

THE HUNTING HOURS

London, British Library,
MS Egerton 1146

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ABSTRACT

Late medieval Books of Hours have long been a favoured area of research for scholars and much has also been written about the medieval hunt, particularly its aristocratic aspects. However, there has been no real attempt to integrate these two areas of knowledge in order to produce a clearer understanding of personal prayer books, their content, and the motives and personalities of their patrons. This analysis of MS Egerton 1146, a virtually unpublished Book of Hours in the British Library, is an endeavour to remedy this gap.

Chapter 1 is a description of the physical elements of the manuscript, including appearance, size, binding, structure, and content.

Chapter 2 is an investigation into recent history and ownership, beginning with the acquisition of the manuscript by the British Library in 1847 and progressing back to 1771 when the manuscript's appearance is recorded in a sale catalogue. Beyond this point, there is conjectural evidence indicating possible ownership by the seventeenth century collector, Sir Julius Caesar.

Chapter 3 is a detailed analysis of the saints in the Calendar to establish use of the Hours. This begins with a comparison with the compiled "Bruges Calendar" and shows clearly that the Hours was intended for use in Germany. Reducing the list of Germanic saints by assigning them to dioceses indicates a small group of possible locations in central Germany. The

identification of local saints, who are very restricted in their occurrence, points to Worms in the Rhineland as the most probable location for use.

Chapter 4 is an examination of the illuminations of the manuscript, commencing with the Calendar cycle and progressing to the marginalia of the Hours. Both these areas are unusually and highly illuminated. The Calendar pictures are all hunting scenes, which is perhaps unique, and the marginalia are not only varied in subject but are also skilfully rendered in a naturalistic style.

Chapter 5. Interpretation of the hunting scenes of the Calendar produces three distinct but interrelated types of evidence. The single theme of the twelve pictures, the type of quarry portrayed, and the hunting methods and techniques all point to aristocratic patronage.

Chapter 6 examines the possibilities of individual noble patronage, using objective and subjective evidence. Much is also selective and open to interpretation but the individual strands persistently lead to the great hunter and Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian I.

Chapter 7 Concluding thoughts and loose-ends are discussed, and several gaps in the evidence are identified. Finally, the value of the study is considered, as regards to achieving its aims, opening up avenues for future research and what it has added to our knowledge of the later Middle Ages.

INTRODUCTION.

On the verge of completing my M.A. thesis on the subject of medieval hunting, I was looking through Janet Backhouse's Books of Hours for suitable illustrations to accompany my text. My attention was quickly excited by a single reproduction from the Calendar of a Book of Hours in the Manuscript Collection of the British Library. The superbly lively *bas-de-page* miniature was a winter scene of a hunter on foot spearing an enormous wild boar. An immediate telephone call to Janet Backhouse, Curator of Manuscripts at the British Library, ascertained that the MS was virtually unresearched and unpublished. In addition, she would be "delighted" if I researched "this pretty little Book of Hours" as my M.Phil. subject. Not surprisingly, my next call was to present a case for research to Karen Hodder and Christopher Norton, my academic supervisors at the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York, the first and all-important step towards approval of an M.Phil. research project. From this chance beginning, MS Egerton 1146 has become an ever-present and stimulating part of my life.

Within the prescribed parameters of an M.Phil. dissertation, it is not possible, nor perhaps even desirable, to analyse a Book of Hours such as Egerton 1146 exhaustively. At the outset, I must therefore clearly establish my objectives and areas of interest. My paramount fascination is with the hunting pictures, but an unresearched late medieval manuscript such as Egerton 1146 presents unrivalled

opportunities for other avenues of investigation.

Published material on medieval Books of Hours, which are sumptuously illustrated with illuminated pictures, seems invariably to include comments upon the style of the paintings. This thesis on MS Egerton 1146, which I shall name The Hunting Hours, does not include any examination and debate on the style of the paintings and illuminations, except for a brief discussion on enrichment in the concluding chapter. It is not possible to conduct a stylistic analysis as there is currently no published material in modern English on either MS Egerton 1146, with the exception of Janet Backhouse's brief comments, or, to my knowledge, on similar German manuscripts. The Latin text of prayers and psalms, although apparently fairly standard in content and sequence, was commented upon by Sir Frederic Madden, the well-known mid-Victorian Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum, as being unusual in certain areas. However, apart from a brief general listing of the main headings in Chapter 1, the text is not analysed either. This is not because my schoolboy Latin is inadequate to translate the liturgical text of the German scribe, the prayers are actually all available in a Latin/English Missal in my possession, but rather that my research has interests other than style and prayers. These two factors of style and text, although interesting in themselves and worthy of future research, are not objects of this investigative thesis, nor are they relevant to the aims or outcomes and conclusions.

The genuinely exciting point about Egerton 1146 is that, despite its obvious beauty and distinctive identity, virtually nothing is known about it. Once catalogued, the manuscript has remained, almost unopened, certainly unresearched, since it was purchased in 1847 and stored in the stacks of the Manuscript Department of the British Museum. No doubt this is not an unusual occurrence in the history of the British Museum collections, but this neglect of nearly 150 years appealed to my sense of romance. I became preoccupied with the notion of elucidating this unknown and beautiful manuscript with its apparently unique Calendar sequence of hunting pictures and abundant naturalistic marginalia.

The lack of any identifying features of ownership immediately poses several major problems in analysing this Book of Hours. However, this very absence of information suggests possible channels of investigation. These include the recent history of the manuscript, the Use of the Hours and specific patronage.

The recent history of MS Egerton 1146 must, like family history research, begin with what is known: in this case, the purchase of the Hours by the British Museum in 1847. Hopefully, it will be possible to work back in time from this purchase to previous owners, perhaps via auction records and private catalogues, many of which are preserved at the British Library. The likelihood of tracing the MS much beyond the beginning of the eighteenth century is remote for two reasons. Firstly, book- and manuscript-collecting, together

with large specialist book-auctions and book-selling, only became fashionable in England during the Enlightenment and thus there is a distinct lack of records appertaining to bibliophily before about 1675. Secondly, the manuscript is probably Germanic in origin and, although unusual in its Calendar subject with interesting pretty margins to the Hours, is not an exceptionally valuable codex. Its more remote history will therefore probably be impossible to elucidate with any kind of certainty, although circumstantial evidence and deduction may provide some pointers towards this.

The second major issue, that of the Hours' Use, may be solved by a detailed analysis of the saints in the Calendar. This is an accepted method of pinpointing Use. An authoritative text on Germanic saints and their dioceses will be vital as a reference in this task of reducing the hundreds of named saints in the Egerton Calendar to those few specific to one or two dioceses. The location of such a text alone poses a distinct problem.

One of the outstanding and immediately obvious attractions of Egerton 1146 is the set of illuminations of the Calendar sequence and margins of the Hours. (Plates 1-12) The single subject *bas-de-page* miniatures of the Calendar need to be placed in context and compared with other Calendar cycles in order to demonstrate the possible uniqueness of the Egerton Calendar. In contrast, the hundreds of tiny marginal pictures present a bewildering array of subject matter which requires

careful analysis in particular areas, with the aim of attempting to reveal some aspects of the personality of the patron. This could provide valuable clues in identifying likely specific individuals. Unfortunately, a complete reading of all the marginalia, fascinating though this would be, would far exceed both the time and length parameters of this thesis,

It is the twelve beautifully painted hunting scenes of the Calendar which first arrest the reader of Egerton 1146. No other calendar I have encountered resembles the Egerton Calendar in subject content, or has its animated naturalistic vitality. These scenes, even at a glance, appear to contain much pictorial evidence of the medieval art, or "science", of hunting. Using contemporary medieval hunting manuals, together with other primary and secondary texts, it should be possible to extract a considerable amount of hard evidence and information relating to quarry species, hunting methods and technology.

The most enticing problem is who commissioned such an unusual manuscript. With none of the obvious hallmarks of identification and at this distance in time, around five hundred years, this is perhaps the most difficult and yet provocative puzzle to attempt to solve through objective research. In this case, hard evidence will probably have to be augmented with circumstantial evidence in order to isolate a candidate(s) with valid qualifications who may be considered as a possible patron of this manuscript.

MS Egerton 1146 is a medieval conundrum, awaiting clarification which is firmly based upon careful and informed research. Hopefully, many of the answers lie in the correct reading and interpretation of the Calendar and other illuminations. Scholars specialising in late medieval Books of Hours and similar illuminated manuscripts normally appear to know little about hunting and hunting experts rarely discuss Books of Hours in any detail. The main aim of this thesis is to bring together these two distinct fields of knowledge and by combining the separate threads of evidence, shed light upon The Hunting Hours.

CHAPTER 1.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT.

Egerton MS 1146 is in the Western Manuscripts Collection of the British Library, London. The manuscript is described as a Book of Hours and is contained in a solid open-backed wooden case which is covered in brown leather and lined in suede. The case is labelled 663 on the top, d9 on the base and EGERTON 1146 on the underside.

The manuscript is bound in a sixteenth-century German gold- and blind-tooled brown calf-leather binding over bevelled wooden boards(1) with two clasps, the closing arms of which are missing. The binding has a brass centre and corner-pieces, four on the front cover and three on the back cover, the top left of the latter is missing. The board covers of the binding measure 215mms.x 152mms..

The binding now covering the manuscript is not the original binding. It appears that the manuscript was re-bound during the last quarter of the sixteenth century.(2) This date is indicated by the tooling on the binding; rolls similar to those which appear on Egerton 1146 are found in the binding files of the British Library and these were prevalent at this period.(3) Most probably the notes appearing in the margin on folios 118v. and 145v. were cut during re-binding and this evidence indicates that the whole manuscript was trimmed all

round at this time. The edges were gilded and gauffered after the trimming, probably at the time of re-binding. The late sixteenth century binding was made either in western Germany or possibly in the southern Netherlands. Tooling of this type was practised in both areas but the metalwork, which also probably dates from the last quarter of the sixteenth century, resembles German work. The re-binding does not fit the manuscript particularly well but this may be due to the fact that the book was re-backed in the mid- to late nineteenth century. This re-backing is indicated in two ways; firstly, by the spine with its English tooling, which is indicative of the 1860s to 1880s; secondly, by the new vellum end-leaves.(4)

The spine is lettered in gold as follows:

663

HORAE B.MARIAE

VIRGINIS,

ET OFFICIA.

MUS.BRIT.

BIBL.EGERTON.

EX.LEGATO

CAROLI, BARONIS

FARNSBOROUGH.

The base of the spine is decorated in gold with the letter d. in the centre. The leather margins of the inside front and back boards are heavily tooled in gold leaf with a double border in two distinct patterns. Both front and back boards are lined in blank vellum.

The manuscript is entirely of fine vellum and measures 193mms.x 140mms.. It is described in the Catalogue of Additions as "Small Quarto".(5)

The folios are generally in excellent condition with very little damage although, as mentioned, they have been cropped in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Damage is confined to the following: a warble-fly hole in f.4; a tear leading to a warble-fly hole in f.28; two warble-fly holes in f.173; cuts in ff.64 and 201. Folio margins tend to be dirty on the lower right side of the front side, the place where the user would naturally place his or her finger, often wetted, to turn the page. This grubbiness particularly applies to the Calendar and the earlier sections of the Hours, indicating these parts were most used.

The manuscript commences with five folios of vellum which are completely blank and unpaginated. The first two folios are not original, indicated by their poorer quality, comparative thinness and brighter edge-gilding. The front face of the next folio bears a book plate showing the armorial bearings of

Phillip Carteret Webb, with the motto "In Alta Tendo". The verso shows several words in faint pencil at the top left hand-side, possibly two names, which are unfortunately indecipherable, even under ultra-violet light. In the centre of the front face of the next folio is written in black ink:

"Purchased of Mrs.Margetts

9 January. 1847".

The figure "ii" is written in black ink in the top right-hand corner of this folio face. The verso is blank. The red ink stamp of the British Museum appears on the front face of the next folio. The remaining medieval text commences on the verso of this folio.

The Calendar and Book of Hours is made up of 325 folios. The majority were foliated by the original scribe in Roman numerals in red ink at the top centre of each front ("a" or "r") face. Later foliation, probably by the British Museum in the mid-nineteenth century, is in Arabic numerals in pencil at the top right-hand side of each folio recto. However, the Roman and Arabic numbers do not coincide. Thus, c=120, cc=213 and ccc=307. A number of blank folios are paginated with Roman numbers but not with Arabic numbers; for example, ff.lxxix, clix and clxi. In spite of these small gains, the total numbered folios in red Roman numerals is only cccxviii

compared to 325 in Arabic numbers. This disparity is due to Arabic numbers commencing on the recto side of the folio showing the three diagrams for calculating days and dates preceding the Calendar, whereas the Roman numerals begin 16 folios later with the commencement of the Hours, i.e. f.16r.. All references in this dissertation are to the more comprehensive Arabic foliation.

The folios appear to be disposed in possibly 45 or 46 quires. This is difficult to determine accurately for two reasons. Firstly, some folios are missing; for example, those between ff.6v and 7r, 16v and 17r, 23v and 24r, and 25v and 26r. Secondly, the re-backing and re-stitching of the manuscript in the later nineteenth century has confused and obscured the original gathering structure.(6)

Some pages are completely blank; for example, ff.25v, 29v, 32v, 48v, 54v, 67v, 99v, 176v, 201v, and 320v.. Folio 69v is blank of text but is double-margined and ruled in red ink, ready for use. This also applies to two folios lacking Arabic numbers between ff.176 and 177 but foliated in Roman numerals clix and clxi. In total, some 46 pages have no marginal decoration.

The manuscript is in general well executed. Pricking of the vellum is not evident but there is careful ruling within margins, both drawn in red ink, on each side of each folio. There are 16 lines per page in the Calendar and 28 lines in the Hours. Some pages in the Hours are not completely filled

with text. Each line is on average 4mms. high .

The text is in Latin and very legibly written in two sizes of early sixteenth century black Gothic lettering(7) by what appears to be the same hand. The larger version comprises the main bulk of the text and is in proportion to the height of the line guides provided. The lesser text appears disproportionately small for the line spaces but this is almost certainly to highlight the text to the user, the purpose indicating responses and antiphons to the priest's reading and leads. Sections of small text are thus often preceded by an abbreviated instruction to this effect, particularly "Ant", "An", "Anthi", or merely "A" or "a".

The end-prayers of ff.324v and 325r appear to have been a later addition. The scribal hand differs completely from the rest of the codex and is not in the Gothic style . It is less formal and more casually executed with the curves and flourishes of later sixteenth century scripts. There are no marginal drawings or illumination on these pages, the only decoration being the rather clumsy use of red ink to emphasize some capital letters, to underline a particular word, an abbreviation, or in one case, three words. The pages have margins but no ruled lines and the right-hand margins are over-written.

The contents of Egerton MS 1146 are as follows:

f.1v..

a) A diagram consisting of a ring of the golden numbers 1-19 around a ring of other numbers which are the "claves", also known as the "claves terminorum" or "claves festorum mobilium". These numbers provide a ready and simple method of calculating the location of all five moveable feasts, including the most important, that of Easter.(8)

b) A ring of numbers 1-15. This is probably the administrative, not the astronomical, indiction cycle of 15 years. This was a chronological unit originally used for tax purposes.(9)

f.2r..

A diagram of three concentric rings, showing the cycle of dominical letters,(letters of the week a-g) allowing for bissextile (leap) years.(10)

ff.2v-14r.

The Calendar(plates 1-12).

ff.14v-15r.(Frontispiece).

Two astrological tables for the reckoning of the moveable feasts; "Tabula pro inveniendis festis mobilibus".(11)

ff.16r-19v.

"Septem Psalmi penitenciales pro peccatis devotissime dicendi".

ff.20r.-23r..

"Letania major immediate post septem Psalmos devote dicenda".

ff.23v.-25r..

"Preces pro omni statu ecclesie dicende".

ff.26r.-69v..

"Cursus de Passione Domini nostri Jhesu Christi".

ff.70r.-88r..

"Cursus beate Marie Virginis, infra Nativitatem Domini et Purificationem".

ff.88v.-91r..

"Ordo [ejusdem] a Purificatione beate Virginis usque ad Resurrectionem Jesu Christi".

ff.92r.-95r..

"Ordo beate Marie Virginis, a Resurrectione Domini usque ad Ascensionem ejusdem".

ff.95v.-99v..

"Ordo cursus beate Virginis ab Ascensione Domini usque ad Adventum ejusdem".

ff.100r.-109v..

"Cursus de Sancto Spiritu, orphanorum Paraclete".

ff.110r.-123v..

"Cursus de sancta et individua Trinitate".

ff.124r.-138v..

"Cursus de Corpore Christi".

ff.139r.-150v..

"Cursus pro peccatis, a quolibet devotissime dicendus".

ff.151r.-159v..

"Cursus de angelis Michaelae, Gabriele, Raphaelae, et omnibus aliis".

ff.160r.-164v..

"Cursus de eterna Sapiencia," *etc.*

ff.165r.-173r..

"Vigilie majores pro defunctis dicende".

ff.173v.-174v..

"Lectiones minores Vigiliarum, una cum responsoriis".

ff.175r.-176v..

"Vespere pro mortuis dicende".

ff.177r.-201v..

"Officium Missae".

ff.202r.-203v..

"Matutine de Resurrectione Domini nostri".

ff.204r.-206r..

"In vigilia Ascensionis".

ff.206v.-320v..

"Commemorationes Sanctorum per circulum anni".

ff.321r.-324r..

"Psalmi quidam".

ff.324v.-325r..

"Complinorium festo divinitatis."

Latin prayer-titles are taken *verbatim* from The Catalogue of Additions.(12)

The text is written with good basic punctuation. Most sentences end with a full-stop. There are no commas. There is an omission in f.101r, signalled by an inverted "v" in red ink, the addition being written in the right-hand margin. A small-case "a" and "b" in red ink occur in the left-hand margin of f.268v. A possible instruction to the stationer is written in the right-hand margin of f.269r. This appears to read:

Inio ✓

1. fols ✓

Titles are written in gold(plates 30 and 31). All sentences appear to begin with a capital letter but there is a clear hierarchy of capitalisation. Capitals introducing a page or major paragraph are large, highly coloured with acanthus scrollwork and illuminated in gold(plates 30 and 31), occasionally silver; those starting less important paragraphs are smaller but are decorated and in gold with a colour(plates 25, 26 and 29); major sentences begin with a simple Gothic capital letter in gold or blue(plates 30 and 31); capital letters beginning minor sentences are small and in black ink, emphasized with a neat vertical red line(plate 26).

The major capitals are in burnished metal on a pink gesso base. Those in gold are mostly impressed with a delicate scroll pattern. There are only four examples of burnished silver capitals: f.76v (letter O), f.127v (letter E), f.137v (lower half of letter E) and f.144v (letter M). All four silver letters are badly tarnished to a dark-grey colour, in contrast to the gold illumination which remains new and bright in appearance.

Five blank folios of vellum conclude Egerton MS 1146.

CHAPTER 1.
DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT,
END NOTES.

- (1) London, British Library, Collections and Preservation, letter from Ms.Philippa Marks, 26/02/93.
- (2) London, British Library, Collections and Preservation, letter, p.1, from Dr.Mirjam M.Foot, Director, 15/03/93.
- (3) London, British Library, Collections and Preservation, letter from Ms.Philippa Marks, 26/02/93.
- (4) London, British Library, Collections and Preservation, letter, p.1, from Dr.Mirjam Foot, Director, 15/03/93.
- (5) London, British Library, The Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCXLVI - MDCCCXLVII, (1846-1847), Vol.8, (1864, Norwich, repr.1964), p.385.
- (6) London, British Library, Western Manuscripts Reading Room, expert staff assistance, 04/08/98.
- (7) Backhouse, Janet, Books of Hours, (London, 1985, repr.1988), p.12.
- (8) Eisner, Sigmund, (ed.), The Kalendarium of Nicholas of Lynn, trans. Gary Mac Eoin and Sigmund Eisner, (London, 1980), p.6, & pp.18-20. Also: Nicholas, Sir Harris, The Chronology of History, (London, 1833), pp.24-31. An astrological table headed by the 19 golden numbers appears in MS Egerton 1146, fol.14v..
- (9) Ibid., p.58 foll., see the indiction cycle columns of 15 numbers on the tables of calculation. Also: Reader's Digest Universal Dictionary, (London, 1987), p.784.

(10) Eisner, Sigmund, (ed.), The Kalendarium of Nicholas of Lynn, trans. Gary Mac Eoin and Sigmund Eisner, (London, 1980), p.7. Also: Nicholas, Sir Harris, The Chronolgy of History, (London, 1833), pp.48-51, for tables and explanation of use of dominical letters..

(11) Eisner, Sigmund, (ed.), The Kalendarium of Nicholas of Lynn, trans. Gary Mac Eoin and Sigmund Eisner, (London, 1980), pp.18-20. Nicholas of Lynn's *Kalendarium* was composed to run from 1387-1462(p.2) and his table of moveable feasts, illustrated on pp.178-179, is similar to that of MS Egerton 1146, fol.15r.. Also: Nicholas, Sir Harris, The Chronology of History, (London, 1833), p.46 foll., for tables and calendars for calculation of moveable feasts, years, etc..

(12) London, British Library, The Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCXLVI-MDCCCXLVII, (1846-1847), Vol.8, (1864, Norwich, repr.1964), p.385.

CHAPTER 2.

RECENT HISTORY AND OWNERSHIP OF MS EGERTON 1146.

MS Egerton 1146 was acquired by the British Museum in early January, 1847, with money from the Farnborough Fund. Since then it has remained in the Egerton Series in the British Library. In 1829 Francis Henry Egerton, the 8th. Earl of Bridgewater, bequeathed sixty-seven manuscripts and twelve thousand pounds, the Bridgewater Fund, to the British Museum. In 1838 three thousand pounds was added to the original capital sum by a bequest from Egerton's cousin, Charles Long, Baron Farnborough. This became the Farnborough Fund. The income from these bequests has since been directed towards the purchase of manuscripts, which together with the original collection, make up the Egerton Series of MSS.. In 1981 this numbered 3802.(1) The origin of the purchase of Egerton 1146 by the British Museum can be seen stamped in gold on the spine of the manuscript after the title:

HORAE B.MARIAE/ VIRGINIS,/ ET OFFICIA./ MUS.BRIT./
BIBI.EGERTON/ EX LEGATO/ CAROLI, BARONIS/ FARNBOROUGH./
1146.

One of the only two positive pieces of evidence indicating ownership is the hand-written inscription in copper-plate style on the recto side of f.7. This clearly reads, "Purchased of Mrs.Margetts 9 Jan.ry 1847".(2) The name of Margetts, or its variant Margitts, does not appear in the

various volumes listing the mid-nineteenth century gentry or The Dictionary of National Biography. This negative search indicates that the lady was probably a relatively unimportant member of Victorian society. Tracing Mrs.Margetts must be tackled in some less conventional manner.

The Keeper of Manuscripts in 1847 was Sir Frederic Madden, a well-known dandyish figure described in detail by Curzon and painted by Richard Dighton in 1833.(3) Madden kept a meticulous day-to-day account of business within the Department of Manuscripts. The British Library has the original diary and a facsimile copy. The Diary of Sir F.Madden, Jan.1847-Dec.1847, has the following entry for Thursday, 7th.January, 1847: "Also a letter from a Mrs.Margetts, stating she would take 30 guineas for the MS book of Hours forwarded for my inspection by Lady Augusta Cadogan."(4) The relationship between these two ladies is not indicated in the diary but we can make an educated guess that they were friends or that perhaps Mrs.Margetts was her companion. Lady Augusta is easy to identify. Basic research into the Victorian Peerage reveals that Lady Augusta-Sarah, born 9th.January, 1811, died 28th.November, 1882, was the daughter of George, 3rd. Earl of Cadogan, C.B., whose London residence was Chelsea House, Cadogan Place, S.W..(5) George Cadogan, a former admiral, was Sloane Trustee of the British Museum from 1833 until his death in 1864.(6) This would undoubtedly have been a very useful connection for Lady Augusta to use on behalf of herself, a friend or acquaintance

who wished to sell a valuable object, such as a book or manuscript. In the case of this particular Book of Hours, Lady Augusta perhaps realised that a manuscript of such obvious quality and beauty should be lodged in the British Museum. Her knowledge, based on a long family association with the British Museum, together with her relationship, perhaps friendship, with Mrs.Margetts, could mean that she was willing to act as her influential patron in this matter.(7) It thus appears certain that Mrs.Margetts was the owner of Egerton 1146 in 1847.

The second positive piece of evidence of ownership is a book plate on the recto side of f.6, inscribed with the name Phillip Carteret Webb and his coat-of-arms.(8) This indicates that the MS was part of this man's collection or library.

Phillip Carteret Webb, (1700-1770), was an antiquary, politician and attorney-at-law with a great reputation for his knowledge of records and constitutional law. He was made an F.S.A. in 1747, an F.R.S. in 1749, and elected M.P. for Haslemere, Surrey, his local constituency, for the years 1754-61 and 1761-68. From 1756-65 he was joint solicitor for the Treasury, a most prestigious post. He purchased Busbridge Hall in 1748, and died there on 22nd.June, 1770. Webb collected extensively during his lifetime and in 1757 purchased at auction nearly a third of the huge collection of manuscripts belonging to the late Sir Julius Caesar. These MSS, together with his other MSS on paper, were bought from

Webb's widow by Lord Shelburne and are now in the Lansdowne MSS at the British Library. Webb's collection of manuscripts on vellum and the rest of his library were sold on 25th. February, 1771 and during the following sixteen days.(9)

The sale of Webb's manuscripts on vellum and library is referred to in two sources. Firstly, in the List of Catalogues of English Book Sales 1676-1900 now in the British Museum, the entry reads, "Webb, Phillip Carteret. Library. B.& L. 25 Feb.S.-C.S.7.(10)." (2) B.& L. stands for Baker and Leigh, the predecessors of Sothe by in the first half of the eighteenth century. "S.Baker, over Exeter Change, Strand," became Sothe by's.(11) The second reference is in British Book Sale Catalogues 1676-1800, A Union List, which reads, "Feb.25. Webb, Philip[sic] Carteret. Library. Baker & Leigh. B.M: S.C.S.7(6); (also found at) BN; CM: d.14-5; HD;0; Sothe by film, part 1, Reel 5."(12)

The British Library copy of the Baker and Leigh Catalogues, Feb.5 1767-Apr.19 1771 is contained within a bound volume of sale catalogues.(13) The printed books are listed and described under the headings of "folio", "quarto", and so forth, for each day of the sale, prints being included on some days. The manuscripts on vellum are catalogued separately on the final day and were presumably sold late because of their value, thus providing a climax to the sale.

Several dozen manuscripts on vellum are itemised, the better

ones having some details added. None is immediately identifiable as MS Egerton 1146 but there are several likely contenders from the fifteen possible manuscripts, most of which are listed as "Missales". In Catalogue order these are as follows:-

"2786 Missale Romanum, with fine illuminations and borders, bound in russian leather."(14)

"2801 Missale Romanum. N.B. This Book is most beautifully ornamented on the Margin, with Flowers, Insects, &c. and finely preserved."(15)

"2805 Missale Romanum. N.B. This is a most beautiful Manuscript, with the Illuminations in the bright colouring and preservation, bound in morocco, with small tools."(16)

The Catalogue description of the second Missal is closest to Egerton 1146, followed by the third and first Missals. If one of these MSS is Egerton 1146, it is peculiar that the splendid hunting scenes of the Calendar, or the Calendar itself, are not remarked upon in the Catalogue. There is also the use of the term "Missal", as opposed to "Hours", for the likely manuscripts. In fact, only one of the fifteen possible MSS is described as "Les Heures", sale item 2833 which is listed as a folio MS on paper.(17) This cannot refer to Egerton 1146 as the size is wrong; the Egerton MS is described as "small quarto" in the Catalogue of Additions.(18)

I believe that these points can be explained in terms of human error and probably ignorance by the auctioneer or whoever examined the books and manuscripts in the preparation of the sale catalogue.

Firstly, the omission of commenting upon the Calendar scenes. Having literally hundreds of items to sort and classify, the auctioneer had to be brief and complete accuracy was not of paramount importance. The quickest and most natural method to assess the contents of a book is to hold the book in the right hand and flick through the pages from the back forwards using the thumb and fingers of the left hand. Thus, a rapid impression can be gained in a minimum of time, particularly of the margins if they are illustrated. Almost inevitably, the front dozen or so pages will be missed. In the case of a Book of Hours, this is where the Calendar will be situated. For Egerton 1146, it is the Calendar which is the most unusual feature of the manuscript.

Secondly, the inaccurate general use of the term "Missal". The auctioneer has classified the MS as a priest's prayer-book, not a lay person's personal prayer-book. (19) This could be because he missed the Calendar with its secular subject of hunting, but also because he happened to notice the responses in the Hours which are clearly written in red ink. Even if the Calendar was seen, Missals also have calendars, a notable example being The Hambleton Missal, with its Kalendarium of Sarum Use, written about 1405. (20) Furthermore, the Breviary, the other type of prayer-book much used by the

clergy, contains its own calendar of feast-days and saints, vital to the book's use over the religious year.(21) It thus appears that the term "Missal" was used somewhat loosely as a generic description for Roman Catholic liturgical texts, popularly called "Mass-Books" by the non-Catholic and the uninitiated. An auctioneer or his assistant could therefore be excused for classifying a medieval prayer-book incorrectly.

The essential question is, was the manuscript which became known as Egerton 1146 sold in this particular sale? Unfortunately, unlike the other catalogues in the volume, the specific Baker and Leigh Catalogue for the sale of Webb's library has had its margins cut off. This effectively removes any marginal notations which may or may not have been written regarding either prices or purchasers. However, there are two other important indications in favour the sale of item 2801.

Firstly, the entry in The Dictionary of National Biography, volume XX, which states that "Webb's MSS on vellum and the rest of his library," were sold on 25th. February, 1771 and the following sixteen days.(22) Secondly, the date "1771" has been written in pencil at the lower right-hand side of f.6v. of Egerton 1146.(23) It is possible that this is the auctioneer's mark of sale and the coincidence of this date and of the year of the Webb sale cannot be ignored.

Luckily, a second copy of the Baker and Leigh Catalogues, Feb.5,1767-Apr.19,1771 exists in the British Library.(24) The margins of this copy are still intact and on page 88 the letters "B.M." have been written in ink against item 2801. This is the "Missale Romanum.....most beautifully ornamented on the Margin....." detailed earlier in the chapter and indicated as being closest in description to the Egerton manuscript. In addition, a note in apparently the same hand on the fly-leaf preceding the printed B. and L. Catalogue reads, "Department of MSS. Purchased of Rodd Apr.1847."(25) This is firm corroborative evidence. The initials "B.M." almost certainly stand for British Museum and are probably a note by an official, such as the Keeper of Manuscripts, that the item listed in the 1771 Catalogue is already, (that is, by April, 1847,) in the Museum's collection. This theory is supported by the evidence of dates in the documents. The inscription on the Catalogue fly-leaf gives the date of purchase of the Catalogue by the British Museum as April, 1847. The inscription on f.7r. of Egerton 1146 and the entry in Sir Frederic Madden's Diary both give the date of purchase of Egerton 1146 by the Museum as January, 1847.(26)

This positive evidence indicates that item number 2801, the "Missale Romanum", sold in February, 1771, by the London auctioneers Baker and Leigh, was very probably the Book of Hours purchased by Sir Frederic Madden from Mrs.Margetts on behalf of the British Museum in January, 1847.

The University of Cambridge Library possesses a third copy of

the Baker and Leigh Catalogues. The margins on this copy are intact and also annotated in the margins as to prices and buyers. Against item 2801 is written, "£21-10s.-0d." and the name "Barker." (27) Sold on Friday, March 15th., 1771, the 17th. night of the Webb sale, this "Missale Romanum" was by far the most expensive item in the MS on vellum section that day, the second highest price being £9-10s.-0d.. (28) Item 2801 was the sole purchase of Mr. Barker and he has not been traced further. The Catalogue has "A.B. Lambert" written in the front and notes on biological matters in the blank pages at the back. (29) This evidence seems likely to refer to the person who attended the sale and noted the prices and buyers. However, the name and notes indicate another possibility, that the Catalogue may have later become the property of Aylmer Bourke Lambert, (1761-1842), the eminent botanist, F.R.S. and long-term vice-president of the Linnean Society from 1796 to 1842. (30)

Reconstructing the recent history and ownership of MS Egerton 1146 using hard documentary evidence ends here. To summarise what we now know of ownership: the British Museum became the owner in 1847. Until this date Mrs. Margetts owned the Hours; for how long is not known. A Mr. Barker purchased the Missal at the Webb sale in 1771. Phillip Carteret Webb was the owner for an indeterminate period until 1770.

From this point backwards in time, reconstruction becomes largely a matter of conjecture. It is known that in 1757 Webb purchased at auction nearly a third of the extensive

collection of manuscripts of Sir Julius Caesar.(31) It is possible that Webb purchased the future Egerton 1146 at this sale. The Caesar sale is referred to in the List of Catalogues of English Book Sales 1676-1900 Now in the British Museum,(32) and in British Book Sale Catalogues 1676-1800, A Union List.(33) Both sources agree that the auction was to have been on 23rd.November, 1757, at St.Paul's Coffee-House, but was postponed until 14th.December, 1757. S.Paterson was the auctioneer. The auctioneer's copy of the Catalogue of the sale survives in a bound volume in the British Library, Catalogues of Book Auctions 1757-1777. For Catalogue 10, the introduction reads, " A Catalogue of Several Thousands of the most singular and interesting Heads in the Collection of Manuscripts of the Right Hon. and Right Worshipful Sir Julius Caesar, Knt. by Samuel Paterson, London on Wednesday the 14th. of December, 1757, and the two following Evenings."(34) A hand-written note at the bottom of page 1 comments on the presence of Webb as a buyer at the auction. "Philip[sic] Carteret Webb Esq Solicitor to the Treasury. His MSS bought by the Marquis of Lansdowne & are now in the British Museum". An indecipherable signature follows the note, presumably that of a Museum official.(35)

Seymour de Ricci comments that the 1st.Marquis of Lansdowne,(1737-1805), better known as Lord Shelburne, purchased thirty volumes of the papers of Sir Julius Caesar and Phillip Carteret Webb's large collection on parliamentary history around 1772.(36)

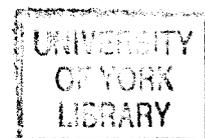
In A Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum there is a reference to the Caesar sale Catalogue and to Webb, "The printed Catalogue of Sir Julius Caesar's Manuscripts, sold by auction Dec 14.1757, with the prices of the articles, and names of the purchasers. N.B. Those bought by Mr.Philip[sic] Carteret Webb were, after his death, purchased with some other MSS. belonging to him, by the Earl of Shelburne."(37) In addition, written by hand, is, "Sir Julius Caesar's own Catalogue of his Manuscript Collections, partly written by himself. Prefixed is Mr.Webb's list of such articles as were purchased by him at the auction."(34) Disappointingly, this hand-written Catalogue, which is in a hand extremely difficult to read, does not have a recognisable entry which can be identified with MS Egerton 1146, neither does Webb's prefixed list of what he purchased at the auction. Thus the notion of proving that Webb bought the Hours at the Caesar sale fails at this point owing to lack of hard evidence. However, I consider it to be a more than remote possibility, particularly when Sir Julius Caesar and his background is examined.

There were several Sir Julius Caesars, but the following individual is undoubtedly the most likely candidate, in spite of his comparatively early lifespan dates of 1558-1636.(39) It appears surprising that Sir Julius Caesar's collection was not sold until a hundred and twenty one years after his death but the reason is straightforward; that his library was only dispersed on the sale of the family estate at Bennington in 1744.(36) It was part of this huge collection

which Phillip Carteret Webb purchased at auction in 1757. In addition, the hand-written Catalogue of the seventeenth century Sir Julius Caesar has Webb's list of purchases affixed, proving the connection between the two men.

Sir Julius Caesar was an English judge and author, Judge of the Admiralty Court in 1584, Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1606 and master of the rolls in 1614. He was of Italian extraction, his grandfather being Pietro Maria Adelmare of Treviso, near Venice. Pietro Adelmare was descended from a family belonging to Fréjus in Provence and he married Paola, daughter of Giovanni Pietro Cesarini. He was probably of the same family as Guiliano Cesarini, cardinal of St. Angelo and president of the Council of Basle, 1431-38. One of Pietro Adelmare's sons, Cesare, graduated in arts and medicine at the University of Padua, migrated to England about 1550, and began to practice as a physician in London. He became physician to Queen Mary I and was Sir Julius Caesar's father.(41)

The key point is the Italian/French/possibly Germanic ancestry of Sir Julius Caesar, with its wide continental familial links, extending back to the fifteenth century. One cannot but surmise that one of his ancestors inherited, or acquired, the Book of Hours and it was later transported to England as part of the family possessions. However, this is pure conjecture and totally without corroborative historical evidence.



CHAPTER 2.

RECENT HISTORY AND OWNERSHIP OF MS EGERTON 1146,

END NOTES.

- (1) Nickson, M.A.E., The British Library. Guide to the catalogue and indexes of the Department of Manuscripts, (B.L.,1978, rev.1982), p.7.
- (2) London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, f.7r..
- (3) Munby, A.N.L., Connoisseurs and Medieval Miniatures, 1750-1850, (Oxford, 1972), p.95.
- (4) London, British Library, Diary of Sir F.Madden, Jan.1847-Dec.1847, FACS *1012/22, p.6.
- (5) Lodge, Edmund, The Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire, (London, 1988),p.100.
- (6) G.E.C., (Cokayne, George Edward,) The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Volume 1, (Gloucester, 1982,repr.1984), p.463.
- (7) London, British Library, "Minutes, etc.," pss.AC2, (1846-48), p.207: a letter from Mrs.Margetts, dated 7th.January, to Sir Frederic Madden, offering the manuscript for sale to the British Museum.
- (8) London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, f.6r..
- (9) Stephen, Sir Leslie, and Lee, Sir Sidney, (eds), The Dictionary of National Biography, Volume XX, (London, 1917, repr.1950), pp.1018-1019.
- (10) List of Catalogues of English Book Sales 1676-1900 now in the British Museum,(London, 1915), p.76.

- (11) Ibid., p.vii.
- (12) Munby, A.N.L., and Coral, Lenore, (comp.& eds.), British Book Sale Catalogues 1676-1800, A Union List, (London, 1977),p.68.
- (13) London, British Library, Baker and Leigh Catalogues, Feb.5 1767-Apr.19 1771, S.C.S.7(6).
- (14) Ibid., p.88.
- (15) Ibid., p.88.
- (16) Ibid., p.88.
- (17) Ibid., p.89.
- (18) London, British Library, Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCXLVI-MDCCCXLVII, p.385.
- (19) Swete, Henry Barclay, Church Services and Service-Books before the Reformation, (London, 1896), pp.19 & 105.
- (20) Wordsworth, Christopher, and Littlehales, Henry, The Old Service Books of the English Church, (London, 1904), pp.175 & 178ff..
- (21) Swete, Henry Barclay, Church Services and Service-Books before the Reformation, (London, 1896), pp.57 & 64-66.
- (22) Stephen, Sir Leslie and Lee, Sir Sidney, (eds.), The Dictionary of National Biography, Volume XX, (London, 1917,repr.1950), p.1019.
- (23) London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, f.6r..
- (24) London, British Library, Baker and Leigh Catalogues, Feb.5, 1767-Apr.19, 1771, PR.1.C.27.
- (25) Ibid., front fly-leaf. Rodd was probably a London book-seller.
- (26) London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, f.7r; London,

- British Library, Diary of Sir F.Madden, Jan.1847-Dec.1847,
FACS * 1012/22, p.6.
- (27) Cambridge, University Library, Baker and Leigh Catalogues, Feb.5 1767-Apr.19 1771, 7880.d.55, p.88.
- (28) Ibid., p.88 foll..
- (29) Ibid..
- (30) Stephen, Sir Leslie, and Lee, Sir Sidney, (eds.), The Dictionary of National Biography, Volume XX, (London, 1917, repr.1950), pp.447-448.
- (31) Ibid., p.1019.
- (32) List of Catalogues of English Book Sales 1676-1900 now in the British Museum, (London, 1915), p.67.
- (33) Munby, A.N.L., and Coral, Lenore, (comp.& eds.), British Book Sale Catalogues 1676-1800, A Union List, (London, 1977), p.58.
- (34) London, British Library, Catalogues of Book Auctions 1757-1777, 824 b 17(10). There is an interesting note written on the contents page at the front of the volume, "Rescued from destruction by Paterson(Saml.) after the MSS had actually reached the cheese-monger's shop."
- (35) Ibid., p.1.
- (36) Ricci, Seymour de, English Collectors of Books & Manuscripts (1530-1930) and their Marks of Ownership, (Bloomington, 1960), p.66.
- (37) London, British Library, A Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum, Nos.1-397, (London, 1810), Part II, p.1, Num.123. 8vo..
- (38) Ibid., Part II, p.1, 124. 4to..
- (39) Stephen, Sir Leslie, and Lee, Sir Sidney, (eds.), The

Dictionary of National Biography, Volume XX, (London, 1917, repr. 1950), p. 656.

(40) Ibid., p. 659.

(41) Ibid., pp. 656-660; also: Magnusson, Magnus, (ed.), Chambers Biographical Dictionary, (Edinburgh & New York, 1990), p. 244.

CHAPTER 3.

THE CALENDAR.

MS Egerton 1146 is virtually unpublished and no serious research has been done on the manuscript until this present study. This chapter is an analysis of the Calendar and the Litany, the main aim of which is to try and ascertain the "use" for which the Hours was made, that is, in which diocese the manuscript was to be used as a prayer book. The series of steps in the analysis involve progressive examination of the saints and their variations.

There are only two printed sources. The first of these sources dates from the nineteenth century and is found in the British Library Catalogue of Additions for the years 1846-1847. After descriptions of the contents of the Calendar and Hours the Catalogue states "...executed in Germany." (1) This is undoubtedly based upon the personal opinion of Sir Frederic Madden, Keeper of Manuscripts, who purchased the "missal" in 1847 on behalf of the British Museum. The original report by Sir Frederic to the Museum's Trustees survives and in it he wrote "...the purchase of a fine Book of Hours, executed in Germany in the 15th. century, received from a lady named Margetts..." (2) Mrs. Margetts' letter to Sir Frederic Madden offering the manuscript for sale at a price of 30 guineas to the British Museum also survives but she does not mention its origin. (3) As there are no direct indications as to origin in the manuscript, it is reasonable to suppose that Sir Frederic

made a judgement based upon his own knowledge on examination of the Book of Hours. Mrs.Margetts' letter clearly states he had the MS from "her friend and patron Lady Augusta Cadogan" for valuation.(4)

The second source is found in the only other published reference to MS Egerton 1146, Books of Hours, by Janet Backhouse, the present Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Library. She remarks that it was "...written and illuminated in south Germany or Austria at the beginning of the sixteenth century."(5) She was contacted upon this statement and her reply was that it "...represents my own opinion, based upon my examination -albeit not an exhaustive one- of the contents of the manuscript and my personal knowledge of the manuscripts of that date and region built up over a number of years."(6)

There are thus pointers as to which country the book was made in, basically two informed and expert opinions but a century and a half apart, both founded upon iconography, style and other factors but lacking positive evidence. However, there is no mention of "use" of the manuscript.

Most Books of Hours open with a Calendar and Egerton 1146 is no exception to this general rule. The Calendar occupies folios 2v. to 14r.(plates 1-12) , recording the fixed feasts of the liturgical year, such as the Purification, the Annunciation and the Assumption, plus the anniversaries of important saints. Some of these saints, such as the apostles, were

venerated throughout Roman Catholic Christendom, whereas others were more nationally or even regionally regarded. Identifying saints from the latter two groups is obviously important in the establishment of general location of use. This can be further refined geographically by identifying any unusual saints. These could have local significance, or perhaps been of personal interest to the patron who ordered their inclusion within the framework of nationally and universally venerated saints. Either way, selection can help establish place of use by the original owner of the Book of Hours.

Accordingly, the saints in the Calendar of Egerton 1146, January to December, are compared to those of the "Bruges Calendar", a compilation by John Plummer, formerly Curator of Manuscripts at the Pierpont Morgan Library, U.S.A.. Plummer compiled his list on the basis of five manuscripts which were made at Bruges in the fifteenth century. Most of the saints in the compilation occur in all five manuscripts but where they do not agree, the entry either represents the majority of manuscripts, or, lacking a clear majority, the alternative feasts are listed.(7) Using Bruges as a comparative reference point makes sense as Bruges was one of the most important centres for the manufacture of high quality Books of Hours.

The selected MSS are as follows:

- 1) W.220(Cat.No.91) at the Walters Art Gallery;

- 2) MS IX.7(The Llangattock Hours) at the J.Paul Getty Museum;
- 3) a dismembered Horae, formerly Philip C.Dusches, New York;
- 4) Cod.1856(The Black Prayer Book of Galeazzo Maria Sforza) at the Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek;
- 5) M.285 at the Pierpont Morgan Library. (8)

The resulting list represents many of the features of a Calendar produced at Bruges in the middle to late fifteenth century. The Calendar of MS Egerton 1146 varies significantly from this "typical" Calendar regarding many of the saints' feast-days. Two well-known and authenticated hagiographies are used in order to collect biographical information on the saints for analysis of the Calendars. These are: A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints by the Reverend F.G.Holweck, (9) and The Book of Saints by the Benedictine monks of Ramsgate.(10)

There are 116 blank days(i.e. without a named saint) in the Calendar of Egerton 1146. This is 31.8% of the total days of the year. In marked contrast, the compiled "Bruges Calendar" has at least one saint for each and every day. This is hardly surprising as it is an artificial list and one of its main objectives is to cover every possibility of entry of saints for each day of the year.

From 1st.January to 31st.December there are 91 days in which the named saint(s) of Egerton 1146 differ(s) from those in

the "Bruges Calendar". Of this total, 42 appear to have regional significance, pointing to an origin for use in Germany, Bavaria or Austria (map 2). The variations with this Germanic indication are as follows:

January

8th. Erhard, (Erard, Eberhard, Herard,) Confessor and bishop. Born in Noriorum, Bavaria, the brother of St. Hydulph of Treves, Erhard was the first Abbot of Ebersheimmunster in Alsace. His relics lie in Ratisbon where he is a minor patron. His feast-day was celebrated at Ratisbon, then transferred to Munich. (11)

24th. Timothy, martyr and Bishop of Ephesus. His body is said to have been transferred from Constantinople to Mount Andechs in Bavaria in A.D. 949 by St. Rasso. (12)

February

6th. Dorothy, virgin and martyr. Translation of her relics took place at St. Peter's, Salzburg. (13)

15th. Faustinus and Jovita, martyred brothers and noblemen of Brescia, northern Italy. (14) Northern Italy had historic links with the southern Tyrol of Austria.

25th. Walpurg, (Walburga,) virgin and martyr. She was the Abbess of Heidenheim in Bavaria and the feast-day of her martyrdom was celebrated at Eichstadt, Bavaria. She had two feast-days. (15) See May 1st. also.

March

None.

April

None.

May

1st. Walpurg(is), (Walburga,) virgin and martyr. She was the Abbess of Heidenheim in Bavaria.(16)

4th. Florianus, a martyr. He was the principal patron of Linz and Upper Austria, and a patron of Vienna and Passau.(17)

5th. Gothard, (Butehard,) of Hildesheim, south-east of Hanover. He became Bishop of Mayence.(18)

15th. Sophia and her three daughters, all martyrs. At the end of the Middle Ages their feast-day was celebrated in many dioceses of Germany, Poland and Hungary.(19)

29th. Maximinus, a martyr and Bishop of Treves(Trier) in Germany.(20)

June

5th. Boniface, a bishop, popularly known as the "Apostle of Germany". (21)

12th. Basilidis, Cyrinus and Nararius, martyrs. [Nabor is usually included in this group but he is absent in the Egerton 1146 entry.] The holy relics of Basilidis and Cyrinus were given to the Church of Milan; the body of Nararius was taken to Lorsch, (Lauresheim) in the diocese of Worms on the Rhine; the relics of Nabor were taken to St.Avoid, (Hilariacum, Novacella) on the Moselle by St.Chrodegang of Metz.(20)

16th. Aureus and Justina, martyrs. Aureus was Bishop of Mentz in Germany.(23)

July

4th. Udalricus, Bishop of Augsburg in Bavaria.(24)

6th. Goar of St.Goar in the Rhineland.(25)

7th. Willibald, Bishop of Eichstadt in Bavaria.(26) An Englishman and one of the "Apostles of Germany", where, with his brother St. Winebald and his sister St.Walburga, he passed many years of his life. (27)

8th. Killian, an Irish Missionary and first Bishop of Wurzburg. His relics are in Wurzburg Cathedral. He was notable for successfully evangelising south Germany.(28)

9th. Cyril, Bishop of Treves,(Trier) on the Moselle. His feast-day is now 30th.July.(29)

12th. Nabor and Felix, martyrs. Archbishop Rainold is said to have taken their relics in 1164 from Milan to Cologne Cathedral.(30) (This is not the Nabor of June 12th..)

13th. Margaret,(Margarita) virgin and martyr. She was one of the Holy Helpers and during the Middle Ages her feast-day was a holy-day of obligation in many dioceses north of the Alps.(31) [This is a red-letter day in the Egerton 1146 Calendar, the only one with an alternative saint to the "Bruges Calendar" compilation with an Austro-Germanic significance.(32)

14th. Henry, son of the Duke of Bavaria. He became Emperor of Germany and Italy, his feast-day being 15th.July.(33)

18th. Justinus and Stacteus, martyrs, and Arnulphus, (Arnoul)Bishop of Metz on the Moselle.(33)

20th. Arbogastes, Bishop of Strasbourg, west of the Rhine. He raised from the dead one of the king's sons who was killed

whilst out hunting.(35) This is a very significant entry, considering the theme of the Egerton 1146 Calendar illustrations.

August

5th. Oswald, King of Northumbria. His cult was spread by Scottish monks in southern Germany. His feast-day was celebrated in Meissen and Treves.(36)

7th. Afra, martyr of Augsburg. He was venerated in southern Germany and his feast-day was 5th.August at Munich and 9th. August at Dresden.(37)

27th. Rufus, Bishop of Metz on the Moselle. His relics lie at Gau-Odernheim in Rhenish Hessa. The feast-day was celebrated at Metz.(38)

September

5th. Marcellus, Bishop of Treves. His feast-day is given as 4th.September in the published sources.(39)

6th. Magnus, Apostle of the Allgau, Bavaria. He was a monk at St.Gall who with St.Theodore evangelised the upper Lech. His feast-day was celebrated in Augsburg, Munich and Rottenburg.(40) 13th. Eugenia, virgin martyr. Her feast-day was celebrated at Trient,(Trent) in the ecclesiastical province of Aquileja, south of Salzburg.(41)

14th. Cornelius and Ciprian. Their relics were transferred to Cornelimunster, Germany.(42)

16th. Eugenia, Abbess of Hohenburg. Her feast-day was celebrated at Strasbourg.(43)

24th. Rupert, the first Bishop of Salzburg. He promoted

mining of salt, thus giving Juvavum a new name, and founded the Abbey of St.Peter. His relics were translated on this date.(44)

28th. Wenceslas, the Duke of Bohemia. He was an active supporter of the German priests in his lands.(45)

October

15th. Martyrs of Germany, 360 at Cologne on the Rhine.(46)

16th. Gall, Abbot of Luxeuil. He settled near Lake Constance in Switzerland, co-founding the Abbey of St.Luxeuil, famous throughout the Middle Ages.(47)

24th. Columbanus, Abbot of Luxeuil, whose disciple was St.Gall. He crossed the Alps and settled in northern Italy. His feast-day is given as 21st.November in the published sources.(48)

26th. Amandus, the first Bishop of Strasbourg. His feast-day is celebrated at Strasbourg and Freiburg, his relics lying at Strasbourg.(49)

November

2nd. Eustace, martyr, the patron saint of huntsmen. Traditionally, he shares 3rd.November with St.Hubert, the other patron saint of hunting. There appears to be confusion by several authorities on these two saints of hunting.(50)

3rd. Pirminius, Bishop of Meaux in France.(51) He apparently travelled from England or Ireland and founded Reichenau on Lake Constance and Hornbach near Treves and Metz. He died at Hornbach. His relics were moved to Innsbruch in 1575 where he is a minor patron. His feast-day is held at Strasbourg, Chur,

Freiburg, St.Gall and Spires.(52)

16th. Othmar, (Otmar, Audemar) the first Abbot of St.Gall in Switzerland which is very near the Austrian border. His body lies at St.Gall.(53) He restored the observance of the Rule of St.Columban, later replaced by that of St.Benedict.(54)

27th. Conrad, Bishop of Constance. He was a double minor at Augsburg and Rottenburg, his relics being elevated on 26th.November, the feast-day given in the published sources.(55)

December

13th. Othilia, (Odilia, Adilia) a virgin and nun of Alsace. She died in her monastery of Hohenburg.(56)

Examination of the biographies of the 91 individual saints and paired/grouped saints who are Egerton 1146 variations to the Bruges compilation in the months of January to December, shows that some 42 (Walpurg appears on two separate days) have a regional bias towards the Germanic lands, particularly the Rhineland Palatinate, Bavaria, Austria and Switzerland. Mathematically this is over 46% of the total number of variations, a significant regional indicator. The remaining 49 saints' feast-days appear to be "standard" entries, without any particular geographical focus or significance. The overall mathematical variation between the two Calendars, Egerton German against Bruges saints, is 11.5%, in itself a considerable pointer in ascertaining that the use of MS Egerton 1146 is Germanic rather than Flemish.

Roger S. Wieck makes several relevant points and warnings regarding the quality of information resulting from analyses of liturgical Calendars and those found in Books of Hours. "Genuine liturgical Calendars are quite precise, with specific local feasts and a hierachical grading for each feast indicating how it is to be observed, a grading which may also be peculiar to a particular locale. By and large this is not true for Calendars in Books of Hours that instead tend to be intentionally vague by including mainly widely observed feasts with a combination of local or regional ones pointing in different and conflicting directions, and having only a rudimentary system of grading by color. In the fifteenth century, this vagueness is particularly evident in what may be called the composite Calendar....[examples of]which are completely filled for every day of the year, unlike truly liturgical Calendars that have many "empty" days. While scholars usually treat such composite Calendars as though they were true liturgical ones, searching them for local or regional feasts, composite Calendars seldom reveal a place or even a specific region for their use."(57)

The Calendar of Egerton 1146 has 116 "empty" days in the months of January to December, a figure of 31.8%, thus appearing to qualify as a "true liturgical Calendar" and not as an "intentionally vague" composite one, as defined by Wieck. It therefore follows that the variations of saints' feast-days in the Egerton Calendar are significant and can be regarded as positive indicators of intended use for the Book of Hours in Germanic lands.

There are , however, a large number of feast-days in the Egerton Calendar which do accord with the Bruges list and these cannot initially be disregarded as being of no importance. Of the 365 feast-days between 1st.January and 31st.December, 158 cite the same saint(s) as the Bruges compilation. This is a frequency of 43.3%, at first sight a not inconsiderable figure but according to Roger Wieck, it is a low matching figure. He looks for a figure of over 50% for a significant connection "...either with Bruges itself or with the Ghent/Bruges school of illumination."(58) Using Wieck's index as a measure, it thus appears to safely rule out these two Flemish centres as possible locations of manufacture or use for MS Egerton 1146. The regional evidence indicates the probability that MS Egerton 1146 is indeed, in the words of Janet Backhouse, "...a good German Calendar."(59)

In order to reduce the possible locative use for Egerton 1146 from "Germanic", or even "south German", to recognised dioceses, or preferably a single diocese, within the wide and ill-defined boundaries of this large region, a detailed scholarly source on Germanic dioceses and their saints is now necessary.

This need is provided by Dr.H.Grotefend's three late nineteenth century works on the subject.(60) In spite of its antiquity, this appears still to be the authoritative survey on Germanic dioceses and their saints. Studies by later scholars using similar deductive methods to find the original use of

manuscripts, such as those of Francis Wormald,(61) indicate that the evidence which Grotefend compiled from medieval diocesan calendars is not only comprehensive in breadth but is also the fullest available at present. These remarks particularly apply to Germanic dioceses and his painstaking survey of the source material, largely the Calendars of late medieval prayer-books, should prove invaluable in achieving the aim of specific locational use for the manuscript.

It must be noted that one German scholar who was consulted regarded Grotefend's vast survey as being based upon insufficient evidence in the case of some dioceses. She maintained that some other researchers were of the same opinion.(62) However, in the case of the information required for the purposes of clarifying the provenance of MS Egerton 1146, Grotefend's material proved to be very conclusive, several separate lines of evidence leading in the same direction, each piece of evidence supporting the others.

The analysis comprises a sorting process to compare the 42 regionally specific Germanic saints, originally identified by comparing the Egerton 1146 saints with those of John Plummer's Bruges compilation,(63) with Calendars of Grotefend's Germanic dioceses. The large number of listed Austrian, German and Swiss dioceses necessitates the use of methods by which it is possible to narrow down the number of suitable dioceses for more detailed comparison using the entire spectrum of saints listed in each case tested. A random sample of Austrian, south German and Swiss dioceses was

firstly tested as an experiment and not surprisingly the results varied widely. As examples: Brixen in Austria lacked 8 German saints(64); Mainz in the Rhineland lacked 5 and Strassburg 14(65); Konstanz lacked 8(66); Basel and Chur in Switzerland each lacked 13.(67)

This random sampling was instructive in demonstrating that a good number of the 41 saints actually did exist within the Germanic dioceses, supporting their extraction as a regional group from the Bruges compilation Calendar.

Volume 3 of Grotefend contains an alphabetical list of the saints and each entry includes a list of the dioceses where that particular saint's day was celebrated in the Middle Ages, together with other feast-days and variants. This section of Grotefend is used to narrow down the number of possible dioceses. The preliminary sorting method is simple: locate each of the German saints from Egerton 1146 and count the number of dioceses in which he, she or they were celebrated. From this full list a short list will be produced of the saints most restricted in their distribution of dioceses. A low frequency occurrence will qualify these saints for further investigation.

Classification of the saints' dioceses in the new list will indicate the most likely dioceses, that is those which occur most frequently. The Calendars of this restricted group will then be compared to the Calendar of Egerton 1146.

The full list is as follows:

January

8th. Erhard. 29 Germanic dioceses.(68)
24th. Timothy. Ubiquitous.(69)

February

6th. Dorothy. Ubiquitous.(70)
15th. Faustinus and Jovita. 6 Germanic dioceses.(71)
25th. Walpurga. 12 Germanic dioceses.(72)

March

None.

April

None.

May

1st. Walpurga. 46 Germanic dioceses.(73)
4th. Florianus. 19 Germanic dioceses.(74)
5th. Gothard. 41 Germanic dioceses.(75)
15th. Sophia & her 3 d'trs. 10 Germanic dioceses.(76)
6)
29th. Maximinus. 18 Germanic dioceses.(77)

June

5th. Boniface. Widespread.(78)
12th. Basilidis, Cyrinus & Nararius. Ubiquitous.(79)
16th. Aureus & Justina. 13 Germanic dioceses.(80)

July

4th. Udalricus.	Ubiquitous.(81)
6th. Goar.	8 Germanic dioceses.(82)
7th. Willibald.	29 Germanic dioceses.(83)
8th. Killian.	Ubiquitous.(84)
9th. Cyril.	7 Germanic dioceses.(85)
12th.Nabor & Felix.	13 Germanic dioceses.(86)
13th.Margaret.	45 Germanic dioceses.(87)
14th.Henry.	Entry but no comment.(88)
18th.Justinus & Stacteus.	1 Germanic diocese.(89)
Arnulphus.	30 Germanic dioceses.(90)
20th.Arbogastes.	3+3 Germanic dioceses.(91)

August

5th. Oswald.	Ubiquitous.(92)
7th. Afra.	Ubiquitous.(93)
27th.Rufus.	Widespread.(94)

September

5th. Marcellus.	12 Germanic dioceses.(95)
6th. Magnus.	28 Germanic dioceses.(96)
13th.Eugenia.	1 Germanic diocese.(97)
24th.Rupert.	11 Germanic dioceses.(98)
25th.Wenceslas.	Ubiquitous.(99)

October

15th.300 German martyrs.	22 Germanic dioceses.(100)
16th.Gallus.	Ubiquitous.(101)

24th.Columbanus.	2+18 Germanic dioceses.(102)
26th.Amandus.	20 Germanic dioceses.(103)

November

2nd. Eustace.	Widespread.(104)
3rd. Pirminus.	10 Germanic dioceses.(105)
16th.Othar.	43 Germanic dioceses.(106)
27th.Conrad.	17 Germanic dioceses.(107)

December

13th.Othilia.	21 Germanic dioceses.(108)
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Occurrence in 10 dioceses or less is a reasonable qualification for a new restricted list of those saints whose dioceses appear worthy of further investigation. The figure 10 is also low enough to exclude saints with a moderate Germanic distribution but high enough to encompass a fair sample for analysis. The new group of saints from Egerton 1146 works out as follows:

1)February 15th., Faustinus and Jovita, 6 dioceses: Aquileja,(N.Adriatic), Brixen, Freising, Sitten, Trient,(Trent, N.Adriatic), Worms. (109)

2)May 15th.,Sophie and her three daughters, 10 dioceses: Aquileja, Bremen, Freising, Hamburg, Kammin, Koln, Konstanz, Mainz, Ratzeburg, Trient. (110)

3)July 6th., Goar, 8 dioceses: Bamberg, Luttich, Mainz, Metz, Salzburg, Speyer, Trier, Worms. (111)

4)July 9th., Cyril, 7 dioceses: Bamberg, Chur, Konstanz,

- Mainz, Trier, Verdun, Worms. (112)
- 5) July 18th., Justinus and Stacteus, 1 diocese: Worms. (113)
- 6) July 20th., Arbogastes, 3+3 dioceses: Chur, Mainz, Worms.
 July 21st., Basel, Konstanz, Strassburg. (114)
- 7) September 13th., Eugenia, 1 diocese: Trient. The date given by Grotefend as September 11th.. (115)
- 8) October 24th., Columbanus, 2 dioceses: Mainz and Worms on this date and November 21st; 18 other dioceses on November 21st.. (116)
- 9) November 3rd., Pirminus, 10 dioceses: Augsburg, Chur, Freising, Konstanz, Mainz, Metz, Speyer, Strassburg, Trier, Worms. (117)

From their very restricted occurrence in space, the most significant saints in terms of location appear to be Justinus and Stacteus, Arbogastes and Columbanus. The dioceses common to all four saints are Mainz and Worms, both in the Suffragan of Mainz. Sorting into rank order based upon diocesan frequency in the restricted list of nine saints produces the following table:

<u>Rank</u>	<u>Diocese</u>	<u>Suffragan</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
1st.	Worms.	Mainz.	7/9
2nd.	Mainz.	Mainz.	6/9
3rd.=	Konstanz.	Mainz.	4/9
3rd.=	Metz.	Trier.	4/9
5th.=	Chur.	Mainz.	3/9
5th.=	Freising.	Salzburg.	3/9
5th.=	Trient.	Aquileja.	3/9

5th.=	Trier.	Trier.	3/9
9th.=	Aquileja.	Aquileja.	2/9
9th.=	Bamberg.	Exemt.	2/9
9th.=	Speyer.	Mainz.	2/9
9th.=	Strassburg.	Mainz.	2/9

The remaining dioceses of Augsburg, Basel, Bremen, Brixen, Hamburg, Kammin, Koln, Luttich, Ratzeburg, Salzburg, Sitten and Verdun, have a frequency of 1/9.

This table of rank frequency indicates that Worms and Mainz are the two best dioceses with which to compare the Calendar of Egerton 1146 (map 1). The table also supports the conclusions which were the result of investigating the Germanic saints with a very restricted diocesan occurrence.

Confirmatory evidence from outside the 42 Germanic saints group now becomes necessary. Let us consider referencing in Volume 3 of Grotefend all the other saints from the Egerton 1146 Calendar who did not appear in the Bruges compilation. The reasoning for this new analysis is twofold. Firstly, the saints may have been excluded from the Bruges Calendar by John Plummer as not being representative of a typical Bruges Calendar and their non-appearance may be an indication that their regional significance is completely outside Bruges and the Low Countries, perhaps in the Germanic lands. This is a positive point. Secondly, perhaps they were not purposefully excluded, rather they simply did not occur in the five manuscripts selected by Plummer. This appears unlikely.

The full list of these other saints is as follows. (Those found in the Diocese of Worms are indicated with an asterisk, thus *)

January

13th. Hilary. Ubiquitous.(118)
27th. John Chrysostom. Ubiquitous.(119)

February

8th. Helen. 18 Germanic dioceses.*(120)
12th. Eulalia. 16 Germanic dioceses.*(121)
18th. Simeon. 11 Germanic dioceses.*(122)
26th. Victor & Victorinus. Ubiquitous.(123)

March

7th. Thomas Aquinas. Ubiquitous.(124)
16th. Cyriacus. 15 Germanic dioceses.*(125)
19th. Joseph. Ubiquitous.(126)

April

9th. Mary of Egypt. 16 Germanic dioceses.*(127)
30th. Quirinus. 13 Germanic dioceses.*(128)

May

2nd. Anastasius. 3 Germanic dioceses.*(129)
8th. Macharius. 2 Germanic dioceses.*(130)
10th. Gordianus & Epimachus. Ubiquitous.(131)
12th. Nereus & Achilleus. Ubiquitous.(132)

19th. Ivo.	9 Germanic dioceses.*(133)
26th. Bede.	2+3 Germanic dioceses.*(134)
27th. Germanus.	10 Germanic dioceses.*(135)

June

3rd. Erasmus.	Ubiquitous.(136)
13th. Felicula.	5 Germanic dioceses.*(137)
15th. Vitus & Modestus.	Ubiquitous.(138)
18th. Mark & Marcellianus.	Ubiquitous.(139)
22nd.Ten Thousand Martyrs.	Ubiquitous.(140)
28th. Leo.	Ubiquitous.(141)

July

29th. Martha.	23 Germanic dioceses.*(142)
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August

3rd. Justin.	20 Germanic dioceses.*(143)
6th. Sixtus.	Ubiquitous.(144)
8th. Cyriacus.	15 Germanic dioceses.*(145)
9th. Romanus.	Widespread.(146)
11th.Tiburtius.	Ubiquitous.(147)
14th.Eusebius.	Ubiquitous.(148)
20th.Bernard.	Widespread.(149)
25th.Genesius.	23 Germanic dioceses.*(150)
30th.Felix & Adauctus.	Ubiquitous.(151)

September

3rd. Antoninus.	11 Germanic dioceses.*(152)
4th. Mansuetus.	8 Germanic dioceses.(153)

11th. Protus & Hyacinth.	Ubiquitous. (154)
19th. Januarius.	Widespread. * (155)
23rd. Eunan.	No entry. (156)
26th. Cyprian & Justina.	Widespread. * (157)

October

1st. Vedast & Amandus.	Entry only. (158)
6th. Faith.	Widespread. (159)
7th. Mark.	Ubiquitous. (160)
Sergius, Bacchus.	Widespread. * (161)
8th. Reparata.	1 Germanic diocese. * (162)
12th. Aubertus.	Entry only. (163)
14th. Calixtus.	Ubiquitous. (164)
17th. Florence.	5 Germanic dioceses. * (165)
19th. Januarius	Widespread. * (166)
29th. Narcissus.	Widespread. * (167)
30th. Marcellus.	1 Germanic diocese. (168)

November

2nd. Eustachius.	Widespread. (169)
5th. Felix and Eusebius.	4 Germanic dioceses. * (170)
12th. Humbert (Cunibert).	Widespread. * (171)
15th. Secundus.	1 Germanic diocese. (172)
29th. Saturninus.	Ubiquitous. (173)

December

13th. Jodocus.	17 Germanic dioceses. * (174)
16th. Lazarus.	Widespread. (175)

The original qualification for significance of occurrence in 10 dioceses or less is applied to these "non-Germanic" saints. 12 new saints qualify and must be examined as diocese indicators.

1) May 2nd., Anastasius, found in 3 dioceses, Bremen, Hamburg and Worms. There is a problem regarding this entry. According to the Ramsgate Book of Saints, for May 2nd. the saint should be Athanasius, not Anastasius as in Egerton 1146. See end-note (129). The reason for this mistake, if indeed it is one, is unclear. It may simply be a clerk's error. Anastasius would be a highly significant positive indicator for the Diocese of Worms and so it has been included in this part of the evidence.

2) May 9th., Macharius, found in 2 dioceses, Bremen and Worms.

3) May 19th., Ivo, found in 9 dioceses, including Mainz and Worms.

4) May 26th., Bede, found in 2+3 dioceses; 2 on May 26th. and 3 on May 27th., including Utrecht and Worms. See end-note (133).

5) May 27th., Germanus, found in 10 dioceses, including Worms.

6) June 13th., Felicula, found in 5 dioceses, including Utrecht and Worms.

7) September 4th., Mansuetus, found in 8 dioceses, including Mainz but not Worms.

8) October 8th., Reparata, exclusive to Worms.

9) October 17th., Florence, found in 5 dioceses, including

Mainz, Worms and Utrecht.

10) October 30th., Marcellus, exclusive to Bremen.

11) November 5th., Felix and Eusebius, found in 4 dioceses, including Bremen, Worms and Utrecht.

12) November 15th., Secundus, exclusive to Utrecht.

Several conclusions become apparent from this analysis. The most obvious is the frequency of occurrence of the Diocese of Worms. Nine out of the list of twelve saints includes appearances in the Worms Calendar, and thus these saints can be regarded as being highly specific in their indication of probable diocese. The list also includes Reparata, a saint with the most restricted frequency possible, a one diocesan appearance. This corresponds with the single diocesan frequency of Justinus and Stacteus on July 18th. from the restricted list of Germanic saints. Worms also commonly occurs in the saints with a frequency of over 10 dioceses.

The Litany of Saints in the Hours of Egerton 1146 also provides additional evidence for establishing use. The Litany follows the Seven Penitential Psalms and is written on four folio pages, ff.20r.-21v.. The saints are in hierachical precedence, beginning with the Virgin Mary, followed by the three Archangels, John the Baptist, the Apostles and saints, including confessors and virgins.

Matching the Litany saints against those in the Calendar then testing them for regional significance may produce a further corpus of evidence.

There are 93 saints, including the Virgin Mary, in the Litany. Of these, the following are not in the Egerton Calendar:

March 18th., Gabriel the Archangel. His feast was not universal in the Latin Church.(176)

October 24th., Raphael the Archangel. His feast was generally kept in the Church.(177)

July 25th., Christopher, who was a popular saint in the Middle Ages.(178)

August 4th., Dominic, a scion of the illustrious Guzman family, who achieved fame for raising the dead to life on more than one occasion.(179)

Fourteen of the saints in the Litany have Germanic regional significance but thirteen have already been examined in the preliminary comparison with the Bruges list. The remaining saint is Dominic. Reference to Grotefend places Dominic in only 7 Germanic dioceses, including Worms(180). This is surprising considering his universality. Dominic can thus be added to the evidence in favour of use of the Diocese of Worms.

Returning to the 12 "non-Germanic" saints list, two other saints emerge with a single diocesan appearance; Marcellus in the Bremen Calendar and Secundus in the Utrecht Calendar. Both these saints obviously have some importance and the dioceses of Bremen and Utrecht are of some as yet unknown

significance. Although not occurring as frequently as Worms, both these dioceses, plus Hamburg and Mainz, occur several times in the list, particularly Utrecht. It is interesting that these five dioceses, Worms, Utrecht, Hamburg, Bremen and Mainz, are the most recurrent dioceses in the refined "non-Germanic" list of saints. Geographically, the five dioceses form the end points to a huge triangle enclosing a large part of the eastern Netherlands, northern and central Germany.

The evidence from the refined "non-Germanic" saints list and the Litany indicates Worms as the most likely location of use. This result supports the conclusions reached from the examination of the restricted group refined from the original 42 Germanic saints. Of the two most favoured dioceses of Mainz and Worms, it is thus Worms which emerges as the most likely location for the use of Egerton 1146(map 1).

These positive conclusions lead to the final step in the analysis in establishing the use of the manuscript; this is direct comparisons of the Egerton 1146, Mainz and Worms Calendars. For maximum effectiveness, this must be done in two ways: firstly by comparing red letter days; secondly, by comparing each day of the year. The Mainz and Worms Calendars are extracted from Grotefend works, Volume 2.(181)

In the following table, red letter days common to all three of the Calendars are indicated as "Red", and ordinary saint's days as "Black". The few exceptions are shown and end-noted.

Red Letter Days

Egerton 1146

Mainz

Worms

January

1st. Circumcision.	Red.	Red.
6th. Epiphany.	Red.	Red.
25th. Conversion of St. Paul.	Red.	Black. (182)

February

2nd. Purification of Virgin Mary.	Red.	Red.
22nd. Peter the Apostle's Chair,	Black.	Red.
24th. Matthias the Apostle.	Red.	Red.

March

25th. Annunciation of Virgin Mary.	Red.	Red.
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April

23rd. George the Martyr.	Red.	Black.
25th. Mark the Evangelist.	Red.	Red. (183)

May

1st. Philip and James.	Red.	Red. (184)
2nd. Another saint.	Other.	Red. (185)
3rd. Maintain Holy Relics.	Red.	Red.

June

5th. Black.	Red-Bishop Boniface.	Black.
12th. Black.	Red-Basilides, Cyrinus, Nabor	Black.

and Nazarius, martyrs.

15th.	Black.	Red-Vitus, Modestus & Crescentia, m..	Black.
16th.	Black.	Red-Aureus & Justina, martyrs.	Black.
21st.	Black.	Red-Alban, martyr.	Black.
24th.	John the Baptist.	Red.	Red.
29th.	Peter & Paul the Apostles.	Red.	Red.

July

2nd.	Visitation of Virgin Mary.	Red.	Red. (186)
4th.	Black.	Red-Bishop Udalricus. Transl. of Martin's relics.	Black. (187)
8th.	Black.	Red-Killian & other martyrs.	Black.
13th.	Margaret the Virgin.	Red.	Red.
15th.	Black.	Red-Division of the Apostles.	Black.
22nd.	Mary Magdalen.	Red.	Red.
25th.	James the Apostle.	Red.	Red. (188)

August

1st.	St. Peter's Chains [Lammas].	Red.	Red.
10th.	Laurence the Martyr.	Red.	Red.
15th.	Assumption of Virgin Mary.	Red.	Red.
24th.	Bartholemew the Apostle.	Red.	Red.
29th.	Blank day. Red-Decollation [beheading] of St. John the Baptist.		Black.

September

8th.	Nativity of Virgin Mary.	Red.	Red.
14th.	Exaltation of Holy Relics [Holy Cross Day].	Red.	Black.

21st. Matthew the Apostle and Evangelist.	Red.	Red.
29th. Michael the Archangel.	Red.	Red. (189)

October

28th. Simon & Jude the Apostles.	Red.	Red.
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November

1st. All Saints.	Red.	Red.
2nd. All Souls' Day.	Black.	Black.
11th. Bishop Martin's Enthronement.	Red.	Red.
19th. Elizabeth, Lantigrave of Thuringia [Hungary].	Black.	Black.
21st. Black.	Red-Presentation BVM. Black-Columbanus.	Black.
25th. Catherine, virgin martyr.	Red.	Red.
30th. Andrew the Apostle.	Red.	Red.

December

6th. Bishop Nicholas.	Red.	Red.
8th. Conception of B.V.M..	Red.	Red.
21st. Thomas the Apostle.	Red.	Red.
25th. Nativity of Lord Jesus Christ.	Red.	Red.
26th. Stephan, the First Martyr.	Red.	Red.
27th. John the Evangelist.	Red.	Red.
28th. The Holy Innocents.	Red.	Red. (190)

When the results of this comparison of the red letter days of the three Calendars are numerically sorted and summarised in point form for clarity the following facts emerge:

- 1) Egerton 1146 has 39 red letter days.
- 2) Egerton 1146 has 6 red letter days which are ordinary saint's days in the Worms Calendar.
- 3) Egerton 1146 and Worms thus have 33 red letter days which exactly correspond.
- 4) Mainz has 47 red letter days.
- 5) Mainz has 10 red letter days which are ordinary black letter days in Egerton 1146.
- 6) Mainz has 2 black letter day which are red letter days in Egerton 1146. These are: February 22nd., the Feast of St. Peter the Apostle's Chair; November 2nd., All Souls' Day.
- 7) Mainz and Egerton 1146 have 37 red letter days in common.
- 8) Worms has 34 red letter days.
- 9) Worms has 1 red letter day which Egerton does not have as either a red or black letter day. This is May 2nd., the Church of Worms Dedication Feast, presumably peculiar to Worms and its Calendar. The same point applies to July 4th., the Moguntine Church Dedication Feast, peculiar to Mainz and its Calendar. [See end-notes 185 and 187 respectively.]

The close correspondence of 33 out of 34 red letter days in the comparison of the Egerton 1146 and Worms Calendars indicates an intimate relationship and common place of use. The correspondence of 37 out of 47 red letter days in common with the Mainz Calendar is also of great significance, Worms being a diocese within the Suffragan Bishopric, and Archbishopric,

of Mainz in the eastern Rhineland of southern Germany. In mathematical terms, the ratio of correspondence between Egerton 1146 and Worms is demonstrably greater than that between Egerton and Mainz, 97.05% against 78.72% respectively. The conclusion from these figures is clear, Worms emerges as the more likely choice of use for MS Egerton 1146, reinforcing all the conclusions reached from the previous analyses.

This successful comparison of the red letter days between the Calendars of Egerton 1146, Mainz and Worms leads us on to consider what the results would be of a complete comparison of the entire Calendars. This could be regarded as being the final and conclusive piece of evidence in a comparative method of use location. Obviously, this will prove to be a lengthy and exacting exercise, necessitating the complete transcription of the Egerton Calendar, followed by a day by day comparison to Grotefend's Calendars of Mainz and Worms. (191) This will be carried out in the same manner as the red letter day exercise but exclude any red letter day entries of the three Calendars, whether the corresponding entries were Red or Black.

The results of the complete comparison follow. It should be noted that where the Egerton saint corresponds with the Mainz or Worms entry is indicated as "Black". Any other saints on that day which do not correspond are noted after this.

Black Letter Days

Egerton 1146MainzWormsJanuary

2nd. Stephen.	Black.	Black.
3rd. John the Apostle.	Black.	Black.
4th. The Holy Innocents.	Black.	Black.
5th. Vigil.	Vigil.	Vigil.
7th. -	-	-
8th. Erhard.	Black.	Black.
9th. -	-	-
10th. Paul the First Hermit.	Black.	Black.
11th. -	-	-
12th. -	-	-
13th. Hilary.	Black.	Black.
14th. Felix.	Black.	Black.
15th. Maurus.	Black.	Black.
16th. Pope Marcellus.	Black.	Black.
17th. Antony.	Black.	Black.
18th. Prisca.	Black.	Black.
19th. Marius and Martha.	Black.	Black.
20th. Fabian and Sebastian.	Black.	Black.
21st. Agnes.	Black.	Black.
22nd. Vincent.	Black.	Black.
23rd. Emerentiana.	Black.	Black.
24th. Timothy.	Black.	Black.
26th. Polycarp.	Black.	Black.
27th. John Chrysostem.	Black.	Black.
28th. Oct. Agnes.	Black. Charlemagne.	Black.

29th. Valerius.	Black.	Black.
30th. Aldegunda.	Black.	Black.
31th. -	Geminian.	Black.

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Egerton 1146

Mainz

Worms

February

1st. Bridget.	Black. Ignatius. Severus.	Black.
3rd. Blase.	Black.	Black.
4th. -	-	Neophyte.
5th. Agatha.	Black.	Black.
6th. Dorothy. Vedastus. Amandus.	All black.	All black.
7th. -	-	-
8th. Queen Helen.	Black.	Black.
9th. Apollonia.	Black.	Black.
10th. Scholastica.	Black. Soteris.	Black.
11th. -	-	-
12th. Eulalia.	-	Black.
13th. -	Castor.	-
14th. Valentine.	Black.	Black.
15th. Faustinus and Jovita.	-	Black.
16th. Juliana.	Black.	Black.
17th. -	-	Polychronius.
18th. Simeon.	-	Black.
19th. -	-	-
20th. -	Eucharis.	-
21st. -	Germanus.	-
23rd. Thecla. Vigil.	Vigil.	Vigil.

25th. Walburga.	-	Victor & Victorinus.
26th. Victor & Victorinus.	-	-
27th. -	-	-
28th. -	-	-

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Egerton 1146

Mainz

Worms

March

1st. -	-	-
2nd. -	-	-
3rd. -	-	Chunigundis.
4th. -	-	Adrian.
5th. -	-	-
6th. -	Fridolin.	-
7th. Perpetua. Thomas Aquinas.	Both black.	Both black.
8th. -	-	-
9th. -	-	-
10th. -	-	-
11th. -	-	-
12th. Pope Gregory.	Black.	Black.
13th. -	-	-
14th. -	-	-
15th. -	Longinus.	-
16th. Cyriaca.	Black. Heribert.	Black.
17th. Gertrude.	Black.	Black.
18th. -	-	Anselm.
19th. Joseph.	Black.	Black.
20th. -	-	-

21st. Benedict.	Black.	Black.
22nd. -	-	-
23rd. -	-	-
24th. -	-	-
26th. -	-	-
27th. -	-	-
28th. -	-	-
29th. -	-	-
30th. -	-	-
31st. -	-	-

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Egerton 1146

Mainz

Worms

April

1st. -	-	-
2nd. -	-	-
3rd. -	Florentius.	Black.
4th. Ambrose.	Black.	Black.
5th. -	-	-
6th. -	Pope Celestine.	Black.
7th. -	-	-
8th. -	-	-
9th. Mary of Egypt.	Black.	Black.
10th. -	-	-
11th. Pope Leo.		Black.
12th. -	-	-
13th. Euphemia.	-	Black.
14th. Tibirtius & Valerian.	Black.	Black.

15th.	-	-	-
16th.	-	-	-
17th.	-	-	-
18th.	-	-	-
19th.	-	-	-
20th.	-	Adelarius.	-
21st.	-	-	-
22nd.	-	-	-
24th.	-	Wendalin.	-
26th.	-	Cletus. Marcellinus.	-
27th.	Anastasius.	-	Black.
28th.	Vitalis.	Black.	Black.
29th.	Peter.	Black.	Black.
30th.	Quirinus.	Black. Quasimodo.	Black.

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Egerton 1146

Mainz

Worms

May

4th.	Florian.	Black.	Black.	Gothard.	Guido.
5th.	Gothard.	Black.			-
6th.	John of the Latin Gate.	Black.			Black.
7th.	Juvenal.	-			Black.
8th.	Macharius.	Michael.	Casaria.		Michael.
9th.	Nicholas.	Black.		Black.	Macharius.
10th.	Gordian & Epimachus.	Black.			Black.
11th.	-	-			-
12th.	Nereus, Achilleus. Pancras.	Black.			Black.
13th.	Servatius. Gingolf.	Black.			Black. Mary.

14th.	-	-	-
15th.	Sophia.	Black. Wigbert.	-
16th.	-	-	-
17th.	-	-	-
18th.	-	-	Marcus.
19th.	Pudentiana. Ivo.	Black.	Black.
20th.	-	-	-
21st.	-	-	-
22nd.	-	-	Quiteria.
23rd.	-	-	-
24th.	-	-	-
25th.	Pope Urban.	Black. Mary Jacob & Mary Salome.	Black.
26th.	Bede.	-	Nicholas.
27th.	Germanus.	-	Bede.
28th.	-	-	Germanus.
29th.	Maximinus.	Black.	Black.
30th.	-	Felix.	-
31st.	Petronilla.	Black. Feast of Five Wounds.	Black.

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Egerton 1146

Mainz

Worms

June

1st.	Nicomedes.	Black.	Black.
2nd.	Marcellinus & Peter.	Black.	Black.
3rd.	Erasmus.	Black.	Black.
4th.	-	-	-
6th.	-	Claudius.	-
7th.	-	Servatius.	-

8th. Medard.	Black.	Black.
9th. Primus & Felician.	Black.	Black.
10th. -	-	-
11th. Barnabas.	Black.	Black. Onuphrius.
13th. Felicula.	Onuphrius.	Black.
14th. Basil.	Black.	Black. Antonius.
17th. -	Bartholomew.	-
18th. Mark & Marcellianus.	Black.	Black.
19th. Gervase & Protase.	Black.	Black.
20th. -	Deodatus.	Eusebius.
22nd. Ten Thousand Martyrs.	Black.	Black. Alban. Paulinus.
23rd. Vigil.	Vigil.	Vigil.
25th. -	-	-
26th. John & Paul.	Black.	Black.
27th. The Seven Sleepers.	Black.	Black.
28th. Pope Leo. Vigil.	Black. Vigil.	Black. Vigil.
30th. Paul.	Black.	Black.

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Egerton 1146

Mainz

Worms

July

1st. John the Baptist.	Black.	Black.
3rd. -	-	-
5th. -	-	-
6th. Peter & Paul. Goar.	Both black.	Both black.
7th. Willebald.	Black.	Black.
9th. Cyril.	Black. Vis. Mary,	Black. Vis. Mary.
10th. Seven Brothers.	Black.	Black.

11th. Benedict.	Black.	Black.
12th. Nabor & Felix.	Erasmus.	Black.
14th. Emperor Henry.	Black.	Black.
16th. -	-	-
17th. Alexis.	Black.	Black.
18th. Justinus & Stacteus.	Arnoul. Arnoul.	Both black.
19th. -	Arsenius.	Arsenius.
20th. Arbogastes.	Black.	Black.
21st. Praxedes.	Black.	Black.
23rd. Apollinaris.	Black. Liborius. Brigid.	Black. Liborius.
24th. Christina. Vigil.	Black. Vigil.	Black. Vigil.
26th. Anne, M. of Mary.	Black. Eoban.	Black.
27th. -	Hermolaus. Charlemagne.	Hermolaus.
28th. Pantaleon.	Black. Martha.	Black.
29th. Martha, Hostess of Christ.	Black. Felix & Simplicius. Mary Magdalene.	Black. Simlic., Felix, Faust., & Beatrix.
30th. Abdon & Sennen.	Black.	Black.
31st. Germanus.	Black.	Black.

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Egerton 1146

Mainz

Worms

August

2nd. Pope Stephen.	Black.	Black.
3rd. Stephen.	Black.	Black.
4th. Justinus.	Black.	Black. Oswald. Dominic.
5th. Oswald.	Black. Mary. Dominic.	Black. Dominic.
6th. Sixtus.	Black. Transfiguration.	Black. Felicissimus &

Agapitus.Transfig..

7th. Afra.	Black. Donatian.	Black. Donatian.
8th. Cyriacus.	Black.	Black.
9th. Romanus. Vigil.	Black. Vigil.	Black. Vigil.
11th. Tiburtius.	Black. Susanna.	Black.
12th. Clare.	Black.	Black.
13th. Hippolytus & Friends.	Black. Wigbert.	Black
14th. Eusebius. Vigil.	Black. Vigil.	Black. Vigil.
16th. Arnolf.	Theodolus.	Black. Rock.
17th. Laurence.	Black.	Black. Rock.
18th. Agapitus.	Black.	Black.
19th. Magnus.	Black. Louis.	Black.
20th. Bernard.	Black.	Black.
21st. -	-	-
22nd. Oct. Assumption Mary.	Black. Timothy & Symphorianus.	Black. Timothy & Symphorianus.
23rd. Vigil.	Vigil.	Vigil.
25th. Genesius.	Black.	Black. Andrew.
26th. Irenaeus & Abundius.	Black.	Black.
27th. Rufus.	Black. Gebhard.	Black.
28th. Augustine.	Black. Hermes. Pelagius.	Black. Hermes.
30th. Felix & Adauctus.	Black. Just & Clementus.	Black.
31st. Paulinus.	Black. Lazarus.	Black.

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Egerton 1146

Mainz

Worms

September

1st. Egidius.	Black. Priscus.	Black. Priscus. Verena.
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2nd. Justus.	Black.	Black.
3rd. Antoninus.	Mansuetus & Remaclus.	Black.
4th. Mansuetus.	-	Marcellus.
5th. Marcellinus.	-	Hyacinth.
6th. Magnus.	Black.	Black.
7th. Evortius. Regina.	Regina.	Both black.
9th. Gorgonius.	Black.Cunegundes.	Black.
10th. -	-	-
11th. Protus & Hyacinth.	Black.	Black.
12th. -	-	-
13th. Justina. Eugenia.	Maternus.	-
15th. Octa. Nativity Mary.	Black. Nicomedes.	Black. Nicomedes.
16th. Euphemia.	Black. Lucy & Germinianus.	Black. Lucy & Germin..
17th. Lambert.	Black.	Black.
18th. -	-	Ferreolus.
19th. Januarius.	Black.	Black. Eustochius.
20th. Vigil.	Fausta. Vigil.	Vigil.
22nd. Maurice.	Black. Emmeramus.	Black. Emmeramus.
23rd. Thecla. Emmeramus.	Black. Quad. Assump. Mary.	Black. Emm..
	Corp. Assump. Mary.	
24th. Rupert.	Con. John the Baptist.	Black.
25th. -	-	Firminus.
26th. Justina & Cyprian.	Black.	Black.
27th. Cosmas & Damian.	Black.	Black.
28th. Wenceslaus.	Black.	Black.
30th. Jerome.	Black.	Black.

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October

1st.	Remigius.Vedastus&Amandus.	Black.Germanus.	Both black, except Germanus not Amandus.
2nd.	Leodegarius.	Black.	Black.
3rd.	The Two Ewalds.	Black.	Black.
4th.	Francis.	Black.	Black. Mark&Marcian.
5th.	- Constantius & Alexander.		Apollinaris.
6th.	Faith.	Abraam, Isaac & Jacob.	Black.
7th.	Pope Mark. Sergius&Bacchus.	All black.	All Black.
8th.	Reparata.	Erhard.	Black.
9th.	Dionysius.	Black.	Black.
10th.	Gereon.	Black.Victor.Amandus.	Black.
11th.	Augustine.	Burchard.	Black.
12th.	Venantius.	Pantalus.	Cyprian.
13th.	-	Lubentius.	-
14th.	Callistus.	Black.	Black.
15th.	300 Martyrs.	Black. Aurelia.	Black.
16th.	Gall.	Black. Lullus.	Black.
17th.	Florence.	Black.	Black.
18th.	Luke.	Black.	Black.
19th.	Januarius.	Black. Black.Fortunata.	Pelagia.
20th.	-	-	-
21st.	Ursula & Companions.	Black.	Black.
22nd.	Severus.	Black.	Black.
23rd.	Severinus.	Black.Theodore.Maternus.	Black.
24th.	Columbanus.	Black.	Black.
25th.	Crispin & Crispinian.	Black.Bartholemew.	Black.

26th. Amandus.	Black.	Black.
27th. Vigil.	Vigil.	Vigil.
29th. Narcissus.	Black.	Black.
30th. Marcellus.	Theonestus.	Theonestus.
31st. Quinctinus.	Black. Vigil.	Black.

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Egerton 1146

Mainz

Worms

November

2nd. Eustachius.	Black.	Black.
3rd. Pirminius.	Black. Hubert.	Black.
4th. -	-	-
5th. Felix & Eusabius.	-	Black.
6th. Leonard.	Black.	Black.
7th. Willibrord.	Black.	Black.
8th. Four Crowned Martyrs.	Black. Oct. All Sts.	Black. All Sts.
9th. Theodore.	Black.	Black.
10th. Pope Martin.	Black.	Black.
12th. Cunibert.	Black. Himerius.	Black.
13th. Brixius.	Black. Livinus.	Black.
14th. -	-	-
15th. Secundus.	-	-
16th. Othmar.	Black.	Black.
17th. -	-	-
18th. Oct. Martin.	Black.	Black.
20th. -	-	-
22nd. Cecilia.	Black.	Black.
23rd. Pope Clement.	Black. Felicittas.	Black. Felicittas.

24th.	Chrysogonus.	Black.	Black.
26th.	Pope Linus.	Black.	Mercurius.
		Conrad.	Black.
27th.	Conrad.	Bilhild.	Black.
28th.	-	-	-
29th.	Saturninus.	Vigil.	Black.
		Vigil.	Vigil.

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Egerton 1146

Mainz

Worms

December

1st.	-	-	-
2nd.	-	-	Oct. Catherine.
3rd.	-	Lucius.	-
4th.	Barbara.	Black.	Black.
5th.	-	-	-
7th.	Oct. Andrew.	Black.	Black.
9th.	-	Joachim.	-
10th.	-	Melchiades.	Eulalia.
11th.	Damasus.	Black.	Black.
12th.	-	-	-
13th.	Lucy. Othilia. Judocus.	All black.	All black.
14th.	-	-	-
15th.	-	-	-
16th.	Lazarus.	Ananias, Azarias & Misael.	-
		Adelaide.	
17th.	Ignatius.	Black. Lazarus.	Ignatius.
18th.	-	-	-
19th.	-	-	-
20th.	Vigil.	Ursicinus. Vigil.	Vigil.

22nd.	-	-	-
23rd.	-	-	-
24th.	Vigil.	Vigil.	Vigil.
29th.	Thomas of Canterbury.	Black.	Black.
30st.	-	King David.	-
31st.	Pope Silvester.	Black.	Black.

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Analysis of the three Calendars is straightforward: the Egerton Calendar acts as the base and the Mainz and Worms Calendars in turn are compared to this base for each month of the year. Comparison for each pair of Calendars takes the same format as follows:

- 1) complete correspondence, i.e. saint(s) the same as Egerton Calendar;
- 2) mixed correspondence, i.e. same saint(s) as Egerton Calendar, plus other(s);
- 3) variants, i.e. different saint(s) to Egerton Calendar;
- 4) vigil correspondence with Egerton Calendar;
- 5) blank days correspondence with Egerton Calendar.

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The results for each month are as follows:

January

Egerton Calendar compared with Mainz Calendar:

- 1) complete correspondence- 21
- 2) mixed correspondence- 1
- 3) variants- 1
- 4) vigil correspondence- 1
- 5) blanks correspondence- 4

Egerton Calendar compared with Worms Calendar:

- 1) complete correspondence- 22
- 2) mixed correspondence- 0
- 3) variants- 0
- 4) vigil correspondence- 1
- 5) blanks correspondence- 5

February

Egerton Calendar compared with Mainz Calendar:

- 1) complete correspondence- 7
- 2) mixed correspondence- 2
- 3) variants- 3
- 4) vigil correspondence- 1
- 5) blanks correspondence- 7

Egerton Calendar with Worms Calendar:

- 1) complete correspondence- 12
- 2) mixed correspondence- 0
- 3) variants- 3

- 4) vigil correspondence- 1
- 5) blanks correspondence- 8

March

Egerton Calendar compared with Mainz Calendar:

- 1) complete correspondence- 5
- 2) mixed correspondence- 1
- 3) variants- 2
- 4) vigil correspondence-0
- 5) blanks correspondence- 22

Egerton Calendar compared with Worms Calendar:

- 1) complete correspondence- 6
- 2) mixed correspondence- 0
- 3) variants- 3
- 4) vigil correspondence- 0
- 5) blanks correspondence- 21

April

Egerton Calendar compared with Mainz Calendar:

- 1) complete correspondence- 5
- 2) mixed correspondence- 1
- 3) variants- 5
- 4) vigil correspondence- 0
- 5) blanks correspondence- 14

Egerton Calendar compared with Worms Calendar:

- 1) complete correspondence- 11
- 2) mixed correspondence- 0
- 3) variants- 0
- 4) vigil correspondence- 0
- 5) blanks correspondence- 17

May

Egerton Calendar compared with Mainz Calendar:

- 1) complete correspondence- 9
- 2) mixed correspondence- 3
- 3) variants- 2
- 4) vigil correspondence- 0
- 5) blanks correspondence- 11

Egerton Calendar compared with Worms Calendar:

- 1) complete correspondence- 8
- 2) mixed correspondence- 3
- 3) variants- 6
- 4) vigil correspondence- 0
- 5) blanks correspondence- 9

June

Egerton Calendar compared with Mainz Calendar:

- 1) complete correspondence- 14
- 2) mixed correspondence- 0
- 3) variants- 5
- 4) vigil correspondence- 2

5) blanks correspondence- 3

Egerton Calendar compared with Worms Calendar:

1) complete correspondence- 11

2) mixed correspondence- 3

3) variants- 1

4) vigil correspondence- 2

5) blanks correspondence- 6

July

Egerton Calendar compared with Mainz Calendar:

1) complete correspondence- 12

2) mixed correspondence- 6

3) variants- 3

4) vigil correspondence- 1

5) blanks correspondence- 3

Egerton Calendar compared with Worms Calendar:

1) complete correspondence- 16

2) mixed correspondence- 3

3) variants- 2

4) vigil correspondence- 1

5) blanks correspondence- 3

August

Egerton Calendar compared with Mainz Calendar:

1) complete correspondence- 12

- 2) mixed correspondence- 11
- 3) variants- 1
- 4) vigil correspondence- 3
- 5) blanks correspondence- 1

Egerton Calendar compared with Worms Calendar:

- 1) complete correspondence- 15
- 2) mixed correspondence- 9
- 3) variants- 0
- 4) vigil correspondence- 3
- 5) blanks correspondence- 1

September

Egerton Calendar compared with Mainz Calendar:

- 1) complete correspondence- 9
- 2) mixed correspondence- 7
- 3) variants- 4
- 4) vigil correspondence- 1
- 5) blanks correspondence- 4

Egerton Calendar compared with Worms Calendar:

- 1) complete correspondence- 12
- 2) mixed correspondence- 6
- 3) variants- 4
- 4) vigil correspondence- 1
- 5) blanks correspondence- 2

October

Egerton Calendar compared with Mainz Calendar:

- 1) complete correspondence- 14
- 2) mixed correspondence- 6
- 3) variants- 7
- 4) vigil correspondence- 2
- 5) blanks correspondence- 1

Egerton Calendar compared with Worms Calendar:

- 1) complete correspondence- 22
- 2) mixed correspondence- 2
- 3) variants- 3
- 4) vigil correspondence- 1
- 5) blanks correspondence-1

November

Egerton Calendar compared with Mainz Calendar:

- 1) complete correspondence- 10
- 2) mixed correspondence- 6
- 3) variants- 1
- 4) vigil correspondence-1
- 5) blanks correspondence-5

Egerton Calendar compared with Worms Calendar:

- 1) complete correspondence- 15
- 2) mixed correspondence- 3
- 3) variants- 0

- 4) vigil correspondence- 1
- 5) blanks correspondence- 5

December

Egerton Calendar compared with Mainz Calendar:

- 1) complete correspondence- 6
- 2) mixed correspondence- 1
- 3) variants- 6
- 4) vigil correspondence- 2
- 5) blanks correspondence- 10

Egerton Calendar compared with Worms Calendar:

- 1) complete correspondence- 6
- 2) mixed correspondence- 0
- 3) variants- 3
- 4) vigil correspondence- 2
- 5) blanks correspondence- 12

For a complete picture of the year, the totals for each of the twelve months are now added together to produce annual comparisons for Egerton and Mainz, and Egerton and Worms.

Totals for the Year

Egerton Calendar compared with Mainz Calendar:

- 1) complete correspondence- 124
- 2) mixed correspondence- 43
- 3) variants- 40

- 4) vigil correspondence- 14
- 5) blanks correspondence- 85

Egerton Calendar compared with Worms Calendar:

- 1) complete correspondence- 156
- 2) mixed correspondence- 29
- 3) variants- 25
- 4) vigil correspondence- 13
- 5) blanks correspondence- 90

These figures speak for themselves but a more detailed comparative analysis using the data is necessary.

The total number of days in the analysis is 315, of which 109, or 34.60%, in the Egerton Calendar are blank days. This means that 206 days of the Egerton Calendar are black letter days. However, as some of the Egerton blank days are black letter days in the Mainz or/and Worms Calendars, and vice versa, all 315 days must be compared. Taking out the blank days in the calculations would increase the actual figures and percentages but the differentials between would remain the same. Visually, they would be more immediately impressive but their significance would be no greater in the final analysis.

Comparison of the totals for the year thus show five distinct positive indications:

- 1) The Worms Calendar has 32 more saints' days which exactly

correspond with the Egerton Calendar than Mainz, 156 to 124. Expressed as a percentage this is 10.16% more, 49.52% to 39.36%. Throughout the comparison, this is regarded as the strongest pointer in favour of Worms rather than Mainz.

2) The Mainz Calendar has 14 more saints' days which partly correspond with the Egerton Calendar than Worms, 43 to 29. As a percentage this is 4.45% more, 13.65% to 9.20%.

3) If 1) and 2) are added together for each Calendar of Mainz and Worms, then the Worms Calendar corresponds with the Egerton Calendar by 18 more than Mainz, 185 to 167. As a percentage this is 5.72% more, 58.73% to 53.01%. This can be considered a reasonable and logical addition of two sets of data as the Egerton saint(s) occur(s) in category 2) in the analysis, although not exclusively. The result emphasises the result of indication 1) and diminishes the result of indication 2), thus favouring Worms.

4) There are 15 more pure variants in the Mainz Calendar than the Worms Calendar, 40 to 25. As a percentage of the total this is 4.76% more, 12.69% to 7.93%. This is another positive pointer in favour of Worms.

5) Coincidence of blank days with the Egerton Calendar is very high for both Mainz and Worms. The Worms Calendar has 5 more blank days which correspond with the Egerton Calendar than Mainz, 90 to 85. As a percentage, this is 4.58% more of the total of blank days, 82.56% to 77.98%. This figure,

although small, is a further positive pointer towards Worms rather than Mainz. In this part of the comparative analysis, the significance of the coincidence of these blank days is considered almost as important as "filled" days. Roger S. Wieck comments on the relevance of blank days in analysing liturgical Calendars and those found in Books of Hours in The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life.(205)

These five positive indications demonstrate the close correspondence of both the Mainz and Worms Calendars with the Egerton Calendar. However, the coincidence with Worms is substantially and persuasively greater, thus making it the more likely location of use for the Egerton 1146 Book of Hours and Calendar.

The long process of locating the probable use of MS Egerton 1146 within the "south German" region is thus completed. The Calendar evidence appears persuasive and convincing, as well as being more conclusive than had been anticipated at the outset of the research and analysis. Inevitably, exercises of this type rely heavily upon the specialist studies of other scholars. The three works on Germanic dioceses by Dr. Grotefend provide the essential references for successful research, correlation and conclusion of the location of "use" question.

The ancient Imperial free city of Worms, situated on the left bank of the Rhine some ten miles to the north west of Mannheim(map1), was closely connected to the Habsburg

dynasty and in particular to the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I. The links between Maximilian and Worms, and also between the Emperor as a possible patron of the Egerton Book of Hours, are explored in Chapter 6. The probable Use of Worms for the Egerton manuscript is an important part of the positive evidence in favour of a Maximilian Habsburg connection.

CHAPTER 3.
THE CALENDAR,
END NOTES.

- (1) London, British Library, The Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Library in the Years MDCCCXLVI -MDCCCXLVII, (1846-1847), Vol.8, (1864, Norwich, repr.1964), p.385.
- (2) London, British Library, "Officers' Reports", ref.11828: a photo-copy of the report from Sir Frederic Madden, Keeper of Manuscripts, to the Museum's Trustees on 9th, January, 1847, concerning the purchase and description of MS Egerton 1146.
- (3) London, British Library, "Minutes, etc.," pss.AC2, (1846-48), p.207. A photo-copy of the original letter from Mrs. Mary Margetts, dated 7th. January, 1847, to Sir Frederic Madden, offering the manuscript for sale to the British Museum for 30 guineas.
- (4) Ibid..
- (5) Backhouse, Janet, Books of Hours, (London, 1985, repr. 1988), p.12.
- (6) Personal correspondence with Dr. Janet Backhouse, Keeper of Manuscripts, British Library, 22/10/91.
- (7) Wieck, Roger S., The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life, (London, 1988), pp.149-156.
- (8) Ibid., p.153.
- (9) Holweck, Rt.Rev.F.G., A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints, (St.Louis and London, 1924).
- (10) Ramsgate, The Benedictine Monks of St. Augustine's

Abbey, The Book of Saints, (London, 1942, repr.1989).

Note: Both Holweck and Ramsgate are used as the bases for information on the saints in the Calendar of Egerton 1146 and other Calendars analysed in this dissertation. The reasons for this choice of reference texts are the comprehensive lists of saints, with name variations, and the extensive entry for each saint. In addition, the Ramsgate book possesses a very useful, although unfortunately restricted, day-by-day Calendar for additional reference. Both texts are used to cross-reference problematical saints and questionable entries. In the end notes and references which follow, these texts are indicated in abbreviated form as "Holweck" and "Ramsgate".

(11) Holweck, pp.327-328.

(12) Ibid., pp.983-984.

(13) Ibid., p.294.

(14) Ibid., pp.363-364.

(15) Ibid., p.1030; also Ramsgate, p.269.

(16) Holweck, p.1030; also Ramsgate, p.269.

(17) Holweck, p.390.

(18) Ibid., p.443.

(19) Ibid., p.927.

(20) Ibid., p.692.

(21) Ramsgate, p.49.

(22) Holweck, p.137.

(23) Ramsgate, pp.36-37.

(24) Ibid., p.262.

- (25) Ibid., p.126.
- (26) Holweck, pp.1038-1039.
- (27) Ramsgate, pp.270-271.
- (28) Ibid., p.160.
- (29) Holweck, p.257.
- (30) Ibid., p.727.
- (31) Ibid., p.655.
- (32) A red-letter day in both the Egerton 1146 Calendar and Bruges list is 24th. February, the feast of St. Matthias, one of the first apostles. His relics lie in Treves, (Trier) on the Moselle. Ibid., p.685. As Matthias appears in both Calendars he is not regarded as a significant regional indicator.
- (33) Ramsgate, p.133.
- (34) Ibid., pp.250 & 31.
- (35) Ibid., p.29.
- (36) Holweck, p.761.
- (37) Ibid., p.26.
- (38) Ibid., p.872.
- (39) Ibid., p.650.
- (40) Ibid., p.640.
- (41) Grotefend, H., Zeitrechnung des Deutschen Mittelaltars und der Neuzeit Vol.3 Zweiter Bandes Zweite Abtheilung: Ordenskalender. Heiligenverzeichniss. Nachtrage zum Glossar, (Hannover und Leipzig, 1895), pp.96 & 183.
- (42) Holweck, pp.238-239.
- (43) Ibid., p.335.
- (44) Ibid., p.873.
- (45) Ibid., p.1032.
- (46) Ramsgate, p.124.

(47) Ibid., p.119.

(48) Ibid., p.68.

(49) Holweck, p.57.

(50) Holweck states that the feast day of St.Eustace is 3rd.November., p.347, whereas John Cummins asserts the date is 20th.September, The Hound and the Hawk, (London, 1988), p.70. Ramsgate does not include this hunting St.Eustace for either date although another Eustace, clearly not the hunting saint, is assigned 20th.September. St.Hubert of Tongres, the well-known saint of hunting, is allocated 3rd.November, p.138.

(51) Ramsgate, p.220; Holweck, p.818.

(52) Holweck, p.818.

(53) Ibid., p.761.

(54) Ibid., Ramsgate, p.206.

(55) Holweck, p.231.

(56) Ramsgate, p.206.

(57) Wieck, Roger S., The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life, (London, 1988), p.150.

(58) Ibid., p.150.

(59) Noted from personal conversation with Dr.Janet Backhouse, Curator of Illuminated Manuscripts, British Library, 17/11/92.

(60) Grotefend, H., Zeitrechnung des Deutschen Mittelaltars und der Neuzeit Vol.1 Ester Band: Glossar und Tafeln, (Hannover, 1891).

Grotefend, H., Zeitrechnung des Deutschen Mittelaltars und der Neuzeit Vol.2 Zweiten Bandes Erste Abtheilung: Kalendar der Diocesan Deutschlands, der Schweiz und Scandinavians,

(Hannover, 1892).

Grotefend, H., Zeitrechnung des Deutschen Mittelaltars und der Neuzeit Vol.3 Zweiter Bandes Zweite Abtheilung: Ordenskalendar. Heiligenverzeichniss. Nachtrage zum Glossar (Hannover und Leipzig).

The many references to these works which follow are given in abbreviated form as "Grotefend".

(61) Wormald, Francis, English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D.1100, 1, Henry Bradshaw Society, vol.77, (London, 1939), pp.145-160.

(62) Notes from personal conversation with Ines Dickman, Ph.D.student, University of Berlin.

(63) Wieck, Roger S., The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life, (London, 1988), pp.149-156.

(64) Grotefend, H., Vol.2, pp.28-32.

(65) Ibid., pp.113-118 & pp.176-180.

(66) Ibid., pp.86-90.

(67) Ibid., pp.11-14 & pp.32-35.

(68) Grotefend, H., Vol.3, p.94.

(69) Ibid., p.176.

(70) Ibid., p.90.

(71) Ibid., p.99.

(72) Ibid., p.180.

(73) Ibid., p.180.

(74) Ibid., p.103.

(75) Ibid., p.110.

(76) Ibid., p.171.

- (77) Ibid., p.141.
- (78) Ibid., p.74.
- (79) Ibid., p.69.
- (80) Ibid., p.67.
- (81) Ibid., p.178.
- (82) Ibid., p.109.
- (83) Ibid., p.183.
- (84) Ibid., p.78.
- (85) Ibid., p.79.
- (86) Ibid., p.144.
- (87) Ibid., p.135.
- (88) Ibid., p.114.
- (89) Ibid., p.125.
- (90) Ibid., p.66.
- (91) Ibid., p.65; plus 3 Germanic dioceses on 21st.July.
- (92) Ibid., p.148.
- (93) Ibid., p.57.
- (94) Ibid., p.163; or possibly Metz only.
- (95) Ibid., p.134.
- (96) Ibid., p.133.
- (97) Ibid., p.96; Trient only on 11th.September.
- (98) Ibid., p.163.
- (99) Ibid., p.180.
- (100)Ibid., p.141.
- (101)Ibid., p.105.
- (102)Ibid., p.81: Mainz and Worms on 24th.October and 21st.November; 18 dioceses on 21st.November only.
- (103)Ibid., p.60.
- (104)Ibid., p.97, with date variations.

- (105)Ibid., p.154.
- (106)Ibid., p.148.
- (107)Ibid., p.81; given as 26th.November in Grotefend.
- (108)Ibid., p.148.
- (109)Ibid., p.99.
- (110)Ibid., p.171.
- (111)Ibid., p.109.
- (112)Ibid., p.79.
- (113)Ibid., p.125.
- (114)Ibid., p.65.
- (115)Ibid., p.96.
- (116)Ibid., p.81.
- (117)Ibid., p.154.
- (118)Ibid., p.115.
- (119)Ibid., p.120.
- (120)Ibid., p.114.
- (121)Ibid., p.96.
- (122)Ibid., p.169.
- (123)Ibid., p.183.
- (124)Ibid., p.176.
- (125)Ibid., p.79.
- (126)Ibid., p.123.
- (127)Ibid., p.157.
- (128)Ibid., p.158.
- (129)Ibid., p.62; for 2nd.May the saint should be Athanasius not Anastasius as listed in the Calendar of Egerton 1146. See Ramsgate, The Book of Saints, p.33. For Bishop Anastasius, see 21st.April, 20th.May and 30th.May, Ramsgate, p.20.
- (130)Grotefend, H., Vol.3, p.132; 9th.May in Grotefend.

- (131)Ibid., p.110.
- (132)Ibid., p.145.
- (133)Ibid., p.126.
- (134)Ibid., p.70; 2 dioceses on 26th.May and 3 dioceses, including Worms, on 27th.May.
- (135)Ibid., p.108; 9 out of 10 dioceses, including Worms on 25th.May.
- (136)Ibid., p.94.
- (137)Ibid., p.100.
- (138)Ibid., p.185.
- (139)Ibid., p.134.
- (140)Ibid., p.85.
- (141)Ibid., p.128.
- (142)Ibid., p.138.
- (143)Ibid., p.125; 4th.August in Grotefend.
- (144)Ibid., p.170; as well as 8th.August.
- (145)Ibid., p.79; also 11th.March.
- (146)Ibid., p.162.
- (147)Ibid., p.175.
- (148)Ibid., p.96.
- (149)Ibid., p.71.
- (150)Ibid., p.106.
- (151)Ibid., p.99.
- (152)Ibid., p.64; 11 dioceses, including Worms, on 2nd.September and 5 on 3rd.September.
- (153)Ibid., p.134; 8 dioceses on 3rd.September, including Mainz but not Worms.
- (154)Ibid., p.157.
- (155)Ibid., p.118.

- (156) No entry in Grotefend. Eunan was an Ulster bishop who retired to a Scottish monastery. See Ramsgate, The Book of Saints, p.99.
- (157)Grotefend, H., Vol.3, p.79.
- (158)Ibid., p.180; entry only without any details.
- (159)Ibid., p.101.
- (160)Ibid., p.134.
- (161)Ibid., p.167.
- (162)Ibid., p.161.
- (163)Ibid., p.67; Bishop Aubert, 13th.December. See Ramsgate, The Book of Saints, p.34.
- (164)Grotefend, H., Vol.3. p.75.
- (165)Ibid., p.102.
- (166)Ibid., p.118; see also 19th.September.
- (167)Ibid., p.144.
- (168)Ibid., p.134; Diocese of Bremen only.
- (169)Ibid., p.97.
- (170)Ibid., p.100.
- (171)Ibid., p.84.
- (172)Ibid., p.166; Diocese of Utrecht only.
- (173)Ibid., p.165.
- (174)Ibid., p.120.
- (175)Ibid., p.127; many Germanic dioceses on 17th.December but not Worms.
- (176)Gabriel the Archangel, feast day, 18th.March. In spite of his status as one of the three Angels, his feast was not universal in the Latin Church. See Ramsgate, The Book of Saints,(London, 1942), p.119.
- (177)Ibid., p.228.

- (178)Ibid., p.63.
- (179)Ibid., p.82.
- (180)Grotefend, H., Vol.3, p.89.
- (181)Grotefend, H., Vol.2: pp.113-118, Mainz; pp.205-208, Worms.
- (182)Ibid., p.113 & p.205 for 1st. to 25th.January.
- (183)Ibid., p.114 & p.205 for 2nd.February to 25th.April.
- (184)Ibid., p.115 & p.206 for 1st.May.
- (185)Ibid., p.206 for 2nd.May, the Dedication of the Church at Worms.
- (186)Ibid., p.115 & p.206 for 3rd.May to 2nd.July.
- (187)Ibid., p.115 for 4th.July, the Dedication of the Moguntine Church at Mainz. One of the most important cities of the Holy Roman Empire, Mainz was often referred to as "Golden Mainz", *Aurea Moguntia*,(Davies, Martin, The Gutenberg Bible, (London, 1996), p.7,) hence the "Moguntine Church."
- (188)Ibid., p.115 & p.206 for 8th. to 25th.July.
- (189)Ibid., p.116 & p.207 for 1st.August to 29th. September.
- (190)Ibid., p.117 & p. 208 for 28th.October to 28th. December.
- (191)Grotefend, H., Vol.2: pp.113-118, Mainz; pp.205-208, Worms.
- (192)Ibid., pp.113-114; p.205.
- (193)Ibid., p.114; p.205.
- (194)Ibid., p.114; p.205.
- (195)Ibid., p.114; p.205.
- (196)Ibid., pp.114-115; p.206.

(197)Ibid., p.115; 206.

(198)Ibid., p.115; pp.206-207.

(199)Ibid., p.116; p.207.

(200)Ibid., p.116; p.207.

(201)Ibid., pp.116-117; pp.207-208.

(202)Ibid., p.117; p.208.

(203)Ibid., p.117; p.208.

(204)This categorisation is a personally devised sorting method, based entirely upon the results of the Calendar analysis.

(205)Wieck, Roger S., The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life, (London, 1988), p.150.

CHAPTER 4.

THE ILLUMINATIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT.

MS Egerton 1146 is superbly and unusually illustrated. There are two distinct categories of illustration in the manuscript, the miniatures of the Calendar and those found in the margins of the Hours. This chapter is an examination and analysis of the illustrations as a whole, beginning with the Calendar. The aim of the analysis is to demonstrate through the unusual and special character of the pictures, particularly those of the Calendar, the uniqueness of MS Egerton 1146.

The Calendars of high-quality late medieval Books of Hours were often illustrated with miniatures showing the signs of the zodiac and the traditional occupations, labours and pastimes of the months. These illustrations added lavishness to the decorative programme of the calendar.(1) MS Egerton 1146 is no exception to this general observation, each month of the Calendar being illustrated with a *bas de page* illuminated occupational scene(plates 1-12).(2)

The occupational type of illustration was not exclusive to personal prayer books and calendar pages in a wide range of books were ornamented with miniatures, usually portraying the signs of the zodiac and the occupations of the month.(3) Neither is the subject of the labours of the months confined to manuscripts. It is a theme which frequently occurs in many

forms of medieval art including the sculptured doorways of some churches and cathedrals. Indeed, J.C. Webster traces the repeated theme of the monthly occupations to the pre-Christian facade of the church of Hagios Eleutherios in Athens.(4) Webster then produces convincing evidence to demonstrate the continuity of use of the occupational theme in art from classical times to the twelfth century.(5)

This long tradition of the choice of subject matter is hardly surprising. The vast majority of the European population was rural in residence and occupation, and continued to be largely so until the advent of the Industrial Revolution. Thus a secular theme which everybody would recognise and identify with would be an obvious choice of illustration, whether on church portal, misericord or Missal. Thus the agricultural work of the changing seasons remained the basic source of inspiration for miniatures during most of the medieval period, with a strong and understandable emphasis on the basic provision of food, drink and warmth, often together with other contemporary activities such as hunting and hawking.(6)

What is regarded as a "normal" cycle of seasonal occupation is open to debate. J.C. Webster in his The Labors of the Months in Antique and Mediaeval Art provides an interesting section of comparative tables, based upon his examination of various forms of "antique", or classical, and medieval art depicting occupations of the months. A hierarchical list of the commonest occupations used to illustrate each month is given

for Italy, France, Spain, Germany and England in the twelfth century.(7)

In the early 1930's, J.F.Willard observed that as regards medieval manuscripts "it was customary from the thirteenth century, at least,"(8) to show the months and occupations as a particular and stereotyped cycle. He based the following cycle on the majority of the Calendars in the manuscript collection of the Bodleian Library at that time.

January, feasting.

February, a man warming himself in front of a fire.

March, pruning vines or trees.

April, riding or playing in the open air.

May, hawking or playing in the fields.

June, mowing grass.

July, reaping grain or mowing grass.

August, threshing or reaping grain.

September, treading grapes in a vat or sewing grain.

October, sowing grain or treading grapes in a vat.

November, beating trees for nuts(or acorns) to feed pigs or killing a (domestic) pig.

December, killing a pig or baking loaves of bread. (9)

John Harthan provides a more simplified standard sequence. He makes the point that the illustrated occupations are taken from the seasonal labours of the peasants and the pastimes of their feudal lords,(10) thus adding a social dimension to the miniatures. The scheme he suggests as being most

representative is as follows:

January, feasting.

February, sitting by the fire.

March, pruning.

April, a garden scene.

May, hawking or boating.

June, the hay harvest.

July, reaping the corn.

August, threshing.

September, treading the grapes.

October, ploughing and sowing

November, gathering acorns for the pigs.

December, killing the pig or baking bread. (11)

It is immediately obvious that Harthan's pattern of seasonal occupation is similar to that of Willard, except that Willard includes more occupations and does not specifically mention ploughing, a surprising omission in view of its basic importance in an agricultural society. It appears likely that these variants were the result of the restricted number of manuscripts in his study.

Occupational illustrations provide historians with contemporary information on domestic interiors, agricultural tools and implements, methods of pruning, ploughing, sowing, reaping and harvesting, wine making, shearing sheep, slaughtering and dressing beasts, baking and other everyday and seasonal practices. The courtiers can be seen indulging

in hawking, boating, dallying and flirting in gardens, and hunting. Almost invariably, the main classes can be separated by their dress. Seasonal changes are often shown such as snow in winter, broken trees and pruning in spring, lush grass and crops in summer, harvesting and brown leaves in autumn.(12)

Many of these features are superbly illustrated in the margins of the early fourteenth century Luttrell Psalter. Like a Book of Hours, the Luttrell Psalter has a Calendar, but it is not illustrated and also precedes the marginal illustrations depicting agricultural practices. (13) The parallels between the two forms of prayer book and their comparable occupational illustrations is worthy of comment but it must be stressed that the Luttrell Psalter is a unique example and certainly not representative of psalters as a genre.

Again, an exceptional manuscript of its kind, but much cited and thus often regarded as typical, is the early fifteenth century Calendar of the Très Riches Heures commissioned by the Duc de Berry. This Calendar also provides an excellent example illustrating many of the points regarding labours and pastimes, peasants and nobles. The occupations of the months are as follows:

January, nobles feasting.

February, peasants sitting by the fire and tasks outside.

March, peasants ploughing and pruning.

April, nobles in the castle grounds, the engagement.
May, nobles riding out a'maying in the forest.
June, peasants cutting grass and hay-making.
July, peasants reaping corn and shearing sheep.
August, nobles hawking, peasants harvesting.
September, peasants working in the vine-yard.
October, peasants harrowing and sowing.
November, peasants feeding acorns to their pigs.
December, nobles hunting, the end of the boar hunt(plate
36).(14)

A spectacular manuscript with a Calendar illustrated by monthly occupations is MS.1058-1975, a Flemish Book of Hours made c1510 in Bruges, in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. The lists of saints are framed by figurative borders consisting of a sign of the zodiac for each month and a scene depicting an activity typical for the time of year.(15) The activities portrayed are standard, according with the lists of Willard and Harthan, September being illustrated by the labour of peasants harvesting grapes.(16)

A less exalted example showing standard practice of illustration of labours is a late fifteenth century central or eastern French Book of Hours which came up for sale at Sothe by's in 1987. This prayer book had a Calendar with small miniatures and bas-de-page vignettes including scenes of peasants in the traditional labours of the months.(17)

The evidence of a variety of medieval art forms which portray

the occupations of the months points to a long established tradition , perhaps with its origins in classical times, of illustrating the seasons with particular labours and pastimes. These occupations could vary to some extent in time and space. An important point to realise is that an accepted variety of labours and pastimes occurred within the annual cycle. Both Willard and Harthan have commented upon the apparent freedom which miniaturists exercised in their choice of depicting the occupations of the months.(18)

Two Books of Hours recently sold at Sothe by's provide examples of this practice of freedom of depiction.

Firstly, a very high quality Flemish Book of Hours, made in Bruges c.1530, described as, "..from the workshop of Simon Bening with twelve very fine Calendar miniatures"(19) in which the cycle of occupational pictures varies from the standard lists. For example, June (f.3v), is illustrated by two farm-hands shearing sheep instead of the usual hay harvest, and October (f.5v), by two farm-hands slaughtering a bull in a tiled barn, rather than the standard ploughing and sowing scene.(20) A very interesting variation appears in the February miniature in which the main occupation is rustics gathering sticks. In the background is a small wooden hut perched high on a support with an access ladder, described in the catalogue as, "..a raised bird-watching hut".(21) Almost certainly, however, this structure is a "high-seat", a hide from which to shoot game, principally deer.

Secondly, a French Book of Hours known as "The Navarre Hours", dated to c.1455-70, has twenty four Calendar roundels in the borders.(22) The number of illustrations, twice the standard twelve, and the roundel form of the pictures, differing from the usual rectangle, immediately made this example interesting, although the roundel picture was not uncommon in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The twenty four vignette scenes are as follows:

two men feasting(f.1), a naked man pouring water from a jug(f.1v), a man drying his feet by a fire(f.2), two fish in a landscape(f.2v), a rustic pruning bushes(f.3), a ram in a landscape(f.3v), a fashionable girl in a rose arbour(f.4), a bull outside a city(f.4v), two men carrying branches of fresh may(5), a naked man and woman hiding behind a blue shield(f.5v), a man scything hay(f.6), a crab in a landscape(f.6v), a farm labourer harvesting corn(f.7), a lion(f.7v), a girl standing between two sheaves of corn(f.8), a yokel threshing corn(f.8v), a man in a red hat treading grapes(f.9), a girl holding a pair of scales(f.9v), a man sowing in a ploughed field(f.10), a scorpion(f.10v), a swineherd and his pigs(f.11), a centaur aiming a bow and arrow(f.11v), a farmhand about to kill a pig(f.12) and a goat with a snail's hind-quarters(f.12v). (23)

There are two illustrations per month in this Calendar, one portraying the labour of the month, the other the appropriate sign of the zodiac. This is not an uncommon practice but many of the pictures are presented in an unusual manner. The

labours vary to only a small degree from the standards lists of Willard and Harthan, maying in May rather than hawking or boating. However, hunting is not represented and the only representation of a noble pastime appears to be the fashionable girl in the rose arbour in the April roundel, the equivalent of the garden scene of Harthan's list and the more humble version of nobles strolling in the castle grounds scene of the Très Riches Heures.

These examples are sufficient to show that the Calendars of prayer books can exhibit a lack of total repetition of occupations and pastimes within a generally defined tradition. The emphasis of many illustrations is of peasants labouring rather than lords enjoying themselves. This may have been due to the tradition of usage by artists or that a variety of peasant and agricultural occupations gave the individual artist greater scope to demonstrate his abilities. However, it is known that pattern books existed and were used, although very few have survived.(24) Christopher de Hamel comments that pattern books played an important part in producing images in manuscripts.(25) He points out that in Flemish manuscripts of around 1500, there is "the most uncanny duplication of miniatures from one manuscript to the next, with every detail mirrored."(26)

The basic message of standard annual occupational cycles is that each month had an exclusive labour or pastime. This impression owes much to each occupation appearing only once, although the corn harvest theme generally appears in the two

months of July and August. Obviously, in an agrarian and rural society some basic occupations and pastimes continued throughout much of the year.

Hunting on horseback with hounds and hawking were the most important social pastimes of the nobility and one or the other, occasionally both, had their place in many late medieval Calendars. However, in spite of the prestige value of hawking and hunting, it is rare for either activity to appear more than once in a conventional Calendar. Surprisingly, the standard occupational lists of Willard and Harthan both contain hawking but exclude hunting. Possibly in Willard's case this was due to the small number of Calendars he examined, but perhaps an important factor was the undoubted exclusiveness of hawking, a sport which entailed a great deal of outlay on equipment, including horses and hounds, and the leisure necessary to become "lernerd" in training and flying a falcon.

There are examples of repetition of hunting and hawking scenes in odd late medieval cycles. In the Calendar of Les Heures de Notre-Dame, illuminated about 1530, (27) there are three line illustrations of the chase. These are:

April, "La Chasse au Faucon".(28) In this unusual Calendar miniature, mounted nobles fly their falcons at game flushed by beaters and hounds(plate 38).

July, "La Fenaison".(29) This is virtually identical to the hawking scene for July in the early sixteenth century Golf

Book of Hours.(30) In both illustrations a noble rides out with a falcon on his wrist, accompanied by a servant on foot and a small hound(plate 39).

December, "La Curée"(plate 40).(31) This illustration of the finale to a boar hunt is remarkably similar to three other illustrations: the Bergamo "Hallali du sanglier", drawn c.1415-20(plate 37)(32); an almost identical but coloured version of the "Hallali du sanglier" which illustrates December in the early sixteenth century Grimani Breviary.(33) and the boar hunting scene, set against the Chateau de Vinciennes, illustrating December of the Très Riches Heures, belonging to the Duc de Berry, dated to 1413-16(plate 36).(34)

This duplication of images in widely spaced manuscripts points towards the use of pattern books discussed earlier in the chapter, in this case referring to hunting. These four illustrations all show the culmination of a boar hunt on a winter's day, an aristocratic variation to the standard Calendar miniature for December of killing the domestic pig. What is more significant is that they all bear a close resemblance to each other, similarities of figure arrangement and landscape design being so similar as to make coincidence an unlikely explanation.

Joseph Destrée noted that the miniature of December in Les Heures de Notre-Dame, "...a été copiée d'après celle du Breviarire Grimani."(35) He also maintained the copyist to have been the miniaturist Simon Bening.(36)

William Baillie-Grohman commented in Sport in Art on the similarities between the December miniatures of the Très Riches Heures and the Grimani Breviary. Having briefly described both prayer books, he wrote, "The artist who designed Fig.25["Undoing the Wild Boar", in the Grimani Breviary,] had unquestionably seen Limbourg's limning"(37)

In his French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry, Millard Meiss comments, "For a long time historians have been aware of the extraordinary similarity between the group of the boar and hounds in the miniature of "December"(of the Très Riches Heures) and a drawing in a famous pattern-book in Bergamo, all or part of which is ascribed to Giovanni de'Grassi."(38) Meiss continues that the subjects of the miniature and the drawing "...are so unusual and the relationship so close that scholars have concluded, rightly beyond doubt, that one must depend upon the other, or both on a common prototype."(39)

The evidence in this particular case points positively towards the use of a pattern book or model sketch book which was widely used in time and space. The question of which of the four illustrations, if any, was the original exemplar is difficult to state with any certainty. The three Limbourg brothers, all in the service of the Duc de Berry from 1411, were dead by 1416,(40) suggesting the December miniature of the Très Riches Heures to be the oldest. However, the fact that Giovannino de'Grassi's illustration in the Bergamo Notebook is a drawing adds credence to his claim.

The rest of the Notre-Dame Calendar is illustrated with conventional seasonal activities so even with this unusual example of occupational repetition, one subject is not exclusively repeated throughout the twelve months of the Calendar. However, the hunting theme recurs later in the Book of Hours with the illustration of "La Chasse au Cerf"(plate 41), in which a swimming stag, properly termed "battre l'eau"(41), is pursued by hounds, watched by hunters on the bankside.(42) The minimal amount of text, with a decorated initial letter, appears superimposed on this scene, emphasising the importance of the hunting theme.

The only example of a Calendar I have encountered with twelve illustrations on the same theme is that of the Egerton 1146 manuscript. This is the key-stone of my assertion stated at the beginning of this chapter, that Egerton 1146 is a unique manuscript because of its specialised illustrations.

The *bas de page* Calendar scenes are as follows:

January, two nobles ambushing and shooting a hart(plate 1).

February, a mounted noble and hounds wolf-hunting(plate 2).

March, a noble training a lymer hound by trailing red deer which have cast their antlers(plate 3).

April, a mounted noble and servant with hounds driving red deer into nets(plate 4).

May, the Fence Month, red deer grazing by a stream(plate 5).

June, a mounted noble chases a hare while a peasant shoots a rabbit(plate 6).

July, a mounted noble despatches a stag in water, accompanied by a servant with lymer(plate 7).

August, the curée, nobles blowing horns(plate 8).

September, a mounted noble despatches a stag at bay(plate 9).

October, a mounted noble and his hounds bear-hunting(plate 10).

November, a noble on foot despatching a wild boar caught in the noose of a snare(plate 11).

December, a mounted noble and servant with lymer hound boar-hunting(plate 12).(43)

Not only is there a complete cycle of hunting pictures, they are also matched to the seasons of the year.(43) Spring, summer, autumn and winter are indicated in the conventional ways of standard Calendar illustrations, such as bare trees(plates 1&2), broken trees(plate 4), new leaves(plates 5&6), trees in full leaf(plates 8&9), brown leaves(plate 10) and snowscapes(plates 11&12).(45)

In addition and very significantly as regards to the unique quality of the manuscript, the sequence of hunting subjects reflects particular seasonal hunting traditions. It is clear that the seasons of the year, and in some cases the individual months, are mirrored by the illustration of quarry species

hunted by the nobility.

Winter was the season to hunt the wolf, (and the fox,) largely because in this season wolf depredation was at its greatest and pelts were thickest.(46) According to the Forest Laws, quoted by William Twici *et al*, wolf hunting began at Christmas and ended at the Annunciation, March 25th..(47) Thus wolf-hunting is the subject of the February miniature(plate 2). In spring male deer cast their antlers so the March picture shows the hunter training his scenting hound by giving it recently cast antlers(plate 3). Springtime was usually a season of food shortage, hence sporting ideals gave way to necessity and instead of individual and carefully selected harts being hunted on horseback with hounds, deer were driven by hunters and hounds into nets to provide large quantities of fresh meat, as is shown in the April picture(plate 4). May/June was the Fence Month when red deer were traditionally not hunted, although the exact dates vary according to source.(48) Thus in the May miniature a herd of red deer are allowed to graze peacefully by a stream(plate 5), and in the June picture the hunter is in pursuit of that other noble quarry, the hare(plate 6). Late summer is the season when deer were at their fittest and fattest , known variously as "grease time" or the "fat season".(49) The July, August and September miniatures therefore show stag hunting(plates 7,8&9). The bear was also at its fattest, or "in grease", from May to December(50) with a thick pelt, especially after the autumn glut of nuts, fruits and berries. Thus the October picture is of bear-hunting(plate 10). Finally, the traditional annual

hunting cycle ends with wild boar hunting in the November and December miniatures(plates 11&12). According to the Forest Laws, the boar was hunted from Christmas Day to Candlemas, February 2nd., but other contemporary authorities state it usually started earlier. This makes sense as the autumn months are the season of acorns, chestnuts and beechmast and thus wild boar were in prime condition.(51)

A complete cycle of scenes devoted to one specialised subject, even such a socially important pastime as hunting, and departing from the conventional norm, appears rare or at least very uncommon. The existence of such a Calendar indicates not only a particular interest in a subject but also the degree of control and direction of illustrative material exercised by the patron. These factors combined to make possible the production of a unique set of Calendar illustrations made to the order, probably the explicit instructions, of the purchaser. The scenes of the cycle would have depended little, if at all, on existing models, pattern books, atelier formulas or exemplars. The production of a cycle of unique illustrations in a bespoke Book of Hours would undoubtedly have considerably increased the costs to the client, indicating the wealth of the patron.

The single subject theme of this Calendar is a strong indicator that the patron of the Book of Hours, probably the original owner, must have regarded hunting as an extremely important part of his life. His instructions to the stationer and miniaturist as regards to the technical content of the

hunting pictures in the Calendar and the margins of the Hours must have been very specific. The resultant Calendar thus departed entirely from the traditional cycles, illustrating a subject which personally fascinated the patron. He presumably had no interest in a traditional cycle of illustrations, giving rise to the speculation that he was powerful enough to ignore long established custom and stipulate exactly what he wanted in the Calendar.

It is immediately obvious that the Calendar scenes are dominated by a single figure, that of the noble who is engaged in hunting. Although other people are depicted, the occasional fellow hunter and hunt servants, they are incidental to the central figure. Thus, unlike any other Calendar cycles encountered, even the highly élitist Très Riches Heures, all the scenes are of an aristocratic pastime and further, eleven out of twelve feature one man, the hunter. In May, which is the Fence Month, there are no human figures.(52)

These two important points together, plus the intimate relationship and matching of months and seasons to quarry species, puts the manuscript into a singular category.

The richness of the illumination and apparent expense of production both point to the wealth of the patron, although not necessarily to highborn patronage. However, the choice of a single secular theme to the entire series not only indicates the pre-occupation of the patron with hunting but also to his

aristocratic position in society. The Calendar illustrations as an indicator of noble rank and status are examined in the following chapter. The pictures are not simplistic and straightforward representations of a sport and pastime, enjoyed by the wealthy, although they may appear as such. Each one contains social messages, readily picked up and appreciated by an aristocratic, or court, reader of the late medieval and early renaissance period, but far less obvious to an educated person of the late twentieth century. The correct interpretation of the pictures therefore requires specialised analysis based upon medieval hunting texts and manuals. Some of these treatises and how-to-do-it books would have been familiar reading to European aristocratic hunters from an early age.

Whoever the patron of MS Egerton 1146 was, his undoubted interest in hunting, as so positively indicated by the Calendar pictures, was responsible for the manufacture of a rare product in the late medieval period, a Book of Hours with a Calendar cycle exclusively devoted to a single subject.

Of course, if the illustrations of a high quality Book of Hours are to be regarded as a coherent assembly of pictures, as appears to be the case of the Egerton manuscript, there is much more to consider than the Calendar. Arguably, it may be the most important element of an inter-active illustrative programme, but this may be also supported by an impressive scheme of border decoration and marginal figuration.

The unusual character of the manuscript is continued in the margins. The borders of Egerton 1146 are crowded with brilliantly coloured and beautifully executed marginal illustrations, many of them illuminated with gold. Almost every folio page has marginalia to the right and left of the central text, as well as *bas-de-page*. In contrast, those few folios which lack marginal illustration appear incomplete and unfinished, as indeed may be the case.

The marginal pictures, although small in size, play an essential part in the overall opulent and attractive appearance of the Egerton Book of Hours. Without them, the black gothic letter text would appear much more prosaic and conventional, in spite of its illuminated initials, titles written in gold and coloured line endings. The marginalia therefore not only enhance the text but also perform a much more basic function in that they are an indispensable ingredient of the union between text and illustration, directly affecting the visual integrity of each page. It appears that a deliberate decision was made, perhaps by the patron, to incorporate a rich profusion of marginalia into the manuscript in order to achieve such a result. Randall comments that a factor to be considered when examining the extent and nature of a marginal programme "is the taste of the patron, especially when the manuscript was privately commissioned or intended for a specific purchaser." (53) The several points here are probably applicable to the Egerton manuscript and what could have been a standard, although high quality, personal prayer book was thus transformed into a

book of exceptional interest and beauty.

The aesthetic qualities of the Egerton manuscript have been commented upon in the past by two remote sources and one recent authority. Firstly, the Baker and Leigh Catalogue for the sale of 25th. February, 1771, describes what is probably the Egerton Book of Hours as:

"...Missale Romanum. N.B. This book is most beautifully ornamented on the Margin, with Flowers, Insects, &c...(54) The second description is in the British Museum's Catalogue of Additions for 1846-1847 which remarks of MS Egerton 1146, "In the margins are very artistic paintings of plants, flowers, fruits and animals."(55) The third mention of the manuscript and its marginalia is by Janet Backhouse, 142 years later, who commented, "the margins round every page of text[sic] are decorated with paintings of the plants and flowers of the region, many of them apparently drawn from life."(56) However, the marginalia have never been subjected to any sustained or detailed analysis.

It is tempting to classify marginalia into categories and in this manuscript there do appear to be distinct "types" of subject, such as natural, exotic, allegorical and humorous. However, Michael Camille considers in Image on the Edge that the recent "analytic codification by art historians"(57) removes marginalia from their context, thus depriving them of meaning, as well as relegating the illustrations to the "menial position of pure decoration".(58) While this may be true for the pre-fifteenth century manuscripts cited by

Camille to prove his points, the periferal illustrations in Egerton 1146 naturally fall into two broad groups, the non-floral and the floral. There are 66 non-floral marginalia, some with more than one image, and dozens of floral illustrations, many in juxtaposition with the non-floral images.

Initially, it seems surprising that in a manuscript with a Calendar illustrated exclusively by hunting scenes, the margins contain a relatively small number of pictures with a hunting motif, a mere eleven comprising less than 17% of the non-floral pictures. In this particular way, Egerton 1146 appears to differ little from other contemporary high quality Books of Hours. Hunting and hawking were two of the accepted pastimes of the privileged classes, so figured to some extent in the marginal programmes of many personal prayer books. (59) Lillian Randall is of the opinion that the principal subjects of marginal decoration are derived from four major iconographic categories: religious sources, secular literature, daily life and parody. (60) Hunting and hawking motifs fall into the third and fourth categories. In some manuscripts, margins contain hunting scenes representative of the "world upside down", particularly the well-known examples of women hunting wild quarry in the manner of men (61) and men being hunted by hares. (62) However, with a single exception, (63) the marginal hunting icons of Egerton 1146 are not parodies nor comic, but are largely naturalistic studies. These hunting images are not examples of protest against either the distractive influence of hunting or the

extravagance of this type of ornament, both denounced by Bernard of Clairvaux.(64) They simply confirm the strong appeal of including hunting representation in manuscript borders, such ornamentation being commonly used from the early Middle Ages.(65)

Randall may be partly correct when she asserts that, "In the final analysis, the prime responsibility [of choice of marginal images] lay with the illuminator in charge of designing the over-all production."(66) However, in the case of a specialised manuscript such as Egerton 1146, there is some justification for consideration of the patron's specific selection of subjects; some of these subjects are indeed very specialised. On a more simplistic level, these eleven marginal pictures also support and enhance the main pictorial theme of the Calendar. For these two reasons, it is the hunting marginalia which will be examined in some detail first. Certain interesting aspects of the remaining marginal illustrations, both non-floral and floral, will then be commented upon and discussed. This dissertation is not the place, nor has the space, for an in-depth analysis of all the marginalia of Egerton 1146.

The Egerton marginal illustrations with a hunting and hawking theme are as follows. Each will be discussed with regard to its relevance within the context of the overall illustrative programme of the manuscript.

1. A greyhound in pursuit of a hart(plate 19).(67) A greyhound

and quarry is a commonplace motif, frequently found in the margins of good quality Books of Hours and similar books. An interesting variation on the hound and stag icon can be seen in the margin of a French Book of Hours from about 1400, of a hound chasing what appears to be an ibex but is actually an antelope(plate 20).(68) Stag-hunting, as illustrated in Livre de chasse (plate 34), was the most popular form of the aristocratic chase and it dominates the Egerton Calendar. It is no surprise that a cameo version should be included as the first miniature in the margins.

2. A man with long blond wavy hair and a crown of foliage and flowers, armed with a hunting spear, facing a black bear(plate 13). The hunter, who from his grasp of the spear, is left-handed, bears a double circlet of metal or wood on his left upper arm.(69) This image is similar to a *bas-de-page* picture in the School Book of Maximilian (plate 14), written for the young Maximilian c.1467 by Wolfgang Spitzweck, a citizen of Wiener Neustadt, and illustrated by an unknown illuminator, known as the "School-book Master".(70) Bear hunting on foot with a spear was one of Maximilian's favourite sports and the "Bärenjagd" chapter of Kaiser Maximilians I. Jagd und Fischereibücher includes two woodcuts of the adult Maximilian using a specialised hunting spear with cross-piece on bear.(71)

3. A cock pheasant, (*Phasianus colchicus*)(plate 15).(72) This is an excellent naturalistic study of the common or dark-necked pheasant, a game bird thought to be native to Central

Asia and south-east Russia and brought to continental Europe sometime before the eleventh century.(73) Pheasants were one of the larger quarry birds taken by falconers, usually by flying a goshawk.(74) There is thus good reason to include these exotic quarry birds as hunting images. There is a good natural cock pheasant in The Lovell Lectionary, dated c.1400,(75) a fairly good pheasant in the Belleville Breviary of Jean Pucelle, dated c.1325, and several others in French Books of Hours and continental manuscripts of the early fifteenth century. A good example of a hen pheasant appears in the margins of the Calendar from a French Book of Hours(plate 16), dated to the second quarter of the fifteenth century.(76) However, pheasants are not a common icon in the margins of late medieval manuscripts. In certain situations, they are used in a totally different way, symbolising Redemption and the Earthly Paradise where animals coexist peacefully and unrealistically.(77) This appears at odds with the excitement and blood-lust of hunting.

Maximilian enjoyed the sport of falconry and was no doubt familiar with the pheasant as quarry. A very stylized cock pheasant appears in the margins of The Book of Hours of the Emperor Maximilian the First but not in a hunting/hawking context.(78) The chapter entitled "Die Kunst der Falknerei" in Kaiser Maximilians I. Jagd und Fischereibücher contains information on techniques and favoured areas for falconry, with two illustrations, a coloured plate and a woodcut, of the Emperor flying his hawks at wild duck.(79)

4. A cock red-legged, or "French" partridge, (*Alectoris rufa*) taking an active interest in a single yellow flower, which has fallen from a floral spike higher up the page(plate 17). (80) This is another superb naturalistic study but of a much more unusual game bird. The red-legged partridge is native to all the countries of south-west Europe but appears only very rarely as decoration in manuscripts. Brunsdon Yapp comments that, in his experience, only two manuscripts have recognisable red-legs. Both the grey and red-legged varieties are present in the late fourteenth century North Italian Cocharelli Treatise and the Pepysian Sketchbook, dated c.1400.(81) However, neither the shiny reptilian birds of the Pepysian Sketchbook nor the poorly drawn vertically ascending covey of the Italian hawking scene(82), compare with the vibrant life-like strutting accuracy of the splendid Egerton red-legged partridge.

It is possible that the margins of Egerton 1146 contain the only known example of a single clearly identifiable red-legged partridge used as a decorative image. This appearance in itself could be taken as a strong indication of the unusual character of the Book of Hours and also perhaps its patron. Either the patron or the illuminator chose to include this charming little game bird as a marginal icon. Whoever it was, he was certainly extremely specific and very discerning in his choice, given the large number of quarry species hunted at that time. In addition, the natural and precise rendition of the bird by the illuminator indicates a clear familiarity with the character and habit of the living creature. This

accuracy suggests that a newly-taken, or captured, bird was used as a model by the artist.

The pheasant and red-legged partridge are the only examples of quarry-birds or game-birds in the margins of the Egerton manuscript but their presence is nevertheless significant, as apart from the domesticated fowl and peacock, recognisable game-birds are rare in medieval manuscripts.(84)

5. A rabbit eating vegetable leaves, possibly cabbage(plate 23).(85) This is clearly a (young?) rabbit, not a hare. Rabbits are not only smaller than hares, they also differ in structure, having shorter ears, without black tips, and shorter hind legs. Rabbits, or more correctly, conies, were generally held in contempt as quarry by noble hunters, as is indicated by Edward, Duke of York, who disparagingly remarks, "Of conies I do not speak, for no man hunteth them unless it be bish-hunters(fur-hunters), and they hunt them with ferrets and long small hayes."[long nets](86) He is, of course, reiterating the élitist attitude and comments of Gaston Phébus in Livre de chasse. However, Phébus does include a chapter on the nature of rabbits, accompanied by an illustration of rabbits and their warren.(87) He gives advice on rabbit hunting, including working a spaniel through hedges and thickets to drive conies into their holes before using ferrets and purse-nets.(87)

The coney flourished in the warm climate of southern France

and was regarded as a valuable source of meat and fur, not as a beast of the chase. Rabbits were thus an economic asset to landowners and husbanded in warrens, areas of land preserved for the domestic or commercial rearing of game.(89) However, rabbits appear in margins(plate 24) and a number of manuscript illustrations indicate that conies were also hunted by the commonalty.(90)

It thus appears that the rabbit had an ambiguous status in the medieval mind. It was husbanded by the nobility who, through hunting manuals, were aware of the hunting methods used by the commons. No doubt, many noble hunters as youths had experienced rabbit hunting as part of their education, under the guidance of their professional instructors. It is therefore quite understandable to include a single rabbit in the margins of the Egerton Hours, even though the Calendar is exclusively illustrated with noble beasts.

6. A peregrine falcon, (*Falco peregrinus*).(91) This is an excellent study of the principal hunting bird,(plate 18), ostensibly a juvenile specimen, told from the adult by its brown, not black, upper side. The head is dark with a broad and well-pronounced moustachial streak. The young birds remain mottled brown above and yellowish-brown beneath, until their first moult.(92) In his De Arte Venandi cum Avibus, Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen agrees with this description, but makes the important additional point that various brown races of the standard peregrine were known, including reddish and fawn-coloured varieties. These birds,

dubbed "brown wanderers", (93) were "considered as of a superior, more exclusive, and more beautiful class". In addition, their hunting abilities were reckoned to be superior to those of the conventional slatey-plumaged peregrine. (94) The bird in the margin of folio 171r has the yellow, or citron, legs associated with the adult brown-red variety (95), so it appears likely that this motif is a representation of the rare brown race, rather than of the immature standard bird. The precise detail and correct colouration of the Egerton falcon indicates either an intimate avian knowledge on the part of the artist or, more likely, that a living example, perhaps in the patron's mews, was used as a model.

In front of the falcon is a long ribbon of leather, probably meant to be the bird's leash. This is a conventional piece of falconry equipment. It is passed through the rings of the jesses, which are a pair of leather strips tied around the bird's legs, and used to tie the falcon, or hawk, to its perch. (96)

For practical purposes, the medieval falconer relied principally upon the peregrine or 'gentle' falcon, gyrfalcon, saker, lanner, goshawk, merlin, hobby and sparrowhawk. In all cases, the female bird was preferred, as it was larger, more useful and more valuable than the male, or tiercel. (97) Above all, it was the peregrine, the northern race of which was called the "nebli", which was most favoured by falconers because of its fierceness and devastating stoop

on prey. Quarry taken by peregrines included partridge, wild duck, herons and in some areas, larger birds such as stork, crane, bustard and wild goose.(98) The nobility and fierceness of the peregrine was also closely identified with the warrior and armoured knight.(99) Its appeal to the noble sportsman, such as Maximilian, was thus twofold, practical and psychological. Maximilian was almost certainly acquainted with De Arte Venandi Cum Avibus, the classic manual of falconry dating from the mid-thirteenth century, of which there were many manuscript copies and later printed editions.(100)

Why this specific variety of peregrine has been included as part of the marginal programme is open to discussion. Perhaps it was the first bird which the patron trained. Possibly there is a deeper meaning and the rare and beautiful falcon represents the patron as a young man, symbolizing his youth, courage and beauty. The peregrine could therefore be interpreted as being the embodiment of the hunter-patron himself.

7.A wildman or "wodewose" dressed in animal skins, riding a red deer hart of ten, accompanied by a white greyhound.(101) Wildmen appear quite commonly in medieval margins and feature twice in consecutive folios of the Egerton MS. Only this illustration relates to hunting, the second showing a wildman with a stick, accompanied by a wildboy, set against a barren landscape of broken trees.(102)

Wildmen are not particularly associated with hunting, nor are they specifically hunting motifs in themselves, although they do occur within hunting contexts. Lillian Randall's Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts shows wildmen in a variety of situations, including one escaping on a red deer stag with a kidnapped(?) girl.(103) John Cummins comments that the wodehose is the leaf-clad embodiment of fertility and carnality. The wild man, covered all over with hair and the medieval emblem for man's brutish passions, is also the only human figure to be frequently depicted riding a unicorn.(104) Michael Camille calls the wildman..."a common type in marginal art and exemplary of the rude physical passions..."(105) An example of this crude earthy passion is seen in a *bas-de-page* of the The Taymouth Hours in which a hairy wildman is portrayed carrying off a young maiden, who is later rescued by Sir Eneas.(106)

The sexual connection between the wildman and the unicorn appears clear and is generally accepted by most art historians. This symbolism could also be applied to the figures in f.277r. The hart, or stag of ten, was not only the main quarry of European noble hunters but also symbolised male virility (107), perhaps, in this case, that of the patron or original user of the Hours. The wildman motif, too, may have dual meaning. He represents carnality, certainly, and also the forest, that distinctive environment where most aristocratic hunting was recognised to take place.

The inclusion of this particular marginal picture could thus

be significant, its interpretation perhaps indicating important clues relating to the character and personality of the patron, or original user, of this Book of Hours.

8. A dog, or more properly, a hound, sleeping.(108) Stereotyped hound icons are frequently found in medieval margins and Michael Camille comments that a hound chasing a hare is a common marginal motif on the opening page of Gothic books.(109) Indeed, the first illustration of the Hours of the Egerton MS is of a hound, in this case chasing a hart(plate 19).(110) Dogs signify fidelity(111) and the hound motif was also both a social and political signal to the reader, indicating status and class privilege.(112) The allegorical and religious significance of hounds is discussed at length by John Cummins.(113) However, the hound in the margin of f.284r is portrayed in a completely different manner and thus may be viewed in a dissimilar way. The animal is naturalistic and is not engaged in the chase but sleeping. It appears that traditional symbolism may not be of importance in this case and it is possible that this is a favourite, perhaps old, hound belonging to the patron or user of the Hours. Cummins remarks that favourite hounds were looked upon with pride and great affection by royal hunters and Alfonso XI of Spain repeatedly mentions several dogs by name in his Libro de la monteria.(114) Thus, again, the personal nature of the choice of illustrations may be an important factor to consider in reading and interpreting the marginal iconography of Egerton 1146.

9. A hare in flight, being seized by a greyhound(plate 21).(115) This is the traditional motif, commented upon by Camille and seen in the margins of, for example, MS Rawl. liturg.f.11(plate 22), a French Book of Hours from about 1500.(116) The chapter order of The Master of Game places the hare as the most important quarry species, reversing that of Livre de chasse which positions it second to the hart.(117) The hare was known as the "kyng of venery" because hunting it *par force*, [that is, on horseback with hounds,] according to John Cummins, "was a microcosm of the most complex and subtle aspects of the medieval chase..."(118) Superstitions, magical beliefs and folk-lore also surround this mysterious beast(119), and given their use by illustrators as status symbols, it is not surprising that hares commonly cavort across medieval margins.

10. A red deer hind, identifiable by her lack of antlers.(120) The hart and stag appear to be always portrayed with antlers, indeed, how else could they be instantly recognized by a medieval audience? However, an interesting and specific exception to this sensible rule is that of the male red deer shown in March of the Egerton Calendar(plate 3); he has cast one antler.(121) The hind is largely ignored by the hunting manuals, including The Master of Game.(122) Hinds were not rated as *par force* quarry but were occasionally hunted with hounds and were usually driven into nets.(123) The illustration for April in the Egerton Calendar(plate 4) shows a stag and hind being driven into a net stretched between trees.(124) The royal accounts of Edward II of England

indicate that hinds and does formed an important fresh meat source.(125) In addition, the hind was a Christian icon and portrayed as a revealer of the True Cross. She also variously symbolized the soul, female lover and Virgin Mary.(126)

11. A brown bear, presumably female, with a tiny cub in her mouth, accompanied by another, but larger, cub.(127) Brown and black bears provided great sport for courageous noble hunters such as Gaston Phébus, Alfonso XI and Maximilian I, as has already been discussed earlier in this chapter. Hunters coming upon a she-bear with cubs would kill the cubs as soon as possible in order to concentrate the hounds' attention on the adult, but this was regarded as inferior sport compared to hunting the male bear.(128) However, the most famed characteristic of the female bear was her nursing of new-born cubs. Here lay the origin of the phrase "licking into shape", as the she-bear was believed to lick the results of her short pregnancy, eyeless, formless lumps of white flesh, into living cubs.(129) In addition it was claimed that bears were able to heal their own wounds with the aid of medicinal herbs.(130) Thus, the marginal picture in the Egerton Hours has more significance than at first appears. The she-bear is not carrying the tiny cub but is actually "licking it into shape", to produce a larger cub like the one standing by its mother. The she-bear motif therefore possesses subtle magical and medicinal functions in addition to the more obvious representation of noble quarry beast, the latter exemplified in the October *bas-de-page* of the Calendar(plate 10)and the marginal illustration of the blond hunter spearing

a bear(plate 13).(131)

It is possible that these eleven small marginal illustrations with a hunting theme provide a valuable insight into the psyche and personality of the patron of Egerton 1146. He was undoubtedly a "gentle" or noble hunter; this is indicated by the birds and animals illustrated in the margins. This evidence supports the analysis of the "noble" beasts of the Calendar pictures. However, he was much more than this. Aristocratic hunters were ten-a-penny and, as will be demonstrated in a later chapter, hunting was an accepted part, virtually an obligation, of every male aristocrat in medieval Europe. The person who commissioned the illustrations of Egerton 1146 had not only a wide knowledge of hunting methods and techniques, probably not a particularly unusual trait in a keen hunting aristocrat, but also a deep interest in the quarry species themselves, based upon careful personal observation over a long period. The very specific choices of the pheasant and red-legged partridge as avian quarry examples and the rare brown variety of peregrine falcon as raptor indicate a patron who has given some considerable thought to his preference of motifs. In contrast, the choice of traditional icons such as the hart, hare and greyhound point to respect for convention and authenticity in marginal illustration, perhaps based upon exemplars from a pattern book and suggested by the illuminator. Sentimentality is suggested in the picture of the sleeping hound whereas the wildman, hind and she-bear, again more conventional motifs, were perhaps included for

symbolic reasons.

The naturalistic representation of the hunting icons is also the outstanding feature of the other marginal illustrations, both floral and non-floral. Many of these tiny motifs are readily identifiable as small common or garden European birds, including the blue-tit, long-tailed tit, great(?) or coal tit, cock bullfinch, cock chaffinch, cock goldfinch, cock house sparrow, greenfinch, robin and wren.(132) All are superbly drawn in natural colours and in life positions, most of them busily eating. Presumably cock birds were chosen for their more colourful plumage. There are also larger birds such as owls, pelicans, domestic cockerels, a hen, a dove and ducks, several varieties of parrot and other exotic birds, possibly cranes.(133) The margins contain only five insects, a fly, a Mayfly, a grasshopper, a brown moth and a cockchafer.(134) Amphibians and reptiles are represented by frogs and green lizards.(135) Mammals include rats, (including pregnant females,) a mouse, a wolf, dogs cats, lions and monkeys.(136) Again, the great majority of these miniatures of birds, insects and animals demonstrate the same meticulous attention to naturalistic detail, coloration and unpretentious pose. There are two exceptions to this generality: the exotic cranes, which appear fantastic in form and colour, and the lions, which are heraldic rather than naturalistic. In the latter case, the artist was perhaps lacking in suitable exemplars, such as live specimens, from which to draw inspiration,

Accurate and recognisable representations of birds in margins are by no means rare. A fourteenth-century French Book of Hours made for the Use of Paris, in the Fitzwilliam Museum collection, contains some meticulously drawn and coloured examples, including one border showing a fieldfare(?), two hooded crows and a splendid cock goldfinch.(137) In the same archive, The Grey-Fitzpayn Hours, an English manuscript dated to c1300, has a few good and easily identifiable birds, including a very fierce jay in a border which also contains a red deer hind, a hedgehog and a bear.(138) What is so striking about the Egerton borders is the abundant variety of birds and animals placed within and upon the flowers and plants.

There are hundreds of flowers, fruit, herbs and vegetables in the margins of the Egerton Hours. Other late medieval high quality Books of Hours also possess margins filled with floral representations. From the early fifteenth century borders become increasingly packed with sprays of acanthus, ivy, flowers and fruit, especially strawberries, as well as assorted fauna.(139) This crowding of the margins is exemplified by many of the borders of The Hours of Mary of Burgundy, dated c1477. A good example is f.15, which shows acanthus leaves, several varieties of flowers, strawberries, two birds and a monkey.(140) The Hastings Hours, dated to about 1480 and the work of an anonymous Burgundian Netherlands artist christened the Master of the Older Prayerbook of Maximilian I,(141) is one of the earliest manuscripts with borders filled entirely with illusionistic flowers.(142) The 'Grand Heures' Hours of Anne of Brittany,

Queen of France, completed c1508, features over 300 superbly drawn named plants, represented like botanical specimens.(143) The flowers in the borders of these latter two Books of Hours are illusionistic in style, that is, the plants are drawn as if resting on the surface of the page and casting appropriate shadows. This development in representation was initiated by Netherlandish artists in the later fifteenth century.(144)

Many of the plants in the margins of Egerton 1146 are recognisable as each one is a detailed study and, as Janet Backhouse remarks, appears to have been drawn from life.(145) These are thus naturalistic paintings. However, in spite of life-like representation, many have not been identified in this study, owing to the length of time required to positively place each specimen, many of which were unfamiliar to the author. In addition, some flowers, particularly those of the vetch family, were given a creeping habit or vine-like appearance in order to fill the margins of the page.(146) This is a not uncommon stylistic technique necessitated by lay-out and utilisation of space which, however, hampers recognition of the plants.

However, in the context of this discussion concerning the significance of the marginal pictures and the possible personality of the patron, identification of each and every plant and flower is not necessary. The important factor is the naturalistic representation by the artist and that many plants are easily identifiable. Vegetables such as cabbage,

spinach and turnip(147) are perhaps relatively easy to draw and paint, using garden specimens as models, but specific Alpine flowers, such as the Trumpet Gentian, Snow Gentian and Alpine Elder,(148) and varieties of the Iris and the Lily families,(149) require more exact drawing and colouring, preferably using recently-cut or living specimens from the estate garden or natural habitat. In the case of true Alpines growing in sub-montane and montane zones, obtaining fresh specimens must have been a difficult task.

The illuminator Jean Bourdichon must have come up against this problem when illustrating The 'Grand Heures' of Anne of Brittany, Queen of France. The total number of plants illustrated in the margins is estimated at 337 and he often shows whole plants, complete with bulbs or roots.(150) This is a feature of some of the Egerton illustrations, such as that of the purple crocus in the margins of f.293r.(plate 26). It is possible that Bourdichon copied the plants for the 'Grand Heures' from specimens grown in the royal gardens at Amboise and Blois in Touraine, gardens much favoured by Queen Anne.(151) A good example of the botanical accuracy with which the flowers are depicted in the 'Grand Heures' is the bittersweet, or woody nightshade, of the floral border surrounding the text of f.69.(152)

The Egerton artist's attention to naturalistic detail and absolute accuracy is exemplified by the marginal drawing in the Hours of Greater Reedmace,(*Typha latifolia*)(153). Since the nineteenth century, this plant has been commonly, but

incorrectly, called "the bulrush".(154) It is very similar in appearance to the Lesser Reedmace, (*Typha angustifolia*). However, Greater Reedmace bears a spike of male flower-heads immediately above the female 6-inch flower-spike, whereas the head of the Lesser Reedmace has a distinct 4-inch gap between the two.(155) The continuous flower-spike of the Greater Reedmace is clearly depicted in the marginal picture, showing the accurate depiction of a specific plant by the artist.

The superb draughtsmanship of the floral marginalia can also be seen distinctly when an individual flower or fruit is enlarged. The stamens of the bramble flower(156) are clearly visible and the berry appears ripe and luscious(plate 27). The flowers of the Alpine Larkspur, growing on a vinous stem,(157) have been painted in minute detail, showing the yellow stamens and interior structure(plate 28). This is reminiscent of the exquisite detail of a lily flower in the border of f.251 from The Hastings Hours.(158)

The floral programme of the margins is also used to reflect the seasons of the year. This is done through illustrations of the different stages in a plant's life-cycle. Thus the yellow field vetch is shown with its flowers and seed pods; sycamore twigs with fruit and keys; elderberry flower whorls with the berries lower down the page; successive crocus bulbs with flowers and leaves(plate 26); spikes of grass heads, two green and the other dried; ragwort with flowers and seed-head, and earlier in the Hours,

dried.(159)

The passing of the seasons is also alluded to by two miniatures of the same scene, one in summer and the other in autumn. The first shows a tree situated on the bank of a stream(plate 30). The tree is in full leaf and covered in fruits, some of which are open revealing tiny geese, others are falling, or have already fallen, onto the bank, shedding their minute contents into the water.(160) The second picture shows the same tree but bare of leaves(plate 31), and the fully-grown geese swimming down the stream, with yellow corn-fields in the background.(161) These scenes illustrate the widely-held belief that the Barnacle Goose (*Branta leucopris*), whose breeding grounds were for long unknown, was produced out of the fruit of a tree growing by the sea-shore. This myth was supported with the claim of personal experience by Giraldus Cambrensis in his Topographia Hibernica, written in 1188,(162) but was disputed by the pragmatic naturalist Emperor Frederick II.(163) An interesting point is that a miniature a few pages before the autumn scene shows a number of large swan mussels lying on a stream bed.(164) One suspects it is possible that there is a connection between the three miniatures. Although the legend fits the first two scenes, the tree is not on the sea-shore but by a stream. The white geese in the illustrations could equally well be swans. Perhaps in inland areas, swan mussels were regarded as an interim stage in the development of the adult birds. However, this is pure conjecture and there is no reference in Animals in art and thought, Medieval Beasts or Birds in medieval

manuscripts to this possible variation on the barnacle goose legend.

The positioning of these miniatures within the manuscript may also be indicative of the passing of the seasons. Thus the summer scene is half-way through, and the autumn scene is three-quarters of the way through the Hours, directly comparable to summer and autumn in the annual cycle.

There is too, an emphasis on the natural productivity of plants, a late-summer and autumn event, indicated by well-drawn illustrations of all sorts of fruits. There are examples of berries, including holly, bramble, bilberry, hips, nightshade, strawberry, cherry, sloe, and elderberry(165); several varieties of grape(166); nuts, including hazel, sweet chestnut, walnut and beech(167); more exotic fruits, including nutmegs, figs, apricots, mulberry and cloves(168); vegetables, including cabbage, spinach, white turnips, carrots and onions(169); and herbs, both culinary and medicinal, including primrose, feverfew, parsley, dandelion, coltsfoot and rosemary.(170)

The marginalia illustrate not only the unusual and exotic but overwhelmingly, the everyday species which were commonly found in the gardens and countryside of south Germany and the Alpine uplands. It is an unaffected and genuine appreciation of the world surrounding the patron, encapsulated in the margins of his prayer-book where it was readily accessible several times per day for his private enjoyment.

It could be surmised that this apparent interest in nature almost completely cloaks, or even replaces, a proper regard for religion; however, this attitude was probably not unusual in the later Middle Ages. No doubt some rich clients were willing to be diverted from their religious texts during long church services or private devotions by the illustrations in their Books of Hours.(171) True, the standard prayers of a Book of Hours dedicated to the Virgin Mary do comprise the text of Egerton 1146, but only one illustration is of a religious subject. This is a miniature placed within a capital letter, relating to the text, the chapter entitled in gold "Matutine de Resurrectione Domini nostri".(172) The miniature is of Christ with stigmata, rising from his tomb, bearing the flag of His Resurrection.(173) Significantly, a mayfly, also a symbol of resurrection, flutters in the margin opposite. The subject of Christ the Redeemer emerging from the tomb is a standard illustration introducing the Psalms of the Passion and for the eighth hour of the day, Compline.(174) The illustration of the Resurrection in Les Belles Heures de Jean Duc de Berry, completed by Paul and Jean Limbourg between 1404 and 1408/09, is similar, showing Christ emerging from the tomb, but with a scarlet pennon, like the *oriflamme* carried into battle by the French kings.(175)

All the other chapters of the Egerton Hours lack introductory miniatures and commence with an elaborate capital letter, heavily foliated with acanthus leaves in gold and colours.

The only other illustration with a religious sentiment is towards the end of the Hours and shows a dead knight vainly wielding his sword against Death, who gleefully brandishes the man's shroud.(176) This is a standard type of illustration for the Office of the Dead, similar to the popular theme of the Three Living and Three Dead, an abrupt reminder of Man's mortality in the midst of life.(177) This illustration is particularly apposite in the margins of Egerton 1146, a manuscript which seems to celebrate life and the enjoyment of the enormous variety of nature.

It is the variety and beauty of the marginal illustrations which, together with the Calendar pictures, make MS Egerton 1146 different from other manuscripts of the time. A considerable number of manuscripts have been examined, wholly, in part or in extract form, during this study but none has been found which is comparable as regards to both the diversity and naturalistic charm of its marginalia. This manuscript stands alone on the merits of its illuminations, making MS Egerton 1146 a clear example of "sui generis".

CHAPTER 4.

THE ILLUMINATIONS OF THE MANUSCRIPT,

END NOTES.

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- (136) Ibid.. Mammals: rats, ff.267v.(females & 268v; mouse, f.323r; wolf, f.274r; cats, ff.281r.&321v; lions, f.282r; monkeys, f.323r..
- (137) Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS.3-1954, f.104r..
- (138) Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, The Grey-Fitzpayn Hours, MS.242, f.55v..
- (139) Harthan, John, Books of Hours and Their Owners, (London,1977, repr.1988), p.21.
- (140) Ibid., pp.111 & 112. From: Vienna,Oesterreiche Nationalbibliothek, Cod.1857.
- (141) Backhouse, Janet, The Hastings Hours, (London,1996),

pp.4, 23 & 28.

(142) Ibid., p.19.

(143) Tolley, T., A Book of Hours, (London,1993), p.9. From: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale,MS lat.9474.

(144) Ibid., p.9.

(145) Backhouse, Janet, Books of Hours, (London,1985, repr.1988), p.12.

(146) London, British Library, MS Egerton, 1146. Extended habit: vetch,/honeysuckle, 26r; daisy variety, ff.30r; wild strawberry, ff.99r.& 99v. Vines and ivy with their creeping habit also feature commonly in the margins.

(147) Ibid.. Vegetables: cabbage, ff.126v., 167r.& 267r; spinach. f.143v; turnip, f.243r..

(148) Ibid.. Alpines: Trumpet Gentians, ff.44v.,78v.204v., Snow or Spring Gentians, ff.223v.& 243v., Alpine Elder, ff.133v..

(149) Ibid.. Irises, f.168v; lilies, f.200r.(red), ff.219v.& 233v.(white).

(150) Harthan, John, Books of Hours and Their Owners, (London, 1977, repr.1988), p.133.

(151) Ibid., p.133.

(152) Ibid., p.131. From: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat.9474, f.69r..

(153) London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, f.217r..

(154) Press, J.R., Sutton, D.A., Tebbs, B.R., Field Guide to the Wild Flowers of Britain, (London, 1981), p.405.

(155) Ibid., p.405.

(156) London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, f.20r..

(157) Ibid., f.23v..

- (158) Backhouse, Janet, The Hastings Hours, (London, 1996), p.28. From: London, British Library, MS Add.54782, f.251.
- (159) Ibid.. Yellow field vetch, f.47v; sycamore, f.55r; elderberry, f.166r; crocus, f.293r; grass-heads, ff.184v. & 116v; ragwort, ff.302r.& 203r.(dried).
- (160) Ibid., f.151r.
- (161) Ibid., f.258r..
- (162) Klingender, Francis, Animals in art and thought to the end of the Middle Ages, (London, 1971), pp.349 and 395(illus.). From: London, British Library, MS Harley 4751, f.36r..
- (163) Hohenstaufen, Frederich II of, De Arte Venandi cum Avibus, trans. & ed. by Casey A.Wood & F.Marjorie Fyfe, (Stanford,1943, repr. 1955), pp.532 & 537.
- (164) London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, f.250v..
- (165) Ibid.. Berries: holly, f.35v; bramble, ff.20r.&53r; bilberry, f.57r; hips, f.81v; nightshade, f.86r; strawberry, ff.98r.&99v; cherry, f.113r; sloa, f.135v; elderberry, f.166r..
- (166)Ibid.. Grapes, f.46r.(red), f.58r.(green), 246v. (black).
- (167) Ibid.. Nuts: hazel, f.49r; sweet chestnut, f.84v; walnut, f.217v; beech, f.291r..
- (168) Ibid.. Exotic fruits: nutmeg, f.101v; fig, f.160r; apricot, f.238v; mulberry, f. 258v; cloves, f.265r..
- (169) Ibid.. Vegetables: cabbage, ff.126v., 167r. & 267r; spinach, f.143v; turnips, ff.243r. & 312r; carrots, ff.266v.(?) & 269r; onions, f.187v..
- (170) Ibid.. Herbs: primrose, f.105r; feverfew, ff.134r. &

201v; parsley, f.165v; dandelion, f.170v; coltsfoot, f.202v; rosemary, f.229r..

(171) Harthan, John, Books of Hours and Their Owners, (London,1977, repr.1988), p.21.

(172) London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, f.202r..

(173) Ibid., 202r..

(174) Backhouse, Janet, Books of Hours, (London,1985, repr.1988), p.46; plate 42, p.50, "Christ the Redeemer", from The Hours of Elizabeth the Queen, first quarter of the fifteenth century. From: London, British Library, MS Add.50001, f.74v.. Also: Harthan, John, Books of Hours and Their Owners, (London,1977, repr.1988), p.29.

(175) Meiss, Millard, and Beatson, Elizabeth, H., Les Belles Heures de Jean Duc de Berry, (London,1974), p.11 and f.198(descr.& illus.opp.). From: New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, Les Belles Heures de Jean de Duc de Berry, fol.198.

(176) London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, f.285v..

(177) Harthan, John, Books of Hours and Their Owners, (London, 1977, repr.1988), pp.29-31.

CHAPTER 5.

THE HUNTING SCENES IN THE CALENDAR.

Although the identity of the patron of Egerton 1146 is unknown, the high quality of this Book of Hours and the superb hunting illustrations in the Calendar, and to a lesser extent the margins, indicate aristocratic patronage. This highly unusual collection of hunting pictures provides probably the only remaining evidence of noble sponsorship.

The illustrative evidence analysed in this chapter falls into three categories: firstly, the hunting theme of the twelve Calendar illustrations; secondly, the type of quarry being hunted; thirdly, the hunting methods and techniques. The role of the hunter is examined in the following chapter as it is pertinent to specific patronage.

The Calendar of Egerton 1146 has a single theme in all twelve months. This in itself makes the manuscript extremely unusual, possibly unique. That the subject is hunting is significant as regards to patronage as this sport in the European Middle Ages was traditionally and socially an aristocratic pastime.(1)

Restrictive practices on gratuitous hunting were initiated by European monarchs in the early medieval period. Thus on the Continent the hunting rights of free men began to be replaced by extended Imperial and Royal rights during the Carolingian period. Large areas were declared as royal "forests",

essentially hunting preserves, within which the local population was not allowed to hunt or trap game. The local nobility progressively obtained or assumed the right of setting up and administering such preserves.(2) In Germany, from the eleventh century onwards, the free peasantry increasingly lost their hunting rights to local overlords. This development marked the beginning of new social divisions within medieval society based upon privileges, leisure and pastimes.(3)

Although there is much persuasive evidence of commonalty hunting, the late medieval hunting manuals make it clear that the pursuit of certain quarry using particular methods was the preserve of the nobility and gentry. The most highly regarded and informative authors of hunting books were aristocratic or closely connected to the court. Henri de Ferrières, the late fourteenth century writer of Les Livres du roy Modus et de la royne Ratio was a member of a famous noble Norman family.(4) Gaston Phébus, the late fourteenth century author of arguably the most influential hunting book, Livre de chasse, had the titles of Comté de Foix and Vicomté de Béarn.(5) Edward, of Norwich, translator and rewriter of Phébus into The Master of Game, was Duke of York.(6) Maximilian I, the author of the compilation Jagd und Fischereibucher, was Emperor of Germany and later Holy Roman Emperor.(7) These and other aristocratic writers had enormous influence on the education, mores and social attitudes of the "gently born." The dedications and introductions in hunting manuals distinctly reveal the exclusive nature of the chase. Gaston Phébus dedicated his Livre de chasse to Philip II of France, another noted

hunter.(8) Edward, Duke of York, dedicated The Master of Game to King Henry IV's eldest son, Henry of Monmouth, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester.(9) In his introduction to The Book of Saint Albans, William Blades comments that the subjects of hawking, hunting and heraldry were "those with which, at this period, every man claiming to be 'gentle' was expected to be familiar; while ignorance of their laws and language was to confess himself a 'churl'."(10) The alleged authoress of this popular manual, Dame Juliana Berners, wrote in her introduction to the treatise on hunting, "...to sych gentill personys the maner of huntyng for all maner of beestys."(11)

John Cummins makes the point that medieval hunting manuals written in English tend to be "pervaded by the procedural and linguistic snobbery" which excludes the rest of society.(12) Anne Rooney comments on the non-pragmatic aspect of the Middle English manuals in her edition of The Tretyse off Huntyng. This short prose work of the fifteenth century, gives information on hunting the hare, hart, buck, roedeer and fox,(13) but like some other manuals, concentrates more on esoteric matters and procedure rather than the practical considerations of hunting. Rooney says, "Hunting to support life does not need the details with which the hunting manuals concern themselves; these are instead the features of the medieval chase which made it courtly and non-utilitarian."(14) This supports the view that people of high or "gentle" birth were strongly aware of hunting, its vocabulary, symbols, motifs and above all, its social significance.

This notion of hunting being the exclusive preserve of the nobility continued for several centuries, even in England, arguably one of the more "democratic" European nations. Thus in 1653, Izaak Walton, writes a commendation of hunting in The Complete Angler, "Hunting is a game for princes and noble persons; it hath been highly prized in all ages". Interestingly, Walton then cites the traditional medieval justifications in favour of hunting, "Hunting trains up the younger nobility to the use of manly exercises in their riper age. What more manly exercise than hunting the Wild Boar, the Stag, the Buck, the Fox, or the Hare? How doth it preserve health, and increase strength and activity!"(15)

The aristocratic involvement in hunting is indisputable. The evidence is not only in the hunting manuals, it also commonly occurs in romantic and imaginative literature. Symbolism, the imagery of hunting and the hunting motif are themes which frequently appear in medieval literature. This is hardly surprising as the authorship was almost invariably aristocratic and the audience courtly, noble or of gentle birth. It follows that an expensive Book of Hours, particularly with a Calendar entirely illustrated with hunting scenes, would probably have been commissioned by a patron versed in such an aristocratic subject.

Quarry Species.

The quarry species illustrated in the Calendar are the stag or

hart, the hind, the wolf, the hare, the bear and the wild boar.(16) These beasts were traditionally categorised as "noble" and their lawful pursuit identified the hunter as a "gentle hunter". Some French and English hunting books divide game into two categories, the "beasts of venery" and the "beasts of the chase".(17) Additional categories of "folly" or "rascal" and "vermin" are sometimes mentioned.(18) In general, gentle hunters pursued the first two categories of quarry, at least publicly. William Twiti, huntsman to Edward II(19) and author of The Art of Venerie, gives the basic classification:

To venery y caste me fyrst to go
Of wheche iiii bestis be, that is to say,
The hare, the hert, þe wulfe, the wylde boor also;
Of venery for sothe þer be no moe...

And then ben othyr bestis v of chase:
The buck the first, the do the secunde,
The fox the thryde, which ofte haþ hard grace,
The ferthe the martyn & þe last the Roo,
And sothe to say ther be no mo of tho...(20)

Juliana Berners' Book of Huntynq declares:

"Fowre maner beestys of venery there are,
The first of theym is the hert, the secunde is the hare,
The boore is oon of tho,
The wolff, and not oon moo."(21)

The Boke continues:

"I shall yow tell which be beestys of enchace.
Oon of theym is the bucke, a nother is the doo,
The fox and the martron and the wilde roo.
And ye shall, my dere chylde, other beestys all,
Where so ye hem fynde, rascall ye shall hem call"
In fryth or in fell
Or in forest, I yow tell."(22)

The category of "rascall", or "everything else", is thus introduced by Dame Juliana. The four beasts of venery all appear in the Egerton Calendar whereas none of the beasts of the chase are illustrated. Neither are there any beasts classified as "vermin or rascall" in the Calendar. Thus the choice of animals for illustration appears very selective and in addition, socially significant, an important point in the consideration of possible patronage.

Comment must be made here on two of the species illustrated in the Egerton Calendar. The hind is not mentioned in the Boke's classification but David Dalby comments as an aside to German stag hunting practice, that "Hinds were sometimes hunted with hounds, and were usually driven into nets rather than pursued across country."(23) Hinds gave inferior sport to a hart and in consequence were regarded as suppliers of venison. There was thus no shame in driving them into nets. The bear does not feature in the Boke either, the reason for this probably being its complete extinction in England centuries earlier.(24)

However, it was still common in mainland Europe in the late medieval period and was hunted both on horseback and foot, particularly in the southern and mountainous regions. Both Gaston Phébus and Emperor Maximilian I regarded bears as worthy and dangerous quarry.(25)

Although five major quarry species appear in the Egerton 1146 Calendar, it is the red deer which dominates the *bas de page* cycle of illuminated pictures. Out of the twelve illustrations red deer appear seven times(plates 1,3,4,5,7,8 & 9), wild boar twice(plates 11 & 12) and the hare, bear and wolf only once each(plates 6, 10 & 2). The solitary red deer stag, the hart, features three times, including being un-made or broken-up at the curée(plates 7,8 & 9), plus once with a male companion(plate 3), twice with a hind(plates 4 & 9) and once with a family group(plate 5).(26) There is thus a great emphasis placed on the red deer, particularly the stag. Referring to Germany, David Dalby comments, "During the German Middle Ages, the stag was the most important quarry for noble huntsmen... and other deer are mentioned less frequently."(27) He later says, "the stag chase became the favourite hunting sport during the "courtly" centuries..."(28), meaning after the twelfth century. Stag hunting required a high degree of skill and technique and also involved élitist ritual, making it suitable as a courtly pastime.(29) One German manual illustrates the importance of the stag to German hunters by its very specialisation. Die Lehre von den Zeichen des Hirsches is an instructive examination of the tracks and signs of the stag, all

indications of whether the beast was chaseable.(30) In his Appendix to the Duke of York's manual, William Baillie-Grohman emphasises the expertise required of the professional and aristocratic stag hunter and notes that, "One of the first essentials for a huntsman in the Middle Ages was to learn to know the different *signs* of a stag (according to German venery there were seventy-two signs), so as to be able to "judge well." These signs were those of the *slot*, the *gait*, the *fraying-post*, the *rack* or *entry* (*i.e.* the place where the stag entered covert), and the *fumes*."(31)

Moreover, the stags in the Calendar are harts, "warrantable" (32) and high-status beasts with ten points, or tines, to their antlers. The Master of Game specifies the male red deer as correctly being called in "the fifth[year] a stag; the sixth year a hart of ten and first is he chaseable, for always before shall he be called rascal or folly."(33) The hart was regarded as royal game, and belonged to the king or ruler of the country. Hunting the wild hart was thus a royal prerogative and a courtly activity, although special licences were granted on occasion by the sovereign.(34)

The social primacy of the hart is indicated by two early hunting texts. The surviving text of De arte bersandi, written by Guicenna(n)s in Germany in the early thirteenth century, is the beginning of a comprehensive instruction on the hart-hunt. It is also the earliest medieval hunting text and the only known hunting treatise written in Latin.(35) The earliest vernacular treatise is La Chase dou cerf, written

about 1250 in Picardy. This poem treats of all aspects of the hart-hunt, from chase to breaking-up the carcass.(36)

Edward, Duke of York's, observations makes it clear why the hart was regarded with such esteem throughout Europe, "The harts be the lightest beasts and strongest, and of marvellous great cunning."(37) They were also dangerous quarry to hunt and therefore worthy of respect by noble hunters. Edward indicates this when he writes, "And then they are bold, and run upon men as a wild boar would do if he were hunted. And they be wonderfully perilous beasts, for with great pain shall a man recover that is hurt by a hart, and therefore men say in old saws, "after the boar the leech and after the hart the bier." For he smiteth as the stroke of the springole, for he has great strength in the head and the body."(38)

Because of its admirable warrior-like natural characteristics, the hart is thus elevated to a special position of 'nobility', making its pursuit a 'noble sport'and bestowing high status and glory on the hunters. The illustrative and literary sources clearly indicate that the fully mature red deer stag or hart was held in similar esteem throughout Europe(plate 34).

The predominance of the hart, not the inferior "rascal or folly" stag, in the Calendar illustrations is a strong indication of aristocratic, perhaps royal, patronage. The hart is thus a key point in the correct reading of the quarry icons in the Calendar illustrations. Red deer also appear

three times in the margins of the Hours, harts twice(plate 19)and a hind once.(39) The hart is a frequent marginal motif in royal and aristocratic illuminated texts(plate 32), which is hardly surprising given its position at the apex of the hunting quarry hierachy, its noble appearance and symbolic significance.

The wild boar appears twice in the Calendar of Egerton 1146, a poor second to the red deer(plates 11 & 12). Its relative position is commented upon by Dalby, "Of lesser importance than the stag in the medieval hunt was the wild-boar. The boar hunt is mentioned or described in MHG[Middle High German] sources much less frequently than the stag chase..."(40) He continues that the boar was more dangerous to hunt than the stag and required great skill with a weapon to despatch(plate 33). It was a less refined sport than stag-hunting and was the predominant form of the chase until the eleventh or twelfth centuries. The boar is compared to a fierce warrior in the German sources, reflecting an earlier and more heroic age.(41)

This imagery is similar to the hart and again makes the boar a worthy and noble adversary. Gaston Phébus approved of boar hunting and devotes eleven chapters and illustrations(plate 35) to its nature, hunting and trapping.(42) Phébus considered the wild boar the most dangerous quarry and admired and respected the fierceness of the beast, "C'est une orgueilleuse et fiere beste et perilleuse, qar j'en ay vëu aucune foiz moult de maulz avenir et l'ay vëu ferir homme,

des le genoill jusques au piz tout fendre et tuer tout mort en un coup sanz parler a homme, et moy meïsmes a il porté a terre moult de fois, moy et mon coursier, et mort le coursier."(43) The Master of Game translates only one of the chapters from Livre de chasse, but Baillie-Grohman comments that it was probably because Edward considered the stag and hare to be "the royal sport *par excellence*, and not because there were none to hunt in England in his day."(44) It is probable that wild boar were extinct in the wild in England by the mid-thirteenth century but it was still regarded as a "noble beast" by aristocratic families and lived on not only in semi-captivity in parks but also in heraldry and romance.(45) The late fifteenth century Boke of Huntyng contains information on the aging and undoing of the boar(46) so it was still thought of as an existing beast of venery in England.

On the subject of where the wild boar continued to play an important role as a major quarry species, John Cummins comments, "The boar was hunted with varying degrees of dedication over most of Europe, but to judge by the surviving manuals and by its role in imaginative literature it was most valued in the Iberian peninsula and in Germany."(47) Extensive forests were essential to its survival. Its double appearance in the Egerton Calendar accords with the German use of the MS and points to a patron of high status.

The third beast of venery with one appearance in the Calendar is the hare(plate 6). It also features once(plate 21) in the margins of the Hours.(48) This is surprising to English eyes

as the hare had such high status for late medieval English and French hunters(plate 22). Twiti begins his treatise with the hare as it is, "...þe most merveyulous beste þat is in þis lond". The reasons for this being, "For as miche as he beripe grese and crotyth and rongith."(49) The Master of Game repeats this sentiment almost word for word.(50) Gaston Phébus also gives the hare much space but places it second to the deer in chapter order. Edward of York reverses this order,(51) emphasising the hare's importance to the English aristocracy. Cummins comments that hunting the hare, "*par force...* was a microcosm of the most complex and subtle aspects of the medieval chase."(52) The widespread appeal of hare "coursing" with greyhounds lay in the long chase and that it could be practised at any time of day or year. The sport did not require the elaborate preparation of the stag hunt and was thus more suited as an informal pastime.(53) However, it was clearly regarded as an aristocratic sport. German sources of the period show that stag hunting and hare coursing, "were the pre-eminent forms of the chase, as practised by the German nobility during the Middle Ages."(54)

The reason for its single appearance in a German manuscript is thus not immediately apparent. Clearly it might be expected to figure on a par with the stag unless there are particular circumstances which dictate otherwise. The answer lies perhaps not in the length or excitement of the chase but in the harmless nature of the quarry, even when cornered. To hunters such as Gaston de Foix, Alfonso XI and Maximilian I, the dangerous and fierce nature of the quarry was a vital

element to their enjoyment. Without this ingredient, hunting lacked that unpredictable edge.

The bear appears once in the Calendar(plate 10) and once in a marginal illustration.(55) Although long extinct in Britain, bears were abundant in Europe and in the Alps outlasted the wolf.(56) In his Foreword to the first edition of The Master of Game, President Theodore Roosevelt, an acknowledged historian and sportsman, comments, "The kings and nobles, and the freemen generally, of the regions which now make France and Germany, followed not only wolf, boar, and stag...but[also]the bear."(57) Gaston Phébus devotes several chapters to the nature and hunting of the bear. It must have been a familiar quarry in the Pyrenees as Phébus begins by saying, "Ours est assez comune beste, si ne me covient ja dire de sa faisson, quar pou de gens sont qui bien n'en aient veü."(58) He respected the beast for its great strength but not its intellect, "...il sont tous estourdiz, et, si fort y sont feruz,..."(59) Phébus died in 1391 after returning from a bear hunt in the forest of Sauveterre.(60) In Iberia the bear had high status, both Alfonso XI of Castile and John I of Portugal regarding the bear as royal game.(61) The Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian I, was also an ardent bear-hunter. In his book Thuerdank, there are three sections on bear hunting and in the Hunting Notebook he advises, "You must go hunting with a spear, and always have one-go after him with the spear..."(62) His favourite method was to tackle the beast in its lair, on foot and single-handed, armed only with a short hunting spear or hunting sword.(63) This reflects

Maximilian's regard for the fighting qualities and courage of the bear, making it a worthy foe to take on face-to-face. The bear thus emerges as a "personal" challenge to the fanatical hunter, rather than a quarry providing a long and exciting chase.

The Lexicon of the German Mediaeval Hunt says, "Amongst other heavy game,..even the brown bear is of little importance."(64) German sources do mention the bear but its value as a quarry species is well behind the stag, boar and hare. However, dedicated hunters such as Phébus, Alfonso XI and Maximilian obviously ranked the bear highly. The inclusion of the bear in the Calendar and Hours indicates that the patron of Egerton 1146 shared this positive attitude.

The wolf appears once in the Calendar(plate 2) and once in the margins of the Hours.(65) The wolf was widespread in mainland Europe, and to a lesser extent in Britain, during the later Middle Ages.(66) Phébus confirms this in the beginning of his chapter on the nature of the wolf, "Lou est assez commune beste, si ne me convient ja dire de sa faisson, quar pou de genz sont qui bien n'en aient veü."(67) Medieval man had an ambivalent attitude towards the wolf. Peasants feared and hated the beast as it was a public danger to stock and human life whereas hunters appreciated its natural abilities. The wolf's strength, speed, strong scent and self-confidence made it an interesting and challenging quarry.(68)Included in The Boke of Huntynge as a beast of venery,(69) the wolf must have qualified on its sporting potential as its flesh was

inedible.(70) Gaston Phébus rated the wolf highly, giving it far more folio space than the hare.(71) The Master of Game places the wolf between the wild boar and fox in chapter order, as does the Count de Foix, but omits the later chapters on hunting and trapping.(72) The space given to the wolf in Les livres du Roy Modus et de la Royne Ratio and Livre de chasse indicates its high status as a quarry species hunted by the nobility in France.(73)

The attitude towards wolves in Germany appears more practical than sporting. Wolves were regarded as vermin with no legal restrictions on their hunting or trapping.(74) This was probably a response to the threat posed by their large numbers in rural Germany. They are briefly mentioned in some German sources but Dalby comments, ".these animals were not normally chased by noble sportsmen, in Mediaeval Germany."(75)

The reason for the wolf's appearance in Egerton 1146 is probably similar to the bear's inclusion. To the patron, or recipient of the Book of Hours, the wolf was a dangerous and cunning beast to hunt. Wolf-hunting was also complex, required thought and preparation; according to John Cummins, it also presented "an economic insouciance beyond the possibilities of the average yeoman."(76) Thus the considerable outlay of expense necessary in successful wolf-hunting in itself made the sport an aristocratic preserve, particularly as there was no food return. Hunting this fierce and cunning beast therefore tested the hunter's own abilities, skills and courage to the full, important

ingredients to the true venator, and also indicated superior economic and social standing.

Methods and Techniques.

The hunting methods and techniques illustrated in the Calendar of Egerton 1146 indicate noble patronage. Although it must be accepted that for the single reason of food procurement, "hunting" must have been a universal pastime and necessity, English and Continental sources clearly show that certain forms of venery were reserved for, and restricted to, the ruling classes. The hunting manuals specify not only quarry species but also methodology, vocabulary and ritual. This is not restricted to the practical hunting books; it is also commonly found in the romantic and imaginative literature of the period. The hunting passages in Sir Gawain and the Green Knight and The Parlement of the Thre Ages are cases in point. Both these Middle-English poems of the late fourteenth century contain detailed descriptions of how animals were hunted and properly broken-up, set within the context of rural or romantic stories. (77) This type of literature was written for a courtly audience and an understanding of the hunting language and methods was integral to its production and presentation. A.C. Spearing comments on this élitism of method, "There is a proper way of doing everything, even cutting up the dead beast, and knowledge of this way is a prerogative of the aristocracy and their skilled servants." (78) Nobles were "lernerd" in the language and techniques of hunting as a result of their

education.(79) Spearing refers to this élitist vocabulary as the "liturgy" of the aristocratic "sacrament", (80) emphasising its importance within court society. To be able to understand the language and techniques was not only a social necessity, it also defined a person as belonging to the aristocracy.

The methods employed by the hunter in the illustrations of the Calendar reflect this élitism, providing the reader, or audience, with a series of upper class images he, or she, can identify with.

In ten out of the twelve Calendar illustrations the hunter is shown either mounted or in close proximity to his horse; in only one is he hunting on foot(plate 11).(81) The remaining illustration is for the month of May(plate 5). It features a herd of red deer and probably shows the close season or "fence month" when red deer were not hunted. Interestingly, the fence month referred to in The Master of Game actually survived into modern times.(82)

Nine of the illustrations have the mounted hunter accompanied by hounds, one with horse but no hounds and one on foot without hounds.(83) Thus the great majority of the pictures contain two of the vital ingredients of aristocratic hunting, horses and hounds. Dalby comments on this definitive European practice; "The classic form of the mediaeval hunt was the open stag chase, i.e. the pursuit of a stag with horses and hounds..."(84) There are numerous references in English,

French and German sources to this traditional method of hunting the stag, and to a lesser degree, the hare. The boar(plate 35) and wolf were also hunted in this manner. The classic method of hunting on horseback with a pack of hounds was known as "par force de chiens", by strength of hounds(plate 34). Gaston Phébus describes "a force" hunting in great detail, two of his lengthier chapters are on this method of stag and hare hunting: "Si devise comment le bon veneur doit chassier et prendre le cerf a foursse" and "Ci devise comment le bon veneur doit chassier et prendre le lievre a foursse."(85) Roy Modus uses the term "a forche" in the same way.(86) Two fourteenth century German allegories, Hadamar's Jagd and the anonymous Die Jagd der Minne provide details of this method of chase and its terminology.(87)

The contemporary full and part descriptions of the chase have enabled modern authors to present a comprehensive and detailed reconstruction of the par force hunt. Similar sequences, using slightly differing terminology owing to distinct linguistic sources, can be found in The Stag of Love and The Lexicon of the Mediaeval German Hunt.(88) A short description of a day's par force hunting, based upon these sources, is necessary at this point in order to understand the context and significance of the illustrations in the Egerton Calendar.

Hunters rose early to quest, probably having gone out the evening before to locate and move a warrantable stag. Hunt officials called lymers, each accompanied by his scenting

hound, the lymer, on a leash, looked for signs which revealed the quarry's size, age and value. Along the way the huntsman placed branches to help him locate the path back to the quarry on the hunt's return and also to indicate that a defined area had been reconnoitered. The hunt officials then joined the assembly at an arranged location where the lord or Master of Game assessed reports and examined fewmet samples.(89) After feasting and good fellowship, a horn signalled that the hunt was about to begin. The pack of hounds moved off, encouraged by cries, and were put on the scent. Once moved out of covert, the hart could be expected to double back, or ruse, and then take a wide leap off in a new direction to confuse the hounds. It was important to drive the stag out of familiar thickets and hiding places into open country over which it could move at speed. If in its flight it left part of the pack behind, the "perfect" chase became "forloyne."(90)

Hard-pressed and exhausted, the beast would sweat heavily, froth and emit a stronger scent, exciting the hounds. The stag would often plunge into water, both to cool itself and to lose its scent. This act, known as "soiling", was regarded as a sign that the beast was ready to be taken by the hounds in the water, on the bank or after a short chase. Finally, at the end of its forces, the beast would turn at bay to the hounds. The Master, one of the huntsmen or a noble, would move in behind the hart and disable it by severing the hough-sinew. The beast was then despatched by piercing the spinal cord between the antlers and neck with a sword or hunting knife. Alternatively, a sword was thrust through the heart from

behind the shoulder. Either move was dangerous to the dismounted hunter. Less commonly a bow or cross-bow was used to despatch the quarry.

The hounds were allowed to leap upon the carcass, bite the flesh and lap the blood, urged on by the hunters. The ceremonial ritual of breaking-up the stag now took place, following a well-established sequence. Certain pieces of the carcass were presented to the guests and chief personages of the hunt. The haunches and head were removed and portions of the carcass reserved for various people and purposes, but the corbyn bone was always flung to the crows or ravens.(91) The paunch and guts were mixed with bread and blood and fed to the hounds. This important ceremony was called the curée.(92)

Several of the scenes from this sequence of the stag hunt are illustrated in the Egerton Calendar. The illustration for July(plate 7) shows the hunter on horseback about to despatch the stag with his sword. The exhausted beast is in a river being harried by the "swift hounds," apparently greyhounds.(93) The presence of greyhounds indicates the status of the hunter in the picture. Baillie-Grohman comments, "No hound seems to belong so peculiarly to the epoch of chivalry as the greyhound, and indeed one can scarcely picture a knight without one. A Welsh proverb declared that a gentleman might be known "by his hawk, his horse, and his greyhound.""(94)

A professional hunter, the lymerer, with his scenting hound,

the lymer, also features in this picture. The hound is held on a liam or leash.(95) It might appear strange for the lymerer and his hound to be present at this stage of the hunt as his functions were to locate a warrantable stag and unharbour it before the chase phase begins. There are two possible explanations for this appearance.

Firstly, the illustration may have a duality of purpose: to show two events separated in time and space, the beginning and end of the hunt with the personalities involved; also to demonstrate the social differences between the noble hunter and his lymerer servant. This duality can be similarly observed in Maximilian's Jagd und Fischereibücher, particularly in the illustration of the Emperor hart-hunting near Innsbruck. In the background, the lymerers and their lymers unharbour the stag. The "running hounds" are then unleashed and the hart is pursued by the mounted hunter, Maximilian, across the centre of the picture. The beast is eventually despatched by Maximilian in the fore-ground of the illustration.(96) As in the Egerton Calendar the differences in status between hunter and hunt servant are clearly apparent. Referring to German practice, Dalby comments that, "...it was the custom for an (employed) master-huntsman or *jeger-meister* to set out with a tracking-hound or *leit-hunt* to locate a suitable stag."(97) This is illustrated in the 1531 Augsburg edition of Lehre von den Zeichen des Hirsches.(98)

Secondly, a huntsman going out hunting with his bow or cross-

bow would have his "shooting dog" or bercelet to accompany him. The hound's functions were to track, put up and retrieve game.(99) The Master of Game says that some mastiffs become bercelets(100) and the hound in the Egerton July picture appears very like a mastiff. However, as the swift greyhounds also appear in the picture, this explanation seems less likely than the first.

September also shows the final moments of the chase(plate 9). The hunter, again mounted, is in the act of despatching the stag, but in this case he is using a cross-bow. This was usually achieved with a spear(plate 32), sword or large hunting-knife(101) but in his Jagd und Fischereibücher Maximilian is shown on horseback using a cross-bow to despatch a hart in this manner.(102) This possibly indicates an accepted aristocratic practice in Germanic Europe. The use of bows and arrows by noble huntsmen was usually restricted to "birsen" in Germany or its equivalent method, "bow and stable" hunting, in England.(104)

The Egerton hart is at bay, apparently defending the flight of the accompanying hind.(105) The hounds facing the hart are distinctly smaller and lighter in build than the greyhounds and mastiff of the July illustration. They are probably the scenting hounds which ran as a pack, called the "running hounds" or raches. Baillie-Grohman mentions that these raches or brachets were sometimes white but were generally white with black markings, occasionally mottled.(106) Some of the little hounds in the September illustration fit this

description whereas others are black and tan or all brown. Clearly, these are the same hounds which the hunting manuals indicate were commonly used by the nobility in the chase.

The third scene from the stag hunt sequence in the Egerton Calendar is the illustration for August.(107) This shows the curée,(plate 8) the ceremony of giving the hounds their reward, thus called as it was originally given to them on the hide or *cuir* of the stag.(108) The reward consisted of a mixture of paunch and small intestines, emptied, washed and chopped up, mixed with blood and bread. Sometimes the heart, lungs and liver were included.(109) This was fed on, or under, the hide, to the accompaniment of hunting cries and notes on the horn. The head of the hart was placed with the mess on the hide, as described by Gaston Phébus,(110) or under it, with antlers still attached in order to hold the hide up, as described by Edward of York.(111)

The Tretyse of Huntyng gives precise instructions, "And quen he is dede þan oweth he to blowe also many reans as mony motez. & þen be we aboute to opyn hym & fley hym, & now behoueth þat we taken owte his bowellez & ber hym to þe water & washe hem. Now we be aboute to quarter þe beest; when his bowellez bene wasshen þan shall þe quyletez be cutted in þe hyde, & þan shall we take þe hede & ley hyt on þe quyletetz. þan shall we blawene & take vp þe hede - also mony reans as mony motez. And þan shall a man know off what age the hert was. And for þe houndez ben fedde on þe huyde, so is yt clepyt 'aquyrry'."(112)

These exacting directions as to sequence of events, including horn blowing, signal both the practical and ceremonial importance of the curée. It trained the hounds by the association of reward after a successful hunt and it provided a symbolic full-stop to the physical excitement of the mounted chase. The noble huntsman was paying his last respects to his quarry, as well as rewarding his hounds. According to French hunting tradition, if the hart was worthy sport for a noble, then it was fitting that it should receive not only an honourable death, usually at the hands of a nobleman, but also the proper post-death rituals. These rituals of formally breaking-up the carcass and curée were the personal responsibility of a noble.(113)

However, these ceremonies of the French hunt did not become established in Germany until the sixteenth or even seventeenth centuries. Many French-derived stag hunting terms, including "Curée", were also adopted by German hunters. (114) The curée ceremony, with its distinctive rituals, is characteristic of medieval French aristocratic hunting practice and its inclusion in the Egerton Calendar is therefore significant. It indicates a French "court culture" influence which it seems reasonable to postulate was probably first adopted by the most influential and cosmopolitan courts in Germanic Europe, such as that of the Habsburgs, later diffusing to the smaller courts.

Many of the essential ingredients are shown in the

illustration. The raches are greedily enjoying their reward of offal, blood and bread fed on the hide while the two noble hunters are blowing their horns. A horse belonging to one of the hunters is in the background. The lymerer is meanwhile straining to hold back his hound which, by tradition, is rewarded later.(115) Another hunt servant is loading up a cart with pieces of the dismembered carcass. There are clear distinctions of role, dress and attitude between the noble and professional hunters, highlighting the social function of the illustrations in the Egerton Calendar.

The remaining illustrations in the Calendar which feature red deer and deer hunting show aristocratic techniques other than the classic "par force" chase. These require brief explanation.

January is a bare hilly landscape with the hunter, dismounted, aiming his cross-bow at a hart which is distracted by a mounted hunter leading the first hunter's horse(plate 1).(116) Whether this distraction is intentional, thus forming part of an accepted hunting technique, is difficult to state with certainty. However, it is clearly shown, thus it is safe to assume that distracting the quarry was intended. The illustration gives the impression that the mounted hunter has ridden slowly along the track around the hill in order to drive, or coax, the hart towards the hunter in ambush. This is an elementary but effective method of taking shy quarry, hardly necessary of instruction or comment in the hunting manuals. It is also a method which two hunters can

employ, without undue organisation or fuss. As regards to the aristocratic implications of this picture, three points are relevant. Firstly, the beast is a hart, a mature male with ten points, the most important quarry of the German nobility. Secondly, both hunters possess horses with the appropriate tack, an indication of their wealth and status. Thirdly, both men are dressed in plain but functional clothing, which interestingly resembles mail and armour, and wear swords and spurs, the appurtenances of a gentleman-warrior.(117) This illustration thus shows a less formal method of hunting than the chase but still purposefully aristocratic in its content and portrayal.

March is a lakeside scene, reminiscent of Bavaria or the Austrian Tyrol, featuring the hunter leading his grey horse following up two red deer stags using a lymer hound(plate 3). The hunter has an antler in his left hand, presumably belonging to the stag in the fore-ground which has recently cast it.(118) Male red deer shed their antlers in late winter/early spring before growing new sets in preparation for the rut in October. In medieval German hunting sources this is referred to as "werfen," meaning to cast (its head), that is, to shed (its horns.)(119) The bud of the new antler can clearly be seen on the stag's head in the February picture.

The purpose of the illustration is not so obvious. The lymer or leit-hunt,(120) was normally in the care of a professional hunt-servant, the lymerer. However, some hunting manuals,

notably Livre de chasse and The Master of Game, make it clear that a true hunter should be conversant with the training of hounds. Indeed, Phébus devotes the second section of his book to hounds and their training, Edward of York repeating his instructions.(121) It therefore appears likely that the Egerton hunter is training his leit-hunt himself. Having fortuitously found a cast antler and presumably presented it for scenting purposes to the lymer, he is following up the stag in question as an instruction exercise. Cast antlers are habitually eaten by deer for their mineral content so finding one entire is unusual.

The illustration for April(plate 4) shows the mounted hunter, aided by his hounds and attendant slipper, driving a red deer stag and hind into a vertical net braced between trees.(122) The netting of "noble" game, especially deer, was a contentious subject, pinpointing the aristocratic medieval hunter's dilemma of what was sporting practice and what was not acceptable. The pursuit "par force" of a single hart could take all day, providing excellent sport but only one carcass. Driving several, or sometimes many, deer at a time into fixed nets produced large quantities of much-needed protein. The procurement of venison in bulk was the job of professional huntsmen employed by the king or great magnates. In England Edward 11 moved his huntsmen with their packs of hounds around the royal forests and chases of the country in order to obtain fat venison. To give an idea of the quantities required, on the 14th. and 15th. July, 1315, orders were given by the king for 322 harts, 302 bucks and 24 does to be taken in thirty-

three forests, parks and chases of the kingdom.(123) This type of hunting was not regarded as "sport" by the upper classes but as food collection, an occupation for the trained professionals of the great hunting establishments.

Gaston Phébus considered the use of nets unsporting and at the beginning of his chapter "Si devise a fere hayes par toutes bestes", he excuses himself and makes the point that he should not instruct the reader to take game except by "noble and gentle" means.(124) However, this chapter is illustrated with a graphic miniature showing red deer and other beasts being driven into various types of net.(125) How the nets were made is clearly shown in the instructive miniature of an earlier chapter.(126) Phébus was at pains to make clear to his audience the vast difference between gentlemanly sport, with its lack of necessity, and the mere provision of meat. Not surprisingly, Edward of York agrees with his kinsman. Referring to the hart he says, "Men take them with hounds, with greyhounds and with nets and with cords, and with other harness, with pits and with shot and with other gins and with strength, as I shall say hereafter. But in England they are not slain except with hounds or with shot or with strength of running hounds."(127) The point is clear, red deer are taken in specific accepted ways; other methods exist but do not concern the noble or "gentle" hunter.

The situation in Germany differed somewhat. The stag had the highest status and was hunted by open chase and *birsen*(128) whereas hinds were occasionally hunted with hounds and

usually driven into nets.(129) As in France and England, some German manuals contain élitist bias on methodology. Thus the Jagd der Minne includes a contrast between the sportsmanlike hunting methods of the "Minnejäger", a member of the lower nobility, and those of the "becken-jeger," the bad huntsman, who employs nets and snares during the chase.(130) This latter practice was presumably used to bring the hunt to an abrupt but more predictable conclusion than the open chase. However, not all contemporary evidence inclines to this view and the use of nets and snares in the medieval German chase was not always considered to be unsporting. Some literary passages describe both stags and hinds being netted and trapped during the chase.(131) The appearance of this method in the Egerton Calendar is therefore not surprising, in view of the German use of the manuscript.

The final illustration in the Egerton Calendar featuring red deer is that of May, (plate 5) the peaceful pastoral scene of stags, hinds and calves in a wood beside a stream.(132) As discussed earlier in this chapter, this probably represents the fence month when hunting or disturbing deer was prohibited. It could be argued that this has no relevance to the analysis of the methods and techniques demonstrated in the Calendar illustrations as the fence month is not a "method" of hunting. However, the concept of a close season, imposed upon hunters for whatever reason, is intimately bound up with the whole aristocratic attitude towards quarry and methodology. The fence month is specifically mentioned by Edward of York and at the end of the fifteenth century Dame

Juliana Berners is also specific about the seasons when beasts may be hunted or allowed relief. Only the hart and the hare are given the privilege of a close season. Of the hart she comments,

"From the Annunciacion of owre lady day
The hert then releues the sooth for to say
Till saynt Petris day and paule."(134)

Early summer was the time when red deer calves were born and a regime of protection and lack of disturbance was essential to the well-being of both youngsters and nursing mothers.

Baillie-Grohman uses the late sixteenth-century edition of *Manwood* to illustrate this point. His fence month was later than that of May in the *Egerton Calendar*, "...fifteen days before and ended fifteen days after midsummer". but the principal is "that the deer should be absolutely undisturbed during three or four weeks after the fawning season."(135) The hunting seasons were related to when the animals were in prime fat condition, not to the modern considerations of mating, pregnancy and nursing young. Thus Twiti says of the red deer stag, "And the tyme of grece begynneth alle way atte the fest of the Natiuyte of Saynt John Baptist", [24th.June.] (136) The concept of a season as a period when it was *best* to hunt deer, or other animals, because they were fat is pragmatic and economically based, very different from a period of relief imposed out of consideration for the quarry. This "respect" for the beast hunted and eventually killed is

one of the ambiguities of hunting throughout the ages.

The medieval hunter perceived certain animals as "noble" and applied rules of chivalry to those beasts, their pursuit and despatch. This sportsmanlike regard was essentially one of "fairness," by one gentleman towards another, somewhat akin to the Plains Indians' regard for the American Bison, but also involving the social ingredients of rank and status. The aristocratic hunter was thus specifically identifying himself and other sportsmen of his class with the accepted beasts of venery, an aristocratic form of anthropomorphism, more profound than simply "respect" for the quarry.

In English, the term "sportsman," used as a complimentary term, is the nearest equivalent to that of "Weidmann" found in the medieval German manuals. (137) Preservation of stocks and the continuation of the species for future hunting must also have played a major part in assigning a fence month to high status species. The medieval aristocratic hunter was an educated and well-versed man and he undoubtedly realised that the supply of large game was not endless. Emparking of land and the rearing of deer and boar was partly a reaction to the decline in the numbers of quarry species. The idea of "conservation" in the late Middle Ages was thus complex and to a large extent based upon completely different notions from the fundamentally humane ideas of modern hunters and legislators. The occurrence of an illustration in the Egerton 1146 Calendar showing the peace of the fence month reflects the forbearance and sportsmanship of the patron, essentially

aristocratic ideals of medieval hunters.

The five remaining Calendar illustrations show the hunting of the boar, hare, bear and wolf. The hart and these animals, with the exception of the bear, were regarded as the beasts of venery by many authorities(138) and were hunted by the nobility using appropriate methods. Almost invariably this involved the mounted chase aided by hounds.(139) Four out of the five Egerton Calendar pictures show this classic technique; February is wolf hunting(plate 2), June is hare coursing(plate 6), October is hunting the black bear(plate 10) and December is boar hunting(plate 12).(140) These illustrations of an exclusively aristocratic hunting practice reinforce the evidence provided by the seven stag hunting pictures.

These beasts were all taken in other ways and Gaston Phébus details many such methods in his comprehensive Livre de chasse. Some of the later chapters with accompanying miniatures describe the use of temporary fencing to direct game into pits or traps and the employment of spring-traps set in fence gaps to protect vineyards and orchards.(141) Phébus is careful to add, "Assez en dit, quar c'est chasce de vileins et de communs et de paysanz."(142) The Calendar picture of the hunter on foot despatching a wild boar snared by a rope noose set in a gap in a wattle fence(143) thus appears at first sight as the exception to the rule of nobles invariably hunting on horseback but noble hunters did on occasion employ apparently "less noble" methods. Thus a French manuscript

from the second quarter of the sixteenth century features a noble on foot spearing a wild boar(plate 33).(144) Several woodcuts portray Maximilian I on foot impaling both bear and wild boar with hunting spears.(145) However, these are not illustrations of peasant or commonalty boar hunting methods. These "hand-to-hand" confrontations actually illustrate the Emperor's supreme courage and determination to triumph over a dangerous beast on its own terms. The fact of *not* being in relative safety on the back of a horse is thus an indicator of real courage and nobility, the method being more "noble", that is, dangerous and chivalric, than the stereotyped chase. Perhaps this is the reason for the inclusion in the Calendar of this technique of boar hunting. It is a pictorial statement of the hunter's personal bravery, designed to remind the audience of his prowess and highlighting the courage needed to despatch a maddened beast, single-handed and on foot.

The main point, however, is the exclusiveness of mounted hunting not only as an aristocratic pastime and preserve but also as an indicator of gentility, wealth and social position. The Calendar illustrations which portray the hunter engaged in "par force" hunting clearly display these contemporary associated notions of hunting method with rank and status.

In the absence of the customary written and/or heraldic evidence, the twelve hunting pictures of the Calendar, together with the eleven pictures with a hunting theme in the

margins of the Hours, provide the only information in attempting to establish MS Egerton 1146 as being of aristocratic patronage. The three aspects of the illustrations which have been selected as pertinent in solving the problem, hunting as a main theme, quarry species as an indicator of rank and hunting methodology and techniques, have been closely analysed, interpreted and compared to other classic texts. All these aspects point to an aristocratic origin. Moreover, the separate strands and minutiae within each aspect positively support the general findings. It therefore appears clear that MS Egerton 1146 is of German aristocratic patronage.

CHAPTER 5.

THE HUNTING SCENES IN THE CALENDAR,

END NOTES.

- (1) Cummins, John, The Hound and the Hawk, (London, 1988), pp.1-2.
- (2) Dalby, David, Lexicon of the Mediaeval German Hunt, (Berlin,1965), p.v.
- (3) Ibid., p.v.
- (4) Tilander, Gunnar, (ed.), Les Livres du Roy Modus et de la Royne Ratio, Vol.1, Société des Anciens Textes Français, (Paris,1932), p.Liii. The author is revealed in an anagram as Henri de Ferrières.
- (5) Phébus Gaston, Livre de chasse, ed. Gunnar Tilander, *Cynegetica XVIII*, (Karlshamn,1971), p.51, f.3, ls.1-3.
- (6) Duke of York, Edward, The Master of Game, eds. Wm.A.& F.Baillie-Grohman, (London,1909), pp.xi-xii.
- (7) Neiderwolfsgruber, Dr.Franz, Kaiser Maximilians I.Jagd und Fischereibücher, (Innsbruck,1965,ed.1992), pp.5-12.
- (8) Phoebus, Gaston, The Hunting Book, trans.Tallon , J.Peter, (London,1984), p.15.
- (9) Duke of York, Edward, The Master of Game, eds.Wm.A.& F.Baillie-Grohman, (London,1904), p.3.
- (10) Berners, Dame Juliana, The Boke of Saint Albans,1486, facsimile edition, (London,1899),p.5.
- (11) Ibid., The Boke of Hunting, p.ei.
- (12) Cummins, John, The Hound and the Hawk, (London,1988), p.234.
- (13) Rooney, Anne, (ed), The Tretyse off Huntynq, Scripta 19,

- Mediaeval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, (Brussels, 1987), p.7.
- (14) Ibid., p.39.
- (15) Walton, Izaak, and Cotton, Charles, The Complete Angler, Vol.1, (Chiswick, 1826), p.89.
- (16) London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, ff.2v-13v.
- (17) Barnes, Julians, Boke of Huntyng, ed. Gunnar Tilander, *Cynegetica XI*, (Karlshamn, 1964), p.22.
- (18) Ibid., p.22 for "rascal"; see also The Master of Game glossary, p.294, "...lean deer; any deer under ten was usually called rascal." Ibid., p.287, for "folly," "lesser deer, not hart or buck". For "vermin" see The Tretyse off Huntyng, p.55, lls. 220-240, including "...to speke & blow to all maner vermyn þat worchyth or hideth hym in gresse,".
- (19) Twiti, William, The Art of Hunting, 1327, ed. Bror Danielsson, (Stockholm, 1977), p.34.
- (20) Rooney, Anne, (ed), The Tretyse off Huntyng, *Scripta 19*, Mediaeval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, (Brussels, 1987), p.39.
- (21) Barnes, Julians, Boke of Huntyng, ed. Tilander, Gunnar, *Cynegetica XI*, (Karlshamn, 1964), p.22.
- (22) Ibid., p.24.
- (23) Dalby, David, Lexicon of the Mediaeval German Hunt, (Berlin, 1965), p.xv.
- (24) Rackham, Oliver, The History of the Countryside, (London, 1986, repr. 1993), pp.33-34.
- (25) Phébus, Gaston, Livre de chasse, p.84, ch.8, l.5; Neiderwolfsgruber, Dr. Franz, Kaiser Maximilians I. Jagd und Fischereibücher, chapter entitled "Bärenjagd," pp.34-36.

- (26) London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, ff.2v., 8v. and 9v; 4v; 5v. and 10v; 6v..
- (27) Dalby, David, Lexicon of the Mediaeval German Hunt,(Berlin,1965), p.xv.
- (28) Ibid., p.xvi.
- (29) Ibid., p.xvi.
- (30) Lindner, Kurt,(ed), Die Lehre von den Zeichen des Hirsches, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichter der Jagd, III, (Berlin,1956).
- (31) Duke of York, Edward, The Master of Game, eds. Wm.A.& F. Baillie-Grohman,(London,1909), p.225.
- (32) Ibid., p.226, "...considered a chaseable or warrantable deer." Also: Dalby, David, Lexicon of the Mediaeval German Hunt, p.102, "jage-baere = warrantable", old enough to be chased(of a stag.)
- (33) Ibid., p.29.
- (34) Ibid., pp.224-225.
- (35) Rooney, Anne,(ed.), The Tretyse off Huntynq, Scripta 19, Mediaeval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, (Brussels,1987), pp.16-17.
- (36) Ibid., p.17.
- (37) Duke of York, Edward, The Master of Game, eds. Wm.A. & F.Baillie-Grohman, (London,1909), p.23.
- (38) Ibid., p.23. Also: footnote p.23: a springole was "an engine of war used for throwing stones."
- (39) London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, f.16r.(stag); f.277r.(stag); f.316r.(hind).
- (40) Dalby, David, Lexicon of the Mediaeval German Hunt, (Berlin,1965), p.xvi.

- (41) Ibid., p.xvi.
- (42) Phébus, Gaston, Livre de chasse, ed. Gunnar Tilander, *Cynegetica XVIII*, (Karlshamn,1971), see Table, pp.48-50.
- (43) Ibid., p.88, f.17v., l.6.
- (44) Duke of York, Edward, The Master of Game, eds. Wm.A.& F.Baillie-Grohman, (London,1909), p.264.
- (45) Rackham, Oliver, The History of the Countryside, (London,1986/93), pp.36-37.
- (46) Rooney, Anne, (ed.), The Tretyse off Huntynq, *Scripta 19, Mediaeval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, (Brussels,1987), p.29.
- (47) Cummins, John, The Hound and the Hawk, (London,1988), p.97.
- (48) London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, f.313r..
- (49) Twiti, William, The Art of Hunting,1327, ed.Brör Danielsson, (Stockholm,1977), p.40., f.37, ll.13-15.
- (50) Duke of York, Edward, The Master of Game, eds. Wm.A. & F.Baillie-Grohman, (London,1909), p.181.
- (51) Phébus, Gaston, Livre de chasse, Table, p.48; Duke of York, Edward, The Master of Game, Contents, p.v.
- (52) Cummins, John, The Hound and the Hawk, (London,1988), p.111.
- (53) Dalby, David, Lexicon of the Mediaeval German Hunt, (Berlin,1965), p.xviii.
- (54) Ibid., p.xviii.
- (55) London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, f.20r..
- (56) Rackham, Oliver, The History of the Countryside, (London,1986/93), p.34.
- (57) Duke of York, Edward, The Master of Game, eds. Wm.A.&

- F.Baillie-Grohman, (London,1909), p.xxi.
- (58) Phébus, Gaston, Livre de chasse, ed. Gunnar Tilander, *Cynegetica XVIII*, (Karlshamn,1971), p.83, f.15v.,11.2-3.
- (59) Ibid., p.85, f.15v., 1.5.
- (60) Ibid., p.23.
- (61) Cummins, John, The Hound and the Hawk, (London,1988), p.121.
- (62) Neiderwolfsgruber, Dr.Franz, Kaiser Maximilians I.Jagd und Fischereibücher, (Innsbruck, 1965, ed.1992), pp.35-36.
- (63) Baillie-Grohman, W.A., "Ancient Weapons of the Chase", Burlington Magazine, 1904, Vol.IV, p.158.
- (64) Dalby, David, Lexicon of the Mediaeval German Hunt, (Berlin,1965), p.xvii.
- (65) London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, f.274r..
- (66) Cummins, John, The Hound and the Hawk, (London,1988), pp.136-137.
- (67) Phébus, Gaston, Livre de chasse, ed. Gunnar Tilander, *Cynegetica XVIII*, (Karlshamn,1971), 92, f.19, 11.2-3.
- (68) Cummins, John, The Hound and the Hawk, (London,1988), pp.132 & 135.
- (69) Barnes, Julians, Boke of Huntynq, ed. Gunnar Tilander, *Cynegetica XI*, (Karlshamn,1964), p.22, 1.8.
- (70) For "uses", see Cummins, John, The Hound and the Hawk, (London,1988), pp.134-135.
- (71) Phébus, Gaston, Livre de chasse, see Table, p.48.
- (72) Duke of York, Edward, The Master of Game, see Contents, pp.v-viii. Also: Cummins, John, The Hound and the Hawk, p.137.
- (73) Cummins, John, The Hound and the Hawk, (London,1988),

p.136 and pp.138-140.

(74) Dalby, David, Lexicon of the Mediaeval German Hunt, (Berlin,1965), p.xviii.

(75) Ibid., p.xviii.

(76) Cummins, John, The Hound and the Hawk, (London,1988), p.138; the author's comments on Phébus' wolf-hunts.

(77) Orme, Nicholas, From Childhood to Chivalry, (London,1984), p.194. See Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, trans. Brian Stone, (Harmondsworth,1959, repr.1974), ll.1133-1923, passim. Stag: pp.48,49,53 & 54. Boar: pp.56,57,60,61 &62. Fox: pp.64,65 & 70. Also see Offord, M.Y.(ed.), The Parlement of the Thre Ages, The Early English Text Society, No.246, (London, 1959, repr.1967), ll.21-96.

(78) Spearing, A.C., The Gawain-Poet, A Critical Study, (Cambridge,1970), p.9.

(79) Ibid., p.10.

(80) Ibid., p.10.

(81) London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, f.12v., shows the hunter, dismounted of necessity, despatching a snared wild boar.

(82) Duke of York, Edward, The Master of Game, eds. Wm.A. & F.Baillie-Grohman, (London, 1904), p.137. The point is made that for fifteen days before and fifteen days after midsummer, deer were to be completely undisturbed. This coincided with a period of about a month after fawning. Also see Cornish, C.J., Wild England of Today, (London,1895), p.157, for the continuation of this traditon: "'Défense de chasser" is probably the origin of the ancient term of venery which heads the notices, posted during May and June at the

gates of the royal deer parks, requesting that during the "fence-months" visitors will prevent their dogs from disturbing the deer."

(83) London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146. With hound(s): ff.3v.,4v.,5v.,7v.,8v., 9v.,10v., 11v. and 13v.. With horse but no hounds: f.2v.. On foot without hounds: f.12v..

(84) Dalby, David, Lexicon of the Mediaeval German Hunt, (Berlin,1965), p.x.

(85) Phébus, Gaston, Livre de chasse, ed. Gunnar Tilander, *Cynegetica XVIII*, (Karlshamn,1971). Stag: ch.45, pp.193-211, ff.60-67v.. Hare: ch.50, pp.221-226, ff.72-74.

(86) Tilander, Gunnar, (ed.), Les Livres du Roy Modus et de la Royne Ratio, Vol.1, Société des Anciens Textes Français, (Paris,1932), pp.67,69 & 72. Compare to: Phébus, Gaston, Livre de chasse, pp.193,216 & 221.

(87) Dalby, David, Lexicon of the Mediaeval German Hunt, (Berlin,1965), p.xi.

(88) Thiébaux, Marcelle, The Stag of Love, The Chase in Medieval Literature, (Ithaca & London,1974), pp.28-40. Also: Dalby, David, Lexicon of the Mediaeval German Hunt, pp.x-xv.

(89) Duke of York, Edward, The Master of Game, eds. Wm.A. & F.Baillie-Grohman, (London,1909), pp.209-210. Fumes, or fewmets, is an obsolete term for the droppings of deer, the term being derived from the French fumées. Gaston de Foix and Edward of York differ in their nomenclature of the droppings of different quarry.

(90) Twiti, William, The Art of Hunting, 1327, ed.Brör Danielsson, (Stockholm,1977), p.48, f.38v.,11.17-21 & 23.

(91) Berners, Dame Juliana, The Boke of Saint Albans, 1486, facsimile, (London, 1899), f. iir:

"The baly to the side from the corbyn bone

That is corbyns fee: at the deeth he will be."

(92) Barnes, Julians, Boke of Huntyng, ed. Gunnar Tilander, *Cynegetica XI*, (Karlshamn, 1964), ll. 600-602:

"than [take] away the lyghtis, and oon the skynne them lay
To abyde the querre..."

Also ll. 620-626:

"When thay wash[en] be weell with water of the beeke,

The smale guttis to the lightis, in the derys

Above the hert of the beest when thow them reris,

With all the blade that ye may gete and wyn,

All togeder shall be take and layde oon the skyn

To geve yowre houndes, That callid is, I wis,

The quyrrre, above the skyn for it etyn is."

See also Dalby, David, Lexicon of the Mediaeval German Hunt, pp. 11-12: the German equivalent practise was "Bast" which was breaking up the beast, followed by the rewarding of the hounds in the French fashion.

(93) London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, f. 8v..

(94) Duke of York, Edward, The Master of Game, eds. Wm. A. & F. Baillie-Grohman, (London, 1909), p. 216.

(95) Ibid., p. 235.

(96) Neiderwolfsgruber, Dr. Franz, Kaiser Maximilians I. Jagd und Fischereibücher, (Innsbruck, 1965, ed. 1992), p. 29.

(97) Dalby, David, Lexicon of the Mediaeval German Hunt, (Berlin, 1965), p. x.

(98) Lindner, Kurt, (ed.), Die Lehre von den Zeichen des

Hirsches, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Jagd, III, (Berlin, 1956), plate btn. pp. 102 & 103.

(99) Rooney, Anne, (ed.), The Tretyse off Huntynq, Scripta 19, Mediaeval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, (Brussels, 1987), p. 78: "hunting dog trained to follow wounded game." Also see pp. 51-52, ll. 145-149: "The barcelet/shall be lad by a lyne, & oweth euery beest for to renne þat/sertene & þat seyn is tyll his dethe. The mastof oweth to be/lad by a corde to do þat he can, & he shall haue no fee ther/þe barcelet is (for þe mastyff hym fedyth)."

(100) Duke of York, Edward, The Master of Game, eds. Wm.A. & F. Baillie-Grohman, (London, 1909), p. 204.

(101) Thiébaux, Marcelle, The Stag of Love, The Chase in Medieval Literature, (Ithaca and London, 1974), p. 35: with a sword. Dalby, David, Lexicon of the Mediaeval German Hunt, p. xiii: with a hunting knife.

(102) Neiderwolfsgruber, Dr. Franz, Kaiser Maximilians I. Jagd und Fischereibücher, (Innsbruck, 1965, ed. 1992), p. 29.

(103) Thiébaux, Marcelle, The Stag of Love, The Chase in Medieval Literature, (Ithaca and London, 1974), p. 35.

(104) Dalby, David, Lexicon of the Mediaeval German Hunt, (Berlin, 1965); p. xv.

(105) London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, f. 10v..

(106) Duke of York, Edward, The Master of Game, eds. Wm.A. & F. Baillie-Grohman, (London, 1909), pp. 246-247.

(107) London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, f. 9v..

(108) Duke of York, Edward, The Master of Game, eds. Wm.A. & F. Baillie-Grohman, (London, 1909), p. 208.

(109) Cummins, John, The Hound and the Hawk, (London, 1988),

p.44. Also: Dalby, David, Lexicon of the Mediaeval German Hunt, p.12, (iii)"feeding hounds with bread, mixed with the blood and flesh of the quarry they were to hunt."

(110) Phébus, Gaston, Livre de chasse, ed. Gunnar Tilander, *Cynegetica XIII*, (Karlshamn,1971), pp.181-183, f.54v., ll.1-20.

(111) Duke of York, Edward, The Master of Game, eds.Wm.A. & F.Baillie-Grohman, (London,1909), pp.196-197.

(112) Rooney, Anne,(ed.), The Tretyse off Huntynq, *Scripta 19, Mediaeval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, p.50, ll.106-116.

(113) Dalby, David, Lexicon of the Mediaeval German Hunt, (Berlin,1965), p.xiv.

(114) *Ibid.*, p.xv.

(115) Duke of York, Edward, The Master of Game, eds. Wm.A. & F.Baillie-Grohman, (London,1909), p.175: "And then bring [what is left by the hounds of the flesh to the hard bone from in front of the shoulder to the head]to the lymers and serve each by himself,".

(116) London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, f.2v..

(117) Uden, Grant, A Dictionary of Chivalry (Harmondsworth, 1969), p.157 for reference to the Knight; pp.264-265 for Regalia and chivalric significance of sword and spurs.

(118) London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, f.4v..

(119) Dalby, David, Lexicon of the Mediaeval German Hunt, (Berlin,1965), p.298.

(120) *Ibid.*, p.134.

(121) Phébus, Gaston, Livre de chasse, ed. Gunnar Tilander, *Cynegetica XVIII*, (Karlshamn,1971), Table, p.48, f.1.,

chs.15-21.

- (122) London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, f.5v..
- (123) Duke of York, Edward, The Master of Game, eds.Wm.A.& F.Baillie-Grohman, (London,1904), pp.202-203.
- (124) Phébus, Gaston, Livre de chasse, ed. Gunnar Tilander, *Cynegetica XVIII*, (Karlshamn,1971), p.250, ch.60, ll.2-5.
- (125) *Ibid.*, p.252.
- (126) *Ibid.*, ch.25, p.143.
- (127) Duke of York, Edward, The Master of Game, eds. Wm.A.& F.Baillie-Grohman, (London,1909), p.30: the term "shot" = from a cross-bow or long-bow.
- (128) Dalby, David, Lexicon of the Mediaeval German Hunt, (Berlin,1965), p.24: "birsen" means to hunt(red deer) "with bows and stable."
- (129) *Ibid.*, p.xv.
- (130) *Ibid.*, p.xiii.
- (131) *Ibid.*, p.xiii.
- (132) London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, f.6v..
- (133) Duke of York, Edward, The Master of Game, eds. Wm.A.& F.Baillie-Grohman, (London,1909), p.210.
- (134) Berners, Dame Juliana, The Boke of Saint Albans, 1486, facsimile edition, (London, 1899),f.ii(r).
- (135) Duke of York, Edward, The Master of Game, eds. Wm.A.& F.Baillie-Grohman, (London,1909), p.210.
- (136) Twiti, William, The Art of Hunting,1327, ed. Bror Danielsson, (Stockholm,1977), p.42, f.37, ll.57-58.
- (137) Dalby, David, Lexicon of the Mediaeval German Hunt, (Berlin,1965), p.xliii.
- (138) See end notes (20) & (21).

(139) See end note (84).

(140) London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, ff.3v.,7v. & 13v. respectively.

(141) Phébus, Gaston, Livre de chasse, ed. Gunnar Tilander, *Cynegetica XVIII*, (Karlshamn,1971), pp.257-266.

(142) Ibid., p.258, ch.61, f.85v., l.11.

(143) London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, f.12v..

(144) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 13 s, f.32.

(145) Neiderwolfsgruber, Dr.Franz, Kaiser Maximilians I Jagd und Fischereibücher, (Innsbruck,1965,ed.1992), Maximilian on foot spearing bear, pp.34&37 and wild boar, p.44.

CHAPTER 6.

A HABSBURG AS PATRON?

The remaining piece of pictorial evidence in the Calendar, that of the central figure, must be considered in a separate chapter. This is because it is the only objective evidence which points to an individual personality as the possible patron.

The aristocratic hunter appears in eleven of the twelve Calendar pictures: alone in February, March, September, October and November; accompanied by a fellow noble hunter in January; supported by hunt servant(s) in April, July and December; with a noble hunter and servants in August; with a "peasant" hunter in June.(1)

Alone or accompanied, his figure clearly dominates each hunting scene, the eye being drawn first to the man before absorbing the whole hunting activity, then returning to him in curiosity. It is this centrality and purposeful focus upon the hunter which provides a vital pointer to patronage and possible identity. In a Book of Hours of this quality with its unusual, possibly unique, illustrative emphasis upon hunting, explicit direction by the patron could well be an important factor. Possible control by the patron may thus include the human elements within each picture as well as the general subject. In the case of the Egerton Calendar the subject of each illustration, hunting scenes, interesting

and informative in itself, merely forms the backdrop or stage to the central figure of the hunter. He is the vital ingredient and it is one function of the Calendar pictures to present and perpetuate his image in the best possible way. Thus, the artist presents him in an accepted aristocratic role, one which visually displays many of the admired characteristics of the nobility, bravery, skill-at-arms, horsemanship, leadership, woodcraft and hardiness, all demonstrated in the sport of hunting, itself a statement of social status. Each picture thus has a dual message, approbation of the the aristocracy, as represented by the hunter, and admiration of the hunter as an individual person.

This ego-centrality provides clues to the original patron . Backhouse mentions the probability of the Maximilian court connection based upon the subject of the Calendar and possible date for the manuscript(2) but goes no further. From the early fourteenth century the Habsburgs had been preoccupied with their own identity and their own perceived pole position on the European stage. The parricide of the Habsburg Holy Roman Emperor Albert, on the banks of the Reuss in 1308, dashed early Habsburg hopes of founding an imperial dynasty.(3) Andrew Wheatcroft remarks, "Pushed out from the rule of a worldly empire, the Habsburgs retreated into an empire of the imagination. Deprived of real power, they painstakingly constructed a central role for themselves in a new dimension - in images, in architecture, in stained-glass windows, in symbols and ideas."(4) This promotion of ego, self and family continued and later in the century Rudolf IV,

known as "the Founder", claimed or reclaimed various ancient titles that were vacant, including that of "Master of the Imperial Hunt", which rank allowed him to sit at the right hand of the Holy Roman Emperor.(5) Even the sun image adopted by later Habsburgs was an assertion of self-esteem, as it was visually associated with the risen Christ.(6)

These notions of a "Habsburg world", with its ambitions and responsibilities for self-aggrandisement, were inherited and nurtured by Maximilian I(1459-1519). The "Last Knight of Chivalry", as he has so often been called, had a "... craving to see himself in print..."(7) and was "eager to see his doughty deeds set forth in the quaint black-letters of Hans Schönsperger, the printer, and elaborately illustrated by the diligent gravers of Hans Burgkmair and other famous pupils of Dürer."(8) The lengthy creation of Maximilian's autobiography by an army of poets, illustrators and Latinists, resulting in Weisskunig, Theuerdank and Freydal, was a glorification of the young monarch.(9) The near-contemporary biographies of Joseph Grünpeck, the humanist and Maximilian's ghost-writer, and Ulrich Fugger, Maximilian's financier from 1491, supported the gallant royal exploits.(10) Gerhard Benecke, Maximilian's modern biographer, remarks that "The whole enterprise was a stroke of brilliant state propaganda for the Habsburg dynastic complex that Emperor Frederick III and his son Maximilian bequeathed to their heirs..."(11) A publication entitled The Histories of Frederick and Maximilian, begun c1500 and completed for public release after 1514, was another major

exercise in Habsburg self-glorification.(12)

These, and other, public and private displays of personal and family renown, with their emphasis on perpetuating past and present glories, are one of the marks of the late medieval Habsburg dynasty. Maximilian excelled at this creation of myth and the embroidering of historical fact. Paul van Dyke, a severe critic of Maximilian, wrote that "an analysis of his books shows in them all the same leading motive - bragging."(13) He later continues in the same vein,"It is difficult to find a finer example of the desire for the extension of the *ego*, than is shown by Maximilian's work in literature and patronage of art."(14) Further, a man reading all of Maximilian's books, "...receives at least one clear and distinct impression - of continuous, all-pervading vanity."(15) This perhaps unnecessarily critical opinion of Maximilian emphasizes the exaggeration which he no doubt built into his autobiographical works and other creations designed to perpetuate his memory during and after his lifetime.

In contrast, R.W.Seton-watson, a contemporary of Paul van Dyke, wrote a more sympathetic review of Maximilian's life, admitting that his achievements from a national point of view were small, but were more than balanced by his activity in other directions. His interest in acquiring knowledge was prodigious, especially in history, mathematics and languages, and his love of manly sports, particularly hunting and the tourney, plus his undoubted personal courage on the

battlefield, became the stuff of legend.(16)

All this was, of course, the very essence of Habsburg myth and propaganda, a mixture of fact and fiction carefully distilled by Maximilian and his servants. Glenn Elwood Waas astutely comments that Maximilian's ambition was "to write his own chapter in history" and this is evident in nearly all of his public speeches, mandates and proclamations.(17) Waas agrees with the view of earlier writers that Maximilian portrayed himself in his writings as he wished to appear to posterity.(18) By the skilful use of a variety of anecdotal material, Maximilian created his own heroic icon, one adorned with the characteristics of wide popular appeal.(19)

Hunting played an important part in this heroic image. Marcelle Thiébaux remarks that in literature, from the eighth to the fifteenth centuries, "Heroes hunt on the way to getting somewhere, they hunt as a means of showing their rank and prowess, of seeking out their enemies in disguise, or of agreeably passing the time."(20) The public expected a herom monarch to hunt, therefore he had to be seen to take a leading role in the chase, as indeed Maximilian did at every opportunity. There was no need for him to make a special effort merely for the sake of his public image; Maximilian genuinely loved hunting in virtually all its many forms, except with the use of fire-arms. His dislike of the "devilish fire-guns" used by peasant poachers, particularly for the much-prized ibex, led to harsh regulatory legislation.(21) Even as an autocratic ruler with sole responsibility for

virtually every administrative decision and almost perpetually on the move between the centres of his Empire, Maximilian found time to hunt extensively. Although his hunting establishment was very large as regards to servants, horses and hounds, (he kept around 1500 hounds of various types,(22)) Maximilian was not fond of crowds as he considered they impeded the progress of sport.(23) Neither was he interested in the slaughter of vast numbers of game, "hetacombs", collected together into enclosures by hundreds of beaters, a fashionable practice in the late sixteenth century.(24) For his time and royal status, Maximilian's bags were modest as he considered quality above quantity. In his Secret Book of the Chase, it is recorded that in one year he killed with his own hand:- 32 stags, 41 chamois and 300 wild duck. Further details highlight his efficiency as a hunter using a cross-bow; he shot 100 wild duck with 104 bolts and 26 hares with no misses.(25)

Not only was he a pragmatic hunter, he was also an enthusiastic and prolific writer and authority on his favourite subject. He planned and affixed his name to over one hundred monographs dealing with a wide variety of subjects, including family heraldry, religion, theology, artillery, the art of war, the occult sciences and sport. His best known books are his two largely autobiographical works of adventure and sport, Thuerdank and Weisskunig.(26) However, despite his reputation for producing hunting and other literature, a number of the books credited with Maximilian as the author were in fact written for him by his trusted officials. Paul

van Dyke considers that Maximilian wrote only one book without help, the Geheimes Jagdbuch. This is a manuscript of about 2500 words written entirely in his own hand, to teach his grandchildren, Carl and Frederick, the art of hunting.(27) The famous Gejaid Buch, or Jagdbuch, a list of royal hunting preserves in the northern districts of the Tyrol, illustrated with coloured plates, was compiled and written for Maximilian by his Master of Game, Carl von Spaur, around 1499/1500. The joint compiler of data and professional scribe of the book was Maximilian's so-called "game secretary", Wolfgang Hoyenleyter.(28) Maximilian's Fischereibuch, a list of royal fishing preserves, illustrated with coloured plates, was also prepared by Hoyenleyter in 1504.(29)

In spite of the question concerning actual physical authorship of Maximilian's hunting books, the main point is that the evidence indicates that Maximilian was responsible for the ideas and planning of the literature. Few men in his position would have considered writing, or been expected to have written, even a single book; this was the work of learned professional men such as court officials and scribes. The importance of these books on sport is that they signify and emphasize Maximilian's abiding interest in hunting.

If a Habsburg was the patron of Egerton 1146, or the recipient of the Hours from a family member, then the centrality of the hunter is explained. Analyses of the dynasty, and especially of Maximilian, stress Habsburg egocentricity, thus a star

role in a personal prayer book is to be expected and from a Habsburg point of view, is perfectly reasonable. Indeed it would be out of character, particularly in the case of Maximilian, for the patron or recipient not to be portrayed in such a manner. Together with the single subject matter of the Egerton Calendar, Maximilian's preoccupation with hunting, Janet Backhouse's estimation of the date of the manuscript as the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the Worms usage, Maximilian can be considered as the most probable patron of Egerton 1146.

Further evidence from the Calendar and the marginalia support this view. The hunter is not a featureless and anonymous figure but is readily recognisable in each Calendar illustration as a particular individual. This in itself is not rare in the Calendar miniatures of Books of Hours. Janet Backhouse makes the point that realistic portraits from life were increasingly favoured in manuscripts from the late fourteenth century onwards, paralleling the development of the true and larger portrait.(30) She adds that increased demand for richly illuminated books during the fifteenth century, plus increasing specialisation by the artists, probably resulted in the likenesses found on the owner/donor pages of the most expensive examples.(31) There follow many well-known examples of miniature portraits from late fifteenth and early sixteenth century manuscripts.(32) Realistic portraits of living people also appear in the tiny girdle books of the early sixteenth century, created so that a permanent remembrance could be carried about by a woman. This

concept reflects the humanism of the period.(33) Girdle, or portable books, included Books of Hours.(34)

With reference to the art-work of Egerton 1146, particularly the Calendar, three interesting points are highlighted by these late medieval portrait miniatures. Firstly, that there were artistic specialists who were capable of producing likenesses of living subjects. Secondly, that their services were in demand by the rich and powerful. Thirdly, that likenesses appear in some *de luxe* Books of Hours.

However, these likenesses of owners, donors and patrons within an individual manuscript are usually limited to a single appearance per person. In addition, the patron is almost invariably portrayed in formal pose, often standing or kneeling. "Action" poses, such as in the Calendar of Egerton 1146, are rare. The three appearances of the Duc de Berry in the Trés Riches Heures, feasting, exchanging engagement-rings and riding, are an exception.(35)

A comparable example, but in a very different type of book, is the multiple appearance of Gaston de Foix, largely as Master or instructor, in thirty one of the miniatures from Livre de chasse.(36) In some illustrations Phébus is portrayed as youthful and unbearded(plates 34 & /5), whereas in others he is shown as mature and bearded.(37) A key point in the context of portraiture is his many personal appearances, twenty nine of which are in an active role.(38) Also of relevance is his centrality, which highlights his dominance and control of the

illustrated situation. Thus, illustrations of this manuscript, significantly a hunting manual, bear distinct similarities to those of the Egerton Calendar.

It is a possibility that the forms of the earlier Livre de chasse illustrations were taken as exemplars by the patron, or artist, of Egerton 1146. As a hunting addict and lifelong student of history and languages, (39) Maximilian was no doubt familiar with Phébus and his book of instruction. Livre de chasse, like earlier hunting texts, was heavily plagiarised by later continental and English authors and passed off as "new work". (40) It seems unlikely that Maximilian would not be acquainted with such a classic teaching text.

The hunter of Egerton 1146 has identity on two levels. Firstly, he is an aristocrat. Secondly, his facial likeness is consistent in each of the Calendar miniatures, possibly indicating that he was meant to be regarded, perhaps recognised, as an individual. In all except one of the Calendar pictures he wears headgear so only his face is visible. In contrast, the miniature for June (plate 6), presents the mounted hare-hunter as bare-headed, displaying his long golden hair which is secured with a circlet of bare twigs. (41) A marginal illustration (plate 13) shows a hunter on foot, with long golden hair crowned with flowering twigs, about to spear a black bear. (42) Presumably the unusual hair colour was rendered with purpose and intent; thus this could be a significant pointer in the identification of the hunter.

Like Gaston de Foix, often named "Phébus" because of "his manly beauty and golden hair"(43), Maximilian had long golden hair. Benecke remarks that both Maximilian and his father, Frederick, "...had a fair complexion with blond or reddish-tinged hair worn to neck length,".(44) Andrew Wheatcroft makes much the same comment on the long reddish-gold hair of the two men.(45) Contemporary artists seized with relish on this crowning glory of Maximilian. Bernard Strigel's 1496 portrait, "Kaiser Maximilian I"(plate 43), depicts the hair as metallic gold, matching the Emperor's armour.(46) The painting commemorating the betrothal in 1495 of Maximilian's son, Philip the Fair, to the Infanta Johanna of Spain, depicts both Maximilian and Philip with long fair hair.(47) "The Feast of the Rose Garlands"(plate 42), painted in 1506 by Albrecht Dürer, also shows Maximilian with long but more muted reddish-gold hair.(48)

It seems apparent that Maximilian was very aware of the glorious colour of his hair, perhaps specifically instructing the artists who painted him to focus on its blonde hue and length. This appears highly probable from a monarch of Maximilian's vanity.(49) Perhaps he identified with Apollo, also known as Phoebus, "the bright or pure", (50) particularly bearing in mind the sun image adopted by the Habsburg dynasty. Possibly Maximilian also likened himself to that other golden-haired hunter of the previous century, Gaston Phébus. Again, in Maximilian's case, it would be surprising if he had not. It therefore follows that in some hunting scenes he would

wish to be portrayed with golden hair, providing a visual link between himself and Phébus, the two greatest hunters in history. This could explain the two appearances of the blonde hunters in the Calendar and margin of Egerton 1146, providing strong additional evidence that the hunter is Maximilian I.

This proposition of Maximilian as patron, or recipient, is supported by several other features of the Calendar and the margins of the Hours of Egerton 1146.

The backgrounds of the Calendar illustrations all differ, showing a variety of mountain, lake, forest and city environments. The scenes may simply be based upon the artistic conventions of the time but some features are worthy of comment.

The formations in the mountain scenes for February and October(plates 2 & 10), resemble the dolomitic limestone structures of the Dolomites of south Tyrol.(51) These steep outcrops are very similar to the rock structures shown in two of Dürer's paintings, the now lost "Ruined Castle on a Rock", (1495-1500), and "View of Arco", (1495), one of a group of landscapes painted during the artist's return journey from Italy.(52) In contrast, the uplands of the November and December miniatures echo the mountains of north Tyrol.(53)

The lakes surrounded by mountains shown in February, March and September(plates 2, 3 & 9)(54) are like the glacial ribbon

lakes of several areas, including the lakes to the east of Innsbruck, such as Achensee, Königsee and Zeller-See; the Salzkammergut lakes east of Salzburg and the lakes east of Villach in Carinthia. (55) These were Habsburg lands and Maximilian owned all of these regions, and more, by 1500. (56) Upper Austria, or Tyrol, was acquired from his kinsman, Archduke Sigismund, in 1490, (57) and Lower and Inner Austria were added in 1493 to make Maximilian sole ruler of the Habsburg lands in Austria. (58) The Tyrol was the favourite hunting ground of Maximilian and he is featured hunting and fishing in the mountains, forests and lakes of the region in the coloured illustrations of Kaiser Maximilians I. Jagd und Fischereibücher. The lakes featured include Achensee, Plansee and Wildsee. (59)

An interesting piece of supporting evidence for a Tyrolean scenario is from Janet Backhouse who mentions that many of the plants and flowers decorating the margins of the Hours are native to the Tyrol and "...many of them apparently drawn from life." (60) This latter assertion is very difficult to prove as surviving model-books and exemplars demonstrate the "life-like" qualities of naturalistic scenes, including animals, birds and plants. What is apparent, however, is the life-like appearance and accuracy of the floral depictions. This point also applies to the other naturalistic scenes.

Examination of plants in the margins shows that some, such as the purple crocus and Alpine larkspur (plates 26 & 28), are true Alpines and grow in the Tyrol. (61) Others, such as the

bramble(plate 27) and gorse, are of general European distribution.(62) R.J.W.Evans remarked that Maximilian "...evinced a particular interest in botany."(63) He loved the gardens of his residences and had his envoys bring back plants from foreign places for identification and classification.(64) It seems a reasonable proposition that if Maximilian was responsible for selecting the marginal illustrations, or was the prospective recipient of the Hours, then given his known interests, he probably would have chosen, or had chosen for him by an intimate, the flora of the meadows and mountains of his favourite region. Of course this point could equally apply to any other individual who had similar interests in the Tyrolean countryside. However, it does form a further small part of the subjective evidence in support of a Tyrolean and Maximilian connection.

There is thus a definite and varied body of evidence which already points to the Tyrol as a likely background for the hunting scenes in the Calendar. This in turn indicates the possible involvement of Maximilian, a monarch well documented for his addiction to hunting and love of the region.

Cityscapes in manuscripts are more useful than landscapes as they can be compared to surviving medieval illustrations such as paintings and woodcuts, These are fortunately not uncommon but their morphological accuracy, at first glance "authentic", can be distinctly questionable. Thus, a contemporary woodcut of Mainz in the Nuremberg Chronicle of

1493 appears convincing but is in reality a generalised depiction of a medieval town on a river.(65)

Egerton Calendar miniatures for July and September(plates 7 & 9) show stag hunting scenes with cities as background. The walled city in September is distant but several sizable buildings are visible, including three towers and a large church or cathedral with flying buttresses. An immense tower crowns the hill behind the city.(66) By reasons of scale and lack of detail, even tentative identification is very difficult.

In contrast, the city in the July illustration is panoramic and highly detailed.(67) This city is also walled and lies behind a considerable river. A large and complex gatehouse, wall fortifications, spires and towers, ecclesiastical and other substantial buildings are all clearly identifiable(plate 45).

A comparison of this city with "A View of Innsbruck", painted by Albrecht Dürer in 1495, returning from his first visit to Italy,(68) shows a strong resemblance to Innsbruck, the favourite residence of Maximilian. Dürer's painting is taken from the WNW, directly opposite the city, presumably so that the Inn River could be shown as a lagoon-like feature, reminiscent of Venice(plate 44). The Calendar illustration shows a river flowing in front of city walls which bears a distinct resemblance to the Inn River and walls of Innsbruck shown in Dürer's watercolour. The Inn still follows its old

course on the western side of the Old City.(69) If the Egerton illustration is Innsbruck, then it has been painted from the NNW.

Dürer's purpose in painting Innsbruck was realism, and it is said to be the first panoramic image of a city.(70) In contrast, the Egerton picture may have been painted as a likeness rather than an accurate model. It is also possible that the manuscript picture is a stereotyped late medieval river-city landscape. However, the coincidence of scenes is not the only similarity between the two paintings.

In both pictures a rounded hill rises behind the city, clearly identifiable in Dürer's painting as the domed Patscherkofel, located immediately to the south of Innsbruck.(71) The hill in both views appears centrally, between the two main masses of buildings within the city walls. The complex stone gatehouse with timber-framed buildings above it portrayed in the Calendar is similar to the construction on the left in Dürer's painting, as are "the late Gothic houses characteristic of the town" pointed out by Adelaide Murgia in her description of the painting.(72) In addition, two spires in the centre of the Calendar picture match spires in corresponding locations in Dürer's watercolour, the left of which is the Gothic cathedral, Dom zu St.Jacob, later destroyed by an earthquake.(73) The massive building to the centre right in Dürer's view, partly obscured by high buildings with spires, is the Hofburg palace, dating from the fifteenth century.(74) A comparable association of

buildings is clearly visible to the right in the Egerton illustration(plates 44& 45).

The similarities of the two pictures indicate there is a distinct possibility that the city serving as the backdrop to the stag hunting scene for July in Egerton 1146 is Innsbruck in the Austrian Tyrol. This pictorial evidence is supported by Maximilian's personal view of the city and his activities there over many years.

The capital of the Tyrol became increasingly important to Maximilian from 1490, the date of his acquisition of the County of Tyrol.(75) The Emperor spent twenty two periods of time, varying from a week to several months, in the city, between the years of 1489 and 1518.(76) As a measure of his regard for Innsbruck, Maximilian established his treasury in the Neuhof, or New Court, in 1496, adding a golden roof, the famous *goldene Dächl mit Erker*, to protect the richly painted bay windows. The central relief shows Maximilian flanked by his two wives, Mary of Burgundy and Bianca Maria Sforza.(77) Over the period 1495-1510, Maximilian also supervised substantial additions to the Hofburg, the Court Castle, where he had installed his second wife, Bianca Maria Sforza.(78)

Economically, Innsbruck was also of central importance to the Emperor and the Empire. Much of Maximilian's wealth came the exploitation of minerals in the Tyrol, particularly silver, copper, iron, lead, zinc and salt. (79) Innsbruck, both as capital of the Tyrol and the location of Maximilian's

treasury, was the economic centre of this booming industry. As a notorious and ever-increasing consumer of cash, principally for his many wars and extravagant building projects, Maximilian thus had a vested interest in the wealth of the region and its capital.

On an intensely personal level, the Emperor was so attached to Innsbruck that he commissioned an eternal and unique monument to himself, his tomb surrounded by a cortege of real and legendary ancestors, in the Hofkirche. This was not completed until more than thirty years after his death by his grandson Ferdinand I.(80) Maximilian's great tomb remained empty as he had given instructions that he should be buried under the altar steps of the church of St.George at Wiener Neustadt, his childhood town.(81)

Innsbruck was not only favoured by Maximilian as a military, political and mining centre, it was also his sporting capital. The mountains of the northern districts of the Tyrol were Maximilian's favourite hunting grounds, particularly for stag and chamois. His hunting book, Gejaid Buch, exclusively relates to over two hundred hunting localities in this region, containing information on numbers of chamois and red deer.(82) His favourite Tyrolean hunting castles at Thaur, Melans and Imst were within easy reach of the capital.(83) Hunting and fishing scenes near Innsbruck, featuring Maximilian in a central role, are found in Kaiser Maximilians I. Jagt und Fischereibücher, a modern compilation of several of his hunting and fishing books.(84)

These illustrations clearly demonstrate Maximilian's high regard for the area around Innsbruck for his sporting activities.

It is possible that the patron of an expensive and unusual Book of Hours, such as Egerton 1146, would wish to include particular cities and favourite rural scenes in a cycle of Calendar illustrations. For Maximilian to be portrayed despatching a fine hart in front of Innsbruck, the centre of his hunting activities, seems reasonably plausible, reflecting his own egocentricity, love of the chase and Habsburg pride of ownership.

Maximilian also had particular connections with Worms in the Rhineland, the suggested location of use of Egerton 1146. The city was on the Emperor's itinerary and he stayed there in June, 1494; March, 1495; April, 1509; and June, 1513.(85) This does not compare in frequency with his favourite cities, such as Innsbruck at 22 visits, or Augsburg at 18 visits.(86)

However, his relatively few number of visits does not reflect Maximilian's deeper relationship with Worms. Politically, he was very certainly linked to this city. Between 1486 and 1518 Maximilian held well over twenty Reichstags, or Imperial Assemblies, within the Holy Roman Empire. Five of these took place at Worms, in 1495, 1497, 1498/99, 1509 and 1513, Maximilian appearing in person at the Reichstags of 1495, 1509 and 1513.(87) Also in 1495,

Maximilian presided over the diet held at Worms, proclaiming *ewiger Landfriede*, or perpetual public peace, as its ultimate achievement. (88)

The Emperor also had strong sentimental ties to Worms. As a young man Maximilian is said to have been one of the finest swordsmen in Europe with few equals in the tourney. (89) He had also proved his courage in battle, notably leading the German *Landesknechts* at the first battle of Guinegate in 1479. (90) In the single combat event at Worms, dressed in simple armour, he overcame a famous French knight, then revealed his identity to the crowd to tumultuous cheers. Seton-Watson referred to this event as "...one of the most romantic incidents of his life..." (91) This episode was typical of Maximilian and its success must have made a profound impression upon him, colouring his view of Worms for the remainder of his life.

Maximilian had a less happy connection with Worms via his second wife, Bianca Maria Sforza, whom he had only married in 1494 for her dowry and a temporary political advantage in North Italy. (92) Her letters reveal her real character, a woman unused to taking decisions, who was devoted to selfish materialism and spending money. This was not the presentable, forceful and grand lady that Maximilian envisaged, or needed, as his new wife. (93)

After their first extensive travels together, an Alpine hunting holiday to the Valentin followed by Swabia,

Cologne and Brabant, Maximilian left Bianca at Worms without sufficient funds. In March, 1497, she wrote to Maximilian pleading for help to discharge her debts in the city as she was refused further credit.(94) Bianca had spent a great deal of money whilst at Worms and Maximilian had to provide 1200 florins to free her from her creditors. The Innsbruck treasury had also continued to pay Bianca's expenses at Worms, and these already stood at 20,000 florins in July, 1496.((95) Her record thus indicates she was an extravagant spendthrift.

There appear to have been serious problems with the loveless marriage. Maximilian was a compulsive traveller who seldom allowed his second wife to accompany or even follow him. Benecke comments that Maximilian was a monarch who continually overspent his income(96) and although this appears a common, even expected, trait in both royal and aristocratic circles, the Emperor's spending was, by all accounts, exceptional. Bianca was neglected, unloved and unseen by her husband, and often reduced to penury.(97) Spending money in large quantities, one of her few privileges as the Emperor's wife, may have been an anodyne to her loneliness.

Given the circumstances of the marriage, it is possible that the Egerton Book of Hours was a reconciliatory gift between Maximilian and Bianca.

Maximilian has been described as the "Last Knight of

Chivalry", (98) and it was no secret that the hero of the metrical romance Teuerdank was intended to be identical with Maximilian. (99) He was also "...a cultivated gentleman." (100) Even Paul van Dyke, a severe critic of Maximilian, concedes "...that sympathetic tact in personal intercourse which was Maximilian's rarest quality." (101)

Giving his wife a beautiful Book of Hours as a remembrance and to assuage his guilt of neglecting her, would be both a generous and courteous gesture. The hunting pictures of the Calendar would hopefully bring back fond memories of days spent hunting together in familiar surroundings, the hunter's central role emphasizing Maximilian's better qualities. The beautifully drawn local plants, flowers, fruits, birds and animals in the margins of the Hours would also be familiar to Bianca, as would the pictures of peasants harvesting grapes, carrying branches and cutting rods. (102) The tiny landscape painted in one folio margin (plate 29), a charming but mundane pastoral scene of trees, rocks, roots and a stream, (103) may have had great sentimental significance to the giver and user of the Hours. The grotesques, such as the exotic winged beast with a bird's head and goat's cloven feet confronting a large grasshopper, (104) and the two mythical scenes (plates 30 & 31), of white ducks or geese "hatching" from the fruit or flowers of a willow and tumbling onto the bank of a stream, (105) would amuse and divert Bianca from the tedium of attending eight services each day. As a gift from man to wife, the book thus had several possible functions,

including consolation, apology and diversion.

The specific nature of the methods and techniques shown in the hunting scenes potentially indicates correspondingly exact knowledge and direction by the patron who commissioned the work. Explicit and personal control such as this was typical of Maximilian, in both the production of his own sporting/autobiographical works and the empire's political bureaucratic business.(106) As an expert hunter, it is quite conceivable that, if involved, Maximilian would have been exacting in the portrayal of the scenes of venery in the Calendar. Seton-Watson mentions Maximilian's scrupulous regard to detail, "...the close attention paid by him to every detail connected with the chase..."(107) The same point applies to the background landscapes of his hunting exploits, including his favourite city of Innsbruck, and to the plants, flowers, birds and animals of the region drawn so naturalistically in the margins of the Hours. This attention to detail is characteristic of Maximilian the man and Emperor.

The body of evidence indicating that the patron of the manuscript was a Habsburg, probably Maximilian, forms an important foundation to this "gift theory" which is purely speculative and subjective. The special nature and contents of Egerton 1146 plus the circumstances of the Maximilian-Bianca marriage relationship make the theory worthy of consideration. However, there is another dimension to this same evidence if it is viewed from a

different perspective.

Bianca also had good reasons for giving her husband a special gift. She was not only unloved but was neglected and frequently abandoned while Maximilian hunted or administered his empire. Presenting her husband with a personal prayer book illustrated with hunting pictures, starring himself, and beautiful marginalia, would be an ideal method of gaining his attention and possibly his affection, particularly during their frequent separations. The book would hopefully remind Maximilian of his faithful wife waiting at home for his return.

It is very speculative but quite possible that Bianca commissioned the Book of Hours in 1497 during her long and expensive stay in Worms. The cost of the gift may have been part of the 1200 florins debt that Maximilian had to pay to free her from her creditors before she returned to Innsbruck in the autumn of 1497.(108) Commissioning of the Hours at Worms by either Bianca or Maximilian would satisfactorily explain the results of the analysis of the saints in the Calendar, indicating Worms as the most probable place of use. If Bianca did commission the Hours, she must have engaged not only a hunting expert for advice on the hunting pictures, presumably one closely connected to the Emperor such as his Master of Game, Carl von Spaur, but also an artist with exceptional botanical knowledge and skills. Moreover, Bianca herself would have had to have had an intimate knowledge of Maximilian's likes and dislikes

of illustrative material for such a book. This is quite possible as the marriage had taken place in 1494 and the suggested commission date is 1497, the year of Bianca's lengthy sojourn in Worms. However, in view of the lack of intimacy within the union, it appears debatable.

A further piece of evidence which makes Bianca's patronage in the 1490's less likely than her husband's is that Maximilian already had a traditional Book of Hours. This personal handwritten, illuminated prayer book is known as the Older Prayer Book (109) and it contains prayers and psalms written down over many years by nine hands in both Latin and Flemish. The beginnings of the Hours date back to 1486, the year of Maximilian's coronation as King of the Romans. The first twelve pages of the Older Prayer Book are made up of a liturgical Calendar, followed by prayers to the Guardian Angel, the Virgin and various favourite saints, and other prayers alternating with psalms. (110) Most of the psalms and prayers of the first part of Maximilian's second Book of Hours, more commonly known as his "Prayer Book", were derived from the prayers of his Older Prayer Book. However, the second Hours was printed in 1513, (111) three years after the death of his wife Bianca, so is not directly relevant to the present "gift theory" discussion of patronage of Egerton 1146.

The point must also be made that a rich individual could own or commission any number of personal illuminated prayer books. John Harthan comments that the Duc de Berry may have

owned as many as eighteen Books of Hours; some of these were inherited but most were commissioned.(112) If the Book of Hours was a gift between Maximilian and Bianca, then the balance of evidence is in favour of Maximilian as the bestower and patron.

The evidence in this chapter favouring the possibility of Habsburg patronage is of necessity drawn from a wide variety of sources. It is, by the very nature of the problem of potential identification of the original patron and the lack of objective evidence, selective and interpretative. However, the individual strands comprise a convincing fabric of positive evidence in favour of a Habsburg patron, particularly of Maximilian I. He continually crops up as the most likely, often only, logical alternative. Of course, this is partly due to the nature of the remaining evidence. What is heavily in support of his candidature is that the evidence frequently appears so persuasive, the long arm of coincidence apparently stretched too far for outright dismissal. Above all, Maximilian's position in time and space, plus his qualifications of interests particularly hunting, and personality, uniquely fit him to be the patron of the Egerton 1146 Book of Hours.

CHAPTER 6.

A HABSBURG AS PATRON,

END NOTES.

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- (4) Ibid., pp.35-36.
- (5) Ibid., pp.46-47.
- (6) Ibid., p.37.
- (7) Baillie-Grohman, W.A., 'An Emperor's Sporting Chronicle', *Monthly Review*, Feb.1901, p.150.
- (8) Ibid., p.151.
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- (10) Ibid., pp.1,7 and 82.
- (11) Ibid., pp.1-2.
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(25) Ibid., p.pp.69-70.

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(30) Backhouse, J., 'Illuminated Manuscripts and the Early Development of the Portrait Miniature', *Early Tudor England- Proceedings of the 1987 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Daniel Thomas Williams, (Imprint, Woodbridge Boydell, 1989), p.2.

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- (37) Phébus, Gaston, Le Livre de la Chasse, Présentation et commentaires de Marcel Thomas, (France, 1986): for examples of unbearded, see pp.72,88,97,105 and 120; for examples of bearded, see pp.104,113,121,128 and 137.
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CHAPTER 7.

CONCLUSIONS.

Much that can be regarded as "conclusive" has already been discussed at some length during, and at the end of, each chapter. It is thus self-evident that most of the aims outlined in the Introduction have been, to a greater or lesser extent, satisfactorily resolved as the result of two distinct types of evidence, hard and circumstantial. Interpretation has necessarily played an important role in attempting to provide acceptable answers to particular questions. Some evidence is suggestive, even highly so, but not conclusive. This is to be expected in the analysis of a medieval book about which virtually nothing was known or published and which, in addition, presented very few apparent indications as to its origin, history, Use, ownership or patronage. Now that the research and analyses are completed, a more balanced impression of the manuscript emerges, perhaps not a complete picture but certainly one which contains much of interest and relevance regarding the later medieval period of Germanic Europe.

However, in spite of an overall satisfaction with the research, its results and so forth, there are some issues which require attention necessitating further consideration and discussion. This chapter is the proper and only place for reviewing and clarifying these points in order to reach verdicts which are acceptable within the main context of the

thesis. Their discussion elsewhere would not have been pertinent.

Tracing the history of a single untitled medieval manuscript is notoriously difficult, although Seymour de Ricci attempted the impossible by trying to trace the complete history of every MS., the uncompleted results of which are available to the public in the huge card index in the entrance hall of Senate House Library in Mallet Street, London. The problems of tracing Egerton 1146 are exemplified by a case in Studies in the Book Trade which refers to the difficulties in identifying MS. Douce 368, the late twelfth century "Historia ecclesiastica" of Bede. "There is some difficulty about identifying this, the only MS. of Bede now in the Douce collection. Despite the bookplate of Philip[sic] Carteret Webb, whose library was auctioned on 25 February 1771, and despite FD's own note inside saying that he bought it at the Brander Sale (8 February 1790...), it is not apparently to be found in the sale catalogue."(1)

Evidence can also be enticingly suggestive but frustratingly unspecific, such as A.N.L. Munby's comment that "In 1847 thirty -three individual items were bought, including three of major importance", referring to manuscripts purchased by Sir Frederic Madden.(2) Was the future Egerton 1146 one of these? Fortunately, Madden's Diary and the dated entry in the fly-leaf of Egerton 1146 indicate that it probably was one of the thirty -three manuscripts purchased, but the price of thirty guineas suggests that it was not of "major

importance".

Isolating the place of Use to one location in itself created a further major problem, that of reconciling the free city of Worms with the Tyrol and its ruler, the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, the main contender for patronage even at this early stage. This had to be put aside until much later in the programme of research but two particular points which emerged then should now be discussed.

Firstly, the link with Maximilian. The evidence in chapter 6 demonstrates that Maximilian undoubtedly had political, emotional and domestic ties with Worms. This is well documented. In other words, there are several good reasons why a Book of Hours, if made for Maximilian, should be for the Use of Worms, and not for any number of other important cities within his Empire.

Secondly, Maximilian had a printed Book of Hours, or his Prayer Book, as it is more usually known. It was completed on January 3rd., 1514, and ten copies were printed on vellum, six of which survive. Technically, it is not a prayer book, or *Gebetbuch*, but a Book of Hours and collection of hymns, psalms, and Scriptural extracts, selected, edited and partly written by Maximilian. Decoration was provided by Germany's foremost artists, including Albrecht Dürer.(3) However, the key point is that the first few pages of the Prayer Book were left blank, being reserved for the liturgical Calendar, for which papal authority was not granted until after the

Emperor's death in 1519.(4) Although it is known that Maximilian wished to include some ancestors whom he regarded as saints but who had not yet been canonized and Jacob Mennel(Manlius) drew up a specific Calendar,(5) there is no known liturgical Use for the Prayer Book. This Book of Hours if completed, might well have furnished valuable evidence in two respects, the Prayer Book's place of Use and a list of saints to compare with the Egerton Calendar.

Interestingly, it is probable that the Emperor intended to present the ten completed volumes to the most illustrious members of the Order of St. George, a crusading order of chivalry established in 1467 by his father, Frederick III, to promote the war against the Turks.(6) The feast of St. George, April 23rd., features as a red letter day in the Egerton Calendar(7) and St. George is the first saint, meriting an illuminated heading, in the "Commemorationes Sanctorum per circulum anni" of the Hours.(8) This evidence suggests that the martial champion of Christendom may be a link between the Egerton manuscript and Maximilian.

Having proved that the Calendar is not a general one but corresponds to the Calendar of Worms, a second question manifested itself; what was the possible location of manufacture of the Hours? This is not necessarily the same as place of Use although it may have been manufactured in Worms. It is an interesting problem but this avenue has not been investigated as research would have involved an in-depth analysis of the style of the illustrations, an area outside

the stated limits of this thesis. There are similarities between the Egerton illustrations and those in some other contemporary high quality manuscripts, such as The Hastings Hours, and this points to opportunities for research in comparative stylistic analyses. In addition, comparison with other manuscripts made for middle German Use is an interesting possibility, particularly for a scholar who could research the recent literature in German.

This analysis of the Calendar cycle is intended to demonstrate the singularity of the Egerton Calendar and the pivotal point which justifies labelling MS Egerton 1146 as "unique" is the combination of the aristocratic hunting theme and its application to the entire sequence of Calendar pictures. Christopher de Hamel, head of the Illuminated Manuscript Department at Sotheby's, commented, when asked recently for his opinion on the unusual character of the Calendar, that in all his experience he had never come across a calendar completely devoted to hunting. (9) The traditional notion of a calendar reflecting the seasons has not been abandoned, however, it is merely more difficult to recognise in the Egerton cycle. The analysis of the hunting pictures reveals a seasonal cycle, subtle pointers within the illustrations for the *cognoscenti* being quarry-type and hunting methodology. Reinforcement of the seasonal message is shown by the more obvious changes in state of the vegetation and weather. The hunting pictures thus demonstrate the exclusive character of the Calendar, and of the manuscript as a whole. It is a special creation for an

aristocratic hunter, a private book full of personal significance and hidden meaning, intended as an object of value and pleasure.

The borders reinforce this and as a whole, the marginalia, both floral and non-floral, reveal a patron who appears intensely fascinated by the natural world, both around him and beyond his finite horizons. He is a hunter but also a naturalist and observer, possibly even a recorder by proxy, of natural species.

The wide spectrum of plant and animal species, from lowland to Alpine, also indicates a correspondingly wide geographical area. This could be a reflection of the biodiversity of estates belonging to the patron, possibly a Germanic monarch, and here again it is Maximilian who is the most favoured candidate.

Conceivably, the main point of the marginalia has been overlooked in the analysis of individual images. No doubt each one has some significance, personal, social, symbolic and so forth, but what is known and has not been lost is the location of the marginal pictures. They fill the blank borders of the pages and are therefore peripheral to the main themes of the Book of Hours. The immediately obvious theme of the pages of the Hours is religious and little connection has been made between the text and the marginal illustrations. The principal theme of the Calendar, however, is not religious. Although a calendar is a necessary and useful

part of a personal prayer-book, in the case of the Egerton Calendar it is the hunting pictures which dictate the theme of the Calendar and hence the whole Book of Hours. This is apparently where the interest and concern of the patron lay, rather than in the liturgical aspect of the book, which therefore in itself appears "marginal" in function to the illustrations. One of the functions of the marginalia is not to crowd the periferal areas with more hunting scenes, merely to provide a continuation of the main theme by means of a handful of interesting hunting motifs. In any case, the accurate portrayal of hunting has been performed more than adequately by the specialised Calendar pictures. The marginalia have a far more important role to play, which is to provide a familiar backdrop to the main-stage hunt; that is, continuous illustration of the visible natural world, as if the reader was participating in the hunt by travelling through the Calendar and Hours. The surrounding environment, with its myriad species of birds, beasts and plants, is indeed at the margins of the medieval aristocratic hunt and this is suggested in the sequence and arrangement of the illuminations.

In some ways, the whole research programme of this dissertation leads to and focuses upon the penultimate chapter, which explores the possibilities of identifying a particular individual as the patron of Egerton 1146. This question lies at the centre of the web of problems and the answer is the crux of the thesis. Without the personal imagery of many well-known Books of Hours and similar prayer-

books, much of the evidence is necessarily circumstantial and tentative. However, all of the selected evidence is suggestive to some extent and some is persuasively convincing. Unfortunately, there is no indisputable answer but overall the evidence points to the Emperor Maximilian I as the most likely candidate. Even if all the circumstantial evidence is disregarded, the key element in Maximilian's candidature is that he was a great hunter, possibly the most outstanding and intelligent participant since Gaston Fébus. His love of hunting, expertise, field-craft and personal courage in the hunting field are constantly demonstrated in his books and memoirs, even allowing for the self-glorification aspect associated with much that was published in the name of Maximilian, as well as in more recent scholarly analyses.

However, there are three distinct gaps in the proof of assigning the patronage of MS Egerton 1146 to Maximilian, two of which are associated with the Egerton Calendar. Firstly, a St. Maximilian, and there were three such saints, (10) does not feature in either the Egerton nor the Worms Calendars. If Maximilian was the patron of this Book of Hours, the absence of a first-name saint appears as a surprising omission on the part of the compiler.

Secondly, Maximilian was born on 22nd. March, 1459, at Wiener-Neustadt (11) yet his birthday is not celebrated in the Egerton Calendar with any of the traditional fourteen or so saints connected with this particular day (12) and is marked as

a blank day in the Calendar(13) which is, again, a puzzling omission. The same day is also a blank day in the Mainz and Worms Calendars.(14) However, this is neither as significant nor remarkable as it first appears as diocesan calendars were the result of centuries of local tradition and compilation. What is significant is the possibility that the Egerton Calendar may have been unthinkingly copied by the scribe from the Worms Calendar, hence the accidental omission of both name and birthday saints from the Egerton Calendar.

The third gap in attempting to link Maximilian with the Egerton MS is a lack of representation of the chamois. This wary little beast, which inhabits the high Alps, was the favourite quarry of Maximilian. He hunted them on foot with a special type of long javelin, called a *scaft*,(15) which necessitated stalking the nimble-footed chamois along dangerous mountain paths and ledges. This sporting spirit of getting to close quarters with his quarry without regard for personal risk was one of the admirable traits which distinguished Maximilian from the majority of other noble hunters.(16) However, he also held great chamois drives as spectacles for his court, the local peasants being commanded to act as beaters. Illustrations from Kaiser Maximilians I. Jagd und Fischereibücher show his hunters spearing chamois in the mountains above the Plansee, viewed by the royal court,(17) Maximilian spearing chamois with the ladies of the court looking on,(18) and four other scenes of him spearing or shooting at chamois.(19) Maximilian's two semi-

autobiographical works are also useful sources of information. Weisskunig provides details of a great chamois drive in the Schmirn mountains(20) and in Teuerdank the young hero has fifteen adventures whilst hunting chamois.(21)

In view of Maximilian's undoubted love of hunting *gemsen*, how to explain its absence in the Calendar? The answer may lie in the classification and rigid status of medieval quarry. It has already been established that all the beasts illustrated in the Calendar are "noble" quarry, their status intimately connected with the social class of the hunters who legitimately pursued them using prescribed methods. The chamois, however, was not a noble beast. The Pyrenean variety is mentioned by Gaston Phébus along with the ibex(22) but not by Edward, Duke of York, neither does it appear in other late medieval manuals. Hunting chamois presented difficulties and entailed extreme hardship and thus did not interest the majority of nobles who had all the sport they wanted in the pursuit of red deer, hares, wild boar and so forth. Chamois were thus left to the hardy mountaineer-peasants of the Alpine valleys.(23) Baillie-Grohman comments that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries chamois-shooting was unfashionable amongst the ruling classes.(24) The chamois and ibex traditionally remained peasant quarry well into the nineteenth century, particularly after the 1848 Revolution when peasant hunting rights were recognised. This is frequently commented upon by Charles Boner in his classic Chamois Hunting.(25) Although some European aristocrats and English gentry shot chamois, the local chamois-hunter was

often regarded as "generally a rude, uncultivated being...",(26) an élitist reference to the mountain peasantry.

If the manuscript is associated with Maximilian, it is perhaps more puzzling why a chamois does not appear in the margins, rather than in the Calendar, given that the margins contain some unusual quarry species. The chamois was, after all, periferal to the main quarry species hunted by the nobility and thus the margins of a manuscript would be the logical place for its representation. Again, we can only speculate. The little goat-like antelope was a rare beast, geographically very much confined to high mountainous areas and not of much interest to the majority of aristocratic hunters. It is possible that artists were not familiar with chamois and probably did not need to be, so they were not portrayed in pattern or model books and therefore simply did not figure in medieval margins. This idea is supported by the complete absence of chamois in the two authorative texts, Animals in art and thought, to the end of the Middle Ages and Medieval Beasts.(27)

The final piece of evidence which requires some mention is the apparent enrichment of the margins of the Hours. This basically takes the form of numerous small discs of gold leaf laid on a gesso base in order to create a more opulent finish to the illuminations. These discs are used in different ways; in one margin they are spaced at fairly regular intervals in the gaps between bramble flowers, fruit and foliage,(28)

whereas in a later margin the discs are not only in the gaps but also superimposed upon the flowers and fruit of honeysuckle.(29) The discs are also used to highlight or emphasise figures in the margins, thus the French partridge, irregularly surrounded by golden discs, gains importance in the eyes of the reader.(30) Some of these discs have six painted "legs" whilst others have lines and scrolls on each side. Three variations on the basic pattern can be seen around the image of the peregrine falcon, these being the plain, the lined and scrolled and the more ornate disc with three golden leaves.(31) The function of these discs appears twofold; they fill in gaps within the original marginal composition, whilst adding metallic glitter and richness to the overall effect. The superimposition of the gesso and covering gold leaf upon some marginal images, plus the almost random scattering of the disc-types throughout the Hours suggests application after the main illuminations were completed. In addition, although the enrichment is "flashy" and superficially attractive, it is carelessly executed and irregular in form, unlike the original illuminations. This suggests not only that the enrichment was a later addition but also that the work was performed by a different and less-skilled illuminator.

Very similar decorative golden discs are found in two early sixteenth century manuscripts, both of which are coincidentally associated with the Emperor Maximilian.

The first is the Vita Sancti Simperti Episcopi Augustensis, a

gift to Maximilian from the monastery of St. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg. The miniatures, which depict St. Simpert, a local saint of Augsburg especially venerated at the monastery, are by Hans Holbein the Elder.(32) Simpert was a monk from an abbey near Colmar who became bishop of Augsburg.(33)The margins of the manuscript contain small golden discs with "legs", very similar to those in the margins of Egerton 1146.(34)

The second manuscript is a provisional copy of Weisskunig, compiled by Marx Treitzsaurwein for Maximilian.(35) Treitzsaurwein was the Emperor's favourite secretary, an invaluable aide to Maximilian in the production and publication of his many texts.(36) The gold discs with "legs" feature in the margins of this copy of the Weisskunig text.(37)

It may be coincidence that the same type of simple decorative enrichment appears on three Germanic manuscripts which all date from the early sixteenth century and that two are known to be associated with Maximilian. However, it may also be yet another small piece in the jig-saw puzzle of reconstructing the patronage of Egerton 1146. There is obviously room here for a more general investigation into the enrichment of late medieval manuscripts and its attendant implications.

There have been few studies in English in recent years on the subject of medieval hunting, the heyday of interest being the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. John Cummins' book published in 1988 is, of course, the outstanding exception to this generalisation. A very recent addition to the analysis of hunting literature is by James McNelis, 'The Uncollated Manuscripts of *The Master of Game: Towards a New Edition*' (PhD diss., University of Washington, 1996). Trawling the new IT-source, the world-wide web/internet, yields a mere handful of websites mentioning medieval hunting, but hundreds dedicated to Books of Hours and thousands to religion.

Accusations of lack of interest do not, however, apply to certain continental scholars, some of whom have maintained an active research interest in medieval hunting, Bror Danielsson and Gunnar Tilandar being pre-eminent in the field in the '60s and '70s. Unfortunately, much of this material is still unavailable in English or is very difficult to obtain.

The reasons for this scarcity of British scholarly interest include a growing antipathy towards hunting and allied sports by an increasingly urbanised population and a parallel consequent "blind-eye" attitude by almost all modern historians towards one of the most important everyday activities of the Middle Ages. All classes were participating in hunting, using their own methods and techniques, yet this is hardly acknowledged. The very term 'hunting' conveys

notions of 'class' and élitism to many British people and is thus an unsafe subject, to be avoided as being too controversial. This neglect of the art and science of hunting within a historical context is puzzling, yet is, one supposes, the unfortunate result of risking being labelled as a 'politically incorrect' historian. Scholars of Books of Hours normally know little about hunting and those few experts on hunting tend to neglect personal prayer-books. This analysis of MS Egerton 1146 is intended to bring these two fields of knowledge together for two reasons. Firstly, in order to help shed light on an individual and virtually unknown late medieval manuscript. Secondly, to demonstrate that studies of hunting sources, both textual and illustrative, have their place and particular worth in the understanding of late medieval society, its individuals and their mores and values. In the final analysis, that is what history is all about.

CHAPTER 7.

CONCLUSIONS,

END NOTES.

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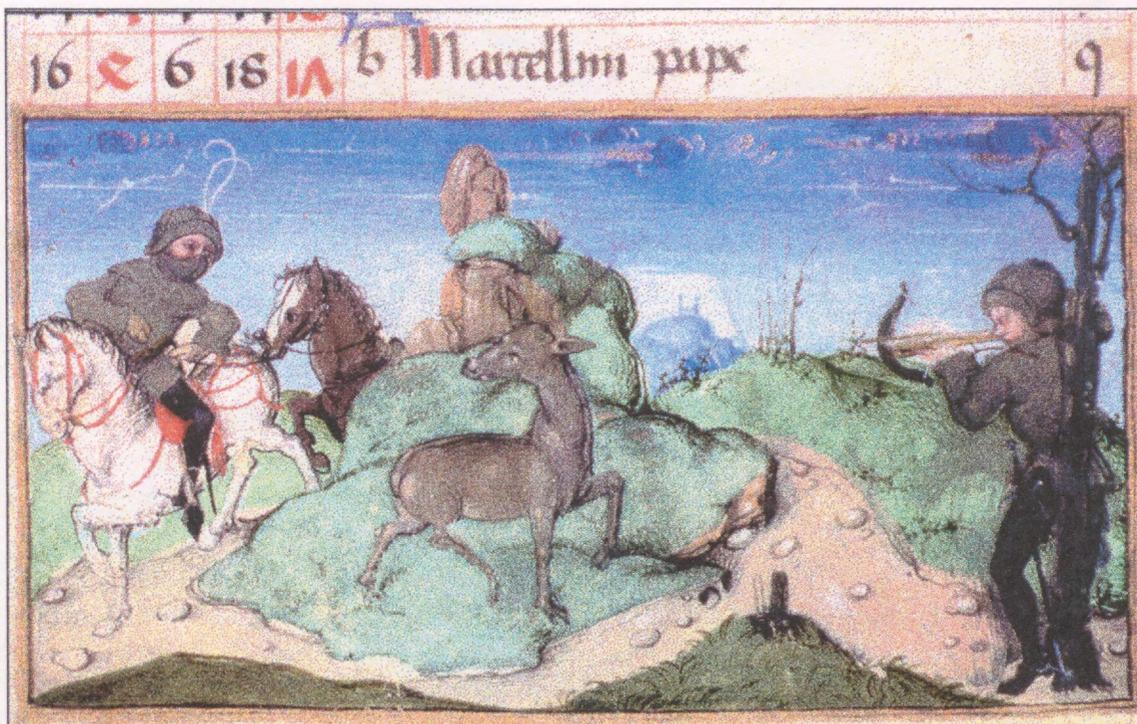


Plate 1. The Calendar, January. The Art of Hunting by Distraction. The dismounted hunter uses a cross-bow to shoot the hart, a warrentable male red deer of six years with ten tines to its antlers, which is being distracted by his mounted companion. (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, fol.2v..)



Plate 2. The Calendar, February. Wolf-hunting. Hounds pull down a wolf, encouraged gleefully by the hunter who wields a drawn sword in his right hand. (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, fol.3v..)



Plate 3. The Calendar, March. Training the Lymmer Hound. The hunter, leading his horse, uses a cast antler to train the young lymmer, or scenting hound, to follow the scent of red deer. (London, British Library, MS Egerton 11, fol.4v..)

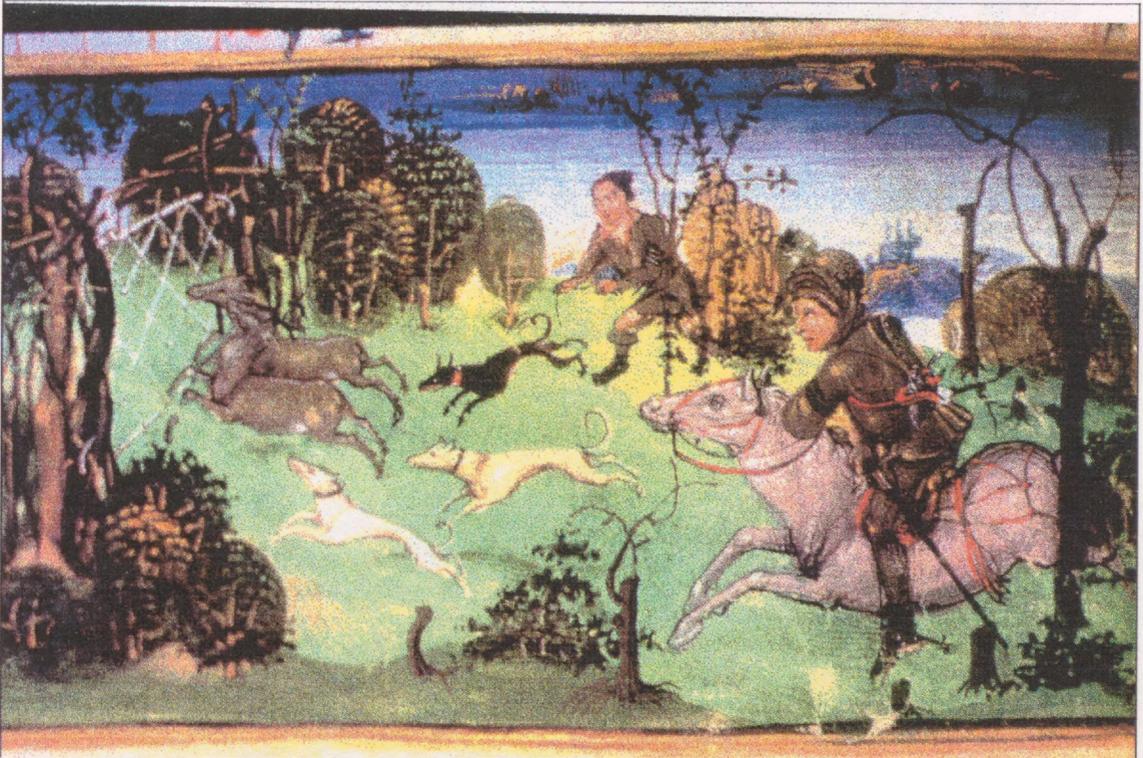


Plate 4. The Calendar, April. Netting Red Deer. The galloping hunter, assisted by swifthounds just released by a slipper, drives a stag and hind into vertical netting stretched between trees. (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, fol.5v..)

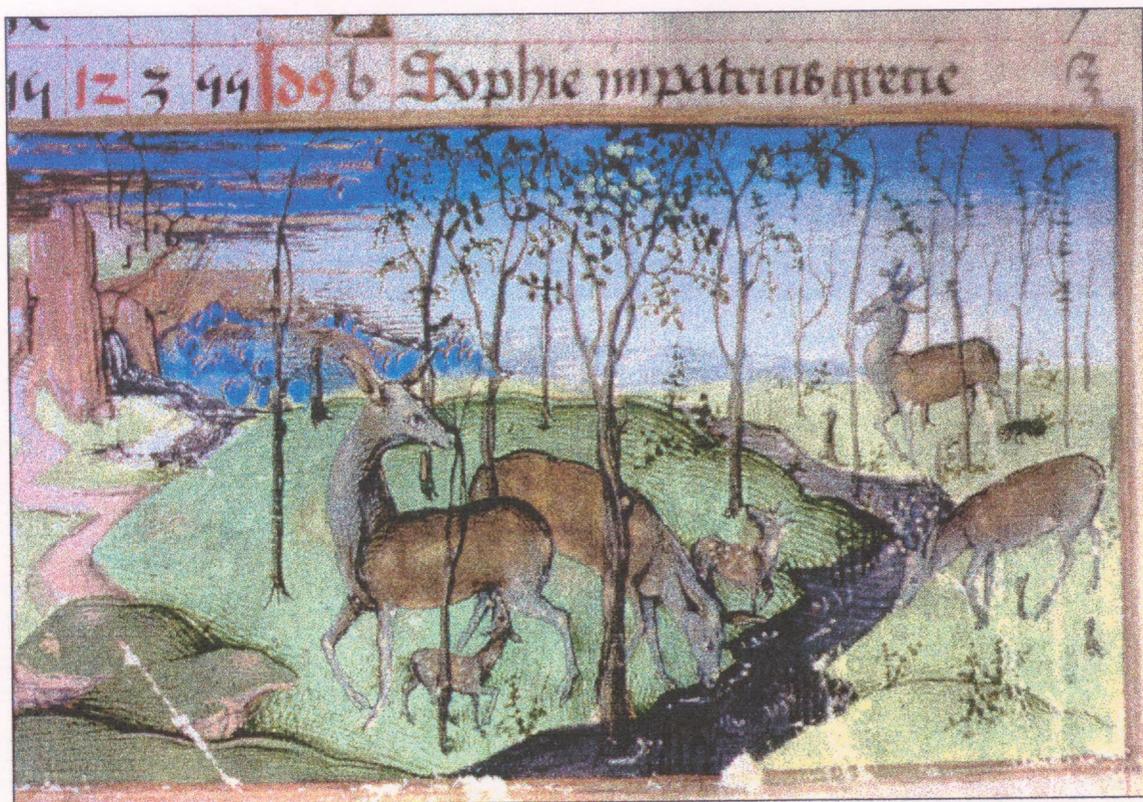


Plate 5. The Calendar, May. The Fence Month. This pastoral scene illustrates the close season, when red deer were not hunted. Two stags are in velvet, accompanied by two hinds and two spotted calves. (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, fol. 6v..)

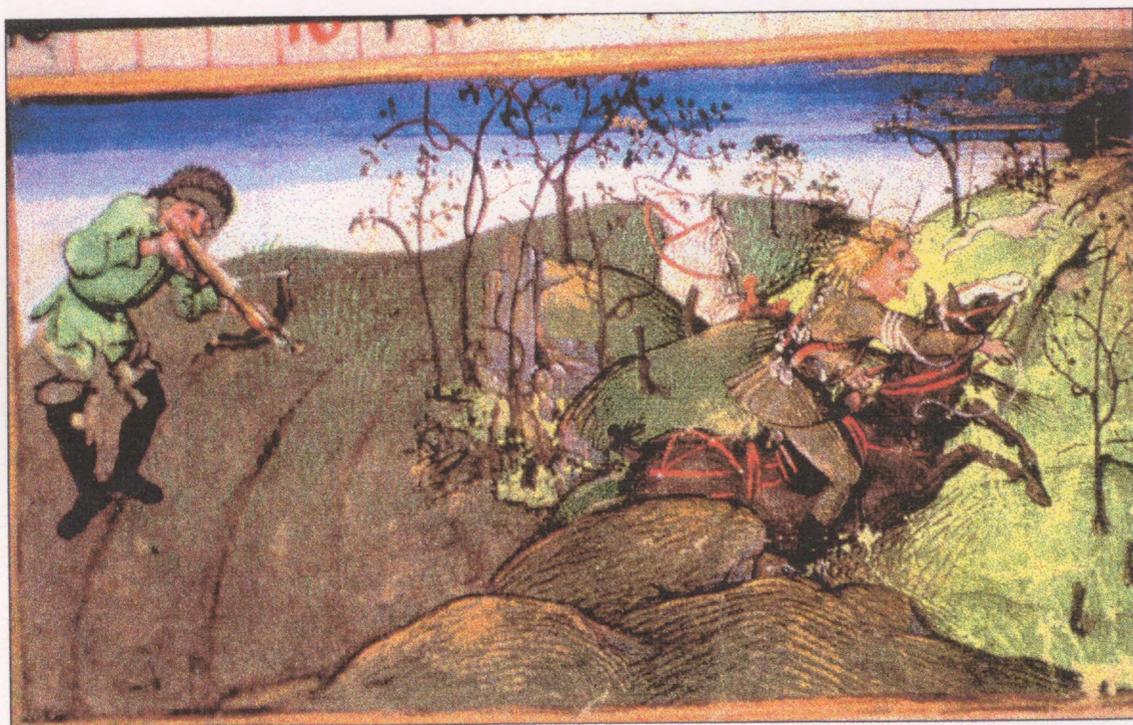


Plate 6. The Calendar, June. Hare-hunting. The mounted noble hunter with hounds pursues a hare in the forest, while the poor man with a cross-bow shoots a rabbit on the field boundary. (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, fol. 7v..)



Plate 7. The Calendar, July. Despatching the Hart. The hunter leaps his horse into the river to despatch the hart with his sword, as the lymere struggles to restrain the lymere hound. (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, fol.8v..)



Plate 8. The Calendar, August. The Ceremony of the Curée. The ritual at the end of the hunt when the stag is broken up, the hounds are fed and horns are blown. (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, fol.9v..)



Plate 9. The Calendar, September. The Stag at Bay. The hart is held at bay by the hounds while the hind flees. The hunter on horseback aims his cross-bow to despatch the stag, an unusual and highly skilled method. (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, fol.10v..)



Plate 10. The Calendar, October. Bear-hunting. The mounted hunter thrusts a cross-hilted spear into the bear, which is being harried by the hounds. (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, fol.11v..)



Plate 11. The Calendar, November. The Boar-hunt on Foot. The hunter uses a specialised boar-spear to despatch a huge wild boar caught in a rope-snare set in a gap in wattle fencing. (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, fol.12vv..)



Plate 12. The Calendar, December. The Boar-hunt on Horseback with Hounds. The hunter, armed with a cross-hilted boar sword, pursues the wild boar with greyhounds, lymere and scenting hound. (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, fol.13v..)



Plate 13. The Hours. Bear-hunting. Bas-de-page of a blond-haired hunter, wearing a crown of foliage and flowers, spearing a black bear with a cross-hilted bear-spear. (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, fol.20r..)

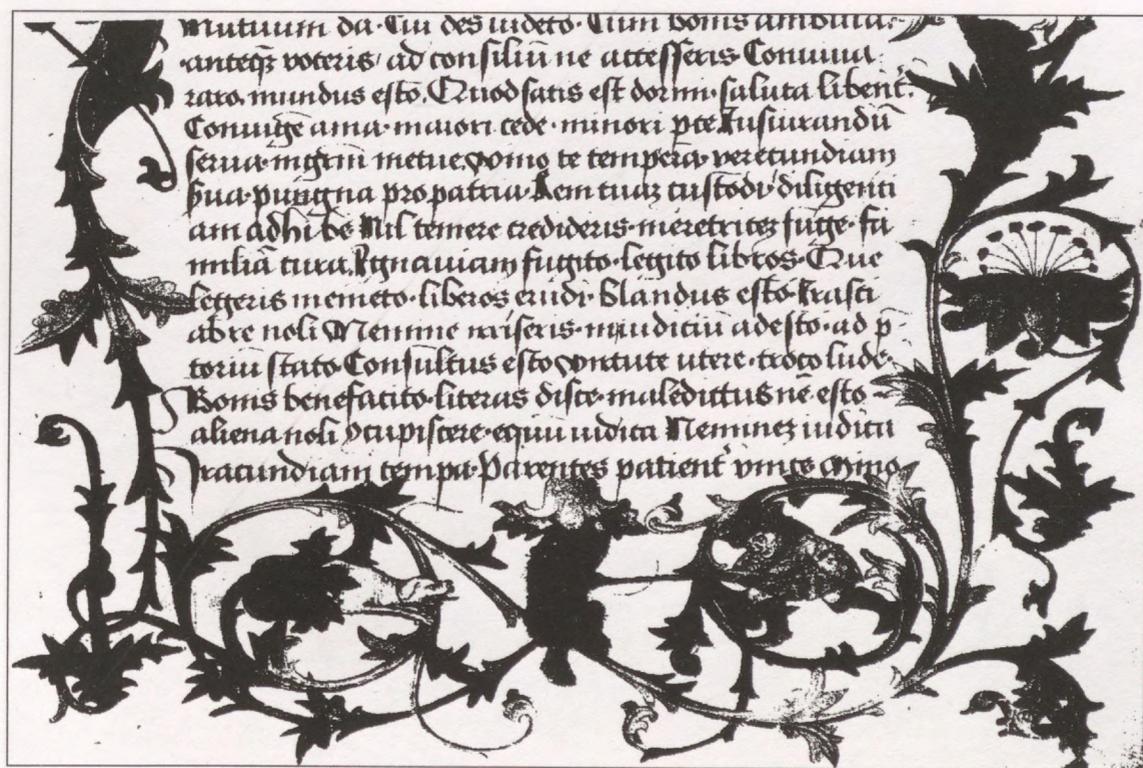


Plate 14. School-Book of Maximilian, Weiner Neustadt, c.1467. A bas-de-page bear-hunting image similar to that of the Egerton scene above, (plate 13.) From: Unterkircher, Franz, European Illuminated Manuscripts, (London, 1967), p.105. (Austrian National Library, Cod.Ser. N.2617, fol.8r..)

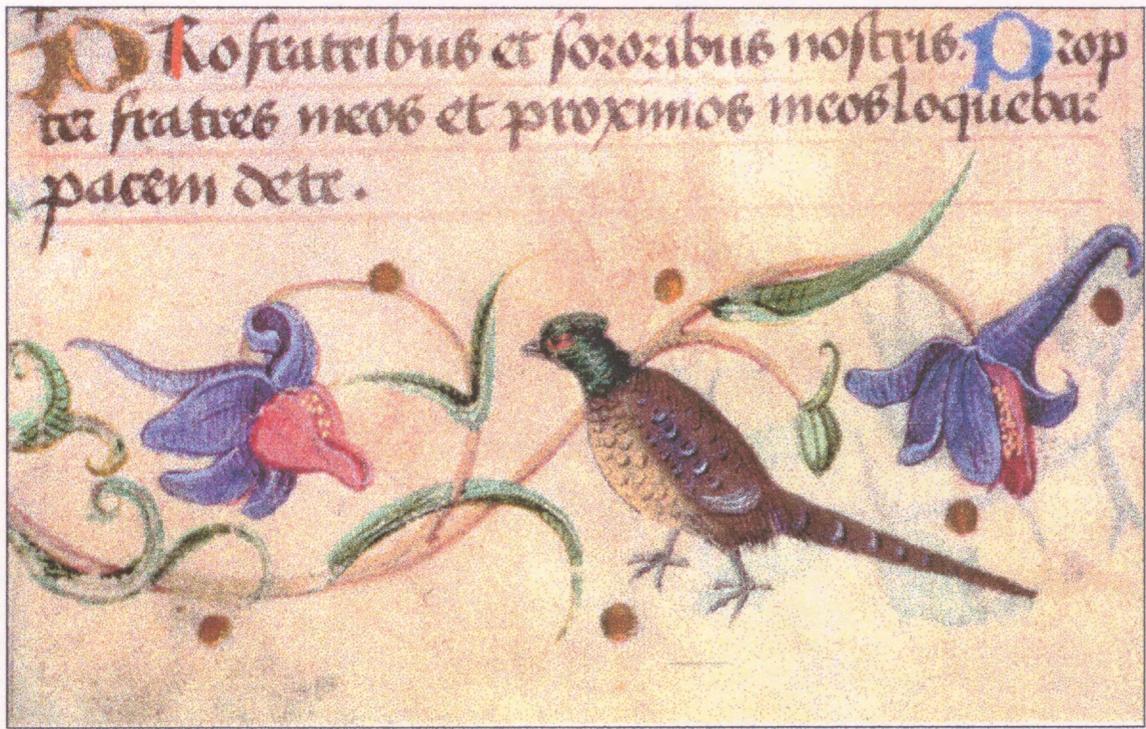


Plate 15. The Hours. Cock Pheasant. A superb bas-de-page illustration of a common, or dark-necked, cock pheasant, (*Phasianus colchicus*). This variety is regarded as the original strain and has long since been bred out of existence. (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, fol.23v..)



Plate 16. Hen Pheasant. A reasonably well-defined hen pheasant in the margin of February in the Calendar of a French Book of Hours, second quarter of the 15th. century. (York, York Minster Library, MS Add.6, fol.2r..)

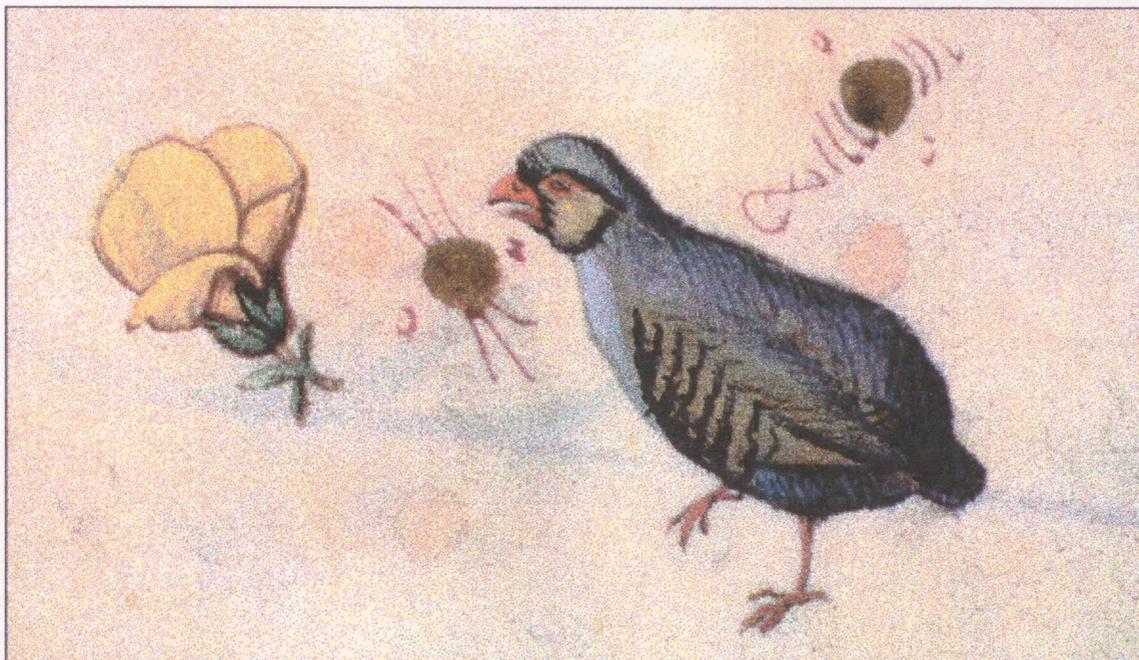


Plate 17. The Hours. Cock Red-legged, or “French”, Partridge, (*Alectoris rufa*). An outstanding bas-de-page illustration of a male red-legged partridge, possibly the only example of a single clearly identifiable bird of this type in a late medieval manuscript. (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, fol.161v..)



Plate 18. The Hours. Peregrine Falcon, (*Falco peregrinus*). This bas-de-page illustration is of the “brown wanderer” variety of peregrine, considered by falconers as a superior type of hunting-bird. The leather leash was used to secure the bird to its perch. (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, fol.171r..)

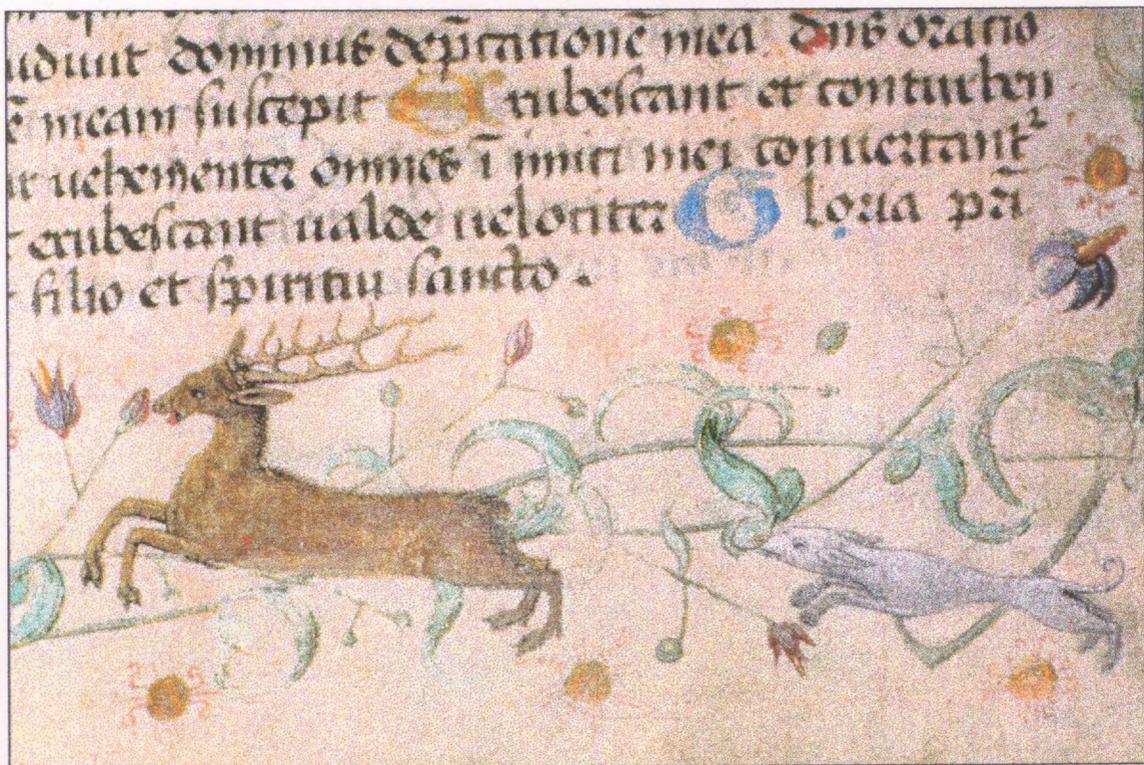


Plate 19. The Hours. Greyhound pursuing a Hart. This is a common marginal motif on the opening page of Gothic manuscripts and here, it is the first illustration of the Egerton Hours. (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, fol.16r..)

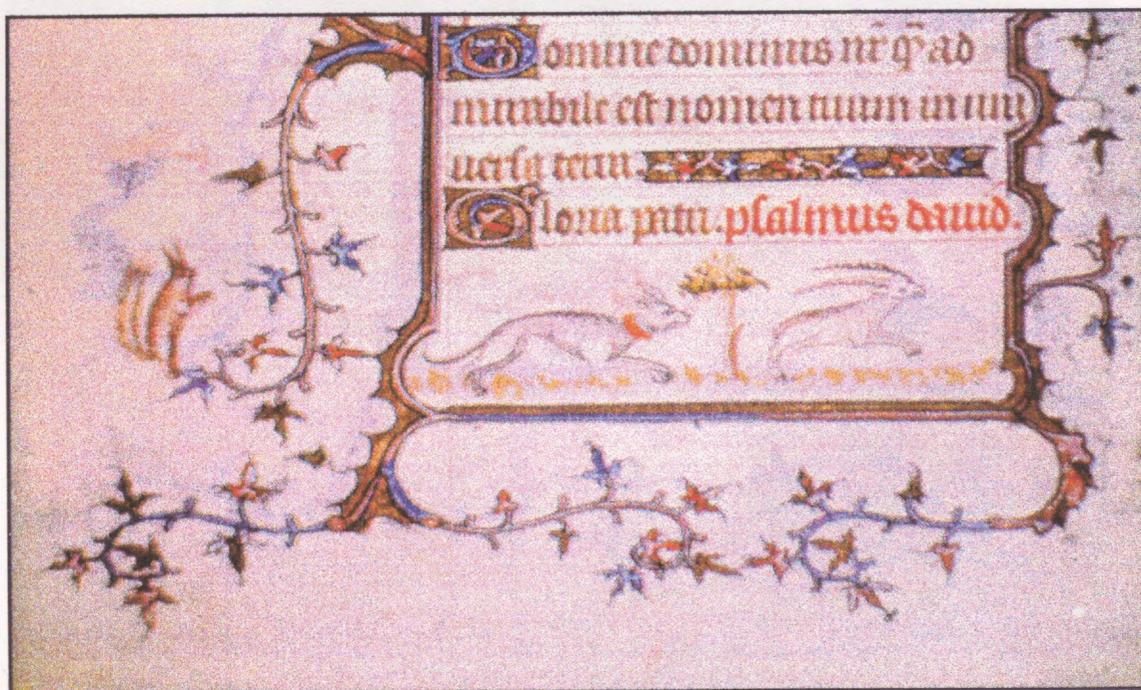


Plate 20. Greyhound chasing an Antelope. A bas-de-page from a French Book of Hours, c.1400, showing a variation on the traditional stag/hound image. The hound is pursuing what appears to be an ibex but this saw-antlered beast is a conventional representation of an antelope. (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 62, fol.31v..)



Plate 21. The Hours. Hare in flight seized by a Greyhound. The hare being pursued by a hound is a traditional motif in the margins of late medieval personal prayer-books. (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, fol.313r..)



Plate 22. Hare pursued by a Greyhound. The conventional hare/hound motif is exemplified by this bas-de-page from a French Book of Hours, c1500. (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawl. liturg.f11, fol.21.)



Plate 23. The Hours. A Rabbit eating Cabbage Leaves. This is clearly a rabbit and not a hare. Conies were husbanded, not hunted, by the nobility. (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, fol.167r..)



Plate 24. A Rabbit in the Margin. Rabbits were hunted by the commonalty and appear in the periferal areas of manuscripts, perhaps an indication of their marginal status. (York, York Minster Library, MS Add.6, fol.68v..)

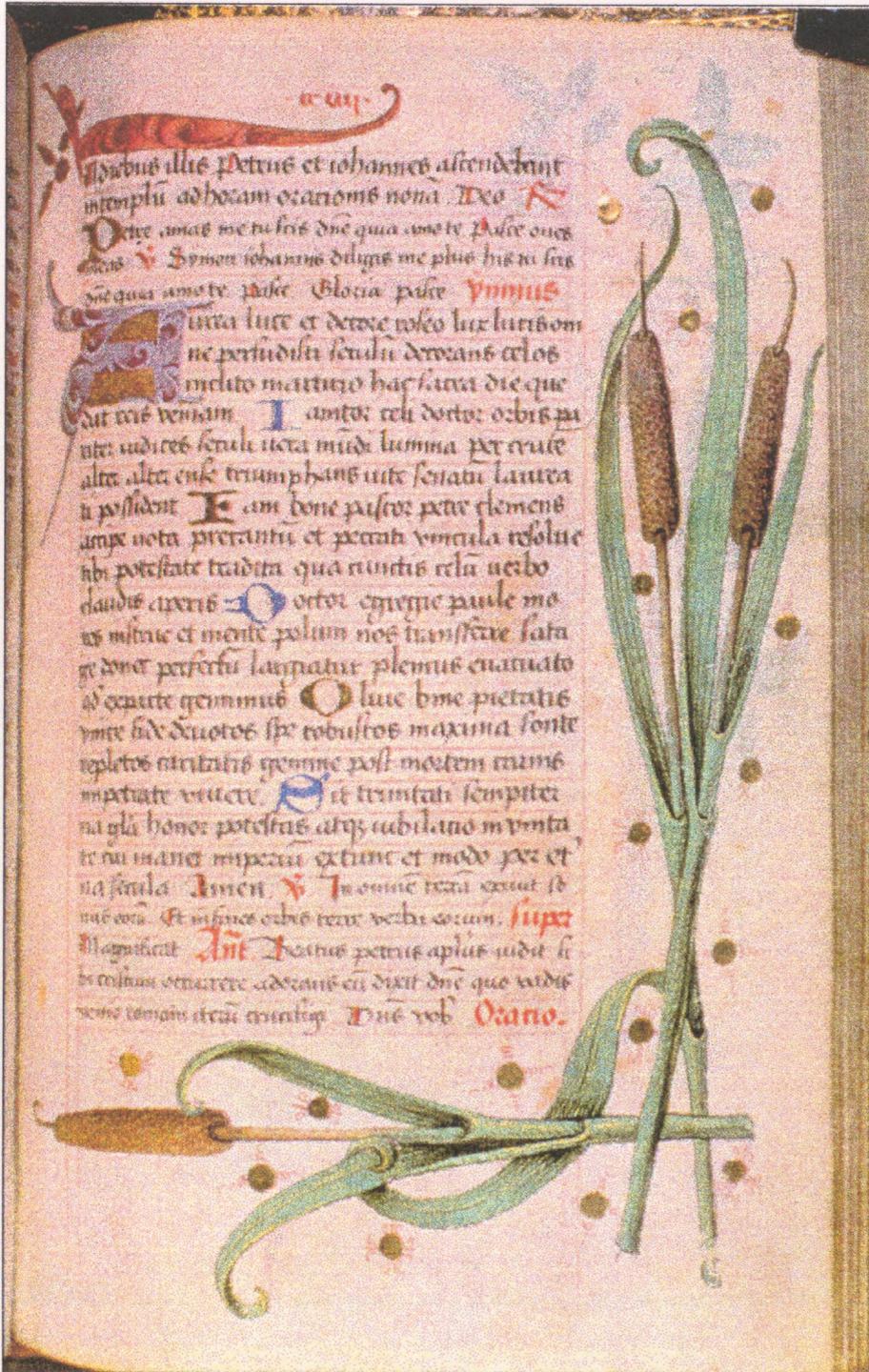


Plate 25. The Hours. Greater Reedmace, (*Typha latifolia*). This plant is often but incorrectly, called the bulrush. A naturalistic study of what appears to be recently cut heads and leaves. The male flower-head is borne immediately above the female spike of flowers. (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, fol.217r.)



Plate 26. The Hours. Purple Crocus, (*Crocus purpureus*). A detailed naturalistic study of the bulbs and flowers of this perennial plant, which is widely distributed in meadows, pastures, sub-montane, montane and Alpine zones. (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, fol.293r..)

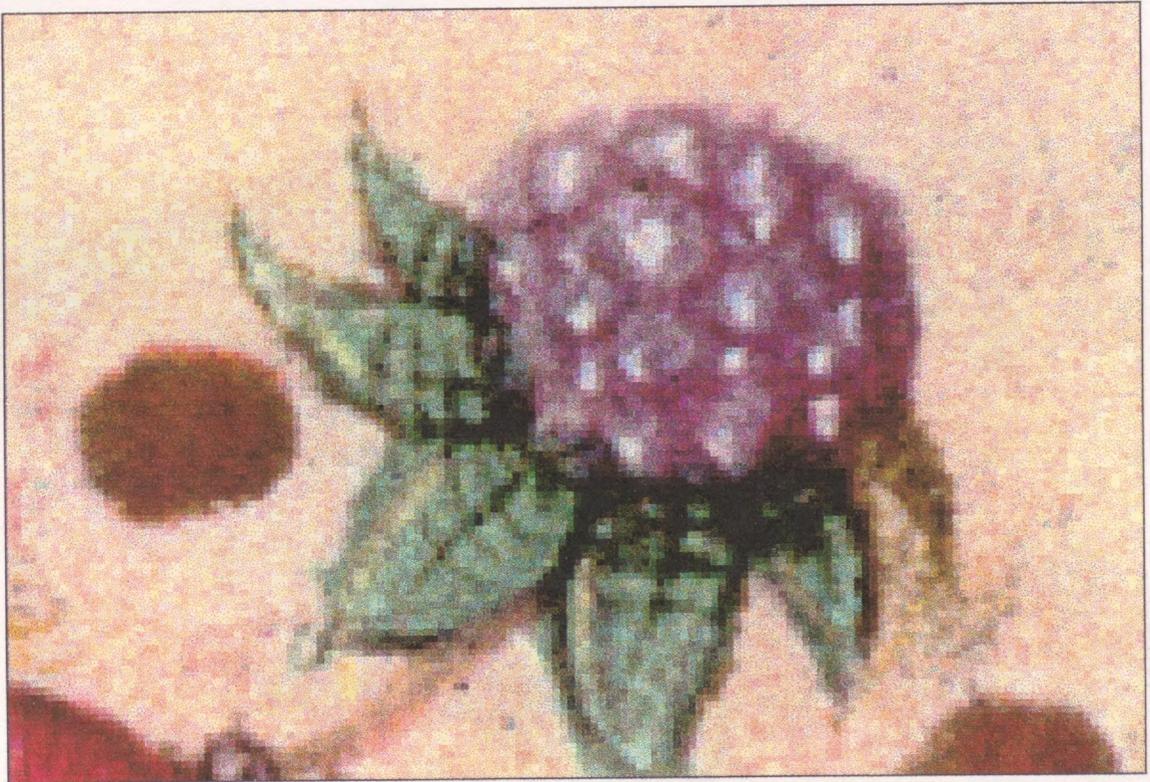
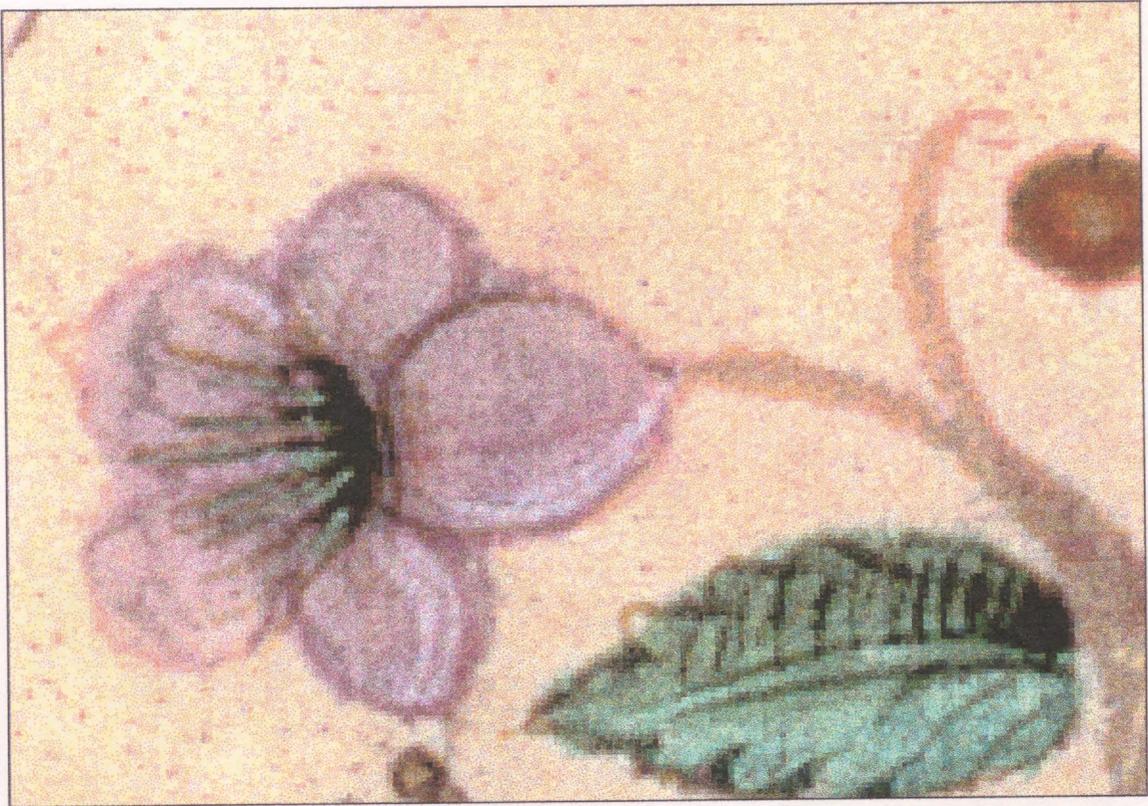


Plate 27. The Hours. Blackberry or Bramble. (*Rubus fruticosus*). Superb detailing of the flowers and fruit is apparent when selected areas are enlarged. (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, fol.20r..)

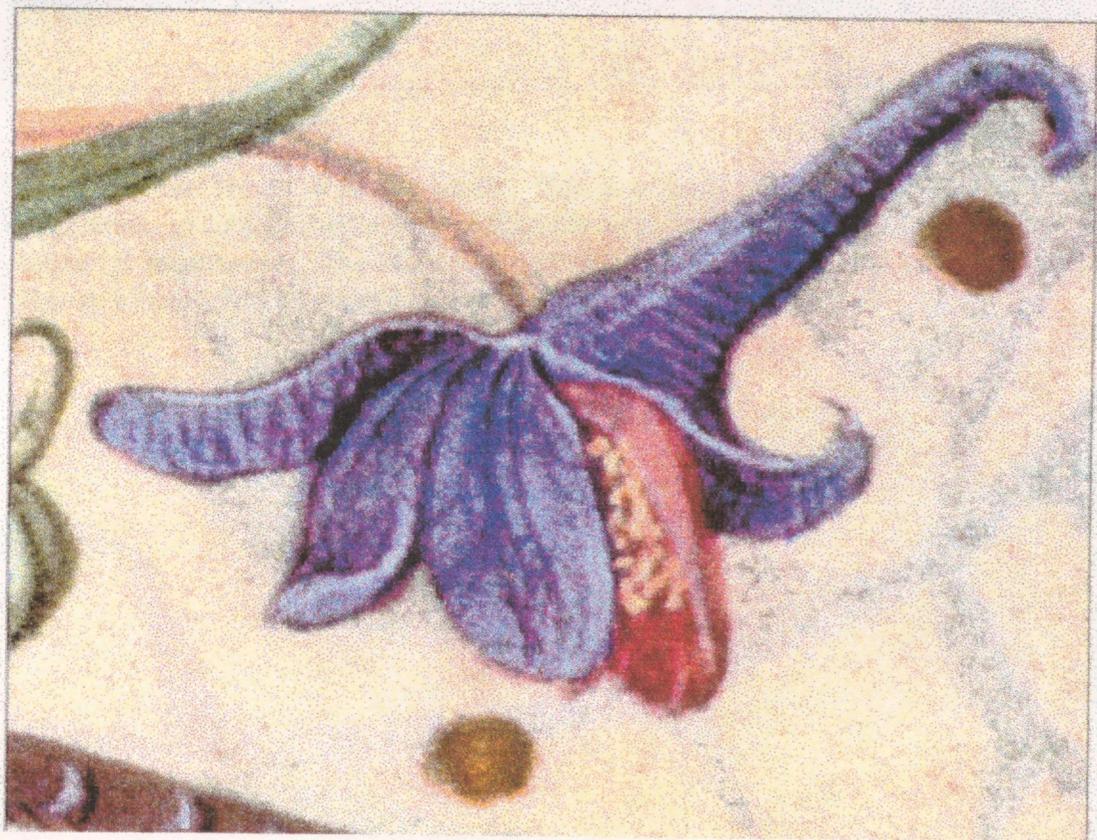
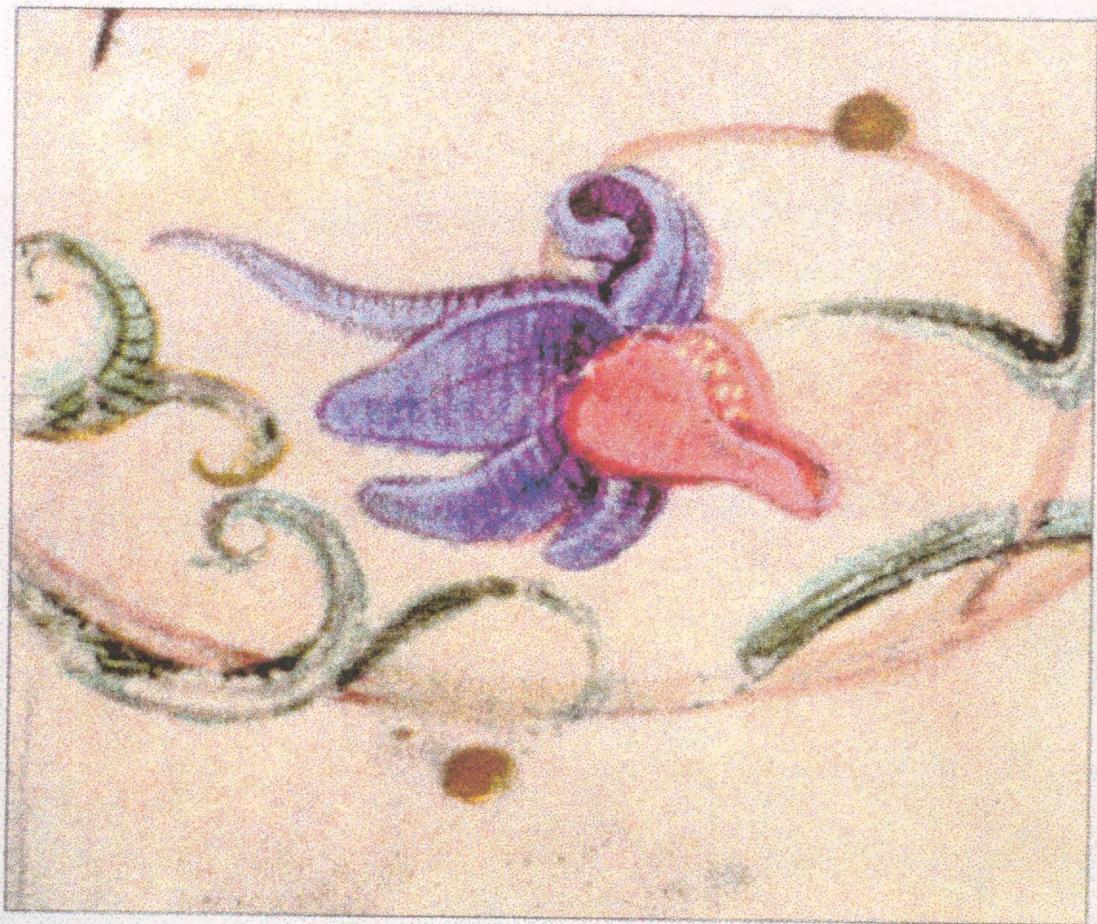


Plate 28. The Hours. Alpine Larkspur, (*Delphinium elatum*). Enlargement of two views of the flowers showing the naturalistic accuracy of the miniaturist. This Alpine plant is found up to 2,000m. (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, fol.23v..)



Plate 29. The Hours. Pastoral Scene. This is a study of water, rock formations and vegetation, in subject matter very unlike the majority of marginal drawings in other late medieval manuscripts. The red roots resemble coral in colour and structure. (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, fol.241r..)



Plate 30. The Hours. The Legend of the Birth of Barnacle Geese,(I). It was a widely-held belief that the Barnacle Goose, (*Branta leucopsis*), was produced out of the fruit of a tree growing by water. In this marginal picture the young geese are hatching from the fruits and falling onto the bank and stream. (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, fol.151r.)

fessoris tui atq; pontificis ueneratur et colit
patrona eius nobis uisum mulet. **Dez.**
ELIZABETH. LANTGRAVIE.

Etate germana clare felix gerimine nascentis
elisabeth ex regali semine **ps** Oia laud.

an Que nexu coniugij data uirifona suauis uigum
dm uult ab infancia **an** Apra tandem uiri uotis
sunt creuit uirib; ita pps sic deuotis excreuit uirtuti
bus **an** Sic fulgebat in aspectu exulta decennis
pauptate in affectu colebat attentius **an** Quanto
sepe depinebat huius nobilitas tanto magis durebat
nobilitas huilitas **Caplm**

Mulierem forte quibus
inueniet procul et de ultimis fimbriis pui eius
conhudit in ea cor uiri sui et despolys no mdige
bit. Deo gras **Rinso** Celi fulgens solio solus a
mita pallio intra astra glorie noui sydus gre eliza
beth perfidie tenebras retundit. Et lucem leticie mes
tis lapsis uone gaudiu refundit. **V** huius ortu sydus
redit egris sanitas et lesi calamitas aeris recedit. **Et vno**

Romni deo uox iocundi decanter ecclia na
congruadet letabundi mater syon filie as
cendenti de profundo conualle miserie.

Quam regali stipe nata in annis infantie uir
tatepcepit desponsata in dolis exime semp in spira
tam uoto continencie **E**ide prole sacramento
tatu hoc coniugiu uero doret argumento qd pa
trū celestiu uite sancte sacramento attingit con



Plate 31. The Hours. The Legend of the Birth of Barnacle Geese,(II). The fully-grown geese swim away down the stream, with the yellow corn-fields of autumn in the background. (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, fol.258r..)



Plate 32. Despatching a Stag at Bay. The hunter on foot, uses a cross-hilted spear, the traditional weapon, to apply the coup de grâce. From a French Book of Hours, dated to the beginning of the 16th. century. (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 276, fol.31r..)



Plate 33. Despatching a Wild Boar. This illustration from a French Book of Hours, dated to 1525/50, shows a hunter using a conventional method and weapon at the end of the chase. (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 135, fol.32r..)



Cy deulse comment on doit aler laulrier courre pour le cerf.

Le fait il
 puis que
 le valet
 nouuel set
 aler en qste
 et destour
 ner cerf et
 sangler quil le saiche bien et
 a point laulrier courre. donc
 quant il partira de lassemblee
 il faut quil se mette deuant
 tous les autres la main derrie
 re son dos. et son limier derriere

loy en le tenant bien court au
 bout du collier. et le auantefois
 les le porter de lassemblee la
 met son limier deuant luy. po
 la prendre de le auancer et re
 tourner a les bulieres. ne ne le
 tiens mie a mal fait. car quat
 un limier set ramener so mant
 tre es bulieres. ce est moult bone
 chose. chexiaument en vne fo
 rest estrange ou on ne le cognoist
 point. ou quant on a encontre
 de cerf ou de sangler eun les forz

Plate 34. Hunting the Hart "a force". On horseback, using a pack of hounds, was the most favoured aristocratic method of hunting "noble" quarry, such as the hart, here exemplified by an illustration from Livre de chasse, by Gaston Fébus. From: Phébus, Gaston, Le Livre de la Chasse, présentation, Thomas, Marcel, (France, 1986), plate opp.p.120. (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS 616, ch.XXXIX, fol.68.)



Et deuis comment on doit aller les
lier contre pour le sangler.

C doit le vallet
de chiens tout ei
si ferre sa d'uyte
les lier contre le
sengier du lumier
cōme iay dit du
cerf. Aussi la semblée se doit ferre en
puer pour le sengier cōme en este pō

le cerf. fors tant q' ceulz de la veine do
uēt estre vestus de gus. et en la saison
du cerf de vert. Et ala semblée du se
gier doit auoir. iiii. grantz feuz au mois.
lun pour les semblers. lautre pour
chauffer tout homme. lautre pour la cu
sine. pour rostir ou pour rechauffer
les viandes. lautre pour les chiens
et vallet. de chiens et de leumiers & pages.
Comment on doit deffere le sangler

Plate 35. Boar-hunting on Horseback with Hounds. This illustration of boar-hunting from *Livre de chasse* bears a striking resemblance to the December miniature from the Calendar of MS Egerton 1146, (plate 12). From: Phébus, Gaston, *Le Livre de la Chasse*, présentation, Thomas, Marcel, (France, 1986), plate opp.p.140. (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS 619, fol.62.)

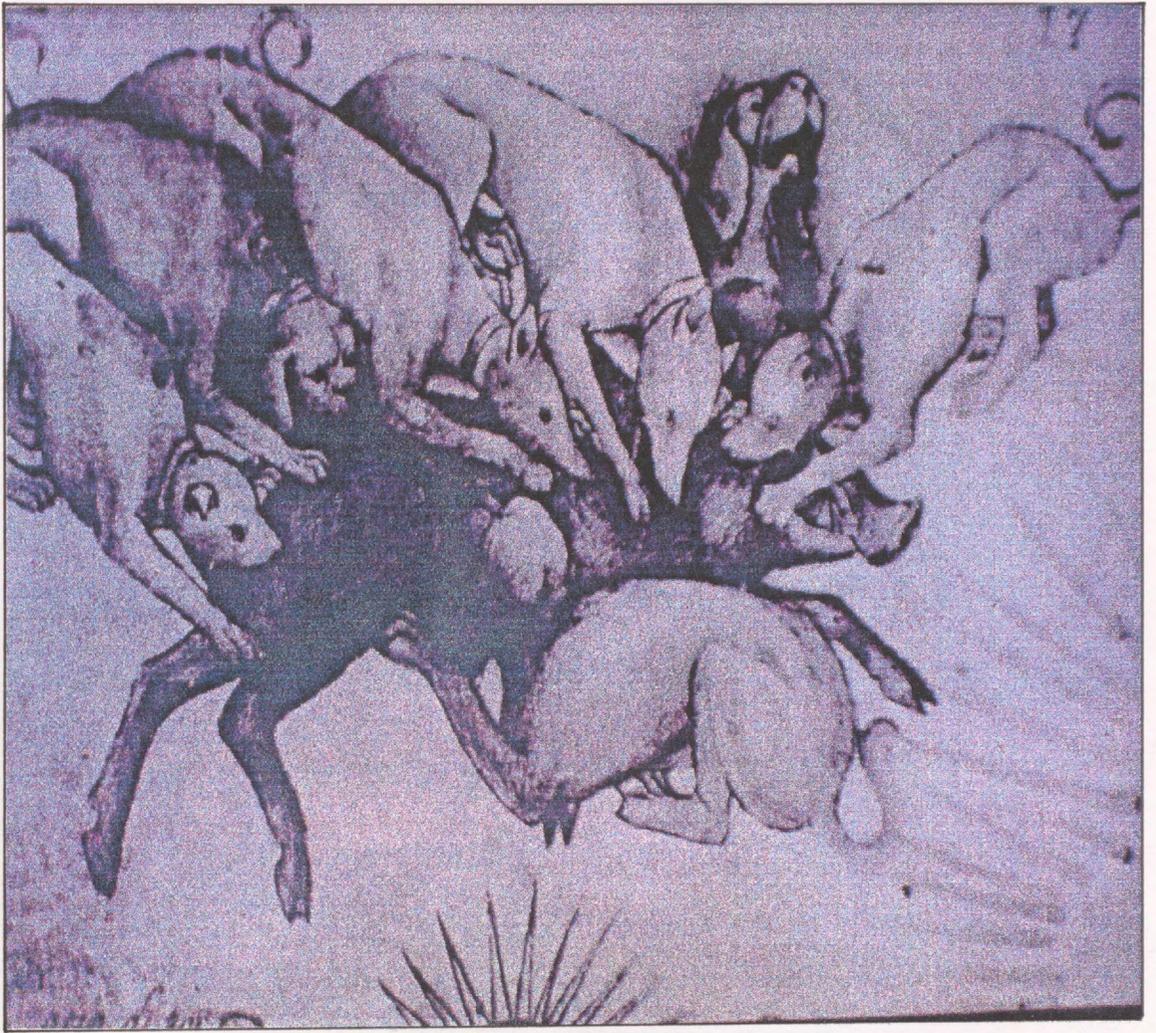


Plate 37. The Bergamo "Hallali du Sanglier." The curée at the end of the boar-hunt, c.1415-20. A similar scene to the December miniature of plate 36. (Bergamo Bibl. Civica, Lombard, D VII.14, fol.17.)



Plate 38. La Chasse au Faucon. April, from the Calendar of Les Heures de Notre-Dame, c.1530. From: Destrée, Joseph, Les Heures de Notre-Dame, (Brussels, 1895), opp. p.16.



Plate 39. La Fenaison. July, from the Calendar of Les Heures de Notre-Dame, c.1530. From: Destrée, Joseph, Les Heures de Notre-Dame, (Brussels, 1895), opp. p.25).



Plate 40. La Curée. December, from the Calendar of Les Heures de Notre-Dame, c.1530. From: Destrée, Joseph, Les Heures de Notre-Dame, (Brussels, 1895), opp. p.35.



Plate 41. La Chasse au Cerf. A miniature from the Hours of Les Heures de Notre-Dame, c.1530. From: Destrée, Joseph, Les Heures de Notre-Dame, (Brussels, 1895), opp. p.51.

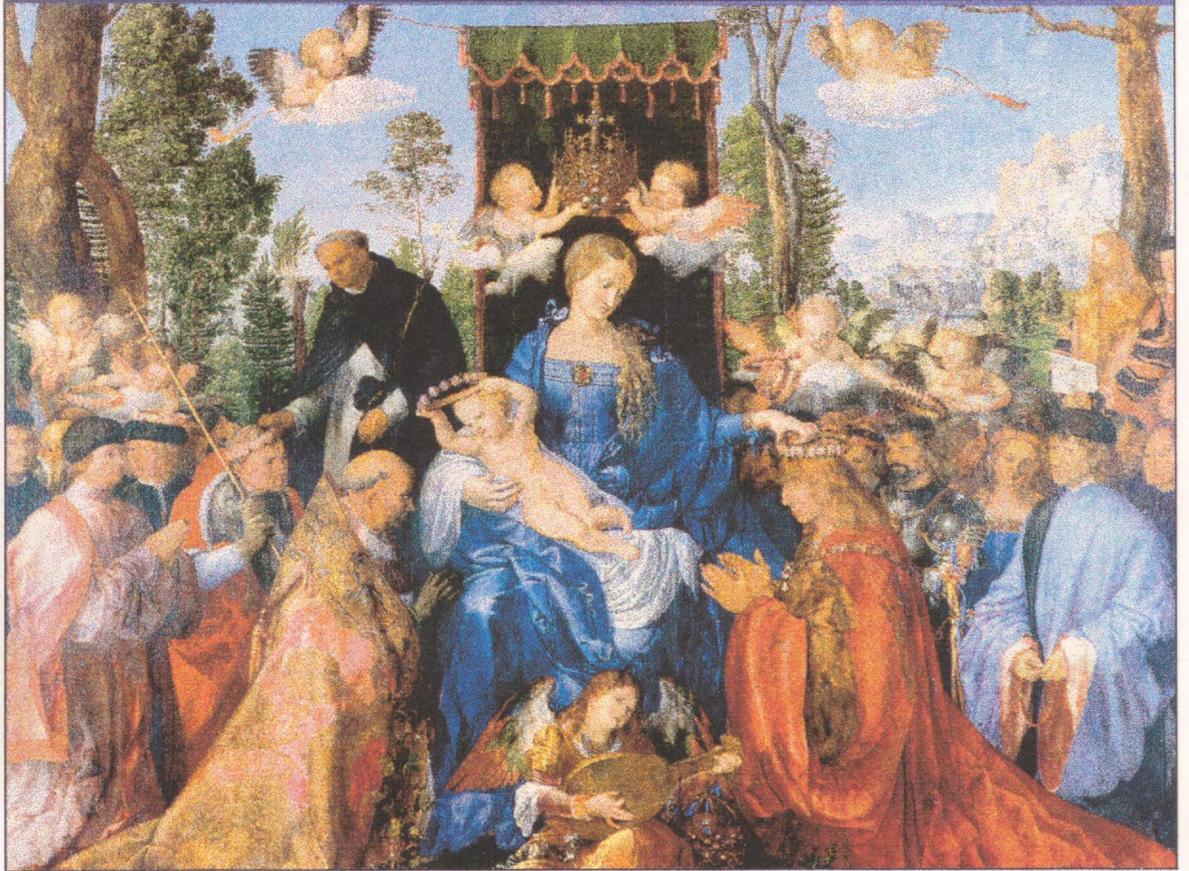


Plate 42. The Feast of the Rose Garlands, 1506, by Albrecht Dürer, (1471-1528). The Emperor Maximilian I, with long reddish-gold hair, kneels in front of the Virgin and Child. (Prague, National Gallery.)

Plate 42. Kaiser Maximilian I, 1506, by Albrecht Dürer, (1471-1528). Kaiser Maximilian's court painters portrayed the Emperor with long reddish-gold hair matching the colour of his armor, cape and crown. (Wittich, Kunsthistorisches Museum)

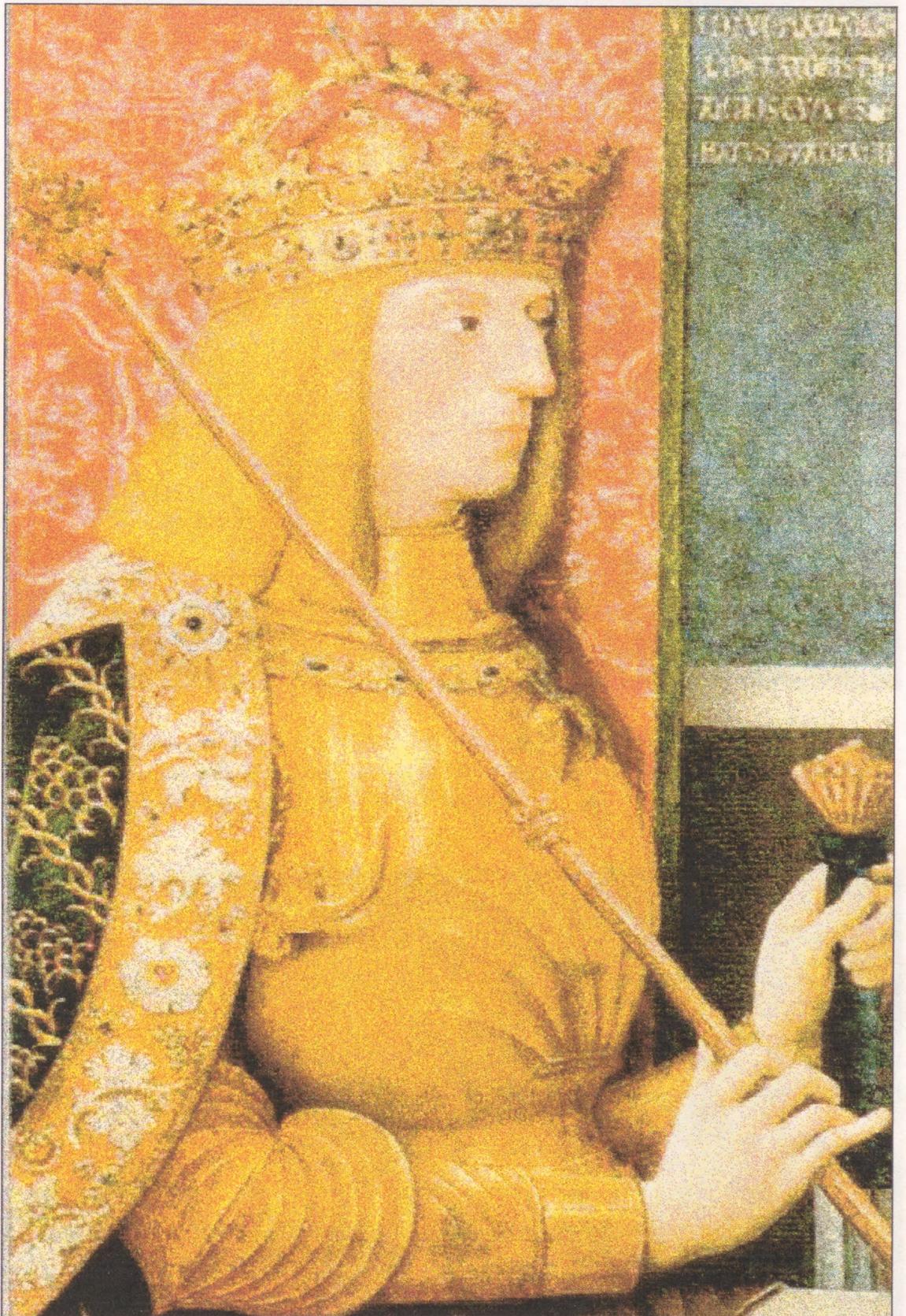


Plate 43. Kaiser Maximilian I, 1496, by Bernard Strigel, (1460/61-1528). Strigel, Maximilian's court painter, portrayed the Emperor with long metallic golden hair, matching the colour of his armour, cape and crown. (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.)

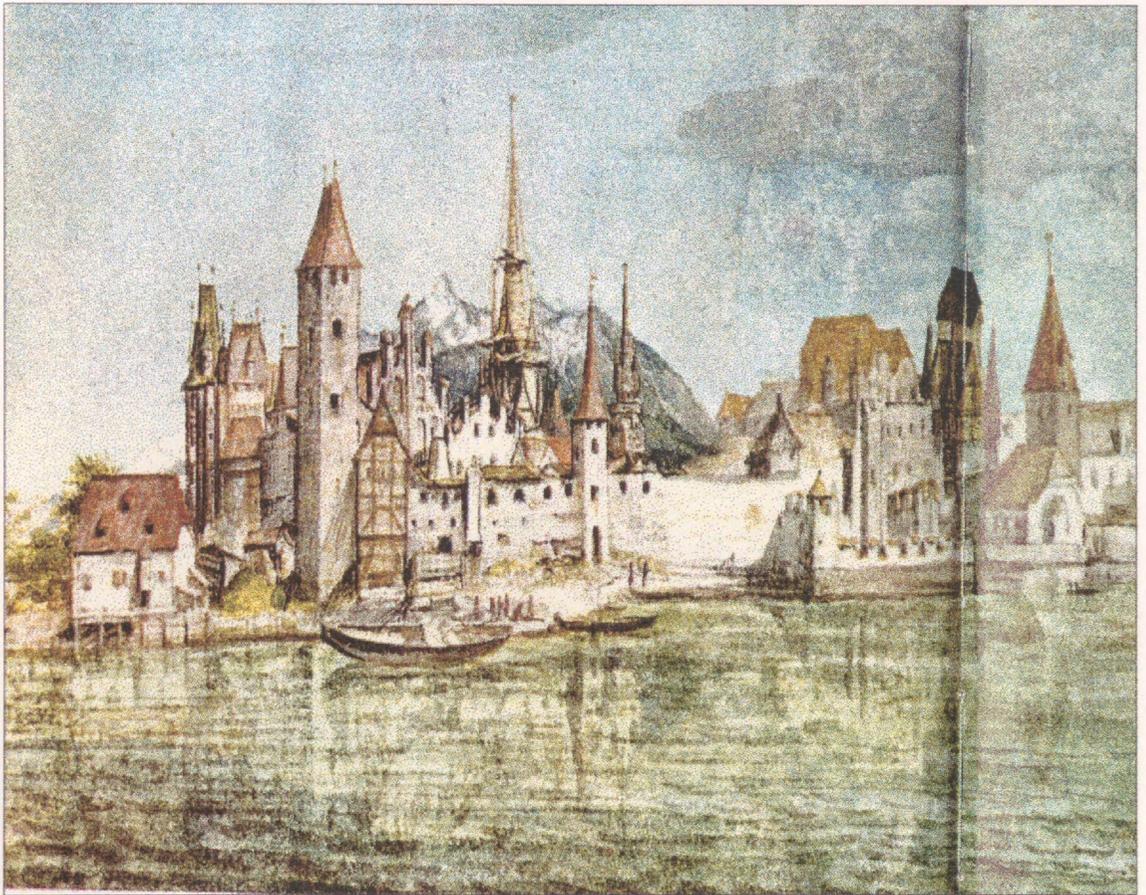
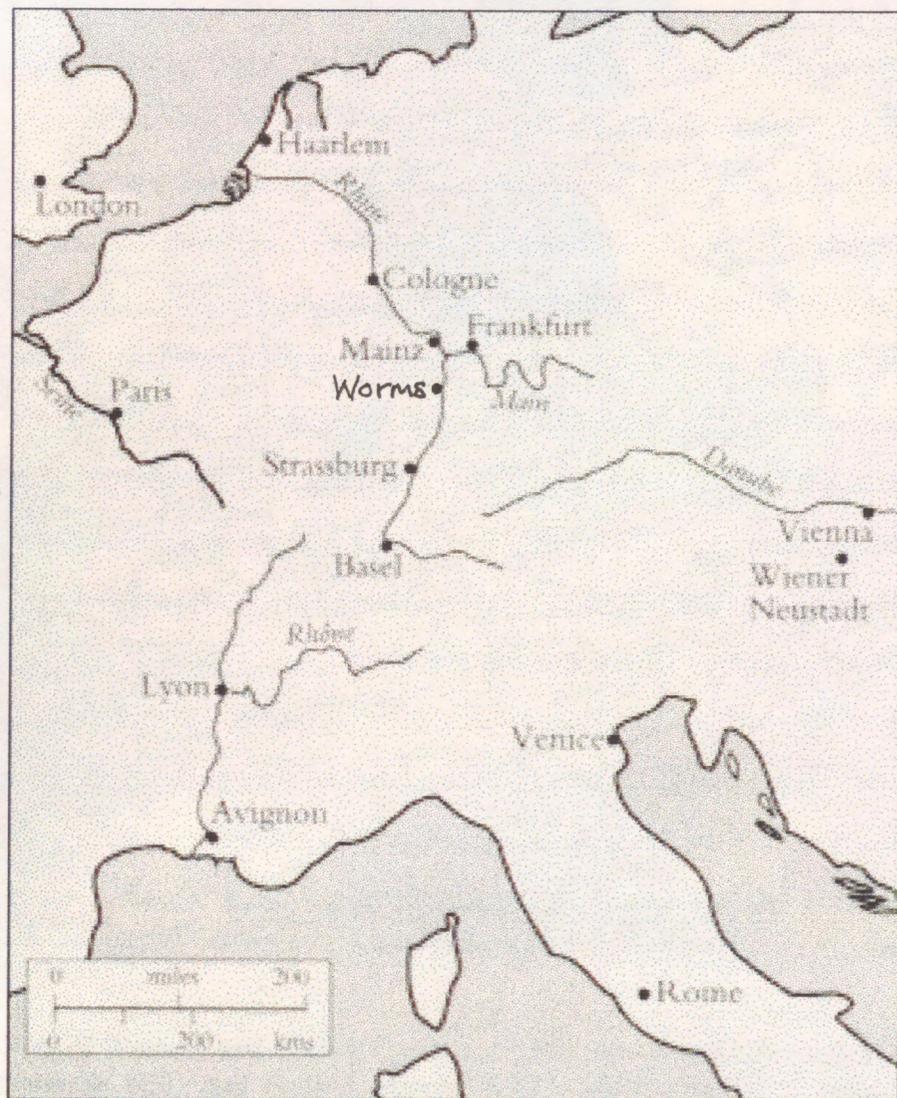


Plate 44. A View of Innsbruck, 1495, by Albrecht Dürer, (1471-1528). Dürer painted the city from the WNW, after returning from his first visit to Italy. From: Strieder, Peter, The Hidden Dürer, (Oxford, 1978), pp.16-17.



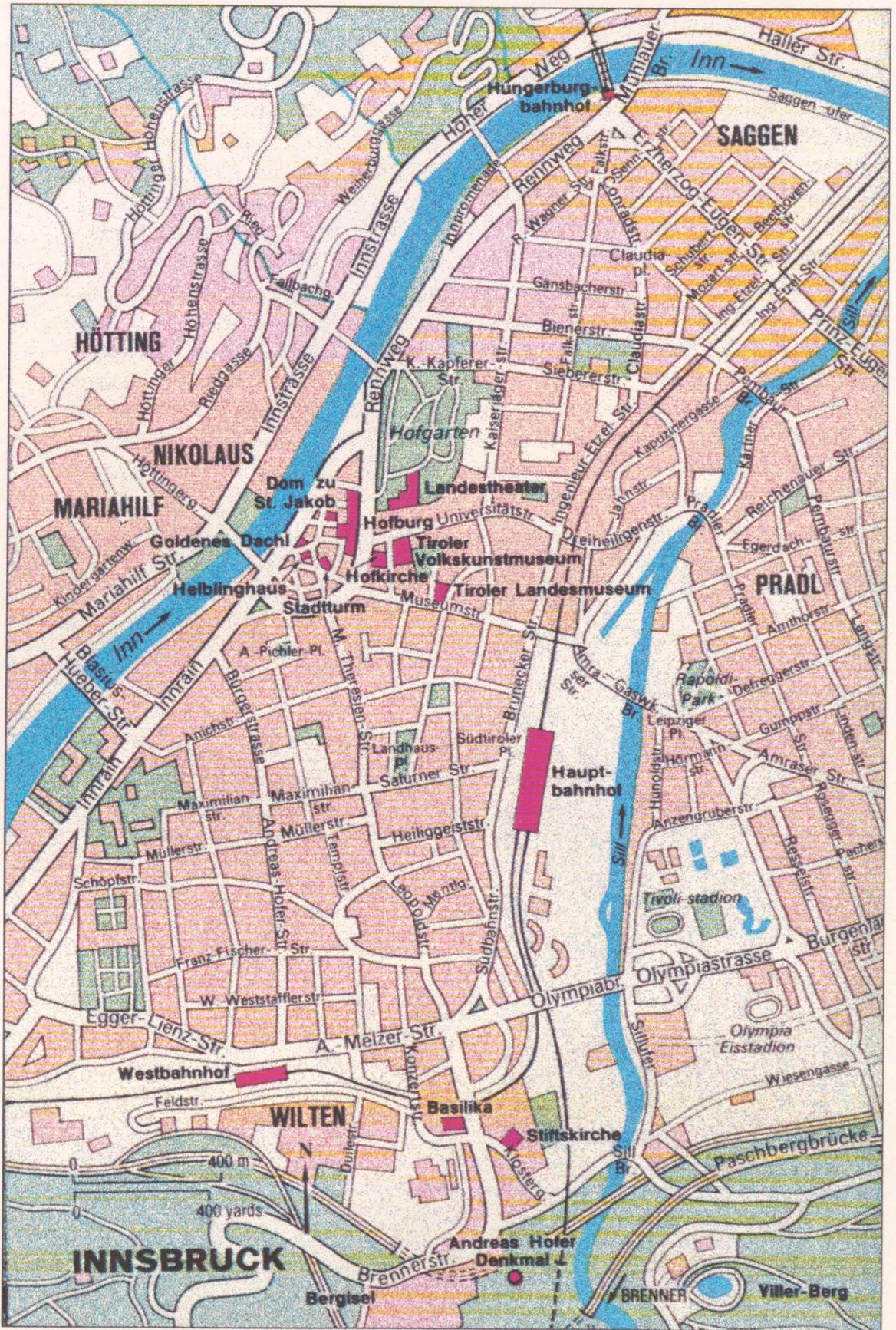
Plate 45. The Calendar, July. Enlargement of the city in the background of the stag-hunting scene, for comparison to Dürer's View of Innsbruck, (plate 44). (London, British Library, MS Egerton 1146, fol. 8v..)



Map 1. Worms and Mainz at the centre of fifteenth-century Europe. From : Davies, Martin, The Gutenberg Bible, (London, 1996), p. 9.



Map 2. Part of Western and Central Europe, c 1500, showing Ecclesiastical Provinces. From: Treharne, R.F., and Fullard, Harold, (eds.), Muir's Historical Atlas, (London, 1938, repr. 1973), p.22.



Map 3. Modern Innsbruck. The old city is situated in the centre of the northern half of the map, east of the River Inn. Dürer's "View of Innsbruck" was painted from the district of [St] Nikolaus. The dome of the Patscherkofel lies to the south. From: Berlitz, *Tyrol*, (Lausanne, 1984, repr. 1988), p.30.