Stefaan Hautekeete

Codex of the Armorial of the Order of the Golden Fleece from the National Museum in Warsaw: Analysis, Interpretation and Its Reattribution to Hans Bol

Among its store of riches, the National Museum in Warsaw also possesses a fairly well preserved 16th-century codex that was plucked from oblivion by curator Joanna A. Tomicka and was brought to my attention thanks to a fortunate coincidence. The research that resulted in the present study focused not only on the meaning and function of individual compositions, but on the codex as a whole. The process involved solving complex heraldic questions stemming from the inseparable ties of the codex's genesis with the Order of the Golden Fleece. The attribution research permitted to unequivocally determine the actual author of the codex drawings to be Hans Bol.

Introducing the Codex: An Intact 16th-Century Original

The monastic volume covered in brown leather measures 33.3 cm by 23.3 cm (closed) and features five ribs (**fig. 1**). The spine is approximately 2.2 cm thick and provided with floral ornamentation stamped in gold. In some places the leather is worn and there are pieces that have come loose. The external boards are richly decorated with various motifs in gold and blind stamps, such as medallions with emperor's heads among the grapevines, clusters of grapes and birds, and half-length representations of the human figure. Stamped decoration of this type was mainly used in the Netherlands and Germany in the first half of the 16th century, and sometimes even after 1570. The central decoration with floral ornaments in gold was probably made with the help of a stamp with an oval reserve in the centre.[1] It frames the crowned arms of Philip II of Spain[2] surrounded by a collar of the Golden Fleece (**fig. 2**). Worth noting is that the coat of arms does not stand entirely straight, which contrasts with the high-quality of execution that characterizes the volume as a whole. This justifies the hypothesis that the arms were added later, and in any case not before 1581, when Philip II also became king of Portugal and its arms were added to his, as they have here – the small, uppermost inescutcheon with seven castles and five smaller escutcheons. The lowest inescutcheon shows at the right the one-headed eagle of Tyrol and at the left the lion of Flanders, which, however, usually faces in the opposite direction. It is the

[1] With thanks to Claude Sorgeloos, conservator of the Collection Imprimés anciens et précieux, Estampes – Cartes & Plans – Chalcographie (ad interim), Royal Library Albert I, Brussels.

[2] It could also have been added during the reign of his son Philip III, who used the same coat of arms.

only heraldic deviation in an otherwise correctly depicted coat of arms. The pomegranate, a reference to the Kingdom of Granada,[3] which is sometimes overlooked, is present, ingrafted in point at the centre between the royal crests of Aragon and Castile.

Affixed to the endpaper of the front cover, in the middle of the page, is a rectangular piece of paper on which is written in the upper right, in pen and light-brown ink in a 17th-century hand, in calligraphy: *Aegide Caroloman* : *Nijs* / *1693*, an Antwerp poet and lawyer, probably one of the early owners of the codex.[4] On this same piece of paper, there is an earlier caption in the middle, probably in the hand of one of the previous owners of the codex: *Diesen bouck is gheteekent van vander horst tot Brussel* ('This book is drawn by vander horst in Brussels').[5]

The right-hand sheet features a 20th-century inscription.[6] Like the endpaper of the front cover, this one measures 32.5 cm by 23 cm. It is followed by the title page with biblical, mythological, and allegorical figures standing and sitting on an architectural background in the Renaissance style (**fig. 3**). In the central compartment is the title, written in a somewhat careless hand that is at odds with the careful capitals used for the inscriptions in the cartouches. The title reads: *Insignia Illustrium Heroum qui fuerunt in equestri ordine Aurei Velleris, instituti a Philippo Pio, Duce Burgundiae, Anno 1429 usque ad annum 1577* ('The arms of the illustrious heroes who were members of the Order of the Golden Fleece, established by Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, from 1429 until the year 1577').[7] The order was indeed established by Philip the Good, but this took place on 10 January 1430, in Bruges, on the occasion of his marriage to Isabella of Portugal. In doing so, Philip sought to create a counterpart to similar orders in France and England as well as to strengthen his ties to the upper nobility in his hereditary lands.

With the founding of the Order of the Golden Fleece, its patron was of course Jason, a hero of Greek mythology, although he is nowhere mentioned in the statutes. He is depicted at the left on the title page in full armour and a helmet, standing on a console before fluted pilasters, with an upraised sword in his right hand and a ram's fleece in his left. His right foot rests on a dragon. Together with his companions the Argonauts, Jason faced many dangers until, with Medea's help, he finally succeeded in outwitting the dragon and seizing the golden fleece. In the bas-relief just below him, it seems as if Jason is defeating the monster by pouring fluid over him, although the saga has him singing it to sleep with a magical lullaby from Medea. The ram was no longer living, as shown here, but hung his fleece on a tree in the king of Colchis Aietes' grove sacred to Ares, god of war.

It is not clear why Philip the Good did not choose a more commonplace biblical theme or a saint when he named his order and chose its jewel. In any case it reflects his admiration for classical antiquity, and perhaps by choosing the Golden Fleece he hoped to suggest that the Burgundian dynasty descended from the Trojans. The medievalist Michel Pastoureau informs

[3] After the last of the Moors were driven out in 1492, Granada was integrated into the coat of arms of the king of Spain.

[4] Also on the inside of the cover signs and record numbers introduced by the National Museum in Warsaw: in the upper right-hand corner, in pen and black ink: *153*; at the lower left, on a piece of paper that has been pasted on: *15055.Rew*; below, in the middle, in pencil: *S2 N v.14*, below that, in another hand, in pencil: *15596*; at the lower right, in pencil: *21 ryc*.

[5] On the inscription and attribution to Nicolaas van der Horst: see below.

[6] In a 20th-century hand, in pencil: *Horst* (underlined in red), *Nikolaas van der* / *Zeichner und Maler* / *1598–1646* / *liess sich in Brüssel nieder* / *Seubert Allg. Künstler-Lexicon ii 255*.

[7] For the translation of the title, I would like to thank Kristoffel Demoen, professor of Ancient Greek and Byzantine literature at UGent.

us that "For Philip the Good and his entourage, the Argonauts are the forefathers of the knights and their expedition to Colchis forms the dream of the journey that the duke wanted to make to the Muslim East in order to reconquer the sites of the Holy Land," and fortuitously: "Even when the biblical figure Gideon later replaced Jason, the original choice of a hero from Greek mythology immediately placed the new institution in the line and atmosphere of a founding myth. In the 1430s, this was truly innovative, astute and effective. Because for the first time in three centuries, the Arthur Legend just happened to be having a weak moment [...]. The time was ripe for a new hero and a new myth: the Golden Fleece could replace the Grail from now on."[8]

When the first chapter was established in Lille, in 1431 its first chancellor, Jean Germain, bishop of Chalon-sur-Saône, criticized the choice of Jason. He was after all a pagan hero who moreover broke his word to Medea, whom he had promised to marry if he acquired the Golden Fleece. Therefore Jason could not serve as a model for knights whose first duty was to honour their word. He proposed Gideon instead, who is depicted at the right of the title page, like Jason in helmet and armour, with a sword and ram's fleece in his hands. Gideon is a biblical figure from the book of Judges (6:36–40) and a favourite of God. In order to prove to the suspicious Gideon that he had been chosen to save the people of Israel, Jahweh ensured that a fleece spread on the ground remained dry when all around it the earth was wet, and again that on parched earth the fleece was filled with moisture, as depicted in the bas-relief beneath.[9]

Between Jason and Gideon, below, in the middle, sits a female figure with wings, a symbol for transcending the worldly; in her right hand she holds a sword as a symbol of bravery and virtue; in her left, a heart that stands for sincerity and truthfulness. Her seated pose refers to her humility: these are all virtues that knights of the Golden Fleece were supposed to embody if they wanted to belong to the *Vera Nobilitas* personified by a woman, as indicated by the cartouche above her. The inventor of the title page undoubtedly wanted to position himself in the lively discussion among 16th- and 17th-century authors as to whether true nobility derived from virtue (*virtus*) or birth.[10] Atop the architectural background, on the left, sits *Dignitas* (Dignity), with her typical attributes, a crown and sceptre; to the right is *Honos* (Honor) with a laurel wreath, symbol of victory. Central and dominant above all the rest on her throne, a winged female figure trumpets immortal fame[11] (*Immortalis Fama*) – tongues emerge from her instrument – across the whole of creation and even to the heavens (sources in emblem books published by Plantijn). This is why she is shown seated upon not only a globe of the world but also a celestial globe with the signs of the zodiac. The banner with the fleece attached to a trumpet leaves no doubt that the claim to immortal fame applies to the Order of the Golden Fleece. After all, the fleece, like the flint and fire steel, which are also depicted next to the cartouches, was one of the common symbols of the order.

They are depicted in more detail on folio 5, which is divided into four vertical rectangles (**fig. 4**). The upper left section is filled with a fire steel (or fire iron) in the shape of a Burgundian

[8] Bernard Bousmanne, Thierry Delcourt et al., *Miniatures flamandes 1404–1482*, exh. cat., Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris; Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Bruxelles, 2011–12 (Paris–Bruxelles, 2011), p. 95.

[9] The scholastics interpreted this miraculous sign as the symbolic annunciation of the virgin motherhood of Mary, who was moreover the patroness of the order.

[10] See George M'Gill Vogt, "Gleanings for the History of a Sentiment: Generositas Virtus, Non Sanguis," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, no. 24 (1925), pp. 102–24. See also Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven, 1984), pp. 143–61.

[11] The skull upon which she rests her right foot is an allusion to immortality.

"B," a flint, flames, and sparks. The fire steel is dragged along the length of the flint and iron particles cause sparks to be given off. With the help of tinder such as dried moss or lichen, it could be used to make a fire. The cartouche below bears the inscription: *Anteferit, quam flamma. Micet* ('It strikes before bursting into flame'). It was originally, in combination with the fire steel, the emblem of Philip the Good of Burgundy and highly applicable, because he spent the majority of his reign between two rival kingdoms, England and France, and it became a recurring symbol of the order itself. In the upper right section is the cross of Saint Andrew, a disciple of John the Baptist. He died a martyr's death on an X-shaped cross of unpeeled logs, which have been considered his attribute since the end of the 12th century. From time immemorial he was the patron saint of Burgundy and of Philip the Good, who indicated him along with the Virgin as patron of the Golden Fleece. The Saint Andrew's cross above the written device *Flammescit Uterque* ('Both inflame each other'), originally symbols of Philip the Good, had now become beloved attributes of the order. The sparks and flames surrounding Saint Andrew's cross are symptomatic of the beloved fire theme of the order, as is also evident in the flamboyant fleece of the ram, and the flints and fire steels that give off sparks or flames. The fire is of course that of the Holy Spirit, and Pentecostal fire that is meant to fan the flames of the knights' courage as well as their desire to fight for Christ and the Church.

In the lower left section, the collar of the Golden Fleece is depicted, made of linked fire steels forming the letter "B" for Burgundy, containing flints that give off sparks, for a total of twenty-four elements – which is equal to the original number of knights in the order. The statutes of 1431 were very precise in matters concerning this attribute of the order: like the mantle, it belonged to the order and had to be returned to the treasurer within three months after the death of the member. In theory, members were expected to wear their chain every day except on the battlefield. In 1516, Charles V permitted them to wear a lighter chain or silk cord on which to hang the fleece.

Finally, at the lower right, is a depiction of the Golden Fleece itself, after which the order is named. It is the fleece of a ram, which is always depicted with the animal's head and feet, hanging from a ring that is linked to a ribbon. In the first place, this fleece is the one taken by Jason and his Argonauts in Colchis: it evokes the idea of a dangerous quest, which requires the courage and steadfastness expected of knights. In 1431, at the request of chancellor Jean Germain, it was associated with the miraculous fleece of the biblical story of Gideon; as such it has supernatural powers and symbolizes the virginity of Mary. Beneath it is one of the order's mottos: *Sricium* (possibly a misspelling of *pretium*) *non vile laborum* – 'Not a bad reward for labour.'

Folio 7 is a fictional[12] representation of the first chapter, held in Lille in the collegiate church of St Peter on 30 November 1431 (**fig. 5**). The centrally seated man under a baldachin wearing a chain of the Golden Fleece and holding a scroll in his right hand represents Philip the Good, with his coat of arms in reverse hanging behind him. Likewise, the King of Arms (called the *Toison d'Or*), standing in the foreground, wears the collar of the Golden Fleece and a tunic (tabard) trimmed with fire strikers and flints on which the coat of arms (in reverse) of

[12] The coats of arms of some of the first 24 knights are depicted, some of whom were at the first chapter meeting, such as Jean de Roubaix, Roland d'Utkerke, Jean de Trémouille, Antoine de Tolonjon, Antoine de Vergy, but others, such as Regnier Pot and Pierre de Luxembourg, are also depicted even though they were not present, as well as later member knights such as Simon de Lalaing and Jehan de Melun.

Philip the Good appears.[13] The *potence*, a closed golden collar of twenty-six trapezoidal plates featuring the arms of the member knights, which is usually worn by the herald on ceremonial occasions, is absent from this depiction. To the left and right of the duke sit the knights of the Golden Fleece in the choir of the church, which is decorated with symbols of the order and of their respective arms. Neither the duke nor the knights are depicted as portraits, but some of them can be identified with relative certainty by their coats of arms. At the duke's left and furthest away sits Antoine de Tolonjon (9th knight), possibly followed by Regnier Pot (2nd knight), and Antoine de Vergy (5th knight). At the duke's right and furthest away is probably Simon de Lalaing (26th knight), nearby (with reservation) Pierre de Luxembourg[14] (10th knight), then Jean de Roubaix (3rd knight), Roland d'Utkerke (4th knight), a man who may be Jean de Trémouille (11th knight), and Jehan de Melun (28th knight). The three men at the table in the foreground, two of whom are richly decked out in ermine mantles, are, along with the standing herald, the three other officers of the order: a treasurer, a chancellor, and a secretary. At the bottom of the sheet, in very small numbers, written in pen and the same brown ink used for the drawing, is the date 1577: probably the year in which the artist started with the drawings.

On folio 9 stands Philip the Good, depicted full length, wearing the chain of the Golden Fleece (**fig. 6**). He wears a mantle with a fur collar, edged with a trim of linked fire steels and flints; on his head he wears a chaperon set with a precious stone, a typical Burgundian head-covering. In his left hand he holds a simple wooden staff from which hungs a chain. He stands before an imaginary view of a Medieval-looking city framed by a Renaissance portico,[15] the pilasters of which are decorated with the arms of his forefathers. It was customary to depict the arms of the paternal ancestors to the right of the sitter, but here they are placed at the duke's left: at the top is the coat of arms of his father, John the Fearless,[16] where in fact that of his great-grandfather, John II of France, ought to be, and the inscription *Bourgondië*, below that of John of France's wife, Judith of Bohemia, daughter of John the Blind of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, with the inscription (*Lutsemburch*, for Luxemburg), below that of Louis of Mâle,[17] with the inscription *Flandria*, and finally the unfinished arms of his wife, Margaret of Brabant, with the inscription *Brabantia.*

On the pilaster to the duke's right are the arms of his maternal ancestors: at the top, the partially unfinished escutcheon of Ludwig IV of Bavaria and the inscription *Beyeren*, below that a woman's escutcheon that has not been filled in, that of his wife Margaret, countess of Holland and Hainault, with the inscription *Hollandia*, followed by the incomplete coat of arms of Ludwig I of Silesia with the inscription *Brige* (situated in Lower Silesia), below which is a woman's escutcheon reserved for his wife, Agnes of Glogau, which has not been filled in. All of the coats of arms, including that of Philip the Good, which is held up by two putti, are shown in reverse. Ordinarily this would indicate that the artist has taken into account the reversal that occurs when a drawing is transferred to a copper plate for printing. All of the allegorical

[13] Heraldically, it could also be the coat of arms of Charles the Bold.

[14] The representation lacks precision: it could also be the coat of arms of Robert de Masmines (who had already died during the time of the first chapter).

[15] The arch is adorned with the title of Philip the Good: *PHILIPPUS. DE VALOIS.DUX BURG*[undia].*BRABA. COM.*[es] *FLAN.*[dria], which means: Philip of the house of Valois, duke of Burgundy, Brabant and Flanders.

[16] Or that of Philip the Good before 1430.

[17] This coat of arms was – like that on the left – originally oval (female) and was modified by making it a shield (male).

figures from the title page reappear on the arch of the portico: at the left is Honour (*Honos*) with laurel wreath and palm branch, at the right is Virtue (*Virtus*) with this time the same attributes as the figure of *Vera Nobilitas* on the title page, with upraised sword and heart, which again underscores the importance of virtue for the Order of the Golden Fleece.

Folio 11 shows the correctly depicted coat of arms, mantling and crest[18] of Philip the Good in reverse, surrounded by the collar of the Golden Fleece and appropriate symbols of the order. In the cartouche below is the motto: *Avtre navrayÿ* (French: *autre n'aurai*), which only came into use upon the duke's marriage to his third wife, Isabella of Portugal, and is understood to mean *autre (femme) n'aurai je (que dame Isabelle)*– i.e., 'I have no other (woman) than the lady Isabella.' At the same time, this motto also applied to the knights of the Golden Fleece, who were not expected to be members of any other order. These were prohibitions that Philip himself ignored, because he was not entirely strict on the score of marital fidelity and in 1445 also accepted the Aragon Order of the Stola y Jarra from the king of Naples, Alfonso V.

On folio 13 Charles the Bold is depicted according to the same scheme as his father Philip the Good (**fig. 7**). Again, the artist has taken into account the potential reversal of the image if reproduced as an engraving.[19] Charles the Bold, for example, clasps his gloves in his left hand, and all escutcheons are reversed. Worth noting is the escutcheon above the duke that is only partially finished, and on the entire page of folio 15 not at all. Since Charles the Bold carried the same arms as his father Philip the Good, the engraver could simply rely on his detailed coat of arms on the previous page, and the draftsman has not repeated it here. Charles the Bold's motto, however, has been added in the cartouche below: *Je L'ay enprÿs*[20] ('I have undertaken it').

As far as the depiction of the arms of his paternal ancestors is concerned, the escutcheon of his great-grandfather Philip the Bold appears at the top to the duke's left on folio 13. Although unfinished, it is not correctly reproduced, because it includes the inescutcheon of Flanders, which was only added later to the arms of his successor, John the Fearless. Below it is the escutcheon of Margaret of Mâle (Margaret III of Flanders), with the inscription *Flandria*, followed by the unfinished arms of Albert of Bavaria with the inscription, *Bavaria*, and under that, the unfinished arms of Margaret of Brieg. To Charles the Bold's right, where ordinarily one would expect to find his maternal ancestors, not one single shield has been filled in with arms, and only the uppermost bears the inscription *Portegallia*, referring to Pedro I of Portugal. The allegorical figures above the round arch are *Justitia* (Justice), with scales and a sword in hand, and *Ardor Anima* (Enthusiasm) with a smouldering heart and flames.

Through the marriage of Charles the Bold's only daughter, Mary of Burgundy, to Maximilian I of Austria, the order passed to the Habsburgs. In contrast to his predecessors, Maximilian I is depicted in profile, settling attention on his characteristic aquiline nose (on folio 17, **fig. 8**).[21] The pedigrees are striking in that they are correctly depicted but only partially filled in: the paternal ancestors are only represented by inscriptions indicating their region, with the exception of Viridis Visconti, whose arms are also depicted in reverse. Of the maternal ancestors only John I of Portugal is indicated by the inscription *Portegallia*. The shield borne

[18] Only the pearls decorating the stem of each lily are lacking.

[19] Except for the inscriptions in the cartouches.

[20] It reads: "j'ay," but this was struck through.

[21] It is not clear whether the artist took into account the eventual mirror reversal of the image, because here Maximilian holds his gloves in his right hand.

by two putti is also unfinished, in contrast to the detailed, correct execution of the escutcheon in mirror image on folio 19 with the motto of Maximilian I in the cartouche below: *Halt mass* – 'keep measure' (**fig. 9**). The inscriptions that explain the allegorical figures on the arch of the portico on folio 17 are probably switched. *Sagacitas* – sagacity, or shrewdness, pointing to her forehead will refer more to her intellect than *Industria*, who in her common representation diligently writes in a book and takes measure of the world. On folio 21, Philip I the Handsome is depicted in the same way as his father (**fig. 10**).[22] The allegorical figures are *Concordia* (Unity) with two doves and arrows, and *Pax* (Peace) with palm branches. None of the shields are filled in, however, and this sheet probably illustrates a stage of completion[23] in which the draftsman paused while awaiting further instructions from a heraldic specialist. The drawings continue to the extreme left margin in the middle of the book, where they are sometimes no longer visible due to the tension of the binding, which shows that they were originally executed on loose-leaf sheets. Some even show signs of vertical folds because they were folded and stored. They were only bound later, at which time blank sheets of paper were used to intercalate the existing drawings and create the signatures necessary for binding.[24] This paper is provided with a type of "Bishop's crozier with house" watermark that, according to paper expert Walter Friedrich Tschudin,[25] only occurs from 1593 onwards, while the watermarks of folio's 5[26], 9, 13,[27] and 17[28] are of the "assembled letter" type, with dates ranging from 1568 to 1588.

It is possible that the volume was bound sometime after the portraits and coats of arms were drawn, as already suggested by the cover with the rather awkward positioning of Philip II's escutcheon. The book may also not have been bound by those who initiated the project. This would explain why the correct order of sheets was disturbed[29]: the portrait of Philip I the Handsome is followed not by his arms, but by those of Philip II. The original inscription *qui vouldra*, the device of Philip I the Handsome, was simply crossed out and replaced by *Dominus michi adiutor* ('God is my helper'), the motto of Philip II. His coat of arms on folio 23 is correctly reproduced in reversed, but lacks the inescutcheon of Portugal as found on the cover

[22] The coat of arms held by the two putti has not been filled in. Above them, the correct crest has been depicted (not in reverse).

[23] The coats of arms of the forefathers have only been provided with inscriptions – though these are correct: at the duke's left, above: *Austrice* (for Ernest I the Iron) below that, *Massovia* (Poland, for Cimburga of Mazovia), followed by *Portegal* (for Eduard I of Portugal), and finally *Aragon* (for Eleonor of Aragon). On the other, maternal side: *Burgondia* (for Philip the Good), below that *Portegal* (for Isabella of Portugal), followed by *Borbon* (for Charles I of Bourbon), and finally: *Borgogne* (for Agnes of Burgundy).

[24] This became evident upon examination of the codex in the National Museum in Warsaw on 25 June 2014. My thanks to Joanna A. Tomicka for all her help during my visit.

[25] Walter Friedrich Tschudin 1958, n° 138: 1593/97. It remained in use until the beginning of the 17th-century; see Piccard Online [retrieved: 10 April 2017], available at: <https://www.piccard-online.de/struktur.php?sprache=en>: no. DE8085-PO-33473: Metz, 1603, and no. DE4620-PO-33474: Amsterdam, 1608.

[26] Folio 5: G & C (?) ? of C[?] & G ? with a crown above: cf. Briquet n° 9420: Toulouse, 1568–69, similar variants: Namur, 1574.

[27] Folio's 9 and 13: ...? & D or D & ? with crown above: cf. Briquet n° 9380: Le Puy, 1585, similar variants: Le Puy, 1588, Lyon, 1596. See also Likhatscheff (n° 3251), Joyeuse, 1585.

[28] Folio 17: M & C ? or C ? & M with crown above, cf. Briquet n° 9341: Besançon ? 1574.

[29] Nevertheless, a system of annotation was provided to establish the correct sequence of pages for the eventual use of typographers, printers and bookbinders. The reverse side of folios 25, 27, 29 and 31, e.g., are marked by an "x," followed by a varying number of dots: e.g., on folios 25 and 27, an "x" followed by three dots in order to indicate that the portrait and the coat of arms belong together.

(**fig. 11**).[30] Since this inescutcheon was only added to the arms of Philip II in 1581,[31] this could indicate that the drawings were completed before this date but after 1577 (the date on the title page), which would also be entirely in keeping with the career of the purported draftsman.

On folio 25, Charles V is depicted in accordance with the same scheme as his father (**fig. 12**).[32] The allegorical figures that make an appearance here are *Victoria* (Victory), with axe and palm branch, and *Constantia* (Steadfastness), with a column. None of the shields on this sheet have been filled in,[33] but the plinths of the pilasters do bear the emblem of Charles V: the two Pillars of Hercules. This refers to the order's increasing influence beyond the pillars, both eastward, for the liberation of Jerusalem and war against Islam, and westward, with the evangelization of the New World. This concept is also expressed in Charles's motto, *Plus Oultre* or *Plus Ultra*, which should be read as 'even further' and has also been added to the plinths of the pilasters. Compared to the cityscapes in the background of previous pages, it is worth noting that two statues have been added here: to the left, a man in armour with a sword and crown, a reference to Charles V as king (of Spain); to the right, a man in armour with a globe of the world, sceptre, and imperial crown, a reference to Charles V as emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. On folio 27, Charles's arms are depicted in reverse, but Granada ingrafted in point, as found on the cover, has been omitted here.

On folio 29, Philip II is depicted in the same fashion as his father Charles V, with the allegorical figures *Mansuetudo* (Mildness), whose attributes are a heart and staff (?), and *Opulentia* (Abundance), with a sceptre and crown as attributes (**fig. 13**). Again, the escutcheons of the ancestors have not been filled in, only the inscriptions – albeit correctly.[34] On folio 31, one sees the arms of Philip I the Handsome that have been switched with those of Philip II (which have been bound in as folio 23), though they too are depicted correctly and in reverse.[35]

Folio's 32 to 61 are blank sheets of paper with the "Bishop's crozier" watermark, and on folio's 62, 64, 66, 68, 70, and 72, the escutcheons of the first twenty-four knights of the Golden Fleece are depicted in groups of four. Here too mistakes were made in the binding process, because the sequence is out of order: after folio 62 with the first four knights: Guillaume de Vienne, Regnier Pot, Jean de Roubaix et Herzele, and Roland d'Utkerke follow on folio 64, knights 21 up to and including 24 (**fig. 14**).[36] On folio 66, knights 13 to 16,[37] on folio 68, knights

[30] The only real error is the pomegranate for Granada, which is normally found between the 1st and 2nd quartered of arms quarterly, and not in the 1st quartered of arms quarterly between León and Castile, as is the case here.

[31] Unless it was simply forgotten here.

[32] It is not clear whether the artist took into account the eventual mirror reversal of the image, because Charles V carries his gloves in his right hand.

[33] The coats of arms of the forefathers are only provided with inscriptions, although these are correct.

[34] Except the inscription under the third coat of arms at Philip's left hand, which should read "Aragon" but instead reads "Hispania" (Spain).

[35] The only deviation is the pomegranate for Granada ingrafted in point, which is in the 4th quartered of the arms quarterly rather than in the 1st.

[36] Philippe, lord of Ternant and la Motte (21st), Jean de Croy (22nd), Jean, lord of Créquy and Canaples (23rd), Jean de Neufchastel, lord of Montaigu (24th).

[37] Jean de Luxembourg (13th), Jean de Villiers (14th), Antoine de Croy (15th), Florimond de Brimeu (16th).

17 to 20,[38]; on folio 70, knights 5 to 8,[39] and finally, on folio 72, knights 9 to 12.[40] Twenty-nine blank folios follow, bringing the total up to 101 folios.

The codex should be situated in the 15th- and 16th-century tradition of armorial and statute books of the Golden Fleece, numerous examples of which were produced as illuminated manuscripts since the order's foundation. Every knight of the order was expected to acquire at least one statute book upon his election – or was given one as a gift. The content of these manuscripts differs from case to case, but there are a number of constants in subject matter: a sheet introducing the insignia of the order, a chapter meeting, full-length portraits of the sovereigns of the order, then their arms and mottos, followed by the arms of the knights who became members of the Order of the Golden Fleece under the sovereigns depicted.

Since the Warsaw codex contains only arms and no statute texts, it is closest to an armorial, but these were richly illuminated manuscripts commissioned by the ducal dynasty or book-loving members of the upper nobility. The drawings in the Warsaw codex are carefully executed and finished with a brush and touches of wash, which gives them the appearance of finished products and not designs that would be coloured in by a miniaturist at a later stage. The context in which the drawings were probably created and a hypothesis as to their original function will follow after we have introduced the author of the codex.

Rejection of the Traditional Attribution

The traditional attribution to Nicolaas van der Horst rests on an inscription from the early 17th century, cited in the beginning of the study. The inscription probably originated with the owner of the codex at the time, whose identity unfortunately has not been determined, and hence before the codex entered the possession of Aegidius Caroloman Nijs, an Antwerp poet and lawyer.

Nicolaas van der Horst (1598–1646) was an Antwerp draftsman and painter active in Brussels, who worked in the style of Peter Paul Rubens. Cornelis de Bie praised him as a painter and particularly as a draftsman.[41] He was supposedly trained by Rubens before traveling extensively, after which he entered the service of Archduke Albert. He drew many designs for prints engraved by Cornelis Galle the Younger, i.a., for *Les marques d'honneur de la maison de Tassis*, published in 1645 by Balthasar Moretus II and written by Jules Chiflet (1615–76), a lawyer and historian who was chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece from 1648.

This book was a lavishly produced history of the Thurn and Taxis family, whose fortunes derived from their monopoly on the postal services in the Holy Roman Empire, the Netherlands, and Burgundy. The work contains a fine portrait of Count Lamoral Cladius Franz engraved by Paulus Pontius after Nicolaas van der Horst. In addition, there were many allegorical figures, architectural backdrops, cartouches, coats of arms, and portraits of nobles

[38] Robrecht, lord of Masmines (17th), Jacques de Brimeu (18th), Baudouin de Lannoy (19th), Pierre de Bauffremont (20th).

[39] Antoine de Vergy (5th), David van Brimeu (6th), Hugue de Lannoy (7th), Jean de La Clite (8th).

[40] Antoine de Toulongeon (9th), Pierre de Luxembourg (10th), Jean de La Trémoïlle (11th), Guillebert de Lannoy (12th).

[41] See *Horst, Nikolaus van der* in Ulrich Thieme, Felix Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler. Von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 17 (Leipzig, 1924), pp. 534–35.

from the renowned family of Taxis. These motifs also figure strongly in the Warsaw codex, which makes the attribution to Van der Horst understandable. Another influencing indicator is that a sheet depicting *St Catherine of Siena*[42] (The British Museum, London), signed by Van der Horst bears a superficial resemblance to the drawing style of the codex – for example, the figure of *Vera Nobilitas* on the title page: sharp, fluidly drawn pen lines alternate with touches of wash applied with a brush. But the *Vera Nobilitas* is constructed with longer, straighter, more confident lines, and details in the clothing are added with the point of a brush in fine strokes and touches of wash much more than in the London drawing. These touches make the figure under the fluttering garment far more tangible and three-dimensional than the one in the London drawing. The considerably greater degree of finish is typical for a 16th-century drawing technique, particularly that of Hans Bol, the actual author of the codex.[43] This is evident from comparison with Bol's *Mary at the Foot of the Cross*,[44] dated 1570, in which the same play of relatively long, accurate contours and broader pictorial strokes of wash are used to model the figures convincingly (**fig. 15**). The allegorical female figures at the top of the title page of the codex wear the same type of garment as Martha in Bol's drawing of Lazarus from 1568.[45] In addition to the correspondence of a nervously executed play of drapery, the facial types of the women are so strikingly similar as to be identical. This is also true of the anatomy and proportions of the male figures – e.g., of Jason and Gideon – which are characteristic for Hans Bol: not too tall, rather squat but solidly athletic, like Jepthah and his warriors in a drawing by Bol dated 1571 in the Morgan Library (**fig. 16**),[46] or medium-sized and rather stout, with relatively short arms, such as the officers of the order on folio 7, who are comparable to the grizzled old man in the drawing of *Winter*.[47]

Meticulous execution and a feeling for razor-sharp depiction of copious details after the fashion of Pieter Bruegel, as evinced by the chapter drawing, is a constant with Bol, as is further underpinned by a comparison to the interior scene of *The Banquet at Bethany with Mary washing Christ's Feet*[48]. Moreover, he was superior to other artists in the Southern Netherlands in the second half of the 16th century when it came to working on a very small scale. The scenes

[42] Pen and brown ink, brown wash, 11.2 × 9.4 cm, signed in the lower right-hand corner, in pen and brown ink: *NV* (interlaced) *ander horst*, The British Museum, London, inv. no. SL,5236.169.

[43] The author is preparing a doctoral thesis on Hans Bol, an integral part of which is a *catalogue raisonné* of all known works (etchings, drawings, paintings, miniatures, albums). The research is being conducted with the support of the Inter-University Attraction Pole program *City and Society*, financed by the Belgian government. At present it contains 620 numbers identifying securely attributed works including three animal albums with 299 gouaches (Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliothek, inv. MS. Gl. kgl. Saml. no. 3471 I-III), a prayer book (see n. 52), and the Codex in Warsaw, which are given only one number each in the catalogue.

[44] Pen and dark-brown ink, brush and mauve ink, mauve wash, 14.1/2 × 19.2/3 cm, signed in the middle above in pen and brown ink: *HANS BOL | 1570*, The British Museum, London, inv. no. 1920,0420.17.

[45] Pen and brown ink, brush and mauve ink, brown and mauve wash, 23.6 × 31.4 cm, signed and dated above on the right in pen and brown ink: *Hans bol | 1568*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, inv. no. Dyce 500.

[46] Pen and brown ink, brown wash, 19.1 × 28.3 cm, signed and dated in pen and brown ink, in the middle above: *Hans bol | 1571*, The Morgan Library, New York, inv. no. III, 141b.

[47] Pen and brown ink, brown wash, 20.5 × 30.5 cm, signed and dated below, right of centre: *hans bol | 1579*, The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, inv. no. OP 357.

[48] Pen and brown ink, brown wash, 23.9 × 32.1 cm, signed and dated above on the left in pen and brown ink: *Hans Bol | 1569*, P. & N. de Boer Foundation, Amsterdam, inv. no. B 313. See *Goltzius to Van Gogh. Drawings and Paintings from the P.&N. de Boer Foundation*, Hans Buijs and Ger Luijten, eds, exh. cat., Fondation Custodia, Paris, 2014–15 (Paris, 2014), cat. no. 32 (S. Hautekeete).

devoted to Jason and Gideon on the title page (**fig. 3**), for example, and the small medallions depicting the passion that surround Jesus in the winepress in the eponymous drawing in Berlin of the subject[49] bear further witness to his mastery. Such small-scale scenes likewise form a bas-relief of sorts in the plinths of a series of prints depicting the *Seven Sacraments* (1576), the *Seven Works of Mercy*, and the *Seven Spiritual Works of Mercy* (**fig. 17**) after designs by Bol,[50] engraved and published by Philips Galle in 1576 and 1577. Rather strikingly, the compositional structure of the prints has a great deal in common with that of the title page and portraits in the codex.[51] On every print, men depicted full-length are arranged laterally before blind pilasters on ornamented plinths, as with Jason and Gideon on the title page. An arch spans the space between the pilasters, offering a view of several scenes in the prints, and of the masters of the Order of the Golden Fleece in the codex. Allegorical figures occupy the upper corners of the codex, while figurative scenes in the prints have been incorporated in the same position.

The judges, officials, and kings in the prints are depicted at full-length in splendid garments, looking quite distinguished and comparable to the dukes and princes in the codex. Here Bol has lavished a great deal of care on the physiognomy of those depicted, in contrast to the rather vague and at times stereotyped way he usually indicated the faces of his figures. His great skill in portrait-like reproduction on a small scale is much in evidence in the prayer book of Francis of Anjou,[52] in which the French prince is clearly recognizable in the celebration of mass in a miniature no bigger than the palm of one's hand (**fig. 18**). Bol is rightly mentioned in Maurits Smeyers's monumental survey *Vlaamse miniaturen van de 8ste tot het midden van de 16de eeuw* as one of the artists among whom the art of illumination enjoyed a splendid late flowering in the second half of the 16th century.[53] Bol rightly lays claim to this honour because he breathed new life into the genre. He produced more than 100 gouaches on paper or parchment[54] with the same finesse and in the same reduced format as earlier book illuminations, but with the difference that they were intended as autonomous works of art that were affixed to wooden planks, framed, and hung on the wall or incorporated into the panelling.

Born in Mechelen in 1534, after his apprenticeship in the workshop of an unknown local master, Bol went on a journey to Germany before becoming a member of the Guild of St Luke in his native city in 1560. He gradually developed into a multifaceted artist who, according to Van

[49] Pen and brown ink, brown wash, 25.4 × 19.3 cm, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, inv. no. KdZ 13581.

[50] See Joachim Jacoby, "Amendments: Two Drawings for Prints by Philips Galle," *Delineavit et Sculpsit*, no. 33 (2010), pp. 2–24; Stefaan Hautekeete, "New Amendments: Drawings for Prints by Hans Bol," *Delineavit et Sculpsit*, no. 35 (2012), pp. 1–9; Ursula Mielke, Stefaan Hautekeete, *Hans Bol*, Ger Luijten, ed., vols 1–2 (Oudekerk aan den Ijssel, 2015), vol. 1, pp. lxxxi–lxxix and vol. 2, pp. 28–59, nos 173–180, 181–88, 189–96 The New Hollstein. Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700.

[51] On 30 November 2016, long after the completion of this article, Piotr Borusowski, curator in the Department of Prints and Drawings of the National Museum in Warsaw, discovered with the help of UV light the remains of an erased signature just above the date on folios 7r and 9r, which can be read indisputably as *H... bol*, written in a way that recurs in a number of drawings by the artist.

[52] Better known as *Les Heures du Duc d'Alençon*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, Paris, 8.5 × 6.5 cm, inv. no. Ms. Latin 10564.

[53] Maurits Smeyers, *L'Art de la miniature flamande du VIIIe au XVIe siècle* (Tournai, 1998), pp. 498–99.

[54] The superb example is *Landscape with the History of Venus and Adonis*, gouache heightened with gold on vellum (central image), gouache heightened with gold on panel (frame), 20.6 × 25.8 cm, signed and dated below the uppermost cartouche, and in the landscape to the right of the centre, in gold: *HB* (in ligature) / *1589*, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, inv. no. 92.GG.28.

Mander,[55] produced many watercolour paintings. Moreover, sixty-six etchings, six paintings on canvas, and 285 drawings by his own hand have been preserved.[56] During his career he enjoyed considerable recognition as a specialist in depicting landscapes and animals as well as the human figure, and he provided designs for the most important print publishers of his time, such as Hieronymus Cock, Bartholomeus de Momper, Gerard de Jode, and Philips Galle. More than 260 prints survive,[57] executed by various professional engravers after his designs, and these bear witness to Bol's facility for composition. He often depicted biblical histories, and to a lesser extent mythological stories borrowed from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The scenes take place in broad landscapes, often comprising valleys, mountains, and rivers with distant views of castles, villages, and cities.

Bol was active in a period in which interest in rural and urban topography increased perceptibly, inspired by printed publications like the *Civitates orbis terrarum* by Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg. Bol participated in this trend, because from 1575 onward he made detailed profiles of various cities such as Antwerp and Brussels.[58] He often provided his compositions with architectural backgrounds, at times completely imaginary, at times based on existing monuments that he had studied *in situ* and committed to paper.[59] The church of St Gertrude and the cloth hall of Bergen-op-Zoom, for example, appear in a drawing of January[60] in the Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum (Rotterdam) (**fig. 19**). The tower of the same church is, with minimal changes,[61] also visible in the background of the portrait of Maximilian on folio 17 of the codex (**fig. 8**). Furthermore, the graphic execution of both drawings is identical: fine pen lines are used for the structure of the buildings, while alternating zones of light and dark lend atmosphere and life to the cityscape, which in the codex is an imaginary construction. The church of St Gertrud figures in other compositions by Bol as well,[62] but only after 1577, the year in which he travelled in the region around the eastern branch of the river Scheldt and sketched landscapes and coastal cities such as Bergen-op-Zoom. That it occurs in the codex

[55] *Het Schilder-boeck: Het leven van de doorluchtige Nederlandse en Hoogduitse schilders van Karel van Mander*, Haarlem, 1603–04, fol. 260r19–260v42 (see the edition of Hessel Miedema, *Karel van Mander: The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters, from the first edition of the Schilder-boeck (1603–1604)* [Doornspijk, Davaco, 1994–99], vol. 1, pp. 298–301, vol. 4, pp. 208–18).

[56] Bol's drawings belong to a highly diverse array of categories: model sheets, studies, drawings from life, finely finished sheets for sale, designs for engravings, etchings, and gouaches. See Stefaan Hautekeete, "New Insights into the Working Methods of Hans Bol," *Master Drawings*, vol. 50, no. 3 (2012), pp. 329–56; id., "New Amendments...," op. cit.; Hautekeete, in Mielke, Hautekeete, op. cit.; id., *Hans Bol*, doctoral dissertation with a *catalogue raisonné* of the full oeuvre (in preparation). See also n. 43.

[57] For an overview of all prints, see Mielke, Hautekeete, op. cit.

[58] See Stefaan Hautekeete, *Van Stad en Land: het beeld van Brabant in de vroege topografische tekenkunst*, in *Le peintre et l'arpenteur. Images de Bruxelles et de l'ancien duché de Brabant*, Veronique Van de Kerckhof et al., eds, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, 2000 (Brussels, 2000), pp. 52–55.

[59] Bol kept these sketches, which were made on location, in a sort of image bank. On Bol's working method, see Hautekeete, "New Insights..." op. cit., pp. 329–56.

[60] Pen and brown ink, brown wash, diameter 14 cm, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam, inv. no. MB 2005/T 2a. From a series depicting the twelve months, engraved by Adriaen Collaert and published by Hans van Luyck. The designs for all months are preserved in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen. See Yvonne Bleyerveld et al., *Bosch to Bloemaert. Early Netherlandish Drawings in Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam*, exh. cat., Fondation Custodia, Paris; Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam; National Gallery of Art, Washington, 2014–15 (Paris, 2014), pp. 102–15, cat. no. 32. For the prints, see Mielke, Hautekeete, op. cit., cat. nos 252–63.

[61] E.g., the undersides of the uppermost double-arched window are different.

[62] See Hautekeete, "New Insights..." op. cit., pp. 345–51.

confirms the plausibility of the date 1577 noted on the title page. Moreover, that same year, Bol was working on the series depicting the *Seven Works of Mercy*, as noted above, and these show a highly similar compositional structure when compared to the codex pages with the masters of the order. As far as the *Seven Works of Mercy* are concerned, Jacoby has defended the interesting hypothesis that they, together with the series of *Seven Sacraments*, which Galle published a year earlier, were originally intended as illustrations to the catechism of the Jesuit theologian Petrus Canisius. An edition provided with different illustrations finally rolled from the press in 1589 thanks to the collaboration of Philips Galle and Christoffel Plantijn.[63]

Perhaps the key to solving the mystery of the codex lies with this same duo of leading publishers. The fact that the drawings were originally realized on loose-leaf sheets of paper, and in reverse, suggests that Bol composed them as designs for prints. Perhaps he was commissioned by Philips Galle to produce what was eventually supposed to become a printed armorial, but was never completed. A publication on the prestigious Order of the Golden Fleece with the arms of all the members up to 1577 would be accessible to a broader, urban public than the illuminated manuscripts. In Antwerp around 1580, such an inventive project would have been an ideal fit for Plantijn and Galle in terms of financing and organization. In 1578, they also undertook the publication of Michiel Vosmeer's book *Principes Hollandiae et Zelandiae*, with thirty-six portraits of the count and countesses of Holland and Zeeland (**fig. 20**). The first part of Peeter Balten's *Les Généalogies*, published in 1580, features 40 portraits and arms of the dukes of Flanders and indicates that there was a growing market for depictions of this kind, which previously circulated exclusively in court circles and among the high nobility. The time must have been considered ripe for bringing to market printed imitations of luxurious armorials illuminated by miniatures on parchment,[64] such as the one attributed to Simon Bening (c. 1540) of Madrid,[65] and that of a follower around 1550, now in the Royal Library of Belgium in Brussels (Fonds Solvay).[66] This is evident not only in the appropriation of a number of typical components of such manuscripts – illustration of a chapter meeting, portrait and arms of the master of the order on a full page – but also in the use of specific formal elements such as the elegant porticos framing the dukes and princes. The allegorical figures that Bol has illustrated in the spandrels already occur in the same place in the Solvay manuscript's portrait

[63] Jacoby, op. cit., pp. 12–20.

[64] The earliest known manuscript, which depicts both the statutes and the coats of arms of the order, now in the British Library in London (inv. no. Harley MS. 6199), was made in Bruges between 1481 and 1486. It is also the earliest manuscript that commemorates successive patrons with a series of full-length portraits. Its model seems to be the armorial presented to Charles the Bold in 1473, now preserved in The Hague (Royal Library, inv. no. MS. 76 E 10), which features full-length portraits of every member of the order, thus initiating a long tradition of dynastic portraiture that would continue until well into the 17th century.

[65] Madrid, Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, inv. no. 26 I.27. See Thomas Kren, Scott MacKendrick, Maryan W. Ainsworth, *Illuminating the Renaissance. The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, exh. cat., J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles; Royal Academy of Arts, London, 2003–4 (London, 2003), cat. no. 122. The attribution to Simon Bening is not generally accepted; see ibid., cat. no. 122, n. 5.

[66] Section Precious Works, inv. MS IX 93. Both manuscripts come from the same courtly milieu. The one in Madrid is artistically superior. The painting technique of the Brussels manuscript points to a later date. The portraits and landscape backgrounds and porticos are almost identical to those in the Madrid manuscript, cited in n. 65. Another, more decorative painter influenced by the Antwerp grotesque style executed the portrait of Philip II dated *1556*. See M.J. Onghena, *Enkele gegevens en opmerkingen betreffende twee zestiende eeuwse handschriften van het Gulden Vlies* in *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger; Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis der Nederlanden*, vol. 1 (Ghent, 1968), pp. 197–200. The same hand also added an almost identical portrait of Philip II to the manuscript preserved in Waddesdon Manor, cited in n. 67.

of Philip the Good (**fig. 21**). The playful putti that hold the imperial crown above the head of Charles V (**fig. 22**) in Bol's version (**fig. 12**) bear not only the crown but also the escutcheon. Bol has replaced the flanking columns with grotesque motifs in the Solvay manuscript with slightly broader pilasters to support the pointed and oval shields of the ancestors, a novelty in this combination. The cityscape in the background of the portraits also represents an innovation within the genre, although the Solvay manuscript already shows an attempt with the portrait of Philip II (**fig. 23**) because the king is shown before a landscape, behind which a city is visible. Moreover, the allegorical figure with two trumpets in the tympanum over the Spanish king is unmistakably Fame, which also appears on the title page of the codex. In addition, the full-page coats of arms are fairly close to the earlier examples – real showpieces of heraldic and decorative art – as is evident from comparison of that of Maximilian I (**fig. 24**). Each coat of arms (**fig. 9**) is encircled by the collar of the Golden Fleece with its insignia and hung from a crowned helmet with its own crest and mantling. Worth noting here is that Bol has made the imperial crown even finer and more detailed than the illuminated version. On either side one sees Burgundian emblems and below, the emperor's device in a cartouche richly ornamented with grotesques, which in the illuminated manuscript is held aloft by two putti.

Whether Bol was actually inspired by this or other, similar manuscripts[67] is difficult to trace given our incomplete knowledge concerning the earliest provenance of these armorials. Bol has not followed pre-existing pictorial tradition entirely to the letter, because for the physiognomy of the masters of the order, he did not draw inspiration from the manuscripts cited above. All the likenesses apart from those of Charles V and Philip II are posthumous. Bol probably had several different visual sources at his disposal, among them contemporary portraits such as the one painted by Rogier van der Weyden, in the case of Philip the Good, and Titian in the case of Charles V. All of the portraits have been very carefully executed,[68] and in many cases the facial features have been idealized – Charles the Bold, Philip I the Handsome, and Philip II are strikingly young. Philip the Good and Charles V, by contrast, are depicted at a more mature age.

Given his specific skills, it comes as no surprise that, as a representative of the declining art of miniature, Hans Bol should be involved in the production of a new sort of art object after 1550 that was still grafted onto the old tradition yet was entirely contemporary in terms of technique (copper engraving). Unfortunately there is no trace of a possible printed edition of an armorial after these designs. Nor have the drawings been incised for transfer to copper plate, nor are there any loose-leaf impressions extant that might suggest that the project was started but for some reason never finished, and that one simply decided to bind the drawings in a single volume in the state in which they were found. Perhaps it was then decided to make a drawn armorial instead of an engraved one, and that the arms of the first twenty-four knights were drawn, which are not in reverse – as are the other images. Moreover, the arms of the first twenty-four knights were executed on another sort of paper with a different type of water-

[67] Such as the statutes and armorial of the Golden Fleece in Waddesdon Manor (inv. Ms. 17), by the Master of the Prayer Books of c. 1500 (?) and others, a Bruges production from 1481–91 with further additions up to 1556. See Kren, MacKendrick, Ainsworth, *Illuminating the Renaissance*..., op. cit., cat. no. 122.

[68] That of Philip the Good (**fig. 6**) has evidently been executed anew on a piece of paper that has been tipped in. This indicates the stringent demands placed on the accuracy of portrait depiction. On folios 11, 15 and 23, small pieces of paper have also been cut away and new ones inserted in order to correct specific heraldic details. On folio 31, an entire coat of arms was even replaced in this way.

mark[69] (a Latin cross in a circle with the letters *PI*) than that of the portraits of the masters of the order, but it dates from the same period: the 1570s.[70] Given the extremely detailed way in which the armorials are composed graphically, applying the same technique used in the drawings in the front of the codex, there is no doubt that Bol was the author of these sheets. What is worth noting is that on further analysis, there are proportionally more heraldic errors[71] in the coats of arms that have been left largely incomplete. When the volume was bound, they did not end up in their logical place between the full-page portraits of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, but in the second half of the codex, after thirty blank folio's. Perhaps these empty pages were meant for the arms of the knights who had joined in the meantime (in 1577 there were 242). This is only one of the many mysteries that continue to surround this unique object in the history of draughtsmanship and the Order of the Golden Fleece.

With thanks to Theodoor Goddeeris, who expertly guided me in the wonderful world of the Golden Fleece and generously shared all heraldic information. A further word of thanks is owed Joanna A. Tomicka for her friendly invitation to contribute this essay to the *Journal* and for her attentive cooperation.

[69] This watermark occurs in folio's 62, 64, 66, and 70.

[70] See Briquet 1923, n° 5700: Toulouse, 1574, similar variations: Madrid, 1574, Dôle, 1578.

[71] For Antoine de Vergy (5th knight) the flags are missing from the crest next to the eagle's head. For Jean de La Clite (8th knight), the black wolf's head, erroneously, does not spew fire. For Pierre de Luxembourg (10th knight) the lion does not have a double tail as prescribed. For Guillebert de Lannoy (12th knight) the lambel is missing from the shield. Pierre de Bauffremont (20th knight) has the crest – a bust of a woman – that belongs to Philippe van Ternant and la Motte (21st knight) and the ball is also missing from the crest. For Jean, lord of Créquy and Canaples (23rd knight), the swans hold two snakes instead of a ring, and the ball between the necks of the two swans is missing. In the coat of arms of Baudouin de Lannoy (19th knight), there should be no wavy lines in the inescutcheon that represent vair, also present (correctly) in the coat of arms of Pierre de Bauffremont nearby.