège pour médiévistes," *Historia*, vol. 475 (1986), pp. 94-96.

An essay in which Bechamann figured out the purpose and function of Villard's crossbow (fol. 22v) which cannot miss (*ki ne faut*). What Villard drew is a fixed crossbow beside a path travelled by animals such as deer. A tripwire is strung across the path and when an animal trips the wire, the arrow is projected into the animal's flank. In case the arrow misses, it is on a line and can be retrieved for resetting, rather like modern reeled line on bows used for shooting fish or birds. Bechmann notes that in *Tristan* there is a 12th-century literary account of a similar device.

Contains (pp. 99-100) two short notes on other subjects: "Villard de Honnecourt et les gadgets et les automates" and "Le cadre de vie de Villard de Honnecourt." The former concerns itself mainly with an explanation of the mechanics of Villard's sing-and-cry (fol. 9r); the latter claims that "prés de la moitié de ses [Villard's] dessins ont disparu" and gives a brief biography of Villard, noting that Picardie was an intellectual center in the first half of the 13th century.

Reproduces a detail of fol. 22v after Lassus.

1986.4

TERRENOIRE, MARIE-ODILE. "Le carnet de Villard de Honnecourt: culture orale, culture savante," *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Age*, Paris: Picard, vol. I (1986), pp. 164-181.

A long undocumented and uncritical essay, repeating many of the standard assumptions, clichés and errors about Villard. The author argues that Villard had the specialized vocabulary of a craftsman and that his concerns were practical, not theoretical, and that he was neither a clerk nor a cleric.

1987.1

ANON. [Association Villard de Honnecourt], *Villard de Honnecourt, architecte du XIIIe siècle*, Honnecourt sur Escaut: Association Villard de Honnecourt, n.d. [1987].

A pamphlet catalogue to an exhibition of enlargements of various drawings from the Villard portfolio, with French and English captions. The approach is somewhat simplistic, intended not for the specialist, but to introduce Villard and his world to the layman. The variety of Villard's interests is fully conveyed in the selection of drawings. The portfolio is termed (p. 1) a *carnet de croquis* ("sketchbook") and Villard throughout is referred to as an architect, although it is noted that "we don't even know if he built anything."

These panels were exhibited at in connection with The Association Villard de Honnecourt for the Interdisciplinary Study of Medieval Science, Technology, and Art (AVISTA) sessions, "Villard de Honnecourt: the Artist and His Drawings" at the XXIVth Annual International Congress on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, in May 1989.

1987.3

BARNES, CARL F. JR. "A Note on the Bibliographic Terminology in the Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt," *Manuscripta*, vol. 31 (1987), pp. 71-76.

Analyzes use of the words *livre*, "book" (fols. 1v, 9v, and 14v), *feuille*, "leaf" (fols. 18v and 19v), and *pagene*, "page" (fols. 30, 30v, and 32v) by Villard or his scribe, proving that whoever added the inscriptions to the leaves of the

portfolio made a clear distinction between "leaf" (a single, two-sided sheet) and "page" (one of the two sides of a leaf). It is shown how this terminology helps to reconstruct certain of the quires in the portfolio and therefore sheds light on its original composition and extent.

Diagrams of linkages of quires.

1987.3

BARNES, CARL F. JR. Review of F.VII, in *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences*, vol. 37 (1987), pp. 191-193.

Contains essentially the same information as in F.VII.

1987.4

BRANNER, ROBERT. "An Unknown Gothic (?) Drawing from Saint-Quentin," *Gesta*, vol. 26/1 (1987), pp. 151-152.

A short note written *ca.* 1957 analyzing a drawing engraved in the dado wall of the central bay of the northwestern radiating chapel of Saint-Quentin. Branner concludes that the drawing, if medieval and not modern, may have been a rejected design for a pier. This is *not* the drawing resembling Villard's Chartres rose (**1864.1, 1977.2, 1978.1, 1978.3**).

As for Villard's association with Saint-Quentin, the author says, "Villard may have been active as early as about 1215, when the basilica was begun, but it is doubtful that he was the architect."

In an appendix, Carl F. Barnes, Jr., explains the history of and confusion about two wall engravings at Saint-Quentin. See **1977.2, 1978.1, and 1978.3**.

1987.5

BUCHER, FRANÇOIS. Review of Terrenoire **1986.4**, in *Avista Forum*, vol. 1 no. 2 (Spring 1987), p. 3.

A short review without extensive commentary in which Terrenoire's article is termed "an elegant, somewhat loosely presented overview [of Villard's portfolio]."

1987.6

LALBAT, CLAUDE, GUILBERT MARGUERITTE, and JEAN MARTIN. "De la stéréométrie médiévale: la coup des pierres chez Villard de Honnecourt," *Bulletin Monumental*, vol. 145 (1987), pp. 387-406 with English précis, p. 443.

Terms the portfolio a manuscript and states (p. 387) that study of certain of the stereometrical drawings on fols. 20r, 20v, and 21r establish "une filiation directe de Villard de Honnecourt aux auteurs [des traités de stéréométrie] de la Renaissance. Having made this claim, the authors then note (p. 406 n. 10) that they do not take into account that the drawings and inscriptions in question are not by Villard.

The drawings discussed are 39i (fol. 20r), 40c, 40d, 40e, and 40f (fol. 20v), keyed to the numbering scheme in F.IV and F.VIII. The first concerns how to design a barrel vault (*biais passé*) passing at oblique angle through a wall. The other drawings together constitute what the authors term (p. 397) the "Théorème de Villard," how to design the keystones for three- and five-point arches without laying the entire arch out on the ground or on a tracing surface. This is accomplished using plane geometry and a tool called a *biveau-cerce*, a square with one extension curved to give the curve of the intrados of each voussior. This instrument is shown in Pl. 39f. An explanation of Pl. 39e is also given. The geometry of each construction is discussed in detail and accompanied by drawings.

Reproduces fols. 20r (erroneously termed 20v), 20v (erroneously termed 20r), and 21r.

1987.7

SHELLER, ROBERT W. "Towards a Typology of Medieval Drawings," *Drawings Defined*, ed. Walter Strauss and Tracie Felker, New York (Abaris Books, 1987), pp. 13-33.

This article originated as a paper presented at Harvard University in March 1985 in association with an exhibition of drawings from the collection of Ian Woodner.

Robert Scheller is best known to most medievalists for his study, *A Survey of Medieval Model Books* (1963.4; rev. ed. 1995.0). In this article, the author concentrates on preliminary drawings and notes that few such drawings survive because they were mostly made on waste products (pottery shards, bones, parchment scraps) or on materials which could be used repeatedly, for example, wax tablets.

The author categorizes medieval drawings as autonomous; nature studies (including Villard's animals); quick sketches; preparatory drawings in manuscripts or on walls; working drawings, especially in manuscripts and, finally, copies and models.

Of Villard the draftsman, Scheller says, "Although Villard clearly makes use of some pictorial conventions, his drawings indicate that an observant eye and a meticulous registration of the distinctive peculiarities of the subject ... could at times be put to good use in the study of natural objects." Villard's "geometer" (actually, a surveyor on the bottom of fol. 20v) comes in for special praise: a "magnificent little drawing ... with a touch as sure as that of any modern master."

Reproduces fols. 7v and 20v.

1987.8

ANON. (POUR LA SCIENCE). "L'Art du trait en infrarouge," *Pour la Science*, vol. 115 (May 1987), pp. 9-10.

A short, generalized and simplified summary of the material in 1988.2. Villard is termed a "maître d'oeuvre" and the portfolio is called "carnets." The leaves are referred to as "planches" and given continuous Arabic numbering.

Reproduces (after Lassus?) a detail of the upper part of fol. 20v

1987.9

BECHMANN, ROLAND. "Le trébuchet de Villard," *Pour la Science*, vol. 119 (September 1987), pp. 11-12.

An analysis of the functioning of the trebuchet drawn and described by Villard on fol. 30r of his portfolio. Fol. 30r shows only the plan of the device. It is known from the text that there was also a section or elevation drawing of the device on the facing leaf ("en cele autre pagene") that is now lost.

Bechmann built a scale model of the trebuchet, a device which hurled large arrows, not stones as did catapults. Based on his model, the author proposes (p. 12) that the counterweight in Villard's machine weighed between twenty and thirty tons, and could project an arrow weighing 100 kilograms up to 400 meters at an initial speed of seventy-five meters per second.

In his introduction (p. 11) the author notes Villard's diversity of interests, especially in mechanical devices: ". . . la curiosité de Villard s'exerce dans tous les domaines." He claims that Villard's representations of a hydraulic or water-powered saw (fol. 22v) and a saw designed to cut off piles under water (fol. 23r) are the earliest known "schémas" for these devices.

Bechmann admits that "on ignore sa [Villard's] profession ou sa fonction exacte." He terms the portfolio a "manuscrit" and a "carnet des dessins," and claims that about half of its original leaves have been lost.

Reproduces fol. 30r (after Lassus?).

1988.1

BARNES, CARL F. R and LON R. SHELBY. "The Codicology of the Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS Fr 19093)," *Scriptorium*, vol. 47 (1988), pp. 20-48.

The most detailed codicological analysis of the portfolio since Hahnloser (F.IV). The authors examine and reconstruct the Villard portfolio quire by quire and leaf by leaf and conclude (pp. 37-38) that on the basis of physical or textual evidence a maximum of thirteen leaves can be proven to be lost from the portfolio, although there is the possibility that two additional leaves may be lost.

They demonstrate that both the seven quires and the leaves within the individual quires are substantially as Villard himself left them, and that while Villard thought of his assemblage as a book (fols. 1v, 9v, and 14v), the portfolio left his possession before the leaves were stitched together.

Appendix I (pp. 38-41) is a detailed analysis of the 13th-, 15th-, and 18th-century paginations schemes in the portfolio and Appendix II (pp. 41-48) is a diagram of the composition of each quire.

The authors conclude (pp. 37-38) that codicological evidence does not support the contention of Hahnloser and others that up to half of the contents of the portfolio has been lost, that it was organized into chapters (Frankl, 1960.6; Bucher, F. VII), or that its contents have been shuffled around and rearranged (Lefrançois Pillon, 1949.3; Alain-Brandenburg, F.VIII). The portfolio was, therefore, a less extensive and less formal production than has been claimed, and was neither a *Bauhüttenbuch* or a *Lehrbuch*.

Reproduces fols. 8v, 9, 14, and 30.

1988.2

BECHMANN, ROLAND. "About Some Technical Sketches of Villard de Honnecourt's Manuscript, New Light on Deleted Diagrams: An Unknown Drawing," *The British Journal for the History of Science*, vol. 21 (1988), pp. 341-361.

Using newly-made ultraviolet and infrared photographs of fol. 20v, the author discovered erased drawings that permit him, first, to reconstruct the means of designing a five-point keystone ("clef del quint point") and, second, of tracing accurately a right angle. Bechmann notes that he was able to see erasures unseen by Robert Branner (see [1960.5](#)).

The author calls the portfolio a "manuscript" and suggests that, because the drawings are in one ink and the captions in another, the drawings made have been made by Villard and the captions added by so-called "Master II." He suggests (p. 360) that the erasures were made in part to give symmetry to the layout on the leaf.

Bechmann concludes (p. 361) ". . . when one realizes, while studying this manuscript (for instance folio 20, pl. 39), that Villard's Manuscript proves the knowledge of geometric methods for cutting stones that were publicly disclosed only during the sixteenth century by Philibert de l'Orme and during the seventeenth century by Mathurin Jousse, the knowledge of the thirteenth century builders appears to have been much more extensive than is generally believed and accounts for the astonishing achievement of the Gothic cathedrals."

1988.3

BECHMANN, ROLAND. "Engins de guerre médiévaux à balancier: Le trébuchet de Villard de Honnecourt," *Historia*, vol. 501 (September 1988), pp. 52-62.

The most complete of Bechmann's several studies on Villard's trébuchet, providing an overview of medieval siege machines and explaining why the counterweight trébuchet that fired projectiles (arrows) was more accurate than than

those that hurled stones.

The term "trébuchet" came from the balance scales used by jewelers, and first appeared in writing concerning a siege engine in a description of the siege of Lisbon in 1147.

Bechmann proposes that Villard's trébuchet would have been approximately 17m 50 long and 20 m tall.

Reproduces fol. 30r (after Lassus?)



1989.1

ERLANDE-BRANDENBURG, ALAIN. *Gothic Art*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989 (French ed. Paris: Mazenod, 1983).

Mentions Villard only twice. On p. 29 the author writes, "The notebook of the itinerant architect Villard de Honnecourt leaves little doubt that he was that he was versed in areas of knowledge&emdash;for example, 'the technique of drawing and portraiture'&emdash;that he could not have acquired in the course of his everyday life." Later he mentions Villard's trip to Hungary. (In F.VIII Erlande-Brandenburg states that Villard's profession is unknown.)

Elsewhere (p. 528) the author notes that Villard's drawing of the plan of the choir of Meaux (fol. 15r) confirms the original scheme of ambulatory and three radiating chapels.

Reproduces as Fig. 515 a severely cropped image of fol. 3v, in the caption of which the portfolio, called a notebook, is dated to the first third of the 13th century.

1989.2

SNYDER, JAMES. *Medieval Art: Painting, Sculpture, Architecture 4th-14th Century*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989, pp. 345-346.

Provides proof that outdated claims die slowly. Snyder appears to follow Harvey's interpretation (1945.2, 1950.2, 1966.2) of the Villard portfolio literally: "The lodge Sketchbook of a thirteenth-century French architect, Villard de Honnecourt, an encyclopedic manual with illustrations of ground plans, elevations, building devices, and ornamentation useful for the apprentice informs us that in it 'you will find strong help in drawing figures according to the lessons taught by the art of geometry.'"

Snyder's fig. 442 is fol. 18v, dated 1220-1235; his fig. 458 is fol. 10r, undated.

1989.3

ANON. [Editors of Time-Life Books]. *The Mongol Conquests, Time Frame 1200-1300*, Alexandria, VA: Time-Life Books, 1989, pp. 146-147.

These two pages constitute an interlude called "An Architect's Album," and attempt to characterize the careers and functions of Gothic master masons, Villard being cited as an example of a master who "participated in every stage of the erection of a building." Villard is said to have executed commissions "as far afield as Switzerland and Hungary." His sketchbook was "intended as an exemplar for his apprentices or possibly for his lodge."

The only bibliography given is the Willis facsimile (F.II), misattributed to Lassus (F.I).

Reproduces, in color, cropped photographs of fols. 10r and 22v and details from fols. 17r (sleeping apostle misidentified as the fallen Christ) and 19v.

1989.4

BARNES, CARL F. JR. "Le 'Problème' Villard de Honnecourt," *Les Bâisseurs des cathédrales gothiques* Strasbourg: Editions les musées de la ville de Strasbourg, pp. 209-223.

The most detailed analysis to date on why it is unlikely that Villard was an architect or master mason. The author cites ten reasons for questioning the "Villard as architect" tradition: (i) Villard does not claim any profession or any monument; (ii) Villard is unknown from any source other than his portfolio; (iii) the portfolio was not a professional treatise or lodge book (Bauhüttenbuch); (iv) fewer than three percent of Villard's drawings concern stereometry; (v) those drawings that would have potentially been useful to masons are not by Villard, being later additions to palimpsested leaves; (vi) Villard's instructions are not technical; (vii) Villard's use of geometry is inconsistent, and he appears not to have understood the most fundamental Gothic design principle of quadrature or rotation of squares; (viii) Villard misunderstood the geometric proportions of buildings or parts of buildings that he drew; (ix) Villard did not understand the construction of buildings he drew, especially Reims; and (x) Villard was much better at rendering small objects than at drawing architectural features.

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1990.1

BARNES, CARL F. JR. "What Price Progress?," *AVISTA FORUM Journal of the Association Villard de Honnecourt for the Interdisciplinary Study of Medieval Technology, Science, and Art*, vol. 5-1 (Fall 1990), pp. 5-6.

A criticism of Eugene Csocsán de Várallja's claim (1990.2) that "Villard de Honnecourt wrote in Latin in his notebook and this implies that he could follow the arguments of the 'schools.'" The author gives a brief account of the use of Latin in the portfolio, none of which is by Villard, and pleads for accuracy in dealing with material in the portfolio.

No illustrations.

1990.2

CSOCSÁN DE VÁRALLJA, EUGENE. "Note," *AVISTA FORUM Journal of the Association Villard de Honnecourt for the Interdisciplinary Study of Medieval Technology, Science, and Art*, vol. 4-2 (Spring 1990), p. 7.

In the context of suggesting that, unlike Benedictines, Cistercians built [designed?] their own churches, the author makes the astonishingly inaccurate claim that "Villard de Honnecourt wrote in Latin in his notebook and this implies that he could follow the arguments of the 'schools.'" What "the schools" were is not explained.

No illustrations.

1990.3

FAVIER, JEAN. *The World of Chartres*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1990.

In an illustration caption (p. 76), terms Villard an "architect." In the caption to Villard's drawing of the Chartres west rose (p. 77 unnumbered illustration), the author claims erroneously that Villard "reproduced the tracery [of the Chartres west rose] with extreme precision."

Reproduces fols. 15v, 30v, and 31v.

1990.4

HEARN, M. F. "Villard de Honnecourt's Perception of Gothic Architecture," *Medieval Architecture and Its Intellectual Context, Studies in Honour of Peter Kidson*, Eric Fernie and Paul Crossley, editors, London and

Ronceverte: The Hambledon Press, 1990, pp. 127-136.

Hearn proposes (p. 136) that whatever the practical or aesthetic purpose of Villard's architectural drawings in his portfolio, certain of them "reveal to us what he [Villard] regarded as most important about Gothic architecture, namely that the linear articulating members that animate its surfaces are the key to the aesthetic expressiveness of the Gothic style." This explains, according to Hearn, why Villard was especially interested in the cathedrals at Laon and Reims where interior articulation first found expression on the exteriors of major French Gothic buildings. See also Calkins, **1998.000**.

Hearn seems to deny that Villard was an architect when he says (p. 127), "Considering the range of building types that anyone would be likely to illustrate when evincing a serious engagement with architecture, it is significant of a particularized interest that Villard included only great churches and even then only examples exhibiting limited aspects of some recent developments in the Gothic mode. There are, for instance, no castles, urban fortifications, bridges, or any other types that an architectural expert would include in order to demonstrate a comprehensive grasp of the subject ..."

Reproduces fols. 9v, 10r, 10v, 15r, 21r, 30v, 31v, and 32r.

1990.5

TITUS, HARRY B. JR. Review of Carl F. Barnes, Jr., "Le 'Problème' Villard de Honnecourt" (**1989.4**) *AVISTA FORUM Journal of the Association Villard de Honnecourt for the Interdisciplinary Study of Medieval Technology, Science, and Art*, vol. 5-1 (Fall 1990), p. 7.

Summarizes the argument of Barnes that Villard could not have been an architect or master mason and views the portfolio as "... a non-technical document: irregular in terms of overall organization of the sheets; mysterious in choice of subject and scale in drawings; and tantalizingly diverse in the relationship of text to picture. Therefore the portfolio is shown [by Barnes] to have none of the technical clarity necessary for an illustrated technical treatise."

No illustrations.

1990.6

BECHMANN, ROLAND. "Le Necessaire et l'Imaginaire," *L'Art Militaire*, vol. ? (1990), pp. 12-13.

A brief recension of Roberto Valturio's treatise on military arts, *De re militari*, completed in 1445 and published in 1472.

Villard's drawings of various machines are brought in as a parallel to those of Valturio. Bechmann notes that drawings in manuscripts frequently are of imaginary devices but when of actual devices often contain errors because they were drawn by artists, not technicians.

The portfolio is called (p. 12) a "carnet." Bechmann's given name is listed incorrectly as "Laurent."

1990.7

FUJIMOTO, YASUO. *Viraru do Onekuru no Gajyu ni Kansuru Kenyaku* [Study Concerning the Sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt], Tokyo: Chuo Koron Bijutsu Shippa, 1990.

This extensive publication (302 pages) is in part an update of the author's 1968 thesis at Kyoto University. The text is in Japanese with a 21-page synopsis in French entitled "Recherches sur quelques problèmes du Carnet de Villard de Honnecourt." This part of the study treats each folio individually and deals with issues of codicology as well as questions of the various "Masters" in the portfolio. The author apparently believes that Villard was a practicing architect.

In a second section, Fujimoto tackles a wide variety of topics, including foot measurements in medieval Europe, the Plan of St. Gall, and the Reims Palimpsest.

Each folio of the Villard portfolio is illustrated in black and white, and there are 225 additional illustrations that are relevant to the author's study. Fol. 9v showing one of the towers of Laon Cathedral is reproduced in color as a frontispiece.

Note: This précis was provided to me by Professor Yoshio Kusaba of the California State University at Chico, who is preparing a more detailed review for publication in *AVISTA FORUM Journal*.



1991.1

BARNES, CARL F. JR. "Roland Bechmann and Villard de Honnecourt," *AVISTA FORUM Journal of the Association Villard de Honnecourt for the Interdisciplinary Study of Medieval Technology, Science, and Art*, vol. 5-2 (Spring 1991), pp. 6-7.

Praises (p. 6) Bechmann as "the most significant thinker and prolific writer about Villard de Honnecourt in our time," and lists and briefly summarizes a number of Bechmann's writings and his belief that Villard's drawings were in part mnemonic devices.

No illustrations.

1991.2

BARNES, CARL F. JR. Review of Hearn, "Villard de Honnecourt's Perception of Gothic Architecture" (Hiscock4)," *AVISTA FORUM Journal of the Association Villard de Honnecourt for the Interdisciplinary Study of Medieval Technology, Science, and Art*, vol. 5-2 (Spring 1991), pp. 5-6.

Summarizes Hearn's thesis that Villard was interested in the linear articulation of Gothic architecture as seen in the cathedrals of Laon and Reims. Barnes questions Hearn's claim that Villard "... clearly was knowledgeable about Gothic architecture."

No illustrations.

1991.3

BECHMANN, ROLAND. "Villard de Honnecourt, était-il un constructeur de cathédrales?," *Historia spécial: le temps des cathédrales*, vol. 10 (March-April 1991), pp. 39-46.

Not yet seen.

1991.4

BECHMANN, ROLAND. *Villard de Honnecourt, La pensée technique au XIIIe siècle et sa communication*, Paris: Picard Éditeur, 1991.

ENTRY BEING PREPARED.

1991.5

WILSON, CHRISTOPHER. *The Gothic Cathedral: The Architecture of the Great Church, 1130-1530*, London: Thames & Hudson, 1990.

In Villard studies there is an ever-widening rift between those who believe that certain of Villard's drawings would have been useful to Gothic architects or masons and those who believe they would not. The foremost proponent of the first view is Roland Bechmann (1991.3). One of the more outspoken representatives of the latter view is Christopher Wilson. He states (p. 141), "Villard's renderings of the eastern part of Reims Cathedral are not merely crude but riddled with crass mistakes showing that he lacked such basic architectural skills as the ability to correlate cross sections and elevations." As Barnes has pointed out (1989.0), such a shortcoming raises grave doubts that Villard could have been an architect or mason.

Wilson continues, "Equally revealing of his 'outsider' status is the series of diagrams showing formulas for setting out pointed arches, keystones and the like. Neither architects nor executant masons would have had any need of such a compilation: their procedures were enshrined in current practice and would have been transmitted orally and by example." It appears that Wilson failed to distinguish between Villard's work and that of later hands in the portfolio, but one cannot be certain because Wilson does not indicate the specific drawings to which he refers.

Wilson concludes his analysis, "But if Villard's drawings cannot be accepted as the work of a northern French cathedral architect, they do at least confirm that the main conventions of architectural drawings in use today were known by ca. 1230."

Elsewhere (p. 227) Wilson notes that Villard's rendering (fol. 21r) of a vault in the shape of a star is one of the earliest drawn examples of this vaulting type that became so popular in later Gothic architecture, especially in Central Europe.

1991.6

COLDSTREAM, NICOLA. *Medieval Craftsmen: Masons and Sculptors*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

States (p. 7) that "Detailed study of the Villard *Portfolio* has thrown severe doubt on his claims to have built churches, and indeed on his understanding of architecture, while his drawings, although interesting, are no longer generally thought to be those either of an architect or of a masons' workshop."

This succinctly summarizes the interpretation in the early 1990s (and some twenty years later) about Villard. Coldstream is mistaken in stating that Villard claimed "to have built churches."

Reproduces fol. 32r from a negative in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

1992.1

BECHMANN, ROLAND. "Les connaissances des bâtisseurs du XIIIe siècle, à travers le carnet de Villard de Honnecourt," *Travaux de la loge nationale de recherches Villard de Honnecourt*, 2nd ser, vol. 25 (1992), pp. 187-221.

An excellent overview of Bechmann's interpretations of various aspects of the Villard de Honnecourt portfolio, mostly as previously published, especially in 1991.4.

1993.1

GIMPEL, JEAN. "The View from Honnecourt," *AVISTA FORUM Journal of the Association Villard de Honnecourt for the Interdisciplinary Study of Medieval Technology, Science, and Art*, vol. 7-1 (Spring and Summer 1993), p. 1.

Describes the Association Villard de Honnecourt in Villard's birthplace and notes the attractions of the town, including a full-scale replica of Villard's hydraulic saw (fol. 22v). The author modestly does not mention that he was instrumental in persuading the town officials to honor their famous citizen, whom Gimpel calls an "architect and

draftsman."

Gimpel calls the portfolio a "notebook" and a "sketchbook."

No illustrations.

1993.2

MARCO, MICHEL. "Villard de Honnecourt, notre architecte du Moyen-Age, doit-il être rayé de l'ordre?", *Le Voix du Nord*, 2 August 1993, page number unknown.

Reports that after more than a century of considering Villard to have been "le plus célèbre des architectes du moyen age" a revolution has begun questioning that supposition, and that the first bomb was thrown by me in a lecture in Los Angeles in 1973 [SIC = 1977] when I first made the points that ultimately became the article "Le 'Problème' Villard de Honnecourt (1989.4).

Marcq summarizes that and other studies by this author that cast doubt on the "Villard as architect" tradition. He also gives some curious percentages concerning the surviving drawings in the portfolio: a total of 325 drawings, of which only twenty-nine percent [SIC, twenty-three percent] concern architecture. Of these, only thirty-three out of a total of seventy-four are by Villard. The drawings concerning stereotomy comprise but three percent of the drawings in the portfolio, called an "album" by Marcq.

As I pointed out in 1982.1, Villard was better at drawing small objects such as insects than large things such as architecture.

No illustrations.

1993.3

SCHWARZ, MICHAEL V. "Li Sepouture dun Sarrazin: Bilder von Antike bei Villard de Honnecourt," *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Hungaricae*, vol. 36 (1993), pp. 31-40.

This article attempts to determine the sources for two of Villard's more enigmatic drawings: the tomb of a Saracen on fol. 6r, and the standing nude in a chlamys beside an altar on fol. 11v.

Schwarz notes correctly that no one has come up with a totally convincing explanation of the model for the tomb. He acknowledges that the tomb drawing may have incorporated actual architectural elements that Villard saw during his travels, but claims that specific source was a wall painting or tapestry that illustrated Hector's tomb as described in Benoît de Saint-Maure's *Roman de Troie*, written in Normandy ca. 1160. No pre-Villard examples of this image are known, the oldest known survival being a tapestry of 1470 from Tournai now in the Burrell Collection in Glasgow.

Schwarz explains that Villard's drawing is so jumbled architecturally for three reasons: first, Benoît de Saint-Maure's text is itself fanciful, the writer's imaginary construction of the tomb of Hector; second, the painter or tapestry maker who made the object Villard saw freely interpreted the text, using elements of real antique architecture he had seen; and, third, Villard made his reconstruction based partly on the painted or woven model and partly on features of antique architecture that he had seen.

The author identifies the model for the drawing on fol. 11v as one or more small antique bronzes, the traditional explanation. He interprets the expression on the nude as being evil or sinister, intensified by very careful drawing and shading. Schwarz suggests that the nude represents a pagan figure from antiquity and, by showing him making an offering to the image of the emperor on the altar, is a direct affront to Christianity.

Reproduces fols. 6v and 11v.

1993.4

ERLANDE-BRANDENBURG, ALAIN. "Villard de Honnecourt," *Cathedrals and Castles: Building in the Middle Ages*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993, pp. 82-87.

The author denies that Villard was an architect, noting (p. 82) that "interpretations that he was one only serve to obscure the true man." Villard's multiplicity of interests is praised, and his deviations from known buildings or parts of buildings (Chartres and Lausanne roses, Laon tower, Reims chapels) are explained as having been made from models or rejected drawings rather than from the actual buildings. The odd claim is made (p. 84) that Villard studied drawings "of Swiss buildings" while at Reims.

Villard was not above trying to fool his contemporaries: his lion (fol. 25r and 25v) was not drawn "from nature" and his tomb of a Saracen (fol. 6r) was drawn from a wing of an antique diptych.

The drawings are claimed (p. 82) to have been begun "around the 1220s."

Reproduces in color fols. 10r, 31v, and 32r (each slightly cropped) and details of fols. 16r (Lausanne rose) and 32r (Reims templates).

***1993.5**

BOSMAN, LEX. "Robert de Luzarches & Villard de Honnecourt, bouwmeesters," *Kunstschrift*, vol. 37/4, pp. 24-29.

Not yet reviewed. Reference found on the Internet.

1994.1

GIES, FRANCES and JOSEPH GIES. *Cathedral, Force, and Waterwheel: Technology and Invention in the Middle Ages*, New York: HarperPerennial.

The main discussion of Villard is found on pp. 197-199, and is based on John Harvey's *The Gothic World* (1950.2). Many of the secondary sources used by these authors date from the 1950s and 1960s.

Villard is called "a Picard mason" and is said to have expressed "a philosophic conviction suggestive of Platonism," this being a quote from R. J. Forbes, *Man the Maker: a History of Technology and Engineering*, London, 1958, p. 105.

Illustrates fols. 5r, 18v, 22v, 23r, and 32v, taken from the Bowie facsimile edition (F.V).

[Reference provided by Scott L. Montgomery]

1994.2

SCHÖLLER, WOLFGANG. "Die Entwicklung der Architekturzeichnung in der Hochgotik," *Dresdner Beiträge der Technikwissenschaften*, vol. 23/1, pp. 2-9 and vol. 23/2, pp. 39-48.

[Reference supplied by the author. Not yet reviewed.]

1994.3

TAKÁCS, IMRE. "Villard de Honnecourt utazása Művészettörténetben," *Ars Hungarica*, vol. 22 (1994), pp. 15-19.

A brief overview of Villard literature from 1825 to the 1990s, noting the change in how Villard is considered, especially the idea that he was not an architect by Branner (**1973.1**) and Barnes (**1989.4**). This short article should be compared to an article with a similar thesis by Wirth (**2008.4**). Takács ends by pointing out that Villard was in

Hungary, even if his purpose for being there is unknown.

In Hungarian with German précis.



1995.1

BARNES, CARL F., JR. "Villard de Honnecourt," *Medieval France, an Encyclopedia*, eds. William W. Kilber and Grover A. Zinn, New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., p. 957.

A summary version of **1996.2**.

No illustrations.

1995.2

BECHMANN, ROLAND. "Villard de Honnecourt and the Birth of Architectural Drawing," *AVISTA FORUM Journal of the Association Villard de Honnecourt for the Interdisciplinary Study of Medieval Technology, Science, and Art*, vol. 9-1 (Spring and Summer 1995), pp. 14-15.

An abstract of a paper delivered at the 30th International Congress on Medieval Studies in 1995 in which the author claims that drawings in the Villard portfolio prove that in the early 13th century stonecutters knew the methods of stereotomy published by Philibert Delorme in the 16th century and by ??? Jousse in the 17th century that "permitted precise pre-fabrication of stones used in the construction of vaults."

Bechmann asks "Was Villard de Honnecourt a precursor of the art of architectural drawings?" but the drawings he analyzes were additions made to the portfolio, called a "manuscript," after it left Villard's possession.

No illustrations.

1995.3

HISCOCK, NIGEL. "Villard de Honnecourt and Cistercian Planning," *AVISTA FORUM Journal of the Association Villard de Honnecourt for the Interdisciplinary Study of Medieval Technology, Science, and Art*, vol. 9-1 (Spring and Summer 1995), p. 14.

An abstract of a paper delivered at the 30th International Congress on Medieval Studies in 1995. The author notes that Villard drew two Cistercian plans (Vaucelles, fol. 17r, and an unidentified [idealized?] church, fol. 14v), and suggests that the latter *ad quadratum* plan was included "... because it consisted *only* (Hiscock's emphasis) of squares."

The portfolio is termed a "sketchbook."

No illustrations.

1995.4

GREENBERG, ROBERT. "Villard de Honnecourt 's Sketches: Reality or Imagination?," *AVISTA FORUM Journal of the Association Villard de Honnecourt for the Interdisciplinary Study of Medieval Technology, Science, and Art*, vol. 9-1 (Spring and Summer 1995), p. 15.

An abstract of a paper delivered at the 30th International Congress on Medieval Studies in 1995. This abstract is too brief and obtuse to glean from it the author's thesis about Villard himself. It would appear to be that sketches in the

'sketchbook' (fols. 18v?, 19r?, 20r? and 20v?) "... formed a vital part of this process [of drawings leading to actualization of stonework pieces] ... and was a means of internalizing the object, a form of mnemonic device."

No illustrations.

1995.5

KELLER, A. G. Review of Bechmann **1991.4**, in *British Journal for the History of Science*, vol. 34 (December 1995), pp. 462-463.

Praises Bechmann's effort to explain the drawings in the portfolio, called an "handbook," and deems Villard to have been an architect.

No illustrations.

1995.6

SHORTELL, ELLEN M. "The 'Villard de Honnecourt' Drawings at Saint-Quentin Reconsidered," *AVISTA FORUM Journal of the Association Villard de Honnecourt for the Interdisciplinary Study of Medieval Technology, Science, and Art*, vol. 9-1 (Spring and Summer 1995), p. 14.

An abstract of a paper delivered at the 30th International Congress on Medieval Studies in 1995 in which the two engraved drawings at Saint-Quentin are analyzed in comparison to drawings in the Villard portfolio. The author claims that similarities between them "reveals something of design transmission, conceptualization, and construction in the thirteenth century ...," but notes that the attribution of Saint-Quentin to Villard remains unproved.

The author terms the portfolio a "sketchbook" and is one of the rare authors to make a distinction between the drawings by Villard and those later added to several of the leaves.

No illustrations.



1996.1

ALEXANDER, JENNIFER S. "Masons' Marks and Stone Bonding," *The Archaeology of Cathedrals*, ed. Tim Tatton-Brown and Julian Munby (*Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph*, No. 42), pp. 220-236, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Villard's marks of Reims cathedral on fol. 32r are discussed in an *Addendum*, p. 234. Alexander proposes that Villard recorded three marks at Reims discovered during the restoration at Reims following World War I by Henri Deneux ("Signes lapidaires et épures du XIIIe siècle à la cathédrale de Reims," *Bulletin Monumental*, vol. 84 [1925], pp. 99-130).

One is a triangle, said to be on fol. 30v&emdash;but not found there by this author&emdash;that Deneux discovered in the south side of the choir. Another is an "X" Villard drew on the "super arches above" on fol. 32r, an example of which Deneux found on the springing of the high vault between bays five and six of the Reims nave. The third is a pierced soffit cusp of an oculus on fol. 32r, identical to a mark Deneux found on the bedding planes of the south window in the axial radiating chapel.

The author says this latter is the "most interesting correlation between sketchbook and building," and that their purpose was identical: "to identify the stone as part of the inner oculus to which the soffit cusp was to be fitted."

Alexander apparently believes that Villard was a master mason who worked at Reims. She refers to his "method of using marks at Reims" and notes that "it would have been necessary to provide a reminder for the construction [of the

new feature of cusped oculi] to masons who were working with an unfamiliar idea."

Reproduces a detail of fol. 32r.

1996.2

BARNES, CARL F., JR. "Villard de Honnecourt," *Dictionary of Art*, vol. 32 (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited), pp. 569-571.

The most recent serious attempt to separate fact from fancy in analyzing the portfolio. Divided into two sections (Life and Work [of Villard]; the Portfolio), the essay reminds readers that nothing whatsoever is known about Villard save what is to be gleaned from his drawings, and that they pose as many questions as answers. Villard's activity is dated to the 1220s and 1230s.

The composition of the portfolio is explained: seven quires, thirty-three leaves, possibly in their original container. The maximum number of lost leaves that can be proven is thirteen, with possibly two additional leaves lost. The leaves left Villard's hands neither stitched to the covering nor to one another, thus to call the ensemble a "sketchbook" or "notebook" is both inaccurate and misleading. The subject matter is given as: (1) animals, (2) architecture, (3) carpentry, (4) church furnishings, (5) geometry, (6) human figures, (7) masonry, (8) mechanical devices, (9) recipes or formulas, and (10) surveying.

Barnes denies that Villard was an architect or that the portfolio was ever a shop manual (*Bauhüttenbuch*). The author's summary (p. 571) is "The most that can be accurately claimed is that the portfolio of drawings of Villard de Honnecourt records in visual form the multitude of interests of an intelligent, well-travelled 13th-century Picard, possibly made for mnemonic use as a model book."

Reproduces fols. 9v and 10r and the Humility figure from fol. 3v.

1996.3

CAMILLE, MICHAEL. *Gothic Art: Glorious Visions*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1996, pp. 143-144.

Camille's analysis of Villard's lion-training image (fol. 24r) is more significant than its brevity might indicate. He argues that Villard did not draw the lion "from life," and that this is proved by his use of the word *contrefait*, a word that in the 13th century had the sense of the current English word "counterfeit." Camille claims that Villard did have a model, perhaps a drawing in an encyclopaedia.

Camille calls the portfolio an album and a model book, and dates Villard's period of activity 1230-1235.

Reproduces fol. 24 slightly trimmed.

1996.4

PERNOUD, RÉGINE. "Farewell to a Friend: Jean Gimpel (1918-1996), *AVISTA FORUM Journal of the Association Villard de Honnecourt for the Interdisciplinary Study of Medieval Technology, Science, and Art*, vol. 10-1 (Fall 1996 and Winter 1997), pp. 3-4.

Part of a three-part obituary of Jean Gimpel, founder of the Association Villard de Honnecourt (see [1993.1](#)). Pernoud, one of the authors of F.VIII, lists many of Gimpel's varied interests, and notes the seminal importance of his *Les Bâisseurs des Cathédrales* ([1958.3](#)) for Villard studies.

Pernoud terms (p. 4) Villard "... le très fameux bâtisseur du XIIIe siècle qui nous a lassé ses précieuses notes et dessins." She terms the portfolio "Carnets."

No illustrations.

1997.1

BECHMANN, ROLAND. "Jean Gimpel and Villard de Honnecourt," *AVISTA FORUM Journal of the Association Villard de Honnecourt for the Interdisciplinary Study of Medieval Technology, Science, and Art*, 10-2 and 11-1 (Fall 1997 and Spring 1998), pp. 3-4.

A paean to Jean Gimpel (died 15 June 1996) who founded the Association Villard de Honnecourt in France and whose inspiration was instrumental in establishing the American chapter (Association Villard de Honnecourt for the Interdisciplinary Study of Medieval Technology, Science, and Art). Bechmann suggests a parallel between Gimpel's multiplicity of interests and those of Villard, and notes that Gimpel was important in bringing Villard's drawings to the attention of a wide audience with his book *The Cathedral Builders* (1958.3, first translated into English by this author).

Bechmann suggests (p. 3) that Villard should not be termed an architect as the term is now understood and acknowledges that we know nothing whatsoever about Villard except what is found in his drawings. He does believe that Villard was "... certainly a technician, an expert in building and machines."

Bechmann terms Villard's drawings both a manuscript and a portfolio, and states (p. 4) that Villard "... dedicated [his portfolio] to his heirs."

No illustrations.

1997.2

BECHMANN, ROLAND. "Villard de Honnecourt (XIIIe siècle)," *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du Moyen-Âge*, ed. André Vauchez, Paris; Éditions du Cerf, vol. 2, pp. 1589-1590.

Emphasizes Villard's diversity of interests while acknowledging (p. 1589) that the technical drawings in the portfolio "ne sont peut-être pas tous de la main de Villard." Villard's activity is dated to the first quarter of the 13th century.

Bechmann stresses the importance of the technical materials as proof that the builders of the 13th century practiced stereotomy and understood descriptive geometry in a way that foreshadowed the state of the trade in the 16th century.

The author acknowledges (p. 1590) that while "on ignore la fonction précise [de Villard, il] lègue ce recueil aux hommes de métier pour leur instruction." The portfolio is called a "manuscript," a "carnet des dessins," and an "album de dessins et croquis."

Reproduces LEO (fol. 24v) from a photographic negative in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Note: There is an English translation of this article: "Villard de Honnecourt (13th c.)," *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 2001, vol. II, p. 1518.

1997.3

CROSSLEY, PAUL. "The Architecture of Queenship: Royal Saints, Female Dynasties and the Spread of Gothic Architecture in Central Europe," *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Proceedings of a Conference held at King's College, London, April 1995), London: The Boydell Press, pp. 263-299.

Speculates (pp. 272-274) on the "Villard Connection" with Cambrai, Laon, Bamberg, and Lausanne Cathedrals. The author notes similarities between the towers at Laon and those at Bamberg and Lausanne, but states (p. 274), "Nothing ... suggests that Villard was the substantial cause of the Swiss and German imitations of Laon, or that he was the executant of anything at Pilis, including Gertrude's tomb ..." [see Gerevich, 1977.3]

The author terms (p. 272) Villard an architect or "would-be architect" (architect *manqué*), and dates the start of the portfolio, called a sketchbook or pattern-book, to ca. 1220.

Reproduces a detail of the plan of Cambrai (fol. 14v).

1997.4

ACKERMAN, JAMES S. "Villard de Honnecourt's Drawings of Reims Cathedral: A Study in Architectural Representation," *Artibus et Historicae* no. 35, vol. 18/1, pp. 41-49.

A very detailed analysis of each of Villard's drawings of Reims, pointing out the differences between the drawings and the building itself. These discrepancies are attributed to several possible causes, most notably that Villard drew from other drawings and/or that he had to guess at parts of the building not complete when he made his drawings.

Ackerman is especially impressed by the fact that Villard's orthogonal rendering of a Reims main vessel bay (fol. 31v) is a very early example of this type of drawing, probably (p. 42) copied from a drawing by one of the designers of the cathedral.

The author concludes that Villard was not an architect but rather a "modest technician" who made his drawings for laymen interested in technology.

There is a major error: claiming that the portfolio, called an "album," has 63 pages; and a major undocumented attribution: that Pierre de Corbie was the architect of Cambrai cathedral.

Reproduces fols. 10v, 30v, 31r, 31v, 32r, and 32v.

1997.5

HIGGITT, J. "The Travels of Villard de Honnecourt," *Atlas of Medieval Europe*, ed. Angus Mackay, with David Ditchburn, London: Routledge, 1997, pp. 150-151.

A brief but very up-to-date summary of the current thinking about Villard, reflecting a knowledge of Barnes's studies, e.g., that Villard may have been trained as a metalworker, that he might have dictated his captions. Illustrated with a map showing the places Villard presumably visited.

1998.1

ISCHER, FRANÇOIS. "The Book of Drawings of Villard de Honnecourt," *Building the Great Cathedrals*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1998, pp. 147-149.

Terms (p. 147) Villard an "architect, engineer, artist, and teacher" as well as a "Master" who "may, from time to time, have acted as a consultant to architects who wished to define a project on the basis of several different sets of drawings." The author explains the inaccuracies of Villard's architectural drawings by saying (p. 147) that he "copied documents he had been supplied with, principally projects that had been abandoned by their architects."

The portfolio is termed a sketchbook and Villard is viewed (p. 148) as a "genius inventor, a kind of French Leonardo da Vinci." See **1858.5**.

This short article contains (p. 148) one utterly incomprehensible statement: "[one of Villard's drawings] shows the technique employed to verify, by means of sightings from the ground, the balance of a keystone in a vault that was forty yards high." This may refer to the drawing by Villard of a surveyor on fol. 20v), but the drawing has nothing to do with keystones, being how to determine the height of a tower.

Reproduces in color a number of details from the portfolio and fols. 9v, 15v, and 32v, each cropped, the last severely so.

1998.2

CALKINS, ROBERT G. *Medieval Architecture in Western Europe from A.D. 300 to 1500*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Mentions Villard in two contexts. First (pp. 214-215), that his drawings of Reims help to "... confirm that the builders [of Reims], increasingly well-known masters, now concerned themselves with the aesthetic details of architectural correspondences, and analyzed earlier designs to 'improve' them by incremental adjustments." Villard's visit to Reims is dated in the 1230s. This interpretation is similar to that of Hearn, 1990.4.

Second, on p. 310 Calkins summarizes what is known about Villard and emphasizes the diversity of his drawings, dated between ca. 1225 and ca. 1250. Much of this summary is based on Barnes, 1982.1. He notes that Villard's drawings are the earliest surviving compendium of architectural drawings.

Calkins terms the portfolio a "portfolio" and a "notebook."

Reproduces, after Lassus, fol. 31v.

1998.3

WU, NANCY. "Hugues Libergier and his Instruments," *AVISTA FORUM Journal*, vol. 11 no. 2 (Fall 1998/Spring 1999), pp. 7-13.

Notes (p. 8) that the medieval mason's square "appears at least four times in the drawings of Villard de Honnecourt . . ." and that "the square's practical usage [is] demonstrated by Villard."

The four illustrations of the square in the portfolio (three on fol. 20r and one on 20v) are all additions by so-called "Master II" to the leaves after the portfolio had left Villard's hands and thus prove nothing about Villard himself.

1999.1

ANON. [Encyclopaedia Britannica]. "Villard de Honnecourt," *Encyclopaedia Britannica® CD 99 Standard Edition* © 1994-1999 Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc.

This is the main entry on Villard and gives his dates as *ca.* 1225-*ca.* 1250, terming him a "French architect remembered primarily for the sketchbook compiled while he travelled in search of work as a master mason. The book is made up of sketches and writings concerning architectural practices current during the 13th century."

It is claimed that Villard may have been active in the building of Saint-Quentin and the outlandish statement is made that "In his notes Honnecourt described the work he did on the rose window of Lausanne cathedral," a reference to fol. 16r where nothing is said about Villard's participation in any work at Lausanne (or anywhere else).

The unknown author says that the portfolio began as a series of figure studies but "Eventually, Honnecourt compiled a manual that gave precise instructions for executing specific objects with explanatory drawings. In his writings he fused principles passed on from ancient geometry, medieval studio techniques, and contemporary practices."

Elsewhere Villard is called an engineer and the portfolio is called a sketchbook dated *ca.* 1235&emdash;which means Villard began the drawings when he was ten years old!

1999.2

HISCOCK, NIGEL. "Making Sense of $\sqrt{2}$," *AVISTA FORUM Journal*, 12/1 (Fall 1999), pp. 20-27.

In the context of discussion of the use of $\sqrt{2}$ as a basis of design in medieval architecture, the author considers three drawings found in the portfolio of Villard. The first two are found on fol. 20r: a way to double the area of a square; and a way to halve a square stone. Both drawings were additions to the portfolio made after it left Villard's possession.

Hiscock argues that the geometry involved in both cases may not demonstrate a knowledge of $\sqrt{2}$ or quadrature (rotation-of-squares), but the Vitruvian principle of "counting similar triangles" (p. 20).

According to the author, Villard's plan of a tower at Laon (fol. 9v), "... could actually be based on quadrature and this would place it alongside the handbooks of Mathes Roriczer and Hanns Schmuttermayer which also used quadrature as a method for extrapolating the elevation of a pinnacle or finial from its plan."

In Hiscock's text Villard's assemblage is called a "portfolio;" in the caption to Fig. 1 it is called a "sketchbook."

Reproduces fol. 20r from an unidentified photographic source.

1999.3

SCHLINK, WILHELM. "War Villard de Honnecourt Analphabet?," *Pierre, lumière, couleur: Études d'histoire de l'art du Moyen ge en l'honneur d'Anne Prache*, eds. Fabienne Joubert and Dany Sandron (Cultures et Civilisations Médiévales, 20), Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, pp. 213-221.

A long article arguing that Villard was not merely poorly educated or uneducated, but that he was illiterate and that the three different hands who added inscriptions in the portfolio were dictated to by Villard because he could not write.

Schlink proposes a different sequence for these scribes than that traditionally accepted (see Schneegans, 1901.1; Hahnloser, F.IV). He argues that the texts in the beautiful scribal hand, for example, the so-called 'preface' on fol. 1v, came last, not first. The first scribe may have been a cleric because he wrote partly in Latin. The second scribe wrote in Old French, and was concerned mainly with iconography (for example, adding the identification of Humility and Pride on fol. 3v). Then, as the portfolio was assuming book form but not yet bound, the more extensive comments were added by a third individual, clearly a trained scribe.

Schlink's summary (p. 221) is "...die Texte von Ms. fr. 19093 gehen nicht auf verschiedene Verfasser zurück, sondern auf verschiedene Schreiber, die zu verschiedenen Zeiten Diktate ein und derselben Person, des Zeichners Villard de Honnecourt, zu Papier brachten."

Reproduces fols. 1v, 6v, 7r, 7v, 9r, 31v, 32r, and 32v after Hahnloser F.IV

1999.4

GIES, FRANCES and JOSEPH. *Daily Life in Medieval Times*, New York: Black Dog & Leventhal Publishers, 1999.

On p. 300 the authors have a brief mention of Villard: "The brilliant Villard de Honnecourt perpetuated his name and fame by leaving a large parchment sketchbook filled with drawings, plans, and elevations which is one of the priceless documents of the thirteenth century.

No illustrations.

1999.5

PRACHE, ANNE. *Cathedrals of Europe*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1999.

Prache is one of the few authors to state unequivocally that Villard made drawings of metalwork (p. 202): "... Villard de Honnecourt, author of a manuscript filled with drawings of architecture, sculpture, instruments, and gold and silver work, remarks that he had visited Hungary."

No Illustrations.



Writings on Villard de Honnecourt, 2000-2009

2000.1

HADINGHAM, EVAN. "Ready, Aim, Fire!," *Smithsonian*, vol. 30 no. 10, January 2000, pp. 78-87.

The account of building and testing two trebuchets beside Loch Ness, Scotland in October-November 1998. One of these was built by a crew headed by Renaud Beffeyte (see **2004.7**) and based on the plan (fol. 30r) in the Villard portfolio. After various adjustments, both machines worked. Beffeyte's trebuchet had a "throwing arm" forty-two feet long and used over two tons of sand in hinged baskets as a counterweight.

The article states (p. 85), "The notebook offers a unique glimpse of the mind of a master architect or engineer, a medieval Leonardo, although Villard's precise professional status and career are unknown."

There is no illustration of fol.30r, but a diagram (p. 84) illustrates the mechanics of Villard's trebuchet.

2000.2

CHICAGO, UNIVERSITY OF (Donald L. Ehresmann). *The Sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt*.
<http://www.uic.edu/classes/ah/ah243/ah248-384.html>

Part of the review materials for a course (AH 243 Medieval Art 2) taught in the Department of Art History, six black and white images from the portfolio are reproduced: fols. 10r (Laon tower elevation), 14v (Cambrai plan), 15r (two church plans), 24v (frontal view of Leo), 32r (Reims mouldings and templates) and 31v (Reims interior and exterior elevations). The images appear to be taken partly from photographs of the original leaves and partly from the Lassus facsimile edition (F.I).

The portfolio, called a sketchbook, is dated ca. 1220. There is no commentary on the images or any speculation about Villard.

2000.3

JENSENIUS, JØRGEN H. "Research in medieval Norwegian wooden churches: relevance of available sources," *Nordisk Arkitekturforskning* [Nordic Journal of Architectural Research], vol. 4, 2000, pp. 7-23.

The Villard portfolio, called an "album" and a "notebook," is mentioned several times as a source that combines practical and theoretical aspects of design, thus (p. 11) "bridging the gap between 'doing' and 'explaining' in writing."

The author, an architect now earning a Ph.D. at the Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research, notes (p. 13) that [Villard's] "texts are written in the vernacular of the building craftsmen, replete with the technical terminology and the colloquial phrasing of the carpenter or masons."

A detail of fol. 18v, taken from Bucher **F.VII**, showing a castle whose gable is determined by a pentagram is included.

2000.4

BINDING, GÜNTHER. "Musterbuch eines Werkmeisters: Villard de Honnecourt." In *Was ist Gotik? Eine Analyse der gotischen Kirchen in Frankreich, England, und Deutschland, 1140-1350*. Darmstadt (Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft): Primus Verlag, pp. 77-80.

A summary discussion/analysis of a number of the architectural drawings in the Villard portfolio, called a *Musterbuch* and dated ca. 1220-1230. Offers no new information about or interpretation of Villard, called a *Werkmeister* in the title. No mention is made of his profession in the text.

Reproduces after Lassus or Bibliothèque Nationale negatives fols. 9v, 10r, 10v, 14v, 17r, 18r, 30v, 31r, 31v, 32r, and 32v.

2000.5

CHAUFFERT-YVART, BRUNO. "Villard de Honnecourt." In *Reims, la cathédrale*. Paris: Zodiaque, pp. 155-162.

A brief but careful analysis of Villard's drawings of Reims (fols. 30v, 31r, 31v, 32r, 32v), detailing how each differs from the building itself and an explanation of why. For example, the author proposes that Villard added crenellations to the radiating chapels of Reims (fol. 31r) for "le projet qu'il envisage pour l'église de Cambrai."

Villard's visit to Reims is dated before 1221, when the vaults of the axial radiating chapel were in place but not shown by Villard in his interior view of the chapel (fol. 30v). [It could be argued that the drawing was made after the vaults were in place but that they were omitted by Villard because he could not figure a way to draw the vaults without covering the pattern of the chapel windows.]

Reproduces each of the Reims leaves, as specified above.

2000.6

HISCOCK, NIGEL. *The Wise Master Builder: Platonic Geometry in Plans of Medieval Abbeys and Cathedrals*, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.

Within the context of studying how geometry was used in devising church plans in the middle ages, various aspects of Villard's portfolio are examined. The spire design on fol. 20v proves that numerical (1 : 8 in this case) were used in design, but neither the drawing nor the caption is by Villard, being palimpsest additions to the portfolio (p.182) sometime between 1250 and 1255.

Villard himself did understand design *ad quadratum*, the use of grids of squares, for example, in the face-in-the-square (fol. 19v). He also understood the use of Platonic geometry as a basis of design, proved by his geometric-overlay figures on fols. 18r, 18v, and 19r, even though he made some errors.

It is not clear beyond doubt that Villard or his followers understood the Vitruvian principle of quadrature or rotation of squares. The examples most frequently cited (the planning of a cloister, halving a stone, and making a cloister so that the area of the walk is the same as the courtyard) are not by Villard and may, in fact, be based on a scheme of counting similar triangles.

Hiscock makes (p. 190) this interesting observation:

His [Villard's] initial intention seems clearly to have been to record interesting novelties encountered on his travels. In addition to sketches of architectural ideas, it includes classical statuary, wild animals, gadgets and any other detail that caught his eye for future reference. Since there was little point in filling pages of expensive parchment with the familiar, it should follow that anything that was familiar to him as common practice would not by definition be found in the book in the first place, not, that is, until the pages of exemplars were added later.

The author concludes that geometry appears to have been used for practical for both symbolic purposes, however much or little Villard may have been aware of the latter. Villard displays a routine familiarity with the figures of Platonic geometry, especially on fol. 18c, which he appears to use as a mnemonic guide.

Hiscock notes (p. 171) that Villard was a keen architecture enthusiast "despite uncertainty as to his occupation."

Throughout the portfolio is termed a "sketchbook."

Reproduces a number of leaves and details from leaves after Bucher **F.VII**.

2000.7

KERN, HERMAN. *Through the Labyrinth, Designs and Meanings over 5000 Years*, Munich-London-New York: Prestel, 2000.

States (p. 153) that Villard's labyrinth was "...of, not a model for..." the Chartres nave labyrinth, dated ca. 1230. Kern denies (p. 192) that Villard's labyrinth drawing was of the labyrinth at Saint-Quentin, noting that its path is black whereas at Chartres the path is white, and he concludes that "Villard's authorship of Saint-Quentin is highly speculative."

Reproduces Villard's labyrinth from a photographic negative.

2001.1

SEKULES, VERONICA. *Medieval Art*, Oxford History of Art, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

A survey of later medieval art treated thematically rather than chronologically. Villard is mentioned only in passing. His portfolio, called a "sketchbook," is dated 1230-1240. The focus is on Villard's drawing techniques, and he is termed (p. 55) "a practitioner in architecture and associated crafts."

The author notes the variety of Villard's interests and especially the importance of geometry to his drawings: "... however immediate the impression created on him by his subject, it seems the artist had to transform it methodically, using his training and professional techniques in drawing and geometry."

Reproduces fols. 19v and 28r (rotated 180°) from photographic negatives, carefully cropped and called, in the photographic credits, fols. 38r and 88r.

2001.2

CLARK, WILLIAM W. "Villard's Drawings of Reims Cathedral," *AVISTA Forum Journal*, vol. 12/2 (Fall 2001), pp. 13-14.

The abstract of a paper presented at the Thirty-Fifth International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, MI, in May 2000. See **2004.4**.

The author argues that the discrepancies between Villard's drawings of Reims and the actual building may be explained by the fact that he made the drawings sometime after his visit(s) to the cathedral, and represent what he remembered as the most distinctive aspects of the building.

2001.3

BECHMANN, ROLAND. "Geometry and Symbolism in Villard's 'Tomb of a Saracen,'" *AVISTA Forum Journal*, vol. 12/2 (Fall 2001), p. 14.

The abstract of a paper presented at the Thirty-Fifth International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, MI, in May 2000. See **2004.8**.

Questions whether Villard's "sepulture d'un sarrazin" (fol. 6r) was an ancient tomb that Villard had seen, pointing out that its geometry is that Villard used elsewhere as part of his mnemonic technique.

The author proposes that the drawing may symbolically reflect Villard's initiation into the Compagnons de Devoir.

2001.4

ALEXANDER, JENNIFER S. "Masons' Marks in the Portfolio [of Villard de Honnecourt]," *AVISTA Forum Journal*, vol. 12/2 (Fall 2001), p. 14.

The abstract of a paper presented at the Thirty-Fifth International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, MI, in May 2000. See **2004.5**.

Proposes that Villard's mouldings and ciphers on fol. 32v reflect actual details found in the fabric of Reims, and that the combination can be explained as a means of assuring that asymmetrical structural components could be assembled correctly.

2001.5

SNYDER, JANET. "Costumes in the Portfolio [of Villard de Honnecourt]," *AVISTA Forum Journal*, vol. 12/2 (Fall 2001), p. 14.

The abstract of a paper presented at the Thirty-Fifth International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, MI, in May 2000. See **2004.6**.

An overview arguing that Villard clothed some figures in costumes from ancient statues and others with actual contemporary garments and fabrics.

2001.6

BARNES, CARL F. JR. "What's in a Name? The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt," *AVISTA Forum Journal*, vol. 12/2 (Fall 2001), pp. 14-15.

Considers the various names by which the assemblage of Villard's drawings are known and argues that authors have given a name depending on what they wanted the drawings, collectively, to be (e.g., Hans Hahnloser: *Bauhüttebuch*) or that some designations are inaccurate and misleading (e.g., "notebook," "sketchbook").

The author concludes that the best accurate and unprejudiced designation is "portfolio," defined in the *American Heritage Dictionary* as "a portable case for holding material, such as loose papers, photographs, or drawings."

2001.7

BARNES, CARL F. JR. Review of Wilhelm Schlink, "Was Villard de Honnecourt Analphabet?" (**1993.3**) in *AVISTA Forum Journal*, vol. 12/2 (Fall 2001), pp. 15-17.

2001.8

BUGSLAG, JAMES. "contrafais al vif: nature, ideas and representation in the lion drawings of Villard de Honnecourt," *Word & Image*, vol. 17 (October-December 2001), pp. 360-378.

Bugslag explains the melding of Aristotelianism and Platonism ("Aristotelianized Neoplatonism" or "Neoplatonic Aristotelianism") in the 13th century and argues that Villard was aware of the developing science of his time. On p. 363 the author states clearly that Villard's lion on fol. 24v was not drawn directly from life (although Villard may sometime earlier have seen an actual lion) and that the geometric underlay of the head and the chest is Villard's method of trying to capture the important essentials of lions, proved in part by his text which Bugslag calls a *titulus*. The drawing of lion training on fol. 24r from a literary source: "It is unthinkable that Villard would have actually witnessed such a fantastic and patently ridiculous episode of lion training." These claims should be compared with

those of Perkinson, **2004.9**.

Bugslag claims that Villard was not an architect and proposes (p. 374) that "... it is tempting to see in Villard a member of a growing class, an educated lay person, probably of middle-class or minor noble status, who sought an occupation in the mechanical arts. If I had to hazard a guess at his occupation myself, I might suggest that of *custos operis*, a clerk of the works ..."

Dates the drawings ca. 1225 to 1235.

Reproduces fols. (called pages) 5r, 18v, 23v, 24r, 24v, and 26v, after the Hahnloser facsimile (**F.IV**).

2001.9

KURMANN, PETER and ALAIN VILLES. *Reims, la cathédrale Notre-Dame*, Paris: Éditions du patrimoine, 2000.

One page (18) is devoted to Villard's drawings of Reims, explaining their inaccuracies as being due to the fact that he visited the workshop before the upper parts of the building were complete.

Reproduces fols. 30v and 31v after Lassus.

2001.10

BINDING, GÜNTHER. *Medieval Building Techniques*, Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 2001.

Note: 2001 is the copyright date of the original German edition. This English translation, by Alex Cameron, dates in 2004.

A book of some 900 redrawings (and an occasional photograph) of manuscript illumination, relief, and stained glass depictions of medieval building techniques and tools up to ca. 1500.

Item 469 (p. 152) contains six redrawings from the Villard portfolio, called a "Sample book" and dated ca. 1225-1235: measuring the height of a tower (fol. 20v), screw hoist, level, stabilizing structure, and underwater saw (fol. 23r), hydraulic saw (fol. 22v). Reference is made to a cord (fol. 32r) but nothing is shown.

2002.1

COLDSTREAM, NICOLA. *Medieval Architecture*, Oxford History of Art, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 80-81.

One mention only of Villard, in which the author characterizes the portfolio in the following terms: "The earliest survivor [of architectural drawings], the portfolio of drawings on parchment sheets assembled by Villard de Honnecourt around 1230, has been shown not to be a lodgebook, but the idiosyncratic jottings of a man who could draw designs for metalwork, copy out moulding profiles, geometric constructions, and designs of machinery, but who was incapable of accurately recording an architectural detail even when it was in front of his eyes."

No illustrations.

2002.2

ZENNER, MARIE-THÉRÈSE. "Imaging a Building: Latin Euclid and Practical Geometry," *Word, Image, Number: Communication in the Middle Ages*, eds. John J. Contreni and Santa Casciani (Florence, 2002), pp. 219-246.

Argues that Euclidian geometry was more widely known in 13th-century Europe than has been thought to be the case,

and that there is not the sharp distinction that usually is made between Euclidian or university geometry and what Lon R. Shelby called (1972.6) constructive geometry (cf.2004.3) . The Villard portfolio is brought in (pp. 231-236) as one of the proofs that Euclidian geometry was used by craftsmen and surveyors. The author cites two drawings on fol. 20r by so-called Master II that concern measuring distance and height based on Euclid.

The author next analyzes the drawing of two flamingos on fol. 18v as being based on Euclid's propositions 1.1 and 1.22. The author makes (p. 234) the unique proposal that the inscription on fol. 18r refers specifically to the drawing of the flamingos, not to all the materials in the two bifolios that constitute the quire. The last drawings discussed are the first two on fol. 20r that concern how to locate the center of a column.

Reproduces fols. 20r, 20v, and a detail of fol. 18v (as modified by Roland Bechmann) after the Lassus edition lithographs.

2002.3

ZENNER, MARIE-THÉRÈSE. "Villard de Honnecourt and Euclidian Geometry," *Nexus Network Journal*, vol. 4 no. 4 (Autumn 2002), pp. 65-78; also: <http://www.nexusjournal.com/Zenner.html>.

This is one of several studies (2002.2; 2003.2) by the author in which essentially the same points are made: (a) that Euclidian geometry was known and used in 13th century Europe; (b) that there was not at that time so sharp a division between academic (university) geometry and practical or constructional geometry as has been commonly believed (see also 2004.3); and (c) that certain drawings in the Villard portfolio prove that Euclidian propositions were known.

2002.4

ZENNER, MARIE-THÉRÈSE. "Structural Stability and the Mathematics of Motion in Medieval Architecture," *Nexus, Architecture and Mathematics*, ed. Kim Williams and José Rodrigues, Fucecchino [Florence], 2002, pp. 63-79.

In the context of a discussion of the geometric planning of the church of St. Étienne at Nevers, the Villard portfolio is brought in. The author claims (p. 69), based on discussions/correspondence with Renaud Beffeyte (see 2004.7), that the sheep on fol. 18v represents the 'passport' of the stonemason and provides the basis for drawing a five-pointed star. On p. 71 the author reports that the profile horse head on the same folio is the 'passport' of the carpenter "and serves as a mnemonic device for the uses of a 60° triangle, one-sixth part of a hexagon."

Reproduces details from fols. 18v and 21r.

2002.5

GRAMACCINI, NORBERTO. "Was bedeutet das Schwein neben dem Löwen in Villard de Honnecourts Zeichnung?," *Re-Visionen. Zur Aktualität der Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, pp.33-48.

Not yet read.

2002.6

SCHÜTZ, , BERNARD. *Great Cathedrals*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 2002.

Terms (p. 17) the Villard Portfolio as one of the two most important sources for "the building activities" and writes that Villard "was well traveled, and knew Reims especially well. His book is an instructive annotated collection of sample drawings from which we learn that the architect was responsible for all the tasks that arose on the site." Terms the Portfolio a "site log" of the architect Villard de Honnecourt and dates the drawings 1220/1240.

2003.1

ROSS, LESLIE. "The Medieval Architect: Villard de Honnecourt?," *Artists of the Middle Ages*, Artists of an Era, Westport and London: Greenwood Press, 2003, pp. 61-79.

Ross carefully reviews the state of knowledge about Villard, noting that we know little about him, only what can be gleaned from the portfolio, called a "sketchbook." The author deals with several different Villard "issues:" "Villard the Genius, (pp. 73-74), the tradition of comparing Villard with Vitruvius and Leonardo da Vinci; "Villard the Metalworker" (pp. 74-75); and "Villard the Mysterious" (pp. 75-76). This is one of the best succinct overviews of the "state of the question" in print.

Depending on the English translations by Bowie (F.V) the author twice misquotes what Villard said: that the Laon tower was "the finest he had seen:" and implying that Villard drew a window at Reims because he had been invited to go to Hungary." What he or his scribe wrote is: "I had been sent into the land of Hungary when I drew it because I liked it best."

Reproduces fol. 9v (misidentified as fol. 10) from a photographic negative.

2003.2

ZENNER, MARIE-THÉRÈSE. "Villard de Honnecourt et la géométrie euclidienne," *Pour la Science*, Dossier no.37, Les sciences au Moyen Âge (October 2002-January 2003), pp. 108-109.

This is a French version of **2002.3** lacking the extensive footnoting therein.

Zenner concludes (p. 109): "Ainsi, le manuscrit de Villard doit être reconnu comme un monument clé dans l'histoire de la transmission des connaissances mathématiques en Occident, que ce soit pour l'architecture ou pour la mécanique."

2003.3

REVEYRON, NICOLAS. "Marques lapidaries" The State of the Question," *Gesta*, vol. 42 (2003), pp. 161-170.

Illustrates (p.164 fig. 3), redrawn, some of Villard's *marques lapidaries* (masons marks) found on fol. 32r and identifies them as "location marks" within the broader category of "construction marks." Reveryon believes (p. 163) that Villard's marks were intended to identify stones destined for particular architectural elements, in Villard's case mainly window tracery.

2003.4

SAUERLÄNDER, WILLIBALD. "Antiqui et Moderni at Reims," *Gesta*, vol. 42 (2003), pp. 19-37.

The thesis of this study is that the "classical" stone statues at Reims from the years 1220-1240 owe their style to metalwork from the area of Trier in Upper Lotharingia, a style supplanted by the "modern" style of Paris, as seen in the famous smiling angels on the west facade portals. Villard is brought in (p. 32) with the statement "This figure [= Villard's clean-shaven standing apostle (?) on fol. 28r] was certainly not drawn after a statue at Reims, but it shows that the degeneration of the vocabulary of the Antiqui into meaninglessness must have been widespread in Champagne and Flanders around 1230."

In footnote 48 the author states that the notion that "certain figures in Villard's drawings were drawn after real [stone] sculptures is difficult to accept. The notion of a northern artist around 1230 drawing statues from life is highly improbable *per se*." This does not seem to take into account Villard's drawings of antique nudes on fol. 22r.

Reproduces part of fol. 28r after a negative in the Bibliothèque nationale de Paris attributed to the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich.

2003.5

KURMANN, PETER. "Hugo d'Oignies and Villard de Honnecourt," *Autour de Hugo d'Oignies*, eds. Robert Didier and Jacques Toussaint, Namur: Société archéologique de Namur, 2003, pp. 83-88.

Kurmann analyzes the stylistic differences between the metalwork objects of Hugo d'Oignies (not illustrated) and certain drawings of Villard de Honnecourt and concludes that while both worked in the *style antiquisant* of the period ca. 1180-1230, Villard was better than Hugo at giving his figures a monumental, three-dimensional volume through his use of drapery folds *de cuvette* (washbowl, hairpin). His explanation of this is that Villard worked from monumental works of architecture and stone or wood sculpture whereas Hugo used small metalwork models. This leads the author to reject Barnes's proposal (**1981.2, 2005.2**) that Villard may have been trained as a metalworker although Kurmann admits (p. 88) that Villard "s'apparente à la technique de la gravure en orfèvrerie."

Kurmann then tackles the problem of Villard's profession and agrees (p. 87) that he was not an architect/builder and that he probably was illiterate (cf. Schlink, **1999.3**), hence not a member of the clergy nor the creative force behind any great project. Kurmann's proposal (p. 88) is that "Le grand nombre de figures humaines que contient son recueil permet de supposer que Villard a été le chef d'un atelier de sculpture ou d'un atelier de peintres verriers d'une grande cathédrale."

Reproduces fols. 4v, 8r, 16v, and 29r after black and white negatives in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

2004.1

STOKSTAD, MARILYN. *Medieval Art*, 2nd ed., Boulder: Westview Press, 2004.

Has a half-page box devoted to Villard on p. 283 in which the author acknowledges this author by name as one of the scholars who questions the view that Villard was an architect. Stokstad notes that the collection of drawings is usually called a "sketchbook" but is in fact a portfolio.

Illustrates fol. 19r in a photographic reproduction. The caption says that it represents a "pair of draped female figures," but there is only one female figure illustrated on the folio. There appear to be two draped female figures on fol. 1v.

The drawing is dated 1230-1240 whereas Villard's travels are dated in the 1220s.

2004.2

SHORTELL, ELLEN M. "*Turris Basilicae Innixe: The Western Tower of the Collegiate Church of Saint-Quentin, Perspectives for an Architecture of Solitude, Essays on Cistercians, Art and Architecture in Honour of Peter Fergusson*, Turnhout: Cîteaux: Commentarii Cisterciensis, Medieval Church Studies 11/ Studia et Documenta 13, 2004, pp. 343-352.

Analyzes (pp. 348-350) the likelihood of the pavement of the Chapel of St. Michael in the western tower of Saint-Quentin being associated with Villard (a claim first made in **1864.1**) and concludes that the pavement dates at least twenty years before Villard could have been at Saint-Quentin if, indeed, he ever was there. The pavement design was fairly common and widespread, one example being in Hungary that Villard drew. Gives (p.348 n. 19) bibliography of comparable pavements.

2004.3

HISCOCK, NIGEL. "Architectural Geometry and the Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt," *Villard's Legacy: Studies in Medieval Technology, Science and Art in Memory of Jean Gimpel*, ed. Marie-Thérèse Zenner, AVISTA Studies in the History of Science, Technology and Art, vol. 2 (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 3-21.

Proposes that Villard used the square, pentagon, and equilateral triangle in his drawings, these ultimately going back to Plato's *Timaeus*, in addition to square schematism. The author offers (pp. 10-13) an explanation of the enigmatic drawing on fol. 21r (the drawing designated "h" in Hahnloser's (F.IV) scheme) of an inverted equilateral arch. The article next has a discussion of the *Vesica piscis*, the geometric shape formed within the overlap of two equal circles through each other's centers.

Hiscock notes (p. 21) that while patron may have understood geometry as symbolic (an equilateral triangle as symbol of the Trinity) and mason understood geometry as a way of working, "...rigid distinctions that continue to be made between practical, theoretical, and allegorical geometry are likely to be more modern than medieval."

Reproduces fols. 6v, 7r and details of 14v, 17r, and 21r after the Lassus edition lithographs.

2004.4

CLARK, WILLIAM W. "Reims Cathedral in the Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt," *Villard's Legacy: Studies in Medieval Technology, Science and Art in Memory of Jean Gimpel*, ed. Marie-Thérèse Zenner, AVISTA Studies in the History of Science, Technology and Art, vol. 2 (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 23-51.

One of the most thorough analyses anywhere of Villard's drawings (fols. 30v, 31r, 31v, 32r, 32v) of Reims, treating in exhaustive detail the pier and molding profiles on fol. 32r, showing how they correspond in some cases to other Villard drawings and to architectural components of the actual building.

The author does not believe that Villard was an architect, but he proposes (p. 44) that he was "...an accurate and observant recorder of the visual experience [of visiting Reims]." Clark explains the discrepancies of Villard's drawings from the building itself not as blunders (cf. 2002.1) but of his consciously altering details and proportions, especially, to fit his own taste and in doing so with the main vessel elevation on fol. 31v anticipated the proportions of Amiens.

Reproduces fol. 31v and a number of details of Villard's drawings after the Lassus edition lithographs.

2004.5

ALEXANDER, JENNIFER S. "Villard de Honnecourt and Masons' Marks," *Villard's Legacy: Studies in Medieval Technology, Science and Art in Memory of Jean Gimpel*, ed. Marie-Thérèse Zenner, AVISTA Studies in the History of Science, Technology and Art, vol. 2 (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 53-69.

Identifies three uses of masons' marks in the Middle Ages: banker marks (identifiers for individual masons being paid by the piecework basis), quarry marks (identifiers of the source or site destination of a stone), and assembly marks (job-specific identifiers as to where a given stone is to be placed in construction). The marks found in Villard's Reims drawings (fols. 30v, 31v, 32r) appear to be this third type. Assembly marks can be of two types: lines from one stone to the next or the same design (star, head in profile) on two stones at the points where they must meet.

The author admits (p. 66) that Villard's role in this process, if any, "remains elusive" and it may be that "Villard was not familiar with this material [which was new at Reims] and was receiving instruction in it."

Reproduces details of fols. 9v, 10v, 20v, and 32r after the Lassus edition lithographs.

2004.6

SNYDER, JANET. "Costumes in the Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt," *Villard's Legacy: Studies in Medieval Technology, Science and Art in Memory of Jean Gimpel*, ed. Marie-Thérèse Zenner, AVISTA Studies in the History of Science, Technology and Art, vol. 2 (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 71-92.

Analyzes a number of the costumes of figures in the portfolio and concludes, based on comparison with contemporary representations of clothing in manuscripts, sculpture, and seals that Villard observed different styles of clothing and understood how these styles were worn by different classes of society: peasants (fol. 14v), clergy (fol. 12v), soldiers

(fol. 23v), and nobility (fol. 14r). He could also draw generic ancient philosophers' garments (fol. 1v).

Snyder concludes (p. 92), "The thirteenth-century dilettante Villard de Honnecourt provides the modern scholar with significant information about thirteenth-century society through a language or system of dress."

Reproduces fols. 1v, 3v, 4v, 12r, 12v, 14r, and 23v after the Lassus edition lithographs.

2004.7

BEFFEYTE, RENAUD. "The Oral Tradition and Villard de Honnecourt," *Villard's Legacy: Studies in Medieval Technology, Science and Art in Memory of Jean Gimpel*, ed. Marie-Thérèse Zenner, AVISTA Studies in the History of Science, Technology and Art, vol. 2 (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 93-120.

A curious essay in the form of a dialogue between a modern master mason and an apprentice in which the portfolio is interpreted as revealing secrets of medieval design and construction because Villard was a master in the *Compagnons du Devoir*. Various drawings are explained as significant to the *Compagnons*, for example, the tabernacle on fol. 18v is called the door of the Temple of Solomon on which the four locks symbolize the four elements; the soldier on fol. 2v represents (p. 99) not a military knight but a knight of labor.

Several of the technical drawings on fols. 20r are analyzed and this is one of the few publications to acknowledge (p. 105) that these drawings were not by Villard but were later additions to the portfolio.

Beffeyte is a master artisan/carpenter who has built several large reproductions of Villard's trebuchet (fol. 30r; see [2000.1](#)) and he proposes that drawing of two flamingoes on fol. 18v provides a key to the design of the trebuchet.

In the Editor's Note (p. 93) it is claimed that "For the first time in eight centuries a master artisan, a *Compagnon du Devoir* trained in the same oral tradition as Villard, opens the door to interpreting these remarkable drawings [of Villard]."

Reproduces fol. 30r and details of fols. 9r, 18v, 19r, 20r, 21r after the Lassus edition lithographs.

2004.8

BECHMANN, ROLAND. "The Saracen's Sepulcher: An Interpretation of Folio 6r in the Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt," *Villard's Legacy: Studies in Medieval Technology, Science and Art in Memory of Jean Gimpel*, ed. Marie-Thérèse Zenner, AVISTA Studies in the History of Science, Technology and Art, vol. 2 (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 121-134.

Argues that while there is no external supporting evidence, it may be that the drawing on fol. 6r called in the accompanying inscription *li sepouture dun sarrazin* (the Sepulchre of a Saracen) is not a rendering of an ancient architectural monument but contains many elements found in the literature of the *Compagnons du Devoir* and the Freemasons and may represent the initiation ceremony of Villard into a secret society, forerunner of the *Compagnons*. The word *sarrazin* refers to Hiram, architect of the Temple of Solomon, and the two columns represent that temple. Bechmann acknowledges that much of his information came from discussions with Renaud Beffeyte ([2004.7](#))

It is claimed that the drawing fits into a long square (actually a rectangle with the long sides twice the length of the short sides) and that a pentagram overlay defines a number of the dimensions of the drawing. The inscription statement *li sepouture dun sarrazin q(ue) io vi une fois* is taken in the literal sense of "that I saw only once," that is, at Villard's initiation into the society, not in the more casual sense of "that I once saw."

Bechmann's conclusion (p. 134) is: "Thus, on folio 6r of Villard's Portfolio, we have another credible point of evidence that already in the thirteenth century there was a workers' association practicing the traditions and rituals that we find today amid the *Compagnons du Devoir*." See [2005.1](#).

Reproduces fol. 6r (with overlays) and details of fols. 18v and 19r after the Lassus edition lithographs.

2004.9

PERKINSON, STEPHEN. "Portraits and counterfeits, Villard de Honnecourt and thirteenth-century theories of representation," *Excavating the Medieval Image, Manuscripts, Artists, Audiences: Essays in Honor of Sandra Hindman*, eds. David S. Areford and Nina A. Rowe, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004, pp. 13-35.

Citing many medieval texts, the author explains that in the Gothic period *portraiture* indicated a representation based on geometry, therefore capturing the essence of the subject in an ordered "complete and perfect" manner in contrast to *contrefaire* which indicated imitation (*mimesis*) of external appearance. Perkinson proposes that Villard understood these distinctions and wanted those who would use his portfolio to know that he understood the difference.

When Villard termed his representation of the horologe (fol. 6v) a *portrait*, he gave a description of how the parts were arranged. When he tells us that the lion was *contrefait al vif* (fols. 24r and 24v) he wants us to know that he had at sometime seen a real lion. Perkinson makes the point (p. 25 n. 54) that "It is important to make a distinction between Villard's 'having once been in the presence of a lion' and his 'having drawn the lion while in its presence.'"

Dealing with the "stick figures" found on fols. 18r, 18v, and 19r) the author states that the traditional explanations that they were shapes to facilitate drawing figures (Viollet-le-Duc, **1854.1**, vol.8, pp. 265-267), that they were aids to transferring designs from small to large scale (Frankl, **1945.1**), that they were mnemonic devices to help masons remember geometric formulas they needed in their work (Bechmann, **1991.3**) are each unpersuasive.

Terms the portfolio a portfolio and dates Villard's activities between 1220 and 1240.

Reproduces fols. 1v, 18r, 18v, 19r, 19v, 24r, and 24v (not identified by folio number) from photographic negatives in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

2004.10

HISCOCK, NIGEL. "The Two Cistercian Plans of Villard de Honnecourt," *Perspectives for an Architecture of Solitude, Essays on Cistercians, Art and Architecture in Honour of Peter Fergusson*, ed. Terryl N. Kinder, Cîteaux: Brepols, 2004, pp. 157-172.

Hiscock attempts to put Villard's two Cistercian church plans (sketch plan of a church designed *ad quadratum*, fol. 14v; plan of the chevet of Vaucelles, fol. 17r) in the context of plan developments in Cistercian architecture ca. 1200. He notes that the Order demonstrated a dicotomy in plan preferences: chevets with ambulatories and radiating chapels (Pontigny, ca. 1185; Longpont, ca. 1200; Royaumont, begun 1229; and Vaucelles, 1216-1235) and plans designed on a square schematism (Fontainjeans, finished in the 1230s). The author argues that both types were in vogue and that while the second may reflect the Cistercian tradition of architectural purity, it was not archaic.

There is considerable discussion of number and music symbolism and Hiscock points out that while Villard may not have understood the intricacies of such symbolism, his "church of squares" may have been a reaction to the complexity and ostentationess of Vaucelles.

Reproduces fols. 14v and 17r after black and white negatives in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

2004.11

CHEVEDDEN, PAUL E. "Black Camels and Blazing Bolts: The Bolt-Projecting Trebuchet in the Mamluk Army," *Mamluk Studies Review*, vol. 8 no. 1 (2004). pp. 227-277.

This study does not discuss the Villard trebuchet in the text, but pp. 259-260 fn. 68 questions Bechmann's reconstruction of the trebuchet in **1987.9** and **1991.4**: "Roland Bechmann has reconstructed the trestle-framed, counterweight trebuchet (*trebucet*) of Villard de Honnecourt as a bolt-projecting machine. If this interpretation stands, the presumption that the bolt-projecting trebuchet was diffused from a common source will be undermined, and the

likelihood that it was invented independently and nearly simultaneously in the Latin West and in the eastern realms of Islam will emerge as a distinct possibility. Bechmann has reverted back to the idea proposed originally by Lassus and Darcel (**F.I**) and has reconstructed Villard's trebuchet as a Rube Goldberg device for launching arrows. His design rivals any of Rube Goldberg's machines and is just as preposterous. A mammoth scaffolding towers above the trestle frame of the machine upon which rests a single arrow that is discharged by the impact of the throwing arm as it pivots skyward following release. Bechmann's machine is made out of whole cloth. He invents key design elements (e.g., the scaffolding) and radically reinterprets other components. The catch-and-trigger device of the machine, for example, which consists of a stanchion (estancon), or upright post, to hold a detaining bolt is refashioned as a break lever to restrain the rotation of a drum. Bechmann uses textual and pictorial evidence as a mirror to reflect his own *a priori* assumptions."

Chevedden believes that the best reconstruction of Villard's trebuchet is found in Willis (**F.II**).

Addendum:

The following article does not mention Villard de Honnecourt or his trebuchet plan but offers an excellent overview of how trebuchets work, with clear illustrations: Chevedden, Paul E., Les Eigenbrod, Vernand Foley, Werner Soedel. "The Trebuchet," *Scientific American*, July 1995, pp. 66-71.

2005.1

BECHMANN, ROLAND. "Villard de Honnecourt and the Medieval Craft," *Dictionary of Gnosis and Western Esotericism*, ed. W. J Hanegraff, Leiden: Brill, 2005, pp. 1159-1162.

A good overview of the portfolio content and history and of Villard's interests, but it is admitted (p. 1159) that "The social position, the functions, and the life of Villard are unknown." The author does note (p. 1160) that Villard "may have worked on the collegiate church of Saint Quentin." The most interesting point raised is a theme found elsewhere in Bechmann's writings (**2001.3**), namely, whether Villard may have belonged to a prohibited, therefore secret, workers' association from which the *Compagnons du Devoir* ultimately evolved. The author then offers certain drawings in the portfolio, especially the "Tomb of a Saracen" on fol. 6r, as evidence of this possibility. See **2004.8**.

No illustrations.

2005.2

BARNES, CARL F. JR. "A Note on Villard de Honnecourt and Metal," *De re metallica, The Uses of Metal in the Middle Ages*, ed. Robert O. Bork, AVISTA Studies in the History of Medieval Technology, Science and Art, vol. 4 (Aldershot, 2005), pp. 245-254.

Argues that there is no indication in the portfolio that Villard was interested in or knew anything about the use of metal in construction and repeats the idea that he may have been trained as a metalworker but that he was not, in any case, an architect.

Reproduces fols. 8r, 17v, 31v, and 32r after negatives in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

2005.3

SHORTELL, ELLEN M. "Beyond Villard: Architectural Drawings at Saint-Quentin and Gothic Design," *AVISTA Forum Journal*, vol. 15/1 (Fall 2005), pp. 18-29.

The best analysis to date of the architectural drawings, two bas reliefs and three linear tracings, in the choir of in Saint-Quentin. The author attributes the "Villard rose" in the northeast transept chapel to the 13th century but she (p. 18) disassociates the relief and the design of Saint-Quentin from Villard: "This thesis can no longer be taken seriously"

Shortell notes that two of the linear tracings (arch design and spiral, arch design with radial lines at Saint-Quentin incorporate the same geometry as found in certain of Hand II's additions to the Villard portfolio (fol. 20v), but that the latter are too late in date (mid-13th century) to have been done by the same individual who did the Saint-Quentin engravings.

2005.3

GIVENS, JEAN A. *Observation and Image-Making in Gothic Art*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Offers (pp. 56-81) the best analysis to date of Villard's drawings of a lion that he claimed to have been drawn *al vif*. Givens summarizes earlier views, e.g., Camille, 1996.3; Perrig, 1991.7 and shows that we still do not know whether Villard saw a real lion but, if so or if not, he was nonetheless conditioned by fixed images of "liondom."

The author also analyses Villard's drawings of Reims (fols. 10v, 30v, 31r, 31v, 32r, 32v), helpfully citing sources of the contradictory claims that they were or were not drawn from the actual building. Givens makes (p. 69) the important point that "The descriptiveness of his [= Villard] images implicates both visual knowledge and visual facility, and both amply demonstrate Villard's ability to analyze what he sees, or perhaps knows, as evident in his plans and architectural diagrams."

Reproduces fols. 24v, 20v, 30v, and 32r after negatives in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

2005.4

MAYNARD, PATRICK. *Drawing Distinctions, the Varieties of Graphic Expression*, Ithica: Cornell University Press, 2005.

In various places, but especially pp. 15-18, analyses Villard's drawing of a waterpowered saw on fol. 22v. The author concludes that it must be classified as a "sketch" and not as a "drawing" as the term is understood in post-Renaissance analyses. Villard presents the essential component parts of the saw, but more as a list than as a coherent assemblage.

On p. 237 n. 29 the author states that "No implication is made here that Villard was a professional architect...."

Reproduces a detail of the saw after Lassus.

2005.5

FARNWORTH, MICHAEL. *Inventive Steps in Trebuchet Evolution*, www.thehurl.org/tiki-download_file.php?fileId=66.

In one of the best overviews anywhere of the history and operation of the trebuchet, Farnworth explains the various types. Villard's trebuchet (fol. 30r) is a "moving box counterweight beam sling on a trestle frame" and the author estimates that the weight of the filled box would have been between 39,000 kg (85,900 lbs.) and 50,000 kg (110,231 lbs.). Villard's trebuchet could have thrown a 400 kg (881 lbs.) stone approximately 128 m. (419 ft.).

Farnworth does not deal with the question whether Villard's trebucher fired arrows rather than hurled stones.

Reproduces in color fol. 30r.

2006.1

ZENNER, MARIE-THÉRÈSE. "Architectural Layout: Design, Structure, and Construction in Northern Europe," *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. Conrad Rudolph, Oxford: Blackwell,

2006, pp. 531-556.

Lists the portfolio of Villard as one of the five primary sources as the "background for research on medieval architecture." The other four are Vitruvius, the *Corpus argimensorum Romanorum*, the plan of St. Gall, and Latin Euclid. In her discussion (p. 534) of the Villard portfolio, Zenner dates the portfolio ca. 1220/1235 and characterizes it as "the earliest known graphic record of concepts and mechanics—at least for post-Roman Europe."

Zenner is one of the few authors to recognize that the "technical folios" (20r, 20v, 21r) are later additions to the portfolio and, she believes, "appear to derive from Latin Euclid." An example discussed briefly by the author as being representative of Euclid's proposition 1.1 are the two flamingoes on fol. 18v.

Reproduces fol. 18v and details of fols. 20r (how to determine the center of a column) and 20v (surveying) after Lassus (F.1).

2006.2

CLARK, WILLIAM W. "Jean d'Orbais: Window and Wall at Reims," *Architektur und Monumentalskulptur des 12.-14. Jahrhunderts, Production und Rezeption, Festschrift für Peter Kurmann zum 65. Geburtstag / Architecture et sculpture monumentale du 12e au 14e siècle, Production et réception, Mélanges offerts à Peter Kurmann à l'occasion de son soixante-cinquième anniversaire*, eds. Stephan Gasser, Christian Freigang, Bruno Boerner, Bern and elsewhere: Peter Lang Publishing Group, 2006, pp. 87-96.

Following an analysis of Jean d'Orbais' novel and far-reaching concept for the Reims Cathedral chevet as a periphery of vertical support elements linked by arches at their tops and with infilling of decorated wall at the bottom and traceried windows above, Clark discusses briefly (p. 95) Villard's interest in the construction of these elements and proposes that Villard may have been "more curious about the technical aspects of the architectural elements than he was about the cathedral itself," especially in the way the tracery infilling of the windows was assembled.

2006.3

TAKÁCS, IMRE. "The French Connection: On the Courtenay Family and Villard de Honnecourt Apropos of a 13th-Century Incised Slab from Pilis Abbey," *Künstlerische Wechsel Wirkungen in Mitteleuropa*, ed. Jirí Fast and Markus Hörsch, Ostfildern, 2006, pp. 11-21.

An in-depth history and analysis of the many relationships between the Courtenay family and Hungary, especially relationships with kings Béla III (1172-1196) and Andreas II (1205-1235) whose wife Gertrude of Andechs-Meran was buried in the crossing of the Cistercian abbey church at Pilis after she was murdered in 1213. The author proposes (pp. 16-17) that the tomb slab of a knight in the transept of Pilis was that of Robert de Courtenay, Latin emperor of Constantinople (1221-1228).

Takács then (p. 18) poses this question: "Is it possible that Villard ... may have been traveling in the entourage of Emperor Robert on his way east in the winter of 1220? Could we not suppose in fact that Villard was a multi-talented individual in the Courtenay court and capable of carrying out "engineering" tasks, giving theoretical advice and making practical decisions?" And finally, is it not possible that the quality of the drawing on the Pilis inscribed slab is so similar to Villard's personal style, because he may actually have taken part in the work's creation, if only in so much as making the sketches?" Further, is it not possible that in Villard's manuscript there is some evidence of a possible stay in Constantinople between 1221 and 1228, which would expand the present theories about the master's knowledge of geometry and engineering, as well as his attitude toward antique prototypes?"

Takács's claim (p. 18) of being the first author to raise the question of Villard having been in Constantinople may be true, technically, but at least one other author (Verdier, 1983.4) proposed a quarter of a century ago that Villard traveled to the Near East.

Illustrates the Pilis tomb reconstruction and fragments but no Villard drawings.

2007.1

SIMANEK, DANIEL E. "Reinventing the Square Wheel," *Make: Technology on your time*, vol. 9 (2007), pp. 70-74.

In this article explaining why creating a perpetual motion device is impossible, the author discusses various attempts including Villard's wheel on fol. 5r, concluding (pp. 71-72) that they cannot work for at least two reasons: theoretical ("they are based on incorrect assumptions about physics, or they apply physics incorrectly"); and experimental ("if you build and test them, they don't work").

Simanek dates Villard's drawing specifically to the year 1245 and calls him an architect and attributes to Villard something he did not claim, that his device would be useful for sawing wood and raising weights.

Includes Villard's drawing of the perpetual motion device, after Lassus (**F.1**), and two reconstruction models of Villard's device made by the author.

2007.2

BARNES, CARL F. JR. "An Essay on Villard de Honnecourt and Cambrai Cathedral," *AVISTA Forum Journal*, vol. 17 (Fall 2007), pp. 21-26.

Argues that Villard made drawings for two distinct "clients," himself and a professional client. The personal drawings were such things as insects, antique statuary, lion training. The drawings for the professional client were the very detailed (although not always accurate) architectural drawings, especially those of Reims Cathedral (fols. 10 and 30v-32v), lavish choir stall poppet (fol. 29r), and Crucifixion Group (fol. 8r).

Barnes proposes that a number of clues, taken together, suggest that the professional client was the bishop or chapter of Cambrai Cathedral, for whom Villard served as a lay agent, making drawings that the chapter might use during the construction of their new cathedral.

Reproduces fols. 8r, 24r, 29r, 30v, 31v and details of fols. 10v, 14v, and 32r from black and white negatives in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

2007.3

HAMON, ÉTIENNE. "Une source insoupçonné de l'architecture flamboyant parisienne," *Bulletin Monumental*, vol. 165 (2007), pp. 281-288.

Proposes (p 281) that the Villard portfolio "resta encore en usage longtemps après sa confection" and (p. 286) that "les circonstances historiques plaident en faveur de la présence du manuscrit à Paris dès le XVe siècle." While admitting that this is an hypothesis that cannot be proven, the author offers the basis of his proposal. First, that until now the name found on fol. 33v stating that the book then contained 41 leaves has been misread as "J. Mancel" when it should be read as "J[ean] Gancel" or "J[ean] Gaucel, known to have been *juré et voyer* at the Parisien abbey of Saint-Magloire in 1421 and that the portfolio was there, not at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, in the 15th century. Second, that from 1435 to 1438 Gancel/Gaucel was architect of the west porch of the parish church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois where several of the motifs on the moldings of the arches were based on drawings in the Villard portfolio.

According to Hamon, at the apex of the arches on the lateral north portal is found a crouching figure based on Villard's fol. 1r demon or devil and along the moldings of the arches are curly foliate crockets based on a detail of the upper choir stall poppet on fol. 27v.

Reproduces fols. 1r, 27v, and 33v from black and white negatives in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

2008.1

BARNES, CARL F. JR. "The 1858 Lassus Facsimile: the Start of It All," *AVISTA Forum Journal*, vol. 18 (Fall 2008), pp. 53-55.

This is an abstract of a paper given at AVISTA sessions at the XLIIIrd International Congress of Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, MI, in May 2008. The author traces the history of the Lassus facsimile edition of the Villard portfolio, noting that although the publication did not appear until 1858, after Lassus had died, he had the idea to prepare a facsimile as early as 1849. Also discussed is Lassus' agenda and there is an analysis of the lithographic reproductions of the portfolio leaves by Gustave Jules Leroy and how they differ from the originals.

Barnes makes (p. 55) the point that "... no one serious about Villard the artist and his style and technique of drawing can pretend that the Lassus illustrations are acceptable sources on which to base serious conclusions."

Reproduces fol. 29r from a black and white negative in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, compared to Leroy's redrawing of the same leaf.

2008.2

MORRIS, KATHERINE. "Villard Bound and Unbound(ed): The 1935 Hahnloser Facsimile and the Bauhüttenbuch Style," *AVISTA Forum Journal*, vol. 18 (Fall 2008), pp. 55-56.

This is an abstract of a paper given at AVISTA sessions at the XLIIIrd International Congress of Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, MI, in May 2008. Morris discusses Hahnloser's thesis that the Villard Portfolio was a bound *Bauhüttenbuch* and his lengthy analysis of Villard's "stroke." Hahnloser believes that Villard's drawings were all based on artistic models (sculpture, painting, or other preexisting work) and that, for example, Villard's drawings of figures without facial details were based on sculpture, facial details being omitted because he had difficulty translating three-dimensional works.

No illustrations.

2008.3

WU, NANCY. "The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt by Carl F. Barnes, Jr.," *AVISTA Forum Journal*, vol. 18 (Fall 2008), pp. 55-56.

This is an abstract of a paper given at AVISTA sessions at the XLIIIrd International Congress of Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, MI, in May 2008. Wu describes the contents of the Barnes facsimile and summarizes some of his views about Villard and his drawings, for example, that the assemblage should be called a "portfolio," that Villard was not an architect or master builder, that he may have served as a lay agent of the chapter or bishop of Cambrai (see Barnes [2007.2](#)). Wu characterizes Barnes's commentaries as "generally inclusive, thorough, analytical and judicious."

Reproduces fols. 30v, 31r, and 31v from black and white negatives in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

2008.4

WIRTH, JEAN. "Apologie pour Villard de Honnecourt," *Natura, scienze et società medievali, Studi in onore di Agostino Paravicini Bagliani*, ed. Claudio Leonardi and Francesco Santi, Florence: Sismel-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2008, pp. 395-405.

A penetrating study arguing that the trend in Villard studies in the past several decades has been to diminish the importance of the Villard portfolio (called an *Album*) and, therefore, Villard himself. Wirth writes, charmingly (p.

386), that Villard has been “*trop maltraité*” and appears as a poor victim of his Wheel of Fortune (fol. 21v). The author cites Barnes (e.g., 1989.4) and Schlink (1999.3) as two of the main offenders: Barnes because he denies that Villard was an architect/mason/builder and Schlink because he proposed that Villard was illiterate.

Most of the essay is devoted to analyzing, and refuting, Schlink’s interpretation of the sequence of the several hands who added inscriptions to certain of the drawings and recipes in the portfolio. Wirth concludes (p. 402) that it is expecting a lot that an “obscure [Picard] illiterate” would be known in and invited to faraway Hungary.

His analysis of Barnes’s view that Villard was not an architect/builder is less detailed but equally clearly argued, the main point being that for all Barnes’s proffered reasons for believing Villard was not an architect/builder, Barnes does not prove that Villard was not such. Wirth argues (p. 403), concerning the drawing of the rose window of Lausanne (fol. 16r), “Comme dans d’autres cas, Villard modifie les monuments qu’il dessine pour les mettre au goût du jour ou à son goût et l’abandon de la quadrature y est probablement intentionnel,” dismissing Barnes’s claim that Villard did not understand the design principle of rotation-of-squares.

No illustrations.

2008.5

BROOKS, GEORGE. "Villard de Honnecourt: Gothic Carpenter," *AVISTA Forum Journal*, vol. 18 (Fall 2008), pp. 8-23.

In this tightly-argued article, one of the more detailed studies of aspects of the Villard portfolio in recent years, Brooks presents a history of the varied interpretations of the purpose of the portfolio and of Villard's profession, joining the chorus who argues that Villard was not an mason/architect: (p. 14) "... it has long been impossible to think of Villard as an architect."

He next (Table 1, p. 12) analyzes the contents of each quire, called chapters, indicating the main subject matter of each quire and the secondary subject matter of each quire, and concludes (p. 14) "... the contents of the manuscript left by Villard de Honnecourt are the heavily pillaged notes of a master carpenter of the Gothic era." Brooks then offers five arguments to justify this claim: (1) Lost Chapter on *engiens de charpentrye*; (2) Villard's Limitation as Architectural Draftsman / Additions of "Master II;" (3) Precision of Surviving Carpentry Renderings (notched lap-joints); (4) Villard's Currency with Carpentry Techniques; (5) Advanced Mechanical Engineering. The emphasis of each of these is reflected in its title, but the thrust of all five collectively is (p. 17) "to imagine that Villard was a mason who drew masonry inaccurately but was especially precise when rendering carpentry is illlogical."

Using comparative illustrations, the author demonstrates that Villard was *au courant* with contemporary timber construction and showed such details as the wooden pegs used to strengthen timber construction joints.

Brooks rejects Barnes's proposal (2007.2) that Villard was a lay agent or representative of the chapter or bishop of Cambrai, assigning him a more technical, professional role.

Reproduces fols. 2v, 5r,6v, 20r, 22v, 23r, 32v and details of fols. 3v, 30v, and 32r from black and white negatives in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

2008.6

WALTON, STEVEN A. "Villard's *Perpetuum Mobile*," *AVISTA Forum Journal*, vol. 18 (Fall 2008), pp. 24-30.

The author begins with a brief history of the concept of perpetual motion, both as a philosophical and as a physical concept, concluding (p. 24) that the distinction between the two was not so great in the middle ages as it is now, the notion then being that the concept was tied "...all together in one large cosmo-bio-psycho-mechanical system."

Walton then analyzes in detail Villard's drawing of his hammerwheel and the text accompanying it. Walton believes that the text has been mistranslated and misunderstood. It is his view that the letter *u* in the inscription should be

translated as "or" (*ou*) and not "and" (*et*), so that the device did not employ hammers containing mercury. Rather, he argues (pp. 25-26) that Villard "was saying that the general *idea* he had drawn on fol. 5r could be accomplished *in a number of ways*, that is, by hammers or by mercury." Whether Villard believed his wheel could work (Barnes, F.XII) or whether he doubted so (Bechmann, 1991.4), it is important to let go our modern belief in the impossibility of perpetual motion and understand the context in which Villard made his drawing.

The depiction of seven hammers reflects not merely an uneven number but is a reference to the seven planets and (p. 28) "... the medieval mind contemplated machinery in the context of the universe ..." sometimes depicting the universe being turned by angels using a crank (London, British Library, Yates Thompson MS 31, fol. 45).

Walton concludes with a discussion a scaled version of the hammerwheel he built with George Brooks that proves that the hammerwheel could not achieve perpetual motion, essentially because the hammers place the center of gravity of the wheel below its axle (Fig. 7, p. 29). Villard's "drawing was a mechanical representation of a philosophical idea, drawn with the eye of a technologist ... one who appreciated the mechanical world of the thirteenth century."

Illustrates fol. 5r, redrawn after a photograph by the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

2008.8

SCHLINK, WILHELM. "Villard de Honnecourt, dessinateur de la cathédrale de Reims," *Nouveaux regards sur la cathédrale de Reims, Actes du colloque international des 1er et 2 octobre 2004*, eds. Bruno Decrock et Patrick Demouy, Langres: Éditions Dominique Guéniot, 2008, pp. 81-89.

Discusses Villard's drawings of Reims on fols. 30v, 31r, 31v, 32r, 32v (unfortunately designated as *planches* 60, 61, 62, 63, 64). Schlink describes the coded markings on certain of the drawings, matching the figures on the templates on fol. 32r with those found in drawings of the interior and exterior of a radiating chapel (fols. 30v, 31r) and the interior and exterior of a main vessel bay (fol. 31v).

[Note: Barnes, **F.XII**, pp. 207-208) explains that these markings are post-Villard additions to the drawings and thus prove nothing about Villard's awareness of or understanding of the marks found on stones in the cathedral itself.]

Schlink's thesis is two-fold: that Villard was not a trained architect/builder; and that his renderings are inconsistently inaccurate, that is, his drawings of the lower parts of the building are reasonably accurate whereas his renderings of the upper parts, especially the buttresses (fol. 32v), are of a "façon absolument non professionnelle, sinon irrationnelle." The author concludes that this inconsistency is because Villard drew from actual construction but had to guess at what the unfinished upper parts of the building would be like and, not being an architect, guessed wrongly.

Schlink ends (p. 84) by posing two interesting questions. Did Villard visit Reims at least twice? And did someone other than Villard make the preliminary drawing of the buttresses on fol. 32v?

Reproduces fols. 30v, 31r, 31v, 32r, and 32v from an unidentified source.

2009.1

BARNES, CARL F. JR. "Apparitional Aesthetics: Viollet-le-Duc and Villard de Honnecourt," *The Four Modes of Seeing, Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness*, eds. Evelyn Staudinger Lane, Elizabeth Carson Pastan, and Ellen M. Shortell, Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009, pp. 465-480.

An essay showing how Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, in two imaginary conversations with Villard de Honnecourt, hijacked Villard's persona to promote his own views about the supremacy of Gothic architecture as *the* French national style of architecture.

Barnes also discusses the history of early writings about Villard, including the Lassus facsimile edition of 1858 (**F.I**).

Reproduces a detail of fol. 15r from a black and white negative in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

2009.2

BARNES, CARL F. JR. See The Twelve Printed Facsimiles, **F.XII**.

2009.3

SAYERS, WILLIAM. "Villard de Honnecourt on the Counterweight Trebuchet," *AVISTA Forum Journal*, vol. 19/1 (2009), pp. 46-48.

Analyses the text or caption accompanying Villard's drawing of the plan of a counterweight trebuchet on fol. 30r, explaining the modern translation of each of Villard's terms and how the trebuchet worked. Sayers challenges Bechmann's claim that *fleke* indicates an arrow (modern French *flèche*) projectile which, Sayers notes (p. 47) "could not be cast with safety or accuracy." The author believes that *fleke* refers to the tip of the rotating beam (*la verge*) and admits that Villard's "brief description does not advance our knowledge of the counterweight trebuchet."

Sayers concludes (p. 47) that Villard was not an artilleryman, but also "not an ignoramus — who believed that trebuchets could also fire arrows."

No illustrations.

2009.4

HISCOCK, NIGEL. "Patronal Programming in Medieval Abbeys and Cathedrals: The Question of Symbolism," *AVISTA Forum Journal*, vol. 19/1 (2009), pp. 5-20.

Within the larger context of the subject of symbolic planning, Hiscock continues (see: **2004.10**) to speculate on Villard's relationship to the Cathedral of Cambrai, the abbey church at Vaucelles, and his sketchplan of a Cistercian "church of squares" on fol. 14v. The author notes (p. 9) that it is "thought unlikely that he [=Villard] was an architect" but that four of his chevet plans could have been useful in transmitting ideas to actual patrons or builders. Villard's Cistercian plan is a sketchplan, conveying not details but an overall schematic layout.

This plan is an elaboration of the so-called Bernardine plan of a century earlier, as seen at Fontenay and in churches more contemporary with Villard, for example, Waverley and Byland in England. The return to the square schematism may have been a rejection of the lavish chevets with ambulatories and radiating chapels such as Royaumont, Longpont, and Vaucelles and Villard's plan may reflect a philosophical battle within the Cistercian Order.

Reproduces fols. 14v and 17r after images in **F.VII**.

2009.5

BROOKS, GEORGE. "Livre or Let Die: The Preservation of 'Ecclesiastical Engineering' in the Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt," *AVISTA Forum Journal*, vol. 19/1 (2009), pp. 62-64.

This is an abstract of a paper delivered at the XLIVth International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, Michigan in May 2009. Brooks returns to his thesis (**2008.5**) that Villard was trained as a carpenter, but in a broader context he was an *ingeniator* or engineer, not (p. 62) "a mere roofer." The author concludes (p. 63) that "Villard de Honnecourt appears to be a mechanically minded builder and artist who spent his career collecting the devices and techniques to service the engineering needs of gothic churches along with a vast repertoire of artistic images with which to decorate them."

Brooks concludes that Villard may have been a cleric but that he passed along his livre to his successor *ingeniators* for their edification.

Reproduces fols. 22v and 23r and details of fols. 9r, 22v, and 23r from black and white negatives in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

2009.6

BORK, ROBERT. "Connecting the Dots: Towards Geometrical Connoisseurship," *AVISTA Forum Journal*, vol. 19/1 (2009), pp. 90-92.

This is an abstract of a paper delivered at the XLIVth International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, Michigan in May 2009. Within the broader thesis that (p. 90) "Octagon-based geometries were ubiquitous in Gothic design..." the author examines Villard's drawings (fols. 9v and 10r) of a tower of Laon Cathedral. He proposes that the plan may have been an imprecise copying of a drawing Villard saw in the Laon chantier, but that the elevation drawing, while it looks freehand, is "framed by [=controlled by] double squares. Moreover, the hand projecting from the lower square and the lower oxen projecting from the upper square each are located on the axis of the respective squares.

It seems that a number of "critical levels [of the tower] appear to have been determined by the stacking of two equally sized star octagons." Bork suggests that Villard's elevation drawing was not based on a drawn design he had seen but (p. 90) "his own observations of the tower with some reliable account of its proportions from a workshop insider..."

Reproduces an elevation drawing of the Laon tower by Georg Dehio and Villard's elevation drawing (fol. 10r) with geometric overlays by the author.

2009.7

MICHAEL, M. A. "This is not a Drawing," *Art Newspaper*, December 2009, p. 43.

A one-page article with only a brief mention of Villard, claiming that Villard's variety of interests, as seen in his drawings, rivals that of Leonardo da Vinci and that Villard was a "true precursor of Vasari—an artist/practitioner who was interested in collecting information for professional purposes and out of sheer curiosity."

The author states that Villard "knew a lot about architecture ... [but] it is unlikely that Villard was ever in the position to create buildings himself."

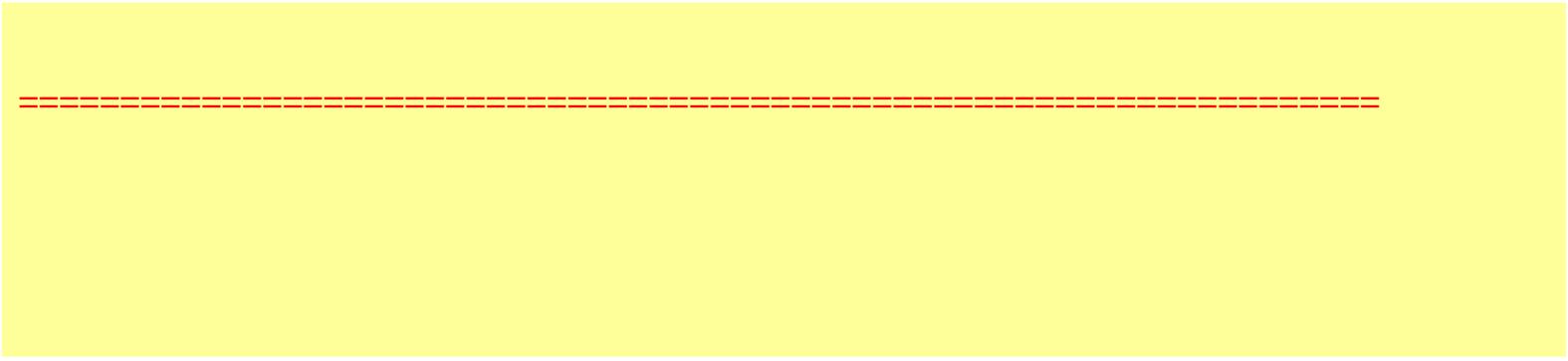
2009.8

HOLCOMB, MELANIE. *Pen and Parchment, Drawing in the Middle Ages*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009.

The catalogue of an exhibition of medieval European drawings held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, 2 June-23 August 2009. Holcomb was editor of the book and wrote a long (pp. 3-34) introduction chapter. She and thirteen others contributed to the individual entries and are identified by initials at the end of each entry, cross-referenced to their full names on p. xii.

The Villard portfolio was not shown in the exhibition, but Holcomb refers to it several places in her introduction. She raises the question of whether Villard was a metalsmith or trained as one (see Barnes 1981). Without taking a stand on the question, she writes (p. 28) "The portfolio reveals Villard to have been a visual thinker, an artist who took drawing seriously as a means to describe and engage with the world he saw." Discussing Villard's drawing style, the author includes Barnes's analysis of the stages of the drawings (Barnes 1981.1) and concludes "...the drawings of Villard de Honnecourt indicate that draftsmen and metalworkers shared a graphic approach to figural representation that relied upon heavy contours and striated drapery defined by long hairpin loops." She dates the Villard drawings ca. 1220-ca. 1240.

Reproduces fols. 17r and 24v after black and white negatives in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.





Writings on Villard de Honnecourt, 2010-Present

2010.1

HOLCOMB, MELANIE. Review of Barnes, *The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt* (**F.XII**), *H-France Review*, vol. 10 no. 29 (2010), pp. 144-147.

Praises (p. 144) Barnes's facsimile edition as being "tremendously useful" and (p. 145) that "the color plates [of cover and folios] are a revelation." Holcomb lauds several aspects of Barnes's effort as thorough and well organized, she but chides the author as being too conservative in his approach to Villard and for professorial finger-wagging in his insistence that the Villard assemblage be called a "portfolio" and (p. 146) his denouncing those who claim that Villard was an architect.

Holcomb's full review can be accessed at: <http://h-france.net/vol10reviews/vol10reviews.html>.

2010.2

DAVIS, MICHAEL T. Review of Barnes, *The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt* (**F.XII**), *The Medieval Review*, vol. 10.05.14, pp. numbers unknown.

Not so much a review of Barnes's publication as an essay on Davis's feelings about Villard as an artist. Davis says nothing of the organization of Barnes's book, nothing of its arguments, nothing of its new discoveries, for example, that there were at least eight hands who composed the various inscriptions on the leaves. He likewise says nothing about the glossary or the iconographic index of subjects. The black and white text illustrations or the black and white plates are not mentioned, either for their quality or their appropriateness. Of the color plates he writes that Barnes's "meticulous descriptions of the portfolio's pages refocuses appreciative attention on his [=Villard's] 'extraordinary skills' as a draftsman." Davis notes that Barnes "retires Villard de Honnecourt as a professional builder and through a disciplined pruning of the thickets of speculation to insist that, at present, Villard is unknowable."

2010.3

ROSTÁS, TIBOR. Review of Barnes, *The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt* (**F.XII**), in *Budapesti Könyvszemle*, vol. 22 no. 2 (Summer 2010), pp. 127-133.

In Hungarian, now being translated into English.

2010.4

KIDSON, PETER. Review of Barnes, *The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt* (**F.XII**), in *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 152 (October 2010), pp. 679-680.

The author notes that Barnes has been obsessed with Villard for many years and writes (p. 679) of Barnes's book that "for the foreseeable future his perceptions are unlikely to be displaced at the centre of the debate about Villard." Kidson then takes Barnes to task for not being bolder in attempting a more detailed portrait of Villard in his "Minimalist Biography" chapter, all the while admitting that "chances of arriving at a definitive solution are slim." Kidson then offers two new speculations about Villard.

First, that if 'Magister One' (Barnes's Hand I) was Villard himself, he was a superb calligrapher which suggests that he learned to draw and write in a scriptorium, where he could have obtained his parchment scraps. Kidson does not acknowledge Barnes's suggestion that Villard may have dictated his thoughts to a professional scribe.

Second, that Villard may have been higher up in the social order than a mere lay representative of the cathedral chapter at Cambrai, and whether he was gentry or not, he might have been employed by the Andechs-Meran family, in which case "he was moving, in whatever humble capacity, among the highest echelons of European society."

Reproduces fol. 12r with erased drawings from Barnes's book.

2010.5

S.H. (Sylvia Huot), Review of Barnes, *The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt* (**F.XII**), in *Medium Aevum*, vol. LXXIX (2010), pp. 167-168.

A remarkably thorough summary of the contents of Barnes's book considering the brevity of the review. The author characterizes (p. 168) Barnes's study as a "volume [that] contains extensive notes and commentary that will undoubtedly guide Villard studies for a long time to come" and as "... a rich and informative volume, and a great scholarly achievement."

Huot claims that Barnes made an error in assuming that the Jehanne Martian whose name appears on fol. 33v was a man rather than a woman. The claim that Jehanne Martian was a woman appears to be unique in Villard literature (cf. Hamon, **2007.3**).

2010.6

DESBOS, ALEXIA. "Stereometric Studies from the Villard de Honnecourt Portfolio and their Use in the Archaeology of Construction," *AVISTA Forum Journal*, vol. 20 (2010), pp. 50-56.

An analysis of several of the stereometric drawings found on fols. 20r, 20v, and 21r which the author concludes (p. 50) are not by Villard but must be called "Villard's drawings." The author admits that it is now unknown who added these drawings to the portfolio and that he may not have been an architect. His purpose seems to have been to show shortcuts for masons, most notably how to use a single template (*molle*) for designing voussoirs for arches with different widths and heights.

Desbos gives an excellent overview of the conflicting interpretations of these drawings going back to the mid-19th century, and proposes (p. 53) that despite different interpretations of these drawings, they may have had as a goal "economy of construction."

She accepts Barnes's claim (**1989.4**) that Villard was not an architect.

Reproduces details of fols. 20v, 21r, apparently after illustrations in **F.VIII**.

2011.1

MURRAY, STEPHEN. Review of Barnes, *The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt* (**F.XII**), in *Speculum*, vol. 56/1 (January 2011), pp. 160-162.

The author comments briefly on Barnes's book, writing "Professor Barnes is to be thanked warmly for this, the first color facsimile of a little book of drawings from the grand age of Gothic (1220s-1240s). His careful work on the codicology and translations, the new glossary and bibliography, and his insightful analysis and contextualization of the drawings themselves make this new critical edition indispensable to all students of thirteenth-century cultural production."

Murray criticizes Barnes's designation of the Villard assemblage as a portfolio," claiming (pp. 161-162) "The designation "portfolio" freezes the continuing creative transformation of the Villard Enterprise at the putative time (weeks, years?) when the unbound folios (all or some?) were, perhaps, carried around by the author in a leather pouch."

Murray concludes (p. 162) that scholars should stop trying to figure out Villard's profession and concentrate on the character of Villard's work as *imagier*, "one who made images of objects to which he was compulsively attracted and which he wished to possess and collect—objects of desire."

2011.2

BARNES, CARL F. JR. "An Essay on Villard de Honnecourt, Cambrai Cathedral, and Saint Elizabeth of Hungary," *New Approaches to Medieval Architecture*, Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2011, pp. 77-91.

This is an expanded version of Barnes's article [2007.2](#) with additional illustrations.

2011.3

BORK, ROBERT. "Villard's Laon Tower Drawings and the Visual Transmission of Architectural Ideas," *New Approaches to Medieval Architecture*, Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2011, pp. 159-167.

A careful and persuasive argument that Villard's drawings of the plan and the elevation, for all their dissimilarities, both demonstrate that Villard understood, however vaguely, the geometry behind the design of both the plan and the elevation.

The analysis of the plan drawing is rather straightforward and traditional, but Bork is the first author to discover the geometric basis of the elevation rendering, which is a combination of a geometric scheme and visual observation: (p. 163) "Villard's exterior view of the Laon tower at first appears to be distorted and impressionistic, but closer examination reveals that its geometrical structure has a surprising amount in common with the actual tower structure."

The author offers, for the first time, a possible explanation of the large hand Villard drew on the right side of the tower but of which there is no physical evidence of it having existed. Bork proposes (p. 164) that the hand was a "geometrical marker" indicating the midpoint of the first square of the generating design.

Reproduces small black and white images of Villard's plan (fol. 9v) and elevation (fol. 10r) with geometric overlays.

2011.4

DAVIS, MICHAEL T. "'Ci poes vos veir': Technologies of Representation from Drawing to Digital," *New Approaches to Medieval Architecture*, Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2011, pp. 219-233.

A brief overview of architectural rendering from the stele of Ur-Nammu (2113-2096 BCE) to today's computer modeling, with discussion (pp. 222-227) of Villard's drawings of Cambrai, Laon, and Reims. Davis believes that Villard's drawings of the Laon tower plan and the Cambrai chevet plan were based on his having seen comparable drawings in the workshops of those projects. He quotes (p. 222, n. 12) a personal communication from Robert Bork (see [2011.3](#) immediately above): "I am quite convinced that Villard was copying workshop drawings when he made things like the Laon tower plan or the ... Cambrai plan; he couldn't have done those just from observation."

The author proposes (pp. 224-225) that Villard's drawings of Reims are more than simply visual recordings of architectural or structural details and that they "foreground its visual character that transcends the mechanics of construction." In short, "Villard's achievement was not merely technical; it was also conceptual." Davis makes no reference to Hearn's persuasive analysis ([1990.4](#)) of Villard's aesthetic interest in Reims.

The "Ci poes vos veir" in the author's title is from fol. 32r of the portfolio, and translates as "Here you can see" piers of Reims.

Reproduces fol. 30v from a black and white negative in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

2011.5

HISCOCK, NIGEL. "The Enigma of Arcade Design in Benedictine and Cistercian Churches: How Regular did Pier Spacing have to be?," *New Approaches to Medieval Architecture*, Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2011, pp. 129-145.

Villard is brought into the issue (pp. 142-144) because his plan (fol. 14v) of a Cistercian church of squares (*une glize desquarie*) is akin to the plans of Cistercian abbey churches at Waverley and Byland. The square *schema* is also seen in the Cistercian church at Fontainejean, completed in 1240.

Hiscock asks, but does not answer, the question "Was the original of Villard's sketch ... an attempt to rationalize the laying-out of such projects?" See also **2004.10**.

Reproduces a detail of Villard's plan of a Cistercian church of squares on fol. 14v after a black and white negative in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Miscellaneous

CASELLI, GIOVANNI. *The Everyday Life of a Cathedral Builder*, London: Macdonald & Company, 1987.

A charming book for young people narrating and depicting in lovely (watercolor?) drawings various aspects of cathedral building in 13th-century France. Villard is called a "master architect ... who was famous all over Europe." It is noted that Villard went to Hungary, but here he is presented as architect of Chartres.

Villard's assemblage of drawings is called in one place a "notebook" and in another a "sketchbook."

REBILLARD, GEORGES [Director] and **YVES THALER** [Cameraman]. *Villard de Honnecourt: Builder of Cathedrals*, n.d.

A 15-minute black-and-white 16 mm. film, said to be an International Film Festival award winner, that gives a very romantic look at Gothic architecture in general and at Villard in particular. Both French and English versions are available.

Villard is called a 13th-century architect who is credited with the design of Kassa and Marburg and probably with the designs of Cambrai and Vaucelles. Villard's inscriptions are very freely (and, in some instances, inaccurately) translated. The photographs of the Villard drawings are made from the Hahnloser facsimile.

Available from the Roland Collection, 22-D Hollywood Avenue, Ho-Ho-Kus, NJ 07423.

LETSCHERT, JOS. A. "Honnecourt Sketchbook" on Story, <http://www.acskive.dk/storyline/honnecou.htm#intro> [1992]

One of the more bizarre interpretations of the Villard portfolio as a "sketchbook [that] is basically a study in certain aspects of primary education. It is a study about [such] issues as: the choice of content, motivating children, how to plan activities and how to design parts of the curriculum."

The author proposes that ca. 1235 Villard, "an architect from the neighbourhood of Kamerijk, compiled a sketchbook with drawings and notes about elements of Gothic architecture, which he had discovered and admired in different places during many journeys."

BARNES, CARL F. JR. "Villard de Honnecourt," Wikipedia, http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Villard_de_Honnecourt.

Very brief overview of Villard for the uninitiated.



21 August 2010



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Subject Index

In a review ([1983.2](#)) of the first edition of this bibliography, Robert Getscher noted, correctly, that the index was inconsistent. It also was incomplete. I have expanded the subject index to make it more inclusive and, I hope, more consistent.

The facsimile editions are **not** included in this index since to varying degrees each concerns itself with virtually every aspect of Villard and his drawings.

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Bible Moralisée (Paris, Bibl. Nat. MS lat 11560)

figures designed on geometric basis similar to Villard (fols. 18r, 18v, 19r, 19v): 1955.1

Braine, Abbey Church of St. Yved

relationship to Kassa: 1913.1

Villard as architect of: 1858.3; 1888.2

Bridge

Analysis of the structure of the bridge on fol. 20r added to the portfolio after it left Villard's possession: 1996.5

Buda(pest), Hungary

Villard may have designed royal palace at: 1971.3

Byzantine Art

consular ivory the source for Villard's "Sepulchre of a Saracen:" 1939.1

not source for Villard's "Sepulchre of a Saracen" (fol. 6r): 1986.2

source for Villard's drawings: 1865.2; 1963.1

"three-circle" scheme for proportions seen in head of Christ (fol. 16v): 1921.1

Villard's Sleeping Apostles (fols. 17r and 23v) derived from Byzantine models: 1967.1

Cambrai, Cathedral of Notre-Dame

V's activity at Cambrai dated between 1227 and 1251: 1901.2; dated specifically to 1230: 1879.1; ca. 1230: 1976.6

attributed to Villard: 1849.1; 1854.1; 1858.2; 1858.3; 1888.1; 1894.1; 1901.2; 1909.2; 1928.1; 1929.3; 1938.2; 1950.2; 1982.2; possibly attributed to Villard: 1926.1; 1927.1; 1958.3; 1969.4; attribution to Villard denied/questioned: 1858.1; 1864.1; 1902.3; 1976.6

built [*édifier*] by Godefroy de Fontaines based on designs of Villard: 1971.6

construction completed ca. 1251: 1971.6

drawing of Chartres west rose (fol. 15v) made for use at Cambrai: 1888.1

drawings of Reims (fols. 30v, 31r, 31v, 32r, 32v) intended for use at Cambrai: 1927.1; 2000.5

drawings of Reims (fols. 30v, 31r, 31v, 32r, 32v) are the lost drawings of Cambrai referred to on fol. 14v: 1963.3:

cathedral may have been source of Villard's work in Hungary: 1913.1

plan (fol. 14v) based on visit to site and on other drawings: 1864.1; 1963.2

plan (fol. 14v) "modernized:" 1953.3

Villard as lay agent of the bishop and/or chapter of Cambrai: 2007.2; 2011.2

Villard's drawings of Reims give precise idea of the lost drawings of Cambrai: 1963.2

Carnet

portfolio called a carnet: 1859.2; 1985.1; 1987.1; 1987.9; 1990.6; 1997.2

Carpentry

material lost from the portfolio concerned carpentry: 1958.3

Villard was a Gothic master carpenter: 2008.5

Catapult

See **Trebuchet**

Chartres, Cathedral of Notre-Dame

attributed in part to Villard: 1952.1

drawing of Pride (fol. 3v) based of relief at Chartres: 1888.2

reliefs in cloister house source for wrestlers (fol. 14v) and dice-players (fol. 9r): 1911.1

sculpture sources of Villard's drawings: 1958.5

Villard at Chartres ca. 1225: 1888.2; 1960.5

Villard possibly at Chartres for dedication of cathedral in 1260: 1911.1

Villard responsible for Reims style in sculpture at Chartres: 1958.5

Villard's drawing (fol. 15v) of west rose: 1888.1; 1881.2; 1904.1; 1912.2; 1976.5; 1990.3

Villard's drawing of west rose (fol. 15v) intended for use at Cambrai: 1888.1

Villard's drawing of west rose (fol. 15v) compared to Cimabue: 1666.1

Villard's drawing of labyrinth (fol. 7v) not basis of Chartres labyrinth: 2000.7

Villard sculptor of relief figures and statues of south arm: 1977.3

Cistercians

planned [designed?] their own churches: 1990.2

Villard called to Hungary to design one or more Cistercian churches: 1895.1

Villard's plan (fol. 14v) of a Cistercian church: 1947.1; 1972.2; 1984.2; 1995.3; 2000.6; 2004.10; 2009.4; 2011.5

Villard's plan (fol. 14v) of a Cistercian church compared to plan of Morimond: 1972.2

Villard employed as an architect by the Cistercian Order: 1952.3

Villard's trip to Hungary possibly in association with Cistercians: 1971.3

Cleveland Museum of Art

Villard Mourning Mary (fol. 8r) may be of figure now in the museum: 1972.8

Codicology

reconstruction of the portfolio and analysis of leaves lost: 1988.1

use of literary terms in the portfolio: 1987.2

Compagnons du Devoir

Sepulchre of a Sarcen (fol. 6v) symbolizes Villard's initiation into: 2001.3; 2004.8

Villard a master in : 2004.7

certain of Villard's drawings reflect 'passports' of the compagnons: 2002.4

Constantinople

Villard there 1221-1228?: 2006.3

Corbie, Pierre de

architect of Cambrai: 1997.4

no proof that he was an architect: 1981.4

may be same as Petrus Petri, architect of Toledo: 1895.1

plan (fol. 15r) drawn with Villard based on Vaucelles plan (fol. 17r): 1947.1; 1949.1

plan (fol. 15r) drawn with Villard for Reims: 1859.2

plan (fol. 15r) drawn with Villard is "somewhat monstrous:" 1960.4

plan (fol. 15r) drawn with Villard is a scholastic attempt to reconcile opposites (round and square chapels): 1951.1

plan (fol. 15r) drawn with Villard may have affected triangular vaults at Toldeo: 1865.3

plan (fol. 15r) drawn with Villard related to Vaucelles plan (fol. 17r): 1960.2

Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum

a source of knowledge for medieval builders: 2006.1

Costumes

Villard's costumed figures used to indicate different social classes: 2004.6.

Courtenai, Robert, Latin Emperor of Constantinople

Villard's trip to Hungary possibly due to association with: 1971.3

Villard possibly went to Constantinople with, 1221-1228: 2006.3

Crossbow

Villard's drawing of a crossbow "that cannot miss:" 1986.3

Delorme, Philibert

Villard portfolio drawings precursors of: 1988.2; 1995.2

Dilletante

Villard called a dilletante: 1982.1

Drapery (see also **Muldenfaltenstil)**

Villard's steps in drawing: 1981.1

Drawings (Villard's)

animal drawings from species seen in a menagerie: 1898.1

as examples of costume: 1825.1; 2001.5

as mnemonic devices: 1991.4; 1995.4; 1996.2

as models for stone sculpture: 1948.1; 1973.2

basis of a stained glass roundel in Pitcairn Collection: 1929.1

compared to figures of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* at Strasbourg: 1967.8

copied from a *Musterbuch*: 1981.4

distort reality depending on what interested Villard: 1961.3

categories of medieval drawings, including Villard's: 1987.7

combine practical and theoretical aspects of design: 2000.3

copied from patternbooks: 1935.3

copied from existing designs: 1943.1

costumed figures used to indicate different social classes: 2004.6.

dated: begun ca. 1220s: 1993.4; ca. 1220-1230: 1973.2; ca. 1225-1235: 2001.8 between ca. 1225 and ca. 1250: 1998.2; ca. 1230: 1854.1; 1984.2; 1991.4; ca. 1230-1235: 1940.1; 1230-1240: 2001.1; ca. 1230-1240: 1969.2; 1230-1250: 1949.3; ca. 1235: 1971.4; 1972.9; 1943.1; 1999.1; precisely to 1235: 1959.3; first quarter of the 13th century: 1997.2; second quarter of the 13th century: 1902.2; middle of the 13th century: 1955.1; the second half of the 13th century: 1909.2

eagle (fol. 18v) based on ancient astrological pentagon: 1972.5

emotionalism of Crucifixion drawing (fol. 2v [and 8r?]): 1865.2

excellent, but not always accurate: 1932.2

face-in-the-square (fol. 19v) proves geometry basis of medieval design: 1910.1

face-in-the-square shows means of enlarging a small sketch to a larger finished work: 1945.1

figures with facial details based on paintings: 1936.3

figures without facial details based on sculpture: 1936.3

figures without facial details based on sculpture criticized: 1949.3

figure of Pride (fol. 3v) based on a relief at Chartres: 1942.1

foliate faces: 1978.7

geometry as basis of figure drawings: 1854.1; 1858.1; 1982.2; 1989.2; 1999.4; 2000.6; 2001.1

geometry used to transfer from small to larger scale, not for design: 1960.0; 1976.5

geometry used for designs (fols. 18r, 18v, 19r, 19v) arbitrary and in some instances added after the figures were drawn: 1953.2

Villard's geometry of human face (fol. 1v) from Vitruvius: 1968.5

geometry used to determine forms, not proportions: 1921.1; 2000.6

hammerbeam roofs (fol. 17v) may be theoretical, since surviving examples came later: 1952.2

Humility and Pride (fol. 3v) based on Paris Dado Reliefs: 1964.3

drawings are both imprecise and impractical: 1969.2

inscriptions on fols. 1r and 23v examined under ultraviolet light: 1946.2

inscriptions on fols. 1r and 23v dated to reigns of Henry IV or Louis XIII: 1946.2

instruments used: 1858.1

intended as mnemonic devices: 1991.1

leaf faces (fols. 5v and 22r) based on Gallo-Roman provential works: 1975.3

lion (fol. 24v) drawn from a real lion: 1960.8

lion (fol. 24v) not drawing from nature: 1993.4; 1996.3

lion drawings (fols. 24r and 24v) intended to be realistic: 1947.2

lion drawings (fols. 24r and 24v) influenced by *Gedankenbild*: 1953.2

lion (fols. 24r, 24v) drawn from memory of a lion Villard had once seen: 2004.9

lion (fol. 24v) modeled after lion at San Marco, Venice: 1947.2

lion (fol. 24v) modeled after lion in *Liber Floridus*: 1947.2; 1973.6

lion (fol. 24v) based on Aristotelian science: 2001.8

lost (erased) drawing discovered with infrared photography: 1988.2

made in pen and pencil: 1998.1

made to instruct others: 1935.4; 1936.1

models intentionally altered or "improved:" 1858.1; 1881.2; 1860.1; 1902.2; 1911.1; 1912.2; 1936.1; 1982.2; 1960.6

more a riddle than the solution to a riddle: 1925.1

not always clear what was intended: 1961.3

not made in bound portfolio: 1928.1; 1936.3

figures not drawn after sculptures: 2003.4

nude figures "painfully ugly:" 1956.2

palimpsests: (fol. 5v): 1986.2

pêle-mêle character due to high cost of parchment: 1949.3

pendant Crucifixion drawing (fol. 2v and/or 8r) intended as guide for sculptors and painters: 1962.2

percentages of various subject matters: 1993.2

prove that geometry was the basis of design in all medieval art: 1969.2

shows degeneration of vocabulary of Antiqui in Champagne: 2003.4

quality criticized: 1858.1; 1858.2

quality praised: 1666.1; 1860.1; 1865.2; 1950.2; 1967.8; 1987.7; 1987.9

related to monumental stone sculpture: 1973.3

reliefs in cloister house at Chartres source for wrestlers (fol. 14v) and dice-players (fol. 9r): 1911.1

sources of: 1858.5; 1864.1; 1865.2; 1983.4 (fol. 6r);

Sepulchre of a Saracen (fol. 6r) based on ancient sculpture: 1983.4; 1986.2; 1993.4

Sepulchre of a Saracen (fol. 6r) based on a tapestry: 1993.3

Sepulchre of Saracen (fol. 6v) reflects Villard's initiation into the Compagnons du Devoir: 2001.3; 2004.8

Sleeping Apostle (fol. 23v) compared to a bronze sculpture: 1954.3

some based on geometry in Hiberno-Saxon art: 1931.1

standing nude (fol. 11v) based on antique bronze: 1993.3

standing figure on fol. 2r called a selfportrait by Villard: 1991.4

suggest Platonism: 1994.1; 2000.6

superior to 14th-century French drawings: 1865.2

technical drawings not all by Villard: 1977.2; 2000.6

technique of drawings: 1999.4

texts written in the vernacular of the building craftsman: 2000.3

valuable for knowledge of medieval drawing techniques: 1958.4

variety praised: 1865.2; 1904.2; 1972.9; 1987.1; 1987.9; 1989.1; 1993.4; 1998.2

Dürer, Albrecht

Villard design of human faces (fol. 18v) compared to: 1910.1; 1912.1

Villard as great a master as Dürer: 1935.4

Eger, Cathedral of St. Stephen

Villard association with 2007.2

Elizabeth of Hungary, Saint

Villard association with 2007.2; 2011.2

Engineer (*Ingeniator*)

Villard was an *ingeniator*: 2009.5

possibly attributed to Villard: 1927.2

Escapement Movement

Villard's drawing (fol. 22v) earliest known representation in Europe: 1952.1

Estragom, Cathedral

Villard as architect of: 1966.1

Villard as architect of Estragom denied: 1936.1

Estergom, Royal Palace

Villard's pavement drawing (fol. 15v) taken from Roman work in Palace of Estragom: 1936.1

Euclidian Geometry

portfolio proves it known to 13th-century artisans: 2002.2; 2003.2; 2004.3; 2006.1

Evangelary of Saint-Médard (Paris, Bibl. nat., MS Lat 8850)

used as model for evangelist symbols on fol. 13v: 1972.3

Fellibien (Félibien), Alesso

identified as the Seigneur de Tuilerie near Chartres: 1974.4

source for Villard's tetramorph (fol. 13v): 1972.3

Fontaines, Godefroy de (1220-1237)

built Cambrai on basis of Villard's designs: 1971.6

Geometry

as basis of Villard's figure drawings: 1854.1; 1858.1; 1937.1; 1937.2; 1964.1; 1971.8; 1980.2; 1982.2; 1989.2; 1999.4; 2000.6

explanation of geometric drawings (fol. 20v): 1988.2; 1999.2

face-in-the-square (fol. 19v) proves geometry basis of medieval design: 1910.1; 2000.6

face-in-the-square (fol.19v) drawn in 2 : 3 proportion: 1910.1

geometria practia or constructive geometry: 1957.1; 1972.6; 1983.3

Villard unable to understand or remember basis of design of models he saw: 1968.3

Villard understood geometric and algebraic formulas for design: 1966.1

geometric overlays (Fols. 18v and 19r) used to transfer designs of figures from one medium to another: 1984.1

certain drawings represent 'passports' of masons and carpenters: 2002.4

significance of Villard's geometric drawings: 1904.2

Villard's geometry learned from his master: 1966.1

Villard's geometry from Platonic geometry: 2004.3

Villard's geometry learned from translations of Arabic mathematical treatises: 1931.

Villard's geometry used to make figures and to indicate movement: 1931.1

Villard's geometry was "constructive," not "theoretical:" 1972.6

Villard had no single system of geometry: 1964.1

Villard's use of geometry in designing figures "sheer fantasy:" 1921.1

Villard's use of geometry for design of human face and body generally arbitrary: 1968.5

Grosseteste, Robert (Bishop of Lincoln)

system of geometry similar to that known by Villard: 1956.3

treatise on geometry similar to that used by Villard: 1931.1

Gyulafehérvár, Cathedral

mason's mark at Gyulafehérvár attributed to Villard: 1905.3

Villard as architect of Gyulafehérvár denied: 1905.2; 1929.1; 1936.1

mason's mark at Zsámbék attributed to Villard: 1905.3

Hahnloser Edition of the Portfolio

Analysis: 2008.2

Harvard University MS Typ 120H

attribution of miniatures to Villard questioned/denied: 1949.5

six miniatures attributed to Villard: 1914.2

Hiberno-Saxon Art

Villard may have known some examples: 1931.1

Honnecourt (Nord), France

model of Villard's saw (fol. 22v) in city square: 1993.1

Horologe

horologe drawing (fol. 6v) based on principle of quadrature: 1951.2

horologe drawing (fol. 6v) and Laon tower drawing (fol. 10v) represent principle of *reductiones formae et numeri*: 1951.2

Horse Harness

Villard drawing of knights (?) on horseback (fol. 8v) proves bit-bridle in use in 13th century: 1912.3

Hortus Delicarum of Herrad of Landesberg

drawings originally kept unbound in a portfolio: 1936.3

Hugo d'Oignies

style contrasted with that of Villard: 2003.5

Hungary

built unspecified, now-destroyed churches in Hungary: 1902.3; 1909.1

excavations at Pilis: 1985.3

Kassa attributed to Villard: 1858.3; 1859.2; 1866.1; 1958.3; 1966.1

Reims window (fol. 10v) drawn for possible use in Hungary: 1859.2?

sent for and employed Villard: 1961.3

trip dated: ca. 1220: 1971.3; ca. 1230: 1904.2; ca. 1230-1235: 1959.4; no later than 1233: 1978.3; ca. 1235: 1936.1; no later than 1235: 1936.2; after 1235: 1960.2; between 1235 and 1250: 1895.1; 1902.3; immediately after Tartar invasion of 1242: 1912.3; 1960.6; 1244-1247: 1872.11913.1; 1949.3; between 1244 and 1251: 1929.2; before 1250: 1950.2; ca. 1250: 1859.2; between 1260 and 1270: 1858.3; as late as 1272: 1928.1

unknown when Villard was in Hungary or what he did while there: 1927.2; 1929.2; 1929.3; 1959.4; 1994.3

Villard called to Hungary by Stephen V; 1858.3

Villard called to Hungary to design one or more Cistercian churches: 1895.1; 1938.1

Villard restored church at Ják after the Tartar invasion: 1905.4

Called to Hungary by Bela IV to build Buda Castle: 1938.2; 1955.3

Villard called to Hungary to take charge of building an unspecified church: 1909.2

Villard may have introduced French technology into Hungary: 1971.2

Villard's pride in his trip to: 1980.3

Villard second (?) trip to Hungary in 1260s: 1092.2

Villard's trip to associated with Cistercians: 1966.1; 1971.3

Villard's trip to, general: 1849.1; 1854.1; 1859.1; 1971.2; 1971.3; 1989.3

Villard worked in Léka: 1905.4

Hydraulic Saw

Analysis of Villard's drawing (fol. 22v): 2005.4

Villard's drawing of (fol. 22v) earliest known representation: 1952.1; 1962.5; 1985.1; 1987.9

Inscriptions in Portfolio

dated between ca. 1230 and ca. 1260: 1901.1

different hands: 1901.1

prove Villard knew both French and Latin: 1945.2

sequence of: 1999.3; 2008.4

type of quill used: 1858.1

written in pen and pencil: 1998.1

Inter se disputanto

phrase misattributed to Villard: 1950.2

is a scholastic expression: 1951.1

Jousse, Mathurin

Villard's portfolio drawings precursors of: 1988.2; 1995.2

Kassa (now Kosice), Cathedral of St. Elisabeth

attributed to Villard: 1858.3; 1859.2; 1866.1; 1928.1; 1949.3; 1959.3

layout akin to that of St. Yved at Braine, which Villard must have known: 1913.1

possibly built by Villard: 1902.03; 1912.4

Villard not associated with: 1866.2; 1971.3

Villard involved only with design/contruction of the foundations: 1913.1

Kigyópusztai, Hungary

Villard designed belt buckle found at: 1971.3

Kingdom of Jerusalem

Villard trip to: 1983.4

Laon, Cathedral of Notre-Dame

attributed in part to Villard: 1952.1

geometry in design of tower: 1951.2, 1951.3, 1999.2; 2009.6; 2011.3; 2011.4

quadrature basis of the tower plan (fol. 9v): 1935.4; 1949.4; 1951.2; 1951.3; 1953.1; 1999.2; 2000.6

Villard's comment on tower (fol. 9v) misquoted: 1849.1; 1904.2; 1928.1; 1929.3; 1952.3; 1962.3; 1976.3; 1982.2; 1998.4

Villard's drawing (fol. 10r) could have been used to restore tower spire: 1912.2

Villard's interest in the aesthetics of the cathedral: 1990.4; 1991.2

Villard's tower drawings (fols. 9v and 10r) can be interpreted in contradictory ways: 1955.2; 1990.8

Überwasser (1949.4) fudged his diagram of: 1990.8

Lassus Edition of the Portfolio

Analysis: 2008.1

Latin

Villard did not know: 1990.1

Villard's knowledge of: 1910.1; 1922.1; 1949.3; 1950.2; 1990.2

Lausanne, Cathedral

choir stall design attributed to Villard: 1858.1

choir stall wrestlers not source for Villard's wrestlers (fol. 14v): 1911.1

choir stall wrestlers the source for Villard's wrestlers: 1856.1

extent of Villard's work at Lausanne: 1999.1

rose attributed to Pierre d'Arras: 1970.3; 1975/1

rose dated between 1217 and 1235: 1975.1; 1980.3

rose design (fol. 16r) drawn from memory: 1858.2

Villard not responsible for tower design at Lausanne: 1997.3

Villard did not understand quadrature design of rose window: 1968.3; 1972.2

Villard's drawing (fol. 16r) may not be of Lausanne rose: 1970.4

Villard's interest in rose: 1970.3

Villard's drawing (fol. 16r), made ca. 1235, proves fame of Lausanne rose: 1975.1

did Villard introduce French Gothic style into Lausanne?: 1856.1

Leonardo da Vinci

Villard compared to: 1858.5; 1971.8; 1976.2; 1987.9; 1998.1; 2000.1; 2003.1

***Liber Floridus* (Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS. 92, fol. 56v)**

model for Villard's frontal lion (fol. 24v): 1947.2; 1973.6

Libergier, Hugues

discussed architecture with Villard: 1928.1

tombstone: 1998.2

Luzarches, Robert de

Villard's originality compared to: 1865.2

Villard and: 1993.5

Villard more famous than Robert de Luzarches due to portfolio: 1965.1

Lyre Drawings (Evreux, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 4)

Villard's drawings contrasted with: 1974.3

Ms. Add. 15219 (London, British Library)

drawing style compared to Villard: 1935.5

Marburg, Elisabethkirche (Church of St. Elizabeth)

Villard not associated with: 1940.2

Masons' Marks

Villard's drawing (fol. 32r) of masons' marks at Reims: 1982.2; 1983.1; 1996.1; 2000.4; 2004.4; 2004.5; 2008.7

Different uses of masons' marks: 2004.5

Villard's masons' marks (fol. 32r) for placement of stones in construction: 2003.3

Mason's Square

(fols. 20r and 20v): 1973.5; 1998.3

Master II

depended on earlier collections of formulas: 1935.3

designs (fols. 20r and 20v) based on a Picard treatise of ca. 1240-1250: 1957.1

drawings cryptic, difficult to understand: 1957.2

drawings dated ca. 1250: 1960.5

drawings of templates (fols. 20v) analyzed: 1971.7

drawngs permitted prefabrication of stones used in vaults: 1995.2

geometry taken from Vitruvius: 1945.1

geometry was "constructive," not "theoretical:" 1972.6

keystone design (fol. 20v, top row) based on Archimedean spiral: 1960.5

mason's square (fols. 20r and 20v): 1998.3; 1970.6

more accurate than generally given credit for: 1960.5

not a pupil of Villard: 1975.2

principle of quadrature known by Master II: 1945.1; 1960.5; 1960.6; 1973.5

principle of quadrature may not have been known to Master II: 2000.6

successor to Villard in a building lodge [at Saint-Quentin?]: 1945.2; 1950.2

use of geometria practica (fols. 20v, 21r): 1957.1; 1983.3; 1988.2; 2000.6

work dated ca. 1260: 1945.1

Master III

successor to Villard in a building lodge [Saint-Quentin?]: 1945.2; 1950.2

not a pupil of Villard: 1975.2

Villard Mourning Mary (fol. 8r) in style of Master Gérard: 1972.8

Meaux, Cathedral

attributed to Villard: 1928.1

Villard drawing (fol. 15r) proves layout of original plan: 1967.6; 1971.5; 1989.1

Villard's plan (fol. 15r) compared to plan (fol. 17r) of Vaucelles: 1967.6

Meaux, Church of St. Faron

attributed to Villard: 1928.1

Mechanical Devices

mechanical device for lifting a heavy weight (fol. 22v): 1901.3

mechanical device for turning an angel to face the sun (fol. 22v) called "très grossier:" 1876.1

Villard's interest in: 1948.2; 1976.1; 1986.3

Meran, Gertrude de (d. 1213)

Villard may have sculpted Gertrude's tomb: 1971.3; 1974.1; 1977.3; 1978.2

no proof that Villard was executant of her tomb: 1997.3

tomb in Cistercian abbey church at Pilis: 1006.3

Metal

no indication in portfolio that Villard was interested in metal in construction: 2005.2

Metalworker

Villard trained as: 1981.1; 1986.1; 1988.4; 2005.2

Villard not a metalworker: 2003.5

Villard drew silver and goldwork: 1999.5

Villard may have been a metalworker: 2009.8

Monreale, Sicily, Cathedral

Villard's sleeping apostle (fol. 17r) compared to *Garden of Gesthemene* figure: 1967.5

Montreuil, Pierre de

Villard more famous than due to the portfolio: 1965.1

Morimond, Cistercian Abbey Church

plan compared to Villard's Cistercian church plan (fol. 14v): 1969.1

Muldenfaltenstil

Villard's skill at rendering: 1967.1; 1970.5; 1981.3

V's use of as models for stone sculpture: 1973.2

Villards' figures based on Parisian *Maudenfaltenstil*: 1974.2

Villard may have studied *Muldenfaltenstil* works of Nicolas of Verdun: 1975.5

Near East

Villard trip to: 1983.4

Villard visited, 1221-1228?: 2006.3

Nudes

antique bronze statuettes the source for Villard's nudes: 1939.1; 1999.4

antique figures at Reims served as models for Villard's: nudes 1949.2

Oignies, Hugo d'

metalwork compared to Villard's drawing: 1970.5

Oursigne

"dame par amours" of Jean Dcc de Berry symbolized by bear and swan (fol. 4r): 1902.3

Padua, Arena Chapel

Villard's sleeping apostle (fol. 23v) compared to Giotto's *Joachim's Dream*: 1967.4

Paris, Parish Church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois

Villard's drawings used in 15th century for certain sculpted details: 2007.3

Cathedral of Notre-Dame

drawings of Humility and Pride (fol. 3v) based on dado reliefs: 1964.3

Paris, Matthew (of)

any connection between Matthew and Villard denied: 1942.1

Villard's figure of Pride (fol. 3v) and wrestlers (fol. 14v) compared to: 1942.1

Perpetuum Mobile

Possible source for Villard's drawing (fol. 5r): 1962.5

Symbolic meaning of Villard's wheel: 2008.6

Why Villard's device could not work: 2007.1; 2008.6

Petri, Petrus (Architect of Cathedral of Toledo, Spain)

may have studied with Villard and Pierre de Corbie: 1865.3

may be same as Pierre de Corbie: 1895.1

Picardie

intellectual center in the 13th century: 1986.3

Villard from Picardie: 1910.1; 1957.3; 1994.1

Pilis, Hungary, Cistercian Abbey Church

no proof that Villard was executant of: 1997.3

Villard associated with: 1982.2

Villard associated with planning final phase of construction: 1971.3

Villard drew (fol. 15v) pavement in south arm: 1977.3

Tomb slab of a knight in south arm of transept similar to Villard drawings: 2006.3

Platonism

Villard's philosophical convention suggestive of Platonism: 1994.1

Portfolio

as important for the study of 13th-century art as the Plan of St. Gall is for the study of 9th-century art: 1859.1

number of leaves lost: 13: 1988.1; 17: 1960.6; at least half (i.e., 33) are lost: 1986.3

begun as a sketchbook, became a [shop] manual: 1957.3

binding (cover): 1858.1

called a/an: "album:" 1869.2; 1879.1; 1888.1; 1926.1; 1935.1; 1953.2; 1958.1; 1958.2; 1962.4; 1966.4; 1993.2; 1996.3; 2000.3; "Arbeitsbuch"" 1978.3; "architectural *summa scientiae et artis*": 1978.2.; architectural treatise:" 1982.2; "Baubuch:" 1953.2; "Bauhüttenbuch:" 1946.1; 1972.7; ; "book:" 1901.2; 1904.2; "building encyclopaedia:" 1950.2; "cahier de croquis:" 1959.4; "carnet" or "carnets:" 1859.1; 1864.1; 1985.1; 1987.9; 1996.4; "carnet de chantier:" 1984.1; "carnet de croquis:" 1987.1; "comprehensive model-book:" 1969.2; "the first organic treatise on medieval architecture:" 1959.3; "handbook:" 1995.5; "Lehrbuch": 1978.2; "Lehrbuch" organized in chapters: 1960.6 "livre de l'oeuvre": 1936.2; "livre de portraiture:" 1959.3; "livre du chantier": 1936.2; "lodgebook:" 1966.4; 1971.1; 1982.2; 1989.2; 1989.3; 1990.2; 1991.6; "manuscript:" 1902.3; 1904.2; 1945.1; 1987.6; 1987.9; 1995.2; 1997.1; 1997.2; "model book:" 1956.3; 1959.3; "Musterbuch:" 1949.2; 1956.1; 1972.7; 2000.4; "notebook:" 1944.2; 1858.4; 1972.9; 1976.3; 1979.3; 1989.1; 1993.1; 1998.2; 2000.1; 2000.3; Parisian patternbook: 1999.4; "patternbook:" 1835.3; 1936.3; 1977.5; 1999.4; "portfolio:" 1996.2; 1998.2; 1999.2; 1997.1; 2001.6; 2004.9; "private sketchbook": 1975.2; " recueil de croquis et des notes manuscrits:" 1872.1; "sketchbook:" 1904.2; 1918.1; 1927.3; 1959.3; 1960.4; 1962.4; 1965.2; 1967.5; 1974.3; 1976.2; 1972.6; 1973.2; 1973,3; 1975.5; 1977.7; 1982.2; 1993.1; 1995.6; 1999.1; 1996.1; 1998.1; 2000.2; 2000.6; "site logbook:" 2002.6; Skizzenbuch": 1901.1; 1914.3; 1925.1; "teaching treatise" (*Trakates*): 1940.1; "technical encyclopaedia of the building trades:" 1966.2; "technical manual:" 1928.1; "technical treatise:" 1959.3; "textbook:" 1943.1; "textbook on architecture:" 1958.2; " vrai encyclopédie:" 1953.2; "véritable encyclopédié:" 1958.3; "stonemasons' lodge book:" 1998.4; "priceless document:" 1999.4

characterized as a/an: "exemplar for apprentices:" 1989.3; "handbook, compiled for the instruction of apprentice cathedral builders:" 1967.4; more than a mere "album de croquis:" 1931.1; "practical encyclopaedia of building arts and crafts:" 1945.2; "randomly composed sketchbook:" 1974.3; "unique en son genre:" 1959.4; "unique survival:" 1929.3; 1977.7

codicology of: 1987.2; 1988.1

compiled for a great lodge [Saint-Quentin?]: 1945.2

contains notes of every aspect of the building crafts: 1957.4

made for use in a building lodge: 1978.2

contents classified: 1849.1; 1858.1; 1982.1; 1996.2

contents too random to constitute a lodge manual: 1858.5; 1970.5; 1990.5

contents too miscellaneous to constitute an artist's patternbook: 1962.4

dated: 12th century: 1666.1; begun ca. 1220s: 1993.4; ca. 1220-1230: 1999.4; ca. 1220-1235: 1975.5; 2006.1; second quarter of the thirteenth century: 1976.3; between ca. 1225 and ca. 1250: 1970.1; 1998.2; ca. 1230: 1854.1; 1984.2; 1991.4; ca. 1230-1235: 1940.1; 1230-1240: 2001.1; 1230-1250: 1949.3; ca. 1235: 1963.1; 1972.9; 1943.1; 1999.1; precisely to 1235: 1959.3; first quarter of the 13th century: 1997.2; second quarter of the 13th century: 1902.2; middle of the 13th century: 1955.1; the second half of the 13th century: 1909.2; ca. 1220-ca.1240: 2009.8; ca. 1230-1240: 1960.4; dated to 17th (?) century: 1825.1

dedicated to Villard's hiers: 1997.1

designation "Skizzenbuch" denied: 1935.4; 1940

dismissed as merely "a collection of drawings:" 1979.2

hands of inscriptions: 1901.1

characterized as a key to understanding Gothic design process: 1914.3; 1964.2; 2004.9

gives good idea of what medieval modelbooks looked like: 1964.2

in Paris in the 15th century

leaves not stitched in cover by Villard: 1996.2

made as a parallel to Vitruvius' *De Architectura*: 1976.2

made for instruction of others: 1858.2; 1904.2; 1929.3; 1997.2; 2004.9

made for laymen interested in technology: 1997.4

made for Villard's personal professional use: 1960.6

made for Villard's personal use: 1858.5

makes Villard best known of all medieval architects: 1954.1

material lost from the portfolio concerned carpentry: 1958.3

may demonstrate knowledge of Latin Euclid: 2006.1

most important evidence of principles of Gothic design: 1952.3; 1965.1; 1991.6

not a treatise or collection of practical instructions: 1965.1; 1970.7; 1971.7

not a systematic attempt to create a shop manual: 1974.4

number of entries given as between 1215 and 1233: 1982.2

not a model book: 2002.1

not based on an academic treatise: 1975.2

number of leaves lost: 1949.3; 1960.6; 1986.3; 1987.9; 1988.1

only one of its kind before 15th century to have survived: 1961.2

"portfolio" best name for assemblage of Villard's drawings: 2002.6

probably served as a textbook in Villard's lodge: 1966.4

proves Gothic craftsmen practiced many arts concurrently: 1967.4

purpose questioned: 1962.4

purpose unknown: 1988.4

rarity of: 1867.2; 1970.7; 1918.1

reveals relationship between architects and academic discipline: 1960.4

should not be called a portfolio: 2011.1

served different purposes at different times: 1960.1

similar to notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci: 1976.2

unique survival of Gothic period: 1972.6

variety of subjects: 1858.2; 1867.2

Psalter of Queen Blanche of Castile (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 1186)

figures style compared to Villard: 1980.2

Psalter of Queen Ingebord of France (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 1695)

Villard figure style compared to: 1967.1; 1967.4

Pythagorean Monochord

used by Villard as basis of his geometry: 1946.1

Quadrature

horologe drawing (fol. 6v) and Laon tower drawing (fol. 10v) based on quadrature: 1951.2; 1951.3; 1953.1

is the secret of the medieval masons: 1960.6

principle known to Master II: 1945.1; 1960.6

principle known to Villard: 1958.3; 1960.6

principle may not have been known to Master II: 2000.6

used by Villard for even the smallest details: 1951.3

used by Villard in drawing "rotating masons" (fol. 19v): 1972.2

Ravesv- -, Martin

predecessor to Villard in Hungary: 1876.2; 1909.1

Reutlingen, Cistercian Church of Notre-Dame

church plan engraving compared to Villard's Cistercian church plan (fol. 14v): 1979.4

Reims, Cathedral of Notre-Dame

antique works at Reims models for Villard's nudes: 1949.2

attributed in part to Villard: 1952.1

drawing of chapel (fol. 30v) without vaults does not prove Villard was at Reims before the chapel was vaulted: 1967.7

drawing of elevation (fol. 31v) early example of orthogonal rendering: 1997.4

drawing of window (fol. 10v) made for possible use at Cambrai: 1909.2

drawing of window (fol. 10v) made for possible use in Hungary: 1859.2

drawing of window (fol. 10v) made from another drawing: 1859.2

drawing of window (fol. 10v) proves Reims nave under construction by 1232: 1960.7

drawings modify what Villard saw: 1912.2; 2004.4

drawings of Reims frequently inaccurate: 1977.4; 1981.3

drawings of Reims precise: 1999.4

drawings modified to resemble proportions of Amiens: 1972.7; 2004.4

drawings (fols. 30v, 31v) omit vaults to stress three-dimensionality of the vault construction: 1976.5

drawings of male figures (fol. 28r) based on sculpted figures at Reims: 1966.4

drawings of Reims based on other drawings: 1957.4

drawings of details prove how observant Villard was: 2004.4

drawings of Reims inconsistent: 2008.7

drawings of Reims important part of Villard's drawings: 1888.2

drawings of Reims (fols. 30v, 31r, 31v, 32v) drawn from the building: 1963.2; 1963.3

drawings of templates (fol. 32r) based on earlier work at Reims: 1971.7

drawings of templates (fol. 32r) prove prefabrication of construction: 1977.4

drawings of Reims intended for use at Cambrai: 1927.1; 1963.3; 2000.5

enlarged central triforium colonette (fol. 31v) exaggerated as a scholastic exercise: 1951.1

inaccuracy of drawings of Reims: 1949.4; 1991.4; 2001.2; 2001.9

plan (fol. 15r) drawn by Villard and Pierre de Corbie design for Reims: 1859.2

project changed to less ambitious one after Villard made his drawings: 1961.1

Robert de Coucy a friend of Villard: 1854.1

uncertain when Villard was at Reims: 1927.5

Villard as architect of: 1856.1

Villard as subcontractor for choir aisle windows and triforium: 1982.2 (retracted in 1983.1)

Villard collaborated with architects in design of: 1939.1

Villard influenced by the sculpture of: 1938.1

Villard not architect of: 1888.1; 1892.1; 1894.1; 1895.1

Villard came to Reims from Laon: 1963.3

Villard responsible for Reims style in sculpture at Chartres: 1958.5

Villard's drawing of masons' marks at: 1982.2; 1983.1; 1996.1; 2004.4; 2004.5

Villard's drawings of Reims give precise idea of the lost drawings of Cambrai: 1963.2

Villard's drawings of Reims are the lost drawings of Cambrai referred to on fol. 14v: 1963.3

Villard's drawings reveal state of construction at the time of his visit: 1954.2; 1963.3

Villard's drawings prove work well advanced: 1854.1

Villard's drawings of Reims windows (fols. 10v, 30v, 31r, 31v) may explain their widespread imitation in Europe: 1967.2

Villard's interest in the aesthetics of: 1990.4; 1998.2; 2004.4

Villard's interest in the construction of the windows of: 2006.2

Villard's visit dated: ca. 1220: ca. 1220 before his trip to Hungary (and again in 1235/1236): 1971.4; 1963.3; before 1221: 2000.5; ca. 1225: 1904.2; ca. 1230; early 1230s: 1966.4; in the 1230s: 1998.2; 2nd quarter of the 13th century: 1954.2; ca. 1240-1245: 1963.2; ca. 1244: "vers l'année 1244": 1902.2; 1894.1; 1902.2; after achievement of radiating chapels: 1892.1; 1902.2

Reims Palimpsest (Reims, Archives de la Marne, MS G.661)

dated between 1230 and 1240 and between 1263 and 1270: 1958.1

drawings compared to those of Villard: 1933.1; 1958.1; 1978.5

Root 2 (2)

may not have been known to or used by Villard: 1999.2; 2000.6

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mistake to see Villard as precursor of Renaissance: 1938.1

Roupy, Jean de

used Villard drawing of apostle (fol. 23v) as model for tomb of Jean Dcc de Berry: 1902.3

added swan to fol. 4r so that bear and swan became a rebus for Oursigne: 1902.3

Rome

imaginary trip to Rome by Villard dated *ca.* 1260: 1860.2

Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Codex Lat 1976

compared to Villard portfolio: 1862.4

Roriczer, Mathes

Villard's "face in square" ad quadratum desugn (fol `9v) compared to Roriczer's: 1912.1

Villard a greater master than Roritzer: 1935.4

Rotation of Squares

See: **Quadrature**

Saint-Blaisen Psalter

dated ca. 1230-ca. 1235 and compared to Villard's drawings: 1963.1

Saint-Quentin, Collegial Church

choir dated ca. 1205-1220: 1959.5

drawing in chapel attributed to Villard: 1978.3; refuted: 1978.1; 2005.3

drawing of a Gothic (?) pier: 1987.4; 2005.3

drawing of arches: 2005.3

drawing of a rose window related to Chartres: 1864.1; 1977.2; 2005.3

drawing of a rose window attributed to Villard: 1977.2

drawing of a rose window disassociated from Villard: 2005.3

drawings at compared to Villard drawings: 1995.6; 1996.5

pavement of Chapel of St. Martin based on Villard drawing: (fol. 15v) 1864.1

pavement of Chapel of St. Martin not associated with Villard drawing: (fol. 15v) 2004.2

pavement of Chapel of St. Martin related to Villard's Hungary trip: 1864.1; 1977.2

portfolio prepared for use in lodge of Saint-Quentin?: 1945.2

Villard as consultant at: 1982.2 (retracted in 1983.1)

Villard as architect of: 1864.1; 1875.1; 1888.2; 1895.1; 1898.1; 1902.3; 1904.2; 1918.1; 1919.1; 1922.1; 1936.2; 1948.1; 1950.2; 1957.3; 1957.4; 1959.4; 1959.5; 1960.7; 1966.2; 1967.3; 1999.1

Villard as second master at, 1220-1230: 1967.3

Villard not architect of: 1872.1; 1987.4; 1995.6; 1968.2; 2005.3

Villard draftsman of choir plan: 1960.6

Villard at Saint-Quentin in the 1220s: 1977.2

Villard at Saint-Quentin before and after his trip to Hungary: 1960.6

Villard contributed the design no later than 1228-1233: 1978.3

Villard's drawing of labyrinth (fol. 7v) not source for St. Quentin labyrinth: 2000.7

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See: **Hydraulic Saw**

Villard's drawing (fol. 22v) earliest known representation in Europe: 1952.1; 1962.5

Scholasticism

relationship between architecture and scholasticism: 1951.1; 1957.1

Villard could follow the arguments of the 'schools:' 1990.2

Villard encountered the *trivium* in a university setting: 1949.3

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Villard understood Aristotelianism of his time: 2001.8

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secret revealed by Villard: 1950.2

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mechanics of Villard's sing-and-cry (fol. 9r): 1986.3

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Star Octagon

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stereometric drawings misattributed to Villard: 1904.2; 1984.3; 1987.6; 1995.2; 1995.4

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Villard's figures compared to figures of *Ecclesia* and *Synagoga* at Strasbourg: 1967.8

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Villard executed commissions in: 1989.2

Székesfehérvár

Villard's pavement drawing from: 1938.2; 1943.2

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See **Drawings, Foliate Faces**

"Théroème de Villard"

See **Scholasticism**

Toledo, Cathedral

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cathedral triangular vaults patterned after Villard (fol. 15r): 1865.3

Trebuchet

analysis of the mechanics of Villard's trébuchet (fol. 30r): 1988.3; 2004.11; 2005.5; 2009.3

analysis of the caption on fol. 30r: 2009.3

origin of term: 1988.2; 2005.5

Villard's drawing (fol. 30r) of: 1985.4; 1987.9; 1988.3

working model built after Villard's drawing: 2000.1

Underwater Saw

Villard's drawing (fol. 23r) earliest known representation of: 1987.9

Upper Rhineland

Villard traveled through (see **Saint-Blaisen Psalter**); 1963.1

Valturio, Roberto

De re militari treatise, 1990.6

Vasari, Giorgio

Villard a precursor to: 2009.7

Vaucelles, Cistercian Abbey Church

choir plan (fol. 17v) related to plan devised by Villard and Pierre de Corbie (fol. 15r): 1949.1; 1960.2

dated: 1190-1235: 1947.1; 1949.1; 1216-1235: 1960.2; 1978.6

Villard as architect of: 1865.4; 1902.3; 1904.2; 1914.1; 1918.1; 1947.1; 1958.3; 1960.2; 1967.3

Villard called to plan choir in 1216: 1914.1

Villard destroyed Vaucelles II to build Vaucelles III: 1960.2

Villard received his architectural training at Vaucelles: 1895.1; 1952.3; 1960.2; 1982.2

Villard's drawing of choir (fol. 17v) only definite connection between him and Vaucelles: 1949.1

Villard's drawing of plan of (fol. 17v): 1947.1; 1995.3; 1978.6; 2004.10

drawings of Master II permitted prefabrication of stones used in vaults: 1995.2

Villard's first impulse toward the profession of architect at Vaucelles: 1960.6

Villard's plan of Vaucelles choir (fol. 17r) copied from another plan: 1976.6

Villard's plan of a traditional Cistercian church (fol. 14v) is a plan of Vaucelles II: 1960.2; 2009.4

Villard's work at Vaucelles before he went to Hungary after 1235: 1960.2; 1960.6

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Villard's drawing of 'star vault' (fol. 21r) is earliest known drawing of this vault type: 1991.4

Villard's drawing of vault plan (fol. 21r) proves liene and tierceron vaults appeared in France earlier than in England: 1926.1

Villard's drawing of vaults in groundplans proves vaulting patterns known at outset of construction: 1984.1

Verdun, Nicolas de

Villard may have studied the *Muldenfaltenstil* works of: 1975.5

Vérin

See **Screw-Driven Hoist**

Villard

activity dated: between ca. 1190 and mid-1230s: 1982.2; between 1200 and 1250: 1904.1; as early as 1215: 1987.4; to first third of the 13th century: 1989.1; ca. 1220: 2000.2; 1220-1235: 1989.2; 1220s and 1230s: 1996.2; ca. 1220-1230: 2000.4; between 1220 and 1240: 1985.1; 2004.9; ca. 1225-1250: 1979.3; 1230-1235: 1958.1; 1996.3; ca. 1230: 1991.4; between 1230 and 1250: 1858.2; 1949.3; between 1230 and 1260: 1864.1; ca. 1235: 1957.4; 1958.2; 1962.3; ca. 1250: 1928.1; in second half of the 13th century: 1909.2; as late as

1300: 1866.1

aesthetic interests in Laon and Reims: 1990.4

Archimedean spiral understood by Villard as basis of design: 1960.5

architect of: Braine: 1888.1; Cambrai: 1849.1; 1854.1; 1856.1; 1879.1; 1888.1; 1909.2; 1928.1; 1976.2; 1982.2; Kassa: 1857.1; 1859.2; 1866.1; 1928.1; 1966.1; Meaux: 1856.1; 1928.1; Reims: 1856.1; 1982.2; Saint-Quentin: 1864.1; 1895.1; 1898.1; 1904.2; 1938.1; 1957.3; 1957.4; 1960.6; 1960.7; 1976.2 (?); 1982.2; 1999.1; Saint Faron at Meaux: 1928.1; Vaucelles: 1865.4; 1904.2; 1914.1; 1947.1; 1982.2

belonged to the "aristocratie de son métier:" 1954.1

born: ca. 1190: 1888.2; ca. 1195: 1960.6; ca. 1200: 1959.4; at beginning of the 13th century: 1937.1

built churches "through the length and breadth of Christendom:" 1898.1

called a/an: architect: 1849.1; 1858.2; 1858.5; 1864.1; 1904.2; 1905.1; 1937.2; 1952.1; 1955.1; 1960.6; 1961.2; 1961.3; 1965.1; 1966.4; 1969.1; 1971.1; 1973.4; 1980.2; 1982.2; 1984.3; 1985.1; 1989.1; 1989.2; 1989.3; 1998.1; 1999.1; "architecte picard:" 1970.2; "architectural teacher:" 1972.9; 1998.1; "arkitekt": 1978.4; "artiste remois:" 1939.1; "Bäüttenmeister:" 1957.4; "dessinateur:" 1937.1; "distinguished architect:" 1952.3; "draftsman:" 1993.1; "famous Gothic master:" 1958.4; "French draftsman:" 1979.3; "itinerant architect": 1973.3; "inventor:" 1953.2; "maître:" 1961.1; "master builder:" 1909.2; 1970.2; "master craftsman": 1975.2; "master mason:" 1927.1; 1957.3; 1970.7; 1973.2; 1977.7; 1996.1; "master mason of Picardy": 1977.5; "master of works (*artifex*): 1999.4; "modest technician": 1997.4; "one of the leaders in the development of Gothic architecture:" 1901.2; "one of the immortals of 13th-century French architecture:" 1876.1; "petit architect du peuple": 1980.3; "Picard architect: 1959.3; 1975.5; "Picard mason: 1994.1; "practitioner of architecture and associated crafts:" 2001.1; "professional expert:" 1904.1; "respected master mason:" 1972.7; "scholar:" 1984.3; "sculptor:" 1953.2; "technician,an expert in building and machines:"1997.1; "ultraconservative architect:" 1895.1; master carpenter: 2008.5; "brilliant:" 1999.4.

compared to Leonardo da Vinci: 1858.5; 1910.1; 1970.1; 1998.1; 2000.1

compared to Vitruvius: 1849.1; 1910.1; 1976.2; 2003.1

not a "French Vitruvius": 1973.4

confusion/disagreement about Villard's profession: 1981.1; 1985.4; 1986.1; 1986.4; 1987.9; 1988.4; 1989.4; 1990.4; 1991.4; 1993.2; 1995.1; 2000.6

could follow the arguments of the 'schools:' 1990.2

designed and built buildings in northern France: 1966.4

died shortly after 1233: 1978.3

died: ca. 1260: 1902.3; 1960.6; 1262: 1905.1

educated at Vaucelles: 1914.1

employed as an architect by the Cistercian Order: 1952.3

fame as an architect: 1849.1; 1876.1; 1989.3; 1996.4

from Vermandois, not Cambrésis: 1864.1

headed a masons' lodge: 1975.5

had no sense of historical development in architecture: 1960.6

interested in wide variety of things: 1970.1

knew both French and Latin: 1945.2

knowledge of Gothic architecture questioned: 1991.2

knowledge of Latin: 1910.1; 1922.1; 1990.2

lacked technical vocabulary to explain his ideas verbally: 1944.1

lay agent for bishop and/or chapter of Cambrai Cathedral: 2007.2

life span dated ca. 1225-ca. 1250: 1999.1

little known about Villard: 1931.1; 1937.1

may have been illiterate: 1999.3

may have been a cleric: 2009.5

may have been trained to write and draw in a scriptorium: 2010.4

may have worked under the architect of Chartres in his youth: 1956.3

name given as: Vilart: 1849.1; Vilars: 1856.1; 1901.2; Villars: 1865.4; 1904.2; Wilars: 1858.1

no buildings can be attributed to Villard: 1965.1

not a talented or imaginative designer: 1912.4; 1981.4

not an architect: 1975.2; 1981.1; 1981.4; 1997.4

possessed no technical vocabulary: 1981.4

not a great architect or sculptor: 1965.1

not architect of Cambrai: 1960.6

precursor to Vasari: 2009.7

presided over a masons' lodge: 1971.1

professional status and career not known: 2000.1

pupil of the Master of the Antique Figures at Reims: 1948.1

sculptor of relief figures and statues of south arm of Chartres: 1977.3

seen as transition figure between Romanesque and Renaissance: 1931.1

trained as a metalworker: 1986.1

trip to Chartres dated ca. 1225: 1888.2; 1960.5

trip to Constantinople, 1221-1228?: 2006.3

trip to Hungary: 1849.1; 1854.1; 1895.1; 1909.1; 1909.2; 1989.1

trip to Near East (Kingdom of Jerusalem): 1983.4

trip to Rome (imaginary), dated ca. 1260: 1860.2

use of geometry: 1849.1; 1856.1; 1858.1; 1904.2; 1937.1; 1960.5; 1960.6; 1982.2; 1983.3; 1984.1; 1989.2; 1999.2

use of technical vocabulary: 1986.4

was both a sculptor and a painter: 1960.6

was a master in the Compagnons du Devoir: 2004.7; 2004.8

worked at Lausanne: 1999.1

worked far from home: 1985.4; 1989.3; 1999.1

Viollet-le-Duc

used Villard's persona to promote his own views: 2009.1

Wolfenbüttel Musterbuch (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August-Bibliothek, Codex Guelf 62, 2 Aug.)

analysis of: 1979.2



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Black and White Plates

Color Plates

Fol. 8r

Codicology

8th leaf in the portfolio; 1st leaf in quire 2; first folio of bifolio 8-14; 15th surface in the portfolio.

Size

237 mm. (9.33 in.) x 155 mm. (6.10 in.)

Paginations

C-13 = r; Mancel = H, then r; C-18 = 8.

Concordance

Lassus and Willis = XIV; Omont and Bouvet = XV; Hahnloser and Erlande-Brandenburg *et alia* = 15; Bucher = V15; Chanfón = 8r; Bowie = 10.

Condition

This is an irregularly shaped leaf with a triangular piece missing from the lower right corner. There are ink (?) spots along the outer (right) edge and staining in the lettering. Mancel's pagination letter H is badly blotted. According to Hahnloser, an earlier architectural drawing was erased to make room for this Crucifixion group. The leaf is flexible with a velvet-like surface and has been scraped, but the only possible architectural lines visible are three horizontal lines that come in from the gutter ± 25 mm. (± 0.98 in.) from the top of the leaf.

In the gutter there are remains of a drawing of drapery (or feathers?) in the lower half of the leaf. These traces extend across the gutter onto fol. 14v. Being 5 mm. (.19 in.) longer than leaf 7, the lower edge of this leaf is exposed and very soiled. This is the flesh side of the parchment.



Drawing 1

Subject

Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist

Size

226 mm. (8.94 in.) x 93 mm. (3.66 in.)

Technique

This drawing is beautifully executed in dark brown ink. There are traces of graphite preliminary drawing in the figures of the Virgin and St. John, but none in the figure of Christ. Some of the *Muldenfaltenstil* drapery folds are lightly shaded. The facial features were sketched in by Villard but not completed

Attribution

Villard

Inscription

Transcription (NB: The following Greek text is correct in the book but did not transfer accurately in this electronic transfer.)

XIHC XXP C [= XIhsouV XCristoV]

XAGLAX [= XAgiaX (mhthr?)]

IOTTh 1533 E [= IoannhV 1533 QeologoV]

hel [= HlioV]

Translation

JESUS CHRIST

HOLY [MOTHER?] (= Virgin Mary)

JOHN THE THEOLOGIAN (= Evangelist)

SUN

Attribution

Unknown; the inscription is ascribed by all commentators to Villard but certainly is not by him. It is a later insertion made in 1533, which date appears between theta and the eta in IOTThE. Whoever attempted to copy the original wording was unfamiliar with Greek and mixed Greek and Gothic letters, for example, L and G are not Greek letters. The lettering is by the same hand that wrote the large word LEO on fols. 24r and 24v, identifiable by the form of the L (Fig. 16). Helios must originally have identified an image of the sun. A corresponding identification for the moon to the left of the cross either was missing from the model (see below) or overlooked by the copyist.

Commentary

This drawing should be compared to the more detailed Crucifixion on fol. 2v. The pose of Christ is virtually identical including the awkward arrangement of the feet. The Virgin and St. John display poses of grief or mourning. Each of the four Gospels recounts the Crucifixion of Christ but only John (19:26) specifies that his mother and “the disciple he loved,” traditionally believe to be John, were near the foot of the cross.

The robes of the Virgin and St. John and the loincloth of Christ exhibit *Muldenfaltenstil*. The knot of the lion cloth

here is on Christ's right hip whereas in the image on fol. 2v it is centered below the navel. The way the heavy drapery stacks up over the feet of the Virgin is seen in the female figures on fols. 4v and 12r. The poses of the Virgin and St. John, save for the position of the Virgin's left arm, mirror one another.

The ensemble is an arrangement called a Calvary, popular in the later Middle Ages and still found along roadsides in Brittany and elsewhere in France. These normally are of wood, but there is an occasional stone example such as the grouping at Pleybven in Brittany. It has the figures of the Virgin and St. John standing on extended fronds, but it dates 1632-1640 and has braces under the fronds supporting the two figures.

Villard's construction looks architectural—the cross itself emerges from a curved foliate projection to each side, the left (as seen by the viewer) supporting the Virgin, the right supporting St. John; the foliate design rises from atop a column just above an annulus; and the column itself rises from a base atop a three-step plinth—but the model most likely was a small bronze, from which a figure of the Virgin now in the Cleveland Museum of Art may have come (Pl. 16). Bucher illustrates the bronze Crucifixion of Master Reraldus now in San Marco, Venice which is more complex, being a cross of Lorraine with figures standing on the arms of the lower crosspiece, but which does show the Virgin and St. John standing on curved fronds.

Drawing 2

Subject

Frame with Fleur-de-Lys

Size

32 mm. (1.26 in.) x 39 mm. (1.54 in.)

Technique

The frame was sketched quickly with a fine-nib, almost dry quill. There is no preliminary drawing. The two rings were added later by someone using a broad nib quill and bright sepia ink, possibly the same childish hand that added details to the snail on fol. 2r and the skull on fol. 2v. It may be that the person began the frame with the intention of copying the Crucifixion in it but realized that the basically square format would not work.

Attribution

Unknown graffitist.

Commentary

This crude drawing is of no interest for the scene above.

Drawing 3

Subject

Icon with Crucifixion

Size

43 mm. (1.69 in.) x 31 mm. (1.22 in.)

Technique

The frame and figures were drawn with a very fine-nib quill pen without preliminary drawings. The ink is darker than that in the left drawing or in the Crucifixion drawing above but not as dark as it reproduces in black and white photographs. The ring was added later by someone using a broad-nib quill and bright sepia ink, possibly the same childish hand that added details to the snail on fol. 2r and the skull on fol. 2v.

Attribution

Unknown graffitist.

Commentary

This drawing is of singular importance to the inscription above. It appears to be a copy of a 14th-century Byzantine icon of the Crucifixion with the Virgin and St. John and the Sun (left of the cross, to Christ's right) and the Moon (right of the cross, to Christ's left). It no doubt was from this icon that the individual attempted to copy the inscribed names around Villard's cross.

Fol. 15r

Codicology

15th leaf in the portfolio; 1st leaf in quire 3; single leaf; 29th surface in the portfolio.

Size

240 mm. (9.41 in.) x 156 mm. (6.12 in.)

Paginations

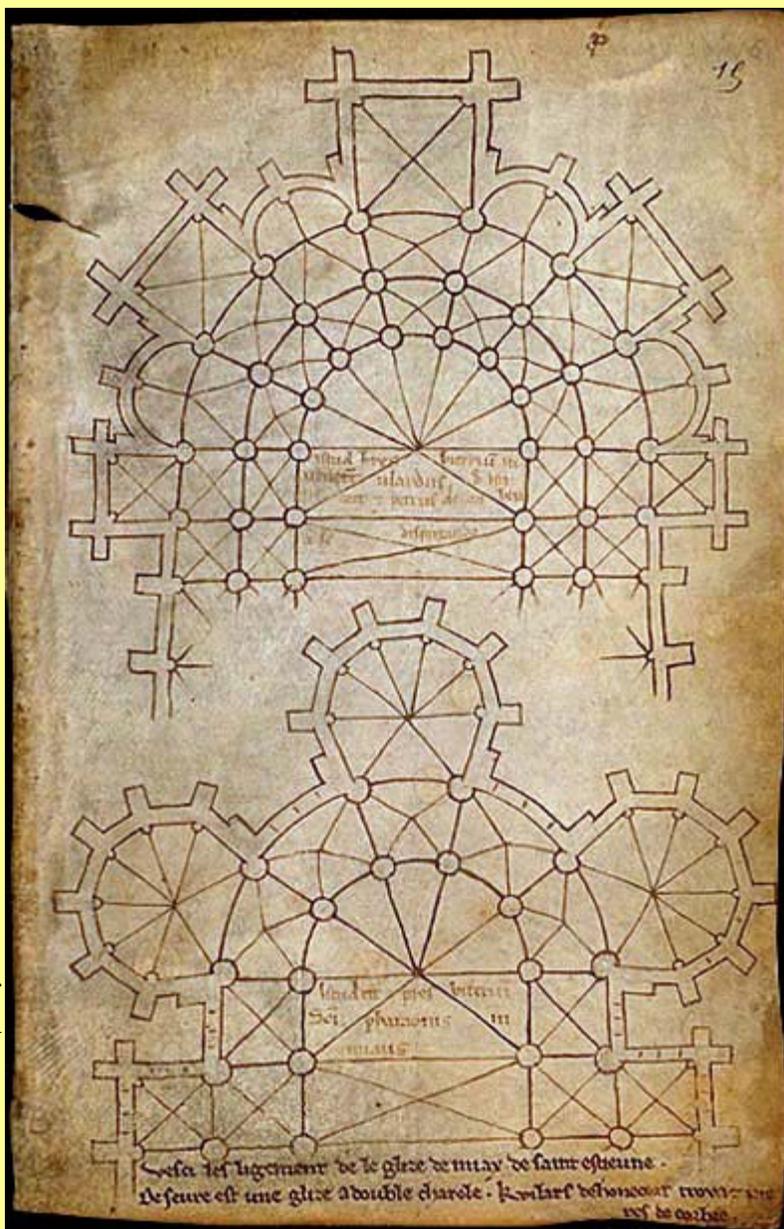
Mancel = p; C-18 = 15.

Concordance

Lassus and Willis = XXVIII; Omont and Bouvet = XXIX; Hahnloser and Erlande-Brandenburg *et alia* = 29; Bucher = V29; Chanfón = 15r; Bowie = 48.

Condition

This leaf is stiff, with a 14 mm. (0.55 in.) tear in the gutter by the upper plan and is attached to a very thin modern vellum (paper?) tab. This is the hair side of the parchment.



Drawing 1

Subject

Chevet Plan devised by Villard de Honnecourt and Pierre de Corbie

Size

132 mm. (5.15 in.) x 135 mm. (5.27 in.)

Technique

Drawn with brown ink without evidence of preliminary graphite drawing. There is a pinprick in the center of the choir, indicating that Villard used a compass to make this design. There is erasure and redrawing of the vaulting ribs in the

radiating chapel, especially visible in a photograph taken under ultraviolet light (Pl. 23), and a graphite (?) smear over the left side of the plan. The vaulting ribs were drawn freehand, without using a straightedge.

Attribution

Villard

Inscription

Note: There are two inscriptions concerning this drawing. The earlier of the two is in Picard by Villard or his scribe and is the second of the two lines found at the bottom of the leaf. The later of the two is a Latin paraphrase by Hand III of the first. It is found in the straight bays of the plan.

Villard Inscription

Transcription

Deseure est une glize a double charole. k[e] vilars dehonecort trova et pie / res de corbie

Literal Translation

Above is a church with double ambulatory that Villard de Honnecourt imagined, and Pierre de Corbie.

Free Translation

Above is a double-ambulatory church devised by Villard de Honnecourt and Pierre de Corbie.

Hand III Inscription

Transcription

istud bresbiterium in / venerunt ulardus de hu / necort et petrus de corbeia / inter se disputando

Literal Translation

This presbytery Villard de Honnecourt and Pierre de Corbie devised, discussing it between themselves.

Free Translation

Villard de Honnecourt and Pierre de Corbie devised this chevet through discussion.

Commentary

Much attention has been given to the expression *inter se disputando*, especially by Panofsky, who related it to scholasticism. This attempt to reconcile opposites, circular and square chapels, was for Panofsky scholastic thinking in architecture. All too many authors misattribute the text as well as the plan to Villard, thereby imputing to him an interest in scholasticism demonstrable neither in his texts nor in his drawings. Hand III was showing off by writing in Latin and since he misidentified the second plan, he cannot be trusted to have understood what Villard and Pierre were about.

Nothing whatsoever is known of Pierre de Corbie—opening the way to much speculation, for example, that he may have been Petrus Petri, architect of Toledo. In fact, there is no proof that Pierre de Corbie was an architect/mason. The way Villard or his scribe wrote this inscription and crowded in Pierre de Corbie's name leaves open the possibility that his name was added as an afterthought.

Chevets with double ambulatories were not common in Villard's time, and certainly not in his geographic area. Still, Bony made an interesting comparison of this chevet design with that of Coutances as two schemes that "sought

maximum extension on the ground.” He also noted that Villard and Pierre’s effort seems academically theoretical and that it might be “imagined as an amplified version of the plan of Vaucelles” (fol. 17r).

What Villard and Pierre were attempting to do was to devise a plan that incorporated alternating radiating chapels, five square and four semicircular, and to vault the semicircular chapels with the outer ambulatory. The latter was done in Abbot Suger’s chevet at Saint-Denis in the 1140s and even more smoothly in a single ambulatory at Soissons in the early 1190s, a site Villard visited. In Romanesque buildings in the region square and rounded chapels are found: St. Lucien at Beauvais, begun ca. 1090, and Notre-Dame du Mont, ca. 1160 near Soissons.

In Villard and Pierre’s scheme the chapels are alternately of different sizes, a scheme seen in the chevet at Chartres. Branner found their solution an unhappy one, referring to the plan as “somewhat monstrous.” Willis noted that the alternating vaulting patterns in the outer ambulatory were “inharmonious.” Bucher was more blunt, calling the sizes of the square chapels “uncouth.” The two ambulatories probably would have been vaulted at the same height, as at Paris, had the plan been executed. Villard drew all supports as columns of similar diameter.

Drawing 2

Subject

Plan of the Chevet of the Cathedral of St. Etienne, Meaux

Size

121 mm. (4.72 in.) x 144 mm. (5.67 in.)

Technique

Drawn as the plan above. There is a pinprick indentation but not a puncture in the center of the hemicycle, indicating the use of a compass. There is also a pinprick in the northern chapel but not in the other two. A trace of graphite preliminary drawing can be seen in the third rib respond from the west in the north radiating chapel. Several of the ribs were drawn with a nearly dry quill.

Attribution

Villard

Inscription

Note: There are two inscriptions concerning this drawing. The earlier of the two is in Picard by Villard or his scribe and is the upper of the two lines found at the bottom of the leaf. The later of the two is a Latin paraphrase by Hand III of the first found in the hemicycle and straight bay of the plan.

Villard Inscription Transcription

vesci les ligement de le glize de miax de saint estienne.

Literal Translation

See here the plan of the church of Saint Etienne at Meaux.

Free Translation

Here is the plan of the church of St. Etienne at Meaux.

Hand III Inscription Transcription

istud est presbiterium / Sancti pharaonis in / miaus

Literal Translation

This is the presbytery of Saint Faron in Meaux

Free Translation

This is the chevet of Saint Faron in Meaux.

Commentary

Hand III misidentified the plan as that of the now-destroyed church St. Faron at Meaux rather than that of St. Etienne, the cathedral church, despite the fact that the correct dedicatory name is given in Villard's text. This seemingly proves that Hand III did not have access to Villard, did not know the plan of the cathedral, and was careless. It has been inaccurately reported that Villard claimed credit for the Meaux chevet.

Today Meaux has five radiating chapels but originally had three isolated chapels, as Villard's drawing shows. Gautier de Varinfroy rebuilt the three chapels in the Rayonnant style in the 1250s. Beginning in 1317 a chapel was built between each of Gautier's chapels, thus Villard's plan is a valuable archaeological document whose general configuration confirms the original chevet arrangement at Meaux. Its details are not accurate. In Kurmann's words, "... the fragrant inaccuracy of all the details proves in a most evident way that the plan [of Villard] is not an exact layout, but a simple sketch." Still, Villard observed correctly the polygonal plan of the chapels at the level of the windows and this is the only plan in the portfolio in which he has indicated the windows.

There is a generic relationship between these two plans, as if the plan of Meaux was the starting point for the "ideal" plan above. It is not clear, in examining the leaf, which was drawn first, but the relative spacing of the two suggests that the Meaux plan came first, crowded as it is to the bottom of the leaf in anticipation of the upper plan.

Fol. 33r

Codicology

33rd leaf in the portfolio; 2nd leaf in quire 7;
2nd folio of bifolio 32-33; 65th surface in the
portfolio.

Size

234 mm. (9.21 in.) x 156 mm. (6.14 in.)

Paginations

Mancel = xxvii; C-18 = 33.

Concordance

Lassus and Willis = LXIV; Omont and
Bouvet = LXV; Hahnloser and Erlande-
Brandenburg *et alia* = 65; Bucher = V65;
Chanfón = 33r; Bowie = omitted.

Condition

This is a very pliable leaf with stains along
its upper edge. The red stains in the first line
over *que io vos* in Inscription 1 are from
closing this leaf against leaf 32 before the ink
on the BN stamp had dried. This is the flesh
slide of the parchment.

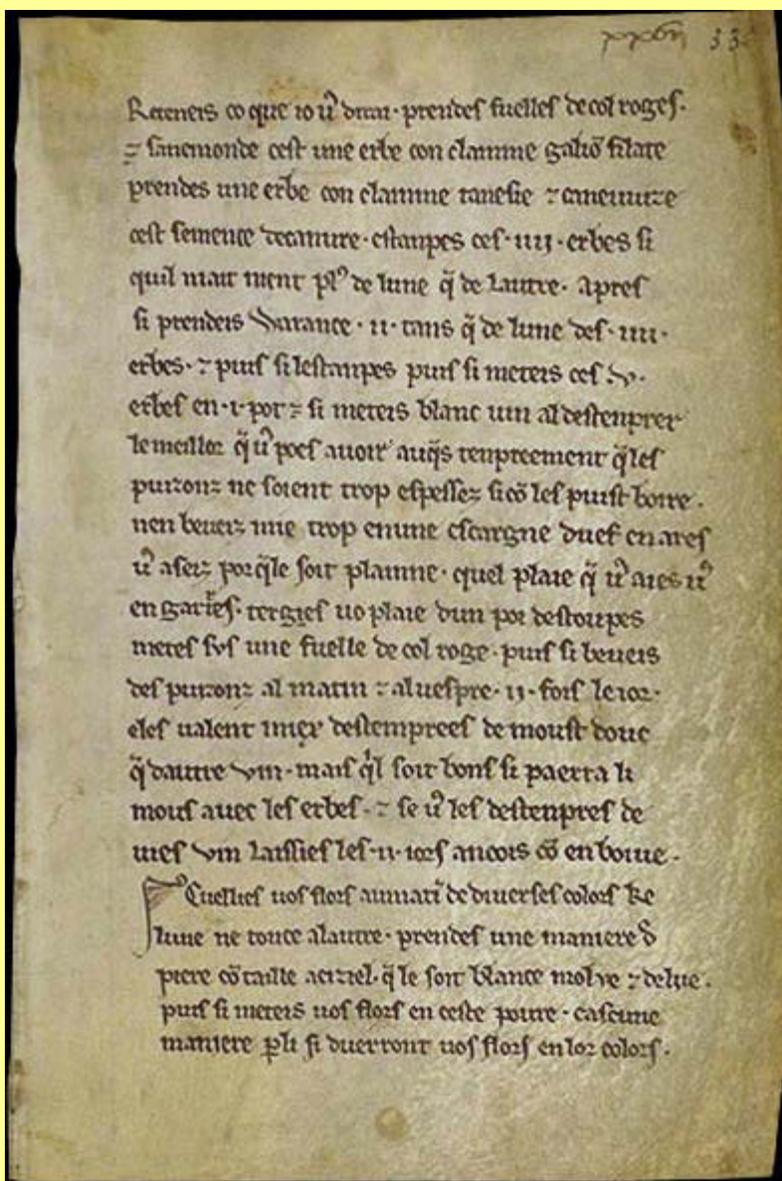
Technique

There are no drypoint or graphite guidelines
for the inscriptions but there are two vertical
graphite lines 6 mm. (0.24 in.) apart to the
left of the text. The writing was done with
two different quills although the ink appears
to be uniform throughout.

Inscription 1

Transcription

Reteneis co que io vos dirai. prendes fuelles de col roges. / et sanemonde cest une erbe con clainme galion filate / prendes une erbe con clainme tanesie et caneuvize / cest semence decanute. estanpes ces .iiii. erbes si / quil niait nient plus de lune que de lautre. apres / si prendeis warance .ii. tans que de lune des .iiii. / erbes. et puis si lestanpes puis si meteis ces .v. / erbes en .i. pot et si meteis blanc vin al destenprer / le meilleur que vos poes avoir auques tenpreement que les / puizonz ne soient trop espessez si con les puist boire. / nen beveiz mie trop en une escargne duef en ares / vos



aseiz por quele soit plainne. quel plaie que vos aies vos / en garires. tergies vo plaie dun poi destoupes / metes sus une fuelle de col roge. puis si beveis / des puizonz al matin et al vespre .ii. fois le ior. / eles valent miex destemprees de moust douc / que dautre vin. mais quil soit bons si paerra li / mous avec les erbes. et se vos les destenpres de / vies vin laissies les .ii. iors ancois con en boive.

Literal Translation

Retain that which I will tell you. Take leaves of red cabbage, and of avens—this is an herb which one calls “bastard cannabis.” Take an herb which one calls tansy and hemp—this is the seeds of cannabis. Crush these four herbs so that there is nothing more of one than of the other. Afterwards you take madder two times more than [any] one of the four herbs, then you crush it, then you put these five herbs in a pot. And you put white wine to infuse it, the best that you are able to have, [being] somewhat [with] care that the potions be not too thick, and that one is able to drink them. Do not drink too much of it. In a shell of an egg you will have enough provided that it be filled. Whatever injury you might have you will heal. Clean your injury with a little tow. Put on it a leaf of red cabbage, then drink of the potions at morning and at evening, two times a day. They work best infused by sweet must than by another wine, but only if it be good will the new wine ferment with the herbs. And if you infuse them with old wine, let them alone for two days before one drinks of them.

Free Translation

Remember what I am about to tell you. Take leaves of red cabbage, and of avens—an herb called “bastard cannabis.” Also take an herb called tansy, and hemp, the seeds of cannabis. Grind equal amounts of these four herbs. Then take twice as much madder as any one of the four herbs, crush them, then put all five herbs in a pot and add the best white wine you can get to infuse it. Take care that the potion is not too thick to drink. Do not drink too much of it: a filled eggshell will be enough. This will heal whatever wound you might have. Clean your wound with a little tow. Put a leaf of red cabbage on it then drink the potion twice a day, once in the morning and once in the evening. The potion works best when infused by sweet must because only good new wine will ferment with the herbs. If you must infuse them with old wine, let the potion steep for two days before drinking it

Attribution

Villard

Commentary

This is the longest inscription in the portfolio and very carefully written. The recipe itself may be the earliest reference to cannabis in western literature. For all its potential significance as a “first,” this recipe is less amazing to readers in the 21st century than one for cutting glass that calls for the urine of a small red-headed girl that has been collected before sunrise!

This painkiller elixir might be useful to individuals injured in construction work, but it is addressed to no specific occupation and offers no help in assigning a profession to Villard.

Inscription 2

Transcription

F/ Cuellies vos flors aumatin de diverses colors ke / lune ne touce alautre. prendes une maniere de / piere con taille aciziel. quele soit blanche molue et deliie. / puis si meteis vos flors en ceste pou[d]re. cascade / maniere par li si duerront vos flors en lor colors.

Literal Translation

F/ Collect flowers in the morning of diverse colors so that one does not touch the other. Take a type of stone that one

cuts with a chisel, so that it be crushed white and fine. Then if you will put your flowers in this powder, each kind by itself, your flowers will last in their colors.

Free Translation

F/ Collect various-colored flowers in the morning, keeping them separate. Take a type of stone cut with a chisel so that it is ground into a white powder. If you then put your flowers in this powder, keeping them from touching, they will retain their colors.

Attribution

Villard. This inscription was written later than the recipe for the painkiller, with a narrower nib quill and possibly but not certainly with different ink. The separation of the two recipes is emphasized with Villard's F/ mark, treated more fancifully than normal, for example, fol. 1v.

Commentary

Save for the use of plants, this recipe is unrelated to that given in Inscription 1. The stone referred to here may be talc, $\text{Mg}_3\text{Si}_4\text{O}_{10}(\text{OH})_2$. Flowers were a major source of color pigments in the Middle Ages, hence the importance of being able to maintain colors.

Willis quoted a similar recipe from a 10th-century Latin poem, *De Artibus Romanorum*, by Heraclius.