

A Theory about the Early History of the Cloisters Apocalypse

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IN A RECENT PUBLICATION the Metropolitan Museum reproduced in facsimile, together with an explanatory volume, an early fourteenth-century manuscript, the so-called Cloisters Apocalypse (acc. no. 68.174). The illustrations in this manuscript show a startling relationship to the three miniatures by the Master of the Third Addition in the Manesse Codex, the Great Minnesinger Manuscript produced in Zurich about 1320–1330 and now in the Universitätsbibliothek in Heidelberg. By interpretation of the heraldry contained in the illustrations it was established that the Cloisters Apocalypse was painted in Normandy, c. 1320, in all probability in Coutances, and that it came to Switzerland, apparently to the collegiate abbey of Zofingen, in the canton of Aargau, before 1386.¹

The deduction of this presumed early history went as follows: on folio 9 verso (Figure 1) six armorial shields appear as decoration on the border of an altar cloth. Three of them can be identified as the arms of Jehan de Tilly, Richart de Carbonnel, and Suart de Pirou, Norman knights who lived within a radius of thirty-five miles from Coutances.² The three others are more ambiguous, but they can be tentatively attributed to Rychart de Viliers, to Jehan de Bigars, and possibly to members of the de Saint-Brice or the de Beaumont family.³ On folio 38 verso (Figure 4) the donors—evidently husband and wife—are kneeling in front of their patron saints. There are traces of armorial shields visible next to the donors and at the bottom of the frame. Though these shields were erased at an early date, two

1. Florens Deuchler, Jeffrey M. Hoffeld, and Helmut Nickel, *The Cloisters Apocalypse*, 2 vols. (New York, 1971). The questions of origin and migrations are treated in the chapter "The Heraldry in the Manuscript," II, pp. 18–26. The heraldic evidence of the Cloisters Apocalypse, slight and fragmentary as it is, seems to be the only direct proof for a connection between these two schools of book illumination that are so widely separated in space. The archives of the Département de la Manche in Saint-Lô were destroyed during World War II, and nothing remains of the old collegiate abbey's library in Zofingen. For this information and kind cooperation in research I want to thank M. de Saint-Jorre, Président du Cercle littéraire et archéologique, Coutances; Yves Nedelec, Directeur des Services d'archives de la Manche, Saint-Lô; G. Boner, Staatsarchivar des Kantons Aargau, Aarau; and Peter F. Kopp, Historisches Museum, Basel.

2. Paul Adam-Even and Léon Jéquier, "Un armorial français du XIII^e siècle: L'Armorial Wijnberghen," *Archives Héraldiques Suisse* 65–68 (1951–1954) cat. no. 333; or, a fleur-de-lys gules (Jehan de Tilly); cat. no. 394: azure, a chief gules, three roundels argent over all (Richart de Carbonnel); cat. no. 462: vert, a bend cottised argent (Suart de Pirou).

3. Adam-Even and Jéquier, "L'Armorial Wijnberghen," cat. no. 391: or, fretty of azure (Rychart de Viliers); cat. no. 384: argent two bars gules (Jehan de Bigars); cat. no. 430: paly of or and gules (Gilbert de Saint-Brice); cat. no. 481: paly of or and gules (Guillaume de Saint-Brice). Henri Jouglar de Morenas, *Grand Armorial de France*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1834–1852) no. 3678: paly of six, or and gules (Beaumont, Brittany). A Jeanne de Beaumont was the wife of Jehan de Tilly.

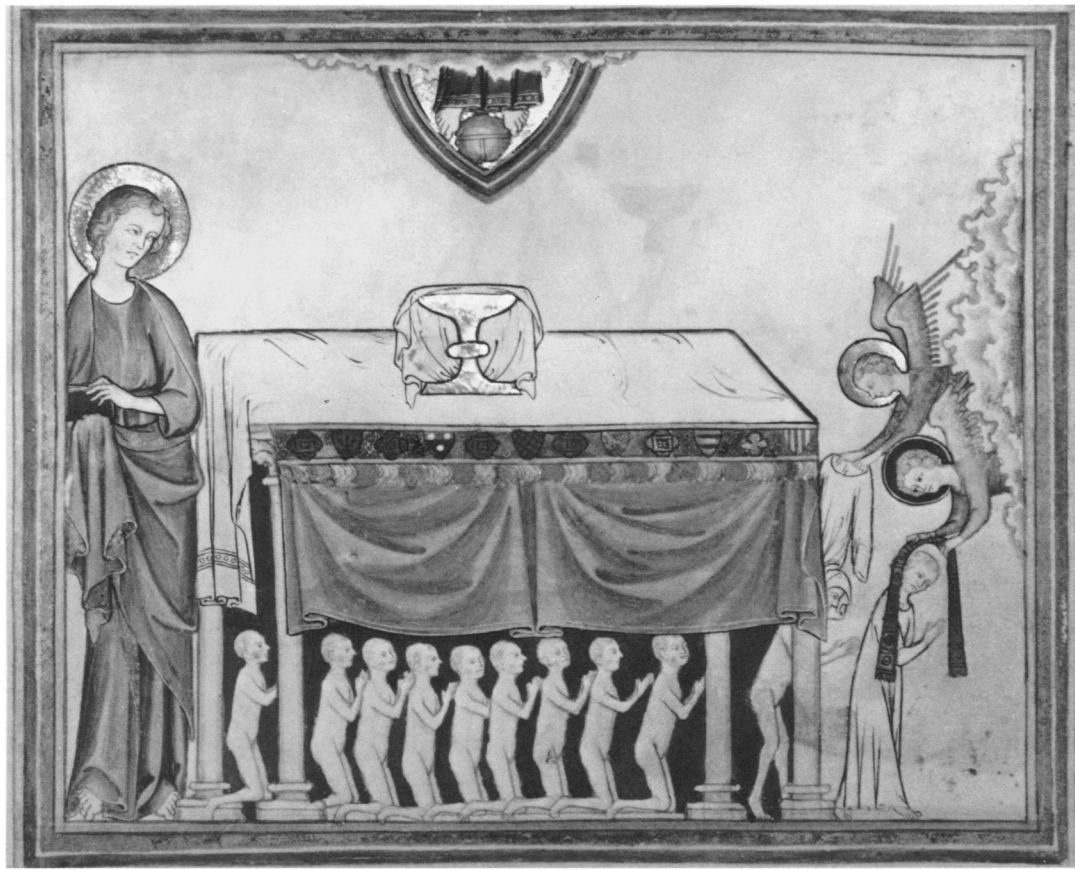


FIGURE 1 Folio 9 verso of the Cloisters Apocalypse. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cloisters Collection, purchase, 68.174. The shields on the border of the altar cloth are, from left to right: or, a fleur-de-lys gules (Jehan de Tilly), azure, a chief gules, three roundels argent over all (Richart de Carbonnel), or, fretty of azure (Rychart de Viliers?), vert, a bend cottised argent (Suart de Pirou), or, two bars gules (Jehan de Bigars?), and an unfinished drawing of a coat paly

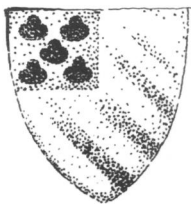


FIGURE 2

Drawing of the arms of the lady as they appear under ultraviolet light

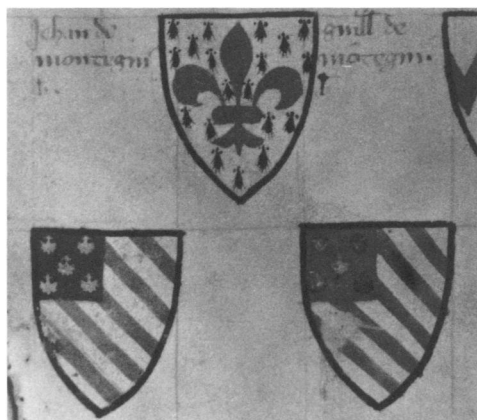


FIGURE 3

Arms of Jehan de Montigny in the Armorial Wijnberghen

FIGURE 4

Folio 38 verso of the Cloisters Apocalypse. The scrape marks of the eradicated donors' shields are visible between the backs of the kneeling donors and the frame; traces of the shields added later are visible at the bottom of the frame



[Faint, illegible text in two columns, likely bleed-through from the reverse side of the page.]



FIGURE 6 Opening page of the pontifical of Guillaume de Thiéville

of them are still recognizable under ultraviolet light, and enough is left of two others to venture a guess as to their identity. The husband's shield is completely effaced with the exception of a few specks of paint that show that the shield once was black; since there are no visible discoloration marks characteristic for oxidation of silver, it can be conjectured that its charge was of gold. The lady's shield displays the arms of the family de Montigny in the form or, five bendlets gules, a canton azure charged with five (2,1,2) scallop shells argent (Figures 2, 3). These arms are documented for Jehan de Montigny, a Norman knight who is recorded in the later thirteenth century,⁴ and therefore it is reasonable to assume that this lady is his daughter. Unfortunately, it has not been possible yet to find out her full name and that of her husband. The manuscript's probable origin at Coutances is corroborated by a pontifical of about 1315, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. Lat. 973, that, as the style of the marginal decoration shows, apparently came from the same workshop and bears the arms of Guillaume de Thiéville, bishop of Coutances from 1315 to 1347 (Figures 5, 6).⁵

The three shields at the bottom of the frame must have been added later, at a time when the book was already bound, because there are faint mirror images on the opposite page that were produced when the volume was carelessly closed before the paint was completely dry. The first of these shields shows the arms of the von Büttikon family, bendy of six, gules and vair (Figure 7), who played an important role during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in what is now the Swiss canton of Aargau.⁶ The second shield must have been gold, charged—as the mirror image shows—with a red figure that contained small blue elements. The third shield was red; again judging from the absence of silver oxidation, it can be deduced that its charges must have been of gold. Evidently these three later shields indicate ownership, and among the members of the von Büttikon family the most likely owner is Johans VI von Büttikon (1286–1360), a very important prelate, who was not only prior of the collegiate abbey of Zofingen

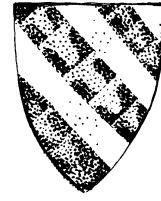


FIGURE 7

Drawing of the first shield of the set added later to folio 38 verso of the Cloisters Apocalypse as it appears under ultraviolet light

(from 1323), but canon at Beromünster (from 1311), *Domherr* at Constance (from 1325), prior of the abbey of Schönenwerd (from 1336), and rector at Sur and Aarau (from 1351). He was succeeded as prior of the abbey in Zofingen by his nephew Johans XIII, who held the post until 1387. Therefore it seems possible that the central shield bore the arms of the abbey of Zofingen, which were identical with the town's arms, or, a lion gules, armed azure, and the third shield could have once shown those of Beromünster, gules, a bend or, above it a lion or, or those of the abbey's patron, Saint Maurice, gules, a cross trilobée or. These arms of Zofingen were actually the family arms of the Habsburgs, who were the town's overlords from 1295 to 1386, when Duke Leopold III lost his life fighting against the rebellious Swiss in the disastrous battle of Sempach. After Sempach the town of Zofingen adopted a new coat-of-arms based upon the design of its battle flag: barry of four, gules and argent.⁷ It is an intriguing thought that the shields on the donors' page might have been eradicated out of a democratic zeal that could not tolerate any vestiges of the tyrant, no matter in what form. The innocent French arms probably became victims of this same blind zeal.

An illustrated manuscript imported from faraway Normandy to Zofingen could well have attracted the attention of a painter in Zurich, only about thirty miles away as the crow flies, and thus influenced his style in

4. Adam-Even and Jéquier, "L'Armorial Wijnberghen," cat. no. 490. According to information kindly provided by MM. de Saint-Jorre and Nedelec, Saint-Lô, there are no records left concerning Jehan de Montigny or his family.

5. Deuchler, Hoffeld, and Nickel, *Cloisters Apocalypse*, II, pp. 10–12, fig. 3; p. 18, fig. 9; p. 20.

6. Walther Merz, "Die Herren von Büttikon," in *Genealogisches Handbuch zur Schweizer Geschichte*, 3 vols. (Zurich, 1908–1916) III, p. 360–401, pls. 20, 21.

7. Walther Merz, "Die Gemeindewappen des Kantons Aargau. X. Der Bezirk Zofingen," *Archives Héraldiques Suisses* 29 (1915) pp. 127–128.

FIGURE 8
Herr Otto vom Turne. Manesse
Codex, folio 194



the final three miniatures he added to the huge compilation of the Manesse Codex.

The three miniatures contributed by the Master of the Third Addition are those of Herr Otto vom Turne, Herr Gösli von Ehenheim, and Graf Werner von Homberg. One of the remarkable facts about this selection is that the knights in this group were still alive, or only very recently dead, at the time these miniatures must have been painted.

Otto vom Turne (Figure 8) was from the canton of

Aargau and in the service of the dukes of Austria. He is documented from 1275 to 1330, and his arms are recorded in the well-known *Wappenrolle von Zürich*, a roll of arms of around 1340.⁸ The connection with the dukes of Austria is of interest because the von Büttikons were attached to the Habsburgs too; one of them, Johans X

8. Walther Merz, *Die Wappenrolle von Zürich* (Zurich and Leipzig, 1930) no. 320, p. 126. Karl Zangemeister, *Die Wappen, Helmschmuck und Standarten der Grossen Heidelberger Liederhandschrift (Manesse Codex)* (Görlitz and Heidelberg, 1892) p. 13, pl. 32.



FIGURE 9
Herr Gösli von Ehenheim (left) attacking unidentified knights, one of them with arms similar to Figure 7.
Manesse Codex, folio 197 verso

von Büttikon, surnamed *der Hofmeister*, was *Landvogt* of Aargau for the dukes of Austria from 1353 to 1361.

Gösli (Gossmar) von Ehenheim's family came from Oberehnheim (Obernai) near Strasbourg (Figure 9).⁹ In his miniature the most remarkable feature—in our context—is the coat-of-arms displayed on the horse trappings of the first of his opponents. It bears bendy of gules and vair, the gules semé with stars or, a charge that is conspicuously similar to the bendy of six, gules and vair, of the von Büttikons. Though it is not known that any of the von Büttikons bore stars for difference, several of them used stars—a highly unusual feature—as space fillers on their seals.¹⁰

Graf Werner von Homberg (died 1320) came from a cadet branch of the counts of Froburg, one of the great dynastic families in Aargau and the country south of Basel (Figure 10).¹¹ He was one of the leaders in the expedition to Rome of 1311, undertaken by Emperor Henry VII to secure his confirmation and coronation by the pope, Clement V (reigned 1304–1314). Before his election Emperor Henry VII was the count of

Luxembourg, and the host of three thousand knights that he took with him on this Italian venture came mostly from the western, French-speaking parts of the empire. However, the knights following Graf Werner in his miniature, which quite definitely shows an event from the Rome expedition, are identifiable by their crests and the armorial bearings on their surcoats as noblemen from Aargau and the lands around Basel. These nobles all are to be found in the *Wappenrolle von Zürich*,¹² with the exception of the knight in a surcoat paly of or and gules, who rides directly next to Graf Werner himself. This knight had puzzled me during the research done for the commentary volume for the *Cloisters Apocalypse* publication, and only recently did I succeed in finding an explanation for his alien-looking (for Aargau and Basel) coat-of-arms: it must be the armorial bearings of the de Vuippens family from the Pays de Vaud.¹³ Girard de Vuippens—or, as the German version of his name would be, Gerhart von Wippingen—was bishop of Basel from 1309 till 1325, and he participated in the expedition to Rome in 1311.¹⁴

9. Zangemeister, *Wappen, Helmzierden und Standarten*, pp. 13–14, pl. 33.

10. Among the hundreds of Swiss seals of the thirteenth and fourteenth century, I found only eleven specimens that have stars as space fillers; among them are five of members of the von Büttikon family (Ulrich I v. B., 1254; Walther I v. B., 1286, and his wife, Elisabeth von Wediswil, 1301; Ulrich V *der Lieblose* v. B., 1320, and Rudolf I v. B., 1347, sons of Walther I and brothers of Johans VI, the prior of Zofingen), two of the von Wediswil family (Walther III v. W., 1302, and his brother Arnold II v. W., 1292, both cousins to Elisabeth v. W.), and a town seal of Zofingen.

11. Merz, *Wappenrolle*, no. 44, p. 25. Zangemeister, *Wappen, Helmzierden und Standarten*, p. 4, pl. 10.

12. The arms of the von Heidegg family were: per pale, or and sable; crest: a pair of hunting horns, one or and one sable, with strings gules. In the miniature only the golden horn is visible. Merz, *Wappenrolle*, no. 402, p. 153. Merz, "Die Herren von Heidegg," *Genealogisches Handbuch*, III, pp. 309–345, pl. 19. The arms of the von Rappoltstein family were: argent, three (2, 1) shields gules. Their crest varied; it could be a human figure, either female or male, clad in either red or white, usually with a red cap. In the early fourteenth century the crest depended much upon the whim of the bearer; furthermore it was used as a mark of difference between members of the same family. Two members of the von Rappoltstein family, Anshelm II and Heinrich IV, are known to have participated in the expedition to Rome. Merz, *Wappenrolle*, no. 182, pp. 82–83. The arms of the von Eptingen family were: or, an eagle sable, poised fesswise. There were more than thirty different crests used in the von Eptingen family, but one of the most frequently found is: a plume of black rooster's feathers spangled with silver linden leaves, issuant from a gold crown, as shown in the

miniature. Merz, *Wappenrolle*, no. 503, p. 187. The arms of the von Randegg family were: argent, a lion's head gules; crest: a lion's head gules. Merz, *Wappenrolle*, no. 202, p. 89. Finally, the arms of the von Steinegg family were: azure, a fesse wavy or; crest: a blue conical hat charged with the wavy golden band and surmounted with a plume of black rooster's feathers. Though the rooster's feathers have been replaced by a peacock plume, there can be little doubt that the crest illustrated in the miniature is supposed to be that of the von Steinegg. Merz, *Wappenrolle*, no. 135, p. 63.

13. The arms of the de Vuippens family were: paly of six, argent and gules; crest: a pillow gules, surmounted by three ostrich feathers, argent, gules, argent; or a plume of ten ostrich feathers; or a plume of peacock feathers. Hubert de Vevey-L'Hardy, "Armorial de la noblesse féodale du Pays romand de Fribourg," *Archives Héraldiques Suisses* 58 (1944) pp. 61–63. A. de Mandrot *Armorial historique du Pays de Vaud* (Lausanne, 1880) pl. 30. However, there is no definite proof about the colors as borne in the fourteenth century; a sixteenth-century source gave them as: paly of six, or and gules. Robert Genevay, "Les preuves de noblesse de Claude de Franchet d'Estavayer," *Archives Héraldiques Suisses* 75 (1961) pp. 16–18, ill.

14. For detailed information concerning the bishops of Basel I wish to thank Brigitte Degler-Spengler, acting for Albert Bruckner, Helvetia Sacra, Basel, and Peter F. Kopp, Historisches Museum, Basel. Girard de Vuippens, after a career in England (subdeacon at St. Leonard outside Stamford, 1284; rector of Waddington, 1286; canon at York, 1286; archdeacon at Richmond, 1290, among other positions) was sent on several diplomatic missions in 1300–1302. In 1302 he became bishop of Lausanne, and in 1309, bishop of Basel.

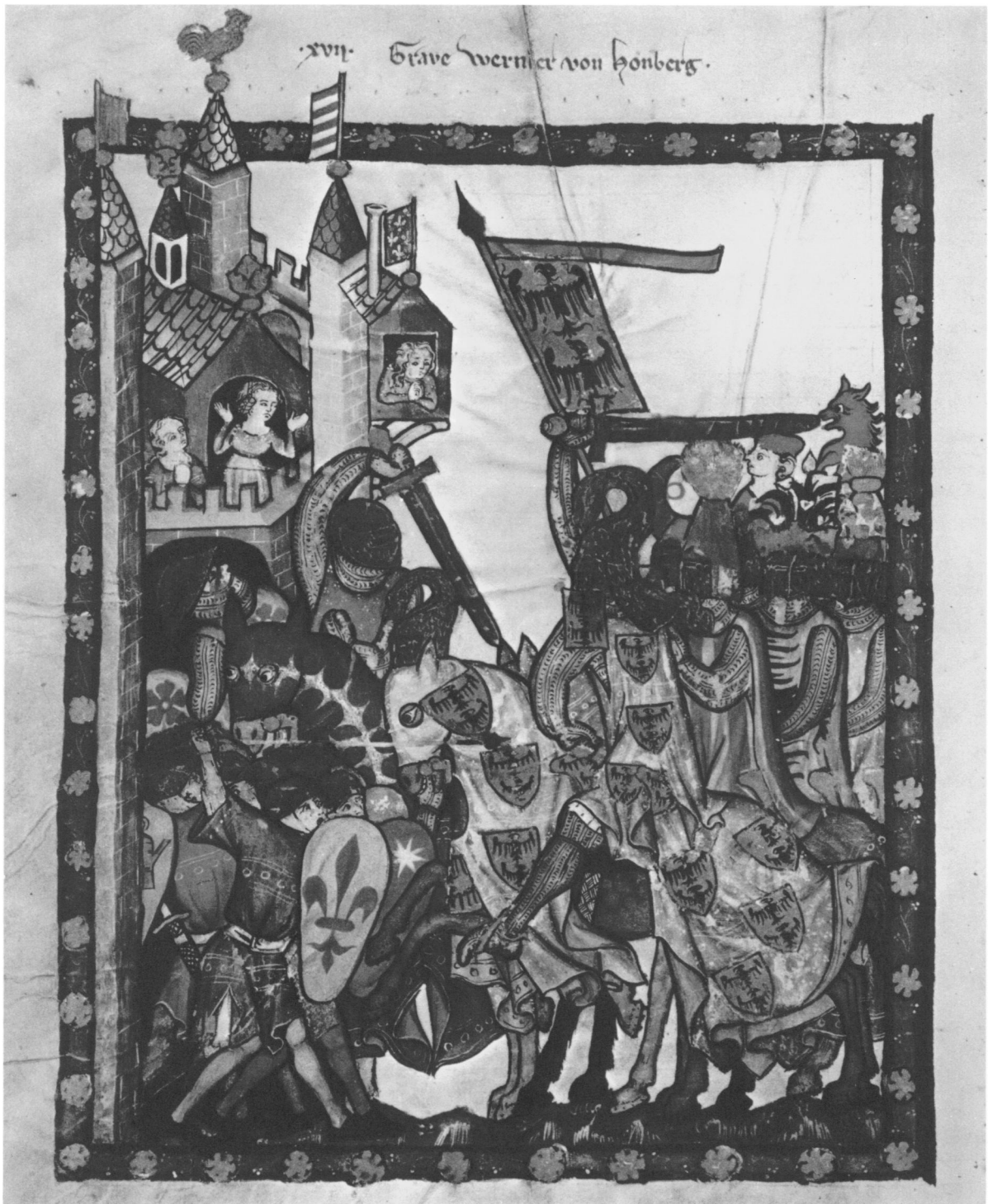


FIGURE 10

Graf Werner von Homberg attacking an Italian town during the campaign of 1311. Following Graf Werner are knights wearing the crests and surcoats of several families: (front row, left to right) de Vuippens, von Eptingen, von Steinegg; (back row) von Heidegg, von Rappoltstein, von Randegg. Manesse Codex, folio 43 verso

His predecessor as bishop of Basel was his cousin Otho de Grandson, who held the position from 1305 to 1309, and both men owed their positions to the influence of their famous uncle, the far-traveled diplomat and knight, Sir Otho de Grandson (1238–1328).¹⁵

I wish to thank my friend and colleague Roger F. Gardiner, Art Librarian at the University of Ontario, London, Ontario, for drawing my attention to and even supplying me with a copy of a biography of Sir Otho de Grandson, published not many years ago,¹⁶ which seems to contain an intriguing possibility that may shed light on the early history of the Cloisters manuscript.

Otho de Grandson was one of the most fascinating characters of the colorful age between the downfall of the Hohenstaufen and the beginning of the Hundred Years War. He was the trusted friend and adviser of two English kings and three popes, not to mention various emperors of the Holy Roman Empire, the king of Cyprus, and the king of Armenia; he went on Crusade twice, went on diplomatic missions all over Europe, and became a member of the English Parliament. The thumbnail sketch of the career of the “verray parfit gentil knyght” in the *Canterbury Tales* follows the details of Sir Otho’s life so closely as to rule out the possibility of coincidence,¹⁷ especially when we consider that Chaucer knew and greatly admired Sir Otho’s great-great-nephew, Otho III de Grandson, whom he held to be the flower of French poets.

Otho de Grandson was born in 1238 at Grandson, the still well-preserved castle on the northern shore of the Lake of Neuchâtel in the Pays de Vaud, which is now the seat of the Institut Suisse d’Armes Anciennes and Burgundermuseum in memory of the spectacular

victory won by the Swiss pikemen over Charles the Bold of Burgundy in 1476. At an early age, probably as a page in the household of Pierre of Savoy, he came to England, and there he grew up together with his lifelong friend, the later King Edward I (reigned 1272–1307), who was himself born in 1239. In 1267 he appears as a knight of Edward’s household, and he followed the king to Tunis in Saint Louis’s Crusade of 1270. The English contingent arrived shortly after the death of Saint Louis and sailed on to relieve the besieged Saint-Jean-d’Acre. Sir Otho must have distinguished himself significantly, because there exists a version of the anecdote of the wounding of Edward by the poisoned dagger of an assassin sent by the Old Man of the Mountain in which it is not Eleanor of Castile who sucks the poison from her husband’s wound, but the faithful knight Sir Otho. In any case, King Edward held him in high esteem as a trusted servant and loyal friend and sent him on difficult missions all over Europe, be it to the curia in Avignon or Rome, to the emperor, or to the rebellious lords of Gascony.

In 1277 he was appointed warden of the Channel Islands as a reward for his merits and a compensation for the vast expenses he incurred in the service of the king. However, due to his manifold duties as ambassador-at-large for Edward I and his successor Edward II (reigned 1307–1327), and his obligations as a Christian knight—he went on another Crusade in 1291, managing to get out literally on the last galley at the fall of Acre (May 18, 1291), and took the cross a third time in 1319, though he had to have himself absolved of the vow for reason of temporarily failing health—he did not manage to visit these islands until 1323. A bitter quarrel had broken out between the islanders and Sir

15. Bishop Otho de Grandson was the son of Sir Otho’s brother Jacques; Bishop Girard de Vuippens was the son of Ulrich de Vuippens and Sir Otho’s sister Agnès.

16. Esther Rowland Clifford, *A Knight of Great Renown: The Life and Times of Othon de Grandson* (Chicago, 1961). All details about Sir Otho’s life are taken from this work, unless otherwise mentioned. The spelling of his name varied greatly; his first name is recorded as Octolino, Othonin, Othon, Otho, Otes, Otis, and Otto, and his family name as Grançon, Grandson, Grandison, Grandisson, Granson, and Grauntzon.

17. The only real difference is that Chaucer’s Knight is accompanied by his son, who serves him as a squire. Sir Otho was never married and therefore took one of his nephews, Pierre de Vuippens, a brother of Bishop Girard, as a squire in 1291 on his second Cru-

sade. Pierre de Vuippens was killed in the final street fighting at the fall of Acre. However, in the “Great Roll of Arms” (1337–1375) there appears a “Monsire de Granson,” who bears as arms: azure, a bend argent, charged with three scallop shells gules. The arms of the English branch of the Grandsons, descendants of Sir Otho’s brother Guillaume or William, from his marriage to Sibyl Tregoz, were paly of six, argent and azure, a bend gules overall, charged with three eaglets or, differing from Sir Otho’s paly of six, argent and azure, a bend gules overall, charged with three scallop shells or. The scallop shells in the mysterious “Monsire de Granson’s” arms make it likely that he was a bastard son of Sir Otho. D. L. Galbreath, “Les Grandsons d’Angleterre,” *Archives Héraldiques Suisses* 41 (1927) pp. 56–69, fig. 84.

Otho's subwarden, his nephew Girard d'Oron,¹⁸ as well as the bishop of Coutances, Guillaume de Thiéville. In the face of this vicious triangle, what was apparently needed was the diplomatic finesse of Sir Otho himself; the extraordinary situation was that the islands were under the English crown but ecclesiastically belonged to the diocese of Coutances. The difficulties settled, Girard d'Oron—who apparently found it expedient to leave the islands for a spell until things had calmed down a little—was sent to the empire on a special mission by King Edward II, though his diplomatic skill had proven demonstrably inferior to that of his uncle.

Sir Otho, however, we find in July 1324 at a summit conference at Bar-sur-Aube, where he negotiated on behalf of Duke Edouard of Savoy, his liege lord for his holdings in the Pays de Vaud. This conference came at a crucial point in the history of the Holy Roman Empire, and its repercussions were felt all over Europe. After the interregnum (1254–1273) following the downfall of the Hohenstaufen dynasty, Rudolf of Habsburg (reigned 1273–1291) had stabilized the drifting ship of state for a while, but soon civil strife set in again. His elected successor, Adolf of Nassau (reigned 1292–1298), was killed in battle, to be followed by Rudolf's son Albrecht, who was assassinated in 1308, an event that, incidentally, features in the story of William Tell. Albrecht's successor, Henry, count of Luxembourg, was to pick up the pieces as Emperor Henry VII, as already mentioned, and he raised an army of three thousand

knights for an expedition to Rome to obtain his confirmation and be crowned by Pope Clement V. Pope Clement hoped that the intervention of the emperor could make an end to the internecine fighting between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines. Already in 1310 Sir Otho had served as negotiator between him and the emperor—it has to be kept in mind that the Pays de Vaud, where the lordship of Grandson was situated, was part of the Duchy of Savoy, which in turn belonged to the Holy Roman Empire. A severe illness prevented Sir Otho from participating in the expedition to Rome, but one of his nephews, the already mentioned Bishop Girard de Vuippens of Basel, was with the imperial host in his stead. Sir Otho, however, was one of the arbiters of the resulting Treaty of Cremona (1311). The high hopes set on this enterprise came to naught; the emperor had to fight his way to Rome through the rebellious Guelph cities of northern Italy, and died all too soon (1313), the instrument of death being, according to rumor, a poisoned wafer given to him by a treacherous priest in Holy Communion. The next emperor was the duke of Bavaria, Louis the Bavarian (reigned 1314–1347). He struggled bravely on through plot and counterplot; in 1322 he managed to capture and imprison his rival, Frederick the Handsome of Habsburg, who had been pretender since 1314. The son of Emperor Henry VII, King John of Bohemia, now saw a possibility to snatch up the imperial crown for himself; he had promised to Charles IV of France an outlying part of the empire, the kingdom of Arles, if he would

18. For detailed information about the subwardens of the Channel Islands I wish to thank Joan Stevens, President of the Société Jersiaise, St. Hélier, Jersey, and S. Anthony Standen, Institute of Historical Research, University of London, as well as my colleague Edith Standen, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. For important information about Girard d'Oron I wish to thank Olivier Dessemontet, Directeur des Archives Cantonales Vaudaises, Lausanne, J.-P. Chapuisat, Archiviste Cantonal, Société d'Histoire de la Suisse Romande, Lausanne, and my friend Eugen Heer, Directeur-Intendant, Institut Suisse d'Armes Anciennes, Château de Grandson. Though Girard d'Oron appears repeatedly in contemporary sources as "neveu" to Sir Otho de Grandson, their relationship is not entirely clear. Girard d'Oron was the eldest son of Rodolphe d'Oron, a knight of the Pays de Vaud, and his wife Antonie, whose family name is not known. However, she is most likely Sir Otho's eldest sister, Antonie. The arms of the family d'Oron were: sable, an eagle or. Several members of the family, but apparently not our Girard, differentiated the eagle by adding one, two, or three fleurs-de-lys or. D. L. Galbreath, "Les armoiries

des Sires d'Oron," *Archives Héraldiques Suisses* 38 (1924) pp. 60–64. Black shields without any silver charges are extremely rare in Normandy (in the entire section of the arms of Normandy in the Armorial Wijnberghen there are only two examples); therefore Girard d'Oron qualifies as one of three possible candidates for the mysterious black shield without traces of silver charges on the donors' page of the Cloisters Apocalypse. Because Girard was a very common name in the family d'Oron, our Girard was known as Girard l'Anglais in the Pays de Vaud, whence he returned after 1328. It is known that he had a daughter Marguerite, who married Jean, coseigneur of Aubonne, apparently early in the year 1338. Unfortunately, the name of Girard l'Anglais's wife is nowhere mentioned; this leaves us with the tantalizing speculation that she might have been a foreigner—after all, if their daughter was of marriageable age in 1338, it would be in keeping with the customs of the period to assume that the parents' marriage took place c. 1320, just the time when Girard d'Oron was active in Normandy (1319–1328).

support his claim. King Charles, however, had ambitions of his own, and had tried to secure Austrian support by promising Duke Leopold to hand him ten free cities of the empire—among them Basel, Constance, and Zurich—to be added to the evergrowing *Hausmacht* of the Habsburgs, if he would help him, Charles, to gain the crown. Either project would have gravely endangered the Duchy of Savoy, and the young duke, Edouard, who just a few months before had taken over the reins of government after the death of his father, Amedée the Great, was anxious to have his most skilled diplomat present at the meeting between King Charles and Duke Leopold in July 1324. Fortunately for Savoy, neither of these projects materialized, and one might wonder whether this might have been due to a monkey wrench dropped into the gears by the masterhand of Sir Otho.

The remaining years of his life were rather quiet by comparison. Though he met his death 1328 not at his home in Grandson, but at nearby Aigle—since Aigle is on the road to Italy, it looks as if he had been on the road once more, perhaps this time on a pilgrimage—he seems to have spent most of his time engaged in pious works, and even in quiet study. The latter is indicated by a most interesting letter written in 1328 by still another nephew, John Grandison, the well-known bishop of Exeter, in which he asks the bishop of Lausanne to inquire discreetly whether the rumors about Sir Otho's death might be true, and at the same time begs his col-

league to help him see that the books he, Bishop John, had lent to his uncle were returned to England.¹⁹

From this rather complex background story can be gathered a temptingly straightforward as well as interwoven chain of hands and events through which a book might have passed from Coutances to Zofingen.

In 1323 Sir Otho de Grandson was in Coutances on business and met Bishop Guillaume de Thiéville, whose pontifical of c. 1315 is the only other book from the workshop that produced the Cloisters Apocalypse with a known ownership. Immediately afterward, Sir Otho traveled to a meeting at Bar-sur-Aube, where the negotiations involved the cities of Basel, Constance, and Zurich. The bishop of Basel—who was the secular lord of the bishopric too—was Sir Otho's nephew, Girard de Vuippens. The added shields in the Apocalypse are that of the von Büttikon family and two more possibly connected with Zofingen. Unfortunately for the purpose of establishing that there existed a direct contact between Basel and Zofingen, Magister Johans von Büttikon, who was *custos* of St. Peter's in Basel from 1323 to 1336, is not the same person as Johans VI von Büttikon, prior of the collegiate abbey at Zofingen, and no transfers of books from Basel to Zofingen are traceable.²⁰ However, in the work of the Master of the Third Addition of the Manesse Codex, which is so closely related stylistically to our Apocalypse, we find arms resembling those of de Vuippens and von Büttikon. Finally, the letter by Bishop John Grandison of

19. "Litera missa Domino Episcopo Lausanensis (Jean de Roussillon, 1324–1341). Venerabili in Christo Patri, etc.—Quoniam, aperiente nobis Domina Regina Anglie, matre videlicet Domini Regis nostri moderni, de transitu (April 2, 1328) Domini Otonis de Grandissono, patruis nostri, tristicie nobis rumor innotuit, per quod nos absque dubio intollerabiliter usque in cordis intima vulneramur, cum in hoc casu corona capitis nostri deciderit, uti notis; eademque Regina nobis addendo retulit quod concessionem huic bone memorie Domini Edwardi, Regis illustrissimi, qua dicto Domino Otoni, patruo nostro, Insulas de Gernesey ad vitam dederat, et, preter hoc, quod duobus fratribus nostris, post ejus obitum, per quinquennium remaneret, factum quoddam in Curia Regis contrarium invenitur, per quod eisdem fratribus nostris de quicquam ex eisdem Insulis petendo via precluditur, ut timemus; Dilectionem vestram fiducialiter imploramus quatinus, cum et dicti Domini nostri hereditaria terrarum divisio et legatorum administratio vestris, ut clare intelleximus, et jurisdictioni et dominio sint subjecta, Domino Otoni, fratri nostro, cui Dominus pater noster, et nos alii fratres, concessimus in patrimonio partes nostras, in ipsius hereditatis adeptione pacifica sitis, amore dicti

Domini ac nostri, favorabilis Dominus et pater; et si qua inventa fuerint, immo quia, aliquae preciosa de suis que pertinent ad Capellam, et presertim Libros de Uso Anglicano, nostro, si placet, usui reservetis nobis eadem cum presenti nuncio transmittentes. Nec velitis, ut satis confidamus, amicales inter nos abolimur noticias oblivisci, eo maxime quod spem solidissimam gerimus—ut novis secreta loquamur—quod ad partes illas propinquius cum Dei adiutorio Sedes Apostolica nos reducet—ut Ecclesie Dei et vestris proficiatis in gracia, in eterne premeritum glorie, vobis concedat Omnipotens tempora longiora!—Scripta, etc. (1328)." Rev. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph, ed., *The Register of John de Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter (A.D. 1327–1369)* 3 vols. (London, 1894–1899) I, pp. 173–174, private letter no. 33.

20. For this information I wish to thank Anne-Marie Dubler and Guy Marchal, Staatsarchiv, Basel. In an earlier publication (Merz, "Die Herren von Büttikon," *Genealogisches Handbuch*, III, p. 369) it was indicated that Magister Johans and Johans VI were the same person, and therefore a direct contact between Basel and Zofingen was suggested.

Exeter about the return of his books shows that Sir Otho loved books enough to take them on his travels clear across the continent. Therefore Sir Otho de Grandison and his nephew, the bishop of Basel, seem to be logical stages by which the journey of the Cloisters Apocalypse could have been accomplished.²¹

21. The earliest owner's entry in the Cloisters Apocalypse names Sir Robert Pecham, an English knight, who bequeathed the book to Thomas Darell, a doctor of theology, in 1569. It is tempting to speculate whether the Apocalypse manuscript returned to England in the course of the efforts by the bishop of Exeter to recover his books lent to Sir Otho. In any case, on the last page following the donors' page there is a practically eradicated early signature that seems to read "W lytyll . . ." It might be of interest to add that in Hingeston-Randolph, ed., *Register*, I, p. 571, there is a memorandum about a payment made in 1330 by Bishop Grandison to Magister Willelmus de Lytteltone, "procurator Magistri Thome de Cherleton." Thomas de Cherleton was appointed successor to the vacant see of Exeter by the king in 1327, while at the same time and unknowingly the pope appointed John Grandison. The confusion was apparently amiably solved by a compromise; Grandison became bishop of Exeter, while Cherleton became bishop of Hereford. Both traveled together to the papal court at Avignon and were consecrated on the same day, October 18, 1327.

FIGURE 11

Detail of folio 30 recto in the Armorial Wijnberghen. The arms of Sir Otho de Grandison

