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Periculum and *peritia* in the late medieval "ars market"[1]

Periculum y *peritia* en el "mercado artístico" tardomedieval

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Abstract

This essay examines several textual accounts of the late medieval "*ars* market," the commercial context of selling and buying artfully made objects in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Europe. Ranging from a magisterial work of pastoral theology, to legal *ordonnances* and *reglemens* for crafts, to a scholastic *econmium* to Paris, the textual sources discussed reveal how the expertise of artists and artisans and the captivating, persuasive force of works of *ars* were both valued and scrutinized in the later Middle Ages. Although they were written for dissimilar purposes and different audiences, the texts examined nonetheless understand the late medieval *ars* market as a forum in which the mingling of artistic expertise, aesthetic allure, fraud, risk, and credulity posed considerable challenges to human judgment.

Keywords: Art market, Antoninus of Florence, Étienne Boileau, *Livre des métiers*, Jean de Jandun, *De Laudibus parisius*, Crafts, Fraud, Deception, Risk, Commerce, Shopping.

Resumen

Este ensayo examina varios relatos textuales del "mercado del arte" de la Baja Edad Media, en particular, el contexto comercial de la venta y compra de objetos fabricados artísticamente en la Europa de los siglos xiv y xv. Desde un trabajo magistral de teología pastoral, pasando por *ordenanzas* y *reglamentos* legales para los artesanos, hasta un *econmium* escolar en París,

[1] This essay benefitted from the lively and fruitful exchanges with colleagues that took place during the IX Coloquio Ars Medievalis (10-12 May, 2019); in particular, I thank Paul Binski for encouraging to integrate the *Livre des métiers* in my analysis. I am also grateful to the two anonymous peer-reviewers for their comments and suggestions. Particular thanks are due to my student Martin Schwarz, whose dissertation in progress and comments on a draft of this essay, and bibliographic generosity made many contributions to my thinking and to my former research assistant Alexis Wells for her help with matters large and small.

las fuentes textuales discutidas revelan cómo la pericia de los artistas y artesanos y la fuerza cautivadora y persuasiva de las obras de *ars* fueron valoradas y escudriñadas en el periodo tardomedieval. Aunque fueron escritos para diferentes propósitos y dispares audiencias, los textos examinados entienden el mercado de *ars* de la Baja Edad Media como un foro en el que la mezcla de experiencia artística, atractivo estético, fraude, riesgo y credulidad planteaba considerables desafíos al juicio humano.

Palabras clave: Mercado del arte, Antonino de Florencia, Étienne Boileau, *Livre des métiers*, Jean de Jandun, *De Laudibus parisius*, artesanía, fraude, engaño, riesgo, comercio, compras.

For historians of medieval art, the conjunction of "beauty, rhetoric, and persuasion" inevitably calls to mind the vivid account of "an amazing kind of deformed beauty and yet a beautiful deformity" in Bernard of Clairvaux's *Apologia ad Guillelmum*.[2] Although Bernard's discussion of art in the monastic cloister and in the sacred space of churches has become a touchstone for modern analyses of medieval "aesthetic attitudes",[3] another arresting passage devoted to the aesthetic impact of cloth in the *Apologia* has been largely overlooked. Addressing William of St-Thierry, Bernard writes:

> Further, you say religion is not in the habit but in the heart. Fine. But, when you are going to buy a cowl, you rush around the towns, you haunt the markets, you scrutinize the fairs, you plunge into the houses of merchants, you turn over all their stock, you unfold huge masses of cloths, you feel it with your fingers, you hold it up to your eyes, you subject it to the ray of the sun. Whatever appears coarse, whatever pale (faded?), you reject. But if it shall have pleased in its purity and bright appearance, immediately you strive to get it for yourself, no matter the price: I ask you, do you do this from your heart, or do you simply do it?[4]

[2] *…mira quaedam deformis formositas ac formosa deformitas…*: Latin and English translation in C. Rudolph, "Bernard of Clairvaux's 'Apologia' as a Description of Cluny and the Controversy over Monastic Art," *Gesta*, 27 (1988), pp. 127, 131 (n. 16).

[3] The *locus classicus* on medieval aesthetic attitudes remains M. Schapiro, "On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art," in K. Iyer (ed.), *Art and Thought: Issued in Honor of Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday,* London, 1947, pp. 130-50. My thinking has also been informed by C. Rudolph, *The "Things of Greater Importance": Bernard of Clairvaux's Apologia and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art,* Philadelphia, 1990; T. Heslop, "Attitudes to the Visual Arts: The Evidence from Written Sources," in *Age of Chivalry: Art in Plantagenet England, 1200-1400,* London, 1987, pp. 26–32; Id., "Brief in Words but Heavy in the Weight of Its Mysteries", *Art History* 9 (1986), pp. 1-11; Id., "Late Twelfth-Century Writing about Art, and Aesthetic Relativity," in G. Owen-Crocker and T. Graham (eds.), *Medieval Art: Recent Perspectives: A Memorial Tribute to C.R. Dodwell*, Manchester, UK; New York, 1998, pp. 129-141; A. Shalem, "Hidden Aesthetics and the Art of Deception: The Object, the Beholder, and the Artisan," in D. Knipp (ed.), *Siculo-Arabic Ivories and Islamic Painting 1100 - 1300*, Munich, 2011, pp. 39–52; P. Binski, "The Crucifixion and the Censorship of Art around 1300," in P. Linehan and J. Nelson (eds.), *The Medieval World*, London-New York, 2003, pp. 342-360; Id., "Medieval Invention and Its Potencies," *British Art Studies*, 6 (2017), http://dx.doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-06/pbinski; X. Muratova, "*Vir quidem fallax et falsidicus, sed artifex praeelectus*: Remarques sur l'image sociale et littéraire de l'artiste au Moyen Age," in X. Barral i Altet (ed.), *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Age: colloque international, Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Université de Rennes II, Haute-Bretagne, 2-6 mai 1983*, Paris, 1986, vol. 1, pp. 53-72.

[4] *… in habitu,' inquis, 'non est religio, sed in corde.' Bene. At tu quando cucullam empturus lustras urbes, fora circuis, percurris nundinas, domos scrutaris negotiatorum, cunctam evertis singulorum supellectilem, ingentes explicas cumulos pannorum, attrectas digitis, admoves oculis, solis opponis radio, quidquid grossum, quidquid*

If Bernard is to be believed, shopping for cloth circa 1125 was a decidedly sensual, aesthetic experience, a frenzied form of connoisseurship requiring tactile palpitation, close looking, and the right lighting conditions, even for monastics. In Bernard's account, the manic plunge into the world of textile wares culminates in a *coup de coeur*: the right piece of cloth is found and desire for it instantly and insistently trumps all considerations of price, not to mention monastic *simplicitas*.

The inspection of cloth is framed in explicitly cautionary terms in yet another monument to Cistercian *mentalité*. In the initial Q that opens book 27 of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job* in the famous manuscript produced at the Cistercian Abbey of Cîteaux in the second decade of the twelfth century, a finished piece of cloth is held up for the beholder's inspection by two long haired, lay figures.[5] (Fig. 1) The vivid green expanse of the cloth within the interior of the letterform contrasts markedly with the dark lumpy mass of unprocessed wool held in one hand by a seated male figure whose outstretched legs describe the Q's cauda.

The initial Q is inventively and intelligently tailored to the *sententia* it opens: "Whoever strives to take up knowledge from the great words of the arrogant should diligently take care, lest in imitating their knowledge he should become profoundly puffed up, or with words of virtue he should collect the vices of (their) habits…".[6] Suggestively inviting its beholder to reflect upon the etymological (and conceptual) connections between cunning words and artfully made textiles, the painted initial frames Gregory the Great's reflections on the risks of rhetoric with a scene focused on the inspection of a luxurious piece of cloth. The textile inspected by the two laymen testifies to the knowledge and expertise of its makers, but, the initial implies, like the verbal fabric produced by "the arrogant" the verdant fabric is potentially perilous. The two laymen absorbed in inspecting the cloth are cautionary figures. Preoccupied with the qualities of the textile they examine, they have lost sight of all that surrounds them, including the practices of moral judgment, restraint and discipline advocated by the very text in which they appear. Chiming with Bernard's cautionary tale, if with less bombast, the Cîteaux *Moralia* initial presents a covetable cloth to its monastic beholder as an epitome of the captivating power of verbal and mechanical *artes* within a larger economy that is at once moral, aesthetic, social and mercantile.

This essay examines several textual accounts of the late medieval "*ars* market," the commercial context of selling and buying artfully made objects in the fourteenth and fifteenth

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pallidum occurrerit, respuis; si quid autem sui puritate ac nitore placuerit, illud mox quantolibet pretio satagis tibi retinere: rogo te, ex corde facis hoc, an simpliciter?: J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais, (eds.) *S. Bernardi Opera. Vol. 3: Tractatus et Opuscula,* Rome, 1963, p.102. English translation modified from J. Morison, *The Life and Times of Saint Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, AD 1091-1153,* Cambridge [U.K.], 1863, p. 145.

[5] On Dijon, Bibl. mun., MS 173, see Y. Załuska, *L'enluminure et le scriptorium de Cîteaux au xiie siècle,* (Cîteaux. Studia et documenta 4), Cîteaux, 1989, No. 4; C. T. Davidson, "Sources for the initials in the Cîteaux Moralia in Job," in *Studies in Cistercian Art and Arhcitecture* 3, M. Lillich (ed.), (Cistercian Studies 89), Kalamazoo, 1987, 46-68; C. Rudolph, *Violence and Daily Life: Reading, Art, and Polemics in the Cîteaux Moralia in Job*, Princeton, 1997. For a very different interpretation of this initial, see P. Stirnemann, "Les mystérieuses initiales des Moralia in Job de l'abbaye de Cîteaux," *Art de l'enluminure*, 65 (2018), pp. 4-59 at 39.

[6] *Quisquis de magnis dictis arrogantium sumere scientiam nititur prouidere sollerter debet ne hoc quod eorum scientia altum tumet imitetur ne cum uirtutum uerbis morum uitia colligat…*: transcribed from Dijon, BM, MS 173, f. 92v. English translation mine.

Fig. 1. Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 173, f. 92v (detail). Photo: Bibliothéque municipale, Dijon, France/ Bridgeman Images

centuries.[7] Considered collectively, these sources suggest that the expertise of artists and artisans and the captivating, persuasive force of works of *ars* were recognized and scrutinized in the later Middle Ages. Significantly, none of the texts I discuss could be aptly characterized as "medieval art criticism" or "medieval aesthetic philosophy." Ranging from a theological

[7] For a range of recent perspectives on the medieval *ars* market, see M. Maertens, "Some aspects of the origins of the art market in fifteenth-century Bruges," in M. North, and D. Ormrod (eds.), *Art Markets in Europe, 1400-1800*, Aldershot, 1998, pp. 19-27; J. von Bonsdorff, "Is art a barometer of wealth? Medieval art exports to the far north of Europe," in North and Ormrod (eds.), *Art Markets in Europe*, pp. 29-43; J. Shatzmiller, *Cultural Exchange: Jews, Christians, and Art in the Medieval Marketplace*, Princeton, NJ, 2013; E. Parma, "Genoa-Bruges: the art market and cultural exchange in the fifteenth century," in V. Schmidt (ed.), *Italy and the Low Countries: Artistic Relations: The Fifteenth Century. Proceedings of the Symposium Held at Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, 14 March 1994*, Firenze, 1999, pp. 79-96; P. Gérin-Jean, "Prices of works of art and hierarchy of artistic value on the Italian market (1400-1700)," in M. Fantoni, L. Matthew, and S. Matthews-Grieco (eds.), *The art market in Italy: 15th - 17th centuries*, Modena, 2003, pp. 181-194; K. van Cauteren, "Haute couture and prêt-à-porter. The art market in the Late Middle Ages," in V. Lambert and P. Stabel (eds.), *Golden times: wealth and status in the Middle Ages in the southern Low Countries*, Tielt, 2016, pp. 435-504. I am grateful to one of the journal's peer reviewers for bringing several of these studies to my attention.

Summa, to legal regulations for crafts, to a scholastic encomium to Paris, these texts pursue diverse aims, but share a conception of the late medieval *ars* market as a forum in which the mingling of aesthetic excellence, fraud, and risk posed a distinct and considerable challenge to human judgment and restraint.

The stakes of the *ars* market's conjunction of *peritia* (expertise) and *periculum* (risk) were perceived as real and manifold in the later Middle Ages.[8] Moral hazard, professional and civic disrepute, deception, and divine displeasure haunt the market for beautiful, captivating works of *ars* according to the texts I examine below. But so too, their authors understand the *ars* market as a forum for aesthetic excellence and honest work, skillfully made. The shared problem variously confronted in these texts is one of judgment: how to tell good and honest work from false *marchandise*? How to determine the proper value of works of *ars* and to ensure that their makers deployed their skill for honorable and worthy ends and were compensated accordingly? How should would-be purchasers critically assess persuasive, beautiful works, made with expertise? What criteria—and what words—were adequate to the aesthetic experience of the late medieval *ars* market?

The ars market in the forum of the conscience: Antoninus of Florence

In his *Summa moralis* (also known as the *Summa doctrinalis* or *theologica*), composed c. 1444-1459, the Dominican archbishop of Florence, Antoninus Pierozzi (1389-1459; canonized 1523), aimed to equip clergy with the knowledge they needed to undertake pastoral work, including the adjudication of sin and virtue in the *ars* market.[9] During his lifetime, Antoninus was reputed to have heard more confessions than any other living pastor.[10] His deep investment in the *cura animarum* is evident in his writings, not least in the chapters of the third part of the *Summa* that he dedicates to helping confessors elicit effective confessions

[8] From a growing literature on medieval experiences of commerce and markets I found the following studies particularly illuminating: M. Carlin, "The Senses in the Marketplace: Markets, Shops, and Shopping in Medieval Towns," in R. Newhauser (ed.), *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Middle Ages*, London-New York, 2014, vol. 2, pp. 67-87; E. Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance: Consumer Cultures in Italy 1400-1600*, New Haven, 2005; M. Camille, "Signs of the City: Place, Power, and Public Fantasy in Medieval Paris," in B. Hanawalt and M. Kobialka (eds.), *Medieval Practices of Space*, (Medieval Cultures 23), Minneapolis, 2000, pp. 20-29; J. Favier, *Le Bourgeois de Paris au Moyen Âge,* Paris, 2015, pp. 347-402 et *passim*, https://www.cairn.info/le-bourgeois-de-paris-au-moyen-age--9791021008472.htm; D. Keene, "Cultures de production, de distribution et de consommation en milieu urbain en Angleterre, 1100-1350," *Histoire urbaine,* 2 (2006), pp. 17-38; D. Keene, "Sites of Desire: Shops, Selds and Wardrobes in London and Other English Cities, 1100-1550," in B. Blondé, P. Stabel, and M. Boone (eds.), *Buyers & Sellers: Retail Circuits and Practices in Mediaeval and Early Modern Europe*, Turnhout, 2006, pp. 125-153; J. Masschaele, "The Public Space of the Marketplace in Medieval England," *Speculum,* 77 (2002), pp. 383-421.

[9] For Antoninus's biography see R. Rouse and M. Rouse, "St. Antoninus of Florence on Manuscript Production," in M. Borgolte and H. Spilling (eds.), *Litterae medii aevi. Festschrift für Johanne Autenrieth zu ihrem 65. Geburtstag*, Sigmaringen, 1988, pp. 255–263; R. Finucane, *Contested Canonizations: The Last Medieval Saints, 1482-1523*, Washington, D.C, 2011, pp. 167-206. On Antoninus's epsicopal constitutions see R. Trexler, "The Episcopal Constitutions of Antoninus of Florence," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Bibliotheken und Archiven,* 59 (1979), pp. 244–272.

[10] O. Langholm, *The Merchant in the Confessional: Trade and Price in the Pre-Reformation Penitential Handbooks,* Leiden, 2003, p. 133.

from Christians according to their occupations. Synthesizing a long tradition of *pastoralia* and legal commentary, Antoninus's treatment of the different trades or crafts in the *Summa* is methodical and unusually detailed.[11]

Antoninus prefaces his serial discussion of the individual occupations that make up the "status" of merchants and handworkers (*artifices*), with a consideration of why and how human beings work. Unsurprisingly, he frames his remarks with reference to Genesis 3: after the fall, human beings have to labor for their survival, and, as he puts it, the postlapsarian human being "thus is immersed in these outward works, so that rarely does he know how to return to his proper work, for which he was made, that is to the knowing, loving, and enjoying of God."[12] Developing a three-part taxonomy of all human work in the world, Antoninus classifies human labor as "opus virtuale deo principaliter mouente" (morally virtuous work, with god prompting), "opus criminale diabolo internaliter suggerente" (culpable work, internally instigated by the devil) and "opus manuale ingenio naturaliter agente" (manual work pursued with natural talent).[13]

Antoninus's elaboration of this three-fold distinction merits closer examination; here I will only briefly call attention to several points of immediate interest.[14] First, Antoninus gives considerable emphasis to the operation of free will in any and all work that people do. Although God and the devil each play a differentiated role in the works accomplished by human beings, according to Antoninus, humanity's free will is a constant: it can cooperate with God in virtuous works;[15] it can follow the inward promptings of the devil, who incites the mind through the imagination and sensuality;[16] and in manual work it can be harnessed to address the conditions of existence peculiar to human beings, namely that whereas nature provides other animals with food, clothing, and arms, human beings receive only reason.[17]

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[11] Among art historians Antoninus's *Summa* is known primarily thanks to the excerpts discussed in C. Gilbert, "The Archbishop and the Painters of Florence, 1450," *The Art Bulletin*, 41 (1959), pp. 75–87; C. Gilbert, *Italian Art, 1400-1500: Sources and Documents*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J, 1980, pp. xix–xx, 147-148; C. Gilbert, "A Statement of the Aesthetic Attitude around 1230," *Hebrew University Studies in Literature and the Arts* 13 (1985), pp. 134-135; C. Gilbert, "Saint Antonin de Florence et l'art. Théologie pastorale, administration et commande d'oeuvres," trans. J. Bouniort, *Revue de l'Art*, 90 (1990), pp. 9-20. For further discussion of the *Summa* in relation to the tradition of "public theology" in Florentine conventual *studia* see P. Howard, "Preaching Magnificence in Renaissance Florence," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 61 (2008), pp. 325-369.

[12] *...ita in his operibus exterioribus immergitur vt raro sciat reuerti ad opus suum proprium ad quod est factus scilicet ad deum cognoscendum et diligendum et fruendum*: Antoninus of Florence, *Summa theologica* (i.e., *Summa moralis*), III.VIII. I. I have consulted the *Summa* from the 1511 Froben edition, printed at Basel, in the un-paginated copy held at the Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek (2 P. lat. 92-3); available online: https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/search?oclcno=165872697&db=100&View=default. In transcriptions I have silently expanded abbreviations. English translations are mine, unless otherwise noted.

[13] *Ibidem.*

[14] *Ibidem.*

[15] *Dicitur tamen opus virtuosum hominis opus que ibi cooperatur liberum arbitrium eius. Ibidem.*

[16] *... diabolus mentem per imaginationem et sensualitatem incitando ad malum Ibidem.*

[17] *Aliis quidem animalibus natura prouidit de victu vestitu et armis ad se defendendum sine ipsorum opere: homini vero dedit rationem... Ibidem.* Antoninus's discussion seems to echo, if imprecisely, Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Didascalicon: A Medieval Guide to the Arts* 1.8-9, J. Taylor (trans.), New York, 1961, pp. 55-57.

Accordingly, human beings must employ reason, exercised by means of "an act of considered decision and inquiry," in outward works of diverse pursuits.[18]

Addressing the mechanical arts, Antoninus explains that further factors come into play: intellectual power, the rules of each art, conscience, inclination, and natural aptitude.[19] Observing that different human beings are naturally inclined to different virtues, Antoninus develops his analysis by way of a quotation from Albertus Magnus:

> ... according to Albertus Magnus: 'Men, docile by nature, are inclined to various sciences according to the quality of their (humoral) complexion: melancholics to poetics, phlegmatics to moral (theology), sanguines to natural (philosophy), cholerics to mathematics or metaphysics.'[20]

So too, Antoninus observes, practitioners of the mechanical arts follow their inclinations:

> Thus with all the mechanical works and arts, one man is more inclined to one, another man to another, out of a natural impulse and with divine providence thus disposing matters to the beauty of the whole and the demonstration of its wisdom, who inspired in the minds of men the so many and so varied operations of the arts.[21]

Because the mechanical arts can be practiced *in bono* or *in malo,* the adjudication of the moral-spiritual character of the work done by practitioners of each art is no light undertaking.

Antoninus's prefatory remarks elaborate a compelling vision of what the mechanical arts can be when they are properly pursued. In his view, each art is an exercise proper to the postlapsarian, rational human being. Performed excellently—in keeping with an individual's psychosomatic composition and aided by natural instinct and divine providence—the mechanical arts make praise-worthy contributions to the beauty of creation and are demonstrations of divine wisdom. But then again, as Antoninus emphasizes, the mechanical arts can be practiced with wicked intentions. Pursued with an imagination and sensuality governed by the devil's promptings, the arts will produce works that are nothing better than the fruits of cupidity and the catalysts of vanity.

The Archbishop on Goldsmiths and Jewelers

Having considered the mechanical arts within the scheme of salvation, Antoninus next examines a series of individual *artes*. Following a lengthy discussion of "merchants and money

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[18] *...ex qua exeundo per discurusum ad actum considerationis et inuestigationis per opera exteriora diuersorum exercitiorum sibi prouidere possit de victu et vestitu et defensione a nociuis: et quasi omnia opera exteriora hominum ad haec ordinantur. Ibidem.*

[19] *... in operibus exterioribus artium debet homo exire de potentia intellectus ad opus suum interius... vt non solum operationem faciat exteriorem secundum regulam artis illius: sed etiam secundum regulam conscientiae bonae.*: Antoninus of Florence, *Summa theologica* III.VIII.I.§I. *Operatio exterior hominis potest dici sua: quae scilicet sibi conuenit propter inclinationem et aptitudinem naturalem ad illam.* Antoninus of Florence, *Summa theologica* III.VIII.I.§II.

[20] *... secundum Albertum magnum: Homines a natura dociles inclinantur ad scientias varias secundum qualitatem complexionum. Nam melancholici ad poeticas phlegmatici ad morales sanguinei ad naturales chloerici ad mathematicas vel metaphysicas. Ibidem.*

[21] *Ita et ad cetera opera mechanica et artes vnus inclinatur magis ad vnam: alius ad aliam: et naturali instinctu et diuina prouidentia etiam disponente ad pulchritudinem vniuersi et ostensionem suae sapientie: quae tantas et tam varias operationes artificum inspirauit mentibus hominum. Ibidem.*

changers"[22], he turns his attention to goldsmiths and jewelers.[23] From the outset, Antoninus distinguishes the goldsmith or jeweler's skilled labor from the intrinsic value of the materials he employs. It is acceptable, Antoninus writes, for the goldsmith to make a moderate profit from reselling a gold or silver vessel or something similar that he has not altered.[24] So too, he explicitly allows that a goldsmith or jeweler can licitly buy a precious stone that has been undervalued by its seller for less than it is worth and thereby to reap a profit.[25] In the same breath, however, the Archbishop condemns certain practices: for example, he stipulates that goldsmiths and jewelers cannot licitly sell a glass stone, set in a gold ring, as a precious stone.[26]

Why does Antoninus allow goldsmiths and jewelers to profit from the ignorance of a seller, but forbids them from taking advantage of ignorance in a customer? I would suggest that Antoninus's respect for the goldsmith or jeweler's *ingenium* and *peritia* underwrites the differentiated approach he takes to how these artists can or cannot licitly profit from the exercise of their art. The jeweler or goldsmith's expertise allows him to correctly judge the true value of a precious stone. His creative powers, harnessed to an improper pursuit of fraudulent gain, enable him to convincingly pass off a piece of glass in a gold setting as a precious stone. In Antoninus's view, the authority commonly granted to the artist's expertise and his mastery of his art make all of his works credible and persuasive to beholders.

The high value that Antoninus assigns to artistic expertise plays an important part in his consideration of how the just price ought to be determined in the case of precious metalwork. As he makes clear, this is a complex question that cannot be resolved with reference to the intrinsic value of materials alone.

> But if a goldsmith melts down a silver or gold vase, or some other thing and from it makes some other work of art, it is just that he should profit from his labor. But how much profit he may seek cannot be well established from a certain rule, but rather is established by the judgment of a good man according to the labor invested, and the talent and likewise the diligence of the maker, and the custom of the land. For, in whatever art, one considers the nobility of the material and the diligence of the worker and also the risk.[27]

As economic historians have recognized, Antoninus employs a highly differentiated concept of the just price.[28] He invokes the traditional *arbitrium boni viri*, only to insist upon further

[22] *De negociatoribus et campsoribus et de diuersis generibus cambiorum*: Antoninus of Florence, *Summa theologica* III.VIII.III.

[23] *De merciariis aurificibus*: Antoninus of Florence, *Summa theologica* III.VIII.IIII.[§I].

[24] *Aurifices cum emunt vasa aurea vel argentea et huiusmodi vt ea immutata reuendant: maiori tamen precio sed moderato: non est illicitum si aliquid lucrentur moderate... Ibidem.*

[25] *...ex eo quis non cognoscit vendens preciositatem rei; vtputa lapidem preciosum multo minori precio emat notabiliter quam valeat... Ibidem.*

[26] *...et econuerso non vendat ipse aurifex rem minus preciosam: puta vitrum in aureo annulo inclusum pro lapide precioso... Ibidem.*

[27] *Si autem aurifex conflat vas argenteum vel aureum vel aliam rem et inde facit aliquod artificium iustum est vt inde reportet lucrum de suo labore. Quantum autem possit petere pro lucro non potest bene dari certa regula: sed aribtrio boni viri statur secundum laborem ibi habitum et ingenium etiam seu industriam facientis: et morem patrie. Nam in quacumque arte attenditur nobilitas materiae et industria facientis et periculum etiam. Ibidem.*

[28] Langholm, *The Merchant in the Confessional*, pp. 132-135; O. Langholm, "Olivi to Hutcheson: Tracing an Early Tradition in Value Theory," *Journal of the History of Economic Thought,* 31 (2009), pp. 131-141; B. Jarrett, *S.*

criteria: not only regional norms and the quantity of labor expended, but also the qualities that the worker brings to his work— his *ingenium* and *industria*.

Although Antoninus employs a traditional hierarchical conception of the relative worth of materials and a ranking of artisanal labor tied to that material hierarchy, he unmistakably invests artistic *ingenium* with considerable value; a value that he directly identifies with the production of aesthetic worth and, consequently, sees as crucial to the determination of the just price.

> ...consider how in setting or working upon a precious stone there is the risk of a fracture and he would have to fix it; more licitly he should receive (a profit) than if there were not risk in it (the work) and even more is profit seemly in the working of gold and silver than of leather and iron and more is owed to him who better exercises the works of (his) art *(i.e., than a less skillful practitioner*). For just as in the art of painting, in making a similar figure, a great master seeks much more (gain)—twice or three times as much—than an uncultivated one.[29]

Just as the artist or artisan must adeptly manage risk or danger in the practice of his art, so too works of *ars* can be risky propositions for purchasers. In Antoninus's normative account, the sinister side of artistic skill is fraud. Examining how goldsmiths and jewelers can deceive their clientele, Antoninus gives a detailed account of fraudulent material substitutions, including alloys with less than the stipulated amount of noble metal and the use of what he calls "alchemical gold and silver" in lieu of true gold and silver.[30] In the *Summa moralis*, however, artistic or artisanal fraud is not simply a matter of false or debased materials, for Antoninus's recognition of the goldsmith's expertise and talent strongly shapes his moral analysis. When the Archbishop explicitly condemns the setting of glass in a precious gold mount, it is because he is convinced that any would-be customer will credulously presume that the expert goldsmith possesses a sterling character and will be captivated by the appearance of his works.

The Archbishop on Sculptors and Painters

The importance Antoninus grants to artistic expertise likewise informs his discussion of sculptors. Observing that marble carvers "demand excessive prices," but "cannot commit many frauds in their works because their works are out in the open," he explains that even when a contract stipulates sculptors' payment, they can still be found to be at fault if "experts in the art" judge their work to have been negligently executed for the sake of

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Antonino and Mediaeval Economics, (The Catholic Library 3), London, 1914; T. Van Houdt, "The Economics of Art in Early Modern Times: Some Humanist and Scholastic Approaches," in N. De Marchi and C. Goodwin (eds.), *Economic Engagements with Art*, Durham, NC, 1999, pp. 303-331 at 312-313.

[29] *...puta si lapidem preciosum includendo vel laborando circa eum esset periculum fractionis et emendare haberet: plus licite reciperet quam si ibi non esset periculum: et maius etiam decet lucrum operando in auro et argento quam in corio et ferro: et plus ei debetur qui melius opera artis exercet. Sicut etiam in pictoria arte in faciendo similem figuram: multo plus petet in duplo vel triplo magnus magister quam rudis.* Antoninus of Florence, *Summa theologica* III.VIII.IIII.[§I].

[30] *Aurum et argentum alchimatum non vendat pro vero: quoniam fraus est et illicitum secundum Thomas (Aquinas) 2.2.q.87.ar.2. ad primum* [*sic:* see instead Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae,* IIa-IIae, Q.77, a. 2, arg. 1 & ad.1.]... *Ibidem*.

speed. [31] According to the *Summa*, the adjudication of the quality of monumental sculpture requires professional artistic expertise.

Antoninus discusses painters in the chapter of the *Summa* dedicated to the makers of "texts, pictures, and documents."[32] In contrast to the work of scribes, he observes that "painters reasonably demand, concerning the payment of their art making, that they should be paid more or less, not only according to the quantity of the work, but rather according to (their) diligence and to (their) greater expertise in the art."[33] In this respect, Antoninus aligns painters with goldsmiths and jewelers. Like goldsmiths and jewelers, painters should not be compensated on the basis of quantity alone; they justly seek payment that reflects their skilled expertise and, accordingly, the determination of the value of their work in monetary terms always involves aesthetic judgment.

In the passage of the *Summa* best known to art historians, Antoninus characterizes painters whose depictions contradict the Christian faith as "reprehensible." Echoing Lucas of Tuy (d. 1249), [34] he decries tricephalic depictions of the Trinity, but he also objects to representations of Jesus as a fully formed baby sent into the Virgin's womb, the inclusion of the midwives in depictions of the Nativity, images of the Christ Child holding a writing tablet, and Thomas the Apostle receiving the Virgin's girdle at her Assumption. [35] Although Antoninus does not go

[31] The discussion of sculptors forms part of a chapter dedicated to architects and builders (*De architectis seu aedificatoribus huiusmodi"): "Lapicidarii quoque his adnectuntur; quorum aliqui lapides caedunt: et ad rudem formam trahunt. Alii diuersa inde opera exacta perficiunt alii statuas et figuras sculpunt: vt etiam marmorarii qui in operibus suis multas fraudes non possunt: quia manifesta sunt opera eorum: possunt tamen nimis precium exigere sui laboris; sed si sic existimatur a peritis in arte eis credendum post pactum etiam factum de mercede: si negligenter operaretur vt citius expediret: malum esset. In hac arte periti fuerunt sancti .4. coronati.* Antoninus of Florence, *Summa theologica* III.VII.IIII.§VIII.

[32] *De artificibus circa scripturas et picturas et chartas*: Antoninus of Florence, *Summa theologica* III.VIII.IIII.§XI. Richard and Mary Rouse conclude that the pictures Antoninus has in mind are primarily book illuminations: Rouse and Rouse, "St. Antoninus of Florence."

[33] *Pictores non solum secundum quantitatem laboris: sed magis secundum industriam et maiorem peritiam artis de salario sui artificii magis vel minus rationabiliter postulant sibi solui.* Antoninus of Florence, *Summa theologica* III.VIII.IIII.§XI.

[34] On Lucas of Tuy, see M. Schapiro, "From Mozarabic to Romanesque in Silos," *The Art Bulletin,* 21 (1939), pp. 313-374 (nota bene: Schapiro's discussion of Lucas's writings contains several errors of fact, corrected by Gilbert); Gilbert, "A Statement of the Aesthetic Attitude around 1230"; E. Falque Rey, "La iconografía de la crucifixión en un tratado escrito en latín en el s. xiii por Lucas de Tuy," *Laboratorio de Arte: Revista del Departamento de Historia del Arte*, 23 (2011), pp. 19-32; S. Moralejo, "D. Lucas de Tuy y la 'actitud estética' en el arte medieval," *Euphrosyne: revista de filologia clássica* n.s. 22 (1994), pp. 341-346; Binski, "The Crucifixion"; R. Berliner, "The Freedom of Medieval Art," *Gazette Des Beaux-Arts,* 28 (1945), pp. 263-288; J.-M. Sansterre and P. Henriet, "De 'l'inanimis imago' à 'l'omagem mui bella': méfiance à l'égard des images et essor de leur culte dans l'Espagne médiévale (viii-xiii siècles)," *Edad Media: revista de historia*, 10 (2009), pp. 37-92. For discussion of tricephalic trinities and their critics (including Antoninus of Florence) see R. Mills, "Jesus as Monster," in B. Bildhauer and R. Mills (eds.), *The Monstrous Middle Ages,* Cardiff, 2003, pp. 28-54 at 37-47.

[35] *Reprehensibiles etiam sunt cum pingunt ea quae sunt contra fidem: cum faciunt trinitatis imaginem vnam personam cum tribus capitibus quod monstrum est in rerum natura: vel in annunciatione virginis paruulum puerum formatum scilicet iesum mitti in vterum virginis: quasi non esset de substantia virginis eius corpus assumptum; vel paruulum iesum cum tabula letterarum cum non didicerit ab homine. Sed nec etiam laudandi sunt cum apocrypha pingunt vt obstetrices in partu virginis. Thomae apostulo cingulum suum a virgine maria in assumptione sua propter dubitationem eius dimissum et huiusmodi.* Antoninus of Florence, *Summa theologica* III.VIII.IIII.§XI.

so far as to brand the painters of such subjects as heretics (as Lucas of Tuy did not hesitate to do), he clearly condemns these iconographic motifs on doctrinal grounds.

The corruption of belief by painting is, however, not the Archbishop's only, or even his first concern. Opening his inventory of illicit paintings with "images that provoke the libido not from their beauty, but because of their arrangement, like naked women and that kind of thing,"[36] Antoninus concludes with the remark:

> In narrative scenes of the saints or in churches it seems superfluous and pointless to paint curious things that are not fit to excite devotion, but rather laughter and vanity, like apes and dogs chasing rabbits and this kind of thing, or the vain ornaments of vestments.[37]

The provocation of erotic excitement, laughter, and vanity bookend the *Summa*'s account of the dangers posed by the art of painting. As in his discussion of precious metalwork, so too Antoninus grants the art of painting considerable persuasive force. Painting practiced with *peritia*, he asserts, should be highly valued. At the same time, within the *Summa moralis*'s normative moral economy, aesthetically powerful, expertly accomplished painting can please the eye and provoke affective responses in all the wrong ways.

Antoninus of Florence understood the *forum* of the conscience—examined and assessed in the practice of confession—to be profoundly imbricated with the commercial *forum* of the marketplace. His *Summa* attempts to thoroughly equip confessors with the knowledge they need to elicit complete confessions and to fairly evaluate the nature and gravity of moral-religious infractions committed in the pursuit of financial gain. Accordingly, Antoninus emphasizes both the legitimate recompense of artistic and artisanal expertise and risk, and the dangers posed by illegitimate deployments of skilled perfidy proper to each art. The Archbishop's pastoral pedagogy and his conception of artistic skill are grounded in a single presupposition: namely, that the specialized expertise of artists and artisans poses a significant challenge to the confessor, to the consumer, and also—in the form of temptation—to the artist. Accordingly, the confessor must possess sufficient knowledge of the ways and means—both virtuous and vicious—of each craft if he is to solicit a truly complete confession from practitioners. Uninformed consumers, by contrast, are incapable of accurately assessing works of *ars* and, persuaded by appearances, likely to put their trust in a maker's expertise. It thus falls to confessors to urge talented artists and artisans to resist the urgings of greed and to turn their talent and expertise to the making of honest works.

Legislating loiaux marchandise

Antoninus was not alone in seeing the *ars* market as an arena for feats of aesthetically captivating skill and skillful deceit. Throughout medieval Europe, practitioners of crafts and the authorities tasked with overseeing them recognized that otherwise laudatory forms of artistic

[36] *...imagines prouocatiuas ad libidinem non ex pulchritudine sed ex dispositione earum vt mulieres nudas et huiusmodi. Ibidem.*

[37] *In historiis etiam sanctorum seu in ecclesiis pingere curiosa quae non valent ad deuotionem excitandam: sed risum et vanitatem: vt simeas et canes insequentes lepores et huiusmodi: vel vanos ornatus vestimentorum ... Ibidem.*

and artisanal expertise could be turned to illicit ends and consumers were likely to be none the wiser.

The so-called *Livre des métiers* associated with Étienne Boileau, *prévôt* of Paris from 1261-1269,[38] is, arguably, the best known example of an official response to this perceived state of affairs.[39] Sometime between 1266-1269, as part of a broader reform of the prévôté of Paris, Boileau compiled and committed to writing "li establissement des mestiers de Paris": the customary practices, obligations, and exemptions that governed many of the crafts practiced in Paris.[40] Known today as the *Livre des métiers*, Boileau's compilation aimed to codify "best practices" for various Parisian trades and crafts, as well as their legal and fiscal obligations and exemptions.[41] For practitioners of the crafts, the codification and registration of customary practices, privileges, and obligations could be advantageous: it allowed each trade to insist upon its prerogatives, to resist unwelcome increases to its obligations, and to itself define and assess, on an ongoing-basis, "honest" and "false" work.[42]

In the prologue to his compilation, Boileau confronts the menace of fraud and the pressing need to ensure the honesty of the work, wares, and legal oversight of Paris's artisanal economy:

> Because we have seen in Paris, in our time, a great deal of complaint and conflict—thanks to perfidious envy, which is the mother of complaint, and unrestrained greed, which devastates

[38] Boileau had previously served as royal *prévôt* of Orléans from 1259-1260; for a corrective account of Boileau's life and his work as *prévôt* of Paris, see W. Jordan, *Men at the Center: Redemptive Governance under Louis IX*, (The Natalie Zemon Davis Annual Lecture Series at Central European University 11), Budapest, 2012, pp. 37-70.

[39] This appellation was employed in the eighteenth century, but it is not attested in the extant medieval sources; for further discussion of the manuscript tradition and the dating of the regulations, see C. Bourlet, "Le *Livre des métiers* dit d'Étienne Boileau et la lente mise en place d'une législation écrite du travail à Paris (fin XIII^e^-début XIV^e^ siècle)," *Médiévales*, 69 (2015), pp. 19-48. On the *Livre des métiers* see also E. Sears, "Craft Ethics and the Critical Eye in Medieval Paris," *Gesta*, 45 (2006), pp. 221–238; E. Sears, "Scribal Wit in a Manuscript from the Châtelet: Images in the Margins of Boileau's Livre Des Métiers, BnF, MS Fr. 24069," in K. Smith and C. Krinsky (eds.), *Tributes to Lucy Freeman Sandler: Studies in Illuminated Manuscripts*, London, 2007, pp. 157-172; E. Coornaert, "Notes sur les corporations parisiennes au temps de saint Louis d'après le 'Livre des métiers' d'Étienne Boileau," *Revue historique,* 177 (1936), pp. 343-352; E. Sears, "Ivory and Ivory Workers in Medieval Paris," in P. Barnet (ed.), *Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age*, Detroit, 1997, pp. 19-37; C. Bourlet, "Les tabletiers parisiens à la fin du Moyen Âge," in E. Lalou (ed.), *Les tablettes à écrire de l'antiquité à l'époque moderne*, (Bibliologia 12), Turnhout, 1992, pp. 323-344.

[40] Both publications of the *Livre des métiers* must be used with care: G.-B. Depping, *Réglemens sur les arts et métiers de Paris, rédigés au XIII^e^ siècle et connus sous le nom du Livre des métiers d'Étienne Boileau* (Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France. Première série. Histoire politique), Paris, 1837; R. de Lespinasse and F. Bonnardot, *Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris. XIII^e^ siècle. Le livre des métiers d'Étienne Boileau* (Histoire générale de Paris. Collection de documents), Paris, 1879.

[41] These obligations and exemptions included participation in, or exemption from the *guet* (watch), as well as various tariffs or fees owed to the crown. The prologue identifies the compilation as having three sections: (1) the rules, privileges and obligations observed by the trades; (2) the tariffs levied on various goods imported to and/or sold in Paris; (3) the jurisdictional rights of different *seigneuries* within Paris. Under Boileau, only the second section was completed; the first section was compiled, but revised and supplemented on an ongoing basis thereafter; the third section was begun in the first half of the fourteenth century, only to be abandoned: Bourlet, "Le *Livre des métiers*," pp. 25, 44 et *passim*.

[42] On the organization and regulation—both formal and informal—of medieval urban crafts see G. Rosser, "Crafts, Guilds and the Negotiation of Work in the Medieval Town," *Past & Present*, 154 (1997), pp. 3-31.

> itself, and, due to the idiocy of the young and of the ignorant—between foreign people (i.e., non-Parisians) and those of the city who employ and practice a trade, because they have sold foreigners some wares of their trade that were not as good, nor as honest as they should be... and between the toll and tax collectors of Paris and those who owe Parisian tolls and taxes, and those who do not owe them, and even between ourselves and those who have legal rights or jurisdiction in Paris, who demanded and requested (things of) us that they should not have, have not had in the past, nor are accustomed to have, and because we fear lest the King be disadvantaged, and those who collect the tolls on the part of the King should lose (them), and because false works should not be made and sold in Paris, and nor should bad tolls become customary, and because the office of a good judge is to abolish and put an end complaints, to the best of his ability, and to wish to make all do good, not exclusively from fear of penalties, but (also) through the guidance of rewards, our intention is to clarify in the first part of this work, to the best of our ability, all the trades of Paris, their regulations, the manner of the undertakings of each trade, and their fines... We have done this for the profit of all, and even for the poor and for the foreigners who come to Paris to buy some merchandise, so that the merchandise should be so honest that no one will be deceived by its vice, and for those who in Paris owe some taxes and for those who do not owe them, and equally to chastise those who, out of greed for base gain or through idiocy, demand and take them (i.e. taxes) against God, against the law, and against reason. When this (the compilation) was done, gathered together, assembled, and put in order, we had it read before a great number of the most wise, most honest, and oldest men of Paris, and those who ought to know the most about these things, all of whom together greatly praised this work.[43]

Identifying the vices of envy and greed as threats to the honest practice of craft—and to the city of Paris, as a whole—Boileau frames the codification of trade-specific regulations as a vital measure that will protect ignorant consumers and skilled craftspeople, alike. Significantly, the *prévôt* takes pains to emphasize the consultative nature of the project he has undertaken. According to the prologue of the *Livre des métiers*, skilled expertise is not simply as a cause of artisanal fraud, but rather a crucial part of the solution to this perfidious phenomenon. Indeed, as

[43] *Pour ce que nous avons veu a Paris, en nostre tans, mout de plais et de contens par la delloial envie qui est mere de plais, et deffernée couvoitise qui gaste soy meisme, et par le non sens as jones et as poi sachans, entre les estranges gens et ceus de la vile qui aucun mestier usent et hantent, pour la reson de ce qu'il avoient vendu as estranges aucunes choses de leur mestier, qui n'estoient pas si bones ne si loiaus que eles deusent; et entre les paageurs et les coustumiers de Paris et ceus qui les coustumes et les paages doivent de Paris et ceus qui ne les i doivent pas; et meesmement entre nous et cex qui justice ou juridicion ont a Paris, qui le nous demandoient et requeroient autre que il ne le devoient avoir, ne n'ont usée ne acoustumée de avoir; et pour ce que nous nous doutiemes que li Rois n'i euist domage, et cil qui ont les coustumes de par lou Roy n'i perdisent, et que fauses oevres n'i fussent faites ne vendues a Paris, ou que mauvaises coustumes n'i fussent acoustumées; et pour ce que li offices au bon juge est d'abatre et de finer les plez a son pooir, et de voloir touz faire bons, non pas tant seulement par paour de paines, mès par amonestement de louiers; nostre intenptions est a esclairer, en la premiere partie de ceste oeuvre, au mius que nous porrons, touz les Mestiers de Paris, leur ordenances, la maniere des entrepresures de chascun mestier, et leur amendes... Ce avons nos fait pour le profit de touz, et meesmement pour les povres et pour les estranges qui a Paris vienent acheter aucune marchandise, que la marchandise soit si loiauz qu'il n'en soient deceu par le vice de li; et pour ceus qui a Paris doivent aucune droiture ou aucune coustume, ou qui ne les doivent pas; et meesmement pour chastier ceus qui par covoitise de vilain gaaing ou par non sens les demandent et prendent contre Dieu, contre droit et contre raison. Quant ce fu fait, coincoilli, assamblé et ordené, nous le feimes lire devant grant plenté des plus sages, des plus leauz et des plus anciens homes de Paris, et de ceus qui plus devoient savoir de ces choses; li quel tout ensamble loerent moult ceste oevre.* Lespinasse and Bonnardot, *Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris*, pp. 1-2.

the prologue stresses (and many of the trade-specific regulations reiterate), respected and senior representatives of each craft provided the substance of the regulations codified by Boileau and it was senior members of each craft or trade who exercised the role of expert assessors of wares made in Paris.[44] For Parisian craftspeople and merchants, as Elizabeth Sears has acutely observed,

> Professional expertise was a point of pride. It is assumed throughout the *Livre des métiers* that the *prévôt,* having no specialist knowledge, had to be given instruction. [...] Nor was it assumed that the *prévôt* had the wherewithal to adjudicate without expert witness. [...] The trades were highly specialized. The *prévôt de Paris* was seen to be out of his depth when it came to recognizing craft-specific varieties of false work.[45]

Drawing upon Sears's analyses, I want to make a slightly different point.[46] The normative regulations compiled for different crafts and given the force of law in the *Livre des métiers* reveal a shared conviction that consumers—that is, non-makers—both lacked the expertise to accurately assess works of *ars* and were easily taken in by false appearances. The inexpertise of consumers or customers was, in this respect, part and parcel of the risky dynamics of the late medieval *ars* market. Seduced by seemingly "honest" and attractive works, purchasers could easily become the victims of artisanal cunning, a scenario that exercised the imaginations of craftspeople and civil and religious authorities greatly in the later Middle Ages. As the 1443 *ordonnances* issued for goldsmiths in Dijon underscore, false works were deemed to be harmful on grounds both economic and soteriological:

> ... it is very agreeable to God our Creator and Redeemer that those who are responsible for procedure, governance, and the administration of justice act so that to each is rendered what is due him, and with equity and reasonable measure he acts so that the ignorant or unknowledgeable in affairs of great skill and subtle knowledge should not defrauded or tricked by those who have greater theoretical knowledge and cunning in said things. And for a long time now, we and our predecessor mayors and the *eschevins* of this said city (*i.e.,* Dijon) have been informed concerning a number of goldsmiths and people doing the work of a goldsmith, such as selling vessels and precious objects of gold and silver, on many and diverse occasions, by having worked and sold (works made of) a lesser alloy than is done in the good city of Paris, ... a number of people, both ecclesiastics as well as nobles and *bourgeois*, merchants ... and the other, simple people have been deceived, because frequently when they have seen the vessel or precious objects that they bought marked with the sign of the goldsmith who made it, they have relied upon the said mark and believed that the work was good... And in this way the said city of Dijon has been, and is less frequented by all manner of people having to do with the said things above mentioned... in all places where affairs are well governed with good justice, reason, and procedure, the grace of our blessed Creator and Redeemer abounds more expansively than in places where fraud and deception reign.[47]

[44] For discussion of conflict among experts in relation to wares involving multiple crafts and multiple cities, see: C. Bourlet and C. Thomas, "Les articles de Paris sous l'œil de l'expert. Le problème des alliages à base de cuivre et d'étain au Moyen Âge (xiii^e^-xiv^e^ siècles)," in L. Feller and A. Rodríguez (eds.), *Expertise et valeur des choses au Moyen âge. II, Savoirs, écritures, pratiques*, Madrid, 2016, pp. 359-84.

[45] Sears, "Craft Ethics," p. 228.

[46] In addition to Sears's important work (n39 supra) see also M. de Gailhard-Bancel, *Les anciennes corporations de métiers et la lutte contre la fraude dans le commerce et la petite industrie*, Paris, 1913.

[47] *...comme il soit chose très agréable à Dieu nostre Créateur et Rédempteur que ceulx qui ont charge de police, gouvernement et administration de justice, facent tant que à ung chacun soit rendu ce qui lui est deu et par égualité et*

The Dijon *ordonnances* praise and castigate goldsmiths in a single stroke: it is the acknowledged *plus grand spéculacion et subtilité* of workers in precious metal that allows them to deceive all manner of consumers. Further, the very real difficulty of assessing metallurgic substance from appearances makes it impossible for non-practitioners to assess the materials worked by the goldsmith.[48] Even a goldsmith's mark is no guarantee of quality; in fact, the *ordonnances* claim, such marks only lend greater credence to badly made works and thereby damage Dijon's reputation as a center for metalwork. Finally, according to the *ordonnances*, the consequences of artisanal fraud and ineffective judicial oversight are not only commercial: where deception and fraud flourish, divine grace and its soteriological dividends are scarce.

Although the 1443 *ordonnances* for the goldsmiths of Dijon praise the city of Paris for its standards of fineness and mercantile excellence, in the mid-fourteenth-century all was not well in the great Parisian market complex of les Halles (also known as the *aula campellorum*). In an *ordonnance* calling for the reformation and renovation of les Halles, issued at Paris on October 13, 1368, the French king Charles V contrasted the market's ruinous current state with its past glory:

> ...when the aforementioned *Halles* were inhabited and frequented by merchants, and people in the aforementioned occupations went there and sent their goods and merchandise there, as they were and are held and bound to (do), it was, without peer, one of the most beautiful things of Paris to see, which it is not presently, which greatly displeases us and not without reason...[49]

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mesure raissonable fait tellement que les non saichans ou congnoissans en matière de grant art et subtile science ne soient desfraudez ne baretez par ceulx qui ont plus grand spéculacion et subtilité esd. choses. Et il soit ainsi de longtemps ayons et nos prédécesseurs mayeurs et eschevins de ceste dicte ville, esté informés que plusieurs orfèvres et gens tant ouvrans dud mestier d'orfèvrerie comme vendans vaisselles et joyaulx d'or et d'argent en ayant plusieurs et diverses fois ouvré et vendu de moindre aloy que l'on ne fait en la bonne ville et cité de Paris... plusieurs, tant gens d'église comme nobles et bourgeois, marchans ... et les autres simples gens, ont esté déceuz en ce, tant parce que souventes fois quand ils ont veu la vaiselle ou joyaulx qui achetoient signez du seing de l'orfèvre qu'il avoit faicte, ils se sont rapportez aud. seing et ont reputé l'ouvraige estre bon... Et par ce moyen lad. ville de Dijon a esté et est moins fréquentée de toutes manières de gens ayans à faire des choses dessus dictes... et avec ce nous ayans regard ad ce que en tous lieux où la chose est bien gouvernée par bonne justice, raison et police, la grâce de nostre benoist Créateur et Rédempteur y abonde plus largement que es lieux là ou règne fraulde et décepcion. Transcribed in A.-V. Chapuis, *Les anciennes corporations dijonnaises. Réglements, statuts et ordonnances,* Dijon, 1906, pp. 306-307. On the late medieval organization and regulation of Dijon goldsmiths see also C. David, "Medieval Jewellers and Their 'Families', a View from the Dijon Archives," *Jewellery History Today* (2012), pp. 5-7; C. Vandeuren-David, "Les métiers et l'Église à Dijon aux XIV^e^ et XV^e^ siècles: au couer de la lutte, entre pouvoir spirituel et pouvoir urbain," in J. Theurot and N. Brocard (eds.), *La ville et l'Eglise du XIII^e^ siècle à la veille du Concile de Trente: regards croisés entre comté de Bourgogne et autres principautés: actes du colloque des 18 et 19 novembre 2005*, (Annales littéraires de l'Université de Franche-Comté 825), Besançon, 2008, pp. 159-168.

[48] On goldsmiths' marks see R. Lightbown, *Secular Goldsmiths' Work in Medieval France: A History*, (Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London 36), London, 1978, pp. 1-9 (with further bibliography).

[49] *...quant les dictes Halles ont esté habitées & fréquantées par les marchans, & que les gens des diz mestiers y aloient, & envoyoient leurs denrées & marchandises; comme tenus & abstrains y estoient & sont, ce feust, senz comparison, l'une des plus belles choses de Paris, à veoir; ce qui n'est pas à present, dont moult Nous desplaist, & non senz cause...*: D.-F. Secousse, *Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race*, Paris, 1736), vol. 5, pp. 147–150 at 148, see also pp. 261-262. The situation had, apparently, not improved by 1408, when Charles VI re-employed much of this phrasing in letters patent (8 May 1408): D.-F. Secousse, *Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race*, Paris, 1755, vol. 9, p. 329.

In the continuation of the *ordonnance* the king demands that members of the relevant Parisian crafts[50] comply with established law by selling their wares on Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays only in les Halles:

> ...each one in the distinct *Halle* for his trade and merchandise, so that all manner of people who want to have and to buy, can and may have better purchases/prices and a greater ability to get them, and also so the said wares may be seen and inspected more readily by the wardens of the said trades and merchandises, as much for the profit and utility of the common good, as for the decoration of our said good city of Paris, which is the principal and capital city of our realm...[51]

Calling for the reform and renovation—both regulatory and physical—of les Halles, the French king's *ordonnance* identifies the market complex as one of Paris's greatest ornaments: an ornament that attracts crowds and affords them—as well as expert assessors—a chance to see and inspect the rich variety of wares on offer in Paris.

The fixed architecture of les Halles was itself purpose-built for practices of visual inspection. Many of the buildings that made up the famed Parisian market featured large windows that regulations dictated should not be blocked from within or by temporary stalls on the exterior.[52] Stallholders were allowed to construct new windows, at their own expense, so long as they did so "en telle maniere que ils ne fassent prejudice a autruy."[53] By design, and according to regulations, les Halles—like all medieval market halls—was an aesthetic arena in which the play of light could be exploited to the advantage of the seller, or else to expose less than honest, or beautiful work.

Cloth merchants, in particular, enjoyed a reputation in the Middle Ages for skillfully manipulating optical conditions to enhance the appearance of their wares. As a French translation of Bartholomeus Anglicus's *De proprietatibus rerum* noted:

> ... an intensely red color strongly strikes the sense of sight, just as white does, and it imparts color to things that are near to it; and therefore drapers hang red cloths in front of the light (source), so that buyers are able to better take pleasure in other cloths, thanks to the redness that impedes their sense of sight.[54]

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[50] I.e., the makers and sellers of *toutes manieres de denrées ou marchandises, comme bled & tout autre grain, poissons de mer, tant frés comme salés, drapperie, pelleterie, mercerie, freperie, tapicerie, chauffes, toilles, chauderonaille, cuirs tant tamé comme conroyé, cordouennerie & pluieurs autres denrees & marchandises de semblable condicion ... epecialment les Merciers, Pelletiers, Frepiers, Tapissiers, Chauderonniers & autres...*: Secousse, *Ordonnances*, 1736, vol. 5, p. 147.

[51] *...chacun en sa Halle distincte, pour son mestier & marchandise, afin que toutes manieres de gens qui en vouldront avoir & acheter, puissent & doyent avoir meilleurs marchiés, & plus grant faculté d'en avoir; & aussi que lesdictes denrées puissent estre veuës & visitées plus aisieement, par les Gardes des diz mestiers ou marchandises, tant au proufit & utilité de la chose publique, comme en la décoration de nostre dicte bonne ville de Paris, qui est la principal & capital Ville de tout nostre Royaume...* Secousse, *Ordonnances*, 1736, vol. 5, p. 148.

[52] A. Lombard-Jourdan, *Les halles de Paris et leur quartier dans l'espace urbain: 1137 - 1969*, (Études et rencontres de l'École des Chartes 28), Paris, 2009: https://books.openedition.org/enc/233#bodyftn28 [Ch. 2, paragraph 12].

[53] *Ibidem.*

[54] *Et por ce une couleur bien rouge blesce la veue aussi comme fait la blanche et si donne couleur aux choses qui sont pres de lui Et pour tant les vendeurs de draps pendent draps rouges devant la lumiere pour ce que les acheteurs puissent mieulx joir de la couleur des autres draps pour la rougeur qui leur epesche la veue*: Paris, BnF, MS fr.

The exploitation of lighting conditions by drapers is likewise referenced in the *Somme le roi,* a compendium of moral-spiritual instruction completed in c. 1280 by friar Laurent d'Orléans for the French king Philippe III.[55] In a discussion of avarice, the *Somme le roi* observes that wares can be made to look better than they are, "as those drapers do, who choose dark places in which they sell their cloths."[56] No wonder then, that Bernard of Clairvaux describes the monk in pursuit of cloth for a new habit as holding fabrics up to his eyes and subjecting them to the "ray of the sun."

As Bernard, Antoninus of Florence, and countless legislative texts recognized, encounters with artfully made works could be captivating, even overwhelming. The marketplace was an aesthetically saturated environment that enthralled the senses and, in so doing, stimulated profoundly human desires for the beautiful. And considerable risk attended the pleasures of the *ars* market: shoppers' perceptions of artfully made works could be artfully manipulated and consumers lacked the specialized *subtile* knowledge needed to judge skillfully made appearances.

At a loss for words in ars market: Jean de Jandun on les Halles, c. 1323

The ocular pleasures and epistemological challenges of les Halles were spectacularly and cunningly captured in the *Tractatus de laudibus parisius* (Treatise concerning the praises of Paris; henceforth *De laudibus*) composed sometime before early November in 1323 by Jean de Jandun (d. 1328), a faculty member of the College de Navarre at the University of Paris.[57] Written as a riposte to a fellow Parisian academic who had taken issue with Jean de Jandun's (prior) *encomium* to the city of Senlis,[58] *De laudibus* has attracted growing attention from modern scholars.[59]

22531, f. 376r; transcribed (erroneously) and discussed in M. Salvat, "Le Traité des Couleurs de Barthélémi l'Anglais (xiii^e siècle)," in *Les couleurs au Moyen Âge*, (Sénéfiance 24), Aix-en-Provence, 1988, pp. 361-385 at p. 377.

[55] On the *Somme le Roi*, see the *ARLIMA* entry (with further bibliography): https://www.arlima.net/il/laurent_dorleans.html

[56] *La septieme (i.e., sub-division of the eighth branch of the vice of avarice) est fere et pourchacer que la chose que en uent apert meileur quele nest comme font cil drapier qui eslisent les lius oscurs ou il uendent leur dras.* London, BL, Add. MS 54180, f. 34r.

[57] On Jean de Jandun's biography, see L. Schmugge, *Johannes von Jandun, 1285/89–1328: Untersuchungen zur Biographie und Sozialtheorie eines lateinischen Averroisten*, (Pariser historische Studien 5), Stuttgart, 1966.

[58] The text has been identified in two manuscripts: Paris, BnF, MS lat. 14884, ff. 170rA-176rB (often misidentified as MS lat. 642) and Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 4753, ff. 196r-211r. The explicit to the text in Paris, BnF, MS lat. 14884, f. 176rB provides a *terminus ante quem*: *... scriptus complete anno Verbi incarnati 1323^o 4^a die Novembris. Pace* Schmugge the words "per Johannem de Genduno" are patently not to be found in the colophon: cf. Schmugge, *Johannes von Jandun,* p. 25, n.150. For a succinct discussion of the occasion and likely audience for Jean's encomium: see E. Inglis, "Gothic Architecture and a Scholastic: Jean de Jandun's 'Tractatus de Laudibus Parisius' (1323)," *Gesta,* 42 (2003), pp. 63-85 at p. 64.

[59] Recent art historical discussion of *De laudibus* has focused on its account of architecture on the Île-de-la-Cité: E. Inglis, "Gothic Architecture and a Scholastic"; P. Binski, "Reflections on the 'Wonderful Height and Size' of Gothic Great Churches and the Medieval Sublime," in C. Jaeger (ed.), *Magnificence and the Sublime in Medieval Aesthetics: Art, Architecture, Literature, Music*, (The New Middle Ages), New York, 2010, pp. 129-156 at p. 147. For further perspectives on the text see A. Le Roux de Lincy and L.-M. Tisserand, *Paris et ses historiens aux xive et xve siècles*, Paris, 1867, pp. 3–20 (with Latin original and French translation pp. 32-79); R. Berger, *In Old Paris: An Anthology of Source Descriptions, 1323-1790,* New York, 2002, pp. 1-6 (with English translation of the text pp. 7-17); A.-H. Miller, "Revisiting Urban Encomia in Fourteenth-Century Paris: Poetics of Translation, Universalism, and the Pilgrim City," *Viator,* 45 (2014), pp. 193-210 at pp. 205–206.

Jean de Jandun introduces his reader to les Halles with the promise that this "joyful abode of the most lovely diversions" will present them with "every, and all species of jewels, in (the form) of very great treasuries of inestimable precious objects".[60] Already in the first sentence of his intricately wrought description of les Halles, Jean pulls out the rhetorical stops. As Emma Dillon has observed, Jean's poem, and its praise of the market and its contents, operates in the mode of hyperbole: anything and everything precious, pleasing, and beautiful can be found in the *aula campellorum*, in quantities that cannot be reckoned, with qualities that cannot be properly captured in language.[61] *De laudibus* is a decidedly rhetorical work that seeks to convey the overwhelming spectacle of les Halles by means of a carefully calibrated Latin lexicon, deployed with considerable cunning.[62] Just as skillful medieval artisans put their expertise and talent to work in the crafting of objects that delighted the eye, pleased the senses, and induced longing, wonder, and even a frantic kind of desire, so too Jean worked in the medium of the Latin language to convey the superlative character of the great Parisian *ars* market.

To the best of my knowledge, modern commentators have yet to notice how Jean's account playfully, but pointedly frames the experience of les Halles in relation to contemporary academic debates centered on the powers and limitations of human perception and sense-derived knowledge.[63] Employing scholastic terms of art—détourned in a thoroughly tongue-in-cheek fashion—Jean suggests that the aesthetic effect of les Halles is no simple affair of sensory overload and unthinking desire, but rather rises to the level of a high-order philosophical problem of the kind addressed in Parisian academic lectures and disputations.

Despite considerable interest in Jean de Jandun's "radical Averroism," the bulk of his academic *oeuvre* has yet to be edited.[64] Although it remains beyond the scope of this essay to fully explore his turns of phrase—and concomitant conceptual play—in *De laudibus* in relation to his philosophical writings, a few suggestive connections can, nonetheless, be made. To get at the intellectual, academic subtext in Jean's account of les Halles, one needs to attend closely to Jean's artful Latin wordplay. At les Halles, Jean tells his reader:

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[60] *Ista si quidem iocunditatis amenissime mansio letabunda sub inestimabilium preciosorum gazophilaciis permaximis cunctas et universas jocalium species in domo aule campellorum vocata presentat*: Le Roux de Lincy and Tisserand, *Paris et ses historiens*, p. 50.

[61] E. Dillon, "Listening to Magnificence in Medieval Paris," in C. Jaeger *Magnificence and the Sublime in Medieval Aesthetics: Art, Architecture, Literature, Music* (The New Middle Ages), New York, 2010, pp. 215-241 at pp. 221-229; E. Dillon, *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France, 1260-1330*, (The New Cultural History of Music), New York, 2012, pp. 67-75.

[62] Addressing precisely this *topos* in *De laudibus*, Dillon insightfully observes: "to run out of words is also, in the arena of writing, the ultimate accolade: it defines a kind of limit of language, the boundary of excess, or a hyperbole of sorts — a coming-to-the end of the currency of language that mirrors the success of the market it seeks to represent." Dillon, *The Sense of Sound*, p. 75.

[63] On the philosophical structure and content of *De laudibus* as a whole (with passing reference to the description of les Halles) see G. Fernández Walker, "Reasons for Pleasure and the Pleasures of Reason. The Philosophical Background of John of Jandun's *De Laudibus Parisius*," *Eadem Utraque Europa,* 10 (2014), pp. 15–30. For a critical commentary on the modern desire to affiliate Gothic architecture with scholastic thought with reference to *De Laudibus* see Inglis, "Gothic Architecture and a Scholastic," pp. 73-78.

[64] Jean de Jandun's known writings (as well as works doubtfully ascribed to him) are inventoried, with references to modern editions, incunables, and select bibliography, in the University of Regensburg's *ALCUIN: Infothek der Scholastik*: https://www-app.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/PKGG/Philosophie/Gesch_Phil/alcuin/philosopher.php?id=1219

... si facultates tibi suppetunt et voluntas, emere poteris omnia genera ornamentorum, que sagacissima factive rationis industria, ut lacune desideria compleantur, deproperat excogitare. Istorum autem generum singulas velle specialissimas species describere, forsan hoc opus tante prolixitatis dispendio prolongaret, quod et in lectoris anima generaret fastidium, et sui actoris ignaviam, propter impossibilia sibi querere, insinuaret.

... if your resources and will are equal to it, you will be able to buy all kinds of ornaments, which the creative power's most clever diligence hastened to think up in order to fill the voids of desire. But to wish to describe each most singular species of these kinds (of things) would, perhaps, prolong this work with such an expenditure of prolixity that it would produce weariness in the soul of the reader and would reveal the faint-heartedness of the author when he takes on impossible things.

Hoc tamen prorsus nolo tacere quod, in quibusdam inferiorum partium illius foralis domus, offeruntur, quasi sub innumeris congeriebus et cumulis, panni pulcri, pulcriores et pulcherrimi; in aliis autem forrature decentes, hec quidem ex animalium pellibus, ille vero ex sindalis constitute; alie quoque ex ceteris delicatis et extraneis materiebus facte sunt, quarum propria nomina latini ydiomatis michi fateor esse ignota. In superioribus vero illius edis partibus, que ad modum unius vici mirabilis longitudinis ordinate sunt, pretenduntur specialia particularum humani corporis paramenta; pro capite quidem corone, serta et mitre; discriminalia quoque eburnea pro capillis; specula pro oculis; cinguli pro lumbis; burse pro lateribus; cyrothece pro manibus; monilia pro pectore; ceteraque talia de quibus nominum latinorum penuria, magis quam visive cognitionis defectus, me tacere compellit[65]

Nevertheless, I do not wish to pass over in silence what, in certain lower parts of this market house, are offered, as if under innumerable heaps et mounds, beautiful, more beautiful, and most beautiful cloths; in other (areas) pleasing fur garments, these from the skins of animals, and those made from silk; also others made from other delicate and foreign materials, whose proper names in the Latin idiom, I confess, are unknown to me. And in the upper parts of this building, which are laid out in the manner of a street of marvelous length, are offered special accessories for each part of the human body: indeed, for the head crowns, garlands and headdresses; also ivory pins (or hair-parters) for the hair; mirrors for the eyes; belts for the hips; purses for the sides (of the body), gloves for the hands; necklaces for the breast; and other such things, concerning which the poverty of Latin words, rather than a deficiency of visual cognition compels me to pass over in silence.

Throughout his description of les Halles Jean slyly employs scholastic turns of phrase and terminology to evoke the dizzying aesthetic and commercial spectacle of les Halles. Thus, in the first line of the passage above, the word *facultates* usually rendered in English as "resources" or "means" in a financial sense, also designated the faculties involved in cognitive processes. Coupled with the word *voluntas* (will), Jean's use of *facultates* suggests that the wares displayed in the market hall mount challenges not only to the purse and will power, but also to the intellect's ability to make sense out of sense data.

Addressing the profusion of ornaments on offer, Jean describes their innumerable varieties and quantities as "thought up" (*excogitare*) through the exercise of the *ratio factiva*

[65] Le Roux de Lincy and Tisserand, *Paris et ses historiens,* p. 50.

(productive reason or power). In the first half of the fourteenth-century, *ratio factiva* was hardly common parlance; it is a decidedly academic turn of phrase that resonates with *philosophia factiva,* a term Jean had previously employed in his commentary on Aristotle's *De anima* (c. 1315-17) to designate the part of *philosophia practica* (practical or applied philosophy) corresponding to human work upon materials.[66]

When Jean admits the limits of his verbal powers to master the impossible task of adequately describing the market hall, it is the *singulas specialissimas species* of the artfully made *genera* laid out for sale that he says defeat him. This phrasing is also borrowed from the rarefied discourse of academic lectures and disputations, not least contemporary discussions of the so-called "problem of universals": a lively debate concerning how human beings form knowledge of *genera* through processes of reasoned intellection working from the sensual experience of singular individual existents.[67]

Describing what it was like to enter les Halles and to be confronted with the wares displayed there, Jean de Jandun deliberately enlisted specialized academic terms and concepts to imply that the *ars market* defied predication and, by extension, reasoned judgment. In doing so, he characterized the aesthetic experience of les Halles as a kind of *aporia*: an apperceptual and epistemological challenge that exceeded what state of the art academic language and analysis could understand and explain. And he did this with a parodically donnish Latinate wit that does not survive translation into modern English. Jean's deliberately breathless encomium to the Parisian *ars market* was certainly intended to show off what he could craft out of the Latin language and it was, I think, something of an inside joke, intended to amuse readers, perhaps even to make them laugh.

Conclusion

The playful humor of Jean de Jandun's description of les Halles succeeds, I suggest, because it wittily describes an experience that was familiar to the Parisian academic readers it anticipated. The late medieval *ars* market was a challenging testing ground for sensory perception and sense-derived judgment, as well for moral judgment and *honestas*.

The tradition of thought, normative legislation, moralizing commentary, and encomium that I have explored, all too selectively, in this essay is well attested in a diverse range of European medieval sources. Nonetheless, the substance, and the import of this tradition of thought and practice for how late medieval makers and consumers conceived of the work of

[66] ...[*philosophia*] *factiva quae determinat de operibus hominis in materiam exterioriem transeuntes*; the other division of *philosophia practica* is *philosophia activa* (*quae determinat de eius operibus in ipso homine remanentibus)*: Johannes de Janduno, *Quaestiones De anima,* col. 4; as quoted and discussed in Z. Kuksewicz, "Jean de Jandun et sa conception de la philosophie," in J. Aertsen and A. Speer (eds.), *Was ist Philosophie im Mittelalter? Qu'est-ce que la philosophie au moyen âge? What is Philosophy in the Middle Ages? Akten des X. Internationalen Kongresses für Mittelalterliche Philosophie der Société Internationale pour l'Etude de la Philosophie Médiévale, 25. bis 30. August 1997 in Erfurt*, (Miscellanea mediaevalia 26), Berlin, 1998, pp. 428-434 at p. 432.

[67] The literature on the "Problem of Universals" in the medieval period is vast; an excellent starting point is K. Gyula, "The Medieval Problem of Universals," in E. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy,* (Winter 2017), https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2017/entries/universals-medieval

art as a special kind of commodity, posing particularly challenging material, economic, moral, and epistemological problems has yet to attract the attention that it deserves.

As numerous late medieval sources make plain, a thriving *ars* market was understood to be a civic ornament and even a sign of divine approbation. At the same time, however, the very expertise that was capable of producing aesthetically excellent works could be turned to less than honorable ends: a scenario that preoccupied artisans, civic and regnal powers, and ecclesiastics alike. According to late medieval authorities, expert artists, working honestly, deserved to be well rewarded for their work and the risks they ran in the practice of their art. Artisanal *peritia* could, however, be pernicious: the very skill that could produce a beautiful, honest piece of work could be exploited to deceive customers ill-equipped to tell a precious stone from a piece of glass. Confronting the multiple risks—pecuniary, material, moral, and social—of the *ars* market, late medieval authorities and artisans collectively fashioned a body of norms, articulated in the language of both suspicion and praise, that reveal a sustained interrogation of what artistic expertise could accomplish and what made a work of *ars* excellent, true and valuable, or else dishonest and even dangerous.

In medieval Europe many works of *ars* were objects made with expertise and, accordingly, requiring equally expert practices of evaluation and valuation. Works of *ars were* also linchpins of a cultural economy in which aesthetic values, moral-religious values, and economic values were produced, reproduced, circulated, exchanged, debased, and—not least—examined. The medieval *ars* market was not only a vital social-economic structure fostering the production and circulation of artfully made commodities, it was also an intellectually productive site where something approaching a *theory of art* was crafted in the later Middle Ages.