

# **The Bruges Master of 1482:**

**Exemplar of Erwin Panofsky's**

**Principle of Disjunction**

**Hendrik J. Horn**

**with the assistance of Hanno Wijsman**

**For Annètje, Karin, Kirstin, Lucas, Maya and Charlotte**

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## FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Bruges Master of 1482 received his sobriquet a century ago, but the present study only goes back to early in 1967, when I first encountered the master in a Yale University graduate seminar on mediaeval manuscripts conducted by the late Walter Cahn. The focus of my research was a splendid illuminated manuscript in Yale's Beinecke Library. As particular challenge, this codex contains two distinct texts, the *Arbre des Batailles* by Honoré Bovet and the *Traité de noblesse* by Diego de Valera, as well as ten lesser items.

It was almost entirely by accident that the Master of 1482 became my companion for more than five decades. I could have selected another seminar for that spring semester. Similarly, I could have opted for another manuscript, but the relatively late date of the codex in question happened to fit in with my emerging specialism in the Northern Renaissance. In addition, it was a secular work, with subject matter that intrigued me. I also quickly learned that its illuminator had already become associated with a growing oeuvre that included authors to conjure with, such as Ovid, Caesar and Boccaccio. In short, I was sold on the Master of Bruges before the end of that fateful semester.

In the summer of 1967, I travelled all over Europe to examine other manuscripts that had been attributed to the Master of 1482. My findings were incorporated in the Yale M.A. thesis that I presented in the late spring of 1968. From then on, I periodically returned to the Master of 1482, with my findings summarized in a catalogue entry compiled by James Marrow in the *Yale Library Gazette* of 1978 and in a short article of mine in *Essays Presented to Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann* of 1983. Then followed four decades during which I sporadically returned to the Master of 1482 but allowed myself to be distracted by seemingly more important projects centring on Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen (1989), Arnold Houbraken (2000), Western Sufism (2010), Piet Mondrian (2017)



and again Houbraken (2022 and 2023). In fact, my research for this study virtually halted around the turn of this century. Over all the years James Marrow continued to take a close interest in my findings and generously shared his own. Not once did he tell me to stop vacillating and get on with the publication of our findings.

In October of 2023, I at last put Houbraken behind me and returned full time to the Bruges Master of 1482. Just then, by some evil synchronicity, the British library was hit by a cyber-attack that made it impossible for me to ascertain that I had copied their detailed bibliographic information precisely. In addition, the long genesis of this study avenged itself. Already well into my eighties, I was plagued by chronic fatigue, weakening vision and the complete collapse of my once formidable typing skills. At that point I might well have given up had I not been so fortunate as to secure the aid of Hanno Wijsman, a leading scholar of illuminated manuscripts, who helped me assess and encapsulate the complex developments of the present century. He also added two manuscripts to the oeuvre of the Master of 1482. This study might never have been completed without his exertions and advice.

It is indicative of my isolation, at least as a scholar of manuscripts, that I have only a few individuals other than James Marrow to thank. Of all the scholars who helped me with my research over the years I have particularly fond memories of the late Otto Pächt, both in Oxford and Vienna. Anne Korteweg, who is still going strong, helped me secure financial support from the Canada Council in 1980, welcomed me to the Special Collections of the Royal Library in The Hague and continued to be most helpful over the years. William Reynolds advised me with respect to the iconography of the *Ovid* manuscript in Copenhagen whereas Christopher de Hamel answered my enquiries about the vicissitudes of a *Traité de noblesse* formerly in Stuttgart. Of a still later generation, Anne-Margreet As-Vijvers commented on a preliminary version of this study. Scot McKendrick kindly supplied me with a few missing photographs from the British Library. Finally, Hanno Wijsman made the final stages of this study particularly rewarding and enjoyable.

A few technical matters require elucidation. Janette Lagrande-Van der Zwet heroically scanned and formatted many of the illustrations. I started off long ago with only black-and-white photographs obtained from sundry museums, but the greater majority have now been replaced by colour illustrations. It was again Hanno Wijsman who located most of these images. However, I illustrated only one of several works by three major panel painters of the fifteenth century, namely Rogier van der Weyden, Dieric Bouts and Hugo van der Goes. It was my arguably optimistic working assumption that anyone who reads a book online can also access works of art within seconds. At the same time, I have illustrated numerous woodcuts by the prominent entrepreneur, translator and printer Colard Mansion, even though these prints did not influence the Master of 1482 but were in fact based on his miniatures. This is in part because these woodcuts are as yet poorly represented on the internet, but also because they illustrate a vitally important development in the history of western art and culture, namely the ubiquitous transition from the hand-written manuscript to the printed book.

Nijmegen, 3 October 2024

**TEXT**



# Chapter 1: The Life and Times of the Bruges Master of 1482

Considering the splendour of Flemish manuscript illumination, it may come as a surprise that almost nothing was splendid about the times in which much of the art was produced. Yet surprise may not be in order. The marvels of the Italian Renaissance were also achieved against a background of intrigue and strife. The little that we know about the life of the Bruges Master of 1482 must be presented against a picture of the troubled times in which he managed to thrive.

## Curriculum Vitae

Given his extensive production, our painter was certainly one of the more important book illuminators of the late fifteenth century and arguably the most inventive and versatile figure to be almost exclusively specialized in secular manuscripts. Though he has yet to be identified in the Bruges archives,<sup>1</sup> it is overwhelmingly likely that he did in fact work in that city. His known *oeuvre* indicates that he was an accomplished illuminator by about 1480, and we can therefore conjecture that he was active from about 1475 and born around 1455 to 1460. We do not know in whose workshop he was trained, however, and his beginnings remain a mystery.<sup>2</sup> It is certain, however, that his early career was for a while closely associated with a formidable colleague whom I had called the Master of the Vienna *Traité de noblesse* until 2008 and then 2010, when Hanno Wijsman adopted the baffling sobriquet of Master of the Chattering Hands and attributed fifty-three manuscripts to him.<sup>3</sup>

The Master of 1482 was very likely the son of a craftsman, with only a modest “elementary school” education before moving on to the best possible apprenticeship that his parents were able to secure for him. He likely married and

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<sup>1</sup> There certainly is nothing in the basic archival study by Gilliodt-van Severen 1876.

<sup>2</sup> Georges Dogaer (1987, p. 127) had the Master of 1482 “active from about 1475”, but presented neither evidence nor information.

<sup>3</sup> Wijsman 2008, p. 67 and Wijsman 2010b, p. 65, n. 10 (with literature going back to Pächt/Jenni/Thoss, 1990, pp. 67-69) and Appendix D, pp. 579-586. n. 104. His list includes manuscripts that were in part or entirely illuminated by him. For commentary see Anne Dubois (2011-2012), pp. 283-285.

his choice may well have fallen upon a daughter of his teacher or of some other senior colleague. The odds are that he then fathered children and made as much money as possible to feed his growing family. The number of his distinguished patrons and the size of his oeuvre prove that he did quite well for himself despite considerable social unrest. We lose sight of our master by about 1490, when he was supposedly still young even by the standards of his times. Whether he died, became incapacitated, or fell victim to the inexorable advance of the printed book at the expense of the illuminated manuscript, is once again not known.

## Insurrection and War

Since he worked for an elite group that governed the Burgundian Netherlands, the Master of 1482 must have been affected by the political unrest that was virtually endemic in Flanders from the late 1470s to the early 1490s. The complex developments are best related in some detail because any brief account risks awkward shortcuts or outright caricature. Few of the following events are likely to have had a direct bearing on the productivity of the Master of 1482, but they do yield useful information about the movements and motives of his patrons as well as the dating and iconography of their commissions. Many of the occurrences become more understandable when we know two general facts of about the Low Countries during the fifteenth century. First, the cities of Flanders had resented centralized Flemish control from its beginnings, so that any power vacuum was bound to have dire consequences. Secondly, the dukes of Burgundy were legally vassals of the kings of France, so that nothing could ever be completely black and white in a French-Flemish conflict.

We pick up on our story on 5 January 1477, when Charles the Bold was killed at Nancy.<sup>4</sup> Acting in character, the Flemish towns soon agitated to revive long-lost privileges at the expense of Charles's daughter and heir, Mary of Burgundy (1457-1482). Menaced by her father's wily cousin, Louis XI of France (ruled 1461-1483), who had already gobbled up the French Burgundian heartland, Mary was in no position to argue. By 11 February she capitulated to her Flemish

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<sup>4</sup> For the political situation after 1477, Paravicini 1975, *passim*. Of the summaries in art-historical sources, that in Smeyers/Van der Stock 1996, pp. 10-12, is recommended.

subjects with her “Great Privilege”, which returned the balance of power to what it had been before 1438. Within a month, the cities of Zeeland and Holland were able to insist on greater independence as well. But things did not quiet down even then. Most disturbing from Mary's point of view was that a few key ducal functionaries (and important patrons) -- Jean III Gros,<sup>5</sup> Guy de Brimeu, Lord of Humbercourt, and Guillaume Hugonet, Mary's chancellor -- were seized by the enraged citizens of Ghent. Gros's skin was saved by Mary, but Humbercourt and Hugonet were executed in April of 1477 despite her strenuous efforts.

Margaret of York, Dowager Duchess of Burgundy and Charles the Bold's able widow (1446-1503), quickly helped her step-daughter Mary secure her marriage to Maximilian I of Austria (1459-1519), the only son of Frederick III (1415-1493), who was Holy Roman Emperor at the time.<sup>6</sup> This strategic union, which had been the last of several matches envisaged by Charles the Bold himself, was sealed by proxy on 21 April 1477. On 18 August the Habsburg teenager reached Ghent, where he wed Mary the next day. Maximilian soon took up a prominent place in the political life of his wife's domains, performing satisfactorily in almost every way. On 30 April 1478 he succeeded Charles the Bold as Chief of the Order of the Golden Fleece and presided over its thirteenth Chapter, which convened in Bruges. A fourteenth Chapter, in Bois-le-Duc, followed in 1481. In addition, Maximilian defeated Louis XI at Guinegate in August of 1479, while his efforts on the home front were rewarded with the birth of Philip the Fair in 1478 and Margaret of Austria in 1480. The dark clouds hanging over the Low Countries must have seemed to be lifting.

Alas, on 27 March 1482 Mary died after taking a fall from her horse. Brabant, Hainaut and Holland soon accepted Maximilian as guardian and regent for the infant Philip the Fair, but the Flemings balked, setting off a decade of crisis. In late December of 1482, they forced Maximilian to accept Louis XI's terms at the

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<sup>5</sup> This extravagant man is seen in a portrait by Rogier van der Weyden, now in Chicago.

<sup>6</sup> Margaret of York was Charles the Bold's third spouse, Mary of Burgundy being the daughter of Charles's second wife, Isabella of Bourbon (ca. 1434-1465). Margaret initially favoured her brother Clarence, but her other brother, King Edward IV, was opposed. Margaret then put her full weight behind the imperial union. See Wiesflecker 1971, pp. 122-135 and Weightman 1993, pp. 114-115, for detailed information concerning Margaret of York and Maximilian I.

Treaty of Arras. About two weeks later, with Louis's support, they proclaimed Philip the Fair as the new Duke of Burgundy. In June of 1483 Maximilian was more or less forced to appoint a regency of three nobles to rule for his son.<sup>7</sup> With the death of Louis XI in late August, however, Maximilian reneged on the Treaty of Arras and on the triad regency, which nevertheless continued to rule. By February of 1484, Maximilian was leading Habsburg troops through Flanders. The Flemish cities turned to Charles VIII of France (ruled 1483-1496), who gave them military support from October of 1483 to February of 1484. Bruges fell to Maximilian on 1 June 1485, and was duly punished. On 5 July Maximilian, followed by Frederick III, arrived in Bruges for a major celebration.<sup>8</sup> Later that month, at the Treaty of Sluys, Flanders at last accepted Maximilian as regent, but Ghent soon rebelled once more. Maximilian responded by reversing Mary's Great Privilege and greatly reducing the status of Bruges, thus pouring more oil on the lingering flames of insurrection.

The situation in Flanders continued to deteriorate during the following years. Maximilian continued to be seen as an intrusive foreigner who was waging a ruinous war with France in pursuit of Habsburg territorial ambitions. He must have confirmed all suspicions by seeking the title of King of the Romans, the final step leading up to his eventual succession as Holy Roman Emperor. His election took place in Frankfurt am Main on 16 February of 1486, with the formal coronation following in Aachen on the first day of March.<sup>9</sup> Thus Maximilian committed Flanders to the European stage. The new reality was symbolically sealed in Malines in 1491, when Maximilian inducted his father Frederick III into the Order of the Golden Fleece, thus marking its transition from a Burgundian to a Habsburg chivalric order. Of the fourteen knights inducted that year, half came from the German territories or from elsewhere outside the Low Countries.<sup>10</sup>

The war with France dragged on and on, as did rebellion at home. In February of 1488, Maximilian set out with five hundred knights to pacify Bruges,

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<sup>7</sup> Jelle Haemers in Haemers/Hoorebeeck/Wijsman 2007, pp. 38-44, compiled extensive data in connection with Philippe de Cleves for the period from June 1483 to January 1488.

<sup>8</sup> See Aubert 1911, p. 268.

<sup>9</sup> Much more about this follows in Cat. 15 below.

<sup>10</sup> See Pauwels et al. 1962, p. 38.



but its citizens managed to take him prisoner instead. He was not released until the middle of May, after he had agreed to give up on his regency, to leave the Netherlands, and to end the war with France at his own expense. On June 9, backed by a large imperial army commanded by Albrecht of Saxony (1443-1500), Maximilian rescinded on his concessions. He only left for Germany in February of 1489, leaving Albrecht to subjugate lingering rebellion in Flanders, Brabant and Holland. Bruges at last accepted Maximilian's regency late in 1490, whereas Ghent only capitulated in the summer of 1492. The next year Frederick died, Maximilian succeeded his father as Holy Roman Emperor, and the treaty of Senlis secured the Flemish Netherlands for the Habsburgs. In 1493 to 1494 the teenaged Philip the Fair became recognized as the ruling duke of Burgundy while his father turned his attention to Milan and Bianca Maria Sforza (1472-1510), who became Queen of Germany and Empress of the Holy Roman Empire as Maximilian's third spouse.

This version of events is too linear and logical to be altogether correct, painting as it does a picture of a unified Habsburg policy over the years. Astonishingly, however, Maximilian probably did not have his father's blessing when he sought to become King of the Romans. Just what it was that bothered Frederick, is not certain. It has been proposed, and denied, that he had a low opinion of his son's abilities in general. Perhaps Frederick only believed that Max was botching things in Flanders or that he did not show enough interest in family problems back in Austria. A few years after Maximilian's coronation, he and his father began to see eye to eye, but around 1486, dissension ruled even within the Habsburg dynasty.

The persistent unrest in Flanders from 1477 to 1529 was particularly hard on Bruges,<sup>11</sup> which was both its political and economic centre. Commerce suffered during the 1480s and serious inflation set in before their end. Naturally there was a decline in commissions of luxury manuscripts in the 1480's, though one would never know from the oeuvre of the Master of 1482, for his career, which extended from about 1480 to 1490, overlapped with the years of economic malaise.

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<sup>11</sup> Wijsman 2010, pp. 78-79.

Possibly the particular plight of Bruges led to his relocation to a less troubled location, such as Holland or England.<sup>12</sup>

## The Patrons as Survivors

The troubled times are illustrated by the vicissitudes of a few of the seven known patrons of the Bruges Master of 1482, of which Louis of Gruuthuse (ca. 1427-1492) was by far the most important. Gruuthuse was a generous donor, munificent patron and great collector of manuscripts, including at least three and likely as many as six codices illuminated by the Master of 1482 (Cat. 5, 6, 7, 10, 11 and 15). Gruuthuse was a distinguished diplomat and statesman, who acted as counsellor and chamberlain to Philip the Good of Burgundy (ruled 1409-1467) and his son Charles the Bold (ruled 1467-1477). Gruuthuse also served the Burgundian dukes as governor of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland from 1465 to 1478. He also proved to be an able military commander when required.<sup>13</sup>

Gruuthuse owed his prominent position in the Northern Netherlands in part to his 1455 marriage to Margaretha van Borselen, daughter of the powerful Hendrik II van Borselen (died 1474), Lord of Veere, Zandenburg, Vlissingen, Westkapelle, Domburg, Brouwershaven, etc., who was admiral and receiver general of Holland and, from 1445, knight of the Golden Fleece. Equally prestigious was Gruuthuse's connection to Edward IV of England, the brother of Margaret of York and brother-in-law of Charles the Bold. Edward, who ruled from 1461 to 1470 and again from 1471 until his death in 1483, had been a member of the Golden Fleece since 1468. He was on the run from usurping Lancastrians in 1471 when Gruuthuse received him in Alkmaar and sheltered him in The Hague and Bruges.<sup>14</sup> The next year Edward made Gruuthuse Earl of Winchester.

Naturally Louis of Gruuthuse maintained the best possible relations with Philip the Good and Charles the Bold. He also continued to be indispensable for Mary of Burgundy, who made him her grand chamberlain. In fact, Gruuthuse's

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<sup>12</sup> Anne Dubois 2011-2012, p. 347, proposed that an artist very close to the Master of 1482 (McKendrick 2003, fig. 91) "emigrated to England at the close of the 1480s. Perhaps via Calais."

<sup>13</sup> For extensive information, Martens 1992, pp. 3-38 and Wijsman 2010b, pp. 356-368.

<sup>14</sup> For the fascinating primary sources, Madden 1836, pp. 265-286.

worries overlapped with Mary's own. In March of 1478, he felt obliged to resign as governor of Zeeland and Holland, which no longer wished to be ruled by representatives of the Burgundian court, not even ones with local family ties and property, like Gruuthuse. With the arrival of Maximilian I, Gruuthuse became “conseiller et chambellan du Duc d'Autriche et de Bourgogne”<sup>15</sup> and was able to have manuscripts in the Burgundian Library copied for his own collection.<sup>16</sup> But after Mary's death, Maximilian soon came to resent Gruuthuse for his efforts in defence of Flemish freedoms, which almost inevitably involved some measure of collusion with Louis XI of France. Maximilian voiced his dissatisfaction at the 1481 Chapter of the Golden Fleece, accusing Gruuthuse of having betrayed Flemish plans to the French. Gruuthuse never fully declared for Louis XI, however, unlike the above-mentioned Jean III Gros, who defected to the French monarchy in 1482, a year before Louis XI's death and two years before expiring himself.

Gruuthuse was one of the three eminent nobles who formed the Regency Council of 1483 that Maximilian resented so greatly and tried to disband so quickly. After resigning from the council in May of 1484, Gruuthuse led representatives of the Flemish cities in their rapprochement with Charles VIII of France. After Maximilian took Bruges on 1 June, Gruuthuse was seized and would have been executed had not his fellow knights of the Golden Fleece insisted that he could only be tried by their own ranks, his true peers. Gruuthuse had his property confiscated, was required to pay a huge fine of 300,000 golden florins and was imprisoned in Bruges, then Ghent and finally Malines.<sup>17</sup>

With less luck or fewer friends in high places, Gruuthuse might well have died in his dungeon. Instead, his prison term appears to have been more like

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<sup>15</sup> Aubert 1911, p. 204: “Louis de Bruges s'intitule sire de Gruuthuse, comte de Winchestre, prince de Steenhuse, seigneur de Avalghem, Hamstede, Tielttenhove, conseiller et chambellan du Duc d'Autriche et de Bourgogne, premier chevalier d'honneur de la Duchesse et Comtesse de Flandre.” Note that Gruuthuse continued to sport the “comte de Winchestre” even though in 1475 Edward IV had accepted a huge salary from Louis XI of France for remaining neutral in the French-Flemish conflict.

<sup>16</sup> Lemaire in Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, p. 217.

<sup>17</sup> The arrest is wrongly placed in 1488 by Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, p. 268, but see Weightman 1989, p. 164 and Hanno Wijsman in Haemers/Hoorebeeck/Wijsman 2007, p. 250. It is not clear just what property was confiscated, and for how long. As I mention below, Gruuthuse still had lots of money and owned residences well after 1485.

house arrest than draconian incarceration. He certainly continued to pull strings and spend money. Significantly Gruuthuse commissioned a few manuscripts while behind lock and key in Ghent and/or Malines. A splendid atlas by Claudius Ptolemaeus, now in Paris (BnF, lat. 4804), was written in 1485 by the Ghent copyist Jan van Kriekenborch.<sup>18</sup> The next year the same Kriekenborch wrote a *Livre de la chasse*, now in the Houghton Library of Harvard College (Typ. 130) for Gruuthuse.<sup>19</sup> Harvard also owns a *L'art de la chasse aux oiseaux* (Typ. 129) that Gruuthuse commissioned in 1486. Possibly other manuscripts date from his captivity as well.<sup>20</sup>

Gruuthuse was released early in 1488 in the name of the young Philip the Fair to help free Maximilian from the clutches of the rebellious citizens of Bruges. Our hero was apprehended once more with the arrival of a German army at the city gates, only to escape, recoup some of his losses, and achieve renewed prominence in the affairs of Bruges. In April of 1489 he ratified a trade agreement between Maximilian I and Henry VII of England (ruled 1485-1509). In July, after Maximilian I and Charles VIII had come to a provisory understanding that stipulated, amongst other things, that the French king was to mediate between the Austrian archduke and the Flemish cities, Gruuthuse served on the Flemish mission to the French court and used the occasion to give Charles a splendid copy of René of Anjou's *Livre de Tournois*. (Paris, BnF, fr. 2692). Finally, in June of 1490 Gruuthuse led a delegation to Malines to entreat Albrecht of Saxony to withdraw his German troops from Bruges.

In short, Gruuthuse was both a true survivor and lasting champion of his great city. Maximilian's faction, however, neither forgave nor forgot. In May of 1491, at the eighteenth Chapter of the Golden Fleece, which was held in Malines and presided over by Philip the Fair, Gruuthuse's fellow knights accused him of treason. Given all that had transpired, these charges can hardly have come as a

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<sup>18</sup> Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no 2840.

<sup>19</sup> Lievens 1963, pp. 96-97, and Bond 1962, pp. 96 and 262. Harvard College is the original undergraduate school of Harvard University.

<sup>20</sup> But not the *Boëthius* of 1492, discussed by Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, p. 268. It was the very last of the manuscripts written for Gruuthuse by the Ghent-based Kriekenborch.

surprise to Gruuthuse, but they must still have hit him hard, coming as they did from a select body of his peers. Gruuthuse died on 24 November of 1492, shortly after leaving his Ghent residence for his splendid palace in Bruges. His equally resplendent library was acquired by Louis XII of France (ruled 1498-1515), who had his own arms painted over those of Gruuthuse in most of the latter's manuscripts. In one instance, with the frontispiece of the *Cosmographia* by Ptolemaeus that Gruuthuse had commissioned in 1485 (again BnF, Latin 4804), the French monarch left a bombard and a banner stating “plus et en vous” intact but had his own portrait prominently inserted.<sup>21</sup>

The troubled times also affected other important collectors of manuscripts such as Adolph of Cleves (1425-1492) and his son Philip (1459-1528). Adolph probably commissioned one early manuscript from the Master of 1482 (Cat. 2). He moved in the same social circle as Louis of Gruuthuse as good friend and close contemporary, both dying in the same year. Adolph was ever the loyal servant of the Dukes of Burgundy. He served as governor for Philip the Good and fought in all of his battles. He was knighted in 1453 and inducted into the Golden Fleece in 1456. With Philips' death in 1467 his career continued in the service of Charles the Bold and he performed brilliantly at the Battle of Brustem of 1467, which helped crush the rebellion of Liège. He was also the tutor of the young Mary of Burgundy, Charles's daughter. In 1475 he represented Charles as stadtholder general of the Low countries while the duke was fighting in the Burgundian Wars of 1474 to 1477. It was Adolph who had the honour of knighting Maximilian when the latter became Chief of the Golden Fleece. However, Adolph soon joined the opposition to Maximilian I, being one of the three regents who ruled for Philip the Fair against the intentions of Maximilian. At the 1491 Chapter of the Golden Fleece, Maximilian accused Adolph of having maintained treasonous contacts with the Flemish rebels.

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<sup>21</sup> Lemaire in Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, p. 214, and Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 2840, with bibliography. Martens 1992, opposite p. 41, accidentally identified the scene as “Gruuthuse at Prayer”.

Philip of Cleves was a greater bibliophile than his father, though not in the same class as Louis of Gruuthuse.<sup>22</sup> Philip also ordered only one manuscript from the Master of 1482 (Cat. 3). He initially ran counter to his distinguished sire by becoming governor-general of the Low Countries under Maximilian I. Philip was also one of three hostages who agreed to take Maximilian's place in 1488, when the latter was released by the irate citizens of Bruges. When Maximilian went back on his promises, Philip was outraged and quickly became Max's implacable enemy.<sup>23</sup> Philip took charge of the Regency Council, which had still not disbanded, and led the Flemish insurrection. He became ever more isolated as an unrelenting opponent of Habsburg ambition. When Maximilian and the recently crowned Louis XII at last signed a peace treaty on 30 October 1489, the Flemings agreed reluctantly but Philip of Cleves refused doggedly to recognize it, holding out in his stronghold Sluys until he surrendered on 12 October 1492. Several years later, Philip returned to Flemish service and sought to justify his opposition to Maximilian at the eighteenth Chapter of the Golden Fleece, held in Brussels on 25 September 1516.<sup>24</sup> He died in 1528 without having been inducted into the order.

Not all the patrons of the Master of 1482 might be expected to stand out in a political context. Most obviously King Edward IV of England, who commissioned one manuscript from our master (Cat. 4), might seem to have had no reason to become embroiled in Burgundian politics, having problems of his own with the Wars of the Roses, a series of civil wars in England fought between Yorkist and Lancastrian factions between 1455 and 1487. It was a brief victory of the Lancastrians in 1470 that had Edward flee for Flanders, where he was extended hospitality by Louis of Gruuthuse in The Hague and Bruges.

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<sup>22</sup> Consult De Splenter 1990-1991, pp. 69-90, and Korteweg 2007, pp. 183-213, for extensive information. Wijsman 2007, pp. 245-278, discusses the connections between the libraries of Philippe de Cleves and Louis of Bruges in relation to the ducal library for the years 1482 to 1492.

<sup>23</sup> Some scholars have assumed that Philip's outrage was merely a cover for ambition (see Weissflecker 1971, p. 219: "Vielleicht dachte er gar daran, Herr der Niederlande zu worden") or lingering resentment going back more than a decade to the wedding of Maximilian and Mary (see Hommel 1959, p. 192: "Philippe de Clèves a été l'un des prétendants à la main de sa cousine Marie de Bourgogne. Il y a sans doute quelque secrète rancune dans son attitude à l'égard de Maximilien.")

<sup>24</sup> For Philip's complete presentation, Fouw 1937, pp. 369-377.

In June of 1474 Edward joined Charles the Bold in an attack on Louis XI of France. But Charles was ill prepared and Louis was able to buy Edward's allegiance. At the Treaty of Picquigny of 29 August 1475 Edward committed himself to a highly lucrative seven-year truce with Louis,<sup>25</sup> agreeing to free trade, neutrality in the French-Burgundian conflict and the eventual union of his nine-year-old daughter Elizabeth (1466-1503) and the even younger French Dauphin Charles. Possibly Edward thereby became persona non grata in Flanders, at least until the death of Charles the Bold on 5 January 1477. If so, that proved no obstacle to his Bruges-based patronage of manuscripts during the subsequent years leading up to his own death on 9 April 1483. The opportunistic wedding plans for the two youngsters never materialized.

Philippe I de Hornes,<sup>26</sup> Lord of Bassignies and Gaasbeek (1421-1488), commissioned two manuscripts from the Bruges Master of 1482 (Cat. 13 and 17). Philip the Good named him captain general of the county of Namur and he performed with distinction at the battle of Montenaken on 15 October 1465. With Philip's death in 1467, Hornes resisted the pretensions of Jean II, Count of Nevers (1415-1491), and continued in the service of Charles the Bold. After the demise of Charles in 1477, Philippe de Hornes and Louis of Gruuthuse received the ambassadors of Frederick III in Bruges, who came to finalize the terms of marriage of Maximilian and Mary of Burgundy. Hornes died in Courtrai (or Kortrijk) at the hands of the forces of Ghent and Bruges, which were in revolt against Maximilian. The news was received with joy by the burghers back home, as we learn from the *Cronijcke van ... Vlaenderen* by Nicolaas Despars (1522-1597), but Maximilian must surely have regretted the passing of a staunch ally. No doubt Hornes would have been inducted into the Order of the Golden Fleece in 1491 had not his death intervened.

Claude de Neufchâtel (ca. 1449-1505) also ordered two manuscripts from our master (Cat. 16 and 18). Neufchâtel rose to become lieutenant general of Luxemburg and Burgundy as well as marshal of Burgundy and became knight of

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<sup>25</sup> Edward received 75,000 crowns up front and a yearly pension of 50,000 crowns. In addition, his generals were given munificent pensions.

<sup>26</sup> Wijsman 2010b, p. 374, preferred Philip van Horn and gave all the family connections.

the Golden Fleece in 1491. Since he remained loyal to Maximilian I throughout his career he was probably spared much grief. Finally, Jean II, Baron de Trazegnies (1439-1513) is associated with one manuscript illuminated by the Master of 1482 (Cat. 9).<sup>27</sup> However, we know almost nothing about him other than that he came from an old and distinguished family which still has living members even though the Trazegnies family line proper died out during the first half of the fifteenth century. Jean II was apparently never inducted into the order of the Golden Fleece.

Both Burgundian loyalists and internationally oriented dissidents faced danger and the times were commensurately nasty. Maximilian himself was humiliated in February of 1488 by being made to watch the torture and execution of civil servants and magistrates who had remained sympathetic to him. In truth, vindictive judicial torture became all too common in Bruges of the late fifteenth century, when “going to rack and ruin” was no metaphor for some. Significantly it was at this time that torture made its way into the iconography of monumental panel painting. The notable example, Gerard David's *Judgement of Cambyses* diptych of 1498, has been related to some of the very events under discussion.<sup>28</sup>

No doubt the Master of 1482 tried to keep his shop as active as possible throughout these unstable times, which can't always have been easy. Note, however, that he worked for both loyalists and dissidents, indicating that he had no need to get closely involved. It is also important to recognize that the disruptions were far from continuous. Time and again, sometimes for years on end, life and business in Bruges returned to relative normalcy. In fact, Bruges of the second half of the fifteenth century could be used to prove that art can brave all but the most severe political unrest. If not, the brilliant production and high social status of Hans Memling, who was active in the city from about 1465 until his

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<sup>27</sup> Wijsman 2010b, p. 518, lists “three of four legal-didactic” manuscripts owned by Jean II, with Oresme’s treatise being probable. He appears to have lost all doubt by 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 2815.

<sup>28</sup> Van Miegroet 1988, pp. 116-133.



death in 1494, would have been impossible. It was apparently not political unrest but inflation that eventually posed a threat to his great wealth.<sup>29</sup>

It is also important that the patrons of the Master of 1482 were not merchants dependant on fluctuations in commerce, but men with access to inherited money. In addition, serious patrons are never easily dissuaded from pursuing their passion. A comment by Hanno Wijsman with respect to Philippe de Hornes is to the point here: “The data we have indicate that he put together his library in comparatively short time when he was already past fifty (he was sixty-seven when he died). The troubled period that followed the Burgundian defeat at Nancy in 1477 apparently presented no hindrance to his acquisition of these costly luxury items.”<sup>30</sup> Similarly the financial recovery of Louis of Gruuthuse after the mentioned draconian expropriation and fine of 1484 suggests deep pockets full of old money.

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<sup>29</sup> De Vos, 1994, p. 15, and Borchert 2005, p. 15.

<sup>30</sup> Wijsman 2010b, p. 327.

## Chapter 2: A Preliminary Investigation of the Oeuvre

### Scope of Production

The known production of the Bruges Master of 1482 consists of all or part of the illustrations of eighteen manuscripts containing sixteen distinct texts,<sup>31</sup> all dating from about 1480 to 1490, almost all large and lavish, and all but two secular in content. The manuscripts are usually of folio format with late fifteenth-century French Gothic book script (the so-called *lettre bâtarde*) in two columns. All but three of the texts are written on vellum, with two exceptions on paper. And virtually all the illuminations by the Master of 1482 have the same step-arched frame at the top.

A list of texts illuminated by the Bruges Master of 1482 is truly impressive. They are, in chronological order of the original texts and not of translations into French, but using the French titles of the actual manuscripts:

*Les Ethiques d'Aristote* (Cat. 14), London, British Library, MS Egerton 737.

*L'Ovide moralisé*, by Ovid and Petrus Berchorius (Cat. 5), Copenhagen, Det Kgl. Bibliotek, Thott 399.

*Commentaires de César*, thrice (Cat. 2), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 280; (Cat. 12), London, British Library, MS Egerton 1065; (Cat. 16), Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 208.

*La pénitence d'Adam* by an anonymous pre-Christian author (Cat. 7), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fr. 1837.

*La réparation du pécheur* by Saint Joannes Chrysostomus (Cat. 8), Lyon, Bibliothèque de Ville, ms. 1233.

*De l'art de la chasse aux oiseaux* by Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (Cat. 11), Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, fr. 170.

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<sup>31</sup> Sixteen because the manuscript in New Haven (Cat. 15) and the one formerly in Basel (Cat. 18) contain the same two texts; and three other manuscripts (Cat. 2, 12 and 16) again feature the same text.

*Le Livre des propriétés des choses* by Bartholomeus Anglicus (Cat. 4), London, British Library, MS Royal 15 E II and MS Royal 15 E III.

*Livre des profits champêtres et ruraux* by Pietro de Crescenzi or Petrus Crescentiis (Cat. 1), London, British Library, MS Additional 19,720.

*Décamerone* by Giovanni Boccaccio (Cat. 3), The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek / Nationale bibliotheek van Nederland, 133 A 5.

*Dialogue des créatures* by Maynus de Mayneriis (Cat. 6), Heribert Tenschert, Ramsen.

*Traité de monnaies* by Nicolas Oresme (Cat. 9), Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 5092 réserve.

*Le livre de la chasse* by Gaston Phébus (Cat. 10), Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, fr. 169.

*L'arbre des batailles* by Honoré Bovet, twice (Cat. 15), New Haven CT, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Ms. 230; (Cat. 18) until recently Jörg Günther Rare Books, Basel.

*Chroniques* by Jean Froissart (Cat. 13), Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, fr. 15.6.

*Traité de noblesse* by Diego de Valera and ten supplementary treatises, twice (Cat. 15), New Haven CT, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Ms. 230; (Cat. 18), formerly Paul and Helmut Beck collection, Stuttgart; until recently Jörn Günther Rare Books, Basel.

*Chroniques et conquestes de Charlemagne* by David Aubert (Cat. 17), Dresden, Die Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats und Universitätsbibliothek, Oc. 81.

This order by the dates of texts is problematic since we do not have even an approximate date for the work by Maynus de Mayneriis. The literature tells us only that he wrote his original text sometime in the fourteenth century and died in 1368. A few other dates are no more than educated guesses or else debatable. For instance, David Aubert worked after a twelfth-century French *chanson de geste* by Bertrand de Bar-sur-Aube.

Only *La réparation du pécheur* and *La pénitence d'Adam* are not secular items, but they are here accommodated to the overall picture of the Bruges

Master of 1482 as illuminator of secular manuscripts. The *Arbre des batailles*, *Livre de la chasse* and *Chroniques* are also exceptions in that they were originally written in French. Everything else was translated from Dutch, Spanish or, most commonly, Latin originals, all of which are introduced along with their translators in the Catalogue entries below. It is tempting to mention Italian in connection with Boccaccio's renowned *Décamerone*, but the French text was in fact rendered after the Latin in that instance. To add things up, the Bruges Master of 1482 was primarily but not exclusively an illuminator of secular vernacular texts. It is further apparent that Latin, which was once the lingua franca of the Middle Ages, had become a dead language in Flanders by the time of the Master of 1482.

The *Arbre des batailles* and *Traité de noblesse* of the New Haven codex would appear to have started as two distinct manuscripts that were subsequently bound together, as can be determined by a close examination of the actual volume. The combination of the *Traité de noblesse* and other treatises is often called *Des droit d'armes* after one of the subsidiary treatises,<sup>32</sup> but for the sake of clarity I will normally adduce only the author of the principal text. For the treatises and their authors, see Catalogue 15 below.<sup>33</sup> Of seeming interest, however, is an appendix to a treatise on the ceremonial of noble funerals that was contributed by Louis of Gruuthuse. However, this material, like the concomitant date of 1481, was copied from a *Traité* in Vienna (as discussed below).

## A Century of Connoisseurship

The modern rediscovery of the Bruges Master of 1482 commenced in 1921, when Paul Durrieu published a quality reproduction of the splendid frontispiece of the third volume of the London *Livre des propriétés des choses* (figs. 4.1 and 4.2).<sup>34</sup> Four years later, Friedrich Winkler assigned our master his name of convenience in connection with this manuscript, which states clearly that it was copied by Jean de Ries in Bruges in 1482, hence Winkler's name, "Brügger Meister von 1482".<sup>35</sup> Surprisingly, only this frontispiece is by the Bruges Master of 1482. This

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<sup>32</sup> Fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>. To be precise, three variants are given on fols. 4<sup>ro</sup>, 4<sup>vo</sup> and 192<sup>ro</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> Or consult James Marrow in Cahn/Marrow 1978, p. 257.

<sup>34</sup> Durrieu 1921, pl. LXIV.

<sup>35</sup> Winkler 1925, pp. 137 and 179.

illumination is of higher quality than much of his work. The characteristic thin black outlines of the artist are less in evidence than usual. The anatomy of the figures is a little more convincing, and the landscape more closely observed than what we might expect from the Master of 1482. Nevertheless, this single work became the benchmark for the oeuvre of the Master of 1482.

Winkler rightly associated the London *Livre* frontispiece with that of a second manuscript, *De l'art de la chasse aux oiseaux* in Geneva (fig. 11.1).<sup>36</sup> In 1950 an anonymous contributor to the *Thieme-Becker Künstlerlexikon* repeated the name “Bruges Master of 1482” and the two-item oeuvre.<sup>37</sup> Particularly the treatment of the birds, including several in flight against an atmospheric sky, is very similar in the two illuminations. Like the London frontispiece, the one in Geneva is among the best work produced by the Master of 1482 and is presumably entirely by his own hand. With the exception of some hastily painted birds and figures in the margins, which are agreed to be by an inferior hand, likely the Master of Philip of Cleves’s *Livre de la chasse*, no illuminations other than the frontispiece grace this manuscript.

In 1966 Otto Pächt turned to the Master of 1482 in his and Jonathan Alexander's catalogue of the manuscripts in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.<sup>38</sup> Actually, Pächt called him the Bruges Master of 1483, which makes sense if one assumes that the master did not render the London *Livre* frontispiece immediately after late May of 1482, when Jean de Ries is known to have written the text. Pächt's revived interest in the Master of 1482 was occasioned by a copy of a *Commentaires de César* in Oxford's Bodleian Library (Cat. 16). It is one of the most important of our painter's surviving manuscripts for the sheer quantity and quality of its illuminations. Though not quite as fine as the London *Livre* frontispiece, the ten Oxford miniatures (figs. 16.1-16.10) more completely manifest all the stylistic characteristics of the Master of 1482. The third of the Bodleian illuminations is

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<sup>36</sup> Winkler 1925, pp. 137 and 171.

<sup>37</sup> *Thieme-Becker* 1950, p. 57.

<sup>38</sup> Pächt/Alexander 1966, p.26 and pl. XXVIII, no. 351.

perhaps the most archetypal, as it has the figures, faces, horses and landscape (including a projecting cliff) of our master.

The *Arbre des batailles/Traité de noblesse* in New Haven (Cat. 15) was the next manuscript to be drawn into the orbit of the Bruges Master of 1482, being the topic of my Yale University M.A. thesis, which I researched during 1966 and 1967 and presented in 1968. It was, in fact, the New Haven codex that occasioned my interest in the Master of 1482 and the similarity of the Yale work to the London *Livre* frontispiece, as illustrated by Paul Durrieu, at once caught my eye. Note that the attendant in the *Presentation of the Book* illumination (fig. 16.2) is virtually identical to a figure in the *Livre* frontispiece (fig. 4.1), and that the same figure recurs in reverse in the New Haven *Coronation of the King of Arms of France* (fig. 15.11).

Like the Oxford *Commentaires*, the New Haven manuscript contains much more than just one frontispiece by the Master of 1482. It has a total of twelve illuminations (figs. 16.1-16.12) -- one full page, ten half page, and one small column -- by the artist. An additional sixty-three armorial bearings, of which fifteen were left incomplete, are predictably impossible to attribute to our master or to anyone else. The quality of the illuminations is uneven, generally declining with decreasing size. However, the superior New Haven illuminations, such as *The Shame of Noah* (fig.15.1), belong to the best work by the Master of 1482. One of the miniatures, *The Presentation of the Book to Maximilian I in Preference to Frederick III* (fig.15.2), places the Beinecke manuscript in 1486.

While researching the New Haven *Arbres des batailles/Traité de noblesse*, I located a 1937 sales catalogue of the Hess-Antiquariat in Bern which describes a closely related manuscript (Cat. 18) that must also have been illuminated by the Bruges Master of 1482.<sup>39</sup> This particular codex, which was sold by the stellar dealer Hans Peter Kraus of New York (1907-1988)<sup>40</sup> three decades later,<sup>41</sup> again

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<sup>39</sup> Hess 1937, pp. 3-5. The Hess-Antiquariat went under the name L. Zbinden-Hess Antiquariat und Kunsthandlung.

<sup>40</sup> Hans Peter Kraus shows up on numerous occasions in both the Text and Catalogue below. I long assumed that Kraus recruited an anonymous scholar for this seminal catalogue, but it is now my working assumption that he was himself the principal author

<sup>41</sup> Kraus 1969, no. 11, pp. 9-12.

has twelve illuminations by the Master of 1482 (figs. 18.1-18.12), most of these being similar to corresponding ones in the New Haven *Traité de noblesse*. In general, the designs are a little simplified in comparison with the New Haven versions, suggesting that this codex is later. On the other hand, the quality of the miniatures is consistently high and they are certainly by the same hand.<sup>42</sup>

In the summer of 1967, Otto Pächt (who had just moved from Oxford back to Vienna) kindly drew my attention to a few additional manuscripts by the Bruges Master, all of which I included in my thesis of the following year. The first was another copy of the *Commentaires de César*, in the British Library in London (Cat. 12), which Pächt had forgotten to mention in his Bodleian catalogue as being in part by the same hand. The London codex has ten illuminations, the first four being by the Master of 1482 (figs. 12.1-12.4). Though these are similar to four of the Oxford illuminations, they are not nearly close enough to be considered copies, or vice versa.

Pächt also informed me that the Geneva library owns a second manuscript – a *Livre de la chasse* by Gaston Phébus (Cat. 10) – with a frontispiece by the Master of 1482 (fig.10.1). Here we see Louis of Gruuthuse before a splendidly atmospheric landscape, departing on a hunt or meeting friends who have been out hunting, and riding a gangling-legged mount of a kind found throughout our master's oeuvre. The margins of this miniature and especially the subsidiary hunt in a hilly landscape depicted above it, are particularly successful. Here, again, the frontispiece would appear to be the only illumination by our master, with the Master of the Chattering Hands responsible for the numerous small miniatures.

Pächt further alerted me to the *Ovide Moralisé* in Copenhagen (Cat. 5), which has at least thirteen illuminations by the Master of 1482 (figs. 5.1-5.13) as well as a larger number that are not. The connection had already been made by 1922, when Max Ditmar Henkel linked this *Ovide* with *Le Livre des propriétés des choses*, though he did so in passing and entirely on the authority of Friedrich Winkler. Here is what Henkel had to say about the Thott 399 miniatures.

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<sup>42</sup> This was denied by Shailor 1984, p. 333.

Dr. Fr. Winkler thinks they are Flemish and, insofar as the photos that he has seen permit a conclusion, is inclined to relate them to the work of two Flemish illuminators, of which the one, a highly productive master active for Edward IV of England, was the maker of a *Bible historiale* of 1479 (London, British Museum, Royal 18 DIX. X) and the other, another Bruges figure, also painted the miniatures in the 'Livre des propriétés des choses' of 1482 (London, British Museum, Royal 15 E III, illustration in Durrieu, pl. 64) [in translation].<sup>43</sup>

Winkler apparently assumed incorrectly that the London *Propriétés* must contain more miniatures by the hand that rendered the frontispiece. However, he rightly assigned some of the Thott 399 illuminations to the Bruges Master of 1482.

Of the large Copenhagen illuminations, only the frontispiece, *The Castration of Saturn* (fig. 5.1), is by the hand of the Master of 1482. The slight differences in style between the Copenhagen frontispiece and the one in the London *Livre des propriétés des choses* (fig. 4.1) can be explained by the exceptionally large size of the Copenhagen miniature and the fact that it illustrates a passage of a text. The contorted foreground figure of Jupiter is arguably related to the participant seen, though from the front, in the middle-ground of the *Gathering of Mana* by Dieric Bouts. The borders surrounding *The Castration of Saturn* are by a quite different hand. Two of the half-page illuminations are in a style not remote from our master, with borders by the same hand as those of *The Castration*.

Of the numerous small and very small Copenhagen illuminations, at least a dozen are by the Bruges Master of 1482, though it is sometimes difficult to be sure because of their tiny dimensions. One of these small miniatures depicts *Blind Cupid* (fig. 5.5). This may well be the most famous illumination by the Master of 1482 because Erwin Panofsky discussed and illustrated it in his renowned *Studies in Iconology* and *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art*.<sup>44</sup> The treatment of the faces of Venus and her companions, as well as of the mermaid, is very close to that found in the group of women in an award ceremony depicted in the New

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<sup>43</sup> Henkel 1922, p. 10. The miniature in question is on folio 2<sup>ro</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> Panofsky 1939, p. 114, pl. XLVIII, fig. 86, and 1960, pp. 79-81, n. 2; p. 87, n. 2 and fig. 58.



Haven *Arbre des batailles/Traité de noblesse* compilation (fig. 15.4) or in *The Birth of Caesar* in the London and Oxford *Commentaires* (figs. 12.2 and 16.2).

Otto Pächt's final contribution was to draw my attention to the *Décamerone* in The Hague (Cat. 3). This fine manuscript has seven illuminations (figs. 3.1-3.7). Three of these (figs. 3.1, 3.5 and 3.6) are clearly by the Master of 1482. The remaining four miniatures are by the Master of the Chattering Hands but, as I will argue in Catalogue 3, are probably based on drawings by the Master of 1482. We can also detect minor interventions by him, notably with the oval faces of some of the women, with their thin black outlines, or with the less stereotypical male faces. I never found an opportunity to consult Pächt about his conclusions, if any, with respect to the two The Hague styles.

This is the grouping of manuscripts that was taken over by James Marrow in an important catalogue of the mediaeval and Renaissance manuscripts in Yale University's Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library in New Haven that he published with Walter Cahn in 1978.<sup>45</sup> Though Marrow did not echo my sustained homage to Otto Pächt, he accepted all the Pächt-Horn attributions, questioning only the *Décamerone* in The Hague, which he had not yet seen. With the 1969 Kraus catalogue at his disposal, he felt able to affirm the attribution of the second *L'Arbre des batailles* and *Traité de noblesse* (Cat. 18) to the Master of 1482 as well.

The accessibility and clarity of the Cahn and Marrow publication ensured that it went down in the subsequent literature. In the catalogue of a major 1981 exhibition in Bruges, Claudine Lemaire simply deferred to Cahn and Marrow when discussing the textual and representational traditions for the *Traité de noblesse*.<sup>46</sup> A brief iconographic contribution to the Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann *Festschrift* of 1983 allowed me to claim priority of findings and stress that The Hague's *Décamerone* is indeed substantially by the Master of 1482.<sup>47</sup> To my eternal shame, however, I failed to mention Otto Pächt. Nor had I yet consulted the outstanding

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<sup>45</sup> Cahn/Marrow 1978, pp. 256-259, no.76.

<sup>46</sup> Lemaire in Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, no. 106, pp. 243-244.

<sup>47</sup> Horn 1983, n. 15.

1981 dissertation by Arjo Vanderjagt, which had independently mapped the textual lineage for the *Traité de noblesse* in exhaustive detail.<sup>48</sup>

In her 1984 catalogue of the Beinecke manuscripts, which she submitted for publication shortly before the Begemann *Festschrift* came out, Barbara Shailor did explicitly credit my MA thesis in her text.<sup>49</sup> However, she appears to have worked primarily after Marrow just the same, since she embraced his “perhaps” for The Hague’s *Décamerone*,<sup>50</sup> took him to task for the attribution of the Basel *L’Arbre des batailles/Traité de noblesse* (Cat. 18) to the Bruges Master of 1482, and never once mentioned Pächt. Then, in 1987, Georges Dogaer (1931-2002) published an updated version of Friedrich Winkler’s pioneering book of sixty-two years before. Returning to the *Livre* frontispiece and the Master of 1482, Dogaer mentioned my 1983 article but not my earlier MA thesis, noting that “W. Cahn and J. Marrow provide the most extensive list thus far of the works connected with this Master.”<sup>51</sup> Note, however, that Dogaer’s list of ten manuscripts added an *Antiquités judaïques et la guerre des juifs* by Flavius Josephus (Paris, BA, 5082-5083), this being an incorrect attribution in my opinion. Five years later, Maximiliaan Martens mentioned Winkler, Lemaire and Dogaer but omitted Gagnebin, Marrow, Vanderjagt, Horn and Shailor.<sup>52</sup>

The cards were shaken once more in 1996, when Maurits Smeyers singled out my “Two Rulers, One Throne” piece of 1983 at the expense of Marrow, Shailor and Dogaer.<sup>53</sup> As for Otto Pächt, his reputation is probably stronger than ever, in part thanks to the posthumous publication of his work,<sup>54</sup> but he appears to have been terminally forgotten in connection with the Bruges Master of 1482. This is doubly curious when one considers that in the catalogue of major Geneva manuscripts, which was published in 1976 (two years before Marrow, eight years

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<sup>48</sup> Vanderjagt 1981, pp. 93-125.

<sup>49</sup> Shailor 1984, p. 332.

<sup>50</sup> Shailor 1984, p. 333.

<sup>51</sup> Dogaer 1987, p. 127.

<sup>52</sup> Martens 1992, p. 158, nn. 75-77.

<sup>53</sup> In Smeyers/Van der Stock 1996, p. 213.

<sup>54</sup> Otto Pächt died in 1988, so that anything from that year on is posthumous. The KB catalogue lists four items which concern Van Eyck (1989), Rembrandt (1991). Early Netherlandish Painting (1994) and Venetian painting of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (2002).

before Shailor, eleven years before Dogaer and sixteen years before Martens), Bernard Gagnebin had rightly given Pächt credit for defining the *oeuvre* of the Bruges Master of 1482.<sup>55</sup> There is also an irony to report here. I had drawn Pächt's attention to the New Haven *Arbre des batailles/Traité de noblesse* in 1967, supplying him with two sets of photographs of its illustrations. Presumably a subsequent letter from Pächt had alerted Gagnebin to the Yale codex, as he mentioned it as being by the Master of 1482 while crediting Pächt with the attribution.<sup>56</sup> Gagnebin's instincts were in any case correct. After Friedrich Winkler, Otto Pächt remains the pioneering scholar of the Bruges Master of 1482.

The time has come to expand the *oeuvre* of the Bruges Master beyond the 1968 Pächt-Horn *état de la question*. Illuminated in part by our master is a Froissart *Chroniques* in Antwerp (Cat. 13). Though there are three large volumes with a total of four illuminations, only one of these, the frontispiece of the third volume (fig. 13.1), is by our master.<sup>57</sup> I spotted it by accident back in 1970, in a showcase of Antwerp's Plantin-Moretus Museum. Though I at once wrote Walter Cahn about the find, the codex did not turn up in Marrow's list. That is no doubt why it was also not listed by Shailor and Dogaer. However. Marrow examined the illumination in question and informed me that he agreed with the attribution. However, it was only published fairly recently, by Hanno Wijsman.<sup>58</sup>

In 1981, James Marrow kindly drew my attention to a key early work by the Master of 1482, namely the London *Livre des profits champêtres et ruraux* (Cat. 1).<sup>59</sup> I should have ascribed this manuscript to our painter in my 1983 article, instead of merely alluding vaguely to attributions that were soon to follow,<sup>60</sup> for Marrow also mentioned the codex to Georges Dogaer, who published the attribution in 1987.<sup>61</sup> The manuscript has thirteen substantial illuminations (figs. 1.1-1.13), of which all but two have the stepped-arch format normally used by our

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<sup>55</sup> Gagnebin 1976, p. 168.

<sup>56</sup> Again Gagnebin 1976, p. 168.

<sup>57</sup> All three frontispieces are illustrated in colour by Wijsman 2008, ills. 21, 22, and 23,

<sup>58</sup> Wijsman 2008, ill. 23 and p. 67.

<sup>59</sup> Letter of 20 June 1981.

<sup>60</sup> Horn 1983, n. 15.

<sup>61</sup> Dogaer 1987, p. 127.

master. The first of these is only in part by the Bruges Master of 1482, whereas the last is entirely by a modern hand. Pietro de Crescenzi's text, which deals with just about every aspect of tending garden and fields of a rural establishment, guarantees a fresh look at the Late Middle Ages.

In the mid-eighties James Marrow spotted the Basel *Traité de noblesse* in the collection of Helmut Beck (1919-2001) in Stuttgart and was able to confirm the attribution to the Master of 1482. Introduced by Marrow, I visited the collector and his wife in the late summer of 1992. With me was Philip van Coevorden, who photographed the miniatures. Only very recently was I able to replace his photos with professional colour ones supplied by Jörn Günther Rare Books of Basel (figs.18.1-18.12). The manuscript was stolen during renovations in 1996, not to resurface until 2017.<sup>62</sup>

It was also Marrow who, still in the eighties, discovered our master's two religious manuscripts, each with one illumination by the Bruges Master of 1482. They are *La pénitence d'Adam* in Paris (Cat. 7) and *La Réparation du pecheur* in Lyon (Cat. 8). With respect to attributions, however, finders are not necessarily keepers. It was Maximiliaan Martens who in 1992 first published the *Pénitence* miniature as by the Master of 1482.<sup>63</sup> Maurits Smeyers repeated the attribution four years later.<sup>64</sup>

The next manuscript by the Bruges Master of 1482 to be identified was a *Dialogue des créatures* (Cat. 6). This beautiful work, which was sold in Paris in 1990,<sup>65</sup> has two large illuminations by our master (figs. 6.1 and 6.2) as well as 119 small miniatures by still another anonymous collaborator.<sup>66</sup> The splendid floral borders of the two large illuminations resemble the border of the London *Livre* frontispiece and are probably also by our master or else by the same collaborator. There is no mention of the Master of 1482 in the Drouot-Montaigne sales

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<sup>62</sup> See "Provinence" and "Literature" for Catalogue 18.

<sup>63</sup> Martens 1992, p. 146, C.Pl. on p. 141.

<sup>64</sup> Smeyers/Van der Stock 1996, p. 21, fig. 24 (fol. 6<sup>ro</sup>).

<sup>65</sup> Drouot-Montaigne 1990, no. 25.

<sup>66</sup> König 1991, no. 15, pp. 216-262, for reproductions of all the miniatures. Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 511, proposed the Master of Philip of Cleves's *Livre de la Chasse*.

catalogue, nor in that of dealer Heribert Tenschert,<sup>67</sup> who sold the codex the following year, indicating that our painter was still far from a household word. Whereas Marrow and I at once agreed on an attribution to the Master of 1482, we again both left it at that, with the exception of a note that I wrote to Claudine Lemaire on the subject.<sup>68</sup> Six years later Maurits Smeyers and Jan Van der Stock belatedly published and illustrated the second of the two miniatures under our master's name.<sup>69</sup> The independent origins of such concurring attributions confirm their objectivity.

Approaching the turn of the century, one more manuscript was added to the oeuvre of the Bruges Master of 1482. It was *Les Ethiques d'Aristote* (Cat. 14), with one miniature by our artist (fig. 14.1). The manuscript was probably introduced by Eberhard König in a 1991 sales catalogue of Antiquariat Heribert Tenschert.<sup>70</sup> The colours are less saturated than the ones we might expect from our master, but the illumination is nevertheless by his hand.

The decade from 1987 to 1997 also brought three luxury overviews of Flemish manuscript illumination in general, written by Dagmar Thoss, Maurits Smeyers with Jan van der Stock, and Bodo Brinkmann, though all three excluded almost all work produced before about 1450.<sup>71</sup> Each book had its own emphasis. Thoss concentrates on the collection of the Austrian National Library, Smeyers and Van der Stock on the Mayer van den Bergh Breviary, Flemish polyphony, "Prayer books for the elite" and "Symbols of status and wealth," and Brinkmann on the Master of the Dresden Payer book and his circle. Not one of them as much as mentioned the Bruges Master of 1482. However, the three beautiful volumes do serve to bring home the fact that the field of Flemish illumination is truly inexhaustible.

The new century brought still another ambitious study of Flemish manuscript illumination but very little progress with regard to the Master of 1482.

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<sup>67</sup> Again König 1991, no. 15.

<sup>68</sup> In her reply, Lemaire mentioned only that the manuscript had been held back.

<sup>69</sup> Smeyers/Van der Stock 1996, p. 34, fig. 35 (fol. 7<sup>ro</sup>).

<sup>70</sup> König 1991, ill. on p. 221.

<sup>71</sup> Thoss 1987, Smeyers/Van der Stock 1996, and Brinkmann 1997.

In 2003 arrived *Illuminating the Renaissance*, a magisterial study by Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick which dealt with sacred and profane illuminations separately, beginning around 1467 and ending around 1485.<sup>72</sup> Unexpectedly, McKendrick demonstrated little interest in the oeuvre of the Master of 1482, whose career is in any case cut in half by that closing date. He offered no illustration of his work and only mentioned him briefly in the text along with a footnote which listed about half of his production in arbitrary order to demonstrate that “only in the 1480s did miniatures without borders make a reappearance”.<sup>73</sup> In a study of the collection of the British Library of the same year, McKendrick did illustrate two miniatures by the Master of 1482, one from the *Profits champêtres* (fig. 1.2) and the other the frontispiece of the *Livre des propriétés des choses* (fig. 4.1).<sup>74</sup> Reassuringly his dates for the two manuscripts were virtually identical to mine. Disappointingly, however, he did not discuss either manuscript.

The next overview, published by Hanno Wijsman seven years later, was an astonishingly ambitious treatment of the entire phenomenon of northern manuscript illumination from 1400 to 1550.<sup>75</sup> No topic appears to have escaped Wijsman’s encyclopaedic disposition. He even devoted a section to “Sub-Collections for Woman and Children”.<sup>76</sup> Yet he was not particularly ambitious with respect to the Master of 1482, mentioning only six manuscripts in passing.<sup>77</sup> However, Wijsman did illustrate the key miniature by the Master of 1482, namely the frontispiece of the London *Livre des propriétés des choses* (fig. 4.1).<sup>78</sup>

Three years later brought an end to what one could call the encyclopaedic interregnum with the attribution by Ilona Hans-Collas and Pascal Schandel in 2009 of a *Traité de monnaies* by Nicolas Oresme in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris

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<sup>72</sup> This true for Parts II and III only. An opening chapter by McKendrick runs from 1467 to 1500, whereas Part I covers up to 1470 and Parts IV and V run from 1485 to 1561.

<sup>73</sup> McKendrick in Kren/McKendrick 2003, p. 77, n. 67: our Cat. 1, 3, 7, 8, 10, 15 and 16.

<sup>74</sup> McKendrick 2003, figs. 58 and 80. He overlooked the second codex in his list of 2003.

<sup>75</sup> Wijsman defended his cum laude Leiden dissertation in 2003.

<sup>76</sup> Wijsman 2010b, pp. 171-217.

<sup>77</sup> Wijsman 2010b pp. 66 (Cat. 4), 312-313 (Cat. 8), 356 (Cat. 6), 580 (Cat. 10), p. 581 (Cat. 3), 583 (Cat. 15).

<sup>78</sup> Wijsman 2010b, p. 661, fig. 13.

(Cat. 9).<sup>79</sup> It has a frontispiece with a few poorly restored faces (fig. 9.1), but it is otherwise characteristic for our master. We can fairly conclude that the reconstruction of the oeuvre of the Master of 1482, was virtually complete by 2009.

Hans-Collas and Schandel were soon followed by a focussed overview of the oeuvre of the Master of 1482 published by Anne Dubois in a massive 2011 to 2012 catalogue featuring codices in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and the Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België in Brussels, which was edited by Bernard Bousmanne and Thierry Delcourt. It is perhaps odd that she should have tackled the Master of 1482 at all, given that the catalogue purports to end in 1482 and that she rightly specified that he worked “primarily in the fourteen eighties.” She also noted that “although his name has often been discussed, the work of this Bruges Master of 1482 has still not been thoroughly studied [in translation]”. Given that her contribution is confined to only a few pages, it was not to be expected that she would take on the task. In fact, she gave highly selective bibliographies for specific manuscripts, as with only Horn and Cahn/Marrow for the New Haven *Arbre des batailles/Traité de noblesse*. Nevertheless, she did mention all our catalogue numbers except for the Copenhagen *Ovide* (Cat. 5), London *Commentaires* (Cat. 12) and Basel *Arbre des batailles/Traité de noblesse* (Cat. 18). She also offered splendid colour illustrations of four miniatures (our figs. 1.1, 4.1, 7.1 and 9.1),<sup>80</sup> making hers the first publication to give an impression of the riches that the Master of 1482 has on offer.

Though Dubois deemed the Oxford *Commentaires* (Cat. 16) and the New Haven *Arbre/Traité* (Cat. 15) “less successful” than the rest, she still accepted them, but she firmly rejected the miniature in the third volume of the Antwerp *Chroniques* (fig. 13.1). She also dismissed the splendid frontispiece of the *Décamerone* in The Hague (fig. 3.1) on the basis of scant evidence and without reference to the other six miniatures. On the other hand, she did assert that the frontispiece is “closely related” to the Master of 1482. The matter is discussed in

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<sup>79</sup> Hans-Collas/Schandel 2009, pp. 200 and 249 no. 68.

<sup>80</sup> Dubois 2011-2012, p. 345, fig. 247; p. 346, fig. 248; p. 347, fig. 249; p. 350, fig. 251.

Catalogue 3 below, where we learn that Margaret Goehring appears to have followed Dubois's lead by relegating the frontispiece to our master's "circle".<sup>81</sup>

In the meantime, Hanno Wijsman had not rested on his laurels. In 2016 he published an updated version of his massive online appendix of his *Luxury Bound* of 2010. Entitled *A Corpus of Manuscripts Illustrated in the Netherlands (1400-1550)*, it at first included 3,620 manuscripts, later expanded to 3,994. Remarkably, each of Wijsman's items can be linked with the click of the mouse to a more detailed description. Buried in this abundance are twenty-six links to works that have in some way been associated with the Bruges Master of 1482.<sup>82</sup> I would never have located these widely dispersed items without Wijsman's "Advanced search" feature. Inevitably, working with thousands of manuscripts, Wijsman could not possibly examine each and every codex and was at times forced to rely on published data. That explains why he wrote about items *associated* with the Master of 1482, not ones *correctly associated* with him. In at least one instance (BL, Royal 15 E II) he and I have agreed that it probably does not belong in his list. What matters, however, is that upon close examination only sixteen of his items are not eliminated by qualifications such as "influence", "follower", or a question mark. They are nos. 248 (Cat. 18), 511 (Cat. 6), 603 (Cat. 13), 1445 (Cat. 5), 1622 (Cat. 10), 1621 (cat. no 11), 1879 (Cat. 1), 1933 (Cat. 12), 1992 (Cat. 4), 2119 (Cat. 8), 2258 (Cat. 15), 2426 (Cat. 16), 2660 (Cat. 9), 2729 (Cat. 7), 2815 (Cat. 9), 3249 (Cat. 3) and 3755 (Cat. 14). Reassuringly these are much the same works as those of our catalogue, thereby recapitulating the situation back in 2009.<sup>83</sup>

Note, however, that Wijsman had also added a new manuscript to the oeuvre of the Master of 1482, though he insisted the credit should go to Ilona Hans-Collas and Pascal Schandel, writing in an as yet regrettably unpublished work.<sup>84</sup> Buried in Wijsman's thousands of entries is number 2660, a *Commentaires de César* in Paris (BnF, fr. 280: Cat. 2), for which he gave the Master of 1482 as

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<sup>81</sup> Goehring in Goehring/As Vijvers 2018, IV/4, no. 51, p. 200.

<sup>82</sup> Earlier Wijsman (2010b, p.66) had conjectured about "some thirty manuscripts".

<sup>83</sup> Some histories of codices are not fully up-to-date, as with the *Dialogue des creatures* formerly in Amsterdam (Cat. 6) or the *Arbre des batailles/Traité de noblesse* compilation in New Haven (Cat. 15). In the case of Wijsman's number 1933, the London *Commentaires* (Cat. 12), all ten of the miniatures are given to the Master of 1482, whereas he did only the first four.

<sup>84</sup> Hans-Collas/Schandel 2012-2013, pp. 79-80.



sole illuminator. It hardly qualifies as a luxury manuscript for, though large, it is written on paper instead of the usual vellum and is in poor condition. It has only a single historiated initial (fol. 2<sup>ro</sup>), containing a tiny presentation of the book scene that is almost certainly by the Master of 1482 (fig. 2.1). As is explained in the fifth chapter below, which discusses the seven patrons of the Master of 1482, the man on the throne could well be Adolph of Cleves.

The most recent online overview of manuscript illumination in Flanders and elsewhere comes like an anti-climax. I refer to the *Lexicon van Boekverluchters*, which has not come out in English. This massive, ambitious and admirable work, which stands out by its numerous fine colour illustrations, was posted by the Enschede *notaris* and indefatigable enthusiast Roel Wiechers in 2017 and again in 2019. The survey of works by the Bruges Master of 1482 covers twelve manuscripts, with six of my and Wijsman's items missing. This is curious given that Wiechers work mentions Cahn and Marrow's more comprehensive article of 1978 in his bibliographic register. At the same time, we encounter six incorrect attributions. In Wiechers's order they are:

Jean Froissart *Chroniques*, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Breslau 1, parts 1 to 4.

Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, *De l'art de la chasse aux oiseaux*, Cambridge MA, Houghton library, type 129. I dismiss this item in Catalogue 11 below, which concerns a superior version in Geneva.

Bartholomeus Anglicus, *Livre des propriétés des Choses*, London, British Library, MS Royal E 15 II.

Jean Froissart, *Chroniques* vol. 3, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig XIII 7.

Colard Mansion trans., *La Pénitence d'Adam*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1837. The attribution is potentially correct but the miniature depicted is in fact from an eighteenth-century copy in Paris (BnF, fr. 13257).

Fortunately, we need not close this survey with such discouraging results. This saga ends with an as yet unpublished attribution of a manuscript in Dresden (Cat. 17). Back in 2010 Hanno Wijsman very nearly added this codex to his list of fifty-three manuscripts illuminated by the Master of the Chattering Hands. While visiting Dresden in late October and early November of 2023, he determined that the thirty smaller illuminations are indeed by his artist but also that the frontispiece is by the Master of 1482 (fig. 17.1). The miniatures in question are in very poor condition due to water damage inflicted at the time of the Allied raids on Dresden in February of 1945. A black and white photograph taken by Friedrich Winkler in 1925 is badly faded but still allows us better to make out a few details (fig. 17.2).<sup>85</sup> I fully agree with Wijsman that this *Presentation of the Book to Philippe de Hornes* was rendered by the Bruges Master of 1482.

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<sup>85</sup> Hanno Wijsman has informed me that he found the photo in Winkler's *Nachlass* in the Kupferstichkabinet Staatliche Museen zu Berlin during a 2023 visit to Berlin.

## Chapter 3: A Plethora of Unproductive Initiatives

### Dubious Attributions

Since the middle of the twentieth century the Bruges Master of 1482 has become a better defined and known personality, so that no overview of Flemish illumination is likely to ignore him. At the same time, he has threatened to become a kind of coat hanger for attributions of illuminations that are difficult or impossible to place under the name of a better-known artist. Nor is this phenomenon limited to the Master of 1482, dubious attributions of Flemish illuminations having become endemic in recent decades. For instance, Bodo Brinkmann spotted nine incorrect attributions in Georges Dogaer's summary of the oeuvre of the *Master of the Dresden Prayer Book*.<sup>86</sup> Things are looking little better for the Master of 1482.

The earliest confusion was sewn by Philip Hofer in 1953. He related the London *Livre* frontispiece (fig. 4.1) to a copy of *De l'art de la chasse aux oiseaux* at the Houghton Library of Harvard College (Typ. 130). Specifically, he thought that the birds of the former “both in the borders and in the miniature at the opening of the twelfth book, have so close a resemblance to the marginal drawings in our manuscript as to incline one to break a promise, and suggest that they are by the same hand.”<sup>87</sup> However, Hofer's tentative attribution of the Harvard *Chasse aux oiseaux* to the Bruges Master of 1482 (of whose name and modest oeuvre he was apparently unaware) cannot withstand close scrutiny. As Otto Pächt informed Hofer at the time,<sup>88</sup> the Harvard codex is related to the oeuvre of Alexander Bening (ca. 1444-1519), including his work in a renowned *Antiquités judaïque et guerre des juifs* now in Paris (BA, 5082 and 5083).<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Dogaer 1987, p. 131, and Brinkmann 1997, p. 15, n. 32.

<sup>87</sup> Hofer 1953, pp. 29-30.

<sup>88</sup> Pächt, cited in Hofer 1953, p. 28.

<sup>89</sup> It has since been attributed to the Master of the Flemish Boethius.

A publication may also undo earlier work. In an entry in his catalogue of 1969, which concerned the newly surfaced Stuttgart/Basel *Traité de noblesse*, Hans Peter Kraus attributed both this and the New Haven manuscript to “the same artist, one who created some of the miniatures in the Edward IV mss. in the British Museum Royal Library Holdings.”<sup>90</sup> Note that this observation concerned the patronage of the king and need not necessarily refer to the so-called Master of Edward IV; nor does it altogether exclude the Master of 1482. However, the unidentified author was clearly an expert and presumably familiar with our master and some of his oeuvre and must therefore have mistakenly thought of a hand other than his in connection with the New Haven and Basel manuscripts.

With the arrival of the 1980s it became open season for questionable attributions. In 1981 Claudine Lemaire suggested that the dedication miniature of a *Genealogia deorum* by Giovanni Boccaccio owned by Jan Crabbe (Bruges, Groot Seminarie, 154/44) could be by the same hand as the single illumination of the Paris *Pénitence d'Adam* (Cat. 7).<sup>91</sup> The former frontispiece is definitely *not* by the Bruges Master of 1482, whereas the latter miniature certainly is. Strictly speaking, however, Lemaire was not expanding the oeuvre of our master, as the Paris *Pénitence* miniature had not yet been drawn into his orbit.

More importantly, Christopher de Hamel, writing in a Sotheby's auction catalogue of 1983, tentatively gave the Master of 1482 thirteen separate illuminations from the collection of silk merchant Daniel Burckart-Wildt (1752-1819), which had come from an anonymous *Chronicle of the Hundred Year's War*.<sup>92</sup> Sandra Hindman repeated De Hamel's attribution in her *Medieval and Renaissance Miniature Painting* of 1988, and with fewer reservations, stressing “the bold palette with splashes of bright red paint, said to be a hallmark of the Master of 1482” and noting that “although the text from which our miniature comes has not been identified, it follows closely that of Froissart's chronicle and

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<sup>90</sup> The Kraus catalogue (1969, p. 10) also proposes that the “first miniature” of a copy of Boccaccio's *Cas de Nobles Hommes* in London (BL, Royal 14 EV) is by the same hand as the Basel *Traité* (Cat.17), which would mean that the London illumination is also by the Master of 1482. However, the miniature looks bolder to me, with more detail in the wood grain and the like. See Warner/ Gilson, 1921, II, p. 141; IV, pl. 87 (fol. 291<sup>ro</sup>).

<sup>91</sup> Lemaire in Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, no. 88, pp. 192-194, C.Pl. 15.

<sup>92</sup> Sotheby Park Bernet & Co., 25 April 1983, lots 153-166, pp. 220ff.

thus adds another vernacular history to this master *oeuvre*.<sup>93</sup> Judging from De Hamel's illustrations and the one published by Hindman, the miniatures of this *Chronicle* were probably done by two artists, neither being our painter.

At this point I ask the reader's indulgence and propose to follow this thread almost up to the present. Five of the thirteen Burchart-Wildt illuminations went to the Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art in Hartford CT.<sup>94</sup> In 1985 Hans Peter Kraus attributed another of the illuminations, then located in a private collection in Switzerland, to the Master of the Vienna Mamerot, also known as the Master of the Hundred Year's War.<sup>95</sup> This item was discussed by Sandra Hindman. Still another miniature passed through the collection of Alan Thomas, to be sold at auction in 2011.<sup>96</sup> It is said to depict the king of England receiving a herald from the king of France.

Finally, one of the illuminations was auctioned by Christie's in 2021 with "The Arrival of the Holy Roman Emperor" as its ostensible subject.<sup>97</sup> However, given that Frederick III was dark-haired and bearded, it much more likely depicts his son Maximilian I, who was blond and clean-shaven. He arrived in Ghent on 18 August 1477 and married Mary of Burgundy the next day, thereby protecting Mary from the imminent danger posed by Louis XI of France. Maximilian does not yet wear the Order of the Golden Fleece, into which he was inducted on 30 April 1478. Though the date of the event of the miniature can be placed in the summer of 1477, the illumination likely originated most of a decade later. However, Maximilian does not wear a crown, which argues for a date prior to 1486, when he became King of the Romans.

The description of this item was compiled by Julian Wilson, "Senior Specialist, Books, Maps & Manuscripts" of Christies, who gave the illumination to the Master of Bruges of 1482. Wilson assures us that "hallmarks of his style can be found in the confidently modelled faces with prominent noses and the crowded

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<sup>93</sup> Hindman 1988, no. 37, pp. 78-79 and 139.

<sup>94</sup> Mss. W.A. 1983 41-45.

<sup>95</sup> Kraus 1985, cat. 172, no. 23.

<sup>96</sup> Sotheby's 5 July 2011, lot 17.

<sup>97</sup> Christie's, 15 December 2021, lot. 43.

group compositions.” But Wilson was in fact describing the hallmarks of this particular miniature and not those of the Master of 1482. Most obviously his work does not feature shallow and crowded compositions. In fact, ample interior and exterior space and spatial recession are typical of his work. Nor does the treatment of the faces and handling of the drapery resemble his manner at all closely. Finally, the figure with the shallow head behind the main actor of the composition is unlike anything found elsewhere in his oeuvre. In short, this miniature supports the rejection of the entire group of thirteen miniatures from the Burckart-Wildt collection. Still, it is instructive to learn that a faulty attribution may live on for fully a half century.

To return at last to the nineteen-eighties, the most worrying mistake came in 1987, when Georges Dogaer assigned the Bruges Master of 1482 an *Antiquités et la guerre des juifs* in Paris (again BA, 5082 and 5083),<sup>98</sup> an attribution that Sandra Hindman endorsed the following year.<sup>99</sup> This Josephus comes in two volumes with a total of twenty-seven illuminations. Clearly such a major group of miniatures in an otherwise unrepresented historical text could have substantially bolstered both the quantity and range of the already ample and rich *oeuvre* of the Master of 1482. As neither Dogaer nor Hindman mounted an argument, it is difficult to do more than contradict them. Though the floral motifs of this codex are close to those of our painter's frontispiece of *Le Livre des propriétés des choses* (fig. 4.1), and though bright colours and thin outlines are in plentiful evidence throughout, none of the illuminations are by the Bruges Master. Instead, they are by at least three hands other than his. One style has affinities with the Master of the Chattering Hands. Another, less distinctive style resembles the battle piece of the second volume of the Antwerp *Froissart*. Nothing is close to our master.

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<sup>98</sup> Dogaer 1987, p. 127. See Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), nos. 2561 and 2562, which he did not include in his list of manuscripts associated with the Master of 1482, as discussed above.

<sup>99</sup> Hindman 1988, no. 37, p. 79, not listed in Wijsman's two bibliographies.

## The disputed influence of the Master of 1482

In addition to the category of dubious attributions there is a whole group of “almost but not quite” attributions. Proceeding chronologically, Anne de Splenter proposed that Philip of Cleves’s Stuttgart versions of the *Livre de la chasse* by Gaston Phébus and the *Chasse aux oiseaux* by Frederick II (WLB, HB XI 34a)<sup>100</sup> are so close to the ones in Geneva (BGE, fr. 169 and fr. 170), which were illuminated by the Master of 1482 (Cat. 10 and 11), that they must have been produced in his “atelier”.<sup>101</sup> I, for one, do not see the stylistic connection and her notion is not borne out by other attributions for the Stuttgart manuscripts, as summarized by Hanno Wijsman.<sup>102</sup>

Moving into the present century, we have an ambiguous attribution in the 2002 catalogue of the Basel dealer Jörn Günther. It concerns a single beautiful miniature which depicts *Saint Anne Teaching Mary to Read*. The problem is that the work is given to the Master of 1482 in the text but to his school in the opening “CONTENTS”. A school necessarily includes more than one member and I do not know where they are identified. The miniature is in any case not by the Master of 1482. The five attendant men, for instance, have similar faces, looking mildly stunned with straight-lined mouths which, like the pervasive shading, are not related to work of the Master of 1482.

The next year Scot McKendrick identified a miniature in the third of six volumes of a *Chroniques de St. Denis* in London (BL, Royal 20 E I), which he thought was done by a gifted and influential artist who was strongly influenced by the Master of 1482, and therefore attributed it to his “circle”.<sup>103</sup> McKendrick was presumably thinking of related illuminations by our master in the London and Oxford *Commentaires* (Cat. 12 and 16), but they are substantially different. The Master of 1482 consistently adopted a more remote viewpoint with larger

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<sup>100</sup> The two texts are bound together, hence the one signature.

<sup>101</sup> De Splenter 1990-1991, p. 80 and 87.

<sup>102</sup> Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 3106, which gave the *Livre de la chasse* and *L’Art de la chasse aux oiseaux* to the Master of Philip of Cleves’s *Livre de la chasse* and the Master of the Chattering Hands.

<sup>103</sup> McKendrick 2003, p. 106, fig. 91, and Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 2040.

foreground figures. Much closer is the ninth miniature of the London *Commentaires de César* (fig. 12.5), which could be in part by the Master of 1482.

Finally, we have the first surviving miniature of the *Décamerone* in The Hague (fig. 3.1), with Anne Dubois dismissing it, though as “closely related”, and Margaret Goehring assigning it to the “circle” of the Master of 1482. Their ideas are discussed in Catalogue 3 below. I only observe for now that a circle or a school can’t consist of only one member, yet this particular circle is nowhere defined and sending the splendid illumination there means relegating it to art-historical oblivion. As for the miniature that McKendrick gave to the circle of the Master of 1482, it is clearly not by the same hand as the *Décamerone* frontispiece. Attributions to entities such as a school or circle ought to be avoided unless accompanied by a reference to a publication or publications where they are discussed and preferably illustrated.



## Chapter 4: Towards a Viable Chronology

The catalogue section of this study presents in varying detail eighteen manuscripts that were entirely or in part illuminated by the Bruges Master of 1482. In the second chapter the works were presented in the order of the original texts, but that Aristotle wrote long before Boccaccio is very nearly common knowledge. Much more difficult, but also much more rewarding, is to establish the likely chronological place of works in the career of the Master of 1482. The pressing consideration is that we need a fairly close chronology for a reasonably reliable catalogue of the oeuvre of the Master of 1482.

Is it wise or possible to attempt a comprehensive chronology? Otto Pächt questioned the wisdom of such an undertaking, telling me that too little is dated and too much must be lost. But Pächt was generally too cautious in what he thought ready for publication, particularly where his own research was concerned. With nearly eighty miniatures entirely or primarily by the Master of 1482, we have an ample oeuvre regardless of any losses. Also, several of his manuscripts can be dated with relative certainty, so that we do have a provisory chronological armature with which to proceed. Any attempt at a chronology for him must utilize every scrap of available evidence, whether stylistic, iconographical, textual, or historical. As little is certain or documented, subjective or circumstantial evidence has to be welcomed as well. If I worry less about variations in quality than seems appropriate, it is because the Master of 1482 clearly had subordinate shop assistants (as opposed to full-fledged collaborators), whose contribution may well have fluctuated over time. Much of the evidence is open to differing interpretation, so that about all one can hope for is a reasonably compelling hypothetical construct.

The London *Livre des profits champêtres* (Cat. 1) is, I believe, the most problematic of the manuscripts illuminated by the Master of 1482 and his atelier. Most obviously the work does not seem to be related to that of an identifiable teacher, as one might expect from an early work. The engaging subject matter

cannot disguise fact that some of the spatial transitions are the most arbitrary of our master's entire oeuvre, as is especially in evidence in *The Management of Meadows* (fig. 1.7). I therefore propose that the *Profits champêtres* is earlier than the *Décamerone* in The Hague. One could conclude that the *Profits champêtres* miniatures show the Master of 1482 already in decline, but we find none of the refinement of the painter's late production, such as the Basel *Traité de noblesse* (Cat 18). All things considered, I believe this must be the earliest substantial work by the Master of 1482. A date of about 1480 seems in order. That is also the date proposed by Scot McKendrick.

Slightly later, I believe, is the *Commentaires de César* that was recently published by Hanno Wijsman (Cat. 2). Its single tiny miniature depicts the presentation of the book. With its convincing recession of the tile floor, the scene could well date from later than the *Profits champêtres*, which is more experimental in character. That, however, is a dubious comparison of broad panoramas with a small interior. The flat black hat, medium-length brown hair and Order of the Golden Fleece could point to Adolph of Cleves as we know him from a presentation scene in an undated manuscript now in Amiens (BM, Lescalopier 95, fol. 1). Since Adolph lived until 1492, that has no implications for the date. However, the manuscript has a colophon at the end that mentions the translator of the text and its date of completion, May 24, 1482 (see Cat. 2). Since this text was commissioned by Charles the Bold, that suggests indirect homage to him and perhaps also Adolph, who we know, was a loyal servant of Charles. The other two *Commentaires* of Catalogue 12 and 16 would appear to evoke Maximilian I and then Frederick III. This virtually proves that we are dealing with our earliest version of the *Commentaires*. The plumped-up cushions on the bench resemble ones seen at the very right of a miniature of the *Décamerone* in The Hague (fig. 3.3), which was commissioned by Adolph's son Philip and which I date to about 1482. On the basis of such tenuous connections, I propose a highly debatable date of about 1481.

Though we have no firm documentation, said *Décamerone* (Cat. 3) is probably our master's next surviving work, with its three more progressive smaller miniatures showing his emergence from his earliest work. He likely illuminated the

*Décamerone* very shortly after the *Profits champêtres*. The fine opening miniature (fig. 3.1) may look much superior, but the spatial transition from foreground to background is still precipitate. It is only that the group of figures in the middle ground camouflages the fact. The close similarity of the two frontal kings-for-the-day in the *Décamerone* (figs. 3.4 and 3.6) to the head of the author Pietro de Crescenzi in one of the London *Profits* miniatures (fig. 1.8) settles the matter. A date of about 1482 is appropriate.

The preference of the Master of 1482 for his stepped-arch frame over the serrated arch of the Master of the Chattering Hands could be assumed to provide a clue for the dating of the *Décamerone*. However, the master had earlier employed this frame in his *Livre des profits champêtres*. Moreover, at least five other illuminators employed much the same framework between about 1470 and 1480, all conveniently illustrated by Scot McKendrick.<sup>104</sup> The Master of the Harley Froissart was likely the first. Next came the Master of Margaret of York, the Master of Edward IV and the Master of the Soane Josephus. Probably last came the Master of the White Inscriptions and the Master of the Getty Froissart. Assuming McKendrick is even approximately correct in these instances, the framework of the Master of 1482, has no implications for the precise dating of his early work.

The frontispiece of the London *Livre des propriétés des choses* (fig. 4.1) probably shows the new style more fully developed. The problem with this miniature is that it is more consistent in quality than many other illuminations by the Master of 1482. Most notably, his characteristic outlines are less in evidence here than elsewhere in his oeuvre. However, they are present if one looks carefully around the chin of the author, next to the dangling arm of the left falconer, and between the legs of the right falconer. In any case, the miniature is definitely by the Master of 1482 and its relative quality would be a bit of an embarrassment no matter where in his career we might care to place it. Note that the branches and foliage of the *Livre* frontispiece are relatively open and filigreed compared to the denser treatment in many, though not all, of his later miniatures.

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<sup>104</sup> McKendrick 2003, figs. 26, 31, 45, 49, 50, 61, 62, 63 and 64. With the first of these, which McKendrick dates to ca. 1472 to 1473, the arched protrusion is much wider than the others.

We encounter a very similar approach in the first of his *Profits champêtres* miniatures (fig. 1.10). The *Livre* states that it was copied by Jean de Ries of Bruges in May of 1482. Clearly that is the earliest possible date. Since Edward IV of England commissioned the manuscript, the time of his death early in 1483 provides the latest plausible date. I therefore concur with Scot McKendrick, who has dated the codex to “1482 or shortly afterwards.”

While reflecting on that “shortly afterwards”, it is surely significant that the second volume of the *Livre des propriétés des choses* is dedicated to “the most high and powerful prince Charles by divine provenance [in translation],” this being the future Charles VIII of France, who succeeded to the throne in 1483, the year after the manuscript states that it was written. One might at first be tempted to look to Louis of Gruuthuse, who maintained dangerously close ties with the French monarchy. In fact, Louis gave king Charles a copy of the *Livre de tournois of René of Anjou* (Paris, BnF, fr. 2692) not much later,<sup>105</sup> demonstrating his lasting attachment to the young French monarch. We know, however, that back in 1475 Edward IV of England had betrothed his daughter Margaret to the dauphin Charles. That Charles was expected to become Edward’s son-in-law fully explains the dedication of the *Livre des propriétés des choses*. In short, the London manuscript was commissioned by Edward IV in 1482 and both written and illustrated for him in Bruges. The illumination of eighteen miniatures for the two volumes of the London *Livre* would almost certainly have meant delay well beyond the May of 1482 of the famous inscription. But since Edward IV died on 9 April 1483, the delay could have been only just under a year. Given the relative sophistication of the London frontispiece, however, they are welcome months indeed. Otto Pächt may well have been right to write about the Bruges Master of 1483.

Next, I believe, followed the three manuscripts that closely link Louis of Gruuthuse as patron to Colard Mansion (ca. 1430->1484) as translator. The Copenhagen *Ovide moralisé* (Cat. 5), which is perhaps the most important of the manuscripts associated with the Bruges printer, could show our artist

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<sup>105</sup> Wijsman 2007, pp. 267-269.

consolidating the new style. The struggle of the Master of 1482 with the unaccustomed difficulty of the subject matter manifests itself with the curiously unstructured composition of the very large *Castration of Saturn* (fig. 5.1). With the remaining miniatures we need to allow for their tiny size and perhaps for an imposed time limit. In fact, the whole of this manuscript makes a rushed impression. Max D. Henkel argued that Mansion based his printed *Ovide moralisé*, which came out in 1484, on the miniatures of Thott 399. That is certainly the case given the visual evidence and the fact that there are a great many more miniatures than woodcuts. Obviously, this establishes a terminus ante quem for the Copenhagen work. In accordance with Henkel's reasonable assumption that Mansion saw the Copenhagen *Ovide* being painted, we would have to date the illuminations around 1483 or very early in 1484.

I also think of the two large illuminations in the Ramsen *Dialogue des créatures* (Cat. 6) which, like the London *Livre des propriétés des choses*, was written in 1482 and which feature similar wonderful flowers in the borders (cf. fig. 4.1 with figs. 6.1 and 6.2). In short, 1483 again seems about right for the Ramsen manuscript. The Paris *Pénitence d'Adam* (Cat. 7) is the third codex associated with both Gruuthuse and Mansion. This connection, as well as its stylistic similarity to the two frontispieces in Geneva, discussed immediately below, encourage me to consider its one miniature (fig. 7.1) a near-mature work of the Bruges Master. As with all three codices associated with Mansion, 1484 is the latest possible date, since the printer left Bruges in May of that year. The date of 1483 to 1484, near the end of Mansion's known period of activity in Bruges, again seems appropriate.

We know neither patron nor date for the single miniature of the *Réparation du pecheur* by Saint Jean Chrysostome, located in Lyon (fig. 8.1). Along with the *Pénitence d'Adam*, however, it is one of only two miniatures not to depict secular subject matter. On the basis of this tenuous connection, we would again place this item in 1483. The *Traité de monnaies* by Nicolas Oresme (Cat. 9) is a tricky proposition. We know that it must date after 1482 and before 1486, so for want of more concrete indications it is probably best placed around 1484. Such an approximate date is not all that helpful, but even if a precise date of 1483 or 1485

should materialize, our overall picture of the career of the Master of 1482 would not change substantially.

Shortly after that our artist returned to the conception of the frontispiece of the London *Livre des propriétés des choses* (fig. 4.1), which I have dated to 1482 and slightly later. I think especially of the frontispieces of the Geneva *Livre de la chasse* (fig. 10.1) and *Chasse aux oiseaux* (fig. 11.1). Both manuscripts, which appear to have been conceived as a set, concern hunting and were produced for Louis of Gruuthuse. The birds of the former frontispiece closely resemble those of the *Livre* frontispiece. All in all, I favour dates around 1485 for the two Geneva frontispieces. Presumably Louis of Gruuthuse ordered them shortly before June of that year, when he was seized and imprisoned by Maximilian.

The illuminations of the London *Commentaires* manuscript (Cat. 12) are a bit of a problem, as we have only their style and relationship to the miniatures of Oxford *Commentaires* (Cat. 16) to go by. However, the markedly wash-like quality of the landscape of the London illuminations (figs. 12.3 and 12.4) is related to similar passages in the Geneva *Livre de la chasse* frontispiece (fig. 10.1). The London work is clearly mature but does not yet have the consistency of the output of the later 1480s or very early 1490s. The London illuminations feature an older and bearded Caesar with a generic resemblance to Emperor Frederick III, suggesting a date before the spring of 1486, when his son Maximilian I was crowned King of the Romans. With his coronation, Maximilian frustrated his father Frederick, who had opposed him for political and perhaps also for personal reasons. A central date of about 1485 again seems in order.

For want of better evidence, I would also place the frontispiece to the third volume of the Antwerp *Chroniques* (fig. 13.1) around 1485. It seems to belong neither early nor late in the Bruges Master's production. We know that the Antwerp codex was completed sometime before 20 August 1488, when two of the three volumes appeared in the testament of Philippe de Hornes.<sup>106</sup> Obviously this fact proves nothing, since Hornes could have acquired the manuscript well before his death. Finally, *Les Ethiques d'Aristotle* (Cat. 14) probably belongs with the 1485

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<sup>106</sup> Génard 1875, pp. 21-30 and Dubois 2002, 611-627. More information follows in Chapter 7 below.

items, if only because that year falls around the middle of the career of the Master of 1482. Here we have a second weak link in the chain of manuscripts, but as with Nicolas Oresme's *Traité de monnaies* (Cat. 9), it does not threaten the viability of our overall chronological construction.

The next stage in the career of the Master of 1482 is presumably represented by the New Haven *Arbre des batailles/Traité de noblesse* (Cat. 15), which echoes the *Livre* frontispiece in a few of its miniatures, but which has the more pervasive thin outlines that the master used in his two Geneva frontispieces. The date 1481 in the New Haven *Traité* was copied in a whole group of manuscripts, the last of these being from the sixteenth century, and should not be used to date this particular copy. Though our master's work on the New Haven codex may have begun as early as 1485, the iconography of three of its illuminations, with their precise references to Maximilian I and the current political situation, establishes that the work continued well into 1486. The Yale manuscript has a small miniature (fig. 15.8) that appears to be the poorest and most rushed work produced by the Master of 1482 himself, and it is further marred by fifteen coats of arms that were never coloured. These signs of haste suggest that the manuscript was completed (or left incomplete) during 1486.

The New Haven compilation was probably followed by the Oxford *Commentaires de César* (Cat. 16), which I would date to about 1487 to 1488. In most ways the Oxford work remains close to that in New Haven, but the miniatures of the *Commentaires* no longer show obvious borrowings from Bouts and his school and are more consistent in quality. In contrast to the London *Commentaires*, with their mature and bearded Caesar, the illuminations in the Oxford version feature a young and blond emperor who may well have been intended to evoke Maximilian I. That hypothesis suggests a date later than Max's coronation as King of the Romans early in 1486, when it became probable that he would eventually become Holy Roman Emperor in turn.

Very shortly after the Oxford *Commentaires*, I believe, Philippe de Hornes ordered a manuscript containing David Aubert's *Chroniques et conquestes de Charlemagne* (Cat. 17), which was discovered by Hanno Wijsman in Dresden

(SLUB, Oc 81). This text, written by the calligrapher and translator Aubert (fl. 1449-1479) in Brussels, was typical of De Hornes's interest in historical subjects. The manuscript was badly damaged in 1945, so that it is difficult to judge, but the elaborate frontispiece (figs. 17.1 and 17.2) would appear to be by the Master of 1482, with thirty small illuminations by the Master of the Chattering Hands. The frontispiece still betrays signs of elegance, which points to a latish work by the Master of 1482. As Hornes died in December of 1488, this may have been one of his last commissions, perhaps dating from earlier that year.

The Oxford *Commentaires* codex was commissioned by Claude de Neufchâtel, who also ordered the Basel *L'Arbre des batailles/Traité de noblesse* (Cat. 18), a parallel manuscript that is based on the New Haven codex but that lacks iconographic references to the political events of 1486. The Basel miniatures are consistent in handling, like those of the Oxford *Commentaires*, but they are more jewel-like and still more remote from the New Haven work. If he did not have access to the New Haven compilation itself, the Master of 1482 must have kept his preparatory work for its illuminations, since the compositions of the Basel work tend to be similar. All of the above makes sense considering that the New Haven codex is associated at least indirectly with the patronage of Maximilian and that Neufchâtel is to have been one of the nobles who remained loyal to the young Habsburg prince. The lack of explicit references to Maximilian suggests a date well after 1486, when his coronation had ceased to be of topical interest. It seems likely that the manuscript postdates the crisis of 1488 as well. I propose that Neufchâtel commissioned the Basel manuscript not long before 22 May 1491, when Philip the Fair inducted him into the Order of the Golden Fleece. The Basel codex likely the latest of the surviving manuscripts illuminated by the Master of 1482.

The chronology that I propose has its obvious limitations. First, it is debatable, especially for 1484 and 1485. It also extends only from about 1480 to about 1490, which would mean that the Master of 1482 was active for no more than one decade. But that is no cause for complaint. Consider, for instance, that the surviving dozen or so altarpieces by Hugo van der Goes all date from about 1470 to about 1482. It is already unusual that we have been able to reconstruct



the career of the Master of 1482 at all. We know as much about his oeuvre as about that of any other Flemish book illuminator of the 1480s.

One thing may be safely concluded from all the evidence thus far; the year 1480 falls at the beginning of the demonstrable activity of the Master of 1482. I thought for a long time that he might better be called the Bruges Master of 1485, which would place us closer to mid-career. However, it would have been a disastrous initiative to undermine a century of tradition by changing the name of an artist who is little-enough known as is.

## Chapter 5: A Closer Look at the Seven Patrons

The seven known patrons of the Bruges Master of 1482 have repeatedly been mentioned. In the approximate order of the Catalogue they are, to repeat, Adolph of Cleves (Cat. 2), Philip of Cleves (Cat. 3), Edward IV of England (Cat. 4). Louis of Gruuthuse (Cat. 5, 6, 7, 10, 11 and 15), Jean II de Trazegnies (Cat. 9), Philippe I de Hornes (Cat. 13 and 17) and Claude de Neufchâtel (Cat. 16 and 18). There are also four patrons that remain to be identified. They commissioned the *Livre des profits champêtres* (Cat. 1), *La reparation du pécheur* (Cat. 8), the London version of *Les Commentaires de César* (Cat. 12) and *Les Ethiques d'Aristote* (Cat. 14).

As we learned above, in “Towards a Closer Chronology”, Louis of Gruuthuse dominated the career of the Master of 1482. To summarize our findings, three of the latter's manuscripts were certainly commissioned by Gruuthuse, namely the Paris *Traité de monnaies* (Cat. 9) and the Geneva *Livre de la chasse* and *Chasse au oiseaux* (Cat. 10 and 11). Two other items, the *Dialogues des créatures* and *Pénitence d'Adam* (Cat. 6 and 7) have been identified as likely coming from Gruuthuse's library. To these works I have added the Copenhagen *Ovide Moralisé* (Cat. 5). That proposition is based on the important role played by Colard Mansion in both the patronage of Louis of Gruuthuse and the career of the Master of 1482. We also already know that in the case of two other manuscripts that Gruuthuse commissioned from our master, the *Dialogue des créatures* (Cat. 6) and *La Pénitence d'Adam* (Cat. 7), there is an important connection with the great Bruges printer. We also know that the Copenhagen *Ovide* has an intimate connection to the printed version published by Mansion in 1484 (see Cat. 5). Gruuthuse, who was the godfather of one of Mansion's children, probably had a financial stake in some of the printer's projects. Given this dense web of connections, Gruuthuse almost certainly had something to do with the commission of the Copenhagen *Ovide Moralisé*. That the collector owned another *Ovide* (Paris, BnF, fr. 137) proves nothing, as he repeatedly doubled up on texts.

This brings us to the New Haven compilation (Cat. 15), which represents the Master of 1482 just past mid-career and which requires further exegesis. The codex is problematic because it contains two texts bound together, namely the *Arbre des batailles* by Honoré Bovet and the *Traité de noblesse* by Diego Valera (in addition to ten short treatises). Although both main texts deal with political matters, they are otherwise unrelated. We do not know on what manuscript Bovet's text was based, whereas we have a lineage for De Valera's work. The New Haven *Traité* was based on Philip of Cleves's copy, now in Vienna (ÖNB, 2616), which was in turn based on a version, now in Paris (BnF, fr. 1280), owned by Louis of Bruges. The *Arbre des batailles* has only two illustrations (figs. 15.1 and 15.2), which we can relate to numerous earlier works but not to any specific model. The *Traité de noblesse*, on the other hand, has numerous illustrations that can be related to the earlier versions. However, the New Haven illuminations are closer to those in Vienna than to the ones in Paris, as we see by comparing the two versions of *The Shame of Noah* (figs. 15.1.1 and 15.1.2), in which we move from an interior to an expansive prospect.

The *Traité de Noblesse* component of the New Haven compilation must have some connection to Maximilian I of Austria, as some of the iconography pertains closely to his person. The key miniature (fig. 15.2) can be dated to 1486, when Maximilian became King of the Romans. It alludes specifically to Max's political independence from his father Frederick III through his marriage to Mary of Burgundy. As Mary died in 1482, she can't have had anything to do with the genesis of this *Traité de noblesse*, yet an echo of her appears as well (fig. 15.4). Such references were presumably intended to underscore the legitimacy of Maximilian's rule of the Flemish lands in his capacity as regent for Philip the Fair, his young son by Mary. All these considerations point to Maximilian, as does the fact that the New Haven *L'Arbre des batailles/Traité de noblesse* served as model for the Basel *L'Arbre/Traité* (Cat. 18), which was commissioned by Claude de Neufchâtel, a noble who remained staunchly attached to the young Habsburg prince.

Despite all this circumstantial evidence, the New Haven *Traité de noblesse* was probably not commissioned by Maximilian himself. More likely he was the

recipient of the manuscript and not its patron. The Habsburg references are not nearly as refined as we might expect in one of his personal commissions. Compare especially the so-called “Old” Prayer Book of Maximilian, which also dates from 1486, with its highly customized selection of texts and its closely observed portrait of the young Maximilian praying in front of a shield with Habsburg double-headed eagle (fig. 15.2.2). Such work is far removed from the thoughtlessly edited New Haven compilation, with its cribbed dedications and dates and its generalized “portraits” of Maximilian (figs. 15.2, 15.4 and 15.12).

I propose that we should look to Louis of Gruuthuse as likely patron of the New Haven compilation. That is not because of the prominent reference to “hault et noble seigneur monsg[-]r le conte de winchestre sgr. de la gruthuse prince de steenhuse”, because this inscription also occurs in the two earlier versions of the *Traité de noblesse* and was likely taken over from the Cleves’s Vienna text, just as it was there copied from Gruuthuse’s Paris version. Gruuthuse, however, had pressing reasons to placate Maximilian. Out of favour with Max and imprisoned in Malines at the time, he stood most to gain by ingratiating himself with the freshly minted King of the Romans. We know that Louis’s incarceration was not so severe as to prevent him from commissioning manuscripts, but he could presumably also have relied on his good friend Philip of Cleves to facilitate contacts with the scribe and the Master of 1482. The urgent need to exploit the topical interest of the current political situation could explain the rushed aspect of the entire New Haven compilation. Finally, more than Cleves, Gruuthuse had extensive French contacts that could help explain the problematic dedication of the *Arbre des batailles* part of the Yale codex to “Louis, first cousin of Charles”. As is explained below (Cat. 15), the reference is to Louis XI of France, first cousin of Charles, Duke of Orléans (1394-1465), and was presumably mindlessly copied from an *Arbre* manuscript, since lost, belonging to Gruuthuse.

With French contacts I think of Gruuthuse's years of collaboration with Charles VIII of France and of the former’s son Jean V van Gruuthuse (ca. 1458-1512), who entered the service of the French monarch, thereby consolidating his father’s pro-French orientation. Gruuthuse probable also knew Philip Crèvecoeur (1418-1494). Crèvecoeur was at first an intimate of Charles the Bold. He received

the Golden Fleece in 1468 but he was thrown out of the order by his fellow knights at the 1481 order meeting in 's Hertogenbosch, when he entered the service of Louis XI of France. Crèvecoeur commissioned a copy of the *Dialogue des créatures* now in Vienna (ÖNB, 2572) with a text that is exceedingly close to the one owned by Gruuthuse, now in Ramsen (Cat. 5), proving that the two collectors were in contact around 1483. Crèvecoeur might well have reciprocated by lending Gruuthuse his (hypothetical) copy of Bovet's *Arbre des batailles*.

Though Louis of Gruuthuse dominated the career of the Bruges Master of 1482, his earliest likely known patron was Adolph of Cleves who, as already explained in the preceding reconstruction of the oeuvre of the Master of 1482, likely commissioned the *Commentaires de César* in Paris (Cat. 2). He was followed by his son Philip of Cleves, who likely commissioned the *Décamerone* in The Hague (Cat. 3). That is somewhat surprising, as Philip tended to follow Gruuthuse's lead as collector. As we have just mentioned, Philip's copy of Diego de Valera's *Traité de noblesse* was based on a version owned by Gruuthuse. Similarly, Philip's *Livre de la chasse* and *Chasse aux oiseaux* now in Stuttgart (WLB, HB XI 34a), were copied after Gruuthuse codices now in Geneva (BGE, fr. 169 and fr. 170), which were illuminated by the Master of 1482. Gruuthuse may well have owned a *Décamerone*. If so, it has been lost.

After Louis of Gruuthuse, Philip of Cleves was the most important collector of their time. In 1895 Jules Finot indexed 128 items. Almost a century later Anne Korteweg listed twenty-five works that are known to have passed into the hands of Hendrik III van Nassau in 1528, as well as twenty-one further codices found in the literature, complete with numbers based on Finot's work. More recently Ann de Splenter published a discussion of many of the surviving manuscripts and their creators, once again relating them to their place in the Finot inventory. Her group includes only one manuscript by the Bruges Master of 1482, namely the *Décamerone* in The Hague (Cat. 3). However, De Splenter did not connect this manuscript with the Master of 1482. Anne Korteweg returned to the patronage of Philip of Cleves in the most thorough overview of all, which examined 147 titles in 168 volumes as based on an inventory compiled at the order Margaret of Austria after Cleves's death in 1528. Finally, Hanno Wijsman analysed the holdings in

astonishing detail in terms of such matters as the origins of texts down to the colour of bindings. We learn that Cleves was more a purchaser than a patron of manuscripts, so that his collection consisted chiefly of “second hand books,” which might well explain why, despite his very large collection, we know of only one codex illuminated by the Master of 1482.

Still another early patron of the Master of 1482 was King Edward IV of England, whom we have connected with the frontispiece of the *Livre des propriétés des choses* (fig. 4.1), this being the only work by the Bruges Master in the two-volume work that we can attribute to him. Edward was an avid collector of Flemish manuscripts, though again not comparable to Louis of Gruuthuse, whom we know was his friend. Though Edward’s stay with Gruuthuse lasted less than four months, he appears to have become greatly impressed with his host and his collection of manuscripts and subsequently commissioned numerous works himself. To quote Claudine Lemaire, “they were written and decorated for the king in Flemish scriptoria after the model of Gruuthuse codices and formed practically the king’s entire collection of manuscripts [in translation].”<sup>107</sup> They were all secular manuscripts with emphasis on historical works.

The role of Edward as collector is perhaps best approached via the extensive oeuvre of the Master of Edward IV, who was an approximate contemporary of the Master of 1482. Unfortunately, no one appears to have written a study of Edward’s entire collection, so that we do not know how many of the forty-seven manuscripts and twenty-five separate leaves that Bodo Brinkmann attributed to Edward’s namesake artist were in fact illuminated by him. Part of the problem is that the Edward Master appear to have been a composite figure together with his likely teacher, the Master of the Soane Josephus. Their large combined production for Edward IV consists mainly of historical works and entirely of secular manuscripts.

And there were other artists at work for Edward. Scot McKendrick included five splendid secular codices with six illuminations, which he stated were all done around 1480 and “made for Edward IV of England”, and which he attributed to the

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<sup>107</sup> Lemaire in Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, p. 220.

Master of the White Inscriptions, the Master of the London Wavrin and the Master of the Getty Froissart.<sup>108</sup> Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick named this last master in connection with a brilliant manuscript with twenty large illuminations held by the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles (Ms. Ludwig XIII 7). Active in Bruges between 1475 and 1485, this anonymous figure was an early contemporary of the Master of 1482, with the Getty Froissart close in date to the early work of the Bruges Master. Like him, the Master of the Getty Froissart specialized in secular texts and played an important role in the revitalization of secular works in Flanders around 1480.

A somewhat lesser patron who warrants a closer look is Philippe de Hornes, who commissioned the Froissart *Chroniques*, now in Antwerp (Cat. 13), of which the third volume has a frontispiece by the Bruges Master of 1482 (fig. 13.1). As mentioned in Chapter 4 above, this manuscript is listed in an inventory compiled on 20 August 1488, the year of Hornes's death, but I have hypothetically dated the codex around 1484. We also touched on Hanno Wijsman's recent attribution of the frontispiece of *Chroniques et conquestes de Charlemagne* in Dresden (fig. 17.1), a work that is also mentioned in the 1488 inventory. We have an old study of Hornes's library by Pierre Génard, who concentrated on this inventory. Génard identified only eight works, but everyone seems to be agreed that Hornes's holdings were probably larger. Génard's work was amplified by Anne Dubois, who noted the Burgundian character of the collection, including four texts also owned by Philip the Good, and traced the history of the Hornes collection to its dispersion with the death of Philippe de Montmorency in 1566.

Hanno Wijsman endorsed Dubois's findings and reviewed what is known about the 1488 inventory and the history of the Hornes family, both in an article of 2008 and in his more comprehensive *Luxury Bound* of 2010, where he observed that the inventory establishes that there were at least fifteen manuscripts, of which only four can be identified. They are our Froissart and *Conquestes de Charlemagne* as well as a *Fleur des Histoires* by Jean Mansel (Copenhagen, KB, Thott 568 and Acc. 2008/74) and a *Facta et dicta memorabilia* by Valerius

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<sup>108</sup> McKendrick 2003, figs. 61-66.

Maximus (Paris, BA, 5194). Wijsman pointed out that there must have been other manuscripts in other locations, since not all of the volumes of these four works are specified in the 1488 document. He speculated about possible additional items and commented on the historiographic nature of the holdings. We shall see that the Valerius Maximus was published by Anne Dubois and then Scot McKendrick in connection with an agreement dated 1 December 1480 between Philippe de Hornes and Colard Mansion.

Two other patrons of the Bruges Master of 1482 have passed the revue, namely Jean II Baron de Trazegnies and Claude de Neufchâtel, but no supplementary information about them has come to our attention. There were, however, other known patrons who were strategically situated relative to Louis of Gruuthuse and Philip of Cleves but who have never been directly connected to the Master of 1482. For instance, there was Philippe de Crèvecoeur (1418-1494), who was the brother-in-law of Gruuthuse's son Jan and who commissioned a *Dialogue des créatures* (Vienna, ÖNB, 2572) with a text that is exceedingly close to that of our master's version (Cat. 6). Another such figure was Jan III of Glymes, Lord of Bergen op Zoom (1452-1532), who joined the Golden Fleece in 1481. Shortly thereafter and again in the early nineties, he commissioned secular manuscripts from the so-called Master of Edward IV. Given Jan of Glymes's connections and interests, he may yet be identified as a patron of the Master of 1482.



## Chapter 6: The Intellectual Scope of the Patrons

To assess the intellectual range of the work of the Bruges Master of 1482 we must embark on matters over which he presumably had no control whatsoever. The choice of texts was made by his patrons and most often by Louis of Gruuthuse. It is probably no luxury to list for a second time his impressive production in the order of the original texts, though this time without museums and manuscript signatures.

*Les Ethiques d'Aristote* (Cat. 13)

*L'Ovide moralisé*, by Ovid and Petrus Berchorius (Cat. 5)

*Commentaires de César* (Cat. 2, 12 and 16)

*La pénitence d'Adam* by an anonymous pre-Christian author (Cat. 7)

*La réparation du pécheur* by Saint Joannes Chrysostomus (Cat. 8)

*De l'art de la chasse aux oiseaux* by Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (Cat. 11)

*Le Livre des propriétés des choses* by Bartholomeus Anglicus (Cat. 4)

*Livre des profits champêtres et ruraux* by Pietro de Crescenzi (Cat. 1)

*Décamerone* by Giovanni Boccaccio (Cat. 3)

*Dialogue des créatures* by Maynus de Mayneriis (Cat. 6)

*Le livre de la chasse* by Gaston Phébus (Cat. 10)

*Traité de monnaies* by Nicolas Oresme (Cat. 9)

*Chroniques* by Jean Froissart (Cat. 13)

*Arbre des batailles* by Honoré Bovet (Cat. 15)

*Chroniques et conquestes de Charlemagne* by David Aubert (Cat. 17)

*Traité de noblesse* by Diego de Valera (Cat. 15 and 18)

The coverage of these manuscripts is very nearly what one would expect from Claudine Lemaire's study of the library of Louis of Gruuthuse, whom we know as the most important collector of the time and the leading patron of the Master of 1482:

The interests of Louis of Gruuthuse extended first and foremost to works about history, followed by ones concerning edification and devotion, and then to chivalric romances and above all to what Armstrong called chivalric humanism. Finally, he owned a few purely literary works [in translation].

We can break down the texts illuminated by our master as follows. History is represented by the *Commentaires de César* and Froissart's *Chroniques* and edification of a scientific kind by *Profits champêtres*, *Livre des propriétés des choses*, *Dialogue des creatures* and *Traité de monnaies*, and of a moral sort by *Les Ethiques d'Aristote*, *Ovide moralisé* and *Décamerone*; devotion, by the *Réparation du pecheur* and *Pénitence d'Adam*; and chivalric humanism by the *Arbre des batailles*, *Traité de noblesse*, *Livre de la chasse*, and *Chasse aux oiseaux*. Clearly these categories are arguable or overlap. The *Traité de monnaies*, for instance, belongs to what we now classify under the discipline of economics and not as a science. The hunting and falconry manuscripts were probably not without scientific interest back in the fifteenth century. The *Décamerone* may look uncomfortable in its category, but one should remember that Boccaccio begins his work on the highest of principled planes and that he never relinquishes his pretence at moral edification. Note, finally, that though chivalric literature is well-represented, chivalric romance proper is missing except for parts of the *Chroniques de Charlemagne*.

Just as Louis of Gruuthuse emulated Philip the Good of Burgundy (who commissioned about 650 manuscripts), so lesser collectors such as Philip of Cleves and Edward IV of England adopted Louis as their cynosure. That is why the contents of Gruuthuse's library, which have been estimated at two hundred volumes, allow us to speculate about works by the Master of 1482 that remain to be identified or have been lost forever. Some additional authors whom we might expect to encounter are Titus Livius, Flavius Josephus, Enguerrand de Monstrelet, Vincent of Beauvais and Sir John Mandeville (history); Saint Augustine, Gregory the Great, Jean Gerson, Heinrich Suso, Denis the Carthusian and Alfonso di Spina (devotional works); Petrarch and Boethius (ethical works); Raoul Lefèvre and Guillaume Fillastre (chivalric romance); Jean de Bueil, Christine de Pizan, Georges Chastelain, René of Anjou and Gilles de Rome (chivalric humanism); and

Ptolomaeus, Brunetto Latini and Jehan Bonnet (scientific works). Here, again, chivalric romance proper is only poorly represented by the separate versions of the *Conquête de Toison d'Or* written by Lefèvre and Fillastre. However, Gruuthuse also owned a copy of David Aubert's *Roman de Gilles de Trazegnies* (Los Angeles, JPM, ms. 111; fig. 15.9.1), which was spectacularly illuminated by Lieven van Lathem (1430-1493).

Of course the late mediaeval curriculum of authors as embodied by any one collection was to some degree a matter of happenstance, defined on an ad hoc basis through the pursuit of personal desiderata wedded to acts of emulation and opportunism. There is no reason to suppose that any given patron collected only his favourite authors and disdained all other ones. The collection of Louis of Gruuthuse could just as well have had other strengths and omissions and, except along general lines, has no necessary implications for any lost or as yet unidentified work by the Bruges Master of 1482.

More concrete is a consideration of what the surviving oeuvre of the Master of 1482 can tell us about Gruuthuse's library. He owned copies of almost all of the known titles illustrated by the Master of 1482, whether illuminated by the master himself or by someone else. Three of these works, Gaston Phebus's *Livre de la chasse*, Frederick of Hohenstaufen's *Chasse aux oiseaux* and Diego de Valera's *Traité de noblesse*, were duplicated in Gruuthuse's collection. Nicolas Oresme's *Traité de monnaies* was included in Latin translation. Only Pietro de Crescenzi's *Livre des profits champêtres*, Honoré Bovet's *Arbre des batailles*, and *Les Ethiques d'Aristote* are not represented in Gruuthuse's library as it has survived. Perhaps Gruuthuse copies of Crescenzi's and Bovet's works will yet show up. Given the great popularity of Crescenzi's *Profits champêtres* in printed editions of the 1470s and 1480s, the bibliophile would have been idiosyncratic not to have taken an interest in the text. Gruuthuse certainly had nothing against Bovet, for he did own two other now more obscure works by the author.

From a modern non-specialist's point of view, the intellectual interests of the Late Middle Ages look curiously remote and uneven. Of the authors illuminated by the Master of 1482 only a few -- notably Ovid and Boccaccio

(though not in moralized form) -- are still widely read today. Thanks to surviving classical education in Europe, such as the Dutch gymnasium curriculum, Caesar is still being read. In the greater list based on the library of Louis of Gruuthuse, several names, including Saint Augustine, Boethius, Christine de Pizan, Flavius Josephus, Francesco Petrarch, and Titus Livius are familiar in limited circles, but most of the other authors have been forgotten by all but a few specialists and would not attract a significant readership today even if they were readily available in English translation. It is predictable that modern people only accidentally share the concerns of their mediaeval ancestors, whose science, devotion, edification and chivalry have by and large become intellectual museum pieces.

Knowing that now obscure authors were popular with collectors of the Late Middle Ages gives us good reason to assume that some still-renowned authors were read for different reasons than today. Scot McKendrick has suggested that certain key texts “were conceived as markers in the life of a particular social class and as models of behaviour.”<sup>109</sup> Two related examples stand out in the present study, namely Caesar and Boccaccio. For the fifteenth century, Julius Caesar was much more than a formidable man from a remote past; he was an ever-relevant exemplar for rulers such as Charles the Bold of Burgundy and, especially, for heirs and aspiring heirs to the Holy Roman Empire, such as Frederick III and Maximilian I of Austria. The most renowned evidence for Charles the Bold's identification with Caesar are the so-called *Caesar Teppiche*, now in Berne. It can be no accident that the two versions of the *Commentaires* illuminated by the Master of 1482, Caesar first resembles Frederick (figs. 12.1, 12.3 and 12.4) and then Maximilian (figs. 16.2, 16.3, 16.4, 16.7 and 16.8). Similarly, Boccaccio's *Décamerone* is now read almost exclusively as an entertaining chain of ever more scabrous stories, but late-mediaeval readers probably also embraced the tales as cautionary in nature, with much about proper Christian conduct to be learned from them. A work such as Boëthius's *Consolatione philosophie*, on the other hand, is so universal that it may well have offered much the same comfort to Louis of Gruuthuse as it can to its readers today.

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<sup>109</sup> McKendrick in McKendrick/Kren, 2003, p.

## Chapter 7: Patterns of Production and Content

As its title indicates, this chapter is intended to survey a diversity of topics regarding the relationship of the Master of 1482 to his colleagues, patrons, advisors and texts. We shall broach several of these topics in the eighteen entries of the catalogue below. However, it is difficult to extract a picture from the surfeit of fragmented information presented there, so that it is imperative to attempt an overview. But even here, with several different patrons and texts, we are mainly identifying differences as opposed to patterns. Most often we must deal with bewildering variety instead of reassuring unity.

### Collaboration throughout the Oeuvre

With half of the eighteen manuscripts associated with the Master of 1482, he collaborated with one or more other illuminators. The eight exceptions are *Commentaires de César* (Cat. 2), *La Pénitence d'Adam* (Cat. 7), *La réparation du Pécheur* (Cat. 8), *Traité de monnaies* (Cat. 9), Froissart's *Chroniques* (Cat. 13), *Les Ethiques d'Aristote* (Cat. 14), *Arbre des batailles/Traité de noblesse* (Cat. 15), *Commentaires de César* (Cat. 16), *L'Arbre des batailles/Traité de noblesse* (cat. 18). The contribution of sundry colleague artists to the remaining nine manuscripts may be small, as with (Cat. 1) *Profits champêtres*, substantial, as with Cat. 3) *Décamerone*, or predominant as with (Cat. 4) *Livre des propriétés des choses*, (Cat. 5) *Ovide moralisé*, (Cat. 6) *Dialogue des creatures*, (Cat. 10) *Livre de la Chasse*, (Cat. 11) *Chasse aux oiseaux*, (cat. 12) *Commentaires de César* and (Cat. 17) *Conquestes de Charlemagne*. The production as a whole has no clear pattern and defies any further summary. The *Décamerone* in The Hague is in any case exceptional in that the work of two hands is virtually interlaced. The resultant problems are discussed in detail in Catalogue 3 below.

In the manuscripts with numerous illuminations entirely by the hand of the Master of 1482 the quality of his miniatures may be relatively uneven, as with the New Haven *Arbre des batailles/Traité de noblesse*, or fairly consistent, as with the

Oxford *Commentaires* or the Basel *Traité*, but the variations in quality never warrant the assumption that there was more than one master at work. Rather, one thinks of a closely supervised workshop, with assistants attempting to render the less important illuminations in the manner of their master and with the quality of the shopwork production becoming more consistent with the years. For instance, the miniatures of the New Haven *Arbre/Traité* were presumably all produced within one campaign by our master's shop, yet some are clearly better than others. The size and importance of the miniature and the availability of an appropriate model no doubt also played a role in this variation, as presumably did greater or lesser time restraints. We should therefore not expect the Master of 1482 to have had as homogenous a style as do contemporary panel painters, or to have developed as consistently. The great pace and variety of his production and the great range of his models, ruled out consistent development and quality.

Perhaps the present discussion is best ended with the closing observations of Anne Dubois with respect to the Master of the Chattering Hands.

The attribution of miniatures to two artist who are to have worked on them together raises important questions in connection with the creative process and especially the relation between the miniaturists in question. Did each artist remain in his own atelier and did the sections on which they worked circulate? Or did the different miniaturists work in the same location so as to avoid redundant relocation?<sup>110</sup>

Dubois was commenting on specific instances involving the Master of the Harley Froissart (Philippe de Mazerolles) and the Master of the Chattering Hands in which Hanno Wijsman had discerned designs by the former and renderings by the latter.<sup>111</sup> She concluded that “such questions are essential for the study of the practices of the world of painters at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century but are regrettably difficult to answer due to the lack of documents from this period.” With respect to the Master of 1482, it is the *Décamerone* in The Hague (Cat. 3), which also involved the Mater of the Chattering Hands, that presents formidable problems.

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<sup>110</sup> In translation. Dubois in Bousmanne/Delcourt 2011-2012, p. 285.

<sup>111</sup> Wijsman 2008, pp. 579-586.

However, other instances, notably the London *Commentaires de César* (Cat. 12), present a challenge as well.

## Text and Image

Just how did the Bruges Master of 1482 illustrate his rich range of learned material? There is no simple answer to that question, since we encounter a range of approaches in his work that vary from manuscript to manuscript and even from one illumination to the next. The relationship of images to texts can be reduced to three broad categories, namely close, loose and remote. Sometimes our master followed a text fairly closely, as is the case with *The Penitence of Adam and Eve in the Jordan and Tigris Rivers* in the Paris *La Pénitence d'Adam* (fig. 7.1). Another example is the *Ovide* in Copenhagen (Cat. 5). Here the deities are identified below the illuminations and are followed by the pertinent text. Most of the illuminations of the London and Oxford *Commentaires* (Cat. 12 and 16) are relatively easy to relate to the text, though “close” would be the wrong adjective. However, some miniatures contain features that have little or nothing to do with Ceasar’s text, as with the delivery of the keys in the foreground of the fourth London and Oxford miniatures (figs. 12.4 and 16.4). Almost invariably it is tricky to identify topographical connections with or deviations from the texts. Almost invariably the pervasive anachronisms take their toll.

The Master of 1482 usually illustrated texts only loosely or by inference. A good example is *The Tree of Battles* (fig. 15.2) in the New Haven *Arbre/Traité*, but most of the illuminations to the London *Livre des profits champêtres* also belong to this category. The miniatures of the *Décamerone* in The Hague (figs. 3.2 to 3.9) have a near-unique place within our master's oeuvre. Here all but the fifth of the smaller illuminations (which were rendered by the Master of the Chattering Hands) are of the same type, showing young people sitting in a circle, presided over by an enthroned king or queen who has appointed the standing storyteller for the day. Only one miniature (fig. 3.6), which is the work of the Master of 1482, deviates from this formula. The discussion leaders and narrators can’t be associated with names in the text except by the location of the given miniature.

The subsidiary scenes allude to the action of the text and do not follow it at all closely.

Occasionally the Master of 1482 depicted subjects that one can barely relate to the text, such as *The Departure of Louis of Gruuthuse on a Hunt* in the Geneva *Livre de la Chasse* (fig. 11.1). In this instance the frontispiece served to provide a tenuous link between an old text and a new patron. Even more startling is the frontispiece of *Les Ethiques d'Aristote* (fig. 14.1). Although the philosopher is depicted, there is no connection with the text that follows. And then there are divergent oddities, such as the *Presentation of the Traité de noblesse to Maximilian I of Austria* of the New Haven compilation (fig. 15.2), which is in the tradition of the presentation of the book but also has a topical subtext.

Independent of the closeness of ties to the text there is the matter of narration. In his early and mature work, the Master of 1482 usually illustrated moments in time and rarely suggested a temporal sequence. As always, his *Décamerone* (Cat. 3) is unusual in that we may encounter two separate moments within a single scene. The illuminations of the Copenhagen *Ovide moralisé* (Cat. 5) generally concentrate on one moment only and tend to be schematic. Only rarely does a miniature evoke a sequence in time, as with *Diana and Acteon* (fol. 87<sup>ro</sup>), where coat, boots and horn allude to Acteon's human guise before his ill-fated metamorphosis into a stag. However, our master probably did not paint that particular image. It pertains to the text of Ovid's *Metamorphosis* instead of that by Petrus Berchorius, which is scarcely narrational in character. Many of the illuminations of the New Haven *Arbre/Traité* and Basel *Traité* also feature one moment, a prominent exception being the Yale *Shame of Noah*, with its background ark with debarking human beings and animals (fig. 15.1). Our master eliminated this temporal sequence in the corresponding Basel miniature (fig. 17.1).

The London and Oxford *Commentaires* (Cat. 12 and 16) may feature only one moment, with action that is dispersed in a deep landscape. In the later Oxford version, however, the action can also unfold in two phases, one in the foreground and the other in the background, as with the fifth, eighth and ninth miniatures



(figs. 16.5, 16.8 and 16.9). Sometimes there may be a kind of non-event in the background, as with the young man delivering a pot of medicine at the upper right of both the London and Oxford versions of *The Birth of Caesar* (figs. 12.2 and 16.1). Also, here and elsewhere in his oeuvre, the Master of 1482 placed a couple of chatting figures or a smattering of supernumeraries in the middle ground, suggesting a sequence in time where none can be shown to exist.

The single illumination of *La Pénitence d'Adam* (fig. 7.1) is truly exceptional in that it features five moments in time, four back in Biblical or pseudo-Biblical antiquity and one contemporary. This complex approach may have been inspired by the kind of sequence found in still more elaborate form in works of around 1470 and 1480 by Hans Memling.<sup>112</sup> This is even more true of the *Labours of the Month* illumination of the London *Livre des profits champêtres* (fig. 2.12), with its numerous moments in time. As the latter manuscript was likely one of our master's earliest works, he clearly did not progress from simple to complex narration. As in just about everything else, he can be seen to have been erratic.

We see, therefore, that the Master of 1482 had no standard way of illustrating his texts. Instead, his approach differed substantially from manuscript to manuscript and even from miniature to miniature. This diversity reflects the range of his texts, with their distinct patrons, patterns of collaboration and pictorial traditions.

### **Advisors, Brain Trusts and Patrons**

How much of his rich variety of approaches to texts can be attributed to the Master of 1482 himself? With respect to collaboration, we have no way of knowing if he ever got to decide which miniatures he wished to farm out, and to which colleague, or whether such decisions were always or usually made for him. Here again the situation may have varied from codex to codex. Obviously, work yields money, and it seems unlikely that our painter would have voluntarily shunted income to a competitor, but it is conceivable that he was seriously over-extended on occasion. Basically, we can only guess. And even if one or two

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<sup>112</sup> Notably Memling's Turin *Panorama of the Passion* of 1470-1471 or *Panorama with the Coming and Triumph of Christ*, completed in 1480.

relevant documents were to be found, there would be no way of telling whether they were representative of general practice.

One possibility is that the Master of 1482 or an advisor recognized his limitations and looked for other artists when appropriate. Consider, for instance, that the Antwerp *Chroniques* contains two competent battle pieces that are not by the Master of 1482 but by two other colleagues. Nowhere in his *oeuvre* do we encounter a battle piece by his hand. Given his clumsy jousts (figs. 15.7 and 15.13), this may not be a cause for regret, as it was clearly not a genre at which he was likely to have excelled. Even so, the *Chroniques* volumes do not support the notion that our master was rejected for the battle pieces, as these had already been rendered well before he was introduced to the manuscript.

Similarly, the Geneva *Livre de la chasse* (Cat. 10) features a great variety of dogs and other animals, including goats, sheep, rabbits, wolves and bears by the Master of the Chattering Hands. Now, the Master of 1482 was not a great animal painter, but he did manage several fine birds (figs. 3.10, 4.1, 6.6, 6.9 and 11.1) as well as a few passable whippets, dogs and sheep. It would be hard to argue that his collaborator was more accomplished in the genre. In the Geneva *Chasse aux oiseaux*, the Master of 1482 rendered the birds of the frontispieces while a colleague did the smaller and lesser ornithological miniatures even though our illuminator was superior to him in this instance. The important oddity is that our master rendered species that are neither discussed in the text nor illustrated elsewhere in the manuscript, suggesting that he was more or less “parachuted in” to do the most important miniature and had little, if any, knowledge of the text. In short, the *oeuvre* of the Master of 1482 does not support a notion of a division of spoils according to special competence.

With respect to his own work, to what degree did the Master of 1482 decide what was to be depicted where or how? The first question is probably the easier to answer. Indisputably the number, location and size of miniatures must have been decided almost the moment any manuscript was conceived, or else the scribe would not have been able to do his work. It also seems unlikely that an overall scheme for a given codex could be devised without some notion of the

subjects to be depicted. But even if we assume that the Master of 1482 normally worked within predetermined physical and iconographic structures, he must still have had to figure out just what needed to be rendered in a given space for a given subject. In an important essay of 1981, Maurits Smeyers considered this question with respect to several late fifteenth-century illuminators. He concluded that a lot must have depended on the complexity of a given text and the availability of an iconographic tradition for a given miniature, but that artists must have routinely relied on a variety of laymen to help resolve their problems.

It appears from the above discussion that an illumination had to be based on a reading and understanding of the text to be illustrated. One can hardly suppose that the miniaturists possessed the time or competence for this task, particularly where theological, philosophical or other difficult texts were concerned. In the case of texts that were routinely illuminated, this hardly presented a problem: “the ... archetype could serve as point of departure. Particular difficulties were presented by texts that had never before been illuminated and for which no model was available. Fortunately, the miniaturists could count on aid from outsiders, such as clerks or scholars, or possibly even the copyist, for the manufacture of a scheme of illustrations [in translation].<sup>113</sup>

This assessment remains vague and can only serve in a tautological way, along the lines of: “The Master of 1482 was not bright and educated enough to handle anything complex, so if anything looks at all complicated, someone else must have done the thinking.” Nevertheless, Smeyers’s low opinion of the education and scholarly inclinations of fifteenth-century illuminators is almost certainly correct, as well as in line with the findings of scholars such as David Ross, who showed several instances in which a painter read only the rubrics of a text and was seriously misled by them.<sup>114</sup> More recently Jonathan Alexander adduced Ross’s evidence and concluded that “in many if not most cases” the illuminator’s knowledge of the text “was not very great.”<sup>115</sup> In his still more recent and much

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<sup>113</sup> Smeyers in Carlvant et al. 1981, p. 31.

<sup>114</sup> Ross 1952, p. 68-69.

<sup>115</sup> Alexander 1992, p. 148 and p.178, n. 106.

more detailed deliberations with respect to the production of secular manuscripts, Scot McKendrick mentioned that “miniaturists employed several different strategies for creating their illustrations” but at once alluded to a “a fresh reading of the text by either the miniaturist or a coordinator of production.”<sup>116</sup> With that “or a coordinator” he left the question of the likely learning of miniaturists unresolved.

It is in any case important that we do not think of the Master of 1482 as a bookworm who spent his evenings reading and reflecting on sundry authors so as better to illustrate them during his daylight hours. He was a craftsman, diligently inserting pictures where instructed into wads of highly varied material that he can only rarely have understood in any depth. Yet someone must have read and reflected in connection with quite a few of the miniatures. How else is one to explain a detail like the apothecary shop that is almost hidden in the background of the *Herb Garden* of the London *Livre des profits champêtres* (fig. 4.6). Someone was making subtle connections that required reading and thought. We can therefore only concur with Smeyers that the Master of 1482 must have relied on one or more knowledgeable advisors to help him with his more complex pictorial cycles and miniatures. And as few of his miniatures conform fairly closely to any known prototype, he must have been seeking advice much of the time.

It is worthwhile in this connection to quote Claudine Lemaire at length with respect to the relationship between Louis of Gruuthuse, the leading patron of Bruges, and Colard Mansion, the city’s foremost printer.

It strikes us that the Gruuthuse-Mansion interaction was but one facet of intellectual and bibliographic activity involving numerous participants. In addition to the activity of the scriptoria, with dozens of copyists producing thousands of pages of text and with as many illuminators turning out hundreds of miniatures [...], there must have been brain trusts [her word] that hunted down suitable texts, adapted them, translated them or had them translated, perhaps showed them to the duke [Charles the Bold], and arranged their reproduction in script or print. Between this milieu and that

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<sup>116</sup> McKendrick in Kren/McKendrick 2003, p. 65.

of the cultivated lower or higher nobility, to which, amongst others, Louis of Gruuthuse, the duke of Cleves, and certainly also Anthony Wydvelle [Woodville], Earl Rivers belonged, there were people such as Mansion, Caxton, and Soillot who acted as binding elements. Very little is known about these relations beyond the fact that Gruuthuse stood as godfather to one of Mansion's children or that Soillot dedicated the second edition of his *Débat de Félicité* to both Gruuthuse and the duke of Cleves in the same elevated and devoted vein. We are inclined to include Charles the Bold's wife, Margaret of York, in this circle as well. After all, she gave her brother, king Edward IV, more than one Flemish manuscript and she encouraged William Caxton to translate Raoul Lefèvre's *Receuil des Histoires de Troie* into English [in translation].<sup>117</sup>

William Caxton (ca. 1422-ca. 1491), who was the first English printer, will be familiar to many readers, but they are not likely to know about his connection with Margaret of York. As for Charles Soillot (1434-1493), a learned clergyman who held livings in Middelburg, Brussels, Bruges and Cambrai but who also served as secretary to Philip the Good, Charles the Bold, Mary of Burgundy, Maximilian I and the Order of the Golden Fleece, he is primarily remembered for having translated Xenophon's *Hiéron ou de la tyrannie* for his godfather, the Count of Charolais, shortly before 1467, when the latter became Charles the Bold of Burgundy. More to the point is that Louis of Gruuthuse owned a copy of Soillot's *Débat de félicité* (Paris, BnF, fr. 1154). It is relevant to the Master of 1482 that Soillot dedicated the manuscript to both Gruuthuse and Philip of Cleves, since we know that the *Traité de noblesse* part of the New Haven compilation (cat. 15) was almost certainly produced after a version owned by Cleves, which was in turn based on a codex owned by Gruuthuse.

Admittedly, all these connections are incidental; we have no concrete evidence that any entrepreneurial figure such as Mansion, Caxton, or Soillot ever guided the Master of 1482. But strictly speaking that is not what Claudine Lemaire proposed. She merely listed these three men as possible catalysts in the

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<sup>117</sup> Lemaire in Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, pp. 218-129.

production of manuscripts of the 1480s; the actual entrepreneurial “brain trusts”, which she situated between the illuminators and the likes of Mansion, remain entirely amorphous and anonymous. In this respect, the present study confirms Lemaire's indeterminate notions with still more circumstantial evidence.

It may be advisable to return to Lemaire's starting point, “the Gruuthuse-Mansion interaction.” Though we can only guess at the contractual interaction between Colard Mansion and Louis of Gruuthuse, Anne Dubois was able to identify an agreement of 1 December 1480 between Mansion and another important patron of the Master of 1482, namely Philippe de Hornes (Cat. 13 and 17), for the production of a codex. As translated by Scot McKendrick it reads as follows:

The text to be transcribed and illustrated was an account of the virtues and vices of the Romans by the ancient author Valerius Maximus, a text that was often illuminated in the fifteenth century. It had been translated into French and commented on by two earlier bibliophiles, Charles V of France and his brother John, duke of Berry. Philippe de Hornes's copy of this text was to be divided into two large volumes and written out by Mansion or an equally good scribe. As part of an age-old tradition of production of deluxe manuscripts, Mansion's book was to be illustrated with nine large illuminated miniatures. Each miniature was to be accompanied by an illuminated border that included the arms and device of Philippe de Hornes. For all this, Mansion was to be paid twenty Flemish groat pounds, five of which he received then and there and the rest due on delivery of the finished book in six months' time.<sup>118</sup>

The agreement does not specify the subject matter and distribution of the nine illuminations, but Mansion was probably better intellectually equipped to deal with such matters than Hornes himself. Note, however, that the agreement does not specify an illuminator. Apparently, that was also left up to Mansion's discretion. If so, that challenges our modern expectation of some kind of direct or

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<sup>118</sup> Dubois 2002, p. 615 and Kren/McKendrick 2003, p. 59.

indirect connection between a patron such as Gruuthuse and an artist such as the Master of 1482.

Neither Smeyers nor Lemaire put forward patrons as potential resource persons for artists. What was the role played by patrons in the production of illuminated codices? How much other than choice of text and specification of cost did they normally contribute to the dozens of decisions with respect to the number, location and size of illuminations, matters that had to be settled even before a scribe could commence his work? How much interest did they normally take in the subject matter of individual miniatures and their precise relationship to the text? In view of the Mansion-Hornes agreement the answer to all these questions could be “very little”. However, McKendrick also notes that the agreement “was not unusual for the times.” That suggests that it was not the norm and that other contracts may have broached such matters. In fact, he later observes that “there were many ways of obtaining an illustrated manuscript of a secular vernacular text”, including direct from the artist or even off the shelf.”<sup>119</sup>

It certainly appears that in the case of miniatures with a topical political message not mentioned in the text and accessible only to an initiated elite, the patron may well have kept the advisor-agent on a short leash. One example is the New Haven *Presentation of the Book* miniature of 1486, in which instance the patron may have been the imprisoned Louis of Gruuthuse seeking to mollify Maximilian I with a timely gift. As a more obvious instance, it could have been Gruuthuse himself who required that the Geneva *Livre de la chasse* display his person in the frontispiece (fig. 10.1), as I suggest in my catalogue entry. It somehow seems unlikely that artists would have undertaken such initiatives entirely on their own. Alas, we can only speculate; not a single document sheds light on such matters and the manuscripts themselves do not permit conclusions.

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<sup>119</sup> McKendrick in Kren/McKendrick 2003, p. 67. He mentioned several commissions by Charles the Bold in which everything from inception to delivery was settled between the duke and the artist, with much of the work done within the ducal household.

## Chapter 8: The Reception of Illuminated Manuscripts

What happened once an illuminated manuscript was completed? It may not be a pertinent question, at least from the point of view of the Bruges Master of 1482, who probably could not have cared less as long as he was paid. Still, it is not a frivolous question, given that it is related to the fundamental social function of splendid illustrated books, which clearly played an important role in the social cohesion of the Burgundian nobility. We know by now that patrons admired the manuscripts of fellow peers and lent each other works to be copied. No doubt involvement in manuscript production helped consolidate social legitimacy.

We may therefore ask if it was common practice for owners of codices and their friends read texts while looking at miniatures in order to judge the combined efforts of agent, scribe and artist? Did patrons actually attempt better to understand a work such as the *Commentaires de César* by way of the illuminations, or were these essentially intended to be engaging pictures, reflecting by inference on the person of Maximilian I or his father Frederick III, and not to be subjected to critical perusal? Indeed, was it usual for the nobility to read texts at all? Possibly there was no need in some instances. Scot McKendrick has pointed out that both Philip the Good and Charles the Bold had texts read to themselves and members of their courts.<sup>120</sup> But the cribbing of inappropriate dates and the like, as found in the New Haven *Arbre des Batailles/Traité de noblesse* and the Basel *Traité de noblesse* suggests that some texts were copied without being perused by anyone, be it patron, scriptorium overseer, scribe, advisor, or artist. Perhaps the main point of some texts was simply the prestige of having them represented in one's library.

In addition, one obviously does not need illustrations to read a text or have it read out loud (though the placement of the illustrations may have served to help readers grasp the organization of the text). In fact, two of the manuscript illuminated by the Master of 1482 (Cat. 2 and 17) feature only frontispieces that

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<sup>120</sup> McKendrick in Kren/McKendrick 2003, p. 69.



do not illustrate the following text. However, more informative illuminations must often have been part of a process of dealing with written information. That was the underlying assumption of a study by Brigitte Buettner.<sup>121</sup> She opened with an exposition of the mnemonic use of images during the Middle Ages, as inherited from antiquity and advanced by Thomas Aquinas, which was intended to help bridge the gap between the present of the devout reader and the past of the text. She moved on to a secular context by quoting from the prologue of a mid-thirteenth century *Bestiary d'Amour* by Richard de Fournival (1201-1260): "For when one sees an illustrated story, whether about Troy or something else, one sees the actions of brave men which were in the past as if they were in the present. Word does the same thing." However, Buettner proposed that this equal status of visual and written material waned during the following century, so that "it could be argued that the understanding of historical facts was largely modelled by the way that miniatures portrayed past events." If so, that would mean that we have to allow for the possibility that "inspection of images was a more active undertaking than confronting a text, usually read to the nobles by a secretary."

It is worrying, however, that very little of Buettner's long supporting disposition can be related to the Bruges Master of 1482 and his times. This is in part because she concentrated on French miniatures of the first two decades of the fifteenth century,<sup>122</sup> as well as on the concomitant novelty of the numerous images that provided an introduction to all sorts of heroes of the remote Biblical and Graeco-Roman past, including David, Solomon, Constantine, Ulysses, Jason and the now obscure Francion, who were received as putative ancestors of "the Valois rulers."<sup>123</sup> She also mentioned Charlemagne, Aeneas, Lucretia and (again) Francion in connection with the deeds of King Charles V, who were "included in the same visual thesaurus filling the libraries and the minds of the Valois."<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Buettner 1992, pp. 78-90 passim.

<sup>122</sup> As a consequence, not one of her manuscripts showed up in Kren/McKendrick 2003, which commences in 1467, or in Weissman 2016, which excludes all French codices.

<sup>123</sup> Buettner 1992, p.81. Francion was believed to have been a Trojan prince who migrated to Europe to become the eponymous founder of the French nation.

<sup>124</sup> Again Buettner 1992, p. 81.

Buettler went on to argue that images, as opposed to texts, were unique and were therefore treasured by privileged patrons as “a sort of personalized mediator between them and the ancestral figures to which the texts referred.” She added with typical eloquence that “images thus granted their owners the fundamental privilege of possessing an individual historical memory through icons inserted in a genealogically linked chain.”<sup>125</sup> It is highly problematic, however, that Buettner did not identify a single patron other than King Charles V, whose rule (1364-1380) was too early to correspond with the dates of her illustrations. Nor did she discuss a single manuscript or illustrate a single image that celebrates a member of her splendid bevy of heroes. She does mention and illustrate female “heroes” such as Eve, Venus and Minerva, especially in connection with Boccaccio’s *Des clères femmes*,<sup>126</sup> but only in combination with topics such as female nudity and male lechery that do nothing to support her main thesis.<sup>127</sup>

In marked contrast to the picture painted by Buettner, the Burgundian nobility apparently had only one great exemplar, judging from the oeuvre of the Master of 1482 and other miniaturists, namely Julius Caesar,<sup>128</sup> whose *Commentaires* were illustrated in some detail by him (Cat. 12 and 16) and others. Of course his times knew additional heroes, but if one peruses the “contemporary codices” of the library of Louis of Gruuthuse,<sup>129</sup> one encounters historical surveys, such as the *Chroniques* by Froissart (BnF, fr. 2643-2646), Jean de Wavrin (BnF, fr. 74 to 85) and Enguerrand de Monstrelet (BnF, fr. 88), lives of Saints, such as Saint Hubert (BnF, fr. 424) and Saint Catherine (BnF, fr. 1048), one mythological figure, namely Jason (BnF, fr. 331), but only one historical hero other than Caesar, namely Alexander the Great, as celebrated by Quintus Curtius Rufus (BnF, fr. 257 and 287). It is hard to imagine that Gruuthuse identified with either figure, or that he treasured his personal connection with their times. Nor will we ever know, to isolate one other instance, just why Claude de Neufchâtel commissioned his copy of the

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<sup>125</sup> Buettner 1992, p. 82.

<sup>126</sup> This text was clearly close to the heart of Buettner given that it was soon to become the topic of a whole book. See Buettner 1996.

<sup>127</sup> Buettner 1992, pp. 84-89.

<sup>128</sup> Charlemagne (Cat. 17) was rare and of much lesser importance.

<sup>129</sup> Lemaire in Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, pp. 225-229.

*Commentaires de César* (Cat. 16) or whether he valued its illustrations as much or more than its text. No document sheds light on such matters.

## Chapter 9: The Context of Flemish Manuscript Illumination

A surprising number of illuminations by the Bruges Master of 1482 have survived. The eighteen known manuscripts (with sixteen distinct texts) contain a total of nearly eighty miniatures by his hand. On the reasonable assumption that additional codices on which he worked remain to be found and that still others have been irrevocably lost, it follows that his shop was both prolific and in great demand. There can be little doubt that the Master of 1482 and his shop made an important contribution to his specialty during the 1480s.

There were many other equally productive artists fishing the same lucrative waters, so that Flemish manuscript illumination of the fifteenth century is a daunting topic. In the case of contemporary Flemish panel painters, we have about a dozen names (if one is not too picky about who might in fact be Dutch instead of Flemish) and, with rare exceptions the anonymous figures remain about as obscure today as they were many decades ago. In the case of the illuminators, somewhat fewer figures are known by name or are likely to be remotely as famous as the panel painters, but a much larger number of anonymous miniaturists have been taken about equally seriously in the literature. The other great difference is that almost none of the panel painters rendered secular subjects whereas many of the illuminators did. In fact, between 1467 and 1484 the painters of secular manuscripts outnumbered the specialists in devotional ones by about two to one.<sup>130</sup> In addition, one manuscript usually contains at least several miniatures, making for a body of images which, even when considering only the secular ones, altogether dwarves the combined surviving production of the panel painters.

To sketch an overview is much like reducing an already dense work like Erwin Panofsky's *Early Netherlandish Painting* to a dozen or so pages. And whereas the majority of the panel paintings discussed by Panofsky have a limited range of subject matter that is already familiar to all devout or even lapsed

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<sup>130</sup> Compare Kren/McKendrick 2003, Parts II and III.

Christians, secular manuscript illuminations introduce us to a large number of often obscure and forgotten artists, authors and texts that are familiar only to a few specialists. Fortunately, we do not need to write a book on the phenomenon. In 1981 Claudine Lemaire and Antoine de Schryver launched a truly seminal exhibition catalogue that surveyed all of the production in the key city of Bruges from the twelfth to the fifteenth century.<sup>131</sup> However, the authors were primarily interested in patrons and texts, so that I had no reason to mention them in my overview of the study of the oeuvre of the Master of 1482. It was not until 2003 that Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick undertook their near encyclopaedic work (discussed in Chapter 2 above) centred on the visual material. Their study of both sacred and profane Flemish illumination from 1467 to 1485<sup>132</sup> added up to almost six hundred pages which, together with numerous colour illustrations, are readily accessible on the internet in a PDF sponsored by the Getty Museum.

Even McKendrick's treatment of just the secular illuminators still fills most of a hundred pages of the catalogue.<sup>133</sup> In his table of contents for Part 3 of the material he lists: Vienna Master of Mary of Burgundy, Loyset Liédet, Jean Hennecart, Dreux Jean, Lieven van Lathem, Master of Margaret of York group, Rambures Master, Master of the Privileges of Ghent and Flanders, Master of the Harley Froissart, Master of the London Wavrin, Master of the Getty Froissart, Master of the White Inscriptions, Master of the Soane Josephus, Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian and Master of the Flemish Boethius. McKendrick also discussed but did not list the Master of the *Jardin de vertueuse consolation*, a work by Pierre d'Ailly (his cat. no. 62) or the Master of Fitzwilliam 268 (his cat. no. 64), who did a copy of the *Profits champêtres* by Pietro de Crescenzi (New York, ML&M, M 232), a text also illustrated by the Master of 1482 (Cat. 1).

All of these twenty artists receive detailed commentary, including mention of numerous related subsidiary figures, all listed in the INDEX OF NAMES.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, passim.

<sup>132</sup> Again, I refer only to Parts II and III of Kren/McKendrick 2003.

<sup>133</sup> Kren/McKendrick 2003, pp. 223-311.

<sup>134</sup> Kren/McKendrick 2003, pp. 561-564. It does not list the Master of the Trivial Heads but it does adduce him in connection with the Master of the Soane Josephus, the Master of Edward IV and the Master of the Flemish Boëthius.

McKendrick's slighting of the Master of 1482, as mentioned above, is curious given that he was not a minor illuminator and that the tireless scholar knew his work well. Beyond that, however, he did not miss a beat. Jan de Tavernier does not count, given that he died before six years before 1467, the starting date of the 2003 overview. The Master of the Chattering Hands only received his name about six years later. The Master of Vasque de Lucene was a 1959 invention of Léon Delaissé,<sup>135</sup> but neither the name nor the three attributions found a following.<sup>136</sup>

McKendrick did not discuss an illuminator whom Franz Unterkircher thought "merits the name of Maître da Forteresse de la Foi" on account of a large miniature prefacing the fourth volume of a *Forteresse da la Foi* by Alphonse de Spina, which shows *The Combat of the Christian Kings with the Muslims* (Vienna, ÖNB, 2535, fol. 258<sup>ro</sup>).<sup>137</sup> The image is of interest for the present study because its iconography is related to aspects of the oeuvre of the Master of 1482. Unterkircher assumed that since the king with an Imperial banner featuring a double-headed eagle has "a certain resemblance to Maximilian I of Austria", the illumination must postdate 1508, when Max took on the title of emperor. However, that date is much too late since we already find the *Doppeladler* depicted behind Maximilian while he was still King of the Romans in the Old Prayer Book of Maximilian I (ill. 15.2.2),<sup>138</sup> which is dated 1486.<sup>139</sup> That is a more plausible date for this miniature. It is fairly close to contemporary work by the Master of 1482, but all sorts of details don't fit. For instance, the horses on the lower left are more closely observed than his specimen. But whether 1486 or after 1508, the image falls outside McKendrick's 1485 limit.

Given the ever-expanding number of anonymous artists and the format of a catalogue, with its dependence on works that can be obtained on loan, much of the seminal material presented by Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick was

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<sup>135</sup> Delaissé 1959, nos. 114, 170 and 184.

<sup>136</sup> See Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), nos. 1035, 1067 and 3596, with detailed bibliographies.

<sup>137</sup> Unterkircher 1962, n. 80, pl. 38.

<sup>138</sup> Unterkircher (no. 9 and pl. 8) actually illustrated this miniature.

<sup>139</sup> The "after 1508" is repeated, though not endorsed, by Wijsman in Hans-Collas/Schandel 2009, p. 70, and in Wijsman 2010b (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 3566.

doomed to become fragmented. Perhaps it was only because the principal authors also wrote most of the catalogue entries and closely coordinated the contributions of the six other authors (as well as of any anonymous editorial assistants) that chaos was avoided.<sup>140</sup> Anyone craving a coherent overview had better turn to McKendrick's other publication of 2003, with its very brief but incisive introduction. On the other hand, its complete concentration on the holdings of the British Library rules out any sense of the overwhelming riches of the collections in Brussels, London, Paris, Vienna and elsewhere that are so well conveyed by the much more ambitious work.

Our own reduced version of the brilliant tradition of secular manuscript illumination in Flanders must necessarily concentrate on the Bruges Master of 1482. Despite splendid beginnings, much of secular illumination in Flanders was a product of only about half a century, from about 1450 to 1500, and especially of the 1480's. Nevertheless, this relatively short-lived phenomenon involved numerous illuminators. It is convenient to approach these artists and their creations via the holdings Louis of Gruuthuse, who was easily the most important patron of the Master of 1482. We already know that he may have commissioned as many as six manuscripts from the Bruges Master of 1482. He began ordering manuscripts around 1464 and he commanded many more of them over the years. Though he slowed down while in prison from 1485 to 1488, he commissioned his last manuscript in 1492, the year that he died. All through the disruptions and crises of his life, collecting manuscripts was his enduring passion. Gruuthuse codices tend to be lavishly illuminated as well as profane in content, making him the leading patron of secular manuscripts in the Netherlands before about 1488. With 123 illustrated manuscripts commissioned between 1470 and 1490, he is easily the most prolific of the nineteen patrons active between 1400 and 1550.<sup>141</sup>

The manuscripts in the library of Louis of Gruuthuse were inventoried, with many of them discussed and illustrated, by Claudine Lemaire and Antoine De Schryver.<sup>142</sup> More recently Maximiliaan Martens illustrated much of the library of

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<sup>140</sup> For a list of the authors, Kren/McKendrick 2003, p. 575.

<sup>141</sup> Wijsman 2006, pp. 56-57.

<sup>142</sup> In Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, pp. 207-277.

Gruuthuse in colour in a beautiful book that he and his several collaborators devoted to the distinguished patron, collector and diplomat. Martens ended with an inventory of the surviving Gruuthuse manuscripts, compiled by Claudine Lemaire, that includes an astonishing 147 titles in 190 volumes.<sup>143</sup> A few items should be added and a few ought to be questioned, as argued by Hanno Wijsman. He summarized additional findings, including a then very recent study by Ilona Hans-Collas and Pascal Schandel, and arrived at “a total of around 150 manuscripts in almost 200 volumes [...], making it by far the largest surviving book collection of a Burgundian nobleman.”<sup>144</sup>

Even with the production of manuscripts reduced to the patronage of Louis of Gruuthuse and then to only the secular illumination, we are still left with ten artists, excluding the Master of 1482. In alphabetical order they are Lieven van Lathem, Loyset Liédet, Philippe de Mazerolles, the Master of Anthony of Burgundy, the Master of Bedford, the Master of the Dresden Prayerbook, the Master of the Flemish Boëthius, the Master of Louis of Bruges, the Master of Margaret of York, the Master of the Prayer Books of ca. 1500 and Willem Vrelant, as listed in the index to the seminal Bruges catalogue of 1981. Readers can sample the work of most of these artists in the thorough online survey by Scot McKendrick.<sup>145</sup> An expanded list, complete with mention of the authors of the texts and signatures of the manuscripts, might well be a useful contribution but would be needlessly disruptive here, since these artists were only marginally related to the Master of 1482. Surprisingly, the same is true of the much longer list of secular illuminators published by Scot McKendrick. A search for common and differentiating elements in the use of format, pictorial space, landscape, colour, light, figure style, facial features and birds and animals yields no clear lines of influence.

One case in point is Simon Marmion (1426-1489), who already rendered interiors and landscapes in the 1460's that rival the Bruges Master's work of the

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<sup>143</sup> Martens 1992, pp. 198-199. Note that we are talking about the number of volumes and not of commissions.

<sup>144</sup> Hans-Collas/Schandel 2009, *passim*, and Wijsman 2010b, p. 357, with eleven more pages of detailed analysis.

<sup>145</sup> Kren/McKendrick 2003, Part III. McKendrick omitted the Master of the Prayer books of ca. 1500 who worked beyond his deadline of 1485, but see McKendrick 2003, figs. 92-94.



1480's in their sophisticated use of light and recession.<sup>146</sup> True, they are not secular illuminations, nor can they be connected to the Master of 1482. They do suggest, however, that his particular contribution resided mainly in the range and interpretation of his subject matter, including his inclusion of ornithological elements in a couple of his deep landscapes (figs. 4.1 and 11.1), and not in advancing the depiction of the human form, landscape, light effects and the like.

An obvious problem is that we can survey hundreds of images online in works such as *Illuminating the Renaissance* by Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick and make arbitrary connections between works that are not contemporary and created in different ateliers. Thus we discover that with depictions of tourneys and the like the Master of 1482 could have learned a great deal more from Lieven van Lathem than from the Master with the Chattering Hands, as seen in the *Roman de Gillion de Trazegnies* (fig. 15.9.1). The former's depiction of *The Son of Gillion de Trazegnies Victorious in a Duel with the Saracen Admiral Lucion* (Los Angeles, JPM, ms. 111, fol. 134<sup>vo</sup>) (fig. 15.9.1)<sup>147</sup> is clearly much more alive, with more convincing expressions, movement and anatomy of the horses than the work of our artist (fig. 15.9). This illumination dates from about two decades before the combat scenes by the Master of 1482. Like the work of Simon Marmion, it is a sobering reminder that the Master of 1482 was not always at the cutting edge of the development of Flemish manuscript illumination.

More to the point may be the work of the recently defined Master of the Getty Froissart who was active in Bruges between about 1465 to about 1485. According to Scot McKendrick, who virtually exhumed this *Froissart* (see Cat. 13), it was likely produced around 1480, meaning at about the same time as the earliest work of the Master of 1482. Unlike Marmion and Lieven van Lathem, this master was specialized in secular texts. McKendrick reports that he "took delight in the subtle handling of light, space and colour." His interiors, though pervasively grey, "are subtly lit and reveal a persistent interest, in the spatial relationships of

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<sup>146</sup> McKendrick 2003, p. 28, fig. 13 and p. 31, fig. 16, for the best illustrations. The elaborate brown decorative borders are sixteenth century. My attribution and date are based on McKendrick's formidable authority. Kren/McKendrick 2003, figs. 9a and 9b, offer faded reproductions.

<sup>147</sup> Kren/McKendrick 2003, p. 241, fig. 58b, or Wiechers 2019 for a brilliant colour illustration.

figures within them.”<sup>148</sup> McKendrick continues in this vein, but we have no proof that the early work of the Master of 1482 was rooted in the illuminations of this distinguished competitor. Still, if forced to name a teacher for the Master of 1482, the Master of the Getty Froissart would spring to my lips.

Leaving aside that facetious proposition, it should be clear by now that the Bruges Master was part of an important movement that thrived in today’s Belgium and northern France, and especially in Bruges, from about 1450 to 1500. Within that distinguished tradition, the Master of 1482 was a star. No one else produced a profane oeuvre of the same quantity, quality and variety. Only the Master of the Getty Froissart is a contender, though not with respect to variety of subject matter.

## The Demise of Secular Illumination

The lack of following of the Bruges Master of 1482 is not to be interpreted as an indication of his decreasing importance. As Scot McKendrick observed, “by the late 1480s the market for deluxe secular manuscripts seems to have collapsed”.<sup>149</sup> Time and again, starting with The Hague *Décamerone* of about 1482 and ending with the Basel *Traité de noblesse* of about 1490, the creations of the Master of 1482 represent both the culmination and end, or very nearly the end, of a long tradition in manuscripts that was being reborn in the form of printed books. Only the Master of the Prayer Books of Around 1500 still produced a large quantity and variety of secular miniatures around the close of the century. His splendid *Le Roman de la Rose* has ninety-two illustrations,<sup>150</sup> slightly exceeding the total production of the Master of 1482.

It is well known that gorgeous manuscripts continued to be produced well into the sixteenth century, several decades after the advent of printing, but they are exceptions to the rule and representatives of a dying breed. Overall, manuscripts were produced in ever smaller numbers and ever more rarely

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<sup>148</sup> McKendrick in Kren/McKendrick 2003, p. 282.

<sup>149</sup> McKendrick 2003, p. 10.

<sup>150</sup> McKendrick 2003, fig. 93 (BL, Harley MS 4425, fol. 12<sup>vo</sup>). A detail is illustrated on the cover of a 1998 catalogue by Anne Korteweg. She included another miniature as her no. 12.

illuminated.<sup>151</sup> The beautifully illustrated late bloomers tend to be devotional items such as books of hours, breviaries and prayer books. It was indisputably the printed book that had become the norm by about 1500, especially with respect to profane texts. With the Copenhagen *Ovide* (Cat. 5) it is as if the Master of 1482 were passing the baton to the printer Colard Mansion.

Scot McKendrick pointed to another social factor that played a decisive role in the decline of Flemish secular manuscript illumination.

The demise of deluxe copies of secular texts in the Low Countries is, however, best explained by the contemporary shift of power and the court's movement away from the Low Countries under the Habsburgs, resulting in a lack of influential demand for such manuscripts. Less exalted and less permanent social groups, such as those formed among the nobility of Hainaut or around Engelbert van Nassau, were unable to sustain an adequate demand.<sup>152</sup>

McKendrick's proposition is somewhat tautological. For how can we tell whether these new social groups intended to sustain an adequate demand but were somehow "unable" to manage? All we know for certain is that they commissioned fewer luxurious secular manuscripts. In addition, Engelbert II van Nassau (ca. 1451-1504) is a poor example. He was a loyal Burgundian under Charles the Bold and Maximilian I. Between 1490 and 1500 he grew into an important collector of luxury manuscripts, including the gorgeous *Le Roman de la Rose*, with its ninety-two images, and a fine Froissart.<sup>153</sup> Anne Korteweg, who devoted several pages to his library,<sup>154</sup> even proposed that the Master of the Prayer books of 1500 should be renamed the Master of Engelbert van Nassau.

Engelbert's nephew and heir, Hendrik III van Nassau-Breda (1483-1538), commissioned a portrait of himself from Jan Gossaert and, possibly, *The Garden of Earthly Delights* from Hieronymus Bosch, as well as tapestry designs from Bernard

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<sup>151</sup> For a detailed treatment of this topic, Chapters 2 and 3 of Wijsman 2010b.

<sup>152</sup> McKendrick in Kren/McKendrick 2003, p. 72.

<sup>153</sup> Korteweg 1998, pp. 21-22 and fig. 13.

<sup>154</sup> Korteweg 1998, pp. 17-22, with seven illustrations.

van Orly,<sup>155</sup> but though he treasured his inherited library, he ordered no new illuminated codices. Anne Korteweg related this fact to the demise of such works with the growing domination of the printing press,<sup>156</sup> but her argument would be more compelling if we had even one luxurious printed work ordered by Hendrik. Perhaps he was simply not interested in commissioning either illuminated manuscripts or printed books, so that McKendrick's proposition becomes at least partly relevant, for what he wrote about Engelbert could well be illustrated by the patronage of his heir.

If, however, we limit ourselves to the career of the Master of 1482, being from about 1480 to 1490, it would appear that the breeding ground for the ties of friendship long cultivated by the Flemish nobility, such as those between Louis of Gruuthuse and Philip of Cleves, which facilitated the sharing of texts and lending of manuscripts, as well as their tradition of displaying their superior status, cultivation and munificence through lavish manuscripts, simply shrivelled and died. No doubt the grim reaper also played a part, with four of the seven patrons of the Master of 1482 dying before or during 1492.

## **In Defence of Manuscript Illumination**

In view of the wealth of surviving works of art, a book-length study devoted to a secular manuscript illuminator should require no justification. By stringent standards, the Bruges Master of 1482 will sometimes be found wanting, particularly as represented by probable shop work. Nevertheless, manuscripts illuminated by him were much sought after in his own time and are still avidly collected today. With prices approaching the seven-figure level, our master may be said to have arrived.<sup>157</sup> Much the same observations apply to other illuminators of his time. It is therefore sobering to read what Otto Pächt wrote in connection with the Master of Mary of Burgundy (fl. 1469-1483):

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<sup>155</sup> Korteweg 1998, p. 23, added Tomasso Vincidor, Jan Van Scorel and Jan Vermeyen. She also described his ambitious architectural projects.

<sup>156</sup> Korteweg 1998, p. 26.

<sup>157</sup> In 2017 Weiss und Sohn of Königsberg reported a record figure of 884,000 euros. See "literature" under Catalogue 18 below.

Fifteenth-century book illustration no longer belonged to the leading arts. Illuminators frequently took their inspiration from pictures on retables, cartoons for tapestries or other types of monumental art and also from engravings and woodcuts. Though the figures of the miniatures are seldom as weighty as those of the contemporary panel-pictures, there is little difference between Flemish miniature and monumental painting in the essentials of space construction and general composition. Book-painting had lost its originality and was in fact -- judged from a wider historical angle -- little more than a distant echo of the brilliant achievements of the great school of panel-painters from Eyck to Gerard David.<sup>158</sup>

Pächt wrote this in 1948, when the field of Flemish manuscript illumination was only truly opening up. No doubt he would have written a quite different book by 1966, when he and Jonathan Alexander examined the holdings of the Bodleian library, including work by the Master of 1482. No wonder that Thomas Kren opined in 2003 that Pächt's eloquent pioneering monograph "has not stood the test of time."<sup>159</sup>

In that same year Scot McKendrick painted a more nuanced version of events.<sup>160</sup> He proposed the relationship of illumination and panel painting generally involved two categories, which he illustrated complete with British Library signatures and folio numbers. With the first category manuscript illuminators, both sacred and profane, "mirrored" the pursuit of panel painters in the superior rendering of nature. Here Simon Marmion was his shining example.<sup>161</sup> McKendrick's second kind of illuminator "devised a wide repertoire of compositional patters based on the invention of such early Netherlandish painters as Hugo van der Goes and Justus van Ghent that could be repeatedly exploited without sacrificing the overall quality of a particular book." He identified the Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian and the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book as

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<sup>158</sup> Pächt 1948, p. 20.

<sup>159</sup> Kren in Kren/McKendrick 2003, p. 126.

<sup>160</sup> McKendrick 2003, p. 9.

<sup>161</sup> McKendrick 2003, figs. 13-16 and 51-56.

exemplars.<sup>162</sup> He also added a few deviating figures, including Gerard David<sup>163</sup>, a panel painter who also rendered splendid miniatures.<sup>164</sup>

McKendrick's analysis was necessarily limited because he was dealing exclusively with works in the British Library. But the Master of 1482 is well-represented in their collection and yet McKendrick did not include him in either category, nor with the artists with deviating approaches. In his case I have occasion to mention Rogier van der Weyden, Dieric Bouts, Hugo van der Goes, as well as the Bouts-inspired Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, who is discussed in Catalogue 16 below, but show that these painters only provided models for an occasional face, pose, or arrangement of elements, but for only one entire composition (fig. 15.2.1). Tellingly, even it is nowhere near a copy. The oeuvre of the Master of 1482 has much more to offer than compositional formulas drawn from panel paintings.

Nevertheless, with Pächt a first-rate scholar of manuscripts, his opinion must be addressed. If manuscript illumination was indeed so markedly inferior to panel painting, this is cause for puzzlement given the pattern of patronage. It appears that the panel paintings of the fifteenth century were usually rendered for the *haute bourgeoisie* (Flemish and Italian; secular and ecclesiastic), such as Nicolas Albergati, Giovanni Arnolfini, Pierre Bladelin, Jean Chevrot, Jacob Floreins, Heinrich Greverade, Willem Moreel, Martin van Nieuwenhove, George van der Paele, Benedetto Portinari, Tommaso Portinari, Nicolas Rolin and Angelo Tani, and rarely for the nobility,<sup>165</sup> who were primarily interested in more expensive and prestigious items, namely illuminated manuscripts, tapestries and work in precious metals and stones.

The situation was brilliantly summarised by Craig Harbison in connection with Jan van Eyck, who was a court functionary and court artist in the service of Philip the Good, a keen collector of illuminated manuscripts who involved the

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<sup>162</sup> McKendrick 2003, figs. 37-42 and figs. 69-70, 73-76 and 87-88.

<sup>163</sup> McKendrick 2003, figs. 85-86.

<sup>164</sup> The other examples are the Master of James IV of Scotland (McKendrick 2003, figs. 89-90, 113-114 and 120-126) and Simon Bening (figs. 115-118, 129-132 and 134-140).

<sup>165</sup> For a highly detailed analysis of the patronage of panel paintings by categories of subject matter, see Wijsman 2006, pp. 61-67.

artist in all sorts of ephemeral projects. But “the Duke did not, so far as we know, exploit van Eyck’s talents as panel painter, nor did any other noble patron. Instead, the painter worked for a large functionary middle class created by the Duke.” Harbison lists Nicolas Rolin, Pierre Bladelin, Jean Braque, Jean III Gros, Hippolyte Berthoz, Barthélemy à la Truie and Jan Chevrot.<sup>166</sup> But the situation appears to have been more fluid with respect to any division between panel painting and manuscript illumination. Consider that Jean Chevrot (1395-1460), Philip the Good's bishop-confessor, was a key patron of Rogier van der Weyden but commanded an illuminated copy of Saint Augustine's *City of God* (Brussels, BR, ms. 9014), whereas Nicolas Rolin, Philip's chancellor (ca. 1376-1482), patronized Jan van Eyck and Van der Weyden but also ordered an unspecified “Boccaccio”.

Most of this activity preceded the career of the Bruges Master of 1482, which only began around the time of the demise of Philip’s successor, Charles the Bold, in 1477. By then the situation appears to have become still more complex. What, for instance, do we do with Jan Crabbe (ca. 1420-1488), a learned Cistercian abbot who commissioned panel paintings from Hugo van der Goes and Hans Memling but who concentrated on splendid manuscripts. Nicolas Rolin's son by his second marriage, Antoine (1424-1497), also commissioned manuscripts and even has an anonymous master named after him. The ill-fated Guy de Brimeu (1433-1477), who served Charles the Bold both before and while he was the ruling duke of Burgundy, commissioned a fine breviary from the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book (active 1460-1520) and emulator (private collection *Comites latentes* 208). Finally, Jan de Baenst (1420-1486) owned a copy of *La pénitence d'Adam*, but his name has also been associated with two wings of the Altar of the Legend of St Ursula.

Inversely, Jean III Gros (died 1484), a courtier who served Charles the Bold, Mary of Burgundy, and Maximilian I before defecting to Louis XI of France, commissioned two books of hours, one illuminated by the Master of Anthony of Burgundy (Berlin, Breslau 2, vol. 2) and the other by Simon Marmion (Chantilly, Musée Condé, 85), but also a portrait by Rogier van der Weyden. Anthony of

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<sup>166</sup> Harbison 1991, pp. 119-123.

Burgundy (1421-1504) obviously collected manuscripts himself, but his patronage is best known for the brilliant portrait that Van der Weyden painted of “the Great Bastard”. Willem Moreel, Lord of Oostcleyhem (ca. 1427/28-1502), is another odd man out in that he was not a Flemish civil servant but a representative of the rising power of the towns. Indeed, this Bruges banker, burgomaster, bailiff and city treasurer was one of the men who imprisoned Maximilian in 1488. An avid Memling patron, Moreel also commissioned a book of hours illuminated by a figure close to the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book. Finally, as another oddity of taxonomy, Sir John Donne of Kidwelly (ca. 1420s-1503), a key figure at the court of Edward IV of England, patronized both Memling and the Dresden Master.

Despite this spectrum of exceptions, which is no doubt incomplete, the pattern of patronage holds. Moreel left aside, it is to be expected that commoners close to the Burgundian dukes should have taken on princely ambitions. Indeed, Guy de Brimeu virtually joined the nobility in 1473 when Charles the Bold inducted his “*cousin*” into the Order of the Golden Fleece. That an occasional nobleman also commissioned a panel painting is not enough to undermine the proposition that the aristocracy much preferred manuscripts. Indeed, as the only two nobles amongst Hans Memling's twenty-three known patrons,<sup>167</sup> Anthony of Burgundy and Sir John Donne are truly exceptions that prove the rule.

Clearly, in a market economy, the nobility should have been able to command the best artists. For even if some of the bourgeoisie had more ready cash (Giovanni Arnolfini actually lent money to Philip the Good), they were still not at the top of the mediaeval hierarchy of prestige and power. Clearly, too, noble patrons at times required major panel painters to engage in projects that we no longer deem worthy of their attention. Why, then, do we have so few, if any, miniatures by artists such as Robert Campin, Jan van Eyck, Petrus Christus, Rogier van der Weyden (who did do designs for tapestry), Dieric Bouts, Hugo van der Goes, Geertgen tot Sint Jans, and Hans Memling? Whereas Gerard David did do at least four fine illuminations, they still remain only a minor part of his *oeuvre* and form a brilliant exception to the rule.

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<sup>167</sup> For ample information, De Vos 1994, pp. 15, 21-22, 24, 54-56 and no. 40, pp. 155-157.



Part of the answer, I believe, is that patrons of the fifteenth century presumably deemed the painting and gilding of the odd banner, shield, or statue to be an appropriate sideline for a panel painter, but viewed manuscript illumination as a quite separate trade. This was to be expected. The panel painters had a guild, this being “the corporation of figure makers” (*beeldenmaker-ambacht*) or guild of Saint Luke and Saint John. What the manuscript illuminators joined is not at once clear. If we believe Adelbert Vandewalle, “the individuals in Bruges who practiced a profession that was related to the book, written or printed, were united in a guild, usually identified as the librarians’ guild. It concerned the book writers or calligraphers, the book illuminators or miniaturists, the book sellers, the bookbinders, the printers and the school masters [in translation].”<sup>168</sup> Yet according to Catherine Reynolds “there was no corporate body of book traders equivalent to the painter’s guild.”<sup>169</sup> However, there was a Confraternity of Saint John, which did not have the full status of an *ambacht*, having no regulatory authority. As Reynolds explained: “In 1457, to ensure the funding of the confraternity of Saint John, those plying the book crafts – that is scribes, illuminators, bookbinders, and painters of miniatures – obtained a ruling from the town government that in future all practitioners of these crafts must become members of the confraternity.”<sup>170</sup> It appears, therefore, that Vandewalle should have written in terms of a confraternity instead of a guild. It may seem like a distinction without a difference, but for an artist of the time it surely could have made an important difference whether his profession was regulated or not. Painting in oils was also a more difficult technique to master, so that an apprenticeship could last twice as long. In short, manuscript illumination and panel painting were distinct professions. Broadening our view to northern art as a whole, panel painting probably stood closer to sculpture than to book illumination.

Perhaps, then, we should not ask why panel painters were not asked to do illuminations, but why, if Pächt is to be believed, panel painting attracted the

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<sup>168</sup> Vandewalle in Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, p. 39.

<sup>169</sup> Reynolds 2003, p. 19.

<sup>170</sup> Reynolds 2003, p. 18.

more talented artists in the first place. It is probable, however, that fifteenth-century perceptions of quality and importance differed substantially from ours and that in the eyes of someone like Louis of Gruuthuse, the Master of 1482 was an important artist. A number of additional qualifications of Pächt's position are in order. First, I believe that some manuscript illuminations of the fifteenth century are exquisitely beautiful and in no way inferior to the better contemporary panel paintings. In addition, there is the issue of subject matter. Pächt's observations do not and apparently were not intended to extend to iconography, so that one is left wondering just what he meant by a "wider historical angle." Who, on panel, dealt with chivalric literature or with the deeds of ancient heroes. Whereas the occasional formal derivations by the Bruges Master of 1482 are easily identified, his work and that of several contemporary illuminators introduces us to a wide range of secular subject matter and pictorial traditions that is not addressed in the predominantly religious production of the panel painters.

Finally, any open-minded person able to study fifteenth-century manuscript illumination, both sacred and profane, from a large number of originals or a substantial body of good colour reproductions will simply dismiss Pächt's appraisal as irrelevant. Any initial feeling that the work all looks alike soon gives way to an appreciation of the marked individuality, exquisite detail and miraculous invention. It can also do no harm to enter into the spirit of the times and become a bit more of a magpie, with a soft spot for art that is bright and portable. Once one sheds one's prejudices, the panel painters of the fifteenth century may end up looking like a dull and homogenous lot with respect to both style and subject matter.

## Chapter 10: The Last Flowering of the Middle Ages

### Mediaeval or Renaissance

One of the most vexing questions concerning northern European art of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is whether it belonged to the Middle Ages or the Renaissance. Historical and stylistic taxonomy are acquired tastes and many people, including some with a keen interest in manuscripts, presumably care little about whether the Master of 1482 is called a mediaeval or Renaissance artist. On the other hand, there must also be individuals with no overriding interest in manuscripts who are primarily concerned with the practice of historical categorization. The historiographic implications of the work of the Master of 1482 should be of interest to such scholars.

Our discussion must begin with the great Swiss scholar Jacob Burckhardt (1818-1897), whose *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien* (The Culture of the Renaissance in Italy) of 1860 traces the birth of the modern world back to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Italy. The work first came out in English translation in 1878.<sup>171</sup> A more accessible English edition, introduced by the German-American Historian Hajo Holborn (1903-1969), followed in 1954.<sup>172</sup> Burckhardt's work consists of six parts (The state as work of art; Development of the individual; The rebirth of antiquity; The discovery of the world and man; Society and festivals; Morality and religion), which pay surprisingly little attention to the arts.<sup>173</sup> His work is therefore of greater interest for historians in general than for art historians in particular.

Substantially different was the great Dutch scholar Johan Huizinga (1877-1932), whose *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen* of 1919 argued that the culture of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in France and the Netherlands was still

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<sup>171</sup> Burckhardt/Middlemore 1878.

<sup>172</sup> Burckhardt/Holborn 1954. The paperback Harper & Row Torchbook edition followed in 1958.

<sup>173</sup> Later, in *Die Geschichte der Renaissance in Italien* of 1867, Burckhardt did discuss architecture. I know of no English translation of this work.

mediaeval in character. The word *herfsttij* was an idiosyncratic Huizinga invention derived from *herfstgetij* meaning “tide of autumn”. As with Shakespeare’s “There is a tide in the affairs of men”, tides can wax or wane, and Huizinga presumably did not intend to convey a process of pervasive decline but sooner, more neutrally, the last phase of the Middle Ages. Unlike Burckhardt, Huizinga concentrated on the arts, including a fair amount of poetry (but no sculpture or architecture). Given that Burckhardt did not extend his thesis beyond Italy, it is perhaps surprising that Huizinga’s book should ever have been ignored or dismissed. The working assumption has presumably been that Renaissance culture meant superior culture and that exclusion therefore implies demotion. Huizinga, however, demonstrated that a divergent culture could be fully as fecund and valuable.

Five years after Huizinga followed Fritz Hopman (1877-1932) with a brilliant translation entitled *The Waning of the Middle Ages*. A German translation by Mathilde Mönckeberg (1879-1958) came out that same year. In 1996 followed another English translation, by Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch. The greater readability of the original translation was to be expected, given that Huizinga and Hopman were a kind of dream team. Huizinga was Dutch but knew English well. Hopman was an accomplished Dutch journalist, author and teacher of English who had lived in England for two years. In addition, Huizinga was able to look over Hopman’s shoulders and approved of his grasp of “the exigencies of translation”. However, the negative connotations of the word “waning” indicate that the author was not in full control of his translator. As Walter Simons demonstrated in detail, the 1996 translators do not look all that good in comparison, even though their title, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, is preferable. In his superior review, Simons demonstrated that neither of the two translators knew Dutch culture at all well, making for embarrassing mistakes, and that both likely mainly relied on the 1924 German translation.

It is more important to recognize once and for all that it was Huizinga who implemented the omissions of the Hopman translation. It is inconceivable that the latter would have made substantial changes entirely on his own initiative. The *Waning of the Middle Ages* of 1924 is therefore Huizinga’s own revised edition. As

Rodney Payton revealed in his introduction to the 1996 edition, a pervasive failure to grasp this fact began with the University of Chicago lectures of Karl Weintraub, who frequently bashed Hopman and praised Huizinga. Payton could not believe that any number of scholars had failed to grasp that the English translation differs substantially from the Dutch original, but any confusion should not be blamed on Hopman but on Huizinga. He should have re-written his introduction so that it would have clarified or at least announced the changes. Most English-speaking readers will not miss the excised material and prefer Hopman's better read. As for the Dutch, they will continue to use the original text.

The question in any case became irrelevant in 2020 with the arrival of a new Huizinga edition entitled *Autumntide of the Middle Ages*, which is said be directly based on the 1919 original. The title certainly answers to the Dutch "herfst getij" and the original subtitle is reproduced in full, without the word "art" inserted by Hopman. No doubt this new version solves the problems of both earlier translations and will firmly anchor Huizinga's stellar reputation.<sup>174</sup> Translated by Diane Web, it was edited by Graeme Small and Anton van der Lem. One expects that Web produced an improved version of the 1996 translation, which is basically competent, if only because it is much easier to edit an earlier work than to start completely from scratch.

Francis Haskell has reminded us that Huizinga was arguably both the first and last historian to assign crucial importance to evidence from the visual arts.

Huizinga strikes me as having been both the first writer of real stature to have produced a major work of history based on a perception of the visual arts which pays due attention to issues raised by style and quality, and at the same time, the last to have discussed with such insight the problems that faced him as he did so --- problems that remain as acute as ever for other historians wishing to embark on a similar task.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> For thorough and positive scholarly assessment, Vale 2021, pp. 673-693.

<sup>175</sup> Haskell 1993, p. 431.

As Haskell's chapter title "Huizinga and the Flemish Renaissance" indicates, he did not accept the thesis that the Dutch historian distilled from the visual arts, namely that Jan van Eyck and his contemporaries were late mediaeval artists. However, Haskell appears to have assumed that there was no need for evidence in support of his own position. Instead, he threw all caution to the winds and proclaimed that "no art historian now exists who still subscribes to the notion that the fifteenth century in the north was part of the Middle Ages."

Despite Huizinga's keen interest in works of art, he hardly availed himself of illuminated manuscripts (or of historiated tapestries) to help elucidate history. At first sight, this was to be expected. The excellent overviews by Paul Durrieu and Friedrich Winkler only came out two and six years after Huizinga published. Nor would these works have been of much help to him, as they concentrated on sacred manuscripts and therefore did not substantially expand the range of subject matter tackled by panel painters. It is more to the point that many studies of secular traditions in manuscripts had yet to appear when Huizinga wrote. For instance, Ottokar Smital's study of the great crusader manuscript in Vienna (ÖNB, 2533), the *Chronique abrégée de Jérusalem*, only came out five years after Huizinga published the first edition of the *Herfsttij der middeleeuwen*. Even Winkler's book on the illuminations of the Leipzig Valerius Maximus (which he proclaimed as the cradle of Netherlandish genre painting) came out two years too late to benefit Huizinga. What, one might ask, was the great Dutchman to do?

The answer to that question may seem preposterous: he should have done more research! Joseph van den Gheyn's well-illustrated publication of the *Chroniques et conquestes de Charlemagne* (Brussels, KBR, mss. 9066-68) and the *Histoire de Charles Martel* (Brussels, KBR, mss. 6-9) had come out well before Huizinga wrote, as had several similar items by scholars such as Paul Durrieu and Arthur Lindner. In other words, Huizinga's failure to use secular manuscripts is indicative of an important blind spot in his perception and formidable erudition.

These observations are not entirely new. For instance, Horst Gerson pointed out that Huizinga emphasized Jan van Eyck at the expense of the Master of

Flémalle and Rogier van der Weyden, who were more influential.<sup>176</sup> However, Gerson did not extend his comments to manuscripts. Two decades later Francis Haskell argued that “Huizinga could, of course, have drawn much more extensively than he did on a plentiful supply of panel paintings and manuscript illuminations in order to enable the reader to visualize some of the principal aspects of mediaeval life that he wished to emphasise,”<sup>177</sup> but Haskell also failed to be explicit about the rich tradition of secular manuscript illumination that Huizinga largely ignored.

Problems are generally easier to diagnose than cure. It would be a huge challenge to be charged with producing a new version of *Herfttij der Middeleeuwen* that would make effective use of the full range of visual material at our disposal. Honoré Rottier's splendid *Rondreis door middeleeuws Vlaanderen* (Journey Through Medieval Flanders) suggests both the rewards and dangers of extracting images from a wide variety of texts to illustrate sundry aspects of daily life which, more often than not, they address only marginally.<sup>178</sup> In addition, only a fraction of all secular illuminations depict aspects of daily life. In the case of the Master of 1482, only a few scenes of combat in the New Haven *Traité de noblesse* stand to make a meagre contribution.<sup>179</sup>

Works of the 1980s and 1990's like those by Walter Prevenier and Willem Blockmans,<sup>180</sup> though less popular, still have their problems. The commentary on the illuminations is rarely incisive and sometimes banal, and it tends to lead a life quite independent of the text. In any case, Huizinga's book stands as is. He used the most important visual manifestations of late mediaeval society, most notably Van Eyck's Ghent Altarpiece, in inimitable combination with a range of contemporary poetry, to produce a shrewd assessment of the arts. In my opinion, expansion into a greater range of panel painting and manuscript illumination would not undermine Huizinga's thesis, namely that the arts of the fourteenth and

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<sup>176</sup> Gerson 1973, pp. 348-364.

<sup>177</sup> Haskell 1993, p. 558.

<sup>178</sup> Rottier demonstrated little intrinsic interest in manuscripts. His illustrations lack captions with information about the miniaturist, subject matter, collection, or signature. Such information has to be extracted from three crammed pages of “justification” at the back.

<sup>179</sup> Rottier 1996, ill. on p. 185, selected the superior example by Lieven van Lathem (fig. 15.7.2).

<sup>180</sup> Prevenier/Blockmans 1998.

fifteenth centuries in northern Europe are manifestations of a last flowering of the Middle Ages and not of a “Flemish Renaissance”, as Haskell would have had it. More precisely, Huizinga argued that “the significance, not of the artists alone, but also of theologians, poets, chroniclers, princes and statesmen, could be best appreciated by considering them, not as harbingers of a coming culture, but as perfecting and concluding the old.”

Despite any inevitable shortcomings, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* fully deserved to remain the foundation for any viable discussion of the historical designation of the fourteenth and fifteenth century in northern Europe. Yet the authority of his work became steadily eroded with the years. The development may be best followed in the survey texts used in American university courses. H.W. Janson, for instance, at first presented Jan van Eyck as part of “Late Gothic Painting in the North”, whereas Frederick Hartt relegated him to “Early Renaissance Art”.<sup>181</sup> Charles D. Cuttler sidestepped the problem, at least in his title, by opting for a non-committal *Northern Painting from Pucelle to Bruegel* but James Snyder's more punchy *Northern Renaissance Art* committed him, at least *pro forma*, to the Renaissance camp.<sup>182</sup> Even Janson's “late Gothic painting” eventually moved from an appropriate place before Donatello to its dubious location after Michelangelo.<sup>183</sup> Possibly, however, the shift was an Anglo-Saxon phenomenon.<sup>184</sup> Writing in 1981 Maurits Smeyers apparently still assumed that the fifteenth century in Bruges was part of the Middle Ages.<sup>185</sup>

That the Renaissance camp may have prevailed is in part confirmed by recent publications. In 2002 Marina Berlozerskaya dismissed the undertaking of Johan Huizinga as “highly charged and excessively simplistic” because Italy and Burgundy were in fact two polarities of Renaissance rebirth.<sup>186</sup> More recently *Anachronistic Renaissance* by Alexander Nagler and Christopher Wood took in all of the late Middle Ages in the North. It appears, however, that the authors

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<sup>181</sup> Janson 1962 and Hartt, vol. 2, 1973.

<sup>182</sup> Cuttler 1972 and Snyder 1985.

<sup>183</sup> The change occurred with Janson's son Anthony in the fifth edition of 1997.

<sup>184</sup> I write Anglo-Saxon instead of American because of Haskell 1993.

<sup>185</sup> Smeyers 1981, p. 19.

<sup>186</sup> Berlozerskaya 2002, p. 46.



believed that issues of historical periodization would distract from their learned examination of such matters as “the complex and layered temporalities of images.”<sup>187</sup> One year later, however, Anne Hagopian van Buren wisely anchored her contribution precisely in time and place.<sup>188</sup> However, we should not expect the emergence of a consensus. In 2018 Stephanie Porras regressed and had the Renaissance in northern Europe lasting from about 1400 to 1570.

By 2003 the winds began to shift with Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick, though one would never know from the title of their massive work, *Illuminating the Renaissance*, which is primarily concerned with the fifteenth century in Flanders. I do not believe, however, that the authors truly believed in their title. In his general introduction Thomas Kren wrote: “These manuscripts were the product of a northern European culture that was distinct from that of the southern Renaissance. By outlining their origins and contemporary purpose, I hope to illuminate the importance of such manuscripts in the development of western European culture at the end of the Middle Ages.”<sup>189</sup> Why then the inappropriate title? The two outstanding scholars may simply have thought that their punchy title would be sure to appeal to a large audience, for what could be more commendable than shedding further light on an era that is still widely seen as a kind of proto-Enlightenment that put an end to the darkness of the mediaeval period. *Illuminating the Late Middle Ages* would have been a clumsier title and hardly one to conjure with.

Seven years later Hanno Wijsman was not to be deterred by such considerations and committed himself wholeheartedly to the mediaeval camp. He argued that it was in fact Berlozerskaya’s understanding and presentation of Huizinga that were “excessively simplistic” in part because she had not considered two later and “fundamental” articles by him in which he had dealt with “the problem of the Renaissance.”<sup>190</sup> Wijsman mounted his argument in the context of

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<sup>187</sup> Nagler/Wood 2010. I quote the online comment from Princeton University Press, which also slighted “art history’s disciplinary compulsion to anchor its data securely in time.”

<sup>188</sup> Hagopian van Buren 2011, pp. 45-62. No doubt there is further relevant literature.

<sup>189</sup> Kren in Kren/McKendrick 2003, p. 61.

<sup>190</sup> Huizinga 1920 and 1929, listed by Wijsman 2010a, p. 273, n. 11, along with later editions, translations and assessments.

a detailed and accomplished exposition of the pertinent thought of Erwin Panofsky concerning the birth and nature of the Renaissance, as expounded in his *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* of 1960, which developed an article of 1944.<sup>191</sup> Significantly Panofsky did not devote as much as a footnote to Huizinga's masterpiece. There was simply no need. Pan's ideas concerning the origin and nature of the Renaissance simply did not extend to the fifteenth century in northern Europe. It was a major contribution on the part of Wijsman to illuminate the indirect relationship, as opposed to overlap, between two sets of ideas. In a major book, launched as his PH.D. dissertation and published in much augmented form in 2010, he had always assumed that Burgundian manuscript illumination from 1400 to 1550 was part of the Middle Ages.<sup>192</sup>

There exists no such controversy with respect to the Renaissance in Italy. It was not a homogeneous phenomenon, witness the fifteen chapters that Frederick Hartt devoted to the *Quattrocento* and *Cinquecento* in his magisterial *History of Italian Renaissance Art*.<sup>193</sup> Yet virtually all art historians would have to agree with Panofsky and Hartt that something critical happened in Florence in the early fifteenth century. Starting with sculpture, Nanni di Banco and Donatello moved decisively from the International Gothic to a new, more heroic style that engaged the forms of antiquity, adapting them to contemporary needs. In architecture and theory, Filippo Brunelleschi and Leon Battista Alberti followed suit. That the influence of antiquity on painting was much less pervasive, was in part due to an historical accident; virtually no ancient painting having been recovered by the early fifteenth century. Still, Florentine painters furnished their works with triumphal arches and sarcophagi. Especially Andrea Mantegna, working in Padua and Mantua, loaded his paintings with considered archaeological trappings.

Nothing at all comparable happened in northern Europe. Most obviously, the architecture remained Gothic. Remarkably the Hänsel-und-Gretel *Hôtel Dieu* erected for Nicolas Rolin in Beaune is contemporary to Donatello's severely geometrical Ospitale degli Innocenti in Florence. Similarly, the rambling Gothic

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<sup>191</sup> Panofsky 1960 and 1944; Wijsman 2010a, pp. 272-276.

<sup>192</sup> Wijsman 2010b, as already announced on the first page of his acknowledgements.

<sup>193</sup> Hartt 1969, with several subsequent printings and editions.

palace of Jacques Coeur in Bourges rose at about the same time as Alberti's classically pilastered Rucellai Palace in Florence. Northern sculpture remained Gothic as well, there being no fundamental discontinuity between the work of Claus Sluter and that of Michael Pacher. Northern painters of the time observed brilliantly and more closely than their Italian counterparts, whom they also influenced, but they wrote no theory and continued to develop their perspective empirically, without elaborate constructions.<sup>194</sup> They framed their paintings with Gothic fretwork and furnished them with Gothic sculpture and buildings. Though a few cupids and swags made their appearance with Hans Memling in the 1480's, the *ars nova* of Jan Gossaert arrived decades later.

In addition, not a single northern painter of the fifteenth century appears to have realized what must have been obvious to artists such as Donatello and Mantegna, that the Romans did not conduct their lives in fifteenth-century buildings and dress. This is perfectly illustrated by the left wing of Rogier van der Weyden's *Bladelin Altar*, which shows the Emperor Augustus in a Gothic chamber, dressed in Flemish robes and swinging an elaborate Gothic censer very similar to one engraved by Martin Schongauer a few decades later. Rogier actually travelled to Italy but appears to have been blind to its sculpture and architecture.

At the heart of Panofsky's investigations was his interest in the historical distance that was attained by the Renaissance but that was altogether lacking in the Middle Ages. He condensed his argument in his "principle of disjunction".

Wherever in the high and later Middle Ages a work of art borrows its form from a classical model, this form is almost invariably invested with a non-classical, normally Christian significance; wherever in the high and late Middle Ages a work of art borrows its theme from classical poetry, legend, history or mythology, this theme is quite invariably presented in a non-classical, normally contemporary form.<sup>195</sup>

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<sup>194</sup> The writings of Mathes or Matthäus Roriczer (1435-1492) did not come out until the end of the fifteenth century and in any case concerned the last phase of the medieval concern with sacred geometry. For English translations, Shelby/Roriczer 1977.

<sup>195</sup> Panofsky 1960, p. 84,

Two decades later Maurits Smeyers virtually repeated the second half of Panofsky's "principle of disjunction" but also touched on a positive concomitant.

A constant phenomenon is the anachronism whereby artists situated an event that occurred in a remote past or region in their own time and surroundings. However, this lack of historical insight offers the advantage that ... the miniatures thereby become a 'mirror' of the time in which they originated [in translation].<sup>196</sup>

We best see this in some illustrations to Valerius Maximus's *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, an immensely popular book, though one that the Master of 1482 did not illustrate.<sup>197</sup> Images that ought to show Roman citizens relaxing in Roman baths, show us titillating views of mediaeval bathhouses instead.<sup>198</sup> But as Scot McKendrick argued, they do more than show the underbelly of Burgundian society for our diversion. For both the Roman author and readers of the fifteenth century, they served as examples of undesirable "wasteful pleasures."<sup>199</sup> We should in any case not assume that we are concerned with a widespread phenomenon. Valerius Maximus's *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* was one of a kind, which is why his bathhouses are sure to show up in any illustrated discussion of daily life in mediaeval Flanders.<sup>200</sup>

Several of the illuminations by the Bruges Master of 1482 constitute perfect illustrations of the second half of Panofsky's principle. Apparently, our master, his patrons and his hypothetical advisors were not interested in correct costumes or settings. For instance, Julius Caesar is shown being born in Gothic interiors (figs. 12.2 and 16.1) or travelling in fifteenth-century robes (figs. 12.3 and 16.3). Naturally the severity of the anachronism decreases with texts of the fourteenth century, such as Boccaccio's *Décamerone*, so that the lapses may become all but

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<sup>196</sup> Smeyers does not adduce Panofsky, whose invaluable proposition appears to have been largely ignored or forgotten.

<sup>197</sup> Brinkmann 1997, vol. 1, p. 93, lists all the illustrated versions of the text.

<sup>198</sup> For illustrations, Brinkmann 1997, vol. 1, figs. 17 and 27, and vol. 2, fig. 59. The first of these images, which is by the Master of Anthony of Burgundy, is reproduced in colour, though with lesser focus, in Kren/McKendrick 2003, fig. 37, p. 75. For an example by the Rambures Master, Kren/McKendrick 2003, fig. 66, p. 257.

<sup>199</sup> McKendrick in Kren/McKendrick 2003, p. 75.

<sup>200</sup> For instance, Rottier 1996, ill. on p. 185.

indiscernible to the untrained eye, but even in this instance we encounter a related geographical disjunction. Florence, which was home to some Italians living in Flanders as well as potentially familiar to Flemings themselves from woodcuts of the time,<sup>201</sup> ends up looking like a late-Gothic city in the work of the Master of 1482 (fig. 3.1). Such manifestations of disjunction were not limited to the Master of 1482 and varied from artist to artist and text to text. They could also evolve, as was demonstrated by Anne Hagopian van Buren in a chapter entitled “The Changing Image of the Romans in the Illuminations of the Fifteenth Century (in translation).”<sup>202</sup>

It is easy to identify anachronisms of costume and setting in works of the Italian *quattrocento* but at least one artist, Andrea Mantegna, clearly bridged ancient events and their plausible appearance. We see this in his Ovetari Chapel of 1454 to 1457 in the Eremitani Church in Padua (destroyed in 1944). Even more remarkable is his *Triumphs of Caesar*, a series of nine large paintings that he created for the Gonzaga Ducal Palace in Mantua between 1484 and 1492, which are now part of the Royal Collection at Hampton Court Palace. We know that Mantegna was not only inspired by written accounts but also by antiquities in the collection of the duke. Another example is Perugino’s *Delivery of the Keys to Saint Peter* of 1481 in the Sistine Chapel in Rome. Similarly, though less rigorously, the Bufalini chapel of 1483 by Pintoricchio displays an interest in architecture inspired by the antique. No such connection is made in Bruges of the 1480’s.

Historians proper have come to interpret the Burgundian ducal court, and especially what Charles Armstrong called its “chivalric humanism,” as being Renaissance in complexion.<sup>203</sup> For such scholars the assumption is that Johan Huizinga caught Jacob Burckhardt’s Renaissance Man from behind. The history of this viewpoint was reinforced by Arjo Vanderjagt in his important dissertation of 1981, *Qui sa vertu anoblit: The Concepts of noblesse and chose publique in Flemish Political Thought*.<sup>204</sup> Following in Armstrong’s footsteps, Vanderjagt

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<sup>201</sup> See Schulz 1978, *passim*.

<sup>202</sup> Again Hagopian van Buren 2011, pp. 45-62.

<sup>203</sup> Most notably Armstrong 1963 and 1964. For a pertinent collection of previously published essays, Armstrong 1983.

<sup>204</sup> Vanderjagt 1981, pp. 225-234 and 235-273, where he transcribes the entire text.

demonstrated that the Burgundian dukes were interested in a literature of courtly humanism that came out of Italy and often showed an interest in ancient authors.<sup>205</sup> The key to this literature is its adaptation of the Italian notion of civic virtue, or *virtù*, to the proposition that nobility is more than an inherited state, that “he is noble who is ennobled by his virtue”.

Vanderjagt's work is particularly pertinent to the present discussion because one of his handful of key texts is Diego de Valera's *Traité de noblesse* (a French translation of a Spanish adaptation of Italian ideas), which was twice illuminated by the Bruges Master of 1482 (Cat. 15 and 18). However, Vanderjagt did not consider the second New Haven text, nor any of the other works illustrated by our master. Only one of his nearly eighty miniatures addresses a textual passage that is close to the heart of chivalric humanism, namely his *Shame of Noah* in the New Haven *Arbre des batailles/Traité de noblesse* (fig. 15.1). And even in this one instance not one pictorial motif or stylistic element points to the Renaissance.

Strictly speaking there is no good reason why late mediaeval artists like the Bruges Master of 1482 could not have illustrated essentially Renaissance texts, as in fact happened with the *Traité de noblesse*, but the more fundamental question is whether chivalric humanism is necessarily a Renaissance phenomenon. The Middle Ages knew lots of chivalry and a fair amount of humanism. Why should a combination of the two qualify as Renaissance, even when imported from Italy? The tradition of courtly or chivalric humanism could be viewed in same way that art historians have looked at so-called Gothic Realism or Gothic Naturalism, namely as an aspect of the late Middle Ages that points to the future. If we cannot accommodate such phenomena to our definition of the Gothic, we are obliged to move the Renaissance back to the twelfth century.

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<sup>205</sup> It is the pre-Renaissance pockets of humanism that form half of the topic of Panofsky 1960.

Much the same point of view emerges from Scot McKendrick's observations with respect to Renaissance humanism in northern illuminated texts. His statement can serve as a worthy seal to my lengthy deliberations.

Neither proto-humanism nor a Northern Renaissance can fully explain the cultural origins of illuminated manuscripts of secular vernacular texts. Professional book producers for, and consumers within, the luxury market in the Low Countries did show some interest in humanistic texts. New and sensitive translations of ancient authors such as Quintus Curtius and Xenophon did have significant successes. Such texts, however, formed a very small part of those copied and consumed. Older mediaeval and contemporary non-humanistic texts -- such as Froissart's *Chroniques* and Lefèvre's *Recueil des histoires de Troie* -- formed a much larger proportion and were sought after as part of a consistent approach to and interest in the past.<sup>206</sup>

Whereas it should be clear that the fifteenth century in Flanders constituted the end of the Middle Ages, at least for the visual arts, it would be tragic if the reader were to be distracted from the accomplishments of the Bruges Master of 1482 by my determination to classify him as a late-mediaeval artist.

Mediaeval or Renaissance, it is important that more attention be paid to the phenomenon of illuminated secular texts, including those that belong to the category of courtly humanism. Historiographic issues do not in any case lie close to the heart of the present study. What makes the Bruges Master of 1482 such an attractive figure is that he specialized almost exclusively in secular subject matter. It may come as a relief to many students of late mediaeval painting to encounter an artist who concentrated on something other than the Fall and Redemption of Man, the unifying theme of all but a few of the panel paintings. For once we eliminate the Old Testament prophets who foretold Christ's coming and the events that prefigured the Last Supper; the original sin that necessitated His great sacrifice; the life of the ill-fated saint who founded the lasting ritual of baptism; the infancy of Christ that was the miracle of God made flesh; the adult miracles

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<sup>206</sup> McKendrick in Kren/McKendrick 2003, pp. 72-73,

that set the stage for the ultimate miracle of our redemption;<sup>207</sup> the suffering on the cross that secured our only hope of salvation; the sacraments that celebrate His example; the saints who emulated His life; the Last Judgment at which He will decide our fate for all eternity; and His immaculate and ubiquitous mother, sharing in His incarnation, suffering and triumph, we are left with portraits and very little else.<sup>208</sup> The Master of 1482 introduces us to a different and more engaging kind of subject matter, one that reflects late mediaeval interests in much of their brilliant secular variety.

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<sup>207</sup> A rare category. See Schiller 1971, vol. 1, nos. 475, 580 and 581.

<sup>208</sup> We have a little-known tapestry that is based on a justice panel by Rogier van der Weyden, as well as the two famous justice panels by Dieric Bouts.



# CATALOGUE



# Catalogue 1

Pietro de Crescenzi [Petrus Crescentiis], *Livre des profits champêtres et ruraux des champs* [Liber Ruralium Commodorum]

(Le Livre de Rustican des prouffiz ruraux, compile par Maistre Pierre Croissens, Bourgoiz de Boulogne)

London, British Library, MS Additional 19720

Bruges, ca. 1480

## Description:

Vellum, 310 folios, 480 x 360 mm. Illustrative miniatures on fols. 2<sup>ro</sup>, 10<sup>ro</sup>, 27<sup>ro</sup>, 63<sup>vo</sup>, 80<sup>ro</sup>, 117<sup>vo</sup>, 165<sup>ro</sup>, 210<sup>vo</sup>, 214<sup>ro</sup>, 220<sup>vo</sup>, 272<sup>vo</sup>, 288<sup>vo</sup> and 305<sup>ro</sup>. The first two of these, with corresponding text, are copied by a later hand and have been transposed in insertion. The second (i.e., the one on fol. 2<sup>ro</sup>) has two figures at least in part by the Bruges Master of 1482. All other illuminations are entirely by the Bruges Master. All the miniatures are two-third page, with the stepped-arch format typical of the Master of 1482, except for fols. 214<sup>ro</sup> and 220<sup>vo</sup>, which have a slightly smaller rectangular format and are located mid-page.

## Provenance:

It is not known who commissioned this manuscript.

Formerly the property of J.J. Bure.

Acquired by the British Museum in 1854.

## Literature:

Scott/Warner 1875, p. 1

Warner/Gilson 1921, p. 141

Mertens 1971, ill. cover (fol. 63<sup>vo</sup>)

Calkins 1984, pp. 141-151; fig. 100 (fol. 305<sup>ro</sup>), fig. 102 (fol. 63<sup>vo</sup>), fig. 103 (fol. 165)

Calkins 1986, pp. 158, 163, 164, 167, 169; fig. 1 (fol. 305<sup>ro</sup>), fig. 2 (fol. 10<sup>ro</sup>), fig. 6 (fol. 27<sup>ro</sup>), fig. 8 (165<sup>ro</sup>), fig. 11 (fol. 214<sup>ro</sup>), fig. 21 (fol. 2<sup>ro</sup>)

Dogaer 1987, p. 127

Basing 1990, ill. 11, 14, 42

Antoine 2002, no. 93

McKendrick 2003, p. 73, fig. 58 (fol. 27<sup>ro</sup>)

Hans-Collas/Schandel 2009, p. 200

Dubois 2011-2012, no. 92, pp. 346-347, ill. 248 (fol. 27<sup>ro</sup>)

Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 1879

Tutton 2021, pp. 78-79, fig. 36 (fol. 27<sup>ro</sup>) as “French manuscript of c. 1480”

## Contents:

The manuscript contains the treatise by Pietro de Crescenzi (ca. 1233-ca. 1320/21), *De agricultura, sive de commodis ruralibus* (or Liber Ruralium Commodorum), which he wrote between 1303 and 1309. The original text was in Latin but it was quickly translated into the Tuscan vernacular. The French translation followed only in 1374, by command of Charles V of France, as *Prouffits champestres et ruraule ...*, with a prologue by the anonymous translator. The name “Pierre Croissens” etc., in the London colophon, was altered by a later hand to “Charles de Montrichard, bourgoiz de Nozeroy, faiseur de boy”.

Pietro de Crescenzi was a successful Bolognese jurist and magistrate who lived in virtual exile from his native city while serving sundry civic magistrates and administrations in various regions of Italy. He wrote his book only after he had retired to the countryside near his native city around 1299. While still travelling, Crescenzi had become well versed in the Latin authors who wrote about gardening and agriculture, namely Cato, Varro (Varone Reatino), Virgil, Columella, and Palladius, whom he quotes or recapitulates frequently and at length, as well as in mediaeval philosophers such as Avicenna and Albertus Magnus, Count of Bölstadt and Bishop of Regensburg. As Robert Calkins has pointed out, Cresenzi copied several passages from Albertus Magnus's *Parvum naturalium* of about 1260, “including one on the proper design for a pleasure garden.”

The *Livre des profits champêtres* (The Book of Rural Profits) is a treatise on agriculture that explains how to plan and run a country estate. Calkins describes its contents with inimitable conciseness:

The author explains how to pick the ideal site and how to position and build the proper types of farm buildings. He describes how to plan, clear, plant and harvest fields, orchards, forests, and vineyards. He explains how to lay out herb gardens and how to organize pleasure gardens for the greatest enjoyment of the beholder. He provides lists of useful plants and trees, a veritable botanical encyclopaedia, and even discusses the proper tending of livestock and the manner of hunting diverse kinds of game. The last of his twelve books is devoted to a listing of the necessary chores to be done during the months of the year, a summary of the labours of the month organized by the chronology of the calendar.

This summary suggests that the *Profits champêtres* is precisely what its title suggests, a practical treatise on the benefits of agriculture. However, as Paolo Cammarosano has pointed out, Crescenzi took little interest in the actual running of a farm, including the marketing of its produce, and in fact composed a humanistic and literary “compilation more generally scientific in character, in which ample space is given to pronouncements on the medicinal properties of individual products, accounts of singular or curious phenomena, [and] the enumeration of species of vegetables and animals, independent of their relevance to rural life.”

Nor can any summary capture the riches of such an important text, for which there is no critical edition in any language. The original is relatively inaccessible for all but the Latinists amongst us. The late fourteenth-century French translation does not make for easy reading either, especially given the calligraphy of fifteenth-century manuscripts. Fortunately, about 2,500 words of key material, recently extracted and translated from two sixteenth-century editions of the *Liber Ruralium Commodorum*, are available online.

## Decoration:

As mentioned, the manuscript has twelve illuminations, with the first by an eighteenth-century hand, the second largely by this hand and the Bruges Master of 1482, and the other ten entirely by the Master of 1482 himself. Calkins related the London *Profits champêtres* to two somewhat earlier versions in New York (PML, M 232) and Paris (BA 5064), both “probably written and illustrated in Flanders about 1470.” However, the fine illuminations in these two manuscripts feature quite different compositions that are in any case too early in style to have facilitated the kind of modernization of compositions that we encounter elsewhere in the oeuvre of the Master of 1482 (see Cat. 15).<sup>209</sup> It would appear therefore that the Master of 1482 invented his own compositions and that he was no more dependent on any pictorial tradition than on any text. That, and the early date, would help explain why the transition from the foreground figures to the landscape can be unusually abrupt for our master.

However, Calkins also pointed out that “a standard convention in the Crescenzi manuscripts [...] is for two figures, perhaps the author himself and the owner of the estate, to be shown conversing about the activities unfolding before them.” This is certainly true for the Pierpont Morgan and Arsenal manuscripts and nine of the present miniatures by our master feature prominent conversing pairs as well. Here, then, we have something that can be credited to a pictorial tradition.

Finally, Calkins argued that the miniatures of the London copy of the *Profits champêtres* are “extremely valuable for the information they impart concerning the actual tools and practices of fifteenth-century farming.” Here we have a clear instance of the relative independence of the miniatures by the Bruges master of 1482 from Crescenzi's text, which shows “no interest whatsoever in the instruments of work.” Inversely, Crescenzi took a keen interest in horses and apiculture, but very few horses and no bees or beehives, are to be seen in the

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<sup>209</sup> The Morgan Library has online colour illustration of all twelve miniatures (<https://www.themorgan.org/manuscript/112400>).

The patron of the Arsenal version was Anthony of Burgundy and its full digitization is available online (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b7100618w.r>).

illuminations by the Master of 1482. Indeed, I can find no evidence that the master had any more than a general notion of the contents of the manuscript.

### **1.1 - Fall Labours (picking grapes, potting plants, burning wood, tying sheafs (fol. 2<sup>ro</sup>)**

This miniature was apparently commenced by the Master of 1482, who did the left foreground figure and parts of the author. Everything else is in an eighteenth-century hand working somewhat in his style. Presumably this was the second-to-last miniature by the Bruges Master, which he left incomplete. The very last illumination, which shows Bartholomeus Anglicus instructing men and women in the planting of a formal garden (fol. 10<sup>ro</sup>), is entirely by this later hand.

### **1.2 - The Building of a House (fol. 27<sup>ro</sup>)**

This miniature, like all the following, is entirely by the Bruges Master of 1482. It reflects one of the numerous interests of Crescenzi, as listed above after Calkins. The author devoted quite a few lines to the disposition and appearance of appropriate buildings, but other than the most general aspects, such as the courtyard that feature in both Crescenzi and this miniature, there is no connection. Crescenzi, for instance, stressed that the main house must be disposed along the street and that the courtyard must include “a pergola with the most noble vitis [vining plants] with a height of eight or ten feet,” but nothing of the kind is found in this or any other miniature.

Most recently, in a book about construction images in Western art, Michael Tutton clearly took a shine to this image. After mentioning the activities in the landscape and the chapel or church behind the foreground building, he settled into unprecedented technical detail.

The scaffold is tall, of four lifts although only the top has a working platform of hurdles, or narrow planks, supported on putlogs. The bottom lift still has putlogs clearly inserted into the building, but on the intervening two lifts they have been removed and here and there brackets are visible attached to the standards which support the ledgers. A worker starts to climb the exaggeratedly long ladder, with a pitcher of beer to shake the thirst of the

bricklayers above. Is this a ladder with angled stiles, or is it perspective, which is well observed in some elements but less in others?<sup>210</sup>

The house, obviously, is thoroughly fifteenth-century in appearance and part and parcel of our master's pervasive tendency to anachronism. Since Crescenzi wrote less than two centuries before the Master of 1482, the anachronisms are relatively mild compared to those of the Oxford and London *Commentaires* by Julius Caesar (Cat. 12 and 16). The paired author and acolyte to the right are an almost constant feature of this manuscript. Clearly the right of the two men is intended to look distinguished and loosely resembles Giovanni Boccaccio as depicted in the first miniature of the *Décamerone* in The Hague (fig. 3.1).

### 1.3 - Tilling and Harvesting Fields (fol. 63<sup>v0</sup>)

According to Calkins, this image includes unusually accurate depiction of the implements used for tilling fields in the fifteenth century. As pointed out above, however, this accuracy does not reflect the text by Crescenzi, who does not describe such implements, and must therefore be attributed to the Master of 1482 and his advisor, if any. The activity here is reminiscent of the *Très riches heures du Duc de Berry*, and Calkins added that “the Limbourgs had already provided us with even greater specificity more than a half-century before, meticulously showing us every part of an early fifteenth-century plough, with a far better analysis of how it turns the earth in the March calendar scene.” Calkins might have added that the Limbourgs’s *October* also gives a more accurate rendering of the background activities found in our master's illumination. He established that the Duke of Berry owned a copy of Crescenzi's treatise and argued that the connections between the *Très riches heures du Duc de Berry* and the London *Profits champêtres* are not entirely accidental. Formally, however, there are none. Finally, the peasants of the earlier miniatures, with their faces turned away from us and their “stereotypical attitudes”, have been interpreted as “fantasies of complete social domination.”<sup>211</sup> The labourers rendered by the

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<sup>210</sup> Tutton 2021, p. 78, where he mentions further technical detail on p. 122. The miniature is illustrated on p. 70.

<sup>211</sup> Buettner 1997, p. 89.



Master of 1482 are much smaller than the figures in the foreground, but they are a heterogeneous lot and not oppressively anonymous or socially inferior.

#### 1.4 - The Management of Vineyards (fol. 80<sup>ro</sup>)

In this miniature we have an approximate equivalent of *September* of the *Trés riches heures*, though the figures in that miniature are by Jean Colombe instead of by the Limbourg brothers. However, the Master of 1482 had the obligatory author and pupil pair on the right, and his activities extend over much more than a month. The two men planting wine stock in the left foreground are engaged in an activity that follows on the heels of winter. Next come the two men tending vines. Then in the fall comes the harvesting represented by the man located dead centre who lugs a heavy basket full of grapes. Presumably the barrels before the houses in the middle ground mark a moment slightly later again. As a consequence of this kind of sequence in time, miniatures like this one feature some of the most complex narration of the oeuvre of the Bruges Master of 1482. In the background is an improbable clump of rock, which was to become a standard element in our master's work.

#### 1.5 - The Management of Orchards (fol. 117<sup>vo</sup>)

This is a wonderful scene which, like virtually everything about the London *Profits champêtres*, hardly needs Crescenzi's text in explanation. Unlike with the preceding miniature, almost everything concentrates on one moment in time, the harvesting of fruit trees. Only the saplings at the lower right could refer to another instance. Most of the fruit that we see on the boughs on the left looks a little too small to be apples and could also be plums or even cherries. A man on a ladder is diligently picking while another, precariously perched in the branches, appears to be beating down the fruit with a cane. Lower down a woman is gathering the fruit that has dropped. Baskets filled to the brim with apples have made their way to the house on the right, where a pig is eating from one of them while a seated woman seems to be trying to scare it off and a man rushes out the door to attend to the matter. In the very background a man and a cart continue their journey.

## 1.6 - The Management of Herb Gardens (fol. 165<sup>ro</sup>)

The miniature illustrates Book VI of *Profits champêtres*. Calkins reproduced the same subject as found in the manuscript in the Pierpont Morgan Library (M 232, fol. 157<sup>ro</sup>). Though the two images are not at all close, so that one can't speak about borrowing or even adaptation, there is nevertheless a general resemblance indicative of a tradition for rendering the subject of the herb garden. Calkins again singled out the London version for its accurate rendered details of “the layout of herb gardens.” The pairing of author and novice is truly expressive, with a near snapshot effect in the way the former demonstrates the properties of a particular herb while the latter takes a keen interest.

The city prospect in the background is wonderfully ambitious and predictably mildly anachronistic. At the far right is an apothecary's shop, which is about to be supplied with herbs by a man carrying a basket. The medicinal effects of sundry herbs were of particular interest for the author so that, like the subject matter of the miniature in general, it has a bearing on the text without illustrating it verbatim. Such a detail illustrates beautifully how the work of the Master of 1482 reflects texts more than actually illustrating them.

## 1.7 - On the Management of Meadows (fol. 210<sup>vo</sup>)

This is one of the weaker miniatures of the codex, but it still has things to recommend it. For one, its winding river has a distinguished pedigree going back to Jan van Eyck's *Madonna of the Chancellor Rolin* and Rogier van der Weyden's *Saint Luke Drawing the Virgin*, though it is disguised by the location of the bridge with two people in the right foreground instead of in the centre. The spatial transition to the bridge is altogether unbelievable, but the slick water actually seems to move and the man or woman with projecting posterior sitting on the balustrade of the bridge is a wonderful motif. The author of the conversing pair of this miniature actually seems to be speaking to his pupil, who seems to be taking in his words. We are probably intended to think of the evening or night, as a crescent moon peaks out from behind a few clouds in the sky.

## 1.8 - On the Management of an Ornamental Garden (fol. 214<sup>ro</sup>)

We see a walled garden court with a great gate at the far side and another, with bridge and moat, up front. It is the latter setup, only much larger in scale and seen from the side, that we shall encounter as the stage for our master's later frontispiece to the Geneva *Livre de la Chasse* (fig. 10.1). The world beyond the garden is only summarily indicated. Calkins stressed the careful rendering “of the structure of armatures for training bushes” and the kneeling young woman in the centre is another fine bit of observation. In the background two other damsels wearing hennins, peaked hats, listen to an elegant young man who is presumably demonstrating some fine botanical point, possibly with seductive undertones. The author-novice pair seem to be considering the foreground gate instead of the ornamental plants and shrubs. It is not our master's most interesting image.

## 1.9 - On the Nature of Animals (fol. 220<sup>vo</sup>)

At first sight this is truly a sad item. The author and acolyte are much too large relative to the animals, and it is not at all clear what they are all standing on relative to the street to the right, which has figures and animals of inexplicably smaller size. We see several horses, one of which, located well up on to the left, was probably intended to be a donkey. Other common farm animals are the ox, cows, calf, sheep, goat, and dog. The stag, too, is part of what we might expect in Crescenzi's rural estate, and bear hunting was a mediaeval pastime. However, with the centre monkey and camel, the Master of 1482 taking liberties. He is simply rendering the general subject of the text, being animals in this instance, without actually following it.

Some of the animals are better observed than others. Clearly our master worked after a variety of models. The hind paws of the bear are too finger like, but we can tell it is a bear just the same. The camel is not all that convincing either, especially its head, but who else had rendered anything comparable by this early date? Erhard Reuwich's dromedary (labelled “Camelus”) in Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinationem in Terram Sanctam*, for instance, is no more accomplished and slightly later in date. Another great curiosity is the monkey, who is chained to a heavy roller intended to limit its movement while not

altogether preventing it. The rearing horse is relatively convincing considering how mediocre our master was at rendering horses elsewhere (cf. figs. 15.9 and 15.10). Also, it is obviously a stallion. Compare it to the hundreds of horses by Philips Wouwerman, the equine specialist of the seventeenth century, which look much more convincing overall but which are generally discretely sexless, and the relative realism of the Master of 1482 becomes more apparent. The somewhat foreshortened stallion with rider on the left has hind quarters that show what the Bruges Master could do if he had a good model, which was probably by Lieven van Lathem in this instance. Last but not least, if we look at the urban prospect at the rear, with its houses, sidewalks demarcated with poles, and canopied fountain, we may be forgiven for thinking of Pieter Bruegel's renowned *Children's Games* in Vienna's Kunsthistorisches Museum.

#### 1.10 - On the Nature of Birds (fol. 272<sup>v0</sup>)

Birds were a specialty of the Bruges Master of 1482, and the handsome stork in the centre foreground as well as the heron just behind it, are very similar to the specimen in the frontispieces of the London *Livre des propriétés des choses* (fig. 4.1) and Geneva *L'art de chasser avec les oiseaux* (fig. 11.1). It has been pointed out in connection with the latter manuscript that the Master of 1482 rendered birds that are not mentioned in the text (see Cat. 11), and we expect that our master was winging it here as well. There is all sorts of bird hunting going on. In the right foreground, a man holds two falcons and carries an elegant and elaborate lance. It is difficult to tell what the shouting man a little closer to us is doing. He, too, holds a kind of lance and he seems to be swinging an unidentified, flower-like object on a string. Perhaps it is his falcon that we see in flight, clutching its prey, and the lance is a kind of perch. On the far left, a man takes aim at a bird with his crossbow. In the very background a hunter with bow has his dogs retrieving water fowl. In the centre, half hidden behind a rock, we see a cunning bird catcher with cages full of birds intended to attract their wild congeners and an elaborate bipartite net that he can collapse around his prey at the tuck of a string. It is not clear what nefarious game with birds two boys are playing beyond the city gate. One appears to be dragging a decoy by a string while another is

crouched to grasp their prey, and there are ominous-looking cages hanging in the trees. The author and his pupil are again lost in conversation.

### 1.11 - On the Management of Trees (fol. 288<sup>vo</sup>)

The most unusual feature of this miniature is that the discussing pupil and author have migrated into the middle ground. Beyond that, the Master of 1482 had little to report in this instance. A man on the right prunes a willow tree growing on the bank of creek while a man at the far-left weaves branches into the kind of wattle fence which, though a little less tall, is featured in hundreds of miniatures of the International Gothic style. The man behind him has the task of trimming the branches of all leaves and irregularities. Just what the fourth man is doing (planting or fertilizing?) is not clear. One is struck by the juxtaposition of brick and half-timber houses and by the cow looking out to the left of the haystack. This is the first depiction known to me of the “classical” haystack, with a roof that can be made to slide up four poles as the hay mounts.

### 1.12 - The Labours of the Months (fol. 305<sup>vo</sup>)

This miniature illustrates Book XII of the *Livre des profits champêtres*. We see a labour for every month of the year. Calkins illustrated a page from a *Profits champêtres* in Vienna (ÖNB, 2580, fol. 199<sup>vo</sup>), in which each labour is presented in its own near-square format. They had already been more or less fixed by tradition during the High Middle Ages and show up in the calendar pages of the *Très riches heures du Duc de Berry* of about 1415. They were still accessible to a wide public fully three centuries later when the biographer and painter Arnold Houbraken (1660-1719) used them as his sole means of identifying most of his months of birth and death. In fact, they were still celebrated in the first Rembrandt year of the twentieth century.<sup>212</sup>

- 1) Louwmaand: Month of inactivity = January
- 2) Sprokkelmaand: Dead wood month = February
- 3) Lentemaand: Spring month = March
- 4) Grasmaand: Grass month = April

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<sup>212</sup> Valentiner/Veldheer 1906, passim.

- 5) Bloeimaand: Flowering month = May
- 6) Zomermaand: Summer month = June
- 7) Hooimaand: Hay month = July
- 8) Oogstmaand: Harvest month = August
- 9) Herfstmaand: Autumn month = September
- 10) Wijnmaand: Wine month = October
- 11) Slagtmaand: Slaughter month = November
- 12) Wintermaand: Winter month = December

Crescenzi lived in Italy like his Latin authorities, where it is often possible doggedly to work through the winter, a reality that is reflected in Crescenzi's text as well as in the aforementioned grid miniature in Vienna. Our illumination is more in a northern tradition, like the *Très riches heures* and Houbraken's *Groote Schouburg*.

The month of inactivity could well be represented by the wealthy Burgundian couple dining before a fireplace at the very left. The banquet of the *Très riches heures*, we recall, also takes place in January. The dead-wood month is certainly depicted immediately to the right of the author and his companion, where a man swinging an axe has gathered piles of branches. In the *Très riches heures*, it is February that has a lone wood chopper. The man further to the right, who is about to axe a cow that has its front legs tied together, must represent slaughter month. Just below him, the man with a basket of grapes, walking towards some vines growing on a wooden frame, can only represent wine month, or *September* in the *Très riches heures*. Just behind him and the axe wielder is a fruit tree and a basket of apples, presumably indicative of the harvest month. Just to the left and below this basket, and watched by an elegant lady, a man is swinging a scythe, likely representing the grass month, for it is *June* of the *Très riches heures* that has the scythes. Hay month, potentially similar, must be evoked by the tiny figure with a sickle in the very centre background, sickles being part of the *July* miniature of the *Très riches heures*. The woman herself holds a bunch of flowers, alluding to the flower month. The ploughing in the left background is surely indicative of the autumn month, or *October* in the *Très riches heures*. By process of elimination, the sheep-shearing must refer to the summer month, or *July* with the Limbourg brothers. We are still missing spring month. Could it be

personified by the man in the foreground, who is planting dead-looking shoots kept in the dark over the winter? This activity corresponds with what we see in the left foreground of *The Management of a Vineyard* (fig. 1.5), so it must be grape stock that he is planting. As for winter itself, we still have the window of the hindmost of the two houses, which probably shows a man warming his hands by a fire.

Obviously fifteenth-century individuals would have had to sort out the sequence in much the same way, though they would presumably have been more adept at the process, given that the labours of the month were a common subject of illustrated cycles of the time. Without knowledge of the “story” of the agronomic year, the narrative is impossible to resolve. In this respect this miniature and, to a lesser degree *The Management of Vineyards* discussed above, is related to a couple of famous works by Hans Memling, namely his *Panorama with the Passion* of 1470 to 1471 and *Panorama with the Advent and Triumph of Christ* of 1480. There, too, we need to know the sequences before we can extract them from the deep prospects. Memling's narratives are more complicated (and his paintings much superior), but the process is closely analogous.

The London *Profits champêtres* is much more typical of the Bruges Master of 1482 than his slightly later The Hague *Décamerone*. The London codex has virtually every feature of the master's subsequent work, the deep landscapes with their atmospheric perspective, the Gothic towns seen from up close or nestled in the distance, the stiff figures with their slightly bent knees, the finely observed birds, and the like. Most of all we encounter his combination of inventiveness and unevenness. The relatively convincing spatial transition that he managed in one place altogether eluded him in another. It is as if he simply lost interest or focus on occasion. But the inventiveness and charm win out in the end, both here and throughout his career.

## Catalogue 2

### *Les commentaires de César*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 280.

Digitised microfilm: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9059946k>

Bruges, ca. 1481

### Description:

Paper, 235 folios 380 x 260 mm, 235 leaves in lettre bâtarde in two columns, text blocks 381 x 271 mm.

A colophon at the end reads: “Et a tant fine le Xme et derrenier livre des commentaires de Jule Cesar translatez en la ville de Lille, l’an mil IIIICLXXIIII par Jehan du Chesne humble et indigne, etc.” (Thus ends the tenth and last book of the commentaries of Julius Caesar translated in the city of Lille, [in] the year 1474 by Jehan du Chesne humble and unworthy, etc.)

### Provenance:

Likely commissioned by Adolph of Cleves, as explained under fig. 2.1 below.

### Literature:

Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 3660.

According to Wijsman, the attribution goes back to François Avril in a disastrously delayed study (Hans-Collas/Schandel/Wijsman/Avril, 2011-2012).

### Contents:

The Master of 1482 illuminated three versions of *Les Commentaires de Cèsar* (to use the French title). As explained in chapter three above, this is the first, with the later ones in London (Cat.12) and Oxford (Cat. 16). Caesar wrote his *Commentaries*



on the *Gallic War* as a political pamphlet, to justify his authoritarian actions in France, where he had operated with little deference for the government back in Rome. When in AD 52, after crushing the last great rebellion of the Vercingetorix, the time approached for him to return home, it presumably seemed like a good idea to compose an explanation of his activities of the last eight years. Apparently Caesar wrote his *Commentaries* at great speed, using copies of his dispatches to the Senate. Although generally known as *The Gallic War*, the original title was apparently *Gaius Julius Caesar's Notes on his Achievements*. The work is divided into eight books, but only the first seven were written by Caesar himself. The eighth was probably composed in 44 BC by Aulus Hirtius (90-43 BC), a Roman consul and friend of Caesar, this being the year of Caesar's assassination and only one year before Hirtius's own death.

Of immense importance as a literary and historical record, *The Gallic War* continued to be read all through the Middle Ages and was translated into various vernacular languages, including several translations into French. The present French translation of the *Commentaries* was commissioned by Charles the Bold from Jean (or Jehan) du Chesne (also Duchesne or Du Quesne) and completed in Lille in 1474. According to Robert Bossuat (1888-1968), the great authority on this popular translation, Duchesne was a scribe recorded in the duke's service in 1469. He divided the seventh book into two, expanding the translation into nine books. Prologues by the translator precede the first and last of these books. The work concludes with Duchesne's renderings of the lives of Caesar according to Lucian (ca. 125->180) and Suetonius (ca. 69->122).

According to Robert H. Lucas, eight extant copies of Duchesne's *Commentaries* were executed, mainly for nobles and functionaries of Charles the Bold, within a decade of the translation. Vasanti Kupfer wrote about nine versions but overlooked the manuscript in the British Library (Egerton 1065), and the present codex brings the total to eleven. Very early was the version of Jacob Donche, who commissioned the copy now in New Haven (BLYU, ms. 226). Dated to 1476, it was transcribed by Hellin de Burchgrave. We already know a few others versions from the patronage of the Master of 1482 (see Chapter 5), namely Louis of Gruuthuse, whose manuscript is now in Paris (BnF, fr. 38), Philip of Cleves, which is now in Copenhagen (DKB, Thott. 544), and Claude de Neufchâtel, whose

version in Oxford (Cat. 16) was richly illuminated by the Master of 1482. As for the version in London (Cat. 12), it has ten miniatures, with the first four by the Bruges Master. We know nothing about the commission.

The present version was first formally published by Hanno Wijsman, who identified the Master of 1482 as the illuminator. The manuscript hardly qualifies as a luxury item. Though large, it is written on paper instead of the usual vellum and is in poor condition. It has only a single historiated initial measuring a mere forty-three by sixty-seven millimetres and containing a tiny presentation of the book scene that is almost certainly by the Master of 1482. As mentioned in chapter 3 above, only this version has a colophon at the end that specifies the translator and precise date. Since Charles the Bold ordered this translation, it gives additional reason to think of Adolph of Cleves, who was close to Charles and looked much like a certain portrait of him in a *Voyage d'outremer* (Amiens, BM, Lescalopier 95, fol. 1).<sup>213</sup>

## Decoration:

### 2.1 - A Scribe Presents the *Commentaires* to the Patron (fol. 2<sup>ro</sup>)

The only illumination of this manuscript is a tiny historiated initial. Given the disastrous condition of the text adjoining the image, the face of the ruler could be slightly abraded or even touched up. As mentioned, he resembles Adolph of Cleves as he is depicted in a *Voyage d'outremer* (Amiens, BM, Lescalopier 95, fol. 1) that Adolph commissioned.<sup>214</sup> In both works he wears the Order of the Golden Fleece. The recession of the tile floor is accomplished, which argues against an even earlier date. However, I think here of the oeuvre of the Master of 1482; Simon Marmion already painted accomplished interiors in the 1460s, as with his *St. Luke Painting the Virgin and Child*.<sup>215</sup> The two plumped up cushions on the bench have a tenuous connection to two similar cushions at the far right of one

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<sup>213</sup> Wijsman 2010b, p. 672, fig. 29 and Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 546).

<sup>214</sup> Wijsman 2010b, p. 672, fig. 29. As Wijsman mentions, Adolph's arms, encircled by the same collar, are depicted in the margin.

<sup>215</sup> London, BL, Add. MS 71117, fol. B. McKendrick 2003, p. 28, pl. 13.

the *Décamerone* miniatures by the Master of 1482 (fig. 3.3), a manuscript that was commissioned by Adolph's son Philip, which I date to about 1482.

## Catalogue 3

Giovanni Boccaccio, *Décamerone*

The Hague, De Koninklijke Bibliotheek/De Nationale Bibliotheek van Nederland,  
133 A 5

Online file and images:

<http://manuscripts.kb.nl/search/manuscript/extended/page/1/shelfmark/133+a+5>

Bruges, ca. 1482

### Description:

Folio, 440 leaves, parchment 457x330 mm. *Lettre bâtarde* in two columns.

Seven illuminations with three by the Bruges Master of 1482 (fols. 3<sup>vo</sup>, 256<sup>ro</sup> and 278<sup>vo</sup>) and four by the Master of the Chattering Hands (fols. 47<sup>vo</sup>, 121<sup>ro</sup>, 171<sup>vo</sup> and 360<sup>ro</sup>).

### Provenance:

Philip of Cleves, Lord of Ravenstein (1459-1528).

Hendrik III van Nassau, purchased from the estate of Philip of Cleves in 1531.

Princes of Oranje-Nassau (catalogue Huygens, 1686, fol. 97<sup>vo</sup>, no. 57).

Auction P. Van Cleef en D. Monnier, The Hague, 1 Dec. ff, 1749 (catalogue Frederik Hendrik, p. 217, no. 61).

Purchased by J. Royer for stadholder Willem IV.

Library of stadholder Willem V; bound ca. 1755-1760.

Purloined to the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris in 1795.

Returned to the stadhoudelijke bibliotheek in 1816.

### Literature:

Byvanck/Dohna 1898, p. 14, no. 30

Byvanck 1924, pp. 67-69; pl. XXXIII (fol. 3<sup>vo</sup>)

Byvanck 1931, p. 47  
 De Fouw 1937, p. 391, no. 25  
 Quarré 1951, p. 54, no. 97  
 Luttervelt *et al.* 1951, p. 27, no. 84, with ill (fol. 121<sup>ro</sup>)  
 Brayer 1954, p. 85  
 Woledge 1954; 1975, p.79, no. 97  
 Gathercole 1961, pp. 315-318  
 Gathercole 1967, pp. 305-306  
 Gathercole 1969, p. 277  
 Horn 1968, pp. 52-55 and figs. 83-89 (fols. 3<sup>vo</sup>, 47<sup>vo</sup>, 121<sup>ro</sup>, 171<sup>vo</sup>, 256<sup>ro</sup>, 278<sup>vo</sup>, 360<sup>ro</sup>)  
 Bozzolo 1973, pp. 28-29, 162-163  
 Cucchi/Lacy 1974, pp. 490-491, 495-499 (group N)  
 Obbema *et al.* 1975, p.11, no. I  
 Storm van Leeuwen 1976, p.27, pp. 226-228, no. 74q.  
 Cahn/Marrow 1978, p. 258  
 Richter 1981, pp. 223-230  
 Horn 1983, p. 112, n. 15  
 Korteweg 1984, p. 26  
 Shailor 1984, p. 333  
 Brandhorst/Broekhuijsen-Kruijer 1985, p. 113, no. 423  
 Dogaer 1987, p. 129  
 Muto 1988, pp. 292-293, 296-297, 301; ill. fig. 2 (fol. 172<sup>vo</sup>)  
 De Splenter 1990, p. 89  
 König 1991, p. 258  
 Renting in Renting/Kuijpers/Korteweg 1993, pp. 307-308, no. 1319  
 Korteweg 1998, p. 39 and p. 42, no. 48 (fol. 3<sup>vo</sup>)  
 The Hague 1998, pp. 31, 47 no. 32, fig. on p. 32 (fol. 3<sup>vo</sup>)  
 Van Delft *et al.* 1998, fig.8 on pp. 18-19 (fol. 47<sup>vo</sup>)  
 Schwall-Hoummady 1999, pp. 203-206, 223-230; pp. 363-365, figs. 8-12 (fols. 3<sup>vo</sup>, 47<sup>vo</sup>, 121<sup>ro</sup>, 172<sup>vo</sup>, 256<sup>ro</sup>, 278<sup>vo</sup>, 360<sup>ro</sup>)  
 Korteweg 2007, pp. 123-221  
 Wijsman 2008, p. 67, n. 104

Hans-Collas/Schandel 2009, p. 200

De Kesel 2010, pp. 55-57, no. 16

Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 3249

Dubois 2011-2012, p. 346

Goehring/As-Vijvers 2018, Part IV/4, no. 51, pp. 200-201

Wheelis 2020, n.p., C.Pl. (fol. 3<sup>vo</sup>)

## Contents:

Giovanni Boccaccio's *Décamerone* is one of the best-known books of the western tradition. Written in the middle of the fourteenth century, it tells of a group of aristocratic young Florentines who leave the city to escape from the plague. Once in their idyllic abode in the countryside, they agree to while away their time by electing a king or queen for the day to act as master of ceremonies and to appoint one of their group to tell a story. This they continue to do for ten days, with ten stories per day. The hundred tales commence with a measure of propriety but quickly become ever more vulgar and anti-clerical. It was of course the salaciousness of these tales that guaranteed their continued popularity up to the present day, starting with their influence on Chaucer and his *Canterbury Tales* and ending with popularized modern editions in many languages. Other works by Boccaccio, such as his *Genealogia deorum gentilium*, though well known to educated contemporaries of the Bruges Master of 1482, are now familiar only to an intellectual elite, but the fame of his *Decameron* lives on.

The present text is a French translation by a now relatively obscure humanist, Laurent de Premierfait (ca. 1365-1418), who was named after his place of birth and who was at first active in Avignon and from about 1400 in Paris.<sup>216</sup> Aside from translations of Seneca's *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia*, Laurent was responsible for the rendering of five of Boccaccio's works into the French vernacular: These are *De casibus virorum illustrium* (twice, 1400 and 1409); *Du mulieribus claris* (date unknown); *Décamerone* (1414); *Filostrato* (date unknown); and *Tseida* (date unknown).<sup>217</sup> Laurent dedicated his *Décamerone* translation, the *Cent Nouvelles*, to Jean duc de Berry. Laurent did not translate from Boccaccio's

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<sup>216</sup> Bozzolo 1973 was the source for most of the following information.

<sup>217</sup> Bozzolo 1973, p. 34.

Italian original but from a Latin translation by Antonio d'Arezzo, a Franciscan monk who collaborated with Premierfait over three years. As Carla Bozzolo demonstrated, only three manuscripts (Paris, BnF, fr. 129; Paris, BA 5070; Vatican, BAV, Pal. Lat. 1989) feature Laurent's integral text, the last being the most ancient.<sup>218</sup> The codex in The Hague belongs to a second and more numerous family of eleven manuscripts, with the two earliest versions (Paris, BnF. fr. 239) and Vienna (ÖNB 2561) both dating from the second quarter of the fifteenth century. The text in The Hague is situated at the very end of this second tradition.

### Decoration:

The manuscript has seven surviving illuminations of an original twelve, all identified in the iconographic catalogue of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague. Missing are illuminations on folio 1 (dedication?) and folio 8 (day one), as well as ones for days 5, 8 and 10. The precise relationship of the surviving miniatures is perhaps the most vexing problem of the present study.

Whereas there is enough continuity throughout all seven *Décamerone* miniatures to explain the mistaken assumption of just about everyone from Alexander Willem Byvanck to Christine Schwall-Hoummady that all the miniatures are by one hand, they nevertheless divide into two distinct groups, with one more evolved in style than the other. This fact was first observed by Will Richter, who compared the cut of the clothes, the treatment of drapery folds, the arrangement of hair and the use of colour in detail and concluded: "The miniatures show a relatively unified style and are likely from one workshop, even though executed by at least two distinctive hands, the first master being clearly superior. The first master: fol. 3<sup>vo</sup>, 256<sup>ro</sup>, 278<sup>vo</sup>; second master: fol. 47<sup>vo</sup>, 121<sup>ro</sup>, 172<sup>vo</sup>, 360<sup>ro</sup> [in translation]." The three more progressive miniatures (figs. 3.1, 3.5 and 3.6) are clearly by the Master of 1482 himself, as they feature his stepped-arch format, substantial male faces, distinct type of woman with thinly outlined oval faces and, in case of the first surviving miniature, a spikey city and elaborate rock formation in a fine atmospheric landscape. The four relatively conservative illustrations (figs. 3.2, 3.3, 3.4 and 3.7) are the work of the Master of the Chattering Hands.

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<sup>218</sup> Bozzolo 1973, p. 28.

Dagmar Thoss was the first scholar to perceive that the then still nameless artist proceeded from the shop of Loyset Liédet (1420-1479).<sup>219</sup> His figures are somewhat shorter than Liédet's, with frizzy fanning hairdos and the mobile hands that suggested his *Notname*. Once one starts looking, they seem to be ubiquitous, as one might expect from the fifty-three manuscripts that Hanno Wijsman attributed to the artist. Particularly important for our purposes is that he did two versions of Diego de Valera's *Traité de noblesse*, one in Vienna (ÖNB, 2616)<sup>220</sup> and a slightly earlier one in Paris (BnF, fr. 1280).<sup>221</sup> The Master of the Vienna *Traité de noblesse* was a useful emergency name because this *Traité* was commissioned by Philip of Cleves, who also ordered the *Décamerone* under discussion. The Vienna *Traité* can also be fairly securely dated, since the text specifies 1481. Given that this date was copied from the version in Paris, which was commissioned by Philip's friend Gruuthuse, the Vienna manuscript probably dates from about 1482, this also being the date that I have assigned to the *Décamerone*.

Throughout his four miniatures, the Master of the Chattering Hands employed the same flattened and serrated arch that he took over from Liédet, as in the Vienna *Traité de noblesse* and elsewhere in his work. And we can find other motifs that are remarkably similar, such as the highly distinctive arcade-like drapery ridges around the elbows of figures in both The Hague's *Décamerone* and the Vienna *Traité*. The figure canon and male faces, with their beady eyes, are also much alike.<sup>222</sup> The faces of some of the women, on the other hand, could well be the work of the Master of 1482, as they have his characteristic oval shape and thin outlines. For two of the miniatures, one by the Master of the Chattering Hands (fig. 3.4) and the other by the Master of 1482 (fig. 3.6), the faces of the central king for the day are virtually identical.

Just what one might expect from the work of the Master of the Chattering Hands relative to that of the Master of 1482 may be seen by comparing *The Shame of Noah* of the New Haven *Arbre des batailles/Traité de noblesse*

<sup>219</sup> Thoss 1987, p. 47, cat. no. 13, fig. 41 (our fig. 15.4.1): "Umkreis des Loyet Liédet". She apparently did not notice that her fig. 40 (ÖNB, 2550, fol. 5<sup>r</sup>) is by the same hand. Her proposal was soon followed in Pächt/Jenni/Thoss 1990, p. 57.

<sup>220</sup> Wijsman 2010b, no. 49 and 2016, no. 3581.

<sup>221</sup> Wijsman 2010b, no. 14 and 2016, no. 2721.

<sup>222</sup> Note, however, that the eyes of the Paris illuminations often have heavy upper eyelids, indicating that the Master of the Chattering Hands evolved over time.



compilation (fig. 15.1) with its Vienna prototype (fig. 15.1.1). We see that the landscape has become more ample and the figures more alive and convincing. The later work is nearly a quantum leap forward. In the *Décamerone* the difference is less marked, which proves to my satisfaction that the four slightly more conservative illuminations were substantially informed by the example of the three more progressive ones. Note in this connection that Hanno Wijsman has claimed that The Master of the Chattering Hands often worked after designs by other artists and that the four more conservative *Décamerone* miniatures were “probably based on drawings by the Bruges Master of 1482.”<sup>223</sup> Since we do not have the drawings in question, we can’t be sure.<sup>224</sup> However, Wijsman’s proposition is highly plausible, at least in my opinion. I therefore conclude that all six of the smaller *Décamerone* miniatures are largely creations of the Master of 1482. The four slightly more conservative illuminations were substantially based on his work but executed by the Master of the Chattering Hands.

Intellectual honesty requires that we admit to two slight caveats. The first is that the artist used his customary framework with serrated arch. Surely no preparatory design by the Master of 1482 would have included this feature. All that this proves, however, is that the Master of the Chattering Hands may have had some discretionary freedom or that the designs did not have frameworks. Since not a single preparatory drawing has survived, we can only guess. Another glitch is that three of his four miniatures feature supplementary background narrative scenes, and that neither of the other two does. The Master of the Chattering Hands also used such scenes in the Vienna *Traité de noblesse* (figs. 15.4.1 and 15.10.1). However, the Master of 1482 could simply have taken over the practice, or else the lost five illuminations could have altered the balance. No matter how we cut it, however, the precise relationship of the two artists remains problematic, with no useful outside evidence to be brought to bear on the situation.

Certainly recent claims for two or more hands have nothing to do with the preceding analysis. Anne Dubois thought that the first surviving miniature of The

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<sup>223</sup> Wijsman 2008, p. 67, n. 104.

<sup>224</sup> Dubois, in Bousmanne/Delcourt 2011-2012, p. 284, assumed that drawings meant underdrawings, but that need not have been the case.

Hague's *Décamerone* could *not* be by the Master of 1482 because "the intensive use of hatching for the modeling of the drapery does not seem to correspond to the working methods of this Master [in translation]." <sup>225</sup> But what about the rich colours, the wonderful landscape, the thinly outlined faces of the women, the head of the figure of Boccaccio and the dubious anatomy? Such aspects of this miniature are much like what we encounter in the frontispiece of *Le Livre des propriétés des choses* in London (fig. 4.1) or in most of the illuminations of the *Livre des profits champêtres*, also in London (figs. 1.1 to 1.8 and 1.10). In fact, Dubois did observe that the style of the first surviving miniature is "closely related" to our master's work. With respect to the treatment of the drapery, Dubois had a point. It is definitely more pervasive and systematic than what we might expect from him. It is especially in evidence in the shirt of the young man to the right of Boccaccio.

But we need not get carried away. Dense hatching is not only encountered in the first miniature of this codex, witness the dress of the standing woman in the centre of the fourth of the six subsidiary miniatures (fig. 3.5), which I believe is also by the Bruges Master of 1482. In fact, he resorted to hatching in all sort of passage both here and elsewhere in The Hague *Décamerone* (fig. 3.6). Curiously, Dubois totally ignored those six illuminations, including their division into two hands, thereby hobbling her discussion from the start. What's more, intensive hatching is to be found in other manuscripts illuminated by the Master of 1482, for instance in passages of the robe of Crescenzi in the sixth Illumination of the *Profits champêtres* (fig. 1.6) and in the robe and tights of his attendant in the eighth illumination (fig. 1.8). Turning to late work by our master, we have the dress of the servant on the left of the first miniature of the Bodleian *Commentaires* (fig. 16.1). Unfortunately this is an attribution qualified by Dubois as being "a little hastier and less successful." However, I fail to see how that particular illumination is at all hasty or unsuccessful.

Nevertheless, Dubois was correct in that hatching is more pervasive throughout the first surviving miniature than elsewhere in the oeuvre of the Master of 1482. Presumably the many variations were due to varying shop

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<sup>225</sup> Dubois 2011-2012, p. 346.

assistance. It makes no sense, however, to assume that the most precise work is the shop work. If the first The Hague miniature is early work, as I believe it is, our master may have found such detailed hatching too time-consuming, forcing him to ease off a little or rely a little more on shop assistance when under pressure in his extensive later work. In fact, the hand of one or more assistants must be ubiquitous throughout his oeuvre. Finally, if we expel the first miniature from the autograph oeuvre of the Bruges Master of 1482, we still need to identify another accomplished illuminator who could have wrought such a miracle around 1480. What else are we to do, postulate a Master of the Divergent *Décamerone* Frontispiece?

Only six years later followed another beautiful catalogue, this time dedicated to the holdings of manuscripts in Dutch public collections in The Hague, in which Margaret Goehring discussed the manuscript.<sup>226</sup> Apparently not prepared to follow Dubois completely and reject the first surviving illumination, she gave the “splendid opening miniature” to the “circle of the Bruges Master of 1482” and not to the Master himself. In this way she in effect placed our master’s name between parentheses, turning him into “The Bruges Master of 1482”, meaning almost but not quite. One is reminded of Bodo Brinkmann’s observation that the recent proliferation of such *Künstler-bezeichnungen* is threatening to make intelligent art history impossible.<sup>227</sup> And what exactly is this circle of our master? Where has it ever been discussed? However, Dubois and Goehring did not differ substantially. There is no contradiction between “closely related” and “circle’, and neither qualification suggests an attribution or invites a *Notname*. “Follower” would have been a less ambiguous but would not have done for Dubois, because her emphasis on the highly accomplished handling of textures in the opening miniature suggests some kind of primacy of place.

Unlike Dubois, Goehring did discuss all the miniatures of the *Décamerone*. She developed a hypothesis involving three hands, with the first responsible for what I have argued are the more accomplished miniatures, a second hand

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<sup>226</sup> Goehring in Goehring/As-Vijvers 2018, pp. 200-201.

<sup>227</sup> Brinkmann 1997, p. 17.

influenced by the first, and a third hand about which she has almost nothing to say.

A second illuminator attempted, in the following miniatures to imitate this [first] artist's style. In doing so he might have used drawings made by the first artist, albeit with much less attention to detail and a tendency to paint male figures with exaggeratedly large heads that sit rather disjointedly on slender bodies. A third hand is recognizable as well: this illuminator's style is even flatter and more generic, and he did not depict square heads.<sup>228</sup>

It is only when we consult her footnotes -- which specify folios 256<sup>ro</sup>, 278<sup>vo</sup> and "possibly also" 172<sup>ro</sup> for the first hand and folios 47<sup>vo</sup>, 121<sup>ro</sup> and 360<sup>ro</sup> for the second --<sup>229</sup> that we learn that she is in fact referring to the basic difference between two sets of illuminations that should be obvious to one and all as a consequence of their differing style and format. Even then, folio 173<sup>ro</sup> *certainly* belongs to her second hand and not *possibly* to the first. That the second hand may have worked after drawings by the first is a hypothesis that echoed the conviction of Hanno Wijsman.<sup>230</sup> Even her "might have" repeats Wijsman's "possibly". Large heads (fig. 3.4) are in any case a non-issue, as they are also found in work by the first hand (fig. 3.6). In fact, the massive heads of the kings for the fourth and seventh day are virtually identical with both artist (cf. figs. 3.4 and 3.6). Such heads also occur in earlier illuminations by the Master of 1482, as with the head of Pietro Crescenzi in one of the illuminations of the *Profits champêtres* (fig. 1.8).

As for Goehring's third hand, it is not clear what she had in mind.<sup>231</sup> Certainly nothing in these illuminations is truly flat, leave alone "even flatter". At the end of her ninth note she observed that "Wijsman incorrectly identifies this third hand as the Master of the Chattering Hands", but Wijsman was in fact

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<sup>228</sup> Goehring in Goehring/As-Vijvers 2018, p. 201.

<sup>229</sup> Goehring in Goehring/As-Vijvers 2018, p. 201, notes 7 and 8.

<sup>230</sup> Wijsman 2008, p. 67, n. 104, and Wijsman 2010b, p. 581, no. 16, who specified the two groups correctly. See also Wijsman 2010b, p. 678, below ill. 35, for related observations concerning the relationship of the Master of 1482 and the Master of the Chattering Hands with respect to a Valerius Maximus *Facta et dicta memorabilia* in Paris (BA, 5194, fol. 1).

<sup>231</sup> Much the same probe arose with Will Richter 1981, p. 172, with his "at least two distinctive hands".

writing about her second hand.<sup>232</sup> All in all, I believe little progress was made since 1987, when Anne Korteweg simply attributed all seven illuminations to “the Master of 1482 and emulator”.

### 3.1 - Giovanni Boccaccio and Fellow Florentines Have Fled from the Plague (fol. 3<sup>vo</sup>).

This exceptionally beautiful miniature differs substantially from the six others and is the most outstanding example in The Hague’s *Décamerone* of the considerable powers of the Bruges Master of 1482. More than perhaps any other miniature by him, this one needs to be seen in colour, which is truly glorious. There is a range of saturated and relatively saturated reds (vermillion, near-brick red, and near-pinks), rich greens (varying in value from the washed grass to some passages of clothing), blues (again ranging from sky to drapery), as well as purple and a variety of broken tints. In many places, drapery is worked up with gold striations or hatching.

The atmospheric prospect of a river valley is particularly splendid and includes minute observation of reflections in the water and birds on the wing. Florence, which the handsome youths have fled, is in the left background. It looks like a Gothic city of northern Europe, complete with stepped gables and spiky steeples, instead of like the jewel of Tuscany. Nothing about this city or its surroundings, including the fantastic rock-formation in the middle of what should be the Arno River, is in the least plausible. Yet more reliable information must have been reaching northern Europe by this time, witness the portrait of Florence in Hartmann Schedel’s *Nuremberg Chronicle*, which was illustrated by Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff in 1493.<sup>233</sup> In that sense this image is entirely a product of the Middle Ages.

Apparently the ravages of the black death have yet to stop commerce on the river or traffic on the bridge. The only sign of the terrors of the plague, which Boccaccio described in some detail, is to be found in the Gothic chapel with wooden vaults in the foreground, to which a group of elegant maidens have made their escape. A boy kneels, praying, in the right foreground of this chapel while a

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<sup>232</sup> Wijsman 2008, p. 267, note 104.

<sup>233</sup> Schedel 1893, leaf LXXXVI. For a detailed study of early views of Florence, Schulz 1978.

dead child lies like an abandoned doll before an altar on which stands a diptych with the Annunciation. The six girls in the chapel show no interest in altar or corpse; their attention appears to be largely fixed on the discussion going on outside the door. A seventh maiden has just left the chapel and virtually joined three youths, who are in discussion with a somewhat older and more impressive figure wearing an elaborate foot-length cloak with fur-trimmed collar and sleeves, and a fur-trimmed hat. He is the Bruges Master's type for an author; we encounter much the same figure in most of the miniatures of the London *Livre des profits champêtres* (Cat. 1).

Giovanni Boccaccio invented names for the seven girls, ostensibly intended to hide their true identity. They are Pampinea, Fiammetta, Filomena, Emilia, Lauretta, Neifile, and Elisa, who met by accident inside Florence, in the church of Santa Maria Novella, not in a chapel outside the walls. They were joined there by three youths, Pamfilo, Filostrato and Dioneo, here seen *en plein air*. Just who is who is impossible to tell. The dignified man at the very left must be Boccaccio himself, with a girdle book dangling from his right hand while engaged in dispute or discussion with the characters of his own creation. All this has nothing to do with the text. It is characteristic of the Master of 1482, however, as he rarely sticks closely to his texts. The motif of an author disputing or discussing with younger people is also found throughout the *Livre des profits champêtres* (figs. 1.2-1.10), except there the small group is reduced to a single male and listener. The effect of the group interaction of the *Décamerone* miniature is particularly engaging.

### **3.2 - Filomena, Queen of the Second Day, and Fellow Florentine Youths Listen to Neifile's Story (fol. 47<sup>vo</sup>)**

To repeat my debatable conclusion of Chapter 6 above, this miniature was conceived by the Master of 1482 but executed by the Master of the Chattering Hands. The format, with the simple, flattened, serrated arch is generally of a slightly earlier vintage than the stepped-arch that we find throughout our master's *oeuvre*. Significantly this miniature is close in style to the illuminations of a *Traité de noblesse* in Vienna (figs. 15.1.1, 15.4.1, 15.5.1, 15.8.1, 15.9.1, 15.10.1 and 15.11.1), a manuscript that stood as model for a codex in New Haven (Cat. 15) that was illuminated by the Master of 1482. We find the same small men with

frizzy hair and beady eyes, as well as the same kind of trees, architecture and landscape. It is the style of the Master of the Chattering Hands, here somewhat “improved” by the influence of the Master of 1482. This anonymous artist collaborated closely with the Master of 1482 on the *Décamerone* in the The Hague manuscript and even emulated him in details, as with the thin outlines of some of the females faces. I believe he was taught by Loyset Liédet (ca. 1420-1484), but the Chattering Hands master continued to work in a style related to Liédet well into the 1480s. Most notably, he again collaborated with the Master of 1482 on the Geneva *Livre de la chasse* (Cat. 10).

This miniature depicts Boccaccio's queen for the second day on a throne that stands in a deep river landscape flanked by buildings in the background. The story teller of the day stands to her right and nine other listeners sit on an elaborate grassy bench that would appear to be shaped like an imperfect hexagon. Lisa Muto saw the frontispiece of a handsome *Décamerone* in Oxford (BOL, Douce 213, fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>), which is datable before 1467, as a possible source of inspiration for the enclosure encountered in the codex in The Hague.<sup>234</sup>

Christine Schwall-Hoummady related the type of this The Hague illumination to three earlier *Décamerone* frontispieces, namely in Cambridge MA (Houghton Library, Richardson 31, fol. 9<sup>vo</sup>), Oxford (BOL, Douce 213, fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)<sup>235</sup> and Paris (BnF, fr. 129, fol. 1) the second of these being the miniature also discussed by Muto.<sup>236</sup> However Schwall-Hammadi concluded that “formally a connection with fr. 129 is more apparent” given the placement of the figures and the grassy bench as well as the pose of the two young men repeated in another of the The Hague miniatures (our fig. 3.4), but that the differences are also significant: “a temporal difference is certain and it is therefore most likely that the manuscript in The Hague was based on a model similar to fr. 129 [in translation].”<sup>237</sup> Schwall-Hoummady may have been too demanding, given how rarely the Bruges Master of 1482 can be shown to have worked closely after a model.

<sup>234</sup> Muto 1998, p. 293 and fig. 3.

<sup>235</sup> These three manuscripts, all from the 1460s, are not listed by Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A because they are French and not Southern Netherlandish manuscripts.

<sup>236</sup> Schwall-Hoummady 1999, p. 205. She also argued for the formal importance of a *Décamerone* in Paris (BnF, fr. 239 (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8458435h>), which dates from the second quarter of the fifteenth century. However, the connection seems slight to me.

<sup>237</sup> Again Schwall-Hoummady 1999, p. 205.

As for the iconography of this illumination, it is uninformative and boring, being more or less repeated several times in the The Hague codex. Filomena sits on a throne before an urban scene with a river flowing through it in this instance, and listens with the others to the story related by Neifele, who stands by her side. At each of these sessions presided over by one of their numbers, all the youths tell a story in turn. We know that a miniature illustrating the first day of these procedures is missing. That it is the second day that we see in this miniature is indicated by its location, immediately above the announcement of “la seconde journee” in the text. Neifele can be identified because she relates the story following on the miniature, the first of ten for the day. It tells of one Martellino, who pretends to be a cripple and to be healed by the body of Saint Arrigo. He is arrested, beaten, and about to be hanged when he makes his escape. Though it is scarcely one of the more exciting tales of the *Décamerone*, it clearly has great narrative possibilities, none of them addressed by the formulaic approach of the Master of 1482.

### **3.3 - Neifile, Queen of the Third Day, and Fellow Florentine Youths Listen to Filostrato's Story (fol. 121<sup>ro</sup>)**

Here we again see the style of the Master of the Chattering Hands, the more archaic of the two illuminators encountered in the Hague *Décamerone*, apparently emulating the female heads of the Master of 1482, whom I have identified as the inventor. The young people have moved indoors, under a depressed wooden barrel vault. We have views out of windows and a door of a type that became popular in Flemish panel painting around 1450. The disposition of the throne and figures is otherwise similar to that of the preceding miniature. Neifilo sits on the throne while Filostrato makes a point. Typically the narrator appears to have the attention of the queen for the day, but of no one else. Like Neifelo on the preceding day, Filostrato again relates the first of ten stories. It tells of one Masetto de Lamporecchio, who pretends to be deaf and dumb to obtain employment as a gardener in a convent, where he sees a great deal more action than the Master of 1482 was prepared to countenance. Through an improbably un-Gothic picture window on the right, we see three nuns who have lain with Masetto. Obviously one has to read the text to decode even this much



information about the resourceful gardener's efforts. The text tells us that these took place in a little hut in which he lived, whereas we see a major edifice behind the nuns in our miniature. Here, as elsewhere, the Master of 1482 did not enrich our reading of the text. Perhaps the story of Masetto was such hot stuff for the master and his contemporaries that the mere presence of three nuns in the background would have been scandal enough.

### **3.4 - Filostrato, King of the Fourth Day, and Fellow Florentine Youths Listen to Fiametta's Story (fol. 172<sup>vo</sup>)**

This illumination has the same hierarchic composition as before. We have returned to much the same outdoor setting as in the second miniature (fig. 3.2), but virtually every element of the background has been changed. Not even the throne is identical. The image is again substantially by Master of the Chattering Hands. Here too, we find details of some of the faces that suggest that he was emulating the Master of 1482, or that are interventions by the latter.

In the background we see a reference to the story told by Fiametta, who stands almost in the centre of the listening circle. Her tale is again the first of ten for the day, all of this set having an unhappy ending. It tells of Tancred, Prince of Salerno, who murders Guiscardo, the lover of his daughter Ghismonda, because he is of humble birth, and then sends her his heart in a gold cup. Ghismonda pours poison in the cup and drinks it, thus meeting her death. The woman in the arched entrance to a building in the background must be Ghismonda, as she brandishes a massive cup from which a huge heart protrudes, while a young man attempts to restrain her. Once again, little of the essence or drama of the story is conveyed by the illumination.

### **3.5 - Elisa, Queen of the Sixth Day, and Fellow Florentine Youths Listen to Filomena's Story (fol. 256<sup>ro</sup>)**

With this miniature we at last return to the stepped arch format and the hand of the Bruges Master of 1482 himself. However, the figures are generally just a little shorter than we might expect from him. Possibly this reflects the relatively early date of this illumination within the program of the The Hague *Décamerone*. In other words, I believe that this miniature may have preceded the opening

miniature (fig. 3.1) of the manuscript. The numerous *pentimenti* of the floor also suggest an early date, as they show a process of editing leading from the small-tiled floors of the Master of the Chattering Hands to the larger, more square and more convincing tiles of our painter. The interior architecture, with its cut off-rib vault and triple-arched view of the deep landscape, is also more horizontally expansive than before (cf. fig. 3.3). Another such bench is seen at the far left of the main chamber. In addition to being more ample, the composition is more adventurous than the preceding three, being much less symmetrical, with only a smaller bench on the right and showing Filomena from behind for added variety. Most of the listeners actually pay attention to her story, underscoring their interest with more eloquent gesture than we have seen previously. The overall effect is substantially different from the preceding story-telling miniatures.

This particular set of ten tales of the *Décameron* all involve witty retorts and escapes, and it is in this context that one must understand this the first story, told by Filomena, of a knight who asks permission to carry Madonna Oretta on his mount, offering to tell her a story. He is such a bad raconteur, however, that she asks to be put down, complaining about the erratic trot of his horse. The knight gets her point and gives up on his story. We see him and Madonna Oretta, mounted, in the centre background. The story is one of the shortest and least eventful to be found in all of the *Décamerone*. Its inclusion in the seven miniatures of the Hague manuscript only confirms what has been becoming quite apparent, that a regular distribution of illuminations throughout the codex was a more important consideration than the intrinsic drama or interest of the tales.

### **3.6 - Dioneo, King of the Seventh Day, and Fellow Florentine Youths Listen to the Emilia's Story (fol. 278<sup>vo</sup>)**

This miniature, which resembles earlier ones in its relative symmetry, is again by the Master of 1482. It resembles our painter's other story-telling scene (fig. 3.5) but it is more consistently opened up to the outside world, with a view of a building outside replacing the chamber at the far right. This miniature would also appear to be slightly later in date, with a slightly taller figure canon. The floor shows few of the kind of *pentimenti* that litter the foreground of the earlier

miniature, showing less experimentation or a fully developed notion of what was wanted.

How little heed the Master of 1482 paid to the text is at once revealed by the setting, which is another rib-vaulted chamber, here with a wonderful view, whereas the *Décamerone* specifies that Dioneo “had carpets laid on the grass, not far from where they had dined near the lake” before ordering Emilia to begin her tale, which is again the first of ten for the day. The whole set concerns women who outwit their husbands. In this case Donna Tessa, the wife of Gianni Lotteringi, convinces her husband that she is exorcising a ghost when she is in fact warning away her lover, Federigo, who has come knocking at the door. We presumably see Donna Tessa and Federigo in the doorway in the very background, just to the left of the head of Dioneo, but none of the wit of the story is conveyed.

### **3.7 - Emilia, Queen of the Ninth Day, and Fellow Florentine Youths Listen to Filomena’s Story (fol. 360<sup>ro</sup>)**

For this, the last miniature, we return to the collaborator of the Master of 1482. The setting is similar to that of the third miniature, though the upper zone of the room is cut off, so that it is difficult to tell if the ceiling is another barrel vault. This ninth day is a kind of “open session” in the proceedings, featuring stories on whatever topics the narrators prefer. Emilia appears to be pointing out the picture window to the right, where we see a fragment of the story of Madonna Francesca, who has two persistent lovers, Allessandro and Rinuccio, but likes neither. As a kind of test, she has Allessandro lie in the tomb belonging to a corpse named Scannadio for a night, and also orders Rinuccio to carry Scannadio's remains to her house. The guard surprises the two lovers on their way, and Francesca is never bothered by them again. Knowing this, the two figures in the right background must be Madonna Francesca ordering a reluctant Allessandro into Scannadio's tomb. In Boccaccio, Francesca has a maid-servant carry out the order, so that our miniature is incorrect in even this one promising detail.

Such is the decoration of this *Décamerone*. Note that the Bruges Master of 1482 and the Master of the Chattering Hands largely ignored Boccaccio's more scabrous stories, which are only alluded to in the background of five of the miniatures. They instead concentrated on the repetitious representation of the

process of storytelling. One wonders if the artists ever read the text and how the patron could have found the images helpful in understanding it.

Earlier scholars of the The Hague *Décamerone* had a higher opinion of the narrative gifts of its creators. Patricia Gathercole gushed about a “clever” artist without conveying useful information,<sup>238</sup> but two decades later Lisa Muto fared better, writing about a single artist who made “ingenious” use of subsidiary scenes in architecture and picture frames to supplement his main narrative and who “astutely” captured the very spirit and concept of the *Décamerone* by emphasizing the young people who were at once the creators and first audience of the book.<sup>239</sup>

Fair enough. It is impossible to suggest a pictorial cycle illustrating a novel that better illustrates its genesis than the seven surviving illuminations of the The Hague *Décamerone* as conceived by the Master of 1482 and rendered by him and the Master of the Chattering Hands. That Boccaccio's stories proper get relative short thrift can be seen as a kind of a trade-off. Finally, it is apparent that this approach conveys less information than the bi-partite narration of the very first illuminated *Décamerone*. All in all, it is difficult to argue for progress with respect to effective narration.

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<sup>238</sup> Gathercole 1967, p. 317.

<sup>239</sup> Muto 1988, p. 293.

## Catalogue 4

Bartholomeus Anglicus, *Le Livre des propriétés des choses*

London, British Library, MS Royal 15 E II and MS Royal 15 E III  
Bruges, 1482 or 1483

### Description:

Vellum, 282 + 294 folios, 470 X 345 mm. *Lettre bâtarde*) in two columns. We are primarily concerned with the second volume of two (Royal Ms 15 E III), which begins with Bartholomeus Anglicus's book XII, on birds. Each book commences with a large or small miniature. The famous frontispiece is on folio 11<sup>ro</sup> of this volume.

Royal MS 15 E III has seven other illuminations, whereas Royal MS 15 E II has twelve. Not one of them is by the Bruges Master of 1482.

### Provenance:

Commissioned by Edward IV of England (ruled 1442-1483). His arms appear at the beginning of Royal E II. The concomitant dedication is to “the very high and very powerful Prince Charles by divine providence” (*tres hault et tres puissant prince Charles par la divine pourveance*). As argued in chapter 4 above, the reference is to the future Charles VIII of France, who was destined by the Treaty of Picquigny of 1475 eventually to marry Edward’s IV’s daughter Elizabeth and thereby to become his son-in-law. Royal E III informs us (fol. 294<sup>vo</sup>) that it was “written by me Juan de Ries and finished in Bruges on the 25th day of May of the year 1482” (*Esript par moy Jo. du Ries et finy a Bruges le xxve jour de may. Anno 1482*). We could hardly hope for a more detailed provenance.

### Literature:

Omont 1891, pp. 1-13 (p. 9)

Warner 1907, p. 258, pl. 28  
 Herbert 1911, vol. 1, p. 314, no. 38 (fol. 11<sup>ro</sup>)  
 Warner/Gilson 1921, vol. 2, pp. 175-176  
 Durrieu 1921 and 1927, pp. 60-61; pl. LXIV (fol. 11<sup>ro</sup>)  
 British Museum 1923, p. 3, plate XXXVIII  
 Winkler 1925, pp. 137 and 179  
 Sarton 1931, pp. 586-587  
 Thieme-Becker 1950, p. 57  
 Hofer 1953, pp. 29-30; pl. VII (fol. 11<sup>ro</sup>)  
 Exhibition catalogue London 1953-1954, no. 584  
 Pächt/Alexander 1966, no. 351, p. 26  
 Horn 1968, pp. 42, 49-50 and 55-56; fig. 59 (fol. 11<sup>ro</sup>)  
 Kekewich 1971, p. 483  
 Gagnebin 1976, pp. 166-168  
 Cahn/Marrow 1978, p. 258  
 Watson 1979, no. 897  
 Lemaire/De Schrijver 1981, no. 108, pp. 246-249  
 Euw/Plotzek 1982, p. 265 XIII 6  
 Prevenier/Blockmans 1982, ill. 061  
 De Hamel 1983, p. 220  
 Horn 1983, p. 112, n. 15  
 Shailor 1983, p. 333  
 Sotheby Parke Bernet (De Hamel) 1983, no. 153, p. 220  
 Backhouse 1987, pp. 27 and 39  
 Dogaer 1987, p. 127, pl. 75 (fol. 11<sup>ro</sup>) – “School”  
 Hindman 1988, no. 37, pp. 79 and 139  
 Basing 1990, ill. 32 and 48  
 De Splenter 1990, p. 80  
 König 1991, p. 258  
 Martens 1992, p. 146  
 McKendrick 1994, p. 164, n. 90  
 McKendrick et al. 2011, no. 93  
 Smeyers/Van der Stock 1997, p. 022

Prevenier et al. 1998, p. 253  
 Smeyers 1998, p. 425  
 McKendrick 2003, p. 95, fig. 80 (fol. 11<sup>ro</sup>)  
 Kren/McKendrick 2003, p. 311, notes 7 and 9  
 Hans Collas/Schandel 2009, pp. 200-201  
 Wijsman 2010b, p. 66  
 Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 1992  
 McKendrick, Lowden and Doyle 2011, no. 93  
 Dubois 2011-2012, pp. 345- 346, ill. 247 (fol. 11<sup>ro</sup>)  
 Wiechers ca. 2019, n.p., with C.Pl.  
 Tutton 2021, fig. 174, fol. 102

## Contents:

As his name indicates, Bartholmaeus Anglicus was of English origin. A Franciscan monk who lived in the first half of the thirteenth century, his presence is recorded in Oxford, Paris and Germany. Between 1230 and 1240, he compiled a nineteen-volume encyclopaedia for the layman, in the tradition of Isodore of Seville's twelve-volume *Etymologiae* of almost six centuries before but without its extensive ecclesiastical content. For three centuries, Anglicus's *De proprietatibus rerum* (On the Properties of Things) enjoyed enormous success, even though much of his work had been superseded by the time he completed it. Apparently botany and zoology were Anglicus's strong points.

Naturally a work of such popularity was translated into diverse western languages. According to a fifteenth-century French copy in Jena (El., fol. 80), King Charles V of France (ruled 1364-1380) charged Jean Corbechon, Doctor of Theology and Choirmaster of the Holy Augustus, with the French translation of Anglicus's text as *Le livre des propriétés des choses*.<sup>240</sup> The library of the dukes of Burgundy already contained a copy by 1420.<sup>241</sup> Claudine Lemaire and Antoine de Schryver discuss a fine copy of about 1470 from the library of Louis of Gruuthuse

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<sup>240</sup> Ribémont 1999, n.p., offers extensive information.

<sup>241</sup> Doutrepont 1909, pp. 42-43, no. 81.

(Paris, BnF, fr. 134),<sup>242</sup> but one expects that there must have been versions still closer in date to the London *Livre*.

As related above, the second of the two volumes states that it was written on 25 May 1482. It was this date that suggested the name of our illuminator, Master of Bruges of 1482, which was coined by Friedrich Winkler in his *Flämische Buchmalerei* of 1925.<sup>243</sup> His working assumption must have been that the codex was illuminated in the same year that it was written. Sixteen years later Otto Pächt called the artist “Bruges Master of 1483”, presumably allowing for a year between the text and illumination of the manuscript.<sup>244</sup> The name “Bruges Master of 1482” appears to have stuck instead. Nevertheless, in keeping with considerations presented above, I believe that the *Livre* frontispiece is not an early but an almost mature work by the Master of 1482.

## Decoration:

### 4.1 - Frontispiece (fol. 2<sup>ro</sup>)

I know of no iconographic tradition leading up to this marvellous illumination. The manuscript in the library of Louis of Gruuthuse (BnF, fr 134), which was illuminated by Philippe de Mazerolles (previously known as the Master of Anthony of Burgundy)<sup>245</sup> clearly did not stand model for this frontispiece.

On the quay of a canal, near the outer-limits of a Bruges-like city to the right and our master’s obligatory clump of rock behind the figures, which has grown a little more since his *Management of a Vinyard* (fig. 1.4). On the left Bartholomeus Anglicus seems to be instructing four young men on the splendours of God’s creation. Of all the botanical and zoological interests of Anglicus the focus was on birds, which we see in great variety and which the author appears to be counting. What we encounter here would hardly tax today’s amateur ornithologist: stork, heron, grebe, owl, falcon, duck, rooster, chicken, raven, magpie, blackbird, etc., as

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<sup>242</sup> Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, no. 108, pp. 246-249 and pl. 21. See: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100238580>.

<sup>243</sup> Winkler 1925, p. 137.

<sup>244</sup> Pächt/Alexander 1966, p. 26.

<sup>245</sup> Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 2645, specifies the Master of Anthony of Burgundy -and early work of the Master of the Dresden Prayer Book.



well as peacocks, pheasant and pairing partridges in the elaborate rinceaux and flower border.<sup>246</sup> Most of these birds are discussed by Batholomeus Anglicus, but the Master of 1482 was simply rendering every bird he could call to mind as well as he could instead of checking them off in the text. However, the birds are so wonderfully rendered compared to the horses, dogs and other mammals by our master (fig. 2.9) that one might suspect that he secured the help of a specialized collaborator were it not that the Master of 1482 excelled at rendering birds throughout his oeuvre. There appears to be a stylistic unity between this border and the main illumination, suggesting that the Master of 1482 may himself have been responsible for the wonderful flowers that repeatedly appear around some of his more ambitious illuminations. All in all, this is the Bruges Master of 1482's most impressive work, lacking his usual thin outlines around the faces. The slightly more modelled quality brings to mind the later illuminations in the Grimany breviary.

The remaining miniatures of Royal E III are probably by three other artists. According to Hanno Wijsman<sup>247</sup> they are the Master of Edward IV, a possible follower of the Master of the Flemish Boetius and still another hand. The first of these was to be expected, given that Edward IV commissioned this codex. However, the frontispiece appears to be the only miniature that Edward ordered from the Bruges Master of 1482.

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<sup>246</sup> To identify these species as best I could, I used Jan G. Baggerman's Dutch translation of Arthur Singer's *The Hamlyn Guide to Birds of Britain and Europe*.

<sup>247</sup> Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 1992).

## Catalogue 5

Anonymous translation of Publius Ovidius Naso, *Metamorphoses* and Petrus Berchorius (Pierre Bersuire)'s introduction to his *Metamorphosis Ovidiana moraliter explanata*.

Copenhagen, Det Kgl. Bibliotek, Thott. 399 fol.  
Bruges, ca. 1483 to early 1484.

### Description:

Vellum, 471 folios, 435 x 335 mm. Late fifteenth-century *Lettre bâtarde* in two columns. Initials in gold and colour. Forty-nine illuminations, with the first fourteen, illustrating Berchorius's commentary, by the Master of 1482. One is large, two are half-page, and the remainder is small to very small. The other illuminations, which illustrate Ovid's *Metamorphoses* proper, are by several distinct hands.

### Provenance:

Circle of Louis of Gruuthuse and Colard Mansion.  
Copenhagen, Det Kgl. Bibliotek.  
Bequest of Count Otto Thott (1703-1785).<sup>248</sup>

### Literature:

Abrahams 1844, pp. 60-65  
Bruun 1870, pp. 256-262  
Henkel 1921, pp. 150-151 (who did not spot the Thott codex until 1922)  
Henkel 1922, pp. 7-15, figs. 2 (fol. 13<sup>vo</sup>), 3 (fol. 1<sup>vo</sup>); 4 (fol. 84<sup>ro</sup>)  
Winkler 1927, pp. 137 and 175  
Panofsky/Saxl 1933, pp. 257-258, p. 263, fig. 42 (fol. 11<sup>ro</sup>)

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<sup>248</sup> No previous owners are identified by the library.

Panofsky 1939, p. 114; pl. XLVIII, fig. 87 (fol. 9<sup>vo</sup>)  
 Copenhagen 1952, pp. 78-79, no. 153D  
 Delaissé 1959, no. 247  
 Panofsky 1960, pp. 79-81, n. 2; p. 87, n. 2 and fig. 58 (fol. 9<sup>vo</sup>)  
 Horn 1968, pp. 51 and 54; figs. 80 (fol. 1<sup>vo</sup>) and 82 (fol. 9<sup>vo</sup>)  
 Cahn/Marrow 1978, p. 258  
 Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, p. 218  
 Horn 1983, p. 112, n. 15  
 Shailor 1984, p. 333  
 Dogaer 1987, p. 127  
 Legaré 1992, pp. 209-222, ill. p. 91  
 Arnould/Massing 1993, no. 76  
 Cardon 1996, cat no. 01  
 Sutton/Visser-Fuchs 1997, ill. 82  
 Prevenir 1998, p. 178 (fol. 120<sup>vo</sup>)  
 Kren/McKendrick 2003, pp. 295-296 (as Master of Edward IV)  
 Hans-Collas/Schandel 2009, p. 200  
 Wijsman 2010b Appendix A, (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 1445  
 Hauwaerts/De Wilde/Vandamme 2018, pp. 199-219

## Contents:

The text of Thott. 399 consists of two parts.<sup>249</sup> The main body is an anonymous French translation in verse, formerly attributed to Philippe de Vitry (1291-1361),<sup>250</sup> of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Publius Ovidius Naso (43 BC-AD 17) wrote his renowned poem in dactylic hexameters when in his early fifties and in banishment from Rome. The present French translation is made up of fifteen books, like the original, but with moralizing interpolations. Most of its contents, like most of the miniatures in the present codex, can be understood by reading any modern translation of Ovid.

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<sup>249</sup> Abrahams (1844) has a detailed and clear discussion of the contents, their precise relationship, and the introductory textual passages.

<sup>250</sup> Vitry is specified as translator by everyone up to and including Copenhagen 1952, no. 153.

The fly in this ointment is that the *Metamorphoses* section is preceded by a French translation of the introduction to the *Metamorphosis Ovidiana moraliter explanata*, a Latin prose work of about 1340, which was revised around 1342 by Petrus Berchorius or Pierre Bersuire (ca. 1290-1362).<sup>251</sup> Most aspects of the late Middle Ages are interconnected. As pointed out by Jean Seznec,

“this *Ovide moralisé* is in fact a sort of appendix to the *Reductorium morale*, the great work in which, in thirteen books, Berchorius laboriously assigned moral meaning to the *Liber de proprietatibus* of Bartholomeus Anglicus (see Cat. 4). In order to complete this vast work of moralization, he added three more books; the fourteenth treats of the marvels of nature and the sixteenth of difficult passages of the Bible. As for the fifteenth, it brings us the *Metamorphoses* interpreted according to the same principles and the same intent. As introduction to his fifteenth book come seventeen chapters dealing with the forms of each god. In this section, as in all others, the author is seeking truths, more or less profound, beneath surface appearances, but at the beginning of each chapter he gives us a short introduction, which in this case concerns only the gods’ images as such.”<sup>252</sup>

This mythographical introduction occupies fols. 1<sup>ro</sup> to 25<sup>vo</sup> of the present manuscript and, as mentioned by Erwin Panofsky, reviews the appearance of seventeen gods: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Apollo (Sol), Venus, Mercury, Diana (Luna), Minerva (Pallas), Juno, Cybele, Neptune, Pan, Bacchus, Pluto, Vulcan, Hercules and Aesculapius. Panofsky tells us that Berchorius was a friend of Petrarch and made use of the latter's *Africa*, “increasing, however, the number of Petrarch's ekphrases from fourteen to seventeen (by the addition of Bacchus, Hercules and Aesculapius) and rearranging their sequence in such a way that the seven planetarian divinities, arranged in astronomical order, are placed at the beginning of the list.”<sup>253</sup>

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<sup>251</sup> For a compact overview of the extensive material concerning Petrus Berchorius, consult the index of Panofsky 1960, p. 232.

<sup>252</sup> Seznec 1953 [1940], p. 174.

<sup>253</sup> Panofsky 1960, p. 79, n. 2.

It is a matter of some importance that the main body of Thott 399 is a French translation in verse of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and *not* of Berchorius's *Ovidius moralizatus*. Nevertheless, the anonymous translator set out to give a moralized translation of the metamorphoses. An Ovid entirely without moralization was not an option in the Middle Ages and well beyond.<sup>254</sup> Elsewhere, Panofsky argued that Berchorius's introduction tended to “invade” the French versions of the *Ovide moralisé*, like Thott 399, that it prefaced,<sup>255</sup> so that, presumably, any *Ovide Moralisé* prefaced by Berchorius was to some degree an *Ovide Moralisé* by Berchorius himself. Nevertheless, most of Thot 399 is relatively straightforward, with the moralizing comments kept separate.

### Decoration:

The manuscript has forty-nine miniatures. Nicolai A.C. Abrahams counted “41 small miniatures and three large ones” but Christopher Bruun rightly specified “three large and 46 lesser miniatures”.<sup>256</sup> Only the first miniature is full-page and by the Bruges Master of 1482. Two further illuminations are half-page and by another hand. All three have wonderfully bold borders brimming with fantastic monsters, which are presumably by still another artist. The remaining miniatures range from small, meaning just over ten centimetres high to very small, meaning about nine millimetres high. Because of their tiny dimensions and their apparently rapid execution, it can be difficult to be sure of the attribution to the Master of 1482. It is certain, however, that our master concentrated his efforts on the illustration to Berchorius's introduction on the appearance of the gods. Even then a total of only fourteen of the seventeen illuminations is likely to be by his hand, the last three, *Vulcan* (fol. 25<sup>ro</sup>), *Hercules* and *Aesclepius* (both on fol. 25<sup>vo</sup>) being particularly doubtful.

I do not intend to discuss the illustrations in the main body of this *Ovide moralisé*. Some readers may wish to know that a modern hand writing in Thott 399 identified all the scenes from the *Metamorphosis* and that the folio and *Ovid*

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<sup>254</sup> For instance, Van Mander 1604.

<sup>255</sup> Panofsky 1960, p. 87, n. 1.

<sup>256</sup> Abrahams 1844 p. 60, and Bruun 1870, p. 256. Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 1445, specifies forty-four illustrations.

references for the subjects were published by Christopher Bruun in the nineteenth century.<sup>257</sup> Following on the Berchorius group, the Copenhagen *Ovide moralisé* has thirty-two more illuminations. One might expect some of them to be by the Bruges Master of 1482, yet that is not certainly the case with the greater majority of the miniatures. However, some come close. One instance is the *Diana and Aktaeon* (fol. 87<sup>ro</sup>; fig. 5.15). It may lack the overt drama and abundance of the two depictions painted by Titian about a century later,<sup>258</sup> but it still effectively conveys the essence of the tragedy by way of the anachronistic clothes and boots shed by the accidental voyeur. The treatment of Diana and her attendants could convince (cf. Ill. 4.5). The spherical shrubs covered with tiny highlights and the broad leaves of the trees are not quite what we have encountered elsewhere in the work of our master. His trees may be convincingly feathery (e.g. fig. 4.1) but also more schematic (cf. fig. 1.12). As always, we have to allow for workshop participation.

How much is lost by not discussing all of the illuminations of this manuscript can be demonstrated by *Minerva and the Daughters of Pierus* (fol. 133<sup>vo</sup>; ill. 5.16), which illustrates an obscure tale buried in Ovid's fourth book. The sketchy miniature, with its incoherent setting, is definitely *not* by the Master of 1482, but the subject matter is all the more intriguing. It proved particularly difficult to identify because, strictly speaking, there should be nine, not two women turned into birds. They are two of the nine daughters of Pierus, “a rich landowner of Pella, and Euippe of Paeonia was their mother”, who made the major mistake of engaging the nine muses in a formal storytelling competition. Predictably the muses won and turned the challengers into magpies. The strange floating heads in the water are the judges of the competition for, as Ovid tells us, “nymphs were chosen and were sworn in by their rivers. They took their seats on blocks of living rock.” The muses, who are not depicted, eventually reported the event (and all the competing tales) to Minerva, the woman on the left, after she had travelled

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<sup>257</sup> Bruun 1870, pp. 256-262. One needs to learn Danish to deal with much of the material. Bruun also has deviating folio references because he starts a new sequence with Roman numerals following the seventeen Berchorius images. For instance, fol. 87<sup>ro</sup> became fol. 62<sup>ro</sup>. Our references correspond to the ones on the photographs supplied by the library.

<sup>258</sup> *Diana and Actaeon*, National Gallery and Scottish National Gallery, London and Edinburgh, and *The Death of Actaeon*, National Gallery, London.

“across the sea to Thebes and Helicon, the home of the muses” and, presumably, long after the water nymphs had been relieved of their duties.

Clearly Thott 399 invites detailed study of all of its miniatures, imitating the methodology of Erwin Panofsky and including a close examination of the hands of all the illuminators. The notes that I took in Copenhagen in the summer of 1981 are proving to be of little use in this direction. Though I then understandably identified the *Diana and Actaeon* as one the eighteen works close to our master,<sup>259</sup> I arrived at the same conclusion with respect to *Minerva and the Daughters of Pierus*, which is not at all close. Panofsky also devised *Notnamen* or sobriquets for independent illuminations, such as the Master of the Fantastic Borders, the Master of the Half-Page Illuminations, the Master of Augustus and Tibertine Sybil and the Master of the Coronation of Augustus. Obviously this approach adds to the wild growth of anonymous manuscript illumination and is not at all helpful in connection with the Bruges Master of 1482. It therefore seems permissible to concentrate on the Illuminations to the text by Berchorius.

### 5.1 - Saturn (fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>; full page; borders by another hand)

This is the miniature that Otto Pächt first associated with the Bruges Master of 1482 and that I discussed as being by him in 1968.<sup>260</sup> The border is by another hand, one that we do not encounter in any of the other manuscripts illuminated by our master. Nor do we encounter elsewhere the curious effect of the border projecting between the two columns, or of the uneven edges of the text projecting into the border section. The miniature proper is unusually chaotic, presumably because of the complexity of the subject matter, though the view into the distance is characteristic for the Master of 1482, as is the pose of the foreground figure, which is adapted from the work of Dieric Bouts and his school, as in *The Gathering of Manna*, a subsidiary panel of Bouts's Last Supper Altar, or in the School of Bouts *Taking of Christ* in Munich.

This illumination is the first and most elaborate of the seventeen images illustrating Berchorius, the central deity being Saturn. We see Ovid writing at a

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<sup>259</sup> Fols. 38<sup>ro</sup>, 45<sup>ro</sup>, 55<sup>vo</sup>, 62<sup>vo</sup>, 86<sup>ro</sup>, 87<sup>ro</sup>, 97<sup>vo</sup>, 127<sup>vo</sup>, 103<sup>vo</sup>, 133<sup>vo</sup>, 138<sup>vo</sup>, 173<sup>vo</sup>, 270<sup>vo</sup>, 254<sup>vo</sup>, 353<sup>vo</sup>, 382<sup>vo</sup>, 390<sup>ro</sup> and 424<sup>ro</sup>. These references follow the ones specified by the library on their photographs.

<sup>260</sup> Pächt/Alexander 1966, p. 26.

desk and lectern in a room raised four steps from street level inside a Gothic structure on the left, while his “creations” loom up before his eyes. Behind him are a cushioned bench, a window, and a curtained bookshelf with some (illegible?) Gothic writing on it. Saturn looks dynamic and determined even though Berchorius describes him as old, sad and pale. The god is about to devour one of his children, which he grasps with his left hand. In his right hand he holds a scythe and a bat-like creature that is biting its own tail, which should be a snake according to Berchorius. These are references to Saturn's Greek guise as Chronos, or Time. In Greek mythology as we know it, it is usually Saturn who devours his children and Uranus, Saturn's father, who is castrated by Saturn (or Chronos) himself. However, Isidor of Seville (ca. 560-636) already said that Venus's father is the mutilated god Saturn and that Jupiter cut off his testicles (*Etymologiae* VIII. xi. 77). Clearly the conflation of generations persisted with Berchorius.

Jupiter, in an athletic crouching pose seen from the back, holds his father's severed member, barely visible, in his left hand and the offending knife in his right. Whereas Berchorius has Saturn situated behind the sea from which Venus is born when his sperm hits the water, Venus here stands in the water behind Saturn and preens in a mirror. Taking the lead from Berchorius, we should also be looking for Juno, presumably the woman to the left of Jupiter, who seems to have his full attention. The god Neptune is supposed to be somewhere around as well; he is probably the bearded man wearing wind-blown headgear, holding a miniature sceptre-like trident and wading in the sea. Pluto, another participating deity, would have to be the fellow with a sceptre skulking in the cave behind Neptune. One of Saturn's roles was as protector of the Sowers and the Seed, and his wife Ops was a harvest helper. She must be the woman holding grapes and situated to our right of Saturn,<sup>261</sup> which is precisely where Berchorius had her. Also present are supposed to be Jupiter's four children, which may explain the child in the right foreground with a basket hanging on its left arm. Another child wearing a cowl is seen further back, to the right of Ops. But who is the young man at the far right, whose left hand holds the right hand of the foreground child? And what is he

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<sup>261</sup> I thank William Reynolds for his assistance with this miniature (e-mail of 30 May 2005).



holding in his right hand, a heart? Unfortunately, Panofsky did not tackle this fascinating miniature, which certainly illustrates Berchorius instead of Ovid.

The corresponding woodcut published by Colard Mansion in 1484 provides a useful comparison (fig. 5.1.1).<sup>262</sup> The actual castration is rendered with greater gore and impact. Juno has remained where she was, as has Neptune, who is stepping out of the sea instead of striding in it. He is more difficult to identify because his sceptre is non-descript as opposed to trifurcate, indicating a loss in translation from miniature to woodcut. However, Pluto, who has migrated to the right foreground, is more explicitly identified thanks to the flames lapping about him. The whole problematic group with Opst has been eliminated, with Venus taking their place. As Henkel observed,<sup>263</sup> once our painter had moved Venus to the right, the woodcutter needed a plausible trajectory for Saturn's severed member, which he therefore moved to Saturn's right hand, with the knife ending up in his left.

To be fair to Colard Mansion one must examine the splendid book that was his end product, as represented by the incunable that is preserved in the Openbare Bibliotheek of Bruges, which was my source for the fourteen illustrations of the woodcuts (figs. 5.1.1 to 5.14.1). Moreover, his dependence on the *Ovide* manuscript is only obvious with the Berchorius illuminations. He shows considerable independence elsewhere. His *Orpheus and Eurydice*, for instance, is totally different and much more ambitious than the corresponding miniature.<sup>264</sup>

## 5.2 - Jupiter (fol. 4<sup>vo</sup>)

Jupiter, the second of “the seventeen mythographic images à la Berchorius” is sitting on a handsome chair in a Gothic interior. According to the author, the chair is supposed to be made of ivory, which could not possibly be the case with this specimen. Dressed in late fifteenth-century clothes, Jupiter has just killed three soldiers in armour with his thunderbolts, which look more like fireballs. According to Berchorius, they are giants who had attacked Mount Olympus, whom Jupiter is crushing underfoot, which is almost what we see in this miniature. Through a huge

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<sup>262</sup> Henkel 1922, no. I.

<sup>263</sup> Henkel 1922, p. 11.

<sup>264</sup> *Metamorphosis* Book X, Bruges, Openbare Bibliotheek, ms. 3877, fol. 247<sup>vo</sup>. and Thott 399, fol. 270<sup>vo</sup>.

door we see the rape of Ganymede above a handsome landscape with a walled group of buildings. Berchorius only mentions that the “eagle carrying Ganymede between his feet” is located near Jupiter. It is the blatant anachronism that make this miniature and many others so amusing. If the handling looks a little crude for the Master of 1482, it is because the miniature is in fact about the size of our photograph.

The Mansion woodcut (fig. 5.2.1) is a simplified version in reverse. The woodcutter's drawing must have followed the orientation of the miniature, making his task easier, though he did take the trouble to keep Jupiter right-handed. It is unlikely that the Master of 1482 should have worked after the woodcut and reversed it, especially as the composition of the miniature looks easier and more natural than the mirror-image woodcut version. The reduction of soldiers from three to two and the stripping of the landscape point in the same direction.

### 5.3 – Mars (fol. 6<sup>vo</sup>)

Berchorius, no. 4. This minute miniature is again by the Master of 1482. According to Berchorius, Apollo should be crowned with his golden tripod, but he here wears a feathered beret. “In one hand he holds arrows, a bow, and a quiver and in the other hand a lyre” says Berchorius, but the Master of 1482 has done the intelligent thing and hung the quiver off the god's belt. “Beneath his feet”, Berchorius continues, is a frightful monster whose serpentine body has three separate heads, a dog's, a wolf's and a lion's, and that is precisely what we see. According to Panofsky, “the representation of Apollo in the company of that three-headed monster [was something] that Petrarch had excavated from Macrobius.”<sup>265</sup> Berchorius says that near Apollo is a green laurel over which flies a black raven, which certainly explains this aspect of our image. Under the laurel the nine muses dance and raise melodious song; the Master of 1482 simply reduced their numbers to four. Obviously if you put a hennin on a woman without clothes, you get an undressed anachronism, and not a true nude. Much the same approach is still encountered in the best known of Lucas Cranach the Elder's

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<sup>265</sup> Panofsky p. 80, end of n. 2.

versions of the *Judgment of Paris*,<sup>266</sup> which is arguably mediaeval in that respect. The monster in the right foreground must be Python, the sea serpent that Apollo had pierced through the middle with one of his arrows. However, Python should be far away according to Berchorius.

The Mansion woodcut does not reverse the image in this instance (fig. 5.3.1), but it is still almost certainly a copy of our miniature. The four muses have been further reduced to three. The dragon has been replaced by a bunch of flowers and, as elsewhere, the landscape has been virtually eliminated.

#### 5.4 - Apollo (fol. 7<sup>vo</sup>)

Berchorius no. 3. The tiny image speaks for itself. The God of War travels through an atmospheric Gothic landscape in an anachronistic horse-drawn peasant's cart, dressed in armour and holding a cudgel, while a dog yaps at him. According to Berchorius, Mars should be helmeted, which he is, and angry, which he is not, and holding a whip, not a cudgel, in his hand. The peasant wagon, should be a chariot, which Berchorius likens to the unstable position that tyrants hold. Wagons were old hat in mediaeval mythography. For instance, Panofsky gives an example of about 1100 which shows Apollo riding in one. The image may again be wanting in refinement, but the light is beautiful and the observation of the shadows cast by the wheels and the legs of the dog are impressive indeed. The Mansion woodcut (fig. 5.3.1) is a reversed and slightly simplified version of this image.

#### 5.5 - Venus or Blind Cupid (fol. 9<sup>vo</sup>).

Berchorius, no. 5. This illumination, again very small, was published by Erwin Panofsky in his renowned chapter on "Blind Cupid" in his *Studies in Iconology* of 1939, and again in his *Renaissance and Renascences* of 1960.<sup>267</sup> That, presumably, makes this the most famous work by the Bruges Master of 1482, to whom I attributed the illumination in my Yale M.A. thesis of 1968. The atmospheric landscape, convincing water surface, thin lines around the heads and body parts

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<sup>266</sup> New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, ca. 1528. Cuttler 1972, p. 378, fig. 459, Friedländer/Rosenberg 1978 (1972), no. 118, or Snyder 1985, p. 379, pl. 60.

<sup>267</sup> Panofsky 1939, p. 114, n. 61, pl. XLVIII, fig. 87, and 1960, p.80, n.2, p. 87 and fig. 58.

of the women, and the tiny bits of shadow are all that we might expect from the Master of 1482.

The key figure is Venus, the fifth of Berchorius's deities, who again rises out of the water (cf. fig. 5.5). Panofsky explained how the corruption of the text “resulted in the transformation of the shell into a slate (appropriately inscribed with a little love song); and it is this slate, and not the goddess, which appears ‘adorned with roses and surrounded by doves’.”<sup>268</sup> We also see the three graces (who are no more pregnant than Eve or saints in contemporary panel paintings), again wearing mediaeval hats. Hovering in the air is blind cupid himself. To quote Panofsky once more:

In France and Flanders ... the influence of the pictorial tradition formed under the spell of the *Roman de la Rose* and similar poems was so strong that the “mythographical Cupid” found in the illustrations of the *Ovide Moralisé* and their derivatives, though blindfold, tended to retain the princely garments and mature appearance of the “Dieu Amour,” and this despite the fact that the very texts to which the blindfold images belong, explicitly demand a nude and childlike figure - an instructive example of the stubbornness with which established representational traditions can assert themselves against the claim of written words.<sup>269</sup>

With astonishing learning, Erwin Panofsky reviewed the textual and representational tradition behind the *Venus or Blind Cupid* by the Master of 1482, but he discussed and illustrated only one item that is not outright remote in time, namely a fourteenth-century French miniature “from Paris [...], with Cupid enthroned and the Three Graces clad in modish garments.”<sup>270</sup> Other than for Cupid's blindfold, this illumination looks nothing like our master's miniature. The blindfold, surely, must be an item handed down by verbal (oral or written) tradition to some learned advisor of the Master of 1482. The general appearance of the miniature, however, must be owing to the inventiveness of the painter himself.

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<sup>268</sup> Panofsky 1960, p. 87.

<sup>269</sup> Panofsky 1939, p. 114.

<sup>270</sup> Panofsky 1939, fig. 86.

Here, as elsewhere, it is clear that the corresponding 1484 woodcut can't have been our master's model. The woodcut is remarkably similar in this instance, however, maintaining the orientation and all the figures of the miniature (fig. 5.5.1). The treatment of the nudes is particularly telling in this instance. They are definitely schematic versions of those by the Master of 1482, right down to the shape of the head of the grace situated to the right of Venus. It is inconceivable that the woodcutter should have hit upon nudes and heads similar to those rendered by our master without reference to his work.

## 5.6 - Mercury (fol. 11<sup>ro</sup>)

Berchorius, no. 6. Mercury is depicted in the context of one of the most famous myths of the western tradition. Even so, one hardly expects to see a mediaeval example. The many-eyed Argus, whom Juno has charged with the guarding of Io, transformed into a heffer by Jupiter, is lulled to sleep by the flute playing of Mercury, who has been sent by Jupiter to eliminate Argus and free Io.

Berchorius describes Mercury as having wings on his head and heels, but he has neither here. Beyond that, the miniature follows the mythographer almost perfectly: "He holds in his hands a staff which had the power to put men to sleep and which was wound around with snakes, and a curved sword which men called hauwa. He is putting to his mouth a pipe made out of reed and wears a cap or hat on his head." It all seems a lot for one man to be holding but the Master of 1482 managed the problem well. Mercury holds his flute in his left hand and the *caduceus* in the right, along with the sword that is soon to sever Argus's head, allowing Io to escape. The sleep-inducing magic wand, which usually has two simple snakes entwined, is an exceptionally large and elaborate specimen, perhaps to emphasize the element of deceit that Isodore of Seville associated with it.<sup>271</sup> However, it is clear by now that whenever Berchorius mentioned a serpent, the Master of 1482 opted for some kind of dragon-like creature instead. Berchorius also mentions the handsome rooster: "In front of him is a cock which is specially consecrated to him."<sup>272</sup> It is an animal that the Master of 1482 repeatedly

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<sup>271</sup> Isodore of Seville, *Etymologiae* VIII. xi. 48.

<sup>272</sup> Strictly speaking a cock is not a rooster but a cockerel, being a rooster before it matures. A rooster will tolerate a cockerel but not a rooster.

rendered convincingly (figs. 4.1 and 11.1) both before and after he worked on the Copenhagen *Ovide*. Finally, “lying dead before him in another part of the picture is Argos, whose head is filled with eyes.”

Erwin Panofsky discussed the *Mercury* more than seventy years ago in connection with the pervasive anachronistic treatment of the god in late Mediaeval art. In a Flemish manuscript of Berchorius of about 1480, which is connected with the two printed editions in Bruges and Paris, Mercury looks like a gallant young dandy, as he was often represented in northern secular art of the fifteenth-century art, and poor Argos resembles the wounded man in the parable of the Good Samaritan.<sup>273</sup>

The Mansion woodcut of 1484 (fig. 5.6.1) does not stray far from its model in this instance, with the exception of the greatly simplified landscape and the wings given to Mercury. The woodcut is more accurate in this instance. Argos looks a little younger and also somewhat less elegant, which is part of a general tendency in the Mansion woodcuts when compared to the Copenhagen miniatures.

## 5.7 - Diana (fol. 13<sup>vo</sup>)

Diana, the huntress, stands in full mediaeval dress before a landscape and takes aim at a stag on the right. She is followed by four little humanoid monsters, being a male bear, a male goat, a female donkey and foreground female bird. Henkel stressed Diana in connection with the relationship between the Copenhagen illuminations and Mansion's woodcuts.

That the woodcutter is the copyist and not the other way round, is also apparent from other circumstances, primarily omissions on the part of the woodcutter. Compare, for instance, the two versions of *Diana*: on the miniature three monstrous creatures stand in close proximity next to Diana; the woodcutter did not have space for all three and therefore omitted the central one, but in addition a part of the left figure, which is cut into two by the edge of the woodcut. If one assumes instead that the miniaturist copied the woodcut, why

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<sup>273</sup> Panofsky/Saxl 1933, p. 258 and p. 263, fig. 42.

should the miniaturist have invented an additional third figure, which with its long ears, horns and goatee supplements the other two so brilliantly; no, the miniature is the original, the woodcut the copy [in translation].<sup>274</sup>

### 5.8 - Minerva (fol. 14<sup>vo</sup>)

Berchorius, no. 8. Minerva looks like nothing on earth, leave alone from antiquity, being a mediaeval woman who has donned armour over a dress and stockings. Clearly it is “Pallas the warrior”, as Ovid sometimes calls her,<sup>275</sup> which is featured here. According to Berchorius, her helmet should be plumed; could that be what is seen silhouetted against the sky? “She holds a lance in her right hand and in her left a crystal shield which contains the snake-covered head of the Gorgon.” Neither the shield nor the head on it answer at all closely to that description. Near Minerva, “as Fulgentius says in his book *Mitologar*, was depicted a verdant live tree over which flies the bird called the night-owl.” The bird here does not look like an owl, however, whereas the one in the Mansion woodcut (fig. 5.8.1) could pass for one. The landscape looks sketchy but it recedes convincingly. Predictably the few buildings are Gothic, which is true of the woodcut as well. The bits of shadow are again indicated with confidence, so that Minerva stands solidly in the landscape. It is her face and that landscape that most support an attribution to the Master of 1482, but I put it forward without real conviction in this instance.

### 5.9 - Juno (fol. 16<sup>ro</sup>)

The ninth of Berchorius's deities follows his description almost to the letter. “Juno's image was that of a woman holding a royal sceptre in her right hand. Her head is veiled with a cloud and her clothing multi-coloured. The rainbow which bends itself in an arc was consecrated to her, and the people called it the messenger of Juno. Peacocks, birds which were called *Jonos*, were pecking at her feet.” The last detail is hard to imagine, but the peacocks certainly seem to be

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<sup>274</sup> Henkel 1922, p. 11.

<sup>275</sup> A personified city with a small city as headdress is found in Abraham Janssen's *Antwerpia and Scaldis* of 1600.

pecking immediately in front of the one exposed foot, and on it in the Mansion woodcut (fig. 5.9.1).

#### 5.10 - Cybele (fol. 17<sup>ro</sup>)

Berchorius no. 10. This strange goddess, who through most of antiquity represented Gaia or the deified earth, is usually symbolized by lions, though not pulling a mediaeval peasant's cart (a specialty of our master), but on her throne of queenship as Magna Mater of Rome. Berchorius, however, specifies that "Cybele's image was a woman seated in a chariot and dressed in precious stones and metal." The gems are certainly in evidence on her collar and upper sleeves. Her key and the three Gothic towers of her headdress must allude to Rome.<sup>276</sup> The rural aspects of this scene, including the chickens, could be intended to evoke her bucolic or earthy aspect in contrast to the urban one. The two birds are more prominent in the Mansion woodcut, but it is not apparent why. The lion is clearly a lionized poodle of some sort, with the strangest of expressions. The otherwise similar woodcut is slightly more convincing in this one detail (fig. 5.10.1).

#### 5.11 - Neptune (fol. 18<sup>ro</sup>)

Berchorius no. 11. The lord of the sea is depicted somewhat improbably as a bearded gentleman trying to escape in a row-boat from a horse that is apparently in hot pursuit. The horse, of course, is Neptune's emblem, not his nemesis. Two strange monster-fish blow wreathed horns at him. His trident is nowhere to be seen. The attribution is margin-line in this instance, but the Master of 1482 excelled at natural-looking expanses of water (cf. fig. 5.5) and very similar, careless bits of nature occur in the background of some of the miniatures in the London *Profits champêtres* (cf. fig. 1.2). The Mansion woodcut does not reverse the image. Surprisingly this Neptune is clean shaven, which is what we might have expected from the Master of 1482.

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<sup>276</sup> Seznec 1953 [1940], p. 179.



### 5.12 - Pan (fol. 18<sup>vo</sup>)

Berchorius no. 12. This image is relatively plausible. Pan stands in a landscape with two Gothic buildings near the centre, blowing his pipes. He is identified by his goat's horns and cloven feet, and is dressed only in a few grape vines. He appears in the guise of a shepherd, as he holds a shepherd's crook and has four sheep around him. Once we allow for the very small size of this miniature, all its stylistic elements are related to the oeuvre of the Master of 1482. The scratchy technique of the legs of the God may seem unlike his work, but not once we consider the obvious fact that Pan is seen to be half human and half goat.

### 5.13 - Bacchus (fol. 19<sup>vo</sup>)

Berchorius no. 13. As obvious as the image of Pan may be, as inaccessible is that of Bacchus. The god of wine is identified by the text, as well as by the vines in the landscape and around his head. He rides an exotic mount, a kind of leopard with bird's feet at the front, while a similar monster skulks in a burrow in the very foreground. There must be some sort of connection with the leopards who drew his car, for instance when he encountered the abandoned Ariadne. It would appear that Bacchus was not beloved by mediaeval mythographers.

The Mansion woodcut (fig. 5.13.1) is basically a reversed version with a stripped landscape. And yet a cluster of buildings has been added on the horizon.

### 5.14 - Pluto (fol. 20<sup>ro</sup>)

Berchorius no. 14. Pluto, the god of the underworld, rules like a Mediaeval monarch in a great mouth of hell. He sits on a throne as judge of the dead, with his spouse, an aging and wonderfully expressive Proserpina, standing by his side even though, according to Berchorius, she should be sitting. Pluto has a three-headed creature at his feet which is difficult to make out. At the centre is probably a lion, with a sheep to the right. The animal to the left could be a dog. This must be Cerberus, the three-headed dog of hell, as mentioned by Berchorius, but this particular hound has apparently been contaminated by the dog, lion and wolf triad which according to mediaeval mythography is supposed to sit at the feet of Apollo (see fig. 5.4). To Pluto's right stand three naked women of increasing age,

like a deteriorating Three Graces. They must be the Furies, named Aello, Ocypete and Celaeno and described by Berchorius as having snakes for hair, as we would appear to see here and as is also suggested by the small lizard-like creatures on which they stand. Even so, they look remarkably like the three ages of woman, suggesting that our progress towards death is inevitable, and as such they are rare ancestors of the misogynist iconography of Hans Baldung Grien.<sup>277</sup> Behind Persephone sit three fully dressed women, one of whom holds a distaff. They must be the Parcae, or Fates, mentioned by Berchorius, being the daughters of Nyx, or Moirai, who decide the fates of men and gods alike. The one with the distaff must be Klotho, the spinner, as mentioned by Berchorius. The other two women must therefore be Atropos (the weaver) and Lachesis (the cutter) of the thread of life, but their attributes are impossible to make out.

Berchorius also mentions the three Harpies, rapacious birds with the faces of maidens, named Aello, Ocypete and Celaeno, but they have not made it into this miniature. On the other hand, the four rivers (Lethe, Cocytus, Phlegethon and Achron) described by Berchorius as flowing from Pluto's throne, are no doubt the schematically indicated rivulets at the bottom of our miniature. The two left-most women may have much the same awkward anatomy encountered in the *Blind Cupid* miniature (fig. 5.5). If the faces are dissimilar, this could be because the unusual grimness of the location and subject matter.

The woodcut of 1484 (fig. 5.14.1) reverses the design of the miniature. We can actually make out the objects held by the other two of the three Fates on the left. Klotho and her distaff are again clearly in evidence but a bit of the spinning wheel of Atropos (the weaver) can be discerned and the shears of Lachesis (the cutter) of the thread of life are clearly visible in her left hand. It is a rare instance in which a woodcut is more detailed than the miniature. On the other hand, the four rivers in the foreground of the illumination are altogether missing at the bottom of the woodcut, with the flames of Hades substituted in the ample space.

Colard Mansion included all seventeen of Berchorius's deities in his woodcut illustrations of his printed *Ovide moralisé* of 1484, whereas he roughly halved the other illuminations in Thott 399, indicating the importance that was

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<sup>277</sup> One thinks particularly of many of Baldung's renderings of witches, with several instances accessible online.

attached to the appearance of the gods à la Berchorius at the time. The last three of the woodcut deities, Hercules, Vulcan and Aesclepius, do not at all resemble the corresponding miniatures in the *Ovide* manuscript. At the same time, those are also the three deities in the manuscript that are not by the hand of the Master of 1482. Why this should be is not clear.

## Catalogue 6

Maino de Mainieri, *Dialogue des créatures*

Antiquariat Heribert Tenschert in Ramsen

Sold in 2015 to anonymous Swiss private collector

Translated by Colard Mansion in 1481 or 1482.

Bruges ca. 1483-1484

### Description:

Vellum, 148 folios, 375 x 265 mm. The manuscript has two large and 119 small illuminations, with only the former by the Bruges Master of 1482. Parchment. Folio format. *Lettre bâtarde* in two columns, 148 fols., covered in green velvet which is apparently not the old binding.

Of critical importance is the *incipit* on fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>, below the first illumination by the Bruges Master of 1482 (fig. 6.1):

*Cy commence le triattie/intitule le dyalogue des/creatures, translate du latin/en françois par Colart Man/sion a bruges, et la contempla/tion de treshault et trespuis/sant S<sup>r</sup>. MonS<sup>r</sup>. le Conte de/[name rubbed out]/[three illegible letters] en l'an m. cccc. lxxxij.*<sup>278</sup>

That is to say, “here commences the treatise entitled *Le dialogue des créatures*, translated from the Latin into French by Colard Mansion of Bruges at the instigation of the most eminent and very powerful Lord his Grace the Count of [...] in the year 1482.”

The name of the count in question must have been a long one, as it filled a whole line of almost thirty spaces. Given the close documented connection between Colard Mansion and Louis of Gruuthuse, the full name of the patron was no doubt “*S<sup>r</sup>. MonS<sup>r</sup>. le Conte de Winchestre Sg<sup>r</sup>. de la gruthuse*”, i.e., Louis of

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<sup>278</sup> The Drouot catalogue has: *Monsg<sup>r</sup>* and *lan M. ccc. Lxxxij*, which would be 1382, not 1482.

Gruuthuse, as is in fact proved by a complete reference in the *Traité de noblesse* in Paris (BnF, fr 1280).

### Literature:

Auction Paris 1839

Auction London 1901, lot 164

Auction Munich 1914, Ludwig Rosenthal's Antiquariat, cat. 155, no. 135

Auction Paris 1936, no. 5

Unterkircher 1962, pp. 23-24 (concerns the Vienna version)

Rouzet et al. 1975, pp. 136-139, esp. p. 137

Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, pp. 209-210

Ruelle 1985, p. 33, pl. 35 Berlioz 1985, pp. 276-277

Paris/Drouot-Montaigne, 1990, no. 25 (fols. 1<sup>ro</sup> and 7<sup>ro</sup>)

König/Tenschert 1991, pp. 216-261, no. 15

Smeyers/Van der Stock 1996, p. 34, fig.35 (fol. 7<sup>ro</sup>)

Smeyers 1998, p. 411

Prevenier et al. 1998, p. 157, ill. (fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)

Smeyers 1998, pp. 411 and 488

Cardon/Vander Stock/Vanwijnsberghe 2002, p. 623

Sotheby's London, 3 December 2002, pp. 160-177, lot 32

Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 511

Dubois 2011-2012, p. 346

Dubois 2016, p. 299

De Bruyn/De Vos 2018, p. 2 (fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)

Hauwaerts/De Wilde/Vandamme 2018, p. 18, no. 1

### Provenance:

Commissioned by Louis of Gruuthuse.

As an exception to the rule, the remaining provenance of this codex is best described in some detail, with concise references available under Literature and in the bibliography below. The manuscript likely came from the library of Louis of Gruuthuse (though it does not feature his arms and bombards), as was argued at

length by Eberhard König and as is also proposed just above. The codex came into the possession of the Béthancourt family, as the borders above and below the illumination on fol.1<sup>ro</sup> (fig. 6.1) read:

*Ce livre appartient à mon fils Francisque de Bethencourt. Son père le luy a donné le 28 desembre 1628, à charge que mourant sans hoirs legitimes iceluy livre sera rendu à l'héritier de la maison de Bethencourt. [Signed] J. de BÉTHENCOURT.*<sup>279</sup>

This book belongs to my son Francisque de Bethencourt. His father gave it to him on 28 December, with the proviso that should he die without legitimate heirs this book be passed on to the heir of the house of Bethencourt. J. de BETHENCOURT.

The manuscript was in the collection of Count Dmitri Petrovitch de Boutourlin (1716-1819), which was sold in Paris on 25 November 1830 and following days.<sup>280</sup> According to Pierre Ruelle, the codex was lost from sight in 1833 but Eberhard König specified that it was in 1831.<sup>281</sup> In 1936, after auctions in Paris, London and Munich of 1839, 1901 and 1914,<sup>282</sup> it was acquired by Le Marquis Emmanuel Du Bourg de Bozas Chaix d'Est-Ange (1894-1990) for the Bibliothèque du Château de Prye (Nièvre).<sup>283</sup> It was to be sold at his death by Drouot-Montaigne on 27 June 1990, no. 25, the asking price being from three to four million French Francs. According to Claudine Lemaire, the sale was called off.<sup>284</sup> Whatever the case may have been, the manuscript was offered for sale by dealer Heribert Tenschert of Rotthalmünster the next year.<sup>285</sup> The codex was then sold by Sotheby's in London on 3 December 2002. It appears that the work subsequently moved on to the Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica in Amsterdam, but it then returned to the home of Heribert Tenschert, where Hanno Wijsman studied the codex in 2008.

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<sup>279</sup> Drouot-Montaigne 1990, no. 25. König 1991, p. 216 fleshes out the family connection.

<sup>280</sup> König 1991, p. 216. A collection catalogue of 1859 is found online.

<sup>281</sup> Ruelle 1985, p. 33, and König 1991, p. 216.

<sup>282</sup> See under "Literature". The entry for the Paris auction of 1839 remains incomplete.

<sup>283</sup> Again Drouot Montagne 1990, no. 25.

<sup>284</sup> Written communication of 23 July 1990.

<sup>285</sup> König 1991, no. 14, pp. 204-214. I summarize these auctions under "Provenance" König tends to be cryptic and omits one city and date, but he does give information about sales prices and buyers.

The original text as translated by Colard Mansion in 1482, was entitled *Dialogus creaturarum*. Pierre Ruelle doubted that this text should be attributed to Maino de Maineri, but Eberhard König had no such reservations.<sup>286</sup> Its date is in doubt, but it must be after 1326 because it employs the *Tractatus de diversis historiis Romanorum*, a short collection of examples compiled in that year in Bologna. A *terminus ante quem* of the end of the fourteenth century can't be established with any precision. I therefore place the original text in the late fourteenth century.

Much of the work by Pierre Ruelle is most helpful. He summarized and assessed the earlier literature concerning versions, editions, author (country, profession, identity and date, etc.). Note that there are two parallel traditions, one based on a shorter, earlier version and the other based on a longer, later one. The present codex (short version) is discussed on p. 33, where it is described as lost from sight since 1933 (or 1931?), which explains why Claudine Lemaire discussed it under “disappeared manuscripts”.<sup>287</sup> However, her work was largely superseded in 1991 by that of Eberhard König, who listed all the rubrics of the text<sup>288</sup> and even included a facsimile of the text itself with all of its miniatures. His descriptions of the two principal illuminations are eloquent, especially when he describes the colours.<sup>289</sup>

## Contents:

The *Dialogue des créatures* is a compilation of dialogues in prose, apologies after a fashion, in which the interlocutors are the creatures. It was greatly appreciated in the Middle Ages, and modern writers of fables have imitated several of the dialogues. The possible author was Maino De Mainieri, also known as Maynus de Mayneriiss or Magninus Mediolanensis (died ca. 1364-1368), an Italian physician, astrologer, fabulist and writer of manuals of popular advice on quotidian matters such as the best diet for pregnant women.

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<sup>286</sup> Rouelle 1985, p. 33, and König 1991, pp. 216 and 219.

<sup>287</sup> Lemaire in Lemaire/De Schryver, 1981, pp.209-210.

<sup>288</sup> König 1991, pp. 223-224, 227 and 229.

<sup>289</sup> König 1991, pp. 233 and 234.

The Vienna version of the *Dialogue* (ÖNB, 2572) is dedicated to the brother-in-law of Gruuthuse's son Jan, namely Philippe de Crèvecoeur, knight of Esquerdes, a Fleming who (like Jan himself) entered the service of Louis XI of France. This connection further supports the attribution of the present codex to Jan's father, Louis of Gruuthuse.

## Decoration

### 6.1 - Colard Mansion Presents His Work to Louis of Gruuthuse.

Given the text immediately below, the first major illumination (fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>) presumably represents the translator of the *Dialogue*, Colard Mansion, paying homage to his patron Louis of Gruuthuse, by presenting the book to him. Mansion is on his right knee before his protector, carrying a sword and an alms-purse on his belt. Gruuthuse is dressed in a long brown robe and wears the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece. He is assisted by four noble personages, richly dressed and wearing various bonnets. One of these, garbed in blue, edged with purple and wearing a flat cap decorated with a stone that looks as precious as that of Louis himself, has his eyes fixed on Mansion while his right hand gives an order to a servant who presents himself, armed with a pike and hat in hand.

This beautiful miniature depicts a rich interior with ogival vaults and a Gothic window. Above the Gothic doorway is a coat of arms held by a bear and a monkey; a bed covered in red and a window can be seen through the door opening. In the background is a bench covered with green cloth. The miniature (185 x 160 mm) is surrounded by a large border with a grey ground and gold seeds, made up of birds, varied flowers, and leaf volutes, all this very finely painted in bright colours characteristic of the School of Bruges and, especially, the Bruges Master of 1482. A centaur dressed in green plays the bagpipes and points his finger at Louis and the others.

The corresponding miniature in the only other illuminated version of this text, now in Vienna (again ÖNB, 2572), has a similar decorative border that could well be by the same hand.<sup>290</sup> The stepped-arch frame of the illumination proper is also the same. The style is fairly close to that of the Master of 1482 but lacks his

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<sup>290</sup> Unterkircher 1962, pp. 23-24 and plate 10. Digitisation (<http://data.onb.ac.at/dtl/7286757>).



tell-tale outlines. The dogs are stubbier and cuddlier and the view out the window is more summary than what we would expect from our master. The miniature shows a scribe (or translator?) transcribing the text at a round table, with his back to a fireplace and with several books on shelves in the right background. Louis of Gruuthuse goes missing, as does the date 1482 in the text. These facts no doubt reflect the modest distance that separated Philip of Crèvecoeur from Louis of Gruuthuse via the latter's son Jan, and may also suggest a slightly later date for the Vienna codex.

## 6.2 - The Author at Work

The second large miniature (fol. 7<sup>ro</sup>, same dimensions) represents the interior of the atelier of the copyist. One sees Mansion at his desk surrounded by books on the desk and on the shelves behind him. The tip of a quill projects from behind his right ear. In the sky above are a few clouds in which are confronted the sun and the moon, the subject of the text. The border is formed of pretty volutes and acanthus leaves with flowers in bright colours and gilded foliage in which one sees a man attacking a bear. As pointed out in the Drouot catalogue, this border is similar to that found in a work by the Master of the Dresden Hours. The text explaining the celestial drama that is observed by the copyist reads:

*L'estrif du soleil et de la lune, Dyalogue premier. Le soleil selon ce que dit le philosophe est loeil du monde, la jocondite de Dieu, la beauté du ciel, la mesure du temps... La lune comme dit monseigneur saint Ambroise en son livre intitulé Exameron est la beauté de la nuit mere et ministre de toute humeur, mesure de mois, dame de la mer; celle qui transmue les ans et esté gouvernée du soleil.*

Dialogue of the sun and the moon, first dialogue. The sun which according to the philosopher is the eye of the moon, the plaything of God, the beauty of the sky, the measure of time ... The moon, which my lord Saint Ambrose in his book entitled *Hexameron* says is the mother of the beauty of the night

and administer of all moods, measure of the months, lady of the sea; she who transmutes the years and is governed by the sun.<sup>291</sup>

Saint Basel wrote his *Hexameron*, a series of homilies based on the creation narratives of the first two book of Genesis, around 370 AD. It greatly influenced the version by Saint Ambrose of Milan (ca. 339-397) that is mentioned in this introduction.

The manuscript also has 119 small miniatures by another hand, likely the Master of Philip of Cleves's *Livre de la chasse*. Several subjects are described in the Drouot catalogue and four of them are illustrated there. The first of these illustrates the "dialogue of the lock and the key". They are all inventive little gems and well-worth close study. The bright colours and the persistent red, as well as the occasional fine landscape, are loosely related to the Bruges Master of 1482, but the stubby figure canon and the pervasive facial type, surrounded by shoulder-length hair, are not.

## Catalogue 7

Colard Mansion, trans.,<sup>292</sup> *La pénitance d'Adam. Histoire de la vraie croix*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 1837

Digitisation: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10538530v/>

Bruges, ca. 1483-1484

### Description:

There are forty-two folios of text with script, preceded and followed by two blank vellum pages. There is no ancient foliation. The lettering (the usual *lettre bâtarde*) is confined to one column only, which is most atypical for the production of the Master of 1482. The manuscript is bound in what looks like red Morocco leather of the nineteenth century. A note states that the codex had its cover restored in 1973. It has the layout and lines indicated in red. There are numerous handsome blue and gold paragraph markers as well. The paragraph headings are in red. The book is about 220 x 155 millimetres, measured inside the binding. The written pages are about 120 x 76 mm, with the linings about three mm larger. There is a coat of arms with three *fleurs-de-lisses* on fol. 3<sup>ro</sup> and a full-page miniature on fol. 6<sup>ro</sup>.

### Provenance:

According to Claudine Lemaire and Antoine de Schryver<sup>293</sup> this manuscript belonged to Louis of Gruuthuse.

Louis XII of France.

Bibliothèque nationale de France.

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<sup>292</sup> According to Henkel 1922, p. 8, Mansion may also have written the text. However, Delaissé 1959, p. 173, no. 235, points out that there is no proof.

<sup>293</sup> Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, p. 275.

## Literature:<sup>294</sup>

- Van Praet 1829, pp. 13-20 and 96-98  
Borgnet 1864, pp. 310-312 (indirect only)  
Gilliodts-van Severen 1876  
Meyer 1878, pp. 209-250, esp. pp. 215-216  
Martins 1884, p. 51  
Haebler 1912, pp. 85-86 (untraceable reference)  
Crotch 1928, pp. 56-57  
Delaissé 1959, p. 173, no. 235  
De Fremery 1960-1961, pp. 99-100, ill. p. 98  
Rompaey 1967, pp. 217-218  
Colin 1973, p. 216, no. 100; pl. 42  
Rouzet *et al.* 1975, pp. 136-139 (indirect only)  
Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, pp. 275-277  
König 1991, no. 14, pp. 204-214  
Martens *et al.* 1992, pp. 133-134 and 146; pp. 178-181, no. 11; ill. p. 141 (as Master of 1482)  
Smeyers/Van der Stock 1996, p. 23-24, ill. 23 (fol. 6<sup>ro</sup>)  
Smeyers 1989, p. 411 and C.Pl. 81  
Cardon/Van der Stock/Vanwijnsberghe 2002, pp. 619 and 623  
Hans-Collas/Schandel 2009, no. 55  
Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 2729  
Dubois 2011-2012, no. 92, pp. 246 and 346-348, ill. 249 (fol. 6<sup>ro</sup>)  
Paris-Brussels 2011-2012, no. 9  
Dubois 2016, p. 299  
Wiechers ca. 2019, n.p., with C.Pl.  
Online digitisation: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10538529g>

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<sup>294</sup> With the exception of Van Praet, as listed in Martens 1992, this bibliography is based on Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, p. 277.

## Contents:

The contents are the same as in a manuscript that belonged to Jan de Baenst III (c. 1420-1486), now also in Paris (BA, 5092). Both versions were presumably copied after a common model.<sup>295</sup> Both versions have an elaborate prologue that states that Louis of Gruuthuse gave Colard Mansion a “*petit cayez*” (an unbound manuscript) and commissioned him to translate the Latin text into French. In the same prologues, we find Louis's full titles, including Earl of Winchester, providing an earliest possible date of 13 October 1472. According to Lemaire and De Schryver, Joseph Van Praet adduced a third version, mentioned in a 1771 Glasgow auction catalogue, which is now in Ramsen, and Lemaire and De Schryver discovered two other versions in the more recent catalogues of the Bibliothèque nationale (fr. 13.257 & fr. n.a.1556).

This account of the lives of Adam and Eve begins with the curious episode of their day-long penitence, standing on a stone, one in the Jordan and the other in the Tigris, with water up to their necks and not allowed to speak a word. According to Wilhelm Meyer, the pioneering expert,<sup>296</sup> it is a pre-Christian story of Jewish origins and therefore a sort of apocrypha of the Old Testament. The Greek version, which is known under the name of “Apocalypse of Moses,” is to have been translated into the Latin in the fourth century. The Latin text survives in numerous mediaeval manuscripts. Meyer published it after three versions dating respectively from the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. The story was also translated into various vernacular languages. The oldest known French version is probably the one that the Liège historiographer Jean d'Outremeuse incorporated in his fourteenth-century *Miroir des histoires*. The story also occurs in some versions of the *Bible historié*. Thus Colard Mansion is seen to have rendered a translation-adaptation of the text.

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<sup>295</sup> This and the following information is based on Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, pp. 275-276. Paris, BA, 5092 is digitized (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55000815c>).

<sup>296</sup> Meyer 1878, pp. 187-250, cited by Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, pp. 275 and 277.

## Decoration:

### 7.1 - The Repentance of Adam and Eve

For once the Bruges Master has illuminated a key part of the text, namely the opening story of Adam and Eve kneeling on rocks in, presumably, the Tigris and Jordan rivers. The miniature fills folio 6<sup>ro</sup>. The key events illustrated unfold over nine pages (6<sup>vo</sup> to 12<sup>ro</sup>), starting with the hunger of Adam and Eve after the Fall and closing with Eve's second great transgression. Adam and Eve decide to part to do their separate penance (fol. 10<sup>vo</sup>), with Adam off to the Tigris and Eve to the Jordan (fol. 11<sup>ro</sup>). The text describes how each is to be "immobile from that moment to the end of his penance" (fols. 11<sup>ro</sup>-11<sup>vo</sup>). We then read (11<sup>vo</sup>) how Satan transforms himself into an angel and (12<sup>ro</sup>) that the angel pretends to cry and show compassion for her. He tempts Eve away from the river for rest and nourishment, thus breaking her penance. Finally (12<sup>vo</sup>) Eve and Satan join Adam, who chides his mate, "you have done it again. Hardly are you kicked out of paradise and you go break your penance." The sorrow of Adam is doubled, whereas Eve is greatly troubled by the words of "her master".

The miniature, measures about 112 x 83 mm (including borders). The left background consists of two parts that are divided by an elaborate gate. The upper part features a fountain and appears to be the garden of Eden. In the very background, to the right of the fountain, there is a minuscule tree with two figures next to it. To the left of the tree is probably God, who is admonishing the nude Adam to the right not to eat the Tree of Life. I believe that the head of Eve can be made out behind the lower roof of the gate. Just below the fountain is the Expulsion. A mountain ridge runs from the gate to the foreground, on which Adam and Eve seem to be discussing, with the former pointing to a river to the right. In the left foreground, Adam kneels in a river to our left, while Eve stands in a river to our right (at which she was pointing). A youthful, blonde angel in a red cloak appears to be baptizing Eve. Though this part of the composition reminds us of the standard formula for the Baptism of Christ, the bird's claw that protrudes from below the red mantle of the angel indicates that Eve is being baptized by the devil. If we may believe F. De Fremery, this is therefore not the sacramental baptism but the red baptism by Lucifer, which takes the place of the sin of eating from the

forbidden fruit but has the same effect.<sup>297</sup> At the upper right of the miniature, three men stand on a bluff and discuss what transpires before them. According to Maximiliaan Martens the man in red wears the Order of the Golden Fleece and must be Louis of Gruuthuse.<sup>298</sup> But here my eyes fail me.

The saturated colours, thin outlines and type of landscape are typical of the Master of 1482; there can be no doubt about the attribution, which James Marrow already proposed to me in 1987,<sup>299</sup> but which was first published by Maximiliaan Martens in 1992. Martens noted that “the profile of the angel who tempts Eve is very close to that of the man with the three hunting dogs on the right of the frontispiece of the *Livre de la chasse* [fig. 10.1] or the falconer raising his hat in the frontispiece of *De l’art de la chasse aux oyseux* [fig. 11.1] (in translation).”<sup>300</sup> However, one could come up with more of such unconvincing comparisons. Martens’s determination to date the miniature to the 1470's because it has no decorative border around the frame, as with the Master of 1482's London and Geneva frontispieces (figs. 4.1 and 10.1), is nonsense. Much of the Bruges Master's work that is datable to the 1480s has a simple frame like this one. Moreover, it is possible to demonstrate that the master's mature style, which (as Martens's own stylistic comparisons establish) is seen in the *Le Pénitance d’Adam*, only evolved around 1482 to 1483. For want of any indication to the contrary, this miniature should be dated to around 1483 to 1484, towards the very end of Mansion's activity in Bruges.<sup>301</sup>

Even when dated in this way, the *Pénitance d’Adam* illumination could be interpreted as an early example of the misogyny that swept Northern Europe in the Late Middle Ages and Reformation Era. After all, Eve is not just blamed for the Fall, as was commonplace, she is also blamed for a second, totally fabricated, instance of betraying Adam. “Early” and “misogyny” are probably arguable, however, when we consider that this tale appears in Latin in manuscripts from the ninth century on.<sup>302</sup> For Colard Mansion and Louis of Gruuthuse, as well as for Jan

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<sup>297</sup> Fremery 1960-1961, pp. 99-100.

<sup>298</sup> Martens 1992, p. 178.

<sup>299</sup> Letter of 2 September 1987 from Marrow to Horn.

<sup>300</sup> Martens 1992, p. 179.

<sup>301</sup> Martens's two textual criteria establish only that the codex must date after 1472, when Gruuthuse became Earl of Winchester and godfather to one of Mansion's children.

<sup>302</sup> Again, Meyer 1878, as cited by Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, pp. 275 and 277.

de Baenst, who commissioned the Arsenal copy of this text, its attraction was probably that it was a damn good story, which it remains to this day. It is cause for pause in this context that the only other manuscript commissioned by De Baens to come down to us is a Dutch translation of Christine de Pizan's *Cité des Dames* (London, BL, Add. 20.098), a work that we tend to associate with proto-feminism of the fifteenth century.<sup>303</sup>

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<sup>303</sup> For a thought-provoking contribution by a pioneer feminist, Kelly 1982, *passim*, who cast her net more widely.



## Catalogue 8

Saint Jean Chrysostome. *La réparation du pécheur*

Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon, BM, 1233 (1105)

Online file and images: <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md15p841bf6m>

Bruges, ca. 1484

### Description:

Vellum, ninety-one folios, 258 x 173 mm. Bound in calf leather.

Miniature on fol. 3<sup>vo</sup>, *The Sinner Between an Angel and a Demon*

### Provenance:

The library offers no information whatsoever. The manuscript once belonged to a member of the bibliophile Créquy family, but they may not have been the first owners.

### Literature:

Molinier/Desvernay 1900, I, p. 306.

Doutrepont 1909, p. 228, no. 3

Cotton 1965, pp. 310-311, no. 108.

Wijsman 2010b, pp. 313 and 315.

Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 2119

### Contents:

Johannes Chrysostomus (ca. 349-407) was one of the Greek Church Fathers.

Scholar, hermit, preacher, bishop and diplomat, he led a tormented life but managed to be a prolific author.<sup>304</sup> According to Johannes Quasten, a great scholar of Patristic literature, “none of the Fathers left a literary heritage as important in

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<sup>304</sup> For an excellent overview of the life and works of St. John Chrysostome, see the website under the name of Archimandrite Placide Deseille (Higoumène du Monastère Saint Antoine le Grand, France): [http://www.orthodox.org/FR/orthodoxie/synaxaire/StJean Chrysostome.htm](http://www.orthodox.org/FR/orthodoxie/synaxaire/StJean%20Chrysostome.htm)

its quantity as Chrysostome [in translation].”<sup>305</sup> His *La réparation du pécheur* was translated into French by an enigmatic Alard. Another of Chrysostome’s works represented in a Flemish manuscript of the 1480’s is his *Homilies on the Gospel of Saint John*, which was translated into Latin by the fifteenth-century humanist Francesco Griffolini of Arezzo, with a dedication to Cosimo de’ Medici, who had died in 1464. This manuscript now in Bruges (Bibliotheek van het Grootseminarie, 15/76) used to be in the library of Jan Crabbe and is firmly dated to 1487, the year before Crabbe’s death. Noël Geirnaert related this later version to “Crabbe’s Christian-humanistic interests [in translation],”<sup>306</sup> and the present work presumably appealed to much the same orientation on the part of its unknown patron.

## Decoration:

### 8.1 - The Reinstatement of the Lost Sinner

The manuscript has only the one half-page illumination (fol. 3<sup>vo</sup>). This miniature encapsulates the idea of the manuscript. The sinner, who was lost, accepts Jesus Christ as his saviour, repenting of all his misbehaviour and disobedience, and returns to his state of grace before he fell into sin. The word “reparation” means a return to before (*“revenir en arrière”*: to return backward). The author, dressed in a bright-red robe, sits at a table. A book lies before him on a turquoise cushion while his quill is poised in his right hand. His left hand gestures in the direction of the angel and sinner. It might seem to be holding a bright blue book, but that object is in fact lying on a shelf along the back wall. In the meantime, on the other side of the miniature, the devil, who looks as if he has been harpooned and who is certainly wounded, appears to be fleeing out the door. He has a horrible turquoise backside with a grotesque face on it, his tail coming out of the mouth. The sinner, dressed in bright blue, has his hands in prayer. The angel is dressed in an ochre robe and makes a less obvious declamatory gesture, stands between the author and the devil. There is a fair amount of abrasion in the faces and especially that of the angel, the left side (from our point of view) being almost totally missing. We

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<sup>305</sup> Quasten 1960, p. 507.

<sup>306</sup> Geirnaert in Lemaire/De Schryver, 1981, pp. 205-206, no. 98.

see small vistas out the back window and the door, the colour of the grass in the latter being repeated in the tiles of the floor.

I make an exceptional effort to describe the colours of this miniature because they are the key to the attribution to the Bruges Master of 1482, which I owe to James Marrow.<sup>307</sup> The bits of landscape are also typical of the Master of 1482. However, the faces of the author and angel are altogether too abraded to allow them to be representative of our painter. The entire miniature is relatively delicate, with the lines looking more like pencil than ink. This, too, may be due to abrasion.

The illumination is clearly not early, having none of the relative coarseness of the London *Profits champêtres* or The Hague's *Décamerone*. Nor does it have the tight, jewel-like quality of the late Basel *Traité de noblesse*. It therefore seems likely that it was produced sometime between about 1483 and 1488, which is still a considerable range. It is, however, one of only two religious images in the Bruges Master's oeuvre, the other one being in the Paris *Pénitance d'Adam* of about 1483 to 1484. That suggests a tenuous connection. The composition of the Lyon miniature is related to that of the second illumination in the Ramsen *Dialogue des creatures* (fig. 6.2), which I have dated to about 1483 to 1484. Note that the author in both miniatures wears red and sits at a virtually identical table. For want of indications to the contrary, it seems appropriate to date the Lyon work to about 1484, shortly after the Ramsen miniature.

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<sup>307</sup> Letter of 23 September 1986.

## Catalogue 9

Nicolas Oresme, *Traité des monnaies*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 23927

Bruges, ca. 1484 (after 1482 and before 1486)<sup>308</sup>

### Description:

Vellum, with 62 folios, 264 x 184 mm with one miniature on folio 5<sup>ro</sup>.

### Provenance:

Baron Jean II de Trazegnies (1439-1513). His coat of arms is in the margin below. We do not know how the manuscript came to the Bibliothèque nationale. For information about its later provenance, see (<https://bibale.irht.cnrs.fr/27888>).

### Literature:

Hans-Collas/Schandel, 2009, pp. 200 and 249, no. 68

Wijsman 2010b, p. 518 and note 49

Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 2815

Dubois 2011-2012, no. 94, pp. 346 and 350, ill. 251 (fol. 5<sup>ro</sup>)

Sotheby's 2012, lot 51

Wiechers ca. 2019, n.p., with C.PL.

Wolfthal 2023, pp. 40-43, fig. 2.2 (fol. 5<sup>ro</sup>)

### Contents:

Nicolas Oresme (1320/25-1382) was a versatile scholar who made important discoveries concerning a variety of aspects of mathematics and astronomy, but he was also the best economist of the Middle Ages. Hailing from Normandy, he was apparently of humble birth and is listed as a scholarship student of theology at the

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<sup>308</sup> Hanno Wijsman 2010b, p. 518, writes that this was one of a few manuscripts bought "around 1470", but that is out of the question for this codex.

College of Navarre of the University of Paris in 1348. He was awarded the degree of Master of Theology in 1355 and became Grand Master of the College of Navarre the next year. Shortly thereafter he became a friend of the dauphin Charles, who later became Charles V (called the Wise), King of France. In 1362 Oresme became canon of the Cathedral of Rouen and dean of that cathedral in 1364. His friend Charles ascended to the throne on 8 April of that year. Oresme then became chaplain to the King. From then on, he lived mainly in Paris, advising the King on financial matters and, from 1369, translating works by Aristotle from Latin into French. One key work was Aristotle's *Ethics* (see Cat. 14). In 1377 Oresme became bishop of Liseux, where he died.

The *Traités de monnaies* was an early work of Oresme, one that he likely wrote shortly before 1360. The library of Louis of Bruges contained an undated version in Latin (BnF, lat 8733a).<sup>309</sup> The French translation was published by Colard Mansion in 1477. Most likely the present text is based on this Mansion translation.

## Decoration:

### 9.1 - *Le battage de monnaies* (The Striking of Coins) (fol. 5<sup>ro</sup>)

The frontispiece and only illustration shows an important personage who is inspecting a coin held out to him by a man in red in the left foreground, while two other men are hammering out coins. Colours, facial types, thin outlines, everything points to the Bruges Master of 1482. The faces of the three workmen appear to have been clumsily restored. The prince is followed by three courtiers who, judging from the two visible faces, appear to be little interested in the proceedings. According to Ilona Hans-Collas and Pascal Schandel<sup>310</sup> the main figure is a *Maître de Monnaies*, but the text tells us that it is the prince, representing the people, who must inspect the quality of the coinage. This prince is almost certainly Maximilian I of Austria, recognizable by his youth, long blonde hair and the partially visible order of the Golden Fleece behind his left hand. The young Maximilian married Mary, Duchess of Burgundy in August of 1477, thereby becoming co-ruler of the Burgundian territories. He had already become a knight

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<sup>309</sup> Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, p. 213.

<sup>310</sup> Hans-Collas/Schandel 2009, no. 68.

of the Golden Fleece back in 1474, when he was only fifteen years old. Of the six knights inducted in that year, only Maximilian is a likely candidate. We can therefore date this manuscript after the death of Mary of Burgundy in 1482, when Maximilian became sole ruler, and before 1486, when he became King of the Romans (see Cat. 15). I have opted for a tentative date of 1484, which would make this a mature work by the Master of 1482.

## Catalogue 10

Gaston Phébus, comte de Foix, *Le Livre de la chasse*

Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire de Genève, fr. 169

Digitised: <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/fr/list/one/bge/fr0169>

Bruges, ca. 1484-1485

### Description:

Vellum, 104 folios (old foliation: I-CIV), interleaved with paper, 380 x 260 mm. *Lettre bâtarde* in two columns. Miniatures and capitals in gold and colours. Large frontispiece with border decorations by the Bruges Master of 1482 and eighty-five small miniatures by another hand, close or identical to that of the Master of the Chattering Hands. Arms of Louis of Gruuthuse, overpainted with those of Louis XII of France, below the frontispiece. Bound in brown calve leather of the seventeenth century. The *Gaston Phébus* manuscript in Stuttgart (WLB, XI 34-a) is a copy of the Geneva codex, as is at once apparent from a comparison of the frontispieces of the two manuscripts.

### Provenance:

Louis of Bruges, Seigneur de Gruuthuse.

Louis XII of France.

Paul Petau (died 1614).

Collection Alexandre Petau (1614-1672), no. 170.

Legacy Ami Lullin 1756

### Literature:

Senebier 1779, pp. 425-426

Van Praet 1831, pp. 152-153

Aubert 1911, pp. 305-307

Aubert 1912, p. 101, n. 4  
 Wood/Fyfe 1943 (1961), p. lxxviii, plate 21 (frontispiece) and p. lxxiv  
 Hofér 1953, p. 24, n. 15  
 Tilander 1971, pp. 24-27  
 Gagnebin 1976, pp. 13 and 165-166, with frontispiece by the Master of 1482 and two additional small illuminations (fols. 10<sup>ro</sup> and 41<sup>ro</sup>)  
 Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, pp. 264-266, Cat. 113, C.Pl. 29 (frontispiece)  
 London Sotheby's 1983, no. 153, p. 220  
 Dogaer 1987, p. 127  
 Gagnebin 1987, p. ?  
 De Splenter 1990, pp. 80 and 87  
 König 1991, p. 258  
 Martens 1992, pp. 121, 146 and 178; pp. 189-190, no. 16; ill. p. 191 (detail, frontispiece)  
 Smeyers 1998, p. 411  
 Wijsman 2007, pp. 248-249 and 256  
 Hans-Collas/Schandel 2009, pp. 72 and 200-201  
 Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 1621  
 Dubois 2011-2012, p. 345  
 Wiechers ca. 2019, n.p.

## Contents:

Gaston III, count of Foix (1331-1391), took on the name Phébus after a crusade to Prussia, on which he embarked from Bruges in 1357. This name, which refers to the god of light, probably also alluded to his shock of blond hair. He played an equivocal role in the conflict between France and England but ended up taking the side of King Charles V of France. After having assumed the office of Lieutenant General of Languedoc, he retired to his lands of Foix (today's department of Ariège). A lover of the arts, he entertained sumptuously and composed his *Livre de la chasse*. He commenced it in 1387, four years before his death, and dedicated it to Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy.

The work enjoyed immense success in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Every lord and bibliophile presumably wanted to own a copy and to



have it decorated by the very best artists. And no wonder. As Marguerite Debae pointed out, it is “the most important medieval treatise concerning the hunt.” Gunnar Tilander has listed forty-four manuscripts, of which two are modern copies. By far the most famous of all these manuscripts is the one that was painted by the so-called Bedford Master for the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France (1389-1435), which later belonged to Aymar de Poitiers, seigneur de Saintvallier and comte de Valentinois (1440-1510), grandfather of the brilliant but disreputable Diane (1500-1566) and well-known collector (Paris, BnF, fr. 616).<sup>311</sup> This codex is so renowned that it even made its way into American survey texts such as *Northern Painting* by Charles Cuttler and *Northern Renaissance Art* by James Snyder, with complete colour reproduction on the internet. There are two copies of the text from the collection of Louis of Gruuthuse, the one in Geneva and another in Cambridge, Mass. (ms. typ. 130). The Harvard version was probably written in Ghent by Jan van Kriekenborch and also features Gruuthuse’s name. Both versions moved to the library of Louis XII of France, where Gruuthuse's arms (but not his bombards) were overpainted. It is not clear when either manuscript left the French royal collections, but it was presumably at the same time and before the early seventeenth century, as the Geneva version comes from the collection of Paul Petau, who died in 1614.

As its title indicates, the work by Gaston Phébus deals with almost every imaginable aspect of the hunt. It starts by reviewing all the animals worth hunting and the different breeds of dogs used for the hunt, and goes on to the training of dogs and the catching or killing of deer, wolves and bears. Like so many treatises of the time, the text is repetitive and apparently not intended to be read all at once. It would be a mistake to assume that the hunting elite were also an intellectual elite.

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<sup>311</sup> Digitised: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52505046d>

**Decoration:**

### **10.1 - Louis of Gruuthuse and His Suite Encounter Several Hunters**

The large frontispiece by the Bruges Master of 1482 shows Louis of Gruuthuse on

The eighty-five small illuminations are by another, inferior hand. Casey Wood and Marjorie Fyfe wrote of “an inferior standard of execution and artistic achievement”. They depict stags, deer, mountain goats, rabbits, bears, wolves, a wild cat, an otter, mastiffs, sundry dogs, as well as a hunting scene and traps for catching wolves and bears. One of these miniatures (fol. 41<sup>ro</sup>), which is illustrated by Bernard Gagnebin, shows four men weaving traps. It is clearly by the Master of the Chattering Hands and, thanks to the three dogs on the lower right, establishes a link between the frontispiece and the numerous animal miniatures. Finally, the *Gaston Phébus* codex in Stuttgart (WLB HB, XI 34a), which belonged to Philip of Cleves, is a copy of the Geneva codex, as is at once apparent from a comparison of the frontispieces of the two manuscripts.

Bernard Gagnebin pointed out that some of the animals in these miniatures are hardly recognizable and argued that the anonymous collaborator worked after the hundreds of illuminations of the Cambridge, Mass. version of the *Livre de la chasse*. As the Harvard manuscript states that it was written in 1486, the lesser Geneva illuminations would have to date from about 1486 to 1487. However, if we believe Philip Hofer, the sequence was in reverse and we have to push the date back to before 1485. As I explain in Chapter 4 above, the latter option is much more likely.

# Catalogue 11

Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, *De l'art de la chasse aux oiseaux*

Bibliothèque de Genève,<sup>312</sup> fr. 170

Digitised: <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/fr/list/one/bge/fr0170>

Bruges, ca. 1484-1485

## Description:

Vellum, 152 folios (old foliation: VI-CLVIII; fols. 1-IV, containing the table of contents, have disappeared), 378 x 260 mm. *Lettre bâtarde* in two columns. Numerous small, unframed illuminations of birds and hunting scenes by another hand in the margins. Arms of Louis of Gruuthuse, overpainted with those of Louis XII of France, below the frontispiece. Bound in brown calf of the seventeenth century.

## Provenance:

Louis of Gruuthuse, seigneur de Gruuthuse.

Louis XII of France.

Collection Alexandre Petau (+1614), no. 171.

Bequest Ami Lullin 1756.

## Literature:

Senebrier 1779, pp. 426-427

(not in Van Praet, 1831)

Aubert 1911, pp. 307-309

Aubert 1912, pp. 101-102; pl. XLIV (frontispiece)

Winkler 1925, pp. 137 and 171

Tilander 1927, pp. 211-290, esp. pp. 213-238

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<sup>312</sup> Until 2006 this library was named Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire.

Wood/Fyfe 1943 [1961], no. 10, pp. lxxiii-lxxiv; ill. p. lxiv, pl. 16 (frontispiece)  
 Hofer 1953, pp. 21-22 & 25; ill. pl. II (frontispiece); pls. IV and VIIIb (only the frontispiece is by the Bruges Master of 1482)  
 Wood/Fyfe 1955, p. lvii, no. 10, p. lxiv, pl. 16 (frontispiece), pp. lxiii-lxxiv, no. 10  
 Pächt/Alexander 1966, p. 26, no. 351; ill. pl. XXVIII, fig. 351 (frontispiece)  
 Horn 1968, p. 50 and fig. 75 (frontispiece)  
 Gagnebin 1976, pp. 167-168, no. 73 (with 2 ills)  
 Cahn/Marrow 1978, p. 258  
 Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, pp. 266-268, esp. p. 267, cat. 114; C.Pl. 30 (frontispiece)  
 Shailor 1984, p. 333  
 Dogaer 1987, p. 127 (indirect connection)  
 De Splenter 1990-1991, pp. 80 and 87  
 König 1991, p. 258  
 Martens 1992, pp. 121, 146 and 178; pp. 190-191, no. 17; ill. p. 195 (frontispiece)  
 Smeyers 1998, p. 411, C.Pl. 82  
 Wijsman 2007, pp. 248-249 and 256  
 Hans-Collas/Schandel 2009, p. 200, no. 5  
 Wijsman 2010b, pp. 358 and 366  
 Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 622  
 Dubois 2011-2012, p. 345

## Contents:

*L'Art de la chasse aux oyseaux (De Arte venandi cum avibus)* was written in Latin between 1244 and 1250 by Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, King of Sicily (1208-1250), to initiate his son Manfred (1232-1266) into the mysteries of the bird hunt. Manfred apparently made an abbreviated version of the first two books.<sup>313</sup> This version for Manfred was translated into French at the end of the thirteenth century at the order of Jean, Lord of Dampierre and of Saint Dizier and his wife, and “à la révérence” of their daughter Isabeau, Countess of Brienne (ca. 1221-1274). This translation, made after the Latin manuscript, which is today preserved

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<sup>313</sup> Lemaire/de Schryver 1981, p. 267.

in the Vatican library, also comprises only the first two of the six books of the treatise. The manuscript, which was illuminated by Simon d'Orléans, ended up in the library of Philip the Good.<sup>314</sup> According to Gustaf Holmér, the most recent editor of *L'art de la chasse aux oiseaux*, the French translation has survived in only four manuscripts, at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris (fr. 12.400), at the Houghton Library of Harvard College in Cambridge, MA (typ 129), at the Württembergische Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart (WLB XI 134-a) and at the Bibliothèque de Genève in Geneva (the present codex).<sup>315</sup> Two of these manuscripts came for the library of Louis of Gruuthuse.<sup>316</sup> As Gunnar Tilander first demonstrated, the manuscript in Geneva was copied after the one in Paris and in turn served as model for the one in Stuttgart.<sup>317</sup> Tilander illustrated the Stuttgart frontispiece, leaving no doubt that it is a somewhat inferior copy of the Geneva miniature.<sup>318</sup> Bernard Gagnebin again established that the Stuttgart frontispiece was adapted from the Geneva frontispiece, but added that the person represented as the sovereign no longer wears the order of the Golden Fleece and no longer represents Frederick II, the Stuttgart codex having been made for Philip of Cleves.<sup>319</sup> That Louis of Gruuthuse's Geneva version was copied after a manuscript in the Library of Burgundy was apparently nothing out of the ordinary. As Claudine Lemaire and Antoine de Schryver demonstrated,<sup>320</sup> Gruuthuse had access to this library at least until 1484 during the reign of Maximilian I.

Holmér also compared the Geneva and Stuttgart texts to the Paris version and commented at length on the peculiarly earthy vocabulary of the Northern-French or Wallonian translators. Even if one knows French and becomes familiar with the late-fifteenth-century Gothic book script, this is a work out of hell. To quote Gagnebin's summary: "Ils disent abêcher pour becqueter, aongler pour prendre, apoerir pour effrayer, bleuir pour aveugler un faucon, dégoisier pour chanter, entraper pour entrelacer, mortifier pour tuer, peroindre pour enduire de graisse. Le temps et niveux, grésilleux ou griseteux. Quant aux oiseaux, ils ont

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<sup>314</sup> Barrois 1830, no. 1583. See also Wijsman 2007, p. 250.

<sup>315</sup> Holmér 1960, pp. 214-225.

<sup>316</sup> Lemaire 1981, p. 229, nos. 137 and 139.

<sup>317</sup> Tilander 1927, pp. 212-216.

<sup>318</sup> Tilander 1927, fig. 3.

<sup>319</sup> Gagnebin 1976, p. 167.

<sup>320</sup> Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, pp. 266 and 240.

nom: albane (espèce de buse), berniche (espèce d'oie), charbonnière (oie), chuyne (cigogne), espec (pivert), facche (pigeon), franquelin (faisan), galeran (butor), hobé (buse)."<sup>321</sup> But today's art historian has no cause to read the text in any case, as it is simply not represented, not even in the frontispiece, its only important illumination.

## Decoration:

### 11.1 - Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen and His Court

The frontispiece, which is by the Bruges Master of 1482, represents a ruler, presumably Frederick II, seated on his throne and surrounded by his court. As is universally the case in Flemish art of the fifteenth century, there is no attempt whatsoever to create costumes or surroundings that look thirteenth century, or even dated. This is particularly obvious with the fashionable lady behind Frederick, who wears the pointed Burgundian *henin*, and with the domestic Gothic architecture, with its stepped gables, which we see out the back window and in the right border.

The composition is of the "presentation of the book" type, with the kneeling falconer taking the place of the usual author. We also see this type in the New Haven *Traité de noblesse* (fig. 15.2), but here the spatial resolution is more successful and less dependent on Bouts than in the Yale illumination, which is probably slightly later. In the Geneva scene we surely see the Master of 1482 at the height of his powers. The sense of space that is conveyed here is very fine indeed. The views out the windows and doors are of a type that was popular in panel painting from the later work of Petrus Christus on and is also found in the work of Bouts, such as his Last Supper Altarpiece. However, neither Bouts nor any other panel painter of the time approached our master's sensitivity to nature.

This frontispiece makes no attempt to illustrate a specific passage of the text, instead it pertains to birds in general. Moving counterclockwise, we see a rooster, chicken and chicks, brace of peacocks, duck, swan, stork, heron, blackbird, pheasant, hoopoe, owl, magpie, another owl, etc. The proportions are sometimes erratic, so that it may be impossible to identify birds, as with the

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<sup>321</sup> Gagnebin 1976, p. 167.

pairing ones at the lower left. Some of these specimens, including the owls, swan, peacocks, and chickens, can have been of no interest to Frederick II in the context of falconry. Our master rendered the birds much as he did the ones in the eleventh miniature of the London *Profits champêtres* (fig. 1.11) and in the frontispiece to the London *Livre des propriétés des choses* (fig. 4.1), with flashes of remarkable observation, like the mouse clutched by the barn owl. We even find pairing birds similar to the mating grouses in the lower border of the *Livre* frontispiece. The London and Geneva frontispieces are also very close in the relatively lesser role played by our Master's customary thin black outlines.

Philip Hofer related the London *Livre* frontispiece to that of the *Chasse aux oyseaux* in the Houghton Library of Harvard College (typ. 130),<sup>322</sup> believing the birds to be by the same hand. Like the Geneva manuscript, the Cambridge MA version once belonged to Louis of Gruuthuse. Hofer rightly argued that the Cambridge codex is of slightly lesser quality and that the arms of Louis (now partly painted over) in it, could be a later addition. As the Cambridge manuscript (which is more closely related to Alexander Bening than to the Master of 1482) is dated 1486, that may be taken as the latest possible date for the Geneva version. The London *Propriétés des choses* frontispiece can be dated to about 1482 to 1483. For want of additional evidence, this Geneva frontispiece may therefore be dated to about 1484 to 1485.

The numerous small illuminations of birds and hunting scenes that are located, unframed, in the margins, are by a second, lesser hand. A little of the marginalia is illustrated by Gagnebin.<sup>323</sup> Lemaire and De Schryver believed that this kind of illumination probably reflects the original work and is mirrored in the abbreviated Latin version now in the Vatican, as well as in the French version that was illuminated by Simon d'Orléans.<sup>324</sup>

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<sup>322</sup> Hofer 1953, pp. 21-22 & 25.

<sup>323</sup> Gagnebin 1976, p. 167. Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 1622, identifies only the frontispiece as an illumination. He does state that the "marges" are by "other hand".

<sup>324</sup> Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, p. 166.



## Catalogue 12

### *Les commentaires de César*

London, British Library, MS Egerton 1065

Bruges, ca. 1485

### **Description:**

Parchment, 365 x 254 mm. Text 240 x 170 mm, in two columns. Four half-page miniatures by the Bruges Master of 1482 on fols. 1<sup>ro</sup>, 9<sup>ro</sup>, 74<sup>ro</sup> and 100<sup>vo</sup>. Six further miniatures by a contemporary collaborator on fols. 146<sup>ro</sup>, 172<sup>ro</sup>, 192<sup>ro</sup> and 254<sup>ro</sup>.

### **Provenance:**

Nothing appears to be known about the commission of this manuscript. The British Museum purchased it from the London antiquarian booksellers Payne and Foss on the 14<sup>th</sup> of May 1844, using the so-called Bridgewater fund.

### **Literature:**

Catalogue 1850, no. eg. 1065

Cholmeley 1912, p. 125

Exhibition 1929, no. 142

Exhibition 1953-1954, no. 581

MacKinney 1965, II, no. 33

Horn 1968, pp. 50-51, 55-56 and figs. 76-79

Lucas 1970, pp. 225-253, esp. p. 234

Kupfer in Cahn/Marrow 1978, p. 255 and 258

Horn 1983, p. 112, n. 15

Shailor 1984, p. 333

Dogaer 1987, p. 127

Hindman 1988, no. 37, pp. 79 and 139

Basing 1990, fig. 27

McKendrick 2003, p. 72, fig. 57 (fol. 116<sup>vo</sup>)  
Kren/McKendrick 2003, p. 278, note 5  
Flatman 2009, pls. 108 and 154  
Hans-Collas/Schandel 2009, pp. 200 and 268  
Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 1933

## Contents:

See Catalogue 2

## Decoration:

The first four illuminations of this manuscript are by the Bruges Master of 1482, with a following set of six miniatures by a closely related hand. The consistent appearance of Caesar as a bearded man as opposed to a clean-shaven one suggests that this London codex predates the Oxford version by one year or more. The imperial connection continues in the remaining miniatures (fols. 146<sup>ro</sup> and 172<sup>vo</sup>). It is most obvious in *The Death of Caesar* (fol. 254<sup>ro</sup>), where the imperial crown lies prominently on the ground to the right of his assassination. All ten of the illuminations of Egerton 1065 were illustrated in colour by the British Museum but have not been accessible since October 2023.<sup>325</sup>

### 12.1 - Caesar Dictating his Commentaries on the Conquest of Gaul (fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)

Julius Caesar seems to be talking to two men, one sitting at a lectern and the other leaning over a book, with his back turned to us. Presumably the seated man is again intended to be Aulus Hirtius, the author of the eighth chapter of the text. Behind these figures is a built-in set of shelves with a few books and some white writing much like what we encountered in left background of *The Castration of Uranus* in the Copenhagen *Ovide Moralisé* (fig. 5.1). All such details, including those of the clothes worn by everyone present, are routinely anachronistic. The general effect of this group is spontaneous and relaxed; the author and spectator really do seem to be reflecting on the words of Caesar. The figures to the right of

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<sup>325</sup> I have repeatedly referred to the cyber-sttack that caused the “Detailed Record” files to become inaccessible on the internet. Fortunately Hanno Wijsman down loaded this file in time.

the great general do not pay attention to the left group and appear to be discussing something else entirely. An inexplicable curiosity here is that two kinds of architecture meet in the middle of the illuminations, thus accentuating the division of the composition into two halves. Caesar is old and bearded. We know that Frederick III, the Holy Roman Emperor of the time, was bearded and greying, whereas his son, Maximilian I, was beardless and blonde (see fig. 15.2).

## 12.2 - The Birth of Caesar (fol. 9<sup>ro</sup>)

This miniature illustrates the concluding text, which is based on the accounts of Caesar's life by Lucan (AD 39-65) and Suetonius (AD 69/70-140). The Master of 1482 clearly adapted his scenes from the representational tradition of the birth of the Virgin, and not from Hirtius. A solicitous doctor is sewing up his Caesarian section. This is hard to tell because of abrasions in the critical area, but it is confirmed by our master's corresponding miniature in the Oxford *Commentaires* (fig. 16.1). The doctor's knife is prominently placed on a three-legged stool in the foreground, adding a little edge to the composition. Here, as elsewhere, we see that the Master of 1482 did not normally repeat himself closely, so that we must speak of a loose copy or of an adaptation in the case of the illumination in the arguably earlier London miniature. A basin which no longer holds water stands on the ground along with a pitcher. A standing young woman on the far left holds the new-born Caesar while his mother turns her head to look at him lovingly. To the right of the stool another woman rushes with outstretched arms towards baby Julius. The Master of 1482 likely lifted her out of some Flemish panel painting of the Lamentation. The flapping slipper of her trailing foot is a particularly happy touch. On the right, two other women seem to be sharing the simple task of drying a cloth at the fireplace. In the right background a woman greets a youth holding a pot, presumably containing some kind of medicine.

## 12.3 - Caesar Arriving in Gaul (fol. 74<sup>ro</sup>)

This is the first of the London illuminations to actually illustrate an aspect of Caesar's *Gallic Wars*.<sup>11</sup> Caesar and his followers move from left to right before a deep landscape containing a few houses and larger buildings. Caesar again has a beard and rides the kind of spindly-legged horse typical of the Master of 1482. The

few houses in the middle-ground are typical of his development of the kind of thing we find in works of the 1460's by Simon Marmion.<sup>326</sup> The scene is thoroughly anachronistic, as is always the case when our master attempted events from a remote past. Typically Caesar and his troops are dressed in fifteenth-century clothes. Thus, though the interest in texts such as Caesar's *Commentaires* has been interpreted as part of a phenomenon called Burgundian courtly humanism, the costumes are typically mediaeval in that they illustrate the second half of Erwin Panofsky's "principle of disjunction", according to which ancient subject matter is invariably presented in contemporary guise (see Chapter 10 above). Nothing that we can tell depicts events described by Caesar. The precise subject matter is therefore difficult to establish, but the site would appear to be Saône River, a tributary of the Rhône, which flowed through the territories of the Aedui and the Sequani. Though Caesar mentioned the animosity of these two tribes,<sup>327</sup> he discussed neither in connection with his arrival in Gaul.

#### 12.4 - The Surrender of the Atuatuca (fol. 100<sup>vo</sup>)

This scene is largely explained by Caesar's words, which I present in modern English translation:

The Atuatuca, who were coming in full force to help the Nervii, on hearing of their defeat turned back without halting and went home. Abandoning their other strongholds and fortified refuges, they collected all their possessions into one town of great natural strength. It was surrounded by very high and precipitous rocks, except at one point where there was a gently sloping approach not more than two hundred feet wide. This place the garrison had fortified with a double wall of great height, on top of which they now fixed heavy stones and beams sharpened to a point.<sup>328</sup>

I propose that the thinly rendered city in the background must be the stronghold of the Atuatuca, even though it bears little or no resemblance to Caesar's

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<sup>326</sup> One also thinks of the intimate landscape of Hans Memling, but it is less similar and later in date than Marmion's work.

<sup>327</sup> Handford 1951, p. 30.

<sup>328</sup> Handford 1951, pp. 88-89.

description. That the Master of 1482 omitted the rock bluffs around much of the city once more indicates that neither he nor his advisor read the text closely.

The most vexing problem with respect to these four illustrations to the London *Commentaires* is their relationship to the corresponding ones in the Oxford codex (cf. figs. 16.1 to 16.4). In the case of two other parallel manuscripts by our master, the New Haven and Basel versions of the *Traité de noblesse*, textual evidence establishes the sequence, with the Basel version certainly the later of the two. In the instance of the parallel Caesar manuscripts, the dating of the Oxford manuscript seems relatively straightforward. Its stylistic consistency and the iconography of Caesar as Maximilian place it around 1486 to 1487. The four London miniatures would appear to be a little earlier. The use of a bearded Caesar and the omission of details like the gatehouse, which might otherwise link in to the New Haven and Basel codices, point in that direction. There is a certainly a stylistic connection between the London miniatures and the frontispiece of the Geneva *Livre de la chasse* (Cat. 10), which I have already dated to about 1484 to 1485. The London *Commentaires* could be a hair later.

As mentioned, however, this manuscript features a further six miniatures by another hand. They have the same format, with the flattened arched protrusion, though less pronounced, at the top that is typical for the Master of 1482. The bright colours are much the same as well, including patches of exceptionally intensive blue. Some details can be very close to his work, as with the deep landscapes with elaborate cliffs and even the trees of folios 146<sup>ro</sup> and 192<sup>ro</sup>, so that one thinks of an assistant working in his shop. On the other hand, the anonymous artist did not employ the thin outlines of our master, his lower legs are more convincing and he had a predilection for complex straggly beards. Even Caesar is not granted a full beard. The illuminations by this second hand resemble those of the Master of 1482 more closely than do miniatures attributed to the Master of Margaret of York, the Master of the Soane Josephus, or the Master of Edward IV. Hence we may need to adopt a *Notname* for this illuminator, such as The Master of the Divergent Egerton 1065 Miniatures. His work is likely later than the about 1480 that Scot McKendrick assigned to him.<sup>329</sup> My working assumption

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<sup>329</sup> McKendrick 2003, p. 72, fig. 17.

has always been that work on the second set of six illuminations followed in the wake of the opening four by the Master of 1482, and I therefore propose a date of ca. 1485 for the entire Egerton 1065 codex.

## Catalogue 13

Jean Froissart, *Chroniques*

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, fr. 15.6

Third of three volumes, with fr. 15.4 and 15.5

Bruges, ca. 1485

### Description:

Vellum, 350 folios (of which 343 are paginated), plus two protecting sheets in paper, 388 x 274 mm. *Lettre bâtarde* in two columns. Divided into chapters preceded by an *incipit* of several red lines. Large decorated capital, heightened in gold on the first folio; the other capitals are smaller but also in gold and in colours. Old pagination. Same binding as the other two volumes, with the title: *Chronique de Messire Iehan Froissart. Tom. 3.*<sup>330</sup>

### Provenance:

Philippe de Hornes (1421-1488), inventory of 20 August 1488.

Jean de Montmorency, Prince of Robecq (died 1631).

Plantin-Moretus Museum Antwerp after 1650.

### Literature:

Kervyn de Lettenhove 1873, pp. 250, 298-299, 320, 422

Génard 1875, pp. 21-22, 26

Raynaud 1895, pp. 515 and 518

Denucé 1927, pp. 13-16 esp. 14-15

Arnaud/Massing 1993, no. 75

Derolez et al. 1999, pp. 193-195

Wijsman 2008, p. 52, ill. 23, and p. 67.

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<sup>330</sup> Denucé 1927, p. 13.

Hans-Collas/Schandel 2009, p. 200

Wijsman 2010b, pp. 332 and 375-376

Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 603

Dubois 2011-2012, p. 346 (rejected)

Watteeuw/Reynolds 2013, no. 43 (style of)

Wiechers ca. 2019, n.p.

## Contents:

Jean Froissart was born in Valenciennes around 1337 and died after 1404. He was probably the most important historian of his time. George Gordon Coulton described his tumultuous life in detail.<sup>331</sup> Froissart visited England and Scotland several times. Between 1361 and 1366 he was at the court of Queen Filippa of Hainault (1310/1315-1369). In his last years he lived in Chimay, where he was canon-treasurer of the chapter. His massive chronicle comprises the history of Western Europe from 1326 to 1400. It exists in numerous versions which tend to differ because the author kept revising his text. Froissart also wrote a chronicle of Flanders for the period from 1379 to 1385, which he later incorporated in his second volume. According to Kervyn de Lettenhove, the complete version of the *Chroniques*, in four books, only came about after the author's death in the course of the fifteenth century.<sup>332</sup> Complete texts are exceedingly rare. Lettenhove knew of only four, one of which is the splendid example, illuminated by a few artists, the library of Louis of Bruges. A perusal of its 112 miniatures (or of the 194 in BnF, fr. 28131) establishes that the present manuscript is a relatively modest effort and that it is unlikely to involve a representational tradition. Indeed, Froissart discussed such a huge number of events that cycles of many dozens of illustrations have no overlap.

Any problems are exacerbated by recent study of a wonderful copy of Book 3 of Froissart's *Chroniques* in the collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum (Ludwig XIII 7), which had twenty large illuminations, all illustrated online, by a miniaturist whom Scot McKendrick named the Master of the Getty Froissart. As McKendrick informed his readers, this master was overlooked by or unknown to such

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<sup>331</sup> Coulton 1930, *passim*.

<sup>332</sup> Kervyn de Lettenhove 1873, p. 250.



influential critics as Paul Durrieu, Friedrich Winkler, L.M.J. Delaissé, Georges Dogaer, and Maurits Smeyers.”<sup>333</sup> In his first footnote McKendrick also tells us that “the Getty Froissart was completely unstudied until around 1974, when it emerged from the Rothchild collections.” Clearly there is an enormous amount of work to be done, but none of it is likely to concern the Master of 1482. The contents of the three-volume codex illuminated in part by him were described in detail long ago by Jean Denucé (1878-1944) and much more recently by Lieve Watteeuw and Catherine Reynolds, but none of it concerns our master’s work.<sup>334</sup>

## Decoration:

Only the frontispiece of the third volume is by the Bruges Master of 1482. Hanno Wijsman illustrated the frontispieces of all three volumes in colour and attributed the first two to the Master of the Soane Josephus and the Master of the Harley Froissart.<sup>335</sup> James Marrow has informed me that they can be dated to 1479, which is compatible with Wijsman’s suggested dates. It was clearly the intention of the patron of the Antwerp *Froissart* that the three volumes look unified. That must explain why the choice fell throughout on the standard stepped-arch format (though in slightly flattened form) of the Master of 1482. The elaborate borders for all three frontispieces further unify the set. We can therefore understand why Jean Denucé concluded that “the three volumes of the *Chroniques* of Froissart, judging from their exterior appearance, constitute the work of a single copyist and the same illuminator [in translation].”<sup>336</sup> That all three volumes were written by one man is likely, but that there was only one illuminator is out of the question.

### 13.1 - The Coronation of John I, King of Portugal (fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)

This is not the Bruges Master's best surviving illumination, being somewhat abraded, but it is handsome nevertheless. Anne Dubois dismissed the attribution

<sup>333</sup> McKendrick in Kren/Mckendrick 2003, p. 282.

<sup>334</sup> Denucé 1927, pp. 13-16 and Watteeuw/Reynolds 2013, pp. 155-166, with illustrations of all three frontispieces.

<sup>335</sup> Wijsman 2008, ills. 21, 22 and 23. In 2010, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 636, he changed the second attribution to Philippe de Mazerolles and the Master of the Froissart Commynes. However, all three names refer to the same illuminator.

<sup>336</sup> Denucé 1927, p. 16.

because “the quality and type of the personages do not point to his hand”<sup>337</sup> but her objection is too vague to be convincing. Jehan of Portugal, duke of Coïmbra, titular prince of Antioch (1357-1433) is being crowned at the east end of a church.<sup>338</sup> The view of the vaults behind the throne is one of our master's most ambitious architectural passages, though it is still only a dim echo of the best church interiors by Jan van Eyck or Rogier van der Weyden. A large arch is located where we might expect the south transept to be, affording us a view of a coastal or river landscape with a ship in full sail. The coronation itself is hierarchic and roughly reminiscent of the coronation scenes in the New Haven and Basel *Traité de noblesse* texts (figs. 15.6 and 18.5). Though M. Kervyn de Lettenhove believed that the ruler on the throne is Charles VI of France,<sup>339</sup> that is virtually ruled out by the three coats of arms near the top of the throne, which feature crosses composed of five shields, all containing a tower. These arms are encountered over the centuries in any Portuguese context, including Euro coinage. The appearance of a Portuguese king of the 1450's in a Flemish manuscript of around 1485 becomes less surprising once we know that Jehan travelled to the Low Countries and became a Knight of the Golden Fleece at its ninth chapter, convened in The Hague in 1456.

Though the coronation of John I, which took place in 1385, is not described in the text, Froissart's travels, including to Portugal, are adduced in the *incipit* below the miniature:

*Je me suiz longuement tenu a parler des besoignes des longtaines marches. Mais les prouchaines quant a present m'ont esté si fresches, si nouvell, et si enclines a ma plaisance que pour ce les ay mis arriere. Mais pourtant ne seiournoient pas les vaillans hommes que se desiroient avancier ens ou royaume de Castille et portingal et aussi en Gascoigne, en Rovergne, en Quersin, et Lymosin ...*<sup>340</sup>

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<sup>337</sup> Dubois 2011-2012, p. 346.

<sup>338</sup> The event was first identified by Denucé 1927, p. 15. Wijsman 2008, ill. 23, identified the scene as *Edmund Langley before the King of Portugal*.

<sup>339</sup> Kervyn de Lettenhove 1873, p. 250.

<sup>340</sup> After Denucé 1927, p. 15.

I have for long intended to speak about the cares of early marches. But the more recent ones up to the present have been too fresh, new and suited to my pleasure for me to put behind me. But I will nevertheless not overlook the villainous men who wished to encroach on the kingdoms of Castille and Portugal and also in Gascoigne, Auvergne, Quirin [Quercy] and Limousin ...

The ship in the right background presumably alludes to Froissart's travels and he could just be one of the two passengers standing on the stern deck.

Below this miniature we see the coat of arms of Jean de Montmorency, Prince of Robecq (died 1631), as identified by Jean Denucé, consisting of a cross with four compartments, each containing four heraldic birds and topped by a helmet which is in turn topped by a dog. The arms project uncomfortably into the text above and were obviously painted in at a later date.<sup>341</sup>

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<sup>341</sup> See Dubois 2002, p. 623, for an accurate description of the arms. However, she states incorrectly (her note 50) that the arms are pasted in.

## Catalogue 14

Aristotle, *Les Ethiques d'Aristotle*. Translated from the Latin by Nicolas Oresme around 1370

London, British Library, Egerton 737

Bruges, ca. 1485

**Description:** paper, *lettre bâtarde* in two columns, text block 365 x 265 mm.

### **Provenance:**

Inscription: Ex libris Joannes Jocquet Philosophia et Medicine Doctoris 1621.

Adam Clarke (born 1762, died 1832), Wesleyan Methodist Minister and scholar: inscribed 'No. XXXI. of Dr. Adam Clarke's collection of Mss.' Barnes & Sons: its catalogue 1836 (cutting pasted to fol. 2<sup>vo</sup>).

Bought by the British Museum from the Rev. B Nightingale on 14 March 1839 using the Bridgewater fund (note on fol. 2<sup>vo</sup>, with further information). This provenance is taken from the online British Library entry for this manuscript. That material includes a detailed appended note concerning the vicissitudes of the manuscript between 1832 and 1839.

### **Literature**

Catalogue 1843, no. Eg. 737

König 1991, ill. on p. 221

Nederman 1996, pp. 563-585

Wijsman 2010b Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 3755

Dubois 2011-2012, p. 346

De Bruyn/De Vos 2018, pp. 1-4

## Contents:

Aristotle was perhaps the greatest of Greek thinkers. He wrote on a wide variety of topics, including physical science, a subject on which he remained vitally important right up to the Enlightenment. His synthesis of Greek thought was the most important vehicle by which it was transmitted to the West.

This manuscript deals with the main and most important text of the writings that Aristotle devoted to ethics, namely the *Nichomachean Ethics*. In their online publication pitch for their recent edition of Aristotle's *Ethics*, Jonathan Brown and Anthony Kenny summarize its importance with admirable succinctness.

Aristotle's moral philosophy is a pillar of Western ethical thought. It bequeathed to the world an emphasis on virtues and vices, happiness as well-being or a life well lived, and rationally motivated action as a means between extremes. Its influence was felt well beyond antiquity into the Middle Ages, particularly through the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas"<sup>342</sup>

Only one year after their authoritative edition, Anthony Celano published a whole book on mediaeval Aristotelian philosophy.<sup>343</sup> Nicolas Oresme, who produced this translation for Charles V of France, was one of the most important representatives of mediaeval Aristotelian thought.

## Decoration:

One large miniature, in colours and gold, accompanied by a large initial in gold on a red and blue ground (fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>). Two large puzzle initials in red and blue (fols. 31<sup>ro</sup> and 51<sup>ro</sup>). Seven large initials in plain blue (fols. 88<sup>ro</sup>, 119<sup>ro</sup>, 158<sup>ro</sup>, 183<sup>ro</sup>, 219<sup>ro</sup>, 249<sup>ro</sup>, 282<sup>ro</sup>). Small initials in plain red.<sup>344</sup>

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<sup>342</sup> Barnes/Kenny 2014.

<sup>343</sup> Celano 2015

<sup>344</sup> Still more information is available online courtesy of the British Library.

## 14.1 – Aristotle Teaching Alexander the Great (fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)

Starting in 343 BC Aristotle tutored the young Alexander at the request of his father, Philip of Macedonia. That is the subject of the only illumination of this codex. Aristotle sits on a modest throne with baldachin, like a mediaeval ruler. Alexander stands in the centre foreground. He wears a crown even though his father Philip was still king at the time. Two scribes to the right record Aristotle's words of wisdom. The other four individuals in the room, like the man looking in the door, would appear to be supernumeraries. The books on the shelves at the upper right no doubt contain the wisdom of the great philosopher. The books are anachronistic, like everything else about the scene, because Aristotle amassed a library of scrolls of papyrus during his year with Alexander. From a modern point of view this illustration has absolutely nothing to do with the text. Clearly the scene was chosen because Alexander the Great had a reputation to conjure with,<sup>345</sup> but this megalomaniac warrior, who murdered and enslaved countless thousands of people, appears to have been little concerned about ethics.

The arched format, colours, thin lines, facial types and figure genuflecting to the left are all typical of our master. The only thing that casts any doubt on the attribution is the relatively frequent use of pastel colours -- muted yellow (i.e. gold?), light blue, light green and pink -- for the clothing of the foreground figures and of light green for the baldachin, lectern and curtains in the background. Even so patches of bright red dominate the general impression conveyed by the illumination. The recession of the tile floor is accomplished, pointing to a mature work. For want of further indications to the contrary, I tentatively date this manuscript to 1485. Note that this text was apparently not collected by Louis of Gruuthuse, since it is not listed by Claudine Lemaire and Antoine de Schryver (1924-2005) in their thorough study of his library.<sup>346</sup> However, Oresme was of interest to Louis, witness a translation of Aristotle's *Economics* (BnF, fr. 1985).<sup>347</sup>

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<sup>345</sup> As mentioned in Chapter 5 above, he is the only ancient hero other than Caesar who is represented in the library of Louis of Gruuthuse.

<sup>346</sup> Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, pp. 207-277, esp. the list compiled by Lemaire on pp. 224-229.

<sup>347</sup> Listed by Lemaire 1981, p. 225.

## Catalogue 15

Honoré Bo[u]vet, *L'Arbre des batailles* and Diego de Valera, *Traité de noblesse*  
(plus ten lesser treatises)

New Haven CT, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, ms. 230

Digitisation: <https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2005358>

Online file: <https://pre1600ms.beinecke.library.yale.edu/docs/pre1600.ms230.htm>

Bruges, 1486

### Description:

Vellum; 209 folios; 345 x 244 mm. *Lettre bâtarde* in two columns. The illustration of ms. 230 consists of a full-page miniature in the “Arbre des batailles” on folio 11<sup>vo</sup>, ten half-page miniatures in arched frames, primarily of such subjects as the installation of nobles and heralds, duels, and jousts, etc. (fols. 1<sup>ro</sup>, 103<sup>ro</sup>, 118<sup>ro</sup>, 145<sup>ro</sup>, 153<sup>vo</sup>, 164<sup>ro</sup>, 187<sup>ro</sup>, 192<sup>ro</sup>, 198<sup>ro</sup> and 207<sup>ro</sup>), one small column miniature, eleven lines in height (fol. 179<sup>ro</sup>), and sixty-three painted armorial bearings (fols. 147-152), of which fifteen were left incomplete.

### Provenance:

Louis of Gruuthuse?

Maximilian I of Austria.

George Hibbert.

Evans Sale, 30 March 1829, Lot 2707.

Sir Thomas Phillipps, ms. 3873.

William H. Robinson Ltd. Collection of Dudley M. Colman, 1946.

Sold by Colman in 1954 to C.A. Stonehill.

Acquired from Stonehill in 1955 as a gift from the Yale Library Associates.

## Literature:

Coopland 1949

Marston 1955, pp. 106-107, 109-110, with illus. (fol. 164<sup>ro</sup>)

Willard 1967, p. 44

Horn 1968, passim

Kraus 1969, p. 10

Schrader 1969, p. 23, no. 19, pl. XXXVIII (fol. 164<sup>ro</sup>)

Hoving/Husband/Hayward 1975, p. 276 no. 277

Gagnebin 1976, p. 168

Cahn/Marrow 1978, no. 76, pp. 256-259 and pl. 27 (fol. 198<sup>ro</sup>)

Vanderjagt 1981, pp. 102-103, 117-118, pls. 18 & 19 (fols. 1<sup>ro</sup> and 118<sup>ro</sup>)

Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, no. 106, p. 244

Horn 1983, pp. 110-112, figs. 1 and 5 (fols. 10<sup>ro</sup> and 153<sup>vo</sup>)

Shailor 1984, pp. 331-335

Dogaer 1987, p. 129

Hindman 1988, no. 37, p. 139

König 1991, p. 258

Hans-Collas/Schandel 2009, p. 200

Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 2258

Hiltmann 2011, pp. 191-215

Dubois 2011-2012, p. 340

## Contents:

Of the entire production of the Bruges Master of 1482, the manuscript with by far the most complicated textual contents, including apparent indications of date, is an anthology of chivalric writings in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University in New Haven, CT. The text of the New Haven manuscript comprises the *Arbre des batailles* by Honoré Bovet (1386-1389),<sup>348</sup> the *Traité de noblesse* by Diego de Valera (1412-c.1488) and ten additional short treatises. Though the two principal texts are virtually independent manuscripts

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<sup>348</sup> Bovet wrote the text for King Charles V of France. I have the dates from the detailed online entry for Paris, BnF, Espagnol 206 (<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc34815s>), with a colophon of 1429.



that were bound together, their combination was deliberate, witness that the prologue to the *Traité* precedes the prologue to the *Arbre*. Though the New Haven text is not our primary concern,<sup>349</sup> a more detailed orientation into the contents of the manuscript is necessary for the elucidation of its date and a proper appreciation of the ambient in which it came into being.

Honoré Bovet's *Arbre des batailles* constitutes the bulk of the text (fols. 12<sup>ro</sup>-116<sup>vo</sup>; prologue on fols. 10r-11r). Bovet wrote this work by 1387 and dedicated it to Charles VI of France (ruled 1380-1422). It is possible to gain a rapid insight into the life of the man and the contents of the work from the monograph by George William Coopland.<sup>350</sup> Although the *Arbre des batailles* was popular in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, relatively few of the numerous manuscripts were illuminated. According to an inventory of 1469, the library of the dukes of Burgundy contained three copies, of which two remained in 1487.<sup>351</sup> However, we were able to illustrate the key miniature of nine manuscripts (figs. 15.3, 15.3.2-15.3.8, and 15.3.11).

It can be no coincidence that an important translation of the *Arbre des batailles* into the *Arbol de batallas* was the work of Diego de Valera (or Jacques de Valère), who was also the author of the *Traité de noblesse* component of the Beinecke compilation (fols. 118<sup>ro</sup>-144<sup>vo</sup>; Prologue on fols. 1<sup>ro</sup>-4<sup>vo</sup>). The dedication on fol. 118<sup>ro</sup> reads: “Cy commence un petit traittie de noblesse compose par [then three erased lines] hugues de salues preuost de furnes. (fol. 14<sup>ro</sup>). However, fol. 14<sup>ro</sup> of Philip of Cleves's *Traité de noblesse* in Vienna (ÖNB. 2616) allows us to fill in the missing lines: “Jacques de Valere en langue despagne et naguere translate en francois par” (fig. 15.1.3). The Paris version, which was commissioned by Louis of Gruuthuse (BnF, fr. 1280), has the same dedication. For reasons unknown, the scribe of the New Haven codex eliminated the author of the treatise and extended that honour to the translator.

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<sup>349</sup> The complete text was transcribed by Arjo Vanderjagt 1981, Appendix II, pp. 276-282.

<sup>350</sup> Coopland 1949. For much greater detail, Wright 1976, pp. 12-31, who (p. 13) praises Coopland. Google Books offer an early printed version in Geneva (BGE, ms. Comites latentes 168), which will allow readers to follow the original Frenc. There is also a thorough critical edition by Reinhilt Richter-Bergmeier (2017).

<sup>351</sup> One of these is KBR, 9067, copied in 1461. The two others have not been identified.

Diego de Valera, who was born as Gonzalve de Vargas, likely wrote his *Espejo de verdadera noblez* (Mirror of True Nobility) in 1441.<sup>352</sup> As we have just learned, it was translated into French by Hugues de Salucces [Hugues de Salve], Prevost of Furnes [Provost of Furnes], apparently in the 1450s,<sup>353</sup> well before De Valera's death in 1488. The contents of the *Traité* concern the nature, types, manifestations, acquisition, and loss of nobility. Like the *Arbre des batailles*, the *Traité* was popular. We have some nine examples from the fifteenth century, almost all of them illustrated.

The *Traité de noblesse* is followed by ten short treatises on protocol (fols. 146<sup>vo</sup>-196<sup>vo</sup>) that, together with the *Traité*, form a unit called “des droit darmes” on the first folio (1<sup>ro</sup>) of the manuscript).<sup>354</sup> These ten treatises concern blazonry, the election of an emperor, combat in an open field, combat in a closed field, the office of the king of arms and heralds, tourneys, and funerals. In greater detail, they are as follows:<sup>355</sup>

- 1) Fol. 145<sup>ro</sup>: Clément Prinsault, La table des xij chapittres du blason darmes
- 2) Fol. 153<sup>ro</sup>: Anonymous, Comment on fait de nouvel vn empereur par election
- 3) Fol. 163<sup>vo</sup>: Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, La maniere de faire champ a oultrance selon lordonnance faict par les roys d'Angleterre (dedicated to Richard II)
- 4) Fol. 170<sup>ro</sup>: Les ordonnances aux gages de bataille en champ ferme selon la coutume du royaume de France (an ordonnance of Philip IV of France, dated 1396)
- 5) Fol. 179<sup>ro</sup>: La premiere institucion des roys darmes et heraulx et des seremens et promesses quilz font a leur creation
- 6) Fol. 186<sup>vo</sup>: La manière de faire tournoiz et behours (and the obligations of Kings of Arms and Herald's thereto).

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<sup>352</sup> This precise date is based on an online posting by the Real Academia (<https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/4811/diego-de-valera>).

<sup>353</sup> *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises*, Moyen Age, p. 699.

<sup>354</sup> With variations on that title on fols. 4<sup>ro</sup>, 4<sup>vo</sup> and 192<sup>ro</sup>.

<sup>355</sup> For the original French consult (<https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2005358>). My transcriptions correspond to those placed online by Barbara A. Shailor sometime shortly after 1981 (<https://pre1600ms.beinecke.library.yale.edu/docs/pre1600.ms230.htm>). For the original French consult (<https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2005358>). Occasion irrelevant words at the beginning of a title were trimmed before citation.

- 7) Fol. 192<sup>ro</sup>: Obseques et funerailles des nobles hommes (including the obligations of Kings of Arms and Heralds).
  - 8) Fol. 194<sup>ro</sup>: Continuation de ceste matiere. An appendix to no. 9, written by Louis of Gruuthuse, concerning the funeral of Gérard de Mortaigne (died 1391), one of his ancestors.
- The manuscript is closed by two separate treatises, these being a description of the creation of the first King of Arms of France and his duties, and a discussion of ordinances relating to the Armies and Marshals of France:
- 9) Fols. 198<sup>ro</sup>-206<sup>vo</sup>: Cy contient comment le roy darmes des francoiz fut premierement cree et puis nomme mon Joye el la facon de son noble counronner Les seremens quil fait aussy Les droiz et ce qu'il est tenu de fere.
  - 10) Fols. 207<sup>ro</sup>-210<sup>vo</sup>: Status royaulx touchant le fait de la guerre prins en la chambre du tresorier a paris par philippe sans terre quant ils se vint marier a madame margueritte de flandres ... ses mareschaulx et autres de son conseil en lan de grace vii<sup>^</sup>c lxix.

With the exception of the fourth item, all these treatises date from the fifteenth century. As James Marrow observed "such texts will have been of interest only to the highest nobility and members of their court circles ... ." <sup>356</sup>

The New Haven compilation contains an almost embarrassing number of indications of date and provenance. All of them may be perused in the original French because the Beinecke library has made the entire manuscript accessible online.<sup>357</sup> The first indication is the dedication "Es saintes couronnes de Jherusalem et de France, esquelles aujourd'hui par l'ordonnance de Dieu regne Loys, de Charles cousin germain, tres bien aime" (fol. 10<sup>ro</sup>), which might seem to refer to Louis XI of France (1423-1483) and his father Charles VII (1403-1461). The *cousin germain*, meaning first cousin, is puzzling because it would indicate that Louis was the son of a sibling of Charles, whereas he was in fact the son of Charles himself. However, Louis was a cousin of Charles, Duke of Orléans (1394-1465), who was the son of Charles VI's assassinated younger brother Louis, Duke of Orléans (1372-1407). Strictly speaking, therefore, Charles was Louis's cousin once

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<sup>356</sup> Marrow 1978, p. 257.

<sup>357</sup> <https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2005358>

removed or “cousin issu de germain”, which sundry dictionaries translate as “first cousin once removed.” Charles was a prince of the House of Valois and champion of Louis’s realm. Found buried under a pile of corpses after the Battle of Agincourt of 25 October 1415,<sup>358</sup> he spent twenty-five years as hostage of the English while becoming a celebrated poet. If my surmise is correct, the dedication establishes that the original text must have been written sometime after 1461, when Louis XI commenced his rule, and prior to 1465, when Charles of Orléans died.<sup>359</sup> Given its dedication to French royalty, the original manuscript ought to be in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, but I have yet to locate the prototype.<sup>360</sup>

More specific indications of the date and origin of the manuscript appear in the section concerning the protocol for funerals. The author states that he was not equal to the task at hand, not being a herald, but that he wrote “au commandement de mon bon filz Gilles Roy darmes de flandres soubz tres illustre & tres excellent prince Maximilien duc dostrice de bourgogne de brabant de lothier de lembourg de luxembourg & de gheldres conte de flandres etc.” (fol. 194<sup>ro</sup>).<sup>361</sup> This is clearly a reference to Maximilian I of Austria, who married Mary of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Bold, shortly after the latter's death. By 1478, Maximilian had succeeded Charles as Chief of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Maximilian owed his Netherlandish titles to his marriage to Mary. Thus, when Mary died in 1482, Maximilian lost these titles, which descended to their son, Philip the Fair. The Gilles mentioned was King of Arms of the Golden Fleece from 1468 to 1492, his full name being Gilles Gobet. This information points to a specific milieu, the court of Burgundy between Maximilian’s marriage to Mary of Burgundy in 1477 and her death in 1482.

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<sup>358</sup> This detail is important. He was not a coward who had saved his skin by surrendering.

<sup>359</sup> Consider, however, that Torsten Hiltmann 2011, p. 211, confidently identified the two rulers as Louis XII and Charles VIII of France, which would push the date of the text to after 1498. Hiltmann could also do no better than identify Louis as a “remote Cousin” of Charles. However, he rightly dismissed Robert L. Benson 1975, p. 276, no. 277, who had advanced Louis XI of France and Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, as the rulers of the dedication. Jörg Günther 2018, p. 226, thought of Charles IV of Anjou (1446-1481), but ignored the first cousin specification. In face, nothing else works.

<sup>360</sup> The obvious place to look is amongst the manuscripts discussed below in connection with depictions of trees of sorrow (figs. 15.3.2 – 15.3.9), but I have yet to identify the prototype.

<sup>361</sup> Hiltmann 2011, p. 194-195 argued that “commendement” could also have meant “commission” and that “filz” could also have meant “son in law” and may even have indicated “a jovial address of an older to a younger man”.

Still another indication of date and provenance is found in the description of the funeral of Gerard de Mortaigne, which is appended to the treatise on funerals. For Gerard is introduced as an ancestor of “hault & noble seigneur monsg[-]r le conte de wincestre sgr. de la gruthuse prince de steenhuse” (fol. 194<sup>ro</sup>). Clearly this is Louis of Gruuthuse, whom we already know well. This reference is consistent with the earlier ones to Louis XI of France and Maximilian I of Austria, as Gruuthuse managed to remain in favour with Louis until his death in 1483, and did not run afoul of Maximilian until 1485.

Finally, the closing treatise on funerals has a continuation by the “compileur” of the *Traité de noblesse* that would seem to provide us with an exact date for the New Haven manuscript. The anonymous editor complains that there are few “qui selon le contenu des regles icy notez gouvernent leur noblesse” and adds that “il le fault imputer au tempz qui regne de pres[ent] lan mil iiijc iiijxx j” (fol. 196<sup>vo</sup>), that is to say 1481.

May we therefore conclude that the New Haven manuscript was completed in 1481? Certainly not. First, we must consider the two treatises that follow the section on funerals. These would seem to date later than 1481. Secondly, there is a manuscript in the library of Louis of Gruuthuse, now in Paris (again BnF, fr. 1280), from which much of the New Haven text appears to have been copied.<sup>362</sup> The Paris manuscript features the remnants of the arms of Louis of Gruuthuse on its frontispiece and comprises the *Traité de noblesse* part of the Beinecke compilation. Like the New Haven prologue in compete form, the references to Maximilian, Gilles, Louis of Gruuthuse and the date 1481 are all to be found in the Paris *Traité de noblesse*.

Since the Paris manuscript bears the arms of Louis of Gruuthuse and has the date 1481 at the end of the text instead of in its middle, it might seem safe to assume that the New Haven *Traité de noblesse* was copied after the Paris manuscript. However, the problem is complicated by still another *Traité de noblesse* now in Vienna (again ÖNB, 2616). This manuscript bears the arms of Philip of Cleves and again contains the references to Maximilian, Gilles and Louis

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<sup>362</sup> Lemaire in Lemaire/Smeyersr 1981, no. 106, pp. 243-244.

of Gruuthuse as well as the date 1481.<sup>363</sup> The Paris and Vienna versions of the *Traité de noblesse* were probably produced in the same atelier. They are of approximately the same format, and the text in both runs to a single column, in contrast to the double column format of the New Haven manuscript. The illuminations of both the Paris and Vienna *Traité de noblesse* are in a style that is curiously archaic for the early 1480's. I had called the anonymous artist the Master of the Vienna *Traité de noblesse*, this being the same illuminator as Hanno Wijsman's more recent Master of the Chattering Hands. The Gruuthuse version in Paris must be the earlier of the two, considering the references to Louis in both manuscripts.

There is still another *Traité de noblesse*, now in Turin, which Hanno Wijsman also attributed to the Master of the Chattering Hands.<sup>364</sup> It is significantly smaller than the Paris and Vienna *Traité* manuscripts and has six illumination instead of the eight of the two other versions. However, it again has the text in a single column. That text includes all the same references, including the date 1481, but it does not identify a patron. One suspects that he must have been someone close to Philip of Cleves, as its six miniatures are closer to those of the Vienna *Traité* than of the Paris ones (cf. fig. 15.1.3 with figs. 15.1.1 and 15.1.2). The Turin codex is therefore not part of the documented lineage from Louis of Bruges, via Philip of Cleves to the New Haven manuscript.<sup>365</sup>

The New Haven *Traité de noblesse* section was probably copied after the Vienna text as (to anticipate what is yet to be demonstrated) the illuminations of the *Traité de noblesse* section of the New Haven compilation are closer to the Vienna miniatures than to the Paris ones. We know that the text of the Paris

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<sup>363</sup> Lemaire 1981, cat. 106, p. 244; Thoss 1987, cat. 13, pp. 47-48 and fig. 41; Pächt/Thoss 1990, pp. 67-69 and ill. 98-101, figs. 52-54. Digitisation: <http://data.onb.ac.at/dtl/5287217>. In addition the sequence of Paris, Vienna and New Haven codices was outlined by James Marrow 1978, pp. 257-258, and discussed in greater detail by Torsten Hiltmann 2011, pp. 205-207, though one misses a clear argument. He also did not know about the vicissitudes of the Basel manuscript (Hiltmann pp. 213-214) and therefore could not move beyond the 1937 catalogue of the Hess-Antiquariat of Zurich.

<sup>364</sup> Biblioteca Reale, Varia 73, Vanderjagt 1981, p. 122 and pls. 26 and 27, and Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 3374.

<sup>365</sup> Still another *Traité de noblesse* with the same text, but lacking the date 1481, is preserved in the Royal Library in The Hague (KB 71 E 69; Vanderjagt 1981, p. 113 and p. 283, Appendix III) and originated in the sixteenth century. Though left incomplete, it was intended to be illustrated. It proves with a vengeance that dedications in late Mediaeval manuscripts are not to be taken at face value as precise or even close indications of the time of their production.

manuscript was completed in 1481. Whereas it is difficult to estimate the duration of the writing and illumination of manuscripts, 1482 would seem to be the earliest likely date for the completion of the Vienna *Traité*, with 1483 for the *Traité* section of the Yale manuscript.

Note that the Paris, Vienna and Turin manuscripts do not include Honoré Bovet's *Arbre des batailles*. There is, however, still another *Traité de noblesse* that does include Bovet. This compilation is very similar to the New Haven version.<sup>366</sup> It was sold by the Hess-Antiquariat of Zurich in 1937 and turned up three decades later to be sold by Hans Peter Kraus of New York to Helmut Beck of Stuttgart (Cat. 18). Stolen in 1996, it did not resurface until 2017, to be sold by Jörn Günther Rare Books of Basel.<sup>367</sup> The contents of this manuscript are virtually identical to those of the New Haven compilation except that the two dangling treatises of the Beinecke manuscript are incorporated into the *Traité de noblesse* section, with the date 1481 again at its very end. It is therefore almost certain that the Basel codex was rendered after the New Haven compilation. The illuminations of the Basel manuscript are generally loose copies of the New Haven miniatures and are again by the Bruges Master of 1482. The Basel codex, which bears the arms of Claude de Neufchâtel, is a parallel manuscript of a type common in the late fifteenth century, i.e., a second version of a codex produced in the same workshop at approximately the same time.

All we can conclude about the date and origins of the New Haven manuscript on the basis of textual evidence is that it was written in Bruges some years after 1481 and that it has some connection to Louis of Gruuthuse and Philip of Cleves. A study of the style and iconography of the illuminations will, I believe, establish that the New Haven manuscript must have been produced in 1486 in the immediate circle of Maximilian I.

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<sup>366</sup> This manuscript was discussed by James Marrow (Cahn/Marrow 1978, p. 257) before he located it in Stuttgart and attributed the miniatures to the Master of 1482. It was to appear in a catalogue of the Beck collection, compiled by Christopher de Hamel, but it was never published due to the theft of several manuscripts in 1996. Arjo Vanderjagt 1981, was apparently unaware of the manuscript.

<sup>367</sup> For concise information concerning the years between 1996 and 2018, consult the data concerning "provenance" and "literature" in Catalogue 18 below.

## Decoration:

Like several of the manuscripts that can be associated with the Bruges Master of 1482, the New Haven *Arbre des batailles/Traité de noblesse* is lavishly illuminated. But whereas most of the miniatures by our master in such more renowned texts as Caesar's *Commentaires* or Boccaccio's *Décamerone* can be readily understood, though not always completely explained, in terms of the accompanying text, several of the New Haven illuminations constitute veritable iconographic puzzles. And even in those instances that the text does substantially explain the illuminations, it is the relative obscurity of the Yale texts that helps make the miniatures exceptionally interesting.

The New Haven *Traité de noblesse* contains twelve illuminations, one full-page, ten half-page and one small column, as well as sixty-three armorial bearings, of which fifteen were left incomplete. Two of these miniatures illustrate the *Arbre des batailles*, two the *Traité de noblesse*, five the additional treatises which, together with the *Traité*, constitute the *Traité de noblesse*, and two the closing treatises of the manuscript. The armorial bearing are part of the *Blason d'armes* section written by Clément Prinsault. The quality of the illuminations is uneven, but this does not warrant the assumption that there was more than one master at work. We should instead think of a closely supervised workshop, with assistants attempting to render less important illuminations in the manner of their master.

### 15.1 - The Shame of Noah (fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)

The first miniature of the New Haven manuscript accompanies the prologue of Jacques de Valère's *Traité de noblesse*, which precedes both the *Arbre des batailles* as well as the *Traité de noblesse*, including its prologue. The illumination depicts *The Shame of Noah* (Genesis 9:18-9:24), and the same subject is illustrated in the prologues of the aforementioned Paris, Vienna and Turin versions of the *Traité*. Noah's shame is not illustrated without reason. The theme of Diego de Valera's prologue is that "*celui est noble, qui sa vertu anoblist*" (he is noble who is ennobled by his virtue).



Everyone knows that after the deluge Noah was reserved to restore the world. And after he had drunk of the wine for which he had planted the vine, it made him drunk and he slept dishonorably exposed, his two elder sons Ham and Shem laughed and mocked him and exposed him to the day. When Japheth, the youngest son saw him, he was moved by pity and with honest courage recovered the pubic parts of his father. For this beneficent and virtuous courage he deserved to be ennobled by the benediction of his father, and from him descended the regal line from which came our blessed saviour and in which he was incarnated (in translation).<sup>368</sup>

Readers will at once have spotted that this account runs counter to that in the Bible, in which it is Ham who mocked his father and that Shem and Japheth “took a garment and laid it upon their shoulders, and went backward and covered the nakedness of their father: and their faces were backward, and they saw not their father's nakedness.” In the Bible it is therefore Ham who is cursed and Shem and Japheth who are rewarded, whereas in this prologue, Shem shares in Ham's disgrace and Japheth alone is ennobled.

In the New Haven illumination, Noah lies in an expansive landscape, not in his tent, as in the Biblical text. He is surrounded by his three sons. Ham, presumably the figure on the left pointing at Noah, is committing the sin of mocking his father's exposed genitalia, which have been scratched out of the miniature. The other two men must be Shem and Japheth. The Bible specifies that both covered Noah's nakedness with a cloak and then turned their bodies and shielded their eyes. Yet in our illumination, neither of the two youths has turned his body or shielded his eyes, and only one is in the process of tossing a flap of Noah's tunic over his exposed abdomen, while the gesture of his left hand expresses his consternation. The account of the prologue suggests that this must be Japheth, soon to be ennobled by his father.

A surprising detail of the New Haven illumination, one that is not easily spotted, is that Japheth wears the Order of the Golden Fleece. The recurrence of the Order in the New Haven manuscript is unique within the pictorial chain of the

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<sup>368</sup> Fol. 2<sup>vo</sup>, column 1, lines 27-33 and column 2, lines 1-18 (<https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2005358>).

Paris, Vienna, New Haven and Basel illuminations. The improbable clump of rock is apparently not meant to be Mount Ararat, as the ark is shown stranded on flat land on the left. The presence of the ark is in any case not textually justified, whether in terms of the codex or of the Bible. The goat grazing in the grape bushes in the right middle ground is more than a mere pastoral motif, since the grapes were the indirect cause of Noah's shame.

The New Haven *Shame of Noah* is closer to the corresponding miniature in the Vienna (fig. 15.1.1) *Traité de noblesse* than to the one in Paris (fig. 15.1.2). In the Paris illumination Noah's shame is unrealistically located in an interior in which a scribe records the events. Another man, possibly the author, has his right hand on the scribe's shoulder and could be dictating to him. Finally, not two but three sons of Noah would seem to be looking on while Japheth covers his father's exposed member. In the Vienna version (fig. 15.1.1) Noah lies in a landscape, as in the New Haven miniature. The image includes an aristocratic-looking figure who seems to be in the process of lecturing to three younger men about the significance of the event. Of the three sons of Noah, only Japheth is depicted while he is covering his father. The *Shame of Noah* in Turin (fig. 15.1.3), which is the first of the six illuminations in the Turin codex, is again puzzling. While Japheth covers his father's nudity, the other two sons turn away or show no interest, thereby again ignoring the text.

Clearly the New Haven illumination features simpler narration than the earlier versions and answers relatively more closely to the text. We have no way of telling whether the Master of 1482 read the prologue and implemented the changes or whether he was guided by an advisor. However, it was no doubt due to the Master of 1482 himself that the New Haven illumination is truly in a style appropriate to the 1480's, with its more expansive gestures and space. Whereas the landscape might seem to anticipate Simon Bening, the group of the drunken Noah and his son Japheth bending over him brings to mind Dieric Bouts's *Elijah Fed by the Angel*, one of the wings of his Last Supper Altarpiece of the 1460's. In addition, the face of Noah could be based on that of the figure on the right of Hugo van der Goes's *Death of the Virgin*.

## 15.2 – Honoré Bovet Presents the *Arbre des batailles* to Maximilian I of Austria (fol. 10<sup>ro</sup>)

The second illumination of the New Haven compilation should be entitled in full: *Honoré Bovet Presents the Arbre des Batailles to Maximilian I of Austria in Preference to his Father, the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III*. It accompanies the dedicatory text of the *Arbre des batailles*. Presentation of the book illuminations are found at the beginning of many late mediaeval manuscripts, including at least two earlier *Arbre des batailles*. Obviously the kneeling author in this case is Bovet, who was a Benedictine monk. The oddities of the Yale illumination are threefold. Most obvious is the severe anachronism of a combination of Bovet and Maximilian, since the former died well before the latter was born. Second comes its obvious derivation from *The Judgement of Emperor Otto* by Dieric Bouts (fig. 15.2.1), which is itself based on the pictorial type of the presentation of the book. Bouts's judgement scene is more compact than the Beinecke illumination, but in both works we find the floor that is somewhat too steep for the spectator's viewpoint, the arbitrary cutting off of the figure at the far right, the figure with the cane in the right foreground, and the view at the back into an expansive landscape. We also find in both works an emphasis on realistic, slightly oversized faces, and on gesturing hands. Finally, there is the similarity of the gesture of consternation of Otto III and that of the bearded emperor of our illumination.

The third oddity of the New Haven miniature is that it shows two rulers on one throne.<sup>369</sup> The book is being presented to the younger ruler, while the older, bearded ruler, who wears the imperial crown, is being passed by. The break from tradition is sufficiently startling to rule out the possibility that these could be just any two rulers who happen to be sitting on the same throne. It seems highly probable that the young king to the right is Maximilian I of Austria, shown as King of the Romans. This accords well with Maximilian's age - he was twenty-seven in 1486, when he became King of the Romans - as well as with the Maximilian iconography, as we see in an illumination of 1486 that definitely shows him as Roman King (fig. 15.2.2). We can't speak of a likeness, but then no consistent

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<sup>369</sup> This obvious fact is the focus of Horn 1983, pp. 110-112 and fig. 1, in which this particular miniature, including its historical context, is examined in detail.

iconography of Maximilian developed until the 1510's. The aged, bearded ruler with the imperial crown must be Maximilian's father, Frederick III, who was Holy Roman Emperor, wore a beard, and was seventy-one years old in 1486. His physiognomy is familiar from the propaganda woodcuts of the time, a good example being a woodcut of about 1483, showing Frederick and the seven electors (fig. 15.2.3).<sup>370</sup> Frederick is further the logical choice because he was close enough to Maximilian to warrant being depicted on one throne with him, and opposed enough to his son being crowned King of the Romans to explain the breach of protocol in the New Haven illumination.

The historical background is as follows. In 1485 Frederick was travelling as an exile in the German Empire, with the Hungarians holding Vienna, his capital. Maximilian had for some time been the only serious candidate for the imperial succession, mainly because his remoteness from German affairs made him the least dangerous choice and had allowed him to maintain key friendships. He even managed to remain on good footing with the Hungarian King Matthias Corvinus (1443-1490), who was making Frederick's life miserable. Frederick apparently felt that Maximilian should come out clearly in favour of Austria and against Hungary before he could support his son's election.<sup>371</sup>

These events do not altogether explain the New Haven illumination, but they do provide a context for its interpretation. To put it all in popular parlance, our illumination shows insult being added to injury. Frederick, whose wishes had been ignored when Maximilian was made King of the Romans, is here further ignored in favour of his son. Such an interpretation is supported by the woodcut of 1486, which shows Maximilian being elected King of the Romans (again fig. 15.2.2). At the lower right of this print we find Frederick, playing a secondary role in the event and, if I am not carried away by my imagination, looking every bit as disgruntled as he does in the Yale miniature.

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<sup>370</sup> The very young elector wearing a crown at the upper left is Vladislaus II, King of Bohemia (1471-1516). Obviously he would have been twelve years old in 1483.

<sup>371</sup> This version of events follows Felix Priebatsch 1898, pp. 302-326. Heinrich Ullmann 1882, pp. 131-158 and 1884, pp. 4-9 proposed that Frederick III may have balked at Maximilian's coronation because he had a low opinion of his son's competence in general. Priebatsch, however, was not prepared to go that far. Hermann Wiesflecker 1971, esp. p. 182 and p. 472, n. 1, argued that Frederick fully supported Maximilian.

It is apparent that this illumination provides us with an additional indication of the date of the New Haven compilation. Maximilian travelled to Germany in 1485, was elected King of the Romans in Frankfurt on 16 February 1486, crowned as such in Aix on 9 April 1486, and returned to the Netherlands in June of that year. The records of the Golden Fleece establish that in Flanders the absent Maximilian was considered as good as King of the Romans by 7 March 1486, in anticipation of the coronation. However, there is no need to split hairs; our illumination probably dates from early in 1486.

The preceding exposition is close to what I proposed in “Two Rulers, One Throne”, an article of 1983. Almost three decades later, however, Torsten Hiltmann dismissed my argument from beginning to end.

The [Yale library] Online Catalogue assumed a date around 1485, in which it apparently relied on the highly dubious arguments of HORN, Two Rulers. Apparently relying almost exclusively on the dedication miniature, he tried to place the manuscript in an altogether concrete historical framework. By way of an equally questionable as contradictory argument, he arrived at the conclusion that it could only have originated during the journey of Maximilian to his coronation in Aachen and therefore precisely in the spring of 1486, thereby falsely operating on the assumption that Frederick III was enviably opposed to the coronation of his son, he would therefore interpret the miniature as a continuous and profound insult to Emperor Frederick III (in translation).<sup>372</sup>

It is heady stuff for a mere footnote, and I certainly stand to be corrected. After all, which responsible scholar would want to malign the venerable Frederick? Unfortunately Hiltmann offered no competing documentation, visual evidence, exegesis, or date.<sup>373</sup>

This particular illumination raises the fundamental question of who ordered this codex. In Chapter 4 above I argue in detail that it may have been commissioned by Philip of Cleves for Louis of Gruuthuse, who was imprisoned at

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<sup>372</sup> Hiltmann 2011, p. 212, n. 448.

<sup>373</sup> Possibly Hiltmann read only Wiesflecker 1971, the only source included in his bibliography.

the time, as a conciliatory gift for Maximilian I. In addition, this illumination was not part of a pictorial tradition and must have been substantially conceived by an advisor of the Master of 1482. In this instance, the patron may well have played an important role, perhaps by way of the advisor.

### 15.3 - The Tree of Sorrow (fol. 11<sup>vo</sup>)

The only illumination in the New Haven compilation that is directly relevant to Honoré Bovet's *Arbre des batailles* follows almost immediately on the last and is larger than all the others, being the only full-page illumination. It represents the tree of sorrow, which is described in Bovet's prologue. A tree of sorrows is much the same thing as a tree of battles, which is logical given that sorrow invariably accompanies warfare.

I make a tree of sorrow at the beginning of my book, in which first of all you can see below the tree the region of the Holy church and very fierce tribulations of which there were none more fierce, as well will know those who presently read this book. After which you can see the great discord which is today between Christian kings and princes. After which you can see the great agonies that are amongst the people and the communities (in translation).<sup>374</sup>

And in a somewhat repetitive passage, Bovet elaborates on his tree of sorrow.

Now you can see that below the tree of sorrow there are two between which is great discord and major warfare over the sainted papacy of the church of Rome and elsewhere you see how there are several dissensions between worldly lords and princes. After which you see the great and fierce commotions amongst the nasty folk and the people.<sup>375</sup>

It is a long and rich account. All of the Illuminators of the fifteenth century visualized the information differently. Of the ten other depictions of the tree of battles that I gathered over the years, no two look alike and not one is nearly close

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<sup>374</sup> Fol. 11<sup>ro</sup>, column 1, lines 20-33 and column 2, lines 1-5. (<https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2005358>)

<sup>375</sup> Fol. 12<sup>ro</sup>, column 1, lines 1-14 (<https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2005358>)

enough to our illumination to have served as model. Given that we are not composing a study of trees of battles but are only concerned with the Bruges Master of 1482, there is no need to supply information, including dates. However, our first illustration is likely the earliest (fig. 15.3.2). It was commissioned by Jean duc de Berry (1340-1416) and can therefore be dated before 1416.<sup>376</sup> It is, however, of some interest to compare our master's solution those of others, thereby illuminating his decisions (or those of his advisor).

In one way our tree has nothing to do with Bovet and his description, or with earlier depictions of the tree of sorrows. As far as we know, the practice of showing half-figures perched on the branches of a tree is part of another tradition, one of around 1480. One example is a *Tree of the Ancestry of Christ*, painted by the prolific miniaturist Berthold Furtmeyr (fl. 1471->1500) in Regensburg in 1481. Another is a pen and ink drawing of a tree of the genealogy of the Virgin, rendered by the Master WK around 1480 (fig. 15.3.1).<sup>377</sup> Both these trees are more elaborate and less realistic than ours, and the connection is not at all visually compelling. Our tree certainly follows Bovet's description in its division, albeit not a rigid one, into two separate branches. This is not true of any of the other illustrations of the tree of sorrow known to me, all of which date from earlier in the fifteenth century than our illumination. Most tend to have a central trunk, with branches going out horizontally to the left and right, and with the resultant more or less rectangular spaces between branch levels filled with varied depictions (figs. 15.3.2-15.3.5). Two otherwise quite different illuminations feature an unpartitioned tree with a soldier in the foliage (figs. 15.3.6 and 15.3.7).

The left branch of our tree is essentially one of ecclesiastical quarrels; the right of secular ones. It is difficult to tell from Bovet's description if he intended these two categories of quarrels to be confined to separate branches. A number of the other trees of sorrow have the ecclesiastical quarrels placed in the top zone or area, with the secular disputes lower down (figs. 15.3.5, 15.3.7 and 15.3.8), a

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<sup>376</sup> London. BL, Royal ms. 20 C VIII.

<sup>377</sup> A tree of saints in a *Hagiologium brabantorium*, commenced after 1474 and completed before 1484, has half figures of Brabant saints emerging from buds. The effect, with the landscape behind the tree, is similar to that of our illumination. [Vienna, ÖNB, Seria nova 12707, fol. IV<sup>vo</sup>. (Digitised: <http://data.onb.ac.at/dtl/3725291>)].

division somewhat akin to that in our illumination.<sup>378</sup> The quarrels in our miniature are between individuals, whereas in Bovet's description the emphasis seems to be on group strife. Most of the earlier trees of sorrow accordingly tend to stress conflict between armies, be these on foot or mounted, but incidences of individual combat do occur as well. Quite clear is Bovet's emphasis on inter-branch strife, whereas in our illumination most of the quarrels are confined to one branch or the other. Wherever armies clash in the earlier depictions, these come from the left and right and meet near the trunk of the tree. Although these armies are not placed on respective branches, the idea of having one side of the tree battling the other seems more responsive to Bovet's description than the approach of the Master 1482.

Our tree of sorrow follows Bovet's description in showing a range of quarrels from those of the eminent to those of commoners. At the top of the right branch, we see an emperor and a king, who resemble Maximilian I and Frederick III as we know them from the *Presentation of the Book* illumination (fig. 15.2). Below Max and Frederick follows a quarrel involving a Burgundian noble, thus identified by the Order of the Golden Fleece around his neck, and quarrels of lesser men, some of whom may be contending lawyers. Similarly, the left branch of our tree shows a whole sequence of quarrels within the church, from a pope with a cardinal and a bishop with an abbot, down to quarrelling priests, monks and nuns. Only two of the earlier trees of sorrow concentrate on both sides on men and women of differing station in life, with the commoners on the lowest level (figs. 15.3.5 and 15.3.8).<sup>379</sup> In still another tree (fig. 15.3.4).<sup>380</sup> we can find some range of rank in the commanders of the armies - popes at the top, princes in the middle, and lesser nobility on the lowest level - but this hardly illustrates Bovet's concern about the "grandes angoisses" of the common people. Interesting in this context, if incidental, is the detail to the lower right of one of the earlier

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<sup>378</sup> 1) Paris, BA, ms. 2695, fol. 6<sup>vo</sup>, manuscript produced for Arthur III de Bretagne, Connétable de Richemont (1393-1458), which, being a French manuscript is not listed in Wijsman 2010b – 2) Washington, Library of Congress, Law Library, MS B 6 (U101 .B68 1400z, fol 7<sup>ro</sup> -- 3) Brussels, KBR, ms. 9079, fol. 19<sup>vo</sup>, Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 938.

<sup>379</sup> 1) BA, ms. 2695, fol. 6<sup>vo</sup> -- 2) Brussels, KBR, fr. 9079, fol. 10<sup>vo</sup>, Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 938. Honoré Rottier (1996), opp. p. 101. illustrated the second of these trees as expression of the "satirical" idea that strife pervades all levels of society. However, there is no mention of Bonet..

<sup>380</sup> Chantilly, ms. Condé 346 (1561), Wijsman 2010b (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 1374,



trees of sorrows (fig. 15.3.3)<sup>381</sup> showing soldiers molesting peasants, which would seem to reflect Bovet's expressed concern for the fate of the people, which is something not addressed in the New Haven tree.

As noted, the left branch of our tree shows a hierarchy of quarrels within the church, starting with a pope and cardinal and descending to two nuns, with each pair slightly different in rank or monastic order. The only ecclesiastical conflict in the earlier illuminations is between popes. This conflict may be evoked by the mere presence of two popes, one of them aggressive (fig. 15.3.8), or else armies may represent the contending pontiffs (figs. 15.3.4, 15.3.6 and 15.3.7).<sup>382</sup> As the Great Schism was the principal ecclesiastical issue of Bovet's time, a century before the execution of the New Haven illumination, it could be argued that it is in this context that the “grande guerre sur le St papat de leglise de romme” should be interpreted, and that the five afore-mentioned miniatures represent Bovet's intentions more closely than does our illumination. On the other hand, Bovet nowhere explicitly mentions the schism.

With his second reason for writing his *Arbre des batailles* Bovet, which is in fact found near the beginning of his exposition, he was as specific as he ever got.

The second reason is because I see all of holy Christianity wounded by wars and hatred, larceny and discord so that one can only with great difficulty name a small country of a duke, or a count, or a baron which is well in peace.<sup>383</sup>

It is precisely these hatreds, robberies, and dissensions, if not the wars, that are so well represented in our illumination.

As we move down the two branches of our tree, we find a unique temporal disjunction that is in no way related to Bovet's description or to any of the other *Arbre* miniatures. Whereas the ecclesiastical quarrels look fifteenth century from top to bottom, the secular ones descend into Biblical strife. We see David

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<sup>381</sup> Sotheby's, Nov. 30, 1965, pl. 21, current location: Washington DC, Library of Congress, Law Library, MS B61 (U101 .B68 1497z.

<sup>382</sup> 1) Chantilly, Condé, no. 346 (1561), Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 1374 -- 2) Paris, BnF, fr. 17183, fol. 5<sup>ro</sup>. Not in Wijsman 2010b. since it was illuminated in France -- 3) Washington DC, Library of Congress, Law Library, MS B 6, fol. 7<sup>ro</sup>

<sup>383</sup> Fol. 10<sup>vo</sup>, column 1, lines 12-21 (<https://collections.library.yale.edu/catalog/2005358>). The first of these has been attributed to the Master of Johannes Gielemans by James H. Marrow 2011, pp. 202-203.

beheading Goliath, Tubalcain guiding the blind Lamech into killing Cain, and finally Cain killing Abel. The inclusion of these, the oldest of all quarrels, indicates that the Bruges Master of 1482, or more likely his advisor, wished to stress that dissent is as old as the Fall of Man, and in this sense it is an illustration of Bovet's text. Bovet finds the origins of war “au ciel quant le hault dieu crea les anges” (fol. 12<sup>ro</sup>), and this struggle is suggested by St. Michael and the devil, seen at the top of our illumination, which is a motif related to the battling angels at the top of other trees of sorrow.

Bovet's text also deals with the pronouncements of the angels of the apocalypse (fols. 14<sup>ro</sup>-23<sup>vo</sup>: St. John, Apocalypse 14), and this may account for the apocalyptic quality of the mouth of hell on the lower right of our illumination and for the devil sounding a bugle on the lower left. Similarly, a mouth of hell is found in one of the earlier trees of sorrow, along with devils and angels battling for souls (fig. 15.3.4). Most puzzling is the figure on the bottom centre of the New Haven illumination, which rides a mixture of wolf and ass and fires a blunderbuss, It has apparently just emerged from the mouth of hell, presumably to be followed by a host of armed and mounted mixtures of devil and man.

Part of the explanation for this mounted figure lies in the mediaeval tradition of trees of vice. Our tree of sorrow is also a tree of strife and even murder and is therefore conceptually related to the tree of vice. *Superbia* was placed at the bottom of these trees as “the root of all evil”, and in the twelfth century manuscript in Salzburg of Hugh of St. Victor's *De fructibus carnis et spiritus*, she is actually depicted as a bust figure. That our exotic equestrian is also a personification of pride is demonstrated by a tree of wisdom in a late thirteenth-century *Verger de soulas*, which, at the bottom, shows *superbia* clutching a horse and hanging on to a falcon while falling into the mouth of hell (fig. 15.3.9).<sup>384</sup> Further proof is provided by an illustration to Gotfried of Vorau's *Tractatus de septem vitiis et virtutibus* in the Vorau library. Whereas Prudentius's *Psychomachia* had already stressed the idea of mounted and battling virtues and vices, and whereas this concept was subsequently illustrated in various manuscripts, the Vorau codex was the first to bring the combat of vices and

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<sup>384</sup> Paris, BnF, fr. 9220, fol. 6<sup>ro</sup>.

virtues into the sphere of chivalry and the concomitant tourneys. Each vice and virtue rides its own curious hybrid mount, and whereas *superbia* rides a dromedary, *avaritia* rides a mixture of wolf and ass (fig. 15.3.10) much like that ridden by the exotic figure of the Yale illumination.

The process of transmission of this iconography to the Bruges Master of 1482 must have been more complex and indirect than is suggested by the preceding paragraph. This is established by the Chantilly *Tree of Sorrow* (fig. 15.3.4), which dates from around the middle of the fifteenth century. The clashing knights of this illumination demonstrate that the Vorau notion of jousting virtues and vices had filtered into the tradition of trees of sorrow decades before our artist painted his hybrid mount. That in turn suggests that the mount of the Vorau *avaritia* may have been transmitted to our artist via one or more intermediary illuminations. In fact, Bovet's text in general and description of the tree of sorrow in particular already reflect a whole complex of associations and pictorial models. As far as our exotic figure is concerned, one hesitates to conclude that she represents *superbia*. She more probably represents Vice in general.

The preceding discussion of the New Haven *Tree of Sorrows* by no means pretends to be exhaustive. There are likely other instances of the subject. For instance, I have spotted one example that was sold by Sotheby's as part of the Clumber Collection in 1937 (fig. 15.3.11).<sup>385</sup> I believe that miniature can be dated to about 1470. Predictably it differs from all the others, with armed soldiers standing on two levels and both sides of the tree. It shares celestial struggle with the miniature in Brussels (fig. 15.3.8). The fire at the bottom presumably alludes to the fire of hell. There are also dozens of examples of trees of another kind, such as trees of saints, trees of Jesse, trees of the ancestry of Christ and trees of the ancestry of Mary. It seems likely, however, that the Bruges Master of 1482 did not adapt or follow some as yet unidentified prototype. The examples discussed above do no more than provide a context for our master's illumination. They repeatedly deviate from Bovet as well as from our miniature, seeing that three of

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<sup>385</sup> Sotheby's London, 6 December 1937, lot. 936, PL. 58, with thanks to George Gordon for his help. Unfortunately I can offer only a very poor illustration.

them have Fortuna presiding at the top. The connections to his work are tenuous and mainly serve to showcase his originality.

#### 15.4 - Maximilian of Austria and Mary of Burgundy Reward Nobility in their Subjects (fol. 118<sup>ro</sup>)

The next illumination is the second of the *Traité de noblesse*, the first being *The Shame of Noah*, and depicts some sort of award ceremony. On the left a king places the insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece around the neck of a kneeling nobleman. On the right what would appear to be a queen places a chain with a small helmet-shaped pendant around the neck of a kneeling woman, possibly the wife of the kneeling noble on the left. The illumination probably has a loose connection with the text, which suggests as one definition of nobility that “noblesse est un qualite donnee par le prince par laquelle celui se mostre estre plus plaissant deuant lui que ne sont les autres populaires” (fol. 121<sup>vo</sup>). Possibly, then, we see a man and his wife being rewarded for being more agreeable to the prince than others had managed to be.

Much of the meaning of this illumination may be explained by reference to the corresponding illustration in the Vienna *Traité de noblesse* (fig. 15.4.1), which in turn seems to be an elaboration on the miniature in the Paris version (fig. 15.4.2). The Vienna illumination also shows a double award scene, but it is less heraldic than the New Haven miniature, since the man is rewarded in the foreground and the woman in the background. Whereas the patrons of both Paris and Vienna codices were knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece, that chivalric order is not depicted in the Paris and Vienna illuminations. We may assume that our artist invented this detail, as well as the numerous other touches that make the New Haven illumination look as if it depicts a real event, the most noteworthy of these being the Habsburg livery with the black double-headed eagle worn by the page in the left background. Note, however, that any verisimilitude is undermined by the crudeness of the interior, for the space, which is in fact rectangular, seems at first sight to be polygonal.

Could this king be a specific monarch? In the case of the Paris *Traité de noblesse* the king was probably intended to be Edward IV of England, as he looks the same in all of the illuminations, of which two give prominence to Edward's

arms. This comes as no surprise, as it was Edward who awarded Louis of Gruuthuse the title of Earl of Winchester. In the Vienna manuscript, however, Edward's identity is virtually lost. In only one illumination can vestiges of his arms still be seen. If the New Haven miniature was meant to show more than a generic king, he is most likely Maximilian I, especially considering the mentioned Habsburg page in the background. Moreover, only Maximilian could award the Order, and the appearance of the king is compatible with the physiognomy of Max as we know it from the presentation of the book illumination (fig. 15.2).

If the king was intended to be Maximilian, who can the queen be? Max's first wife, Mary of Burgundy, died in 1482, and he did not remarry until 1493. Around 1485 he was therefore a widower. The hennin of the queen is also seen in the earlier Vienna illumination and in depictions of Mary of Burgundy and her mother, Margaret of York, made between 1475 and 1482 (fig. 15.4.3), and would likely have been out of fashion by 1486. I therefore believe that this miniature shows Maximilian with his first, deceased wife. This is well within the range of the possible, as Maximilian continued to be depicted with Mary even in the sixteenth century, his entire claim to the Netherlands being based on his marriage to her. Even in such late depictions, she continues to be shown with the hennin that was fashionable at the time of her death. As for the young lad standing next to Mary, he must be her son Philip, later Philip the Fair, who was eight years old in 1486.

My zeal to identify the rulers of this miniature as Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy may strike the reader as naïve. That was certainly the reaction of Walter Cahn when he read my M.A. thesis shortly before I submitted it in 1968. Well over a decade later, I thought it was Arjo Vanderjagt who was being naïve when, during a 1984 visit to Guelph, he said this illumination is very important and innovative because a woman is being rewarded as well. Now, with the passing of a few more decades, his comment looks cutting-edge. Though the text is silent on this point, the illumination suggests that Burgundian nobles and intellectuals of the fifteenth century realized that nobility is not limited to the male sex. That would certainly explain why king Charles VI of France (ruled 1380-1422) and his court protected Christine de Pizan (ca. 1364/65-ca. 1430) and commissioned writings from her.

Our knowledge of how Chapters of the Order of the Golden Fleece were conducted in large chambers, with numerous members present, suggests that this

is not a real award scene. It appears, however, that the Order could also be conferred at private ceremonies. To quote the 1969 Kraus catalogue:

Neither Edward IV nor Henry VIII of England attended the meetings (1468 and 1505) at which they nominally received the Order, and in fact Henry VIII received it from the then Master of the Order, Philip [the Fair] in 1506, in England. Later in the 16th century, the Duke of Medina Sidonia is known to have received the Order in Spain, along with instructions as to how he should have it conferred on himself in some church.

Even so, in view of the Master of 1482's frequent lack of accuracy, as amply demonstrated throughout the present study, it will not do to take this scene too literally.

### 15.5 - An Author Delivers his Treatise on Heraldry to Several Nobles and Heralds (fol. 145<sup>ro</sup>)

A scribe, sitting at a writing desk, hands a book to the first of four men who are apparently standing in line to receive it. Two of the waiting men are identified as heralds by their crests. The scribe wears a Habsburg crest. He would seem to represent the author of *Le blason d'armes*, a treatise on heraldry and the first of ten additional short treatises that follow Diego de Valera's *Traité de noblesse*. The author claims that he wrote his work “pour ce que plusieurs nobles & gentilzhommes & especialement roy darmes & herauls me ont par plusieurs et diverses foir reguiz que me vouilisse travailler de mettre par escript de blasonnes arme de quelque royaume” (fol. 145<sup>ro</sup>). The other figures are, therefore, the gentlemen and professionals who have asked the author to write his treatise. It may well be that the Bruges Master was ignorant of the identity of this author, named Clément Prinsault,<sup>386</sup> there is certainly no reason to believe that this is an actual portrait of him.

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<sup>386</sup> Clément Prinsault was a 15<sup>th</sup>-century Frech heraldist. He wrote his book, *Traité de Blason*, in 1465. The Yale manuscript itemizes and presents the twelve chapters of the first volume of this work. The chapter headings are much more easily read in the compact Wikipedia entry, which also identifies three French language manuscripts in the Bibliotheque national de Frane in Paris; BnF 5936, BmF 5939 and BnF 14357. However, the concomitant “BnF Data” link lists nine works and provides further detailed information.

The basis of this illumination is again the corresponding miniature in the Vienna *Traité de noblesse* (fig. 15.5.1), which in turn seems to be based on the corresponding Paris illumination (fig. 15.5.2). Judging from the enormous lion on his jerkin, the scribe in the Paris miniature would seem to be an English court official of some kind, no doubt a vassal of Edward IV, who knighted Louis of Gruuthuse. The Bruges Master of 1482 has changed him into a Habsburg herald, an alteration that has more to do with the general Habsburg aura of the New Haven codex than with its text or with the identity of Clément Prinsault. As for the Basel *Traité de noblesse* (Cat. 18), it has no illumination corresponding to the ones in the Paris, Vienna and New Haven manuscripts. The *Blason d'armes* text is further illustrated by sixty-three paintings of emblazoned shields (fols. 145<sup>ro</sup>-152<sup>vo</sup>), of which fifteen (fols. 147<sup>ro</sup>-152<sup>ro</sup>) were left blank. Coats of arms are also featured in the Paris and Vienna *Traité de noblesse* manuscripts. All the Paris shields were completed, which is not the case with the Vienna shields. This is still another indication that our master worked after the Vienna codex.

### 15.6 - The Election of an Emperor (fol. 153<sup>vo</sup>)

In the case of *The Election of an Emperor*, the Master of 1482 deviated drastically from the corresponding illuminations in the Vienna and Paris manuscripts (figs. 15.6.1 and 15.6.2). In both the Pope crowns the emperor, as was the Pontiff's prerogative, with the small depiction placed inside a capital "P", whereas our illumination shows the emperor with the electors in a symmetrical composition of relatively large format. Although there ought to be seven electors, only six are shown, with the ecclesiastic ones to our left of the emperor and the secular ones to our right. Three of the electors hold attributes of the future emperor, namely a sceptre, orb and sword. Behind the electors on the right, we see an onlooker wearing the Order of the Golden Fleece, establishing a Habsburg context.

Why did the Master of 1482 opt to deviate from the Vienna type in this instance, whereas he followed it fairly closely on other occasions? It could be argued that the New Haven text discusses how one makes an emperor by election and not by coronation, but this same text is encountered in the Vienna codex. Perhaps the same events that explains the presence of Frederick III and Maximilian I on one throne in the *Presentation of the Book* miniature (fig. 15.2)

also accounts for the illumination under discussion, namely the election of Maximilian I as King of the Romans. For as soon as it was known that Maximilian would become King of the Romans, it was also likely that he would eventually become Holy Roman Emperor. As a consequence, the text concerning the election of an emperor, which was ignored in the Paris and Vienna illuminations, took on new importance.

The protocol of Maximilian's election as King of the Romans was published in late February and early March of 1486 in no fewer than eleven German pamphlets, some of which were illustrated by a woodcut (again fig. 15.2.2). Both the texts and illustrations of these pamphlets make it clear that only six electors took part in Maximilian's election, and that is what is seen in the woodcut of the event. That could explain how the New Haven depiction of an imperial coronation came to show only six electors taking part in the ceremony.

A likely source for the present miniature is a woodcut of Frederick III and the seven electors printed by Günther Zainer aus Reitlingen in Augsburg around 1473 as illustration in a book entitled *Der Schwabenspiegel* (fig. 15.6.3). The Zainer print was probably also the prototype for the woodcuts of ca. 1483 and 1486. With the New Haven illumination, it shares the stage architecture with round, arched windows in the side walls. The woodcut shows two kneeling angels before the throne; the Master of Bruges merely needed to move two of the electors into their place to achieve much greater realism. As icing on the cake, the kneeling electors were probably inspired by Dieric Bouts's *Abraham and Melchizedek*.

### 15.7 - Judicial Combat with Swords (fol. 164<sup>ro</sup>)

The text by Thomas Duke of Gloucester on the subject of judicial combat *a outrance* is accompanied by one miniature. The two referees of this desperate combat are heralds, the one facing us wearing a *fleur-de-lis* crest, indicating he is a French herald. They both hold a ceremonial staff as symbol of their authority. This detail is not described in the text, which deals with English protocol. As we have seen before, our artist felt free to invent touches of his own.

When we look for the corresponding illumination in the Vienna *Traité de noblesse* (fig. 15.7.1), we find that it is very similar to the New Haven miniature in the disposition of its elements, differing only in details. The enclosure of the



Vienna scene is square, which is what it should be according to the text (fol. 164<sup>vo</sup>). It also seems to answer more closely to a stipulation that a horse should not be able to vault it. The Vienna enclosure also has gates, which the text tells us should be guarded by heralds (fol. 169<sup>ro</sup>). However, the Vienna illumination is less correct than the New Haven version in showing two pairs of combatants, whereas the text mentions only one pair. The difference in the kind of weapons is also significant, as the text (fol. 163<sup>vo</sup>) mentions only swords, long epee, and short epee with dagger as alternatives, whereas the Vienna illumination shows one of the two pairs of combatants wielding halberds.

This particular illumination is arguably one of the least inspired of the New Haven codex. In fact, only the miniature that follows is even weaker. I have already argued that it is greatly inferior to a typological related illumination by Lieven van Lathem (cf. fig. 15.7.2), which obviously did not serve as model for the Master of 1482, who was working entirely in the wake of the corresponding Vienna miniature (fig. 15.7.1).

### 15.8 - The Investiture of Kings of Arms and Heralds (fol. 187<sup>ro</sup>)

The text on the “institution des roys darmes et heraulx” is illustrated by a miniature of lesser quality and smaller size than the others. Especially the totally inept anatomy of the presiding king suggests hasty shop assistance. The text (fol. 179<sup>ro</sup>) states that “all men seek naturally to know and understand the things that pertain to their office.” The corresponding illumination in the Vienna *Traité de noblesse* (fig. 15.8.1), which is located inside a capital “S”, shows the king pointing at a book that presumably contains the information relevant to the office of the two genuflecting men. Hence this illumination illustrates the text more closely than does the New Haven miniature, which looks more like an award ceremony of some kind, with only one figure kneeling.

### 15.9 - A Tourney (fol. 192<sup>ro</sup>)

The tourney of the New Haven *Traité de noblesse* illustrates the text on that topic. Compared to the illuminations in two manuscripts owned by Louis of Gruuthuse, the *Livre des tournois* of René of Anjou in Paris (BnF, fr. 2692) and the *Roman de*

*Gillion de Trazegnies* by David Aubert (J. P. Getty Museum, no. 111),<sup>387</sup> our miniatures look impoverished, as do the corresponding Vienna and Paris illuminations. The concept of the Master of 1482 shows considerable freedom from his Vienna prototype (fig. 15.9.1) in details such as the deep vista to the left of his miniature. With the weapons used, lances instead of swords, our master returned to the Paris solution (fig. 15.9.2). It is well worth noting that it depicts a French king, as is established by the armorial hanging below him and the jerkin of the combattant on the left. Louis of Bruges may well have intended the Paris *Traité de noblesse* as a gift for Louis XI, who was the French monarch at the time.

#### 15.10 - A Funeral Procession (fol. 198<sup>ro</sup>)

This handsome miniature is again related to the text, which concerns the appropriate obsequies at the death of “nobles hommes de toutes dignités.” This kind of pomp was not appropriate to men of all stations in life. Rather this particular procession was intended, at least in the Paris prototype, to illustrate the protocol at the funeral of a noble ancestor of Louis of Gruuthuse. The New Haven miniature is again adapted from the corresponding Vienna illumination (fig. 15.10.1), which was itself probably based on the Paris miniature (fig. 15.10.2). Other details, such as the traffic-directing herald with ceremonial staff in the foreground, would appear to be inventions of the Master of 1482.

#### 15.11 - The Coronation of the King of Arms of France (fol. 207<sup>ro</sup>)

I know of no prototypes for the last two illuminations of the New Haven manuscript. These two miniatures, we recall, are part of the dangling section following the *Traité de noblesse* proper in the Yale compilation. In the case of the present scene, the text does not specify a church for the ceremony, but it does list it as a suitable venue along with a chapel or a hall (fol. 197<sup>ro</sup>). The men flanking the throne on the left, on which the king of arms of France is seated, hold a lance and sword, as specified in the text (fols. 197<sup>ro</sup> and 200<sup>ro</sup>). The king of arms holds

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<sup>387</sup> Formerly Chatsworth, duke of Devonshire, ms. 7535, fol. 142<sup>vo</sup>. Kren/McKendrick 2003, fig. 58b, depicted in colour on the dust jacket of Martens 1992. Mentioned in Wijsman 2010b, p. 358, note 546. According to Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 1385, it was sold to the Getty by Sotheby's on 5 December (2012, lot 51).

his staff of authority. The king of France does the crowning. Despite the care lavished on his features, it would seem that this is a generalized representation instead of a portrait of a specific French king. Judging from the *fleur-de-lises* on the hanging behind the throne, it belongs to that monarch. Similar thrones are found in other illuminations where they are clearly occupied by the king himself. Presumably the throne on the right is to be the permanent seat of the king of arms, as is indicated by the two *fleur-de-lis* badges of office located just below the pillow. Once again, the Master of 1482 had no predilection for archaeological correctness, and we must not expect this illumination to show the exact state of affairs at the French court in the late fifteenth century.

The handsome figure with the hawk and dogs in this illumination is a mirror-image of a figure in the left foreground of the *Presentation of the Book* (fig. 15.2) and is clearly derived from the figure with a hawk in the frontispiece of the London *Livre des propriétés des choses* (fig. 4.1).

#### 15.12 - A Marshall of France with His Followers (fol. 207<sup>ro</sup>)

The final illumination of the New Haven *Traité de noblesse* concerns the deportment of an army during a campaign, as described in the text (fol. 207<sup>ro</sup>). In the foreground rides the “marechal de lost”, being the head of the army. The figure in the centre of the illumination, who lifts his hat to his superior and points to the buildings on the right, is probably the “marechal de logis” or quartermaster. The figure holding a staff in the left foreground may represent the “prevost”, whose duty it is to keep the *marechal de lost* informed about the state of the supplies for the army. The genuflecting man with hand in hand is presumably reporting to him.

## Catalogue 16

*Les commentaires de César (De bello Gallico)*

Oxford, The Bodleian Library, Douce 208 (21782)

Online file and Images: <https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/305671a6-3694-4de8-991f-160237af854b/>

Bruges, ca. 1487 to 1488

### Description:

Vellum, 354 folios, 385 x 285 mm. Arms of the Neuchâtel family below fol. 4<sup>ro</sup>, with motto “Se ie puis”, supported by two wild men. The same arms are found in the Basel *Traité de noblesse* (fig. 14/2) and belonged to Claude de Neufchâtel, Seigneur de Fay. Eleven half-page miniatures by the Bruges Master of 1482 on fols. 1<sup>ro</sup>, 4<sup>ro</sup>, 73<sup>ro</sup>, 103<sup>ro</sup>, 120<sup>vo</sup>, 136<sup>ro</sup>, 154<sup>ro</sup>, 184<sup>ro</sup>, 205<sup>ro</sup>, 248<sup>ro</sup> and 271<sup>ro</sup>.

### Provenance:

Claude de Neufchâtel-Bourgogne, Seigneur de Fay (born in 1449, elected to the Golden Fleece in 1491, died in 1505).

Presented to Louis XIV in 1680.

Presented to Antoine L'Aîné by Louis XIV.

Saint-Aignan sale, 1776.<sup>388</sup>

La Vallière sale, 1783, no. 4915.<sup>389</sup>

Bequeathed to the Bodleian Library by Francis Douce in 1834.<sup>390</sup>

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<sup>388</sup> This sale must have taken place at the time of death of Paul Hippolyte de Beauvilliers, duc de Saint-Aignan (1684-1776).

<sup>389</sup> This was likely the sale of that year at which the avid bibliophile Louis-César de la Baume-le Blanc, duc de La Vallière (1708-1780) purchased the splendid library of Claude d'Urfé upon the death of his widow, Jeanne de la Rochefoucauld, known as Madame d'Urfé.

<sup>390</sup> Francis Douce (1757-1834), a British antiquary and Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum from 1807 to his resignation in 1811, is well represented in Wikipedia. He purchased numerous books and manuscripts with an inheritance of 1823 and bequeathed his collection to the Bodleian the year he died.

## Literature:

- Bossuat 1943, pp. 253-373  
London 1953-1954, I, p. 155, no. 579  
Delaissé 1959, p. 178, no. 247  
Pächt/Alexander 1966, p.26, no. 351; pl. XXVIII, no. 351, fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)  
Horn 1968, pp. 48-50, 52, 55, figs. 63-73 (fols. 1<sup>ro</sup>, 4<sup>ro</sup>, 73<sup>ro</sup>, 103<sup>ro</sup>, 120<sup>vo</sup>, 136<sup>ro</sup>, 154<sup>ro</sup>, 184<sup>ro</sup>, 205<sup>ro</sup>, 248<sup>ro</sup> and 271<sup>ro</sup>)  
Gagnebin 1976, p. 168  
Kupfer 1978, p. 255  
Cahn/Marrow 1978, p. 255 (Vasanti Kupfer) and p.258  
Euw/Plotzek 1982, vol. 3, p. 26  
Sotheby Parke Bernet 1983, no. 153, p. 220  
Dogaer 1987, p. 127  
Hindman 1988, no. 37, pp. 79 and 139  
Camusso 1990, pp. 41-42 (fol.120<sup>vo</sup>)  
Sutton/Visser-Fuchs, ill. 82  
Prevenier *et al.* 1998, p. 179 (fol. 120<sup>vo</sup>)  
Cardon/Van der Stock/Van Wijnberghe 2002, p. 1654  
Hans-Collas/Schandel 2009, p. 200  
Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 2426  
Dubois 2011-2012, p. 346  
Wiechers ca. 2019, n.p.

## Contents:

Discussed in detail in Catalogue 2

## Decoration:

As Otto Pächt and Jonathan Alexander wrote in their catalogue of the Bodleian Library, the Oxford *Commentaires* has “fine miniatures” by the Bruges Master of 1482, whom the authors called the Bruges Master of 1483.<sup>391</sup> They apparently did

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<sup>391</sup> Pächt/Alexander 1966, p. 26.

not count the illuminations, leave alone relate them to Caesar's text. To the best of my knowledge, the following attempt at exegesis of these miniatures, of which there are eleven, is also the first of its kind.

### 16.1 - The Birth of Caesar (fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)

This subject relates to the chapter by Aulus Hirtius, not to Caesar's *Gallic Wars* proper. The close observation of the room, with its objects and their shadows, is very much in the northern tradition. Caesar has just been born in a Gothic bed, complete with the obligatory “punch bag” of gathered curtain. The composition is similar to that of the corresponding miniature in London (fig. 12.2), with bed, doorway, fireplace, view out a door and several figures in roughly the same positions. The servant and youth in the right background are repeated in somewhat varied form. A physician is presumably repairing the damage caused by the caesarean section. The infant Caesar is held by the central woman. The woman on the left would appear to be a pious supernumerary. Two more women tend to a cloth in front of the fireplace. The servant and youth in the doorway are more clearly visible and stand before a view of a bit of a city.

### 16.2 - Caesar Dictating the History of his Conquest of Gaul (fol. 4<sup>ro</sup>)

Below this miniature we find the coat of arms of the Neufchâtel family, with motto “se je puis” and two wild men. Caesar seems to be talking to two men, one sitting at a lectern, the other leaning over a book, with his back towards us. The two men are listening intently to the great general. Almost everything else about the Oxford illumination – the number, location and interaction of the other figures, the kind of landscape, and the details of the architecture – are different from the London version (fig. 12.1). Significantly, perhaps, the Master of 1482 has added a gate house at the upper right that we also encounter in the New Haven and Basel *Traité de noblesse* illuminations (figs. 15.2 and 17.2).

Caesar is blond and clean shaven. We know that Charles the Bold identified with Caesar and had his famous *Caesar* tapestries, now in Bern, in his train when he died near Nancy in 1477.<sup>392</sup> Also, Vasanti Kupfer has observed in connection

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<sup>392</sup> The basic study remains Wyss 1957.

with the *Commentaires* in New Haven that “details in the Yale manuscript reveal the significance that Caesar's martial campaigns may have had for Charles the Bold, who pursued a policy of expansionist warfare, and for members of his court: the victorious army in the miniature on folio 67<sup>ro</sup> is labelled ‘Belges’, and the rubric introducing the third book (fol. 89<sup>ro</sup>) reads, ‘How the Belgians fight against the Romans.’”<sup>393</sup> The present miniatures were painted about a decade after the death of Charles the Bold, and it is probably no accident that Caesar resembles the blond Maximilian I, for whose circle the Master of 1482 repeatedly worked. Likely in his guise as King of the Romans, Max wears a crown, as he does in other illuminations of this manuscript. That would imply a date of late 1486 or slightly later.

### 16.3 - Caesar Arrives in Gaul (fol. 73<sup>ro</sup>)

Caesar and his followers move from right to left on a promontory situated before a deep landscape which, with its elaborate rocky cliffs that dominate the deep recession of the river on the right, is more impressive than the pastoral version of the corresponding London miniature (fig. 12.3). Indeed, it is more impressive than any other vista by the Master of 1482. Only the frontispiece of the *Livre des propriétés des choses* (fig. 4.1) comes even close. The entire composition, with its cliffs, winding river and background buildings, is reminiscent of *David in Prayer*, a leaf from a book of hours painted by Simon Marmion in the 1460s (London. BL, Add. 71117, fol. 1).<sup>394</sup> The great number of Caesar's forces is suggested by clumps of soldiers nestled behind and to the left of the rock formations. Caesar is again clean-shaven and rides the kind of spindly-legged horse typical of the Master of 1482.

### 16.4 - The Surrender of the Atuatuca (fol. 103<sup>ro</sup>)

This illumination is an approximate mirror image of the one in the London codex (fig. 12.4) and is largely explained by Caesar's words as quoted there. Caesar goes on to say that the Atuatuca first mocked his preparations, but when a huge siege

<sup>393</sup> Kupfer in Cahn/Marrow 1978, p. 255.

<sup>394</sup> Again McKendrick 2003, p. 31, pl. 16. See also Gil, 2013, pp. 265-277, as listed by Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 1913.

tower approached their walls, they sent out envoys to surrender to the Romans. The keys that two of the envoys offer Caesar in this miniature have no connection to the text, relating more to standard mediaeval (and modern) notions about how a city ought to surrender. I believe that the Gothic city in the background must be the stronghold of the Atuatuci, even though it bears little or no resemblance to Caesar's description. That the Master of 1482 omitted the rock bluffs around much of the city indicates that neither he nor his advisor read the text closely, as cliffs are something the Bruges Master rendered repeatedly and competently elsewhere in his oeuvre.

### 16.5 - The Veneti Abandon One of their Strongholds (fol. 120<sup>vo</sup>)

After Caesar marched against the Veneti, he met with little success because

most ... of their strongholds were so situated on the ends of spits or headlands that it was impossible to approach them by land when the tide rushed in from the open sea, which happens regularly every twelve hours; and they were also difficult to reach by sea, because at low tide the ships would run aground on the shoals. Sometimes the Romans made them untenable by building huge dykes, which both kept the sea away and enable the besiegers to get on a level with the top of the walls; but as soon as the defenders saw that their position was hopeless, they would bring up numbers of ships, of which they had an unlimited supply, transfer all their property to them and retire to neighbouring strongholds equally well situated for defence.<sup>395</sup>

This is exactly what we see in this miniature. Caesar and his men can be seen entering the city through a gate in the left background, while the Veneti pack themselves and their property into ships in the foreground.

As always, the city and the costumes are contemporary, but the ships do have some relationship to Caesar's text, which specifies that "the Gauls' own ships were built and rigged in a different manner from ours [i.e. the Romans]. They were made with much flatter bottoms to help them ride shallow water caused by

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<sup>395</sup> Handford 1951, p. 98.



the shoals and ebb-tides.”<sup>396</sup> A flat-bottomed ship was something most Flemings must have been familiar with, and we see a massive specimen in the right foreground. Ultimately, however, it is no more accurate than the rest of the miniature, as Caesar’s text specifies that “exceptionally high bows and sterns fitted them for use in heavy seas and violent gales.”<sup>397</sup> Caesar added that “the hulls were made entirely of oak, to enable them to stand any amount of shocks and rough usage,” which could be the case here, but nothing else about this ship answers to his description of the construction and sails of the sea-worthy vessels of the Veneti. All the same, this illumination actually serves a purpose even from a critical, modern point of view, helping us visualize the problem of making war on a mobile and seafaring people.

#### **16.6 - The Usipetes and Tenchteri Refugees Cross the Rhine (fol. 136<sup>ro</sup>)**

In the winter of 55 BC, Caesar tells us that “the German tribes of the Usipetes and Tenchteri crossed the Rhine in large numbers not far from its mouth. They were forced to migrate because for several years they had been subjected to harassing attacks by the Suebi and prevented from tilling their land.”<sup>398</sup> Further on in his narrative Caesar added that “they had brought all their families with them when they left home and crossed the Rhine.”<sup>399</sup> The miniature shows us the refugees on our side of the river, making the crossing by boat in the background, and bridge, in the foreground. The Rhine appears to be only about six metres wide. The Master of 1482, though a Fleming, apparently did not know or care that the Rhine is a big river as it approaches the sea, with not a cliff or bluff in sight. Nor does the miniature deal with the complexities of the events, with the Upisedes and Tenchteri fooling the “Menapii, who had lands, farmhouses, and villages on both banks of the river,” by pretending to withdraw from the Rhine, only to rush back at great speed to make the crossing. Perhaps we see Menapii villages to the left and right of the river banks. Perhaps the boat in the background is intended to be

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<sup>396</sup> Handford 1951, p. 98.

<sup>397</sup> Handford 1951, p. 98

<sup>398</sup> Handford 1958, p. 108.

<sup>399</sup> Handford 1958, pp. 114-115.

one of the ships taken from the Menapii. But I doubt it; close attention to a text was never a strong suit of the Bruges Master of 1482 or his advisers.

### **16.7 - Caesar Greets Commius the Atrebatian (fol. 154<sup>ro</sup>)**

After the conclusion of this phase of the Gallic Wars, Caesar began preparations for his first invasion of Britain. The Britons sent envoys, whom Caesar sent back accompanied by a brave and resourceful man whom he had made king of the Atrebates. Later, when Caesar had crossed the channel and defeated the Britons, they

hastened to send an embassy to ask for peace, promising to give hostages and carry out Caesar's commands. With these envoys came Commius the Atrebatian, whom Caesar had sent to Britain. When he had disembarked and was delivering Caesar's message to them in the character of an ambassador, the natives had arrested and bound him. Now, after the battle, they sent him back ... begging Caesar to pardon an error due to ignorance.<sup>400</sup>

I believe the Oxford miniature shows Caesar welcoming back Commius. Presumably the ships in the background are Caesar's invasion fleet, whereas the two men in the left foreground could represent the British mission. The identification is far from compelling, but nothing else comes to mind.

### **16.8 - Caesar Sends a Messenger to his Questor, Marcus Crassus (fol. 184<sup>ro</sup>)**

The depiction appears at first sight to concern some sort of split in Caesar's ranks, as there seem to be two antagonistic factions, separated by a throne. But this rare bit of drama is probably a red herring; almost certainly nothing of the kind was intended. More likely we see the moment that Caesar learns that one of his generals, Cicero, is in great peril.

On receiving the dispatch in the late afternoon, Caesar at once sent a messenger to his questor Marcus Crassius, whose camp was twenty-

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<sup>400</sup> Handford 1958, p. 123.

four miles away in the country of the Bellovaci, ordering him to march at midnight with his legion and join him at all speed.<sup>401</sup>

Presumably the two groups of Caesar's attendants are disconcerted at the bad news. Presumably, too, the tiny scene in the left background shows Cicero receiving the message. Caesar once again resembles Maximilian I, and he appears to be wearing the Order of the Golden Fleece.

In this illumination we may again discern the influence of Dieric Bouts, though indirectly, via the Master of the Legend of Saint Ursula, who is named after an altar in the Groeningemuseum in Bruges. This altar was attributed to Dieric Bouts until Max J. Friedländer gave it to an anonymous follower of Hans Memling. If we eliminate the group of standing men on the right, the composition reverses the situation in the first of the anonymous Saint Ursula panels, in which a herald is handed a message by the pagan king of England in the foreground and presents it to King Deonotus in the presence of Ursula in the very background. Caution is in order, however, as the altar is not dated and the connection is not compelling.

## 16.9 - The Slaughter of the Defenders of Avaricum (fol. 205<sup>ro</sup>)

This miniature almost certainly shows how Caesar's troops slaughtered the defenders of the city of Avaricum, who were followers of Vercingetorix. Caesar relates that on the second day of the siege, his forces managed to mount the walls.

Taken by surprise and panic-stricken, the enemy were dislodged from the wall and towers, but re-formed in the market place and other open spaces ... determined to fight a pitched battle against attackers from any direction. But when they saw the Romans occupying the entire circuit of wall around them, and not a man coming down to meet them on level ground, they were afraid of being cut off from all chance of escape, and throwing down their arms ran without stopping to the farthest corners of the town. There, some were cut down by our infantry as they jammed the narrow gateway, and

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<sup>401</sup> Handford 1958, p. 154.

others by the cavalry after making their way out. None of our soldiers thought about making money by taking prisoners. They were exasperated by the massacre of the Romans at Cenabum and the labour of the siege, and spared neither old men nor women nor children.<sup>402</sup>

The Late Middle Ages understood what a good massacre was all about, and the Master of Bruges entered into the subject matter with unusual vigour. That the Romans actually led the defeated defenders out of the city gate to their slaughter, as we see here, is not supported by the text. Two men are being assaulted in the centre, though one holds a knife, presumably hopping to defend himself. The severed head in the right foreground shows all resistance was in vain. In the left background, Caesar on horseback is presumably setting out to continue his long and bitter campaign against Vercingetorix.

#### **16.10 - The Punishment of the Defenders of Uxellodunum (fol. 248<sup>ro</sup>)**

The defenders of Uxellodunum met a similar fate, only this time Caesar himself was directly involved. Caesar tells us that

his clemency was so well known that no one would think him a cruel man if for once he took severe measures. So he decided to deter all others by making an example of the Uxellodunum. All who had borne arms had their hands cut off and were then let go, so that everyone might see what punishment was meted out to evildoers.<sup>403</sup>

With typical disdain for the details of the text, the Master of 1482 has the Uxellodunum being beheaded, witness the blindfolded severed head in the right foreground. Caesar is lecturing to eight others, who are on their knees. The abandoned city looms on a hill in the background.

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<sup>402</sup> Handford 1958, p. 195.

<sup>403</sup> Handford 19558, p. 257.

## 16.11 - The Death of Caesar (fol. 271<sup>ro</sup>)

Naturally Caesar did not relate this event (well-known to all of us from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* or Thornton Wilder's *Ides of March*) in his *Commentaires*, but it is discussed by the Pseudo Caesar -- probably Aulus Hirtius -- who wrote the eighth and closing book of Duchesne's French translation. Nine assassins still surround the collapsed and dying Caesar, while a tenth is heading up some stairs in the right background, perhaps to pass on the momentous news to the standing figure in the background. A trio of men could be discussing the nature or implications of the main event. Five of the offending knives are visible, as is some blood on the ground. Nothing, from the reduced number of assassins and their dress to the late-Gothic vault of the senate chamber, conforms to Hirtius's text or Roman reality.

All of these miniatures are by the Bruges Master of 1482. They are consistent in style and quality, with little of the unevenness that characterizes much of our master's work of around 1486. This, as well as the similarities to this same work, suggests a date of about 1487 to 1488 for the Oxford *Commentaires*. The young, blond and beardless Julius Caesar in all the miniatures almost certainly alludes to Maximilian I of Austria, which should be no surprise in a manuscript commissioned by Claude de Neufchâtel, Seigneur de Fay. Neufchâtel was primarily a military man. He served Charles the Bold and Maximilian of Austria, most notably in Luxembourg. Quite unlike Louis of Gruuthuse, however, Neufchâtel remained consistently loyal to Maximilian during the troubles of 1488. Hence he was elected to the Order of the Golden Fleece at the same Chapter of 1491 at which Gruuthuse was convicted of treason. It may not be far-fetched to suggest that the illuminations of the Oxford *Commentaires* intended to allude to Maximilian's punitive campaign of 1488 to squash the insurrection of Flanders, Hainaut and Brabant. This insurrection began in September of 1487, so this could be maintained as a highly tenuous *terminus post quem* for the Oxford miniatures.

## Catalogue 17

David Aubert, *Chroniques et conquestes de Charlemagne*

Dresden, Die Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats und Universitätsbibliothek, Oc.  
81

Bruges, ca. 1488

### Provenance:

Philippe de Hornes, testamentary inventory of 20 August 1488. As with Cat. 13, it then passed to his 16<sup>th</sup> century heirs of the Montmorency family.

Sold to Samuel van Huls (1655-1734) in The Hague in 1730.<sup>404</sup>

Sold in Leipzig in 1737 (no. 1005)

Graf Heinrich von Brühl (1700-1766)

### Literature:

Schmidt 1906, pp. 138-139.

Winkler 1925, p. 170

Wijsman 2010b, p. 579, n. 1

Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 1538

### Contents:

Given that of the thirty-one illuminations of this manuscript only the first, which depicts the presentation of the book, is by the Bruges Master of 1482, the contents of the text are not of primary importance. The second artist, identified by Hanno Wijsman, was the Master of the Chattering Hands. The author, David Aubert, wrote the *Chroniques et conquestes de Charlemagne* around 1450,

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<sup>404</sup> Bibliotheca Hulsiana, sive Catalogus librorum, quos magno labore, summa cura & maximis sumptibus collegit ... Samuel Hulsius ... : quorum auctio habebitur Hagæ-Comitum ... Die 4. Septemb. & sequentibus 1730 per Johannem Swart & Petrum d Hondt. Hag. Comit. 1730. Vol. 1, p. 243).

cobbling together his huge compilation, which mixes reality and myth, from well-known earlier sources. Beside being an author he was also a calligrapher who specialized in producing texts for the elite of Burgundian society. Earlier patrons who ordered manuscripts with this text were Philip the Good and Jean de Créquy (1395-1474).

The present manuscript is mentioned in the testamentary inventory of Philippe de Hornes of 20 August 1488 (see Cat. 13). The codex could well date from earlier in 1488, making it one of de Hornes's last commissions. Obviously, however, this date could be slightly on the late side. Like the earlier *Chroniques de Froissart* (Cat. 13), which I have dated to about 1485, this manuscript reflects De Hornes's keen interest in historical works.

## **Decoration:**

### **17.1 - The Presentation of the Book**

The miniature is in terrible condition as a result of the allied bombing of Dresden on 13 and 15 February 1945. With its seven participants and complex architectural setting, this is surely the most elaborate presentation scene by the Master of 1482. Despite the washed-out colours, it is possible to tell that it was a decorative image related to the Basel *Traité de noblesse*. Given the certain provenance of the manuscript, it must be Philippe de Hornes standing on a platform and receiving the book on the left.

## Catalogue 18

Honoré Bovet, *L'Arbre des batailles* and Diego de Valera, *Traité de noblesse* (and other treatises)

Bruges, ca. 1490

### Description:

Vellum. With 208 folios (old pagination; 1-8; I-CC), 363 x 252 mm. *Lettre bâtarde* in two columns. One full-page, ten half-page and one small miniature, all by the Master of 1482. Sixty-three coats of arms in colour in the text and numerous large and small initials in gold on coloured background. Coat of arms of owner (Claude de Neufchâtel) on the first page. Bound in brown calf leather, with the old, presumably original, blind-tooled back cover and back strip laid on the modern binding; old brass clasps.

### Provenance:

Commissioned by Claude de Neufchâtel ca. 1490.

Dealer Hess-Antiquariat, Bern, 1937 (offered for sale at 19,000 Swiss francs).

Dealer H.P. Kraus, New York, 1969.

Paul and Helmut Beck collection, Stuttgart, 1970.<sup>405</sup>

Purloined in 1996.

Reiss und Söhn Buch-und Kunstantiquariat, Königstein, 2017

Jörn Günther Rare Books, Basel, 2017

European Private Collection.

### Literature:

Berne/Hess 1937, pp. 3-5, no. 1, with ill. (fol. 171<sup>ro</sup>)

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<sup>405</sup> According to a communication from Otto Pächt cited by Bernard Gagnebin 1976, p. 168, the manuscript was with an unidentified London dealer around 1975. However, the late Helmut Beck assured me that he had examined and purchased the codex in his Stuttgart home, direct from Kraus ("Nein, der Kraus war hier").



Horn 1968, pp. 10, 13, 17, 27, 31, 33, 36-43, 51, with ill. (fol. 171<sup>ro</sup>)  
 Kraus 1969, pp. 9-12, with ill. (fol. 169<sup>ro</sup>)  
 Gagnebin 1976, pp. 168 and 178  
 Cahn/Marrow 1978, pp. 256-259  
 Lemaire/De Schryver 1981, p. 244, where it is said to have been with “H.P. Krauss”  
 Shailor 1984, p. 333, who denies the attribution to the Master of 1482  
 Wijsman 2010b, Appendix A (<http://www.cn-telma.fr/luxury-bound>), no. 248  
 Reiss und Söhn, cat. 183, no. 231, 2017 (as “Französisches Heraldskompandium”)  
 Jürg Günther, cat. 14, no. 41, 2018<sup>406</sup>

## Contents:

The contents of this manuscript are virtually identical to those of the *Arbre des batailles/Traité de noblesse* in New Haven and are therefore discussed in Catalogue 15 above. As mentioned there, two additional treatises (a description of the creation of the first King of Arms of France and his duties, and ordinances relating to the armies and marshals of France) that follow the *Traité de noblesse* section of the Yale manuscript are here inserted into the middle of the *Traité*, so that the text on funeral protocol and the date 1481 come at the very end of the codex. It is therefore almost certain that the Basel codex was copied after the New Haven compilation.<sup>407</sup> The revised sequence of the later text therefore looks as follows:

- 1) Fols. 9r-106<sup>vo</sup> (fols. 7 and 8, 107 and 108 are blank): Honoré Bovet, *L'Arbre des batailles*
- 2) Fols. 109<sup>ro</sup>-135<sup>vo</sup> (Prologue on fols. 1<sup>ro</sup>-6<sup>ro</sup>): Diego de Valera, *Espejo de verdadera nobleza*
- 3) Fols. 136<sup>ro</sup>-142<sup>vo</sup>: Clément Prinsault, *Traité du blason*
- 4) Fols. 143<sup>ro</sup>-152<sup>vo</sup>: Anonymous, *Comment on fait de nouvel un empereur par election*.

<sup>406</sup> Günther (2018). Fol. 2<sup>vo</sup>, cropped at the top, graces the cover.

<sup>407</sup> In this instance, Hiltmann 2011, pp. 213-214, was severely handicapped, since he had nothing more recent than the 1937 Hess catalogue to work with.

- 5) Fols. 153<sup>ro</sup>-160<sup>ro</sup>: Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, *La manière de faire champ a oultrance selon l'ordonnance faict par les roys d'Angleterre* (dedicated to Richard II)
- 6) Fols. 160<sup>vo</sup>-168<sup>vo</sup>: *Les ordonnances aux gages de bataille en champ ferme selon la coutume du royaume de France*
- 7) Fols. 169<sup>ro</sup>-170<sup>vo</sup>: *Armes faictes a oultrance*
- 8) Fols. 171<sup>ro</sup>-173<sup>vo</sup>: *Status royaulx touchant le fait de la guerre prins en la chambre du tresorier a paris par philippe sans terre quant ils se vint marier a madame margueritte de flandres ... ses mareschaulx et autres de son conseil en lan de grace vii<sup>c</sup> lxi. Les droiz des mareschaulx de France tant en paix comme en guerre*
- 9) Fols. 174<sup>ro</sup>-182<sup>ro</sup>: *Cy contient comment le roy darmes des francoiz fut premierement cree et puis nomme mon Joye el la facon de son noble counronner les seremens quil fait aussy les droiz et ce quil est tenu de fere*
- 10) Fols. 182<sup>ro</sup>-189<sup>vo</sup>: *La premiere institution des roys darmes et heraulx*
- 11) Fols. 190<sup>ro</sup>-194<sup>vo</sup>: *La manière de faire tournois et behours* and the obligations of Kings of Arms and Heralds thereto
- 12) Fols. 195<sup>ro</sup>-197<sup>ro</sup>: *Obseques et funerailles des nobles hommes*
- 13) Fols. 197<sup>vo</sup> -199<sup>vo</sup>: *Contination de ceste matiere*. An appendix to no. 12, written by Louis of Gruuthuse, concerning the funeral of Gérard de Mortaigne, one of his ancestors.<sup>408</sup>

Naturally this alteration also brought about a change in the order of the miniatures as well as in the location of dedications and the like.

### Decoration:

There are twelve illuminations by the Master of Bruges of 1482. With the exception of fig. 18.10, which appears in the Basel *Traité de noblesse* only, all of these illuminations are substantially based on models in the New Haven *Traité* text (Cat. 15). Inversely, the New Haven manuscript has one illumination (fig. 15.5) that has no counterpart in the Basel codex.

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<sup>408</sup> The index of contents in Günther 1918, pp. 226 and 228, is somewhat epitomized. This version is based on Kraus 1969, pp. 9-12.

When setting out on a discussion of this manuscript we must dismiss the conviction of the formidable New York dealer Hans Peter Kraus, as proposed in his catalogue of 1969, that this *Arbre des batilles/Traité de noblesse* “is a major work of the era of the last Valois ruler of Burgundy, the Duchess Marie, whose son Philip begins the Habsburg rule over that country.” This is totally wrong. Mary died in 1482, and Habsburg rule began with her husband Maximilian in that year. this manuscript certainly does not predate Mary’s death. If my dating of this codex is correct, it was produced about seven years after her demise and has nothing whatsoever to do with the house of Valois-Burgundy.

### 18.1 - The Shame of Noah - preliminary leaf 1.

The *Shame of Noah* of the Basel *Traité de noblesse* is very similar to the New Haven miniature (fig. 15.1), especially in the disposition of the right half of the composition, with Noah, Japheth and an improbable mountain. However, the left half lacks Noah's ark and has a group of three figures consisting of Shem, Ham and a mysterious man who wears a splendid robe and strange hat and seems to be making his point by pointing at Noah and Japheth. He is probably not the author since Honoré Bovet was a monk (cf. figs. 15.2 and 18.2). The slightly lesser quality and drama of the Basel *Shame of Noah* only confirms what we already know from textual evidence, namely that it is the lesser version. Details such as the shrub in the centre of the miniature or the summary treatment of the vegetation on the ground, suggest that a little less thought and care were lavished on this later version. Below the *Shame of Noah* we see the arms of Claude de Neufchâtel, Seigneur de Fay, who was elected to the Golden Fleece in 1491 and died in 1505. His arms are not surrounded by the collar of the Golden Fleece, which makes 1491 the last likely date.

### 18.2 - Honoré Bovet Presents his Work to Maximilian I and Charles VIII (fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)

The *Presentation of the Book* miniature in the Basel *Traité de noblesse* is a vexing iconographic puzzle. It is again of slightly lesser quality than the New Haven illumination (fig. 15.2). The composition is frontal and symmetrical, being more in line with standard depictions of Frederick III or Maximilian I enthroned, or with

the *Coronation of an Emperor* found in both the New Haven and Basel codices (figs. 15.6 and 18.5).

The notion of putting two rulers on one throne almost certainly originated with the New Haven miniature, but the drama of the Basel *Presentation of the Book* is diluted compared to the New Haven version. Instead of an aging emperor being passed by for a junior king, both emperor and king look about the same age. The attention of the kneeling Honoré Bovet could be directed at the king, but that is far from certain, and the latter seems to be looking to the side, away from the kneeling author. Curiously, the emperor seems to be pointing in the same direction that the king is looking. Two other figures, with one holding a staff of authority and the other a halbert, would seem to be watching the same spot on the wall (so to speak), but it is not clear what has caught their attention.

In his 1969 catalogue Hans Peter Kraus looked to explain the two rulers of the Basel miniature using the general introduction to the text, and concluded that the two men are “the Kings of France and Jerusalem.” The passage in question, which I had reason to quote and discuss in Catalogue 15 above, alludes to only one ruler, namely Louis XI of France. We also know that this bit of text goes back to a prototype *Traité de noblesse* of 1481 in Paris, and it can therefore have nothing to do with either the New Haven or Basel *Presentation of the Book*.

Clearly, we are obliged to look for another explanation. The *fleur-de-lis* robe worn by the king establishes that he is a French ruler. Possibly he is meant to be Charles VIII, who ruled from 1483 to 1498, following Louis XI. The clean-shaven emperor is likely Maximilian I. Though he remained King of the Romans until his father, Frederick III, died in 1493, Maximilian must have been seen as the next Holy Roman Emperor. Frederick soon relinquished his initial opposition to Maximilian, saving him from the rebellious citizens of Bruges in 1488. In 1491, Frederick gave his son primacy of place by joining the Order of the Golden Fleece, with Maximilian presiding. The identification of the left king as Maximilian is supported by the herald approaching from the left, who wears a badge with the Habsburg double-headed eagle.

In addition, two of the courtiers wear collar with the Order of the Golden Fleece, of which Maximilian was Chief. Why one of them stands next to Charles VIII is still another minor mystery, as he never became Knight of the Golden

Fleece? It is clear, however, that the subject matter of this illumination was one of a kind and not an invention of the Master of 1482, so that he may well have been floundering on occasion. As with the related example discussed above (fig. 15.2), this miniature confirms my proposition in Chapter 9 that the contribution of an artist may need to be assessed miniature by miniature.

All the debatable evidence suggests that the topical interest in the conflict between Frederick III and Maximilian I had waned by the time the Bruges Master worked on the Basel manuscript, dictating a date well after 1486 for the Basel codex. As with the Oxford *Commentaires*, we could opt for 1487 to 1488, just before Maximilian left Flanders for the German territories. It was in 1489, however, that Louis of Bruges gave a fine *Livre des tournois* to Charles VIII, demonstrating that the French king may have presented a serious challenge to Maximilian's claim to Burgundian loyalty at that time. However, Maximilian's date of departure need not be critical at all if both he and Charles are simply represented here as competing non-Burgundian outsiders. If so, the codex could have been commissioned and illuminated towards 1491, when Claude de Neufchâtel became Knight of the Golden Fleece. This assumption would provide an occasion for the commission and explain the continued interest in Maximilian, who was still very much Chief of the Order. Readers who hold that Maximilian would not have been shown as Emperor until he truly was one, would need to settle for an improbable 1493 as the earliest possible date for this miniature.

### 18.3 - The Tree of Sorrows (fol. 2<sup>vo</sup>)

The Basel *Traité de noblesse* also has an illumination of a tree of sorrow. In this case the Master of 1482 followed his own example (fig. 15.3) very closely. His only significant deviations from his prototype were the omission of the bugle blowing devil on the lower left and the removal of the beard of the emperor on the top right, thereby turning Frederick III into a generic emperor. The precise political context of the New Haven version has been lost. This again supports a date in the late eighties or early 1490s.

#### 18.4 - Maximilian I of Austria and Mary of Burgundy Rewarding Nobility in their Subjects (fol. 109<sup>ro</sup>)

The illumination of the Basel *Traité de noblesse* closely corresponds to the New Haven awards ceremony (fig. 15.4). As is repeatedly the case with the Basel adaptations, the scene has become a little starker, with simpler architecture, fewer figures and only one limited view out a single door. Maximilian does not wear the Order of the Golden Fleece but is instead in the process of clasp it around the neck of his subject, who therefore has the fleece hanging on his back in order to show it to the viewer. If there is any doubt about the identity of Maximilian, it was not shared in 1969 by Hans Peter Kraus, writing in his catalogue of 1969. He called the miniature *Maximilian I Awarding the Golden Fleece* and, despite her puzzlingly uncharacteristic hat, identified his consort as Mary of Burgundy. In that case, the young Philip the Fair is missing. All things considered, the subject matter is probably best understood as an ill-informed echo of the New Haven illumination.

#### 18.5 - The Coronation of an Emperor (fol. 143<sup>ro</sup>)

The Basel *Coronation of an Emperor* is a simplified version of the New Haven miniature (fig. 15.6). The room looks a little less ample. The bearded figure in the doorway on the far left and the youth on the far right of the New Haven version have been eliminated, along with five other spectators. We again have three secular and three ecclesiastical electors, one of the latter having parked his mitre on the floor. Though the Emperor looks much the same, the electors have been differentiated and identified by the shield-like clasps of their cloaks and, in the case of the figure on the right, an elaborate eagle on the chest. They are, on the left, the Archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier, and on the right, the Electors of Brandenburg, Saxony, and the Palatinate. Here as elsewhere, the Master of Bruges reduced the overall number of figures of his model but added small details that may have convinced Claude de Neufchâtel that he was getting his money's worth.

### **18.6 - Two Men in a Judicial Duel, on Foot, with Swords (fol. 153<sup>ro</sup>)**

This miniature is very similar to the New Haven illumination (fig. 15.7), though there are five instead of nine spectators, with three of them moved to a flight of stairs on the left.

### **18.7 - Two Men in a Judicial Duel, on Foot, with Halberts (fol. 169<sup>ro</sup>)**

The second Basel duel has combatants with halberds inside a more skeletal enclosure than in the preceding illumination. There is no corresponding miniature in the New Haven *Traité de noblesse*. The building in the background, with three pairs of spectators framed in three windows of a second story, is similar to the one in the New Haven combat with swords (fig. 15.7). A tapestry with the coat of arms of the Duke of Burgundy hangs over the door of this building, corresponding to the mention of the duke and all his titles in the concomitant text.

### **18.8 - A Marshall of France, with Followers (fol. 171<sup>ro</sup>)**

This miniature is again based on the one in the New Haven *Traité de noblesse* (fig. 15.12), though the scene is again somewhat simplified. The lower right group of three figures has been reduced to two, and the two figures behind the quartermaster are missing. The complex courtyard seen through the portal at the far right of the New Haven miniature is here blocked out. At the time I wrote my M.A. thesis more than a half century ago, this was the only Stuttgart illumination of which I had a reproduction, and a fairly poor one at that. It nevertheless established to my satisfaction what all the subsequently obtained illustrations support, namely that the Basel manuscript was based on the New Haven codex and that they must both have come from the same workshop.

### **18.9 - The Coronation of the King of Arms of France (fol. 174<sup>ro</sup>)**

The *Coronation of the King of Arms of France* in the Basel manuscript is less fancy than its New Haven prototype. Indeed, the difference is much greater here than with other pairs. The number of figures has been reduced from twelve to nine. The beautiful falcon and the dogs are gone. Everything is relatively threadbare. That the

Basel miniature is able to compete at all is because of its exquisite colours, a strong suit of the entire codex.

#### **18.10 - The Institution of the Office of Herald; A Monarch Receiving Homage (fol. 182<sup>ro</sup>)**

The Basel *Traité de noblesse* follows the example of the New Haven codex with a small miniature with only one kneeling man. The number of figures has been reduced by one, and three of these, including the king, have grown beards. The style of this miniature differs slightly from the others, being closer to the earlier work by the Master of 1482 in the New Haven codex (fig. 15.8), and this illumination may also have involved shop assistance. Tellingly the Basel dealer, Jörn Günther, did not include this miniature in his set of splendid colour illustrations.

#### **18.11 - A Tourney (fol. 190<sup>ro</sup>)**

This is a slightly stripped version of the New Haven miniature (fig. 15.9), the only major change being the elimination of the deep vista at the upper left.

#### **18.12 - The Funeral of a Nobleman (fol. 195<sup>ro</sup>)**

The *Funeral Procession* of the Basel *Traité de noblesse* differs from the New Haven miniature (fig. 15.10) only in minor details. We are again in the courtyard of a castle, approaching a handsome, though architecturally less elaborate, chapel. We again see the death-watch of two, with their long candles, as well as a view into a chapel, albeit a slightly less detailed one, complete with the officiating priest at the altar.



# ABBREVIATIONS

(for signatures of manuscripts cited in the running text)

**Amiens:**

**BM = Bibliothèque municipale**

**Antwerp:**

**PM = Museum Plantijn-Moretus**

**Amsterdam:**

**PH = Bibliotheca Philosophica Hermetica (The Ritman Library)**

**Berlin:**

**SBB = Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz**

**Brussels:**

**KBR = Koninklijke Bibliotheek van België**

**Cambridge, MA:**

**HLHC = Houghton Library of Harvard College**

**Copenhagen:**

**KBDK = Det Kongelige Bibliothek**

**Dresden:**

**SLUB = Die Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats und Universitätsbibliothek**

**Geneva:**

**BGE = Bibliothèque de Genève**

**The Hague:**

**KB = De Koninklijke Bibliotheek / De nationale bibliotheek van Nederland**

**London:**

**BL = British Library**

**Los Angeles:**

**JPGM = J. Paul Getty Museum**

**Lyon:**

**BML = Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon**

**New Haven CT:**

**BLYU = Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University**

**Paris:**

**BA = Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal**

**BnF = Bibliothèque nationale de France**

**Stuttgart:**

**WLB = Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart**

**Vatican City**

**BAV = Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana**

**Vienna:**

**ÖNB = Österreichische Nationalbibliothek**

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# ILLUSTRATIONS







Fig. 1.1 (London, British Library, MS Add. 19720, fol. 2<sup>ro</sup>)



Fig. 1.2 (London, British Library, MS Add. 19720, fol. 27<sup>ro</sup>)



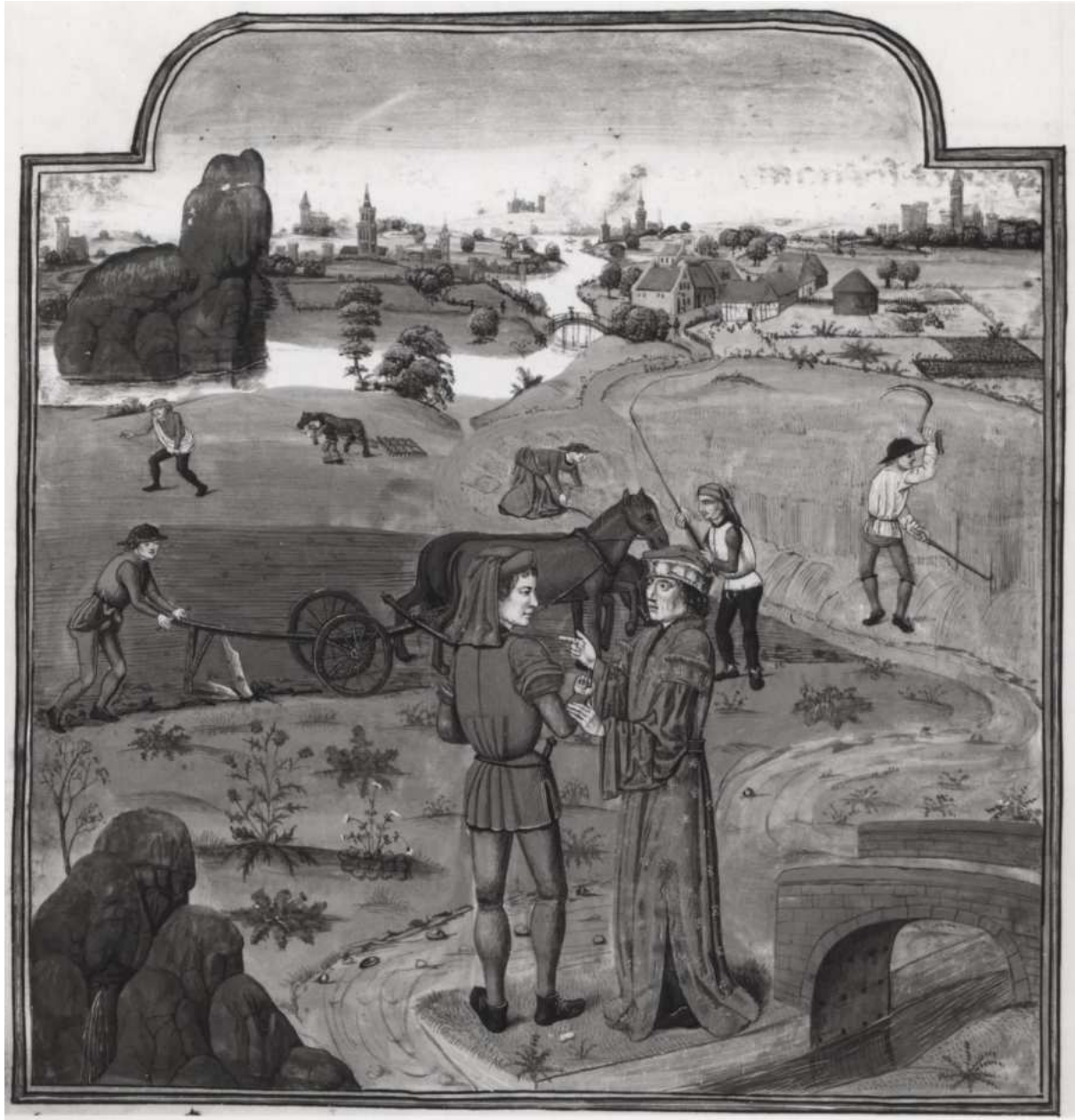


Fig. 1.3 (London, British Library, MS Add. 19720, fol. 63<sup>v0</sup>)

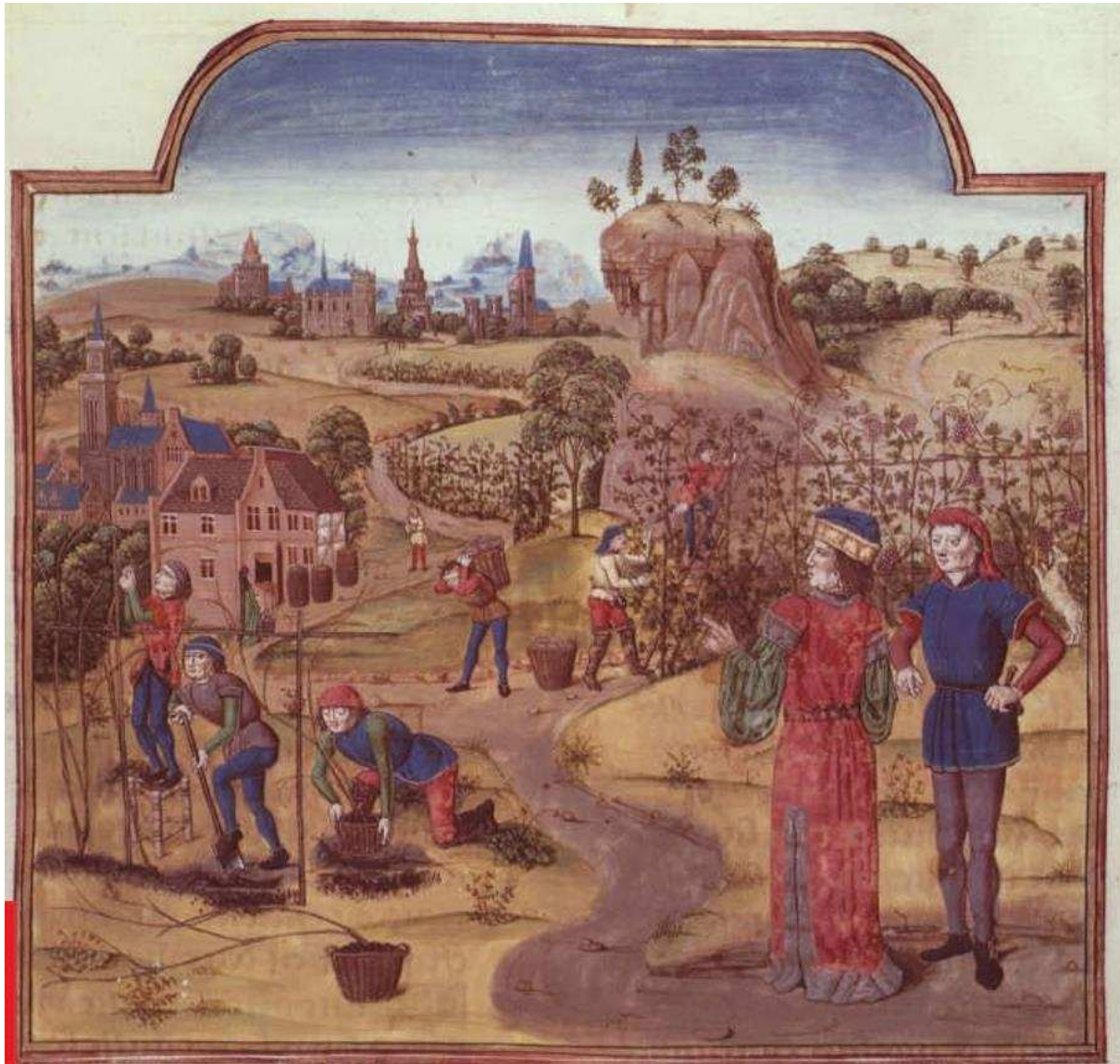


Fig. 1.4 (London, British Library, MS Add. 19720, fol. 80<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 1.5 (London, British Library, MS Add. 19720, fol. 117<sup>vo</sup>)



Fig. 1.6 (London, British Library, MS Add. 19720, fol. 165<sup>ro</sup>)



Fig. 1.7 (London, British Library, MS Add. 19720, fol. 210<sup>vo</sup>)





Fig. 1.8 (London, British Library, MS Add. 19720, fol. 214<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 1.9 (London, British Library, MS Add. 19720, fol. 220<sup>v</sup>)



Fig. 1.10 (London, British Library, MS Add. 19720, fol. 272<sup>vo</sup>)



Fig. 1.11 (London, British Library, MS Add. 19720, fol. 288<sup>vo</sup>)



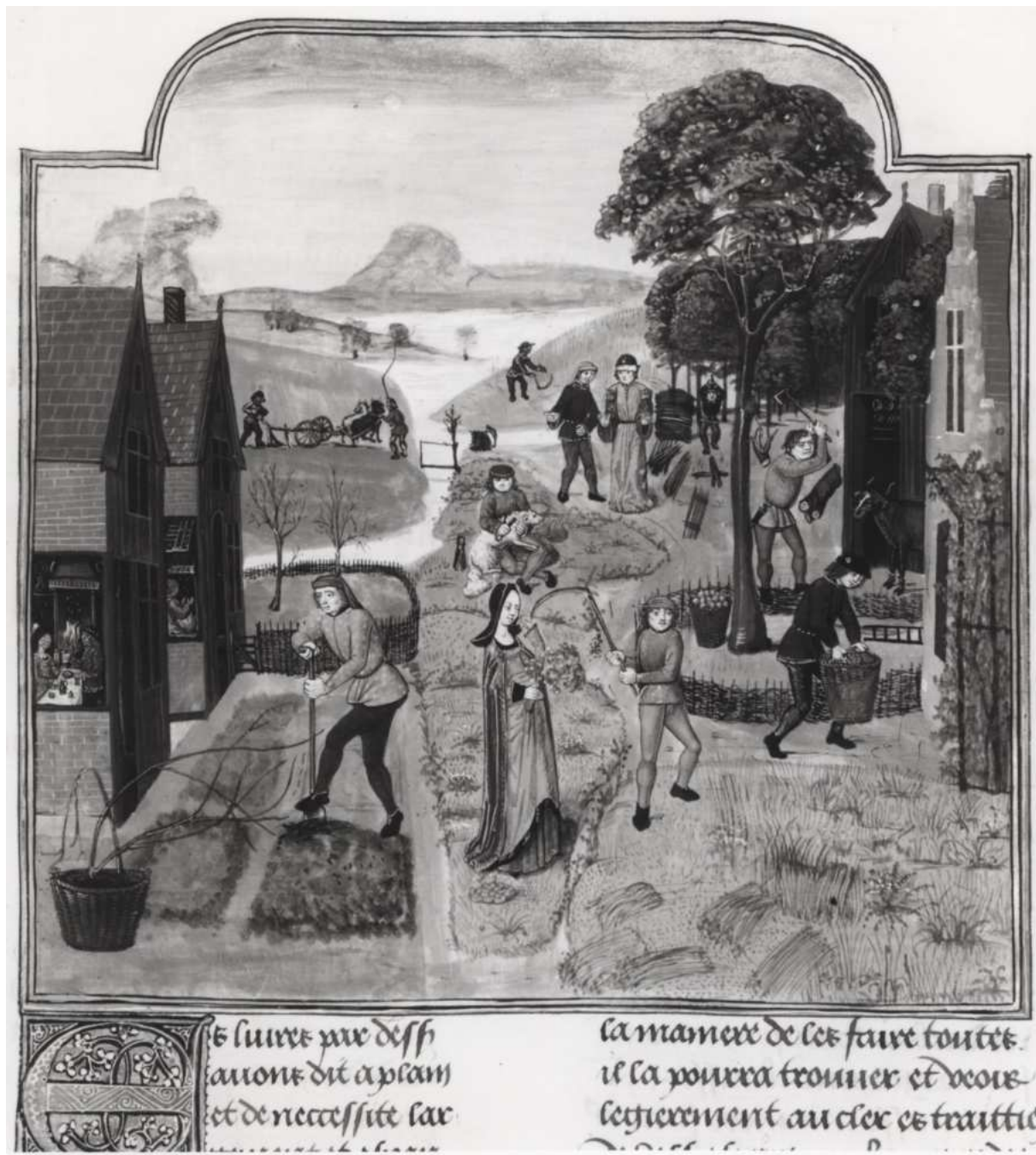


Fig. 1.12 (London, British Library, MS Add. 19720, fol. 305<sup>vo</sup>)



Fig. 2.1 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 280, fol. 2<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 3.1 (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 133 A 5, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>)



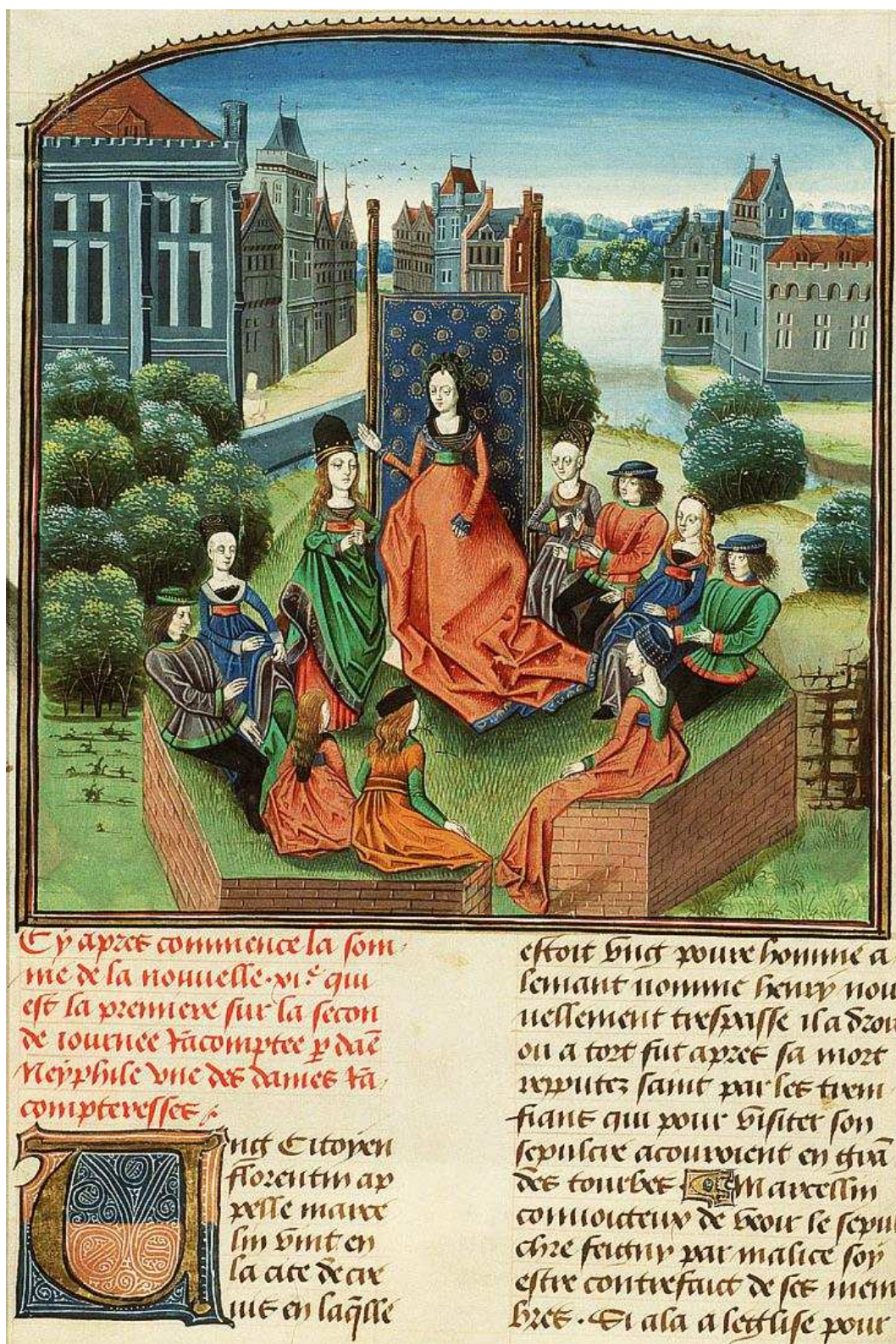


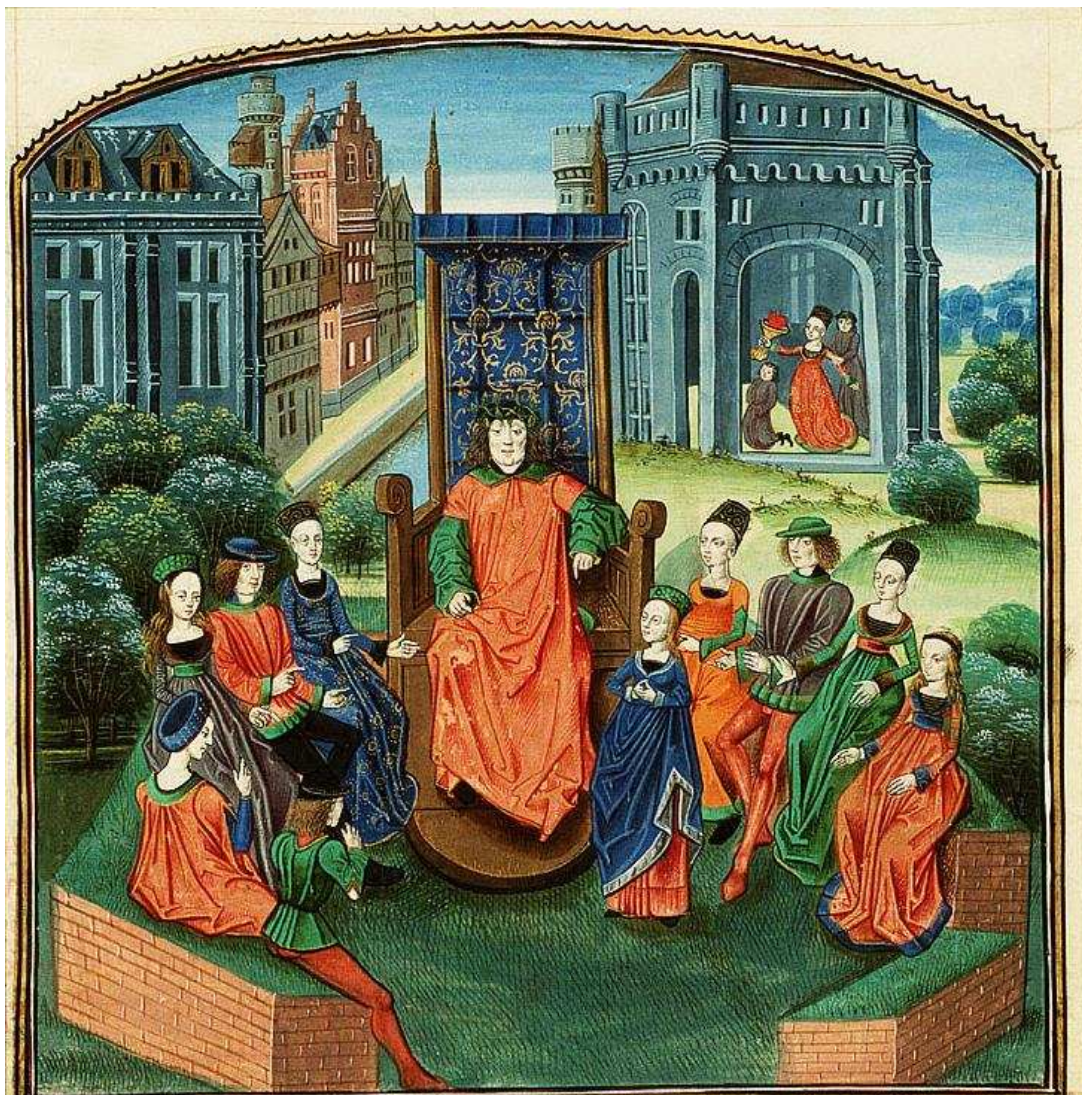
Fig. 3.2 (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 133 A 5, fol. 47<sup>v</sup>)





Fig. 3.3 (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 133 A 5, fol. 121<sup>ro</sup>)





**M**es treschieres  
dames ie au  
doie que le sou  
dam et chault  
vent demure  
ne deust frap  
per senō les hautes tours  
et les somets des grant ar  
bres pource que ainsi dient  
les puoilles des saiges que  
ie ay ouyes. et aussi a cest  
propos iay ouy dire maintes  
prouesses et leus. Mais en

mon extimacion ie me trou  
ue trop deceu. Car ou tēps  
que iay fouy et que tousdis  
me suis efforcier de fuir la  
forte soubdunete de lenraige  
vent demure. ie me suis estu  
die dīser non pas seulesmet  
par plains chemins. mais  
par tales tresparfondes et  
requoyes ainsi comme asse  
der peut apparoir a ceulx q  
regardent mes presentes  
nouuelles qui par moy ne

Fig. 3.4 (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 133 A 5, fol. 172<sup>vo</sup>)





Fig. 3.5 (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 133 A 5, fol. 256<sup>v</sup>)



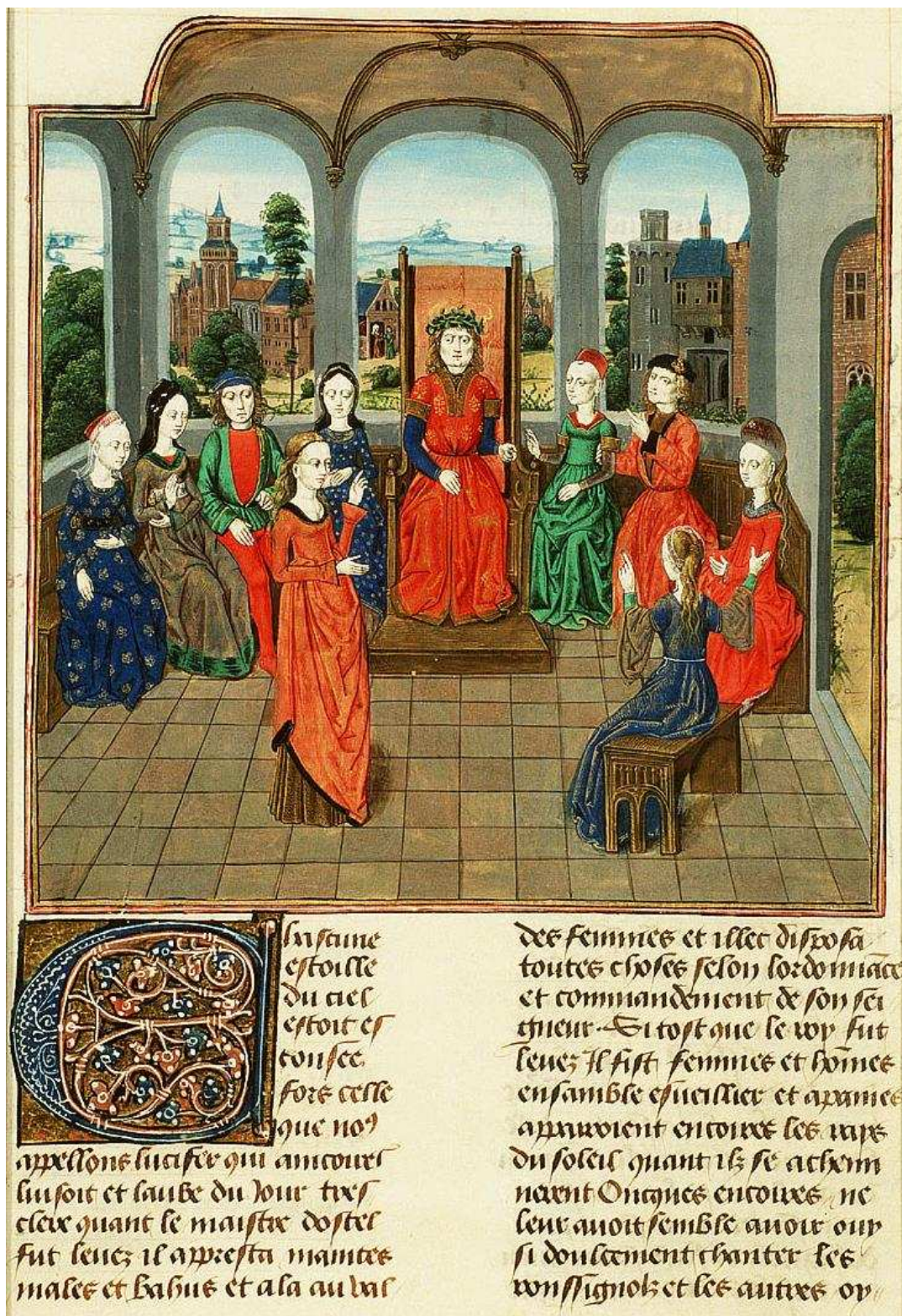


Fig. 3.6 (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 133 A 5, fol. 278<sup>v</sup>)



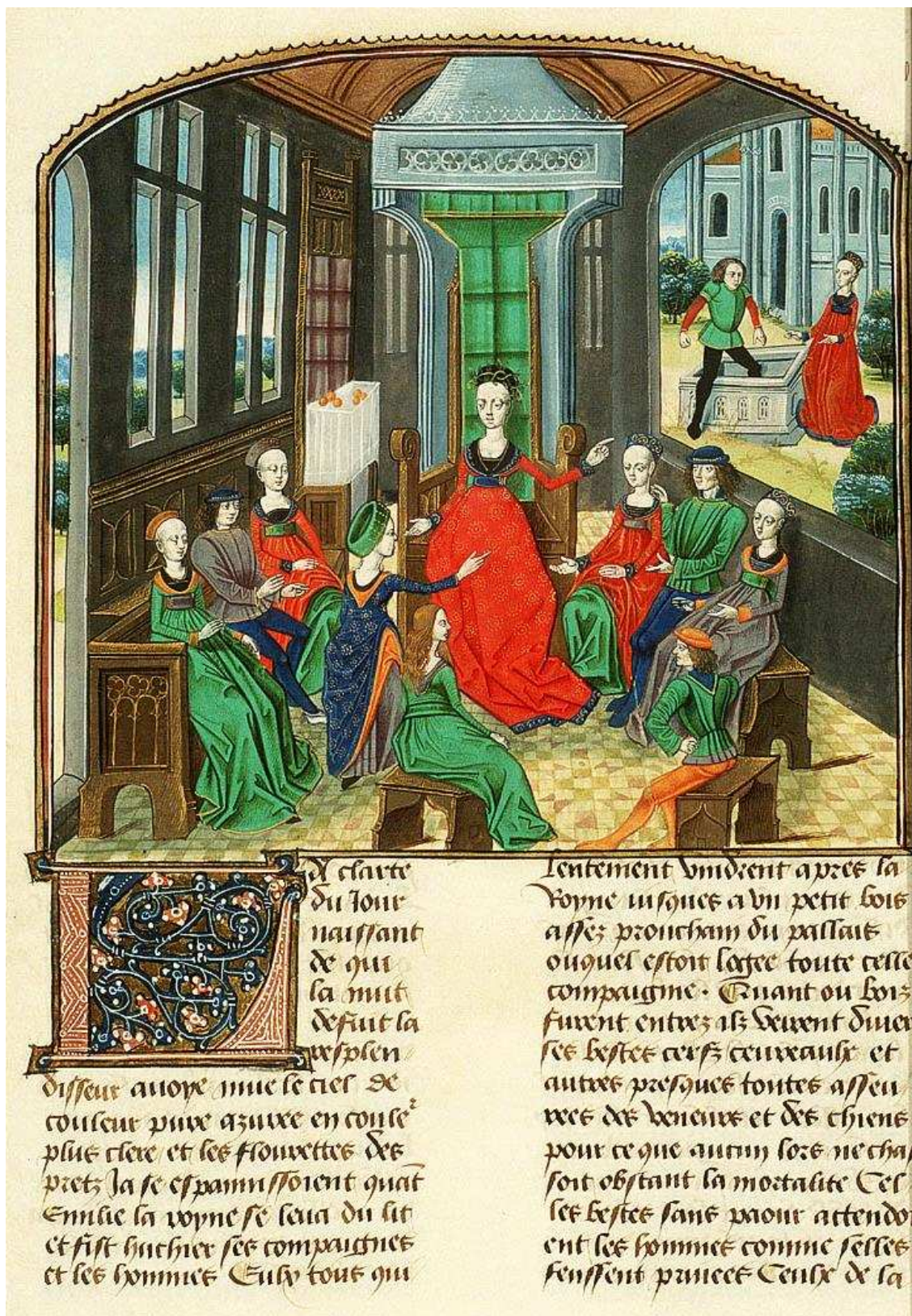


Fig. 3.7 (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 133 A 5, fol. 360<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 4.1 (London, British Library, MS Royal 15 E III, fol. 2<sup>ro</sup>)



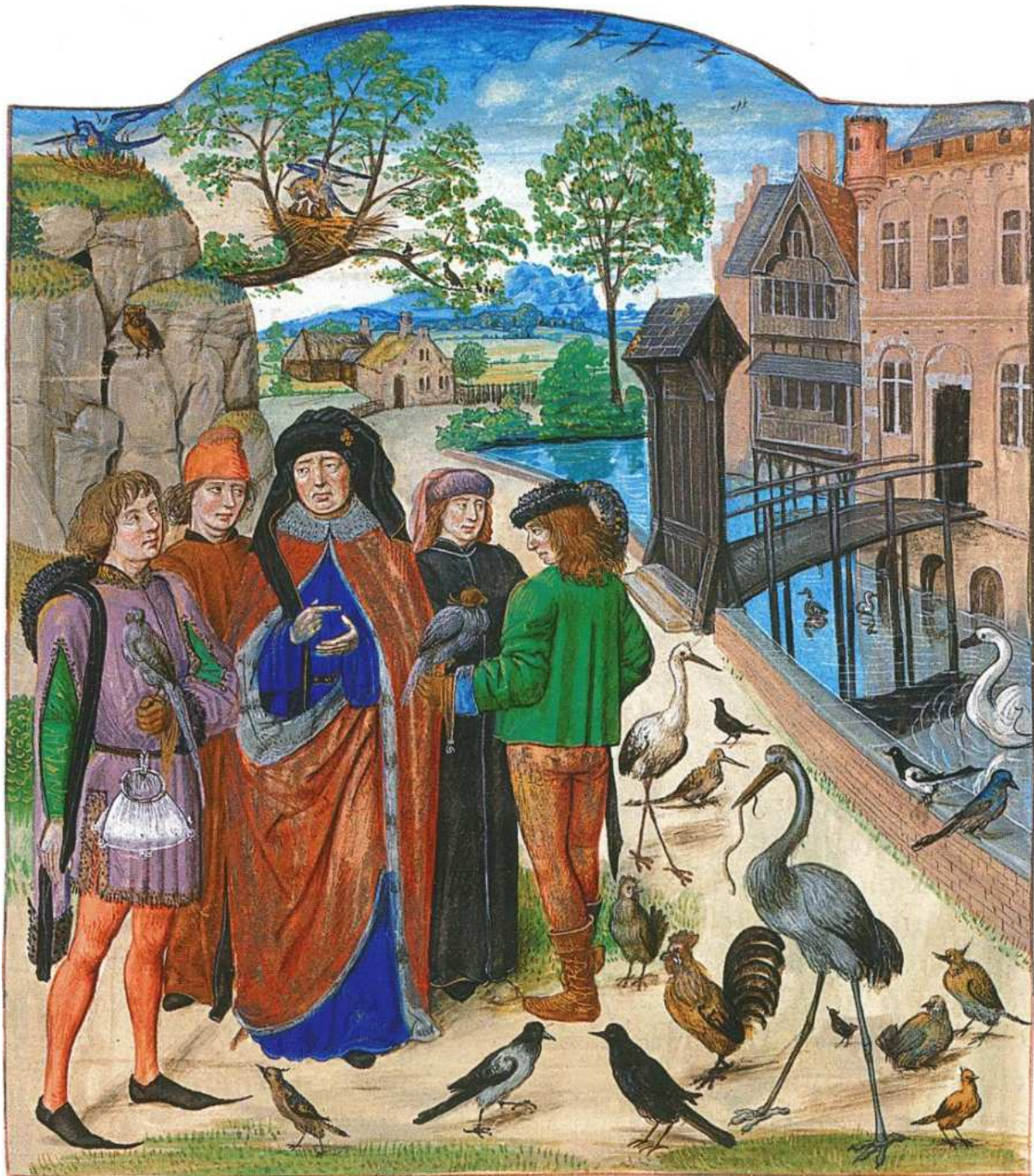


Fig. 4.2 (London, British Library, MS Royal 15 E III, fol. 2<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 5.1 (Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 399, fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)



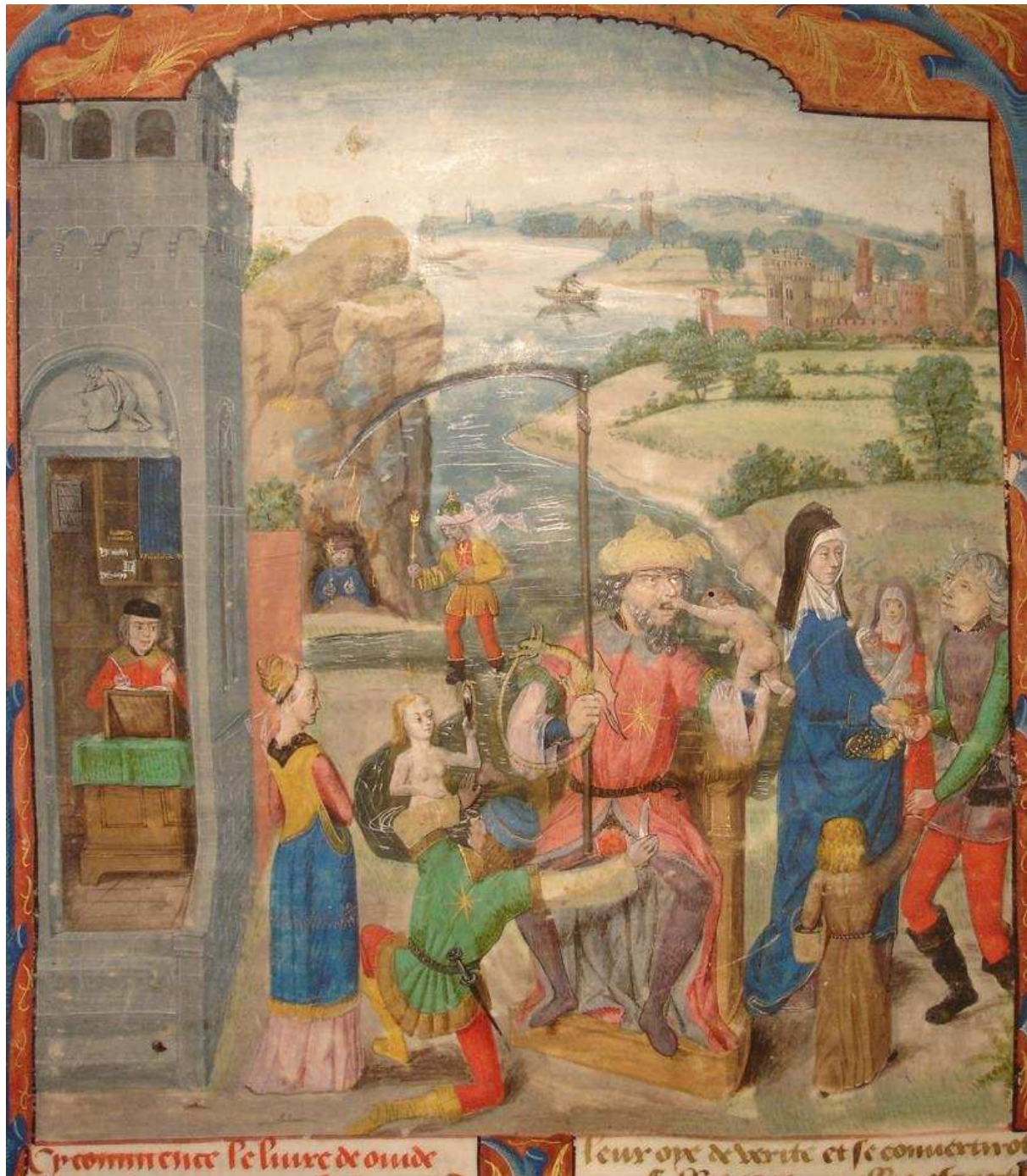


Fig. 5.1a (Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 399, fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 5.1.1 (Bruges, Openbare bibliotheek, Inc. 3877, fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 5.2 (Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 399, fol. 4<sup>v</sup>)



Fig. 5.2.1 (Bruges, Openbare bibliotheek, Inc. 3877, fol. 6<sup>v</sup>)



Fig. 5.3 (Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 399, fol. 6<sup>vo</sup>)



Fig. 5.3.1 (Bruges, Openbare bibliotheek, Inc. 3877, fol. 9<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 5.4 (Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 399, fol. 7<sup>vo</sup>)



Fig. 5.4.1 (Bruges, Openbare bibliotheek, Inc. 3877, fol. 10<sup>ro</sup>)



Fig. 5.5 (Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 399, fol. 9<sup>vo</sup>)



Fig. 5.5.1 (Bruges, Openbare bibliotheek, Inc. 3877, fol. 13<sup>vo</sup>)



Fig. 5.6 (Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 399, fol. 11<sup>ro</sup>)



Fig. 5.6.1 (Bruges, Openbare bibliotheek, Inc. 3877, fol. 15<sup>vo</sup>)





Fig. 5.7 (Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 399, fol. 13<sup>vo</sup>)



Fig. 5.7.1 (Bruges, Openbare bibliotheek, Inc. 3877, fol. 19<sup>ro</sup>)



Fig. 5.8 (Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 399, fol. 14<sup>vo</sup>)



Fig. 5.8.1 (Bruges, Openbare bibliotheek, Inc. 3877, fol. 20<sup>vo</sup>)





Fig. 5.9 (Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 399, fol. 16<sup>ro</sup>)



Fig. 5.9.1 (Bruges, Openbare bibliotheek, Inc. 3877, fol. 22<sup>ro</sup>)



Fig. 5.10 (Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 399, fol. 17<sup>ro</sup>)



Fig. 5.10.1 (Bruges, Openbare bibliotheek, Inc. 3877, fol. 23<sup>vo</sup>)



Fig. 5.11 (Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 399, fol. 18<sup>ro</sup>)



Fig. 5.11.1 (Bruges, Openbare bibliotheek, Inc. 3877, fol. 25<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 5.12 (Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 399, fol. 18<sup>vo</sup>)



Fig. 5.12.1 (Bruges, Openbare bibliotheek, Inc. 3877, fol. 26<sup>ro</sup>)



Fig. 5.13 (Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 399, fol. 19<sup>v</sup>)



Fig. 5.13.1 (Bruges, Openbare bibliotheek, Inc. 3877, fol. 27<sup>v</sup>)



Fig. 5.14 (Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 399, fol. 20<sup>ro</sup>)



Fig. 5.14.1 (Bruges, Openbare bibliotheek, Inc. 3877, fol. 28<sup>vo</sup>)





Fig. 5.15 (Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 399, fol. 87<sup>r</sup>)



Fig. 5.16 (Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 399, fol. 133<sup>v</sup>)

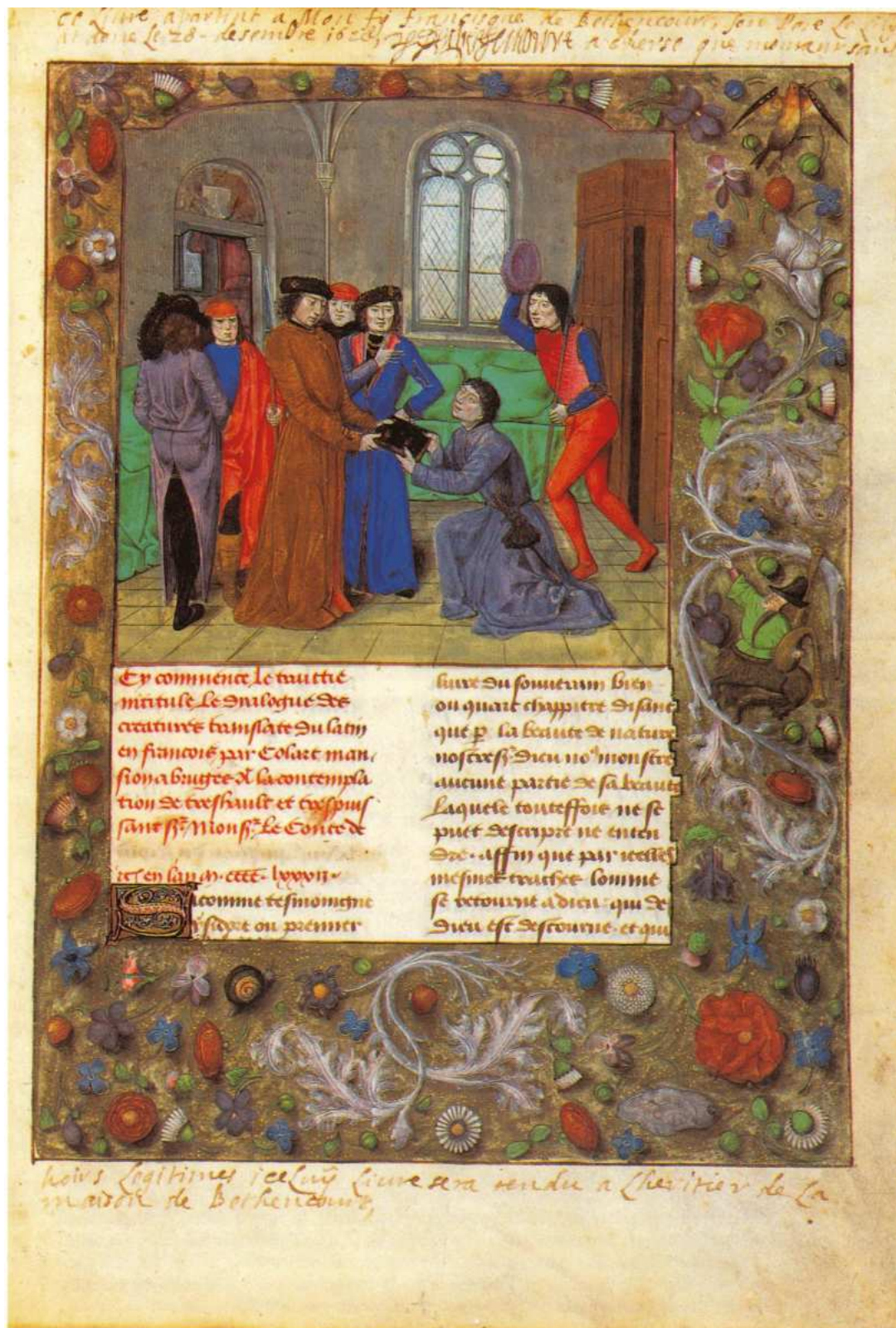


Fig. 6.1

(Ramsen, Antiquariat Bibermühle, *Dialogue des créatures*, fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 6.2

(Ramsen, Antiquariat Bibermühle, *Dialogue des créatures*, fol. 7<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 7.1 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1837, fol. 6<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 8.1 (Lyon, Bibliothèque municipale, BM, 1233 (1105), fol. 3<sup>v</sup>)





Fig.

9.1 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 23927, fol. 5<sup>v</sup>)





Fig. 10.1 (Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, fr. 169, fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 10.1a (Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, fr. 169, fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 11.1 (Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, fr. 170, fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 11.1a (Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, fr. 170, fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)



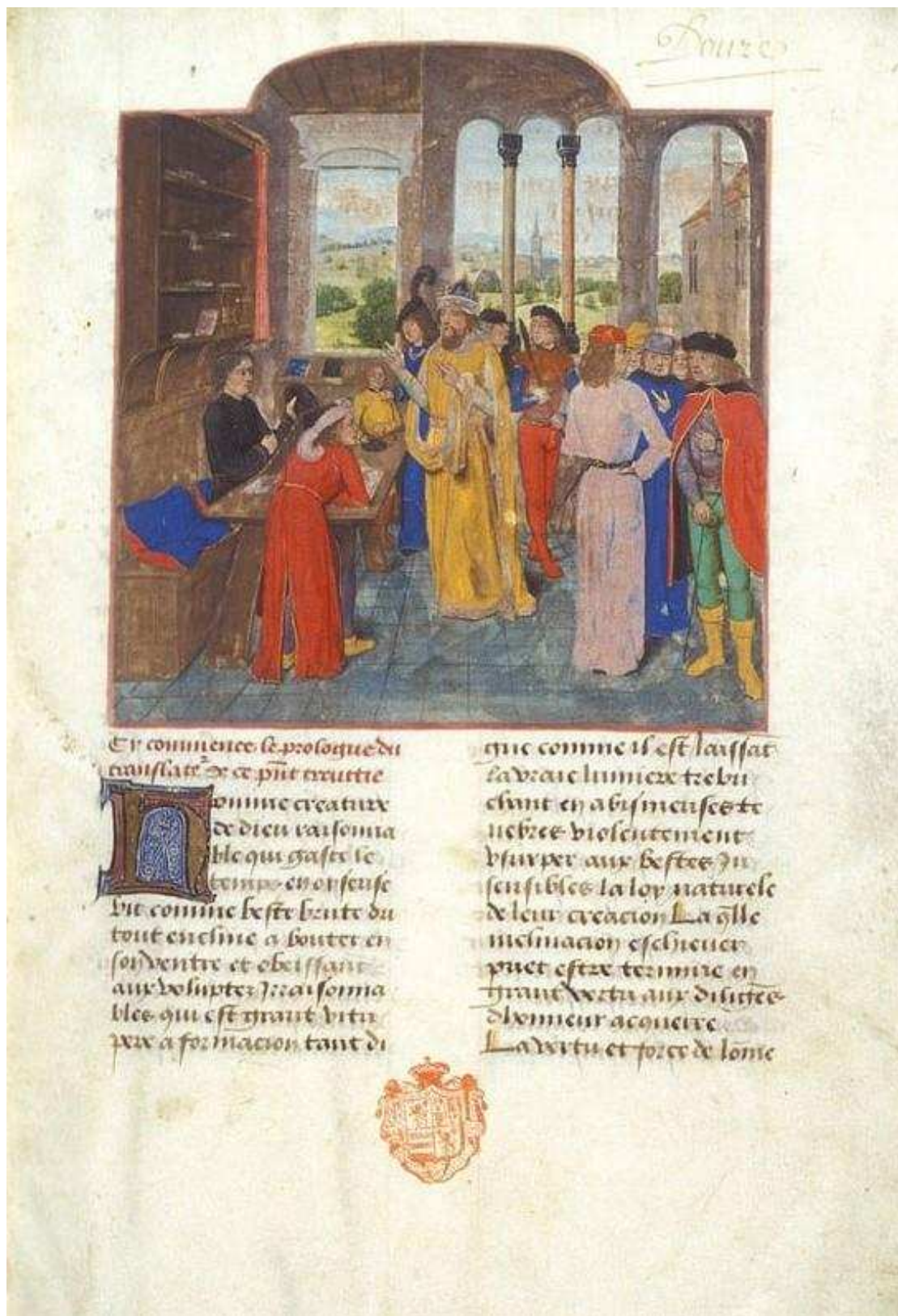


Fig. 12.1 (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1065, fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)



Fig. 12.2 (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1065, fol. 9<sup>v</sup>)



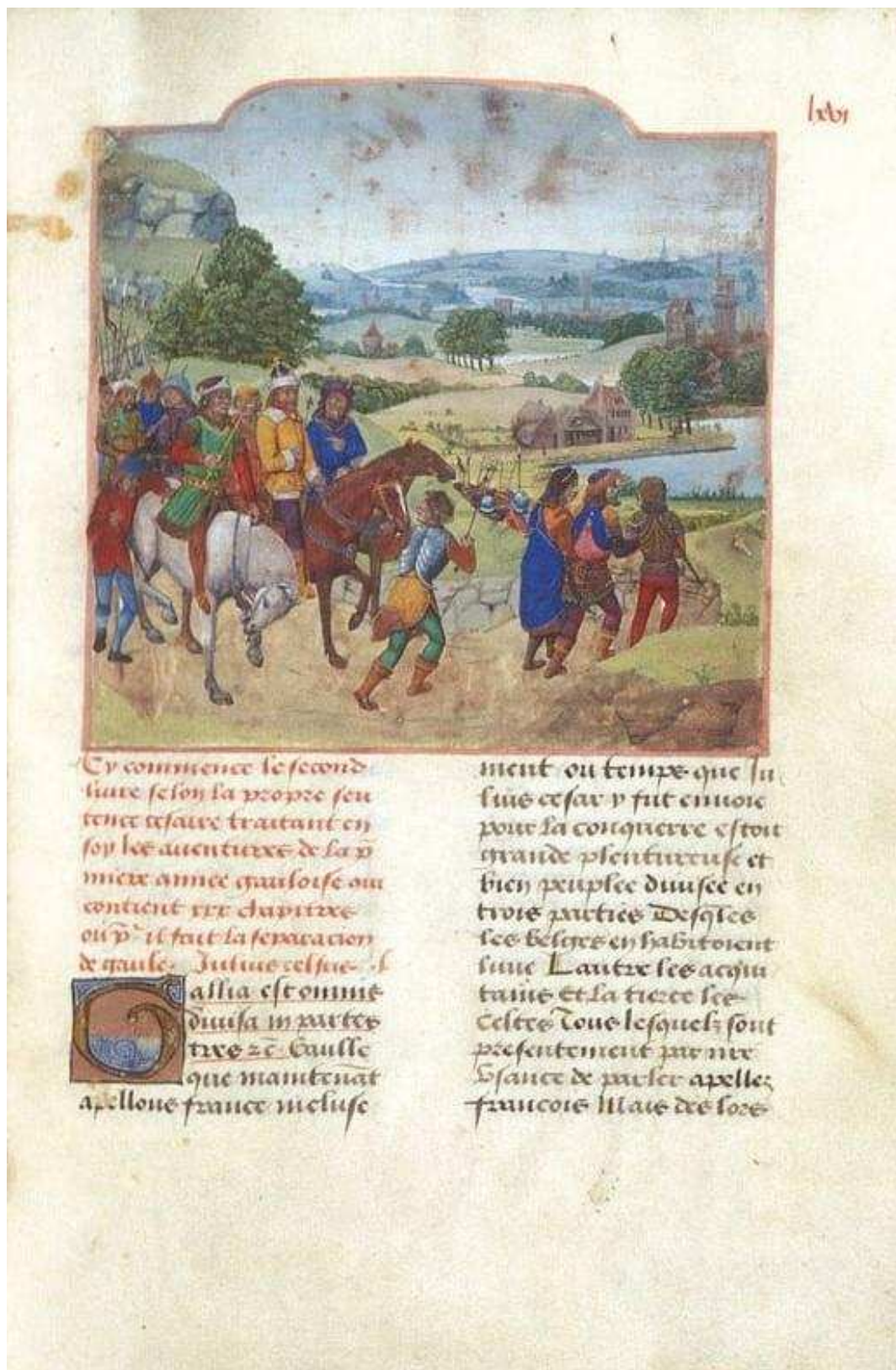


Fig. 12.3 (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1065, fol. 74<sup>ro</sup>)



Cy commence le m<sup>e</sup> liure  
 Le quel contient en for  
 vbn chapitres Du p<sup>m</sup>ier  
 desquelz il est traitte co  
 met les belges se rebelerent  
 contre les romains. **I**  
**Q**um cest cesar zc  
 ainsi comme ce  
 sar estoit en la  
 gaulle athenore  
 par dela les mours vsant  
 en la maniere de ssusdite

nouvelles lui vindrent  
 par lettres z messages  
 des rumeurs z mutaci  
 ons qui par toute frace  
 se commençoient a es  
 leuer especialement  
 les belges qui come jay  
 dit estoient lors l'une  
 des trois parties de gau  
 le vone encores la  
 principale car ilz cou  
 roient contre la seignou

Fig. 12.4 (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1065, fol. 100<sup>v</sup>)





Fig. 13.1 (Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, fr. 15.6, fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)



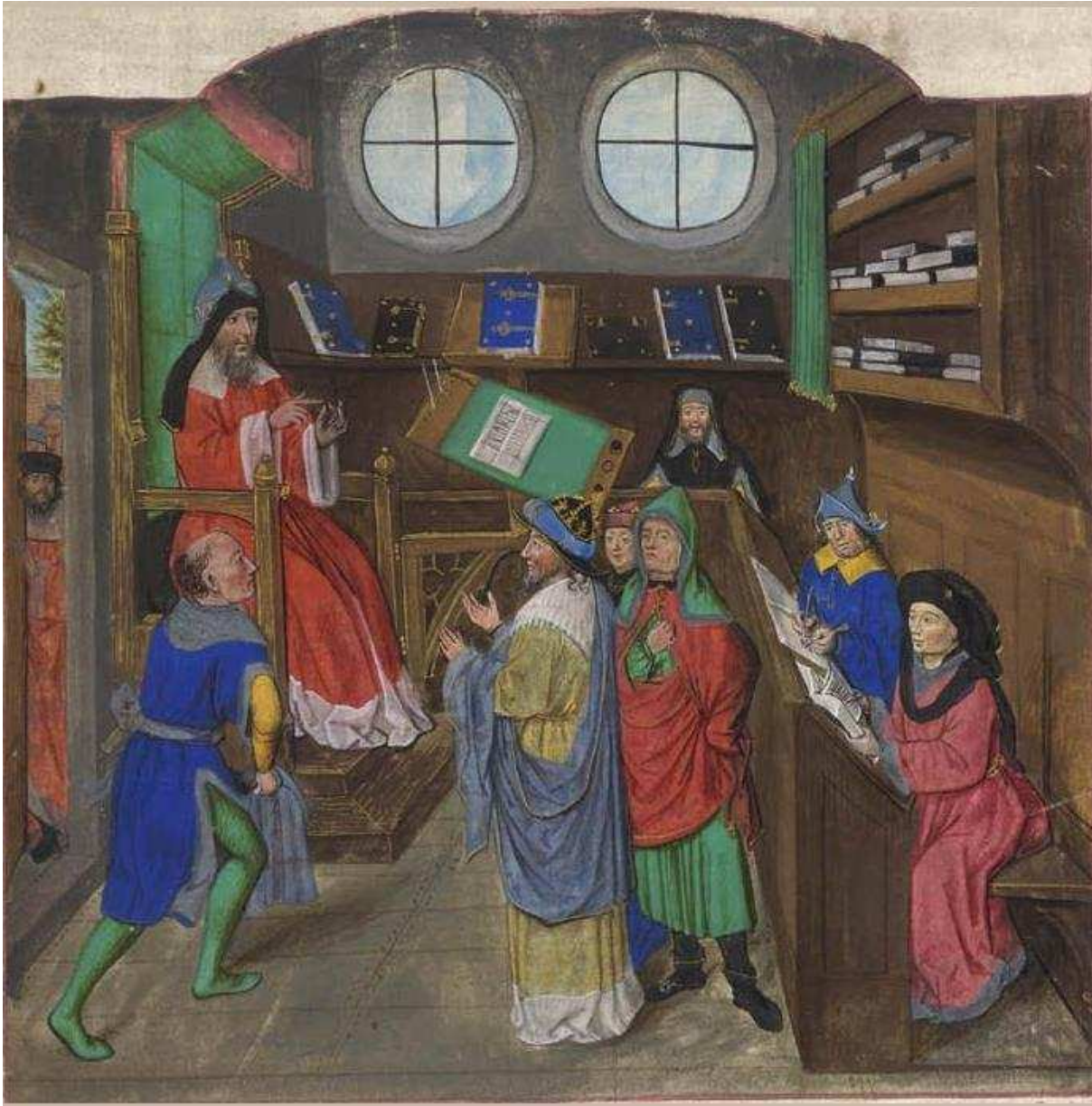


Fig. 14.1 (London, British Library, MS Egerton 737, fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)



Fig. 15.1 (New Haven CT, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 230, fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 15.1.1 (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2616, fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig.15.1.2 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1280, fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 15.1.3 (Turin, Biblioteca Reale, MS varia 73, fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)



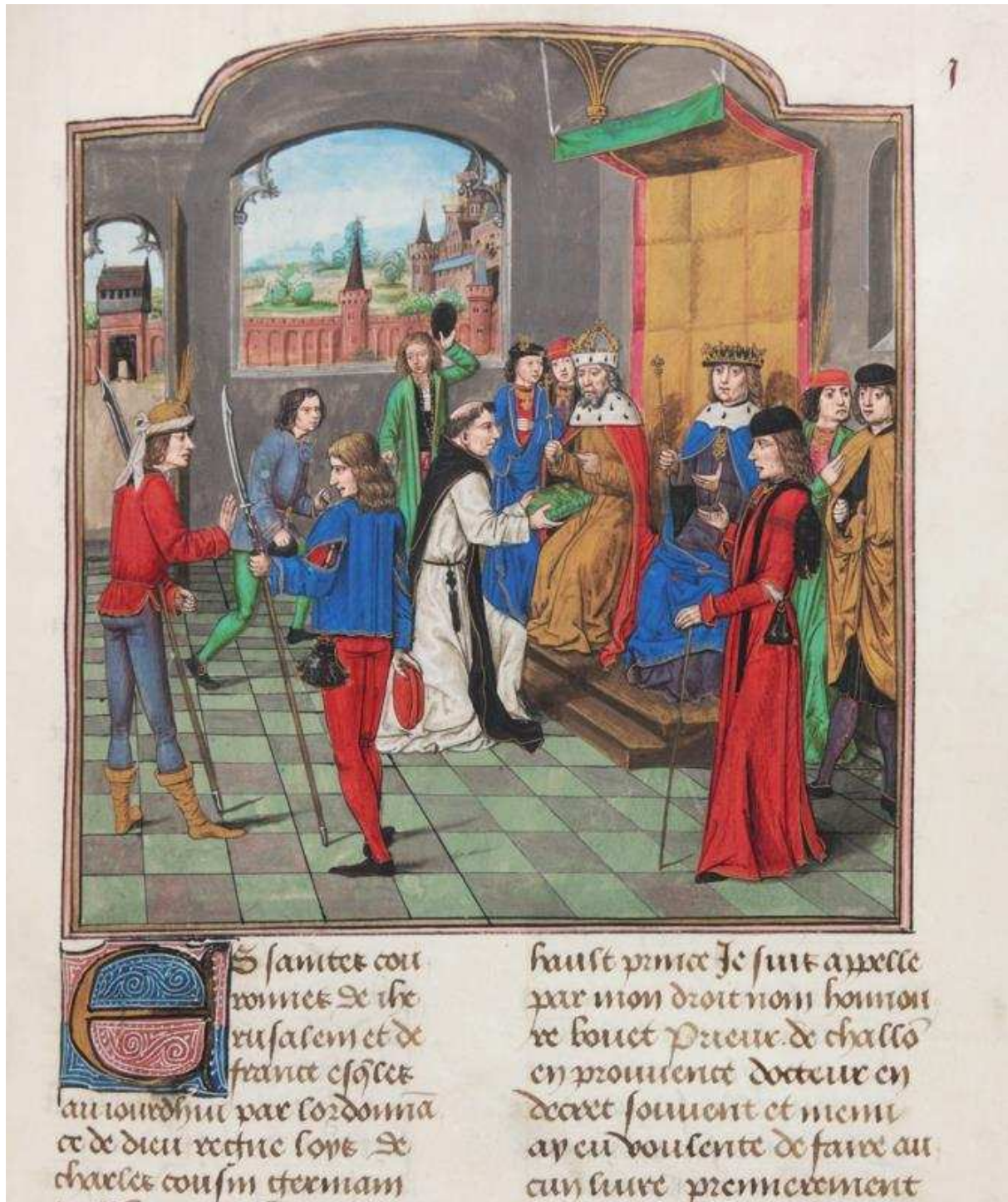


Fig. 15.2 (New Haven CT, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 230, fol. 10<sup>ro</sup>)



Fig. 15.2.1 Dieric Bouts's *Ordeal of the Countess*, right panel of the *Judgment of Emperor Otto*, ca. 1473-1475 (Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 1447-1448)





Fig. 15.2.2 (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1907, fol. 61<sup>v</sup>)



Fig. 15.2.3 Election and coronation of Maximilian I as Roman King. Magdeburg, Simon Koch, 1486 (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Inc. 1496/6 X 4°, fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 15.2.4 Emperor Fredrick III among the seven electors. *Schwabenspiegel*, Strasbourg, Martin Schott, ca. 1483 (Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, 2.59.2, fol. 9<sup>vo</sup>).





Fig. 15.3 (New Haven CT, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 230, fol. 11<sup>v</sup>)





Fig. 15.3.1 Master WK, Genealogy of the Virgin, Woodcut, ca. 1480 (Paris, Cabinet des estampes)



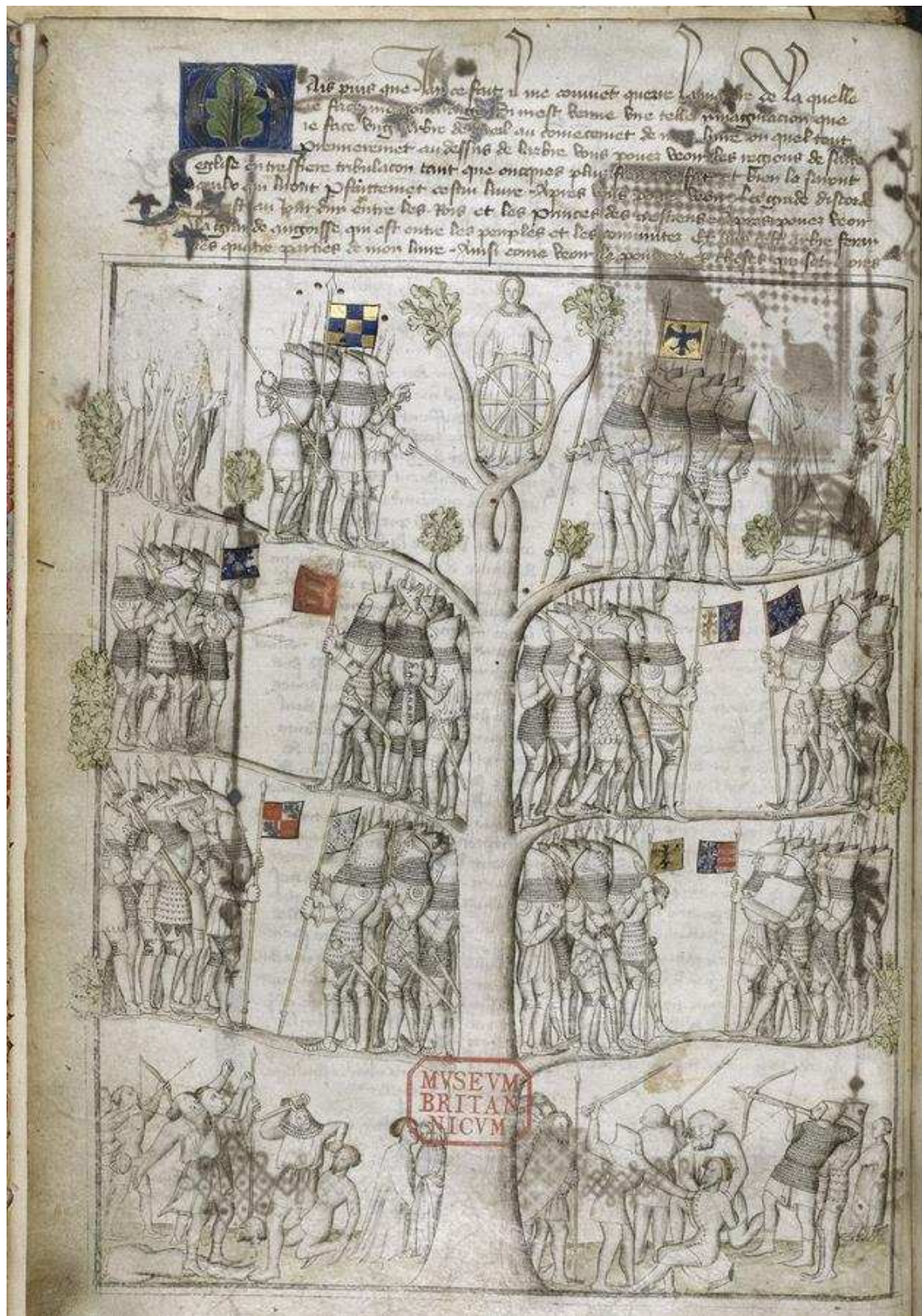


Fig.

15.3.2 (London, British Library, MS Royal 20 C VIII, fol. 2<sup>vo</sup>)





Fig. 15.3.3 (Washington DC, Law Library of Congress, MS B61, fol. 2<sup>v</sup>)





Fig. 15.3.4 (Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 346 (1561), fol. 10<sup>v</sup>)



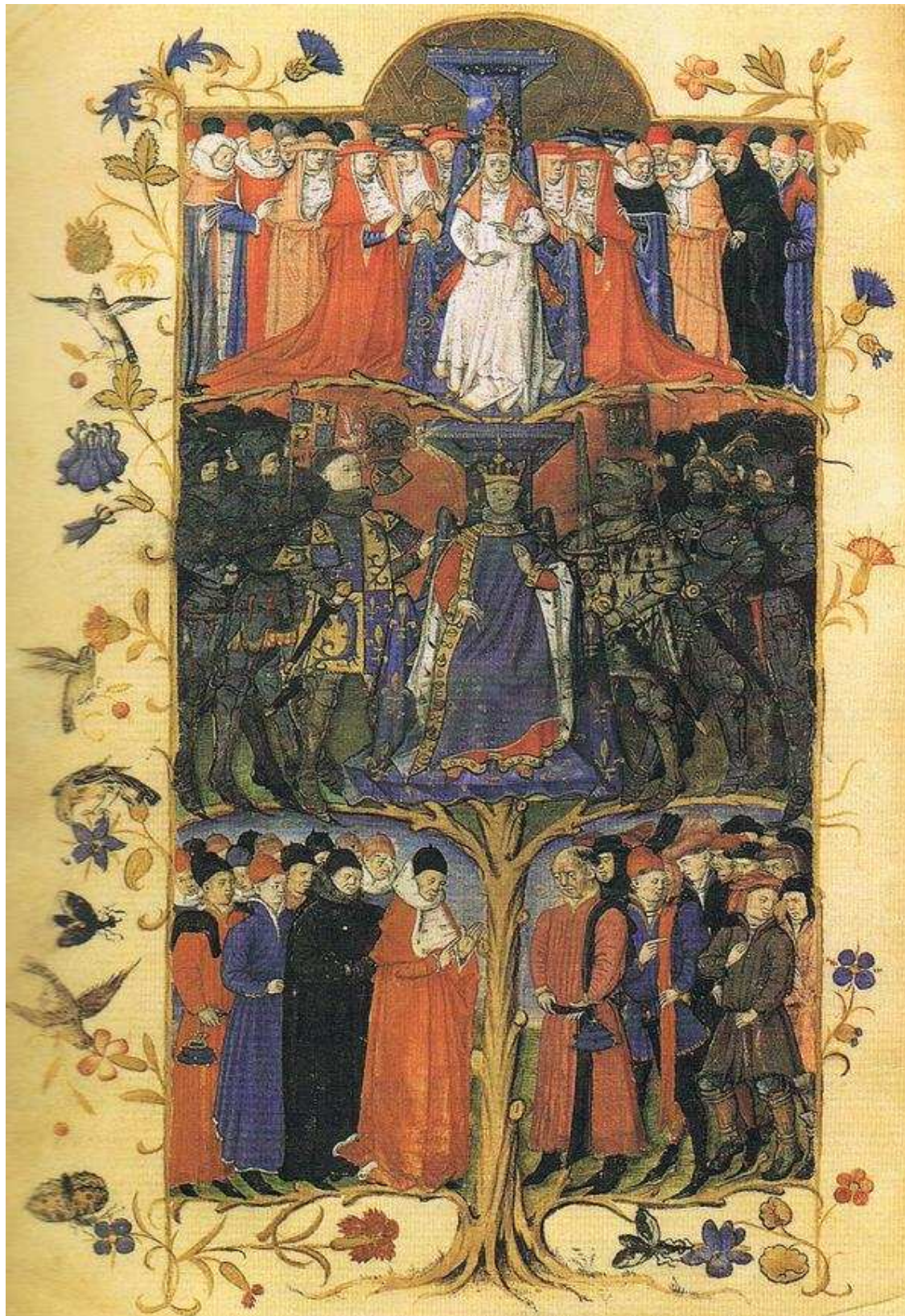


Fig. 15.3.5 (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 2695 fol. 6<sup>v</sup>)



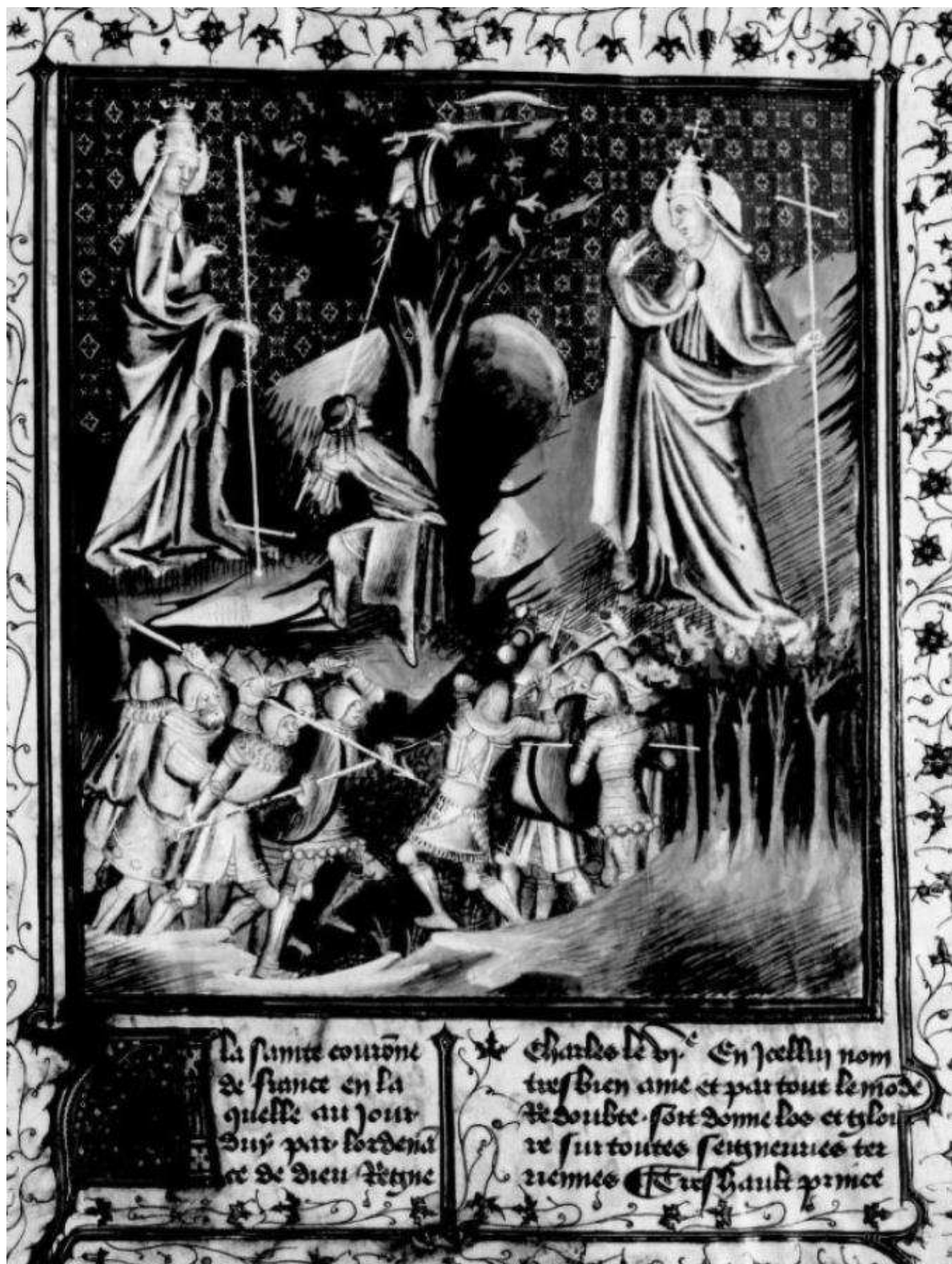


Fig. 15.3.6 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 17183, fol. 5<sup>r</sup>)

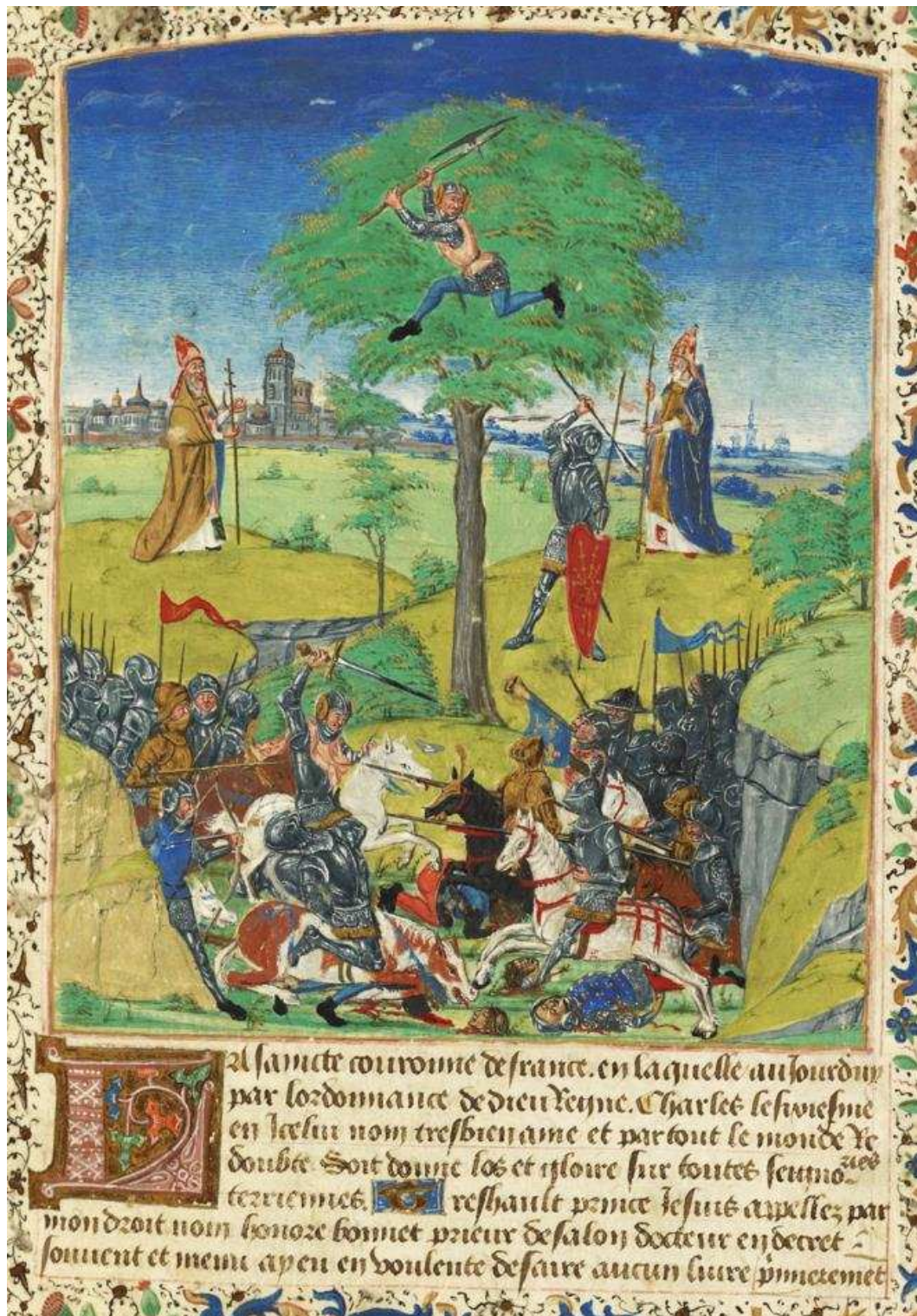


Fig. 15.3.7 (Washington, Law Library of Congress, MS B 6, f. 7<sup>ro</sup>)



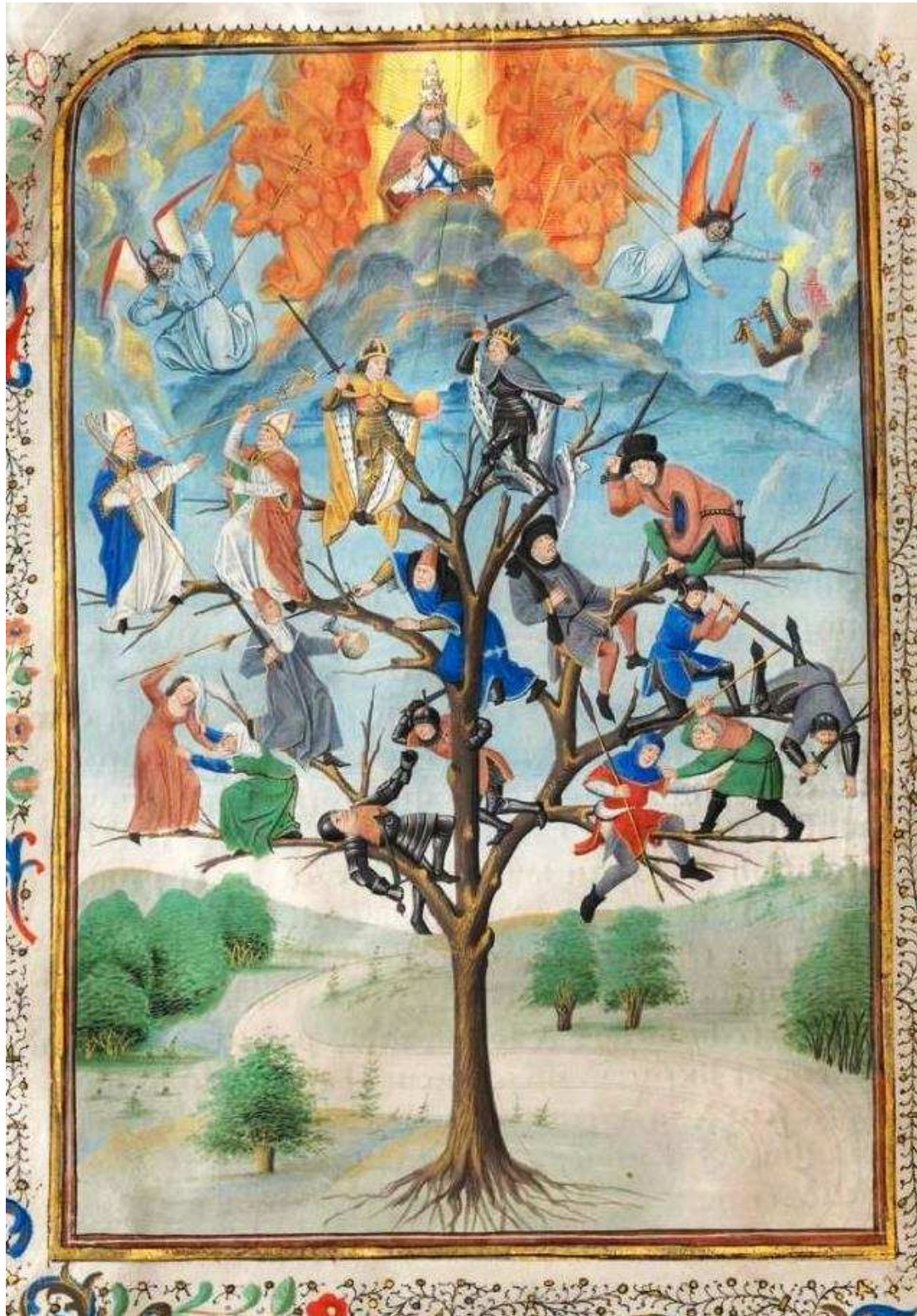


Fig. 15.3.8 (Brussels, KBR, MS 9079, fol. 10v)



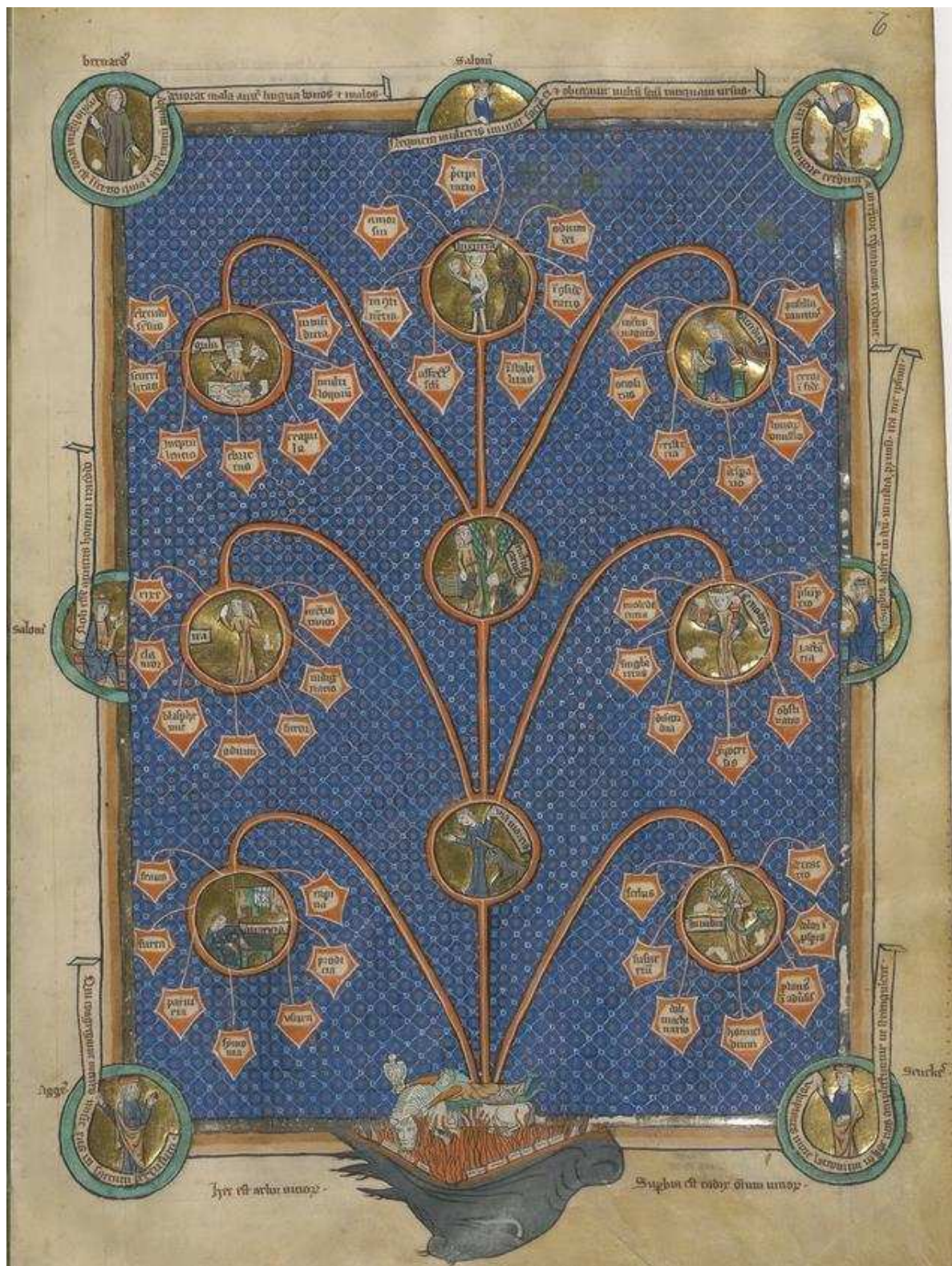
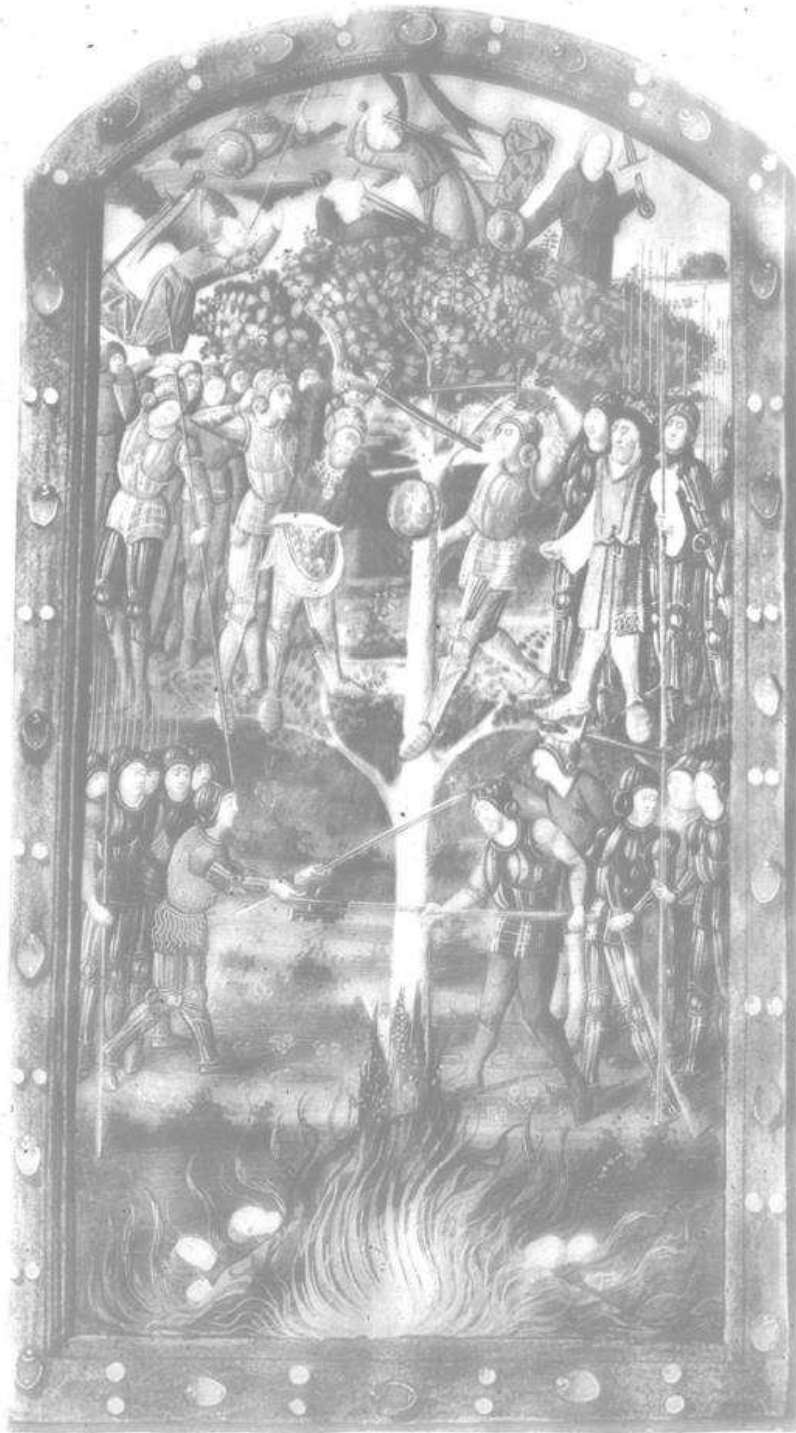


Fig. 15.3.9 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 9220, fol. 6<sup>ro</sup>)



Fig. 15.3.10 *Avaritia*, illustrating a manuscript of Gottfried von Vorau (Gaufridus Voraviensis), *Tractatus de septem vitiis et virtutibus*, dating from 1332 (Vorau, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 130, fol. 107).





Lot 936 (page 58 and 59)

Fig. 15.3.11 (Sotheby's London, 6 December 1937, lot. 936, pl. 58)



Fig. 15.4 (New Haven CT, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 230, fol. 118<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 15.4.1 (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2616, fol. 14<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig.

15.4.2 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1280, fol. 13<sup>r</sup>)



Fig. 15.4.3 Jena, Thüringer Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, El. fol. 80, f013<sup>vo</sup>)



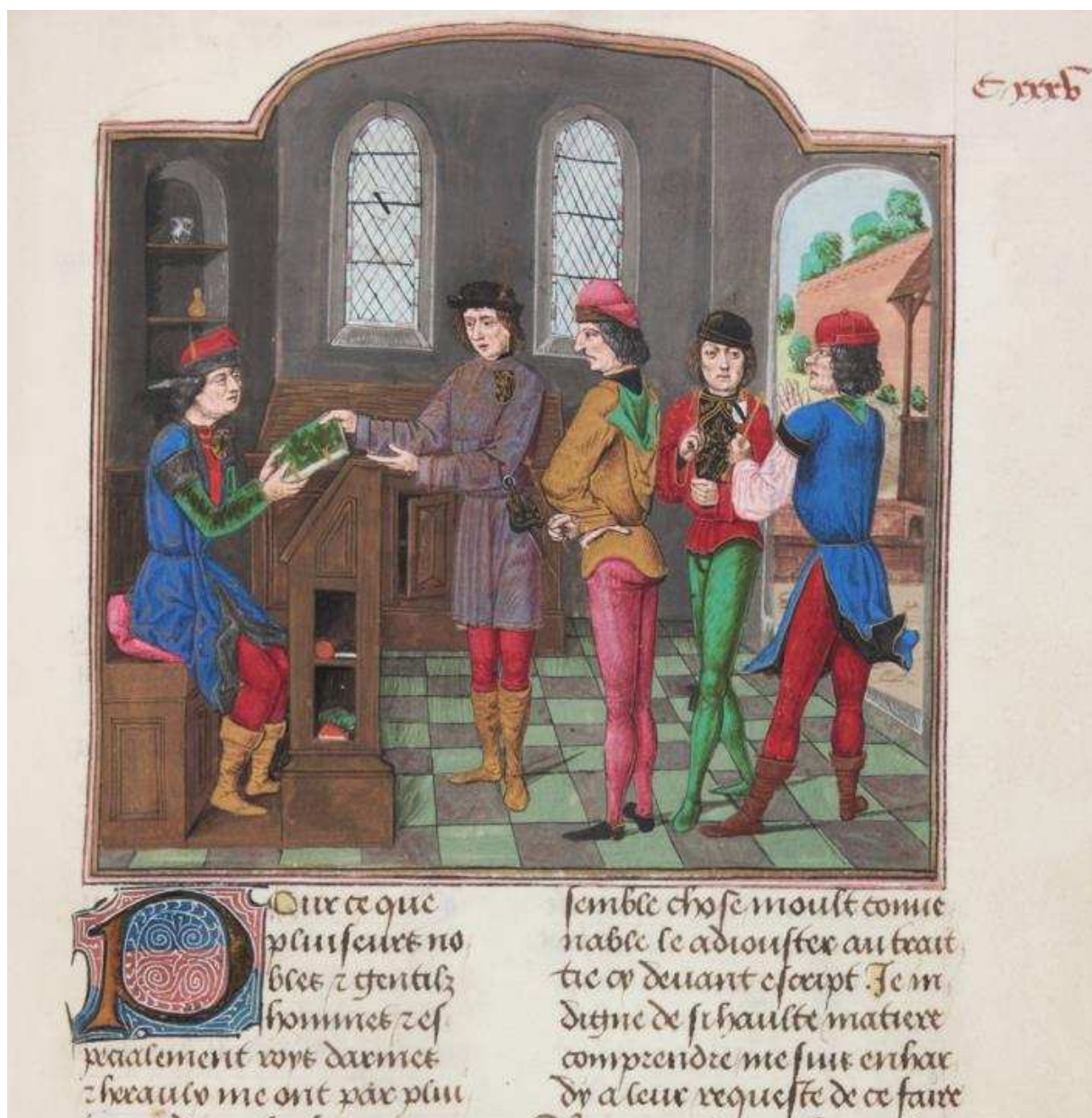


Fig. 15.5 (New Haven CT, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 230, fol. 145<sup>ro</sup>)



Fig. 15.5.1 (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2616, fol. 60<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 15.5.2 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1280, fol. 59<sup>ro</sup>)



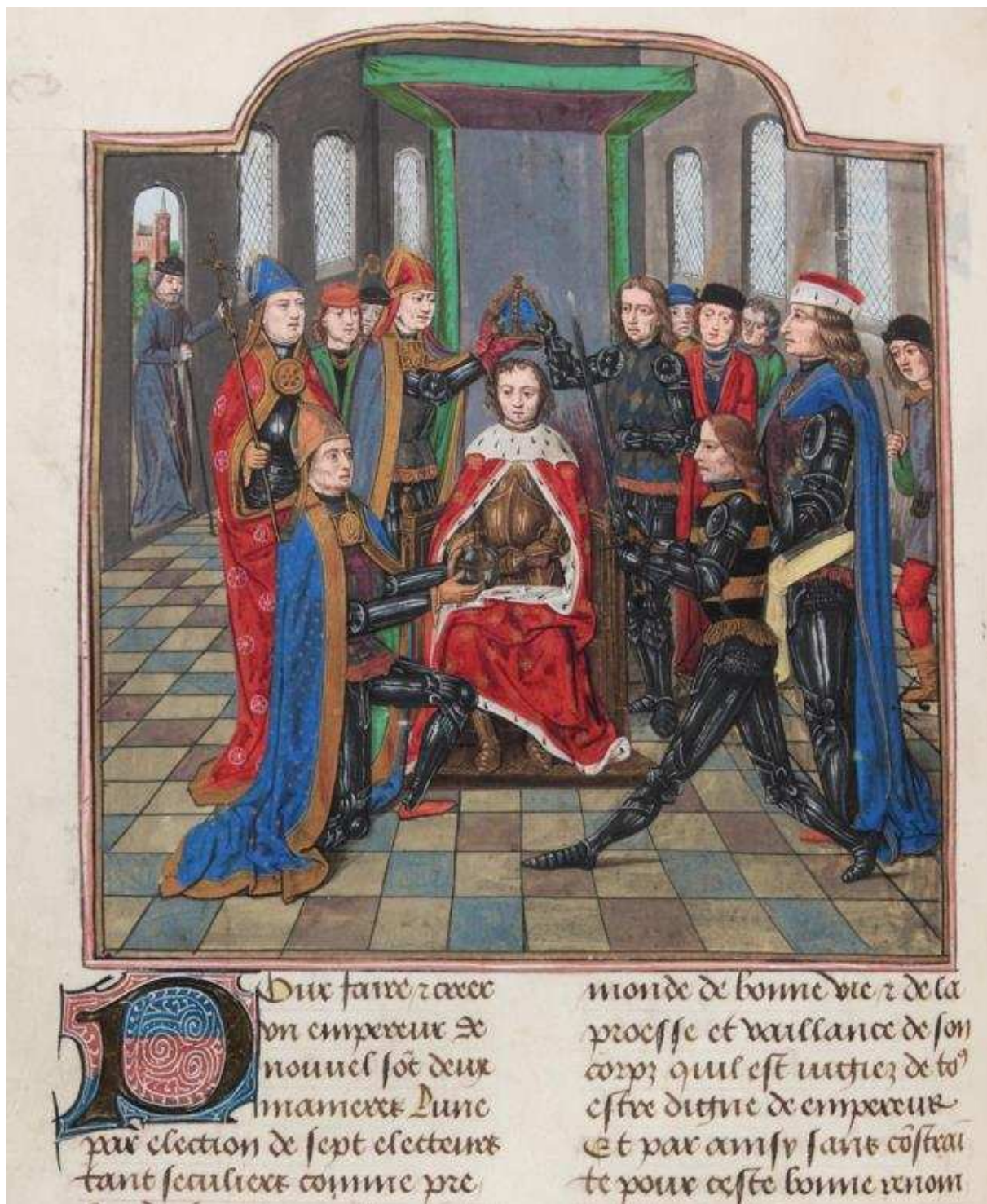


Fig. 15.6 (New Haven CT, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 230, fol. 153<sup>v</sup>)





Fig. 15.6.1 (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2616, fol. 73<sup>v</sup>)



Fig. 15.6.2 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1280, fol. 72<sup>v</sup>)





Fig. 15.6.3 Emperor Frederick III and the seven electors in the *Schwabenspiegel*, Augsburg, Günther Zainer, ca. 1473 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 2 Inc. s.a. 769, fol. 6<sup>vo</sup>)





Fig. 15.7 (New Haven CT, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 230, fol. 164<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 15.7.1 (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2616, fol. 90<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 15.7.2 Judicial Duel Between Gillion's Son Gerard and the Emir Lucion. Lieven van Lathem, 1464 (Los Angeles, J.P. Getty Museum, MS 111, fol. 134<sup>vo</sup>)



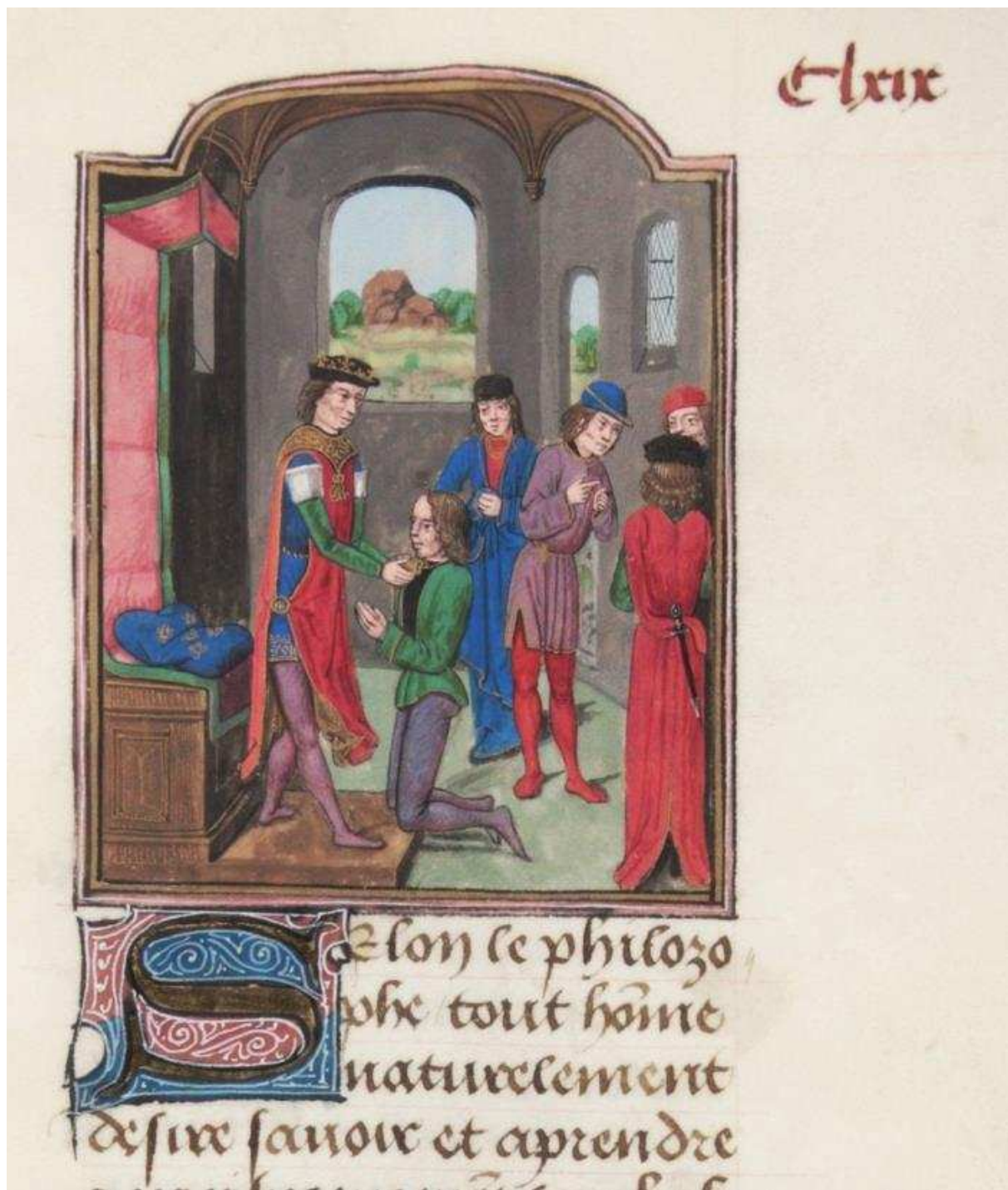


Fig. 15.8 (New Haven CT, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 230, fol. 187<sup>ro</sup>)



Fig. 15.8.1 (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2616, fol. 113<sup>v</sup>)



Fig. 15.8.2 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1280, fol. 112<sup>v</sup>)





Fig. 15.9 (New Haven CT, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 230, fol. 192<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 15.9.1 (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2616, fol. 125<sup>ro</sup>)



Fig. 15.9.2 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1280, fol. 124<sup>v</sup>)





Fig. 15.9.3 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1280, fol. 89<sup>ro</sup>)



Fig. 15.10 (New Haven CT, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 230, fol. 198<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 15.10.1 (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2616, fol. 132<sup>ro</sup>)



Fig. 15.10.2 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 1280, fol. 131<sup>ro</sup>)



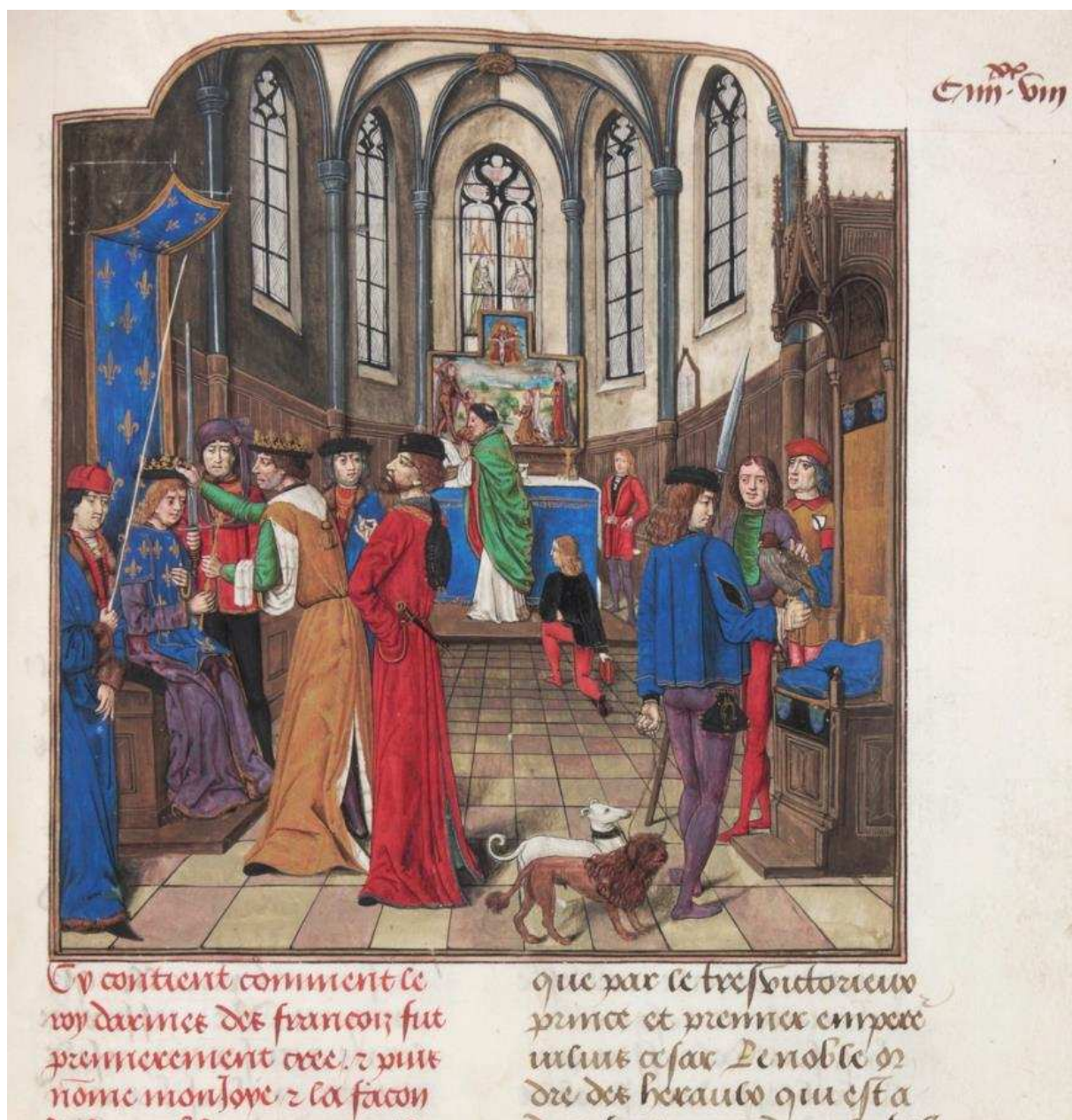


Fig. 15.11 (New Haven CT, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 230, fol. 207<sup>ro</sup>)

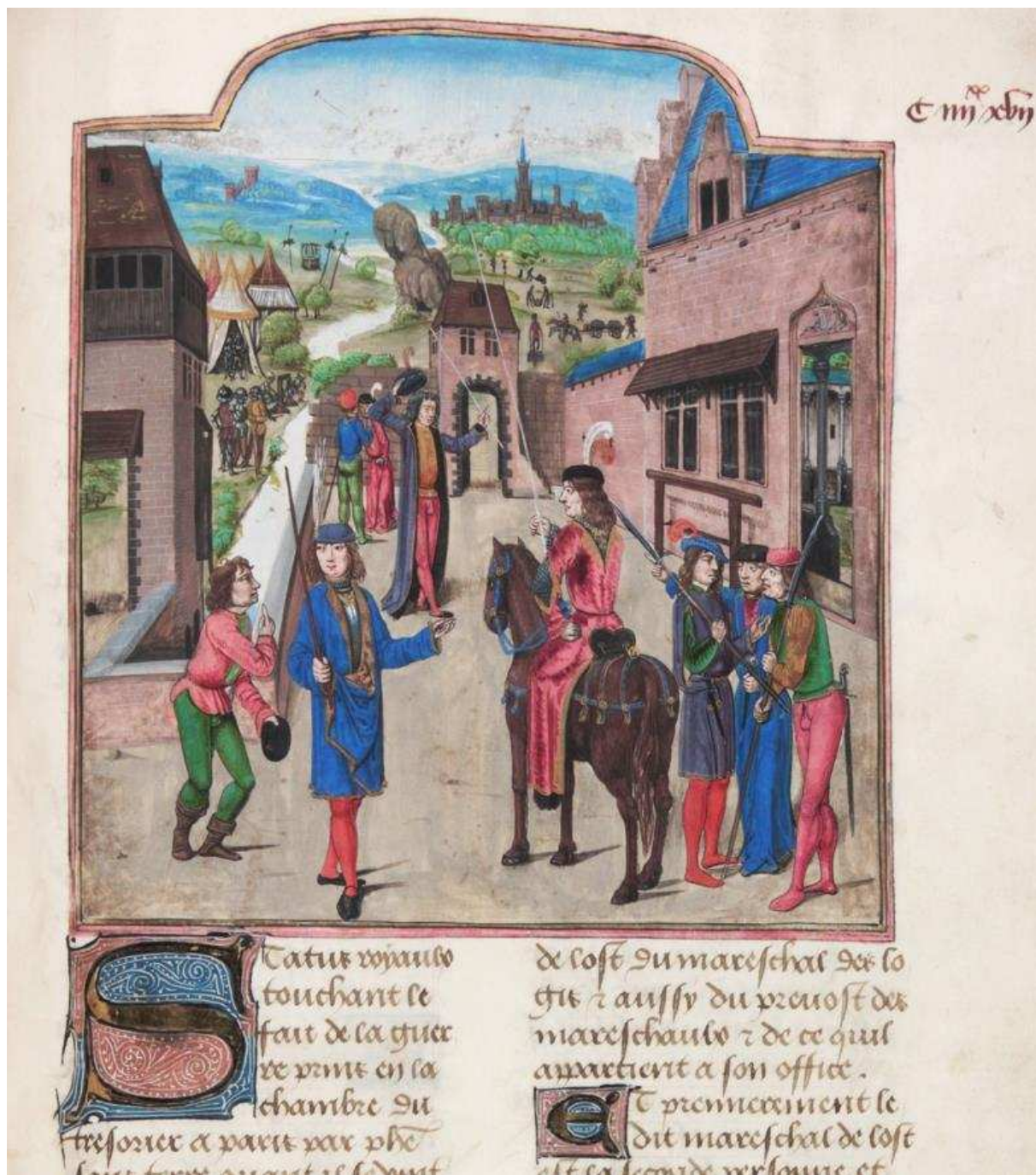


Fig. 15.12 (New Haven CT, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 230, fol. 207<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 16.1 (Oxford, The Bodleian Library, Douce 208 (21782), fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)





**T**oute crea-  
ture de dieu  
raisonnable  
qui est gaste  
par temps en orfèvre vit  
comme beste brute du  
tout encline a bouger en  
son ventre et obeissant  
aux voluptez metamorpha-  
bles qui est grant vitieux  
a formation tant dupie  
comme il est laissant la  
vraie lumiere et trebuchant  
en abismes tenebres  
violamment usurper aux  
bestes insensibles la loy  
naturelle de leur creation  
laquelle inclination esche-  
ue puet estre termine  
en grant vertu aux dissi-



*Ce Livre a esté donné a monsieur Antoine Payle Roy Louis quatorze En l'ann.  
Les commentaires de ceste ont estéz translattez a la ville de Paris l'ann.  
ainsy quil est dit a la fin de ce Livre.*

Fig. 16.2 (Oxford, The Bodleian Library, Douce 208 (21782), fol. 4<sup>ro</sup>)

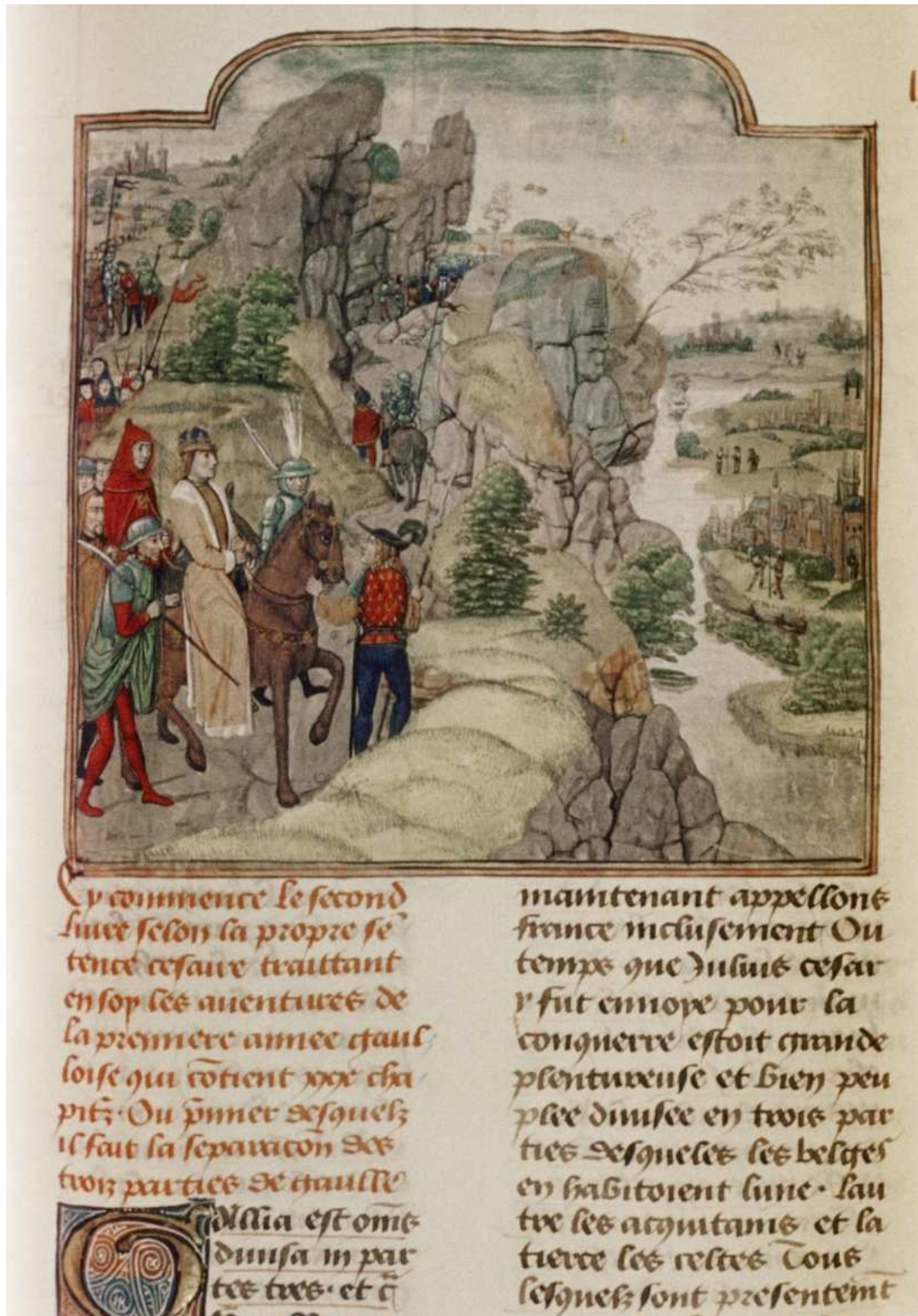


Fig. 16.3 (Oxford, The Bodleian Library, Douce 208 (21782), fol. 73<sup>ro</sup>)



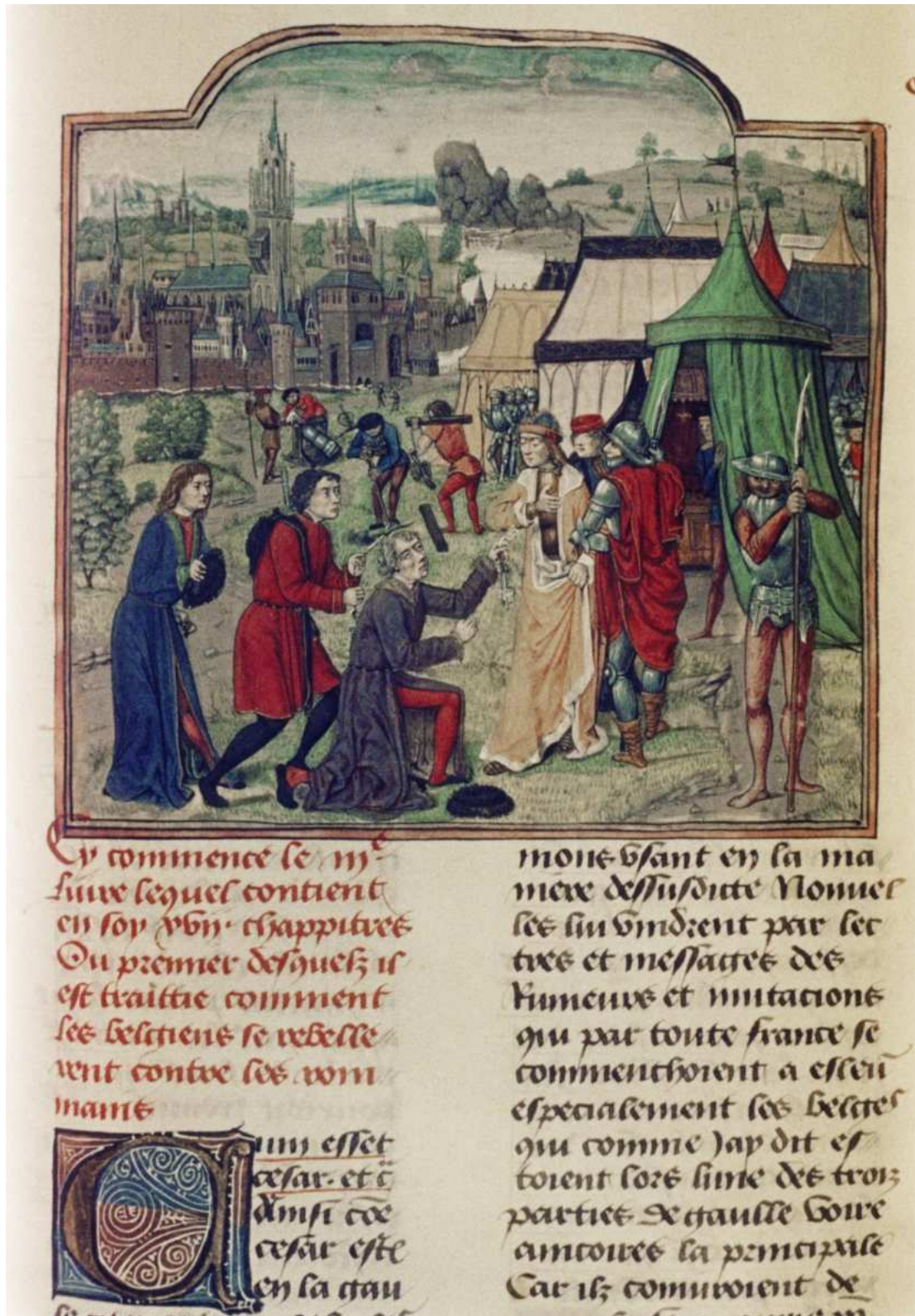


Fig. 16.4 (Oxford, The Bodleian Library, Douce 208 (21782), fol. 103<sup>r</sup>)



Fig. 16.5 (Oxford, The Bodleian Library, Douce 208 (21782), fol. 120<sup>v</sup>)



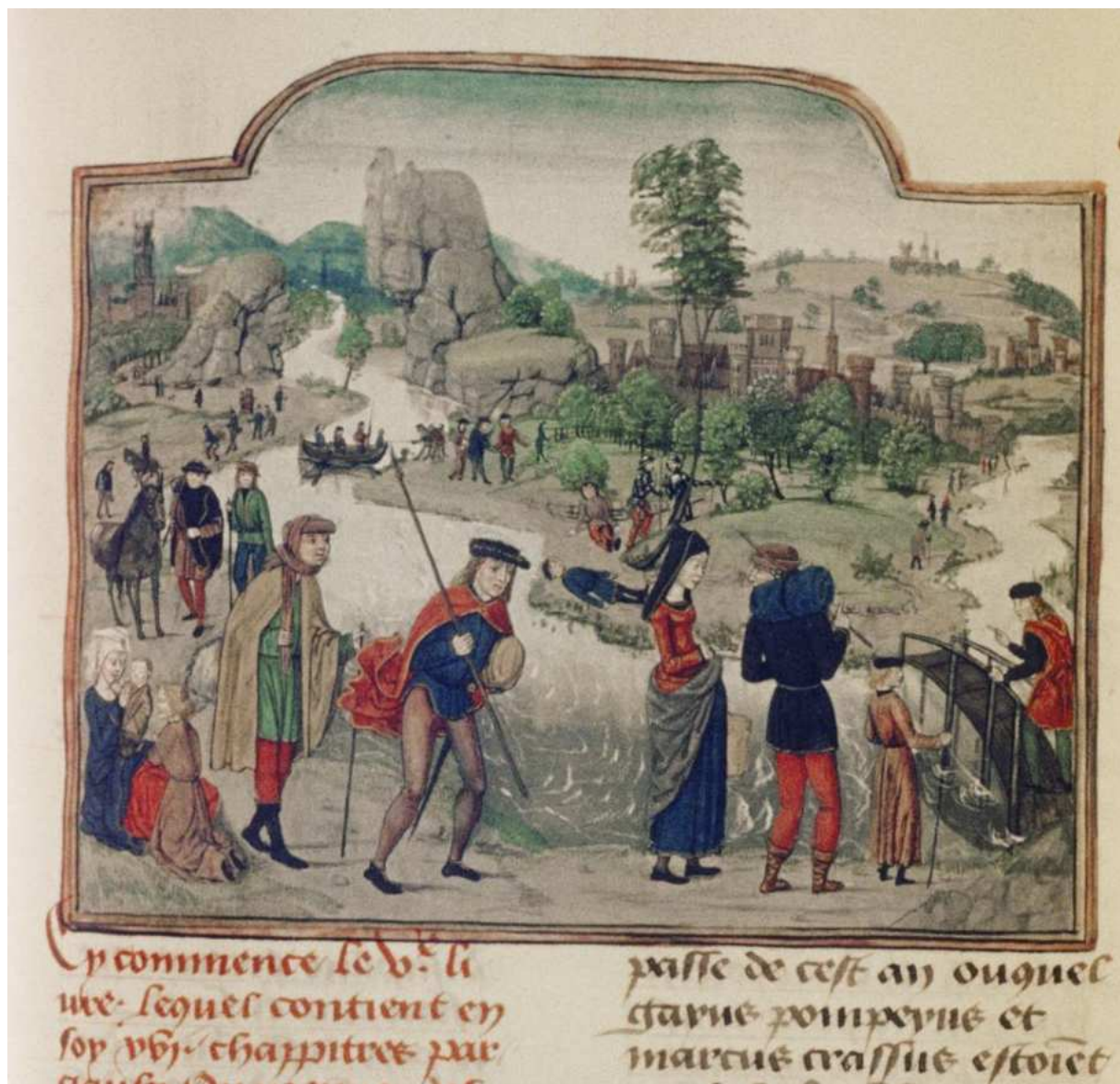


Fig. 16.6 (Oxford, The Bodleian Library, Douce 208 (21782), fol. 136<sup>v</sup>)





Fig. 16.7 (Oxford, The Bodleian Library, Douce 208 (21782), fol. 154<sup>r</sup>)



Fig. 16.8 (Oxford, The Bodleian Library, Douce 208 (21782), fol. 184<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 16.9 (Oxford, The Bodleian Library, Douce 208 (21782), fol. 205<sup>r</sup>)





Fig. 16.10 (Oxford, The Bodleian Library, Douce 208 (21782), fol. 248<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 16.11 (Oxford, The Bodleian Library, Douce 208 (21782), fol. 271<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 17.1 (Dresden, Die Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats und Universitätsbibliothek, Oc. 81, fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>: heavily damaged in 1945)

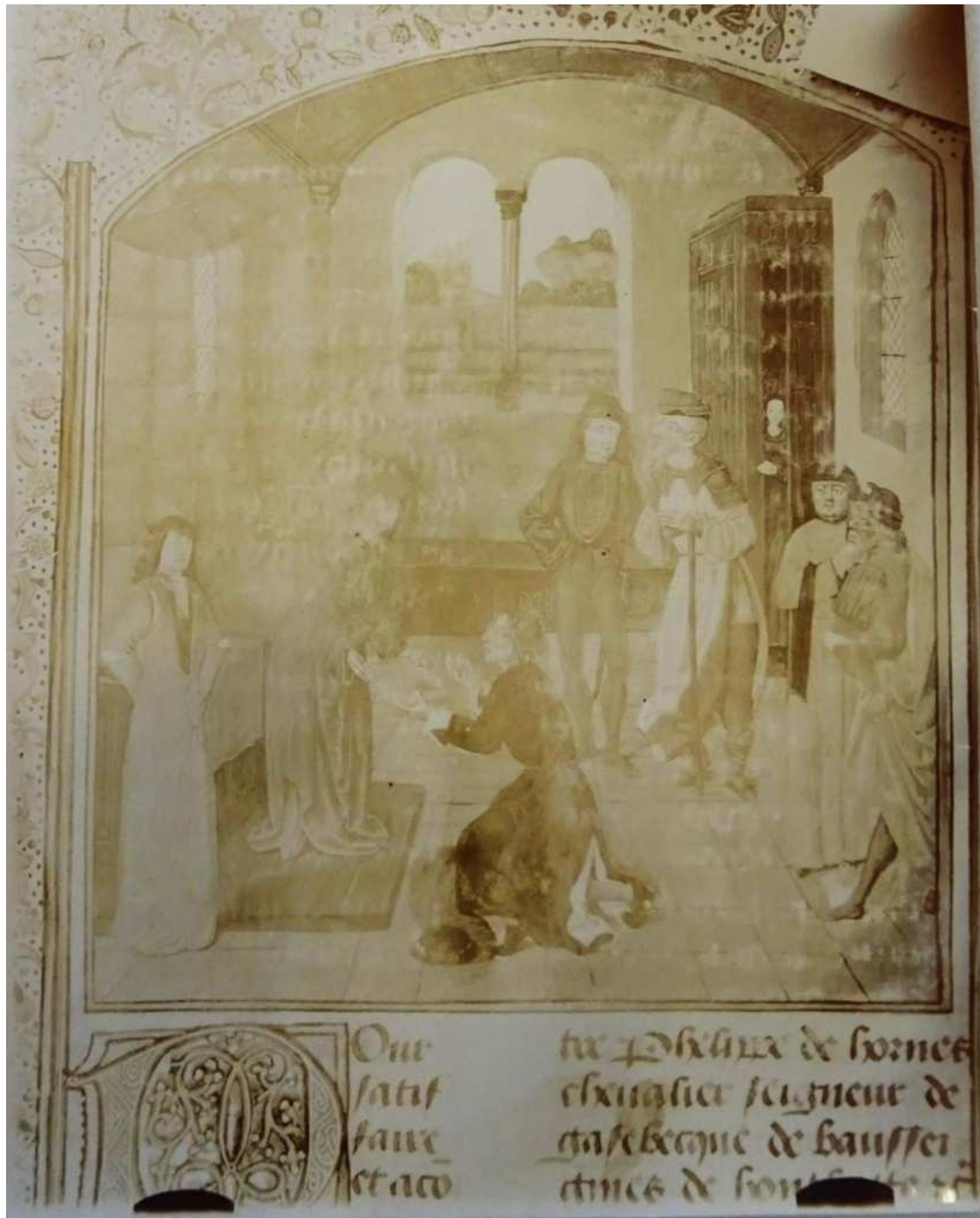


Fig.

17.2 (Dresden, Die Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats und  
Universitätsbibliothek, Oc. 81, fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>: Photograph taken in the 1920s)





Cy commence le prologue  
de ce present traittie inti-  
tule des droitz d'armes.

**A** la loenge de  
dieu nostre be-  
noit createur  
a l'onneur des  
princes & a l'exaucement  
de vertus & de noblesse. Je  
qui pour ma petitesse no-  
mee ne me doy ay en ce pe-

tut volume rassemble et  
mis ensemble aucuns pe-  
tit traittiez ausquelz ray  
adiouste plusieurs choses  
seruans a tous desirant  
sauoir quelle chose est no-  
blesse dont elle print sa  
naissance & commencement.  
qui fut le premier noble  
homme & quelle chose il co-  
ient faire a l'homme pour



Fig. 18.1 (Basel, Jörn Günther Antiquariat, *Traité de noblesse*, preliminary fol.)



**E**st. saintes conuo  
 nées de iherusalem  
 et de france es  
 queles au iour  
 d'hy par lordonnance de  
 dieu regne loys de charles  
 cousin d'hermann t'sbien ame  
 et par tout le monde redoub  
 te soit donne gloire et soit  
 sur toutes seignouries ter  
 riermes. Treshaute prince

Je suis appelle par mon droit  
 nom honnourer fouet prie  
 de chailon en prouence  
 docteur en decret souuent  
 menu ay eu volente de  
 faire aucun liure prenie  
 rement en sonneur de dieu  
 de sa douce mere et de vostre  
 haute seignourie Mais  
 les raisons pourquoy iay  
 entrepris de ceo faire sont

Fig. 18.2 (Basel, Jörn Günther Antiquariat, *Traité de noblesse*, fol. 1<sup>ro</sup>)





Fig. 18.3 (Basel, Jörn Günther Antiquariat, *Traité de noblesse*, fol. 2<sup>vo</sup>)





Fig. 18.4 (Basel, Jörn Günther Antiquariat, *Traité de noblesse*, fol. 109<sup>ro</sup>)



Exm

**D**onc faire et  
creer un empe  
reur de nouuel  
sont deux ma  
nieres. L'une par election &  
sept electeurs tant seculiers  
comme prelatz de sainte e  
glise. Et l'autre se fait par  
force & puissance de gent  
d'armes et d'armez. Ou aussi  
puet il auoir si grant reno  
mee par le monde de bonne

vie & de la proesse d'auiliace  
de son corps quil est uigiez  
de tout ostee dignes de em  
pereur. Et par ainsi sans  
constrainte pour ceste bonne  
renommee les citez du pays  
& de l'empire se mettent en  
son obeissance. La premiere  
maniere doncques de faire  
nouuel empereur est qui  
se fait par election & les e  
lecteurs sont sept quatre

Fig. 18.5 (Basel, Jörn Günther Antiquariat, *Traité de noblesse*, fol. 143<sup>ro</sup>)





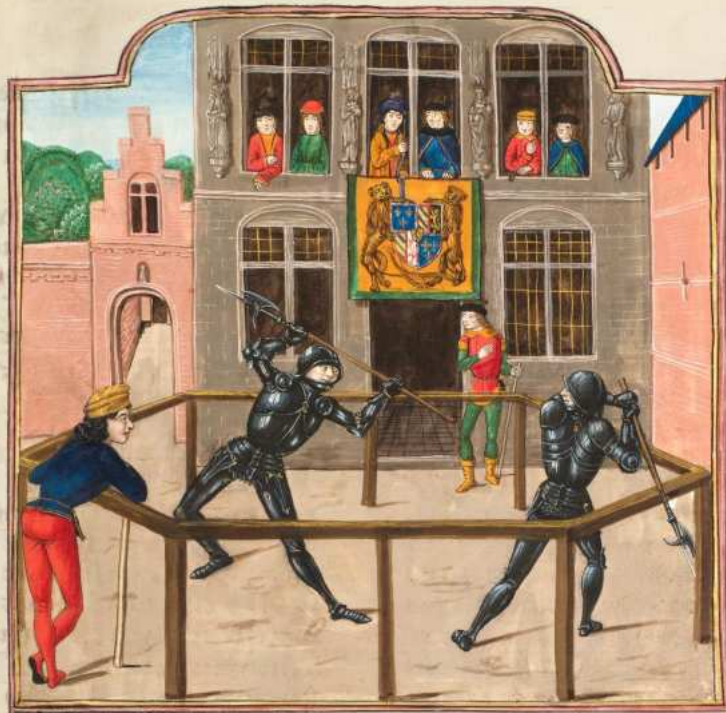
Elm

La maniere de faire chape  
à oultrance seroit l'ordonance  
faite par les roys d'angle  
terre. Et le fist et composa mo  
nseigneur thomas duc de clocestre  
connestable d'angleterre.

**Q**ueshault tres  
excellent et es  
illustre seigneur  
richard par la  
grace de dieu roy d'angleterre  
et seigneur d'irlande cho

mar duc de clocestre d'ore  
connestable d'angleterre  
honneur et toute obeissance  
Comme plusieurs batailles  
dedens liex armes ont  
este faictes en vire royaume  
ou temps de monseigneur et pere  
d'ore ayeul comme en vire  
temps et de present plus q  
ne furent long temps deuant  
et que bon est apparant de pres  
en auoir Et pour ce que a

Fig. 18.6 (Basel, Jörn Günther Antiquariat, *Traité de noblesse*, fol. 153<sup>ro</sup>)



Chap

**D**ar deuant tshault  
excellent z puiffat  
prince montres  
redoubte seigne  
monfr<sup>e</sup> duc de bourgoin  
guc conte de flandres duc  
tois de bourgoingne pala  
tin fr<sup>e</sup> de salme z de mali  
nes z par deuant monfr<sup>e</sup>  
le mareschal de bourgoin  
guc comme representant  
en ce cas la personne de

monfr<sup>e</sup> sambonne deffedat  
que deez cy se presente avec  
son cheual ou ses cheuaux  
en estat z habit de gentil  
homme z de homme qui  
doit entrer en champ pour  
combatee contre raoul de  
gremes apellant en nom  
de dieu z de medame saite  
marie z de saint george le  
bon cheualier z cest mardo  
vo. iours du mois de septebre

Fig. 18.7 (Basel, Jörn Günther Antiquariat, *Traité de noblesse*, fol. 169<sup>r</sup>)





Elxj

**S**tatut royaux  
touchant le  
fait de la guerre  
re print en la  
chambre du tresor a Paris  
par philippe saint terre  
quant il sen vint marier  
a madame margueritte  
de frandres assavoir ce  
qui touche et appartient  
a l'office du mareschal de  
loft. du mareschal des logis

et aussi du preuost des ma-  
reschaux. et de ce qui lui appar-  
tient a son office.

**E**t premierement ledit  
mareschal de loft est la se-  
conde personne apz le prince  
et duc de loft. et doit estre  
au deslogier accompagne  
du tiers de l'armee du prince  
et doit tenir deuant tous  
mareschaux l'auantgarde  
comme chief. Aussi puet

Fig. 18.8 (Basel, Jörn Günther Antiquariat, *Traité de noblesse*, fol. 171<sup>ro</sup>)







Fig. 18.10 (Basel, Jörn Günther Antiquariat, *Traité de noblesse*, fol. 182<sup>ro</sup>)



xx  
Cm. x

**A**pres ce q nous  
auont descript  
les preuileges  
et serement des  
royz darmes et heraulx. Il  
reste maintenant sauoir  
quelz droitz et prouffiz ilz  
ont en ioustes touenoiz et  
behoures qui se font a pla  
sance pour noblesse et hon  
neur acquerre. Si est ass  
q quant un prince ou un

autre grant seigneur po  
la premiere fois quil se ar  
me pour entrer en champ  
pour iouster ou touenoyer  
soit en bataille ou en lices  
Il doit donner le heaume  
et la soubrreste soef et les  
paremens de son cheval a  
royz darmes et heraulx.  
**I**tem quant deux ge  
tis hommes ou cheualiers  
entrent en lices pour faire

Fig. 18.11 (Basel, Jörn Günther Antiquariat, *Traité de noblesse*, fol. 190<sup>ro</sup>)





**D**onc mettre fin  
et conclusion a  
ce preset traictie  
Intitule de lof  
fice darmes et noblesse no  
voulont touchier z mettre  
par escript que doivent co  
gnostre les roys darmes  
et heraulx touchant des  
obseques z funeraillies des  
nobles hommes de toutes  
dignite: siccome ou teps

parse len souloit vser z es  
quelles se demonstrent a  
petuite la descente des le  
gnaites desdits nobles hom  
mes dont de present on nen  
vse plu ou neant z se on en  
vse aucunement si ny tict  
on nulle regle Car les dits  
font par deuotion leurs a  
mes enterrees a simple lu  
minaire z a petit pareme  
Les autres les font a grant

Fig. 18.12 (Basel, Jörn Günther Antiquariat, *Traité de noblesse*, fol. 195<sup>ro</sup>)

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