

TEXT AND IMAGE IN LATE MEDIAEVAL  
ENGLISH VERNACULAR LITERARY MANUSCRIPTS

FOUR VOLUMES

VOLUME ONE

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D. Phil.

University of York

ENGLISH

November 1982

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BL Add. 37049

BL Harley 2278

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Cambridge, Trinity College B.10.12

Microfilm 3

BL Cotton Tiberius A. vii

BL Royal 17. C. xxxviii

BL Harley 1766

BL Harley 3954

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Oxford, New College 266



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the many people who gave assistance in the preparation of this thesis. I should like to thank the libararians who tirelessly brought manuscripts for me to consult and answered queries. For permission to consult manuscripts in their charge, I should like to thank His Grace, the Duke of Norfolk and the Masters and Fellows of the following Cambridge colleges: Corpus Christi; Emmanuel; Gonville and Caius; Magdalene; Pembroke; St Catherine's; St John's; and Trinity; and Trinity Hall, Cambridge and the Masters and Fellows of All Saints' College, Oxford. For providing access to manuscripts, I am indebted to the librarian to His Grace, the Duke of Norfolk at Arundel Castle; the librarians and staff of the Oxbridge Colleges mentioned above; and the librarians and staff of the Cambridge University Library; the Fitzwilliam Museum; the British Library; the John Rylands University Library; the Bodleian Library; the Henry E. Huntington Library; the New York Public Library; the Pierpont Morgan Library; the University of Pennsylvania Library; the Rosenbach Museum and Library; and the State Library of Victoria, Australia. I am grateful to the librarians of Christ Church and Queen's Colleges, Oxford, and the librarian at Hatfield House, for answering queries and I should like to express my gratitude to the librarians of the Warburg and the Courtauld Institutes for granting access to their photographic collections.

In addition, I thank my typists, Miss Hodgson and Sue Stewart for their patience and tenacity, and E.R. Jefferys for practical assistance and moral support.

During the years I have spent thinking about the relationships between text and image I have had the benefit of conversations which have either stimulated a train of thought or saved me from error.

It is difficult to be scrupulous about such intellectual indebtedness, but I should like to acknowledge in particular the help of K.L. Scott and to thank her, J.J. Griffiths, M.B. Parkes and R.H. Rouse for helpful discussions. My most abiding intellectual debt is to my teachers and supervisors, Derek Pearsall and Elizabeth Salter. Had I been able to benefit from Elizabeth Salter's scholarship and insight in the concluding stages, this thesis would have been better than it can hope to be now; were it not for her example, it would never have been finished:

... Trouthe hymself, over al and al  
Had chose hys maner principal  
In hir, that was his restyng place.

I should like to dedicate this thesis to her memory.

## ABSTRACT

In their attempts to recover the ways in which medieval texts were received and understood by their original audience, literary scholars have looked to the visual arts of the period; some, in particular, have turned to the illustrations which accompany works of literature in luxury manuscripts. This thesis considers possible relationships between text and image in an endeavour to assess the legitimate use that can be made by a critic rather than an art historian of manuscript illustration. I identify three possible functions that illustrations may have served: as decoration; as a means of providing an interpretation; and as part of the apparatus designed to guide the reader through the text and enable him to locate important passages. These categories are not mutually exclusive. Such functions cannot be discussed without reference to the circumstances of manuscript production. Medieval artists themselves were not concerned with issues of interpretation, preferring to use compositions broadly appropriate to the scene to be illustrated. On the other hand, there is evidence to suggest that authors, commentators or individual owners may have specified aspects of the pictures to be provided. It is therefore impossible to generalize. Adopting a deliberately pragmatic approach, I discuss particular manuscripts or groups of manuscripts in detail. I focus particularly on three texts: Mandeville's Travels and Lydgate's Troy Book and Fall of Princes, although other works are considered in less detail.

My conclusion stresses the diversity of response on the part of devisors of pictorial cycles to the task of illustrating literary texts. Scrupulous care is combined with expedient use of cliché, often within the same manuscript. No miniature can be dismissed as being merely for the sake of embellishment, but the evidence it provides must be used with care.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Anglia: Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie	( <u>Anglia</u> )
Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen	( <u>Archiv</u> )
British Library	(BL)
Bibliothèque Nationale	(BN)
The Chaucer Review: A Journal of Medieval Studies and Literary Criticism	( <u>Chau. R</u> )
Cambridge University Library	(CUL)
<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u> , eds., L. Stephen and S. Lee, 63 vols. (London, 1885-1900)	( <u>DNB</u> )
Essays and Studies	( <u>E &amp; S</u> )
Early English Text Society	(EETS)
French Studies: A Quarterly Review	( <u>FS</u> )
<u>The Index of Middle English Verse</u> , eds., C. Brown and R.H. Robbins (New York, 1943)	( <u>IMEV</u> )
Journal of English and Germanic Philology	( <u>JEGP</u> )
Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes	( <u>JWCI</u> )
The Library: A Quarterly Journal of Bibliography	( <u>The Library</u> )
<u>Middle English Dictionary</u> , ed., Hans Kurath (Ann Arbor, 1952-)	(MED)
Modern Language Notes	( <u>MLN</u> )
Modern Language Quarterly	( <u>MLQ</u> )
Modern Language Review	( <u>MLR</u> )
Modern Philology: A Journal Devoted to Research in Medieval and Modern Literature	( <u>MP</u> )
Medieval Studies	( <u>MS</u> )
Manuscript	(MS)
Notes and Queries	( <u>N &amp; Q</u> )
Neuphilologische Mitteilungen	( <u>NM</u> )
Publications of the Modern Language Association of America	( <u>PMLA</u> )
Philological Quarterly	( <u>PQ</u> )
Review of English Studies: A Quarterly Journal of English Literature and the English Language	( <u>RES</u> )

Studi sul Boccaccio	( <u>S Boc</u> )
Studi Francesi	( <u>S Fr</u> )
Times Literary Supplement	( <u>TLS</u> )
Yearbook of English Studies	( <u>YES</u> )



## INTRODUCTION.

The question asked by this thesis is: what function did the illustration in late-medieval English vernacular literary manuscripts serve? It is a question considered in detail in the last four chapters where I discuss examples of groups of manuscripts where the illustrations seem to be fulfilling a different purpose in each case. The issue is, however, a complex one, needing to be placed in complex contexts. This is the purpose of the first two chapters.

The thesis grew out of an attempt to apply to English manuscripts the methodology adopted by Rosemond Tuve and J.V. Fleming in their respective discussions of the Roman de la Rose: the attempt to recapture a more exact sense of a contemporary response to a text through the use of illustrations which accompanied that text. In other, scattered, remarks which have been made about the relation of image to text in medieval manuscripts, I distinguish two other major approaches; but since these books on the Roman are the only extended pieces of work to address the problem in any detail, I analyze their propositions carefully in my first chapter before moving on to the English context in my second. Tuve's and Fleming's assumption is that illustrations were provided to clarify the text. By paying more attention to the probable circumstances of production, I conclude that the possibilities are more multi-valent than this. In general, the system of production was flexible enough to allow for the intervention of an interested author, patron, editor, or independent commentator. Some authors make incidental comments about the efficacy of illustration. Yet the use of formulae and conventional prototypes may predominate over a desire to respond specifically to the text. Hence it is impossible to generalize: each manuscript must be treated as an individual case. Close analysis of individual manuscripts or groups of manuscripts seems to be the most useful contribution to the problem.

Before embarking on the individual studies that comprise the main part of the thesis I put English vernacular illustration into context. I map out tentatively in a checklist the kinds of text that were illustrated, and the extent of dissemination of the cycles. I consider the fact of illustration from three viewpoints. Firstly as expressive of the individual interest of the commissioner of the manuscript in this particular text. Secondly as part of a tradition that the text in question is one to be illustrated. Thirdly I discuss the author as someone who may have been concerned with the physical appearance of his work and therefore specified scenes to be illustrated, or as someone for whom an illustrated format was deemed appropriate by others. In so doing I raise some of the issues to be explored more fully in subsequent chapters, particularly some of the problems involved in creating an extensive cycle and some of the strategies employed to do so. The remainder of the thesis considers the more important groupings of texts in the checklist, that have not been considered in this second chapter.

Since the emphasis of the last three chapters is on narrative illustration to secular literary manuscripts, Chapter 3 deals more briefly with types of manuscripts which do not fall into this category. Firstly I discuss those manuscripts the illustrative programme of which alludes to a relationship between the manuscript and its audience rather than the relationship between picture and text. I refer here to scenes of presentation and composition. The desire to portray the author is particularly interesting in the case of Chaucer and has no parallel in English vernacular illustration. Secondly I consider 'expository' miniatures: illustrations which present in visual terms information contained in the text. Taking as my major example the Master of Game by Edward, second Duke of York, I trace a fluctuation between fidelity to the text, decorative elements and reliance on cliché. Though Edward and the French authority from whom he takes his material seem conscious of the utility of illustration in imparting information, the miniatures

do not straightforwardly fulfil this function. They reveal the conflicting demands of aesthetic patterning and usefulness. The final category is devotional illustration. Here the relationship between picture and text is not so much one of interpretation as of extension. I take as my focus BL Add. MS 37049, a manuscript which seems particularly conscious of the uses to which illustration can be put, and Cambridge, Trinity College MS B. 10.12, which again reveals some tension between the effort to offer assistance in the process of visualization and the use of formulaic presentation.

The remaining half of the thesis considers secular narrative in more detail. My approach is deliberately pragmatic: I have tried to discuss what can be deduced from detailed analysis of the manuscripts themselves, in the belief that an empirical rather than a theoretical method will lead to the most useful results. In my belief that generalization is of limited value I take illustrated manuscripts of two translations by Lydgate, showing that the miniatures seem to have served different functions in each case. Against these luxury manuscripts I set the stylistically unpretentious programmes which accompany two Mandeville's Travels manuscripts and which are the main focus of Chapter 4.

There appears to have been no set tradition of illustrating Mandeville's Travels and each manuscript provides a different sequence of miniatures. I argue that in so doing each manuscript provides a different interpretation of the text: different aspects are highlighted in each instance. In the case of Royal 17. C xxxviii the artist seems to be relying on formulae to devise his pictorial programme whereas the artist of BL Harley 3954 is more faithful to textual detail. The programme of the Royal manuscript stresses the devotional and pious aspects of the narrative while Harley emphasizes the marvellous and exotic. Since Mandeville's Travels was adapted in various forms during



the fifteenth century, stressing various aspects of the narrative, it is interesting to see the way in which these two manuscripts reveal divergent foci of interest. In connection with this discussion of the power of illustration to present the text in a certain light by emphasizing elements of it, I consider the sole extant manuscript of Alexander B, Bodley 264. I show how the adoption of conventional and formulaic methods of illustration creates a 'reading' of the poem.

In Chapter 5 I discuss manuscripts of Lydgate's Troy Book, showing how the combination of prestigious poet, prestigious patron, and prestigious text, conspire to produce a fairly consistent manuscript tradition to the point where one could talk about 'editions'. The emphasis in all aspects of the layout, including the illustrations, is to delineate structural divisions in the text: thus, here, miniatures are used in a formal way to indicate the hierarchy of division in the manuscript. This is the case even with Rylands, Eng. 1 which looks, at first sight, as if the miniatures are supplied as an indexing and anthologizing device. The location of the illustrations derives from a sense of propriety about how the work should be divided, a sense of propriety conditioned by the idea of the structure of the work contained in the earlier manuscripts. The desire is to present the divisions of the text in a visually arresting way, rather than to illustrate the text as such. Against this background I discuss the slightly quirky qualities of the projected programme for Royal 18 D. ii and speculate that this may be the result of patronal interest.

In my final chapter, I discuss manuscripts of the Fall of Princes by way of contrast. I observe that, whereas Troy Book manuscripts present a consistent solution to the problem of how to present the work in a luxury format, Fall of Princes manuscripts adopt a number of approaches. This may be attributed to the lack of an authoritative illustrated presentation copy (Lydgate apologizes for the lack of

illustration). Furthermore, since this text is basically an assemblage of stories with a controlling theme, the illustrations serve to impose a hierarchy on the stories. I suggest that the illustrations to this text had an important function as visual indices and of aides memoire relating them to some of the mnemotechnic devices mentioned in the first chapter. Moreover, I have found much more evidence of copying from French models in manuscripts of this text than I have with manuscripts of the Troy Book. This is one of the 'new cycles', a text for which miniatures were devised at the beginning of the fifteenth century and therefore responsive to new ideas about how books should be illustrated.

Since the whole aim of my thesis has been to stress diversity, there is no general conclusion. I reiterate my contention that every manuscript must be approached flexibly and with an open mind. Hindman points out: 'While the owners can be identified, reading processes defined and specific circumstances outlined, the individual reader with his unique personality and background, as well as his often divergent expectations, cannot be resurrected' (1). Careful study of relationships between image and text in medieval manuscripts may, in some cases, be a modest step towards that resurrection.

## CHAPTER 1. SOME THEORETICAL DIRECTIONS.

During the past twenty years literary historians specializing in the Middle Ages have taken an increasing interest in the visual arts. Indeed, as J.V.Fleming observes, in *Chaucer studies*: 'Recourse to pictorial sources has become a nearly routine feature of literary analysis' (1). Such evidence is often used as an aid to the historical imagination in an attempt to discover the 'meaning' of a text to its first readers. A profitable area for investigation would seem to be in the illustrations which accompany de luxe manuscript copies of favoured works. Here, it might seem, we have an example both of the common repertory of images shared by author and reader alike and of images specifically designed for texts. The illustrations provided for works of literature are thus of potential importance to their interpretation. Before this importance can be assessed, the question to be asked is: what purposes did the miniatures serve? The object of this thesis is to examine the various relationships between text and image in late-medieval manuscripts, concentrating on illustrations to texts in the English vernacular. Modern comments on the problem can be divided into three broad categories. Firstly, that they have little real significance: luxury manuscripts with numerous pictures were essentially objets d'art, intended to impress the viewer with their beauty. A typically sceptical note is sounded by C.F.Bühler:

One may well speculate on whether or not the grand, de luxe, illuminated manuscripts are books at all. They may well be works of art -- or furniture, as little to be used as furniture on display in a museum. (2)

Secondly, it has been suggested that miniatures provide a visual commentary on the text they illustrate and thus can provide one means of access to the way it was originally received and understood. Thirdly, that illustrations were an essential part of the apparatus designed to guide the reader through the book and to help him find required passages. The second and third of these approaches assume that the manuscripts were



actually read and that some thought went into the positioning and composition of the miniatures (3).

The use of a book as an investment must be taken into account: 'books, like plate', says Mynors, were 'one of the recognized ways of holding capital in portable and negotiable form' (4). But, granted that an illuminated manuscript may not necessarily have been commissioned by a patron eager to enjoy an admired work in a sumptuous format, the fact of illustration can provide useful information about a particular text. Since an illustrated book involves a considerable capital outlay, it is a measure of the value accorded a certain work that it, rather than any other, was selected for embellishment in this way (5). It betrays, at least, an interest in the physical form of the book. The point is whether the pictures ever provided a more direct commentary on the text they accompanied.

That they did is the assumption behind J.V.Fleming's study of the Roman de la Rose (6) in which he uses illustration to establish his contention that the lover's pursuit of the rose was viewed ironically by its first readers as the pursuit of fole amour. Rosemond Tuve (7) interprets the poem in a similar, though more subtle, way and she, too, uses detail from manuscript illustration to support her analysis. Like Fleming, she attributes to the artists a conscious participation in presenting the text to the reader. Her approach is more fruitful since she is concerned in general terms with changing attitudes towards the reading of allegorical texts. Critics as diverse as C.S.Lewis and D.W.Robertson agree that the fifteenth century neither read nor produced allegory with the vigorous purity of earlier ages (8); a poem like the Roman, composed in the thirteenth century and transcribed and published during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (9), offers ample scope for the charting of changes in sensibility. Moreover, the 'Querelle' involving Christine de Pizan, Jean Gerson, Jean de Montreuil and Gontier and Pierre Col is one of the earliest collections of documents revealing

disagreement about the meaning of a secular text (10). It shows that, by the early fifteenth century, it was possible to miss the ironies and to concentrate on the literal level of the poem. On the other hand, from the end of the fifteenth century comes Jean Molinet's over-ingenious Romant de la rose moralisie cler et net, in which he re-allegorizes the Roman, seeing the 'God of Love as our Lord seeking his spouse Anima (the Lover)' (11). There is thus plenty of indication from other sources that it was possible to read the Roman in a number of ways by the fifteenth century.

Ideally, then, study of the relationship between text and image in these manuscripts would provide insights into the reading process and reflect the reader's changing perception of the text over the centuries. Of over two hundred manuscripts of the Roman listed by Langlois (12), only about one quarter have no miniatures or spaces left for miniatures indicating that illustrations had been envisaged when the format of the book was originally planned. Few illustrated copies have been preserved from before 1270; the oldest manuscripts date from the last years of the thirteenth century (13). Since illustrated copies and editions with woodcuts were produced in the fifteenth century, the text has a long tradition of illustration behind it. Furthermore, a recent translator of the Roman has noted that:

It is no accident that recent studies which emphasize the importance of the poem's ironic technique are also those that for the first time have revealed the importance of manuscript illustrations (14).

Since such claims are made for the technique as a means of establishing, if not authorial intention, then at least original audience response, it is worth examining it in some detail. Only Tuve and Fleming have done any extended detailed work on the relationship between image and text in medieval secular manuscripts: it therefore needs to be evaluated.

## 1. The Roman de la Rose: Narrative Sequences.

The cycle of illustrations remained fairly constant during the fourteenth century in terms of both content and style:

Nicht nur der Darstellungskreis ist sonst in ziemlich allen anderen Rosenroman-Handschriften der gleiche, auch die Art seiner Interpretation hat sich im Laufe des XIV Jahrhunderts nicht wesentlich geändert (15).

If illustration does offer a 'reading' of the text it accompanies, a change in response to the text might promote a change in the contents of the cycle. One of the weaknesses of Tüve's and Fleming's method is that they do not consider in detail developments in the illustrative programme. It is therefore worth offering a few remarks. Kuhn has divided the cycles he has encountered into four types (16):

Type A -- dubbed 'die Kitschhandschrift' -- containing a single, prefatory miniature, usually of the Lover lying on his bed.

Type B -- only the first part, that of Guillaume de Lorris is illustrated. The cycle is small, consisting of a dozen or so highly predictable scenes (17).

Type C -- contains a repertoire for the whole poem, but the concentration is still on Guillaume's part. The miniatures from Jean's portion are equally predictable (18).

Type D is an expanded version of B and C (19). These manuscripts date from the second half of the fourteenth century or later. In the more lavish versions, containing over eighty miniatures, the artist has reduplicated scenes in order to make the illustrations as numerous as possible. Kuhn points to the care with which classical elements such as Mars and Venus, and Nero were portrayed. He suggests that by the end of the fourteenth century buyers looked specifically for such scenes (20).

Without looking at the iconography certain trends can thus be noted. It is not until fairly late in the life of the cycle that Jean receives equivalent visual notice to Guillaume. It is possible to speculate on the significance of this evidence. One possible reading would be that early readers were most intrigued by the Roman as an



account of how to conduct a love-affair in the approved fashion (21) and therefore wanted the stages laid out visually in a readily accessible manner. It would be a reading which does not confirm the theoretical position adopted by Tuve and Fleming and perhaps begins to suggest the ambiguity of using manuscript illustration to confirm critical points. Certainly, by the fifteenth century there seems to be indications of a change in response, with greater emphasis on Jean's contribution; but this, too, is ambiguous in its implications. It could be argued that there is a different concept of how a book should be illustrated -- with miniatures throughout rather than at the beginning only -- rather than a change of response to the text itself. The tendency to reduplicate scenes in attempts to expand the basic cycle would suggest most strongly that the function of the miniatures was not necessarily a guide to reading the text nor an aid to stimulate the visual imagination. Even Bodleian MS Douce 195, a 'careful manuscript' dating from the very end of the fifteenth century (22) repeats a scene at an interval of three folios. There is little distinction between the scene of Nature confessing to Genius on fol 117v (Slide 1) and that on fol. 120v (Slide 2) except that the position of the figures has been reversed. Though the imagery is appropriate for context it does not engage at any detailed level with the actual contents. This might give some indication that illustrations were increasingly distributed throughout the text in order to divide it into readily accessible and attractively presented units, and also, of course, to enhance the decorative appeal of the book.

Two complete schedules of illustration have been published (23): one from the late thirteenth century which depicts only Guillaume's section and the other from the second half of the fourteenth century which illustrates both poets' work. Since the early manuscripts are very similar, these two cycles will serve as convenient representatives on which to base an analysis. They provide a readily accessible programme by which it is possible to judge a thirteenth- or fourteenth-

century 'reading' of the poem, if the miniatures do, actually, provide such information. What is immediately apparent in both manuscripts is that the miniatures lack variety and animation. This is particularly noticeable in the case of Paris, BN MS fr. 378, the thirteenth-century manuscript, where the three miniatures depicting incidents described in 11. 1618-1955 (24) (Dahlberg figs. 14-16) are merely variations on the theme of a standing figure to the left and a figure kneeling in a posture of submission to the right. It is true that in the third miniature of this series the God of Love is shown seated, but the basic pattern presented to the eye is unvaried, particularly because of the stance of the Lover and the position of the God of Love's wings. The discrimination between miniatures in both manuscripts is slight, since scenes are composed of simple iconographic formulae, especially figures in conversation (25). The gesticulating figures are only minimally differentiated. For example, where Vienna K.K.Hofbibliothek Cod.2592 represents Franchise and Pitié interceding with Dangier (Kuhn Taf. VII fol. 24v) there is no way, apart from colour of dress, to distinguish between the qualities of Franchise and Pitié. Only Dangier's club gives any iconographic clue as to what the scene is intended to depict. One is dealing here with stereotype rather than with direct interpretation. Similarly, the scene in the Vienna manuscript which Kuhn optimistically describes as 'Jalousie jagt Bel-Accueil in die Flucht' (Taf. VII fol. 26v) is, pictorially, the reverse of dramatic. More importantly, however, although Jalousie, gesticulating emphatically, occupies a commanding position in the centre of the picture space, there is little difference between this and the colloquy between Jalousie and Honte in the subsequent miniature (Kuhn Taf. VIII, fol. 27r). Fol. 26r (Kuhn Taf. VII) shows Venus interceding for the lover with Bel-Accueil. The artist has chosen to depict the kindling of desire in Bel-Accueil by symbolic means: the goddess holds flames in her left hand. Otherwise this miniature could be any one of the series of two barely differentiated



figures in colloquy with one another. Thus, the iconography in both the Vienna and the Paris manuscripts is, generally speaking, mechanical and repetitive. In the Vienna manuscript the same scene, that of Venus shooting at the castle, is reduplicated practically without variation on fols. 139v and 143r (Kuhn Taf. XI). The illustrations do not serve in any creative way to provide visual images for the text.

This generalized method of visual narrative may have a certain appropriateness to the text itself: Muscatine describes the Roman as 'based on exotic setting, formal portraiture, undramatic discourse and semiotic gesture' (26) and, with the exception of the setting, these are the qualities which have been noted in the miniatures of these two manuscripts. Furthermore, Baxandall, in discussing the religious painter's rôle as 'a professional visualizer of the holy stories', remarks that these religious pictures were generalized but eloquent in narrative suggestion; they functioned as pegs upon which the audience could hang its own personal meditation, giving only clues for the disposition and gestures of the figures (27). While no one would suggest that the same process of intense meditation occurred in relation to secular miniatures it is evidence for a certain habit of mind: that only the skeleton of a narrative was expected as an aid to visualization. It is possible that illustrations were not expected to make a detailed comment on the text they accompanied. There thus seems to be little scope for gaining an insight into how the text was interpreted and certainly little warrant for saying on this basis that the Lover's pursuit of the rose is to be viewed ironically as fole amour. Indeed, many of Tuve's and Fleming's best examples come from late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts which are more lively and more detailed than their earlier counterparts.

Such a lack of specificity in the iconographic programme of the earlier manuscripts might suggest that it is the location rather than the content of the miniatures that is important; that the illustrations

functioned as visual chapter headings, guiding the reader to the portions of the text that were considered important. Furthermore, the reliance on generalized scene and conventionalized gesture seems to be a feature of the early illustration of secular texts in general. The earliest extant illustrated manuscript of Benoit de Sainte - Maure's Roman de Troie, Paris, BN fr. 1610 is dated 1264. Hugo Buchthal calls the small miniatures with which it is embellished 'unattractive and inarticulate and without any individuality'. He continues:

Single combats between Greek and Trojan heroes have degenerated into anonymous slaughter, graceful scenes of court life and chivalry are levelled down to repetitive routine, and many are not even recognizable as referring to any particular incident (28).

The principles governing the selection of scenes to be illustrated are also often obscure. Speaking of the Troy episode in the first recension of the Histoire Ancienne (29), first compiled at the beginning of the thirteenth century, Buchthal remarks that few subjects are chosen for illustration and 'with the exception of the death of Hector', the miniatures all illustrate 'secondary and uncharacteristic episodes' (30). The second recension is, apparently an improvement - due to purely technical considerations like the availability of models (31). Thus, in the opinion of a modern critic, the later version provides the better visual narrative. M.A.Stones would agree:

The earliest illustrations in secular texts tend to rely heavily on generalised types without rendering the complexities of the situations their texts narrate (32).

She contrasts one of the earliest secular manuscripts to contain a cycle of miniatures, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, cod. pal. germ. 112, a copy of the Ruolantesliet with the greater specificity of the later iconography of the Roland window at Chartres (c. 1220). It would appear, then, for all sorts of reasons, such as the larger number of potential customers, the wider market for secular books, the more extended provision of the means -- scribes, illustrators and organization -- to enable the customers to buy illustrated books, familiarity with new

ways of illustrating secular texts, and even, perhaps changing ideas about the relationship between picture and text, that later manuscripts of a cycle are more likely to attempt to respond to detail (33). Early illustrations of the Roman de la Rose, those closest in time to the composition of the text, do not seem, from this perspective, to offer valuable evidence as to how the text was read.

From another point of view, evidence as to the way in which the earliest Roman pictures were constructed leads to a number of theoretical problems. It has long been recognized that illustrators would adapt religious and liturgical models to the requirements of the secular work for which they were to provide miniatures (34). The issue is to what extent does the original meaning of the religious prototype permeate and determine meaning in its new context? A pattern may be copied without being understood by the artist; and a pattern may be used without the readers of the manuscript catching the allusion. Kuhn points out, for example, that a composition found at the beginning of some manuscripts, a grouping of the lover in bed with Dangier at the foot of it is reminiscent of the Nativity, while another frequently encountered composition of the dreamer in bed with the rose tree behind and above him recalls the iconography of the Tree of Jesse (35). Charles Dahlberg, a devotee of the idea that the miniatures comprise an ironic gloss on the poem writes:

The form of the rose tree is appropriately parodic of the tree of Jesse in that its curves, instead of being erect and bisymmetrical, are asymmetrical ... like those of the conventional arbor vitiorum rather than the arbor virtutum ... . Thus the miniature makes the point that the Lover's situation is parodically unlike the Nativity (36).

In this reductio ad absurdum Dahlberg has made no effort to establish how far these motifs were convenient formulae and how far the artist was deliberately adding a moral dimension when using them. There is, of course, no definitive answer, but unless we are to see, for example, a parody of the Last Supper in every banqueting scene, we must be

cautious about attributing ironic intention to every use of an iconographic platitude.

More judiciously Fleming tries to disentangle the threads and to make a distinction between 'significant iconographic borrowing and mere formal cliché' (37). It is a distinction difficult to make with any certainty. The case in point is Oiseuse. Kuhn notes that miniaturists often derived her iconography from the depiction of Luxuria in the West rose window of Notre Dame de Paris (38). Here the seated figure gazes into a mirror and combs her hair. These attributes are slightly differently arranged in the actual text of the Roman. To be sure she carries a mirror, but the text says nothing about her gesture with the comb. The idea of the comb, concealed in the reference to her 'jornee' is thus made a prominent feature in identifying her in some miniatures. Again, did the figure of Luxuria merely provide a convenient model, or was it consciously intended to supply a pictorial statement of the relationship between idleness and lechery? (39) The association of comb and mirror with Venus is also well established (40). But would the recipient of the manuscript necessarily have been conscious that such connections were being made? Fleming quotes a marginal annotation in Paris, BN MS fr. 25523 on fol. 6r which suggests that the artist of this manuscript, at least, would have been casting around for suitable models rather than concerning himself with what ironic elements in the text to highlight. The directions which he received say merely '[paint] a beautiful girl with a mirror' (41). Even were the association of Idleness and Lechery suggested by means of such correlation through iconography, we would be aware of little more than the symbolism of having Oiseuse as the portress to the Garden of Deduit already tells us. In a late manuscript, Bodleian Douce 195, Oiseuse is not carrying a comb, her mirror is not immediately obvious, yet the artist has given her a chaplet of red roses as described in the text. This suggests her affinities equally as effectively, especially since red roses also have



associations with Venus iconography (42).

The question of models possibly bringing associations with them into their new context is not confined to Roman de la Rose manuscripts; nor is it necessarily limited to the migration of religious images into secular contexts. In a discussion of illustrations to the Divine Comedy, Brieger considers the transformation of the figure of Beatrice, patterned variously on the formula for female saints, or allegorical figures such as the Virtues, or on representations of noble ladies. Of a late fourteenth-century manuscript he writes that she:

is represented as a noble lady with no saintly attributes which suggests she is now thought of as a historical person rather than a symbol of theology as earlier commentators saw her (43).

But again, there is a problem: how much of this visual allusion is conscious and how much a matter of mere convenience? Perhaps the most sensible words on the topic are those of Meyer Schapiro dealing with woodcuts -- a form of illustration particularly prone to become detached from context:

The correspondence of word and picture is often problematic and may be surprisingly vague. In old printed Bibles the same woodcut was used sometimes to illustrate different subjects. These, however, are episodes with a common general meaning. The picture of Jacob's birth was repeated for the birth of Joseph. ... It is the place of the woodcut in the book, at a certain point in the text, that permits us to grasp the more specific meaning (44).

My own assumption in this study is that it is better not to infer a symbolic meaning unless there are the strongest grounds for doing so.

Speaking of the Renaissance, a period of self-conscious and self-aware artists, Lavin (45) points out that there are two basic methods of constructing a visual narrative: on the one hand, the painter may follow the text literally; on the other hand he may create a kind of metaphor<sup>1</sup> in which he tries to make a visual statement about his subject. The situation as far as the Middle Ages is concerned is a complex one (46); none the less Lavin's is a useful distinction between kinds of possible response to the task of illustrating a text. A

metaphoric effect is achieved by the juxtaposition of images in the initial scene of many of the Roman manuscripts. Kuhn has divided these prefatory scenes into six main groups plus a group which addresses itself to a different register of textual response altogether: those few manuscripts in which the figure of the author at his desk, a device from antiquity, prefaces the text (47). Group I which occurs in large numbers of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts shows the Lover in bed, a stylized rosebush behind and Dangier with his club standing at the foot of the bed. This grouping expresses succinctly the object of the dreamer's desire and the impediment to its fulfilment. The basic iconography may alter but the underlying idea remains the same. Chantilly Musée Condé 1480 (Fig. 1) eliminates the rosebush but the same element of conflict is expressed in a static, symbolic way. Indeed, the positioning of the figures within an elaborate frame serves to underline the contradictory potentialities of the two characters. The top of the frame is composed of three canopies: the dreamer asleep in bed under the left hand canopy is meticulously balanced by Dangier seated on a bench under the canopy on the right. More overtly BN MS fr. 1567 (Fleming fig. 11) shows the dreamer asleep in the centre, flanked on either side by the God of Love and Dangier seated in two architectural niches. The opposing forces are delineated very clearly in these opening scenes: hence the miniature contains elements of potential psychomachia with the lover in the centre.

It is not only these earlier manuscripts which exploit a metaphoric mode of juxtaposition. The type of initial illustration designated Group V usually involves a literal response to the text. Instead of making a statement about the subject of the poem, as do the prefatory miniatures of Group I, Group V depicts actual incident. The illustration adopts the continuous method of narration (48): the lover is shown both asleep in bed and preparing himself and setting out, and the walled garden also appears as part of the composition. BN fr. 12595 (Fig. 2)

is a beautiful manuscript which once belonged to the Duke de Berry. Although its depiction of episode is literal, there also appear to be metaphorical implications. The dreamer is shown three times, in bed, washing and finally outside in a landscape sewing up his sleeves. In the background of the picture the walls of the Garden of Deduit can be seen on the right, but across the river from it and counterbalancing it to the left is the tower of Reason (49). A small bridge links the two. As the picture is 'read' from left to right it appears that the Lover must cross from the bank on which Reason's tower is built to the bank on which the garden stands. The symbolic opposition created here by the introduction of a new motif -- 'das Schloss Raisons' -- is similar to that of the more overtly metaphorical reading of the earlier Group I miniatures.

When discussing the issue of visual metaphor, it becomes a problem to decide what elements are to be considered as formal or decorative and what elements are to be seen as symbolic. Of course there is a pun in the French on the words 'connin' meaning 'rabbit' and 'con' meaning 'female genitalia'. At least one manuscript illustrated the sequence where Jean makes the pun explicit:

En ce bois ci poez oir  
 Les chiens glatir, s'ous m'entendez,  
 Au conin prendre ou vous tendez,  
 E le fuiret, qui, senz faillir,  
 Le deit faire es reiseaus saillir (11.15138-15142).

The illustrator of Bodleian MS Douce 195 portrays this scene literally. On fol. 108v (Slide 3) a man puts a ferret down one rabbit hole while another man spreads a net over the other exit to the warren. The lover, standing to the left of the picture, supervises all this. The scene is a familiar enough one from Livre de Chasse manuscripts (50) where there is no metaphorical dimension to the iconography. Hence, though the text is explicit enough about the sexual pun involved, iconographic parallels to the illustration suggest that this may not have been what the illustrator thought he was depicting, though context admits of the



possibility. Similarly, a frequent motif on the initial page of Roman manuscripts is what Kuhn calls the 'Spatziergang', the episode right at the beginning of the poem where the Lover walks through the natural world aimlessly enjoying himself. A manuscript from the beginning of the fifteenth century, Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek Cod. Poet 6 divides the first scene into two compartments (Fig. 3). On the left the lover sleeps in a small building with the facing wall removed; the stylized rosebush of earlier manuscripts has become a more naturalistic rosebush climbing up a trellis outside. On the right the Lover walks through a landscape featuring the motif of a rose climbing up a trellis, numerous rabbits and the Lover's greyhound. All these are extraneous to the strict requirements of the text at this point and it would be possible to read them as a statement of the theme of the poem. If one was committed to reading the poem as an analysis of fole amour it would be possible to isolate these elements, reading their metaphorical signification as an ironic reminder of the Lover's exclusive focus of interest. On the other hand, they may have an exclusively decorative function: the artist's sole intention may merely have been to create an attractive composition (51).

Special problems are raised for the illuminator of an allegory, involving decisions not faced by the illustrator of any other kind of poem. The allegory of the Roman de la Rose functions primarily at two levels. One perceives that the so-called 'literal level' is an extended metaphor; we never conceive that the poem is discussing a young man's 'horticultural interests' as Fleming puts it. The allegorical level is, therefore, that of explication, the coming to terms with the fundamental meaning of the poem. The act of reading demands no conscious separation of these strands; we can experience two perceptions simultaneously. We can appreciate the rose as rose at the same time that by a process of translation, we recognize its signification as female genitalia. Such a composite experience is difficult to portray visually; an illuminator



must either remain at the metaphorical level or penetrate through to the signification of the metaphor. Occasionally the necessity for choice has been recognized and subdued: for the last scene, a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Rothschild 2800 (Dahlberg fig. 64) shows the lover plucking the rose on the left and a couple in bed on the right. The reading of the miniature from left to right enacts, in a cruder and more painstaking manner, the easy transition of our understanding between the surface of the metaphor and its meaning. Frequently, however, one possibility only is selected. For the last scene, the plucking of the rose, Vienna K.K.Hofbibliothek Cod. 2592 (Kuhn Taf. XI fol. 146r) shows the lover by a rosebush while the penultimate scene in Douce 195 shows a charming interior and a young courtier parting a curtain to reveal an equally courtly young woman (Slide 4). She wears a chaplet of red roses and through the doorway on the left a rosebush can be seen outside, but the intimate link between rose and lady has become separated out; the rosebush has almost become a decorative device. Of course, at this stage the metaphor is of sanctuary rather than of rose, and, indeed, the rubric below the miniature reads, 'Comme lamant regarde le saintuaire'. In a sense, the illustration, incorporating both the reverentially kneeling young man and the rose motif, is a mixed metaphor. The last scene of all shows the man and woman in a clumsy embrace, fully clothed, stretched out on a bed (Slide 5). Courtly awe has been replaced by emotions of a more physical nature.

For Tuve, concentration on the metaphor rather than its signification is 'allegorically more sophisticated' (52) than pointing at its meaning. She implies that the capacity to make this kind of response to the task of illustrating the poem is an index of the proper reading of allegory. With reference to the sanctuary image, she speaks approvingly of Bodleian MS e. Mus. 65 which she regards as early (second half of the fourteenth century). This manuscript shows Venus shooting at a

naked statue with genitalia aflame, a method of depiction which makes Jean's 'lascivious purport' perfectly clear; other manuscripts, she continues:

may handle images in ways which might have seemed to Jean like the hypocritical pretenses he mocks -- e.g. MS Douce 195 shows the Lover regarding the 'sanctuary' as a gallant kneeling by an amply dressed Lady (53).

Comparing e. Mus. 65 with other ways of reading the allegory at this point Tuve concludes:

even later illustrators usually understand the allegorical mode too well to introduce the Lady in person (of course, she could be said to be in the picture). This manuscript [e. Mus. 65] pictures lovers in bed at a major 'forge' passage, but the fully figurative portrayal (Nature pounding like a smith) is completely typical of both manuscripts and editions (54).

Such a comparison between methods of illustration in an 'early' and a late manuscript would apparently add weight to the contention that techniques of reading allegory changed and this is reflected in the illustration. In practice, however, it is very difficult to find conceptual changes happening in a chronological way. In Douce 195, when the Lover is allowed to kiss the rose for the first time he is shown embracing a rosebush (Slide 6), a 'fully figurative' portrayal. The earlier Vienna manuscript (Kuhn Taf. XI fol. 131r) which depicts the Lover embracing a rose at the end penetrates through the figurative covering for its illustration to the passage on Nature at her forge by showing a couple in bed together (55). At this point Douce 195 retains Jean's own sexual metaphors of hammer and anvil and shows Nature busily pounding away (Slide 7). In their very inconsistency these artists exemplify the problems with levels of meaning that illustrators of allegory face. The solutions they adopted seem to have been of a pragmatic rather than an interpretative nature.

Having discussed some of the interpretative problems involved in the way pictures make their meaning it is time to analyze some of the detailed examples used by Tuve and Fleming. The most remarkable thing about the miniatures which Tuve reproduces from the late manuscripts (56)

is the considerable detail, unspecified by the text, that has gone into their construction. This may well be the result of formal advances -- the technical resources of a more naturalistic style -- than of a different approach to the poem; nevertheless it is on detail that Tuve focusses. It is, however, difficult to account for the attention to detail in Douce 195 in a way that would unequivocally indicate a considered response to the text. For example, Tuve remarks that the miniature on fol. 59v of Douce 195:

... with its pair in the pastoral Golden Age-garden modeled nearly after the illustrations of the sin of Luxury, shows that at least the illustrator of MS Douce 195 ... would have smiled as he spoke of 'free' love (57) (Slide 8).

It is quite true that if we compare the miniature on fol. 113r showing Venus and Adonis (Slide 9), the positioning of the couple is very similar and, if anything, slightly more decorous. It is clear that the love of Venus for Adonis is not held up as an admirable model. Yet the miniature on fol. 59v also contains sheep. Do they also have a symbolic function to suggest the moral ambiguity of this Golden Age garden? Or, more likely, is the artist haphazardly combining various elements which the term 'Golden Age' suggested to him, with complete lack of regard for total effect? The repetition of the lovers on fols. 59v and 113r suggests a detaching of motif from context. In other words, the artist was more concerned to find a suitable modulus (58) from which to create his miniature than with interpreting the text.

Another miniature from Douce 195 which Tuve uses brilliantly to buttress her argument is that on fol. 146r (Slide 10). Central to her discussion is the premise that in Jean's ironic method all protagonists speak in character. It is up to the reader to assess the levels of inadequacy, self interest and ignorance which lie behind their various definitions as to what love involves. Such a case in point is Genius' lengthy speech in which he offers Paradise to all his followers. The levels of irony shift disconcertingly. The metaphors involved, those of

sheep and Good Shepherd, have an unmistakable Christian application. This exploitation of the Agnus Dei motif allied with Genius' advocacy of unbridled sexual licence creates an irreconcilable clash between the two levels of expectation. The images arouse feelings of reverence; Genius' vision of Paradise is accurate in its selection of emblems. Yet, as befits a debased human quality, the activities he considers suitable as a passport to such a place are incongruous. The continuation of his speech, introducing the familiar symbols of the olive tree and the Fountain of Life which consists of three springs which are yet one, pushes sacred parody to its furthest extreme. The artist of Douce 195 seems to be offering a considered response to the text with the hermaphrodite-pis of fol. 146r. This serves as a grotesque enough dislocation between the usual meaning of the Fountain and the use to which it is put on this occasion. In effect it is a startling metaphor, to return to Lavin's term, through which to make a visual statement about the subject. It must certainly have been the result of careful thought. Tuve considers that 'there is no chance that the illustrator did not know what he was doing' and makes this a cornerstone for her claim that:

Some illustrators attempt to make the same sort of lascivious transformation of the imagery which is represented by Genius's naturalistic misreading of the whole image of the Garden of Heavenly Love. The wrench thus given to the relation between text and picture is comparable to what we feel in watching Genius pervert the known images (59).

Yet it is difficult to feel that this image, compelling as it is, is more than a jeu d'esprit on the part of the illuminator. He certainly does not have a consistent attitude towards the complex levels of meaning with which he is dealing. The previous miniature, fol. 144v (Slide 11), concerning the Good Shepherd, shows unambiguously a shepherd leaning on a walled enclosure containing genuine white sheep. The difference in type of response in the two scenes makes one wonder if the 'lascivious transformation' was such a well co-ordinated response to the text.



It is evident from the analyses offered up to this point that it is rarely possible to use miniatures in an objective way to determine a reading of a text. Usually the miniatures are used only to substantiate a view already formed. Those who hunt symbols in the text are also likely to hunt them in the miniatures. This is by no means an invalid procedure, but we must be aware that this is the order in which perceptions are occurring and thus be honest in our descriptions of miniatures. For example, Fleming quite justly implies that the Golden Age mentioned by Reason is to be seen as an analogue of the world before the Fall. It was a time during which justice and harmony reigned and it was ended by Jupiter's castration of Saturn. This 'dur fill e amer' threw the genitals into the sea and thus Venus was born. The account of such a grotesque genesis vividly encapsulates the scorn which must be felt by the abstraction 'reason' for the abstraction 'lechery'. In confirmation of his point about the disruption of order Fleming turns to the early fifteenth-century manuscript, Valencia, Biblioteca de la Universidadada 387:

For the brilliant and mythographically sophisticated illustrator of the Valencia MS. the disorders of nature inherent in the first fall from the Golden Age could be emblematically suggested by a late Gothic grotesque, a mermaid Venus, half queen and half penis ... the illustrator captures, in a dramatic conflation of temporalities, the tableau of violent and wilful rebellion against order and justice which enthroned Venus in the hearts of men (60).

Unfortunately for the argument, the artist is too 'mythographically sophisticated'. The ludicrous carnality of Venus is certainly emphasized but Saturn himself has become an equivocal figure. The artist has evidently consulted additional mythographic sources. Thus Saturn, holding a scythe in his left hand with an ouroboros serpent curled round it has become an image for Time devouring his own children very much in the Goya manner (61). It is difficult to see Jupiter's revolt against this hideous figure biting off a child's head as anything other than man's distress at his own transitory, temporal condition. An analogue to the kind of

picture that may have provided a model for this miniature is furnished by Bodleian MS Rawl. B.214, a collection of miscellaneous texts including a prologue to Ovid's Metamorphoses illustrated by an English artist in the middle of the fifteenth century (62). On fol. 197v (63), Saturn has all the attributes exhibited in the Valencia manuscript and, as with the latter manuscript, there is a continuous narration showing Jupiter with genitals in his hand and the genitals in the sea out of which Venus arises. With a certain wit the artist of the Rawlinson manuscript has exploited the womb-like shape of the disembodied genitals.

The evidence provided by illustration is often ambiguous. Even where the patterning of a composition adds details sufficiently divergent from the norm to excite speculation, the questions raised are more numerous than the answers that can be provided. The first folio of BN MS fr. 1576 (64), a fourteenth-century manuscript, has an unusual opening scene. It shows the Lover in bed, but, conflating a tendency in some manuscripts to portray the sleeping lover on one side of the composition and the Garden of Dedit on the right (Kuhn's Group II), the Lover's bed, inside a bell-tent, is here actually in the garden, a stylized tapestry-like affair. Once we have accustomed ourselves to the individual collocation of fairly standard iconographic components, most of this is fairly unremarkable. The most prominent detail is the pelican feeding her young with her own blood at the top of the picture. The nest, perched on top of the tent, rises above the picture frame. The pelican is a common symbol for Christ's Passion; the problem here is what the reader is to make of it. Does the expulsion of the pelican, symbol of Christ, to a position outside the picture frame suggest that the concerns of the Garden of Dedit are totally inimical to those of Christ; or does the appearance of the pelican indicate that to one reader, at least, both could be integrated? It is possible that the artist of BN MS fr. 1576 anticipated Molinet; that by placing the

pelican at the top of the picture he wished to suggest the connection between the Garden of Deduit and the Paradise Garden. The interpretation that Fleming wishes to canvas is that the position of the pelican outside the frame provides an ironic comment on the kind of love which the dreamer pursues. In the absence of any external evidence, however, it is impossible to feel entirely sure about the exact signification of the pelican in context -- whether it is there to contrast the Garden of Deduit with the Garden of Paradise or to corroborate their affinity.

BN MS fr. 1576 is not the only fourteenth-century manuscript to introduce religious motifs into its compositions. Fourez (65) describes a manuscript in Tournai which begins with a table of contents headed by a miniature depicting a Virgin and child. 'Jésus lève la main droite en signe de bénédiction et soutient un globe terrestre de la main gauche'. The Virgin holds the child in one arm only; in her other hand she holds a book, perhaps the very book which the reader is perusing. Furthermore, the miniature on p.280 portrays Nature confessing to Genius. The scene in the bas-de-page is of the creation:

A gauche, le Christ, auréolé d'or, ayant un poisson en main, se tient devant un arbre supportant deux colombes et sous lequel sont massés des animaux, dont un bouc, un singe et un animal fantastique; une seconde scène représente le Christ tenant en ses mains une espèce de grande hostie divisée en trois parties et contenant les lettres A, E, A et ayant agenouillée devant lui dame Nature couronnée d'or (66).

There thus seems to be little sense of tension between the sacred and the profane in the illustrative programme of this manuscript. All one can suggest is that views of the Roman during the fourteenth century may not have been as unitary as Tuve and Fleming seem to assume. It is therefore difficult to use the evidence of manuscript illustration to gain access to detail of a contemporary understanding of a text.

The problems which have been discussed so far do not occur only in relation to the Roman or to the work which has been done on it. P.Brieger (67) traces changes in the way Dante's Divine Comedy was perceived by analyzing illustrative cycles accompanying the poem. In



this respect his focus of interest is very much like Tuve's for the Roman. On the one hand, unlike the Roman, the Commedia attracted a good deal of intellectual, indeed critical, scrutiny, dating from a time close to the poem's actual composition:

Almost from the time Dante completed his poem artists began to translate certain aspects of it into paint. ... the Commedia was almost immediately accepted as a great text, or even a source of revealed truth like the Bible, and as such it seemed to require both verbal and visual glosses (68).

On the other hand, the illustrative cycle develops little in terms both of the scenes selected for depiction and in compositional types used

(69). As with early illustration of the Roman:

The early illuminators seldom attempted to render any part of the poem in all its uniqueness. They tended on the contrary to conventionalize it. Instead of Dante's specific image they often provided a more or less related traditional one (70).

Nevertheless, Brieger, like Tuve, sees a difference between the fourteenth-century and fifteenth-century reception of the text. He traces three stages. During most of the fourteenth century Dante's poem was accepted as an authentic account of an otherworld journey granted by God. During the second stage emphasis is not only on the poem but on the poet, 'now thought of not so much as a Christian who has received divine inspiration, but as a great genius relating his personal experiences' (71). In the third phase Dante is viewed as 'the scholar who spreads out for our intellectual and aesthetic enjoyment a vast repertory of philosophical, historical and political information' (72). The criteria Brieger uses to establish these readings, however, are based on analyses of style. I am not convinced myself that such an approach is very helpful. Such an analysis is based too firmly on subjective impressions of technique and effect rather than of intention.

In fact, a closer scrutiny of circumstances of production demonstrates that to attribute 'creative intention' to a medieval artist is difficult. The critical work which has been done using manuscript illustration as part of the evidence is sometimes, particularly in the



work of Tuve, brilliant and persuasive. It does not, however, derive these qualities from the more objective nature of such an approach. Indeed, as I have shown, miniatures are as vulnerable to a subjective reading as is a text, if not more so. I have discussed the problems of recovering meaning; it is now time to turn to what is known about the production and use of illustrated texts in the Middle Ages.

## 2. The Production of the Illustrative Cycle.

Twentieth-century critics have used the evidence of manuscript illustration as a way of establishing a reading of a text; did medieval readers do so? There are indications that they were, on occasion, expected to look at the pictures carefully. Some thought went into the construction of pictorial cycles and in the opinion of Hindman and Farquhar (73) 'almost every manuscript was the product of a carefully conceived plan'. This view is possibly overstated: there are many examples of carelessness and inattention to detail in the execution of sequences of miniatures. There may well have been, too, the customer who was more interested in the fact of illustration, the possession of a beautiful book, than in the detail of the pictures. In that case, the entrepreneur providing the book would, no doubt, have supplied a readily-devised sequence compiled from the stock of pattern-sheets to hand, or the series which seemed to be indicated by the traditions of illustrating that particular text. On the other hand, there must always have been planning of some description, whatever degree of control was exercised over the contents of the pictorial cycle (74). Certain factors suggest that miniatures could be seen as an important, as well as a decorative, part of the apparatus of the book. It is the purpose of this section to sketch in some of the influences at work on the provision of illustration. Authors, patrons, learned commentators and translators can all be shown to have shared a concern for the provision of miniatures and their location in the text. Gilbert Ouy (75) discusses a set of

directions, written in part by Jean Gerson which shows the utmost concern for mise-en-page: Gerson provides not only directions to the illustrator, but also a model, by displaying the text with spaces left at the relevant places.

Christine de Pizan is the author who has received most attention in this respect. 'This indefatigable lady ... turned out at least one work every year, and almost all of them were illustrated' (76). It has usually been assumed, with good evidence, that Christine worked closely with artists in the design of pictures for her works. Not only does she seem to have taken the keenest interest in the appearance of her manuscripts, it has also been suggested that she was prepared to act as her own scribe. In the opinion of C.C. Willard, BN MS fr. 580 contains Christine's hand (77). The manuscript is decorated with miniatures and therefore Christine must have been in a position carefully to supervise their production. Moreover, the same hand is to be found in many other manuscripts, often indicating corrections to be made in the copy; a further piece of evidence suggesting authorial involvement at all levels of production. Most importantly, this hand is to be found in BL MS Harley 4431 (78), an extensively illustrated collection of Christine's writings embellished almost entirely by the workshop of the Cité des Dames master (79) and presented by the author to Queen Isabeau of Bavaria c. 1410. The cycle of pictures for the Epître d'Othea is a copy of the sequence produced 1405-1408 by the Epistre Master and to be found in BN fr. 606 (80). According to Ignatius: 'There is no doubt that Christine herself supervised the production of the illuminations for MS fr. 606, and that some of the credit for their success is hers' (81). The illustrations of most of the texts in the Harley collection involved the devising of new iconographic types (82). It is therefore highly probable that Christine designed them herself, or in close collaboration with the artists. Certainly she seems to have been highly aware of the physical format of her works: L'Epître d'Othea, in particular, is said to have been designed in part as

a vehicle for the pictures (83).

Such a degree of supervision or collaboration with the producers of the manuscripts is rare. The degree of interplay between picture and text during composition can be demonstrated by BN fr. 848, a copy of the Epître which has been dated earlier than fr. 606 (84). The illustration of Temperance depicts her with a clock; the text of the manuscript, however, contains no reference whatever to a clock. (Fig.4). A textual reference is included in slightly later manuscripts of the Epître which incorporate Christine's revisions (85). In a rubric preceding the miniature Christine comments that:

Attrempance estoit aussi appellee deesse et pour ce que nostre corps humain est compose de diuerses choses et doit estre attrempe selon raison peut estre figure a lorge qui a plusieurs roes et mesures et toutefois ne vault rien l'orloge sil nest attrempe semblablement non fait nostre corps humain se attrempance ne l'ordonne (86).

The rubric incorporates the iconography into the text, but why does it occur in the first place? Meiss suggests that it was on the explicit instructions of Christine, 'who perhaps wrote this manuscript herself and certainly supervised its illustration' (87). Christine's conception of the possible functions of rubrics developed during the course of her supervision of her manuscripts. Both fr. 606 and Harley 4431 contain explanatory rubrics which precede those miniatures dealing with the planetary gods. Their function is to tie text and image more closely: the poem itself says nothing about how the gods should be depicted. In a way, then, these rubrics are directions for the artist, but they are more than this: they aid in interpreting the significance of the iconography. Thus the rubric to Venus, the second planetary god, mentioned on fol. 100r of Harley 4431 reads:

Venus est planette ou ciel que les payens iadis appellerent deesse damours pour ce que elle donne influence destre amoureux et pour ce sont cy figurez amans que lui presentent leurs cuers.

This information is supplied because Christine is aware that her public, the upper ranks of the French nobility, does not have a clerical



education (88).

That Christine took a personal interest in illustration of her poems is clear enough. It remains to ask why she went to this trouble. One explanation is not far to seek. Christine did not write so prolifically for enjoyment; she was dependent for her livelihood on her patrons (89). The Epître is particularly lavish in its provision of miniatures (90). Furthermore, she was enterprising in her commissioning of presentation copies: she produced no fewer than four presentation copies of the Mutacion de Fortune for the benefit of potential patrons, including Philippe le Hardi, Duke of Burgundy and the Duke de Berry (91). The profusion of illustration in her texts may have been a way of impressing her patrons; but there seems to have been more to it than this. Her concentration on physical appearance, Ignatius suggests, shows her responsiveness to new eye-oriented ideas of reading (92). The rubrics show a concern for the integration of picture and text which indicates a focus on meaning rather than on decoration. Harley 4431 has a rubric after the prologue which provides a rationale for the miniatures:

Affin que ceulz qui ne sont une cleirs poetes puissent entendre en brief la significacion des histoires de ce liure est a sauoir que par tout ou les ymages sont en mies Cest a entendre que ce sont les figures des dieux ou deesses de quoy la letre ensuiuant ou liure parle selon la maniere de parler des ancians poetes Et pour ce que deyte est chose espirituelle et esleuee de terre sont les ymages figurez en mies (Fol. 95v) (93).

This suggestion that concrete images help to make actual spiritual concepts demonstrates a consciousness in the manuscript tradition of the relationship between text and image.

With no other author is it possible to demonstrate quite so conclusively the intimate association between text and physical form of the manuscripts. It is possible, however, that Friar Laurent who wrote the compilation of religious treatises Somme le Roi in 1279 at the request of Philippe le Hardi, King of France, also specified the pictures to accompany his text (94). The oldest illustrated version of the Somme,



BN MS fr. 938, made in October 1294, has a sequence of fifteen pictures which became closely associated with the work, reappearing even when the pictures no longer corresponded to a revised version (95). Furthermore, an extensive set of instructions to the illuminator is associated with this work, becoming incorporated into the text as part of the rubrics. BN MS fr. 14939 'escript a Paris, l'an M CCC LXXIII, la veille de l'Ascension Nostre-Segneur' has a series of rubrics giving the title and chapter number; certain of the chapters are prefaced by miniatures and here, instead of the normal rubric, is a more extensive one consisting of the original directions to the artist (96). In fact, the miniatures in this manuscript do not correspond particularly well with the instructions; the artist of the volume did not use the rubrics as directions to himself. On the other hand, the rubrics describe exactly the illustrations in BN MS fr. 938 (97). As is to be expected, they do not suggest a relationship between the meaning of the image and the meaning of the text as do the rubrics to the Epître; they are descriptive only. The description of the pictures may, however, on occasion, have been seen as an adequate substitute for the pictures themselves: Harvard MS fr. 123 has a number of the rubrics, but none of the miniatures to which they refer (98). The implications of this are interesting: it suggests that the information contained in the illustrations was important in its own right and that they were not considered merely as part of an elaborate decorative programme. It is only possible to speculate that Friar Laurent supervised production of the miniatures. What can be said definitely is that someone around the time of the work's completion took great pains to provide it with an illustrative cycle.

There is less evidence of authorial interest in illustration for England. Gower is probably the most important exception here (99) and the people who compiled copies of Chaucer's work after his death also seem to have been responsive to the power of the visual image in making

the statement about the work they wished to present (100). From the sixteenth century comes the collaboration between Stephen Hawes and Wynkyn de Worde in supplying woodcuts for the former's work. In the opinion of Edwards the woodcuts carefully complement the text: 'these editions contain attempts to reflect through the woodcuts the detail of Hawes' verse' (101). There are indications in the text that the poet was anticipating illustration: ll. 3870-3871 of The Pastime of Pleasure

Lo here the fygyres of them both certayne  
luge whiche is best fauourde of them twayne (102)

immediately precede a woodcut of a bald-headed man and a seated ugly woman. Both are depicted with scrolls, that for the man reading 'fayr mayde wyl ye haue me' and that for the woman 'nay syr for ye be yl fauoured' (103). Near the end of the Conversion of Swearers Hawes asks his reader to:

Beholde this lettre with the prynte also  
Of myn owne seale by perfyte portrayture  
Prynte it in mynde and ye shall helthe recure (ll. 350-352) (104)

'The words suggest that Hawes was aware that Hodnett 390, an "imago pietatis" depicting Christ and his thirteen sufferings, was to accompany his text' (105).

Incidental remarks by other writers give an insight into the way in which visual material was seen as an important device for supplementing the text. During the course of the fifteenth century the writer of devotional lyrics more or less assumed that 'his readers would gain knowledge of a visual image, not from a literary description provided by himself, but from a statue or a painting, and that ideally an illumination would actually accompany the poem in the manuscript' (106). Specific references occur in other contexts. Towards the beginning of his Li Bestiaires D'Amours Richart de Fornival writes:

Et meesmement cis escriis est de tel sentence k'il peinture desire.  
Car il est de nature de bestes et d'oisaus ke miex sont con-  
nissables peintes ke dites (107).

He continues:

Mais entre tous les autres sens n'est nus si nobles comme veoirs.  
Car nus des autres ne fait conoistre tant de choses ... (108).

He is also interested in issues of memory, a point which will be taken up later. Guillaume de Deguileville acknowledges the power of the visual representation and obviously expected it to be carefully scrutinized. At the beginning of Book IV of Le Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine, the pilgrim-narrator comes across a sea in which float a number of pilgrims, some with their feet in the air and some with their feet clogged with weeds. Others have wings but are unable to fly because of the water. Just as the pilgrim is wondering how best to negotiate this obstacle he sees a hideous monster:

Celle beste ert desguisee  
Si vilment et figuree  
[Que] du parler grant hide aroie,  
Se longuement [vous] en parloie.  
Ordene ai [que], painturee  
[Elle] soit [i] ci et figuree  
Pour que, qui voudra la voie,  
Autrement n'en cheviroie (109)

The author of the translation of Johannes de Bado aureo's De Arte Heraldica in Bodleian MS Laud Misc. 733 refers throughout to the series of explanatory illustrations in the margin: e.g.:

A playne crosse is such as is shewed here in the margyn (fol. 10v)  
Also a crosse is wonte sumtyme to be engreed as here  
Also it is wonte sumtyme to be cutte of the sharper ende as in  
the margyn (fol. 11r).

Here illustration is in the nature of a diagram, offering information complementary to the text which would be incomplete without it. This is an important function of miniatures (110) but we have moved some way from the idea of pictures as visual commentaries. Enough has been said, however, to demonstrate that for the late medieval author provision of miniatures may have been an important consideration in his or her overall conception of the text and may have been used as a means for communicating certain aspects of it to the reader.

With the introduction of printing one very crucial factor is removed: the possibility of the interested reader specifying the



particular kind of manuscript he wanted. The whole context of patronage is substantially different; there is a movement towards standardization. Although Bühler observes that 'there is very little real difference between the fifteenth-century manuscripts and the incunabula' (111), he goes on to modify this generalization:

It is manifest that the original embellishment of an incunable took place at the instance of the producer (be he the printer, publisher, or financial backer); the decoration of a manuscript, usually ... a 'bespoke' production, was primarily dependent upon the preferences of the purchaser or owner, not -- normally -- on the initiative of the vendor, save (perhaps) for the occasional mass-produced volumes. The vendors of incunabula decorated their wares to enhance their value or to make them more attractive (at a higher price) to prospective purchasers; the owners of manuscripts had them decorated in order to illustrate or embellish the contents of their volumes in the particular manner they wished this to be done (112).

Every manuscript is unique. Even when the texts of manuscripts are identical, the manuscripts themselves are a unique visual experience; details of the script often vary from exemplar to exemplar. The technology of printing makes the process of copying more uniform though deluxe printed books with custom-made illustration were, of course, possible (113). Theoretically, the opportunity existed for a commissioner of a manuscript to have a copy made which reflected his personal tastes; did he ever take advantage of this opportunity?

Hindman and Farquhar speculate that the patron may have issued specific instructions for the composition of the book's pictures and text (114). In the case of Charles V we have more solid evidence: autograph colophons in extant manuscripts show that he took a keen interest in all aspects of the books he had commissioned (115). Evidence of a specific interest in the appearance of a text can also be deduced from internal evidence. Kathleen Scott puts forward an interesting and subtle argument about the purpose of BL Cotton MS Julius E. IV, Art. 6, the 'Beauchamp Pageants', illustrating the life and exploits of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and produced in the last quarter of the fifteenth century some forty-five to fifty years after



his death in 1439. The manuscript is unusual both in the format of its illustrations, forty-eight drawings in brown ink made before the text was entered (116), and in subject matter. It was more usual in the fifteenth century for a prominent person to be commemorated 'by the building of a tomb, saying of masses, or settling of a chantry' (117). Scott confirms a suggestion made by Sir E.M.Thompson that the 'Pageants' were commissioned by Richard's daughter by his second wife, Anne, and she goes on to suggest that the manuscript was produced as 'an appeal by Anne Beauchamp, Countess of Warwick, for the restitution to the family of its honour as well as of its estates and livelihood' (118). In other words, the aggrandizing biography of Anne's father was commissioned as an exercise in propaganda, in the attempt by Anne to get her property restored. It had been confiscated by Act of Parliament in 1474 after the death of her husband, Richard Neville. Anne had been vociferous in her attempts to get redress (119).

One of the most famous examples of a commentator taking an interest in a text is Jean Lebègue's set of extraordinarily extensive instructions in the form of a brief treatise on how to illustrate Sallust's Catalina and Jugurtha, dating from the early fifteenth century (120). Lebègue's work suggests, however, that the amount of detailed attention to be placed on the components of a miniature may have fluctuated within the space of a single manuscript. As one might have expected, the directions for the prefatory miniature (121) are particularly complex: Lebègue was obviously anticipating that it would be considered with some degree of attention. It is, at first sight, a conventional author portrait. It is to show Sallust seated in his study writing at a desk, dressed in a tunic under which may be seen a coat of mail. He is also to wear greaves and gold spurs and to have a coif on his head. The horse is to be half-hidden behind the study 'en signifiant que le dit homme escripvant sera descendu de chevalerie a l'estude'. It can be seen that Lebègue puts considerable conceptual pressure on the

components of what would otherwise seem a fairly simple miniature. Here the iconographic detail in the miniature is of crucial importance: the combination in his attire of the scholarly and the chivalric is designed to convey as much about his pattern of life as is the half-hidden horse. The function of this illustration is apparent: it supplements the text by providing information about its author. The remainder of Lebègue's instructions give no indication as to how the rest of the scenes should operate. Though they are precise, paying attention to the position of the miniatures in the text (122), they address themselves to questions of composition rather than of interpretation. He does not theorize about why he went to such trouble to compose this meticulous cycle, or the kind of aid to the reader, if any, he thought he was providing. Each scene to be depicted is described scrupulously; though the detail is not symbolically significant as it is in the frontispiece, great care has been taken to ensure accuracy to the text. It is possible, therefore, that their main purpose was to offer a parallel narrative and to emphasize its events by giving visual expression to the words on the page.

De Winter points to the circle of Court officials and 'grands bourgeois' who developed an interest in literature in France during the closing years of the fourteenth century, including copies of illustrated texts. 'Un intérêt véritable s'était développé pour les études, considérées d'ores et déjà comme clef pour aspirer à une certaine position sociale' (123). But it was not only in France that an enthusiasm for study developed. In Italy, as well, learned commentators put their energies into devising pictorial cycles, in this case, for Dante manuscripts. Meiss (124) quotes the example of Chantilly, Musée Condé 597 as showing what Dante scholars in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries thought were appropriate illustrations. It was made for the learned commentator Fra Guido da Pisa, no doubt under his supervision.

An example of a translator who had a firm notion of the use to

which miniatures could be put is Nicole Oresme, translator of Aristotle. Claire Richter Sherman has shown that the illustrations were an important factor in making 'intelligible in contemporary terms the concepts, terminology and institutions essential to an understanding of the Aristotelian texts' (125). The pictures were actually used to supply visual definitions of difficult neologisms coined by Oresme in his translations. His problem was to find a way of presenting a serious work of scholarship to a non-academic audience; his solution was to use visual aids. Furthermore, he actually provides guidance to the reader on relating the concepts in the text to the illustrations. An additional section of Oresme's prologue to Aristotle's Politics and Economics is found on fol. 2r of the first illustrated manuscript executed after 1372 for Charles V of France. This section begins:

Aristote traicte en cest livre appellé Politiques principalement de policies. Et est à savoir que de simples policies sont .vi. especes generales, et chascune de ces especes est divisée en plusieurs especes. Et de ces .vi. manieres de policies et de leurs especes sont composées et mixtes toutes autres policies. Et donques ces .vi. policies sont principals, et sont aussi comme les elemenz et les principes de toutes autres. Et pour ce sont yci au commencement du livre pourtraictes et figurées. (126).

The illustration provides a convenient visual mnemonic for the theme and concepts put forward in the ensuing text. Oresme's concern to explain the contents and emphasis of the frontispiece 'confirms the hypothesis that he himself was responsible for the selection and arrangement of the novel pictorial cycle in Charles V's illustrated copies of the Politics and Economics' (127).

It is impossible to assume that all illustrative programmes received this kind of attention. An additional problem for the modern critic wishing to lay particular stress on the miniatures, is the disjunction between the deviser and executor of the programme. Ideas regarding appropriate illustration would have been mediated to the reader by an artist who may not have read the text or properly understood what he was required to portray.



There is no reason to suppose that the artist actually read the text he was supposed to be illustrating. It is well known that medieval artists tended to copy or to follow instructions either verbal, written, or in the form of marginal sketches (128), rather than to invent for themselves on the basis of the text. There is no guarantee that the artist would have followed his instructions precisely:

On pourrait multiplier à l'infini les exemples de ce genre, qui montrent des enlumineurs traduisant infidèlement la pensée de leur maître, soit parce qu'ils ne l'ont pas comprise, soit pour des considérations diverses (129).

Comparing the finished product of Somme le Roi illustrations with the instructions given, Tuve complains of carelessness in execution and concludes that: 'Evidently less than the best would do, very often' (130). Even a precise programme is likely to have been subjected to the conventional motifs of the artist: he may have been told what to draw, but was free to choose his own specific forms. He may well have evolved his images out of moduli: the stock of motifs involving undifferentiated figures and simple gestures which could be recombined at will (131). These elements of a scene have their analogy in woodcuts. As Hodnett points out, the early printers eked out their pictorial cycles by what he calls 'factotum pictures': that is, small figures of men, women, trees and buildings (132). Such motifs may provide a convenient way of elaborating a sequence or adding seeming complexity to the composition of a particular miniature. In Meiss' opinion, the less full the directions given to the artist, the more inclined he would be to use his stock of visual clichés (133).

If the cycle of pictures was not a new one, the artist might procure himself an illustrated exemplar, a version of the text that was already illustrated, and copy it himself in his turn. This might lead to misunderstandings of what was depicted in the original. D.J.A. Ross finds in one of the frontispieces to Bodleian MS Bodley 264, a 'confused and much altered derivative of a frontispiece found in certain manuscripts



of the French prose Alexander' (134). This is not to suggest that a medieval artist never consulted the text; but he seems to have done so only in a local and sporadic way. Meiss (135) quotes the example of an associate of the Boucicaut Master attempting to depict the story of Polycrates from Laurent de Premierfait's Des Cas des Nobles Hommes et Femmes. This was a scene often included in illustrated manuscripts of this text: the salient action is of Polycrates throwing his ring into a river as a sop to Fortune. The ring was swallowed by a fish which was subsequently caught and thus the ring was returned to its owner. In the version by the Boucicaut associate, the king and attendants stand by the river bank while the fish, protruding its head above the water, disgorges a sheep. The artist has misunderstood the text, taking anel -- ring -- to be anel -- lamb. The resulting composition is bizarre, distracting and certainly not useful in aiding the reader's comprehension of the text.

The conclusion to be drawn from this seems to be that people concerned in the making of medieval manuscripts were frequently convinced of the value to the medieval reader of pictures, but the finished product may not always reflect this. A keen interest in the contents of miniatures on the part of the commissioner of the manuscript may merely be translated into the pictorial stereotypes of an artist. It is thus difficult to propose with confidence a direct interplay between text and image. On the other hand, there is sufficient evidence of thought in the devising of the pictorial programme for some scrutiny of the relationship between picture and text to be a legitimate activity in recovering the meaning of the manuscript for its original reader.

### 3. The Illustration in the Decorative Hierarchy.

The method of analysis adopted by L.M.J.Delaissé and his pupils is to investigate all aspects of the makeup of any manuscript coming under their scrutiny. They begin with details of ruling and pricking

and continue until they have built an overall picture of the sequence of manuscript production. As Delaissé points out in the work that represents the fullest documentation of his method:

Before the work was begun, a scale of sizes, techniques and decorative motifs was determined, which accorded with the relative importance of the parts to be decorated and which is called the 'hierarchy' of decoration. The height of initials, for instance is significant and strictly controlled . . . . The plan of any book included of course not only the division of work at the different parts of the text and the composition of the quires accordingly, but also a hierarchy of decoration and a programme of illustration, both dependent on the relative importance of the texts (136).

Illustration and decoration can thus be an indication of the relative importance of sections of text to the commissioner or designer of a manuscript. S.Hindman and J.D.Farquhar discuss the functional rôle of all decorative elements in dividing up a text into its component sections in more detail (137). They point out that the simplest way of designating the divisions of the text by using borders is to vary the quantity of the border decoration so that a folio which had no border decoration would represent the 'basic level' of the text; a border in one margin would establish a slightly higher position of the accompanying text and so on. They concede that it is important to distinguish borders which are functional in this way from the purely decorative. They continue:

Both rubrics and pictures functioned partly as verbal and visual indices to major textual units, much as running headlines and chapter headings do in modern books, providing an internal reference system before medieval books received separate indices (138).

In some late medieval romance manuscripts, illustrations with their lengthy rubrics summarizing the events of the chapter to come divide up the text into accessible units and provide an alternative way of gaining access to the narrative (139). They must have been much appreciated by those readers more interested in following the story from the pictures than from reading the text. For those interested in a more meticulous reading, miniatures accurate to the text would provide a useful way of relocating favourite passages and a real aid to remembering the stages of the narrative. It is possible that the majority of the illustrations

specified by Lebègue may have been envisaged as part of the apparatus designed to guide the reader through the text, in the absence of any other indication as to how they were to be used. They would have been a genuine aid to the reader, but they would have aided the process of reading rather than of understanding.

The development of the organization of manuscript layout for maximum efficiency and ease of reference is a complicated subject. There is time to do little more here than sketch in briefly some of the research that has been done. M.B.Parkes provides an account of the development of mise-en-page to respond to the requirements of a scholastic rather than monastic lectio:

The monastic lectio was a spiritual exercise which involved steady reading to oneself, interspersed by prayer, and pausing for rumination on the text as a basis for meditatio. The scholastic lectio was a process of study which involved a more ratiocinative scrutiny of the text and consultation for reference purposes (140).

Parkes describes some of the changes in apparatus brought about by these new forms of reading. Rubrics and indications of textual division helped the reader find his way around the text as did running titles which took on an importance in the thirteenth century. 'Features of the apparatus can be found even in well-produced copies of vernacular texts which do not presuppose an academic readership', particularly in the Ellesmere manuscript of the Canterbury Tales (141). Richard and Mary Rouse also discuss the development of tools which enabled the reader to get at information. They, too, are interested in the development of the visual impression of the page:

The use of color itself in initials and paragraph marks deserves comment. Alternating colors can effectively block off and separate sections of a text, rendering them easily distinguishable at a distance (142).

Papias's dictionary, the Elementarium doctrinae erudimentum from the middle of the eleventh century was a landmark in the organization of the book. In his prologue Papias proves himself conscious of what can be denoted through changes in the sizes of the letters (143). It was not,



however, until after the twelfth century that copyists showed themselves responsive to innovations of this kind (144).

A similar problem confronted Herbert of Bosham:

In preparing his texts for possible publication, Herbert employed various methods for classifying information on the page. He was one of the earliest authors who deliberately used devices such as running-titles, chapter-numbers, two (or three) sizes of script for different classes of information, side-notes in various coloured inks, and even coloured initials as a specific means of finding one's way about the text. In the 12th century such features were unfamiliar and daunting to many scribes. In his two main texts Herbert wrote prologues explaining his elaborate layout and begging that librarii (as he calls them) will copy it in full or not at all (145).

Bodleian MS Auct E. inf. 6, his arrangement of the Great Gloss of Peter Lombard on the Psalms, written possibly in Paris between 1173 and 1177, is of particular importance from our point of view because it also shows figurative art combining with decoration in an attempt to interpret the text. On fol. 119r a figure of St Augustine is shown correcting a mistake by Peter Lombard (146). The figure, labelled 'augustinus' with 'Noto ego' written by the mouth, is further to the left of the page than is the column of side-notes. The figure has a pointer in its hand with which it is indicating a section of the text. It is very probable that Herbert wrote this manuscript himself and the illumination, too, may well be by him (147). This example associates firmly the idea of elaborate preparation of the text with the use of illustration.

From this brief survey it has become apparent that one very plausible purpose of the miniature in medieval manuscripts was to provide a visual chapter heading. This would imply that it was more functional than decorative though its use in commenting on the text would be limited. From this point of view, the location of the illustrations would be more significant than their content. None the less, even if the majority of the pictures were intended to be visual chapter headings only, it is interesting to see into what sections medieval readers apparently divided their reading. It is certainly possible to see the miniatures as part of the overall development of information retrieval



systems in medieval manuscripts.

#### 4. The Medieval Reader.

I have offered evidence that the author, the commentator and the translator may have thought hard about the relationship between picture and text and its possible function in the manuscript. What was the reader expecting? The last section has discussed some of the developments in manuscript layout for works of scholarship which were adapted for non-scholarly use and which may have given him certain expectations about the physical appearance of his book. Furthermore, the concept of the reading process seems to have undergone a change in the late Middle Ages.

A writer such as Chaytor gives much evidence of the custom of reading manuscripts aloud (148). Not everything in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was composed for oral performance; indeed by the fifteenth century it is probable that this view of a literary text is anachronistic. Ignatius points to the possession of the secular, non-scholarly book as being a relatively new phenomenon in France and draws attention to the interest in the physical appearance of the book which is such a feature of early fifteenth-century French manuscripts (149). This does seem to indicate a change in focus from the ear to the eye. A further change in the concept of reading as a process took place in the same period -- the notion of reading for enjoyment. Though most marked in the period after 1450, the idea is present in the Decameron (150).

That he should enjoy the possession of the book as a whole seems, therefore, to have been one of the expectations of the medieval reader of illustrated books. I shall be offering evidence of delighted connoisseurship in relation to the miniatures during the remainder of this thesis. I shall also be discussing books as status-symbols where the magnificent impress of ownership is the most important feature of

the illustration. More discriminating reading of the miniatures is difficult to prove. The decorative aspect of miniatures and their rôle in dividing the text into sections is reasonably self-evident; there is no way of proving conclusively that the medieval reader scrutinized the illustrations with great care (151). On the other hand, certain habits of thought may have pre-disposed him to do so. 'Nowadays we recognize that the visual arts had a central place in the culture of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and that they were capable of a formative effect' (152). Because of the high value placed on the visual sense medieval people were receptive to visual imagery. Beryl Smalley discusses the kinds of visual aids used by the Dominican, Robert Holcot, who used paintings and carvings by way of example (153). He further introduced elaborate 'pictures' of abstract qualities such as Drunkenness and Lechery into his Moralitates and his commentary on the Twelve Prophets. Though it is possible to paint the figures from the description given, it is unlikely that Holcot intended them to be depicted (154). Like all his other 'visual aids' they were primarily aids to preaching, but it is significant that it was not deemed necessary to produce this pictorial information in visual form: the reader or listener was to create them himself in his own imagination as an aid to memorizing the attributes of the various figures. In this they are perhaps like the lengthy instructions to the illustrator in Somme le Roi which also appear in unilluminated manuscripts (155).

Though there was no consistent medieval theory of imagination (156) the image-making faculty was perceived by many thinkers to be necessary for thought. This was certainly the view of Aristotle and it was a notion that was available to the Middle Ages (157). According to the Aristotelian thinkers there are three powers by which the soul comes to know: the sense comes into contact with external objects; the imagination makes them available to the mind; and the intellect possesses them. The imagination thus mediates to the mind the world of

objective reality. Medieval faculty psychology offers an intriguing terminology. Each mental power is assigned a location in the head:

In the front cell or ventricle is imagination, affording a meeting place for separate sensations, thus constituting common sense, and forming the mental images necessary for thought, and the work of imagination proper (158).

This association between the formation of images and thought seems to open an interesting connection between the image on the page in an illustrated manuscript and the thought-process of the reader. At first sight it might appear tempting to draw such a connection and it has been done with great erudition (159); however little direct relationship is proposed between the detailed working-out of the theory and the practical examples given. It seems best merely to indicate this as a possible intellectual trend, a consideration which may have affected a reader or deviser of a pictorial programme, and to leave it at that. It can certainly be said in general that the medieval reader would have had an interest in images and that they might have helped him with his reading.

They might have helped in another way. The imagination also supplied images to the memory. Without these images the memory could not operate. According to Richart de Fornival both visual and aural data are of value to the memory:

Peinture sert a l'oeil et parole a l'oreille. Et comment on puist repairier a le maison de memoire et par peinture et par parole, si est apparent par chu ke memoire, ki est la garde des tresors ke sens d'omme conquiert par bonte d'engien, fait chu ki est trespasse aussi comme present (160).

Memory is thus an important faculty. Though, by and large, medieval thinkers put a low value on it:

when they saw it as a faculty of the soul, they valued it highly as a necessity of everyday life. . . . From this practical view they imagined memory had to be supplied with shelves, so to speak, and kept in order (161).

Men trained their memories by artificial means. The sense of order was an important factor in these artificial memory systems, but so, too, was the sense of sight. And here there is a connection between thinking

about the imagination and thinking about memory. Aristotle's statement that it is impossible to think without a mental picture is constantly adduced to support the use of images in mnemonics (162). The memory systems of antiquity involved an imaginary or remembered building about which one toured, disposing objects which would recall the point that one wanted to make to mind. When one needed to make the speech or to preach the sermon, the idea was to go on the imaginary walk, retrieving the objects in sequence. Yates cites many medieval variants of this system, all reliant on the basic image-making faculty. Again, one must be cautious about making the transition from intellectual theory to the physical appearance of miniatures on the manuscript page. Yet there is a suggestion that miniatures may have aided the memory in lengthy and complex narratives. In the case of Dante illustrations Brieger views the miniatures as providing a parallel and complementary narrative. He is quite clear about the rôle of illustrations as visual aids and mentions their function as aides memoire: 'The purpose of the illustrations was not to compete with the text or to be a substitute for it but to provide a visual aid to understanding and remembering all the steps along the soul's road to salvation' (163). In fact, Yates points out that Dante's Inferno could be regarded as a kind of memory system for memorizing Hell and its punishments (164).

This chapter has reviewed some of the comments made about the relationship between text and image in medieval manuscripts and some of the possible approaches that might be adopted. Since it has become apparent that there is a range of functions which miniatures may have served, ranging from the merely decorative to the explicatory, it is clear that generalizations are inadequate. As we have seen, it is possible that one manuscript may have a carefully co-ordinated pictorial programme designed to aid both the memory and the understanding, while another manuscript might just as easily have a carelessly produced and arbitrarily provided sequence of illustrations. There is no theoretical



reason why the assumptions of Tuve and Fleming, that miniatures may offer a reading of the texts they accompany, should not operate, though there are practical problems. There is too much evidence of thought going into the construction of pictorial cycles for the resulting illustrations to be dismissed merely as decorative devices, indicative of the wealth and taste of the book's owner, though this is a function which they may sometimes exclusively have served. It is by no means certain, however, that where miniatures were scrutinized with attention that they supplemented the meaning of the text; there are other functions of a formal and structural nature that they may have fulfilled. For these reasons specific case studies of individual manuscripts or groups of manuscripts are preferable to generalizations; the conclusions yielded will vary from case study to case study. This is the methodology that will be adopted by the remainder of this thesis. Keeping some of the issues raised in this opening chapter in mind, I shall adopt a deliberately pragmatic approach in the ensuing accounts. I shall concentrate on secular narratives; with religious narratives there is often more at stake than presenting the sequence of the narrative. This fits in, by and large, with the stimulus provided by Fleming and Tuve, the genesis of this study.

## CHAPTER 2. ENGLISH VERNACULAR ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS: SOME CONTEXTS.

Illustrations of texts in the English vernacular pose a particular series of problems. Since an illustrated book is quite a substantial item of expenditure, economic and social factors need to be taken into account. At the simplest level, an audience with sufficient wealth to sustain such an outlay and sufficient interest in manuscripts with illustration must emerge to make the production of an illustrated book feasible or probable. And in Rosemary Woolf's evocative phrase, until the fourteenth century -- and particularly the end of the fourteenth century -- English was a 'depressed vernacular' (1). It must be remembered, moreover, that texts in the English vernacular are not the same as English vernacular texts. Manuscripts in Anglo-Norman were certainly illustrated during the thirteenth century, sometimes quite extensively (2). In other words, if people with the wealth to buy illustrated books were speaking and reading French, texts in English are unlikely to receive illustration. For this reason, illustration of texts in the English vernacular is predominantly a fifteenth-century phenomenon. (3).

At first sight, then, illustrated manuscripts of texts in the English vernacular would seem to provide a useful corpus of material to discuss. There are fewer illustrated manuscripts of texts in the English vernacular than there are in the French, for reasons outlined above, yet the extant manuscripts are sufficiently diverse to demonstrate the various functions that may have been served by illustration (4). On the other hand, to suggest that interest in English vernacular illuminated manuscripts gradually replaced ownership of French illustrated manuscripts during the course of the fifteenth century, would be seriously to falsify the issue (5). Contacts with France were frequent and prolonged in the fifteenth century as in the fourteenth. All the Lancastrian Henries married French princesses (6), matches which presumably necessitated the presence of an entourage of French speakers at the English court. The

influence of Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI, appears to have been particularly marked (7). As important perhaps was the occupation of French soil caused by the English claim to the French crown. That such an occupation catered for or produced a relish for French culture as well as for deeds of warfare is perhaps as much demonstrated by Sir John Fastolf's interest in Christine de Pizan's Epître d'Othea (8) as by John, Duke of Bedford's purchase, in 1425, of the library founded by Charles V (9). Henry IV himself was interested enough in French literature to invite Christine de Pizan to England (10).

It becomes clear that illustrated manuscripts of English vernacular texts cannot be considered in the vacuum of English culture. The most important aspect of this is the fact that much of fifteenth-century English literature, even more than of fourteenth, consists of translation, often from texts which have a full and rich tradition of illustration in their original language (11). Such is the case with many of the works of Lydgate such as the Fall of Princes (12), the Troy Book (13) and his translation of Guillaume de Deguileville's Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine (14). Deguileville's sequel to this, the Pèlerinage de l'Âme was extensively illustrated in France and the conception of the text as an illustrated one seems to have been prevalent in England (15). Christine de Pizan's Epître d'Othea was often lavishly illustrated in its original language (16) and, again, the manuscripts of the English translation, though fewer and more modest, without exception show that the original intention, at least, was to provide the text with illustration (17). Another text which was often lavishly presented in its French original but received a more modest and spasmodic programme in English translation is the Master of Game (18). It is unwise, therefore, to consider such texts apart from the traditions of illustration for their source; it is possible that the conception of the original text as reflected in the format may have influenced the producers of the translation (19).

Together with the status of the language and the tradition of



illumination for a particular text, one must bear in mind traditions of patronage. It is necessary to compare France and England when an illuminated text in the one language becomes an illuminated text in the other, but, as the previous paragraph has begun to intimate, the comparison is often an unfair one. England was a less wealthy country than France (20). Though, as Marcel Thomas points out, 'art at the beginning of the fifteenth century (and more particularly, the art of the book) happened to be very much in fashion in most European courts' and the sumptuous manuscript 'seemed to have become one of the essential attributes of nobility and power' (21), there is no one in England to compare with such discriminating and enthusiastic patrons as Charles V and Jean, Duke of Berry. And there was a venerable tradition behind them. François Avril (22) remarks on the prestige of Paris as an artistic centre during the fourteenth century, pointing out the close association between court and craftsmen which emerged (23). Jean le Bon was the first of the French kings to adopt a definite 'cultural policy' (24), emphasizing translations and the creation of new works (25), but he was amply followed by his sons. Charles V also had a concerted policy of translation into the vernacular (26) and surrounded himself with men of letters (27), scribes and illuminators (28). His other brothers, the dukes of Anjou, Berry and Burgundy also founded libraries and encouraged translators (29). The Duke of Berry's fascination for illustrated books is well known (30) and he is, in this respect, the most important patron of Europe at the beginning of the fifteenth century (31). In England, there is nothing of this lavish rivalry between courts. Royal taste is important in this respect because kings and princes can afford to be conspicuous consumers (32) and 'in collecting books, the gentry and the bourgeoisie followed the example of the magnates, but obviously on a much more modest scale' (33).

Omont's wish to find an English equivalent for 'les bibliothèques royales et princières formées ainsi en Italie et en France' (34) leads



only to Edward IV and his manuscripts are French, executed in Flanders and inspired by the collection of Louis de Gruthuyse with whom he spent a temporary exile in 1471 (35). There is not much evidence here of personal taste. The two English magnates who shared an enthusiasm for book collecting in the fifteenth century, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester and John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, do not seem to have been particularly concerned about book illustration (36). The only extant manuscript of an English vernacular text which Tiptoft is known to have possessed, a copy of Lydgate's Fall of Princes, a work commissioned by Duke Humphrey, is more modestly decorated (37). BL Royal 18 D. iv has an illuminated border to every book except VI and IX; there are no miniatures. It must, however, be admitted that there does not seem to have been a widespread tradition of illustration to the Fall of Princes in England (38).

To make accurate critical remarks about the use of illustration in English literary manuscripts, it is necessary to have some sense of context, of the kinds of texts in the English vernacular which received illustration. This in turn provides some idea as to the audience for a particular text as reflected by its appearance in an illustrated manuscript. It has become clear, however, that an ideal discussion would involve not only a complete list of extant illustrated manuscripts of English vernacular works but also a statistical table showing the ratio of illustrated to unillustrated manuscripts of each text. There are some texts such as, for example, the compilation represented by Oxford, Bodleian MS Fairfax 16 for which only one relatively sumptuous manuscript survives whereas the English prose translation of de Deguileville's Pèlerinage de l'Âme receives illustration in practically every manuscript (39). These observations raise questions both about patronage and about whether the text seems to have been traditionally regarded as one that received illustration. Furthermore, a similar list of manuscripts in French would also ideally be drawn up so that the

reader would be able to assess the English situation in the context of her more culturally advanced neighbour. These are desiderata the achievement of which are impractical within the confines of a thesis. Even were every French and English vernacular text adequately identified, edited, and described, this thesis does not aspire to contain a catalogue raisonné; my concerns are predominantly literary. None the less, certain broad developments can be traced by concentrating on English vernacular illustrated manuscripts alone and I therefore supply the following list though the limitations of this approach must be borne in mind.

#### 1. A Checklist of English Vernacular Manuscripts Containing Illustration

This checklist does not pretend to completeness. While I have consulted the catalogues of the major libraries of the British Isles and the de Ricci Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada, I have been dependent on the accuracy of the catalogues concerned. Obviously I have inspected personally as many manuscripts as possible, but some of the older catalogues do not offer adequately detailed information. However, the value of this checklist does not depend on its completeness: I merely wish, for the reasons outlined above, to offer an indication of the quantity of illustration and the number of manuscripts of this text containing miniatures. Though there may be a number of illustrated manuscripts of texts in the English vernacular unknown to me, I should not expect them seriously to modify my conclusions. Decoration, too, by way of illuminated borders and initials, may also be an important indication of the patron or stationer (40) to produce a luxurious book. Indeed, a manuscript with a full or partial border at every major division is undoubtedly a more costly item and more visually impressive than a manuscript which is merely introduced by an historiated initial (41). None the less, a representational illustration, no matter how rudimentary or stereotyped,

involves an engagement at some level with the actual words of the text, admittedly, in some cases, at a perfunctory one. I therefore omit manuscripts which are decorated only.

As I am concerned with literary, non-liturgical texts, Bibles and Biblical commentaries are excluded from the checklist as are scientific and medical manuscripts, armorials and statutes. My interest is in the nature of the text to be illustrated above all other considerations: the manuscripts of each text appear together loosely organized into the categories of secular, historical and religious in roughly chronological order. The emphasis is on text rather than on the integrity of a particular manuscript compilation. Thus, where a manuscript contains texts which appear to belong in separate categories the manuscript is cited a number of times. For example, BL Harley 4826 consists of a saints' life -- Life of St Edmund and St Fremund -- and two works of instruction by Hoccleve and Lydgate -- De Regimine Principum and Secrees of Old Philosophers. It is therefore cited twice. On the other hand, in terms of the categories erected, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight should appear under a different heading from the other poems of BL Cotton Nero A. x. This has not seemed a useful distinction to make. One further point remains to be made: because my concern is with the sort of English vernacular text for which illustration was provided, I indicate only the items with pictures in a manuscript containing a number of texts -- other works are not mentioned -- and only illustrations to items in English are noted.



Manuscripts of Varied Content

National Library of Scotland Advocates' 19.2.1 The 'Auchinleck' 1330-40 (42)	<u>The King of Tars</u>	Miniature
	<u>Seynt Mergrete</u>	Miniature cut out
	<u>Seynt Katerine</u>	Miniature cut out
	þe desputisoun bitven þe bodi & þe soule	Miniature cut out
	Nativity & Early Life of Mary	Miniature cut out
	þe pater noster vndo englisch	Miniature
	<u>Sir Degare</u>	Miniature cut out
	Reinbrun gij sone of warwicke	Miniature
	<u>Sir Beues of hamtoun</u>	Historiated initial
	Of arthour & of merlin	Miniature cut out
	þe wenche þat (lou)ed (a k)ing	Miniature --defaced
	Hou our leuedi saute was ferst found	Miniature cut out
	Lay le freine	Miniature cut out
	Otuel a kni3t	Miniature cut out
	The thrush & the nightingale	Miniature cut out
	David þe king	Miniature cut out
	<u>Sir Tristrem</u>	Miniature cut out
Horn childe & maiden rimnild	Miniature cut out	
King Richard	Miniature	
BL Cotton Nero A. x c. 1400 (43)	<u>Pearl</u>	Four miniatures
	<u>Cleanness</u>	Two miniatures
	<u>Patience</u>	Two miniatures
	<u>Sir Gawain and the Green Knight</u>	Four miniatures



## Secular Manuscripts

Huntington El. 26 A. 17 late 14th/early 15th cent.	<u>Confessio Amantis</u> (Gower)	Miniature and grotesque figure in margin
Bodleian, Fairfax 3 late 14th cent.	<u>Confessio Amantis</u> (Gower)	Two miniatures
Bodleian, Bodley 902 early 15th cent.	<u>Confessio Amantis</u> (Gower)	Miniature
CUL Mm ii 21 early 15th cent.	<u>Confessio Amantis</u> (Gower)	Two miniatures
Pierpont Morgan M 125 early 15th cent.	<u>Confessio Amantis</u> (Gower)	Miniature
BL Egerton 1991 early 15th cent.	<u>Confessio Amantis</u> (Gower)	Miniature
Oxford, Corpus Christi College 67 early 15th cent.	<u>Confessio Amantis</u> (Gower)	Two miniatures
BL Royal 18 C. xxii early 15th cent.	<u>Confessio Amantis</u> (Gower)	Historiated initial; miniature
Bodleian, Laud Misc. 609 early 15th cent.	<u>Confessio Amantis</u> (Gower)	Two miniatures
Pierpont Morgan M 690 early 15th cent.	<u>Confessio Amantis</u> (Gower)	Miniature
Bodleian, Bodley 693 early 15th cent.	<u>Confessio Amantis</u> (Gower)	Historiated initial; miniature
Bodleian, Bodley 294 early 15th cent.	<u>Confessio Amantis</u> (Gower)	Two miniatures
BL Harley 3869 early 15th cent.	<u>Confessio Amantis</u> (Gower)	Two miniatures
Cambridge, Pembroke College 307 early 15th cent.	<u>Confessio Amantis</u> (Gower)	Two miniatures
Rosenbach 1083/29 early 15th cent.	<u>Confessio Amantis</u> (Gower)	Two historiated initials
Cambridge, St. Catherine's College 7 early 15th cent.	<u>Confessio Amantis</u> (Gower)	Two miniatures
New York, Columbia Univ. Library, Plimpton 265 15th cent.	<u>Confessio Amantis</u> (Gower)	Two miniatures

Pierpont Morgan M 126 2nd half 15th cent.	<u>Confessio Amantis</u> (Gower)	106 miniatures extant
Oxford, New College 266 mid 15th cent. (44)	<u>Confessio Amantis</u> (Gower)	Nineteen miniatures extant
Cambridge, Corpus Christi 61 early 15th cent. (45)	<u>Troilus and Criseyde</u> (Chaucer)	Miniature and spaces for illustration
Pierpont Morgan M 817 The 'Campsall' MS 1399-1413	<u>Troilus and Criseyde</u> (Chaucer)	Historiated initial
Bodleian, Arch. Selden B. 24 after 1488	<u>Troilus and Criseyde</u> (Chaucer)	Historiated initial
Huntington El. 26 C 9 The 'Ellesmere' MS 1400-10 (46)	<u>Canterbury Tales</u> (Chaucer)	Twenty-three miniatures in margin
BL Lansdowne 851 1410-1420	<u>Canterbury Tales</u> (Chaucer)	Historiated initial
CUL Gg iv. 27 (47) 1st quarter 15th cent.	<u>Canterbury Tales</u> (Chaucer)	Nine miniatures
Bodleian, Bodley 686 1430-40	<u>Canterbury Tales</u> (Chaucer)	Historiated initial
Manchester Eng. 63 & Rosenbach 1084/2 The 'Oxford' fragment 1440-50	<u>Canterbury Tales</u> (Chaucer)	Three miniatures
The 'Devonshire' MS 1450-60	<u>Canterbury Tales</u> (Chaucer)	Historiated initial
Rawl. poet 223 fols. 1-270 1450-60	<u>Canterbury Tales</u> (Chaucer)	Two historiated initials
Bodleian, Digby 232 after 1420	<u>Troy Book</u> (Lydgate)	Five miniatures
BL Cotton Augustus A. iv 1430's	<u>Troy Book</u> (Lydgate)	Six miniatures
Bodleian, Rawl. C 446 2nd quarter 15th cent.	<u>Troy Book</u> (Lydgate)	Five miniatures extant

Bristol Public Library 8 mid 15th cent.	<u>Troy Book</u> (Lydgate)	Miniatures cut out
Cambridge, Trinity College O.5.2 1440-60	<u>Troy Book</u> (Lydgate)	Five miniatures extant
Pierpont Morgan M 876 1440-1450	<u>Troy Book</u> (Lydgate)	Three miniatures completed
Manchester, John Rylands Library, Crawford Eng. 1 mid 15th cent.	<u>Troy Book</u> (Lydgate)	Sixty-nine miniatures in text space and margin
BL Royal 18 D. ii c 1455-1462	<u>Troy Book</u> (Lydgate)	Five miniatures completed 15th cent; seven completed 16th cent.
Bodleian, Bodley 263 mid 15th cent.	<u>Fall of Princes</u> (Lydgate)	Full-page miniature
Huntington HM 268 mid 15th cent.	<u>Fall of Princes</u> (Lydgate)	Fifty-six miniatures
BL Sloane 2452 mid 15th cent.	<u>Fall of Princes</u> (Lydgate)	Two miniatures
BL Harley 1766 mid 15th cent.	<u>Fall of Princes</u> (Lydgate)	157 miniatures in margin
Rosenbach 439/16 c 1460	<u>Fall of Princes</u> (Lydgate)	Seven miniatures
McGill 143 2nd half 15th cent.	<u>Fall of Princes</u> (Lydgate)	Two miniatures extant
BL Arundel 119 early 15th cent.	<u>Siege of Thebes</u> (Lydgate)	Historiated initial
Cambridge, Trinity College R. 4. 20 early 15th cent.	<u>Siege of Thebes</u> (Lydgate)	Historiated initial
BL Royal 18 D. ii completed 16th cent.	<u>Siege of Thebes</u> (Lydgate)	Thirteen miniatures in text space inserted 16th cent. though planned in 15th cent.



Bodleian, Fairfax 16 c 1450 (48)	Chaucer and Lydgate minor pieces	Miniature
BL Harley 2407 fols. 76r-90v 15th cent.	The 'Chorl and Bird' (Lydgate)	Five miniatures completed
BL Royal 17 C. xxxviii early 15th cent.	<u>Mandeville's Travels</u>	111 miniatures in the lower margin
BL Harley 3954 1st half 15th cent.	<u>Mandeville's Travels</u>	101 miniatures
Cambridge, Trinity College R. 4. 20 1st half 15th cent.	<u>Mandeville's Travels</u>	Historiated initial
BL Cotton Vespasian B. xii c 1420-1430	Prologue to <u>Art of Hunting</u> (Twety)	Three miniatures
Bodleian, Bodley 546 2nd quarter 15th cent.	<u>Master of Game</u> (Edward, 2nd Duke of York)	Six frontispieces; twenty-one sketches
Bodleian, Douce 335 mid 15th cent.	<u>Master of Game</u> (Edward, 2nd Duke of York)	Thirty-nine historiated initials
BL Royal 18 C. xviii c 1500	<u>Master of Game</u> (Edward, 2nd Duke of York)	Historiated initial
(BL Royal 17 A Iv) early 17th cent.	<u>Master of Game</u> (Edward, 2nd Duke of York)	Four frontispieces
Bodleian, Digby 233 early 15th cent.	<u>De Regimine Principum</u> (Trevisa)	Two miniatures
BL Harley 4866 early 15th cent.	<u>De Regimine Principum</u> (Hoccleve)	Two miniatures -- one a visual joke
BL Arundel 38 early 15th cent.	<u>De Regimine Principum</u> (Hoccleve)	Two miniatures -- one a visual joke
BL Royal 17 D. vi early 15th cent.	<u>De Regimine Principum</u> (Hoccleve)	Two miniatures
Rosenbach 1083/30 mid 15th cent.	<u>De Regimine Principum</u> (Hoccleve)	Miniature

Coventry, Corporation Record Office Acc. 325/1 mid 15th cent.	<u>De Regimine Principum</u> (Hoccleve)	Miniature
BL Harley 4826 mid 15th cent.	<u>De Regimine Principum</u> (Hoccleve)	Historiated initial; miniature cut out
	<u>Secrees of Old</u> <u>Philosophers</u> (Lydgate)	Historiated initial
Bodleian, Rawl. C. 83 2nd quarter 15th cent.	<u>Regimen Sanitatis</u> (Pseudo-Aristotle)	Historiated initial
Oxford, University College 85 15th cent.	<u>Quadrilogue</u> (Alain Chartiere)	Miniature
	<u>Secret of Secrets</u>	Miniature
Bodley 264 c 1400	<u>Alexander B.</u>	Nine miniatures
Cambridge, St. John's College, H. 1 late 14th cent.	<u>Dialogus inter</u> <u>clericum et militem</u> (Trevisa)	Historiated initial
BL Add. 24194 Beginning 15th cent.	<u>Dialogus inter</u> <u>clericum et militem</u> (Trevisa)	Historiated initial
BL Harley 614 15th cent.	<u>De Proprietatibus</u> <u>Rerum</u> (Trevisa)	Historiated initial
BL Harley 4789 15th cent.	<u>De Proprietatibus</u> <u>Rerum</u> (Trevisa)	Historiated initial
CUL Dd.ix.18 2nd half 15th cent.	<u>Dicts and Sayings of</u> <u>the Philosophers</u> (Stephen Scrope)	Twenty-four miniatures

Bodleian, Bodley 943 3rd quarter 15th cent.	<u>Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers</u> (Stephen Scrope)	Twenty-six miniatures in margin
Cambridge, Emmanuel College 1.2.10 15th cent.	<u>Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers</u> (Stephen Scrope)	Twenty-two miniatures in margin
Cambridge, Trinity College 0.5.6. late 15th cent.	<u>Sydrak</u>	Historiated initial
	<u>Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers</u> (Stephen Scrope)	Twenty-five miniatures
Lambeth Palace 265 1477	<u>Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers</u> (Earl Rivers)	Miniature
Cambridge, St. John's College H. 5 middle of 15th cent.	<u>Epître d'Othea</u> (Stephen Scrope)	Six miniatures
Pierpont Morgan M 775 mid 15th cent.	<u>Epître d'Othea</u> (Stephen Scrope)	Three miniatures extant
Longleat 253 mid 15th cent.	<u>Epître d'Othea</u> (Stephen Scrope)	Spaces left for miniatures
Cambridge, Magdalene College F.4.34 & Pepys 2124 late 15th cent. (49)	<u>Metamorphoses</u> (Caxton)	Four miniatures and spaces left for miniatures
Lincoln Cathedral 91 The Thornton MS. c 1440	Prose Life of Alexander <u>Morte Arthure</u>	Spaces left for illustration Miniature -- a rough drawing (50)
Pierpont Morgan M 876 c 1440-1450	<u>Sir Generides</u>	Four miniatures in various stages of completion; spaces left for others
BL Royal 18 B. ii c 1500	<u>Melusine</u>	Spaces left for coloured initials and miniatures



BL Harley 326 c 1500	<u>The Three Kings' Sons</u>	Twenty-two miniatures
Laud Misc. 733 c 1440-50	<u>De Arte Heraldica</u> (Johannes de Bado aureo)	Historiated initial; miniature; eighty-one illustrations in margin
Ashmole 764 3rd quarter 15th cent.	Treatises on heraldry	Frontispiece
Pierpont Morgan M 775 late 15th cent.	'Abilement for the Justus of the Pees'; 'To crie a Justus of Pees'; 'The comyng into the felde' etc.	Full-page illustration
	'How a man schall be armyd at his ese when he schal fighte on foote'	Miniature
	Sailing directions	Full-page illustration at beginning; another at end
	The challenges of Pierre de Masse and Philip Boyle and their combats with Sir John Astley	Two full-page miniatures
CUL Mm. iii 29 late 15th cent.	Ceremonial tracts	Two miniatures
Oxford, Queen's College 357 15th cent.	Narrative of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem	Six miniatures
BL Royal 17 A. xlii 15th cent.	Of the nature of angels & spirits (51)	Forty-six miniatures
BL Harley 1764 mid 15th cent.	<u>The Book of the Knight of La Tour- Landry</u>	Historiated initial

BL Harley 2320  
15th cent.

Treatise on astrology      Historiated initial

'The Days of the Mone'      Historiated initial

Treatise on lace-  
making      Historiated initial

## Historical Manuscripts

BL Cotton Caligula A. ix c 1260	<u>Brut</u> (Lazamon)	Historiated initial
Harvard College Library Richardson 35 c 1425	<u>Brut</u>	Grotesque figures in margin; 24 pp. of heraldic drawings
BL Harley 1568 15th cent.	<u>Brut</u>	Eighty-one historiated initials
Lambeth Palace 84 15th cent.	<u>Brut</u>	Miniature; nine drawings in margin; diagram
Cambridge, Trinity College 0.9.1 15th cent.	<u>Brut</u>	Full-page illustration
Bodleian, Laud Misc. 733 c 1440-50	<u>Chronicle of England to Henry V</u>	Three miniatures; ten shields and bearers in margin
Lambeth Palace 6 last quarter 15th cent.	<u>Brut</u>	Seventy miniatures
BL Lansdowne 204 c 1457	<u>Chronicle</u> (Hardyng)	Three full-page illustrations
BL Harley 661 2nd half 15th cent.	<u>Chronicle</u> (Hardyng)	Full-page illustration
Bodleian, Arch. Selden B. 10 fols. 1-199 c 1470-80	<u>Chronicle</u> (Hardyng)	Three full-page illustrations
Eton College 191 1420	Chronicle of the world in Roll form from Creation to Henry V	Six miniatures in roundels
Bodleian, e. Mus. 42 c 1467-9	Genealogy of the Kings of England	Genealogical diagram with miniature in first roundel
Bodleian, Lyell 33 c 1467-9	Genealogical Chronicle of the Kings of England	Genealogical diagram with miniature in first roundel



T.E. Marston Library Yale University Library 242 after 1461	Genealogical chronicle of the Kings of England	One miniature; Tau-form world map; diagrams
Bodleian, Bodley Rolls 5 c 1485	Genealogy of the Kings of England to Richard III Chronicle of the Percy family to 1485	Genealogical diagram with portrait heads in roundel and drawings of cities
BL King's 395 after 1485	Genealogical chronicle to Henry VII continued to Edward VI	Genealogical diagram with portrait heads in roundels and eleven other scenes in roundels and elsewhere
BL Cotton Julius E. iv 1430-1440	<u>The Kings of England</u> (Lydgate)	Fifteen portraits of various kings with stanzas underneath
BL Add. 48976 The 'Rous Roll' 1477-85	Illustrated roll- chronicle of the Earls of Warwick	Sixty-four illustrations heading columns
BL Cotton Julius E. iv art. 6 1483-87 (52)	The Beauchamp Pageants	Fifty-four illustrations with explanatory inscrip- tions at top of page
Cambridge, St. John's College H. 1 late 14th cent.	<u>Polychronicon</u> (Trevisa)	Two drawings
BL Add. 24194 Beginning 15th cent.	<u>Polychronicon</u> (Trevisa)	Historiated initial; two drawings
Aberdeen University Library 21 early 15th cent.	<u>Polychronicon</u> (Trevisa)	Historiated initial; drawing

Religious Manuscripts

Cambridge, Magdalene College, Pepys 2344 early 14th cent.	<u>South English Legendary</u>	Historiated initial
Bodleian, Tanner 17 mins. added mid 15th cent.	<u>South English Legendary</u>	Thirty-nine miniatures
Bodleian, Eng. poet. a. 1 The 'Vernon' MS late 14th cent. (after 1382)	Story of the Gospel Miracles of our Lady The Paternoster  <u>Prick of Conscience</u>	Seven miniatures Nine miniatures Set out in tabular form  Historiated initial
Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 3. 14 14th cent.	<u>Piers Plowman (Langland)</u>	Drawing on flyleaf
Bodleian, Douce 104 1427	<u>Piers Plowman (Langland)</u>	Historiated initial; seventy-one miniatures in margin
Laud.Misc. 486 late 14th cent.	<u>Prick of Conscience</u>	'Portrait' head in margin
Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 10. 12 c 1420-30	<u>The Privity of the Passion</u>	Forty-four miniatures
CUL Oo. vii. 45 15th cent.	<u>Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ (Nicholas Love)</u>	Spaces left, possibly for illustration
Pierpont Morgan M 648 c 1440	<u>Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ (Nicholas Love)</u>	Sixteen miniatures
National Library of Scotland, Advocates 18. 1. 7 2nd half 15th cent.	<u>Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ (Nicholas Love)</u>	Seventeen full-page miniatures inserted on singletons

Bodleian, e. Mus. 35 15th cent.	<u>Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ</u> (Nicholas Love)	Drawing on flyleaf added 1475
BL Harley 2338 15th cent.	<u>Meditations on the Soper</u>	Nine historiated initials
Bodleian, Rawl. C. 86 mid 15th cent.	<u>The Northern Passion</u>	Frontispiece
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 404 14th cent.	<u>Genealogia Christi</u>	Coloured drawings
Bodleian, Barlow 53(R) 1420-30	<u>Compendium historia in genealogia Christi</u>	Genealogical diagram with five miniatures in roundels
Bodleian, Laud Misc. 740 2nd quarter 15th cent.	<u>Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine (Eng. prose)</u>	Twenty miniatures; one drawing
BL Cotton Tiberius A. vii 15th cent.	<u>Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine (Eng. verse)</u> (Lydgate)	Fifty-three miniatures
BL Cotton Vitellius C. xiii 15th cent.	<u>Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine (Eng. verse)</u> (Lydgate)	Spaces left for miniatures
BL Harley 4826 c 1450		Frontispiece only of Lydgate offering pilgrim to Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury
Melbourne, State Library of Victoria 096/G94 15th cent.	<u>Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine (Eng. prose)</u>	Thirty-seven miniatures
	<u>Pèlerinage de l'Âme (Eng. prose)</u>	Spaces left for miniatures
Oxford, University College 181 early 15th cent.	<u>Pèlerinage de l'Âme (Eng. prose)</u>	Spaces left for miniatures

CUL Kk. i. 7 early 15th cent.	<u>Pèlerinage de l'Âme</u> (Eng. prose)	Eighteen miniatures
New York Public Library Spencer 19 2nd quarter 15th cent. (53)	<u>Pèlerinage de l'Âme</u> (Eng. prose)	Twenty-six miniatures
BL Egerton 615 15th cent.	<u>Pèlerinage de l'Âme</u> (Eng. prose)	Twenty-three miniatures
Bodleian, Bodley 770 2nd quarter 15th cent.	<u>Pèlerinage de l'Âme</u> (Eng. prose)	Twenty miniatures
Cambridge, Gonville and Caius 124 15th cent.	<u>Pèlerinage de l'Âme</u> (Eng. prose)	One miniature; spaces left for others
BL Add. 34193 ?1450-1460	<u>Pèlerinage de l'Âme</u> (Eng. prose)	Twenty miniatures
Hatfield House, Cecil Papers, Vol. 270 15th cent.	<u>Pèlerinage de l'Âme</u> (Eng. prose)	Twenty-two miniatures
Bodleian, Laud Misc. 658 2nd quarter 15th cent.	<u>History of the Three Kings of Cologne</u>	Frontispiece tipped- in
Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 3. 22 early 15th cent.	<u>Life of Our Lady</u> (Lydgate)	Historiated initial
BL Harley 3862 15th cent.	<u>Life of Our Lady</u> (Lydgate)	Miniature
BL Harley 629 15th cent.	<u>Life of Our Lady</u> (Lydgate)	Frontispiece illustration
Society of Antiquaries 134 15th cent.	<u>Life of Our Lady</u> (Lydgate)	Space left for miniature
Bodleian, Bodley 596 15th cent.	<u>Life of Our Lady</u> (Lydgate)	Four miniatures; spaces left for illustration
Longleat 15th cent.	<u>Life of Our Lady</u> (Lydgate)	Spaces left for illustration
Mostyn MS (54)	<u>Life of Our Lady</u> (Lydgate)	Historiated initial



BL Harley 2278 1433-34	<u>Life of St. Edmund and St. Fremund</u> (Lydgate)	120 miniatures
BL Harley 4826 mid 15th cent.	<u>Life of St Edmund and St. Fremund</u> (Lydgate)	Two miniatures
BL Yates Thompson 47 after 1461	<u>Life of St. Edmund and St. Fremund</u> (Lydgate)	Fifty-five miniatures
Bodleian, Ashmole 46 after 1461	<u>Life of St. Edmund and St. Fremund</u> (Lydgate)	Miniature
Arundel Castle after 1461	<u>Life of St. Edmund and St. Fremund</u> (Lydgate)	Fifty-three miniatures
Huntington HM 55 after 1440	<u>Life of St. Norbert</u> (Capgrave)	Historiated initial
BL Harley 1671 early 15th cent.	<u>The Weye to Paradise</u>	Sixty drawings in various stages of completion
BL Royal 17 B. xliii 15th cent.	<u>St Patrick's Purgatory; Vision of Tundal</u>	Prefatory miniature to both items on singletons
BL Royal 17 A. xxvii early 15th cent.	<u>Arma Christi</u>	Twenty-four miniatures
BL Add. 22029 15th cent.	<u>Arma Christi</u>	Twenty-four miniatures
BL Add. 32006 15th cent.	<u>Arma Christi</u>	Twenty-four miniatures
Oxford, Queen's College 207 15th cent.	<u>Arma Christi</u>	Eighteen miniatures
Huntington HM 26054 15th cent.	<u>Arma Christi</u>	Twenty-four miniatures
Stonyhurst College LXIV	<u>Arma Christi</u>	Miniatures

Blairs College 9 (55) mid 15th cent.	<u>Arma Christi</u>	Twenty-four miniatures
Bodley Rolls 16 15th cent.	<u>Arma Christi</u>	Seventeen miniatures
Bodley Add. E. 4 (R) mid 15th cent.	<u>Arma Christi</u>	Ten miniatures
Douce 1 c 1460	<u>Arma Christi</u>  numbering of drops of blood; meditation on five wounds; Prayers to saints	Twenty-three miniatures  Miniature  Five miniatures Three miniatures
Cambridge, Trinity College B. 15. 42	Devotional miscellany	Bleeding wounds in margin
BL Sloane 1584 15th cent.	Commonplace Book	Full-page drawing of five wounds of Christ
Cambridge, Trinity College R. 3. 21 after 1461	Pater Noster (Lydgate)	Historiated initial
	Ave Maria (Lydgate)	Historiated initial
	Creed	Historiated initial
	Parce michi	Miniature
	Dirige	Historiated initial
	Curia sapiencie	Miniature
	Complaint of God (William Lychefelde)	Miniature
	xv Joys (Lydgate)	Miniature
	Lyfe of Adam	Miniature
	Lyfe of St. Anthony	Historiated initial with kneeling man in margin

BL Cotton Faustina  
B. vi part 2  
c 1420-30

Vado Mori and Scala  
salutis

Two full-page  
illustrations

The Desert of Religion

Forty-two miniatures

BL Stowe 39  
1st half 15th cent.

The Abbey of the Holy  
Ghost

Two full-page  
miniatures

The Desert of Religion

Forty-four  
miniatures

Vado Mori and Scala  
salutis

Two full-page  
miniatures

BL Add. 37049  
mid 15th cent. (56)

Two full-page  
illustrations  
depicting Christ  
and Mary

Geographical piece

Miniature

Abridged Mandeville's  
Travels (an 'epitome')

Miniature

Polychronicon

Two drawings set  
into text on either  
side near margin

Pseudo-Methodius

Twenty-three  
miniatures

Meditation on the  
Last Judgement

Nearly full-page  
miniature

Full-page miniature  
showing dialogue  
between the Soul, God,  
Christ, the Virgin, an  
Angel, Death and Satan

Emblematic poem

Illustration in margin

Querela Divina;  
Responsio Humana

Illustration in margin

Ten Commandments

Miniature

Tract on the Virgin

Miniature

On the origin of the  
Carthusian Order

Four miniatures and  
one in margin

The Charter of Human  
Redemption

Poem written on  
picture

The wounds of Christ	Miniature
The releyng of saules in purgatory	Illustration in margin
	'þe Tre of Luf' -- labelled miniature in margin
<u>Quia Amore Languo</u>	Three miniatures in margin
Miracle tale of the Virgin	Illustration set into text on left
<u>Ave Maris stella</u>	Miniature
Dialogue between man, the angel and the fiend	Six miniatures
'Salve regina'	Miniature
The pains of the Passion and the sins they remedy	Miniature between two columns of text
Ego dormio	Nearly full-page illustration
Dawnce of Makabre	Two illustrations in margins
Disputacion betwyx þe body and wormes	Nearly full-page miniature with explanatory inscrip- tion; five illustra- tions in margin
Apostolus dicit, Civitatem hic manentem non habemus	In margin: miniatures with <u>Vado Mori</u> titulus verses
<u>Ihesu est amor meus</u>	Miniature
<u>Ihesu est amor meus</u> (another version)	Miniature
Of þe State of Religion	Two illustrations in margin
	Drawing of a deathbed with titulus verses added later
<u>Craft of Dying</u>	Sixteen miniatures set into text on either side near margin



<u>Horologium</u> <u>Sapientiae</u> chap. iv	Illustration set into text on left
Poem on the Crucifixion	Miniature
<u>The Desert of Religion</u>	Forty-two miniatures
Poem on the city of heaven	Two miniatures; one in text space and one in margin
The Tree of life	Illustration in margin
Meditations on the Hours of the Passion	Two poems listed separately by Brown and Robbins, linked by seven miniatures in central column
Poem on death	Illustration in margin
Section from <u>Le</u> <u>Pèlerinage de l'Âme</u>	Miniature across top of page and two small figures inset right and left
Lyrics from <u>Le</u> <u>Pèlerinage de l'Âme</u>	Two illustrations in margins
	An annotated opening forming a spiritual diagram
Section from <u>Le</u> <u>Pèlerinage de l'Âme</u>	Two small figures set into text on right and left
Section from <u>Le</u> <u>Pèlerinage de l'Âme</u> and poem related in theme	Miniature
Lyric from <u>Le</u> <u>Pèlerinage de l'Âme</u>	Miniature in text space and another in the margin
A Vision of St. Anthony	Miniature
Lyrics from <u>Le</u> <u>Pèlerinage de l'Âme</u>	Four illustrations in margin
	Drawing of the celestial hierarchy with prose explana- tions written on it

		Drawing of the four beasts of Revelation with prose explanation
		Drawing of the five wise and five foolish virgins with prose explanation
		Drawing of 'pe Cart of pe Fayth' with prose notes
	Dispute between the body and the soul	Five miniatures set into text
	'Versa est in luctum cithera mea'	Two illustrations set into either side of text space
	Moral distichs	Four illustrations set into either side of text space
	The A.B.C. of Aristotle	Illustration in margin between two columns of text
	Dialogue of the emperor and his dead father	Miniature
	On Active and Contemplative Lives	Illustrations set into either side of text space
	Against despair	Three miniatures set into either side of text space
	Miracles of the Virgin	Miniature
	Of God's Justice	Two miniatures set into either side of text space
National Library of Wales Hengwrt 211 early 15th cent.	<u>The Abbey of the Holy Ghost</u>	Diagram
Bodleian, Douce 323 2nd quarter 15th cent.	<u>The Abbey of the Holy Ghost</u>	Miniature (drawing)

CUL li. iv. 9 15th cent.	<u>Erthe upon erthe</u>	Miniature
BL Harley 4012 15th cent.	'Wofully araide'	Small miniature in top margin
BL Add. 10596 15th cent.	<u>Craft of Dying</u>	Miniature
Bodleian, Selden Supra 53 c 1430	<u>Craft of Dying</u> (Hoccleve)	Miniature
Bodleian, Douce 322 3rd quarter 15th cent.	Dirige	Historiated initial
	Parce michi (57)	Miniature
	Death's Warning (Lydgate)	Miniature
	<u>Craft of Dying</u> (58)	Historiated initial
	<u>De Emendacione</u> <u>Peccatoris</u> (Rolle)	Historiated initial
BL Harley 1706 1475-1500	Death's Warning (Lydgate)	Miniature
University of Pennsylvania Eng. 3 c 1418	<u>Mirror to lewd men and women</u>	Twelve drawings in the margin which allude, in a literal way, to the wording of the text
Bodleian, Bodley 100 late 14th cent.	<u>Treatise on active and contemplative life</u> (Walter Hilton)	Miniature added early 15th cent.
Bodleian, Hatton 12 late 15th cent.	Miscellany incl. Richard Rolle	Drawing on back pastedown
Bodleian, Douce 25 late 15th cent.	<u>Mirror of the Church</u> (Edmund of Canterbury)	Full-page illustration added late 15th cent.

Bodleian, Bodley 283 2nd half 15th cent. (59)	<u>Mirrore of the Worlde</u>	Twenty-five miniatures
Bodleian, e. Mus. 23 after 1451	<u>Adventure and Grace</u>	Miniature
BL Egerton 3245 late 14th cent.	Prayer to the Trinity	Miniature
BL Cotton Tiberius B. iii 15th cent.	Short prayers	Fourteen miniatures
Blairs College 1 mid 15th cent.	Short prayers	Sixteen miniatures
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 40-1950 2nd quarter 15th cent.	Short prayers	Six miniatures
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 41-1950 2nd quarter 15th cent.	Short prayers	Fifteen miniatures
BL Add. 15216 late 15th cent.	Prayers & religious exercises	Eight full-page illustrations; three other miniatures
Bodleian, Rawl liturg. f. 36 c 1500	Private prayers	Two miniatures
Pierpont Morgan G 39 c 1500	Prayer Roll	Three miniatures
Westminster Abbey 39 15th/16th cents.	Private prayers	Five miniatures
BL Cotton Claudius B. i 15th cent.	<u>Revelations of St Birgitta</u>	Three miniatures



Bodley e. Mus. 160  
early 16th cent.

Prayers to Patriarchs  
and Saints

Spaces left for  
miniatures of which  
two have been  
completed with  
contemporary ink  
drawings

## 2. The Earliest Illustrated Secular Manuscripts

Were the checklist to be presented chronologically rather than by text it would be readily apparent that illustrated copies of English vernacular texts begin to appear towards the end of the fourteenth century, although it is not until the fifteenth century that the presence of miniatures becomes more of a matter of course. For this reason, the Auchinleck manuscript, National Library of Scotland, Advocates' MS 19.2.1, seems at first sight to be particularly anomalous. It dates from between 1330 and 1340 (60) and contains English only, apart from one macaronic item. Its contents are diverse but romances, both pious and secular, predominate and, on balance, one would classify it as a secular manuscript. It is, in fact, the earliest 'of those "libraries" of miscellaneous reading matter, indiscriminately religious and secular' (61) which form an important part of medieval book production. The most significant feature of this manuscript is that nearly every single item was originally preceded by a miniature. Many of these prefatory miniatures have been removed, but enough remain to provide a general idea of what was involved: nineteen items can be seen to have had miniatures although only six remain (62). This profusion of illustration would seem to mark the manuscript as being a relatively ambitious one, especially if it is compared with the programme of the two other extant manuscripts of texts in the English vernacular to contain illustration which predate the middle of the fourteenth century.

The earliest illustrated manuscript of a text in the English vernacular is BL Cotton MS Caligula A. ix, a copy of Lazamon's Brut dating from the third quarter of the thirteenth century (63). It precedes other illustrated manuscripts of English texts by nearly half a century, and the degree of illustration is extremely modest, consisting of a single historiated initial which introduces the text and depicts Lazamon sitting writing. Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 2344,

an early fourteenth-century South English Legendary (64) has a similarly unambitious programme of illustration: the life of St Andrew, the first legend, is introduced by an historiated initial containing the saint bound to a saltire cross. This indicates a slightly more considered engagement with the text than does the Lazamon manuscript though the scene is standard enough. As can be seen from the checklist, the South English Legendary was not a text which regularly received miniatures. The only other illustrated manuscript is Oxford, Bodleian MS Tanner 17, an early fifteenth-century manuscript to which drawings of the saints were added in the margins in the middle of the century (65). Admittedly these pictures are additions, but the greater degree of ambition in the illustrative programme for the fifteenth-century manuscript forms a useful indication of the greater degree of illustration that can be found in fifteenth-century manuscripts in general. Similarly, the single historiated initial in the Lazamon manuscript can be contrasted with the nineteen large and fifty-one small miniatures of a late fifteenth-century Brut now MS 6 in Lambeth Palace Library. 'Ce manuscrit est un spécimen caractéristique de ces grands volumes exécutés en Flandre pour des amateurs anglais' (66).

Two factors must be emphasized when discussing the Auchinleck: firstly its sources and secondly the positioning of the miniatures. Just as the pictures of Lambeth Palace Library MS 6 cannot be considered in isolation from the fashion for Flemish books in late fifteenth-century England, so the Auchinleck cannot be discussed solely in terms of manuscripts of English texts: 'nearly all the romances are based on known or putative French and Anglo-Norman sources' (67). Illustrated copies of a number of the source texts or analogues to them are still extant in British libraries. BL Harley 3860, an early fourteenth-century compendium in French including the Seven Sages of Rome, has fourteen pen-and-ink drawings to indicate the beginning of each narrative section (68). They depict the Emperor, the Empress and the seven sages,



simple standing or seated figures -- or just a face in the case of the Empress after the first representation -- either to one side of the text space or in the margin. The text begins imperfectly in the Auchinleck manuscript and therefore the subject of the illustration is unknown. Illustrations of the story of Guy of Warwick (which also begins imperfectly in the Auchinleck manuscript) were considered suitable to adorn the margins of the Taymouth Horae, BL Yates Thompson MS 13, a manuscript from the first half of the fourteenth century. Romances which frequently received extensive illustration in French versions are those narrating the deeds of Alexander (69) (Kyng Alisaunder, beginning imperfectly, is item 'xliiii' in Auchinleck) and Tristan (Sir Tristrem, the prefatory miniature of which has been cut out, is item 'lj' in Auchinleck) (70). It is thus possible that the Auchinleck represents, to some degree, an attempt by a non French-speaker to imitate in modest terms a collection of French romances. French taste is reflected in the texts chosen for the compilation and also, perhaps, in the desire to possess a handsome book; the owner could not, however, experience French culture at first hand and needed the works translated.

The pictures themselves are modest in size in relation to the rest of the page. For the first time in a manuscript in the English vernacular one encounters miniatures inserted into the text space rather than inhabiting initials; though an historiated initial prefaces Sir Beues of hamtoun. Because the beginning of every item is emphasized, the concept of the manuscript as a 'library' is reinforced: each item in the compilation is given more or less equal prominence. Unlike Lazamon's Brut and the Pepys South English Legendary the illustration is not confined to the front of the manuscript. The Auchinleck thus appears at first sight like a manuscript containing a cycle of miniatures, but the illustration is still confined to the



front of each individual text. In other words, the Auchinleck represents little more than a repetition, on a more extensive scale, of the format of these two earliest manuscripts. Furthermore, the narrative scenes chosen are those which would be relatively easy to evoke. Reinbrun gij sone of warwicke, for example, begins with a scene of combat: two knights stand facing each other. There are numerous episodes in which knights confront each other -- Heraud and Reinbroun; Reinbroun and Gayer; Haslak and Reinbroun -- but the introductory picture is not sufficiently individualized for it to represent one conflict rather than another; it appears to stand more as an ideograph of them all. The prefatory miniature to Sir Beues of hamtoun is even simpler, showing merely a standing knight with a spear, though this might be explained by the relatively cramped space offered by an historiated initial. On the other hand, in the picture to beking of Tars, simple figures are used to convey the main outline of the story. The rectangular space is divided into two: on the left the king kneels in an attitude of prayer while his child lies in a font; on the right his pose is duplicated as the converted king and his queen kneel in front of an altar.

When the Auchinleck manuscript is viewed in the context of illustrated manuscripts of French secular texts, or even in the light of the best work produced by English ateliers in the first half of the fourteenth century, such as the Queen Mary, the Douai and St Omer Psalters (71), it is easy to find the miniatures 'small and perfectly commonplace' (72). When isolated and seen in the context of the illustration of English secular texts, the manuscript seems a solitary and possibly premature index of the developing status of English as a literary language. The truth is probably somewhere between the two. The first owner of the manuscript suggested by internal evidence is an interesting one: though he felt more at home in the native tongue he was prepared to invest in a reasonably lavish compendium of the texts he relished. He was also unable or unwilling to

invest the amount of money that would have secured the secular equivalent of a Queen Mary's Psalter. Loomis's comment; 'as the few surviving miniatures show, it could never have been considered a pearl of price among manuscripts, too elaborate, too costly for a London citizen of comfortable means to have used or even to have owned' (73) probably gives a just indication of the social stratum to which a manuscript like Auchinleck would have appealed; a wealthy citizen or merchant could equally well, however, have afforded a similarly modestly illustrated manuscript in French were he accustomed to read that language. That he did not, suggests the emergence of a new kind of reader: the English speaker of adequate means to purchase an illustrated manuscript and the interest in English literature to do so..

The crucial question to ask at this point is: to what extent is the Auchinleck the chance survivor of a number of modestly decorated manuscripts produced for a newly developing market and to what extent was it the result of an idiosyncratic commission? It can be seen from the checklist that surviving illustrated manuscripts of texts in the English vernacular fall into two broad categories: there is the work like the Confessio Amantis for which some kind of illustration seems to have been de rigueur; and, an equally large category, the isolated manuscript of a text which is not commonly illustrated but receives pictures in this one instance, or, perhaps, couple of instances, presumably at the instigation of an interested patron. Due to what has been termed 'the fallacious test of surviving manuscripts' (74), the Auchinleck appears to belong to the second category, though closer examination of the possible circumstances of production may modify this conclusion.

From internal evidence -- the number of scribes whose hands can be detected in the manuscript (75) and the number of texts for which exemplars were required -- it has been plausibly argued that the Auchinleck was produced under commercial circumstances; from the dialect

of the two principal scribes, London is suggested as the location (76). Production was evidently carefully co-ordinated. The work of the various scribes by and large follows a uniform format:

Each page was ruled, the initial letter of each line was separated by one em from the following letters, and each of the two columns of text on every page was designed, unless space had to be left for a miniature, to have forty-four lines (77).

The evidence of close collaboration between scribes -- in three cases a gathering started by one scribe is finished by another (78) -- suggests that they were carefully supervised; it does not necessarily indicate that they worked on the same premises. The term 'bookshop' is a convenient one to use whether one is referring to actual premises allocated to the purposes of transcribing and producing manuscripts or to a team brought together ad hoc; the interesting thing would be to determine how regularly manuscripts such as the Auchinleck were produced. If the scribes did routinely associate, did they normally produce texts in the English vernacular? And if they did, were these usually illustrated or is Auchinleck the only example?

It may be opportune to review here what is known about the commercial production of texts in England before returning to the specific problem posed by the Auchinleck (79). It is clear that during the fourteenth century London became a thriving centre for the production and distribution of books on a commercial basis (80). Malcolm Parkes (81) conveniently divides the production of books into two principal stages which he calls 'preparation' and 'finishing'. The 'preparation' stage denotes the work necessary for the text to be copied: the procuring of appropriate exemplars, the preparation of the folios for writing and the copying itself; the 'finishing' stage denotes the 'addition of flourishing, decoration, illustration and the binding of the book'. These two stages were carried out by different groups of craftsmen (82). Admittedly Parkes is specifically referring to book-production at the beginning of the fifteenth century, but these



two processes are essential to the completion of any manuscripts.

The sense of the two separate stages may perhaps be even more pertinent in the fourteenth century, since the formation of a specific gild to regulate commercial book production in London did not occur until 1403. The gild, which was subsequently to be known as the Stationers' Company was created by the amalgamation of the Limners' and Textwriters' gilds (83).

The whole enterprise of making a manuscript thus had to be co-ordinated and financial responsibility for the venture assumed. There is, one might suggest, a stage anterior to those of preparation and finishing which might be termed 'planning', in which the layout of the page and the degree of embellishment involved is determined. This might be done with an eye to prevailing market conditions, that is, as a speculative venture, or at the request of a particular patron. The co-ordinator and acceptor of commissions is usually termed a stationer. The first application of the term to a London individual occurs in 1311 (84) and, in the opinion of Graham Pollard:

When the word stationarius comes into use in the fourteenth century, it emphasizes...the individual's importance as a dealer rather than a craftsman, as an intermediary between the producer and the public rather than actual maker of the goods he sells (85).

This does not mean that a stationer may not have worked as a member of the bookmaking crafts himself (86) though he may not necessarily have been directly involved: Plant points out that 'a vigorous London trade in manuscripts from the middle of the fourteenth century was carried on by grocers and mercers, who also sold writing materials' (87). Subsequently, printers and booksellers are to be found in the Drapers' and Grocers' companies (88). The concept of a 'bookshop' as a premises on which manuscripts were produced and sold seems an inappropriate one.

As far as the presentation stage is concerned, recent research has found no evidence of centralized, highly organized scriptoria in and



around London at the beginning of the fifteenth century (89). For their analysis of Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.2 Parkes and Doyle conclude that the scribes could not have worked together in one place: 'They appear to have been independent craftsmen who were employed on a particular commission...' (90). It thus seems more accurate to think of personnel brought together by a stationer than of an actual shop. The work that K.L.Scott (91) has done on two border artists who persistently collaborated would seem to bear this out. The work of these two illuminators is the only constant factor about the manuscripts upon which they are associated: the scribe, the illustrator and even the type of owner are all variables. To account for this variety of illustrators with whom the border artists worked Scott suggests that:

in the higher echelons of the commercial world of book decoration, attachments to a shop must have been rather free and easy, or it may be that, just as our illuminating shop was separate from the copyists' shop, miniaturists had a separate shop as well (92).

This would fit in well with the idea of a stationer contracting out work to individuals rather than shops, though Scott does not suggest it as a possibility; persistent collaboration between a number of people involved would not be thereby ruled out.

It has usually been assumed, however, that artists, those most directly concerned with the finishing stage, would have worked together in ateliers (93). Furthermore, the fragmentary and individual state of affairs I have been outlining derives from fifteenth-century evidence -- Kathleen Scott's border artists flourished around 1465 (94). From the fourteenth century comes evidence of a highly cohesive group of Psalters (95). Not only did the artists share 'the same body of pictorial models over a period of twenty or thirty years' (96) but there is also a recurrence of text models used by the scribes. Unlike Scott, Sandler seems to assume that scribes and artists were employed in the same workshop. One explanation for this, in view of the nature of the

majority of the manuscripts, would be to envisage a monastic scriptorium or a resident workshop at a monastic centre. After reviewing these hypotheses, however, Sandler suggests a new alternative: all the manuscripts

were executed in one central workshop, which, however, was not monastic, but secular, professional and urban. Only this hypothesis can satisfactorily account for manuscripts of diverse provenance, manuscripts liturgical as well as non-liturgical, manuscripts specially ordered and on hand for sale (97).

Though some evidence suggests Norwich as a possible location, she speculates on a London site: the shop headed by the master of Queen Mary's Psalter seems very probably to have been in the London region (98). Such evidence would seem to indicate a collaborative organization in the London region in the early years of the fourteenth century which involved a degree of uniformity not found in the fifteenth-century manuscripts discussed by Parkes and Doyle and Scott.

To return to the Auchinleck: in view of the contradictory nature of the data about manuscript production available, no pronouncement can be made with confidence. The make-up of the manuscript itself provides some information. There is, for example, the attempt to retain the integrity of the various groups of gatherings: there are numerous occasions where a fresh item begins a fresh gathering and a smaller number of occasions where short poems are used to fill up blank spaces at the end of a gathering. Pearsall (99) argues that since various scribes collaborate within the gatherings, it is not that exemplars were allocated to scribes on a fascicular basis as a way of speeding up production; rather the idea was to produce a series of booklets, the contents of which would have a degree of homogeneity and which could then be bound up to the taste of a particular customer. This argument implies, at the least, that production of manuscripts in the vernacular was part of the normal activity of the bookshop; the idea of fascicles ready made and



available on the premises connects interestingly with Sandler's suggestion that some books were 'to hand' in the atelier she envisages. If this is so, then it would also indicate the presence of a market for modestly illustrated books in the vernacular: most of the illustrations are in the text space and must have been planned for presumably before a specific patron came into the shop. In other words, if the usual accounts of the Auchinleck are accepted, it must have lost sister manuscripts in which most items are prefaced by an illustration. But the bookshop may also have produced fascicles in which no miniatures were envisaged. If the Auchinleck is seen as a composite of two types of fascicle, certain other features of its make-up become clearer. It might, for instance, account for the absence of illustration in scribe two's work: if the manuscript had been planned as a whole from the beginning one might have expected every item to be prefaced by a miniature, whereas, if the scribe's brief were merely to produce a copy of an item it was thought would sell, it is possible that he would not have thought to leave space for a miniature. This would account also for the odd position of the miniature at the beginning of 'þe pater noster vndo englissch' which does not look as if it were anticipated when the item was originally written: it is inserted partly in the top margin and partly in the space left in the middle between the two columns of text.

There is a further complicating factor: it has been suggested that the exemplars from which the scribes worked were not necessarily in English:

...it seems that translation and versifying were as much the activities of the place as scribing, illuminating, binding and selling. One kind of evidence is provided by an arbitrary change of metre within an item, which can best be explained in terms of a collaborative activity of professional hacks with access to the same exemplar (100).

Caxton provides an analogy for translator and publisher being the same man. That the producers of the fascicles may have also been engaged

in translation suggests that the activities of this bookshop were extremely diverse and well co-ordinated. That French exemplars were available on the premises suggests that the bookshop was equally capable of producing copies of the French romances which had to be translated for the Auchinleck. It is interesting to see that an audience for texts in English might well have been patronizing the same shop as an audience for texts in French. This is another indication of the artificiality of discussing the production of illustrated books in the English vernacular as an isolated phenomenon.

### 3. The Turn of the Century

By about 1400, people seem to have been more willing to invest in illustrated works in the English rather than the French vernacular. The situation is still, however, a complex one. That the distinction between the audience for an English text and for a French text is a difficult one to make can be vividly demonstrated by Oxford, Bodley, 264.. It consists of two distinct but related codices of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries respectively, designated A and B by F. P. Magoun (101). Codex A (fols. 3-208) (102) is a copy of the French verse Romans d'Alexandre by Lambert li Tors and Alexandre de Bernai with various interpolations and additions. This part of the manuscript is richly documented: both script and illumination are dated very precisely by two of the five colophons on fol. 208r. (103). Whereas the writing was finished on 18 December 1338 the illustration was not completed until 18 April 1344. This gives some idea of the scope and scale of the illumination of Codex A, a combination of miniatures introduced into the columns of text, bas-de-page scenes, historiated and decorated initials, and full page frontispieces to the individual sections of the poem. It is generally agreed that the miniatures are Flemish (104) and it is possible that Bruges was its place of origin. For present purposes the most important point is that sixty years and the Channel



separate Codex A from Codex B, the illustrations of which are English and were completed about 1400 (105). It consists of (fols. 209-15) the sole extant copy of the Middle English poem known as Alexander B and (fols. 218-274) (106) Marco Polo's Il Milione in French prose. Both items in Codex B are written by the same scribe (107).

The conjunction of codices is not idle. The addition of Codex B to Codex A occurred ostensibly because a reader noticed the absence of the correspondence between Alexander and Dindimus in the Romans d'Alexandre. On fol. 67r is a note which seems to be by the scribe of Codex B (108):

Here fayleth a prossesse of þis rommance of alixander þe wheche  
prossesse þat fayleth 3e schulle fynde at þe ende of þis bok ywrete  
in engelyche ryme and whanne 3e han radde it to þe ende turneþ hedur  
agen and turneþ ouyr þis lef and bygynneþ at þis reson / Che fu el  
mois de may que li tans renouele and so rede forþ þe rommance to þe  
ende whylis þe frenche lasteþ.

Strictly speaking there is no 'prossesse' missing at all (109): the correspondence between Alexander and Dindimus does not appear in the source for the Romans d'Alexandre, the majority of which is based on Julius Valerius (110) whereas Alexander B is derived from the text of the Pseudo-Callisthenes tradition which had incorporated into itself the Collatio Alexandri cum Dindimo per Litteras Facta (111). This would presumably not concern someone who was interested in collecting all the available Alexander material together; the most striking point is that the additional item is in English and that the further addition is again in French. Though it would appear that the owner or designer of the manuscript was not making a very firm distinction between the languages used, there would appear to be some underlying decorum: a note in English in Codex A refers to the English item in Codex B. There are two possible reasons for the inclusion of a poem in English: either the fifteenth-century owner had a particular interest in the Alexander and Dindimus episode and an exemplar in English was the only one to hand, or he had a particular fondness for the English poem. At all events the result is the same: the inclusion of an English text

in a luxury manuscript and its accompaniment by French works was not considered incongruous. The compilation thus has an integrity, but it is one of theme rather than of language, possibly a more important consideration to the owner, though I know of no other examples of an illustrated English vernacular text being associated with a French text in this way. There is a prevailing interest in strange and marvellous adventure in this manuscript that might perhaps indicate the particular taste of a specific individual.

The commissioner of Codex B is unknown though the fact of Codex A's arriving in England to be augmented in this way confirms the links between England and the Continent of which I spoke earlier. James (112) offers two hypotheses concerning English owners of Codex A. The first, accepted by Pächt and Alexander (113), is that it is the 'large liure en franceis tresbien esluminez de la Rymance de Alexandre' mentioned in the inventory of the books of Thomas Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester (d. 1397). However, this inventory, which James prints, values the said 'Rymance' at 'xvj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>' and, although conjectures on such criteria are unreliable, it seems a low valuation for such a magnificent manuscript. James's second suggestion refers to an entry in the Memoranda Rolls of the City of London: on 27 February 1381-2, William Walworth, Lord Mayor of London, obtained from John Salmon, a burgess of Bruges, satisfaction for a debt of £100 and, amongst other articles, 'a book of Romance of King Alexander in verse valued at 10 l.' Probably this was the same 'elaborately illustrated' book which Thomas Rolf and Richard Marleburgh ('stationers') assessed at £10 for the Lord Mayor's court (114). Toward the end of the fifteenth century Richard Woodeville Earl Rivers recorded the fact of his purchase of the book in London on 1 January 1466. In that year Rivers was practically at the height of his prestige and influence: on 4 March he was appointed treasurer and on 25 May he was made Earl Rivers. The contents of Bodley 264 thus still appealed to someone moving in the highest



circles at the end of the fifteenth century; it is, of course, also possible that Rivers was drawn to the illustrations and saw the manuscript primarily as a shrewd means of investment (115).

Some attempt has been made to preserve in Codex B the visual impression provided by Codex A: both codices are written in double columns though Codex A has forty-five lines per column while there are forty-six per column in Codex B. Another effort to weld the two codices into a unit can be observed in the provision by the artists of Codex B of two frontispieces for Codex A. It is possible that these illustrations replace fourteenth-century ones which had been damaged. The frontispiece to the whole volume on fol. 1r which bears no immediately obvious relationship to the story of Alexander (116) is by the artist of Alexander B (117); whereas the full page illumination on fol. 2v depicting scenes from the early life of Alexander in geometrically arranged compartments is by one of the artists of Il Milione (118). It is slightly surprising that the frontispiece on the first folio is the work of the artist of Alexander B since he is evidently less gifted than the artist of the second frontispiece, who would have made a better advertisement for the volume as a whole.

Codex B is lavishly decorated. Although Alexander B occupies only seven folios, it has nine rectangular miniatures (119) inserted into the text space and occupying the width of a single column. Though the iconography is simple and repetitive (120), this is a high ratio of pictures. Il Milione has thirty-eight miniatures for fifty-four folios. On the surface it would appear that Alexander B has proportionately more illustrations than the Marco Polo section, but the impression that more care was lavished on the former than on the latter would be erroneous. Alexander B begins with a five-line gold champ initial on a blue and red ground. After each miniature the first initial in the ensuing text is picked out in a similar manner; otherwise the page is devoid of ornamentation, and thus some pages have no decoration at all (121). On

the other hand Il Milione commences with a magnificently detailed and delicate half-page illustration of Venice which continues across both columns; the whole page is surrounded by a full-frame bar-border; and the text itself is sub-divided by means of two decorated initials, one blue with an interlaced design in the centre on a gold ground, the other gold on a blue and pink ground. Subsequently the text is divided by means of two-line champ initials so that comparatively few folios are left completely undecorated (122). The miniatures head each chapter division and, apart from that on fol. 219r are accompanied by a four- or five-line initial and partial border.

Although there is a high degree of interest in the English text manifested in the decorative programme, there does seem to be a decorative hierarchy in Codex B which discriminates against Alexander B in some respects. It is evident that Il Milione was illustrated by finer artists than were allocated for the folios containing Alexander B (123). Questions of finance probably determine the quality of work (124), yet presumably one person paid for both the English and the French sections. Any noticeable disparity must reflect the amount of money that the patron was prepared to allocate to the respective sections. No doubt he wanted Codex B to be lavishly illuminated throughout, but the more detailed attention was paid to the French text. The evidence provided by Bodley 264 is thus highly ambiguous. On the one hand there is no discrimination between the two languages: Alexander material in English is collocated with Alexander material in French with no apparent sense of incongruity; on the other hand, a greater apportionment of the funds available were evidently reserved for Il Milione. It is impossible to know whether the discrimination was made on the basis of language or of theme. In the latter case Alexander B may have been seen merely as a coda to the main Alexander section and therefore, though it required illustration, the majority of attention could be focused on the Marco Polo section, the main additional material. Since Bodley 264 is the



sole extant copy of Alexander B, there is no comparative material available. It is thus impossible to know how representative this treatment of the poem is.

The difficulties of making a general pronouncement on the status of manuscripts in English at the turn of the fourteenth century on the basis of the quality of the workmanship involved can be seen when discussing Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 61. The manuscript was designed as a copy of a single work, Troilus and Criseyde, probably between 1399 and 1413 (125), around the same time that Codex B of Bodley 264 was being prepared. It is thus some fourteen to twenty-eight years later than the presumed date of the poem's completion (126). Whereas Alexander B is given a cosmopolitan reference by means of the other texts with which it is associated, a similar wide-ranging context is provided for Chaucer's poem by the allusive stylistic and iconographic references of its frontispiece (127). It is one of the most exquisite illustrations to accompany an English text: its elegant figures with their graceful sinuous curves and the softness and delicacy of the style make it a fine example of International Gothic Painting. It was thus not deemed inappropriate to lavish enough money on a text in the English vernacular to provide a frontispiece which can stand comparison with some of the finest work to be seen in manuscripts of French secular texts. This fact may confirm a suspicion that it was not a sense of linguistic hierarchy that provided the basis for a discrimination against Alexander B in the decorative hierarchy of Bodley 264 (128). Furthermore, the manuscript is composed of fine-quality thick membrane and written in an expensive 'display' script, littera quadrata. According to Parkes, 'Books copied in this script were almost twice as expensive as books copied in other scripts' (129).

Corpus Christi 61 is unusual among manuscripts of English vernacular poems in the projected lavishness of its illustration: in addition to the sumptuous frontispiece created in gold leaf and brilliant colours,

some eighty-nine spaces were left in the text for miniatures that were never supplied (130). Such an extensive cycle is rare in English vernacular illustration at any time; for the opening years of the fifteenth century, it would have been a complete anomaly had it been finished. The impression of magnificence and conspicuous display presented by Corpus Christi 61 must, however, be measured against the fact of incompleteness. In view of the considerable financial outlay which the manuscript, even in its uncompleted state, represents, it is unlikely to have been produced by a bookseller as a speculative venture (131). He is particularly unlikely to have done so in the early years of the fifteenth century when demand for sumptuous copies of English texts seems to have been lower than in succeeding decades. It has been suggested that Corpus Christi MS 61 is an incomplete transcription of an exemplar in which the pictures were present (132). This seems unlikely: Parkes points to a combination of precision and improvisation in the layout of the manuscript (133), factors which would suggest a degree of close supervision but a slight uncertainty as to the exact number of miniatures to be inserted. My contention would be that we have no evidence for a lavish manuscript contemporary with the presumed date of completion of the poem. What we do have is a luxury manuscript commissioned by an admirer of Chaucer who then changed his mind about the consequence with which he was endowing it.

Why the book was never completed it is impossible to know: perhaps the original commissioner died or funds were no longer forthcoming for one reason or another. Perhaps he felt that the outlay of funds was too lavish for an English text. Certainly, its subsequent owners seem to have felt no compulsion to have the manuscript finished. All that can be said is that it was an over-ambitious treatment for an English text at this period. As Parkes well puts it: 'The fate of this manuscript may serve as a salutary reminder of the limits of English taste or extravagance, or both, in the early fifteenth century, by

contrast with what had become acceptable on the continent' (134).

Intriguingly, then, one seems to be faced with the specific demands of a particular patron and his possible loss of faith in the project, or failure of nerve, shown by the contraction in the quantity of miniatures provided. All the indications are that Corpus Christi MS 61 is an example of hubris.

There is one other point to bear in mind: the absence of a tradition of illustrating Troilus and Criseyde. Even when the owner of a manuscript was of sufficient wealth and social standing to have commanded the most sumptuous format, a relatively modest programme was chosen. The 'Campsall' manuscript, New York, Pierpont Morgan MS 817 has incorporated into the borders on fol. 2r the arms of Henry V as Prince of Wales (135) and was probably owned by him. This armorial information allows the 'Campsall' manuscript to be dated between 1399 and 1413; it is thus a direct contemporary of Corpus Christi 61. As far as representational illustration goes, there is only a modest historiated initial at the beginning, depicting a man and woman in conversation presumably to be interpreted as Troilus and Criseyde, though it is context alone which permits of some kind speculative interpretation; there are also three-quarter borders to the prologues and beginnings of each of the five books except IV and V which have no separate prologue. Few manuscripts of Troilus receive illustration at all (136). The only other illustrated manuscript of the text, Bodleian MS Arch Selden B. 24, produced after 1488 in Scotland (137) also has an historiated initial though unrelated to the 'Campsall' manuscript. The difference in ambition between these two manuscripts and Corpus is striking and emphasizes the probability that the latter was the result of a commission by someone with a special interest in Chaucer (138).

Notes in late fifteenth-century and early sixteenth-century hands give some information about its various owners, if not the original commissioner. The most important of these for deducing his or her



identity seem to be an inscription on fol. 101v 'neuer Foryeteth "Anne neuill"' (139) and the word 'Knyvett' written on fol. 108r. There are various suitable Anne Nevilles. In view of the name 'Knyvett' one might look to Anne Neville, daughter of Joan Beaufort and Ralph Neville, Duke of Westmoreland, whose daughter Joan married Sir William Knyvett as her second husband in 1477 (140). Since Joan Beaufort was the legitimized daughter of John of Gaunt by Katherine Swynford, there is a tempting possibility that the 'Corpus MS. is a transcription of a family copy made in the 1380's' (141). According to this argument, John of Gaunt is seen as being prepared to spend much more lavishly on a copy of Chaucer's poem than is his grandson. Against this tantalizing suggestion must be set the improbability of there being an illustrated exemplar of Corpus 61; the fact that this Anne is 'less likely to have used the name Neville after her marriage to Humphrey Stafford in 1424' (142); and the claims of another Anne Neville, the daughter of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who married Richard Neville in 1439 (143). Her claim is intensified by the evidence that the manuscript was at one stage in the hands of John Shirley whose chief patron was her father (144). These names do not reveal the original commissioner of the manuscript, but they do reveal a probable milieu -- the upper ranks of the aristocracy. This is an audience very different from that proposed for the Auchinleck. A comparison between the two reveals that by the beginning of the fifteenth century people of the highest social stratum and the finest taste were investing, perhaps with some reservations, in illustrated manuscripts of texts in the English vernacular.

The conclusions to be drawn from a discussion of some early manuscripts must be tentative and are somewhat contradictory. The status of English as a literary language as revealed in the incidence of expensive manuscripts of texts in the English vernacular has been a concern of this section. A close examination of the Auchinleck has shown that interest in copies of English texts with illustration was

probably well established by the early years of the fourteenth century though the audience was unlikely to have come from the wealthiest section of society; by the beginning of the fifteenth century this was no longer the case: Bodley 264 and Corpus 61 are altogether more lavish projects. At first sight there appears to be no firm distinction made between the treatment of texts in the English and in the French vernaculars; on closer inspection the evidence appears to be somewhat more equivocal. Though there are signs of ambition in the treatment of English texts, crucial elements of reserve seem to have made themselves manifest when the programmes were actually carried out. Unlike Auchinleck, there is no evidence that lavish copies of Alexander B or of Troilus and Criseyde have been lost.

#### 4. Patronage

In the previous sections two factors which might have governed decisions about whether a text should receive illustration have emerged: firstly the interest of an individual patron in a previously unillustrated text, and secondly a tradition that the text in question should be viewed as an illustrated one. The difference that an interested patron might make to a collection of texts which otherwise seems to have been produced to uniform specifications can be seen in the case of Bodleian MS Fairfax 16.

This is a manuscript containing Chaucerian pieces, beginning with The Complaint of Mars and including The House of Fame, The Parliament of Fowls, The Book of the Duchess and Lydgate's Temple of Glass and Reason and Sensuality (145). It was written by one scribe throughout and the rubrication and flourishing were similarly performed by single individuals, but there is essentially nothing original about the composition of the manuscript. Two other manuscripts also in the Bodleian Library, Tanner 346 (146) and Bodley 638 are 'so similar in content that Hammond thought that they were derived from a single lost archetype, which she dubbed



"Oxford" (147). Fairfax 16 is later than the other two -- it was written during the middle of the century (148) -- whereas Tanner 346 is the earliest, perhaps being written in the 1440's (149). More meticulous collation of the manuscripts has shown that they were composed of booklets (150), the exemplars of which were available to the bookseller and were copied up to specific order. The choice of the purchaser was thus constrained: he was able to select blocks of material rather than individual items and he would, presumably, have had little say in the way items were ordered within booklets. The hypothetical relationship between stationer and client is, to this extent, very similar to that between stationer and client in the production of the Auchinleck manuscript.

Fairfax 16 is the only one of the three manuscripts with an illustration. This provides evidence that the illustration was added at the instigation of the purchaser as a sign of his wish to own an expensive book rather than from any generalized sense of 'rightness' for the format of the collection. The illustration takes the form of a frontispiece on fol. 14v (Fig. 6) though the previous folios are blank; there are no further miniatures. The manuscript is written on parchment of good quality. It is thus a 'good gentleman's library copy' rather than an 'édition de luxe' (151). In design the frontispiece provides a conspicuous statement of ownership: in the bottom margin, below the frame of the actual picture appear the arms of John Stanley of Hooton, complete with crest and mantling (152). That the frontispiece is an item of extra embellishment added to a standard format can perhaps be deduced from the fact that it is a singleton. The combination of coat of arms and picture provides a means of personalizing the book. The picture is in the style of an important school of English manuscript painting which is associated with a range and variety of illustrated manuscripts in the English vernacular -- that of William Abell (153).

As far as one can tell, the frontispiece is intended to illustrate



the first item in the collection: The Complaint of Mars. Norton-Smith (154) considers that 'Care has been taken to match text and picture'. The latter is composed of three separate elements, each isolated by being surrounded by a frame so that the effect is of a diptych surmounted by a panel. In each compartment is a labelled pagan god. That there is a religious model underlying this arrangement is emphasized by Norton-Smith who sees analogies with the crucifixion with full-length figures 'on either side of a tau-shaped cross, with God the Father in a framed space directly above the centre of the cross-beam gesturing downward' (155). The iconography is complex and rich in its allusions. That it was specially constructed as an illustration for The Complaint of Mars is, however, doubtful. A close analysis of the panels of the diptych reveals that a good deal of standard mythological material has been incorporated without much reference to immediate context (156):

The dog which accompanies Mars is a visual domestication of an original wolf descended from Statius, Thebaid, VII, lines 40ff. ... It is a little inappropriate here in that this older, harsh aspect of Mars has been suppressed by Chaucer for the moral programme of this poem (157).

The figure of Venus, too, is provided with inappropriate associations: since Venus is seen in her astrological aspect, there are no references to Vulcan or to Cupid in the poem, but both figures are collocated with Venus in the panel on the right. Most puzzling is the figure of Jupiter in the panel at the top. There is no warrant from the poem for his inclusion and only Chauncey Wood has attempted to find some rationale. In his Robertsonian account of the poem's preoccupations he assumes that Chaucer and his audience would be disposed to condemn the behaviour of Mars and Venus. The insertion of Jupiter thus has a point:

That Jupiter as king of the pagan gods should be the one to rebuke those who were upsetting the domestic life of Olympus is a natural enough interpretation, and the extension to the Christian world is also straightforward.

Even so, he is forced to conclude that

... it is difficult to understand why the illustrator chose to substitute Jupiter for the sun, which was already present in

the poem as the discoverer of the lovers (158).

The presupposition that the artist was choosing iconographic elements in order to develop an interpretation of the poem in this way is a dubious one; equally dubious, in this context, is the idea that the artist was attempting to match his visual mythographic material to the text. It seems more probable that the frontispiece was chosen for its general appropriateness of subject-matter. Rather than imputing to it specific reference to the poem, it is probably best to see it as a suitable enough associative image. Furthermore, the impress of ownership is a function of this particular frontispiece at least as important as giving some indication of the contents of the volume.

Another instance of illustrations personalizing what appears to have been a standard collection is New York, Pierpont Morgan MS M. 775:

The similarity between the contents of the British Museum's manuscript Lansdowne 285 (the Grete Boke of Sir John Paston) and the New York Pierpont Morgan Library's manuscript 775 suggests that both compilations derive ultimately from the same bookseller's anthology (159).

Indeed, it has been suggested that numerous copies of the Grete Booke were made and that this particular collection of texts is 'an early instance of "mass production"' (160). Nevertheless, there are significant differences between the physical appearance of Lansdowne 285 and Pierpont Morgan 775: the Lansdowne manuscript has only the occasional coloured flourished initial and paraphs whereas M 775 has a number of illustrations both by way of frontispieces and in the text space (161).

As with Fairfax 16, the original commissioner of the manuscript can be identified by coats of arms, this time dispersed throughout the book: he was Sir John Astley K.G. who died in 1486. There is also, as with Fairfax 16, a rough consistency about the contents of the volume: it contains mainly chivalric pieces of both a practical (as in those sections which contain the routine of jousting) and a moral (as in the Epître d'Othea) cast. The first item 'Abilement for the Justus of the Pees' is prefaced by a full page illustration of a joust at the moment



when the two contestants have broken their lances. One of the combatants is meant for Sir John himself, as can be seen from his crest (162). A later section of the manuscript deals more specifically with the ceremonially martial exploits of Sir John Astley: fols. 275r - 279r are concerned with the challenges of Pierre de Masse and Philip Boyle and the results of their combats with Sir John Astley and 'are in a different hand to the former part of the book' (163). Both contests are supplied with a full page miniature. That on fol. 275v depicts the mounted combat which took place on 29 August 1438 in front of the French King Charles VII in Seyntantonne street near the Place de la Bastille, while that on fol. 277v shows the battle with axes against Philip Boyle of Aragon which took place in Smithfield, 30 January 1441-42 (164). The illustrations of both these contests are extremely detailed, so much so that they give the illusion of being an authentic eye-witness account (165). The adaptation of a standard format to personal use has thus been rather different from that used for Fairfax 16 where iconographic stereotypes appear to have predominated.

Most of the illustrations which occur in this manuscript are full-page and preface the relevant items in the manner of a frontispiece. One exception to this is the item on fols. 122v-123v: 'How a man schall be armyd at his ese when he schal fighte on foote'. The illustration occupies the upper half of fol. 122v and thus had to be allowed for in an early stage of the preparation of the manuscript: John Astley must have taken a personal interest in the contents of his book much earlier than John Stanley needed to have done. The illustration is an extremely detailed one of a knight being armed in preparation for fighting on foot; items of armour still to be put on are spread on a table to the left. The picture is unusual in its visual concentration on the armour (166). The whole book presents itself as the property of a real connoisseur of the practice and panoply of feats of arms. The colophon on fol. 121r and v to the translation of Vegetius gives a similar instance



of delight in a consuming hobby (167):

... the whiche book was translaid and turned fro latyn in to Englisch at the ordenaunce and biddyng of the worthi and worschipful lorde. sire Thomas of Berkeley to (fol. 121v) gret disporte and daliaunce of lordes and all worthie werreoures that ben apassid all laboure and traueling and to gret informacioun and seruyng of yonge lordes and knyghtes that ben lustie and loueth to here and see and to vse dedes of armes and chivalrie.

This concept can be extended to the whole collection: a seasoned warrior like John Astley will hardly have used his manuscript as a source of 'greet informacioun' but rather as a way of reliving personal experience and as a means of satisfying personal interest. His relationship with the contents of his anthology would seem to be more personal than that of John Stanley with his. The discrepancy between the degree of alignment between picture and text in the two manuscripts may also be attributable to genre: one is a literary anthology with all the complexity that implies and the other mainly a collection of discursive and factual pieces.

These two manuscripts give an indication of the patron for whom they were produced, whereas for manuscripts like Corpus Christi 61 and Bodley 264 a particular owner with particular interests has to be deduced from the format. As can be seen from the checklist there are other manuscripts which exist in single illustrated copies (168) and may conceivably have been made to individual instructions. Such a manuscript is BL Cotton Nero A. x which bears no marks of early ownership apart from the words 'Hugo de' on fol. 95r. written in a fifteenth-century hand (169). The make-up of the manuscript does, however, suggest that an early owner, not necessarily the original commissioner, may have directly intervened to provide the text with appropriate illustrations. It is thus worth discussing in some detail.

As the only extant copy of four of the most sophisticated examples of fourteenth-century English poetry -- Sir Gawain and the Green Knight; Pearl; Cleanness; and Patience -- the manuscript has received considerable scrutiny. For literary critics a major stumbling block has

been the discrepancy between the high quality of the literature and the poor quality of the pictures: for R.S. and L.H.Loomis they represented the 'nadir of English illustrative art' (170). Various ways of accounting for this apparent discrepancy have been devised, most notably the suggestion that this is a much inferior copy of a de luxe manuscript: 'on such a hypothesis the lost original behind the Gawain manuscript was a repertory book commissioned by a magnate of wealth' (171). A close analysis of the structure of the manuscript reveals that this is unlikely: a de luxe copy of these poems may have existed at some stage, but Cotton Nero A. x is not a copy of it. Of course, the book is a copy in the sense that at some stage each of the four poems existed in separate manuscripts (172) and may already have been associated in the actual exemplar, but there is no reason to assume that it contained the prototype illuminations.

The manuscript itself, which was written by the same scribe throughout, is composed of a bifolium followed by seven gatherings of twelve leaves and ends with a gathering of four leaves. The bifolium (fols. 41-2) (173) consists of four full-page illuminations depicting scenes in Pearl; the text of Pearl follows (fols. 43-59); on the recto and verso of fol. 60 are two full-page miniatures pertaining to Cleanness, the text of which commences on fol. 61r and finishes half-way down fol. 86r; the other half-page of fol. 86r is devoted to an illustration appropriate to Patience and a full-page illumination to that poem appears on fol. 86v; the poem itself occupies fols. 87r-94r; on fol. 94v is a full-page illustration to Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, the text of which is given fols. 95r-128v; following this are three more pictures illustrating Sir Gawain. It can be seen that no effort has been made to dispose the pictures in the text near the passage they purport to illustrate. Indeed, during the 'preparation' stage of the manuscript, no particular provision for the miniatures need have been made at all. This lack of preparation for the miniatures



argues against Cotton Nero A. x's being a copy of a single de luxe manuscript. Each manuscript of the individual texts from which Cotton Nero was compiled may have been illuminated; but it is probable, in view of the seemingly haphazard way that the miniatures were inserted that, if the manuscript from which Cotton Nero was copied contained all the texts, it was not illuminated.

It could be argued that the distribution of the miniatures may reflect a prototype manuscript in which the pictures were in the form of frontispieces; this would not, however, account for the positioning of the Gawain miniatures at the end. It is more probable that illustrations were not contemplated when the scribe began to copy out the text. Such an eventuality is strongly implied by the addition of leaves to the beginning of the book, not to make good lacunae in the text, but to supply miniatures. Although the last gathering is a binion where a bifolium would have sufficed for the text remaining, this does not, in itself, indicate that miniatures were projected to fill the remaining two folios. The existence of miniatures in the body of the text, the only factor arguing for conscious planning of illustrations, need not pose a serious problem. As can be seen from the description of the make-up of the manuscript, none of the poems begins on fresh quires. It is possible that the scribe left one page blank at the end of each poem as an indication to the reader that a fresh work was about to commence: the large initial at the beginning may not have been considered sufficient warning. An artist would then use up this space, originally left blank for a different purpose. This would account for the odd positioning of the miniature of Jonah and the whale on fol. 86r which, as it stands, looks as if it refers to Cleanness rather than Patience. It is certain that the miniatures were painted at a very late stage in the production of the manuscript: after it was sewn and perhaps bound (174). The evidence for this occurs on fols. 86 and 87: there are two holes in the inner margin of fol. 86r and the painting on the recto



of this leaf has carried through the holes and shows on fol. 87r, indicating that the leaves were lying one on top of the other when the painting was carried out. It has been suggested that drawing and painting were not carried out by the same hand and even that the drawings were not completed before the painting was added: 'It is possible that the drawing was originally done only as a rough guide to the illuminator for subject and treatment and that a later painter has filled it in' (175). This again seems to be an attempt to explain the poor quality of the miniatures in relation to the sophistication of the text.

An aesthetic judgment about the insufficiency of the pictures for the text which they accompany refers us back to the view of an illuminated book as a status-symbol rather than a working edition. The major difference -- apart from quality of illustration and care in preparation -- between Cotton Nero on the one hand and Corpus Christi 61 and Bodley 264 on the other, is size: Cotton Nero measures c.  $6\frac{3}{4}$  X  $4\frac{7}{8}$  inches which makes it readily portable whereas Corpus Christi at c.  $12\frac{1}{2}$  X  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and Bodley 264 at  $17\frac{1}{8}$  X  $12\frac{1}{2}$  inches are more evidently objects of display. It is worth pointing out that the failure to incorporate the miniatures more firmly in the body of the text has one advantage: all the illustrations to Pearl and most of those to Sir Gawain are available as a visual synopsis in a convenient position at the beginning and at the end of the manuscript.

Whatever one's opinion of the quality of the illustrations, there is little doubt that they address themselves to crucial episodes in the respective texts (176). As Lee points out: 'Pearl and Gawain, the longest poems in the manuscript, each have four pictures which succeed quite well in outlining the whole story' (177). The point can be made more strongly than this. To take Pearl first: the illustrations correspond with four distinct stages in the poem. The successive stages of the dreamer's spiritual awakening are related to the distinct topographical

locations of the earthly garden, the Earthly Paradise, and the Celestial Jerusalem. These are the controlling images of the poem, and they are reflected in the illustrations of the dreamer asleep on the grassy mound; the dreamer in the Earthly Paradise; the dreamer and the Pearl-maiden on the other side of the river; and the dreamer's vision of the Pearl-maiden in the Heavenly Jerusalem. It may be argued that Pearl is lacking to a considerable extent in narrative incident, so it is unsurprising that each episode selected has immediate application to the poem. However, large portions of the poem are taken up with a theological discourse from the Pearl-maiden; an obvious iconographic prototype, that of the gesticulating figure, suggests itself. That it is not used suggests a concern for overall structure and for narrative movement rather than for pictorial expedient. A similar pattern emerges in the illustrations to Sir Gawain: the four miniatures showing the challenge and beheading; the crucial temptation by the lady; the meeting at the Green Chapel; and the return to court, depict crucial stages in the narrative. The illustrations for Patience illustrate the consequences of Jonah's disobedience -- his being thrown to the whale -- and his subsequent repentance -- his fulfilling of the command to go and preach in Nineveh. Cleanness is more of a problem: the pictures seem to have been chosen to some extent at random. The poem begins with a description of a banquet, with an added richness of metaphorical association: the soul going to God is as a man going to a feast; the state of his garments mirrors the state of his soul. Then follow three long Biblical narratives: the Flood; the Destruction of Sodom; and Belshazzar's feast (178). Space has been allocated for two miniatures only, and scenes depicting Noah's ark and Belshazzar's feast have been selected. They are appropriate, but the choice of subject inevitably shows less concern with the structure of the poem than do other illustrations in the manuscript (179).

Though the illustrations reveal a concern for poetic structure,



there are problems with the detailed working out of the scenes in visual terms: they occasionally omit crucial visual information or apparently contradict the text. The most obvious examples are from Pearl. The third illustration, depicting the meeting of the dreamer with the Pearl-maiden omits detail. True to the disposition of the figures in the narrative, they stand on opposite sides of the river. The Pearl-maiden's attire is most carefully described in the poem and has been equally carefully analysed by E.V.Gordon (180). In the miniature the girl is depicted in a 'bleaunt' but no 'cortel' can be seen because there are no openings in it. Her hair is not hanging loose, but seems to be held in place by a net. She is wearing a crown, but the simple shape bears no significant relation to the elaborate pinnacled design envisaged by the poet. Most importantly, no pearls are visible. For the poet, they fulfill a double function: they were a prominent item of contemporary fashion but they also have a special symbolic significance as an emblem of purity. Their absence in the miniature is doubly inexplicable. Furthermore, poet and artist seem to have been working to a different set of expectations. In terms of the poem's structure, the glitteringly jewelled quality of the landscape round the river prefigures the dazzling, bejewelled city of New Jerusalem; the flowery landscape which the artist provides seems, on the other hand, to derive from love-vision conventions. The maiden is introduced as sitting at the foot of:

A crystal clyffe ful relusant (l.159)

a detail which has no place in the iconographic repertory of the artist. The fourth illumination is particularly disappointing, representing as it does the serene vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem. The reason for the dreamer's view of the city, his vision of the procession of the 144,000 virgins and the apocalyptic lamb, is entirely absent. For reasons of simplicity, the Pearl-maiden alone is shown, but in terms that distort the poetic assurance of her beatific self-possession and



suppression of earthly values. In the miniature the Pearl-maiden, seen above the castellations of the city wall, extends her left hand towards the dreamer who is standing on the other side of the river, in the manner of a courtly lady towards her lover.

The visual reminiscences which suggest that the artist was thoroughly familiar with secular iconography, receive confirmation in the illustrations to Gawain and the Green Knight. In the penultimate miniature Gawain is shown approaching the Green Chapel which is, as in the poem, 'nobut an olde caue'. But the menace of the snow-covered landscape with its 'ruze knobled knarrez with knorned stonez' is replaced by the same kind of beflowered grass that is a feature of the Pearl illustrations -- and there, too, it operates against the tenor of the poem. The second illumination, the first of a series of three at the end of the manuscript, represents one of the secret visits of Sir Bertilak's wife to Sir Gawain, who lies asleep in a bed with curtains round three sides of it as specified in line 1181 (181). L.H. and R.S.Loomis (182) have drawn attention to the resemblances of this configuration to a miniature in a Confessio Amantis manuscript, BL Harley 3869 (Fig. 7). The artist was thus knowledgeable about popular compositional patterns. This is underlined by other aspects of the picture: the lady, resting her right hand on the pillow, strokes Gawain under the chin in what, according to D.W.Robertson (183), is an iconographic signal of lascivious intent. The 'language' of the picture corresponds with the import of the text and yet demonstrates vividly the inadequacy of an illustration to convey the subtleties of the poem: the tortuous complexities of the dialogue are summed up by this one crude tickle. The miniature apparently attempts to summarize all three visits and in so doing fails to illustrate properly any single one of them. The lady's head-dress is elaborate and probably has some reference to the third visit when the clothes in which she tries to tempt Sir Gawain are precisely enumerated. Her hair is said to have been caught up in a

'tressour', here 'evidently a net or fret having jewels set at the intersections' (184) and this is reproduced in the illumination. Otherwise her clothing does not correspond to the description given. Most significantly, her costume is not in the least seductive with its chastely high neck. Because of the inattention to detail it is impossible to accept Lee's judgment that the artist 'carefully considered his texts and chose his pictures truly to illustrate the four poems' (185).

Yet it is undeniable that the selection of scenes displays an alertness to the structure of the various poems. In this discrepancy between sensitivity to structure and casualness in specific detail, I would contend that we have an example of the kind of situation I have outlined earlier (186): a careful consideration was given to the scenes to be depicted and this information was given to an artist to translate into stereotypes or pictorial clichés familiar to him. That he makes crucial mistakes indicates that the critical discrimination evident behind the choice of subject was not his. He is not, as Lee calls him, an 'illuminating critic'. It seems a distinct possibility that the critical intelligence was that of the commissioner of the manuscript or of an early owner. The presence of the illuminations seems to reflect a concern for the contents of the text, a desire to ensure that its main incidents would be impressed on the memory. Narrative synopsis rather than beautification or conspicuous display was more probably the motive behind their incorporation. Their unusual distribution may well be the result of their late addition to the manuscript; their content suggests a discerning reader subject to the vagaries of professional methods of manuscript production.

So far I have been considering individual manuscripts. The usual assumption is that until the advent of printing, the book trade was essentially a bespoke one. Pollard is firm on this point: '... as far as I know there is no evidence to show that before printing there was



any wholesale dealing in such books as were sufficiently standardized to be kept in stock!(187). This might seem to run counter to the suggested methods of production for the Auchinleck manuscript. However, although the individualized requirements of a patron are important in a bespoke trade, he might commission a format that had become fashionable or, since he as much as the stationer would be reliant on pre-existent exemplars, one that was simply available for copying. As Doyle and Parkes point out, 'the conditions of a bespoke trade would encourage cross-imitation and cross-copying!(188).

John Fastolf seems to have been an example of an individual patron who influenced a tradition. Bodleian MS Laud Misc.570, consisting of a treatise entitled Livre de Quatre Vertus Cardinaulx, an independent abridgement of John of Wales' Breviloquium de virtutibus(189), and Christine de Pizan's Epître d'Othea, bears the impress of Fastolf's ownership: it contains his motto, Me fault faire on some twenty-three folios and on fol.93r this is intertwined with the motto of the Order of the Garter(190). It was thus probably copied specially for him, though not adapted for its English recipient: it is prefaced by a dedication to the Duke de Berry (191). As Chesney points out: 'as Master of the Household to John, Duke of Bedford, ...he had every opportunity of access to the Berri MSS. which, with others from the Royal Library, passed into the hands of the Regent'(192). The Bodley manuscript is well, though not extensively, illustrated by a French artist who from his association with this manuscript has been dubbed the 'Fastolf Master'(193). The Othea which begins on fol.24r, and with which this discussion is concerned, has six fine miniatures, a modest enough cycle when compared with some of the more sumptuous French copies. More than any other of Christine's texts, this one was designed for miniatures(194). The text consists of a hundred stories or rather 'story moments'(195) from classical mythology in verse, to each of which are appended a prose 'Glose' and 'Allegorie'. The individual stories offered ample scope for illustration: indeed, Rosemond Tuve



calls Othea an 'image manual' (196). In many of the manuscripts miniatures head the prologue and each section of the text. The miniatures of Laud Misc. 570 illustrate the dedication, showing Christine presenting her book to the Duke de Berry, and the first five story moments: Othea offering a book to Hector (fol. 25v); Temperance leaning out of the clouds towards an elaborate clock round which sit four symmetrically disposed maidens (fol. 28v); Hercules shown in three different poses fighting a single-headed Cerberus on the left, then two demons centre and right (fol. 30r); Minos pronouncing judgment on two naked, bound men (fol. 32r); Perseus rescuing Andromeda (fol. 33v). The subject matter and iconography of these illustrations corresponds in practically all respects with the first six miniatures of Harley 4431. This consistency of iconographic tradition is perhaps scarcely surprising: since Christine deliberately selects a single moment out of a complex narrative, the choice for the artist of what moment to concentrate on is more limited.

The short cycle in Laud Misc. 570 does not, however, necessarily represent a complete cycle curtailed in the interests of economy. There are a number of manuscripts which do not have a full complement of miniatures (197), including BN fr. 848 which illustrates only the dedication and first five 'Textes'. BN fr. 848 is considered by Mombello to be the oldest extant manuscript (198). It is the short cycle, which thus perhaps represents the older tradition, which was transmitted to England by means of Laud Misc. 570 or, more probably, a parent copy.

The Epître d'Othea was translated into English by Fastolf's stepson and ward, Stephen Scrope, apparently at Fastolf's behest (199). There are three manuscripts now extant: Cambridge St. John's College MS H.5; Pierpont Morgan MS M. 775; and MS Longleat 253. The Longleat manuscript contains a fulsome prose dedication to Fastolf in which Scrope names himself and mentions that the translation has been made at his

step-father's express wish. Although textually the manuscripts are independent (200), in inception they follow the same format. St John's College has a sequence of six miniatures by William Abell (201) which is a direct copy, translated into Abell's idiom, of the series in Laud Misc. 570. M 775 has an incomplete version of the text and contains three miniatures, similar iconographically, though inferior stylistically, to the Fastolf master sequence. In the opinion of Bühler, 'M 775 was clearly mutilated by someone wanting the pictures which originally probably numbered six' (202), as in the St John's manuscript. The miniatures depict Othea presenting her letter to Hector; Hercules; Minos pronouncing sentence. There are no illustrations in the Longleat manuscript, but spaces left indicate that, at the 'preparation' stage, it was intended to receive a sequence of six (203). The text was thus not a popular one, but it was presented in a consistent manner.

At first sight it might appear that Fastolf was so taken by his French copy of Othea that he wished to have an exact duplicate made and gave Scrope Laud Misc. 570. The fact of translation into English would confirm the point made earlier about the distinction between French and English being in some respects an arbitrary one: Fastolf was presumably as capable of enjoying the text in French as he was in English. It was Kathleen Chesney who pointed to the textual connection between Laud Misc. 570 and Scrope's translation and concluded that it was 'in all probability the MS. from which Scrope made his translation' (204). The truth of the situation is slightly more complex and reveals that Fastolf was even more enamoured of multiple and identical copies of a text than might initially be suspected. Since the final inscription contains the date 1450 'evidently contemporary with the execution of the manuscript' (205), Chesney suggests that Scrope's date of composition must have been later than the c.1440 usually proposed (on the basis of Scrope's mentioning the 'successyon of lx yeeres growyn vpon yowe



[Fastolf] at this tyme!) (206). This conclusion has been challenged by Buhlér (207). His finding is that the Scrope translation and the Laud manuscript both derive from a common ancestor. In other words, Scrope made his translation from a manuscript no longer extant which was brought to England by Fastolf and which must have contained the pictorial archetypes of both Laud Misc. and the St John's College manuscript. At a subsequent stage, Fastolf commissioned both a translation and a copy of his original manuscript. There is a sense of propriety: the English text was illustrated by an English artist, whereas the work in French was embellished by a Frenchman (208). It is possible that Fastolf thought so highly of his Othea that he was in danger of reading it to pieces and therefore required a replacement copy.

The 'publishing' of the English version appears to have been an expedient adopted by Scrope rather than an idea of Fastolf's. The impecunious Scrope unwittingly emulated Christine: his Othea was issued with three separate dedicatory prefaces. The St John's manuscript is dedicated to Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, while M 775, written as we have seen for Sir John Astley, contains evidence of the existence of another dedicatee: the last two lines of the prologue read:

Plese yow hye princesse to take of this thinge  
The pore effecte of my litille konnynge.

It would appear that Scrope was hedging his bets and presenting his work to at least three possible patrons in the hope of financial reward. This variation in the prologue suggests that other manuscripts with an identical six-miniature format must once have existed. There must originally have been a presentation text for Fastolf (the uncompleted state of the Longleat manuscript suggests that it is a copy rather than the original); a similar copy presented to Buckingham '(unless this was the St John's manuscript, for which there is no evidence)' (209);



the copy designed for the 'hye princessæ' from which, or from a sister manuscript of which, John Astley's text was copied. There would also, of course, have been Scrope's working copy, which must have been the authoritative source for the format of all subsequent English Othea manuscripts. To judge from the copies described above it probably had spaces left for miniatures at the appropriate places, if it did not contain miniatures in its own right. Bühler outlines Scrope's hypothetical working procedure:

... this autograph copy he retained, entering into it ... such corrections and emendations as occurred to him. ... When a fair copy of the text was wanted, Scrope's autograph was given to a professional scribe (with whatever prologue was appropriate) (210).

In this small sample of manuscripts (three extant but six or seven of identical format can be deduced) we have an example of the influence of a single seminal French manuscript on the English scene. The steps of transmission can be easily observed and the uttering of the text pinned to a specific milieu. A consistent view of the format appropriate for this translation of the Othea (211) transferred itself by this means to England. The tradition thus established is, however, more a product of standardization through repeated copying of Scrope's working manuscript than a conceptual view of Othea as a text with six miniatures (212).

## 5. Tradition

The English translation of Guillaume de Deguileville's Le Pèlerinage de l'Âme seems more actively to have been regarded as a text which required illustration. This can be demonstrated in two ways: firstly by a comparison with the fate in England of other of Deguileville's enormously popular poems; and, secondly, by a discussion of the manuscripts themselves. Le Pèlerinage de l'Âme is the second of three poems written by Deguileville, monk and prior of the Cistercian Abbey of Chalis (213): the first, Le Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine, was originally

written between 1330 and 1332 and revised in 1355; L'Âme was composed between 1355 and 1358; Le Pèlerinage de Jhesucrist in 1358 (214). Though manuscripts of the French texts often contain all three poems, extensively illustrated (215), only the first two seem to have been translated into English. Granted the availability of the text to English authors, the failure to supply an English version might suggest that a principle of selectivity was operating: Jhesucrist did not engage the imaginative attention in the same way that the first two Pèlerinages had done. Both Âme and Vie appear in illustrated copies in English versions, but Âme the more consistently. Ten manuscripts of the latter text have been located (216), nine of them illustrated or with spaces left for illustration (217).

Though Vie received two separate translations, an index of its popularity, the proportion of illustrated to unillustrated manuscripts is much lower. Deguileville's first recension was translated into English prose during the first years of the fifteenth century. It has been preserved in six manuscripts only two of which, Bodleian MS Laud Misc. 740 and Melbourne, State Library of Victoria MS 096/G94, contain pictures. Interestingly, both of these have strong connections with copies of Âme: in the Victoria manuscript both texts appear in the same volume, while Laud Misc. 740 is a companion volume to New York, Public Library Spencer MS 19, a version of Âme made for Sir Thomas Cumberworth (218). The second recension of Vie was given a verse rendering, attributed to Lydgate (219). According to the prologue, the translation was begun in 1426 at the command of Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury; it must have been finished by 1428 when Salisbury died (220). Although Tuve claims: 'That Lydgate translated Guillaume's Vie<sup>2</sup> of course made for its fame in England' (221), only three manuscripts and possible evidence of a fourth survive. BL Cotton MS Tiberius A. vii is the only copy with a fairly complete schedule of illustrations (the manuscript is incomplete), containing fifty-three tinted drawings,

possibly by William Abell (222). BL Cotton MS Vitellius C. xiii has only spaces left for miniatures, while BL Stowe MS 952 has no illustrations or spaces left at all. A single leaf, inserted as a flyleaf to BL Harley MS 4826 seems to provide evidence of a sumptuous lost copy of the text. It appears originally to have been a frontispiece: the sensitive tinted drawing shows a kneeling monk and pilgrim presenting a book to a standing figure in armour. This composition has been identified on the basis of a sixteenth-century inscription on the flyleaf facing, 'Lidgat presenting his booke called y<sup>e</sup> Pilgrme vnto ye Earle of Salisbury' above and at the bottom of the page, 'Thomas Montacute Earle of Salisbury', as Lydgate and his persona presenting a copy of the Vie to Montacute. The attribution thus rests on shaky ground and needs to be treated with some caution. The late date, c.1450 (223), of the miniature prevents its being a fragment of the presentation manuscript; it may, perhaps, be a later copy of it -- if indeed it has anything to do with Vie at all.

Although it is dangerous to make judgments on the basis of numbers of surviving manuscripts, it would appear that, in England, it was Âme that had independent life as an illustrated book. Though Vie was an important and influential work (224) it was not conceived as a text with pictures with the same consistency as was Âme (225). This might indicate that there was a specifically English tradition of response towards Deguileville's poems. Indeed, in the English context, if not in the English language, Âme had an influential supporter in the form of John, Duke of Bedford. Jean Gallopes, dean of the collegiate church of Saint-Louis de la Saussaie, Evreux, produced a French prose version of the text for him between 1422 and 1431 (226). A Latin translation was 'copied for him in 1427 under the eye of Gallopes who also did the translation' (227). This interest in having the same work in two different languages may remind us of *Fastolf*. The original dedication copy is still extant as Lambeth Palace MS 326. It can be dated exactly: a bill exists, now



BL Add. Charter 104, dated 7 August 1427 from Jean Thomas clerk of Paris for the parchment required for the translation of Âme (228). Tuve's claim that the manuscript is unillustrated is inaccurate: it contains four -- a presentation miniature on fol. 1r; Deguileville composing in his study, fol. 2v; Deguileville reclining on a bed preparatory to having his dream, fol. 4v; Deguileville worshipping the Trinity on fol. 82v (229). The pictures bear no relation to the English cycles which are more extensive but do not make visual reference to acts of composition or presentation. Bedford was, however, an important source for English versions of Âme: it is possible that Gallopes' prose rather than Deguileville's verse was the basis for the English prose version (230).

Though my concern is primarily with secular manuscripts, Âme manuscripts form an important enough category to warrant a few observations here. Furthermore, the emphasis of this thesis is on narrative illustration: the task of constructing a cycle of miniatures for Âme, a text with a rich tradition of illustration in its original language, exemplifies many of the problems faced by artists formulating pictorial narratives for texts which will be considered in more detail in subsequent chapters.

Âme can be regarded as a self-contained poem, though formally the sequel of Vie. Both are dream-visions: at the end of the latter, the dreamer sees Death approach and wakes in fear; at the beginning of the former, the story continues -- the soul is severed from the body and proceeds to judgment. In Caxton's version printed in 1483, and in most of the English manuscripts, the text is divided into five books. Book I is concerned with judgment; Book II with Purgatory; Book III with hell; Book IV with allegories of Christ's incarnation and other doctrinal and political points; and Book V with beatific visions of Paradise. The work is thus a repository of popular late-medieval motifs: the debate of the Four Daughters of God over the fate of the

individual soul; eschatological visions; the debate between the body and the soul; Nebuchadnezzar's statue used as an image of political analysis; and the vision of the Green Tree and the Dry Tree (231).

Moreover, the structure allows Deguileville to ventilate some aspects of medieval theology. The soul is provided with a guardian angel who acts as cicerone on the journey from purgatory to heaven via a conducted tour of hell: as he progresses in spiritual understanding the soul is enlightened on such matters as the capacity of the 'clene spirite' to endure the fires of hell and purgatory without feeling pain; the capacity of prayer to comfort souls in purgatory; the nature of Satan as compared with that of the damned souls; the nature of the soul itself. These discussions of doctrine culminate in a celebration of the great festivals of the church year. Heaven is seen as one vast sequence of thanksgivings in which the feasts of the calendar of the earthly church reflect the rejoicings of heaven. All this goes some way towards explaining the popularity of the text; it does not explain why it was so consistently illustrated.

Evidence of ownership in New York Public Library Spencer MS 19 provides a striking insight into the other concerns of someone interested in Âme. On the verso of the first flyleaf of this manuscript is an inscription: 'Liber dominus Thome Comorworth militis'. This is usually held to refer to Sir Thomas Cumberworth of Somerby, near Glamford Briggs in Lincoln, who was high sheriff in 1415 and 1431 and M.P. for Lincoln in 1420, 1421 and 1424 (232). Sir Thomas made a will on 15 February 1450 in which he bequeathed to 'my chauntre preste, he of the trinitie autre ... my boke of grasdaw & he of owre lady autre my boke of q'dedew of the sowde, to þam and ther successores' (233). It is possible that the distinction made between 'grasdaw' and 'q'dedew of the sowde' refers to Vie and Âme respectively (Grace Dieu figures prominently in the former as a character). Spencer 19 is presumably the second manuscript mentioned -- the text is referred to as 'Grace dieu'



Table One

	<u>EGERTON 615</u>	<u>SPENCER 19</u>	<u>HATFIELD</u>	<u>GONVILLE AND CAIUS 124</u>
<u>BOOK I</u>	Begins incomplete	Author in bed; angel and pilgrim; Dame Misericorde; ?Dame Prayer?	Deathbed scene; Misericorde; ?Dame Prayer?	Begins incomplete
	Soul between devil and angel	Soul between devil and angel	Soul between devil and angel	
	Text missing	Presentation of the soul for judgment	Presentation of the soul for judgment; the sounding of the trumpet	
	Saints, soul, Sinderesis and Satan	Satan writing down Sinderesis' accusation	Satan writing down Sinderesis' accusation	Satan writing down Sinderesis' accusation
				Space
	Justice with Truth and Reason on either side weighing the soul's staff and scrip in one pannier; Sinderesis and the devil's bill in the other	Justice with Truth and Reason on either side weighing the soul's staff and scrip in one pannier; Sinderesis and the devil's bill in the other	Justice with Truth and Reason on either side; pilgrim on left, staff in one pannier; devil on the right, Sinderesis in the other pannier	Space
	Text missing	Justice with Truth, Reason and Mercy weigh Mercy's charter against the devil's bill	Judgment scene and weighing; Mercy leaning over wall to comfort kneeling pilgrim	Space
<u>BOOK II</u>	Angel presents pilgrim with his 'fardel' of sins; angel leading him to purgatory	Angel presents pilgrim with his 'fardel' of sins; angel leading him to purgatory	Angel trussing up 'fardel'	Space
			Pilgrims released from purgatory	
				Space
	Holy soul being brought to heaven by angels	Holy soul being brought to heaven by angels	Holy soul being brought to heaven by angels	Space
	The soul is shown how damned souls are deformed through sin	The soul is shown how damned souls are deformed through sin	Damned souls deformed through sin	Space
	Damned souls being led to hell	Damned souls being led to hell	Damned souls being led to hell	Space
	Souls being visited by angels bringing ointment of prayer	Souls being visited by angels bringing ointment of prayer	Angel dispensing ointment of prayer	Space
	Angel dispensing ointment to souls	Angels dispensing ointment to souls		Space
	Diagram of shape of fire of purgatory	Diagram of shape of fire of purgatory	Diagram of shape of fire of purgatory	Space
	Soul tormented in ice	Soul tormented in ice		
	Soul tormented for non-payment of debts	Soul tormented for non-payment of debts	Soul tormented for non-payment of debts	Space
<u>BOOK III</u>	Vision of hell	Vision of hell	Vision of limbo and hell	Space
	Pains of hell; souls hanging from gallows	Souls hanging from gallows	Souls hanging from gallows	Space
	Punishment for treason	Punishment for treason	Punishment for treason	Space
	Torments of the irreful and impatient	Torments of the irreful and impatient		Space
				Space
<u>BOOK IV</u>	The green tree and the dry tree; pilgrims playing with an apple	The green tree and the dry tree; pilgrims playing with an apple	Text missing	Space
	The green tree and the dry tree; seated Virgin and crucified Christ	The green tree and the dry tree; seated Virgin and crucified Christ	The Virgin lamenting by the green tree	
			Christ nailed to the dry tree	
	The asses' graveyard	The asses' graveyard		Space
	Lady doctrine licking a pilgrim	Lady Doctrine licking a pilgrim		Space
	The two statues	The two statues	The two statues	Space
<u>BOOK V</u>	The soul being released from purgatory	The soul being released from purgatory	The soul being released from purgatory	Space
	The heavenly spheres	The heavenly spheres	The heavenly spheres	Space



C.U.L. Kk. I. 7	BODLEY 770	ADDITIONAL 34193	UNIVERSITY COLL. 181	VICTORIA 096/694
Death of pilgrim	Author in bed; as pilgrim; deathbed; Dame Misericorde; Dame Prayer	Deathbed; angel and pilgrim	Space	Space
Soul between devil and angel	Soul between devil and angel	Soul between devil and angel	Space	Soul between devil and angel
Presentation of the soul for judgment	Presentation of the soul for judgment	Presentation of the soul for judgment	Space	Presentation of the soul for judgment
Satan writing down Sinderesis' accusation	Satan writing down Sinderesis' accusation	Satan writing down Sinderesis' accusation	Space	Satan writing down Sinderesis' accusation
	? Reason, Truth and Justice?		Space	Justice accuses the soul
	Mercy Interrogates Justice		Space	Mercy speaks for the soul
	Justice, various figures on either side weighing the soul's scrip in one pannier, Satan in the other	Justice weighing Satan and bill in one pannier; soul stoops over pannier in which has put scrip and staff	Space	Justice with scales; ? Reason and ? Truth looking on
Justice weighing soul in one pannier and devil in the other		Mercy putting charter in pannier against devil and his bill		Pilgrim's merits being weighed against Satan's accusations; Mercy holding charter
	Generalized view of purgatory	Angel presents pilgrim with his 'fardel' of sins; angel leading him to purgatory	Space	Angels leading blessed souls to Paradise; pilgrim being given 'fardel'
	Holy soul being brought to heaven by angels		Space	Holy soul being brought to heaven by angels
Deformed souls hanging from gallows		Souls deformed by sin	Space	Souls deformed by sin
Miniature cut out		Damned souls being led to hell	Space	Pilgrim led to purgatory
Priests saying mass for the dead		Souls being visited by angels bringing ointment of prayer	Space	Dame Prayer bringing ointment to souls
Angel dispensing ointment to pilgrim			Space	Angels dispensing ointment to souls
Generalized view of purgatory		Diagram of shape of fire of purgatory	Space	Diagram of shape of fire of purgatory
			Space	Soul beating self at door of house where used to live
Soul tormented for non-payment of debts		Soul tormented for non-payment of debts	Space	Soul tormented for non-payment of debts
	Hell-scene	Vision of hell		Soul shown heap of rotting bodies
	Pride punished in hell		Space	Vision of hell
Souls hanging from gallows		Souls hanging from gallows		Souls hanging from gallows
	Punishment for treason	Punishment for treason		Punishment for treason
Torments of the irreful and impatient	Torments of the irreful and impatient		Space	Torment for 'raveyn' and usury
			Space	Torments of the irreful and impatient
			Space	Torments of the gluttonous and slothful
				Torments of the lecherous
The green tree and the dry tree; pilgrims playing with and eating apples	The green tree and the dry tree; pilgrims playing with apples	The green tree and the dry tree; pilgrims playing with an apple		The green tree and the dry tree; pilgrims playing with apples
	The dry tree revived	The green tree and the dry tree; crucified Christ	Space	The green tree and the dry tree
The asses' graveyard				The asses' graveyard
Lady Doctrine licking a pilgrim	Lady Doctrine and pilgrims		Space	Lady Doctrine licking a pilgrim
	Lady Doctrine			
	The two statues	The two statues	Space	The two statues
				The knight meets liberality
The soul being released from purgatory	The soul being released from purgatory	The soul being released from purgatory	Space	Soul being led across river into Paradise
The heavenly spheres	? The heavenly spheres ?	The heavenly spheres	Space	The heavenly spheres
				The tree of Paradise



in its table of contents; Bodleian Laud Misc. MS 740, a copy of Vie with identical format and illustrated by the same artist and border artist (234) is very probably the first. The present dissociation of the two manuscripts is well explained by the separate beneficiaries. Equally importantly, as Peacock observes of the will 'no document of the time brings more clearly before us the state of religious feeling four centuries ago with regard to death and prayer for the soul' (235). Church and clergy figure largely among the beneficiaries of the will; copious provisions are made for prayers and masses for Cumberworth's soul and those of his wife and parents. Âme encourages this aspect of lay piety and assures the reader of its efficacy in Book II: Dame Prayer appears amid the flames carrying boxes of ointment representing the prayers of the souls' friends:

Thanne these Angels casten these oynements vpon vs that was to vs more swete and lusty than ony licour that euer we felte before and hyely it refresshed vs in alledgyng of oure peynes (236).

Cumberworth was obviously one reader on whom this kind of material had a practical effect.

Though most of the English Âme manuscripts show enough of an affinity both in iconography and in the selection of scene for it to be possible to talk about a tradition of illustrating the text, there does not, as in the case of the Othea manuscripts, appear to have been a single authoritative exemplar. There are enough differences to suggest that a number of models may have been involved.

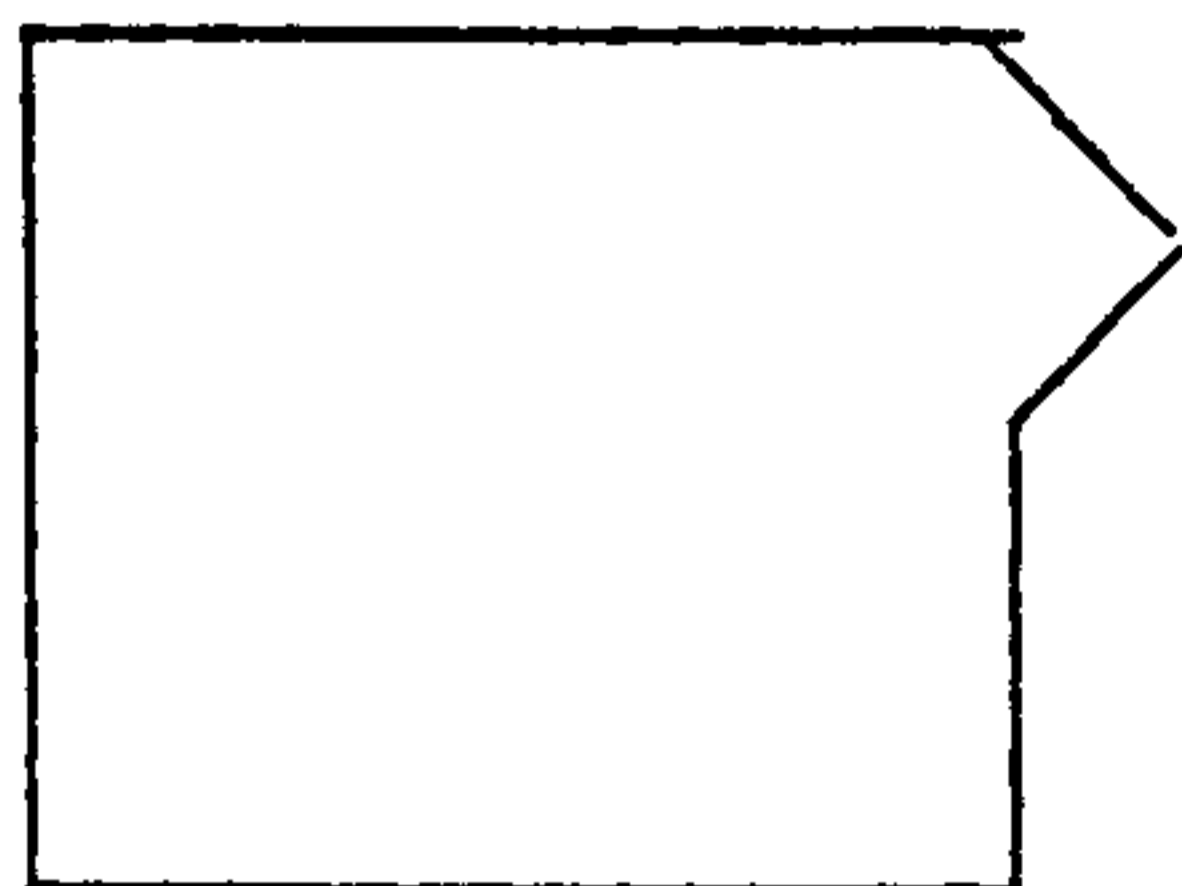
There is no consistency about the way in which the dreamer-narrator is presented: in Egerton 615, Spencer 19 and Hatfield 270 he is a pilgrim; in Victoria 096/G94, CUL Kk.i.7 and Add. 34193 he is a naked soul; and in Bodley 770 he is a cadaver in a winding sheet. Furthermore, as the table shows, there is no overall agreement as to the number of illustrations considered appropriate for the text: were BL Egerton 615 complete it would have had twenty-six miniatures, as does Spencer 19; Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 124 is incomplete but has one

exquisite ink drawing and room for twenty-one more; CUL MS Kk.i.7 has eighteen; Bodley MS 770 has twenty as does BL Add. 34193; Oxford, University College MS 181 has spaces for twenty-three pictures, the number that Hatfield apparently would have had -- the page at the beginning of Book IV is missing and may well have contained a miniature (237) -- while Melbourne, State Library of Victoria MS 096/G94 has the fullest cycle with thirty-five. (238)

Admittedly, it could be argued that a prototype cycle was adapted by contraction or expansion to suit the needs of various patrons. The table shows a high degree of correlation between scenes chosen for illustration. Moreover, a knowledge of Âme iconography can help to decipher some of the spaces left blank for miniatures in Univ. 181. Many of the spaces have been prepared for illustration and someone -- a later amateur, to judge from the lack of confidence in the line -- has followed the outline by providing a rose frame with sprays. Most of them are, as one would expect, either the thin rectangle characteristic of illustrations to this text, particularly common with the second illustration, or a square. The frame outlines on fols. 61r and 90v are an exception to this. Above the space on fol. 61r which occupies half a column, is the rubric: 'how a soule was peyned for his dettes were not payde. Capitulum xix<sup>m</sup>'. The frame actually indicates the shape the composition would have had. It is drawn round three sides of the space as a rectangle and then extends into the gutter margin where the outline suggests a human figure. This would indicate that the composition was to be something like that on fol. 43v of Egerton 615 which depicts, on the left, a naked soul and, on the right, a money chest to which he is shackled by one ankle. It seems apparent that the rubricator had an illustrated exemplar in front of him. Similarly, on fol. 90v, above the chapter heading: 'here compleyneth þe grene tree on þe spoyling of hir swete appull' the shape of the frame gives some insight into the composition that was anticipated. In this section Christ is seen as an



apple which must be transplanted from the green tree (the Virgin Mary) and beaten on the dry tree until the juice runs down and revivifies it. The dry tree is at once the tree from which Adam took the fruit and the cross itself, since a venerable tradition claimed that the cross was made from saplings grown from seeds of apples from the tree of knowledge of good and evil (239). The artist is faced with a choice: either he can represent the trees literally or attempt to show what these two trees signify by concentrating on the figures of Christ and Mary. The frame outline:



indicates that the second option would have been adopted: the triangular shape perhaps suggests the arm of a cross.

This allegorical nature of the text provides for divergent iconographical emphases. As with Roman de la Rose manuscripts, artists do not offer consistently a visual equivalent for either the literal or allegorical level. In Egerton 615, Spencer 19, Add. 34193 and Hatfield, the artist presents both simultaneously: the green tree and the dry tree are shown but the Virgin and Christ appear also in or near their respective trees. On the other hand, Bodley 770 and Victoria 096/G94 remain resolutely literal: the latter shows merely two stylized trees, but the former is more explicit about the mechanics of the pomicultural metaphor chosen for the incarnation -- the dry tree is shown with an apple impaled on one of its spiky branches. This section does not receive illustration in Kk.i.7. On the other hand, most manuscripts (apart from Bodley 770 where it does not occur) offer a literal visual reading of the joyous reception in purgatory of the prayers for the dead. They depict Dame Prayer or the angels distributing ointment which acts as a salve for the burns inflicted by purgatorial flames. The exception is Kk.i.7 which penetrates through the vehicle (ointment) to the tenor

(prayer) by showing an altar with two large candles at either end set on a green ground behind which four tonsured clerics chant from an open manuscript placed on a lectern. This idiosyncratic iconography may have been prompted by the chapter heading: 'Her Prayer of holy chirche counfortith þe soulis þat ben in the fer of Purgatorye', where a manuscript like Spencer 19 has the slightly more ambiguous: 'Here prayer conforteth the solus that ben in the peynes of purgatorie'. It is these discrepancies in the treatment of the allegory which suggest that more than one exemplar may occasionally have been involved or that an incomplete exemplar may have been available to the artists of some of the manuscripts. It is possible that the 'literal' reading of the green tree and the dry tree episode represents little more than a simplification of the original iconography by removing the Virgin and Christ; this is not the case with the masses for the dead scene. Kk.i.7, at least, was not produced from the same exemplar as produced the others (240).

Indeed, Kk.i.7 is the most idiosyncratic in its iconography though not usually in the point in the text at which the miniatures are inserted. Even so, there is a slight discrepancy about the eleventh picture, the soul detained in purgatory although his sins have been purged because his executors have failed to discharge his debts. All the manuscripts which illustrate this scene place the miniature above the stage where the narrator first sees the soul; Kk.i.7 places it some fifty words later with the beginning of his actual lament. From the table it can be seen that the first four miniatures in all manuscripts consist of a standard sequence; the divergence of selection, when it occurs, comes later. In its iconography for the third miniature, the presentation of the soul for judgment, Kk.i.7 adapts an authoritative tradition, but one that does not correspond to the text. Judgment we are told, takes place in a 'ful merueylous place' in which sit a multitude of people on 'syeges ryal and wonderful'. Because it is as yet unknown

whether he is saved or damned, the soul is excluded from the court by means of a curtain and thus cannot see what is going on. It is clear, however, that the proceedings are presided over by St. Michael. Only Spencer 19 and Hatfield allude visually to the curtain at this point; the rest depict seated figures with various combinations of souls and angels in loose approximation to the text. Hatfield is particularly precise in its visual references to the pilgrims accompanied by devils waiting outside the court and to the sounding of the trumpet. Bodley 770 differs from the majority of the manuscripts in having a composite miniature here, one section of which presents an ideograph of a court with the provost, unidentifiable as Michael, seated inside an enclosure with high walls. In front stand two winged figures, facing each other; one is holding a sword. The iconography is not particularly specific, but it is appropriate. The miniature in Kk.i.7 is very symmetrical. On the left are two angels arranged in a tier. The top angel blows a trumpet, a motif which appears both in the text and, as we have seen, other English manuscripts of Âme, but which, in view of the other components of the picture, probably derives directly from the Book of Revelation. The bottom angel kneels and presents a naked soul standing with both hands raised in prayer. To the right of him is a barrier running along the diagonal, balanced by another such barrier on the right on which leans a devil, draping a cartouche-like scroll round it. In the centre, the judge is Christ as a Man of Sorrows, sitting on a rainbow. He has a gold halo, wears a crown of thorns and raises both hands to show the wounds in them. A cloak is disposed over his naked body to reveal a wound in his side. It is clear that this iconography derives from a separate eschatological tradition: that of illustrations of the Last Judgment (241).

Most of the illustrations follow the text quite closely -- especially Victoria 096/G94 with its sequence of torments for the various sins (Slides 12-44). This is not true of Kk.i.7. Sometimes this is due



to the generalized nature of the iconography as with the miniature purporting to show 'þe schap of þe fire of purgatory'. The other manuscripts that illustrate this scene are remarkably consistent: Egerton 615, Spencer 19 and Add. 34193 all show a naked soul lying on his back in the midst of a circle composed of stylized flames which is surrounded by a series of concentric circles with a crescent moon at the top; Spencer and Add. also insert an angel on the left of the composition. Hatfield varies from this slightly in the position of the soul and the absence of the angel and crescent moon. Victoria 096/G94 removes the soul from the concentric circles, placing him on the left with the angel on the right. The equivalent miniature in Kk.i.7 is dominated by purgatorial flames: on the left can be seen the heads of two souls; on the right, Satan, outlined in black, rests his pair of bellows on a central mound. Sometimes, as with the judgment picture, the inconsistency seems to be because the iconography is referring to extra-textual traditions. The 'peynis of wrettheful men and yrous', according to the text, are to be burned in a furnace or to be used as faggots for the stoking of the furnace. According to the relevant picture in Kk.i.7, the punishment involves a fiery pit surrounded by a green strip of ground in which are inserted two souls. In the centre, two devils fan the flames with bellows. The soul on the right stabs himself in the chest, a gesture which seems more in conformity with a different iconographic prototype and not only of envy (242). This is not to suggest that the artist never consulted the text. The miniature allocated to the ointment of prayer being distributed to souls involves two figures: an angel with a jar on the left and, on the right, a bearded man dressed as a pilgrim with a staff in his left hand and his broad-brimmed hat pushed back round his shoulders. The artist seems very literally to have picked up the word 'pilgrym' in the text below: 'Thenne affter þis euery aungel cam to his own pilgrym with his boyste of grace'. This is particularly striking because hitherto the artist

has kept to the convention of the naked soul.

Kki.7 is not totally independent of other <sup>^</sup>Ame illustrations. As with the depiction of Lady Doctrine licking a pilgrim in Victoria 096/G94, in Kk.i.7 she sits in a chair with her tongue sticking out while the pilgrim kneels to one side. It is Spencer 19 and Egerton 615 which freely alter traditional motifs for their own ends. In the centre is a bench-like seat with a high back. On it sits a haloed lady with a naked child-like soul sitting on her knee. A long red tongue sticks out of her mouth. This is evidently an adaptation of a Madonna and Child motif.

Kk.i.7 is not the only manuscript to display idiosyncratic iconography. In Bodley 770, the portrayal of Synderesis is arbitrary and bears no relationship to the description in the text. Instead of the human-headed serpent which appears in all other manuscripts (apart from Gonville and Caius where he is a fully-fledged dragon) he is merely shown as a man wearing a three-quarter length tunic and a tall hat. This inattention both to the text and to conventional ways of representing a scene can be found again in the miniature which begins Book II. Whereas other manuscripts emphasize the narrative aspect -- the pilgrim being presented with his own collection of horns and tusks wrapped up in a bundle and led to purgatory -- Bodley 770 merely indicates the transition in setting by means of a series of green mounds from which issue flames to indicate purgatorial fire. This composition is given specificity by including the trio of soul, angel and devil which made its appearance in the second miniature of the series and is a kind of trademark for most subsequent pictures. The independence of Bodley 770 from other pictorial versions can be noted again in the depiction of Lady Doctrine on fol. 64v. On the left is the trio of soul, devil and angel; in the centre is a covered wagon, a woman's face can be seen through the window. This, presumably, is Lady Doctrine in her 'chair'. The artist has evidently consulted the text at this point, but in a limited and

pragmatic way. He has seen the phrase 'I saw a lady syttyng in a chaire' and not implausibly has taken 'chaire' to mean chariot. He addresses himself to none of the other iconographic elements. Lady Doctrine is not actually licking the two pilgrims who approach from the right. On the other hand, Bodley is not completely idiosyncratic in its iconography: the composition showing the holy soul being led to heaven has strong affiliations with similar depictions in Hatfield, Egerton 615 and Spencer 19 (Figures 8 and 9) and the miniatures on fol. 46v: 'Here he seep a wonderful peyne for treson', fol. 53v, the first portrayal of the green tree and the dry tree, and fol. 70v, the two statues, are not unconnected with other versions.

The presence in Kk.i.7 and Bodley of the miniatures analyzed above suggests the variety of sources from which the pictures were culled. The fluctuation in the manuscripts discussed so far between pictorial models related to the text, the sporadic reference to the text itself, the reference to traditions other than that for Âme and the introduction of generalized scenes with little overt reference to context are phenomena that will be noted in other English pictorial cycles.

There are close affiliations between Egerton 615 and Spencer 19; indeed, one is almost a direct transcription of the other, though there are minor variations. As well as the iconographic interdependence, the manuscripts are stylistically related. Both have very similar borderwork and the miniatures were painted by a not dissimilar artist, though that of Egerton is inferior (243). They were thus probably produced in the same atelier. One further feature of Egerton 615 should be noted: in the margin by three of the miniatures are small Arabic numerals which appear to denote the number of the picture in the sequence. They do not occur in Spencer 19.

There is one major difference of concept in the pictures of Spencer 19 which is exemplified by the composition on fol. 42v when compared with that on fol. 33r of Egerton 615. Both illustrate the



various transmogrifications of the souls too sinful to be included in Mercy's charter. In Egerton the miniature depicts a number of naked figures with various deformities -- assorted animals' heads, claws, paws and bowels dropping out; Spencer preserves a similar composition on the right, but introduces, on the left, the figures of a small pilgrim soul and larger angel who points with one hand towards his charge and with the other towards the damned. As the miniature is 'read' from left to right, the eye first encounters the angel who thus becomes an intermediary between the viewer and the main portion of the composition. This reflects his rôle here of clarifying the significance of what is seen. As the text specifically notes, the soul has to request an explanation:

And whanne I sawe this horryble syghte, my herte tremblyd for dred, and I beanne ful pytously to beholde myn Aungel to aske hym of this thyng.

though the answer, that the souls are deformed in ways that demonstrate their besetting sin -- the proud are horned; the envious have their eyes dropping out etc. -- is not susceptible to illustration. The motif is adopted in other of the pictures in the Spencer manuscript (244): the basic design in Egerton is expanded (245) to include the figures of angel and soul. The device is used with some scrupulousness: it appears at points where the angel is presenting information to the soul either visually or verbally. The pedagogical function of the guardian angel in the text is thus reflected in the iconography.

Two other closely related manuscripts complete the quartet that may be said to represent the English tradition of Âme illustration. Though Add. 34193 does not contain all the scenes illustrated in Spencer 19 and Egerton 615, it follows quite closely the iconography in these two manuscripts. The compositional types differ but the same moments are chosen for illustration and are treated in a similar kind of way (see microfilm 1). A similar point can be made about Hatfield: again, although not all scenes are illustrated, those which do receive

illustration are devised with scrupulous attention to the text.

The French pictorial tradition has not been analyzed and there is neither time nor space to do so here. It can be said, however, that the English tradition is not totally dependent on French prototypes. The analysis of one scene, that of judgment, will serve to make the point. In the French, during the discussion between Justice and Mercy before Michael the provost, Mercy adduces as evidence in the soul's favour the fact that he had entered a religious order and made penance. Justice counters that poorly observed religious practice is worth nothing. After some discussion Justice agrees to consult St Benedict over the matter. Benedict suggests writing his opinion down so as not to hold up the court. There is a preliminary weighing: each side, good or bad, is to put their bit in, so Benedict is entitled to put his scroll into the pilgrim's pannier. Evidently Deguileville was not an exemplary monk because Synderesis' accusations still outweigh everything and Mercy still has to go to heaven to obtain a charter of pardon (246). This scene is illustrated in a number of French manuscripts (247). The sequence of St Benedict's intervention is suppressed in the English; he is merely mentioned as one of a series of character witnesses that the court is prepared to admit. None of the English illustrations of the judgment scene includes him conspicuously among the participants; he is certainly never shown contributing his scroll to the pilgrim's pannier. The sequence of illustrations must therefore have been carefully adapted to the English context. Visual exemplars were not taken over haphazardly from the French, if French exemplars were used at all.

A few words remain to be said about the distribution of miniatures in the English manuscripts. Victoria 096/G94 contains the most extensive series but it merely confirms and extends the judgments made by the compilers of the other manuscripts as to what were the most important narrative sequences. As can be seen from the table, the pictures are not apportioned equally between the five books. In all manuscripts

Book V is considered the least susceptible of illustration and Book II the most. Since Book II is concerned with Purgatory and the remission of pain due to the grace of God and the ministrations of his church upon earth, this would relate the emphasis of the illustrators to the kind of piety displayed by Sir Thomas Cumberworth in his will. Rosemond Tuve has described the theme of Vie as enabling the pilgrim to 'understand the place of the sacraments in the life of the church.' (248). The same thematic concern exists in Âme: the importance of the sacraments for both the prudent living and the dead is emphasized in the first two books. In both Vie and Âme the necessity of penance is seen as paramount. Synderesis can accuse the soul so weightily because the soul has not used the mallet of contrition. The emphasis on sacraments can also be seen in the initial illustrations of Spencer 19 and Add. 34193, both of which contain elements which I have not encountered in most other prefatory pictures to Âme. In Spencer 19 (Figure 10), the narrator is shown lying in a canopied bed. On the right, in the foreground, is Misericorde, a haloed figure burying the dreamer's corpse as specified by the text:

Thanne come to his body þe noble lady dame. Misericordie. and  
covered it lappyng in a clene linnen cloth. and so ful honestly  
leyde it in þe erthe.

Behind her is a church. In the centre, behind the dreamer's bed, stand the dreamer as pilgrim and his guardian angel. The angel holds a chalice with a host in it -- a clear reference to a central sacrament, that of communion. It is this motif which is unique to Spencer and Add. 34193. The composition in the latter manuscript is similar except that the scene on the left is a deathbed scene in which the supine figure is pierced by a skeleton brandishing a spear and there is no visual reference to Misericorde. The building on the right is ambiguous in purpose -- it does not seem to be a church. Crucially, however, the soul and angel carrying the chalice appear at the foot of the bed. Such an iconographic detail would seem to reveal a thoughtful reading of the text.

Another illustration, the initial picture of the Hatfield MS



(Figure 11), might indicate a less metaphorical reading. It has much in common with the Add. 34193 miniature: on the left is a deathbed scene with death as a skeleton standing behind the headboard plunging his spear into the dreamer's chest, while Misericorde wraps his shroud around him. In the centre, hovering above the foot of the bed, is the soul as pilgrim while on the ground to the right a half-length devil stretches his arms up towards him. This is more accurate to the text than the soul-and-angel motif since it is the 'fowle horrible Sathanas' that he encounters first. On the right is a slightly puzzling figure. It is half-length since its hips emerge from a flower-shaped aureole. It is winged and carries a chalice. It appears to be female and is therefore more likely to be intended for Dame Prayer than for the guardian angel. The chalice would then be a symbol for the prayers themselves, though elsewhere in the manuscript they are represented by boxes. The visual correlation of Prayer and Satan is, again, in conformity with the text:

I saw also the auterer that clepyd is Dame Prayer, how that she sped hyt to heuen ward wonder hastely bifore me, for to byseke the souerayne Lord of grace and of mercy, for no doute I had ful huge mestier ther of, for why the fowle horrible Sathanas I sawe comyng toward me ful cruelly, manacyng me ...

If the model for the Hatfield miniature represents the prototype illustration for the cycle, it is possible that the motif of the angel carrying a chalice is the result of a misunderstanding of the iconography of Dame Prayer. It is, however, a misreading that fits in well with the theme of the text.

The discussion of patronage and tradition has revealed, as ever, the difficulty of generalization. For Thomas Stanley it was a desire for sumptuousness that led him to embellish his manuscript. On the other hand, the owner of Cotton Nero A.x appears to have been most concerned about the contents of the miniatures which accompanied his manuscript.. In the case of Le Pèlerinage de l'Âme a sensitive response

to the text in some manuscripts coexists with a lackadaisical use of visual cliché in others. Some of the miniatures appear to be independent of French traditions while, on the contrary, the illustrations of Fastolf's manuscript can be traced back to the authority of Christine de Pizan herself. These last two texts are the closest thing to a narrative cycle yet encountered.

## 6. The Author

Another determining factor in whether a text received illustration seems to have been the prestige of the author. The late fourteenth century, a time when illustrated manuscripts in the English vernacular started to become fashionable, coincides with an increasing self-awareness about authorship and the emergence of the author as an independent, named individual.

The author for whom the largest number of manuscripts with some kind of illustration has survived is Gower -- and he is also the earliest. From the chronological point of view, Gower is of supreme importance for the development of illustration of English vernacular works. Though we know from Chaucer's 'Wordes unto Adam, his Owne Scriveyn' and from the end of Troilus that he took great care with the accuracy of the text he produced for publication, it was Gower who took an interest in the physical appearance of his work in manuscript form. There are no illustrated manuscripts of Chaucer's work the production of which can definitely be attributed to his lifetime; a number of the sumptuous copies seem to have been produced soon after his death as a kind of memorial tribute (249). On the other hand, a number of illustrated manuscripts of Gower's works were produced while he was alive and, therefore, it is possible, under his supervision. It is this suggestion of authorial control that contributes to the sense of Confessio Amantis manuscripts as a watershed in the production of English vernacular manuscripts. Another important factor is that Confessio Amantis, unlike

most other works which receive illustration other than the Canterbury Tales, is not a translation. True, the poem is pieced together from heterogeneous sources, but the concept of the whole and the arrangement of the various tales is original to Gower. In other words, there was no ready-made tradition for the artists illustrating Confessio Amantis manuscripts to follow.

Gower is additionally interesting in that he wrote in all three of the major languages available to educated Englishmen of his day: French, Latin and English. The French poems do not seem to have achieved the popularity of Confessio Amantis: Mirour de l'Omme, Gower's most substantial French poem, written between 1376 and 1379 (250); and the Cinquante Ballades, a collection of pieces probably composed throughout his life (251), exist in one unillustrated manuscript apiece. The Traité forms a more interesting contrast with Confessio Amantis since it appears as a pendant to the English work in manuscripts such as Bodleian manuscripts Fairfax 3, Bodley 294 and BL Harley 3869, where Confessio Amantis receives illustration but the French text does not (252). Vox Clamantis, Gower's major Latin work, appears in ten manuscripts. In the opinion of Macaulay, four of these, Oxford All Soul's College MS 98, Glasgow University Library, Hunterian MS T.2.17, BL Cotton MS Tiberius A.ii.v and Harley MS 6291 are contemporary with Gower (253). The Hunterian and Cotton manuscripts contain, as frontispiece to the text, just after the contents, a painting of a man with three arrows in his belt, drawing back the string of his bow to release an arrow. To the right is the globe of the world divided into three sections with stylized representations of three of the elements -- earth, air and water. Above the illustration is written:

Ad mundum mitto mea iacula dumque sagitto  
At ubi iustus erit nulla sagitta ferit  
Sed male viuentes hos vulnero transgredientes  
Consciis ergo sibi se speculetur ibi.

It will be seen that picture plus explanatory verses form an abstract and



conceptual synopsis of the ensuing poem. It translates into symbolic terms the prevailing concerns of Vox Clamantis: the excoriation of man's failures in relation particularly to society, but also to God (254). It is possible that these illustrations were authorized by Gower himself: all four manuscripts have 'author's corrections written over erasure' (255) and therefore were produced by scribes close to Gower (256). Two other manuscripts contain the picture: California, Henry E. Huntington Library, MS HM 150, an early fifteenth-century manuscript, reduplicates the composition in general terms, but the pose of the archer is slightly different, and 'there are no corrections or erasures such as might indicate that the book had been in the hands of the author' (257). In Bodleian MS Laud 719, from the second quarter of the fifteenth century, the picture of the archer is prefaced to Book III. This method of illustrating the text seems thus to have been an influential one: apart from the All Souls manuscript, no other Vox Clamantis manuscripts received illustration. Strictly speaking, the All Souls manuscript does not illustrate Vox Clamantis itself. The poem is prefaced by a dedicatory epistle to Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, an epistle to be found only in this manuscript; it is announced by an historiated initial inhabited by the figure of an archbishop; Vox Clamantis has no miniature.

The same situation, an authoritative layout and iconography, can be found with Confessio Amantis manuscripts. There was an extraordinary flourishing in the production of illustrated manuscripts of this text round the turn of the century, a period from which, in fact, most of the Gower manuscripts with pictures come. The illustration itself is remarkably consistent. It comprises a sequence of two miniatures depicting Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the metallic statue, used to underline Gower's theme of the inexorable decline of the world, and the scene of confession, the ostensible reason for Gower's superb retelling of the themes of love in classical mythology. The exceptions to this general

format are Oxford, New College MS 266 and New York, Pierpont Morgan MS M 126 which contain a fuller cycle and which are discussed later (258). The positioning of the miniatures in the text is not entirely consistent, but the main point is clear: they occur within the first ten or so folios. This would be entirely explicable in terms of the desire to produce a modestly illustrated book: the patron for such a manuscript might be able to afford a sumptuous first gathering even if his finances were unable to stretch to miniatures throughout. In Fairfax 3 and BL Harley 3869, the pictures mark structural divisions: the illustration of Nebuchadnezzar's dream announces the prologue, while that of the confession prefaces Book I. These two manuscripts are exceptions (259). The majority place the miniatures by the portion of text to which they refer. Thus the picture of Nebuchadnezzar's dream generally appears above Prologue 1.595 while that of the confession occurs above Book I 1.203. This layout was so prevalent that CUL MS Mm.ii.21, which at the 'preparation' stage had room only for an illustration of Nebuchadnezzar's dream -- admittedly slightly differently positioned, above the Latin heading -- has had a miniature inserted, at the 'finishing' stage, in the margin by the appropriate portion of text. There are exceptions like BL Royal 18.C.xxii and Rosenbach 1083/29 which have an historiated initial at the beginning of the prologue (that of Roy. reversing the normal order by showing a confession scene) but which have a miniature of Nebuchadnezzar's dream (or in the case of Rosenbach an historiated initial) in the usual place. The division of the work into prologue and eight books is indicated in the manuscripts by means of large initials and borders.

Given that the miniatures do not ordinarily mark divisions in the text, the question is then raised: why were these two scenes in particular selected for illustration? It is true that the compositions are simple and probably more easy to construct than pictures with a direct reference to one or other of the narratives (260), but if simplicity

were the major criterion, something like the historiated initial which introduces Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library MS 1083/29 would have been more appropriate. This depicts a scene of unusual type for Gower manuscripts (261). Sitting on a red canopied bed set at an oblique angle to the picture plane is the author, a man with a long white beard. On his knee is an open book which he holds with his left hand, and with his right hand he dips his pen into an inkwell on the bed. Such an author portrait, though of unusual type for English vernacular manuscripts would have been as easy to provide as the compositions that are in fact chosen. It would therefore appear that the subject-matter of the miniatures was a product of conscious decision rather than of pragmatism. The two miniatures are conceptually related to that provided for the Vox Clamantis: they do not address themselves to narrative incident as much as they provide a conceptual schema. They isolate the two elements which may be seen as the main intellectual interests of the poem, the end which the narratives serve. In Confessio Amantis, man's individual love for woman is a microcosm for larger schemes of order and affinity, particularly in the political sphere. The disordered individual is seen as an emblem for the disordered state. Thus the visual motif of confession is related to the personal element while Nebuchadnezzar's dream provides Gower's political analysis with urgency.

In their stress on the structural and thematic elements rather than the local and particular, Vox Clamantis and Confessio Amantis miniatures are unique among the manuscripts I have consulted. It is highly probable that illustrations for both texts derive their authority from Gower himself. As we have seen, illustrated manuscripts of Vox Clamantis were altered as Gower revised his poem, suggesting that they were produced and remained under Gower's supervision. The same is true of Fairfax 3 of Confessio Amantis. Macaulay analyzes the process of revision by which the manuscript passed from a copy of the first



recension to a copy of the third by means of rewriting over erasure and substitution of leaves. He concludes:

This argument would apply to a book which was intended to remain in the hands of the author, or rather of the scribes whom he employed, and to be used as an archetype from which copies were to be made (262).

If Gower were so intimately concerned with the successive stages of the text, it is likely that he was also involved with the miniatures.

It is interesting to note that the conception of the miniatures in Fairfax 3 varies slightly from that in other manuscripts. Firstly the layout, as we have seen, is different, the pictures being there more obviously to mark the beginning of the prologue and Book 1. More importantly, however, the miniature of Amans confessing to Genius (Figure 12) is markedly divergent from other portrayals of the same scene in the other manuscripts. As has often been pointed out, there is an ambiguity in the figure of Genius. 'As a priest of Venus the character is commissioned to instruct Amans about love; but as an orthodox priest he must also teach virtue' (263). Visually, such a dual ministry is difficult to convey: the artist must either clothe Genius in orthodox vestments thus emphasizing the Confessio aspect of the poem or address himself to the problem of Genius as priest of Venus who admits:

For it is nocht my comun us  
To speke of vices and vertus  
Bot al of love and of his lore (C. A. 1. 267-9) (264).

Most artists adopt the first expedient; it is only Fairfax which unequivocally stresses the source from which Genius derives his priestly authority. Here a number of love-vision elements dominate: the confession seems to be taking place in a clearing in a forest while Genius himself wears green and a chaplet of roses on his head, often iconographically associated with Venus (265). Only Harl. 3869 bears any iconographic relation to this. The miniatures are placed in the same position in both manuscripts, unsurprisingly, since the text of Harl. is

'copied very faithfully from the Fairfax manuscript' (266). Furthermore, the picture of Nebuchadnezzar's dream in Harley (Figure 7) is a very faithful copy of that in Fairfax (Figure 13). The confession miniature is not quite as exact (Figure 14). True, it takes place in a landscape and the positioning of the confessor's hands is identical in both cases, but instead of the chaplet of roses, Genius wears a cap with a green band to it on which are reddish dots. It is possible that this is a misunderstanding of detail in Fairfax and that Genius should properly have been wearing a garland. If this represents Gower's conception of how Genius should be portrayed, it is a less formal one than appears in the majority of the manuscripts.

Iconographically, all the miniatures of Nebuchadnezzar's dream are closely related. The most extensive, like Fairfax 3 or Bodley 294 show the king asleep in a canopied bed, the statue at the foot of it, with a mountain to the right from the top of which falls a rock. Other manuscripts depict only the statue, but the basic idea is the same. The treatment of the confession scene is less uniform. All manuscripts other than the two discussed above illustrate a conventional confession with a seated priest and kneeling Amans, but the gestures of the two figures differ slightly. In fact Bodley 902 (Figure 15) and Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 307 (Figure 16) seem to offer a synthesis of the two attitudes towards Genius. Although he is a priest, the confession takes place in a landscape containing trees and flowers. In both Amans is shown as an elderly man with a long white beard, whereas in all other versions I have seen, apart from CUL Mm.ii.21, Amans is beardless. These two manuscripts are stylistically similar. In the stylistically related Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 67 (Figure 17), Bodley 693 (Figure 18), and Laud Misc. 609 (Figure 19), the priest places his stole on the penitent's head, as he does in CUL Mm.ii.21 (Figure 20) and in Bodley 902 (Figure 21). In Bodley 294 and Royal 18 C.xxii (Figure 22) he puts his hand on Amans' shoulder while in Egerton 1991

(Figure 23), he gesticulates with both hands. In Pierpont Morgan MS 125 (Figure 24) the spatial relationship between Genius and Amans is different: the two figures are further apart and the miniature thus has a slightly unusual effect.

On balance, however, all these differences are very minor. The extant manuscripts give the impression of being produced in a carefully controlled, carefully supervised context. In Macaulay's opinion: 'It is evident not only that Gower was careful about the text of his writings, but also that there was some organized system of reproduction' (267). The scribal and stylistic affinities of the manuscripts are beyond the scope of this thesis (268). None the less it is well known that a significant group of manuscripts are artistically related. These are: Bodley MSS 294, 693 and 902, Oxford Corpus Christi 67, Laud Misc. 609 and BL Egerton 1991 (269). All of these, apart from Laud Misc. 609 and Bodley 693, contain the hand of the same scribe (270). They are thus very closely related in production. Furthermore, the miniature in Bodley 294 is probably the work of Herman Scheerre, one of the artists involved in the Bedford Psalter and Hours (BL Add. MS 42131) (271) while the miniature in Bodley 902 was possibly painted by 'Johannes', the artist who signed a miniature in the Marco Polo section of Bodley 264 (272). In other words, the modest programme in the Gower manuscripts was executed by some of the finest artists working in early fifteenth-century England. From their analysis of early fifteenth-century vernacular manuscripts, Doyle and Parkes conclude that it was rare at this time for an author to retain a single definitive exemplar for copying: only Gower and Capgrave seem to have done so (273). The retention of an exemplar speaks volumes for the extent of Gower's concern with the transmission and appearance of his work. Doyle and Parkes further conclude that if Gower did have a scriptorium then he most probably organized it himself (274). With this scrupulous interest in the production of his work and the consistency with which it is presented,



it would be most surprising if Gower did not take some care over the selection of the miniatures which were to accompany his text.

Though it was the example of Chaucer that was crucial for the development of English as a literary language, a fact recognized by the generation of poets who followed, it was Gower who had a firm conception of how his texts should be presented and is therefore interesting both for the evolution of authorial self-consciousness and for the illustration of English vernacular works. Most of the manuscripts discussed hitherto have been produced for the reader rather than necessarily to reflect the intention or desire of the author. Though the pictorial programme of both Vox Clamantis and Confessio Amantis is deliberately modest it is noteworthy that it was the English work which had the wider distribution and the slightly greater quantity of pictures. This is partly explicable in terms of Gower's sense of audience: Vox Clamantis 'was addressed to learned men, especially men like Thomas of Arundel ... to whom the final version was dedicated' (275) whereas in Confessio Amantis he deliberately adopts a more 'popular' approach, acknowledging that 'lust' is going to be blended with 'lore' (276). His self-awareness as an author can be demonstrated from the colophons at the end of Confessio Amantis manuscripts in which he carefully names himself and lists his oeuvre.

The author whose work most consistently received illustration in fifteenth-century England was Lydgate. Admittedly, as de Wit points out, the number of illustrated manuscripts of Lydgate's works is not impressive when compared with the number of unillustrated copies (277). However, the numbers become more interesting if we analyze the works text by text. Most of Lydgate's major works are represented by at least one illuminated manuscript (278). In terms of sheer numbers of manuscripts there may be more illustrated copies of Confessio Amantis, but, until later in the century, the pictorial programme was relatively unambitious and, in the case of Lydgate, there is a wider scope and range of text. Many of his

productions can be associated with wealthy and influential patrons -- the Troy Book and possibly the Life of Our Lady (279) with Henry V, the Fall of Princes with Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, Le Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine with Thomas Montacute and the Life of St Edmund and St Fremund with Henry VI. The existence of illustrated copies of such works is thus as much to do with the prestige of the patron as with Lydgate's own status as a poet who received illustration. The illustrations of his work do not reflect the concerns of his mind in the way that Gower's do, though, as will be seen in later chapters, they offer varying and important perspectives on the function of illustration in fifteenth-century manuscripts.

Lydgate was aware of the resources of the visual, and some of his work feeds off relationships between image and text. 'The Dolerous Pyte of Crystes Passioun' and 'On the Image of Pity' (280) depend on the reader evoking a visual image in his mind in response to references to 'this ffigure', 'this lyknesse'. The reader is encouraged to bring to bear memories of any similar images he has seen in churches to aid the meditation. 'The Fifteen Joys and Sorrows of Mary' (281) purport to have been inspired by a miniature in an illustrated manuscript. It is striking, Walter Schirmer observes (282), how often Lydgate wrote verses which explicate paintings. His Danse Macabre is a translation of French verses on the cloister walls of the Church of the Holy Innocents in Paris; subsequently Lydgate's words were used as accompaniment to mural paintings on the cloister walls of Pardon churchyard near St Paul's. His Legend of St. George illustrates paintings in the guild hall of London armourers (283); Bycorne and Chichevache was written to accompany a painted cloth (284); 'The Image of Our Lady' was to accompany a painting of the Virgin set up by Ralph Gelebronde at Archdeacon John Thornton's request (285). The various Mummings (286) depend on visual data in a different way since they were designed to be spoken in conjunction with mime and tableaux on festival occasions. They thus had to be written

with a conjunction of the visual and verbal in mind. Despite all this, there is little to suggest that Lydgate took an active interest in the appearance of his work in manuscript form. The most interesting manuscript from this point of view is BL Harley 2278, a copy of the Life of St Edmund and St. Fremund (287).

With this text author, recipient and circumstances of production are definitely known, and the motives of the producers can be guessed. As is customary with Lydgate's major commissions, he gives a full account of everything connected with his starting to write. The occasion was the king's extended stay at Bury from Christmas 1433 to Easter 1434 (288); at the request of Abbot William Curteys the saints' lives were translated 'out of the latyn' (289). It is probable that Harley 2278 (microfilm 1) was the actual presentation copy. With a hundred and twenty miniatures this is one of the most sumptuous of English vernacular manuscripts and stylistically it is among the finest. Curteys' motive in presenting such a manuscript of the life of the patron saint of the abbey to the young king can probably be guessed with some accuracy. At its simplest level the gift was designed to bind him closely to the interests of the abbey. As Pearsall points out, Curteys was above all a great defender of abbatial privilege and 'there may well have been a propagandist element in his choice of subject-matter' (290). Certainly, some of the posthumous miracles of St Edmund stress the unpleasant fate of those who infringe the privileges of his abbey.

Harley 2278 'is central to the theory of a school of painting centred' in Bury St Edmunds (291). Morgan suggests that it is possible Lydgate may have supervised the decoration of the book personally since monk and manuscript may have been in the same location, but it is equally probable that Curteys undertook the supervision. Harley has certainly been carefully supervised even to details of ruling. The page is ruled to accommodate three seven-line stanzas. There is a frame-ruling and each stanza is ruled individually within it: the space of two lines is



left unruled between each one. Fol. 1v contains the frontispiece, a full-page picture of the Banner of St. Edmund. The mise-en-page is the same as for a page of text: the size of the banner is equivalent to the text inside the frame ruling though no frame-ruling is present. On fol. 1r there are also no signs of ruling. In other words the scribe has taken account of the overall format of the book as he ruled the pages.

Though the abbey owned a copy of the Life of St. Edmund, produced in the twelfth century (and now New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS M 736), Harley bears little resemblance to it either in format or in iconography. The twelfth century manuscript organizes its illustrations as thirty-two full-page pictures preceding the text, whereas in Harley they are framed pictures in the text space, occupying the length of one or two stanzas. The miniatures appear to have been done on the basis of the text; they bear no relation to M 736. Not only are they extremely accurate in general terms, they also pick up small textual detail. For example fol. 45v, depicting the knight following the greyhound and the discovery of Lothbrok's corpse places the corpse in a landscape 'vnder leues' as described by the text, but also attempts to give visual coverage to the detail 'His eyen gastlewh reuersid bothe tweyne' by placing the pupils at the top of the whites of the eyes (292). Furthermore the illustrations often serve to elaborate the text by providing details of incidents quickly passed over verbally. Thus, on fol. 13r, the scene of Alkmond greeted by Siware is a visual expatiation on 'And solemly there he was receyued' (l 326). In the centre foreground the king grasps the kneeling queen by the elbow. To the left in the foreground are kneeling ladies; behind them on the left is a group of clerics surrounding a bishop behind an altar. In the background on the right are two grooms with horses, while in the foreground are four courtiers. Details of the reception are presented here which are not provided by the text. Similarly the interment of Offa on fol. 22v is depicted as a

shrouded figure being lowered into a coffin chest in an interior with the front wall cut away. Behind the coffin are numerous priests. Again this is an expansion of the text -- 'And buryed him with gret solempnite' (l 623). More significantly, the depiction of the horse-thieving knights repenting in front of Edmund's shrine (fol. 108v) offers crucial information about the manner of the 'assoiling' that the text does not concern itself with. The knights are shown naked except for their drawers, kneeling in front of the shrine. A bishop is beating one of them on the back with twigs.

In the sequence leading up to Lothbrok's death the artist shows himself more narratively self-aware than Lydgate. He must therefore have been a person in close contact with the content of what he was illustrating or he must have been given an extensive set of instructions. Although Lothbrok's greyhound is the narrative mechanism by which the corpse is found, Lydgate does not mention him until ll. 195 when the hungry animal comes to beg food. The artist, on the other hand, introduces him into his compositions at an early stage. He is present on fol. 41v, depicting Lothbrok adrift in the barge; he is part of the portrayal of Bern killing Lothbrok -- a picture which also, incidentally, provides the only information as to the exact means by which Bern 'slouh' Lothbrok. Visual narrative supplements verbal narrative to an unusually high degree. On some pages the effect is more of pictures with accompanying text than the other way around. It is possible that the 'picture book' effect may have been designed to appeal to the young king: he was twelve at the time of his visit. The profusion of miniatures may have been as much a concession to his youth as a token of esteem (and possibly, persuasion). (293)

The Life of St Edmund and St Fremund appears in illustrated form in four other manuscripts: Arundel Castle (294), BL Yates Thompson 47, Harley 4826 which contains Lydgate's Secrees and Hoccleve's De Regimine Principum as well as St Edmund and St Fremund, and Bodleian MS Ashmole 46.

The Arundel Castle manuscript, Yates Thompson 47 and Ashmole 46 all contain additional miracles supposedly performed by St Edmund in London in 1041 and Bury in 1444. This brings the St Edmund story up to date. It is chronologically possible that Lydgate provided the continuation since he is thought to have died c.1451 (295). Only detailed textual analysis would prove the issue. It is, however, worth pointing out that whereas the earlier sections are in rhyme royal stanzas, the additional material is in stanzas of eight lines rhyming ABABBCBC. One wonders why Lydgate changed his stanza form. The four manuscripts are closely connected since they were written by the same scribe (296); three of them were written after 1461 as references to Edward IV in Arundel, Yates Thompson and Ashmole indicate (297). There thus seems to have been a re-emergence of interest in the story some years after Lydgate's death and in a localized area since the people commissioning the manuscripts all patronized the same scribe. The manuscripts are further connected, through their iconography. The illustration with which Ashmole 46 begins (Figure 25) -- and which is the sole illustration in this manuscript -- is reproduced almost exactly as the initial miniature of Yates Thompson and Arundel. Instead of the panoply of presentation in Harley 2278, the focus is on St Edmund, enthroned with an arrow in his right hand and sceptre in his left and a kneeling monk on the left, his hands raised in adoration with a cartouche-like scroll issuing from them. This composition is very similar to the prefatory miniature of BL Harley 1766 (298) which in turn perhaps derives from M 736 (299). The use of this manuscript in providing an archetype for material in the fifteenth-century manuscripts suggests that the area in which these were produced was Bury itself (300).

Both Yates Thompson and Arundel Castle contain a full cycle of illustrations. As Kathleen Scott has shown (301), one cycle is a verbatim transcription of the other, though they are not by the same artist. Yates Thompson has fifty-five miniatures if one includes the



two shields at the end; Arundel Castle has fifty-three, but there are two folios missing which might have contained miniatures. Details of the make-up of the manuscripts suggests that Yates Thompson preceded Arundel. The ruling of the pages is identical to that in Harley 2278 with the seven-line stanzas and space between them. This means that there are problems fitting the eight-line stanzas onto the pre-prepared ruling. On p. 187 of Yates Thompson where the additional material begins, the second and third stanzas have to be squashed so there is no space between them. On subsequent pages, everything is moved up a line so that the initial line of the first stanza is written above the frame ruling and of subsequent stanzas in the bottom of the space between so that the visual impression of the page is preserved. In the Arundel Castle manuscript there are no such problems with the ruling, indicating that the problem had been better anticipated by the time this manuscript came to be transcribed.

Miniatures are inserted into the text in Yates Thompson and Arundel in the same way that they are in Harley. There are numerous iconographic correspondences with the presentation manuscript (302) though the later cycle is by no means a copy. The artists of Yates Thompson and Arundel may have had access to some of the pattern sheets for the presentation manuscript. If this is the case, the Bury connection of Harley 2278 would be confirmed. Visual representation of the new material had, of course, to be freshly devised, but a comparative table of the programmes of Harley and Yates Thompson shows that, in essence, the later manuscripts have a contracted version of the original programme though the compositional types may differ. What is missing from the cycle in the later manuscripts is the visual reference to ceremony either of presentation or as part of the narrative. Illustrations of the passages portraying Edmund as the perfect king are also absent. These episodes would be of interest to a king but not necessarily to the more ordinary citizen. The cycle may thus have been adapted for the

interests of its audience. The other large area of omission concerns the miracles of St Fremund. This may serve to confirm the connection of these manuscripts with Bury: Fremund is not a Bury saint and therefore less interesting to the chauvinist. Harley 4826 is connected both with Yates Thompson and Harley 2278. Its programme of illustration is modest: there is a prefatory miniature in the text space and another in the margin. Its selection of composition with which to announce the text makes it more individual than Ashmole 46. St Edmund, tied to a tree, is being shot full of arrows by two archers; the emphasis is on his martyrdom rather than his sanctity. None the less, the composition appears at a later stage in the text in both Harley 2278 and Yates Thompson. Though there seems to have been some slight freedom as to location, similar iconographic types recur in all St Edmund manuscripts. The other illustration in Harley 4826 depicts the wolf guarding the head.

It would thus appear that in the Bury region during the second half of the century an entrepreneur was catering to a demand for illustrated St Edmund manuscripts, which ranged in format from the modest to the elaborate. The extent of interest in the area for Lydgate's works can be demonstrated by the stanzas from 'The Lamentation of Mary Magdalene' and 'The Testament of John Lydgate' painted on the walls of the Clopton Chapel in the Church of the Holy Trinity at Long Melford, Suffolk (303). It is possible that it was the entrepreneur who was adding material referring to more recent local events in order to stimulate demand. Though there is visual reference to the original presentation copy it was not Lydgate who instigated these productions: they are the work of astute middle men responding to market conditions. Furthermore, it is not possible to prove that Lydgate had much to do with the format of the original manuscript: other interested parties can also be nominated. In other words there is not the same intimate link between author and visual appearance of text with Lydgate as there is with Gower.

Table Two

HARLEY

YATES THOMPSON

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Banner of St Edmund.   |   |
| 2. Banner of St Edmund  |   |
| 3. King Henry performing his devotions at the tomb of St Edmund                     | 1. St Edmund enthroned  |
| 4. Lydgate presenting the book to King Henry  |   |
| 5. Lydgate praying for help at St Edmund's tomb                                     | 2. Lydgate praying for help at St Edmund's tomb                                     |
| 6. Alkmond and Siware enthroned   |   |
| 7. Alkmond setting off for Rome   |   |
| 8. Widow seeing sun shine out of Alkmond's breast; Alkmond visiting shrines in Rome | 3. Widow seeing sun shine out of Alkmond's breast; Alkmond visiting shrines in Rome |
| 9. Alkmond greeted by Siware  |   |
| 10. Birth of St Edmund  | 4. Birth of St Edmund   |
| 11. Offa setting off for Holy Land  |   |
| 12. Reception of Offa by Alkmond and Edmund   | 5. Reception of Offa by Alkmonde, Siware and Edmund                                 |
| 13. Leavetaking of Offa and Edmund  |   |
| 14. Offa bestowing ring on Edmund   | 6. Offa bestowing ring on Edmund  |
| 15. Departure of Offa   | 7. Departure of Offa  |
| 16. Offa doing his devotions at Christ's sepulchre                                  | 8. Offa doing his devotions at Christ's sepulchre                                   |
| 17. Dying Offa sends his ring to Edmund   | 9. Dying Offa sends his ring to Edmund  |
| 18. The office of the dead read over Offa   | 10. The office of the dead read over Offa   |
| 19. Interment of Offa   |   |
| 20. Alkmond receiving messengers; Edmund receiving ring                             | 11. Edmund receives the ring  |
| 21. Council scene   |   |
| 22. Alkmond picking out twenty knights to go with Edmund                            |   |
| 23. Selection of clerks to go with Edmund   | 12. Alkmond designating people to go with Edmund                                    |



HARLEY.

YATES THOMPSON

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|--|--|
| 24. Leave-taking of Edmund   | 13. Leavetaking of Edmund (continuous method)            |
| 25. Edmund sailing away  |  |
| 26. Edmund disembarking  |  |
| 27. Five wells springing up on Edmund's arrival  | 14. Five wells springing up on Edmund's arrival          |
| 28. Edmund supervises the building of 'Hunstantstoun'                                  |  |
| 29. King Edmund holding court  |  |
| 30. Kunbertus showing the lords Offa's ring in token of Edmund's claim to East England |  |
| 31. Edmund being led from 'attil-bourgh'   | 15. Edmund being led from 'attil-bourgh'                 |
| 32. The coronation of Edmund   | 16. The coronation of Edmund                             |
| 33. Edmund holding court and establishing laws   |  |
| 34. Edmund as image of the perfect state   |  |
| 35. Edmund rejecting flatterers and giving heed to wise counsel                        |  |
| 36. Edmund hunting   |  |
| 37. Lothbrok and his sons worshipping their idols                                      |  |
| 38. Lothbrok hunting (continuous method)   | 17. Lothbrok hunting                                     |
| 39. Lothbrok landing at 'Redam'; being presented to Edmund                             | 18. Lothbrok presented to Edmund                         |
| 40. Lothbrok hunting   |  |
| 41. Bern killing Lothbrok (continuous method)  | 19. Bern killing Lothbrok                                |
| 42. Lothbrok's greyhound being fed by king; disappearing                               | 20. Lothbrok's greyhound being fed by king; disappearing |
| 43. Knight following greyhound; discovery of Lothbrok's corpse                         | 21. Edmund following greyhound                           |
| 44. Punishment of Bern   | 22. Trial and punishment of Bern                         |

HARLEY

45. Bern rescued; led before Ingwar and Ubba
46. Ingwar and Ubba setting out by sea
47. Depredations of Danes on arrival at Berwick on Tweed
48. Ingwar and the people of Thetford
49. Battle at Thetford
50. Message sent out from Ubba and Ingwar to Edmund
51. Edmund receiving message
52. Edmund taking counsel
53. Edmund in dispute with bishop
54. Edmund speaking to messenger
55. Ingwar receiving answer from messenger
56. Edmund before Ingwar
57. Edmund being beaten
58. Edmund being shot full of arrows
59. Edmund rent from tree; praying to God prior to execution
60. Edmund being beheaded
61. Danes hiding Edmund's head in thorn thicket
62. The wolf protecting the head
63. The search for Edmund's head
64. The finding of the head
65. Edmund's head being joined to body
66. The burial of St Edmund
67. Child prophesying birth of St Fremund
68. Rainbow at birth of St Fremund

YATES THOMPSON

23. Bern rescued; led before Ingwar and Ubba
24. Ingwar and Ubba gathering forces
25. Battle at Thetford
26. Message sent from Ubba and Ingwar to Edmund (continuous method)
27. Edmund sending answer to message
28. Ingwar besieging Edmund's castle
29. Edmund being beaten
30. Edmund being shot full of arrows
31. Edmund praying to God prior to execution
32. Edmund being beheaded
33. Danes hiding Edmund's head in thorn thicket
34. The finding of the head
35. Edmund's head being joined to body

HARLEY

69. Burchardus, St Fremund's secretary, writing in his study
70. Aldare and his wife in their cottage
71. Child being baptized and laid out
72. Birth and baptism of St Fremund
73. Fremund crowned king
74. Fremund setting out with two companions
75. Voyage and disembarkation of Fremund and companions
76. Fremund and companions building a chapel
77. Offa taking counsel and sending messengers
78. Messengers finding Fremund
79. Fremund praying
80. Angel appearing to Fremund
81. Arrival by sea of Fremund and companions
82. Ingwar sending herald to Fremund
83. Herald delivering message to Fremund
84. Fremund fighting against the Danes
85. Fremund thanking God for victory
86. Death of Fremund; punishment of Oswy
87. Oswy praying for forgiveness
88. Fremund absolving Oswy
89. Fremund carrying his head; the springing of the miraculous well
90. Final death of Fremund
91. Interment of Fremund
92. The three disabled virgins

YATES THOMPSON

36. Child prophesying birth of St Fremund
37. Fremund crowned king
38. Fremund setting out with two companions
39. Disembarkation of Fremund and companions
40. Messengers finding Fremund
41. Angel appearing to Fremund
42. Fremund fighting against the Danes
43. Oswy killing Fremund



93. Three virgins approaching Fremund's church
94. Three virgins taking Fremund's corpse from sepulchre
95. Virgins leaving Fremund's body by river bank for night
96. Return of virgins
97. Angel explaining to virgins
98. Vision of Ethelbertus at sepulchre of Jerusalem
99. Angel pulling Ethelbertus' arm out of joint
100. Ethelbertus receiving letters of commission from the Pope
101. The tokens of Fremund's place of burial
102. Translation of Fremund
103. Miracles performed at Fremund's tomb in Dunstable
104. Landing of Sweyn
105. People praying at St Edmund's shrine
106. Edmund appears to Ayllewyn; Ayllewyn speaks to Sweyn
107. Edmund killing Sweyn
108. Wolmanus on deathbed giving news of death of Sweyn
109. Woman being arrested before St Edmund's shrine
110. Death of Leoffstan
111. Knights stealing horse from stable at St. Edmund's
112. Knights repenting before St Edmund's shrine
113. Flemish man stuck to shrine
114. Osgothus in his pride; in a fit; repenting
44. Ayllewyn praying before shrine of St Edmund
45. St Edmund killing Sweyn
46. Death of Leoffstan
47. Osgothus in a fit before St Edmund's shrine

HARLEY

YATES THOMPSON

115. Priest's house burning; shrine entering Cripplegate
116. Bishop trying to move Edmund's shrine
117. Bishop taking leave of Ayllewyn at gate of city
118. Miracle at Stapleford
119. Baldewynus being created Abbot of Bury; new church being built
120. St Edmund being interred in new shrine
48. Miracle at the bridge
49. Edmund's body being translated to Bury by Baldewynus
50. Fletcher's son falling off bridge
51. Child being delivered to mother
52. Child being fished from river at Bury
53. Child run over by cart; child rescued
54. Shield of St Edmund
55. Shield of St Edmund

The aim of this chapter has been to provide some sort of context for the discussion of English vernacular literary illustrated manuscripts. With manuscripts one is thrown, in a very direct way, on questions of economic evaluation and personal interest: the degree of ornamentation reflects the extent to which the commissioner of the manuscript was prepared to invest in that particular text. I have discussed the various proprieties which he may have had in mind: interest in the text itself; desire for ostentation; a sense of tradition; or the availability of appropriate exemplars. Extant manuscripts fall into two basic categories: the text for which a cycle was evolved which appears in a number of manuscripts and the text which is illustrated in an idiosyncratic way or for which only one manuscript with miniatures survives, suggestive of personal interest rather than tradition. The remainder of this thesis contemplates some of the functions miniatures may have served by looking at representative groups. Some critical comments have already been made incidentally: the remainder of the thesis picks up some of the themes indicated and elaborates them.



## CHAPTER 3. NON-NARRATIVE MINIATURES

In this chapter I propose to discuss three types of non-narrative miniature and to consider what they may reveal about medieval ideas of the relationship between picture and text, and about appropriate illustrative programmes for certain works. These three types are contextual illustration -- some of the motifs of which can also be seen in the miniatures of some Canterbury Tales and all Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers manuscripts -- expository miniatures, that is, pictures illustrating works of technical information, and devotional miniatures.

### 1. Contextual Illustration

Two categories of illustration bear no direct relationship to the contents of the manuscript. Presentation miniatures and author portraits establish a relationship between the reader and the milieu of production rather than between the reader and the contents of the manuscript itself. A presentation miniature is presumably, in inception at least, the visual record of an actual or hoped-for event in the life of a work of literature: its presentation in de luxe form to the patron who commissioned it or whom the author wished to please (1). Salter and Pearsall note that presentation pictures may be in the nature of a compliment to the patron, but, more significantly, such miniatures 'serve first of all as a statement of the importance of the status of the recipient and of the ceremonial significance of the making and the delivering of the book' (2). Since illustrations depicting scenes of presentation occur in manuscripts which are not presentation copies (3), other readers must either have enjoyed the knowledge that their tastes were shared by someone with the wealth and prestige to have books dedicated to him, or from the producer's point of view, the scene provided a convenient stereotype with which to embellish a book. In some late fourteenth-century French manuscripts scenes of presentation achieve a high degree of complexity with careful portraits of some of the participants (4); in England there is less interest in either complexity or portraiture.

Illustrations which commemorate in visual terms the reception of

a book are attached only to a few texts in English literary manuscripts. The earliest example of the motif of kneeling author proffering his work to a patron known to me occurs in manuscripts of the works of the self-confessedly impecunious poet, Hoccleve (5). From the wording of De Regimine Principum, one would surmise that it was hope of financial reward rather than direct command which spurred Hoccleve to his exertions: the whole dialogue with the beggar represents an attempt to come to terms with the problem of poverty, and, at the beginning of the main texts, there is a pointed reference to his straightened financial circumstances:

Though that my livelode and possession  
Be skant, I riche am of beneuolence;  
To you thereof kan I be no nygon (11.2031-3) (6).

The writing of the poem appears thus as an attempt to excite a sense of obligation in the prince; a presentation picture in this case would be an apt visual reminder of payment due for services rendered. There are six manuscripts of De Regimine Principum with illustration (7). Of these, two have a picture of the presentation of the book to Henry of Lancaster, Prince of Wales, and the first folio of a third, BL Harley MS 4866, has been removed and the text supplied at a later date. Eight stanzas appear to have been lost and since the remainder of the manuscript has four stanzas per page, if a presentation miniature has been lost it would most probably have occurred inside an historiated initial. The other illustrated manuscripts of De Regimine also use non-narrative motifs for embellishing the text. Both BL Arundel MS 38 and Royal MS 17 D.vi provide presentation miniatures of a simplified type, depicting only author and recipient. In formal terms, they serve two functions: decoration and an indication of the hierarchy of the sections of the poem. In both cases, the illustration occurs not on fol. 1r, with the prologue, but at the beginning of the text proper, fol. 37r in the case of Arundel and fol. 40r in the case of Royal.

Royal MS. 17 D.vi from the first quarter of the fifteenth



century belonged to the Earl of Arundel (1438-1487): his arms are inserted in the border on fol. 40r and, impaling those of his wife, on fol. 4r (8). He was evidently not the first owner of the manuscript, but, in view of the early transference of this manuscript into his hands, it is unlikely to have been the dedication copy. In terms of the quality of the illustration, Arundel 38 is a more plausible candidate (9). The presentation miniature, which must have been painted shortly before 1413, the year of Henry's coronation, if Henry were the original destinaire (10), shows Henry, richly dressed in an ermine-lined blue houppelonde with wide, dagged sleeves, receiving a book from the kneeling Hoccleve. The artist, who was associated with Herman Scheerre in the production of the Bedford Hours, seems to have been particularly interested in the creation of portrait heads (11). This is not to suggest that he is creating an actual likeness of either Hoccleve or Henry; but, within the terms of his repertory, he is trying to individualize his two protagonists. 'His [Hoccleve's] face is florid, in contrast to Henry's pale complexion; his hair is dark, Henry's golden brown; his mouth is firm with a bitter droop at the corners, Henry's is straight and thin-lipped' (12). Apart from these attempts at differentiation, however, the faces seem to have come from the same early fifteenth century mould. The composition of Royal 17 D.vi is more symbolic: the artist uses effects of scale to indicate the subservient relationship of Hoccleve to the prince. On the left, the small figure of Hoccleve, bare-headed and wearing an orange tunic with fur trimmings and pink hose, kneels, holding a clasped book in both hands. A purse hangs from his girdle. On the right stands the figure of Henry, taking up all the vertical space of the frame. He holds a slender baton in his left hand and extends his right for the book. Between them on the floor is Hoccleve's orange hat. The prominence of the purse in Hoccleve's costume is quite appropriate in view of the conversation between him and the beggar in the prologue. Such a detail is absent from the miniature



in Arundel.

Seen in the context of the prologue and the advice offered by the beggar 11.1832-1882, the presentation miniature relates less to the ceremonial aspects of the making and delivering of the book than to the bringing of the author to Henry's attention. In the prologue Hoccleve presents De Regimine as an appeal for money; specifically as a reminder that his annuity should continue to be paid. Though much of the apparently autobiographical material is conventional enough, a sense of anxiety presses. The movement of the poem follows a familiar pattern from microcosm to macrocosm: a sense of personal insecurity and consciousness of instability leads to a discussion of the conduct of the realm. None the less, some of the conclusions to be drawn are personal enough: Hoccleve works in a public capacity in the Privy Seal Office and his salary is not as regular as he might like (13). However, the topic of the main part of the poem, advice to the monarch on his conduct, may have suggested a scene of presentation as a thematically appropriate as well as an expedient picture to have. Bodleian MS Digby 233, an early fifteenth-century manuscript containing the only extant version of Trevisa's translation of Aegidius de Columna's De Regimine and John Walton's translation of Vegetius' De re militari, begins with a miniature depicting a monk presenting his book to an enthroned king while members of the court look on (Slide 45). Only the Trevisa translation receives illustration in this manuscript. There is thus a positive discrimination in favour of De Regimine in the decorative hierarchy of the manuscript; the illustration is not just used as a convenient way of marking the beginning of the fresh item, but as a way of making a statement about the relative importance of the two works. The other illustration, on fol. 62r (Slide 46), adapts the motifs of kneeling authorial figure, king and court to a context more directly related to the text. Instead of offering a book, the monk points to a building to the right of which stand a group of men and women: this is an attempt to portray Aegidius

de Columna instructing Philip the Fair on the duties of family life (14). A presentation scene was thus consistently attached to the text of De Regimine in English.

In the poetic generation previous to Hoccleve there was no work in the English vernacular provided with a presentation miniature. Despite the account in the first recension of the Confessio Amantis of the place and circumstances of Richard II's suggesting to Gower that he might write a poem, such an event, if it indeed took place, was not celebrated visually in any of the extant manuscripts. As we have seen in the previous chapter, illustrations to Gower's works address themselves in the main to the contents of the text. Similarly, Chaucer seeks the approval of fellow-writers -- Troilus and Criseyde is dedicated to Gower and Strode -- rather than that of an aristocratic patron. In Cambridge, Corpus Christi MS 61 we have a frontispiece which might depict Chaucer reciting Troilus to an assembled court, but it seems to express a relationship between poet and admirers, rather than poet and patron and is thus not in the tradition of presentation miniatures. Like a presentation miniature, it tries to create a sense of audience and to provide the poem with an aristocratic context, but, unlike presentation miniatures, the emphasis is on the figure of the poet who is not placed in a subservient context as he is in the Hoccleve presentation miniatures. Of the three poets who were widely admired in the fifteenth century and looked upon as the classics of their day, it was only Lydgate whose work received the visual impress of its ceremonial delivery and here the incidence of presentation pictures varies according to text.

Illustrated manuscripts of the Troy Book were consistently provided with a miniature depicting the reception of the book by a royal patron; the fact of its presentation to Henry V became an important part of the work's apparatus (15). It was the general notion of regal interest rather than the attention of a specific monarch that was of significance: the artist of Bodleian MS Rawl. C. 446 inserted a

stereotyped king-figure rather than trying to approximate to a likeness of Henry (Fig. 26). The king with his long hair and flowing beard is an archaic royal type (16); the presentation miniature in the near-contemporary Digby 232 (Fig. 27) shows Henry with his customary short hair. For the owner of Rawl. C. 446, a generalized concept of presentation was evidently sufficient. The Troy Book was Lydgate's only major secular commission for which some sort of presentation miniature formed an automatic part of the illustrative programme. His translation of the Fall of Princes, commissioned by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, only exists in one manuscript copy containing a scene of presentation and this is not placed at the beginning as one would expect. Admittedly the most sumptuous of the Fall manuscripts, San Marino, California, Henry E. Huntington Library MS HM. 268, is incomplete and may well have included a presentation miniature in its original illustrative programme, but there are reasons for supposing that this may not have been an important feature of the work (17). Lydgate's other important work designed for presentation to a ruling monarch did not initiate a tradition of incorporating a presentation miniature into the pictorial cycle. Though the original presentation copy of the Life of St Edmund and St Fremund, BL Harley 2278, contains an elaborate visual record of the presentation of the book to Henry VI, subsequent purchasers of the text were interested in it as a saints' life rather than in the fact that the book was designed for a monarch (18). In this context the persistence of the presentation theme in Troy Book manuscripts can be seen as unusual; it is possible to deduce that a sense of Henry as commissioner was an important aspect of the work to people who had copies made of it.

In the Troy Book, the significance of the presentation miniature is indeed the status of the recipient and the ceremonial aspects of the making and delivery of the book; authors like Hoccleve and Scrope seem to have been more pragmatic. As we have seen (19), all three surviving



manuscripts of the Epître d'Othea were designed to have the same pictorial programme. Cambridge, St John's College H.5, the only manuscript in which the complete cycle survives, begins with a presentation miniature. Scrope issued the text in multiple presentation copies, changing the destinaire by means of his dedicatory prefaces. In the preface to Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham, in St John's H.5, Scrope pointedly draws attention to his hopes:

In the grete largenes I trust all and som (l. 13) (20)  
for his translation is the result of his learning:

And litell the richer I am i-wis (l. 20).

No doubt the projected presentation miniatures were a part of Scrope's entrepreneurial enterprise but they were also a result of his French model -- a similar scene introduces the text of Bodleian MS Laud Misc. 570. Since Christine herself lived by her pen it is unlikely that the psychological value of the apparatus of presentation, the visual representation of oneself as protégé, would have escaped her. No other texts in English are regularly associated with presentation miniatures in this way (21).

As with the presentation miniature, the author portrait in English texts often uses a simple formula. It is the device used to embellish the earliest extant English manuscript with illustration, BL Cotton Caligula A.ix (22). The motif of an author writing in his study is one that could easily be adapted from Evangelist portraits, themselves an adaptation of classical author portraits. There is thus a readily available prototype which provides a means of illustrating a manuscript without the effort of devising a programme referring more specifically to the text. A miniature from the beginning of the fifteenth century provides a precise example of the kind of scene that could be provided. BL Add. MS 24194 begins the text of Trevisa's translation of Ranulf Higden's Polychronicon with a historiated initial showing a meticulous portrayal of either Higden or Trevisa studying.

A tonsured monk -- a Benedictine since he is clad in black -- is seen in profile sitting at a bench set obliquely to the picture plane. To the right is a flat-topped desk with a cupboard in the side furthest away from the monk which hangs open to reveal a red-covered book in it. At the back of the desk from the point of view of the reader is an open cupboard in which two volumes can be seen. At the top of the desk is a book which the monk holds open with both hands. Though this is an explicit visual description of the desk and equipment, it is still a fairly stereotyped way of illustrating a manuscript.

Salter and Pearsall describe eight iconographic models for author portrayal in Continental manuscripts (23). Only the motifs of the author as writer or as protégé regularly occur in English manuscripts (24). A favoured variant, and one which Salter and Pearsall do not consider, is the figure of the author actually introducing the reader to his work. A good example of this can be found in the historiated initial which begins the Canterbury Tales in BL Lansdowne 851. The initial contains a single figure standing on a chequered floor with a low horizon line set against a green background with gold patterns on it. The figure, that of a youngish man with short brown hair and a pointed beard faces right, towards the text. That this is intended as a portrait of Chaucer is made clear by the accoutrements of authorship with which he is provided. He holds an open book in his hands which are extended in front of him and a pen-case with a white top is fastened conspicuously to his chest. Whether or not it is intended as an actual likeness of Chaucer is immaterial; the important thing is that Chaucer reading his own work is presented as a preliminary to the reader of the manuscript doing the same. Slightly less straightforward is the figure in another historiated initial which begins the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales. As in Lansdowne, the initial in Bodley 686 (Fig. 28) consists of a single figure standing on a chequered floor against a stylized background and, as in Lansdowne, this is the sole form of



illustration. The figure itself bears no relation to that in Lansdowne. He holds a hat in his right hand and with his left gesticulates towards the text, pointing with his forefinger. Margaret Rickert (25) suggests that he is gesturing as if telling a tale; I would suggest that he is actually presenting the text to the reader. Iconographically he is a development of the nota bene sign; the pointing hand has been given a personality (26).

It is not only for works of Chaucer's that a simple gesticulating figure is provided as the sole form of pictorial embellishment, though in Chaucer's case it is particularly appropriate since his use of authorial persona is an important part of his technique. Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.4.20 contains copies of Mandeville's Travels and Lydgate's Siege of Thebes. Each is introduced by an historiated initial. The 'F' with which Mandeville begins contains a dull red ground with a gold flourished pattern. A figure in plate armour stands on a green base; the face is rubbed. He wears a red, turban-like cap and red cloak lined with ermine. He holds a sword in his right hand and gestures towards the text with his left. There is no doubt that this figure is intended to represent Mandeville, the putative author: he is a knight and the cap is perhaps an allusion to his eastern travels. He is thus a visual reminder of an authorial presence, and the presenter of the text itself. It can therefore be fairly confidently argued that a standing figure, gesturing towards the script, is often intended as an author portrait. A similar motif is used to introduce Hoccleve's De Regimine Principum on fol. 84r of BL Harley 4826. The figure gesticulates towards the text with both hands, although the left hand seems to be awkwardly contorted.

More complex in its portrayal of the author is the 'Devonshire' manuscript of the Canterbury Tales (27). The historiated initial depicts a richly-dressed man sitting on a broad low seat covered with a cloth patterned with tiny white flowers (28). Above him the rays of the sun



stream down out of a cloud. He rests his head on his right hand and points with his left index finger to a gilt purse which hangs from his girdle. The elements of the composition are obscure: such detail seems to be more appropriate for Hoccleve than for Chaucer. Not only is the gesture difficult to interpret, it is also difficult to feel confident about what is being portrayed. Manly and Rickert surmised that it might be intended to represent the person for whom the manuscript was copied or, possibly, 'Chaucer and the opening lines of the Canterbury Tales' (29). The iconography is too unusual for one to feel totally confident about this attribution, and, as Kelliher rightly points out, the first alternative, that it represents the person for whom the manuscript was copied, 'would be impossible if we accept their suggestion that the work was executed for Margaret, Countess of Richmond' (30). Kelliher's own suggestion is more ingenious than convincing: he proposes the idea that the whole composition corresponds with the situation lamented in 'The Complaint of Chaucer to his Purse', particularly the lines:

Now voucheth sauf this day, or yt be nyght,  
That I of yow the blisful soun may here,  
Or see your colour lyk the sonne bryght,  
That of yelownesse hadde never pere

and concludes that the portrait 'may even have been intended as a personal plea to his patron' (31). The idea gathers together the detail of the purse and the sunshine, though it would be more impressive if the picture actually accompanied a text of 'To his Purse' rather than the Canterbury Tales. This does not, of course, rule out a lost manuscript of 'To his Purse' containing such a picture, which the devisor of the Devonshire manuscript, wanting a portrayal of an author figure, had copied and thus transferred to a somewhat inappropriate context. On the other hand, 'To his Purse' does not provide the only explanation for the iconography of the initial. By analogy with the picture of Ovid in Cambridge, Magdalene College MS F.4.34 where the author is shown kneeling

to invoke divine aid, expressed by the rays of light streaming through the window, emanating from the figure of God (32), the rays of the sun may suggest inspiration rather than the colour of gold. Furthermore, there is some disagreement as to the figure's expression: Manly and Rickert suggest that he is thoughtful (33); Margaret Rickert claims that his gesture is 'languid' (34); while Kelliher feels that he is 'bewildered or distressed' (35). All that can be said is that this is an author portrait, the exact significance of which remains enigmatic: is he inspired or distressed at his, conventionally expressed, lack of money?

This is not the only portrait of Chaucer to display somewhat enigmatic iconography. The frontispiece to Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 61 displays some unusual features. The enthusiasm for Chaucer is evident. The frontispiece, facing the first folio of script and apparently an integral part of the design of the manuscript (36), seems to portray two scenes divided by a diagonal line of rocks. At the top, two retinues of people face each other; below, a man with brown hair and a beard stands in a pulpit addressing a group of sumptuously dressed people who surround the pulpit in various attitudes of attention and inattention. This lower register has usually been called 'Chaucer Reading to the Court of Richard II'. If this were a transcription of an actual event, Chaucer must have been declaiming from memory -- there is no book visible. It is apparent, however, that this cannot be such a visual record: the manuscript dates from some time after the poem's completion, perhaps even after the poet's death and both Salter and Pearsall have pointed to the extensive iconographic borrowing which has gone into the creation of the composition (37). Though the picture as a whole is extremely eclectic, there is every reason to suppose that the assemblage of various motifs plucked from other sources is intended to designate Chaucer in a courtly milieu: some sort of author portrait would not have been unexpected, though perhaps

this scale of lavishness is surprising. Considerable effort, too, has been expended on the portrayal of his audience. Whether or not one can identify individual personages is a moot point (38); what can be said is that every care has been taken to make the audience look aristocratic and elegant and that Chaucer has been given a prominent and commanding position in this context.

He is, in all respects, in the centre of the composition. He is at the apex of a triangle formed, on the left, by a hypothetical line drawn from his head, through the head of a man wearing an elaborate gold houplonde whose face has been obliterated, and culminating in the left hand corner with the lady wearing a blue houppelonde with wide sleeves. Both these characters appear to intensify the lines of the triangle by their intent gaze at the poet (39). On the right, the line is formed by two men in blue, again both looking up intently. The poet's head serves to provide a link between the two elements of the composition. By means of such carefully calculated architectonics, the eye is drawn first to the figure of the poet and only then moves out to consider his context. Furthermore, as has been decisively proved, this section of the composition is related iconographically to scenes of teaching and preaching (40). Chaucer is thus represented not merely as reciting to the court, but, in the position of 'auctoritee', he dominates his audience in the manner of a preacher addressing a congregation. The only secular parallel which has been found for what is essentially a didactic pose are prefatory miniatures to the first recension of Guillaume de Deguileville's Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine, itself a highly didactic poem. There are, of course, examples in French manuscripts of authors reading to their public but 'the responsibility for adapting and then standardising the preaching formula favoured by the Troilus artist most probably lies with the Deguileville illuminators' (41). To this may be added, from a much later date, an historiated initial in a manuscript of the Canterbury Tales, Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 223, which depicts the friar at the beginning of his tale wearing the brown



habit and knotted girdle of the Franciscan order and standing in a pulpit. Admittedly, this addresses itself to a different layer of the fiction: the friar is a fictional narrator and Chaucer a 'real' one, but the iconographic allusions are similar.

The source has been well-traced; the purpose of such an adaptation is still unclear, particularly since it did not receive wide currency in English manuscript illustration other than in translations of Deguileville's poem. It would be hard to conclude that such a carefully constructed composition was assembled without definite purpose. In its concentration on the figure of Chaucer, and its disregard for the established hierarchies of patronage, the frontispiece is an adaptation of the author portrait. The author portraits which I have been noting hitherto have been modest historiated initials, the sole form of embellishment in their respective manuscripts. They provide a convenient motif and introduce a visual sense of the author in terms of busy scribe or eager gesticulator. The sense of an author as a readily accessible prototype needs to be modified in the case of the Corpus manuscript. The composition is complex and unusual in its selection of pose for the author, particularly, as we have seen, since other options were available.

I would suggest that this composition was either commissioned or constructed by an enthusiast. As Salter points out, frontispieces have a special status in the hierarchy of the illustrated book: 'The medieval workshop convention by which the prefatory miniature of a de-luxe manuscript was carried out as a special commission, often by the major artist of that workshop, reflects quite accurately its important status as an introduction to the volume' (42). Furthermore, as we have seen in Lebêgue's instructions (43), special care could be taken in the construction of the author portrait: it could have important symbolic overtones. Whether or not Chaucer was in fact a court poet is immaterial; it is clear that someone was taking pains to present Chaucer as if he had been a court poet. As McGregor puts it, 'legend deliberately cast'

(44) is what emerges from a discussion of the Troilus frontispiece. It attempts to impose an elevated concept of Chaucer and his prestige as man and poet on the reader of the manuscript -- and in this it has been all too successful (45). One might almost postulate a pleasant conspiracy theory: an attempt by one of Chaucer's followers or admirers to effect a retrospective appraisal of his importance. It is generally agreed by modern students (46) that the emergence of English as a prestigious literary medium is crucially involved with his contribution and his decision to write in English. This sense seems to have been shared by his near-contemporaries: subsequent writers defer to Chaucer as the shaper and creator of English poetics (47). The frontispiece may well have been commissioned by someone who shared Hoccleve's reverence for 'maister Chaucer, flour of eloquence' (1. 1962).

Thus far, my argument is in broad agreement with that of McGregor. The element of actual portraiture involved in the Troilus frontispiece is immaterial; the important contribution this miniature makes is not about notions of how Chaucer looked, but about how he was looked at (48). I would, however, wish to remain with a generalized sense that the frontispiece is designed to construct a myth about Chaucer. McGregor goes on to argue that the teaching iconography was used for the express purpose of indicating that Chaucer taught the royalty of his day and that the content of his teaching is expressed by the scene of elegant harmony and courtly greeting depicted behind Chaucer's head, in the top section of the composition. The background scene is thus said to act as a kind of ironic counterpoint to the book which the miniature introduces -- the tale of war-torn Troy and Troilus's own 'lustful career'. From this point of view it illustrates 'the profit in peace of the ruler who listens to philosophical counsel' (49). Though it must be agreed that the teaching iconography must have some specific purpose, it is hard to see that its meaning can be this precise, particularly in context. It seems unlikely that the frontispiece was designed to work by contrast:



the scene behind Chaucer's head is probably an extension of the activities of his idealized, courtly audience (50). If Chaucer is to be seen as teaching his audience anything, I would conjecture that it is the fact of himself as a great poet. The frontispiece to the Corpus manuscript makes a statement about the status of its author rather than about the contents of the manuscript.

This is, of course, not the only example we have from the early years of the fifteenth century of the way in which the figure of Chaucer was treated with a particular reverence and respect. The pictorial programme which was provided for his disciple, Hoccleve's, De Regimine Principum is a simple one. It is a combination of two potentially formulaic devices: a presentation picture and an author portrait (51). Yet with the Hoccleve manuscripts we see the author portrait becoming more than just a formulaic device. The author portrait is not of the author of the text, but of the man whom he considered to be his mentor. Only three of the manuscripts of De Regimine contain the portrait of Chaucer (52). Unlike most author portraits, however, the portrait of Chaucer is not merely an optional extra: it is an integral part of the poem's meaning at that point. Hoccleve specifically alludes to the presence of the picture in his text and to the function that it is intended to perform: an essentially commemorative one:

Alþogh his lyfe be queynt, þe resemblaunce  
Of him hap in me so fressh lyflynesse,  
þat, to putte othir men in remembraunce  
Of his persone, I haue heere his lyknesse  
Do make, to þis ende in sothfastnesse,  
þat þei þat haue of him lest þought & mynde,  
By þis peynture may ageyn him fynde. (ll. 4992-98).

This statement has prompted some discussion about Chaucer's physical appearance (53). But it is clear from Hoccleve's subsequent comments that he intends to do more than preserve Chaucer's likeness for posterity. He has considered carefully the function of the image in the manuscript:



The ymages þat in þe chirche been,  
Maken folke þenke on god & on his seyntes,  
Whan þe ymages þei be-holden & seen;  
Were oft vnsyte of hem causith restreyntes  
Of þoughtes gode: whan a þing depeynt is,  
Or entailed, if men take of it heede,  
Thought of þe lyknesse, it wil in hem brede (ll. 4999-5005).

The analogy is an extremely instructive one. Hoccleve deliberately blurs a distinction between devotional and secular representations. Just as pictures of saints in church are designed to provoke reverent meditation on the life and significance of the people portrayed, so the illustration in the manuscript is designed to make the reader contemplate the life and significance of Chaucer. The miniature and the reverential tone in which Hoccleve discusses it, is an act of piety, and it is an act of piety towards him as 'The firste fyndere of our faire langage' (ll. 4978) (54).

It is impossible to say, of course, to what degree the three illustrations actually resemble Chaucer; but there is an undeniable attempt at characterization (55). Both Harley 4866 and the Rosenbach manuscript (Fig. 29) portray exactly the same face, the same costume and the same gesture. The figure is half-length, an unusual feature, and set against a green diapered background surrounded by the frame. With his right hand he points towards the script. In both manuscripts the portrait appears in the same position on the page, but the exact lineation is slightly different in each case: in Harley the hand points directly between two lines of text:

Of his persone, I haue heere his lyknesse  
Do make, to þis ende in sothfastnesse

whereas in Rosenbach the lines in question are some way above this point. The hand points between stanza 712 where Hoccleve first names Chaucer and begs Mary to intercede for his soul and stanza 713 which continues this theme. It can be seen that there is a high degree of visual correlation between the two manuscripts as regards the layout of the page. It can also be seen that though the portrait is unusual in

its claims to capture a likeness, its gesture affiliates it to more stereotyped author portraits. With its pointing hand it is a nota bene sign which has been endowed with a particularly vivid personality. The figure is visually associated with the idea of authorship by means of accoutrements: a black pence is suspended from his tunic. A more individual touch is created by the rosary held in the left hand. Perhaps this derives from the analogy already discussed between the image of Chaucer and 'ymages pat in þe chirche been': it is intended to strike the correct note of pious gravity.

From the wording of the poem it is clear that the artist who drew the portrait must have been carefully supervised by Hoccleve. The connection between a visual image and memory is here drawn in a particularly poignant way. This means that, though medieval ideas about what constituted an adequate likeness may well have been freer than what we would consider appropriate, the actual impression the figure is intended to convey would have been carefully calculated. There would not have been the quality of arbitrary stereotyping that one sees in the author portraits of, for example, Trinity College MS R.4.20. Admittedly the original portrait in the presentation manuscript has probably not come down to us, but there seems to have been an authoritative tradition for the Chaucer portrait, since a number of them seem to bear a close family resemblance: the figures wear hoods, hold a rosary and have a pence. The portraits show a man of mature years with hooded eyelids and a beard. It is a tradition which persisted into the sixteenth century: both BL Add. MS 5141 'perhaps not older than the reign of Queen Elizabeth' (56) and the sixteenth-century panel in the National Gallery, both of full-length standing figures, display the same kind of face, the same sober colours to the clothing, and the rosary and pence, though the gesture of the right hand is different because there is no text for the figure to point to (57). Here Chaucer raises his hand up to his chest to hold his pence; the emphasis upon authorship is thus retained,



though achieved in a slightly different manner. The other early fifteenth-century portrait in a manuscript of De Regimine, BL Royal 17 D.vi, shares the basic features outlined above, but the figure is full-length and not surrounded by a frame. Since the image is reversed it is the left hand which points to the text between the lines:

pat þei þat haue of him lest þought & mynde,  
By þis peynture may ageyn him fynde.

Harley 4826 contains the remnants of a Chaucer portrait on fol. 139r. Like all the manuscript portraits, it was in the outer margin and a wide strip has been removed, taking with it the majority of the figure, a fact noticed with some exasperation by a sixteenth-century commentator:

Off worthy Chawcer  
here the pickture stood  
That muchh did wryght  
and all to doe us good  
Summe Furyous Foole  
Have Cutt the same in twayne  
His deed doe shewe  
He have a barren Brayne.

From the few areas of painted surface that remain, one can deduce that the figure was full-length, wore the usual sober mid-calf length tunic and stood on a green mound. As far as I can make out, however, this portrait did not indicate the text: no remnant of a hand or arm can be seen. From all this it seems fair to conclude that a single prototype was influential enough to affect other portraits of Chaucer (58).

One final portrait of Chaucer remains to be considered: the equestrian portrait in the Ellesmere manuscript, San Marino, California, Henry E. Huntington Library E1. 26 C 9, where Chaucer, poet and teller of tales, is portrayed in the same fictional space as his creations -- each a teller of tales. In terms of the layout of the manuscript, creator and creations are thus seen on the same plane of reality. Each tale is preceded by a 'portrait' of its teller in the margin. But in degree of detail accorded to the rendering of the faces, the other pilgrims appear to be more stereotyped (59). At least three artists



seem to have been involved in the creation of the programme: 1) the artist who drew Chaucer; 2) the artist who portrayed the Monk, the Nun's Priest, the second Nun, the Canon's Yeoman and the Manciple; and 3) the artist who did the remaining paintings, which may be by a single artist or by two working in similar styles (60). Artists 1) and 2) place patches of grass beneath the horses' feet but artist 3) does not. 'The difference between the first two lies in the superior skill displayed in the Chaucer portrait though the proportions are poor' (61). Both the first two artists are working on a larger scale than artist 3). The question of scale in relation to this portrait of Chaucer is an intriguing one. The head and shoulders of the figure are disproportionately large in relation to its legs and to the horse. Such a disparity does not occur in the other figures and since the artist is evidently a skilled draughtsman, the reasons for this are puzzling. There is a possible technical explanation for this: such a poor adjustment of top and lower halves would be accounted for if one were to assume that the upper section was copied from a standing or three-quarter length portrait such as that in Harley 4866 and adapted poorly as an equestrian figure, the artist being unable to co-ordinate the relative scales of lower half and horse.

There is little doubt about the resemblance between the Ellesmere Chaucer portrait and those of the Harley and Rosenbach manuscripts (62). Not only do the features correspond closely, but the pose is very similar. The poet's far hand points to the script as it does in the Harley/Rosenbach portrait in the familiar gesture of an author presenting his text. Some slight adjustment has been made for context: whereas the other hand holds a rosary with the palm turned upwards in Harley/Rosenbach, the Ellesmere picture changes the position of the hand slightly and places reins in it. The indications seem to be that the Harley/Rosenbach type preceded Ellesmere. Not only is the figure as a whole awkward, as Stemmler points out: 'The poet's near hand holding the reins of his horse

is very much smaller than the far hand' (63). This infelicity of scale again suggests an unsuccessful modification of an existent prototype. On the other hand, the Ellesmere portrait is unlikely to be copied from Harley. Since De Regimine was not begun by Hoccleve until c. 1410, the dedication copy cannot be earlier (64); since Manly and Rickert date the Ellesmere MS 1400-1410, it predates the manuscripts of De Regimine. Furthermore, Margaret Rickert is of the opinion that the technique of the Ellesmere illustrator is less advanced than that of the Hoccleve artist and is therefore perhaps earlier (65). There is thus a lost prototype behind both illustrations.

This common lost prototype suggests that there was an image -- as opposed to likeness, necessarily -- of Chaucer current in the early years of the fifteenth century. It was available to Hoccleve and to the compilers of Ellesmere. All this tends to suggest that Chaucer was singled out for special attention as a personality by the generation of writers and producers of books who followed him (66). It is Chaucer who seems to have had a hold on everyone's imagination. The quality and degree of Hoccleve's discipleship reveals itself in a wish to commemorate his master not only verbally but by presenting a visual representation. I know of no parallel for this kind of celebration of an artistic personality in medieval manuscripts (67). In the Troilus frontispiece and in the illustrated De Regimine Principum manuscripts there seems to be a process of homage paid by Chaucer's admirers. A stereotyped form of illustration, the author portrait, develops and becomes something personal, something crucial to the development of a legend. Both these pictorial celebrations seem to have occurred in approximately the first decade of the fifteenth century, almost as if there was a sudden self-consciousness among readers and writers of the English language that it had now come of age as a literary language and that the man responsible for it was Chaucer.

It is tempting to search around for a reason for this. It is

possible that the death of Chaucer itself may have spurred his friends and admirers to some kind of commemorative activity. More specifically, it may be that the actual 'publication' of the Canterbury Tales provoked some kind of retrospective celebration. The editorial activity involved may well have prompted thoughts of Chaucer and a wish to celebrate him in some more particular guise as author.

## 2. The Canterbury Tales and the Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers.

The Ellesmere manuscript represents one of the earliest critical readings of the Canterbury Tales. Since Chaucer's papers were left incomplete on his death, the task of presenting the work to the public in written form devolved on a literary executor (68). 'The Hengwrt, which most scholars consider the first [manuscript], makes manifest the effort involved in collecting the exemplars for a text' (69). Both Hengwrt and Ellesmere date from the first decade of the fifteenth century and are written by the same scribe; the differences in layout can be attributed to advances in the process of editing. In fact, the system of ordering adopted by the Ellesmere editor is a masterpiece of a solution to the problem of presentation which operates on a number of different levels. Sophisticated systems of decoration, initials and paraphs enable the reader to find his way around the text (70). An extremely lavish use of border decoration signifies the beginnings of tales, the beginnings of links or prologues and the divisions within the longer tales such as 'The Knight's Tale', 'The Clerk's Tale' and 'The Parson's Tale' are also carefully marked. By this means the whole manuscript is divided into a collection of stories. The major exception to this rule is Chaucer's 'Tale of Sir Thopas' and the point where 'the hoost stynteth Chaucer of his tale of Thopas' both of which merely have an initial without border. Inasmuch as the tale is presented ironically as a sign of Chaucer's ineptitude and thus represents a false start, this marks intelligence and care on the part of the editor. His most



important contribution to a 'reading' of the Canterbury Tales is his method of indicating the greater importance of tale over prologue by introducing the equestrian figure of the teller in the margin by the beginning of the tale. As a consequence of this decision, only those pilgrims who actually tell the tale are illustrated -- there are twenty-three of them. Although the material for the depiction derives from the 'General Prologue', the policy of placing them by the beginning of their tales means that the visual material is diffused throughout the manuscript. In adopting this method of illustration, the editor has solved three problems: a problem of form, a problem of utility, and a problem of structure.

The idea of depicting the various pilgrim narrators is, on one level, related to the expedient of adapting a convenient stereotype -- that of the pointing hand as nota bene sign (71). A number of the pilgrims appear to be indicating the script of their own tales (Fig. 30); unsurprisingly, the most obvious gesture of this type is associated with Chaucer himself whose pointing left index finger forms a nota bene sign of its own and indicates the illuminated initial with which the 'Tale of Melibee' begins. The Nun's Priest is given a variant of this gesture and points upwards to the line: 'This wydwe / of which I telle yow my tale'. It is more or less duplicated by the Canon's Yeoman who is also on the right of the text on a recto but, being less close to the script than the Nun's Priest, points upwards to a line of text in a slightly less direct way. These last two figures are the work of artist 2) who, as we shall see, is more prone to use stereotypes, but the gesture is not confined to his portion of the manuscript. The knight, holding his horse's reins with the left hand, lifts his right, palm facing the reader with fingers and thumbs extended, a gesture which may be construed as indicating the script. A similar gesture can be seen in the case of the Shipman. The Clerk's book, the Cook's hat, and the Summoner's letter of summons are all positioned so as to draw the reader's eye

towards the beginning of the respective figures' tales.

Although some attempt was made to respond to the text, all the material comes from the beginning of the manuscript: no extensive reading was required to devise the pictorial programme. Though Stemmler (72) criticizes the portrait of the Nun's Priest as inadequately conveying the information about his appearance to be found in the Prologue and Epilogue to his Tale, it seems more plausible to conjecture that the deviser of the sequence confined himself to the descriptions provided in the 'General Prologue'. The same may be said about the Canon's Yeoman. One consequence of the scheme of illustration adopted is to key the tales into the description of their tellers provided in the 'General Prologue'. There is a strong wish to give visual definition to the tellers of the tales.

To create adequate portraits of the pilgrims, some attention to detail was necessary. To my knowledge, no medieval parallel to the extensive descriptions of fictional narrators exists. It is little wonder that the pilgrims seem to have exerted such a hold over the imagination of the editor of Ellesmere. The portraits are not entirely faithful to the text. The artists add things which are not in the prologue and ignore other things which are, but, given the vagaries of the medieval system of production, the series is remarkably accurate. The most important addition is that the pilgrims are at once types and individuals. A number of figures are provided with attributes emblematic of their trade and not specifically referred to in the text. Even Chaucer's pen-case, an accoutrement familiar from related portraits, becomes, in context, an attribute of his profession as an author. Thus the Clerk carries books in both hands, an overt declaration of his profession of learning; the Sergeant-at-Law wears a white coif to indicate his rank as a judge; the Cook carries a flesh-hook; the Physician carries a uroscopy flask; the Manciple raises a gourd of wine in reference to his trade as provisioner; the Reeve has two keys hanging

from his girdle; and the Summoner bears a letter of summons.

Though, as far as possible, the attributes found in Chaucer's description of the pilgrims in the 'General Prologue' are depicted in the illustrations, we can see the early editor measuring up the detail against stereotypes. This is particularly evident in the case of the Squire, the details of whose verbal portrait recall the conventional romance spring-time (73), and of the Physician (74). The Knight is presented more as a high-ranking type, as indicated by the golden decorations on his gown, his dagger, the harness of his horse and his gold stirrups and spurs, than with specific reference to the text. Admittedly Chaucer is more concerned with cataloguing his various martial exploits, but certain physical details emerge. The preponderance of gold might be held to contradict the information that 'he was nat gay' (75), while he is not wearing a 'gypon' and no rust marks are to be seen. One might compare this portrait with that of the Cook, where the artist has caught up the only concrete physical detail -- the 'mormal' on the shin -- with some vigour. The sores can be seen surrounding the dirty bandage on his leg and the disreputable effect is capped by the toes sticking out of the end of his shoes. It is possible that a concept of decorum is operating here: only the lower class character is conceived in a more physically realistic way.

Some of the pilgrims, such as the Parson and the Manciple, are discussed purely in terms of their profession or moral qualities, and three of the narrators are not described in the 'General Prologue' at all -- the Nun's Priest, the Canon's Yeoman, and the second Nun. In the absence of any physical description, the artist does as best he may, though the second Nun in particular is an unindividualized formula. Some of the other pilgrims are given the briefest of physical characteristics which the artist does his best to capture. For the portrait of the Prioress he provides the habit of a Benedictine nun, a black cloak over a white tunic. This detail possibly reveals some degree of



exactness in reading: the text speaks of 'Stratford atte Bowe' and there was a Benedictine nunnery, St Leonard's, nearby (76). The only other concrete detail is the beads she wears round her arm and these can be found in the illustration conspicuously wound round her left forearm. Others of the pilgrims achieve a high degree of physical definition in the Prologue and it is these which provide the clearest indication as to how the artist went about his task.

One of the most detailed verbal portraits is that of the Miller, and it is one of the most satisfactory illustrations in the manuscript from the point of view of accuracy. In conformity with the text he has a red beard, wide mouth and nostrils. His coat is white and his hood blue as specified; also as specified he wears a sword and buckler. He plays the bagpipes with which he is said to have accompanied the pilgrims out of town and, as a final touch, a metaphorical proverb is made literal: one of his thumbs has been gilded. He does not, however, have a hairy wart on his nose. Again a concept of decorum is perhaps operating: the deviser of the programme was only prepared to push verisimilitude to a certain extent -- he did not want to create an actual grotesque. The portraits of the Reeve and the Pardoner also reveal an extraordinarily high degree of fidelity to the text as do those of the Wife of Bath, the Squire, Shipman, Summoner and Franklin. The artist responds vividly to the unusual details which the text provides, and it is to be noted that all these figures are probably the work of the same man (77). There is a precision of visual reference but also an indication, in portraits like that of the Miller, that choices are being made as to what details upon which to concentrate. The Franklin is a particularly interesting case since his figure reveals the process of its creation. His horse was traced from a copy book -- the impression of the stylus can still be seen -- but the Franklin himself was added free-hand so that the artist could respond to the text (78). A pattern was not considered suitable in this instance.

In two instances, however, the artist seems not to have responded adequately to the text. Although the horse that the Clerk of Oxenford rides is well individualized, being almost impossibly lean, the Clerk himself is very much of a type. He is not particularly thin, the only detail which the text provides. In the absence of any more specific lead, the artist seems to have resorted to stereotype (79). The Friar is more puzzling. The artist seems to have used a clerical type even though there is plenty of detail on which he could have drawn. All we have is a friar riding bare-backed -- a visual allusion to theoretical poverty. Neither tippet nor semi-cope is to be seen. The only mark of individuality is the quarterstaff he carries in his right hand although there is no textual warrant for this -- a 'rote' or harp would have been more appropriate. The other inadequate portrait where there is plenty of scope offered by the text is the Monk, the work of artist 2) who seems otherwise to have specialized in figures for which not much detail was available. The figure is again a stereotype. Some allusion to the text is made in the horse's harness: it is adorned with a number of gold bells. Two greyhounds also refer to the monk's love of venery. They are not, however, well grouped and may easily have been copied from a manuscript like the Master of Game. It is possible that for certain classes of portrait, the type took precedence over the individual.

On the whole, however, once the basic strategy for illustration had been adopted, one artist at least went to some lengths to respond to the text and give the reader a visual reminder of the physical details of the putative narrator provided in the Prologue. This scheme of illustration also seems to have had a functional purpose. All the figures are placed in the margin and all of them, with the exception of the Miller, appear in the outer margin of the folio. This means that where the tale begins on the recto of a leaf, the pilgrim portrait is on the right, and where the tale begins on the verso of a leaf, the



pilgrim is on the left. This concern to have the portrait on the outer edge of the leaf stresses the utility of the sequence: the pictures are designed for ease of reference in locating the required tale, a visual expression of the running titles with which each tale is provided. The consequence of this layout is that where the tale begins on a verso, as does 'The Miller's Tale', the portraits have to be co-ordinated with the border decoration:

Wherever the beginning of a tale falls on the verso of a leaf, the illuminator appears to have intentionally reduced the amount of decoration alongside the opening four-line capital letter, an area he would otherwise have filled with sprays of leaves, flowers, or similar ornamentation ... Since this is the first occurrence of a tale beginning on the verso of a leaf -- the opening tale, by the Knight, having begun on the recto -- it might be argued that the illuminator had not yet familiarized himself with all the details he was to take into consideration as his work proceeded (80).

From this evidence of slight hesitation and change of mind, can we perhaps see the format of E1. actually in the process of evolution? Perhaps the illustrative programme with its significance and use had not quite been finalized before work commenced and the concept of utility became more pressing as more thought was given to the matter.

The third problem solved by the adoption of a series of figures is a structural one -- how to present an incomplete work in an ordered, harmonious way? The pilgrim portraits stress the framework, the connecting principle of the tales. Though the manuscript is divided into stories by means of the border decoration and this division is aided by the pilgrim portraits, they also paradoxically stress the unity and integrity of the work as a collection of tales told on a pilgrimage. It would not have been beyond the ingenuity of the deviser of the programme to construct narrative illustrations for some of the tales: there was a well-established tradition of illustrations for the plot of 'The Nun's Priest's Tale' (81); a pictorial analogue for 'The Prioress's Tale' exists in the Vernon manuscript (Slide 47); and Brewer (82) has noted a chest front carved with scenes depicting a story like 'The Pardoner's Tale'. But to adopt this mode of illustration would have



meant evolving a separate composition for each tale, as well as stressing it as a discrete unit. In deploying the pilgrim portraits the artists or programme devisor obviously needed to consult the text, but they would not have been involved in such an extensive amount of reading. The running titles also stress this decision about presentation: they emphasize the stories as a collection of tales connected by the fact that they are told by this particular set of narrators on this particular pilgrimage (83). And there is a genuine and considered interest in the characters of the narrators: 'the first fifteenth-century readers of The Canterbury Tales appreciated the dramatic quality of the frame story' (84).

A similar, but less detailed, version of this way of presenting the Canterbury Tales is adopted by two other manuscripts: C.U.L. MS Gg.iv.27 and the 'Oxford' manuscript now represented by two fragments, Manchester, John Rylands Library, English MS 63 and Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library MS 1084/2. In both these manuscripts the illustrations have moved from the margin into the text space so that space would have had to have been left for them when the scribe was copying the poem. The provision of illustrations must have been envisaged from an early stage in the planning of the manuscripts. From this point of view it might be considered that these two manuscripts represent a more developed stage of this particular layout for the Canterbury Tales. Gg.iv.27 dates from the first quarter of the fifteenth century (85) whereas the 'Oxford' manuscript is later, c.1440-50 (86). However, despite their connections with E1. in the pictorial programme selected, none of these manuscripts is iconographically related. In their degree of fidelity to the text the two later manuscripts are extremely limited.

Gg.iv.27 is a much mutilated manuscript. As Brusendorff (87) points out, it is interesting as the earliest conscious attempt at a collection of Chaucer's work, although Lydgate's Temple of Glass creeps

in by mistake. It contains a good text of all the major poems written by a single scribe (88) and appears to have been commissioned by a wealthy patron. 'In Gg.4.27, the presentation of the text seems to have been worked out in general terms, but there are numerous discrepancies in matters of detail' (89). The general impression offered by the Canterbury Tales section of the manuscript is subtly different from that in El. despite the presence of the pilgrims. This is due to the series of allegorical figures representing a vice and its remedy in 'The Parson's Tale' (Figs. 31-33). Since these miniatures occupy from one-third to about one-half a page in the text, as do the pilgrims, the integrity of the collection as a sequence of tales preceded by a narrator is somewhat diminished. Though there 'is nothing in the Chaucerian text to suggest these symbolic figures' (90), the actual idea of setting a vice on an allegorical beast is common enough. This is not a simple recourse to iconographic stereotype, however; the vices and virtues come from different iconographic traditions, suggesting a conflation of a number of possible models (91). The pilgrim-portraits are, on the other hand, conventionalized and lacking in individuality.

Only three of the illustrations to 'The Parson's Tale' remain, and only six of the equestrian pilgrim figures originally preceding the tales: the Reeve (Fig. 34), the Cook (Fig. 35); the Wife of Bath (Fig. 36); the Pardoner (Fig. 37); the Monk (Fig. 38); and the Manciple (Fig. 39). The actual congruence with the text is in most cases superficial, the most convincing portrait being that of the Reeve. He is beardless; his hair is shorn off above his ears. His tunic is blue, admittedly only calf-length, and is 'tukked' quite vividly. The scabbard of his sword can be seen on his other side, away from the viewer. His horse, however, a somewhat grotesque animal, as are all the horses in this manuscript, is black and not 'pomely grey'. Possibly the worst portrait is that of the Cook. The only distinguishing physical characteristic noted by Chaucer is the 'mormal', as has already been



pointed out, but from this hint the El. artist has constructed a convincing portrait of sleazy dissipation. Not so the artist of Gg. On the contrary, he looks extremely well-dressed and the mormal is not visible. He wears a mauve tunic with full sleeves edged with fur at the neck. On his head is a voluminous green embroidered hat. His saddle is embroidered as is the sheath of his sword. Over his shoulder he carries a whip with two knotted thongs. He is neither the individual described in the text nor a representative cook. The attributes provided are extremely arbitrary though elaborately drawn and certainly not prompted by anything in the text.

Since the 'Oxford' manuscript is so incomplete, it is impossible to be sure of the details of its pictorial programme. All that remains is a bifolium in the John Rylands Library containing the end of the Miller's 'Prologue' and the beginning of his 'Tale' and eleven leaves in the Rosenbach Foundation which contain portraits of the Sergeant at Law and the Cook. Unlike Gg. where the pilgrims are surrounded by rough scroll-work in greyish ink, the three equestrian pilgrims in Ox., ink outline drawings, are set within a proper frame composed of double thin bars of plum and gold. It may be that other aspects of the Canterbury Tales were illustrated, but the fragment as we have it suggests that this represents the most successful physical co-ordination of pilgrim-portraits with text. The portraits themselves reveal little engagement with the actual words. The Miller, one of the most vigorously portrayed figures in El., is an example of a simplified and inaccurate response to the text in Ox. (Fig. 40). He wears a pork-pie hat and plays a recorder with one hand rather than the bagpipes, and holds a whip with knotted thongs with the other. His saddle seems to be composed of two sacks, presumably of corn, a possible reference to his trade. The 'Oxford' Cook is even more of a type (92). There is no sign of a mormal -- it cannot be seen under his hose. He does, however, carry a cleaver in his right hand, a generalized sign of his trade, as



the flesh-hook is in E1. Like the E1. Cook he wears a long apron, perhaps another sign of his occupation. The portrait of the Sergeant-at-Law moves equally towards the typical: he sits on his horse, holding the bridle in his left hand, a scroll in his right.

It would appear that the presentation of the Canterbury Tales in E1. represents a carefully considered attempt to offer a reading of the text. The pilgrim portraits were designed in conjunction with the description provided by the 'General Prologue'. This method of illustrating the text proved popular and inaugurated a tradition of Canterbury Tales cycles. For the devisors of the two later manuscripts, however, interest in the detail of Chaucer's text appears to have been subsidiary to the desire to produce an attractive book. There is a movement away from specificity towards generalized type. For the producers of the later manuscripts the concentration on the narrative of the frame rather than the narrative of the actual tales provided an easily constructed series of miniatures with rough approximation to the text in question. As the tradition of illustrating the Canterbury Tales proceeds through the fifteenth century, we see the pilgrims becoming progressively more integrated into the text space (93).

There are four other Canterbury Tales manuscripts with illustration, all of an unambitious kind and all using author portraits in one guise or another. The decorative programme to Landsowne 851, Bodley 686 and the 'Devonshire' manuscript involves an historiated initial, probably of Chaucer, and has already been discussed. The fourth manuscript, Bodleian Rawl. poet. 223, is also embellished with historiated initials, rather oddly dispersed in the text. As the manuscript is incomplete, beginning with the line:

There as this lord was keper of the selle,  
it is impossible to tell whether it would have begun with an author portrait to the 'General Prologue' as do the other three. Some form of illustration is, no doubt, missing. The two remaining historiated

initials, however, use author portrait prototypes. The initial on fol. 183r at the beginning of 'The Tale of Melibee' depicts a seated figure facing the viewer with a lectern set to the right, slightly behind the man's left shoulder. On the lectern is an open book. Thus far the illustration bears affiliation with scenes of the author in his study. The actual room is painted with some degree of attention to perspective and detail. In addition to this the figure points with his right forefinger not so much towards the book on his lectern but towards the text on the right, and in this respect is connected with other gesticulating author portraits. There is some disagreement as to whether this composition is intended to represent Chaucer or Melibeus (94). In the event it hardly matters: it is possible that the original owner may not have known. The important point is the consistent use of the author or narrator formula in connection with Canterbury Tales illustration. The other historiated initial occurs on fol. 142r and introduces 'The Friar's Tale'. It is not as stylistically accomplished as the other initial and shows the friar, half-length, standing in a pulpit and is thus related to iconography of teaching or preaching. The apparent visual focus on two tales at the expense of the others may perhaps be seen in terms of the stereotypes available. A man seated in a study is entirely appropriate for a tale purporting to come from Chaucer and a friar in a pulpit is equally apposite in a tale told by a friar.

The use of the pilgrim figures in El., Gg., and 'Ox.' to provide, on one level at least, visual chapter-headings, may be compared with the pictorial programme of a group of manuscripts from the second half of the fifteenth century. Bodleian MS Bodley 943, (Figs. 41 and 42), Cambridge, Emmanuel College MS 31, C U L MS Dd.ix.18, and Cambridge, Trinity College MS 0.5.6 are all copies of the Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers translated by Stephen Scrope for his step-father Sir John Fastolf in 1450 and revised by Fastolf's secretary, William Worcester,

in 1472 (95). The text is a collection of aphorisms or wise sayings, in other words, a series of commonplaces, enlivened by a lengthy sequence dealing with the life and exploits of Alexander the Great. The Dicts is a venerable collection, attributable to an eleventh-century Arab scholar. The source for Scrope was probably a translation made from Latin into French by Guillaume de Tignonville before 1402. Several manuscripts of Tignonville's works are illustrated 'mostly with fancy portraits of the various philosophers mentioned' (96). Thus, as was not the case with the 'General Prologue' to the Canterbury Tales where the artist had to go to the text and construct the programme anew, there was a programme available for the producers of Scrope's manuscripts. BL Royal MS 19 B.iv, a manuscript of Tignonville's Dits Moraulx from the second quarter of the fifteenth century -- and either the manuscript from which Scrope's translation was made, or at least very close to it (97) -- gives an idea of how a sequence could be elaborated from a visual cliché. The only illustration, at the beginning of the manuscript, shows the figure of a philosopher reading. He is seated on a bench with a lectern to the right. He holds the pages of the book flat with one hand and gestures towards the page with the other. The dependence on an author portrait prototype is obvious. The single picture, however, gives a representative idea of a philosopher rather than providing a way of dividing up the text.

The English manuscripts supply a sequence of philosopher portraits. Various wise sayings are attributed to various philosophers; other than this the text is formless. The structure adopted is to name the philosopher, group a number of sayings together, and move onto the next philosopher. There is no reason why one axiom should be attributed to one philosopher rather than another: the change of name provides a system of division for the catalogue of worthy advice. Sometimes the philosophers are briefly described: for example, 'Ipocras' is said to have been 'litille of bodie, corbe, & grete heded, thinkinge muche,



litille of speche, and gladly lokinge in the erthe, haldinge euer in his hande a flobotome of minucion' (98). There is, then, little for the artist to portray other than a series of philosopher portraits. Other than the lengthy Alexander section, there are few narrative sequences that might lend themselves to illustration. The piece on Alexander is rather different in kind from the rest, though one can see in the exempla and some of the anecdotes how it relates to wisdom literature, particularly the themes of kingship, friendship and knowledge with which the book is largely concerned.

It can be seen that an author portrait is the most obvious prototype to choose for achieving a consistent pictorial programme. In their guise as philosophers, the standing figures are more obviously auctoritates than narrators... Their hand gestures are complex but they do not all gesticulate towards the text. They do, however, hold books and pencases as attributes. In their lack of anything but these most obvious attributes, they do little to present a sense of the individuality of the speaker; they are more successful as ways of breaking up the text and indicating a process of division. This is an important aspect since, as has already been indicated, the series of unconnected axioms means that the book is not an easy one for the reader to find his way around. The organizational problem for the deviser of the sequence is evident -- he needed to divide up the text into accessible units and to provide visual place-markers at the same time that he supplied pictures. This aspect of division into sections crucially differentiates the Dicts programme from that of the Canterbury Tales where the portraits provide a principle of linkage as well as indicating units. Furthermore, E1. is unusual in its detailed presentation of narratorial identity.

All the extant illustrated Dicts manuscripts have the same type of illustrative programme; a standing philosopher is inserted into the text space. Thus the figure of the philosopher was very much part of the manuscript layout from the inception of the text: appropriate space

had to be left by the scribe next to the beginning of the discussion of each philosopher. Although textually none of the manuscripts is directly copied from another, Bodley, Emmanuel and Dd. are closely related stylistically in their illustration. From the affinity of the styles Bühler (99) concludes that they must have been copied from the same or a sister manuscript, perhaps in the same scriptorium. They are also the three most reliable manuscripts (100). The cycle consists of unframed ink outline figures lightly washed, standing on mounds against a parchment background. Bodley and Dd. are more closely related to each other than Emmanuel which is cruder and has a more thickly applied wash. Other aspects of the layout also correspond: none of the manuscripts, including Trinity, has running titles. The sole method of topic indication is provided by the figures of the philosophers.

Emmanuel is a particularly interesting manuscript. It has been carefully corrected by two hands, one of which is that of William Worcester supplying the readings of his own rewriting. According to Bühler, 'though the corrections in E can be shown to be in Worcester's hand, they do not represent his final revision but rather the working copy' (101). An interesting parallel to this alteration of the text are the signs of slight adjustment to the iconography indicated by marks of scraping. On fol. 12v, for example, 'Pitagoras' holds his hands up in a strange position. It is almost as if he originally held a large uroscopy flask in both hands, which has subsequently been erased. Certainly the parchment seems to have been scraped in that kind of shape. On fol. 47v Aristotle is shown wearing a skull-cap which seems to have been redrawn, as does what he is holding in his right hand. It is now a thin, truncated wand, but from the scraping it may have extended upwards and had a bulbous top like a crosier. Although Emmanuel cannot have been the textual exemplar for Bodley and Dd, it may have been the actual manuscript on which the iconography was devised.

Unlike the other three manuscripts, Trinity contains another text in addition to the Dicts and Sayings: Sydrak. However, the pictorial programme easily accommodates this. Sydrak begins with a historiated initial containing a philosopher wearing a scholar's skull-cap. He seems to be presented more as an authority figure than an author since he is not gesturing towards the text. The Dicts begin on fol. 38r with the usual single standing philosopher, but here the figure is set against a black background with a gold pattern and contained by a gold frame. The layout of the page is different from that in the other three manuscripts: whereas these present the text in a single column, Trinity is ruled into two columns. Furthermore, there seems to have been a certain misapprehension on the part of the scribe or director in the initial stages as to the kind of pictorial programme to be supplied. On fol. 38r a space the width of the column is left for the portrait although the actual miniature, a slim rectangle, only occupies one-third of the space allocated. It will be recalled that in Bodley, Emmanuel and Dd. the figures, although relatively larger than this, do not take up the whole width of the text space: a thin column of script is written down the side. This expedient is not adopted until fol. 41r of Trinity where picture and text are much better co-ordinated. It is as if the director of Trinity was not aware, until some way into the production of the manuscript, that a series such as that in the other manuscripts was to be his model. He seems to have known that the sections of the text, as represented by a change of philosopher, were marked but the actual form that denotation was to take was perhaps unknown to him.

The close relationship between an author portrait stereotype and a philosopher stereotype can be illustrated by one last example. A manuscript in the Coventry Record Office, Acc. 325/1 which contains a number of texts, including some Chaucerian pieces and Mandeville's Travels, begins with a copy of De Regimine Principum. As Doyle and



Pace observe, the make-up of the manuscript shows that it underwent early alteration. There are indications in the quire signatures that it was preceded by another set of quires. The first gathering is now anomalous, consisting of nine single leaves each with a short stub rather than a conjoint leaf. The present fols. 1-4 seem to be substitutes for the originals, though by the same scribe. Doyle and Pace indicate that this occurred because the original book was divided and De Regimine then needed to begin neatly on the first page. They conclude that the picture at the top of fol. 1r which occupies two-thirds of the page is 'probably another device of adaptation' (102). Faced with this apparent need to supply a single miniature, what expedient was chosen? The picture is 'a rectangular framed one of a clean-shaven man in a white garment with cape or hood and skullcap against a background of green hills, in tinted pen-outline of good quality and mid-fifteenth-century style, now badly rubbed' (103). It is evidently an author portrait of some sort. Having discounted Chaucer and Hoccleve as candidates on the grounds of dress, Doyle and Pace suggest that since the dress is that of an academic doctor 'it may be meant as Aristotle, supposed author of the Secreta Secretorum, one of the two chief sources [of Hoccleve's De Regimine Principum], or Egidius Romanus, author of De Regimine Principum, the other' (104). The exact identity of the figure seems to me to be immaterial: the important point is that again we find an author portrait/philosopher figure being used as a convenient way of supplying a miniature required for purely formal reasons -- the rearrangement of the book.

In their discussion of illustrated manuscripts of the Mediationes Vitae Christi, Ragusa and Green (105) deliberately fail to enumerate manuscripts containing author portrait only. From their point of view -- art history -- the omission must have seemed a necessary one: the type is iconographically dull, a series of repetitive stereotypes. But, from a broader point of view, the problem becomes an interesting one.

The very decision about when to use a stereotype may be instructive. It is tempting to speculate that the prevalence of the author portrait as a way of illustrating Chaucerian texts, particularly of the Canterbury Tales, might suggest an appreciation on the part of the commissioners or producers of the manuscripts of Chaucer's use of persona as a narrative technique. In other contexts, such as the Troilus frontispiece and Hoccleve's tribute in De Regimine Principum, a stereotype is used to generate a real and personal sense of Chaucer the poet; these attempt to construct a relationship with the reader which enriches the context of the actual text contained in the manuscript. With the Ellesmere manuscript of the Canterbury Tales there is the tension that one notes at all times in medieval manuscript illustration between a convenient formula and a responsiveness to the text. Though used by subsequent manuscripts as an appropriate way of providing visual chapter-headings, the programme in E1. is, more complexly, an adoption of an obvious device and a response to what is original to Chaucer -- the frame. Boccaccio's framework for his tales in the Decameron is equally elaborate with its chilling account of the plague and its effects, but he does not describe his narrators' physical appearance in any detail. In E1. all three of the possible reasons for wanting illustration outlined in Chapter 1 -- decoration, interpretation and dividing the text -- prevail, whereas in Gg. and, as far as one can tell in Ox., only the first and third categories are of importance. Finally, the series of philosophers in the Dicts is a further reminder that a concentration on non-narrative elements may provide convenient material for a modest way of embellishing a manuscript which also usefully breaks the text into units, provides a resting-place for the eye, and gives some indication of the point the reader may have reached in the text.

### 3. Expository Miniatures: The Master of Game.

While it is necessary to preserve a cautious scepticism when assessing the value of illustrations as an aid to critical interpretation of texts, there are cases when pictures would seem to be an invaluable adjunct, an indispensable reader's aid to comprehension. A hunting manual such as the Livre de la Chasse (106) composed by Count Gaston de Foix between 1381 and 1389 (107) and its translation and adaptation to an English context as the Master of Game (108) by Edward, second Duke of York between 1406 and 1413, dedicated to the future Henry V, is a combination of the literary work and the technical aid. The milieu is a courtly one: hunting was an aristocratic pursuit (109) and both the author and his translator were of noble blood. On the other hand, hunting was considered a science, having its own strict procedures and its own highly technical vocabulary. To master the skills of hunting was in large measure to master a vocabulary such as the correct terms to apply to various animals and the proper calls with which to rally the hounds. This was especially an issue in England where the hunting cries were of French origin and increasingly less understood (110). Though these texts are didactic in tone -- and Edward in particular is clear about the status of his work as a reference manual:

And for I ne wold þat his [Henry IV's] hunters ne yours [Henry V's] þat now be or shuld come here aftir weren vnknowe in þe profite- nesse of þis art for þi shall I leue this simple memorial ffor as Chaucer saip in his prologe of þe xxv. good wymmen. Be wryteng haue men of ymages passed for wrytyng is þe keye of alle good remembraunce (111)

-- it is clear that with any illustrations provided in the manuscripts there is bound to be an ambiguity of function between the decorative and the expository.

Both authors, but particularly Gaston, seem sensitive to the way illustration may be used in a technical work to supplement the information contained in the text. At one point Edward alludes specifically to the potential utility of painting:



A Buk is a diuerse beest, he hap not is heere as an herte, for he is more whitly, and also he hap not suche an hede ... : His heed may not be wel deuysed wipout paintyng (112).

A similar acknowledgement of the practical utility of pictures is to be found in Livre de la Chasse. The chapter on the various kinds of nets -- 'Si devise comment on doit faire et lassier toutes manieres de las' -- is brief and perfunctory, but interestingly reveals that some kind of illustration was anticipated:

Aprés li vueill aprendre a lascier toutes manieres de laz, comme sont roiz pour grosses bestes ou pour menues, pouches et bourses, panniaux, laz, chevestres, las qui s'apele de lune, chevestre croisié, laz commun de povre gent et toutes autres manieres de laz, et chascun fet selon sa fourme et maniere, comme ci dessus est figuré (113).

The text only provides technical vocabulary; it fails actually to describe the various types of net and their use. The illustration is intended to rectify the omission. A similar directness of reference to the accompanying illustration can be found in the chapter concerning the trapping of the rabbit. The purse-shaped nets which are placed over the entrances of the warren to capture the emerging rabbits are to be described visually: 'ilz doyvent mettre les bourses, qui sont fetes de cordes, de la fourme qui est peinte, aux pertuis des terriers' (114). It is not only nets which provoke direct reference to the illustration. The chapter, 'comment hon peut chasser sanglers et autres bestes as fosses' (115), also refers the reader to the miniature as does the text on 'dardieres'. These 'on fet en ceste maniere qui est yci figuré' (116). Precise verbal directions are given also, but the instructions for taking animals 'au haussepie' are extremely sparse, referring the reader to the miniature almost as a substitute (117). The illustrations are intended as a real aid in visualizing some highly technical moments, though it is an interesting paradox that this precision is applied to aspects of the sport of which Gaston professes to disapprove.

The consciousness shown in the text that illustration may be used

to clarify detail is not, however, consistently borne out by the practice of the illustrators. Forty-four manuscripts of the Livre de la Chasse exist as opposed to nineteen of the Master of Game (118). Livre de la Chasse appears in a number of sumptuous display manuscripts as befits the aristocratic background of the author. It seems probable that the original illustrated text was written under Gaston's supervision by one of the four secretaries whom Froissart tells us he constantly employed (119). Certainly, a number of the manuscripts with pictures which remain to us are closely iconographically related (120), a fact which would seem to suggest authorial concern about the original exemplar, or at least a number of ateliers working in close conjunction. To judge from these manuscripts a set sequence was established, involving an author portrait of Gaston Phebus seated on a bench surrounded by huntsmen and dogs and an illustration prefacing each chapter. Paris, BN MS fonds fr. 616 has been much reproduced (121) and thus forms a convenient focal point from which to consider the problems posed by the illustrations to a hunting manual, before proceeding to the English context. It was painted by the Adelphoe Master and his associates c. 1410 (122). The series of miniatures, a frontispiece at the head of the prologue and then eighty-five illustrations introducing each of the eighty-five chapters, judged purely on its value as a visual accompaniment to an instruction manual, provides a combination of the visually helpful and the visually decorative.

The illustration on fol. 53v to the chapter on the various nets (Couderc fig.29) depicts a series of figures knotting a number of nets of different shapes. Though the foreground is occupied by two genre-scenes, twine being spun into rope and a group of dogs being fed, the figures are so arranged that the shapes of the nets can clearly be seen. This one illustration exhibits in microcosm the dialogue between utility and decoration which can be detected in the manuscript as a whole. The hunting and capture of the badger also involves the use of



nets. Here, however, the illustration is not as faithful to the text. The technique recommended is that 'pouches' be affixed to the mouth of the set at night and in the morning:

il doit venir a tout ses chienz querir les hayes et fortz pays environ les tesniers. Et, des qu'ilz orront l'effroy des chienz, ilz se cuideront bouter dedanz les terriers, et seront pris es pouches (123).

The picture (Couderc fig.61) suggests the opposite process. The purse-shaped net over the mouth of the set is well displayed but the position of the net and the man trying to smoke the badger out seem to imply that the badger is to be taken by being frightened out of his den, instead of being prevented from getting in. The men with axes and the men with dogs also included in the miniatures convey the excitement of the hunt. Furthermore, the fluctuation between fidelity to the text and stylistic cliché has been well discussed by Salter and Pearsall who point out that the tradition of the enclosed garden has conditioned the artist's rendering of certain scenes:

... if the text speaks of 'un clos ou de champs ou de vignes ou de vergier' for harehunting, it is a flower-strewn garden with its pretty palisade which is selected for illustration (124).

Although Gaston shows some awareness of the use that can be made of miniatures in an expository way, it would appear that the illustrations are provided for the sake of decorative embellishment as much as for their efficacy in imparting information. Rachel Hands (125) makes the distinction between manuscripts designed to be used for practical purposes and 'library pieces', manuscripts to be read and appreciated at leisure. Certainly manuscripts such as fonds fr. 616 are for the connoisseur in the study though there is no reason to suppose that a connoisseur might not welcome the information displayed in it. It is a principle of delighted recognition rather than of definition which is operating here. This is reflected in the stylization as well as the realism of the miniatures. The initial sequence, for example, which potentially supplements the verbal description of the beasts of the



chase, the stag, the reindeer, the deer, the ibex, the roebuck, the hare, the rabbit, the boar, the bear, the wolf, the fox, the badger, the wild cat, and the otter, exemplifies this dual aspect. The illustrations are potentially both functional and decorative. Each one shows a number of the particular breed of animal in question in variously elegantly, but naturalistically, conceived poses, disporting themselves in a landscape composed of similar elements in each case -- trees and stylized craggy rock formations. Though a stylized landscape vocabulary is used, there is some attempt to describe the various habitats: the surroundings of the wild goat, for example, are more craggy than in other miniatures. The animals themselves are scrupulously rendered with attention to texture of fur, but as a background the artist uses a highly ornamental diapered design.

At times, compositional stereotype influences the miniature provided. In the depictions of the fox in particular, a reference to traditional iconography may be detected. The text mentions the fox's habitual raiding of the hen roost; the illustration (Couderc fig.15) depicts one fox, top left, with head raised, clutching a struggling hen between his teeth, but in the centre is a fox with a duck slung over his back, the neck only held between his teeth in the manner popularized by misericord, stained glass and manuscript marginalia (126). Even more striking is the equivalent illustration in BL Add. MS 27699 where visual allusion is made to traditional stories or activities not mentioned in the Livre de la Chasse. On the left is a bird in a stylized tree, at the foot of which is the fox with his head tilted up, possibly a reference to the fox who flattered the crow to get its cheese (127); then comes a fox running off with a duck in its mouth, admittedly not slung over its shoulder; on the right, among other poses, is a fox lying on its back with its feet in the air, a reference to the animal's feigning death and then consuming the birds that come to feast on it (128). The wolf pictured in fr. 616 also

shows the animal with a small boar slung over his shoulder in the usual fashion.

In a similar way, the miniatures depicting the hunting of the various game animals provide more of a decorative celebration than a functional account: they consist of a series of people on horseback, blowing horns, people with dogs and the fleeing hunted animal (Couderc figs. 43, 46, 49, 51, 53, 54, 56, 57 and 60). Motifs and groupings of people are repeated from illustration to illustration. This is particularly noticeable in the poses of the dogs and of the pursued deer. Such formulaic repetition would suggest the predominance in the illuminator's mind of a decorative scheme over an informative one. This is reflected by the colour scheme. Although Gaston very particularly mentions that green is the huntsman's dress for stag hunting and grey for boar hunting (129), the illuminator opted for a more elegantly varied palette of bright blue, scarlet, purple, mauve and pink when depicting his protagonists' clothing.

Perhaps the most highly technical skill required of a huntsman was the knowledge of how to break up the carcass of the deer. 'Only a very skilled huntsman did really dare to undertake the *Curée*; rules for every incision and every grasp are scrupulously laid down' (130). Edward has a slightly ambiguous attitude towards the accomplishment. He begins a highly detailed account of what procedure to follow:

... turne his hornes to þe erþward and þe þrote vþward and slitte þe skynn of þe þrote alenonlong the neke, and kytte labelles on eiper side of þe skyn which shuld honge fulle vpon þe hede, for þis longeþ to an herte slayne wip strengthe and ellis nouȝt ... (131).

and then breaks in with an encomium on experience as opposed to technical manuals:

... and þerfore as of þe maner how he shuld be vndo I passe euer lithly for þer nys no woodman ne good hunter in Engelond þat þei ne can do it wel inow and wel better þan I can telle hem (132).

That this may merely be an example of occupatio can be deduced from the



detailed material with which this remark is surrounded. It is true, however, that the English text, with its appeal to experience rather than authority, is less detailed than its French original (133). And as this information does not constitute a separate chapter in the Master of Game, being part of a longer chapter on how to hunt and kill the hart, there is no illustration of the scene in English manuscripts. In fonds fr. 616 the visual information is not inaccurate, but does not reflect the meticulous precision of the text. The hart is laid on its back, but the emphasis seems to be on the theme of teaching itself, rather than the subject which is being taught. The composition (Couderc Fig.44) is dominated by two disproportionately large figures, their status indicated by scale and clothing, at either end of the stag, directing the proceedings. Each is instructing an apprentice; the one on the left is flaying the skin from the hind leg while the one on the right is about to detach the right front leg of the stag for presentation to the lord; both are essential moments in the sequence laid down by the text. At the side a huntsman is blowing the assize, while in the foreground huntsmen and anticipatory dogs watch the event. This is an elegant portrayal of familiar and admired scenes in the life of a huntsman rather than a depiction of how the 'Curée' should be carried out.

It is evident that the illustrations to BN fr. 616, though often faithful to the text, are not designed to instruct the novice in the niceties of hunting. Indeed, it is partly a matter of context which determines a sense of the illustrations as potential instructional and informational aids. Hunting scenes appear in the margins of psalters and books of hours and in this context various allegorical significances may be assigned to them (134). A particularly notable series of hunting scenes appears in the bas-de-page of the Queen Mary's Psalter (135), and here the purpose of the scenes is evidently not the communication of information about cynegetics. In combination with



other marginal scenes of contemporary life, of dancing, games and feasting, and of imaginary scenes from the Bestiary coupled with grotesques, one would say rather that they celebrated the life and imaginative furniture of the aristocratic recipient of the manuscript, of which hunting comprised a large and leisurely part. The detail of the hunting illustrations is not substantially lessened or simplified because they do not appear in conjunction with a factual, informative text. The scene of the undoing or 'gralloching' of the stag on fol. 172r, for instance, contains fewer figures -- just the hunter and two dogs looking on -- but the stag is turned on its back as the hunter, holding the front right hoof in his left hand, prepares to make the first incision.

Such a detailed discussion of the French illustrations has been necessary since two of the illustrations of the Master of Game display a much simplified version of the sequence. A comparison between illustrated manuscripts of the Livre de la Chasse and the Master of Game demonstrates once again the difference between the French and English milieu and the comparative poverty of the latter. The numbers are sparser -- there are only four and one of these, BL Royal 18 C. xviii, has a presentation miniature only -- and the style is much inferior. With two of the manuscripts, however, there is some attempt to engage with the problem of technical vocabulary.

Bodleian MS Bodley 546 dates from the second quarter of the fifteenth century (136). Its layout reflects that of Livre de la Chasse illustrations. There are fewer chapters in the Master of Game than in the Livre de la Chasse -- thirty-six as opposed to eighty-five -- but in the initial stages, at least, the text is supplemented by crude ink sketches in the outer margins to mark chapter divisions. Thus, on fol. 5v, opposite the beginning of the prologue, is a drawing of a man blowing a horn, obviously a 'decorative' feature rather than an expository one. There is a series of animal illustrations, showing a

single example of the species, rather than a number in a landscape, each accompanying the relevant chapter. Some of them bear little resemblance to the animals they are intended to depict: for example, the illustration on fol. 25v, of the roe, looks more like a lamb without hair (137). A similar roughly-drawn series of sketches is provided for the chapters on the various dogs. After this, the marginal illustrations become more spasmodic: a drawing of a hunting horn hanging from a strap accompanies the chapter heading: 'How an hunteres horn shuld be dryue'. Otherwise there are two, slightly more elaborate, scenes in the margin. On fol. 79v, to illustrate the chapter: 'How þe ordenaunce shulde be maked for þe hert huntynge wip strengþe and how þe hert shulde be herborwed', a series of isolated groups of figures is provided, running from half-way down the left-hand margin and along the bottom of the page. In the left-hand margin two mounted men emerge from a doorway, indicated merely by a black lunette. They are preceded by two dogs, one of which has largely been trimmed away. In the left-hand corner of the page a huntsman with a horn slung over his shoulder is followed by two dogs coupled together which he holds on a leash. In the centre of the bottom margin another huntsman, also followed by coupled dogs held on a leash, turns his face towards the huntsman on the left. On the right is a crudely drawn stag in a thicket. On fol. 86v the chapter: 'How þe hert shulde be meued wip þe lymer and roune to and slayn with strengþe', the chapter which contains instructions for 'gralloching', is accompanied by a bas-de-page illustration showing, on the right a lord dressed in a houppelond with dagged sleeves, in the centre a huntsman followed by two dogs coupled together on a leash preceded by a single dog on a leash, on the right a running hart looking over its shoulder at its pursuers. These are less graceful and stylish versions of the decorative hunting scenes in fonds fr. 616.

It can be seen that these illustrations function mainly, but not



consistently, as topic indicators. The artist ceases to mark every chapter division where the simple formula of a single animal is no longer sufficient. However, the manuscript is more than a pallid and inadequate imitation of more sumptuous French prototypes. The marginal illustrations are supplemented by a series of full-page frontispieces. Fol. 1r is filled by a coat-of-arms with supporters on a coloured background. An ink ruling provides the picture with a frame. A cartouche above the shield has gold letters which read 'Mon seigneur davdeley', referring to James Touchet, Lord Audley, who died in 1459 (138). Fols. 1v and 2r present an opening concerned with dogs. A gold frame now surrounds the picture space which has a parti-coloured red and blue ground. Three green patches of grass are ranged vertically on each page, on each of which stands a hunting dog or pair of dogs. These frontispiece dogs are more distinctively portrayed than those in the text. It is, however, the next opening, that of fols. 2v and 3r, that is the most significant. The frames again are gold and the background is green. Fol. 2v consists of six hart antlers, carefully visually differentiated and carefully labelled. They thus provide a useful visual mnemonic. The top register displays a 'Broket', 'Stagars', and 'Stagge' while the lower register depicts a 'hart of x', 'harte of xij' and 'harte of xvj'. Fol. 3r displays a similar series of five buck horns, of which only four are labelled: 'Precket', 'Sowrell', 'Sowre', 'Buk'. This frontispiece shows some attempt to engage in accessible form with some of the extremely technical vocabulary used. The Master of Game is actually less explicit about various types of antler, though it does spend some considerable time in naming various aspects of a hart's head:

and also here heuedes ben of diuers maners that oon is cleped an heued wel growe, that oper is cleped wel yfeted; and wel affetedis, whan þe heued is wexen by ordynauce aftir þe nek and þe shap, whan þe tyndis bene wel growe in þe beem by good mesure that oon nye þat oper þan is it cleped wel affeted, wel ygrowe is whan þe hede is of grete beemes and is wel affeted and thyk tynede wel hei and wel opned. The othere heed is called



counterfeet ... And þe first tynde þat is next þe hede is cleped Aunteler; And þe secound Riall, and the thred above Susreal, and þe tyndes, whiche bene ycleped fourth 3if they be tweyne, and 3if þei be þre or fowyr or moo it is cleped trochyng (139).

The Master of Game suggests that the good huntsman can be recognized by his power to name correctly. Command over language is, to a degree, command over the craft. He should know that the excrement of a hart is called 'fumes'; of the buck, roebuck and boar, 'cotyng'; of the wolf 'lesses' and so on. The footprints left by the various animals have a specialized vocabulary, but the majority of attention is devoted to antlers:

And men aske what hede bereþ the hert þat he hap seie he shal alway answere by euen and not by odde, for if he be fourched on þe ryghte side and lak nou3t of his ryghtes bineth and on þe righte side auntelere and Rialle and susrial and nou3t fourthe but only þe beme he shall say it is a hert of x. at defaute ... And whan an hert bereþ as many tyndes in þat oon side as in þat oper he may say if he be but fourched, þt he is an hert of x, and if he be trochid of iii he is an hert of xii, and if he be trochid of iiii. he is an hert of xvi ... (140).

The frontispiece does not correspond at all points with the vocabulary used in the text, though it does not contradict it; and it shares the text's evident concern with knowledge of technical vocabulary by assembling such information in a useful diagrammatic form.

Fol. 3v contains the last frontispiece illustration. As with most of the other frontispieces, it has a gold frame. It displays beasts of the hunt grouped inside a walled enclosure, perhaps a visual allusion to an enclosed garden. The animals are presented together for convenient inspection. Danielsson, echoing almost exactly the words of the Baillie-Grohman (141), describes this miniature as showing: 'A castle and walls and lodges surrounding a hunting-park, in which dogs of different kinds are in the act of chasing a hare, boar, stag, fox, wolf etc.' (142). In fact there are no dogs: all the animals seem to be beasts of game. From the bottom up the animals seem to be as follows: the badger; the otter (its webbed feet can be seen); the fox; the wolf; the roe; the boar; the buck; the

hart; the wild cat; the doe; the hare; the martin. Thus there are three kinds of deer, each carefully distinguished by means of its antlers.

The information provided by the frontispieces reflects in some measure the information provided by the text. There is a visual display of those beasts which are hunted, an opening dealing with dogs and a technical display of antlers. In some respects these frontispieces supplement the information provided in the text. The manuscript has obviously been carefully designed for ease of reference. It has been supplied with a table of contents (fol. 4r) and running titles in the form of chapter numerations. Furthermore, the use of illustrative material seems to display two distinct functions: the ink sketches are part of the apparatus designed to help the reader locate various portions of text. The frontispieces, on the other hand, have a totally different function: they collect visual information carefully together at the front of the manuscript thus providing a conveniently accessible reference work to aid correct identification of the items of the craft. The frontispieces seem, in some ways, to be more telling than a detailed sequence.

One final issue raised by this manuscript is: at what stage in its production was it supplied with its careful reference aids? The sketches in the margin did not necessarily have to be allowed for in the original conception of the manuscript's format. It seems that the frontispieces may have been a later addition. They are presented on two bifolia, the table of contents beginning on the last leaf of the second bifolium (fol. 4r). Though the text is continuous between fols. 4v and 5r, it can be seen that three leaves of the original first quire have been cut out at some stage. Closer inspection reveals an inadequate attempt to accommodate the text on fol. 4 with that of the original portion of the manuscript. The script does not fill the ruled lines on fol. 4v: there are twenty-seven guide lines for the



writing, but only twenty-one have been filled with the table of contents. The visual impression of 4v differs from that of 5r since less generous margins are allowed by the former so that the proportion of text space to page is different. Fols. 4r and 4v have been ruled in ink with clear guide lines for writing whereas the rest of the manuscript has been ruled in crayon and the guide lines are not always apparent. Finally, the script on fol. 4 seems to be different from that in the rest of the manuscript. On fol. 4, the hand is slightly more formal, squarer and more widely spread. The ascenders of the 'd' graph are different; the 'w' graph is differently formed; the 'l' is looped on fol. 5r and not on fol. 4v. It appears, then, that the concept of the manuscript changed at some stage in its production, that the offending first leaves of the original quire were excised and the new series of frontispieces inserted. Since fol. 1r displays the arms of a man who died in 1459, they must have been added before then.

This problem becomes more pressing when it becomes clear that the frontispieces are associated with an extremely late copy. BL Royal MS 17 A.1v. dates from the beginning of the seventeenth century (143). On the basis of the pen-and-ink ornament on the title-page (fol. 2r) with the arms of England and badge of the Prince of Wales, it has been suggested that it was written for and presented to Henry, Prince of Wales, son of James I (144). The manuscript itself is written on paper but the frontispieces (fols 3-5) are of parchment. Fols 3 and 4 are a bifolium, while fol. 5 is tipped-in. The frontispieces are an exact copy of some of the frontispieces in Bodley 546 or a related manuscript. Fol. 3r is blank; fols 3v and 4r comprise an opening concerned with dogs while fols 4v and 5r deal with antlers, though the material is reversed. It is possible that the frontispieces of both Royal 17 A.1v and Bodley 546 are copies of the same manuscript and that the designers of Bodley became acquainted with the manuscript and decided to emulate



it. On the other hand it may be that the original simple format of the manuscript was judged inadequate, changed, and that Royal 17 A.1v is a transcript of part of its new programme. It is certain that the new format presents a more concerted attempt to come to terms with the technicalities of hunting.

Another manuscript in the British Library also has a series of pictures which seem designed to have a didactic, mnemonic function. Cotton Vespasian B.xii written c. 1430, contains an English translation of Twiti's The Art of Hunting (145) and an unillustrated copy of the Master of Game. Prefacing these two hunting treatises is a verse prologue, a poem which exists only in this one manuscript (146). After alluding to the moral and aristocratic aspects of hunting in terms similar to those used by Gaston Phèbus and Edward:

Alle suche dysport as voydith ydilnesse  
It syttyth euey gentilman to knowe  
For myrthe annexed is to gentillesse

it moves onto its main theme which is to distinguish three kinds of game beast: beasts of venery; beasts of chase; and beasts of 'disport'. This division of animals into three distinct categories is, according to Danielsson (147), one of the two new branches of huntsmanship that was being stressed at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the other being the seasons of the beasts.

The most significant feature of the verse prologue in Cotton Vespasian, given that it communicates a new complication to the art of hunting, is that it was designed to be accompanied by a series of illustrations. The text occupies three sides, a side to each category, and the layout carefully co-ordinates text and illustration. For this reason the size of the illustrations, which occur on the bottom of each page, is not uniform. The illustration on fol. 4r, for example, is larger than the other two. Each miniature is surrounded by a red or blue inner frame and gold outer frame from which featherwork sprays terminating in gold ivy leaves and roundels extend into the margin;

and each miniature depicts the relevant animals in a landscape setting. Furthermore, the text actually specifies that there should be illustration:

Of which .iiij bestis be that is to say  
The hare the hert þ<sup>e</sup> wulfhe the wylde boor also  
Of venery for sothe þer be no moe  
And so it shewith here in portetewre  
Where euery best is set in hys figure.

The reason for the insertion of illustrative material is made apparent on fol. 3v where the author claims that additional information can be imparted in this way. He has already, on the first folio, defined his audience -- the young and inexperienced:

And for to sette yonge hunterys in the way

and now he goes on to provide a theoretical justification for miniatures:

And cause why þ<sup>t</sup> men shulde the more be sure  
They shewen here also in portreture  
And cause why they be set in portreture  
Is this like as lecteture put thyng in mende  
Of lerned men ryght so a peyntyde fygure  
Remembryth men vnlernyd in hys kende  
And in wryghtyng for soothe the same I fynde  
Therefore sith lerned may lerne in þ<sup>s</sup> book  
Be ymages shal þ<sup>e</sup> lewd if he wole look.

Such a theoretical justification is hardly penetrating: the potential use of 'ymages' in providing for the 'lewd' what writing provides for the 'lerned' is little more than a medieval cliché about the subject. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that anyone, no matter how 'lewd' would not be aware of what the various animals looked like. Both Gaston de Foix and Edward, Duke of York acknowledge the familiarity to their audience of the animals described. 'Cerf est assez commune beste, si ne me covient ja dire de sa faisson, quar pou de genz sont qui bien n'en aient vuë'. (148): thus Gaston begins his series and continues in a similar vein, while Edward assures his readers that each animal he discusses is 'a commomn beest I-now'. What is new in Cotton Vespasian, however, and what might make the illustrations a real reference aid for both 'lerned' and 'lewd' is the actual categorization of the animals into three types, particularly the







half-way down the page; a colophon in black ink informs the reader: 'Explicit le venery de Twety and of mayster John Giffarde'. The remaining leaves to the end of the quire are blank though ruled; the leaf following fol. 9 is unfoliated and here not all the guide lines have been filled in. The Master of Game begins on fol 10r. Thus, though Twiti and the Master of Game are kept well separate, Twiti and the prologue are not treated as one text, though they are in the same quire. The Master of Game is written in the same hand as Twiti (151) and though the decorative programme to the former is more ambitious, the two-line initials with champ sprays, which again mark divisions in the text, are similarly treated. The table of contents, the beginning of the text proper and the chapter dealing with 'pe maner & tatches and condicions of houndes' are marked by a blue or pink initial on a gold ground attached to a partial border (152). It would be possible to argue that the manuscript is a collection of hunting treatises specially prefaced by a series of mnemonics. The prologue to the manuscript may well have been added to present a sub-division of hunting expertise not explicitly covered by either text but very much a fashionable aspect of knowledge, in a readily accessible and easily remembered form (153).

Bodleian MS Douce 335, dating from the middle of the fifteenth century (154), the other manuscript of the Master of Game with illustrations that engage to some degree with the text, presents, like fr. 616 and Bodley 546, a series of miniatures spread throughout the manuscript at the beginning of each chapter where they have potential utility as topic indicators. Its illustrative programme is on a far less ambitious scale than that of fonds fr. 616, consisting of a series of historiated initials. Thus the scale and scope of the illuminations is considerably restricted by the limited space available: they reflect the basic illustrative programme of the French manuscripts in a form as simplified as that of Bodley 546. In the absence of running

titles, the historiated initials aid in locating the required portion of text. As with Bodley 546, the textual apparatus provided by Douce 335 presents the text in a convenient format as an instruction manual: it begins with a table of contents; each chapter division is preceded by a chapter heading in red and introduced by an historiated initial. Though the linear, two-dimensional style bears no comparison to the elegant sophistication of fonds fr. 616, the illustrations in Douce 335, as can be seen, are both decorative and, as visual supplements to the chapter headings, utilitarian.

The first illustration, accompanying the table of contents (Slide 48), is formulaic enough, showing merely a standing figure in a green tunic and pink hose on a green mound inside a four-line blue letter 'H'. That he is designed to introduce the text is indicated by the inclination of his head. Other than the green tunic, the figure has no identifying features. It is the oddly precise hand gesture in which he raises the fore-finger of his right hand to touch the tip of the thumb of his left hand which is extended with the palm showing, that transforms the generalized idea of a hunter into a teaching picture (155). It is a much simplified version of the author portraits which initiate the Livre de la Chasse manuscripts, from which the idea no doubt derived. The figure is presumably meant to represent the author in his rôle as experienced huntsman. Such teaching pictures, showing a figure in the act of instruction, occur at regular intervals and form a visual cliché of the manuscript. They often substitute for a more direct engagement with the text. The initial to fol. 45v, the chapter on 'What maners an hunter shulde haue' (Slide 49) depicts two figures facing each other and standing on the usual green mound. The figure on the left raises his hands didactically in the manner of the figure in the first initial. The figure on the right, evidently junior in terms of scale, listens attentively; a dog nestles at his feet. This again is a simplified version of the equivalent illustration in



fonds fr. 616 (Couderc fig. 26) which also uses the stereotype of teaching iconography at this point. In both manuscripts this chapter deals with the duties of the apprentice: he must be 'enfant passé le septiesme an et non plus' and his main task is to tend to the dogs. It may be argued that Douce 335 assembles the main components of the chapter, master, child and dog, thereby making the initial a sufficiently detailed topic indicator. That this is largely fortuitous can be shown by the other two instances of the teaching motif. The initial on fol. 50r to the chapter on 'hou a man shal speke among hunters of þ<sup>e</sup> office of venerye' (Slide 50) is somewhat incongruous in context since the first advice given is 'Frist shal 3e speke but a litel and bost litel and worche wel and sotelly'. But as this is the chapter which imparts a good deal of the technical vocabulary in which the devotee may discuss his craft, there is no other obvious stock motif to use. The other example shows a complete disregard for French prototypes; this time it is not a question of simplification but of substitution of a stock motif. The chapter on fol. 57v: 'how the assemble shuld be mad wynter and somer after the gyse of beyond the sea' (Slide 51) is prefaced by an initial showing one man addressing a group, all depicted three-quarter length. This motif is possibly generated by the words:

The nyght before that the lord or the maister of the game wold go to wod he must make come befor him all the hunters here helpers the gromes and the pages and shuld assigne to euery of heme her questes in a certeyn place.

Even so, it is a fairly simple presentation even of these words; such illustrations merely provide a more eye-catching formula than decoration only.

For the most part the simplification of the sequence of illustrations in fr. 616 reduces the value of the initials of Douce 335 in conveying information. The preference of a simple formula even when a more elaborate composition might seem called for, does not reveal it as a manuscript in which much thought has gone into the relationship



between picture and text. In fr. 616 there are illustrations that by their attention to detail incidentally supplement the text by providing additional information. The viewing of the hart, in particular, is quite carefully presented. Gaston gives specific instructions as to the procedure which should be followed:

Et lors doit il aler a la veüe pour veoir s'il verra chose qui li plaise et laissier son limier en certain lieu ou il ne puisse fere nul effroy. Et doit aler es basses tailles de la forest ou autre pais ou il puisse et doive veoir le cerf ... Et puet monter sus un abre, affin que le cerf en puisse moins avoir le vent et qu'il puisse veoir de plus loing. Et, si il voit cerf chassable, si regarde quel part il s'enbuschera ne entrera la ou il ne le puisse plus veoir, si aille fere une brisee (156).

The illustration (Couderc fig. 35) depicts a hunter looking intently at two harts from his vantage-point up a tree. With his left hand he appears to be breaking twigs from one of the branches and, more importantly, the illustrator has suggested what may be done with the limer to prevent his being a nuisance: he is tied to a tree. The equivalent miniature in Douce is much reduced in effectiveness by the omission of much of the salient detail: it shows merely the hunter, with an unexplained longbow over his shoulder, with his tracking dog (Slide 52).

Occasionally, however, the simplified iconography leads to a directness which might make the illustration more useful if not more graceful. Certainly, the illustration on fol. 48r (Slide 53), introducing the chapter on the 'fumes' of a hart is more helpful than the equivalent illustration in fonds fr. 616. According to W.A. and F. Baillie-Grohman:

One of the first essentials for a huntsman in the Middle Ages was to learn to know the different signs of a stag ... so as to be able to 'judge well'. These signs were those of the slot, the gait, the fraying-post, the rack or entry, i.e., the place where the stag entered covert, & the fumes (157).

In fonds fr. 616 the compositions accompanying the parts of the text dealing with how to recognize deer by footprints and by droppings centre on the human figures involved rather than the exhibits in

question (Couderc figs. 32-33). Instead of the focus on the human participants in the scene, the initial in Douce shows five differently constituted sets of droppings assembled on a green mound. Similarly, the initial on fol. 47r (Slide 54) to the chapter dealing with the footprints of a hart, concentrates on the footprints themselves without the huntsman, groom and dog context provided by fr. 616. Here, however, the illustration is less useful, showing merely five undifferentiated tracks.

It would appear, then, that the illustrations in Douce 335 have little value per se in communicating technical information. But if the miniatures themselves do not, by means of their contents, assist in the comprehension of the text, the fact of their regular recurrence at the beginning of every chapter does help to provide some kind of additional system of chapter headings. The manuscript is set out for ease of reference and it appears that these historiated initials must be judged on their value as indicators of the topic under discussion. As a means of dividing the text into convenient chunks, decorated rather than historiated initials would suffice; the presence of illustration may reflect merely a desire for increased ornamentation, or perhaps for greater explicitness.

The ambiguity of the decorative and the expository function of pictures in Master of Game and Livre de la Chasse manuscripts can also be found in the illustration of other medieval technical works. 'Scientific' treatises, herbals, and representations of anatomical figures are cases, one would think, where the illustrations 'implement the written word and are essential to it' (158). On occasion, illustration was perceived to have a potentially didactic function of this kind, as references in the Master of Game and Livre de Chasse indicate that Gaston and Edward expected them to have. Guy de Chauillac, surgeon to the Popes at Avignon, stresses the superiority over book-learning of observation and dissection in the study of anatomy, but admits that



illustrations such as those that Henri de Mondeville made for instruction in anatomy can be useful (159). In such works of technical information, visual material might be supposed to aid in the clarity of exposition. The function of the illustration could be considered to be plain: in Henri de Mondeville's case there is a directness of reference to the text. No amount of verbal definition can compete with an accurate diagram or picture.

Here one is faced with a crucial issue: medieval concepts of accuracy and appropriateness. Even in such apparently clear-cut examples where precise and detailed rendering of visual information would seem to be imperative, the usefulness of the illustrations in communicating more directly and accessibly the material in the text is often in doubt. To judge from the captions, the thirteen drawings of anatomy with which Henri de Mondeville illustrated his book 'must have been extremely instructive and indeed epoch-making'; unfortunately, 'they were afterwards copied by artists with no knowledge of surgery or physical anatomy', so that 'the series that has been preserved, apart from being too small for usefulness, provides no more than formal likenesses' (160). Thus, though clarity and accuracy might seem to be of the utmost importance in the preparation of such pictures, it would appear that even these kinds of technical illustration were subjected to the usual medieval artistic practices of inaccurate copying and conventionalizing. Yet it is not sufficient to dismiss such illustrations as simply careless and therefore non-functional decoration. There is the problem of fluctuating relevance; stereotyping and fidelity to the text co-exist -- often in the same manuscript.

Discussion of herbals, medical and astrological manuscripts is a complex and specialized issue, particularly since there is a long tradition of such manuscripts reaching back to antiquity. Some extensive work has been done on 'scientific' manuscripts but the usefulness of the illustrations in an understanding of the material contained



within the text has not been the main focus of attention (161). In such a specialized area, I do not hope to make more than a few preliminary remarks, but the treatment of expository miniatures in these manuscripts is an interesting confirmation of what has already been observed about the practices of medieval artists with technical information and the consequent relationship of picture to text.

Illustrations to medical manuscripts were often of dubious utility. Artists were often not very scrupulous about the texts they were illustrating. Indeed, MacKinney (162) notes several times that the artists fail to represent the best techniques. This is undoubtedly because the illustrators lacked medical knowledge or were inadequately supervised (163). Circumstances of the accretion of material in manuscripts also contrive to make the relationship between picture and text an arbitrary one. Talbot (164) cites the case of Bodleian MS Ashmole 399 where a text was supplied to inappropriate illustrations. The manuscript was originally prepared in the middle of the twelfth century. Various pages were filled with illustrations, some depicting bones, nerves, veins and so on, and others depicting various organs. No texts accompanied the last two series of illustrations and the manuscript was left incomplete. Later in the thirteenth century someone filled up the pages with medical treatises, carefully written round the illustrations but adding texts which had nothing to do with the pictures.

As in the case of blood-letting, physicians used charts and illustrations to ensure accuracy in cauterizing for particular diseases. Diagrams showing cautery points would need absolute precision in the positioning of the dots if the illustrations were not to encourage extremely hazardous procedures. As long as the cautery points were accurately positioned on the body, the artist need only have the most rudimentary knowledge of, or interest in, anatomy. For more complicated operations, a more precise representation of anatomical structure

would be a desideratum if the illustrations were to present the maximum amount of information. Here one is faced with the issue of the artist's capacity, or indeed desire, adequately to describe in visual terms aspects of the physical world. An excellent example of the advantages of a realistic and detailed style can be seen on fol. 392v of a manuscript from fifteenth-century Flanders, Dresden, Db. 92-93 (165). This folio from Galen's De usu pharmacorum shows an enema being realistically administered. One man 'holds the enema tube in the patient's anus and supports the enema bag, into which another assistant pours the liquid' (166). The anatomical details of a crouching man seen from behind are also realistically noted. Such a painstaking appraisal of the appropriate orifice, together with the relevant medical equipment, would, no doubt, have been much appreciated by the novice in the administering of enemas. But even here, a reminiscence of conventional iconography is introduced. An element of decorum is produced by the use of the teacher motif which occurs on the left-hand side of the miniature: a seated physician gestures towards the scene on the right for the benefit of two attentive students (167). Thus, this illustration provides a useful reminder that the technical capacity for verisimilitude may co-exist with other, more conventional, visual expedients.

It is often assumed that the function of such miniatures was primarily to communicate information. For example, MacKinney in discussing Vatican, Chigi MS F.VII.158, a fifteenth-century pictorial-alphabetical manuscript of Dioscorides' Materia medica comments: 'The manuscript, with 216 pages of illustrations ... indicates the importance of pictures, however crude, for identifying materia medica in an age when few people could read' (168). Yet it is clear that some medical texts, at least, provided the opportunity for the release of some non-medical interest. Titillation seems to be the purpose behind some illustrations, particularly to texts concerned with blood-letting



and bathing (169). These gave licence for the pictorial display of parts of the body usually kept covered. Such miniatures can occur in surprising contexts. An illustration in a fifteenth-century German manuscript to demonstrate taking the pulse on the upper arm depicts a well-endowed young lady revealing a surprising amount of cleavage (170).

Illustrations for herbals, on the other hand, were provided for more practical purposes. In an age when herbs and plants formed the staple component of any drugs, it was essential that the accompanying illustrations should depict the herbs with an adequate degree of verisimilitude (171). 'As the titles of such manuals -- De materia medica, De simplicibus medicinis -- indicate, the herbal was from the outset 'primarily a descriptive drug-list or, as we now call it, a pharmacopoeia' (Charles Singer) (172). The herbals and their illustrations can be traced back to antiquity. The Herbarium of the pseudo-Apuleius is a representative example. Probably a Latin compilation of the fifth century (173), it contains 130 chapters, each dealing with an individual herb according to a fixed system. The Greek name for each herb is provided, together with a full list of synonyms, followed by a note on its habitat and character and the diseases it will cure. It is apparent that issues such as the artist's capacity to draw from direct observation are relevant here. The original illustrations to the herbals were extremely detailed and finely accurate (174), but the medieval artist preferred to copy from a prototype rather than from nature and each successive copy reduced the verisimilitude of the plant portrait (175). The mistakes of transcription noted by Gunther are instructive as to the kind of distortion that might occur:

The tuber of a bulbous plant might in the later copies of a manuscript become a flowerpot; and the flowers of Delphinium (?) be interpreted as dolphins, drawn as fishes (176).

Many other plants became by a process of time unrecognizable (177).

Bodleian MS Bodley 130, a manuscript containing Apuleus' Herbal



(178), written in England c. A.D. 1100, illustrates well the tension between copying and direct observation that can be seen in a single manuscript. It is neither uniformly accurate nor inaccurate. There are various types of representation in this manuscript: it oscillates between the well-observed such as the Elecampane on fol. 31r, which Gunther (179) considers to have been drawn from nature, and the apparently arbitrary such as the Great Mullein on fol. 62v. Furthermore, there is a third type of drawing, 'the decorative treatment of trailing or climbing plants'. This is especially evident in the case of the Woad, fol. 18v and the Cyclamen, fol. 42r. 'All these figures recall the work of an artist who has been trained to embellish the margins of manuscripts with scroll-work associated with foliated ornament' (180). This stylistic mannerism relates to the training and vocabulary of the artist.

Milieu as well as style and convention is another complicating factor in the transmission of expository miniatures. Tacuinum Sanitatis is a text which bears some relation to the herbal, but is much broader in scope, dealing with the various aspects of diet, climate and exercise which conduce to human health. For the most part, the illustrations respond to this wider sphere of interest, showing human figures in settings to demonstrate the various items of advice. This particular motif is taken to an extreme in a manuscript of the Tacuinum in Paris which depicts, on a number of its folios 'the combined presence of a lady and a knight who appear so absorbed in a dialogue that the specific element represented seems only a pretext for their interpersonal rapport' (181). According to Arrano, this accentuates the courtly character of the manuscript: by removing it somewhat in genre from a handbook of prescriptions. In this context it is significant that in certain fols. the same hand can be seen as in a Lancelot in the Bibliothèque Nationale (182).. Both manuscripts celebrate elegant courtly rituals and, in this version of the Tacuinum, obviously

emanating from a milieu which appreciated such refinement, it is the intimacy between a couple which is stressed. This may be contrasted with a late fourteenth-century manuscript now in the Casanatense Library in Rome. Here the human figures have been largely removed. 'It is a return, in a certain sense, to the intent of the original manuals on herbs aimed at constituting a memory-aid by depicting particular plants' (183). Thus these two manuscripts reveal different concepts of function.

From these examples, spanning a wide range in time and dealing with a number of different genres, it is clear that the same sorts of tension as occur in Master of Game and Livre de la Chasse illustration between fidelity to the text and a sometimes arbitrary reliance on convention exist in illustrations to other works of technical information. Though one might have expected a greater concern for precision of reference, the potential function of the miniatures as aids in the exposition of material does not give them an elevated status. The same principles are at work here as with literary manuscripts to produce the same fluctuating relevance: sometimes the illustrations describe the text accurately, sometimes they do not. Questions of style and milieu also seem to have the capacity to condition the utility of the manuscripts, though in many cases the failure to illustrate properly is a failure of adequate care or adequate control.

Hunting manuscripts provide an interesting example of ambiguity in the use of ostensibly expository miniatures. As with other works of reference, the illustrations are not, perhaps, mainly for the purposes of imparting information, nor are they exclusively decorative. Perhaps the pleasure to be derived from such manuscripts was not the communication of fresh information but the codification and presentation in attractive form of the well-known. Certainly the frontispieces to Cotton Vespasian and Bodley 546 indicate a concern for codification and also, possibly, an interest in visual mnemonics. Both Gaston and



Edward make overt reference in the text to the utility of illustration yet the illustrator of fonds fr. 616 in particular manages to convert the scenes into elegant expositions of courtly pursuits.

#### 4. Devotional Miniatures.

The reasons for supplying pictures to accompany a secular narrative are complex and often ambiguous; the motives for requiring illustration in a devotional text are, at first sight, much more obvious:

The use of illustrations in the humbler vernacular devotional collections is usually fairly straightforward. They serve, above all, to concentrate the mind of the reader in his prayer or meditation upon a vivid 'speaking' picture (184).

The major focus of thinking about the function of imagery in the Middle Ages seems to be in a didactic or devotional context: pictures are the books of the illiterate; a stimulus or aid to piety (185). A number of manuscripts in the English vernacular contain one or two illustrations, often added at a later date, which evidently fulfil just this rôle: they are to be contemplated devoutly while the text is read (186). They are designed to provide a visual icon which may be used to focus or promote meditation. As Rosemary Woolf (187) points out, medieval techniques of meditation are concerned in detail with only one of the five senses, that of sight. Hence illustration takes on an important rôle.

A late manuscript offers a good example of this. Bodleian MS Rawl. liturg. f.36, dated c. 1500 and written probably for Sir Gilbert Talbot (188), is a series of private prayers in both Latin and English, some of which are prefaced by a small miniature inset into half a column of text, depicting a devotional subject. There are two items in English treated in this way. The first, on fol. 12v, shows a half-length Christ, exhibiting some of his wounds. It is an adaptation of the Man of Sorrows (189): he displays his wounded hands by raising them to his chest and though this obscures the wound in his side, the



trickles of blood can still be seen. He does not wear the crown of thorns, but the wounds with their rivulets of blood are indicated. The prayer begins: 'O glorious Ihesu. O mekest iesu o moost svuetttest Jesu. I pray the. that I may haue trevue confession contricion et satisfaction or I dye'. Presumably the picture is intended to aid in this process; to remind the meditator of Christ's sacrifice. The rhapsodic beginning is also designed to put him or her in a certain emotional frame of mind. After that it is a fairly straightforward series of petitions, though the end moves towards the rhapsodic again with the repetition of phrases such as 'I crye god mercy' and 'Welcome my maker'. The other miniature accompanied by English is even plainer about the efficacy of the image: Christ as Man of Sorrows stands in a tomb displaying his wounds and surrounded by instruments of the Passion while the text announces:

To them that before this Image of pyte deuoutly say .v. pater noster fyue Auyes and a Credo pytously beholdyng these armes of cristes passyon ar graunted xxxij. thousand. vij hundred and .lv. yeres of pardon (fo $\bar{1}$ s. 37r-37v).

The image perhaps focusses concentration as well as having an indulgence attached to it.

A slightly earlier devotional collection, Bodleian MS Douce 1, produced c. 1460 (190) and also containing a combination of works in Latin and English, has a more extensive pictorial programme, but it still presents what is essentially a series of formally unrelated icons. The section in English begins on fol. 54v with a poem on the Arma Christi (191). The format is basically to present a picture of one of the instruments of the Passion, or articles associated with it, in the text space itself, followed by a series of explanatory verses which are, however, not lineated. Indeed, the opening petition makes an explicit reference to the illustration:

I haue synned with my wittes fyue. Namely w<sup>t</sup> mouthe of slaundersyng Of false othes and bake bytinge. And makynge boste with my tonge also. Of grete synnes that I haue doo. Lorde of heuen forgeue them me. Thrughe vertue of the figure that I here see.

The image is thus endowed with redemptive qualities as is the picture on fol. 37r of Rawl. liturg. f.36, though it does not offer remission of time to be spent in Purgatory in the same way (192). The physical relationship between picture and text is conceptually a strong one, even though occasionally the actual synchronization is poor: the illustration sometimes appears on the recto of the folio while the text appears on the verso (193).

The pictures, however, are not merely visual stimuli: they are to be contemplated within a specific frame of reference. The explanatory verses also provide notification of the area of moral or spiritual efficacy to which the various implements of the Passion relate. For example, on fol. 58r the petition is that the thirty pieces of silver (or presumably the recollection of them) should keep the reader from treason and covetousness. But the correspondence is often a vague one: on fol. 59r in the centre of the page is a four-line picture of a staff with which, as the ensuing verses reveal, Christ was hit over the head by the Jews. Because Christ suffered this indignity, the meditator prays that his sins may be forgiven him. Christ's sufferings are seen as a kind of spiritual overdraft facility on which the penitent sinner may draw if contemplating the various instruments of the Passion moves him to genuine remorse for his sins. The instruments are seen as aids in the moral life; the items are schematized and related to various sins to aid the process of self-examination. One illustration which does not quite fit this pattern is that of the pelican feeding its young, a poem which Douglas Gray (194) sees as having some affinity with emblem verses. Indeed, the design of the page -- picture with explanations -- relates the whole series in a rudimentary way with emblem books. The final instrument is the sepulchre which the meditator begs to send him before death 'Sorrow for synne with teeres of eye' so that he may have 'clene remission'. Thus the whole poem moves towards a consideration of the necessity for



penance. It can be seen that here the second of the three 'fruits' of meditation -- affective, moral and contemplative -- is meant to pertain. Whereas the illustrations in Rawl. liturg. are designed to move, the Arma Christi pictures serve a didactic as well as a simply devotional function. The simple drawings, divorced from any narrative context, are designed to make the instruments of the Passion palpably present to the reader so that he may incorporate their significance into his own moral life. Furthermore, the preliminary, unlineated, poem seems to assign the pictures an additional mnemonic function:

O. Glorius god redemer of mankynde. whiche on the crosse hyng  
full of compassyon. Graunt of thi grace w<sup>t</sup> in my herte and  
mynde. Holly to remember the armes of thy passion Enrote good  
lorde thi greuous paynes stronge. Depe in my thought.  
auoyding all. synne ... (195).

The format and devotionally affective aspect of the Arma Christi poem is maintained in the subsequent English poems in the collection. A work on the five wounds of Christ accompanied by appropriate drawings (196) and preceded by a verse numbering the wounds is the next item, followed by prayers to saints preceded by a picture of each saint with his attributes. These illustrations perhaps are provided as an aid to inducing fervour of devotion in prayer.

The personal, introspective aspect of private devotion is reflected in the format of Douce 1. It is a very small volume, 3 x 2½ inches, easily portable and obviously designed for individual use. Yet, as R.H. Robins (197) argues, the Arma Christi, at least, were not composed initially for use in a private context. The poem with a series of similar illustrations usually occurs in roll form (198), a format which is more cumbersome for the private reader than the pages of a small book. It appears that the poem was originally conceived as serving a public function: the roll would be displayed by the preacher as a means of stimulating the devotion of his congregation. Picture and text were not, in inception, designed for use as an integrated whole. The drawings took pre-eminent place: the priest might read



aloud the verses to people looking at the pictures and, as Robbins concludes, we have here an instance where the 'Church was especially catering for the pious Christian who could not read' (199). Originally, then, the text was an adjunct to the pictures, rather than the pictures being an adjunct to the text. The verses are there as a means of controlling, and directing along personally moral lines, the pious feelings aroused by the contemplation of devotional objects. Visually the illustrations in roll-form are related to armorials: 'Arranged in heraldic style the instruments form a sort of ironic blazon of the Christ-Knight' (200).

It is not only by means of prayer that we see the medieval reader or listener being cajoled into a receptively pious frame of mind when contemplating aspects of the Passion. Many of the religious lyrics derive from the affective meditative tradition in which the devout meditator is to excite in himself feelings of love, tenderness and compassion by imagining himself actually present at a Biblical scene and by conjuring it up in minute visual detail. It is an emotional rather than an intellectual activity. There is a subtle difference between prayer and religious lyric, however. As Rosemary Woolf finely expresses it:

The lyrics are not illustrations of the spiritual man at prayer, but of the natural man, with his love of his family, his fear of death, and his attachment to his possessions, being persuaded and coaxed by the imaginative resources of poetry into a religious disposition (201).

Despite this acknowledgement of the power of the written word, here too visual material is important. Woolf finds in the earlier lyrics an implicit reliance on the existence of visual representations, either in the form of wall paintings or sculpture, to provide force and coherence in the imagination of the reader for the meditative aspect of the poetry. The later development of this tendency towards visualization is described with some reserve:

In the fifteenth century the lyrics were often accompanied by

illuminations in the manuscripts, which provided the visual image ... thus impoverishing the poem, since it would lack visual description, but making less demand upon the concentration of the reader, who would be spared the effort of imagining the scene for himself (202).

The word 'often' is perhaps somewhat of an overstatement. There are fewer manuscripts containing lyrics accompanied by illustration than this comment would suggest. There are poems, particularly by Lydgate, which refer to visual material external to the poem, but were, in fact, never illustrated. However, accidents of survival may have distorted the picture.

The most important collection of illustrated lyrics appears in BL Add. MS 37049 (microfilm 1), compiled in England before 1450 (203). Wormald's brief article is concerned with the 'rich relations' of four of its miniatures (204). The point could be extended: Add. 37049 has affinities or analogues with a multitude of other manuscripts both textually and iconographically. It can in many ways be used as a handbook of late medieval piety, for it is a compendious repository of didactic and devotional imagery, both visual and verbal. It is thus an appropriate pivot around which to organize a discussion of illustrated devotional and didactic manuscripts in English. Furthermore, a number of the poems in Add. 37049 are extant only in this one version (205), so it is a vital record of illustrated lyrics which may possibly originally have existed in multiple copies. The manuscript itself is a workaday enough volume, paper apart from the two parchment leaves with which it begins and though it gives the impression of having been carelessly written, it has been carefully, if messily, corrected. The manuscript was evidently for use and not for display. The illustrations which accompany the text, ink drawings washed with a limited range of colours, are of poor workmanship. Despite its rough-and-ready appearance, it reveals itself as a manuscript remarkably calculated and inventive in its effects.

The provenance of Add. 37049 suggests further associations. There



is little doubt that 'the compilation was made for, and probably in, a Carthusian monastery' (206) in the North; its place of origin therefore connects it with the tradition of Carthusian piety manifested in Nicholas Love's translation of the Pseudo-Bonaventura's Meditationes Vitae Christi and in Harley 4012, a manuscript containing, among other items, the lyric 'Wofully araide' on fol. 109r prefaced by a small crucifix drawn in ink and touched with a yellow wash on cross and halo. The body of Christ is dotted with red droplets to indicate blood. Underneath is written: 'Ho sumeuer saith þ<sup>s</sup> praier in þ<sup>e</sup> worship of þ<sup>e</sup> passion shall haue C. 3ere of pardon'. Bodleian MS e. Mus. 160, a collection of devotional pieces, is also Carthusian and Northern (207). Though much later than Add. 37049 it shows the continuing strength of Carthusian activity and of Carthusian interest in illustration. Fols. 1r - 108r contain 'an interesting work, half meditative prayer and half chronicle' (208). Apparently it was the composition of the scribe who intended to provide a series of pictures, one for every page.

In Rosemary Woolf's opinion (209) Harley 4012 was designed for lay use and she suggests a similar function for Add. 37049 -- 'it was probably shown to rich laymen privately and individually' (210). Pearsall, on the other hand, surmises that the manuscript was 'presumably intended for the instruction of the novitiate' (211). Whether the beneficiaries of the programme with its 'uniquely close application of text to instructional picture and vice versa' (212) were religious or lay is immaterial; that Add. 37049 was conceived of as a teaching manual or teaching aid is reflected in a series of attempts to relate words and images in different ways and to manipulate different effects. Towards the end of the manuscript there is some verbal confirmation of the intended correlation of text and image. On fol. 79v is an illustration that fills two-thirds of the page. It depicts the seated Christ surrounded by a host of angels and souls and the symbols of the four evangelists enclosed in circles and labelled 'Matheus', 'Marchus', 'Lucas',



and 'Iohannes' by the scribe of the text below. Above Christ's head is the inscription 'Benedicamus patrem et filium cum sancto spiritu'; below his feet: 'Sanctus. Sanctus. Sanctus dominus deus sabaoth. Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto'. The text is concerned with the four evangelical beasts and explains their signification. Four lines below the illustration the text makes a specific allusion to the picture: 'By þies foure bests abof. aftyr holy saynts ar signyfied & vndyrstanded þe foure euangelistes'. A similar reference is made on fol. 81v though the arrangement of the page is somewhat more complex. The top half contains the end of the prose note on the Wise and Foolish Virgins, begun on the facing verso, and a text on the cart of the faith; below this is an illustration entitled 'þe cart of þe fayth' depicting a procession led by a number of priests carrying a banner inscribed with the holy name. Behind them is the cart of the faith with the symbols of the evangelists at the four corners. At the right two devils with flesh-hooks pull stragglers off the cart and into hell. The prose note immediately beneath discusses the dimensions of the cross. Right at the bottom of the page is the explication of the image in the centre:

þes fygours abowne betokens þe apostils þ<sup>t</sup> ledes gode criſten pepyl to heuen w<sup>t</sup> þair holy dictrine & techeng And þies þ<sup>t</sup> ar drawe oute of þe cart w<sup>t</sup> fendes betokens fals cristen pepyl & herytykes

The combination of illustration and prose note at the bottom of the page serves to cohere some otherwise disparate material.

The predominating devotional themes of the manuscript are very much in the tradition of piety discussed by Rosemary Woolf and Douglas Gray (213): the Passion, particularly pleas by the wounded Christ for love; Marian lyrics; death and the last things. But Add. 37049 is not only a devotional compilation: Douglas Gray has, with some justice, suggested that Saxl's phrase, 'spiritual encyclopaedia' can be applied to this manuscript (214). It contains legends, travelogues, chronicles, treatises, debates, meditations, visions and moral distichs. The moral and religious life is laid out for the reader's inspection. To convey

these themes the manuscript adopts a variety of modes of presentation, interconnecting text and image in a variety of ways. The visual summary where the narrative is conducted visually in parallel to the verbal narrative, the moral and spiritual diagram and the emblem picture combine with the meditative icon. The function of the image in each case subtly alters. Sometimes it reinforces by a type of repetition the material in the text; sometimes it extends and enhances the verbal information by providing additional and complementary material. An emblem picture, for example, is designed to be 'read' in the same way as a poem; a meditative icon is designed to provide a focus and release for the emotions. A thematic discussion will enable a sense of possible function to emerge more clearly and is more appropriate than a systematic survey of the manuscript: since the items were not bound together in the present order (215), nothing can be made of the present sequencing of texts. Furthermore, a thematic approach allows Add. 37049 more easily to be used as a nucleus from which to radiate out to manuscripts which have affiliations either textually or iconographically.

#### A. The Passion

Many of the lyrics in Add. 37049 are accompanied by single images of the beaten, tormented Christ, evidently intended to produce feelings of pious affection in the beholder (216). The strictures made by Rosemary Woolf against the fifteenth century lyric apply here: the poems are austere and bare of concrete reference. The concrete visualization is provided by the picture. The iconography is often repetitive: Christ, spotted with red dots to suggest his many wounds, either hangs from a cross or appears in the guise of the Man of Sorrows to display his injuries. The wording of the lyric often asks the reader directly to 'Behold and see'. Thus the image provides an intensification of the wording of the text. A description of one such image will suffice. On fol. 20r appears the poem 'Querela diuina' and 'Responsio humana'.



It is thus in dialogue form. The page is divided into two strips:  
on the left is the poem, beginning 'O man vnkynde' and containing the  
lines:

Behold & see  
þat is for þe  
Percyd my hert.

On the right the figure of Christ displays his wounds, particularly the wound in his side which he indicates with his left hand. To his left, a literalization of the words on the page, is a large heart which has been used as a stylized representation of the five wounds. Christ is physically offering to the viewer his pierced heart. Below is a figure kneeling in adoration. The picture provides at once the detailed visualization which the poem lacks and an image of man's loving subordination to Christ. The poem endeavours to promote feelings of love and guilt in the reader. But the image attempts to convey further information: the poem is so pared down that detail appropriate to the engendering of emotion is supplied in the form of a titulus verse above Christ's head and a label round the rhomboid-shaped wound in the centre of the heart. The former reads: 'þies woundes smert. bere in þi hert & luf god aye/ If þow do þis. þu sal hafe blys w<sup>t</sup> owten delay'. The label to the wound proclaims: 'þis is þe mesure of þe wounde þ<sup>t</sup> our/ Ihesus crist sufferd for oure redempcoun'. A similar combination of elements is to be found on fol. 24r. Richness and complexity is to be found in the total design rather than in the poetry itself. In this it has some affiliations with some of the intellectual or moral schemes in the later part of the manuscript.

A conjunction of events of the Passion with aspects of the moral life similar in concept, though not in design, to the Arma Christi poems appears on fol. 68v. In format, however, it strikes the eye more obviously as a moral and spiritual concordance. The heading in red at the top of the page reads:

Here begynnes deuowte meditacoun of þe passione of ihesus criste



after þe seuen howres of þe day ordand in holy kyrke how a man  
sal remembyr þaim.

The page is divided into a symmetrical series of verses -- the hours of the Passion on the left and the poems which relate to various temptations that the events recounted should help the pious to avoid on the right. These temptations relate systematically to each of the five senses, made up to the requisite number of seven by the inclusion of 'consentyng' and 'þe frenes of wylle'. The narrative poem is in the third person while the poem relating to the sins of the senses is supposedly uttered by Christ. In the centre a series of crudely drawn scenes from the Passion narrative serve to co-ordinate visually the two parallel series of poems. On the far left the canonical hours are indicated in red as is each area of sensory temptation on the right. Each set, with its pictorial medallion in the centre, is surrounded by a crude ink frame. Rosemary Woolf suggests that this is one of the many tree diagrams with which this manuscript abounds; the design does not look particularly tree-like to me, but the whole page does serve to line up disparate elements in the way some of the ingenious trees in the Desert of Religion do.

The verses describing the Passion are perfunctory to say the least; the narrative detail, if any, is supplied by the picture. Thus the 'deuowte meditacion' for matins merely reads as follows:

Man take hede on þe day or on þe nyght.  
how criste was taken with grete myght  
And broght vnto pylate  
w<sup>t</sup> jewes þ<sup>t</sup> criste dyd hate.

The central medallion shows the betrayal. Two soldiers in medieval armour stand on the left; Judas embraces Christ in the centre, while on the right Peter sheaths his sword. At the bottom crouches Malchus whose ear Christ is in the process of healing. Thus the illustration telescopes into one instant a number of separate events. In the right hand branch is Christ's petition. Here he asks that since the crying of the Jews demanding he be put to death filled his ears, the meditator

should keep himself from 'heryng of yl'. At prime Christ is scourged; the sense in question is 'þe sight'. At tierce he bears the cross while acting as a counterweight to sins of smell. At sext he is nailed to the cross, the memory of which should be a deterrent to sins of touching. At none he is crucified, while the 'aysel & galle' on the sponge should preserve the reader from sins of tasting. The final two sins are associated with evensong -- the deposition -- and with compline -- Christ entombed. It will be apparent that lauds has been omitted from the sequence.

The idea of associating the events of the Passion with the eight canonical hours is perhaps derived from the similar division of the Passion sequence in the Meditationes Vitae Christi and from Books of Hours. The miniatures which introduce each Hour usually concern the life of the Virgin, but another cycle, that of the Passion, is a feature of many English Books of Hours of Sarum Use (217). Harthan provides a table of the most usual compositions:

MATINS: The betrayal of Judas  
LAUDS: Christ before Pilate  
PRIME: The Scourging  
TIERCE: Christ carrying the Cross  
SEXT: The Crucifixion  
NONE: The Deposition  
VESPERS: The Entombment  
COMPLINE: The Resurrection (218).

This sequence of illustration bears a close relationship to the one in Add. 37049 except that the poem in Add. conflates material distributed between Matins and Lauds although the picture deals with the betrayal of Judas only. Similarly, a verse translation of the Passion section of the Meditationes Vitae Christi embellished the text in a cognate fashion. BL Harley 2338 punctuates the text with a series of chapter headings and nine historiated initials with accompanying partial bar borders (219). The style is crude and the division into the canonical hours is somewhat arbitrarily undertaken. None the less, the sequence follows Harthan's paradigm fairly exactly. The extra subject is the Annunciation, a theme which introduces the text. The subjects of the



historiated initials are as follows: the agony in the garden; Prime, Christ before Pilate; Tierce, the scourging; Sext, Christ carrying the cross; Christ being nailed to the cross; Vespers, the deposition; Compline, the entombment; the resurrection. Thus, if the two related patterns to be found in Books of Hours, particularly English Books of Hours, and in an English translation of the Meditationes Vitae Christi were to be conflated, one would have a sequence similar to that in BL Add. 37049.

Some iconographic analogues for these illustrations in Add. have been suggested. It is now time to speculate about their possible function. Hitherto, the devotional images mentioned have been isolated figures without narrative context. No doubt any representation of a deity or saint can be seen as a meditative focus for the properly constituted devout mind. Nevertheless, it will be observed even from the brief description given above that some of the visual images supplied for this particular poem are instrumental in supplying narrative detail omitted by the text. Indeed, it may be noted in this respect that the relationship between picture and text is a complementary one. It could be suggested, then, that the function here is twofold. On the one hand the illustrations promote the same sort of contemplation as do the Arma Christi poems -- and are similarly morally directed; on the other hand they provide narrative information. The combination of narrative representation and devotional images may be said to combine the functions of edification and of encouraging adoration (220). A narrative illustration describes the text visually as well as providing a devotional focus. The two rôles are not incompatible. On the contrary, some sense of narrative relationship may be more vivid to the meditator. As an aid to imagining oneself actually present at a Biblical scene, miniatures with some narrative reference would undoubtedly provide help by suggesting -- at the crudest level -- the disposition of the figures and perhaps, in more stylistically sophisticated manuscripts, gesture and facial



expression (221).

Much literature existed to give the reader an exemplary guide to the conduct of this pious activity. Pseudo-Bonaventura's Meditationes Vitae Christi (222) is an extremely influential example of the genre. Though it contains as much homily as it does imaginative recreation of the Gospel scenes, the intense emphasis on visual recreation made the Meditationes an important iconographic source-book for the later part of the Middle Ages (223). With illustrations to this text one is dealing with the opposite problem from that encountered with the affective material in Add. 37049. Whereas in Add. 37049 the lyrics are so austere and lacking in detail that any illustration, no matter how crude, provides a real service, the Meditationes are so visually precise as to render illustration practically redundant. In fact this may not be merely twentieth century fastidiousness: despite its undoubted influence on the visual arts and its wide circulation in manuscript -- over two hundred still exist -- 'fewer than twenty manuscripts with pictures have come down to us' (224).

In English vernacular versions of the Meditationes the same tendency may be observed. Though manuscripts of Nicholas Love's Myrrour of the Blyssed Lyf of Jesu Christ (225) are usually finely written and decorated, only two, New York, Pierpont Morgan MS M 648 and National Library of Scotland, Advocates MS 18.1.7, received any kind of pictorial accompaniment and, of these, Advocate's MS 18.1.7 is supplied with miniatures on singletons which may thus not have been originally designed for the text. More interesting for this study is a free translation of the Passion section of the Meditationes known as the Privity of the Passion and which exists in a finely illustrated copy in Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.10.12 (microfilm 2). As with Harley 2338, the text is divided by red chapter-headings into the canonical hours, though the rubricator does not observe them all. But these are less important as a means of dividing the text than the copious illustrations,

forty-four in all. Not only is every incident of the Passion evoked verbally in visual terms; but a corresponding picture is supplied. Every gesture, every action, is fully expounded in the text and delineated again in another mode. This over-precision is obviously something which the rhetorical strategy of the text with its repeated injunctions to 'Beholde', 'Se', 'thynke and beholde' promotes. Here we are dealing with an extended narrative rather than, as in Add. 37049, with a series of self-contained lyrics. This is the recurrent problem of organization and layout: how to present a reasonably lengthy piece of prose in a readily accessible form? It would be short-sighted to dismiss something as a visual chapter-heading, especially in a manuscript which is as evidently intended to promote devout meditation as this one. None the less, the illustrations undoubtedly serve a real, though subordinate, function in helping the reader to locate his selected meditation. Though extremely fine stylistically (226), the illustrations are probably functional rather than purely decorative. The manuscript is not an elaborate one in other ways: there are no lavish borders or decorated initials.

The positioning of the illustrations in the text is often carefully planned. Some thought has evidently gone into the physical relationship between word and image. The miniature on fol. 13r is a particularly good example of this: it takes up half the column width and shows Christ kneeling by the side of a river with his right hand to his chin while the text by the side explains:

Behold him now bysely wypan<sup>d</sup> his wysage or els weschande him in  
 þe stronde of cedron al ful of angwische & of wo. And hafe grete  
 pite of him & comp<sup>ass</sup>ione ...

More usually the miniature precedes the section of the text with which it is connected, thus providing a preliminary visual model around which the meditator may base his devotions. The first illustration may be used to demonstrate this. The actual narrative moment is undynamic: it shows Christ on the left and twelve haloed apostles on the right

grouped in tiers to suggest perspective. An inner frame of pillars is provided to indicate an interior. Immediately below, the text suggests: 'Behalde him now wele how he standes by p<sup>e</sup> to syde of p<sup>e</sup> house spekande w<sup>t</sup> his dicipiles'. The picture indicates quite clearly and accurately the actual disposition of the figures though it would seem to offer little else. Towards the end of the manuscript, particularly, we are presented with a series of static, conventionally grouped scenes. Occasionally, imagery is even repeated (227). Yet we have the example of Margery Kemp to demonstrate the impact which depiction can have on the 'devout and impressionable' mind (228). The insistence on the emotional efficacy of this type of meditation -- for example: 'Beholde him parefore ... & p<sup>u</sup> sal be fedd thurghe gladnes of his chere & w<sup>t</sup> swettnese of his wordes' (fol. 8v) -- is combined with extremely elaborate stage directions. The task of the reader is presumably to get into the right emotional frame of mind, to use his heart rather than his imagination. The illustrations present him with a series of 'stills' which it is his task to animate mentally with the aid of the words. The reader is thus not only provided with a meditative script but also spared the task of translating verbal to visual patterns.

The question which still needs to be asked about such an emotive and intensely visualized text is to what extent the illustrations respond to the verbal patterning of the text and to what extent they move towards the conventional and formulaic. Examples have already been given of extremely literal and faithful transcription of the text, but even in such a well-integrated, well-planned manuscript as Trinity, there is a tension to be encountered between fidelity and responsiveness to the text, and reliance on well-worn pictorial prototypes. There are occasions where the illustrations do not provide an exact visual equivalent for the text; nor do they always respond to the central issue of the meditation. On fol. 6v is a depiction of Judas betraying Christ to the High Priest though the meditation concerns the sermon



Christ makes his disciples, an event concurrent with the betrayal. More interestingly in view of the affinities with Books of Hours already discussed, on fol. 13v there is an addition of a detail which is not present in the text. The composition involves Christ being taken in the garden: it shows simultaneously Judas' betraying kiss and Peter brandishing his sword while Malchus cowers. The verbal portrait deals more poignantly with the captured, seemingly vulnerable Christ. The narrative incident is omitted: in the Trinity manuscript Malchus' ear is neither cut off nor healed. The analogy with the illustration in Add. 37049 is apparent: traditional iconography has taken precedence for the illuminator over the text -- if he read it. For once some kind of implicit narrative has been preferred.

What these different ways of contemplating the Passion share is an attempt to ensure that a public, historical event becomes a private spiritual event constantly re-enacted in the psyche of the individual. All these texts aim to promote feelings of adoration and wonder, occasionally with the moral corollary that fully to love God, man must repent and change his ways.

The illustrations of Marian material in Add. 37049 serve a similar function to those which accompany the Passion and thus do not warrant a separate section. Most aspects of Marian devotion are present: she is celebrated and commended and her lamentations over the dead Christ are also recorded. The second illustration, on fol. 26r, to 'Quia amore langueo' becomes more of a symbolic and schematized rendering of the idea of Mary. She is shown as one of the many allegorical trees which populate this manuscript. The tree has two branches terminating in barbed quatrefoils which look a little like stylized roses and which are labelled 'Iuf' and 'Maria'. This illustration is in its turn co-ordinated with a meditation on the efficacy of Mary's name which is written in the margin below the tree, in its turn on the right of 'Quia amore langueo'.

Add. 37049 also presents a discussion of Mary and Christ's sacrifice in a mode which is didactic and allegorical rather than affective and emotional. And this serves to relate it to another important group of manuscripts -- the English translation of the Pèlerinage de L'Âme. On fol. 69v begins a prose extract normally called 'The Apple of Solace' (229). It has not been noticed that this is, in fact, an adapted version of Deguilleville from the section on the green tree and the dry tree beginning at the point where the soul sees pilgrims playing with an apple beneath the trees: 'Nowe gode angel telle me what 3ondyr pepyl menes þat plays & has þair solace w<sup>t</sup> 3on appyll'. This sentence, which does not appear in the longer version, is a means of introducing the excerpt and possibly, if one assumes that the adaptation was made for Add. 37049 or a manuscript like it, of alluding to the illustration which heads the page. The allegorical significations emerge slowly in the standard version of the text as the two trees debate with each other and with Justice, and the green tree laments the forthcoming loss of her 'swete appyll'. Illustrated versions of the episode, as we have seen, often expound these equivalences before the reader really has had time to apprehend them (230). Add. 37049 provides only one illustration. The episode is much abridged anyway. The illustration conflates the iconography of the more spaciouly illustrated texts by showing the pilgrims playing beneath the trees, the dry tree on the right having a lopped-cross form with Christ nailed to it and the Virgin standing in the green tree on the left. This method of illustration prevents any possibility that the meaning of the allegory can unfold slowly and that recognition of significance will develop gradually. Connections are readily and quickly made by means of the illustration. Moreover the text is particularly adapted to make the whole episode more explicit than it appears in the standard translation, represented by the Caxton imprint. Juxtaposition of an extract from the two versions will make the point:

ADD

CAXTON

Hyr wordes ar lefes of ful gret  
bewte & fayrnes and al þ<sup>t</sup> sche  
says is ful amyabil & lufly &  
swete lykyng. lyghtynd all w<sup>t</sup>  
hy charyte. þis forsayd grene  
tree betekyns þe sueete virgyn  
our lady saynt Mary gods moder  
þe whilk bare þe appyll þ<sup>t</sup>  
3onder pepyll has þair solace &  
comforth w<sup>t</sup>. þe whilk Appyll  
sygnyfyes our lord Ihesus crist  
our blyssed saueour þe whilk for  
þe redempcion of man was hangyd  
& dyed upon þe dry tree. þe  
whilk betekyns þe holy cros.  
þis grene tre þe whilk sygnyfies  
our blissyd lady saynt Mary. may  
wonder wele kepe and schadowe  
vnder hir brawnche al þos þat ar  
wery of þair labour.

Here wordes ben leues of ful huge  
beaute and all that she seeth hit is  
ful of amyable ful swete and ful lusty  
enlumyned all with souerayn charyte.

And wondre wele she maye kepen and  
byshadowen vnder hyr fayr braunches al  
tho that ben wery of theyr laboure.

The Add. version is mechanical treating the prose extract as an extended  
titulus inscription. As a teaching device it is much more readily  
assimilable than the full text, and much less subtle.

B. The Last Things

Death

The works on the Passion are in the main purely affective,  
designed to play upon the emotions. Some of the lyrics move towards  
the didactic, but, even here, as in the prayers and Meditationes, the  
relationship between picture and text is a co-ordinated programme of



deyotion. In the works on death in Add. 37049 and related texts, the emotionally affective aspect is usually, if only implicitly, moral. By confronting man with the inevitability of death he is to be reasoned, persuaded, even frightened, into repentance. But just as the religious lyrics in this manuscript are too perfunctory to function adequately without an accompanying visual image, so, too, for the death lyrics. The emotional content is often supplied by the illustration while the verses themselves are didactic in tone.

The point is well demonstrated by the carefully co-ordinated juxtaposition of picture and text on fol. 32v which forms a frontispiece to 'A disputacion betwyx þe body & wormes'. At the top of the page and taking up about two-thirds of it is the drawing of a tomb raised slightly so that the corpse in its shroud can be seen. On the top of the tomb lies the effigy of a woman splendidly dressed with an elaborate crown and two-horned headdress. She wears a cloak and her dress and surcoat are trimmed with ermine. Round the tomb a series of shields which presumably represent a genealogy place her in the context of her earthly antecedents. Below we see the futility of beauty and noble lineage: the corpse in a shroud which is simply gathered with a knot at the head is assailed by worms, lizards and toads. The verses below draw a direct and dynamic connection between illustration and text. The tone is hortatory:

Take hede vn to my fygure here abowne  
And se how sumtyme I was fresche & gay  
Now turned to wormes mete & corrupcion

But it is the picture which dwells on the horrors of decomposition and draws the contrast between past and present in an immediate way.

Despite the crudity of style some emotionally impressive effects are achieved. Even the pose of the effigy, tranquil with its hands clasped in an attitude of prayer, contrasts vividly with the ravaged and arbitrary pose of the violated corpse. One hand holds the shroud across the genital region in a pathetic attempt to retain dignity;

the other hand is down by its side. The words themselves are matter-of-fact and are merely there to point the moral implied in the illustration (231). To this extent it is an emblem picture: the poem makes no pretensions to an existence independent of some kind of visual accompaniment, be it manuscript illustration or actual transi tomb. There is an essential complementarity of text and picture.

This combination of word and image which is, in fact, an attempt to reproduce in manuscript form the 'address from the dead' titulus verses written on tombstones, is a more successfully emotionally charged programme than the visual imagery which accompanies the poem proper. According to IMEV the 'disputacion betwyx þe body & the wormes', only survives in this one manuscript. It is impossible, therefore, to say whether the repetitive sequence was devised especially for this manuscript or is traditional. On every page an illustration in the margin shows a cadaver wearing the elaborate headdress of the effigy, now evidently incongruous, accosted by worms which in two of the four illustrations descend from a green basin shape. The effect is somewhat ludicrous but is possibly the result of too literal a concentration on the protagonists of the poem. The cadaver is weaned from pride and petulance by the worms and the poem ends on a note of reconciliation with the surprising resolution of the corpse: 'Let vs kys & dwell to gedyr euermore'. The mutable joys of the flesh are contrasted with the eternities of the tomb; the illustrations contribute little to the effect other than a generalized sense of the grotesquely ludicrous humiliations endured by the flesh in death.

The motif of cadaver with distinguishing headdress standing in the margin is used as a convenient formula to illustrate the poem which precedes the 'disputacion' in the manuscript. As with the frontispiece illustration on fol. 32v the poem assumes the presence of some kind of figural representation:

O 3e al whilk þ<sup>t</sup> by me cummes and gothe  
Attende & behold þis warlde's vanyte  
To lyke symylitude be 3e lefe or lothe  
Sal 3e cum for al 3our worldly prosperite

The remainder of the poem is a generalized homily, a warning against sin since life is so brief. It adopts all the usual unparticularized homiletic attitudes and thus fails to inject a sense of urgency. It is the presence of the two skeletons in the margin and the direct reference to them in the text at the beginning and near the end -- 'Resembyl þis figure þer is none oper bote' -- which roots the series of platitudes in the fact of the body's decay and possibly makes the poem more threateningly personal through the use of this simple formula than it would otherwise be. Certainly, this is the effect of the miniature provided by two of the three manuscripts of a poem entitled 'Death's Warning' by MacCracken (232). The poem is again in the first person, but instead of being spoken by a dead person, it is death itself who speaks. Again the text is ideally designed for pictorial accompaniment, like that which appears in BL Harley MS 1706 -- a manuscript described by O'Connor (233) as a sort of death anthology -- and Bodleian MS Douce 322. In fact the first half of Harley is 'substantially a duplicate of the whole (when perfect) of Douce MS 322' (234), though Douce contains a number of illustrations and Harley, which was copied from it, only one. It is therefore particularly interesting that the reduced pictorial programme in Harley should elect to copy the image in Douce (fol. 19v) that functions by way of complementing the text. The illustration on Fol. 19v of Harley, though inferior in quality, is evidently copied directly from Douce. It depicts death as a skeleton, holding a spear and clutching a bell while the word 'dethe' is written a number of times round it. The poem, which has appropriated a number of stanzas from Lydgate's Fall of Princes (235), begins with a 'menace' from death which suggests that the picture is to be used as a meditative image:



Syth that ye lyste to be my costes  
And in youre boke to sett my ymage  
wake and remember w<sup>t</sup> gret auyses  
how my custome and mortall vsage  
ys for to spare nether olde ne yong of age.

As with the poem in Add. 37049, the poem proceeds with a number of abstract generalities: it is only the illustration which gives death any palpable reality.

Other works on death in Add. 37049 link it with a number of other manuscripts both textually and iconographically. The format of fol. 36r is one fairly typical of the manuscript: on the left-hand side of the page is the poem; on the right-hand side are the illustrations. They are ingeniously co-ordinated. Though there is ostensibly no direct connection between them, they combine to present a consistent and complementary statement about human possibility (or the lack thereof). The poem, twenty-three couplets from the Pricke of Conscience (236), is of the contemptus mundi variety: there is no stability in earthly things, we are told at length; wise men consider that they will die and repent here and now. In the margin three seated figures, a king, a bishop and a knight, are ranged one below another. A skeleton with a spear attacks each figure surreptitiously from behind. Each of the figures holds a titulus verse explaining how his rank and rôle in life failed to preserve him from death. Thus, what are essentially two different poems are juxtaposed on the same page. The three figures with accompanying verses appear in two other English manuscripts, though in these they are standing: BL MSS Cotton Faustina B.vi part 2, on fol. 1v and Stowe 39 on fol. 32r (237). In Cotton we have the three figures alone without any menacing skeleton.

In a consideration of these three manuscript versions of the 'Vado Mori' it is possible to see not only the power that the image has to affect its context, but the power that the context has to affect the significance of the image. In Add. the illustrations contribute to a prevailing sense of bleakness: the vulnerability of earthly glory and

the inevitability of death are stressed in two ways. In Cotton the context is somewhat different. For a start the figures are exquisitely drawn and are among the finest examples of work associated with English vernacular texts. In an excellent discussion of the effect of the page with the three isolated figures, Douglas Gray observes:

The finely drawn and sensitive faces of [the artist's] figures express real grief, and the whole is filled with an air of melancholy. He has found no room for the crude depiction of the presence of death, but has preferred to let the sorrow of the victims speak for itself (238).

While Gray's analysis of the tone of the single page is a sensitive one, it is not accurate to the impact of the bifolium. On fol. 2r is a deathbed scene divided into two registers. Below, a man lies dying; an angel stands at the head of the bed holding up the soul; at the foot death as skeleton pierces his victim with a spear while the devil menaces with a flesh-hook. Each figure is accompanied by titulus verses:

SOUL: O hope in dede þ<sup>u</sup> helpe me  
 goddes moder i pray þe  
 ANGEL: All if þis saule synnede haue  
 oft times forgifnes he gunne craue  
 DEATH: I haue þ<sup>e</sup> soghte many a day  
 for to tak þ<sup>e</sup> to my prai  
 In hele þ<sup>u</sup> mizt haue takyne hede  
 þus what i ilk man. his mede  
 DEVIL: þis saule i chalange for to wyne  
 þ<sup>e</sup> i know is ful of syne.

Above, the drama of intercession and redemption is conducted. The Virgin and Christ as intermediaries for the imperilled soul face God seated on the throne and holding an orb in hand as an emblem of his authority. The Virgin displays her left breast to Christ and Christ presents his wounds to God:

VIRGIN: For þis þa souke in þi childehede  
 sone forgife him his misdede  
 CHRIST: I pray þe fader graunte þi sonne  
 for my sake mi moder bone  
 GOD: Sone als þ<sup>u</sup> biddes it sall be  
 na thinge will i deny þe.

Thus the bifolium is a diptych presenting a memento mori. On the left 'panel' is mankind viewed in a representative fashion through his rank



in society; on the right is an individual in the throes of death surrounded by the forces which support and threaten his end. But death and the devil are outnumbered: God has already given assurances of the soul's salvation. Therefore a note of possible optimism counteracts the melancholy of the 'Vado Mori': the scala salutis changes the tone. An almost identical set of figures appears on Fol. 32v of Stowe though, because they do not occur as part of the same opening, the two miniatures do not appear as an integrated scheme in the same way.

It is interesting to note that Add. 37049 also contains a representation of the deathbed scene. It occupies a full page on fol. 19r and is complete with more-or-less identical titulus verses and protagonists. The composition varies slightly but not significantly from that in Cotton. The important point is that the images are to an extent independent of context: they can be detached from each other and re-assembled in a number of contexts which subtly modify their effect. The 'Vadi Mori' figures in Add. 37049 in conjunction with the extract from the Pricke of Conscience have a very different impact from the same set of images with titulus verses in combination with a scala salutis.

Another deathbed scene in Add. relates it to three other manuscripts. The illustration on fol. 38v is again full-page but it stands as a frontispiece to Chapter Five of the English abridged version of Suso's Horologium Sapientiae (239), the main substance of which is the vision, given to the disciple by Eternal Wisdom, of a terrified sinner about to die and, unable, at this last moment, fully to repent. In the illustration a man lying in bed is assaulted by death who thrusts a spear into his side. At the head of the bed and behind it stands a monk. In the top right-hand corner God appears half-length holding an orb in his left hand. Scrolls were provided for titulus verses which have been supplied by a later hand. This is a logical illustration to provide, since the text suggests that such an image should be held in the mind as a basis for proper understanding and for the effectiveness



of the exercise. The salient words occur towards the bottom of the facing page:

Se now þan lyknes of a man dyinge. And þer with spekyng w<sup>t</sup> þe. and þan þe dyscipil heryng þis. began to gedyr al his wittes fro outward þinges. & in hym selfe besily consyderd & behelde þ<sup>t</sup> liknes set before hym. þe lyknes of a fayre ȝonge man. þe whilk was sodenly ouercome w<sup>t</sup> dethe.

The image is thus to be a mental one though the manuscript literalizes it. The illustration can thus be used as an aid to meditative activity in the same way as some of the Passion illustrations. A sequence of illustrations to the chapter itself is also supplied, consisting of the 'disciple', and the young man being pierced by death's spear, appearing inset into the text on opposite sides of the page. Other illustrated manuscripts including a translation of Chapter Five of the Horologium Sapientiae contain a variation of the deathbed scene.

The illustration closest in detail, though not in quality, to that in Add. accompanies Hoccleve's translation of Suso (240) in Bodleian MS Selden Supra 53, a collection of Hoccleve's works which also includes Lydgate's Dance of Macabre. Though the manuscript contains a copy of the De Regimine Principum, a text, as we have seen, occasionally provided with an unambitious series of one or two illustrations, the sole miniature in Selden Supra, on fol. 118r, is of the deathbed (Fig. 43). It is carefully co-ordinated with the text: the stanza above the illustration is Hoccleve's translation into rhyme royal stanzas of the section of the Horologium quoted in prose from Add. 37049 above. The illustration itself is excellently drawn and painted. On the left a man lies in bed on pillows and sheets, the folds of which are well-modelled and regular so that the bed looks convincingly rumped. His white flesh-tones and the dark modelling to eye-sockets and cheeks vividly portrays him as drawn and wasted. Behind the bed stands a man with his arms crossed over his chest. He is wearing a pink gown with bag sleeves and looks down at the dying man. On the right, death as a skeleton advances across the green tiled floor brandishing a spear. The

man is not a 'zonge man of excellent fairnesse'; the miniature is more sternly powerful than this. A simplified version of the composition appears in the historiated initial on fol. 27r of Douce 322 which introduces the Horologium. The parallel here is iconographic rather than textual, since this manuscript contains a different version, at one time falsely attributed to Richard Rolle (241). The dying man lies in bed behind which stands the disciple, this time wearing green. His arms are similarly crossed over his chest but the figure of menacing death has been eliminated. The final example, that on fol. 1v of Add. 10596 related textually to Douce not Add. 37049 is not analogous to the others. It looks as if the space now occupied by the illustration was originally intended for an initial 'T'. As it is, an eight-line miniature introduces the text, but the available space accommodates it poorly: it juts out into the margin. It is now very rubbed but enough can be seen to show that it originally depicted a deathbed scene. In the centre stands a priest reading out of a book. Behind him is a bed with the dying man in it. Doyle (242) suggests that because of other Dominican indications in the text the cleric in the miniature is in the black and white Dominican habit.

What all these death-lyrics and works about dying have in common is their insistence that the only way properly of coping with the fact of death is not to ignore it but to make it present to the mind in such a way as to induce repentance. In this way the conjunction of image and text may be seen as a spiritual exercise: the picture provides some notice of the grisly physical reality while the text, on a more abstract level, moralizes, exhorts and exposes the vanity of this world. From a slightly different point of view, the poem on fol. 19v which presents an allegorical version of human life which sees man as essentially diverted by trivia which keep his attention away from the sombrely threatening reality belongs here.

It is presented in the form of an emblem (243): on the left of



the page is the poem and on the right is a labelled drawing. A man standing in a tree labelled in the leaves at the top 'mans lyfe' holds onto the branches with his left hand, while with his right he takes a 'hony drope' from a hive. While engaged in this pursuit he fails to notice that the trunk of the tree is being gnawed through by two mice labelled respectively 'þe white mowse day' and 'þe blake mowse nyght'. From the roots of the tree come four serpents -- 'þe foure elements'. The tree itself stands on a mound entitled 'þe warlde'. On the left a unicorn rampant -- 'vnycorne ded pursues to sla man' -- threatens the oblivious man in the tree while beneath it hell-mouth gapes. The first sixteen lines describe the picture; the remainder of the poem exegises the elements of the picture item by item, giving the allegorical equivalences. It is thus an emblem for two reasons. Firstly the picture cannot properly be understood without the text while giving immediacy to the text; text and picture are closely interdependent. Secondly, the whole page seeks to compress a vision of life and the forces -- including heedlessness -- which assail it into a schema which is then carefully explained. Though the poem is damaged, it looks as if it was going on to make some homiletic point -- the logical pressure of this type of lyric:

It is my cownsel ma[n]  
 In gode lyfyng  
 Or fro þis

That it is an emblem and the vision of life is expressed in symbolic terms possibly reduces the immediate affective impact, the emotional response induced by having a rotting corpse or threatening skeleton forced on the imagination. The appeal is rather to a more intellectual delight in seeing a symbolic representation and working out its implications.

Judgment, Purgatory, Heaven and Hell.

Add. 37049 concerns itself very much with the moral choices which



constantly present themselves to man, to the extent that the poem, 'The Seven Ages of Man', fols. 28v-29r, is accompanied by an, admittedly obvious, sequence of illustrations showing man in the various stages of his development firmly between his good and bad angels. The consequences of these choices take on a paramount importance. Only one visual allusion is made to the theme of judgment but the use of illustration is of interest. On fol. 17r three-quarters of the page is devoted to a drawing of the Last Judgment, which is inserted into a meditation on the theme. The iconography is familiar from countless Books of Hours and altar-pieces. Christ with a cruciform halo sits on the rainbow with his feet on the globe of the world. He displays his wounds. Behind him are numerous haloed heads. On the left an angel holds the instruments of the Passion. Another angel holds the scourge while two more blow trumpets. A scroll on his right presents Christ's words to the faithful: '[Cum þe] blyst in to þe kingdom of my fader'; a scroll on his left proclaims 'Go 3e cursed in to euerlastyng [fyre]'. Below on the left naked souls arise from their graves and ascend steps to a doorway. On the right souls are scooped by a devil with a flesh-hook into a gaping hell-mouth.

This illustration bears no direct relationship to anything in the text, which is a plea for mercy and help in standing firm in the true faith before the day of doom and for grace to amend a sinful life. Although the Last Judgment is evidently in the author's mind, the meditation sets up a metaphoric structure of its own which does not allude in any way to traditional imagery connected with the event. For example, the church is compared to a winter hall: 'For it is ordaynd for pylgryms trauelyng in þis lyfe. And safes rightwis men fro colde of wykkydnes'. But God's house, heaven, is a summer hall 'wher man sal reste þaim esely'. Though it concludes with the reflection that those who have done well will go to everlasting bliss while malefactors will go to everlasting flames, there is no direct allusion to the details

propounded by the drawing. Two alternative conclusions can be drawn from this. The first possibility is that some form of illustration was felt to be necessary and the artist, recognizing that the piece dealt with the Last Judgment, arbitrarily devised a picture using stereotyped formulae. The second possibility, which does not seek to deny the traditional aspects of the illustration, is that the picture was intended as a genuinely complementary extension of the text. The miniature is an aid to devotional intensity; its presence is a reminder of why this sort of meditation is necessary, since all human life tends towards this point. The meditation does not actually contribute any verbal detail to aid the contemplation of the moment of doom. Thus there is a genuinely creative use of resources of effects to be achieved by the conjoining of word and image. I am inclined to the second alternative, particularly since, as has already been demonstrated, the manuscript -- or the manuscripts which formed its exemplars -- adapts texts to suit its own purpose. The green tree and dry tree section of the Pèlerinage de L'Âme is a case in point. This would indicate that the manuscript is calculated in its effects.

Most of the material relating to purgatory, heaven and hell is derived from the Pèlerinage de L'Âme. Most of the songs of rejoicing with which that text is punctuated reappear interspersed with other items in this manuscript, each accompanied with illustration. Indeed on fols. 76r-77r an entire sequence of text has been preserved. The prose connections have been omitted and the poems which celebrate the Godhead, particularly the life of Christ as experienced through the liturgical year have been assembled. These appear closely together towards the end of Book V of the Pèlerinage. Most unusual, however, is the appearance of illustration, admittedly of a formulaic type. None of the manuscripts of the full text of the English translation illustrates this section -- the pictures peter out for Book V (244). Perhaps a manuscript with a full programme of illustration which has not survived

was used as a model; perhaps the artist created his own programme. Certainly the picture on fol. 74v in Add. 37049 which introduces another lyric from the Pèlerinage bears affinity with the iconography in other English manuscripts (compare Figs. 8 and 9). On the left are two angels and in front of them a soul surrounded by an aureole. The angel on the right of the pair leans slightly towards the soul and gestures right where two angels play a lute and a harp. It introduces the angels' song of rejoicing at the appearance of a truly holy soul.

Some manuscript of the Pèlerinage de L'Âme, possibly an illustrated one, was evidently available to the compiler of Add. 37049. Preceding the reception of the holy soul is a brief extract on fol. 74r describing the sudden physical transformation which the unpardoned, unregenerate souls undergo as token of their doomed state. As the protagonist is only later informed by his angel, the malformations are appropriate to the besetting sin of each soul. But, as with the treatment of the green tree episode, the compiler has provided immediately the allegorical significance of each punishment:

Sum of þaim was horned as bolles. & þai betokyn prowde men.  
 And tothed as bares . . & þai signyfie manslaers & moderers in  
 wil or in dede. & ireful. And sum semed as þair eene hang opon  
 þair chekys þe whilk ar þai þat ar inuyos lokyng apon opir mens  
 prosperite & hatyng þair welfare & wele plesyd of þair ylle  
 fare. Sum has lang hokyd nayles lyke lyons þe whilk ar fals  
 couetos men & extorcioners. Sum had bolned belys þ<sup>t</sup> ar fowle  
 glotons & lyfes al in lust of þair belys. Sum had þair rygges  
 alrotyn & þair bakkes þ<sup>t</sup> ar lycheros caytyfes þe whilk had al  
 þair delyte in lustynes of lychery. Sum had fete al to gnawyn  
 and bun aȝ þai wer brokyn & bolned leggys. þ<sup>t</sup> ar slewthy  
 caytyfe þ<sup>t</sup> wil not labour in gode workes for þe hele of þair  
 saules.

Immediately following this is a poem, unconnected with Âme, and purporting to be spoken by a gleeful devil:

Cum folow me my frendes vn to helle  
 Ay to dwelle in helle depe (245).

At the foot of the page, as a visual summary of all this, is a drawing of the disfigured souls being led into a hell-mouth. There are seven figures, each deformed in a different way and these have affinities with such an assemblage of figures in the full text as that which appears



in Hatfield House, Cecil Papers 270 (compare Fig. 44).

Another extract from Âme which is combined at the end with extra material is the 'dysputacoun betwyx þe saule and þe body when it is past oute of þe body' on fols. 82r-84r. Unusually, the text has not been adapted in any way except that it has been conflated with a prose passage describing how a blind man and a cripple conspired together to rob a king of his apples. The debate between the body and soul is illustrated by the simple expedient of showing the naked soul, a decaying corpse in a shroud, and an angel en buste at the top of fol. 82r and the soul and corpse inset into the text on opposite sides of the page thereafter. Simple as this formula is, only Add. 37049 illustrates the episode: it is not a scene that manuscripts of the full text select for embellishment.

The other allusion to Purgatory in this manuscript, on fol. 24v, is more part of a co-ordinated programme than the previous examples discussed, and relates more to the moral and spiritual schemes in the manuscript itself than to external iconographic relationships. In the familiar double format of the poem on the left-hand side and illustration on the right, the diagram accompanies a poem entitled 'Of þe relefyng of saules in purgatory'. It is a diagram to the extent of providing labels as well as schematization. At the top Christ and holy souls en buste appear at the top of a city labelled 'heuen'. From the open door comes a bifurcating piece of rope: on the right it goes down to a bucket in which are naked souls being raised from flames labelled 'purgatory' and in which there are other naked souls. The rope attached to the bucket is annotated: 'þes saules ar drawne vp oute of purgatory by prayer & almos dede'. On the left the rope goes down past a priest kneeling at an altar with host, chalice and open Bible. His hands are raised in prayer so it looks as if he is pulling on the rope. The rope terminates with a lay figure giving money to two beggars, one of whom has a peg leg. This scene is labelled 'almos dede'. The whole thing

provides quite a witty exposition of the teaching of the church on helping the souls of one's dead friends and an elaboration of the first lines of the accompanying poem:

þe saules þat to purgatory wendes  
May be relefyd þorow help of frendes  
þ<sup>t</sup> almos for þaim dos & prayes

The scheme is one that can readily be taken in at a glance..

### C. The Religious Life.

Any discussion of the way this theme is presented in the manuscript will have to consider, as ever, the various functions that the illustrations assume. Among the first indications that Add. 37049 is a Carthusian compilation is a poem describing the foundation of the first charterhouse. Fol. 22r is dominated by an illustration which takes up two-thirds of the page and which depicts four different narrative moments. It is divided into four by roughly drawn ink lines. Each incident is a fairly exact transcription in visual terms of the text. In the first picture on the top register a number of things happen simultaneously. On the right of the picture we see 'þe byschop of gracionapolitane saynt hewe' with halo, mitre and crosier to denote his office and his sanctity, asleep in a chair and having a vision of seven stars falling from the sky in the centre of the composition:

Seuen sternes goyng in wildernes to þat place  
Wher now þe ordir of þe chartirhows abydyng has

According to the poem, they fall at the bishop's feet as they do, perhaps fortuitously, in the picture. After this vision, 'þe doctor Bruno' and six companions come to the bishop to ask advice as to how and where to live solitary in the desert; we see them approaching on the left. So the picture conveys the idea of the spiritual quest and the sense in which they have been divinely anticipated -- the vision of the stars. In the compartment on the right they kneel at Bishop Hugh's feet. In both pictures the 'doctor Bruno' is wearing a scholar's cap. The bottom register depicts Hugh leading Bruno and his companions into



the wilderness 'per þis holy bischop hew þies persons gon lede'. In the compartment on the right we see the monastic foundation. Seven figures in the white habits of the Carthusians stand among the buildings while in the background Hugh looks benignly on. It can be seen that the illustrations provide a parallel narrative which may well have been used as a mnemonic device for recalling the main stages of the story. The illustrations provide a synopsis of the essential elements of the narrative which can be quickly perceived whereas the poem needs to be experienced sequentially. The poem goes on to describe the duties of the Carthusians; this is illustrated by the simple device of having a drawing of a Carthusian in the margin.

Very different from this literal, narrative way of providing images for the text is the visual treatment of the poem a few folios later entitled 'Of þe state of religion' which extols the religious life and defines what is involved. Poem and illustration are co-ordinated vertically. The poem occupies two folios (37v and 38r) and thus has two pictures. On fol. 37v is a ladder running up to a stylized green mound labelled in red 'þe Mounte of perfeccion'. At the top of the mount is a half-length figure of Christ holding haloed souls in a sheet presumably meant to denote, as in pictures of Abraham, his bosom. The rungs of the ladder are labelled in ascending order, 'meknes, pouerte, obediens, chastite, charite'. Round the ladder are three Benedictines and two Carthusians. The picture anticipates imagery which does not appear in the poem until fol. 38r.:

Right so suld do þe man of religion  
þat clym wil on þe hylle of perfeccion.

Though the necessary spiritual qualities are mentioned in the text, it is the picture which assembles them into a sequential and intellectually coherent form. This type of mnemonic visual scheme takes on increasing importance later on in the manuscript. But it is the second illustration which combines the function of providing both a visual mnemonic and



information complementary to the text. It is a stylized tree depicting 'þe froyte of relygyon' with seven labelled 'branches', actually more like leaves: 'To kepe wele þe obseruance of religion', 'To forsake erthly þinges', 'To hafe god condicions & maners', 'To oyse besely prayer', 'To desire & praye for heuenly þinges', 'To hafe deuocion of hert', 'luf to god & to his breþer'. These admirable injunctions are not alluded to in the text at all; the illustration provides completely separate but connected advice by providing a moral scheme directly to the eye.

The tree-diagram is a recurrent motif in the illustrations of Add. 37049. Indeed it seems to have been a favourite late-medieval device for tabulating a number of abstract qualities into some kind of coherent pattern (246). Douglas Gray (247) relates these arboreal schema to medieval mnemotechnic and to the needs of the medieval preacher (248). The fifteenth century can show some particularly elaborate examples of tree diagrams. The longest text in Add. 37049 is the Desert of Religion (249), a poem which attempts to define the spiritual landscape in terms of just such trees as this. Bloomfield remarks that: 'In it the arboreal image attains a peak of development highly representative of that increasingly overelaborate approach to medieval concepts so characteristic of the last two centuries of the Middle Ages' (250). The soul is metaphorically seen as a garden in which grow some trees -- of vicious behaviour -- which ought to be cut down and others which ought to be cultivated. It is thus a work the primary interest of which is the schematic classification of the moral life. List of abstractions follows list of abstractions, enlivened by the odd, unarboreal metaphor of a traditional type:

A castell mannes hert here is called  
 þat w. vertuse wele is walled  
 Or els a cite þ<sup>t</sup> hase gates (fol. 56v)

None the less the poem is presented in a visually exciting and complex way. It is extant in two other manuscripts -- BL manuscripts Cotton

Faustina B.vi, part 2 and Stowe 39. It seems to have been conceived of as an illustrated poem; all three manuscript versions are accompanied by pictures which use the page in an inventive fashion. The coordination of picture and image is arranged in a similar way in each manuscript and, though none of the three manuscripts is directly related to each other, Cotton Faustina and Stowe were probably copied from the same archetype (251).

The poem in manuscript presents an intellectual scheme in which some of the pictures have no reference to the text itself; they actively supplement or extend its meaning. In each manuscript every opening is treated as a separate unit. In Add. and Cotton the verso of each page is divided into two columns which give the effect of two panels, one containing the text and one an illustration. In Stowe the page is divided laterally rather than vertically, so the picture is at the bottom. The column of text describes the tree, often alluding directly to the presence of an image:

    þis sprengand tre þ<sup>t</sup> þu now sees  
    Of pryde is called þe tuelfe degrees (fol. 49v)

The recto of the facing page clarifies the poem visually by providing a full-page tree diagram. The pictures of trees are occasionally more complex than the text: they supply categorizations which the text does not. Thus the poem describing the first tree on fol. 46v presents the following material:

    þe fyrste tre of þis forest schene  
    Is þe tre of vertus þat ay is clene  
    þat in mekenes festis his rotes  
    Of hym vertus vpwarde schotes  
    And sprynges & spreðes his leues & groles  
    And buriones bath w<sup>t</sup> braunches & boghes  
    þis tre be takenes men þ<sup>t</sup> ar mylde  
    And debonere als a chylde  
    Swylk ar þe varay scolers right  
    Of our mayster god of myght  
    Mekenes falles in hert to dwell  
    Through þir four thynges to tell  
    Through oft be thynkyng vp & doune  
    And through veray contrycioune  
    Through sufferance w<sup>t</sup> outen gruchyng  
    Through haly delyte w<sup>t</sup> outen changyng



Or thynkyng of his wrechenes  
 Or what god has done hym mar or les  
 þis thoght if he lat noght pas  
 And vmthynkyng what he was  
 And wheyne he com & ryght se  
 And what he is & wheyder sall he  
 And what he sall be at his ende  
 And whyderward þ<sup>t</sup> he sall wende  
 Hee sall be many skylles know  
 Hym for to meke & for to law  
 For out of mekenes of dede & thoght  
 Comes all þe vertus þ<sup>t</sup> euer was wroght  
 In seuen braunches of þis tre  
 In seuen vertus may men se  
 And out of ilk a vertu euen  
 Sprynges other vertus in leues seuen  
 þat forth brynges þe froyte of lyfe  
 þat bath suld couayt man & wyfe  
 þis is þe tre of whylk we here  
 þ<sup>t</sup> dauyd of spekes in þe sawtere  
 þe ryghtwys is als a tre þ<sup>t</sup> standes  
 Besyde þe course of þe water strandes  
 And gyfes his froyte in conabill tyme  
 His lefe sall nother fade ne dwyne.

On fol. 47r the first of the tree diagrams makes its appearance. At the base is the inscription: 'þe rote spryngand is meknes Of al vertewes mare & les'. Written vertically on the trunk is the verse: 'In verteus suld al men floresche And froyt bryng forth as þar trees'. From the trunk of the tree spring seven branches and from each of the branches seven leaves. The scheme is as follows:

Qwayntnes: Prouidence, Cownsell, Diligence, Drede of God,  
 Reson, Tractabilite, Discrecion.  
 Rightwisnes: Keping of right, Dome, Lawe, Sothfastnes,  
 Correccion, Severite, Right.  
 Faythe: Chastite, Contynence, Clennes of boght, Maydenhede,  
 Clennes of body, Deuocion, Sympilnes  
 Charite: Forgifnes, Concorde, Pees Pyte, Compassion, Mercy,  
 Grace.  
 Hope: Disciplyne, loye, Pacience, Contemplacion, Contricon,  
 Confession, Penaunce.  
 Mightfulnes: Despite of þe Warlde, Sobirnes, Fastyng, Dedlynes,  
 Modenes, Blissednes, Tholmodynes.  
 Strenthe: Lastandnes, Silence, Stabilnes, Reste, Perseueraunce,  
 Vnhyghyng in Welthes, Vnfallyng in aduersites.

It supplies a complete and full account of the virtues mentioned briefly in the poem.

The use of the tree diagrams to provide supplementary information decreases as the poem progresses: it merely tends to describe the tree. Thus information is duplicated. The tree becomes a straightforward



transcription of the text, though it must be admitted that there is occasionally a slight discrepancy between the categories named in the text and the categories which appear on the leaves or branches (252). Picture and text are evidently intended to be used in conjunction, and this care in design again suggests the teaching manual or aid to instruction. It is difficult to say whether the text is an adjunct to the picture or the picture to the text. Is the poem merely a series of explanatory verses for the illustrations or do the illustrations explicate the text? And it is difficult to know whether the dual provision of information -- verbal and visual -- is because of sheer delight in repetition or a real attempt to present knowledge by using alternative modes of discourse. Both are well-tried pedagogic techniques. Another possibility is that the compiler may have run out of ideas for additional material towards the end of the text. It is certainly a didactically conceived poem; the trees provide a convenient visual mnemonic. In fact the whole poem is in many ways a mnemonic. It presents an accessible schematization of the elements of the faith, the vices and the virtues, and other ingenious syntheses of attributes into patterns. In this it is connected with ecclesiastical concern for the spiritual education of religious and lay as manifested in texts like Friar Laurent's Somme le Roi.

Even thus far it will be apparent that to dissociate word and picture as is the case in the modern edition of the poem, distorts to some degree the effect and certainly the function intended in the manuscript. It is not, however, the combination of text and arboreal diagram which particularly marks the manuscripts of this poem as using text and image in a carefully calculated way. The right-hand columns in Add. and Cotton and the bottom of the page in Stowe provide an alternative sequence of images, usually portraits of famous hermits, including Richard Rolle. Thus the impression of each verso in Add. and Cotton is of a diptych. The hermit portraits bear no direct

relationship to the text. The connection is a thematic one only in that they sustain the image initiated in the first few lines that the religious life is like a desert because one flees the world, but also because one is tempted. After all, the desert was the locale of Christ's temptation. Each hermit provides a representatively human exponent of the religious life from which the reader is no doubt meant to draw inspiration. Each element of the page goes to make up the total idea. Moral abstraction is juxtaposed with specific human examples so that picture and text operate as one complex and well-integrated whole. Moreover, in Cotton and Stowe and at the beginning of Add. the portraits are supplemented by titulus verses. The hermit portraits are not rigidly associated with a particular tree: it is the fact of a human presence that is important rather than the identity of that presence. As Doty points out: 'The scribe of Faustina is more careful in his effort to identify the various characters used in the illustrations than are the other two. ... The scribe of Stowe is the least careful about identifications' (253).

Stowe and Cotton are two more manuscripts which form some of the 'rich relations' of Add. 37049. The conjunction of word and picture in these three manuscripts goes beyond the mere provision of visualization for texts which lack concrete detail. All three, but Add. in particular, provide an assortment of spiritual and moral schemes. Moreover, the format of Add. is often extremely inventive in its attempts to correlate picture and text. Add. 37049 is a key manuscript for discussing English vernacular illustration for three reasons. It is a pot-pourri of devotional and didactic imagery and thus has affiliations or analogues with a number of English manuscripts. The images are deployed in a self-conscious fashion and show a range of relationships with the text. As an additional factor, the power of the context to shape the image as well as the image to shape the context can be seen in the case of the 'Vado Mori' verses.

The manuscripts discussed in this chapter reveal the complexity of the possible functions of illustration and the difficulty of making generalizations. All three of the categories erected in Chapter 1 have been seen to be pertinent in some cases. The functions of decorating and dividing up the text seem to have been paramount in the design of CUL Gg.iv 27 and the 'Oxford' manuscript, whereas a genuine critical reading, of an admittedly expedient nature, probably lies behind the programme in the Ellesmere manuscript. Similarly, though many author portraits are mere decorative devices, the portraits of Chaucer are an enduring monument to the esteem in which near-contemporaries held his poetry. In the case of Add. 37049, it seems very probable that some care was taken to design it with the exigencies of teaching in mind. The notion of instruction also seems to have been pertinent in manuscripts such as Cotton Vespasian B. xii and Bodley 542. Visual material and visual mnemonic were evidently considered to have a part to play in communicating ideas, though, again, the use of illustration as a means of decoration cannot be subordinated. The problems encountered with illustrations of secular narratives are of a similar nature. It is time to turn to such texts in more detail.



#### CHAPTER 4. MEDIEVAL 'READINGS': MANDEVILLE'S TRAVELS AND ALEXANDER B.

Though I have hitherto advocated a cautious scepticism when discussing the capacity of illustrations to provide a commentary on the text, there are two manuscripts of the English translation of Mandeville's Travels where such a function needs to be taken into account. Through its selection of scene each manuscript seems to be offering a very different reading of the text. In the case of BL Royal 17 C. xxxviii it is possible that the pragmatic use of cliché predominated over a desire to clarify the text; none the less the formulae selected are consistent, presenting a consistent response to the work. Since Mandeville's Travels was a work susceptible of modification in the Middle Ages it is instructive to see how aspects of its presentation in manuscript affect the reader's overall view of its genre. Similarly, the miniatures of Alexander B., despite their use of stereotype, offer access to a possible medieval reading of the text which is at variance with the interpretation propounded by a more modern critic.

##### 1. The Text of Mandeville's Travels

Mandeville's Travels was one of the most popular texts of the Middle Ages. 'Manuscripts of this work are said to be more numerous than those of any other that survive from the fifteenth-century, save only the Scriptures' (1). It is well known that 'Mandeville' was an armchair traveller more reliant on a multiplicity of sources than interested in independent verification (2). This proved no disadvantage: his Travels, written originally in French on the Continent c. 1357 (3), were quickly translated into all the major European languages including Latin. Over 250 manuscripts are still extant including about forty in English counting fragments and extracts (4). Interest in the Travels did not cease with the advent of printing: in

England they were printed by Pynson, probably in 1496, and by Wynkyn de Worde in 1499, 1503, and probably 1510 (5). On the Continent printed versions appeared rapidly, the earliest being a Dutch edition produced c. 1470, the most important from our point of view being Anton Sorg's second edition of 1481 (6). In the eighteenth century the Travels became a chapbook with an eye- (and penny-) catching title page to rival Moll Flanders' sensational exploits as summarized by the title page of early editions (7); both involve the same degree of sensationalizing over-simplification towards their respective texts.

Mandeville's Travels existed in English in four main redactions. The archetype of all translations, in Latin and English, made in England, was a manuscript in Norman French, a recension, produced before 1390, of the author's original French text -- the Insular version (8). The versions are: the Defective Text, probably made after 1375 and translated from an Anglo-French text which lacked a quire in the account of Egypt -- the so-called 'Egypt gap' (9); a lost translation of a Latin version similar to that found in BL Royal 13 E. ix and related manuscripts, now represented in abridged form in two manuscripts in the Bodleian Library (10); the Cotton Version existing uniquely in BL Cotton Titus C. xvi, a conflation of the Defective Version with detailed reference to a manuscript of the Insular Version (11); and the Egerton Version, a conflation based on a lost manuscript of the Latin Version and the Defective Version (12). Thus the Defective Text is the earliest English version of the Travels. These four recensions may be called versions of the standard text; any compressions or omissions reflect the vagaries of manuscript transmission rather than deliberate policy on the part of the scribe to alter or to re-shape. To this must be added six other versions where aspects of the text have been suppressed or heightened to stress one or other facet of the work.

A comment by M.C. Seymour that all 'personal statements in



Mandeville's Travels are immediately suspect as possible fictions of the author, or even of his many scribes and translators' (13) suggests that even in the normal course of events, the Travels were vulnerable to modification by scribes. The Travels proper blend elements which would seem to belong to various genres. There is the piously fervent commendation of the Holy Land with which the book opens reflected in a certain devotional intensity of style:

And that lond He chees before alle other  
londes as the beste and most worthi lond  
and the most vertuouse lond of alle the  
world, for it is the herte and the myddes  
of all the world (14).

There are the guide-book qualities; the accounts of the routes to Jerusalem from various parts of Europe combined with news for the relic seeker. Here 'Mandeville' adopts an air of critical discrimination, explaining, for example, that the fragment of cross owned by the monks on Cyprus is the cross of Dismas the good thief and not part of Christ's cross 'and thei don euylle that make men to beleue so' (Seymour p. 20). However, the stages of the itinerary in this initial portion of the book are like magnets attracting information of both Biblical and secular interest. The associations of 'Babyloyne', for example, are enumerated: our lady lived here for seven years after fleeing from Herod; there is a tomb of St Barbara; Joseph lived here after being sold by his brethren; here Nebuchadnezzar put the three 'children' in the furnace; and here 'duelleth the Soudan in his Calahelyk' (Seymour p. 24). But these devotional and political facts are impartially combined with 'facts' of another kind. The account of St John's tomb at 'Ephesim', itself a marvellous enough story, is followed directly by the romance narrative of Hippocrates' daughter.

It is clear that all these items inhabit the same plane of reality for the author and they are all recounted in the same direct, expository fashion. Thus accounts of men and manners, of the beliefs



and religious practices of various peoples collide with descriptions of miracles, strange deformed creatures and exotic wonders; all are exposed to the same intent and curious gaze and provide a compendium of information about both the known and unknown world. Hagiography jostles with romance, unsurprisingly; fact with fiction; crusading fervour with a tolerant and often sympathetic account of other faiths; credulity with scepticism -- as when he tries to disprove the rumour that Joseph's garner (the Pyramids) are sepulchres (Seymour pp. 37-38). His conclusions are incorrect, but there is some attempt to marshal evidence rationally. Other facets of this many-faceted work include passages of moral criticism of Christian men. This concern surfaces periodically and extends from a discussion, phrased in terms of dissipation of moral energy, of why Christians no longer go on crusades:

But now pryde, couetyse, and envye han so enflawmed  
the hertes of lordes of the world that thei are more  
besy for to disherite here neyghbores more than for  
to chalenge or to conquere here right heritage  
beforeseyd (Seymour pp. 2-3).

to humiliation by the Sultan in his version of Christian behaviour (pp. 100-101), and culminates in a homily on the duties and responsibilities of Christians prompted by a miracle performed for the Persian Christians:

Wherefore me thinketh that Cristene men scholden  
ben more deuoute to seruen oure lord God than ony  
other men of ony other secte. For withouten ony  
drede, ne were cursedness and synne of Cristen  
men, thei scholden ben lordes of alle the world  
(Seymour p. 188).

This recurrent theme is combined with what purports to be mercantile shrewdness: lengthy passages on how to distinguish good and adulterated balsam (p. 37) and true diamonds from false (p. 117) offer handy hints for the trader and a warning against false trade practices.

It will be apparent that any overall evaluation of Mandeville's Travels will be hard put to adjudicate between the various concerns

underlying the compilation of the work; shift the emphasis and it becomes a radically different text. Is it predominantly a work of pious explication of the wonders of God's world; is it rather a work of entertainment, a merely enjoyable assemblage of fable and marvel; is it a serious work of information? -- after all it would be naive to assume that 'Mandeville' was aware that cynocephali et al do not exist and that diamonds do not propagate. These are as much 'facts' as the roundness of the world (15). 'Mandeville' himself gives contrary indications as to the impulses which moved him to compilation. Rounding off a discussion of Greek orthodox beliefs he is unashamedly populist: 'For many men han gret likyng to here speke of straunge thinges of dyuerse contreys' (Seymour p. 15); yet later a discussion of 'straunge thynges' moves him to pious awe: 'For the myracles that God hath don and yit doth euey day ben the wytnesse of His myght and of His merueylles' (Seymour p. 44).

Then, too, the problem is exacerbated if we look at the larger structural principle of the book: it sets off, at least, to be a guide to the Holy Land, perhaps even a pilgrims' manual; however the itinerary extends to the Far East and the latter part concentrates as carefully on the beliefs and customs of various races as the first part did on relics and reliquaries. Piety becomes anthropology, though there are elements of the romance and of the moral treatise in both. The account of misshapen creatures is far outweighed by the large blocks of narrative concerned with the magnificent display of the Great Khan and, to a lesser extent, with Prester John. An overall coherence, then, is difficult to determine. Indeed, there has been a tendency to divide the Travels in two and to regard one half as being devoted to the needs of pilgrims and the other half as dealing with the 'Marvels of the East'. This would be in conformity with two of Mandeville's major sources: the account of the Holy Land by William



of Boldensele and the description of the East by Odoric of Pordenone. Hamelius, on what manuscript or printed authority he does not say, divides his edition of the Travels into two sections (16); in this he seems to be following Warner (17) and it is a division repeated by, for example, Sisam (18) and one of the most recent commentators on the Travels, Christian Zacher (19).

Most comments on Mandeville's Travels made during this century have been concerned, either implicitly or explicitly, with two issues: an evaluation of the work itself, an evaluation necessarily dependent on the writer's view of the genre to which Mandeville's Travels belongs; and the figure of 'Mandeville' himself. This latter issue may involve a historical investigation into the supposed identity of 'Mandeville' or, in a more subtle and critical modification, a discussion of the persona of the narrator-figure. The earliest account that will concern us here, that by Alice Greenwood (20), raises most of the issues subsequently developed in Letts' and Bennett's full-length studies. She argues briskly that the Travels is a volume of entertainment whose air of 'pious utility' is merely a thin disguise for this real purpose. She discusses the way the itinerary is carefully orchestrated to bring in strange sights, notes the similarity of tone in which both religious and secular marvels are introduced and speaks of Mandeville's Travels as a 'wonder-book'. Her major tribute to the work is her acknowledgement of 'that art which harmonised (diverse sources) all on the plane of the fourteenth century traveller, and gave to the collection the impress of an individual experience'. Later she speaks of the sense of human interest which unites the whole and mentions the 'quiet but discernible figure of Sir John himself' (21).

These two perceptions -- the primary impulse behind the Travels being to entertain and the importance of the persona -- have been



endorsed by other commentators: Hamelius while concocting an untenably overstated view of the Travels as anti-Papal propaganda, mentions in passing that Mandeville's 'chief aim was to entertain while pretending to impart solid historical or geographical information' (22), a remark which would seem to undermine the genre category he subsequently seeks to establish; Malcolm Letts, a proponent of dividing the book into two, sees two divergent aims: the first part deals with the Holy Land and 'the needs of pilgrims and the preservation of the Holy Places' (23), the second deals with the Far East and gives far greater scope to 'Mandeville's' imagination. However, he concludes: 'the book sets out to be a guide to the Holy Land, but it soon becomes clear that its main purpose is simply to entertain and amuse' (24). He also gives a lengthy analysis of the persona, attributing to what is now seen as a literary fiction, qualities attributed to an historical personage by the editor of the 1727 reprint of the 1725 edition (25). In her turn, Bennett draws very similar conclusions; the genre categories that she suggests, a 'romance of travel' (26) and an epitome of the travel literature of the time (27), are based on her sense of 'Mandeville' as a popularizer (28). She also addresses herself to the question of the nature of the persona which she equates with the productions of Defoe and Swift (29).

These views implicitly put most emphasis on the second half of the book and the marvels and strange sights 'Mandeville' enumerates. A view more weighted to the Jerusalem pilgrimage aspect of the book is equally one-sided: Aziz Atiya argues that Mandeville's Travels is primarily a work of propaganda designed to promote another crusade (30). Atiya, as can readily be seen, is responding only to the tone of the prologue where 'Mandeville' is at his most rhetorical and persuasive. The militant idea must be modified by the judicious tone in which 'Mandeville' discusses the beliefs of the Saracens and his breadth of

humanity in discussing things outside his own cultural experience. This is, however, a useful counterbalance to the view of 'Mandeville' as entertainer.

There have been, in recent years, three major attempts to discuss Mandeville's Travels as a work of serious literary value and each lays considerable stress on the persona. The best discussion of Mandeville's Travels as an earnest and carefully-wrought work of art is that of Donald R. Howard (31) who argues that the double-stranded aspect of the work is a conscious attempt to unite two separate genres of travel-writing -- the Jerusalem pilgrimage itinerary and the travels to the East -- into a new, composite genre, a summa of travel lore which could readily combine the various interests described above: the encyclopaedia-derived learning; the devotional; the mercantile; and the 'curious and vicarious'. Interestingly, in view of other opinions, Howard stresses the moral tone of the book which, he suggests, verges on the satiric. Christian Zacher (32) presents a number of different aspects of the work: his basic thesis is that the impulse to go on pilgrimage develops into curiosity and an urge to travel. The awakening of curiosity is allied with an interest in novelty and strangeness, and an appreciation of, and responsiveness to, cultural diversity. This is a more serious-minded version of the Travels as a work of entertainment; yet his most interesting insight is, unfortunately, not pressed further. He remarks that 'it is feasible to read the book as if it were a miscellany of tales. ... To define what he meant by "tales", or to classify them as legends, fables, saints' lives, and romances, is unnecessary' (33). This adequately conveys the qualities of the compendium which the book offers and gives due credit to the plurality of interest underlying its compilation; but it is no more than an aside in the pursuit of an overall evaluation of the work. Again, Zacher is responsive to the

various motives which may have led someone to read the Travels -- 'It is likely that medieval audiences read it for both amusement and instruction' (34), a Horatian enough formulation -- but disappointingly pursues the issue no further.

More interestingly, C.W.R.D. Moseley (35) has traced the fortunes of Mandeville's Travels at the hands of recensors and compilers. Underlying his discussion is a belief in the high literary worth of the 'standard' version, especially in his notion of the 'degradation' of the work into a chap-book. Following M.C. Seymour (36), he distinguishes three tendencies in the interests of the abridgers: the fabulous and romantic; the factual and devotional; the homiletic. 'These bastard versions give us an idea of how some of Mandeville's readers regarded his book; they used it as a storehouse of exempla as well as for entertainment and instruction' (37). He adds that, to judge from the unacknowledged pillaging that took place, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Travels were seen as a work of information.

Moseley's summary of the various abridgements is extremely useful as is also his emphasis on the perceptions of the readers, but it can be extended and the implications for the 'standard' text stressed more carefully. There are six abridgements where aspects of the text have been selected to emphasize one or other facet of the work. The first of these, the 'Bodley' version, is an abridgement of a lost English version translated from the Latin between 1390 and 1425 (38). It is extant in two manuscripts in the Bodleian Library: MS. e. Musaeo 116 and MS. Rawlinson D. 99. The redactor seems to have abridged his text with a consistent policy in mind: he prefers the marvellous anecdote to the devotional; most of the moments of moral outrage against the corruption of Christians has gone: the account of the Sultan's assessment of Christendom seems to have been preserved



not for its overtones of moral critique but because it is a good anecdote. Mercantile information has been excised: the advice about the assay of balsam and diamonds has been omitted, though the story of diamonds breeding has been retained, and the account of the difficulties and dangers, particularly that of the magnetic rocks, which await merchants who wish to trade with Prester John's realm, has been discarded. 'Any passage that strikes no general note of wonder is either drastically curtailed ... or completely omitted ...' (39). Moreover, as Seymour shows, the redactor carefully manipulates the structure of the text so as to provide a natural climax to a book of wonders. The description of the Great Khan is reserved for the end together with accounts of other marvels such as the headless men, and men with grotesquely long lips or ears, which occur earlier on in other versions. Thus geographical detail such as the roundness of the world has been carefully edited out, and most of the accounts of the strange and exotic and pagan just as carefully retained. The work has been streamlined and simplified; the complexities of the interests offered have been diluted and, according to Seymour, at least, improved (40).

A similar motive can be ascribed to the redactor of the metrical version (41): the focus is placed on similar aspects of the text. This version, in rough octosyllabic couplets, was composed between c. 1375 and 1460, probably in the North-East Midlands (42), and survives in a unique manuscript in the Coventry City Record Office. It has been cast in the form of a romance: the redactor announces this right from the beginning in his formulaic prologue, culminating in the promise:

Nowe lordis and ladies leve and dere,  
Yif ye wolle of wondris here,  
A litelle stounde yif ye wolle dwelle,  
Of grete meruailis I mai you telle (ll. 11-14).

It can be seen from this that the emphasis is to be on the miraculous and marvellous. Words like 'meruelle' and 'wonder thing' punctuate the narrative with great frequency. The author is totally open about the principles underlying his selection of material: he assures the audience that all the boring, 'ouerlonge', episodes have been expunged and all the entertaining parts have been given due prominence. This proves to be the case: as with the Bodley version, any moral or theological elements have been omitted. The accounts of heathen customs, for example, are presented for their bizarre qualities only; the judicious tone in which 'Mandeville' evaluates them has gone. The complaint element has been entirely curtailed: the colloquy with the Sultan has not even been retained for its interest as narrative. Nearly all the geographical details have been reduced; the value of the work as information has been decreased because the number of 'facts' has been abbreviated, but as a romance it is greatly enhanced.

The text is not merely abridged to throw emphasis on certain aspects of the work; the author also interpolates. Much of the interpolated material is derived from the romances (43): this again shows how conscious he is of genre and the popular audience he is writing for. The details of heathen burial customs are grossly exaggerated and coarsened. This is particularly noticeable in the account of the one cannibal custom which is 'not savage or repugnant but tender, dignified, and pious' (44): it concerns the feeding of dead men to birds and the retention of the skull in the form of a cup as a memorial. The recensor presents it with gory relish and adds the gratuitous detail:

Alle quik than thei wille hym nyme  
And vppon a bere fast bynden hyme (ll. 2802-3).

Surprisingly enough nothing about the monstrous races appears except a reference to the perennial sciapodes.

Two redactors stress the marvellous and entertaining qualities

of the text as do some early twentieth-century critics of the Travels -- quite legitimately; these elements play an important part. Other redactors -- equally legitimately -- stress other portions and present a totally different text to the reader. Bodleian MS Ashmole 751, 'a compilation of devotional and scriptural extracts' (45), contains a selection of material from Mandeville's Travels. There is no attempt to effect a smooth transition between the various portions copied out and they are all presented in an arbitrary order. None the less the interest of the compiler is clear: the items chosen are factual and devotional, almost exclusively concerned with relics and scriptural matters. Most of the material extracted is from the account of the Holy Land. All trace of Mandeville as a personality has been eliminated: in fact Mandeville is barely mentioned. Similar motives seem to have been behind the compiler of the extract which appears in Bodleian MS Digby 88, a late fifteenth-/early sixteenth-century miscellany (46). The extract is basically an abstract of the first third of the book and assembles its religious and devotional material in brief form. The exception to this is a 'highly abbreviated' reference to Mounts Athos and Olympus and the unusual climatic conditions prevailing on the former.

The editor of the epitome of the Travels in BL Add. 37049, on the other hand, saw the text as a quarry to be mined for facts: all anecdotal material has been deleted (47). The text begins with the location of Jerusalem in relation to surrounding kingdoms, gives a brief history of successive occupations by various peoples and continues with an extended account of the holy places and relics to be seen in Jerusalem. A rhetorical focus is thus placed on Jerusalem itself: the account of the routes to the city is briefly summarized at the end of the extract. The central portion is concerned with cities of note about Jerusalem.



With the emphasis on factual material the epitome reads in places like a catalogue, the structure of each sentence being basically a series of clauses connected by 'and', particularly by 'and also'. This terse treatment of material has led to what looks like the incorporation of chapter headings from the editor's exemplar into the text as a substitute for narrative. On fol. 7v a sentence introduced by a two-line initial reads:

Here is dyuysed of þe holy lande & þe cuntres abowt  
it & many ways þider & to þe mounte of synay to  
babylon & to oper places

but the following sentence announces: 'Now is to speke of oper  
cuntres'. Similarly on fol. 8v we read:

& how þe cane his arayed & his coppys & oper  
thynges abowte his tabyll & al oper thynges.

However the continuation deals with the division of the earth by Noah's sons. The emphasis of this version, then, is primarily geographical.

The final transmogrification of Mandeville's Travels still extant occurs as a stanzaic fragment in Bodleian MS e. Musaeo 160, 'a miscellaneous collection of verse and prose written in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century hands' (48). The fragment is a carefully edited conflation of details of the Great Khan derived from the accounts of both 'Mandeville' and Marco Polo. It is pious and didactic in intention: the discussion between Mandeville and the Khan forms a climax towards the end, where the elements of complaint are expanded and the redactor moves stringently into a note of moral exhortation with a decidedly anti-clerical bias:

The Sowdan sayd, 'It is not soo.  
For your prestis that suld tech vertus trace

they ryn rakylle out of gud race,  
gyffis ylle ensampille and lyese in syn.  
Of God seruices of His holy place  
they gyf no forse but gud to wyn.  
In dronkynhed and licherese syn

ylle cownsellē to princese they geve.  
They by and selle by craft and gyn.  
Theyr mysorder causes alle myscheve etc. (ll. 199-208).

The reader is reminded of the joys of Paradise to be lost by sin and reminded of the coming of anti-Christ, here associated with 'Macometis'. The redactor's attitude towards the heathen is one of conscious superiority: the fragment concludes with a pitying description of the Khan's burial, culminating in the sneer:

Thus ar they blyndid worthely (l. 313).

Thus the implicit assumption of the author of this version is the pre-eminence of the Christian faith, moderated by a pungent awareness of the shortcomings of Christians, particularly the Christian clergy.

There were at least three different ways in which Mandeville's Travels could be conceived of and received in the Middle Ages. At least six medieval redactors regarded the Travels as an assemblage of materials from which they could pillage elements to suit their own requirements. The practice of the redactors may encourage us to form certain conclusions about the nature of the text itself. My account of the various non-standard recensions has been designed to show the very different emphases that can be placed on Mandeville's Travels according to the materials selected; in this respect the metrical version and the 'stanzaic fragment' are particularly interesting. The practice of interpolation and conflation forces a consideration of the flexible structure of the text which makes it particularly suitable for adaptation. The basic format of an itinerary enables the narrative to proceed by a process of accretion; a reference to particular places gives legitimate scope for incorporating any anecdotes relevant to that location. The anecdotal quality of the Travels, in its turn, gives licence for the addition of further anecdotes or the suppression of others. As can be seen from the practice of the redactor of the Bodley version, and, to a certain

extent, from that of the epitomizer of Add. 37049, Mandeville's Travels seems to have been conceived of as a series of narrative blocks which can be changed round. The large-scale narrative does not entail any notion of cause-and-effect; the only structural principle is the putative sequence of the journey and material relating to the Khan and Prester John. It is thus easy to insert additional information into the framework (and just as easy to leave material out) in accordance with a preconceived idea of the genre or format one wishes to impose on the text.

Moseley speaks of the lack of feeling in the later Middle Ages for the integrity of the book: he deplores particularly this tendency to use the Travels as a 'quarry whence came materials for another building' (49). It is true that the liberties taken with this text are unusually large but this respect for a book's integrity is anachronistic and surely the result of an expectation of standardization which only the printing process can impose; it is an unrealistic expectation to have of a text disseminated in manuscript form. The fate of Mandeville's Travels at the hands of various redactors suggests a fresh way in which we may have to look at medieval texts. A work such as Mandeville's Travels seems to have provided a basic matrix into which could be introduced a certain amount of similar material; or a form upon which could be imposed a viewpoint not necessarily that of the original author.

Mandeville's Travels is a hard work to categorize: its interests are heterogeneous and any attempt to classify it in terms of a single strongly defined genre is bound to be unsatisfactory. Six redactors were untroubled by the divergent genres which can be seen to underlie the Travels: they created from it the genre which suited their purposes by selecting those aspects which were appropriate. Under these circumstances, it is also clear that since the 'standard' text can be given a



multiplicity of foci, its impact can be manipulated by its mode of presentation. The six redactions analyzed briefly above demonstrate an engagement on the part of six editor/readers with a specific aspect of the text; these 'editors' consciously impose a form which is different from that conceived by the original author/compiler. In these circumstances it is important to consider other aspects of presentation of the 'standard' text, particularly the illustrations which accompany it. In the manuscripts of the English translation two totally independent decisions about the presentation of the text result in a different interpretation of the work being offered.

## 2. The Illustration of Mandeville's Travels

Mandeville's Travels, to judge from the condition of surviving manuscripts, was conceived of as a popular rather than a luxury text. A few luxury manuscripts exist, but the majority are mainly 'cheaply produced and undistinguished in appearance' (50) and often on paper rather than on vellum. No early manuscript suggesting a widely disseminated cycle of illustration has come down to us. The earliest dated manuscript (18 September 1371), Paris, BN fonds fr. nouv. acq. 4515, was written by Raoulet d'Orleans for Maître Gervaise Crestien, first physician to Charles V, who presented the manuscript to his royal master (51). According to Bennett (52) the production of the manuscript shows signs of haste with regard both to text and to the layout of the illustrations. There are six illuminations, four of which occur on fol. 1r, arranged in the form of a square containing four compartments with barbed quatrefoil borders (53). The first compartment shows the writer (presumably Mandeville himself) and his book in the guise of author presenting his text to the reader (54); the second compartment depicts the book being presented by Gervaise Crestien to the king. The two miniatures on the lower register have a more obviously

narrative content: they present the tale of Hippocrates' daughter. On the left we see a castle out of which emerges the head and fore-quarters of a dragon; a mounted knight on the right of the miniature rides towards it. In the compartment on the right the same narrative formula pertains: the dragon, top left, pursues the same knight (the pose of horse and rider is now reversed) who turns back anxiously to watch her. The forequarters of the horse are entering the water. Thus we have two connected narrative episodes: the setting out on the quest and its failure -- a narrative before-and-after. The other two miniatures occur in closer proximity to the text they illustrate: on fol. 34r is the Transfiguration and on fol. 36v St Paul with a sword over his shoulder teaches St Luke from an open book (55). From this proximity Bennett argues that a more profuse series was originally intended 'but the scribe outran the illuminator and failed to leave space for them' (56). This seems an improbably ad hoc situation for the production of a luxury manuscript. It is more usual for the reverse to happen: that the scribe leaves spaces for more illuminations than are actually completed.

The illustrations of the other French manuscripts do not address themselves to narrative aspects of the text: they consist of conventional 'author' portraits or presentation pictures. BN fonds fr. 5637 (fourteenth century) and Amiens, Bibl. Municipale fonds L'Escalopier 95 (fifteenth century) both have a presentation miniature as their only illustration. BN fonds fr. 6019 (fourteenth century) and Chantilly, Musée Condé 699 (fourteenth century) have a miniature showing a knight, possibly meant to represent Sir John Mandeville. A similarly modest programme is to be found, as we have seen, in the early fifteenth-century copy of the Travels in Cambridge, Trinity College MS R. 4. 20 (57). A combination of the author portrait and the presentation miniature appears in a manuscript that was once in

Paris (58). The presentation miniature contains an unusual variant, showing Mandeville as an old pilgrim offering his book to a man dressed as the Grand Master of the Hospitalers. It can be seen from this that the miniatures engage with the text on a very rudimentary level (59).

The only lavishly illustrated de luxe volume emanating from the country of origin of the Travels is BN fonds fr. 2810 Le Livre des Merveilles. This manuscript is a compilation by Jean le Long of the important travel books available to the early years of the fifteenth century including some which were sources for the Travels itself. It contains Marco Polo's Il Milione (fols. 1r-96v); Odoric de Pordenone's Itinerarius (fols. 97r-115v); Guillaume de Boldensele's Itinerarium (fols. 116r-132v); the letter of the Grand Khan to Pope Benedict XII and the estate of the Grand Khan written by the Archbishop Saltensis (fols. 133r-140v); Mandeville's Travels (fols. 141r-225v); Hayton's Fleurs des Histoires d'Orient (fols. 226r-267v); and Ricold de Montcroix's journey to the East (fols. 268r-297v). The manuscript contains 265 miniatures including seventy-four to illustrate Mandeville's Travels. It was probably commissioned by Jean sans Peur and was given to the Duke of Berry as a New Year's gift by his nephew Jean, Duke of Burgundy in 1413 (60), that is, some fifty years after the probable date of composition of the text. As Meiss observes:

The Merveilles is the most richly illustrated compendium of this kind; some earlier manuscripts of these texts, including Italian ones, were embellished with miniatures but fewer in number (61).

Since fresh miniatures were evidently evolved for all the texts in the compilation there is no reason to postulate a pre-existent cycle of illustrations for the Travels on which the artists of fr. 2810 were able to draw.

Traditional material was, however, available to the compiler of



a cycle of illustration for the Travels. The marvels and monsters, for example, derived through Vincent of Beauvais from Pliny, Solinus, and Isidore of Seville, which have a significant role in Mandeville's Travels, have a venerable tradition of pictorial representation. Wittkower (62) concludes after a careful study that there must have been a large stock of classical marvel illustrations which reached the Middle Ages through different channels. One such channel is provided by three manuscripts of the Marvels of the East which uses the fiction of an epistle from 'Fermes' to the Emperor Hadrian purporting to describe a journey to the East as an excuse to assemble a collection of strange sights (63). These manuscripts are BL Cotton Vitellius A. xv, which contains a collection of important texts in Anglo-Saxon including Beowulf of which only the Marvels of the East is illustrated, written c. 1000; Cotton Tiberius B. v. vol. i, an eleventh-century manuscript, written in Latin and Anglo-Saxon before the conquest and, according to James, one of the best productions of the Anglo-Saxon school; and Bodley 614, a manuscript from the early part of the twelfth century written exclusively in Latin. The text of 'Fermes' offered by these manuscripts is a clumsy abridgement; the interest lies in the accompanying cycle of illustrations. Cotton Tiberius and Bodley 615 share a common archetype, thus confirming the continuity of the monster tradition. Of interest to the reader of Mandeville is the sciapod (Bodley fol. 50r); the cynocephalus (Vitellius fol. 100r; Tiberius fol. 80r; Bodley fol. 38v); the acephalus (Vitellius fol. 102v; Tiberius fol. 82r; Bodley fol. 41r); the man with the abnormally large lip (Bodley fol. 50v, but unlike the description in Mandeville the lip which he is pulling up to shield his face from the sun is clearly the lower one); and the parrot (Bodley fol. 51r -- no doubt still considered sufficiently exotic in the twelfth century to find itself in a collection of marvels). At least one of the manuscripts (Tiberius) seems to have been planned round the

miniatures, to judge from the scribe's practice of leaving spaces at the bottom of a column so as to synchronize the text with the illustration. There are two columns per page and the position of the miniature in the column varies; the Latin comes underneath, followed by the Anglo-Saxon translation.

The romance tradition, also, helped to disseminate such images of the East. The Romance of Alexander is of the utmost importance in this connection: it contains much fabulous material about India, and the illustrative cycles associated with it did much to give currency to visual material concerning the East (64). Maps of the world provide an additional source for the visualization of the fabulous races: the Hereford map of the last quarter of the thirteenth century is perhaps the most outstanding example (65). It, too, would seem to have classical prototypes. Letts finds that the Hereford map illustrations provide a perfect visual accompaniment to Mandeville's Travels (66). In a different medium, the marvels formed part of church imagery, appearing on tympani, portals, and misericords (67). Cynocephali and sciapodes also became part of the drolleries in the margins of Psalters and Books of Hours (68). That these images continued almost unchanged throughout the Middle Ages is proved by their inclusion in various programmes of illustration to printed books, including those to Mandeville's Travels (69). And the monster images are a predictable formula to be utilized by the artist of BL MS Royal 17 C. xxxviii, a manuscript which relies heavily on convention and cliché for its pictorial programme.

Surprisingly, though fonds 2810 as a whole reveals the influence of the Marvels of the East and related pictorial traditions, the illustrations to Mandeville's Travels are relatively sparing in this regard. Though the cynocephali appear in illustrations to Marco Polo and Oderic de Pordenone, they are absent in the Travels; nor is there



any visual allusion to the sciapodes. Two kinds of acephali are depicted in the same miniature, both those which have faces in their chests, and those which have faces behind their backs (Omont pl. 163). Other strange creatures make a brief appearance: there is a miniature depicting the hermit (either St Anthony or St Paul) and the satyr (Omont pl. 126); hermaphrodites are shown on fol. 195r (Omont pl. 164); centaurs and griffins of the proper mythological type are also shown (Omont pl. 180), as are the horned men who dwell in the desert beyond the river of sand (Omont pl. 182). In addition, hybrid creatures are inserted into the illustration of the Old Man of the Mountain's 'paradise': human-headed birds and animals can be seen disporting themselves in front of the walls (Omont pl. 183). Care is thus taken to respond to the wonderful element in the book even if some of the more conventional elements are missing. The independence of the illustrators from previous Mandeville illustrations is perhaps best demonstrated by the absence of any visual reference to the story of Hippocrates' daughter, a theme which received extensive treatment in fonds fr. nouv. acq. 4515. Two other legendary and romance themes are, however, illustrated: the youth who violated the corpse of his betrothed lady (Omont pl. 125) and the castle of the sparrowhawk (Omont pl. 147). Unlike the later woodcut tradition, the illustrators of fr. 2810 choose to depict the actual violation rather than its consequences: the scene is thus an adaptation of a conventional courtly embrace between two lovers, albeit slightly macabre with its graveyard location.

No doubt the absence of cynocephali from the programme of illustration reflects a concern for the impact of the manuscript as a whole and a wish not to be repetitive. Some of the illustrations were no doubt freshly created for the text but others seem to have been supplied because they could be derived from convenient prototypes.



Romance and marvel materials apart, it seems probable that themes like Jacob's ladder (fol. 161v Omont pl. 132), the agony in the Garden of Gethsemane (fol. 164r Omont pl. 134) and the sacrifice of Isaac (fol. 167r Omont pl. 136), scenes which occur in neither of the manuscripts illustrated in England, were provided not only because they were appropriate to the context but also because traditional prototypes could be drawn on. In a different context, in the illustration of the hermaphrodites, the stance and gesture of the pair on the left, who are differentiated as male and female apart from a dual set of genitals, suggests that an illustration of Adam and Eve by the tree of knowledge has been adapted for the purpose, the tree of knowledge having been omitted.

A second series of visual images is provided for Mandeville's Travels by an artist of the highest quality in BL Add. MS 24189 (70). It is difficult to make pronouncements about the pictorial programme of this manuscript for two reasons. Firstly, unlike other manuscripts which will be considered, these miniatures exist independently of any text. The manuscript, composed of fourteen vellum leaves with a miniature on either side, looks like an attempt to create a picture book out of the Travels. Warner suggests that the leaves are displaced and attempts to reorder them so as to achieve narrative coherence. This involves him in a number of incongruities: while the illustration of fol. 3r, a picture of a scribe writing, is, naturally enough, designated Pl. I, fol. 3v is not presented until Pl. IV, the illustrations on fol. 4r (another scene of composition) and on fol. 4v being interposed. Only fols. 4, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 15 and 16 have the rectos and versos following each other in sequential order. One must assume either a lack of interest in narrative sequence on the part of the illustrator or a flaw in Warner's hypothetical reconstruction.

The second problem is that the material illustrated is all

derived from the earlier portion of the Travels: the visual narrative only continues as far as Samson carrying off the gates of Gaza; in other words, well before the description of Jerusalem. It is therefore impossible to say whether the manuscript is incomplete and a full programme of Mandeville illustrations was envisaged or whether the artist or owner was solely concerned with the earlier portions of the text. Certainly, had the series been completed with the same copious attention that is given to this earlier part, it would have been the most extensive cycle extant. The response to the narrative is leisurely and literal-minded.

The illustrations to date reveal an interest in the theme of journeying by sea in the initial folios (Warner's order) as well as circumstances of authorship and production. These non-narrative elements are supplemented by a careful focus on events in the journey and the narrative allusions provided. Three illustrations related to the legend of the cross are supplied although, surprisingly enough, no reference to the finding of the true cross is made. Similarly the account of relics to be found at Constantinople gives the artist licence to insert a series of three illustrations connected with Christ's Passion: Christ crowned with thorns in the garden; Christ crowned with thorns in the presence of the High Priest; and Christ crowned with thorns in the presence of Pilate. In fact these illustrations refer to a portion of the narrative which is given very sketchy visual notice in fonds fr. 2810. Whereas the latter manuscript conflates the relics of the passion into a single scene merely showing the relics in individual shrines, Add. 24189 expands the theme into a narrative involving scenes from the actual life of Christ. There is thus no relationship at all between the two manuscripts either iconographically or stylistically.

The two illustrated English manuscripts of Mandeville's Travels,



BL MSS Harley 3954 and Royal 17 C. xxxviii, have iconographic programmes which bear no relationship to each other and little relationship to the two manuscripts previously described. Occasionally they may concur on the subjects chosen for illustration and there may even be visual reminiscences in the way the subject is treated. However, the discrepancy in style and quality suggests rather a coincidence in creating a visual equivalence for the same portion of the text than the dissemination of a cycle (71). Thus it seems probable in all four cases that the pictorial programme was created from the text itself with varying degrees of fidelity and with varying degrees of reliance on prototypes available from additional sources. The very heterogeneous nature of Mandeville's Travels associates the text conveniently with other illustrated genres since the text itself is an amalgam of pious and romance motifs.

It would be untrue to say, however, that every manuscript of the Travels is iconographically independent: Bennett points out that two manuscripts of the Dutch translations are obviously closely connected. Lüneburg Ratsbücherei MS C. 8 Fol. has the same pictures, alphabets and table of contents as Berlin, Staatsbibliothek. Germ. Fol. 204. This latter manuscript has, apparently, 'many pictures' and was written in 1430, about the time that Harley was being produced, though probably too late for Royal.

Germany was a centre of interest in Mandeville's Travels and there are three manuscripts extant in which illustrations accompany the German text. Two of them contain the translation by Otto von Diemeringen which, according to Malcolm Letts (72), must have been translated from a French text which interpolated the exploits of Ogier the Dane since that redoubtable personality makes his appearance. One of these manuscripts, Vienna, Nationalbibliothek Cod. 2838, dated by its colophon 1476, is too late to concern us, but the other, BL Add.



MS 17335, has not been dated more precisely than 'fifteenth century' (73). Both of them are profusely illustrated. The miniatures in Add. 17335 are small square ink drawings coloured with wash inserted into the text space. Some of the same subjects are selected for illustration as are depicted in Harley 3954 but there is little resemblance between them. The story of Hippocrates' daughter is provided with a series of three illustrations. The closest resemblance is possibly between the burial of the Khan on fol. 50r of both Add. and Harley.

The translation which is at present of more interest is that by Michel Velser. It was made towards the end of the fourteenth century, the earliest dated manuscript having been written in 1408 (74). The only illustrated manuscript of this version is New York Public Library Spencer MS 37; again, since the colophon reveals that it was completed 7 September 1459 (75), it is slightly too late to be of direct concern for this study. None the less, this translation is important in a less direct way: the source of the woodcuts used in Wynkyn de Worde's first edition are copies from the cuts designed by Anton Sorg to accompany his publication of Velser's translation in Augsburg in 1481 (76). Sorg's cuts were used to accompany the French as well as the German text of the Travels, and Bennett concludes: 'there is good reason to believe that what de Worde's artisan had before him was an edition of the Travels in French, printed in Lyons about 1490' (77). Thomas East's 1568 edition copies a selected number of de Worde's woodcuts thus demonstrating the tenacity of Sorg's original design.

### 3. The Presentation of the Text in the English Illustrated Manuscripts

Having established that the 'standard' text of Mandeville's Travels in its English translation was vulnerable to modification and

that there was no widespread tradition of illustration of the work to which artists could refer, it is legitimate to see each illustrated Mandeville's Travels manuscript as the product of an independent solution on the part of its compiler as to how to present the text. Illustrations may be instrumental in allowing an insight into his conception of the work. The commissioner of an illustrated Travels manuscript may also have played an active part in specifying its format. The way in which a text is presented in manuscript may indicate adaptation for a particular purpose. We may speculate, for example, that the initial effect of the miniatures on fol. 1r of Paris BN MS fonds fr. nouv. acq. 4515, was to create an ambience of legend and courtly romance as well as the aristocratic milieu suggested by the scenes of presentation and authorship. This may have been modified by the scriptural allusions presented in the other two miniatures. None the less, the legendary and scriptural is promoted at the expense of the geographical and explicatory.

The opposite effect is presented by BL Add. MS 37049. As we have seen, the text contained on fols. 3r-9r of this manuscript emphasizes the factual, stressing the city of Jerusalem itself. The visual accompaniment, such as it is to this section of the manuscript, reinforces this rhetorical emphasis: preceding the text on fol. 3r is a half page tinted drawing of the city of Jerusalem labelled round the walls 'ierusalem ciuitas sancta'. The city wall is circular with a large gateway inside which is a cluster of houses and churches. The city motif is very similar to portions of a city shown on fol. 9v, an illustration accompanying an abstract from a chronicle beginning 'þe cronykyls tels that þe cyte of Babylon ...'

Although fol. 2v is not included in Seymour's transcription of the Travels portion of the manuscript, its subject is associated with the text. It consists of a diagram of the world and its division by



Noah's sons, a topic which receives some consideration in the 'standard' version; Ham, Shem, and Japhet are mentioned in the section about the Great Khan and the reasons for his name (Seymour pp. 160-161). Fol. 2v. is dominated by a T-and-O diagram of the world surrounded by a frame consisting of two concentric circles round which the four cardinal points of the compass are written. 'Oriens' complete with crescent is, naturally, at the top. The four elements are noted in this diagram: two bands divide the top of the map from its circular frame; they are labelled 'þis is þe element of fyre' -- with appropriate visual notation -- and 'þis is þe eliment of þe ayer' -- with stylized cloud shapes. Labels on the map itself denote 'þe elyment of erth' and 'þe eliment of watyr'. Also on the map are stylized cities with labels or just a label denoting the location of a particular city. Strangely enough Jerusalem does not receive as much emphasis as Syria, but this may be because of the prominent focus on Jerusalem on the facing page. Underneath are eleven lines of text in the same hand as the Mandeville's Travels epitome beginning: 'The thre sonnes of Noe dyvyded þe world in þre partes emange þaim after þe gret flode'. The subject matter has connections with the 'standard' version of Mandeville's Travels but appears to be textually unrelated. It can be seen that the topographical visual gloss provided by the miniature of the city to the Travels section of the manuscript is extended and enhanced by the material on the page facing. Jerusalem as the cynosure of pilgrims is stressed by the provision of a conventional iconographic motif; the two-page spread means that the reader's eye moves from the known world with its physical composition (the elements) and its cities, to the chief of cities -- Jerusalem.

These issues of focus and effect reveal themselves in more extended form in a comparison of the two English manuscripts to be supplied with an extensive cycle of illustration. BL MSS Harley 3954



and Royal 17 C. xxxviii (Microfilm 3) are the only two English vernacular manuscripts of Mandeville's Travels to have a full programme of illustration. Textually they are not far apart, being different recensions of the same version (78); but they differ considerably in format and their iconographic programme is unrelated. Harley is a compilation of texts written in the '1st half (possibly 2nd quarter)' (79) of the fifteenth century; Mandeville's Travels occupies fols. 1-69v. The mise-en-page (80) of the Travels differs slightly from that of the rest of the manuscript since it is the only item to be illustrated; the other items are set out in double columns, whereas there is no column division for the text of the Travels (81). There are 100 tinted illustrations in the text plus one supplied at a later date and thirty-eight spaces left for miniatures by the scribe which were not supplied by the artist. 'Leaf 9 of the 8th quire (now lost) probably contained two full-page drawings, the text of ff 66v-67 being continuous' (82). This portion of the manuscript has been most carefully planned: there are rubrics in red in the outer margins recto and verso to help the reader find various points in the text, a necessary piece of apparatus since there are neither running titles nor chapter headings. The rubrics accompany some of the miniatures as well as portions of the textual narrative, thus impartially drawing the reader's attention to visual accompaniment and to text. There is, however, no table of contents.

The illustrations have been most carefully synchronized with the text: indeed, as Seymour points out (83), the text has been deliberately edited so that each line that precedes or follows a drawing generally marks the beginning or end of a paragraph. The shape of the book is unusually tall and thin (11½ x 5½ inches) like a holster book; which is what Kane (84) dubs it. Seymour (85) disagrees on the ground that the book shows little signs of use and suggests that it was interest in

pictorial accompaniment to the text that dictated the format. Certainly, on many fols., the manuscript looks like an annotated picture-book (86). These are well distributed throughout the manuscript with major concentration in the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth quires. It is impossible to tell whether the concentration of illustrations in these gatherings reflects a heightening of interest on the part of the owner or compiler of the manuscript in the text contained in them and a wish to find visual equivalents for it; an availability of models for illustrations at that point; or some other reason. Whatever the motives behind the planning of the manuscript in this way, the effect is that some sections of the narrative are provided with an extensive pictorial programme while others have no visual accompaniment. The portion of the narrative in the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth quires is concerned with the last section of the Travels from the objects of worship of the people of 'chana' onwards; in other words it deals principally with strange habits, customs and acts of worship. The placement of the illustrations in itself provides a means of highlighting certain aspects of the text.

Picture and text are, visually, tightly integrated. The miniatures themselves are substantial in size, occupying between ten and seventeen lines of the page. Though the draughtmanship is mediocre, the disposition of the figures, and the numbers of figures involved, are often quite sophisticated. The artist is interested in the portrayal of narrative. He often captures figures at the moment of performing some vigorous action and there is some attempt to depict qualities of engagement and response between them. Landscape motifs are abstract and stylized. Some of the painting is incomplete. The artist uses a limited palette of green, brown, ochre, red and blue (hence sometimes purple); faces are sometimes given a pink wash, and sometimes a heavy bluish-green pigment has been used, some of which is



flaking off; but in many illustrations areas of parchment have been left blank.

The script is a professional one; the hand is 'close to, but not identical with, Hand II of B.M. Arundel 327, written in Cambridge in 1447, possibly by a S.W. Suffolk scribe' (87). The presence of guide-letters by most of the rubricated initials, some of which were never filled in, suggests, if not a separate rubricator, at least a situation in which the rubrications were done at a slightly later date. The marginal rubrics may have served as a guide to the illustrator though they are also present in the margins to draw attention to various aspects of the text. That the rubrics were done before the illustrations can be ascertained from fol. 61v where the paint of the miniature obscures the rubric accompanying it in the margin: the rubric reads 'lyonnys of dyuers colow[rys]'; a portion of the 'y' graph can be seen in the field of the miniature.

Royal, a vellum manuscript of sixty-one fols., dates from the first quarter of the fifteenth century (88). It contains a single item -- Mandeville's Travels -- although on fol. 2v. there is a portion of an itinerary, half of which is torn off, and on fol. 3r there is a diagram of the points of the compass. The Travels themselves are set out in double columns. Seymour speaks of the excellence of the penmanship and decoration: 'it has been most carefully edited by its scribe and supplied with a table of contents' (89). This table of contents begins on fol. 4r and the text itself on fol. 6v. The table of contents is analytic: it presents the text divided into chapters and lists the major items which appear in each chapter. The text itself is lavishly provided with rubrics in the margin at appropriate places; they conform almost exactly to the chapter sub-headings in the table of contents, thus providing an easy way for the reader to locate passages in the text. Divisions in the text and table of contents are



indicated by gold champ initials. It can be seen that both Royal and Harley have important textual apparatus which supplements the miniatures in indicating the location of various portions of the text, the textual apparatus of Royal being considerable. Both manuscripts are concerned to guide the reader round the text and to enable him to find his place with ease.

There are 111 illustrations in Royal in the lower margins (90). This means that no thought needed to be given to their presence when the text was planned. The depth of the margin is fairly substantial (2½ inches). As is the case with Harley, the quality of the illustrations is mediocre, but some gilt paint has been used in their colouring. Unlike Harley the depictions are totally lacking in vigour, being static and formulaic. There is little narrative engagement; the artist rings the changes on a number of stereotypes. There are basically three motifs which are adapted to suit any contingency: a mountain; a single standing figure; and an architectural motif, especially in the form of a castle. Furthermore, the illustrations in Royal are more in the nature of diagrams in that most are provided with an explicatory label: only six illustrations have no label of any kind. That the labels were supplied after the pictures had been done is evident from the position of the labels: some of them are written across the implied field of the miniature, often surrounding the main figure -- e.g. 'Seynt' (figure of a standing woman) 'Eline'. The labelling hand is very similar to the rubricating hand; indeed, the labels frequently reproduce or extend information contained in the glosses (91).

The two manuscripts are iconographically and stylistically unrelated, yet the illustrations depict the same text. Since they are not iconographically dependent they form a useful contrast in discussing the way illustration can serve to present the same text in

a different light. Table Three provides a comparative catalogue of the subject matter of the illustrations showing which subjects are illustrated at equivalent points in each manuscript, as well as equivalent iconographic units. The folio number of each illustration is provided, together with the folio number of the portion of text illustrated so that synchronization between picture and text can be studied. Some notice of the Royal illustrations appears in Warner's and Gilson's catalogue of the Royal and King's collection; my catalogue provides minor corrections to their account. (1) or (2) after folio references to Royal indicates column 1 or column 2; (3) denotes that the miniature occurs in the centre of the lower margin. Since the illustrations of Harley have never been studied before, I provide a fuller account of their subject-matter.

Table Three

HARLEY 3954

ROYAL 17 C. xxxviii

<u>fol. of min.</u>	<u>subject</u>	<u>fol. of text</u>	<u>fol. of min.</u>	<u>subject</u>	<u>fol. of text</u>
1./1r	Mandeville leaving St Albans and being blessed to go on pilgrimage	2r			
2./2r	Mandeville setting sail	2r			
3./2r	Mandeville displaying alternative routes to the Holy Land	2r			
4./2v	River Danube showing tributaries	2v			
5./3r	City of Constantinople, statue of the Emperor Justinian, Sancta Sophia	3r	1./8v(1)	Statue of the Emperor Justinian	8v(1)
6./3v (top)	Pilgrims adoring the relics of Christ's passion: the sponge and spear	3r (bottom))	2./9r(1)	Christ's cross	9r(1)
			3./9r(2)	'The <u>scripture</u> of the cross'	9r(2)
7./4r	Seth at the gates of Paradise	4r	4./9r(2)	Adam's apple	9r(2)
8./4v	The finding of the true cross	4v	5./9v(1)	Saint Helen	9v(2)
9./4v	Mandeville adoring half of the crown of thorns	4v-5r	6./9v(2)	The crown of thorns	9v(2)
10./5v (top)	Mandeville adoring crown of thorns at Constantinople	5r (bottom)	7./10r(1)	'albe spine'	10r(1)
11./5v (bottom)	City of Troy	6r (top)			
12./6r	L. The 'many spechys & cuntres þ <sup>t</sup> ben obeysaunt to þe <u>emperor</u> ', R. Mount Athos	6r	8./10v(1)	Spearshaft and Mount Athos	10v(1) and (2)



HARLEY 3954ROYAL 17 C. xxxviii

<u>fol. of min.</u>	<u>subject</u>	<u>fol. of text</u>	<u>fol. of min.</u>	<u>subject</u>	<u>fol. of text</u>
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13./6r	Lords holding council round Aristotle's 'altar'	) ) 6r)
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14./6v	Philosophers writing in the dust at the top of Mount Olympus	) ) 6v)
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15./6v	Jousting in the Emperor of Constantinople's palace	6v
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16./7r	Finding of Hermogenes' body	7r
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9./10v(2)	Mount Olympus	11r(1)
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10./11v(1)	A standing bearded figure [rubbed] to depict 'Treup of grekys'	11v(1)
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11./12r(1)	'Symonye': a purse	12r(1)
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17./8v	Ipocras' daughter as a dragon	8r-9r
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12./12v(3)	John the Evangelist	12v(1)
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13./14v(1)	People sitting in ditches to eat	14v(1)
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14./15r(1)	'Mount Carme' with Elija the prophet	15r(2)
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18./10r (bottom)	Men digging gravel from the 'fosse of mynon' and blowing glass to show glass can be made from this gravel	10v (top)
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15./15r(2)	Saints James and John	15r(2)
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16./15v(1)	Samson pulling down the palace of the Philistines	15v(1)
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(The depiction is totally lacking in vigour: it could be anyone lounging in any doorway. Warner and Gilson describe this illustration as being of Samson lifting the gates of Gaza and this is plausible though Samson is

<u>fol. of min.</u>	<u>subject</u>	<u>fol. of text</u>	<u>fol. of min.</u>	<u>subject</u>	<u>fol. of text</u>
				grasping a pillar rather than a gate. There is no reference in the text to stealing the gates ('And þer slow Sampson þe fōrt þe kyng in his paly's') though there is in the Cotton text and the illustration on fol. 16v of BL Add. MS 24189 shows Samson carrying off the gates.)	
			17./15v(2)	Mount Sinai	15v(2)
			18./16r(1)	'Soudan of Babilon'	16r(1)
			19./16r(2)	Mount of Saint Katherine	16r(2)
19./11v	The Bedouins	11v	20./16v(1)	'A man of alle maner liþer condicions' -- i.e. a Bedouin	16v(1)
			21./17r(1)	The vale of Hebron	17r(1)
20./12v (top)	Digging for 'cambyl'	12r (bottom)	22./17r(2)	'Roch Idum'	17r(2)
21./12v	The dry tree; Mount 'Mambre'; Lot's grave	12v	23./17v(1)	The dry tree	17v(1)
22./13r	Falsely accused lady saved by miracle from burning	13r	24./17v(2)	Jasper	) the three kings : 18r(2)
			18r(1)	Melchior	
			18r(2)	Balthazar	
23./13v	Mandeville adoring Virgin at Church of St Nicholas where she rested and relieved herself of too much milk	13v			
24./14r	Annunciation to the shepherds; Rachel's tomb	14r			

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<u>fol. of min.</u>	<u>subject</u>	<u>fol. of text</u>	<u>fol. of min.</u>	<u>subject</u>	<u>fol. of text</u>
			25./19v(1)	Tomb of our lord; a lamp	19v(1)
			26./19v(2)	Mount Calvary	19v(2)
			27./20r(1)	Scroll with Christ's age written on it	20r(1)
			28./20r(2)	The true cross with nails	20r(2)
			29./21r(1)	The vale of Josaphat -- a mountain with Christ's footprints to be seen on top -- i.e. iconography of the ascension. 21r(1) mentions vale of Josaphat but does not discuss the ascension; 24v(1) mentions the ascension	24v(1)
			30./21r(2)	'templum domini'	21r(1)
			31./21v(1)	The emperor Hadrian	21v(1-2)
			32./22r(1)	King Solomon -- only marginally relevant: the text on f. 21v(1) (bottom) and (2)(top) reads: 'And siþ Adrian þe Emperor makyd ierusalem azen and þe temple in þe same maner. þat Salomon makyd hit'	21v(1-2)
			33./22v(2)	A Templar	22v(2)
			34./23r(1)	Herod Ascalonite)	23r (2)
			23r(3)	Herod Antipas	
			23r(2)	Herod Agrippa	
			35./23v(1)	Mount Sion	23v(1)
			36./23v(2)	Judas hanging himself	24r(1)
			37./24r(1)	Mount Joye	24r(2)
			38./24r(2)	Mount Olivet	24r(2)



<u>fol. of min.</u>	<u>subject</u>	<u>fol. of text</u>	<u>fol. of min.</u>	<u>subject</u>	<u>fol. of text</u>
			39./24v(1)	Saint Julian	24v(1)
			40./24v(2)	Mount Galilee	24v(2)

25./19r A puzzling illustration showing the outline of a building (?city wall) and gate. L. foreground roughly drawn head and shoulders of crouching fig.; R. foreground crouching fig. Rubric in margin by min. reads: 'þe dede See', but there seems little in the text to prompt this composition. The 'standard' text at this point reads: 'And nouthur man ne best ne nothing that bereth lif in him ne may not dyen in that see. And that hath ben preued many tymes be men that han disserued to ben dede that han be cast therinne and left thereinne iii. dayes or iiiii., and thei ne myghte neuer dye therinne for it resceyueth nothing withinne him that bereth lif. And no man may drynken of the water for bytternesse' (Seymour pp. 73-74). If we concentrate on the figure, the illustration may represent a living man cast out of the sea, or an unfortunate trying to get a drink. The text of the manuscript is corrupt at this point (f. 19v): 'ne no maner beste þ<sup>t</sup> comyth þ<sup>e</sup>rinne may lyue & þ<sup>t</sup> hath be preuyd many tymes. ffor þ<sup>e</sup>i cast þ<sup>e</sup>rinne men þ<sup>t</sup> han be dampnyd to deth'. If we concentrate on the building, on the other hand, the illustration may depict the hermitage of the 'Georgyenys' mentioned just above on fol. 19r.

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<u>fol. of min.</u>	<u>subject</u>	<u>fol. of text</u>	<u>fol. of min.</u>	<u>subject</u>	<u>fol. of text</u>
26./19v	Lot's wife	19v			
27./20r	The River Jordan	20r	41./25v(2)	The River Jordan	25v(2)
			42./26r(2)	The ark of God	26r(2)
			43./26v(1)	John the Baptist	26v(1)
			44./26v(2)	Jacob's Well	26v(2)
			45./27v(2)	Mount Liban	28r(1)
			46./28r(1)	Hares playing shawm and bag- pipes - see p. 00	
28./23r	Cain killing Abel; Damascas merchants	23r	47./29r(1)	'Mount Syry'	29r(1)
29./24r	?The image of our lady	?23r	48./29r(2)	The image of our lady	29r(2)
			49./29v(2)	'The castel of Chynay'	29v(2)
			50./30r(1)	'Mount Madyn'	30r(1)
			51./30r(2)	'Castel fflorach'	30r(2)
30./24v	The diet and environment of the Tartars	24v	(52./30v(1)	'Castel Pellerynes'	30v(1)
			(		
			(53./31r(1)	Prince Raco	31r(1)
			54./31v(1)	The Koran on a lectern	31v(1)
			55./32r(1)	The angel of the annunciation	32r(1)
			56./32v(2)	'pe soudan of <u>ierusalem'</u>	32v(2)
			57./33r(2)	Mahomet	33v(1) ff

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<u>fol. of min.</u>	<u>subject</u>	<u>fol. of text</u>	<u>fol. of min.</u>	<u>subject</u>	<u>fol. of text</u>
31./28r	St. Athanasius in prison composing 'Quicumque vult'	28r	58./34v(2)	Saint Athanasius	34v(2)
32./28v	Castle of the sparrowhawk with youth watching bird	28v			
33./29r	Monk bringing plank from Noah's ark back to abbey	29r	59./35v(1)	Noah's ark and monk	35v(1)
34./29v	Men digging and gathering salt from the hill of salt	29v			
35./30r	The 'euyi clad' women of Chaldea	30r			
36./30r (bottom)	Amazons	30v(top)	60/36r(2)	An Amazon	36r(2)
(30v (bottom)	Space left for miniature: ?A well too hot by day and cold by night?	31r(top)]	61./36v(1)	A well too hot by day and cold by night	36v(2)
37./31r	Sciapodes symmetrically arranged: two shading their faces from the sun, one standing	31r	62./36v(2)	A sciapod shading his face	36v(2)
38./31v (bottom)	Large eels	32r(top)	63./37r(2)	'Greet eelis'. Warner and Gilson transcribe this as 'selis'	37v(1)
39./32r	Men with large genitals; people lying in water to cool themselves	32r	64./37v(1) 65./37v(2)	Saturn a planet The isle of Hermes	37v(1) 37v(2)
40./32v	Ships without iron nails	32v			
41./32v	Various objects of worship of people of 'chana': fire and the sun	32v )			
42./33r	Various objects of worship of the people of 'chana': adders and trees	33r )	66./38r(1)	'A symulacre'	38r(1)
43./33r	Men worshipping first thing they see in the morning	33r )	67./38r(2)	'pe lle of Cana'	37v(2)
44./33r (bottom)	Men worshipping idols	33v(top) )			



<u>fol. of min.</u>	<u>subject</u>	<u>fol. of text</u>	<u>fol. of min.</u>	<u>subject</u>	<u>fol. of text</u>
(fol. 33v	Two spaces for illustration left: text gives further details about 'idolys' and 'symilacres')				
(fol. 34r	Two spaces for illustration left. A? illustrating discussion about ox's suitability as an idol? B? illustrating discussion about suitability of worshipping adders? An element of reduplication seems to be involved in the projected iconographic programme at this point)				
45./34v	Huge dog-sized rats being hunted by dogs	34v			
46./34v	'Mandeville' and others drinking from the well of youth	34v	68./38v(1)	The well of youth	38v(1)
(Fol. 35r	Space left for miniature: ?People worshipping the ox? -- see comments to f. 34r above)				
47./35r	Ritual with ox's dung ('gawle')	35r	69./38v(3)	'Holy ping': artist seems to be illustrating label rather than text	38v(2)
48./35v	People sacrificing to an idol	35v	70./38v(2)	An idol	38v(2)
49./35v	Suttee	35v			
50./36r	Bearded women and beardless men	36r			
51./36r	Judgement by hand of St Thomas	36r-v	71./39r(1)	Tomb of St Thomas	39r(1)
52./36v	Devotees mutilating themselves in front of their idol; another devotee throwing precious stones into the river	36v	72./39r(2)	A pilgrim	39r(2)
53./37r	Procession in honour of the idol	37r	73./39v(1)	Crowned idol	39v(1)







HARLEY 3954ROYAL 17 C. xxxviiifol. of min.   subject   fol. of textfol. of min.   subject   fol. of text62./41r   Cynocephali fighting  
men   41r63./41r (bottom) Procession of  
dog-headed king round  
the city   41v(top)64./41v   Assurance by idol  
that sick man will  
die; cannibal's  
banquet   41v-42r83./43v(1)   Man eating bit  
of flesh   43v(1)

65./42r   Cyclopes   42r

84./43v(3)   Cyclops   43v(2)

66./42r   Headless people with  
faces beneath their  
shoulders   42r85./43v(2)   Headless man with  
face beneath his  
shoulders   43v(2)67./42r (bottom) Headless people  
with no eyes and with  
mouths behind their  
shoulders   42v(top)Text of Roy does not make  
this distinction68./42v   People with flat faces,  
no noses, small eyes  
and lipless mouths   42v69./42v   People with long  
upper lips   42v

Omitted in Roy

(fol. 42v Space left for miniature:  
?Hermaphrodites. Again,  
with the artists predilec-  
tion for representing  
genitalia in a crude but  
emphatic way, one wonders  
why this space was never  
filled; it was certainly  
not due to prudishness on  
the illustrator's part)70./43r   Small men who eat their  
food by sucking it up  
through a tube   43r86./44r(1)   Man sucking  
through a pipe   44r(1)(fol. 43r Space left for miniature:  
'Men han yne berdys as it  
were cattys taylys')(fol. 43v Two spaces left for  
miniatures:

A. Large birds

(Seems to be a bird, much rubbed  
outer margin)   44r

B. Large snakes)

87./44r(2)   Man feasting  
on an adder   44r(2)

<u>fol. of min.</u>	<u>subject</u>	<u>fol. of text</u>	<u>fol. of min.</u>	<u>subject</u>	<u>fol. of text</u>
(fol. 44r	Two spaces left for miniatures:				
	A. Hens that produce wool not feathers				
	B. People using an animal to catch fish)				
(71./44v	The city of Cassay -- drawing added later	44r)			
72./45r	A perplexing miniature. The marginal annotation reads 'Pygmeys'; the figures are certainly on a small scale but two of them have animal heads very similar to those of the idols in this manuscript. It is possible, especially in view of the building to the right of the miniature, that it is intended to represent the monks near Cassay who give food to 'dyuers bests. as apys marmesettis & othyr' on fol. 44v. However, the figures are not dressed as monks and one of the animal-headed figures is clothed	744v 745r	88./44v(1)	An ape	44v(1)
			89./44v(2)	A pigmy	44v(2)
73./45r	Pigmies fighting the cranes. A cynocephalus makes an inexplicable appearance	45r			
(fol. 45v	Space left for miniature: Seems to have been intended as a representation of the 'Sege of þe Can' -- but see min., 74)				
74./46r	Full-page (bar two lines) illustration of the Great Khan at table	45v-47r	90./45r(2)	Four pillars of gold	45r(2)
			91./45v(2)	A vine of gold	45v(2)
			92./46r(1)	Shem	46r(2)
			93./46v(3)	Sin of Ham and piety of Japhet	46v(1)
			94./47v(1)	'Mount Belyon'	47v(1)

HARLEY 3954ROYAL 17 C. xxxviiifol. of min. subject fol. of textfol. of min. subject fol. of text

(fol. 49r Space left for miniature:  
Text deals with the riding  
of the Khan)

95./48r(2) A philosopher 48r(2)

96./48v(2) The 'rydyng of þe  
gret Chane'  
48v(2)-49r(1)

97./49r(1) Lignum aloes 49r(1)

98./49v(1) Prester John or the  
great Khan: the  
illustration shows: a  
crowned figure with  
a mace; rubric to  
illustration reads:  
'Prester Johan daughter  
wif of þe gret chane'  
49v(2)75./50r (bottom) The burial of  
the great Khan 50v(top)99./50r(2) The death of the  
great Khan 50r(2)(fol. 50v Space left for miniature:  
?Choosing the new Khan?)

(fol. 51r Space left for miniature:  
The text above the space  
left for the illustration  
deals with the river of  
'Etel' which freezes so  
hard that 'men may fyth  
þeron in grete bataylys';  
the text below deals with  
'þe grete see occyan' and  
there is a rubric by this  
part of the text)

100./51r (whole of bas-de-page)  
'Port de ffeare' 51r(1)

(fol. 52r Space left for miniature:  
?The miraculous darkness  
caused by God to divert  
the Persian pursuers of  
the Christians?)

76./53r Men carrying huge  
bunches of grapes 53r101./52r(2) A tree that bears  
marvellous fruit --  
presumably the  
'vegetable lamb'. The  
illustration gives  
little indication  
52v(1)77./53r (bottom) The escape of  
Gog and Magog

( 102./52v(1) 'þe hille of Caspy3e'  
52v(1)  
53v ( 103./53r(1) A fox 53r(1)



<u>fol. of min.</u>	<u>subject</u>	<u>fol. of text</u>	<u>fol. of min.</u>	<u>subject</u>	<u>fol of text</u>
78./54r	An all-purpose picture of two couples of men fighting and stabbing each other to represent 'þe lond of bakarye qwer ben wykkyd men & felle'	54r			
79./54r	The carnivorous habits of the hippopotamus	54r		Not mentioned in Royal	
80./54v	A griffin carrying off an armed knight on a horse to its nest	54v	104./53r(2)	A griffin	53r(2)
81./55r	Becalmed ships growing vegetation 'as it had ben an lle of tres'	55r	105./54r(1)	A popinjay	54r(1)
(fol. 55v Space left for miniature: Above the space is some discussion of Prester John's lands; below the space: the gravelly sea)					
(fol. 56r Space left for illustration: ?Trees which grow and die daily with the progress of the sun across the sky?)					
82./56r	Horned men and 'popynjayis'	56r	106./54v(3)	'Rydyngge of Prester <u>John</u> '	54v(1)
83./57v	The devil's head in the Valley Perilous	57v-58r	107./56r(1)	The devil's head in the Valley Perilous	56r(1)
84./58v	Anthropophagous giants	58v			
(fol. 58v Space left for illustration: Text top of 59r speaks of even larger giants and huge sheep)					
85./59r	Women with jewels for eyes; results of their looking 'wyth wrethe'	59r	108./56v(1)	A woman with jewels for eyes	56v(1)
(fol. 59r Space left for miniature: Text top of 59v deals with the islanders afraid to take their wives' maidenheads and the men delegated to perform this socially useful function)					

fol. of min.   subject   fol. of text   fol. of min.   subject   fol. of text

86./59v Women burning their children 59v

(fol. 60r Space left for miniature: Text above space deals with islanders who put miscreant kings to death by refusing them food)

(fol. 60v Space left for illustration: Text bottom of 60r and top of 60v deals with incestuous wedding customs)

87./60v Crocodiles (looking like large snakes) 60v

(fol. 61r Space left for illustration: ?Cotton trees?)

88./61r Giraffes 61r 109/57v (all of bas-de-page) Giraffe 57v(2)

89./61v (top) Chameleons 61r(bottom)

90./61v Wild multi-coloured pigs 61v

91./61v Variously coloured lions 61v

92./62r Elephants being attacked by a 'lambrunn' 62r

(fol. 62v Space left for miniature: The correspondence between Alexander and the 'lord of feyth'. Space left for a miniature that would probably have depicted something very like one of the illuminations to Alexander B. in Bodley 264)

(fol. 63v Space left for illustration would probably have depicted a naked man)

93./63v Men who live on the smell of apples 63v

94./64r Men covered with feathers 64r 110./59r(1) Man covered with feathers 59r(1)

<u>fol. of min.</u>	<u>subject</u>	<u>fol. of text</u>	<u>fol. of min.</u>	<u>subject</u>	<u>fol. of text</u>
95./64r	Trees of the sun and moon	64r			
96./64v	White elephants	64v			
97./64v	Unicorns and lions	64v			
98./65r	Prester John making decision to be known as 'prest' rather than Emperor	65r	111./59v(1)	Prester john kneeling before a Crucifix	59v(1)
99./65v	Men tricking giant ants into surrendering gold	65v			
(fol. 66r Space left for miniature: possibly some cosmological diagram to represent words directly above space: 'ffor owre lord made þe Erthe al round In þe myddys off þe fymament'. Or possibly an illustration of the Earthly Paradise that is mentioned at the top of fol. 66v)					
100./67r	The country of Ryboth with tents and tutelary deity	67r			
101./67v	Burial customs: cutting off the head; hacking corpse in pieces and feeding pieces to birds	67v			
(fol. 68r Space left for miniature: ?Rich man being served because unable to serve himself due to the length of his nails?)					
(fol. 69r Spaces left for two miniatures. Text deals with Mandeville's presenting his book to the public)					
(fol. 69v Space left for illustration: ?Mandeville getting imprimatur from Pope?)					



It can be seen that often very different subjects have been selected for illustration by each manuscript at equivalent points in the text. The effect of this is to direct the reader's attention pre-eminently to one aspect of the narrative at that point, at the expense of other features that could be highlighted. Sometimes this is in conformity with what appears to be an overall conception of the text: for example if we examine an early portion of the narrative we find that Harley illustrates the anecdotal elements while Royal confines itself strictly to the geographic. On Seymour p. 12 we learn:

In that contree was Aristotle born in a cytee that men clepen Stragers a lytil fro the cytee of Trachye. And at Stragers lyth Aristotle, and there is an awtier vpon his toumbe. And there maken men grete festes of hym euery yeer as though he were a seynt, and at his awtier thei holden here grete conseilles and here assembleez, and thei hopen that thorgh inspiracoun of God and of him thei schulle haue the better conseille.

In this contree ben right hyghe hilles toward the ende of Macedonye. And there is a gret hille that men clepen Olympus that departeth Macedonye and Trachie, and it is so high that it passeth the cloudes. And there is another hille that is clept Athos that is so high that the schadewe of hym recheth to Lempne that is an ile, and it is lxxvi. myle betwene. And abouen at the cop of that hille is the eyr so cleer that men may fynde no wynd there, and therefore may no best lyue there, so is the eyr drye. And men seye in this contrees that philosophres somtyme wenten vpon theise hilles and helden to here nose a sponge moysted with water for to haue eyr, for the eyr aboue was so drye. And abouen in the dust and in the powder of tho hilles thei wroot lettres and figures with hire fynGRES. And at the yeres ende thei comen ayen and founden the same lettres and figures the whiche thei hadde writen the yeer before withouten ony defaute. And therefore it semeth wel that theise hilles passen the clowdes and ioynen to the pure eyr.

Harley provides two illustrations to this section. The first, on fol. 6r, shows an altar in the centre with seven men clustered about it; some attempt has been made to differentiate their postures. The second, on fol. 6v, is dominated by the outlines of a mountain; right at the top, cramped so that the heads of the figures are involved with the descenders of the script above, are two philosophers; the one on the left has a sponge up to his nose and the one on the right draws in the

dust. Royal, on the other hand, provides a formulaic mountain motif on fol. 10v(2) to represent Mount Olympus which is scarcely differentiated from the illustration of Mount Athos on fol. 10v(1).

If we regard the illustrations as part of the amplificatio of the manuscript it can be seen that Harley's pictures are in accord with the amplificatio of the text. In Harley's case there is a slight divergence from the standard text, making Olympus the mountain on which the philosophers write rather than Athos. Unlike the standard version Athos 'is so hey þ<sup>t</sup> þe schadwe of þ<sup>t</sup> rechyth to Olymplus þ<sup>t</sup> is ny. lxxvij. myle asondre'. The reference to 'þ<sup>t</sup> hyl' seems to refer to Olympus, an identification confirmed by the rubric in the margin. Athos is depicted on fol. 6r -- a mere collocation of motifs recurrent in this manuscript. It depicts on the left an assembly of city motifs presumably meant to represent the 'many spechys & cuntres þ<sup>t</sup> ben obeysaunt to þe emperor'; on the right is Mount Athos with a few crenellated cloud formations near the summit to indicate 'þe qwyche mount þ<sup>e</sup> heyte pascyth þe scyis. or þe clowdys'. Royal impartially offers a visual account of both mountains, but since the artist tends to adopt convenient formulae, he blurs the distinction between the two mountains offered in the text. He emphasizes both mountains on the plane of geographical exposition by providing a sequence in the lower margin and thus, by implication, stressing their parity as matters of fact. He is interested neither in Aristotle nor philosophers -- the human element is entirely absent.

On Royal fol. 37v is a similar stress on the geographic and topographic at the expense of the anecdotal whereas the artist of Harley on fol. 32r illustrates the narrative with salacious relish. 'Mandeville' discusses the reasons why the people of India do not travel much, offering as an explanation the fact that Indians were born under Saturn, a planet 'of so late Sterying' whereas 'in oure contre'



people are born under the moon and are therefore much more prone to travel (92). He mentions the isle of 'Hermes' where Italian merchants come to buy merchandise. He then describes the heat and the sad plight of the men of that country whose testicles are so slackened by the climate that they hang to their knees. The expedients used to counter this awkward physiological fact are carefully provided for the intrepid traveller: 'And men of þt cuntre þt knowyn þe maner. do bynd hem vp ful streyte. & anoynt hem wt onymentis. mad þer fore. to holdyn hem vp' (93). A way of avoiding the midday heat is for men and women to lie naked in the rivers until the heat has passed. In response to this section Royal provides, at the bottom of the first column, an illustration of the planet Saturn and, at the bottom of the second, a formulaic island labelled 'Ile of hermes'. The artist is reticent about the physical problems of the native of India, concentrating instead on the theoretical and topographical. Not so the artist of Harley: he produces a composite miniature, to the left of which are two afflicted men. The figure on the far left is tying up his genitals 'ful streyte'; there is a piece of cloth round his waist which he is bringing forward between his legs. The figure next to him reveals fully the problem that his companion is trying to solve: his large genitals are drawn with great vigour and enjoyment. He sways back slightly, both his hands upraised. Above him is a stylized sun to denote the intense heat of midday. To the right a woman reclines in a river; the head and shoulders of another figure can be seen in the bottom right hand corner.

An equally striking example of the divergence of visual focus occurs on fol. 8v of Harley and fol. 12v of Royal. An account of the later part of the life and the death of St John the Evangelist is provided through the linking of his writing the Apocalypse and his death with the appropriate geographic locales. The reference to the Apocalypse is brief, though the narrative lingers over the marvels



connected with his tomb. Immediately following this is the even more marvellous story of Hippocrates' daughter, transformed into a dragon, the spell only to be broken by a kiss from a bold knight. This narrative is a lengthy one, one of the 'set pieces' of the book. Yet only Harley illustrates this, showing on fol. 8v a dragon emerging from a castle on the right; on the left and partly hidden behind the hypothetical picture frame, can be seen the mast, rigging and stern of a ship set at an oblique angle to the plane of the miniature. Two men stand in it looking up at the dragon which approaches with head raised in what is possibly a faithful rendering of the text four lines below the miniature: 'þe dragun lyft vp her hed'. Between the dragon and the boat a young man falls headlong into the sea. The presence of the ship and the absence of a horse suggests a haphazard conflation of the fates of the two young men who had dealings with the dragon: the 'knyth of rodys' was cast into the sea as in the miniature but it is the second young man, the young squire, who arrives -- and departs hastily -- by ship.

At the equivalent point in the text Royal chooses to illustrate St John the Evangelist. In its depiction Royal makes no attempt to modify its formulaic illustration to suggest any aspect of the narrative. A conventional Evangelist portrait is supplied: John stands on a crudely cross-hatched floor which represents an interior, holding a book in his left hand and facing an eagle which stands on his right. Though there is little narrative engagement between picture and text, by its very presence the portrait of St John stresses that details of his life are indeed present in the text; and it is this aspect which is underscored rather than the equally legendary, but less devotional, story of the dragon. Again, the illustration provided by Royal redresses the balance of the text: the narrative amplificatio concerns itself with Hippocrates' daughter whereas the visual amplificatio emphasizes St John. And the

conventional nature of the subject and its treatment adds an extra dimension of information: it reminds the reader that the John being discussed is in fact the saint who wrote the gospels.

The next comparable pair of illustrations shows a similar bias. Whereas Royal depicts Sts James and John on fol. 15r, Harley responds to a description of the 'fosse of Mynon' on fol. 10r. As before, Harley portrays a scene which has considerable textual amplification while Royal depicts what is, in narrative terms, little more than an aside:

...and that is sett on another hille there Seynt James and Seynt John were born, and in the worschipe of hem there is a fair chirche. And fro Tholomayda that men clepen now Akoun vnto a gret hille that is clept Scalle of Thires is an hundred furlonges. And besyde the cytee of Akoun renneth a lyttille ryuere that is clept Belon.

And there nygh is the Foss of Mennon that is alle round, and it is an hundred cubytes of largeness. And it is alle fulle of grauelle schynyng brighte, of the whiche men maken faire verres and clere. And men comen fro fer by watre in schippes and be londe with cartes for to fetten of that grauelle, and though there be neuere so meche taken away thereof on the day, at morwe it is as fulle ayen as euere it was, and that is a gret meruaille. And there is eueremore gret wynd in that foss that stereth euermore the grauelle and maketh it trouble. And yif ony man do thereinne ony maner metalle, it turneth anon to glass. And the glass that is made of that grauelle, yif it be don ayen into the grauelle, it turneth anon into grauelle as it was first. And therefore somme men seyn that it is a swelogh of the Grauely See.

(Seymour p. 22)

The reliance of Royal on convenient formulae gives it a more devotional cast here whereas Harley's interest in narrative units intensifies its focus on social customs. Royal too, to some extent, concerns itself with the depiction of social customs: the manuscript provides a visual equivalent for the eating habits of the Cypriots, a topic which Harley passes over. Nevertheless in a narrative section where both artists can be seen selecting subjects, as is the case here, Royal chooses the scriptural and factual; Harley the marvellous and 'factual'. Moreover,



Royal uses its repertoire of motifs to depict, on fol. 15r also, 'þe hill of Carme wher Elias þe prophete dwellide', a Biblical topic which Harley also passes by without visual comment. Thus the visual impact of fol. 15r is of a sequence of Biblical allusions at the bottom of the page.

An identical principle of selection can be seen to govern the equivalent illustrations in Harley fols. 12v and 13r, and Royal 17r(2) and 17v(2)-18r(2). Whereas on fol. 12v Harley emphasizes the digging for 'cambyl', an anecdote which stresses the marvellous properties associated with the earth from which it is drawn, Royal illustrates an incident which occurs on the same fol. as the 'cambyl' in Harley and on the previous fol. in Royal: 'And ryzt ney to þat place is a caue. wher Adam & eue dwellid in a rooch when þey were dryue out of paradise. & þer gete þey her children'. The illustration, a mountain with a cave-shape cut out of the side of it is, as usual, devoid of human or narrative interest; it provides the merest skeleton. Royal differs from the Cotton text and from Harley in that it names this rock -- 'Idum' -- making some elementary philological play on the verbal congruence between 'Idum' and 'Adam'. By providing a label 'Roch Idum' Royal is able to stress the locality; thus the geographical and scriptural aspect of the text again receives prominent treatment.

Similarly on fol. 13r Harley depicts the legend of 'þe feld floreschyd'. A young girl, falsely accused of sexual misconduct, was sentenced to be burned but she prayed to God to vindicate her and the faggots were transformed into roses; those that were burning were turned into red roses and those which had not yet ignited, into white roses. Harley selects the point of climax: in the centre the maiden stands half-naked with her hands clasped in a gesture of prayer. The lower half of her body cannot be seen clearly because of the stakes built up round her legs, the flames and the different colours of roses beginning to appear. To the left and right witnesses of this miracle --



including the bishop who may be assumed to have pronounced sentence -- gesticulate and react in surprise to the event. Immediately following this legend is a description of the church marking the place where Christ was born; this prompts a reference to the three kings, their names and the nature of their gifts. Royal provides a series of three single figures holding elaborate receptacles in their hands in the lower margins of 17v(2) to 18r(2). There is no attempt to unite them into a coherent composition nor is any context provided; none the less they serve as an impressive visual indication that there is reference to the three kings in the text. Thus, in these two examples, as before, Harley concentrates on the legendary and miraculous while Royal concerns itself with depicting those aspects of the text which have a scriptural or quasi-scriptural basis. As with the visual accompaniments to the lengthy sections of text quoted above, Harley illustrates those elements which have a strong narrative exposition: the subject of the miniatures confirms the narrative detail of the text in Harley whereas the illustrations in Royal tend to supplement the text.

Although the divergent foci of interest cannot be so easily classified in the case of the illustration on fol. 24v of Harley as compared with Royal fols. 30v(1) and 31r, the observation still pertains that Harley tends to confirm narrative amplification visually while Royal supplements aspects of the text which do not receive amplification in this way. The artist of Harley offers a gruesome visual account of the information that the Tartars 'etyn ratonys & mys' in the figure on the left of the illustration whose teeth tear at a whole rat held in his left hand while his right holds another; and the figures with their hands over their ears, including two crouching and a horse on its back with its hooves in the air, present a vivid, if somewhat ludicrous, rendering of: 'And in somer be per many tempestis & pondrys þt sleth many folk & bestis'. The artist of Royal ignores this account of

squalor and degradation in favour of two pieces of information which frame it. The mention of the 'Castel Pellerynes' from which it is 'iiij dayes iorneis to ierusalem' precedes the description of Tartary, and Prince Raco, the governor of Tartary living in the city of 'Orda' follows immediately after. Both are given laconic visual treatment: 'Castel Pellerynes' is indistinguishable from 'Castel fflorach', fol. 30r(2) which in turn is almost identical to 'pe castel of Chynay', fol. 29v(2); Prince Raco, a crowned and bearded figure with a mace in his left hand is derived from similar figures throughout the manuscript on fols. 16r(1); 22r(1); 23r(3); 32v(2); 49v(1).

In the final example of the artists of each manuscript choosing distinctly variant subjects from the same area of the text to illustrate, it is, unusually, Royal which responds more readily on fol. 54v to narrative amplificatio than Harley on fol. 56r:

In that desert ben many wylde men that ben hidouse to loken on, for thei ben horned and thei speken nought but thei gronten as pygges. And there is also gret plentee of wylde houndes. And there ben manye popegayes, that thei clepen psitakes in hire langage. And thei speken of hire propre nature and saluen men that gon thorgh the desertes and speken to hem als appertely as though it were a man. And thei that speken wel han a large tonge and han v. toos vpon a fote. And there ben also of other menere that han but iii. toos vpon a fote, and thei speken not or but litille for thei cone not but cryen.

This emperour Prestre lohn whan he goth into bataylle ayenst ony other lord, he hath no baneres born before him. But he hath iii. crosses of gold fyn, grete, and hye, fulle of precious stones, and euery of the cross ben sett in a chariot fulle richely arrayed. And for to kepen euery cros ben ordeyned x.<sup>m</sup>. men of armes and mo than an c.<sup>m</sup>. men on fote, in maner as men wolde kepe a stondard in oure contrees whan that wee ben in lond of werre. And this nombre of folk is withouten the princypalle hoost and withouten wenges ordeynd for the bataylle.

And whan he hath no werre but rideth with a pryuy meynee, thanne he hath bore before him but o cros of tree, withouten peynture and withouten gold or siluer or precious stones, in remembrance that Ihesu Crist suffred deth vpon a cros of tree. And he hath born before him also a plater of gold fulle of erthe in tokene that his nobless and his myght and his flessch schalle turnen to erthe. And he hath born before him



also a vesselle of siluer fulle of noble jewelles of  
gold fulle riche and of precious stones in tokene of  
his lordschipe and of his nobless and of his myght.

(Seymour p. 198.)

It is Royal which depicts the 'Rydyng of Prester John'. The illustration does not, however, do much more than draw the reader's attention to this aspect of the text in an emphatic way: it shows an armed equestrian figure holding a spear couched under his right armpit. The figure is almost identical in pose, stance and detail to the figure on fol. 48v which represents the 'Rydyng of þe gret Chane', except that Prester John is bearded whereas the Great Khan is not. Neither figure responds in great detail to the text; it is evident that it is the idea of riding expressed in the rubrics on the same page as each illustration that has been visually commented on and nothing else. Fol. 56r of Harley concentrates on the monstrous horned peoples and the popinjays, juxtaposing in one illustration people who have a basically human shape but no human language and birds which have a human language. As with the Tartars, Harley draws the reader's attention to the bizarre, the anomalous, and to the diversity of God's creation whereas Royal, by implication, if not through the detail of the illustration, stresses the wealth and the pious symbolism adopted by Prester John as he rides.

It can be seen that in a significant number of places the artists of Harley and Royal choose to illustrate different aspects of the narrative in the same section of the text and thus to underscore one aspect of the work at the expense of another. It must be pointed out, however, that the illustrations are only one factor in the mise-en-page; as my brief description of the manuscripts had indicated, marginal rubrics also serve to draw the reader's attention to sections of the text. A glance at some of the rubrics which accompany these portions of the text which receive different treatment in the iconographic



programme of the respective manuscripts is instructive. For example, the rubrics on Royal fol. 12v read: 'mastik'; 'Johan þe euangelist'; 'A meruayle', a notation which draws attention to the peculiarities of St John's interment and the stirring of the earth above his grave. Rubrics on fol. 13r highlight the story of Hippocrates' daughter: 'yle lango' (where the dragon lives) and 'A good tale'. Similarly in Harley the rubrics on fol. 8r allude firstly and extensively to the legend of St John by noting the 'Elde of seyn Jon', 'Pathmos' and the city of his death, 'ephesym', before moving on, at the bottom of the page, to 'Ipocras dowthter', a rubric emphasized by 'Nota' written beneath it. On fol. 8v, as well as the illustration, one of the subdivisions of the story, the young man who was made a knight, is denoted by the words 'a tale' in the margin.

On fol. 17v Royal puts some emphasis on the self-renewing properties of the earth from which 'cambyl' is drawn with the laconic rubric 'A meruayl' as well as drawing attention to the portion of the text for which a visual equivalent is provided with the equally brief annotation on fol. 17r 'Adam'; Harley makes no extra-textual reference to the 'Roch Idum', stressing the digging for 'cambyl' by placing 'Maruayl' in the margin next to it. On the next folio of Royal, 18r, the rubrics note impartially the aspect of the text that is provided with a visual equivalent in Harley -- 'Roses', a tersely evocative form of reference -- and the portion of the text that is highlighted in Royal itself -- 'þre kynges'. A similar impartiality in the rubrics can be discerned on fols. 13r and 13v of Harley: 'Myracle' accompanies the account of the origin of roses on 13r while 'iiij kyngys' draws attention to these personages on fol. 13v.

These examples suffice to show that the rubrics do not provide an alternative means of focus with the illustrations highlighting one aspect of the text and the rubrics another. There is a good deal of congruence

between subjects selected for illustration and rubrics drawing attention to the relevant portion of text. Rubrics alluding to incidents which do not receive illustration do not substantially modify the focus provided by the miniatures. Illustrations draw attention to aspects of the text in a more emphatic and more sophisticated way than do rubrics. Rubrics are an essential part of the apparatus which enables the attentive reader to find his way around the text. As a guide to finding one's place in the text, illustrations perform this function also, but they contribute a more substantial extension to the reader's apprehension of the text than mere place-marking. They reinforce and supplement aspects of the narrative in a way that a rubric cannot and impose a system of selective emphasis.

An analysis of points in the manuscripts where the texts coincide but the subjects selected for illustration do not, has demonstrated that Royal usually stresses the geographic, the devotional and scriptural aspects of the Travels whereas Harley emphasizes the anecdotal, the legendary and the extraordinary. The discussion of local divergencies can be extended. An analysis of the manuscripts folio by folio reveals a more elaborate framework whereby the text is presented to the reader with variant emphases. On the most rudimentary level, whereas the illustrations in Royal are fairly evenly distributed throughout the manuscript, sixty-five of Harley's 101 pictures and thirty-six of the blank spaces are devoted to the marvels of the East and the customs of the heathen peoples to be found in these lands. Certainly there are few illustrations on the fols. dealing with relics to be found in and around Jerusalem. There are lists of marvellous relics and sacred sites on fols. 14v-18v but they are provided with no visual equivalent. From fol. 19v to fol. 24v, the equivalent section in Royal, on the other hand, there is an extensive sequence of devotional and Biblical allusions. This manuscript tends to offer a succession of figures



which have some relation to each other; hence the discussion of the three Herods is expanded to a series of three figures in the lower margin on fol. 23r; and fols. 21v-22r present an elaboration of the 'Templum domini' illustration 21r(2). The section of narrative really deals with the templum domini and the relics it contains; King Solomon (22r(1)) is only mentioned in passing, but both he and the emperor Hadrian are connected with the building of the temple. The lower margin, in effect, creates an alternative narrative, associating things -- in this case the temple and its builders -- much more closely by this means than they are associated in the text.

This tendency to deliver a sequence of illustrations distinguishes Royal from Harley in the illustrations prior to this point. Fols. 9r-10v of Royal are a series of relics running along the bottom of the page whereas the equivalent illustrations in Harley are not. Both depict relics and mountains but Harley interposes the city of Troy and its focus is more on the idea of being a pilgrim than on the relics themselves. A potential devotional picture is made into a narrative by the presence of the pilgrim being shown, on fol. 3v the sponge and spear, and on fol. 4v 'half pe croune of crist' and a nail or possibly a large thorn from the crown. The allusion to the other half of the crown of thorns at Constantinople on fol. 5v receives similar visual treatment. Though the figures seem cruder than in the previous crown illustration and the components of the iconography remain the same, the disposition of the figures and presentation of the building are entirely different. There is no mere repetition of convenient formulae from one miniature to the next; though the concept is similar there has been an effort to vary the effect. The illustration shows a church with an elaborate transept door open to reveal a plaited crown set on an altar. A cleric inside to the right of the doorway provides the link between the relic and the kneeling pilgrim outside the doorway to the left. Royal, on the



other hand, depicts the crown of thorns and the 'albe spine' from which one of the crowns was made as devotional items without narrative amplification.

The stress on the human factor in these miniatures in Harley is consistent with aspects of the iconographic programme of the whole manuscript. The illustrations in the early folios of Harley elaborate an interest in the author's persona and supply a framing device to the narrative sections of the Travels. The three prefatory miniatures deal with the mechanics of departure and journeying; they set Sir John on his travels before the remainder of the illustrations address themselves to things observed on those travels (94). No doubt the miniatures on the final folios would have completed the frame, returning the author from his journey and showing him in the process of transmitting his work to the public. The miniature which introduces the text is a composite one. In the juxtaposed figures of Mandeville first leaving St Albans and then being blessed we see his transformation from citizen to pilgrim. The two illustrations on fol. 2r present the idea of journeying by land and sea; by sea at the top and by land at the bottom. The phrase 'passyd be see' occurs three lines under the miniature depicting two seated figures, one of whom is again dressed as a pilgrim, in a ship sailing towards a spur of land with a town on it. The miniature at the bottom of the page is dominated by the pilgrim who stands in the centre, hat on his head and with his staff in his left hand. At the four corners are cities composed of houses with red roofs and a number of roads criss-cross the picture interconnecting them. The effect is that of a diagram since the scale of the figure and the scale of the buildings are not in proportion. The pilgrim, presumably Mandeville himself, appears to be presenting the routes to the Holy Land to the reader as he gesticulates towards one of the 'cities'. Since these routes in no sense resemble a map or even a stylization of a map, they have no

function as sources of information. The illustration presents, in a form of visual shorthand, the idea that one aspect of the text concerns itself with alternative means of travelling to Jerusalem.

Up to fol. 4r the presence of Mandeville as a part of, or near, the illustration serves as a visual equivalent of the verbal reminders of a narrator in the text. The pilgrim figure does not recur until fol. 13v where he provides the human link between the reader and the divine. He worships the *virgo lactans* and child. They sit in the doorway of the church of St Nicholas 'qwer owre lady restyd qwan sche was delyueryd of chyld. And for þt sche hadde to myche mylk in here tetys sche mylkyd it owt on þe rede stonys of marbyl'. The figure of Mandeville is often quite subtly deployed. He appears, for example, in four of the five completed illustrations on fols. 42r and 42v which depict the cyclopes, men with flat faces, and people with long upper lips. Mandeville is not present in the first of these scenes. In the second he sits on the ground, staff propped against his shoulder, writing in a book, and he is a feature of the two subsequent pictures, standing on the left hand side. Here he is evidently being used to provide visual authentication and confirmation that these races do actually exist. The standard text gives the impression of being carefully verified with the distinction apparently scrupulously drawn between the things Mandeville actually saw and things about which he merely heard. While the appearance of Mandeville in illustrations is not a direct response to the occurrence of 'I saw' in the text, it confirms that the narrative was written by someone who purportedly witnessed the events described. Sometimes the narrative context demands Mandeville's presence in the illustration: the depiction of the well of youth on fol. 34v responds to 'Mandeville's' claims: 'I haue sum tyme dronkyn of þt welle. & me þinkyth. 3et þt I fare þe better'. One of the figures clustered round the well drinking is dressed as a pilgrim



and is evidently intended to represent Mandeville (95).

Royal also supplies apparatus for drawing Mandeville to the reader's attention. The text after the table of contents is prefaced by a lengthy heading not present in Harley or in any of the printed editions I have consulted:

Here bygynneth the book of John Maundeuille. knyght of Ingelond that was y bore in the toun of Seynt Albons and trauelide a bouthe in the worlde in many diuerse contreis to se meruailes and customes of contreis. and diuersiteis of folkys. and diuerse shap of men. and of beistis. and all the meruail that he say he wrot and tellith in this book. the which book conteyneth xxij chapiteris. and this knyght wente of Ingelond and passid the see. the 3er of our lord. Mil. CCC. xxxij. and passid thorgh many londes. contreis. and lles. and compiled this book and let write hit the 3er of our lord. Mil. CCC. lxxvj. at xxxiiij. 3er after that he wente out of his contre. ffor xxxiiij. 3er he was in trauelyng.

There are two points to notice here: the focus placed on Mandeville himself and also on the weird and wonderful sights seen. None the less the presentation of the text in the rest of the manuscript does not bear out these concerns. In this introduction the emphasis seems to be placed on Mandeville as an authority and authoritative witness with the stress on dates and facts of the journey whereas the figure of Mandeville in Harley seems to be a part of the narrative.

The interest in human detail in Harley is part of a larger pattern discernible in the subjects selected for illustration. As well as concentrating much of its visual emphasis on the latter parts of the Travels, the earlier and more strictly devotional portion of the work is interspersed with visual allusions to men and manners, matters of commerce and industry, and the romantic and legendary. In the first category can be placed illustration 13, the lords holding council round Aristotle's 'altar' hoping for inspiration in this way; illustration 15 concerning the jousts held in the Emperor of Constantinople's palace, an illustration which elaborates a verbal



aside in the text -- 'And per in is afayr paleys for iustying' -- into a narrative episode as does Add. 24189; the detail supplied in the depiction of the Bedouins (no. 19) and the Tartars (no. 30); and the portrayal of the dress of the Chaldean women on fol. 30r combined with an illustration showing the Amazons at the bottom of the same page. From this point on one moves through Ethiopia and into 'ynde'.

In the second category can be put illustration 18, the effort involved in digging for gravel; illustration 20, digging for 'cambyl' including figures with caskets and boxes to take the spice away in; and illustration 34 concerning men collecting produce from the hill of salt. In the same category, but further on in the manuscript is the depiction of the extraction and gathering of the produce of trees bearing honey, wine, meal and venom on fol. 39r and the huge bunches of grapes on fol. 53r. The story of Hippocrates' daughter and the castle of the sparrowhawk are two of the romantic and legendary aspects of the text that are provided with a visual equivalent in the early stages of the manuscript. Neither of these subjects is illustrated in Royal; nor is the more devotional legendary material connected with the finding of Hermogenes' body with its golden tablet declaring belief in Christ two thousand years before Christ was born. On fol. 7r of Harley the artist has tried to develop a narrative scene with a number of figures. The other miracle in this early section, testifying to the grace and power of God which Harley illustrates, is the falsely accused lady saved from burning.

Few of these items receive visual notice in Royal which, when not supplying pictures with direct devotional and scriptural reference, illustrates subjects relating to topography and location by providing sequences of mountains and castles. The stress on locality is particularly pronounced on fols. 15v-17r where 15v(2) presents 'Mount Synay', a mountain individualized by placing the tablets of the commandments near the top. Fol. 16r(2) also depicts a mountain labelled

'Mount of seint katerine' with a pile of roughly rectangular stones centre top to provide an equivalent to: 'And per þat Seynt katerine was y graue is no no (sic) cherche ne chapel. ne non other dwellyng place. but per is a hille of stones ygadred to gedres wip angel'.

Both these fols. vary motifs by providing a single standing figure at the bottom of the other column. All these illustrations are variations on a single basic motif but they constitute a visual reminder of the stages of the journey to the Holy Land and environs.

Besides using a repertoire of motifs to stress aspects of the text which pertain to the Biblical or geographical, the compiler of Royal seems concerned with the problems of simony in his discussion of the beliefs and practices of the Greek Orthodox Christians. 'Mandeville' complains:

And they sillen benefis of holy cherche. and so doth  
men in this contre. and that is a greet sclaudre.  
ffor now is simonie crowned kyng in holi cherche.

Royal draws attention to this passage on fol. 12r. in two ways: firstly a rubric 'Symonye' is affixed to the relevant portion of text; secondly, at the foot of the column appears a simple visual equivalent: a purse hanging from a hook labelled 'Symonye'.

It can be seen that, whether by chance or design, Royal provides a more simplified conspectus of the initial stages of Mandeville's Travels than does Harley. Whereas Harley is responsive to the multi-faceted interests of the text, Royal streamlines them, concentrating almost exclusively on those features of the narrative which relate either to the spiritual history of the Holy Land or to its actual physical reality, its mountains and valleys (96). Harley engages with religious and scriptural episodes to which Royal does not refer: on fol. 19v there is an illustration of the fate of Lot's wife; on fol. 23r Cain is depicted killing Abel. Admittedly this latter illustration is combined with some secular material, the city of Damascus and

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merchants transporting their merchandise on the backs of mules; but with their scriptural allusions both illustrations suggest that Harley caters for all aspects of the text. The interest in strange practices and customs becomes more pronounced as the manuscript progresses. Though this merely reflects the emphasis of the text, in terms of narrative selection and elaboration, Harley and Royal provide a radically different focus.

Harley extends its portrayal of various peoples into a visual description of their behaviour. An extensive sequence deals with the various objects of worship of the peoples of 'chana': in the various permutations of people kneeling before fire, serpents and trees, or lifting their hands in adoration towards the sun or indeterminate furry animals, we see not so much an analysis of those things which people contrive to venerate as a series of illustrations describing people in the act of worship. Royal merely provides an unindividualized drawing of a 'symulacre' and a geographic allusion to 'Cana' with a stylized island motif. Similarly on fol. 35r of Harley a composite narrative miniature depicts the way the people of 'polome' reverence the ox whereas Royal dismisses the complex ritual with a brief notation. Fol. 38v(3) depicts a cup with a lid labelled 'holy ping'. Unless this is meant to represent the 'vestel of goold' in which the dung and urine mixture is taken to the king, so un-descriptive is this of the text that I am tempted to believe that the artist merely read the rubric in the margin which summarizes this ritual as a 'holy ping' and evolved a convenient iconographic formula (97). Certainly a narrative incident is simplified into a visual stereotype.

A similar process can be observed in a picture on the facing page: fol. 39r(2). Here the text discusses the idol in the church of St Thomas in India and the religious rites associated with it. Harley presents a visual narrative which describes various aspects of the

ritual: devotees mutilating themselves and others throwing their offerings into the river in front of the church. Royal pays no attention to the activities of the worshippers either in its illustration or in its rubrication. The only rubric pertinent to this section is the word 'Pilgrimes' adjacent to the lines informing the reader: 'And to þ<sup>e</sup> ymage men comeþ fro ferre contrees wiþ gret deuocioun in pilgrimage. And som of þo þ<sup>e</sup> comeþ in pylgrimage bereþ sharp knyues in her hondes. and as þey goþ by þe way þey kytte her owen shankes & her þyes'. At the foot of this column is 'A pilgrime', a gowned figure wearing hat and hood and holding a staff in his right hand; in other words we are presented with a decorous image of a European pilgrim that is almost an automatic reflex. The artist is clearly responding to a single word, 'pilgrim', and providing the appropriate response rather than conveying the meaning of the narrative. Again, he may simply have read the rubric.

Harley allows full visual weight to accounts of the bizarre and aberrant. This is not only the case with its handling of the descriptions of the monstrous races for which, as I have shown, traditional models were available. The monstrous races are depicted in both Harley and Royal, in Harley more fully than in Royal, which, as is usual, provides a sequence along the lower margin of fols. 43r-44v. Harley's iconographic programme, as can be seen from Table Three, presents a more elaborate series: three illustrations concern the cynocephali and the subsequent pictures preserve a distinction made in the text of Harley (though not of Royal) between headless men and headless men without eyes and whose mouths grow behind their shoulder-blades. People with other facial and physical abnormalities, such as the sciapodes and men with large genitals, receive full visual treatment; the former subject is present in Royal but not the latter.

One preoccupation of the text which is absent in Royal but



receives extensive coverage in Harley is elaborated into a series of related pictorial concepts illustrating scenes of slaughter, mutilation and cannibalism. The artist of Harley has incorporated into his pictorial vocabulary a number of motifs of severed limbs and dismembered bodies. The first occurrence of this is on fol. 36v which shows devotees worshipping the idol at the tomb of St. Thomas. Part of the ritual consists in their mutilating themselves; two such worshippers pierce their bodies with knives -- one stabs himself in the thigh, the other in the calf -- while, presumably to emphasize this theme of self-mutilation, a disembodied foot and calf forms part of this section of the composition. Similar disembodied limbs form a prominent feature of the illustration on fol. 40r which depicts a cannibal feast.

A similar scene of dismemberment and distribution is to be seen on fol. 41v: the motifs are collocated to form a different composition but the disembodied calf and foot and hand and wrist are still a prominent feature. Fol. 67v which shows, not a cannibal feast, but the feeding of a corpse to birds, introduces a similar motif of people dismembering the body, and of the pieces which are distributed to the birds, a foot and calf can be seen in the foreground. The anthropophagous giants of fol. 58v are shown clutching their spoils: one holds a small, apparently limbless, figure while the other holds a hand and wrist. The 'federyd men' of fol. 64r who 'etyn fysch & flesch al raw' are similarly shown with their comestibles: one figure has the corpse of a four-legged animal slung round his neck while another holds a disembodied animal paw and calf.

This visual emphasis on cannibalism and severed limbs is taken to such an extent in Harley that these motifs are sometimes introduced when the text provides no ostensible reason for their presence. The illustration of the cyclopes on fol. 42r shows three figures including



a seated man on the left who gnaws on a disembodied human foot and calf. The text beneath the picture merely reads: 'And in on of þis ilys be men þt han but on Eye & þt is in mydyl of þe frunt'.

However, the Cotton version continues at this point: 'And thei eten nothing but raw flesch & raw fyssh'. (Seymour p. 147). It is possible that the artist was working from a slightly fuller exemplar than the scribe or that he was copying an illuminated exemplar which responded to this detail; or that the text was deliberately simplified and truncated at this point so as to fit it onto one line and provide more space for illustration since there are three on this folio. The text of Royal at this point is more detailed. It reads: 'and in some of þes yles. beþ men. þt haueþ but oon eye. and þ<sup>t</sup> is in þe myddes of her forhede. and þey ete nozt but raw flessh'. In his attempt to convey the idea of eating raw flesh the Harley artist has injected a note of cannibalism which is not warranted by the text (98). Another possibility which may account for the puzzling intrusion of the severed foot-and-calf motif is that the artist was influenced by his own composition of the cannibal feast on the facing page, fol. 41v. The depiction of the horned men on fol. 56r shows one of the figures holding what appears to be an animal's paw and disproportionately long and slender lower leg; again there is no warrant for this in the text.

Compositions illustrating murder and butchery also abound. Fol. 54r provides an interesting example of the deliberate selection of scenes of violence and slaughter for illustration. The first picture on this fol. illustrates what is little more than an aside. The text below the miniature is as follows:

ffro þis lond men schul go be þe lond of bakarye  
qwer ben wykkyd men & felle. In þt lond be tres  
þt beryn wolle as it were of schep. off qwyche  
þei makyn cloth. as men don in þis cuntre.

The rubric in the margin emphasizes this miracle of nature by drawing attention to the fact that 'tres beryn wolle'; but the picture shows

two couples fighting and stabbing each other, no doubt as a response to the phrase 'wykkyd men & felle'.

The version of Mandeville's Travels presented by Harley is a much more violent one than that allowed for by the sedately static illustrations in Royal. Royal makes a visual allusion briefly to the theme of cannibalism on fol. 43v(1) but it does not emphasize it as does Harley. From fol. 40r to the first illustration on fol. 53r, Harley provides a detailed sequence of strange customs, peoples and animals, the secular context perhaps being moderated by the occasional intrusion of the pilgrim as a visual assurance that all of this is part of God's creation. Royal addresses itself to some of these issues but interrupts the sequence where appropriate by visual reference to Shem and on the subsequent folio to the sin of Ham. This latter illustration is the fullest and most anecdotal scene in the whole manuscript. In view of one of its prevailing concerns it is interesting that the scene to receive the greatest elaboration should be a Biblical subject. There are three figures, each one labelled at the appropriate place with his name. 'Japhet' stands to the left, holding a piece of drapery with both hands extended. 'Noe' lies on a bed in the centre while 'Cham' on the right lifts up the bottom of Noah's gown. This is the first illustration in Royal which, involving more than just a single standing figure, attempts to unite them into a coherent composition suggesting a relationship between the figure and any kind of cause-and-effect.

The foregoing discussion has considered the illustrations of Royal and Harley as a means of intensifying interest in certain portions of the text and directing attention to one element rather than another. Though each manuscript presents the Travels in a different way by selecting different scenes for illustration, this is because each has an independently devised iconographic programme. In each case the

artist may simply be copying an exemplar which has not, to my knowledge, survived. None the less, the fact that the iconographic programme of each was, at some stage, devised on such different lines, is itself instructive. It remains to consider how the pictorial sequence was devised in an attempt to determine the degree of conscious shaping involved.

#### 4. The Construction of the Pictorial Sequence

In both Royal and Harley a coherent and internally consistent view of the text is presented. Harley responds to anecdotal qualities in the text and tries to reproduce these elements in its iconography while Royal is reliant on formulae and cliché. The latter manuscript gives the impression of being an ad hoc collection of convenient motifs since it provides a visual summary rather than narrative detail. The scrupulous fidelity with which Harley usually depicts Mandeville's Travels suggests a careful engagement with the text at some stage in the iconographic planning (99).

The tendency of Royal to display individual figures without attempting to make them cohere into a narrative sequence and thus to provide visual notice rather than visual description can best be demonstrated by an examination of two facing pages -- fols. 52v and 53r. Fol. 52v shows a labelled figure: 'þe hille of Caspyze' behind which the tribes of Cog and Magog are said to be enclosed. The illustration is merely a formulaic mountain shape; no attempt has been made to suggest further aspects of the narrative. The escape of the enclosed tribes is indicated on fol. 53r. 'Mandeville' recounts the legend that they will be freed in the last days through the agency of a fox burrowing through Alexander's gates and forcing his way into the enclosed valley. The Jews will be so surprised at the sight of a fox, an animal unknown to them, that they will widen the burrow and so



break out. Fol. 53r(1) is labelled 'A ffox'; the illustration again shows a mountain motif but this time it has a burrow in the centre -- much like the burrow motifs of fols. 27v and 29r -- with the hind-quarters and tail of a fox sticking out of it. The iconography of Harley is more ambitious at this point.

Though often well synchronized with the text there is frequently only a tenuous connection between narrative and illustration in Royal. The description on fol. 14v of the Cypriots who sit in specially paved ditches to the knee to eat is accompanied by a stylized and standardized drawing of a man and a woman sitting at table. There is little attempt to visualize the text and certainly no visual reference to the ditches. No adaptation of the meal iconography has taken place to make it more suitable to the narrative it depicts. Similarly on fol. 16v the standing figure: 'A man of alle maner liþer condicons' represents nothing to justify the label and reflects nothing in the text itself. The same observation could be made about the portrait of Mahomet on fol. 33r(2). There is a spareness in the iconography, not merely with reference to the restraint in using more than one figure at a time, but also with regard to qualities of repetition. The illustrations are static and rely for individualization on the labels which accompany them rather than any attempt to differentiate them through iconography. This intensifies the impression that the programme was compiled from three or four basic motifs assembled from sources other than Mandeville's Travels and only loosely adapted to the narrative in question.

A number of figures are practically reduplicated -- especially a crowned figure facing left (100); a mountain motif with a stylized 'well' in the centre (101); a standing female figure (102); and an equestrian figure in armour facing left with a spear under his right armpit (103). In the text the riding of the great Khan and the riding

of Prester John are totally different, but in Royal the illustrations are iconographically identical. The riding of the Khan, for example, is an elaborate procession, an overt sign of his wealth and power; Royal reduces this to a mere shorthand reminder. There is a tendency to produce a very similar composition within a few folios: for example, 'pe castel of chynay' on fol. 29v, a castle hexagonal in shape and with a central keep and three towers set on a mound, faces an almost identical 'castel fforach' on fol. 30r and is followed by a very similar 'Castel Pellerynes' on fol. 30v; the ubiquitous mountain motif is varied in the illustration of 'Mount liban' on fol. 27v by the addition of three warren entrances from which protrude the hind-quarters of rabbits and a similar embellishment is to be found accompanying 'Mount Syry' on fol. 29v, an embellishment which includes a fourth warren at the top outside which sits a rabbit (104). On fol. 43v(1) and 44r(2) we see the reduplication of a motif within the space of an opening, which has been slightly adapted for context. Fol. 44r(2) has as its illustration for 'peis ete an eddre' a man facing left clasping a snake in both hands. The head of the snake is in his mouth and he has a particularly large nose. The picture on fol. 43v(1) purports to illustrate 'A men et a nother'. His stance, including the positioning of his hands, is identical to the figure on fol. 44r(2). He is holding up to his mouth a portion of arm which in its general shape looks like a shortened version of the snake on fol. 44r(2).

The recurrent mountain motif which enforces a focus on landscape and topography receives somewhat perfunctory treatment. It is a simplified two-dimensional shape which is particularized by the occasional addition of an identifying feature -- 'Mount Synay', for example, is the stock shape with the tablets of the commandments placed near the top. The provision of supplementary animal motifs as in fol. 27v presumably introduces visual variation since there is no



warrant for them in the text. However, on occasion, these additional motifs influence the iconographic programme itself; the artist's tendency to provide sequences of related figures along the bottom margin creates its own logic. Facing the rabbit-and-warren motif associated with Mount Liban on fol. 27v, fol. 28r shows two hares on their hind legs on a mound; one plays a shawm and the other plays a set of bagpipes. This kind of motif can readily be found as part of the vocabulary of marginal illustrations in manuscripts which contain drolleries (105); it has nothing to do with the text and seems merely to have occurred as an extension of the more realistically conceived rabbits on the previous fol. which may themselves have been derived from manuscripts such as the Master of Game (106).

This association with the iconography of bas-de-page may also help to account for the details of another illustration in this manuscript. On fol. 44v(1) the text speaks of an abbey where the monks feed different kinds of ape because they believe they are the souls of men. At the foot of this column is a fettered ape seated on a ?stool or perhaps the block to which his rope is attached. He has a rope around his neck which he holds with both hands. The illustration is not inappropriate to the text but does not explicitly refer to anything in the narrative. Again, apes are a familiar feature of Gothic marginalia. Sometimes they seem to be realistically observed as in the motif of chained ape and trainer beating the resentful animal into submission (107) but as a 'standard feature of the Late Gothic artist's repertory', the fettered ape comes to represent the 'voluntary prisoner of vice' (108), an association that would be appropriate to this story of a belief in human souls trapped in animal bodies. Whatever the precise connotation of this image it is clear that it derives from well-established prototypes, especially prototypes involved in the evolution of the bas-de-page. Another



illustration which may allude briefly to this source of motifs is the picture on fol. 42v labelled 'Greet snayl'. On a stereotyped mountain a snail travels towards the right. The text has a charming detail: 'Also per bep snayles so greet. þat in some of her shell men may be y. herborwed as in a lytel hous' to which the picture makes no reference. Snails are a familiar feature of drolleries. It seems possible, then, that some of the illustrations in Royal were derived from conventional 'tropes' of marginal programmes as well as from other varied visual sources such as Biblical motifs and the Marvels of the East.

The illustrations do not, perhaps, help to capture the flavour of the book, but they do provide an orderly and repetitive sequence of motifs for the eye to rest on and a summary indication of the contents of each page. They do not offer a very discriminating or unique accompaniment to the text, but they aid the reader in finding his way around. Though the illustrations seem, through their selection of a limited and coherent range of topics, to be presenting an interpretation of the text, it is an interpretation determined, to a large extent, by expediency. This does not alter the effect of the Travels in this manuscript -- it is a very different work from that presented by Harley -- but it perhaps argues that the 'reading' of the text offered by the producers of the manuscript was a superficial one. None the less it is a version with which other medieval compilers -- such as the editors of the redactions in Ashmole 751, Digby 88 and Add. 37049 -- would have concurred.

Harley, on the other hand, presents a detailed visual accompaniment to the text with a fidelity that borders on the literal-minded. For example, fol. 61r discusses 'Gryssauntys' (giraffes); the illustration is a simple one showing two horse-like animals, one seen from the front and one from the side, the latter being labelled on the

body. Some attempt has been made to show a long neck and the labelled giraffe is twisting its head to look over its back towards a house on the right which, because of its small scale, appears smaller than the giraffe. This is a direct attempt to convey the line immediately above the illustration: 'And he may lokyn ouer an hey hows'. A similar case of an extremely literal visual equivalent can be seen in the depiction of the griffins on fol. 54v. The text at this point, after describing the griffin in conventional terms as half eagle and half lion, reads:

but þe gryffoun hath a body gretter þan viij lyonys  
& gretter & strangere þan C. Eglys for he wyl bere  
to hys nēst flyande agret hors & aman on hym.

The illustration depicts a griffin flying towards its three young in a nest on a mountain. In its claws it holds a horse with an armed man on its back. The artist has at least consulted the text in the immediate vicinity of the miniature.

The scrupulous quality of the relationship between picture and text in Harley can best be demonstrated with reference to the illustration of the trees of the sun and moon on fol. 64r. These trees are part of the adventures of Alexander and the text provides the relevant information that they 'spak to kyng alysaundre & told hym of hys deth'. There is no elaboration of this: it is clearly seen as an allusion to a well-known incident, the details of which the reader was to supply from his own knowledge. The main focus of 'Mandeville's' interest is that the people who guard the trees and eat the fruit live a long time and he and his companions would have attempted to visit the trees had not a dangerous wilderness populated by all kinds of ferocious beasts not intervened. In the illustration provided, the river mentioned in the text as being the first barrier cuts obliquely across the bottom left-hand corner. Then comes a diagonal band of trees of conventional types. Animals can be seen lurking in the under-

growth; an elephant and a lion can be identified. All this landscape visualizes faithfully the statement 'And bezonde þat reuer is agret wyldyrnesse'; the presence of wild animals is stipulated on fol. 64v. In the illustration in Harley the wilderness is a barrier between the viewer and the trees just as Mandeville claims it was for him. Beyond the luxuriant vegetation can be seen the roof of a house and the head and shoulders of a man with a long beard plucking the fruit from a tree while to the right of it the head of another man actually eating the fruit can be seen.

The picture conforms to the description offered in the text at all points: there is no visual reference to the Alexander tradition from which this incident derives. In illustrations to the Alexander Romance two trees are depicted; in the branches of one appears the symbol of the sun and the symbols of the moon appear in the branches of the other (109). On fol. 220v of the Mandeville section of BN fonds fr. 2810, Mandeville, incongruously in view of his disclaimer about actually having visited the trees, kneels between them -- an allusion to the positioning of Alexander in Alexander Romance iconography -- and consults a book (Omont Pl. 190). A stylized sun is in one and an equally stylized moon in the other. The artist of Harley seems to have rejected conventional prototypes in order to respond specifically to the text. He shows himself to have been well aware of conventional formulations as his representations of the marvellous races demonstrate. This is particularly true of his display of sciapodes in two postures: standing and lying down shading the face from the sun (fol. 31r).

In order to construct his extremely detailed scenes, the artist of Harley makes use of a repertory of motifs. These recurrent elements, incorporated into various illustrations, may be the manuscript equivalent of Hodnett's 'factotum' pictures for woodcuts (110).



Sometimes, however, whole scenes seem to have been assembled from a juxtaposition of various items in this conventional vocabulary. An example of this would be the composition on fol. 6r which purports to show Mount Athos. Visually it is not very different from the illustration on fol. 4v depicting the finding of the true cross. A mountain with wavy contours divides the picture in half in both cases, except that on fol. 6r the mountain continues to the top of the frame, whereas on fol. 4v three figures stand behind it. One may also compare fol. 29r which shows a monk bringing down a plank from the ark to his monastery. The right hand side of the miniature is composed of a mountain very similar to that on fol. 6r but individualized by the presence of the ark on top. These basically identical but superficially varied compositions recall the larger scale strategy of Roy. 17. C. xxxviii in evolving a programme.

Surprisingly, in their illustration of the River Jordan, both Harley and Royal fail to take advantage of what, one would have thought, would have been both a readily accessible formula and a high point in the narrative: the baptism of Christ. Both manuscripts offer merely a 'landscape'; in the case of Harley an assembly of visual clichés which can be noted elsewhere in the manuscript: a city wall, a river with roughly drawn fish swimming in it, a tree with long leaves and long, gourd-shaped fruit, a mountain with a spiky outline; in the case of Royal a river between two banks suffices, although the treatment of space and depth is more sophisticated than is usual with this manuscript. It can be seen that seemingly complex scenes involving numbers of figures can very easily be assembled from formulae. Nevertheless, despite the apparent simplicity of this technique of composition, the result is that Harley responds to composing scenes in a narratively complex way: it rarely offers mere notations as does Royal. Despite some evidence of tension between fidelity to the text and reliance

upon moduli, it is clear that someone involved in the production of Harley, or of its exemplar, both read the text and had a clear conception of how it should be presented.

In short: a study of two English illustrated Mandeville's Travels manuscripts has suggested that the presentation of a text in a particular manuscript, when it involves a pictorial programme, may diverge from the author's intention. Mandeville's Travels may be judged to be especially vulnerable to this sort of manipulation since it is a text composed from a number of heterogeneous sources and the history of its textual vagaries confirms that the foregrounding of one aspect at the expense of another alters the effect considerably.

#### 5. Marco Polo's Il Milione in BN fonds fr. 2810 and Bodley 264

A parallel for this re-presentation of a text, through the agency of its visual accompaniment, in terms not envisaged by its original author can be found in illustrated manuscripts of Marco Polo's Il Milione. Rudolph Wittkower (111) has a very interesting article in which he notes that, judging from the illustrations in fonds fr. 2810, the book was received by its medieval readers in a way that was directly contrary to the purpose of its author.

Marco Polo, as Wittkower argues, is an objective and critical observer; although he was undoubtedly familiar with fabulous Eastern material, on at least two occasions we see him referring his experience to visual sources and preferring the former (112). In one instance, however, he finds traditional imagery adequate to his observations: he describes the savage inhabitants of the Andaman islands in terms which suggest that the cynocephali were in his thoughts (113). Otherwise he gives a scrupulous and relatively unsensational view of what he saw; his Milione, despite its nickname, strips many of the marvels from the East. This was obviously thought unsatisfactory: Wittkower demonstrates



extensively that the illustrator of the Livre des Merveilles consistently tended to 'correct' the text where Polo scrupulously avoids the marvellous, so as to align it with the 'expected' and conventional imagery. He does not actually contravene the text; monsters such as cynocephali, sciapodes and cyclopes are inserted only where a lack of explicitness would give licence: a vague assertion that the inhabitants of Siberia are wild allows the artist to specify all three creatures (Omont Pl. 35). Whereas Marco Polo tells us that the features of the dwellers in the Adaman islands resemble those of dogs, the artist supplies a picture of cynocephali, thus converting analogy to definite fact (Omont Pl. 70). The artist thus adds a further layer of meaning by presenting Il Milione as a stereotyped book of wonders. It would appear, therefore, that the illustrations offer access to a genuinely medieval reading of the book of which the modern reader would be unaware though both would describe it as 'factual'. This view of Il Milione would seem to be confirmed by its co-existence in the collection with Mandeville's Travels and by the explicit to the last text in the collection which speaks pointedly of 'les monstres et les merveilles'.

Wittkower's point can be extended: Il Milione is associated with Romance rather than travel material in two illustrated manuscripts -- BL Royal MS 19.D.1, a fourteenth-century French manuscript containing an Alexander Romance followed by the travels of Marco Polo (114) and Bodleian MS Bodley 264 (115). In Bodley 264, in particular, the deviser of the programme of the Marco Polo section, which bears little relationship to that in fr. 2810, shows a similar interest in the fabulous races for which there is no textual warrant. On fol. 260r the section concerned with India begins. The first chapter is prefaced by a miniature containing a genially conceived collection of fur-covered monsters: the cynocephalus; the acephalus; a cyclops; a sciapod (Slide



57). The next picture in the series, that on fol. 262r, again exhibits a number of grotesque and fantastic people. Although the text on this page is concerned with the country of Cianda and the account of the siege which resulted in the payment of tribute to the Khan, the miniature deals with the siege in a perfunctory way (Slide 58). To the right is a walled city, over the ramparts of which look three helmeted soldiers; the rest of the miniature is devoted to the portrayal of horned or tusked fur-covered men.

The widespread convention of representation of acephali, cynocephali, and sciapodes has been discussed; horned and tusked fur-covered people derived from equally venerable origins. The fur relates the figures immediately to traditional hairy wild people (woodwos) (116). Moreover, horned men are a feature of Mandeville's Travels: on fol. 56r of Harley 3954 appears an illustration showing three figures, two of whom have a single horn protruding from the centre of the forehead; the third has three horns. Immediately below the miniature the text reads:

And in þat wyldyrnesse be men wyth hornys.  
And þei speken nowth. but grontyn as swyn don.

One may also compare fonds 2810 fol. 213r (Omont Pl. 182) which depicts the horned men as obviously covered with fur. The horns themselves, with their elegant tapering ends curving up from the sides of their heads, are analogous to the figures in Bodley 264. The figure at the top left corner of fonds 2810 seems to be a woodwos pure and simple: he has no horns and is carrying a stick over his shoulder. The woodwos tradition may also have affected one of the illustrations of the Harley manuscript: folk which 'arn alle clad in federys' are referred to; but the stylized indication of feathers in the accompanying miniature could equally well be interpreted as scales or rough fur (117). The equivalent miniature in Royal 17 C. xxxviii, 'a man y growe in feperis', reveals a similar kind of stylization.

Ostensibly, then, the artist of Bodley 264 seems to be offering a similar interpretation of the text to that in fonds fr. 2810. In his discussion of this manuscript, Wittkower implies interestingly that the reader found the artist's reliance on established exemplars a reassuring and familiar introduction to the description of marvels:

Being accustomed to the visual language of exemplars fixed by long tradition, the medieval reader on his side did not expect a literal text illustration, but rather visual clarification in terms familiar to him (118).

For the reader and artist of fr. 2810 there seems to be more involved than a merely mechanical reliance on time-honoured prototypes. Here the time-honoured prototypes seem to be a satisfying formulation of a particular kind of imaginative world. That the artist is consciously selecting these motifs rather than using them as a substitute for a more carefully thought-out response to the text can easily be demonstrated from the evidence that Wittkower presents of tension between fidelity to the work and the use of formulae. The artist is attentive enough to Polo's text to show griffins as Polo describes them -- as large eagles (Omont Pl. 79) -- yet he is also drawn to the more 'accurate' visual interpretation of a griffin. The bird on the left of the same miniature has its lower parts hidden by a rock; this does not preclude the possibility of leonine hindquarters being supplied by the reader's imagination. The illustrations in fr. 2810 which quote fabulous material seem to be carefully integrated with the text, whereas the artist of Bodley 264 seems to be more arbitrary in his choice of when to quote visually from conventional material.

A closer inspection of fol. 260r suggests a reason other than purposeful presentation of Il Milione as a traditional traveller's account for the visual quotation of bizarre peoples. Above the miniature, the chapter heading reads:

Ce dit le vii<sup>xx</sup>. et xvii chapitre. le Commencement  
du liure dynde. et deuisera toutes les merueilles  
qui y sont et les manieres des gens.



There are indications that the frame, at least, was done after the rubrication. Below the miniature, the chapter which goes on to speak of the construction of the merchants' ships, begins:

Or puis que vous auez oyer conter de tantes  
prouinces derraines nous vous laisserons de  
ceste matiere si vous commencerons a entrer  
en ynde por vous conter toutes les merueilles  
qui y sont.

The words 'merueilles' and 'ynde' occur twice in close proximity to the illustration. It is possible that such words suggested aspects of India to the artist that he, like the artist of fr. 2810, felt were de rigueur to present in some form to the reader, no matter how irrelevant to the text; it is equally possible that the words merely stimulated him to provide the visual clichés available to him without any concern for overall effect. The artist of Royal 19. D. i is more restrained: the miniature introducing the section on India on fol. 118r depicts on the left a crudely drawn cynocephalus and a man in a tunic; on the right three figures look over the parapet of a castle. There are no monsters in the siege miniature (119). The Bodley artist has, to some degree, shown an autonomy.

He is certainly aware of traditional iconography, including some less popular aspects of Mandeville's Travels. An intriguing footnote to the dispersal of motifs relating to this text occurs on fol. 266v (Slide 59) where there appears to be a visual allusion to the Travels rather than a direct correspondence with the text of Marco Polo's 11 Milione. The miniature in question illustrates pilgrims before St Thomas' shrine. The shrine, a chest on an arcaded series of pillars, stands on a three-tiered plinth. From the top of the shrine emerges an arm and hand in the attitude of blessing. There is no reference to this in the text, a detail which may derive from the account in Mandeville's Travels of St. Thomas' hand -- the one which he thrust into Christ's side -- extending from his tomb and being used by the



devout as a means of settling disputes (120). In the illustrations to the Mandeville section of fonds 2810 (Omont Pl. 156), the hand emerges from the top of a Gothic tomb chest, brandishing the favoured scroll while that of the other plainant lies neglected on the top.

The artists of fr. 2810 and of Bodley 264 both provide sections of the text with an overlay of the fantastic through their deployment of visual motifs. It is possible that some readers may have been as keen to receive the traditional images as artists were to provide them. Cyclopes, sciapodes, cynocephali and acephali have an innate fascination of their own; but they are also part of a familiarly exotic world which a reader of a de luxe manuscript might expect to see disporting themselves in miniatures. Here the effect is to import a number of traditional connotations into an account in which Marco Polo makes discriminating reference to conventional models. We can see the power of the visual image to shape the meaning -- even to distort the intended meaning -- of a text. With these manuscripts it may be useful to adopt Hirsch's distinction (121) between meaning and significance and to suggest that one is dealing here with significance.

#### 6. Alexander B.

Like many of the texts in Add. 37049, the impact of Alexander B in manuscript is very different from the impression created by the modern printed editions (122). The poem offers an Alexander different from the courtly hero of the Roman in Codex A (123). In the French work he is conceived of as 'the ideal courtly prince' (124) apart from certain interpolations which view him in a more soberly critical light (125). The illustrations in Codex A respond to this general tone, concentrating on the great chivalric set-pieces -- the battles, the feasts and courtly dalliance -- and, where appropriate, the fabulous races and other strange phenomena encountered by Alexander on his

travels. In Alexander B all this is subdued in favour of edification: the emphasis is on the correct way to conduct one's life. The poem begins with Alexander's meeting with the Gymnosophists, an ascetic people who go naked and live in caves. In response to his magnanimous offer to grant any boon, they ask Alexander for the gift of eternal life:

'For opur worldliche won at wille we have' (l. 72) (126).

He replies that the gift is not his to give for he is mortal. In that case, say the Gymnosophists, since he knows he is doomed to die why attempt to conquer the world and 'azeins ryht' to wrest kingdoms from their kings? Alexander's answer involves a sense of destiny:

... me is markid to be most of alle opure  
Forpi y chase to cheve as chaunce is me demed (ll. 109-10).

The tensions between quietism and imperialism are thus made apparent: for the Gymnosophists world conquest is futile; for Alexander it is inevitable.

The only reference to the marvellous occurs subsequent to this. Alexander sees some fruit-bearing trees which exist while the sun shines but disappear when it is dark. He sends for some of the fruit but the man who attempts to pick it is killed and a voice from heaven dissuades Alexander from the endeavour, for fire-spitting birds sit in the tree. This is out of key with the rest of the poem, which is concerned with the correspondence between Alexander and Dindimus, king of the Brahmans, and which elaborates some of the themes initiated in the encounter with the Gymnosophists. Dindimus' first letter outlines a life of intellectual and sensory self-denial and virtuous poverty in which all are equal because all have no possessions. He then proceeds to condemn Alexander's profligate vainglory, spending some time on his idolatry. Alexander's retort endorses a more gracious type of existence:

For as bestes ze ben by no skile reuled (l. 904).

If the Brahmans are virtuous, they are not to be praised for it since they are evidently tempted by nothing. There is a place in human life



for merry-making and total denial of the senses is an insult to God:

panne schewe ze to hur Schappere schame for His sondus  
pat so schinden His schap pat He zou scheweb here (11.959-60).

Dindimus' second letter points out that this world is only preparatory for the next and one should live accordingly. Alexander is allowed the last word. His tone is one of contempt for the Brahman's self-immolation. The issue of contention is thus between the use and the denial of things of this earth in which Dindimus' lengthy anathema of the classical gods stigmatizes Alexander as a pagan.

Alexander B has received little critical attention, the most extended account being given by Skeat who stresses the qualities of the poem as a debate:

The arguments are so managed that the bias of one counteracts that of the other. We are led, on the one hand, to favour the Active Life as being more useful than the Contemplative; but, lest the scale should preponderate in its favour, it is linked with Heathenism as opposed to Christianity. The life of Dindimus, in as far as it is assimilated to that of a Christian, is preferable to that of Alexander. The life of Alexander, in its Active aspect, enlists our sympathies rather than that of Dindimus. The author of this ingenious arrangement strove rather for oratorical effect than sought to inculcate a lesson. To regard the various aspects in this light is to regard them rightly. It is merely a question of seeing what can be said on both sides. (127).

There are problems with this view, both historically and in terms of the way the text is presented in manuscript. As George Cary points out, the original author of the Collatio Alexandri cum Dindimo per Litteras Facta, the source of Alexander B, aimed at discrediting Alexander's accusers personified in Dindimus, but his 'subtle intention was lost to Christian readers' (128) to whom Dindimus appeared an admirable ascetic, and Alexander's vigorous retorts to criticism were truncated or suppressed. Though Alexander is here allowed the last word, there was, nevertheless, a tradition of anti-Alexander stories current in England. In Book III of Confessio Amantis Gower retells the story of his discomfiture at the hands of Diogenes (11.1201-1330) and subsequently comments on the futility of Alexander's conquests



in view of his miserable death:

... Lo now, for what profit  
Of werre it helpeth forto ryde,  
For coveitise and worldes pride  
To sle the worldes men aboute (ll.2468-71) (129).

In his account of the Alexander and Diogenes episode in the Fall of Princes, Lydgate is even more stringent:

Thouh Alisaundre was myhti off puissance,  
And al the world[e] hadde in his demeyne,  
Yit was his resoun vnder thobeisaunce  
Off flesshli lustis fetrid in a cheyne (l 6252-55) (130).

Book IV of the same work tells the thoroughly discrediting story of Alexander's murder of Callisthenes because he challenged the plausibility of his claims to be a god. Though Lydgate's work was completed some forty years after Alexander B was added to Bodley 264, the material upon which he drew was current earlier (131).

More importantly, the textual apparatus in Bodley 264 does not allow of an impartial reading. Admittedly, in creating the pictorial cycle, the designer was reliant on stereotype, an expedient which was partly the result of the lack of an adequate model. There was not a strong tradition of illustrating the Collatio: D.J.A.Ross (132) notes only Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales MS Peniarth 481, an English manuscript of the fifteenth century, which has one picture showing a messenger in a boat conveying a letter across a stream between Alexander and some naked Brahmans, and Leipzig, Stadtbibliothek Repitorium II 4<sup>to</sup> 143. In his opinion the miniatures of Alexander B were designed directly from the text (133), though it must be noted that the first illustration, on fol. 209v (Fig. 45), bears some resemblance in general outline to the illustration in Peniarth 481. Each picture is composed of two strips of land separated by water but connected by the figure of a Brahman in a boat. Other than this, the artist relies on the simple and appropriate formula of the exchange of letters. The concentration is mainly on the act of composition and reception rather than the actual contents. Of the nine miniatures,

four present a seated figure receiving a letter from a kneeling messenger (Figs. 46, 50, 51 and 52) while a fifth (Fig. 47) shows Dindimus sitting writing a letter while another Brahman looks on. This motif provides a convenient way of dividing the text: there are five letters (134) and each of them is prefaced by an illustration which draws visual attention to the change of speaker.

Despite the reliance on visual cliché, the letters are by no means treated even-handedly; a consistent reading emerges. The first point to note is the concentration on the Dindimus episode itself. The text of Alexander B merely begins with a five-line initial: no space was left at the 'preparation' stage for a miniature to announce the change of text. The first illustration accompanies Alexander's arrival at the River Phison; the illustrative apparatus thus presents all that has gone before merely as a preamble to the correspondence. The preliminary section offers ample opportunity for illustration: indeed a late fourteenth-century German manuscript of the Latin source, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek c.g.m. 7377 gives a lively rendering of the episode with the enchanted trees on fol. 210v (135). On fol. 209v of Bodley 264 where the illustration occurs, the incident of the trees finishes, as does the column itself, at line 136; at the top of the second column is the first illustration while the text recommences beneath with Alexander's first sight of the Brahmans. In terms of the location of the picture an illustration such as that which appears in the Munich manuscript would have been as appropriate as what the artist in fact provides. The author of Alexander B seems to have enjoyed the episode of the trees for its own sake and to wish to insert it (since strictly speaking it is out of sequence, appearing at a later stage in the source) even though it was out of harmony with the rest of his material; the editor of Bodley 264 was much more single-minded.

Positioning of the subsequent miniatures and choice of scene



also is an important factor in gauging the response of one medieval reader to the correspondence. Dindimus' first letter to Alexander is the longest section of the poem (572 lines out of a total of 1139) and it has three miniatures allocated to it in addition to the prefatory one of the delivery of the letter. The visual emphasis on this letter is proportionate to the length of the section, but as significant is the decision as to where to insert the illustrations. As has already been noted, the letter falls into two halves: Dindimus' description of the Brahmans' way of life and his excoriation of Alexander's. One illustration is allocated to the section describing the Brahmans while two are assigned to the condemnation of Alexander. On one level, it is apparent that the deviser of the sequence wished to distribute the pictures evenly through the text since they occur on the recto of the three leaves devoted to this letter; on the other hand it is apparent that a critical view of Alexander emerges. Not only do two of the nine illustrations deal with his putative misdeeds but the reader's attention is drawn to them in an emphatic way: each of the miniatures is accompanied by a rubric explaining the contents of the picture. The rubric above the picture on fol. 212r reads: 'How he spareþ not alixandre to telle him of his gouernance' while that above the miniature on fol. 213r reads: 'How he telleþ alixandre of his maumentrie'. The two major charges against Alexander are thus given a visual prominence which Alexander's defense and counter-charges are not.

The iconography of these three scenes additional to those which denote a change of correspondent is, as usual, simple. The illustration entitled 'How dindimus enditid to alexandre of here leuyg' [sic] shows Dindimus on the left wearing a crown and seated at the mouth of a cave writing a letter; on the right a man leaning half-way out of another cave rests his head on his right hand and watches his monarch inscribe (Fig. 47). Apart from the reference to the caves, the picture



gives no indication of the Brahmans' 'leuy[n]g' but it does provide visual notice that such a topic is dealt with in the text below. More evocative, though equally simple, are the two subsequent miniatures. That on fol. 212r (Fig. 48) dramatizes the situation sufficiently to adopt the artifice of showing Dindimus directly reproving Alexander. The foremost figure -- crowned and obviously meant to represent Dindimus -- leans forward slightly, thus accentuating his pointing forefinger. The second miniature of this series (Fig. 49) is equally simple. Alluding to Dindimus' reproof of Alexander's idolatry, it depicts an idol seated on a pedestal. To the left stands Alexander; to the right Dindimus, with his gesture of reproach, repeats his pose from the previous miniature.

The original author of Alexander B may have had a sympathetic attitude towards Alexander, as his preparedness to allow Alexander the last word may indicate. He may well have been, as Skeat suggests, interested in rhetorical balance rather than in the kind of debate where one side wins the case. This is not the reading suggested by the apparatus of Bodley 264. The emphasis is squarely on the letter outlining Alexander's misdeeds and the misdeeds themselves are thrown into relief. The last miniature (Fig. 53) does little to redress the balance. It forms a coda to the text and shows Alexander erecting a pillar of marble to indicate the furthest spot which he had succeeded in reaching. Though it concentrates on Alexander as does the text at this point, it evades the task of referring, however schematically, to the final charges which Alexander levels against his adversaries. Though the illustrations are formulaic they create a consistent response to Alexander which is possibly at variance with that of the author of Alexander B and certainly at variance with the reading propounded by Skeat. The designer of Bodley 264 was clear as to where the reader's sympathies should lie.

In each of the manuscripts considered in this chapter the deviser

of the pictorial cycle offers a particular reading of the text. He may have been working to the instructions of a patron or he may have used his own discretion: in either case, the task of presenting a manuscript in illustrated form involves certain elementary critical decisions about which aspects of a narrative upon which to concentrate. It is noteworthy that in none of the texts considered was there a widespread tradition of illustration to help the designer in his task. Though the choice of which scene to illustrate may have been partly contingent on the moduli available to him, these manuscripts are consistent in their focus and offer one way of reconstructing possible audience responses to these texts in the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER 5. LYDGATE'S TROY BOOK: NATIONAL HISTORY OR FASHIONABLE  
ACCESSORY?

Some mention has already been made of the importance of Lydgate for a discussion of illustrated English literary manuscripts. It is now time to consider one of his works -- the Troy Book -- in some detail. The conclusions to be drawn from illustrated Lydgate texts are very different from those to be drawn from Mandeville's Travels manuscripts. In the case of the Troy Book, the function of the illustration seems to have been a practical and decorative rather than an interpretative one. The extant manuscripts, with one exception, display a uniform conception of format. The one exception may thus be a possible indication of an individual patron taking a more personal interest.

The Troy Book (1), completed in 1420 (2), was the work of Lydgate's which most consistently received illustration. For a literary text in the English vernacular other than the Confessio Amantis, the proportion of illustrated to unillustrated manuscripts is high: of twenty-three extant manuscripts including fragments, eight have or had miniatures (3); of the remaining fifteen, six have been carefully provided with decorated borders or initials to mark major divisions in the text (4); and a seventh bears traces that a similar format was envisaged (5). Most of the Troy Book manuscripts are large, impressive volumes, whether or not they actually contain miniatures. They are not readily portable volumes and are evidently intended for ostentatious display. This sumptuousness of format is scarcely surprising, given the prestige of both the patron of the text and its content.

The Troy Book was commissioned from Lydgate in 1412 by Henry V while still Prince of Wales. With his usual earnestness, Lydgate carefully commemorates this fact in his Prologue. The tone of the event is very different from Gower's charmingly circumstantial account



(6). For Lydgate there is no sense of personal rapport, real or imagined, between poet and patron: he dutifully celebrates Henry's manly virtue, creating slight suspense by honouring his patron before naming him. There is also a sense of occasion (7): painstakingly the date and time at which the translation was begun is carefully fixed by precise astrological reference as 'about 4 o'clock on the afternoon of Monday, October 31, 1412' (8). The importance of this fact of patronage is reflected in the illustrative programme of the manuscripts: as has already been observed, the first miniature in all Troy Book manuscripts which receive illustration is a presentation miniature (9).

The Troy story itself enjoyed an immense vogue in most European countries in the Middle Ages. Since most nations in Europe traced their ancestry back to a Trojan refugee, the Troy story gains its influential narrative status partly as an account of national origin. Buchthal (10) speaks of the pride with which the Paduans kept alive the legend of the founding of their city by Anthenor; the French kings traced their ancestry from Duke Francio or Francus, supposedly a Trojan leader; while the British kings traced theirs from Brutus, a similar figure. As these facts indicate, the medieval conception of the Troy story is a particularly idiosyncratic and biased one: knowledge of incident and encounter round the city walls derived, not directly from Homer and Virgil, but through the intermediary of two poorly written Latin forgeries (11) claiming to be written by actual participants in the war. The Ephemeris de Historia Belli Trojani written by 'Dictys Cretensis', supposedly official historian on the Greek side, begins with the rape of Helen and concludes with the death of Ulysses. The De Excidio Trojae Historia of 'Dares Phrygius', a Trojan partisan, narrates the story from Jason's quest for the Golden Fleece to the destruction of Troy (12). Both accounts may have been originally written in Greek in the first century A.D. (13) --

fragments of Dares in Greek have been recovered -- but only the Latin translations survive: the translation of Dictys dating from the fourth century A.D., that of Dares from the sixth, purporting to be translated by Cornelius Nepos (14). The great popularity of these authors in the Middle Ages can be attested by the large number of manuscripts, their widespread distribution, and the numerous translations and adaptations of each: 'The earliest extant manuscripts of each author date either from the ninth or tenth centuries and multiply rapidly thereafter, spreading from Italy to Sicily, Switzerland, France, Spain, England, Germany, Holland and other countries of Europe' (15).

The popularity of Dares can readily be attributed to his pose as a Trojan warrior; the popularity of both Dares and Dictys is due in large measure to their carefully maintained claim to be eyewitnesses. As Griffin points out: 'All particulars which, in the nature of the case, could have fallen under the observation of neither Dares and Dictys nor of their informants are, for the most part, consistently excluded' (16). Their claim to present the facts of the case is thereby unimpeached. As the titles of the respective accounts suggest, they are both writing a chronicle form of history -- events follow each other briefly and sequentially. Dares in particular presents his material in abbreviated form. These bare facts were turned into a conscious work of art (17) in about 1155-1170 by a Benedictine monk, Benoit de Sainte-Maure (18), who blended together the material in the Ephemeris and De Excidio to produce Le Roman de Troie, over 30,000 lines of Old French poetry dealing with the matter of Troy from the setting out of the Argo to the death of Ulysses. The title indicates the difference in Benoit's work from that of Dares and Dictys: it is a romance, full of human interest, love stories, and bizarre happenings. For example, Hector's strange mode of burial originates with Benoit.

This weaving together of the two accounts was popular enough in its own right -- Constans lists thirty-seven manuscripts -- but equally



important are its adaptations and translations. A prose version of the Roman was incorporated into the second (fourteenth-century) recension of the early thirteenth-century Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César, thereby making Troy the principal subject of the chronicle as a whole (19) and confirming the Troy story in all its aspects as an essential part of the history of Europe. Most important is the Latin prose version of the Roman, the Historia Destructionis Troiae of Guido de Columnis, judge at Messina, who finished his translation in 1287 (20). In its selection of detail, the Historia lives up to its name: Guido 'de-emphasizes the love stories' and adopts a sceptical attitude towards Benoit's marvels (21). This became the most influential version of the Troy story. The Historia was seen as a major historical authority and was Lydgate's chief source for the Troy Book. Guido was translated into English three times and two fragments of a Scottish version survive; Benoit was translated once (22). Lydgate's is the only version of this prestigious story to receive illustration.

That this version only is supplied with pictures is evidently attributable to the status of both patron and poet. The issue of prestige seems very much to the forefront in the text itself: Lydgate begins with much self-consciousness with a highly rhetorical introduction, invoking the aid of Mars, Othea (goddess of prudence) and Calliope, thus assembling a host of classical references designed to elevate his style. It is clear that there are a number of factors to be taken into account when discussing Henry's reason for wanting a translation of Guido. His reasons for commissioning the work are said to be threefold: a genuine delight in tales of antique chivalric valour (ll. 75-80); a bracingly moral concern with the value of reading as a means of eschewing 'slouthe and ydelnesse' (ll. 81-83); and, most importantly of all, a wish to transmit the Troy story to the English people:

By-cause he wolde that to hyge and lowe  
The noble story openly wer knowe  
In oure tonge, aboute in every age,



And y-writen as wel in oure langage  
As in latyn and in frensche it is;  
That of the story þe trouth[e] we nat mys  
No more than doth eche other nacioun (11.111-117).

English is to have its own equivalent of the Historia and the Roman, a daunting task for Lydgate. There seems to be a chauvinist aspect to this, and possibly a sense that English is now a fit language for weighty themes (23) as well as a concern that the English people should have ready access to important subject matter. Lydgate's own conception of his task is important here. Expanding on a hint in Guido, Lydgate extols the rôle of the writer, the importance of his task in paying tribute to the past and providing a source of knowledge. He sees as significant the moral impetus of history: such writers also provide a stimulus to virtuous deeds, since after one's death the truth is written, no matter how flattered one was in life (24). Lydgate purports to be much concerned with truth, with historical fact, and systematically assesses his sources according to medieval canons of veracity. He is also responsive to questions of style and the purpose of fine writing: 'many a corious flour / Of rethorik' is seen as a device for impressing 'The trouthe of al' (25). In the Troy Book we see Lydgate dignifying his theme with all the stylistic resources at his disposal.

### 1. Ownership

A fortunate conjunction of subject, poet, and patron thus combines to make the Troy Book the most prestigious of Lydgate's works, as the sumptuousness of presentation demonstrates. From the visual impression of the manuscripts alone, it is easy enough to deduce that the majority of Troy Book owners were wealthy or at least prepared to divert a substantial proportion of their wealth to the acquisition of expensive editions. This is not to deny that more workaday volumes exist, such as C U L MS Kk v. 30, a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century manuscript which conflates Lydgate and Barbour, and which, as Bergen points out, 'has evidently been diligently read and re-read and has

seen much hard usage<sup>1</sup> (26).

More precisely, the evidence of coats of arms in the manuscripts suggests that the owners of Troy Book manuscripts were drawn largely from the upper ranks of the gentry, no doubt attracted to the work for all the reasons outlined above: the highly rhetorical treatment, the adherence to fact, the importance of the Troy story and its association with Henry. Coats of arms have been inserted into five of the manuscripts (27), indicating that five at least of the early owners of Troy Book manuscripts were armigerous. Those in the first initial of BL Cotton Augustus A.iv, one of the earliest extant manuscripts, are the arms of Sir Thomas Chaworth and his second wife, Isabella de Ailesbury (28). He was an owner of other books in English: his will, dated 1459, mentions five English books and one in Latin. The selection seems to be largely utilitarian and pious: 'to his s. William the "Policronicon" in English, religious books and a book of "Notes of Fynes"; to Robert Clifton, knt., "a newe boke of Inglisse ye whch begynneth with ye life of seynt Alban" (29); to Richard Willoughby an English book called "Grace de Dieu" (30); to Richard Bingham an English book "Orilogium Sapiencie"; and to Mr William Gull, D.D., a Latin "Policronicon" (31). In view of these other books, it seems clear what conception Chaworth would have of the Troy Book. Not only is it a narrative full of solid facts, but those facts are set into the framework of pervasive moralizing, commonplace to be sure, but all thoroughly worthy and incontrovertibly true (32). Cotton Augustus is not recorded in Chaworth's will, nor is New York, Columbia University Library, Plimpton MS 263, dated c. 1440 (33), and containing Trevisa's translation of De Proprietatibus Rerum and The Abbey of the Holy Ghost, both of which contain his coat of arms (34). The Plimpton manuscript clearly continues the pious and informative vein of the rest of the collection. Chaworth himself was evidently a man of some consequence. Born c. 1380, he was M.P. for Nottinghamshire in 1406, 1417, 1420,



1421 (May), 1423-4, 1437, 1445-6 and for Derbyshire in 1413. He was a sheriff and a J.P. and was made guardian of the temporalities of York in 1423 on the death of Archbishop Bowett. In 1452 he was in a position to endow the priory of Launde to pray for the King and Queen, himself and his wife Isabel (35).

Other Troy Book owners were equally men of substance. Cambridge, Trinity College MS 0.5.2, a somewhat later manuscript, bears copious evidence of its owners in the form of coats of arms. These appear throughout the volume on the margin and also as an integral part of the pages which have decorative borders (fols. 38r, 40r, 107v, 137v, 172r). In its present form the manuscript consists of Generydes (fols. 1r-37v), the Troy Book (fols. 38r-190v), and Lydgate's Siege of Thebes (fols. 191r-211v). Only the Troy Book has been supplied with decorative borders. Although fol. 191r is part of the same quire as the end of the Troy Book, the exemplar for the Thebes section was of a totally different kind from the exemplar for the Troy Book. Thebes has running titles, chapter headings in verse and marginal annotations giving topic headings; Troy Book has none of these. The composition of the manuscript suggests that Thebes and the Troy Book were designed from the outset to be part of the same volume; the evidence for Generydes is a little more ambiguous. There can be little doubt that both Generydes and the rest of the manuscript were written by the same scribe (36). However, two leaves have been raggedly cut out after the end of Generydes, presumably because the quire was too long. Since this is not the procedure adopted for the transition from Troy Book to Thebes, it may be concluded that a pre-existent copy of Generydes was grafted on. Its signatures are quite separate from the rest of the manuscript (37). The theory that Trinity was not originally designed as a single volume seems to have gained most acceptance from the evidence of coats of arms. Wright first proposed that the Generydes section was distinct because: 'the edges of the book are adorned with



coats of arms, but these ornaments do not extend over the portion occupied by the story of Generydes' (38).

Writing of the coats of arms in the Troy Book section, Pearsall indicates that: 'In all, there are eighty-four escutcheons, of which sixty appear in margins' (39). The various groupings are the result of fourteen separate coats, in various combinations, 'impaled and quartered indiscriminately, the apparent purpose being to provide decorative variation rather than to convey significant genealogical information' (40). Almost all of them can be traced to the Thwaites or Knevet (Knyvet) families. Wright's theory, which at first sight seems compelling, is that the two sections of the volume were joined on the marriage of John Thwaites with Anne Knevet (41). Certainly the manuscript was subsequently in the Thwaites family: the signature 'Antonius Thwaites me possidet' occurs at the end of the Troy Book and at the end of the volume 'Henry Thwaites' and 'Henry Thwaytes' have been scribbled. John Thwaites and Anne Knevet had a son, Anthony, who may therefore be the Antonius Thwaites who subsequently noted his ownership of the manuscript. According to Wright, the Thwaites arms do not appear in the Generydes portion, though the Knevet arms appear frequently, whereas both Thwaites and Knevet arms appear in the subsequent portions of the volume. Generydes thus belonged to the Knevets and was bound up with the rest after the marriage. The idea that the union of two separate manuscripts commemorated the union of two families is a delightful one. It gives due weight to the fact that books have a social context and function as well as a literary content.

There are, however, problems with this: although the Thwaites arms do not appear until fol. 38, 'in fols. 1-37 there are already five occurrences of the arms of De la Hay and Thornton, with whom the Knevets could have had no link except through John Thwaites' (42). Initial Knevet ownership, at least of the Troy Book section, seems to

be confirmed by the miniature on 107v.: a figure in the foreground on the right carries a shield bearing the Knevet arms, argent, a bend in a bordure engrailed sable (43). Pearsall raises one further problem (44): although Trinity is usually dated between 1440 and 1460 (45), the marriage did not take place until 1490. The arms alluding to the union can therefore not have been painted before this date. There is no reason to suppose, however, that the Knevets did not own both volumes. This would be the most economical explanation of the two sections being written by the same scribe, though it is possible that two Norfolk families would patronize the same man. If the manuscripts were both the property of Anne then it is logical to suppose that they would both go with her on her marriage, perhaps, fancifully, as part of her dowry. The armorial bearings could well have been added at a later date. There is no reason to suppose that the illuminator who supplied the miniatures also provided the escutcheons and thus to postdate the manuscript (46). Pearsall's suggestion that the marginal shields were added to the whole manuscript 'presumably to certify ownership, much as a modern library will stamp a number of pages of a book' (47), seems a just one. It would reflect a pride of ownership in the manuscript, particularly a manuscript containing the prestigious Troy Book. The predominance of Knevet arms in a volume belonging to the Thwaiteses also reflects the social pre-eminence of the Knevets, the original owners of the manuscript.

The position of the Knevets in the late fifteenth century was similar to that of Sir Thomas Chaworth. Sir William Knevet (1440-1515) of Buckingham castle, Norfolk, father of Anne, was M.P. for Norfolk (?1463-5), 1467-8, (?1470-1); for Melcombe 1472-5; for Bletchingley 1478 (?1483 Jan.); Grantham 1491-2; Cumberland 1494. Like Chaworth he was sheriff and J.P. and, despite some reverses during the closing years of the century, such as being attainted in 1484 as a rebel, was evidently a prosperous member of the Norfolk gentry (48).



Though the actual date, purpose, and occasion of the addition of Thwaites and Knyvet arms to Trinity is unclear, these escutcheons provide evidence of the type of person who was an early owner of a Troy Book manuscript and whose family may even have commissioned it (49). Similar information is available for the most sumptuous manuscript of the text -- Manchester, John Rylands Library, English MS 1. Like Trinity it is a later manuscript, illustrated in the second half of the fifteenth century (50). Fol. 173r is the most impressive armorial statement of ownership yet encountered. It is a full-page miniature displaying a coat of arms complete with helmet, mantling and crest, surrounded by an elaborate border. These arms are those of the Carent family, and the manuscript itself was probably owned by either William Carent (1395-1476) or his brother John Carent (d. 1478), or his son, John Carent (1425-83) (51). Bergen objects that there is no reason to believe that the manuscript had any connection with the Carent family (52). This is partly because he takes the arms to refer to a William Carent, probably the father of the William mentioned above, born in 1344 and thus unable to commission a manuscript produced more than a hundred years later, and partly on the evidence of worm-holes in fol. 173 'which do not penetrate into the rest of the book'. The ways of worms seem, however, to be capricious: there are worm-holes on fol. 1 which do not penetrate through to fol. 2. Furthermore, one would expect such an elaborate impress of ownership to serve as a frontispiece rather than as an end paper, and, indeed, the folio in question is a singleton and could therefore easily have become misplaced (53). This is not to prove that the frontispiece was originally designed to accompany Rylands Eng. 1; in the opinion of J.J.G.Alexander (54), however, the style of the border to the coat of arms is similar to the style of the borders in the main body of the manuscript. It can probably be assumed that Eng. 1 was owned by the Carent family, particularly since it is



apparent from entries on the flyleaves that it passed into the ownership of the Mundy family. Thomas Mundy was M.P. for Wells, 1453-4, and Nicholas Carent, brother of William, was dean of Wells (55) so some hint of the transference of ownership can be gleaned. The Carents are a similar group to the Chaworths and the Knevets. William Carent was M.P. for Dorset in 1420, 1426, and 1427, and for Somerset in 1423, 1445-6, and 1450-1. He was sheriff and J.P., steward of Shaftesbury abbey and agent for the Duke of Somerset. His son, John, was M.P. for Dorset in 1453-4 (56).

The only evidence of aristocratic ownership is to be found in BL Royal MS 18 D.ii which is associated with Sir William Herbert who became the first Earl of Pembroke in 1468 and his wife Anne Devereux whom he married c. 1455. This manuscript is unusual in a number of ways, not least in what appears to be idiosyncratic features in its sequence of miniatures. The use of armorial bearings in the border decoration on the first page of the Troy Book (fol. 6r) and in the miniature itself announces ownership. The text is set out in two columns surrounded by a full-frame bar border. Twining in angular loops round the bars of the border are either blue or red banderoles with the mottoes 'E las sy Longment' (the Herbert motto) and 'Ce toute' (the Devereux motto). To the right of the first column are two shields which bear respectively the Herbert and Devereux arms (57). It has already been noted that a presentation miniature is a consistent feature of the apparatus of Troy Book manuscripts (58); at first sight the initial miniature of Royal seems to be an idiosyncratic variation (Fig. 54). The composition is dominated by the king on his throne in the centre, flanked by three courtiers to the right and three to the left (59). The most idiosyncratic feature of the composition is the kneeling figures in the foreground. Instead of the kneeling monk one might expect (cf. Figs 26 and 27) are two lay persons, the man on the left, the woman on the right. A sense of aristocratic propriety is

observed since they are both kneeling on cushions. The male figure is in armour wearing a surcoat emblazoned with the Herbert arms and is evidently meant to represent Sir William Herbert; the woman wears the Devereux arms on her gown and mantle.

The introduction of the figures of owner and wife into the actual miniature suggests a keen interest on the part of Sir William Herbert in the manuscript at all stages in the production. The absence of visual reference to the Garter in Herbert's costume gives a probable terminus ante quem of 1462 for the production of the manuscript (60) and 1469 as a definite final date since he died in that year (61). Warner and Gilson suggest that the manuscript was commissioned by Herbert as a gift 'either to Henry VI before Herbert's definite adoption of the Yorkist cause (not later than 1457) or to Edward IV after his accession' (62). They offer no support for this theory (63) so their main piece of evidence must be the initial illustration with the conspicuous presence of the donors incorporated into it. In terms of the psychology of gift giving, this would seem to be an obvious step: to remind the king visually of the donor every time he perused his gift. If we compare BL Royal MS 15. E. vi, a collection of romances, a present to Margaret of Anjou from John Talbot, 1st Earl of Shrewsbury, probably on the occasion of her marriage to Henry VI in 1445 (64), a similar theme is developed in the initial miniature. But a closer inspection reveals a significant difference in the iconography: it centres round the actual act of presenting the book. In the foreground on the right, a kneeling figure presents a large volume with ornate clasps to a seated queen holding hands with a king. Furthermore, the decorative scheme of the page emphasizes the arms of the recipients as well as of the donor. In Royal there is no sign of a book: Herbert and his wife kneel gazing up at the king with their hands raised as if in adoration. The pose is more appropriate for a devotional manuscript. The miniature seems to represent an act of homage, an



affirmation of loyalty rather than the giving of a gift.

I cannot account further for the idiosyncrasies of the iconography here. All that can be said is that the miniature cannot be taken as evidence for the manuscript being a gift from Herbert to the king. This is confirmed by its subsequent fate. It remained incomplete: only five of a projected series of twenty-five miniatures were completed in the fifteenth century (65). And, more important, it remained in the Herbert family. It bears the record of the marriage of Herbert's daughter Maud (c. 1476) to Henry Percy, fourth Earl of Northumberland in the form of the insertion of his coat of arms (66). Since Warner's and Gilson's dating depends to some extent on their theory of the presentation of the manuscript to a monarch, it may be that it was being produced somewhat later than they suggest and that activity ceased on the death of Herbert in 1469. This would be one explanation for the comparatively early stage at which the first stint ended. As will become apparent, there are other idiosyncrasies in the detail of this manuscript which, in view of the evident personal interest taken in the initial miniature, I am inclined to attribute to Herbert.

Though the manuscripts discussed so far were owned by substantial knights of the shire and one member of the nobility, the Troy Book also found an audience among the bourgeoisie. Bodleian MS Digby 232, a copy of the text as sumptuous as that to be found in the Cotton manuscript, was owned, at one stage by the Vintner's Company. The first folio has a full-page bar-border at the bottom of which are three roundels. Two of them are part of the decorative design but the central roundel has a coat of arms filled in with ink, evidently a later insertion drawn on a shield left blank for the purpose (67). The later history of Harvard Coll Eng 752, a much more modest manuscript, connects it with Digby: it was owned by an individual vintner rather than by a company. On fol. 49v the name William Marshe is written in a fifteenth-century hand, but by the early sixteenth century it was owned by John



Burner, vintner (68).

## 2. The Presentation of the Narrative

There is a consistency about the format of the early Troy Book manuscripts which suggests that some of them, at least, were brought out in 'editions'. An apparently uniform sequence of miniatures seems to have evolved, linked closely to the structure Lydgate adopts for his narrative. Guido tells his story in thirty-five books, thus breaking down his tale into thirty-five constituent units. The Troy Book is a fairly close translation of Guido, but Lydgate organizes his material rather differently. Although he destroys the coherence of Guido's despairingly pessimistic view of history (69), his grasp of narrative structure is more cogent. Including the Prologue to the whole, the Troy Book is divided into six parts; the story itself is ordered into five episodes. Lydgate's different conception of the text can best be shown in a comparative table.

Table Four

GUIDO

LYDGATE

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| I. Peleus inducing Jason to set out in quest of the Golden Fleece.  | I. By way of preface to the main events: the quest of the Golden Fleece and the first destruction of Troy.            |
| II. Laomedon's hostile reception of Jason and Hercules; Medea's passion for Jason.  |   |
| III. The consummation of the relationship; the gaining of the Fleece; the flight from Colchos.  |   |
| IV. Punitive expedition mounted against Laomedon; Troy destroyed for the first time; Hesione taken prisoner.  |   |
| V. Priam rebuilds Troy and dispatches Anthenor to ask for the return of Hesione.  | II. The rebuilding of Troy; the attempts to secure the return of Helen and the encampment of the Greeks outside Troy. |
| VI. The Trojan reaction to Greek rebuff; the various counsels of Priam's sons, including Paris' vision of adjudicating between three rival goddesses. |   |
| VII. The capture of Helen and Paris' triumphant return to Troy.   |   |
| VIII. The mustering of the Greek retaliatory expedition; description of the contending leaders.   |   |
| IX. A catalogue of the Greek contingent.  |   |
| X. Achilles and Patroclus consult the oracle at Delphi; Calchas defects to the Greeks.  |   |
| XI. The sailing of the Greeks and the destruction of the fortress at Tenedos.   |   |
| XII. The division of booty and the embassy of Ulysses.  |   |
| XIII. The securing of Messa for the Greeks through the bequest of the kingdom by Teuthras to Telephus; a catalogue of the Greek allies.               |   |
| XIV. The Greeks land on the shores of Troy and the first pitched battle is fought.  |   |

- XV - XXI. deal with a battle apiece, taking the story to the death of Hector in the eighth battle. The battles are conceived as a series of heroic incidents: valiant knight hacks and hews at equally valiant opponent. The Trojan contingent sallies forth from Troy at intervals without conceivable strategy other than to pick off opponents individually and then retire. The tedium is lightened somewhat with the story of Troilus and Briseida in the XIXth book.
- XXII. The burial of Hector and the quarrel about the leadership in the Greek camp.
- XXIII. Hostilities recommence; Achilles falls in love with Polyxena, glimpsed in the Temple of Apollo during a truce.
- XXIV. Achilles' efforts to withdraw the Greek troops and gain Polyxena.
- XXV - XXVIII. Concerned with itemizing the events of various battles, including the deaths of Troilus, Achilles and Penthesilea.
- XXIX. The betrayal begins: Anthenor and Aeneas pretend to want to sue for peace.
- XXX. The process is completed: the Palladium is stolen, the brazen horse is brought into Troy, the city itself is destroyed, Priam is slain in front of the altar in the Temple of Apollo, Polyxena is sacrificed by Pyrrhus at his father's tomb, and Hecuba runs mad and is finally stoned to death.
- XXXI. Ajax Telamonius and Ulysses squabble over the ownership of the Palladium, Aeneas and Anthenor are exiled, and many Greeks perish in a storm.
- XXXII. The revenge of Naulus, Clytemnestra, and Egea.
- III. The battles fought by the two armies, ending climactically with the death and burial of Hector. In Book III, much as the dreary catalogue of the slain piles up, there is still the possibility of honourable action: Theseus warns Hector that his life is in danger (11. 1298-1324), an act which Hector reciprocates some 100 lines later when he asks the Trojans to spare Theseus; at the request of Ajax Telamonius Hector calls off the Trojan assault, although Lydgate deprecates it, offering some conventional platitudes about taking advantage of opportunity when it presents itself. By the end of Book III, however, with the death of Hector by stealth, treachery and deception have become the keynotes.
- IV. There is a difference of feel between Books III and IV. The events of the battle now become more acrid: Troilus is set on by 3000 Myrmidons and his body mutilated by Achilles; in revenge Achilles is killed by a trap and his body only prevented from being thrown to the dogs at the intervention of Helen; Pyrrhus viciously backs Penthesilea into pieces and her corpse is tossed into a lake. The city itself falls by treachery and the inhabitants are treated with brutality.
- V. By way of an epilogue, setting out the adventures of the Greeks as they leave Troy.



XXXIII. The revenge of Orestes;  
Ulysses' account of his adventures  
to Idomeneus, and his return to  
Ithaca.

XXXIV. The subsequent adventures of  
Pyrrhus.

XXXV. The death of Ulysses at the  
hands of his son, Telegonus.

It can be seen that in Guido more or less each separate incident is given a separate book. Enough manuscripts divided in this way exist to suggest that the layout outlined above is authoritative (70). Most importantly, this is the layout preserved by BL MS Harley 51 and Bodleian MS Holkham misc. 37, both fifteenth-century copies which were in the library of the monastery of Bury St Edmund, and may have been seen by Lydgate (71). Indeed one or both of them may actually have been the manuscript from which Lydgate made his translation, though only careful collation would establish this point. At all events, Harley 51 and Holkham 37 both present a totally different visual impression from any Troy Book manuscript. They are carefully divided into chapters by a series of three-line blue initials flourished in red. There are no running titles but a sequence of chapter headings in red above the blue initials helps the reader to find his way about. No visual distinction is made between book-divisions and sub-divisions, except that the chapter heading notes the change of book.

Lydgate's sense of the division of the work is totally different and it would appear that he was uninfluenced in his structure by any Guido manuscript available to him. As all the manuscripts follow the pattern of dividing the text into six parts, including the Prologue, it is undoubtedly authorial. In the more elaborate manuscripts, the book divisions are marked by means of illuminated borders or partial borders and, in those manuscripts which contain illustration, the beginning of each book is where, for the most part, the miniatures are to be found. Of the eight illustrated manuscripts, four (72) of them have a sequence of six miniatures to designate the formal divisions of the narrative. A fifth, Digby 232, follows the normal pattern except that the beginning of Book V is marked, not by a miniature and partial border, but merely by an initial and partial border. The other three manuscripts represent an expansion of the basic scheme: the pictorial programme of New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS M 876 did not get very close to completion

but, from the position of the spaces left in the text, it is possible to reconstruct the proposed subjects; in Royal 18 D.ii and Eng. 1 the sequence of six still retains its importance, as will be seen. The content of the miniatures remains remarkably consistent and they are closely related though there are differences in the detailed working out of the composition. They are all by different artists though Digby 232 and Rawlinson C.446 are by the same scribe (73). An element of standardization, irrespective of the needs and wishes of a particular patron, can be discerned.

There is a slight disagreement about the placement of the miniature for Book II: the beginning is the form of a prologue as Lydgate mourns the workings of Fortune, moralizes over Laomedon's fall, and apologizes for the deficiencies of his style. Four of the manuscripts mark the beginning of the Book as the recommencement of the narrative at l. 203; the other four place the miniature at the beginning of the Prologue with a conventional depiction of Fortune's wheel (74) though Morgan 876 has only a space for a miniature at the beginning of the narrative. The basic point remains unchanged: owners of the Troy Book were provided with a standard series, one of the functions of which was to mark in a visually arresting way the formal divisions of the text. Apart from the running titles in red giving the number of the book in Latin in Morgan 876 and the elaborate rubricated 'explicits' at the end of each book giving a reprise of its contents and the unique series of chapter headings in Royal 18 D.ii, there is, generally speaking, no apparatus in the form of running titles, tables of contents and chapter headings to guide the reader through the text. It is not a work presented for ease of reference; Roy. and Eng. 1, as will be seen, are the exceptions.

Apart from Roy., illustrated manuscripts of the Troy Book always begin with a presentation miniature showing Lydgate offering the completed volume to Henry V. Otherwise the illustrations have a



narrative reference, but they do not provide a synopsis of the matter of the book; they merely allude to the first major incident. Thus the moments chosen for illustration are not necessarily germane to the story: they nearly all illustrate 'secondary and uncharacteristic episodes' (75). This is particularly the case with the miniature which usually announces Book I: the transformation of ants into Myrmidons at the request of Peleus. The creation of the Myrmidons scarcely affects the remainder of the narrative. Lydgate makes a little more of the connection between Peleus, supposed to be the father of Achilles, the Myrmidons and the Trojan war than Guido's brief: 'post obitum regis Pellei patris sui nactus, Acchilles in Troyano bello multa cum eis miracula bellicosa peregit' (76) in ll. 76-106, but the subject is soon dropped. Similarly, the squabble between Ulysses and Ajax, the first episode in Book V, does not really set the tone for the rest of the book, apart from the general theme of disintegration and decay. The only two illustrations which may be said to depict crucial episodes are those to Book III -- the killing of Patroclus by Hector and to Book IV -- various combinations of Hector's tomb; Achilles lying wounded; and Agamemnon in council.

The pictures are created with differing degrees of fidelity to the text. The miniature in all manuscripts of Peleus and the Myrmidons is consistently responsive to textual detail (Figs 55-57; Slides 60 and 61) and this may be because the artist or supervisor of the original exemplar was driven to read the text in order to devise a miniature. I have been unable to find a parallel in Guido manuscripts which could have served as a model. This episode is first introduced by Guido, parading his erudition in being able to allude to Ovid's Metamorphoses. Since, as Buchthal (77) has discovered, once the miniature cycle of Benoit's Roman had evolved it became immensely popular and was reproduced in France, Spain and Italy with little basic variation, and since he concludes that Guido iconography is heavily reliant on that of

Benoit, though much modified (78), one would not expect to find this scene illustrated in Guido manuscripts (79). Thus, in the absence of a model the text appears to have been read closely. The miniatures offer a detailed and specific visual transcription of the incident. In Cotton Augustus (Slide 60), the basic outlines of the iconographic pattern can be seen. In the centre, Peleus crowned and bearded, kneels facing right, his hands clasped in prayer. He is evidently intended to be in a forest, since there are three leafless and barren trees to the left, and one large one in the foreground on the right. Such a setting alludes quite precisely to 11.27-28 which describe how the king

... went allone  
In-to a wode for to make his mone.

The kneeling posture is also presupposed by the text (1.40). In the sky in the top left hand corner are tongues of flame from which descend white flakes like hail. Bergen (80) suggests that this is meant to suggest the pestilence -- and in some metaphorical way this may be true. But the text also mentions other disturbing atmospheric phenomena, the 'sodeyn tempest and ... fery levne' (1.16) and the fact that

... this peple distroied were serteyn  
With thonder dent and with hail and reyn (11.21-2).

The flames and white flakes seem to correspond more literally to the fire and hail than to the plague. The right hand side of the miniature seems to be equally faithful to detail. Round the roots of a large tree with a hollow at its base (the tree 'Holwe by the rote' of 1. 37) swarm a number of ants. In the background the heads and shoulders of five of the newly created Myrmidons emerge from the ground.

The miniature is a simultaneous illustration, showing a praying figure in the centre flanked on the left by the storm which creates the necessity for prayer and on the right, the result of the prayer, the regeneration. This sense of two distinct moments of time is retained

and extended by Rawl. C. 446, Digby and Trinity. All three of these add on the left a group of prostrated men, evidently the victims of plague and storm. Other than this, the miniature remains remarkably constant in content. The only point of difference is that Digby follows Cotton Augustus in placing a red, lurid cloud in the sky on the left while Rawl. and Trinity personify the pestilence as a figure with sword in hand (81). Both Digby and Trinity balance the agent of death in the sky on the left with an agent of beneficence in the sky on the right. In Digby it is a gold cloud from which emanate gold rays; in Trinity it is the hand of God extended in blessing from a cloud. As for the rest: M 876 is incomplete -- it does not begin until l 3444; Roy. does not note the beginning of Book I as distinct from the Prologue, a feature of the layout which can be noted on Book II also.

Though the miniature describing the creation of the Myrmidons can hardly be said to fulfil the function of guiding the reader through Book I, it does reveal a scrupulous alertness to the text. The same cannot be said in all cases for the miniature which is placed at the beginning of Book II in those manuscripts which note the beginning of the story proper (82). The subject may tentatively be said to depict Priam besieging a rebel castle. The text at l.203, the point at which the miniatures are located, discusses the whereabouts of Priam; somewhat later, at l.385, we are told that he receives news of the death of his father and the fate of Troy. Both Cotton Augustus and Digby (Slide 62 and Fig. 58) combine these moments, offering a simultaneous view of the receipt of the message and the besieged city. Precedent exists in Benoit illustration for the conflation of these two moments, though the detail is somewhat different from the English versions. Though the moment is dramatic and narratively significant with the first introduction of Priam, insufficient detail is provided to allow for a particularly cogent visual equivalent. And this, indeed, turns out to



be the case: both Cotton Augustus and Rawl. (Fig. 59) seem to take the licence offered for the cobbling together of obvious motifs. The composition in Cotton Augustus is especially sparsely formulaic: it consists of simple shapes poorly grouped. In the foreground are a series of bell tents. On the left, Priam with two courtiers on his right, stands in an open tent and receives a letter from a kneeling figure on his left. On the right is the moated rebel castle with no sign of either defenders or attackers. Rawl. is equally conventional but, because it has no visual reference to the receiving of the message, is less adequately contextualized. On the left, ranged along a vertical axis are five conical tents and a number of standing armed knights. On the right is a walled city, cut off by the frame, from the gateway of which issue three footsoldiers in full armour. It can be seen that the composition is not precise enough for a definitive interpretation of its content. It could represent Priam besieging the rebel castle; it could, as Bergen suggests (83), depict the encampment of the Greeks round the walls of Troy, although this would involve considerable visual prolepsis. The reader is at liberty to make of it what he will.

The equivalent miniature in Digby is similar in conception to that of Cotton Augustus, but differs considerably in detail of execution. As in Cotton Augustus, the illustration conflates two ideas: the reception of the message on the left and the siege on the right, but here a real scene of battle is taking place, with both besiegers and defenders in prominent evidence. In the section on the left, the accent is on a series of standing knights rather than on the conical tents. In the foreground a standing figure with a crown on his helmet stretches out his right hand to take the letter from a kneeling messenger. The composition is thus more vigorous and detailed than in Cotton Augustus but is still basically an elaboration of the standing figure with kneeling figure motif, extended by the introduction of further standing figures. This particular way of depicting the receipt

of the message and the generalized gestures are the most marked differences between the English and those Continental versions of this narrative section that I have seen (84). In the closely related scenes in two fourteenth-century Benoit manuscripts, Paris, BN. fr. 782, fol. 20v, and Vienna, Nat. Bibl. cod. 2571, fol. 18v the left hand side of the composition is formed by an assemblage of figures within a tent. The messenger does not carry a letter, but stands outside on the right and gesticulates. In response to the news which is evidently being imparted, Priam rends his garments. . . This individualizing touch does not occur in another fourteenth-century Benoit manuscript, Venice Bibl. Marc. fr. 17, which is in its way as lacking in verve as the English renderings. On fol. 18r we see on the left a group of standing figures -- Priam and his sons, Priam being denoted by a crown. The messenger on the left stands gesticulating; a walled city is on the right.

The miniatures depicting the Prologue to Book II equally resort to stereotype. The beginning of the Prologue consists of a discussion of Fortune, considerably expanded from a hint in Guido:

Nam inuida fatorum series, felicitum inimica, summa in summitate manere diutius semper negat, et vt status hominum deducat habilius in ruinam, per insensibiles et cecas insidias potentiores immittit et inducit ad casum, a friuola et inopinabili materia causam trahens ne prouisione prehabita per cautele subsidium ualeant se tueri (85).

Lydgate's Fortune is equally malign, but is provided with a personality of a traditional type. Primarily she is a capricious woman, delighting in an arbitrary apportionment of the world's goods. Iconographically, she is familiar from innumerable medieval portraits. She is blind (1.5 and 1.45) and her face is divided into two (1.10) (86). She is a cellaress, dispensing honey and balm to some and filling the bottles of others with gall and vinegar, according to whim (87). Although her usual attribute, the wheel, is intimated in some of the imagery:



Who sit hizest, sche can doun hym enclyne (1.7)  
Sche can reise on, & bryng another doun(1.29)

it is never actually specified in this passage. None of this detail is alluded to by the illustrations. Both M 876 (microfilm 4) and Roy. (Fig. 60) depict the conventional image of Fortune behind her wheel. In Roy. she is seated on a canopied throne, with her hands placed on the spokes. Round the rim is the familiar series of rising and descending figures. At the top is a king enthroned with orb and sceptre; balancing him is a figure on the ground beneath the wheel. Two men ascend the rim on the left and two descend on the right. The concentration on the figure of kingship associates the image closely with the fate of Priam. The illustration in M 876 gives a more general sense of Fortune's operations. She stands in the centre of the composition, crowned as a queen and wearing an ermined cloak which falls in geometrical folds round her feet. She holds a small wheel in both her hands. On the left is a group of standing figures, mainly crowned. The foremost king stretches out his hands towards the wheel. On the right are the kings and princes lying in a disorganized heap as they have been thrown from the wheel. In both cases, the artists preferred to present a generalized type rather than to follow Lydgate's specific description.

The miniature which, almost without exception, introduces Book III, treats a more significant moment. In a book dealing almost exclusively with battles, almost any scene of armed encounter would be sufficient to act as head-note. The miniature which occurs at the beginning of Book III in Cotton Augustus is composed of simple shapes which provide the context for a significant scene of combat in the middle ground on the left (Slide 63). As in the miniature to Book II in this manuscript, the foreground is composed of conical tents ranged horizontally; and, as in that miniature, the right hand side is devoted to a moated city, similar in form. In Book III the Trojan defenders are reduced schematically to tiered rows of helmets, while the



background on the left is composed of more tents, tiered helmets and two conical mountains. In front of these, two mounted figures engage each other in combat. The figure on the left sags back on his horse. His head is wounded and his right arm practically severed at the shoulder while the figure on the right leans eagerly forward, sword in hand. Bergen (88) considers that this scene is intended to represent Hector and Patroclus. The first narrative moment of any importance in Book III is, indeed, the encounter between these two adversaries (II. 744 ff.) and in fact it is the first episode to offer information sufficiently detailed from which to devise a convincing miniature. The first seven hundred lines had been concerned with the arming of the Trojans and the disposition of the contending forces under their various leaders, not suitable material for the creation of a picture. Indeed, the problem involved in illustrating the first seven hundred lines is well exemplified by Trinity which attempts such a task (Fig. 61). A very anonymous picture is the result. A wavy groundline in the middle ground divides the picture in half: in the background are marching knights; on the right is a city, usual visual allusion to Troy. In the foreground a figure seated in a tent confers with three knights, one of whom is kneeling. In Bergen's opinion (89), the miniature alludes to scenes inside Troy: the background shows Hector leading his ward, while the foreground shows Hector perhaps taking leave of Priam. In view of the tent it seems more probable that the figure is intended for Agamemnon and that we have a representation of the contending forces: Hector leading out his division, and Agamemnon assigning his troops into battalions (II.565 ff.)

The killing of Patroclus, on the contrary, is gorily explicit:  
Hector

... with a swerd rood to Patroclus  
 Avised fully þat he schal be ded;  
 And furiously gan hamen at his hed  
 And rof hym doun, þer was no maner lette,  
 In-to þe brest þoruȝ his basenet,

As seith Guydo, with so gret a peyne  
pat with þe stroke he partid hym on tweyne (11.782-8).

The figure in the miniature in Cotton Augustus is being cut in half, though not exactly in the manner described. This is not the only occasion in Book III when people have limbs hacked off, or even get split in two (90). Thus the iconography adopted is sufficiently precise for it to have a specific signification, and sufficiently general for it to represent all the battles in the book. Alone among the Troy Book manuscripts Digby fails to respond to Lydgate's precise details. In both Rawl. (Fig. 62) and Roy. (Fig. 63) the miniature is considerably more faithful than Cotton Augustus: as ever, the composition focuses on a scene of mounted combat, surrounded by tents, armed knights and the city; in both cases one of the equestrian knights is being messily hewn in half. In Digby (Fig. 64), on the other hand, though the design of the composition is similar to that in Cotton Augustus with its configurations of knights, tents and the city, the manner of Patroclus' death is significantly different. The left foreground is the most individual part of the composition: a figure with a crown on his helmet tilts with a lance at his opponent on the left. The tip of the lance has pierced his armour and both horse and man are reeling under the blow. The knight is in the process of falling backwards from his horse; his visor falls back from his helmet, his horse sinks on its haunches. It is a dynamic vignette, and such a motif can be found in battle scenes all through the Troy Book. It is not clear, however, that it is intended to represent Hector and Patroclus, or, even if it were, that it would have been perceived as such.

It must be pointed out that, though Patroclus dies in the same way in Benoit, Guido, and Lydgate, the manner of rendering the slaying visually in Benoit and Guido manuscripts that I have seen, is more frequently like that in Digby than accurate to the text. In BN fr.782

fol. 58y for instance, the protagonists are labelled so there can be no mistake about interpreting them: Hector tilts at Patroclus with his lance and Patroclus falls backwards. A similar motif occurs in other Benoit manuscripts: BL Harley 4482, and Venice, Bibl. Marc. fr. 17; Histoire ancienne manuscripts: BN fr.301 and BL Royal 20. D. 1; it persists until 1495 in a manuscript of Raoul Lefèvre, BN fr. 22552. In the Epître d'Othea, Patroclus dies by means of a spear according to the artist of Harley 4431, whereas, according to Jean Mielot, the artist of Brussels Bibl. Roy. MS fr.9392, Patroclus falls forward against the neck of his horse, his helmet having fallen off to reveal a crack in his skull (91). BL Add. MS 15477, a copy of Guido written in Italy around the middle of the fourteenth century (92), is the only continental manuscript I have seen which corresponds to the text. It is difficult to know if the Digby artist was following a tradition of illustration or was adopting the identical formulaic response that had occurred to other artists given the task of illustrating the story. The reader is at liberty to interpret this scene either as Hector killing Patroclus or as an ideograph summarizing visually all the battles in Book III.

The illustration to Book IV usefully conflates a number of crucial episodes. In nearly all Troy Book manuscripts, the composition alludes visually to Hector's tomb, the wounded Achilles, and the council which the exultant Agamemnon convenes at the start of the book. The material for the depictions occurs towards the end of Book III and the beginning of Book IV. The only exception to this is the illustration in Digby (Fig. 65) which shows Hector lying in state inside a room indicated by a castellated frame. He is lying on a bier, surrounded by mourners. In the foreground are three kneeling figures in various poses of dejection. On an altar on the right stands a small gold image carrying sword and spear. A close parallel to this composition can be found in BL Royal MS 16 F. ix, an early fifteenth-century



manuscript containing a translation of Guido into French (Slide 64). This too shows Hector lying on a bier surrounded by mourners (93), though it does not have anything like the image on the altar, which Bergen (94) suggests may be the Palladium.

In order, perhaps, to account for the image on the altar, it is necessary to turn to the other illustrations at the beginning of Book IV. The burial of Hector is one of the most elaborate sequences in Book III. An oratory is set up in the Temple of Apollo with a tabernacle supported by four angels standing on four columns. Within the tabernacle is the statue of Hector made of gold and standing with sword in hand as if to threaten the Greeks. His corpse is embalmed and kept fresh by an elaborate system of conduits. Four gold lamps burn night and day in front of the corpse and priests are endowed to pray for Hector's soul. These details are faithfully transcribed by Lydgate from Guido, except that, in the former, Hector's embalmed body is said to be seated and its position in the tabernacle is specified more clearly. The whole presents some problems of visualization. Stereotypes can be adopted: as we have seen, a number of manuscripts choose to depict the moment before the burial, the lamentation over Hector's corpse, rather than the burial itself. Buchthal has analyzed the difficulty encountered by those illustrators who tried to respond more directly to that section of The Roman de Troie. Discussing Italian versions of the fourteenth century, he notes that they do not have recourse to a common tradition, but produce 'highly individual creations inspired in each instance by Benoit's text' (95). They had difficulty doing justice to the description, though they were clearly intrigued by it.

Troy Book artists, on the whole, endeavour to respond to the text; they solve the problem by simplifying considerably and by reducing attention on the tomb itself by incorporating it into a multiple composition. Since all extant miniatures are closely related in concept, if not in detailed execution, some description of Cotton

Augustus (Slide 65) will provide an outline. The picture is divided by the line of a terraced mountain which separates the field of the miniature into Trojan on the left, and Greek on the right. The left hand side of the composition is dominated by the embalmed figure of Hector standing on a plinth under a canopy. He is crowned and wearing a red tunic over his armour. In his left hand he carries a shield, and in his right a short dagger. By the edge of the mountain can be seen the heads of two mourners, their hands upraised in prayer. In the foreground on the right is a conical tent, the flaps of which are drawn back to reveal five standing crowned kings -- Agamemnon in council. Behind them, Achilles, only his head and shoulders visible, lies in bed wearing a white coif. Behind him are two more conical tents.

Proceeding chronologically, we find a very similar composition in Rawl (Fig. 66), although some of the details have been changed. The foreground is devoted to Agamemnon's council. There are still five kings, but this time they are all seated. Behind, to the left, is a more developed version of Achilles lying wounded. The majority of his bed can be seen and this time it is set within a tent. On the left, an attendant offers him a drink from a covered cup. On the right, Hector stands in full armour on a plinth at the base of which can be seen the heads of three mourners including a nun. This is set inside a hexagonal enclosure. The tabernacle takes the form of four delicate pillars supporting a cupola from which, a small mark of precision, hang four lamps. M 876 seems to be most closely related to Rawl, though it appears to be unique among English manuscripts in incorporating a visual sense of the embalmed figure as well as of the statue. Top left is Hector's standing figure holding sword and spear as in Rawl.; the tabernacle has become more of a Gothic building with buttresses on either side and the three mourners have become one figure seen to the waist on the right of the tabernacle. Bottom left is a low wall above



which can be seen the head and torso of an armed figure, wearing a crown over his helmet. It is flanked on either side by three cowed figures. Presumably this is meant to represent the statue of Hector. Top right is Achilles' tent in the midst of other conical tents. Achilles himself is seen lying in bed; his pose is very similar to that in Rawl. except that he crooks his right arm instead of his left. On the right of the bed are three kneeling figures, like a slight expansion, reversed, of Rawl. Bottom right is a ridge-pole tent open to reveal the seated Agamemnon surrounded in a tight semi-circle by kneeling and sitting crowned figures.

Both Trinity and Roy play down Hector's tomb. In Trinity (Fig. 67) Troy has receded behind a wavy horizon line. On the left, in front of the walls stands an armoured figure holding an axe in its right hand with two mourners to the left. In conception this treatment of Hector is most like the image in the foreground in M 876. The foreground is dominated by the Greeks; Agamemnon on the left and Achilles on the right. It is in Roy that the most interesting development takes place, and the most pertinent for the figure on the altar in Digby. The artist of this series of miniatures has a great liking for geometrical compositions, static but well-planned (96). The illustration (Fig. 68) is basically in two registers of tents, divided horizontally and linked vertically by a high Gothic column surmounted by a small, gilt, naked figure bearing a cusped shield and with a pennon over its shoulder. It looks remarkably like a pagan idol. At the top of the scene is a series of tents, inside one of which is Achilles lying in bed. Below, a tent forms the backdrop to a seated Agamemnon flanked on either side by two knights. The usual components of the composition are present, apart from a reference to Hector who appears to have evolved into a pagan idol. It seems probable that the artist had a model since he appears to have misunderstood the significance of Hector's image and translated it into a stereotype with which he was



familiar. If he misunderstood his model and inadvertently portrayed Hector as an idol, it is possible that the artist of Digby may have done the same thing, and that the small figure on the altar represents, not the Palladium, but Hector's statue (97).

Only four examples of illustrations to Book V remain in the manuscripts under discussion: the relevant leaf has been cut out in Rawl., and in Digby there is no miniature at Book V. All four miniatures depict the same scene, Agamemnon and the quarrelling Ajax and Ulysses, though there are, as usual, differences in detail. Roy. (Fig. 69) and Cotton Augustus (Slide 66) are remarkably similar in outline: in both, Agamemnon is seated inside his tent and in each one of the two disputants appears to be addressing him. In Roy. they are stiff figures in armour carrying halberds; in Cotton Augustus they are represented as kings and gesticulate more vigorously. Both stand on Agamemnon's left while two courtiers stand on his right. In both manuscripts a visual allusion is made on the skyline on the right to the Greek ships. In Roy. only the tops of the masts and crows' nests are visible, whereas in Cotton Augustus part of the deck can also be seen. However, Roy makes a more precise reference to the actual departure of the Greeks: on the right a procession of soldiers in armour marches away from foreground to background accompanied by a herald. In the foreground two soldiers pick up a trunk lashed with ropes. The illustration contains a precise allusion to ll. 40-4:

For or þei entre with-Inne shippes bord  
Ageyn Vlixes worþi Thelamoun  
In presence of kyng Agamenoun  
Purposed hath, pleynly, his matere  
To-fore Grekis ...

The illustrations in M 876 and Trinity can also be compared with each other, but they are less straightforward to interpret. On the right of M 876, the composition is straightforward: the background is, as usual, filled with the masts, crows' nests and upper decks of the Greek ships; in the foreground Ulysses and Ajax face each other in

scornful, aggressive poses, one having thrown down a gauntlet, the other with a glove in his right hand and his left hand on the pommel of his sword. On the left, an enthroned king, presumably Agamemnon, surrounded by knights in armour, extends his slightly raised left hand towards a kneeling suppliant in armour on the right. Bergen (98) suggests that this may be intended to represent Helenus before Agamemnon, an event which occurs some way before the end of Book IV when Helenus begs Agamemnon to spare Hector's sons and wife, Andromache. On the other hand, one of the armed figures on the left of Agamemnon may be intended to represent Ulysses just as the kneeling figure may be intended for Telamon Ajax. I see this miniature as an expansion of the basic iconography of Cotton Augustus and Roy, with the disputants before the king supplemented by another moment in the narrative, a free invention on the text. No mention is made of an individual confrontation between Ulysses and Ajax, though it is a plausible enough addition.

Surprisingly enough, Bergen makes no attempt to account for the vagaries of composition in Trinity (Fig. 70), though it is the clearest example of the exemplar having been misunderstood; and the exemplar, if there was one, must have been closest to M 876 because of the introduction of a separate sequence. Bergen describes the miniature thus:

a variation of the quarrel between Ulysses and Telamon, who stand excitedly behind Agamemnon, throned, and with a man, cap in hand, kneeling before him. The masts of the Greek ships in the distance (99).

The two agitated figures are, however, clearly monks or friars: they are wearing brown habits and one is evidently tonsured. They are separated off from the rest of the miniature by the wavy groundline which is characteristic of this manuscript, suggesting perhaps that in the exemplar they may have been conceived of as separate units. The scene on the left seems to be a simplification of the scene on the

left in M 876, though the focus on only one of the disputants removes all coherence from the composition. Furthermore, the motif of kneeling bareheaded figure in front of a king is familiar in this manuscript from the illustration to Book III; though the costumes are different the gesticulations are similar. The extent to which the artist was working in terms of stereotypes can perhaps be seen in the foreground on the right of the miniature which depicts a terraced mountain with a rabbit emerging from its burrow in the manner of some Master of Game manuscripts. With the benefit of seeing all Troy Book miniatures, it is easy enough to conclude that the model underlying the present composition is evidently of the quarrel between Ulysses and Ajax.

Enough has been said to show that, allowing for the inevitable misunderstandings and incoherences in the process of transmission, a strong tradition of illustrating the Troy Book developed, concentrating on the beginning of each book. The illuminations serve to stress the formal divisions of the work and are thus radically different from the other English text which is supplied with a constantly repeated sequence, Confessio Amantis. In the case of Confessio Amantis, as we have seen, the illustrations have a conceptual significance; they stress the twin themes of the poem. In the Troy Book the illustrations are more fortuitous; the incidents thrown into prominence are not of significance in themselves or in Guido: they attain significance because of the layout of Lydgate's text, by dint of being the first episode in the book.

A similar principle can be seen behind the selection of illustrations for manuscripts such as Royal 16. F. ix which seems to have been intended to be divided into thirty-five books, many of which were left unnumbered. The beginning of each book, except the first and the fourth, is denoted by a miniature. The illustrations are thus used as visual punctuation in the same way as they are in Lydgate. Due to the difference between Guido and Lydgate as to how to divide the text, the miniatures



rarely depict the same scenes. The illustrations in the Royal manuscript, however, have none of the fidelity to the text of the Lydgate manuscripts. They are extremely formulaic. Although the treatment of the miniature to Book II of the Troy Book suggests to some extent the cobbling together of stereotyped motifs in response to a request to create a battle scene, the correspondence between miniatures suggests the influence of an authoritative exemplar, and this may well have been the presentation copy. As has been seen, there are occasionally problems with the exact interpretation of the contents, but the striking degree of consistency between the illustrated manuscripts can be observed in tabular form. (See Table Five).

It seems plausible to assume that behind the sequence of six Troy Book illustrations lies Lydgate's original presentation copy. The wish to imitate the original manuscript would account for the consistency with which the text is presented. In later manuscripts a process of expansion in the miniature cycle seems to take place, as can be seen from a glance at the table. Nevertheless, the original compositions still play a major rôle. M 876 is unusual in two ways. As Bergen (100) points out, there are a large number of apparently unique textual variations so that it probably belongs, like Roy. and Trinity, in a class by itself. Secondly, like Trinity, the Troy Book section in M 876 is bound with a copy of Generydes, a translation made independently of that in Trinity. The two sections were probably the work of the same scribe (101). The pictorial programme of M 876 did not get very close to completion, but since spaces were left in the text for miniatures, it is possible to deduce for the Troy Book section what the illustrations were intended to be.

The considerable affiliations of the miniatures to other illustrations in both subject-matter and placement have already been discussed, and it is clear that the sequence was intended to be

<u>Table Five</u>	DIGBY 1420-30	AUG.A.iv 1430's	RAWL 1425-50	TRINITY 1440-60	M 876 1440-50	ROY 1455-69
	<u>Troy Book only</u>	<u>Troy Book only</u>	<u>Troy Book only</u>	<u>Troy Book &amp; Generydes</u>	<u>Troy Book &amp; Genarydes</u>	<u>Troy Book &amp; Thebes</u>
PROLOGUE	Presentation miniature	Presentation miniature	Presentation miniature	Presentation miniature	Begins incomplete	'Presentation' miniature
BOOK I	Peleus praying: the creation of the Myrmidons 11 1 ff	Peleus praying: the creation of the Myrmidons 11 1 ff	Peleus praying: the creation of the Myrmidons 11 1 ff	Peleus praying: the creation of the Myrmidons 11 1 ff		
PROLOGUE	Illuminated border				Fortune & her wheel 11 1 ff	Fortune & her wheel 11 1 ff
BOOK II	Priam, besieging rebel city, receiving news of the destruction of Troy. 11 203 ff	Priam, besieging rebel city, receiving news of the destruction of Troy. 11 203 ff	Stereotyped siege picture 11 203 ff	Leaf cut out: according to Bergen it contained a miniature	Space left for miniature	
					Space left for miniature at the beginning of the reconstruction of Troy 11 479 ff	
BOOK III	Hector killing Patroclus (but inaccurate to text). Patroclus has been killed by a spear thrust. 11 5260 ff	Hector killing Patroclus who has a wounded head and a right arm practically severed at the shoulder. 11 5260 ff	Hector killing Patroclus by cleaving him in half 11 5260 ff	Miniature of unusual type: contending forces? Hector leading out his division and Agamemnon assigning his troops into battalions? 211 565 ff?	Space left for miniature	Hector killing Patroclus by cleaving him in half 11 5260 ff
						Greek tents overthrown by tempest 11 3273 ff
						Troilus taking leave of Cressid, 11 4077 ff
						Mourning over Hector 11 5423 ff
BOOK IV	Hector lying in state; ?the Palladium. 11 1 ff	Hector's tomb; Achilles lying wounded; Agamemnon in council 11 1 ff	Hector's tomb; Achilles lying wounded; Agamemnon in council 11 1 ff	Hector's tomb; Achilles lying wounded; Agamemnon in council 11 1 ff	Hector's tomb; Achilles lying wounded; Agamemnon in council 11 1 ff	Hector's statue? Achilles lying wounded; Agamemnon in council 11 1 ff
						Troilus surrounded 11 2712 ff
						Troilus executed 11 2256-2779
						Brazen horse & Calchas 11 6023 ff
						Brazen horse being dragged into Troy 11 6206 ff
BOOK V	Illuminated half border and initial	Ulysses and Ajax before Agamemnon; the Greek ships. 11 1 ff	According to Bergen there was originally a miniature, but the relevant page has been cut away	Agamemnon & ships; some puzzling aspects to composition 11 1 ff	Quarrel between Ulysses & Ajax; the Greek ships 11 1 ff	Quarrel between Ulysses & Ajax; the Greeks march away to ships. 11 1 ff



expanded rather than fundamentally altered. The major area of projected expansion was to be at the beginning of Book II. A slight variation on the earlier cycle had already occurred, with emphasis being put on the Prologue to that book. None the less, space for a miniature was also left in the usual place and would, no doubt, have been filled with the traditional scene of Priam receiving news of the destruction of Troy. A few folios further on, space is left for a miniature depicting a scene that is more common in Guido manuscripts: the reconstruction of Troy. The Generydes segment was also intended to have miniatures and there are four pictures in various stages of completion. In the Troy Book, the state of the manuscript suggests that the decorative process was finished for each page rather than that the artist was going through completing one stage before embarking on the next. Where the miniature has been nearly completed (fol. 6r., the wheel of Fortune) the border and decorative initial have also been supplied. The order of completion seems to have been quite arbitrary: in Book II only Fortune and her wheel approaches the final form -- 'although the ground-tints are laid on, the miniature still lacks the final touches' (102) -- while the other projected miniatures are merely spaces in the text. The same is true of the miniature to Book III while those to Books IV and V are outline drawings preparatory to being filled with colours. This slight, albeit incomplete, modification of what was evidently a pre-existent series perhaps argues for the intervention of an interested patron.

Rylands Eng. 1, from the middle of the fifteenth century, with sixty-nine miniatures, is the most lavish of the Troy Book manuscripts. The impression of luxury provided by its extensive series of pictures is intensified by the fact that each miniature is accompanied by a border which frames both columns of text so that the sequence of decoration is extremely elaborate. The majority of illustrations occur in the substantial margins (bottom margin is approximately 3½ inches;



the outer margin is approximately  $3\frac{1}{8}$  to  $3\frac{5}{8}$  inches), either along the lower margin or up the side. Though it might seem to have little to do with other manuscripts of the Troy Book, the profusion of miniatures being so much greater, the original sequence is still embedded in the fabric of the manuscript. Five miniatures are incorporated into the text space at the beginning of each book: there is a half-page presentation miniature on fol. 1r (Slide 67); on fol. 28v at the beginning of the prologue to Book II is an illustration of the Wheel of Fortune (Slide 68); Book III commences on fol. 78v with Hector killing Patroclus (Slide 69); the beginning of Book IV, fol. 112r (Slide 70), is denoted by Achilles lying wounded in his tent. All these miniatures are half-page. The exception to this is the miniature which marks the beginning of Book V, fol. 151v (Slide 71). It is still an integral part of the page, but only one column has been allocated to it: no other indication that a book is about to begin is provided in the way of chapter heading or running titles. In this difference in placement, it can be seen that there is a difference of conception about this sequence of five: it is a much more integrated part of the format of the page and it would have had to have been planned for at an early stage of the production so that the scribe could leave the requisite spaces in the text blank. Furthermore, there are close links between the iconography of these miniatures and previous versions in other Troy Book manuscripts.

The presentation miniature needs no further comment, except to observe that the central scene with the kneeling monk, the seated king on canopied throne and the figure on the left bearing the sword of authority, can most usefully be compared with that in Digby. The illustration announcing the beginning of Book II is, as has been seen, a rarer type in its location though the subject-matter is common enough. Similarly the death of Patroclus can be compared with other versions. As in Rawl and Roy, he is cut in half with great precision

and he sags back on his horse, his right arm still holding the sword hanging limply, in the manner of the equivalent illustration in Cotton Augustus. The remainder of the miniature is eked out with tents, schematically tiered helmets, and the city of Troy, apart from the introduction in the left foreground of a new motif: king Merion in the act of mounting his horse.

The illumination at the beginning of Book IV is, on the other hand, a simplification of previous miniatures. The component parts indicate that a similar prototype was used, but, whereas in previous versions each element had meaning, in Eng. 1 two of the three sections of the narrative have been simplified into decorative shapes. In the disposition of the various elements in the field of the miniature Eng. 1 is most like Trinity. As in Trinity the city of Troy is in the background but the visual allusion to Hector's tomb, curtailed enough in Trinity, is completely absent in Eng. 1. In the foreground on the left lies Achilles in bed. Behind him are three conical tents and two conical stylized mountain shapes. To the right of Achilles' bed is a group of armed knights. This scene -- minus the knights -- occurs on the right in Trinity; however, on the left is the scene of Agamemnon seated inside a tent, consulting two colleagues. In Eng. 1 any narrative content has been suppressed; the foreground on the right contains nothing but a series of tents. Reference to the burial of Hector occurs on an earlier fol., 109v (Slide 72). It is conceived in terms of a funeral cortège bearing the coffin into a chapel. The prototypes of this are other than Troy story miniatures, unless one sees it as an adaptation of an illustration such as that on fol. 114r. of BL Royal MS. 20. D.i, a Guido manuscript, which depicts the corpse of Hector being carried from the battlefield on the shoulders of six knights. The final miniature of the series, that to Book V, is slightly more problematic. Again, the underlying prototype is clear enough, though it seems to have been garbled at some stage, as was the case with



Trinity. However, an interesting problem of interpretation presents itself, and we gain an insight into the method of procedure in the workshop.

In all the miniatures in Eng. 1 the major figures are labelled, usually in white, but occasionally in black ink. Thus, on fol. 78v the relevant figures are marked 'Ector', 'Patroclus' and 'Rex Merion'. On fol. 151v the composition is divided into three by means of two stylized mountains in the middle ground. In the background, between the two mountains is a king with a group of soldiers to the left. Only the three foremost knights can be seen fully: the rest are represented by their helmets. In the foreground on the left is a tightly clustered group of three men in civilian dress, each wearing elaborate hats with broad brims and tall, tapering crowns. The two in front are shown in profile and are seemingly caught at a moment of heated altercation while the figure behind shown full-face is apparently listening. In the foreground on the right is a group of standing knights. The three figures on the left are labelled 'Daniell', 'Ezechiell' and 'Sedechie', an inexplicable subject to find in a Troy Book manuscript. It is, however, quite obvious what has happened. The illustration is in the second column; in the first column, parallel with the miniature, we have the moment at the end of Book IV where Lydgate tries to convey the enormity of the fall of Troy by suggesting that even the great Judaic prophets would be inadequate properly to lament the destruction. It is, of course, a variation on the modesty topos. The following lines occur:

... nor thou Ezechiel  
That were that tyme when that meschif fel  
Vnto the king called Sedechie  
In Babilone and for thi prophecy  
With stones were thou cruelly slawe  
Nor he that was departed with a sawe  
Ye bothe two that so coude compleyne  
Ne Daniel that felt so grete peyne ..... (IV 7063-7070). (103).

Iconographically the scene depicts the episode usual at the beginning



of Book V: the dispute of Ajax and Ulysses over possession of the Palladium and its adjudication, although the artist has evidently not understood what he was copying -- hence the inexplicable vignette of the king and knights in the background. The labeller, unclear as to what the picture was meant to represent, cast his eyes over the page in search of clues and came across three names conveniently close to the miniature.

This is not the only instance in Eng. 1, as we shall see, of the labeller distorting the meaning of the illustration through lack of comprehension. It is ironic that an attempt to clarify the text by providing numerous pictures, and to clarify the pictures by labelling them -- and thus removing the necessity for the idle reader actually to peruse the text -- should be thus thwarted by a failure of adequate control in the latter stages of production.

The format of Eng. 1 gives special status to five of the possible iconographic types which recur in earlier Troy Book manuscripts. It is, however, an eclectic manuscript, using the other two compositional units elsewhere in its programme. The second miniature in the cycle is a depiction of conventional type of Peleus and the Myrmidons. The second miniature to Book II (Slide 73) iconographically related to the scene of Priam besieging the rebel city and receiving news of the destruction of Troy which occurs as the first miniature to Book II in Digby, Cotton Augustus and Rawl., is less straightforward because of the activities of the labeller. In its central section it most resembles Digby. On the left a standing crowned figure receives a letter from a kneeling messenger. On the right is a city completely surrounded by a moat. Its walls are cracked, as if to indicate its impending destruction and it is being vigorously both attacked and defended. The figure with a bow in the foreground of Digby is possibly repeated, reversed, on the right of the city in Eng. 1. In the foreground of Eng. 1 are the hindquarters of two people protruding

from the mines they are tunnelling; in Digby, one such figure can be seen, also in the foreground. It would appear to depict Priam besieging the rebel castle and hearing the news of the destruction of Troy -- and this is how Bergen (104) interprets it. Though we have already seen in the case of Rawl. how imprecise the meaning can be perceived to be at this point, one would have thought that the motif of the message being received would have contextualized the image firmly enough. This turns out not to be the case. By labelling, the picture becomes a siege in front of Troy itself. There is a central turret to the city at the top of which can be seen the crowned bust of a man in armour. He is labelled 'Rex lamedoun'. The king receiving the message purports to be 'Rex Menelaus' while a crowned figure to the left is labelled 'Castor'. On the right two knights are named: 'Duke nestor' and 'rex pelleus'. The genesis of this cannot be found in the wording of the page in quite the way it can be for fol. 151v. Admittedly, the phrase 'kyng lamedoun' occurs four lines above the picture in the second column, but the text at this point does not supply the other, accurate, names for the Greek forces. It would seem that we have a genuine near-contemporary reading of the iconography. Priam receiving news of the destruction of Troy may be, in inception, what this particular collocation of motifs was meant to represent. But the actual destruction of Troy is a much more potent image, and that was the theme which engaged the imagination of the labeller, or whoever was directing him.

It can thus be seen that the influence of the sequence of five or six miniatures permeates all extant manuscripts of the Troy Book and reflects a strong interest in the structure of the work. This tradition of illustration seems to have been a manuscript tradition; only faint traces of it remain in Pynson's 1513 imprint: The Hystorye, Sege and Dystruccyon of Troye with forty-two woodcut illustrations including frontispieces. The Prologue to Book I is a presentation

miniature, showing quite accurately Lydgate as a Benedictine monk; Book I itself depicts Peleus and the creation of the Myrmidons of a familiar type, though reversed; Book II begins with a cut of Fortune and her wheel, Lydgate looking on; Book III shows an anonymous scene of contending mounted forces with no sign of Hector or Patroclus, and the same woodcut is used for Book IV chap. xxxiiij: 'Howe Parys & Thelamon Ajax slewe eche other in the felde'. The remaining miniatures are mere approximations. The initial miniature to Book IV has a vague resemblance to the more precise manuscript versions: on the left is a city on the walls of which is a scaffold; on the right is a king surrounded by courtiers. Book V consists of two factotum pictures -- on the left a shipwreck and on the right two ships. There is some appropriateness to the chapter heading: 'Here begynneth the fyfth Boke of Troye the whiche speketh howe the Grekes retourned into Grece after the dystruccyon / And howe they were perysshed almoste all in the see / And after they that escaped dyed myscheuously. Capitulo xxxvi'. However, Hodnett (105) points out that only seven of the woodcuts were specially cut to fit the text; the rest have been adopted from other sources such as Pynson's own Paris and Vienne series, and a cut apiece from De Worde's Morte D'Arthur and his Historyes of Troye. The first two woodcuts are part of the new series; Pynson's artist must have had a Troy Book manuscript in front of him as he cut the block for Peleus and the Myrmidons -- it preserves the manuscript composition exactly. The relationship between picture and text is in most cases purely notional. There is no engagement with the printed text in the way we have seen occurs in the manuscript tradition.

Although the Troy Book sequence served mainly to divide the work into its component units in a visually arresting way, some care was taken to align the content of the miniatures with the content of the text. And although there are few signs of an individual response to the text, each manuscript presenting a similar scene in more or less



the same way, a manuscript like Royal bears the vestigial traces of a more personal stamp (106). By the time of Pynson, however, the woodcuts seem to have been conceived only as formal markers -- also, presumably, to make the book a more commercially tempting proposition. The work has become more efficiently organized: there is a table of contents, running titles and a series of chapter headings which provide a lengthy synopsis of the section to come. In the manuscripts only Roy supplies any chapter headings of any note and these are independent of Pynson. A woodcut is provided for each chapter division and is often imprecise or inappropriate in subject matter. For example, the woodcut accompanying Book II, chapter xviiij: 'How the Grekes were almoste loste by tempest of the see / And how they toke a Castell that was called Sarobona perteynyng to y<sup>e</sup> Troyans' shows a page with a lyre under his arm, receiving a lute from a courtier who addresses a woman with her back to the viewer. There is a tightly clustered group of soldiers to the right and a woman gazes out of a window on the left. According to Hodnett (107), this was originally part of the Paris and Vienne series.

### 3. Rylands Eng. 1: Organization and Layout.

The layout of the manuscripts, apart from the illustrations and borders marking Books and the Prologues of books is not designed for maximum ease of location of incident. The absence, for the most part, of apparatus such as running titles, marginal annotations or chapter headings suggests reading habits of casual perusal rather than of close inspection and study. The manuscripts are lavish, but the miniatures are standardized; some attempt is made to respond to the text, but only at localized points, and not those of maximum narrative intensity. Eng. 1 has, in effect, a set of visual chapter headings, but in this it is unique.

In selecting the scenes for illustration in Eng. 1, the deviser

of the programme was not as much concerned with copying a cycle or providing images for the text as with responding to previous decisions as to how the manuscript should be set out. All of the Troy Book manuscripts, whether illustrated or not, are carefully subdivided into sections by means of champ initials as a supplement to the large initials which mark book divisions. A decorative hierarchy is thus established. These initials are not arbitrarily placed: there is a good deal of consistency from manuscript to manuscript. An incidental effect of the liberal use of champ initials is that the decorative impression of the mise-en-page is considerably enhanced, but they also seem to represent genuine stages in the narrative. Moments of rhetorical intensity are also picked out, particularly seasonal descriptions couched in astrological terms. The three earliest manuscripts, Cotton Augustus, Digby and Rawl. concur almost exactly as to what are the crucial moments to be given decorative notice; later manuscripts place initials to introduce the same sections but intensify the sense of division of the text by increasing the number of initials. It is clear that certain aspects of the narrative were perceived as important by all the manuscripts (see Appendix 1). Eng. 1 is quite consistent about preserving the hierarchy suggested by the earlier manuscripts. In almost every case where they have a champ initial, Eng. 1 supplies a border and a miniature. It also has champ initials; but these are usually reserved for divisions in the text not indicated by Cotton, Digby and Rawl. Even where this appears not to be the case, where a champ in Cotton Augustus, Digby and Rawl is marked only by a champ in Eng. 1, closer examination reveals that the original layout has been preserved. For example, l 977 is the line which all manuscripts denote with a champ initial -- and Pynson marks it with a woodcut and chapter heading. But Eng. 1 only provides a champ initial, reserving the initial and border for l 1015. However, both lines appear on the same folio, so the line receives considerable emphasis in the hierarchy of

the manuscript, if not precisely in the hierarchy of the page (108).

The consequences of this for the pictorial programme in Eng. 1 are interesting. There is evidently a strong sense of propriety behind the location of the miniatures, a sense of propriety which is conditioned by an idea of the structure of the work contained in the earliest manuscripts. On one level, at least, the illustrations reflect an expansion of the original decorative programme governed by the earliest decisions as to how to present the text. The hierarchy of development seems to be rigidly graded. The original series of pictures is formally incorporated into the text space itself; the old sequence of division appears in a new, lavish guise; and the text is further sub-divided by a number of fresh champ initials.

This view of the illustrations as an elaboration of the original process of division and thus having primarily a formal genesis, may help to explain one apparent anomaly in the cycle of miniatures. All the illustrations, apart from the presentation miniature, with one exception, are narrative; they attempt, on however rudimentary a level, to engage with the text and to present a visual equivalent of events on the page. This is not the case with the illustration on fol. 54v (Slide 74) which depicts Guido (labelled) seated inside a turret-like structure with a book on his knee, expounding to two disciples, seated on the floor, each with a book on his knee. The provision of an author/teaching picture is one solution of a technical problem. Very little is happening at this stage in the text for the artist to depict: Lydgate discusses the fates of both Castor and Pollux after death -- they were made into a constellation, Gemini -- and then cites Dares as an authority for the ensuing description of the chief protagonists of the war. Guido is also mentioned in the column adjacent to the miniature, and this is evidently the source of the labeller's information; to the artist, the authority figure may as well have been intended for Dares. For someone constructing a



programme with the content of the miniatures in mind, this is not the most logical page in the manuscript for which to supply an illustration. But for someone concerned to follow the decorative hierarchies of earlier manuscripts in a visually arresting way, there is a powerful precedent for marking this particular point in the text as worthy of notice.

On another level, the miniatures are by way of visual chapter headings. Eng. 1, with its profusion of labelled miniatures, has the most elaborate apparatus designed to guide the reader through the book. By providing a visual synopsis they remove from the reader the onerous task of actually reading the text. However, any reader relying on the pictures rather than the text is vulnerable to the care and competence of the labeller. It has already been shown that this is less than exact. Indeed, the labeller is responsible for the creation of a couple of new knights. Fol. 53r (Slide 75) is a composite miniature showing, in the top register, Menelaus receiving the news of Helen's abduction. Menelaus is swooning, the message dropping from his fingers, supported by two concerned friends and regarded anxiously by two others. The supporting figures are labelled 'Nestor' and 'Pira'. Nestor is appropriate enough, but 'Pira' is a problem until one reads the lines of text in the second column above the miniature:

To menelay the tydynges were brought  
Whiles he abode with Nestor at Pira (ll 4276-7, transcribed  
from manuscript).

Pira is thus a totally manufactured name. Yet the labeller is not unintelligent. The scene in the bottom register is of a shipwreck. According to the poem, Castor and Pollux set sail in pursuit of their sister but their ship is destroyed. However, according to the labeller, the same dramatis personae appear in the wrecked boat as appear in the register above. It looks as if someone is trying to create a narrative coherence which is not that of the text. He

realized the pictures were meant to be perceived as continuous, but assumed that they were to be more continuous than they are. A place similarly becomes a knight on fol. 78v (Slide 69), the visual account of the battle between Hector and Patroclus. In the bottom right-hand corner is a knight labelled 'Dardanides': in the text this is not a knight but a gate of Troy.

A similar process occurs on fol. 83v (Slide 76). Potentially this is a summary of the second battle, especially of the people killed by Hector, apart from the slaying of Patroclus which has been visually noted elsewhere. As with all the illustrations of battle scenes, the groups of armed figures are given significance and coherence by means of the labelling. The correlation between the manner of death in text and in illustration is often very tenuous; it is the fact that these combatants do encounter or slaughter each other which is of importance. Hector appears twice in this miniature: once on horseback leading a file of soldiers into battle, and once on foot, wielding a sword and hard beset by the Greeks. This motif gains appropriateness by the fact Hector is dismounted several times in this battle. The Hector on foot has killed two knights and is engaging with a third. The two corpses are in the foreground; the stance of the one on the left is almost identical to that of the dying Ulysses on fol. 168r (Slide 77) and like Ulysses he is crowned and has a spear protruding from his chest. The labelling indicates that he is Merion, whom Hector kills by cutting off his head rather than impaling with a spear. The corpse on the right is more surprising; he is labelled 'Duke antropus'. This grimly appropriate and ironically dead knight has been evolved in the usual way: in the second column of the facing folio appear the lines:

But that he carf & brake atwo the threde  
And the knotte of cruel Antropos (lll 966-7)

A casual glance over the opening and a not imperceptive misunderstanding of the text has led to the creation of a fresh knight. The knight with whom Hector is currently engaging is Menestus, who, in the text, is an

opponent of Troilus. In the top register 'Cincibare' (1. 946) leads in reinforcements.

It can be seen that with careful labelling, the pictures of battle scenes could have provided a conspectus of the main events, no matter how generalized the fighting groups. They would have fulfilled a real service in helping the reader find his way through the catalogue of the slain. Perhaps initially they were intended to provide this function though the labeller was not rigorously enough supervised for this to be the case in practice. However, other scenes such as the one on fol. 92r (Slide 78) are composed of stereotypes that not even intelligent labelling could enliven. The opposing forces have been simplified into tiers of helmets ranged behind two mounted combatants in the foreground. The composition gives individuality to only two knights labelled 'Achilles' and 'Ector'.

Though the labeller is sometimes arbitrary in his selection of names to correlate with figures, he is consistent about his incongruities. On fol. 131r (Slide 79) the supervisor of the manuscript has apparently made a mistake. The scene is one of generalized mounted combat, supplemented on either side by standing knights. All these features are clichés of the battle scenes in this manuscript. However, a novel detail can be observed: the second figure on the right is wearing a female headdress over her helmet. This is a clear visual allusion to the Amazons who do not, in fact, arrive to help the Trojans until the subsequent battle. The labeller was evidently puzzled by this detail and uncertain as to who the contenders were meant to represent. Two of the three main figures on the right have been labelled: the one is 'Rex Philomene', the other with the headdress is 'Quene pollidamas'. The genesis of these names is clear: they occur linked together in a line in the second column above the miniature:

Kyng Philymene and Pollydamas (IV 3429).

Though the labeller has been casual in the names he has selected from



the text, he is alert enough to the illustration to change Pollidamas' sex. He is also tenacious in the use of the name. Fol. 136r (Slide 80) depicts the killing of Penthesilea by Pirrus. The queen of the Amazons lies semi-recumbent wearing a crown and long hair. She is also labelled 'Quene Pollidamas'. Having selected this as the name of the Amazon queen, the labeller does not relinquish it easily.

Occasionally mislabelling seriously disturbs such narrative coherence as the miniature has. Due to the allocation of names to the figures, the miniature on fol. 102r (Slide 81) does not really correlate well with the text; nor does it really make sense. It is evident that in inception the scene was meant to illustrate Cressid's reception of the news that she is to be exchanged for Anthenor. In front of the enthroned Priam, presumably to denote that the decision was 'zoue in parlement' (III 4097), Cressid swoons, falling theatrically backwards and supported by a young man. Behind them is a series of standing knights, evidently secondary figures filling in the composition. Apart from the fact that Cressid is fainting publicly in front of Priam, the gesture is faithful to the text:

Ofte siþe she fil aswone doun,  
Dedly pale, for-dymmed in hir sizt (III 4136-7).

The problem is caused by the fact that the supporting figure is labelled 'Anthenor' and not 'Troilus'. The picture thus becomes a visual allusion, rather clumsily conceived, of the exchange of hostages. No matter what the iconographic prototype represented, this is the meaning imposed on the miniature by the labelling.

More seriously, mislabelling in the illustration on fol. 106v (Slide 82) reduces to incoherence what is a perfectly coherent scene, by impressing upon it a narrative pattern which it was not meant to have. The mise en page is a lavish one. The miniature is L-shaped, extending half-way up the left hand margin and all the way along the lower margin. The left hand side consists of an interior scene. The framework is formed by the outlines of a building composed of a small gable-ended

structure and a tower. The section in the lower margin is divided into two by carefully positioned stylized mountains which both provide a frame and a sense of division. On the left is a standard configuration of standing fighting men; on the right is Achilles treacherously killing Hector from behind. It is the composition in the architectural framework which causes the problems. Inside on the left is a figure asleep in bed; on the right two kneeling females seem to be imploring two standing armed men. One of the women is labelled 'Cresseide', and one of the men is, according to the label, Diomedes. It is true that the column adjacent to the miniature deals with Diomedes's desire for Cressid, but the relationship between the figures is an implausible one. It is Diomedes who implores Cressid's favours; ardent kneeling is inappropriate for a Cressid busily engaged in manipulating Diomedes by keeping him in doubt. Again, it is easy enough to see what the illustration originally represented, especially as it occurs in conjunction with Hector's death. Closer inspection reveals that the dividing line between the turret and the rest of the building is also meant to represent a division in the narrative sequence. Thus we have Andromache asleep in bed on the left and on the right beseeching the armed Hector not to set out for battle that day. The other female figures could be meant for Cassandra, Hecuba or Helen; the other standing knight could be Priam or perhaps just a 'filler'. The whole page was, in conception, an integrated whole, showing Hector's last moments from Andromache's forebodings to his death. Not only does the labeller destroy this, he makes a nonsense of the relationship between Cressid and Diomedes at this point. For, to the contemporary reader of the manuscript, without the benefit of consulting other manuscripts in which Andromache appealing to Hector is a frequent subject for illustration, the scene depicts Cressid and Diomedes, not Andromache and Hector.

The analysis of the illustrated Troy Book manuscripts so far

has revealed that the miniatures were primarily used as a means of dividing the text up into units. The illustrations in Eng. 1 are functional in that they are an elaboration of the original Troy Book layout, presenting the sense of the work's structure noted by the earliest manuscripts. The location of the pictures relates to traditions of production rather than traditions of reading. On the other hand, the presence of the labels, however misleading, ensures that the miniatures in Eng. 1 are not dismissed as a decorative extravagance, pure and simple; on a very real level they indicate a desire to come to grips with the content of the text, although they do, perhaps, turn it into a strip cartoon. The labelling reveals that the labeller did at least consult the text, if only in a perfunctory way. The miniatures potentially provide a ready reference system to portions of the text.

#### 4. Rylands Eng. 1: the Construction of the Pictorial Cycle.

In view of its lavishness of format, this manuscript deserves further study. Like other illuminated Troy Book manuscripts it is a large volume (c. 17½ X 13 inches) with wide margins. Thus it is evident that conspicuous display is one of its functions, and this is confirmed, as we have seen, in the lavishness of its decorative programme. The visual impression of the pages with their borders and marginal illustrations, is ornately striking rather than aesthetically pleasing. The use of the page is clumsy: there seems to be no guiding principle as to whether the illustrations should be in the side or lower margins. The reasons for their being in the margin are, if my theory is correct, clear enough: they indicate subordinate textual divisions. Though an unpleasing combination, borders and miniatures are technically well-integrated, so much so that it is difficult to tell which was done first (109).

The artist who executed the miniatures was probably an associate of William Abell (110) and probably illustrated two other English vernacular manuscripts -- Bodleian MS. Laud Misc. 733, a chronicle of



England to Henry V, and Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv. 18.1.7. (111). He shares with Abell a reaction to the International Gothic style (112) with his stiff, linearly conceived figures and palette composed of brightly clashing colours, particularly pink, red, blue and green. Like Abell, he often suggests the relationship between his figures by an intricate system of overlapping, rather than by any complex handling of perspective (113). Indeed, there is a consistent rejection of naturalism in the inconsistent scale and disposition of figures. The use of scale is psychological and hierarchical: the important figures in a composition are often indicated by an increased size (114). It is misleading to talk about foreground and background in many of these miniatures. The compositions are conceived basically as being in a series of tiers or registers rather than being organized into a coherent space. There is no attempt to make them appear to be on a receding plane except where the architecture forms a readily definable space in which the figures disport themselves.

Since the marginal illustrations are frameless, there is no separate space other than the manuscript page suggested. It must be noted, however, that though there is no formal frame, the artist does indicate the boundaries of his composition by using landscape motifs such as trees and mountains where architectural frameworks do not fulfil this function. The setting of architectural frames is achieved by buildings with a cut-away lateral wall. Other than this, the figures stand on an island-like ground with a band of earth round the sides of it to give a three-dimensional effect. The compositions are adapted well to the limitations of the space available. This can be well demonstrated with reference to fol. 3r (Slide 61), depicting Peleus and the Myrmidons, the iconography of which has already been compared with other English versions. The composition is in the outer margin and thus has little room to spread laterally. The artist, however, stresses the vertical axis by piling up trees and a walled city on top

of a stylized mountain.

The question that needs to be asked of such a lavish pictorial cycle is: how was it constructed? The question of why the artist chose to illustrate the scenes he did illustrate is partly answered by the exigencies of presentation: he had to depict an incident appropriate to what was considered a point of division in the text. The nature of the story, especially in its central sections, lends itself to stereotyped scenes. One unindividualized battle follows another. A more leisured visual programme, such as the one in Eng. 1, reflects this inevitably. Certain stereotyped motifs repeat themselves, conjured up by the text. There is a great emphasis on scenes of carnage which often have only a tenuous relationship with the text, given relevance by the labelling. For example, the miniature on fol. 114r (Slide 83) is a generalized illustration, depicting two geometrically opposing forces of foot-soldiers. Some of the stylistic mannerisms of the artist can be observed here in the tightly clustered groups of figures, rapidly becoming schematized into tiers of helmets, the strongly vertical accents of their spears and the stylized cone-shaped mountains which parallel the cone shapes into which the armed knights are grouped. The figures in the foreground are labelled 'rex Priamus' and 'Pallamides'. Though Priam is the hero of this ninth battle, this is not a significant encounter; nor does the illustration capture a significant gesture, particularly since the contact between Priam and Pallamides is that the former unhorses the latter. Even more obviously formulaic are the recurrent scenes of council which depict a king seated in an architectural framework and flanked by other seated or standing figures (fols. 34v (Slide 84); 38v (Slide 85); 39v (Slide 86); 40v (Slide 87); 138r (Slide 88)). The king himself is a stereotype: apart from the beardless Henry V on fol. 1r and Priam on 31v, every king has the same facial type with a long white forked beard.

There is no doubt that the artist has a stereotyped vocabulary

of figure types and that his natural method of construction seems to be in the recombination of stylistic clichés. This practice is more extensive than merely redeploying single figure types, such as the head of God on fol. 3r (Slide 61) which is a reversed copy of the councillor with the sword on fol. 1r (Slide 67) (115). Whole groups of figures are reduplicated (116), and whole miniatures seem to be constructed ad hoc from conventional elements when a miniature was required (117). Fols. 22v - 25r (Slides 89 - 92), for example, are factotum pictures composed from a collocation of motifs that can be noted elsewhere in the manuscript. Fol. 22v is a simultaneous composition showing, in the bottom register, Jason returning in triumph to Colchos and being greeted by three courtiers and, in the top register, presenting the golden fleece to Oetes. The stance of the figure of Jason, with one leg slightly bent, is identical in both halves of the miniature, though reversed. Thus, at the bottom of the page, he steps from a boat, only the prow and foredeck of which can be seen since the stern is overlapped by a stylized, conical mountain. This distinctive motif is transcribed from fol. to fol., often forming the lower boundary to a miniature (fols. 7r; 10v -- the gesture of the small figure in the boat is very similar, as is the armed figure of Jason -- 21r; 36r; 47v -- the stern of the ship rather than the prow is visible -- 74v; 157v; 158v; 161r; 162r; 164v). The top register is composed of a small pinnacled building with the wall cut away to reveal a seated, stereotyped Oetes with three figures on the left; the genesis of the foremost and most important has already been discussed. A parallel for this aspect of the composition, kneeling figures in front of a king, can be seen on fol. 5v. Similarly the miniature on fol. 23r, the flight of Jason and Medea, is created by the combination of a city motif, rather like, but more elaborate than, that on fol. 10v, and a ship in the lower register with Jason, Medea and three crewmen in it. The boat itself is of a type which can be duplicated in illustrations throughout the manuscript. Fol. 25r



is composed of such boats, filled with tiers of helmets, and set between the conical, stylized mountains which mark the top and bottom of the picture. With fol. 24r, Jason received by Peleus, there is a recurrence of motifs already noted. The right hand side is composed of a half-boat plus mountain while on the left a standing king receives a group of kneeling knights in an interior space denoted by a small building with the facing wall cut away. In fact the scene is very similar to that in the top register of fol. 22v; indeed, the posture of the foremost kneeling figure, labelled 'Jason', is very similar to that of Jason on fol. 10v, though there he is not wearing a cloak.

Such a repetition of hackneyed scenes is not confined to these fols., but enough has been said to make the point that there is little individuality in the construction of many of the miniatures. Similarly stereotyped vocabulary intrudes into a potentially dramatic scene and renders it markedly less dramatic than it appears in some other unrelated renderings. In the killing of Achilles and Antilocus by Paris and his knights in the temple of Apollo, fol. 129v (Slide 93), the two victims are represented as white-bearded old men with crowns -- the familiar king-type. Furthermore, the stance of Achilles is identical to that of the swooning Menelaus on fol. 53r, the fainting Cressid on fol. 102r, and the dying Ulysses on fol. 168r. The other protagonists are equally formulaic.

Such illustrations, while lacking in variety and vitality, are appropriate in a generalized way to the portion of the text to which they purport to refer. There are occasions, however, where the use of cliché takes predominance over the specific detail of the poem. This is most liable to occur in the depiction of battle scenes, but it is by no means the only context in which there is a recourse to standard formulae rather than a response to the poem. A good case in point occurs on fol. 149v (Slide 94), a simultaneous miniature depicting Pyrrhus murdering Polyxena at Achilles' tomb and the killing of Hecuba. Lydgate

is precise about events: the sight of the savage murder of her daughter sends Hecuba mad; she begins to scratch and bite and throw stones. In retaliation the Greeks send her to an island;

Wher she was slayn only by Iugement  
Of þe Grekis, and stonyd to þe deth (V. 6906-7).

The artist has picked up only the general notion of slaying. On the left Polyxena kneels before a Gothic tomb-chest in front of an altar with Venus on it. She raises her hands in a gesture of prayer. Behind her stands the labelled figure of Pyrrhus, his right arm with sword raised in a sweeping gesture; his left arm has not been painted in. Behind the tomb, Hecuba rends her hair in rather a stagey gesture. The two scenes are divided by a river, so the scene on the right could be interpreted as taking place on an island. Though it is specified that Hecuba is stoned to death by a number of Greeks, she is shown being beheaded by Pyrrhus, presumably an economy measure so the composition can be reduplicated (118). The pose of Pyrrhus is repeated exactly -- except that he has a left arm which grasps Hecuba's head. Hecuba's posture is a reversed version of Polyxena's except that her head droops less.

The artist may have been inventing compositions on the basis of his own repertory of stereotypes, but this is not to suggest he had no models at all. Indeed, as we have already seen, a number of his illustrations are closely connected with those in other Troy Book manuscripts. Furthermore, there may be visual allusions to prototypes in other English vernacular illuminated manuscripts. For example, the simplified miniature which announces the beginning of Book IV (Slide 70) again translates the wounded Achilles into a white-headed crowned king lying in bed with only head and shoulders visible. In Cotton Augustus and Rawl. he is bearded, but in no other manuscript is he crowned. The allusion seems clear. In illustrations of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, one of the miniatures provided for Confessio Amantis manuscripts, Nebuchadnezzar is shown in bed crowned and bearded in much the same manner.

William Abell possibly illuminated a manuscript of Confessio Amantis, Oxford, New College MS 266 (119). Unfortunately for purposes of exact comparison, he did not illustrate Nebuchadnezzar's dream; nor was there a space left in the manuscript where such a miniature could have occurred. Nevertheless, the Eng. 1 miniature seems closely related to the early fifteenth-century manuscript Oxford, Bodley 294 in the position of the king and the angle of the bed in relation to the picture-plane (Fig. 71) and to the mid-fifteenth century manuscript at Cambridge, St. Catherine's College MS 7 (Fig. 72). It is clear that this motif was part of the repertory of artists working in England in the fifteenth century; it quickly became part of our artist's vocabulary of stereotypes -- it is repeated on fols. 157v and 168r.

A similar phenomenon occurs with a figure-type used by Abell. A depiction of Venus is adopted by this related artist and used in a strikingly similar context. There is, of course, a clear link in a general sense with Abell facial types (120), but the reduplication of the stance of the figure perhaps suggests a closer link than would be achieved merely by two artists working in a similar style illustrating the same material. Fol. 42r (Slide 95) is, in terms of detail, one of the most complex miniatures in the text. It depicts Paris' vision of the three goddesses. Some attention has been given to reproducing the mythographic density of the text, though some detail has been omitted. Lydgate's interest in this scene is essentially an iconographic one. The deities only exist as a series of moralized attributes, so that his description rapidly proceeds from narrative to allegory: Much of the description of Venus, for example, has its parallel in Chaucer's Venus in the Knight's Tale, but whereas Chaucer allows the attributes of his Venus to speak for themselves, Lydgate explicates in detail. The description moves from head to foot: she has doves floating round her head to signify that lovers should be pure; she wears a garland of roses which fade in the winter indicating that love, while fervent in



youth, dulls with age. With some surprise one suddenly reads:

And þerfor Venus fleteth in a se  
To schewe þe trowble and aduersite  
þat is in Loue, and in his stormy lawe (ll 2543-5).

Lydgate has moved away from any pretence at a narrative scene and into the realm of the moralized mythographers. Indeed, he claims Fulgentius as an additional source here (ll. 2486-7) (121). The illustration is adequately correlated with the detail of the text, though in a somewhat simplified manner: Venus stands at the apex of the composition in what, in the visual language of the manuscript, represents the sea -- there are numerous small boats in it. She is naked and visible to the tops of the thighs above the waves. Round her head white doves form an arc. Though the position of the right arm is different and her left hand is empty, the Eng. 1 Venus is similar in appearance to the figure which occurs in the full-page frontispiece to Bodleian MS Fairfax 16, a collection of Chaucerian and Lydgatian pieces which was produced c. 1450 and is thus roughly contemporary with our manuscript (Fig. 6) (122).

As in Eng. 1, Venus appears in the context of other mythological figures. The whole page is divided into three panels. In the top panel is the figure of Jupiter; on the left is Mars. In the right hand panel with Venus are Cupid, Vulcan and the three Graces. Interestingly, in view of format of Eng. 1, the major figures are labelled. The image of Venus corresponds almost point for point with the description in a 'kind of popular medieval handbook of classical mythology for educational and pictorial purposes' (123), De deorum imaginibus libellus, a series of short chapters illustrated with drawings and attributed to Albricius.

She is bathing ('nuda et in mare nautans') and holds a shell in her right hand ('in manu sua dextera concham marinam continens'); beside her are the Graces ('et coram ipsa tres astabant juuencule nude, que tres Gracie dicebantur.')

and Cupid with a bow, though his eyes are not bandaged:

('Huic et Cupido ... cecus assistebat ... sagitta et arcu ...'),  
above her is a flock of doves:

('et columbis circa se volantibus comitabatur') (124).

This is undoubtedly the literary source of the iconography; visually one might compare a manuscript such as fols. 195 - 201 of Oxford, Bodleian Rawl. B. 214, leaves inserted into a composite mythological volume, depicting the various gods in their medieval guise. These leaves are English work, produced in the middle of the fifteenth century (125).

Venus on fol. 198v occurs in conjunction with Apollo and Mercury as well as the inhabitants of the right hand panel of Fairfax 16. The latter is more cogently grouped. In Rawl. Venus holds her conch shell in her raised right hand while there is an arc of roses round her head, very similar in shape to the doves round the head of Venus in Eng. 1. A single dove flutters to the left of her head. The Fairfax Venus wears a chaplet of roses.

Though considerably less detailed in both style and attributes -- there is no chaplet of roses for the Eng. 1 Venus -- the two figures in Fairfax and Eng. 1 are closely related. The Venus-type may have been worked out independently from mythographic sources and thus been available to the artists in the atelier as a motif. As with the dream of Nebuchadnezzar, whatever its genesis, this motif was rapidly incorporated into the clichés of Eng. 1. In most cases where a pagan idol on an altar is required, a simplified version of the Venus-type is supplied. For example, the figure on fol. 47v. is identical to that on fol. 42r. except that there are no doves and she holds a burning torch in her right hand (126).

The portraits of the other mythological personages in the miniature on fol. 42r reveal a similar degree of simplified fidelity to the text. As is the case with Venus, each figure is provided with a host of exegized attributes. The material points are very briefly conveyed: the pictorial element is briskly dealt with; the exegesis

is more lengthy. Mercury is 'þe wynged god', girt with 'his crokyd swerde' and carrying a rod 'with a serpent goyng environ' in his hand. At his feet stands a cock and he has pipes in his mouth. Minerva has a spear and a crystal shield. Around her head is a rainbow, while an olive tree on which sits an owl grows in front of her. Juno is the least coherently visualized. She is not so much described, as evoked in terms of her symbolic appurtenances. She is accompanied by her nymphs; her sacred bird is the peacock. The middle tier of the composition in Eng. 1 contains the standing figures of Mercury, Minerva and Juno. Mercury is indeed 'þe wynged god': not only does he have a conventional pair of wings like an angel, but the feathers extend all over his clothing. There is no sword, but pipes, serpent-entwined rod and cock are present. Minerva, too, is a fanciful simplification. She wears armour which would seem to be a logical extension of the specified sword and shield which she carries. An owl sits in a tree to the right of the picture, but no visual reference is made to the rainbow. Unsurprisingly, Juno is the most generalized figure. She is sumptuously dressed and carries an untextual sceptre to denote her authority. The peacock is present by her feet, but there are no nymphs.

It is possible that these images were evoked directly by the text. The illustration itself is faithful to the stages of Paris' narrative. We learn that the deities appeared to him in a dream when he had been overcome with sleep while hunting. The picture is a composite one, to be read from bottom to top. Paris appears twice, but is only labelled once. At the bottom is a hunting scene, Paris pursuing a stag; the top register shows the dreaming Paris and the three goddesses presented by Mercury. The composition is, however, more complexly patterned than is the case with many of the miniatures in this manuscript. If there is a model, it is unlikely to have been a Guido or Benoit manuscript. In those manuscripts depicting the Judgement of Paris which I have seen, the goddesses are either totally naked or portrayed as three



fashionably dressed young ladies (127). The same choice is apparent in other renderings of the scene. The Judgement of Paris warrants a section in Christine de Pisan's Epître d'Othea: in Oxford, Bodley 421 the goddesses are three semi-naked figures, whereas in BL Harley 4431 they are dressed in the fashionable costume of the early fifteenth-century. This is scarcely surprising since the moralized mythography seems to have been Lydgate's own contribution to the Troy text. Guido fails to give any description of the goddesses, either pictographic or iconographic.

If a model was used, it is more probably something like Rawl. B. 214. The illustration of Minerva on fol. 199r. is particularly striking. She is depicted in full armour, carrying a spear in her right hand and a shield in her left, as does Minerva in Eng. 1. On her right is a stylized tree with an owl above it. The illustration is more precise to Lydgate's text than Eng. 1, unsurprisingly, since Fulgentius was one of the mosaic of sources which went to make up the Libellus (128). There is a rainbow above her and, an additional touch, her shield depicts the Gorgon's head. Again, as is the case with the illustration of Peleus and the Myrmidons, if there were a model, we see an intelligent adaptation of heterogeneous sources to the needs of Lydgate manuscripts. It seems probable that one or both of the artists of Eng. 1 and Fairfax had access to a mythographic manuscript. In view of the simplification involved, I am inclined to think that the Eng. 1 figure-type is a copy of the Fairfax Venus-type rather than vice-versa, though perhaps they both derive from the same exemplar.

No doubt a thesis could be written tracing the iconographic affiliations of the illustrations in Eng. 1. It is not my purpose here to do so. Behind the artist was an extensive tradition of illustrating the Troy story. Though Dares and Dictys were, as far as we know, never illustrated (129), numerous miniatures were conceived and copied for Benoit, Guido and the Histoire ancienne manuscripts (130). Though it

would be rash, on the basis of the manuscripts I have consulted, to say that the Troy tradition of illustration provided few models for Eng. 1, many of the miniatures are not individual enough for a detailed iconographic comparison to be made. Many of the pictures, as we have seen, have been cobbled together from stereotypes in the artist's vocabulary. Furthermore, enough has been said to indicate that the pressures on the location of the miniatures are the pressures of the sense of division of the text and not the pressures of copying a cycle. In other words illustration was not provided because an exemplar was being copied or modified; illustration had to be supplied for those points in the poem which manuscript tradition suggested were crucial points in the text. This may well have influenced the eclectic nature of the sources used and the reliance on repertorial cliché.

Visual reminiscences of Eng. 1 in other Troy manuscripts that I have consulted have been superficial and largely unconvincing. There is no vigour of gesture, such as Priam rending his garments, that would really clinch a comparison. It must be said, however, that certain apparently traditional conceptions as to how a scene should be handled, seem to have influenced in some measure the Eng. 1 artist. The illustration apart from the Judgement of Paris which displays the most complex juxtaposition of scenes is on fol. 21r, a composite miniature depicting Jason in quest of the Golden Fleece (Slide 96). Like the miniature on fol. 42r this composition is unusually specific. It is arranged in four distinct tiers and Jason appears four times, though not always chronologically. At the bottom he disembarks; he is next seen standing by the dragon which has been beheaded, sprinkling its teeth on the ground. On the right fighting men emerge from the ground -- they are seen to the waist -- while further right the yoked bulls used for plowing the field are awkwardly positioned along a somewhat veering orthogonal. In the register above, Jason approaches the fire-breathing bulls, sword and shield in hand. In the top register he approaches the

golden ram, shears in hand, and on the top of a tower in the distance appears Medea en buste. There is a tradition of Jason's exploits being shown in one picture, right from the earliest extant Benoit manuscript, Paris, BN fr. 1610 where the picture on fol. 12v is a thin rectangular strip showing, from left to right, Jason with drawn sword approaching the fire-breathing bulls; Jason cutting the head off the dragon; and Jason approaching the golden ram. There is almost certainly a Guido or Benoit model for the scene in Eng. 1 though the artist has imposed his own phraseology as can be seen by the half-boat coming from behind a mountain from which Jason steps in a pose very similar to that on fol. 7r.

This scene would seem to be the most fruitful for further investigation were this the main focus of the present study. In terms of the selection of which scenes are to be conflated, comparison may be made with BL Add. 15477. On fol. 18v are two scenes. On the left, the lamenting Menelaus is watched by Agamemnon and Duke Nestor; on the right are Castor and Pollux in a ship with a broken mast being destroyed by hail-stones. In Eng. 1 a similar juxtaposition occurs on fol. 53r though the gestures of the figures are completely different (131). One other composition remains for consideration in this brief survey. In his discussion of compositions that indicate the continuity of tradition of Guido and Benoit illustration, Buchthal considers the iconography of the marriage between Paris and Helen:

Both in the Histoire ancienne ... and in the Guido manuscripts ... [i.e. Madrid, Bibl. Nac. 17805 and Geneva, Bibl. Bodmeriana] the marriage of Paris and Helen is rendered as a symmetrical composition: a priest ... stands in the centre, flanked by the young couple and surrounded by members of the Trojan royal family. To the right is an altar on which stand several pagan idols. Finally -- and this is the most revealing feature -- in both scenes Paris puts a ring on Helen's finger (132).

If we examine the equivalent scene in Eng. 1 on fol. 52r which is conflated with the scene of the return of Paris and Helen (Slide 97), we find that it is similar in outline: a priest stands in the centre, flanked by a young couple and members of the Trojan royal family. Behind him on the



altar is a Venus-type idol. There is, however, no ring. It is the absence of this vivid touch which makes comparison difficult. At all events, the scene was rapidly assimilated into the work of this artist, being produced every time visual allusion to a wedding was required (133).

It is evident that the Eng. 1 Troy Book illustrations were not constructed totally de novo, though some process of construction from stereotypes must have occurred. It is, perhaps, fruitful to distinguish between motifs and iconographic guides as Kitzinger does. Admittedly, he is referring to a different medium and different century, but his observations seem to have some relevance to what was taking place in Eng. 1. An iconographic model provided 'in addition to the selection and order of the episodes, the dramatis personae and their essential actions and relationships', though it did not enforce a treatment of such details as secondary figures or background scenery (134). We have already seen that the selection and order of episodes was partly conditioned by textual, rather than iconographic considerations, but Kitzinger goes on to conclude that 'different guides were liable to come into play even within a single cycle'. Patterns for individual motifs, however, were used in reproducing the iconographic material from all the various guides thus helping to impose stylistic congruity on heterogeneous material (135). This seems to form a useful parallel to the procedure in Eng. 1 where scenes which may have a prototype in diverse sources are translated into the vocabulary of the manuscript.

Since I am attempting to deal with Eng. 1 as an 'integrated representational structure' (136) I can pursue the art historical problems no further. I have dealt briefly with the pressures of the tradition of production both in terms of textual division and the complex issue of iconographic prototype; it is now time to consider how the illustrations would have appeared to the reader. It is clear that one of the major functions of the pictures seems to have been to act as visual punctuation, to indicate with maximum impact the major divisions

and sub-divisions in the text. However, in intensifying the process of division and providing miniatures, the manuscript also makes it easier to locate portions of the text. This is especially the case from fol. 153r onwards where the poem becomes a collection of independent narratives relating the subsequent fate of the Greek survivors, and such illustrations as are provided are visual summary accounts of the ensuing scene.

Some of the miniatures in the latter portions of the book are unusually useful from this point of view, in conflating a number of moments into one episode. The size and shape of the miniatures allows this conflation. A good example of this occurs on fol. 156v (Slide 98) depicting the destruction of the Greek fleet as a consequence of a false rumour put about concerning the death of Palamedes. Troublemakers tell Naulus, his father, that he was murdered by Ulysses and Diomedes. The story is a convoluted one: a fabrication about deceit and treachery. It is claimed that Ulysses framed Palamedes so that it looked as if he had been bribed by the Trojans. The Greeks were thoroughly convinced by the evidence but somewhat unnerved by Palamedes' stout defence of himself; whereupon Ulysses convinced them that the accusation must be a false one. The point of all this activity seems somewhat obscure since Ulysses and Diomedes achieved their objective -- which apparently was to murder Palamedes -- by luring him into the bottom of a well which, they claimed, contained hidden treasure, and throwing stones down on him. In revenge Naulus lit false signal fires to lure the Greek fleet onto rocks -- which seems to have been the intention of the rumour-mongers. The illustration to all this is an accurate one and is composed of a combination of the formulaic and the precise. It is a simultaneous narrative in which the figures appear more than once. It is to be read from left to right and provides a cogent sequence of time but, naturally, cannot distinguish between fact and fiction. The composition on the left is a totally formulaic scene of colloquy outside a tent with the three main figures in the foreground carefully

labelled. It is presumably meant to represent the Greeks rushing to Palamedes' tent to accuse him of treason (V 796-800). In the background on the left a hexagonal well with a crowned head in it is flanked by two figures in the act of hurling down stones; in the foreground in the centre and right are boats containing tiers of helmets coming to grief on rocks. On the right, in the background, a king, seen in profile, is surrounded by a number of bonfires. A complex narrative sequence is thus carefully compressed, the major moments selected, and some sense of cause and effect provided. Combined with the accurate labelling of the major figures, this picture would have provided welcome key for the lazy reader or leisurely peruser. From this point of view the illustrations provide a visual synopsis of events in the text and an added source of enjoyment.

A number of miniatures gain their impact by juxtaposing important elements, thus providing summary compilations of textual material. Fol. 145v (Slide 99), for example, depicts a number of crucial incidents: Calchas and the Brazen Horse; the walls of Troy being breached; carnage inside Troy; and the murder of Priam in front of the altar in the temple. The inception and consequences of the horse are briskly told. This effect is only possible in those illustrations which suggest a multiple time sequence by repetition of figures, or which show a number of scenes occurring simultaneously. Other, less ambitious illustrations also seem to go beyond their primary function as visual punctuation, and by scrupulous fidelity to the text intensify certain aspects of the narrative. Fol. 18v (Slide 100), although based on cliché, responds fairly exactly to detail. The top register depicts Jason and Medea seated on a moulded chest which runs along the inner wall of a gabled building. There is a series of lighted candles on a shelf round the room. Whatever the original inspiration for this motif, in context, it corresponds to:



But first I fynde, with al hir besy myzt,  
 Aboute þe chamber þat sche sette vp list  
 Of gret torches and cyrges ful royal,  
 Aboute on pilers and on euery wal,  
 Whiche 3af a list, liche þe sonne schene (l 2837-2841).

Jason has a gilt crowned image on his knee. This could be the golden image of Jupiter on which he swears to marry Medea. But since there is a scroll by Medea's side and she has evidently just taken a phial from a shelf containing more phials, the moment alluded to is presumably post- rather than pre-coital: the presentation of talismans to Jason. The statue should therefore be silver in reference to the 'rich ymage' designed to protect him from sorcery. The basic stereotype of two seated figures is in this way enlivened and given additional specificity by the incorporation of props noted by the text. The composition in the lower register is more problematic. Jason and Medea stand outside a walled enclosure while a groom brings two horses. If this represents, as Bergen suggests, the elopement of Jason and Medea, it is very poorly synchronized. On the other hand, on the facing page, fol. 19r, the text is Lydgate's rhetorical excoriation of Jason. Lydgate outlines Medea's plight:

And alle þe lordis eke of hir allye  
 For- soke attonys, and toke of hem noon hede  
 .....  
 But at oon hour al sche hath forsake,  
 And vn-to þe sche hath hir hooly take (l 2882-2894).

Either the artist is being very faithful to the text here in a literal-minded way, by failing to distinguish rhetorical from narrative progression, or he may be conflating at an inappropriate point two miniatures in his model.

Examples could be multiplied of responsiveness to textual detail (137). As many examples could also be cited of miniatures which fail to pick up any significant aspect of the poem, or which respond in a flaccid, generalized way (138). This combination of attention to detail and expedient generalization is a feature of many of the manuscripts discussed hitherto. In this case such a fluctuation may

be attributable to the priorities of the deviser of the programme: his wish to indicate the stages of division of the text rather than to interpret its contents.

#### 5. BL Royal 18 D.ii.

In Chapter I, I demonstrated that the system of manuscript production was flexible enough for the intervention of interested parties. Though Royal 18 D.ii is traditional enough in some respects, other aspects of the pictorial programme seem idiosyncratic. In its present form, it consists of the Troy Book and the Siege of Thebes bound up with items written at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Troy Book begins on fol. 6r, being preceded by a copy of 'The testament of John Lydgate, monke of Berry, whiche he made hymselfe by his lyfe dayes'. Thebes follows: although it begins on a fresh quire, it is written in a similar hand to that of the Troy Book (139) and was thus presumably part of the original concept of the volume. Seven other items are appended, all of a moral or topical nature (140). The illustrative programme of the original volume is lavish: twelve miniatures are supplied for the Troy Book and thirteen for Thebes -- the only illustrative cycle provided for Lydgate's translation. Only five miniatures were completed in the fifteenth century, those at the beginning of each of the five books of the Troy Book. The remainder are in two distinct styles, one being that of a sophisticated artist with Flemish affiliations. All the Thebes miniatures are in this style. These illustrations were probably added at about the same time that the extra texts were added to the original manuscript (141). However, since all the miniatures take the form of framed pictures set within the column of the text, some form of illustration was envisaged at an early stage in the evolution of the manuscript so that the scribe could be instructed to leave blanks at the appropriate places. The pictorial programme, truncated as it became in the fifteenth century, may thus be associated with Herbert in location, if not in detailed execution.

Both Bergen and Warner and Gilson (142) divide the stints into two: in the words of Bergen, eight miniatures 'are English work of the third quarter of the fifteenth century and four [are] in Flemish style of the first quarter of the sixteenth century'. As a sense of the division of labour in the manuscript, this is plainly inadequate. Two distinct hands are involved in the 'fifteenth-century' work. The first hand (Figs. 54, 60, 63, 68 and 69) is more conservative in its treatment of landscape: though it is meticulously detailed, its rendering of grass, and, on fol. 6r, of plants outlined in black and highlighted with yellow, is stylized. The compositions themselves lack narrative animation, though they are technically well handled. They are static and symmetrical, some based quite clearly on geometrical principles: thus the presentation miniature on fol. 6r is based on a triangle; that of the wheel of Fortune on fol. 30v is a circle; the death of Patroclus on fol. 66v is conceived in terms of a parallelogram, the answering angles being formed by the parallel between Patroclus' falling sword and the halberd on the right and the top indicated by the lances held by the contending forces in the background. This sense of stasis is enhanced both by the effectively limited palette, mainly green, red and white, and by the dignity and monumentality accorded to the king-type which occurs in practically every composition. This style is confined to those miniatures for which there is a well established tradition in England -- those miniatures which mark the book-divisions. Though both Bergen and the editors of the Royal catalogue are of the opinion that this artist's work is English, this style has some affinities with the frontispiece of Bodleian MS Ashmole 764, a collection of treatises on heraldry in English, produced in the third quarter of the fifteenth century. Though the illustration is said to be French work (143), the figure has the same hieratic gravity as some of the figures in Roy., and the stylized landscape features, the tufts of grass and gold stars in the sky, are similar.



The work of the second artist (Figs. 73-5) is less meticulous but more advanced. He was creating scenes which did not have a visual counterpart in English manuscripts: the Greek tents being overthrown by the storm, fol. 82v (III 3281 ff.) and two scenes of the brazen horse -- being presented by Calchas and being drawn into Troy while a small figure lets itself out, fols. 74r and 75r. On fols. 82v and 74r (144) the artist creates some expressive landscape effects by the use of aerial perspective -- green gradually shades into tones of blue to suggest distances. On fol. 82v the sky is vividly lurid to suggest a storm, the predominating colours being purple, red, blue and gold. The compositions are more vigorous, though not as well designed. Only Fritz Saxl has noted the differences between the two artists in his opinion that:

Die Miniaturen auf den B11. 74r, 75r und 82v gehören auch erst der (flämischen) Serie des 16. Jahrh. an, nicht der des 15., wie der Katalog von Warner-Gilson angibt (145).

If the work does belong with the sixteenth century Flemish series, it is much cruder. There are four illustrations in the style which is generally acknowledged to be sixteenth century work. These depict Troilus' farewell to Cressid; the lamentation over Hector; and, on the same page, Troilus fighting for his life and about to be executed by Achilles (Figs. 76 - 8).

Two points can be made concerning Roy. Firstly, only the miniatures for which there was a well-established tradition of illustration in England were completed in the fifteenth century and secondly, the projected programme suggests that an individual interest was taken in the text. To take the second point first: although the manuscript was not fully completed until the sixteenth century, the subject matter of the miniatures was nevertheless selected by the fifteenth century deviser of the programme. Unusually, Roy. has a series of chapter-headings in red in the text in a contemporary script. A chapter heading always occurs in conjunction with a miniature and it is often descriptive

of the contents. Thus, on fol. 82v, the chapter heading reads: 'The grekys tentys and pavelones w<sup>t</sup> stroke of thundure sodeynly wer cast oute of þe felde' above the miniature, and 'how the grekes had recouered their paulions' below it. The rubric beneath the illustration on fol. 74r reads: 'How the Traytor Bysshop Calcas ymaged a large horse of brasse wherin was a M<sup>l</sup>. knyghtes fainyng a sacrifice to be done to pallas'; that on fol. 75r is: 'How the grekes had licens to breke the wall of Troy. to brynge in their Large stede of brasse to Offer vnto pallas in sacrifice. & how the knyghtes came oute in the nyght & betrayde þ<sup>e</sup> citie'. That to fol. 87r is briefer: 'Of the sorowe that Troilus made when Cressaide shulde depart', as is the heading on fol. 93r: 'The lamentacyon of kyng priamus for the dethe of Ector'. The rubrics concerned with the death of Troilus on fol. 108v are staunchly partisan: 'how worth [sic] Troylus was besett with. iij. thousand knyghtes. and how knyghtly. he defendid him'; 'how worthy Troylus. was cowardly slayn by Achilles'. This series of chapter headings is unique.

It can be seen how precisely the rubrics relate to the subject matter of the completed miniatures. It may be that when the later artists came to fill in the blank spaces left in the text for illustration, they merely followed what looked to be directions provided by the chapter headings. None the less, the fifteenth-century rubrics, placed near spaces left in the text in the fifteenth century, do give some idea as to which sections of the text were marked out for special notice by the person who supervised the manuscript in the fifteenth century. Apart from the expected sequence at the beginning of each of the five books, all the miniatures are concentrated in the third and fourth books. The evidence of these additional illustrations suggests that a keen interest was taken in the story of Troilus, particularly in the circumstances of his death -- this page is unusually lavishly provided with illustration -- and in the events leading to the



destruction of Troy. Hector, nominally the hero of the first half of the book, receives more cursory visual treatment than his star-crossed brother. One illustration is allocated to the grief at his death, but no depiction of his actual exploits occurs. All these are major events, especially if we suppose that the person behind the projected sequence was an admirer of Troilus and Criseyde. Slightly more puzzling is the evident interest in the fate of the Greek tents during a storm. Perhaps the owner wished to luxuriate in the sight of the Greeks at a particularly low moment. Though the illustrations introductory to each book are spaced at regular intervals throughout the text, the additional pictures are placed far less evenly, and it seems plausible to assume that they reflect those incidents in the text that seemed to the man who commissioned the manuscript to be moments of high intensity. It is probable that this man was Herbert himself. The first miniature, with its introduction of the owners into the actual composition suggests, as we have seen, Herbert's personal interest in the contents of his manuscript.

Though it is elaborated in a particularly individual way, the standard sequence still finds a prominent place in Roy. It is noteworthy that the fifteenth-century artist chose first to depict those subjects which were by this time conventional. It may be that production difficulties were incurred in devising suitable miniatures for the blank spaces. At all events, the presence of this traditional series in a manuscript which shows signs of having been closely supervised by a patron may confirm the hypothesis that these subjects were considered de rigueur for Troy Book manuscripts.

The tradition of illustrations to the Troy Book, by and large, was to stress the formal divisions of the text into books. Manuscript detail indicates that a strong and authoritative sense of the work's structure prevailed throughout the production of manuscripts. The Troy Book was undoubtedly a prestigious work to be acquired by people



of a certain social class. Issues of ostentatious display are undoubtedly pertinent to a discussion of Troy Book manuscripts, and may in large measure account for the degree of standardization to be found from copy to copy, though workshop expediency obviously has its part to play as well. Such a generalization must be modified in the light of a manuscript like Roy., but it is the exception rather than the rule. The profuse programme in Eng. 1 is explicable in terms of traditions of the poem's structure. Having acknowledged this, there are also genuine attempts to aid the understanding of the text provided by the labelling, violated by workshop practice, but not sufficiently totally to obscure its utility. The programme in Eng. 1 is a typically medieval combination of the expedient, the useful and the decorative, though the whole programme is conditioned, not by developments in illustrating the Troy story, but by developments in the layout of Lydgate manuscripts.

CHAPTER 6. THE FALL OF PRINCES: MINIATURES AS INFORMATION RETRIEVAL  
SYSTEMS

Manuscripts of Lydgate's Fall of Princes form an interesting comparison and contrast with those of the Troy Book for a number of reasons. Both were commissioned by members of the Lancastrian royal house, yet the surviving illustrated manuscripts of the respective texts bear witness to a very different tradition. Like the Troy Book manuscripts, most Fall of Princes manuscripts are well set out, often with generous margins, and supplied with champ or flourished initials to mark major divisions in the text. The majority of them are of a substantial size, indicating their possible function as items of display (1). As with the Troy Book manuscripts, a number of Fall of Princes manuscripts denote the major structural divisions into books by means of floreated borders; in this case there are nine. The numbers, however, are not proportionately as substantial: many merely decorate the prologue to Book I with a full or partial border (2). The impression of luxury is thus more muted. More significantly, a relatively smaller number of manuscripts received illustration. It was an enormously popular text: thirty-five manuscripts or independent fragments are still extant (3), but of these only five have miniatures (4). Whereas a continuity in design may be perceived between manuscripts of the Troy Book, there are wide variations between the illustrated manuscripts of the Fall of Princes, both in the choice of scenes to be depicted and in the format adopted.

The most lavish of the surviving manuscripts in impression created, if not in actual number of miniatures, is San Marino, California Henry E. Huntington Library MS HM 268. It is incomplete: it begins at line 4257 of Book I and ends at line 2317 of Book VIII. This fragment of text is itself incomplete: fifty folios are missing (5). There are fifty-six miniatures in the portion which survived; another fragment of this manuscript is now BL Sloane MS 2452 (6) and this contains two miniatures, making a total of fifty-eight. The miniatures are an

essential part of the design of the manuscript: they are integrated into the text space. HM 268 is set out in double columns; rectangular miniatures, provided with gold frames, occupy the full width of a single column and range from seven to sixteen lines in height. Furthermore, almost without exception (7), the text following each miniature is introduced by a two to four-line initial on a gold ground attached to a three-quarter bar and foliage border. There is thus an elaborate programme of decoration, comparable in its scope with that of Rylands Eng. 1 of the Troy Book. These miniatures and accompanying borders are used to mark the beginnings of chapters; their use to mark the beginnings of books is more arbitrary (8). In terms of size and quality of vellum used, this is the most luxurious of the manuscripts. Similarly integrated into the text space are the miniatures of Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library MS 439/16. In this case, however, the cycle is a short one; the miniatures indicate the beginnings of books rather than of chapters. Again, gold framed miniatures -- some rectangular, some with a low rounded top -- occupy the width of a single column, here, at the head of Books I, III, IV, V, VII and IX. A space has been left on fol. 44v below the heading: 'Finis prologi/ Libri Secundi / Sequitur liber Secundus' which may have been initially intended for a miniature. This is made more probable by the fact that the miniatures to Books I, III and IV mark the beginning of the book proper rather than the prologue.

Parallels for the use of miniatures to mark either book or chapter divisions or both can be found in the many illustrated manuscripts of Lydgate's French source, Laurent de Premierfait's Des Cas des Nobles Hommes et Femmes (9). In every case in these manuscripts, the miniatures are inserted into the columns of text. As far as can be deduced from the small fragment which remains, Montreal, McGill University Library MS 143 retains this format, though its placement of miniatures is, perhaps, slightly more arbitrary. In its present form



it consists of four vellum leaves containing fragments from Books IV, V, VII and IX (10). Thus, no substantial section of text has been preserved. There are, however, two miniatures, a survival which indicates that the original pictorial programme was probably quite extensive. Each of the miniatures is a framed rectangle occupying the width of a single column. The second miniature, that on fol. 4r, prefaces Lydgate's envoy to Duke Humphrey, an obvious enough division; that on fol. 3v, however, the illustration to the story of Duke Gaultier, does not head the text where most manuscripts concur that the story begins, but some three stanzas later (11). In this case, the miniature is either not perceived as marking a chapter division, or the manuscript is idiosyncratic in its sense of chapter division. In the absence of more of the manuscript it is impossible to say (12).

Though the miniatures are somewhat differently distributed, the physical relationship between text and illustration is the same in all three manuscripts. In one of the earliest of the extant Fall of Princes manuscripts, Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 263, a totally different format is adopted. The Prologue begins on page 1 (13) with a full-frame bar border and three line blue initial on a gold ground. The text of the prologue ends seven lines from the top of column two on p.6; in red in the empty space is written 'Explicit prologus / Incipit liber primus'. The initial letters are flourished green. Page 7 contains a full-page composite miniature by way of frontispiece to Book I though, since Book I begins on the verso of the leaf, it faces away from, rather than towards, the text it illustrates. The scenes depicted in each of the twelve compartments relate to incidents in Book I; the frontispiece thus provides a visual conspectus of the first book. The text of Book I begins, page 8, with another full-frame bar border. A similar treatment is accorded every book in that there are explicits and incipits to mark both prologues and books themselves. Where books have prologues, preference in the decorative hierarchy is

given to the beginning of the book proper, as it was with the beginning of Book I. Prologues begin with champ initials only; books proper have full-frame bar borders, though the style of all the decorative work changes after the first quire. Though there are no further frontispieces, the use of parchment is practically identical: a page ruled for writing, but otherwise blank, is left before the beginning of each book. It is possible that a frontispiece was intended to preface every book and that only Book I was completed. Alternatively, it is possible that the frontispiece to Book I represents a change of plan and that it was originally intended only to mark the beginning of each book with a conspicuous expenditure of parchment.

The extant frontispiece is rectangular in shape and keeps within the normal ink frame-ruling for the script. In the margin can be seen the vertical rulings for the double columns and the double frame ruling top and bottom. It is apparent therefore that an ordinary ruled folio was adapted for use as a frontispiece. Furthermore, the frame to the frontispiece, a thin rectangular gold bar and a rose inner bar with a white stripe in the centre round three sides and a blue bar with white 'S' designs at the bottom, seems closer to the decorative work in later quires. It is possible, then, that the frontispiece was added at a slightly later stage in the production of the manuscript, perhaps to enhance the value or perhaps to provide further apparatus or decoration. It is possible to speculate as to why frontispieces were not added before each book; no doubt either money or interest ran out (14).

Another, equally early, manuscript BL Harley 1766 reveals a different process of co-ordinating picture and text. 157 unframed miniatures adorn the outer margins of the appropriate folios. They usually consist of single figures on a green ground, the background consisting of the parchment. All the figures are labelled in red, thus giving them a diagrammatic quality. The hand of the labeller is also

the hand of the rubricator of other sections of the manuscript and is almost certainly that of the scribe himself.

From this brief description two things may be noted: firstly that though few of the surviving Fall of Princes manuscripts are illustrated, the programme of those which do contain miniatures is relatively ambitious -- especially if one compares that of the Troy Book; secondly, that these manuscripts give less of an impression of having been produced in 'editions' than do those of the Troy Book -- each presents the text in a more individual way.

The different formal methods chosen of illustrating the manuscripts may possibly be attributed to the lack of an authoritative illustrated presentation copy. It is almost certain that the original presentation copy to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, was not decorated in any way: Lydgate comments on this fact as part of the modesty topos at the end of the book in which he launches it forth on the world:

With lettre & leuys go lital book trembling,  
Pray to þe Prince to haue on the pite,  
Voide of picture & enlumynyng (IX 3589-91) (15).

With the reference to 'picture' the use of miniatures is disclaimed, while 'enlumynyng' no doubt alludes to decorated borders and initials. Unless Lydgate is using these terms metaphorically to refer to his own stylistic inadequacies -- a usage rendered unlikely by the collocation of both 'picture' and 'enlumynyng' -- the presentation copy must have been modest indeed. Duke Humphrey was not renowned as a possessor of illuminated manuscripts. Although, as Vickers points out, he showed 'considerable artistic taste' in the illuminated manuscripts which formed part of his library, 'books that were specially written for him were not often very elaborately adorned' (16). Lydgate may have realized that the presentation of an elaborately illustrated copy of his work was not the way to please his patron, though it must be added that Humphrey once owned an illustrated translation of the Decameron (17) though in French and a gift from the Earl of Warwick (18). It may be



that Humphrey was more interested in content than in decoration: he seems to have taken a keen interest in certain aspects of the work, providing suggestions as to structure -- that Lydgate add an envoy to each chapter, focussing the moral by indicating to princes how 'Bi othres fallyng [thei myht] themsilff correcte' (ll 148-154) -- and supplying additional reference material (19).

A further reason for lack of illustration may have been the uneasy relationship which appears to have existed between Lydgate and Humphrey as the poem progressed. Humphrey probably commissioned the translation in 1431 and it was probably completed in 1438 or 1439 (20). Lydgate's strategy in the Prologue to the Fall of Princes is somewhat different from that in the Troy Book. Though he is deferential to his patron there is no equivalent sense of occasion, no ceremonial marking of the date of commencement (21). Indeed, the style itself is less self-consciously high: the apostrophes to classical gods and goddesses are replaced by a discussion of the aims and achievements of his authorities, Laurent and Boccaccio, an all too well assimilated account of Laurent's poetic:

For a story which is nat pleynli told,  
But constreynyd vndir woordis fewe  
For lak off trouthe, wher thei be newe or old,  
Men bi report kan nat the mater shewe;  
These ookis grete be nat doun ihewe  
First at a strok[e], but bi long processe,  
Nor longe stories a woord may not expresse (l 92-98).

and a lengthy tribute to Chaucer, before Lydgate addresses himself to the task of praising his patron. When he gets down to it, his eulogy of Humphrey is flattering enough, but thereafter references to poets and their circumstances are pointedly tempered by allusions to the insecurity of the writer's life and the necessity of a generous patron (22). The envoy, harping on the theme of remuneration, sounds more hopeful than confident:

Trustyng ageynward your liberal largesse,  
Off this cotidien shal relevyn me,  
Hope hath brought tydyng to recure myn accesse;

Afftir this ebbe of froward skarsete  
Shal folwe a spryng flood of gracious plente,  
To wasse a-way be plentevous influence  
Al ground ebbys of constreyned indigence (IX 3345-51).

There is no doubt a conventional element to all this, stemming from Chaucer's 'Compleynt to his Purse', and one wonders to what extent Lydgate, as a monk, was eligible for financial reward; none the less, the implied lack of confidence in his patron and the constant pressure for payment is striking, particularly when compared with the envoy which concludes the Troy Book (23). It is possible that, despairing of getting anything from Humphrey, Lydgate may not have been prepared to go to the expense of having illustrated copies made (24).

In the absence of an authoritative illustrated exemplar, as there appears to have been in the case of the Troy Book, stationers wishing to secure a pictorial programme for this text would have been left more to their own devices. There was certainly a rich and recent French tradition of illumination upon which they would have been able to call.

### 1. French Traditions of Illustrating Des Cas Des Nobles Hommes et Femmes

As we have seen, while Henry's interest in the Troy Book seems to have been stimulated by a wish to make an ancient story accessible to English readers, it remained for his younger brother to transmit to an English audience a voguish 'modern' work. At first sight, the interest in Boccaccio's De Casibus Virorum Illustrium (25) would seem to be an indication of Humphrey's humanistic interests. But the work, written in Latin between 1355 and 1360 and revised probably before 1370 (26) is one of Boccaccio's more medieval works. It is a universal history of misfortune from Adam and Eve to King John of France who was taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers in 1356 in order to prove that most medieval of precepts: the things of this world are unstable. Structurally the work is interesting: a series of weeping figures present themselves to Boccaccio in his study. This allows for some

variation: usually Boccaccio tells their stories, sometimes they tell their own, and occasionally they debate or quarrel among themselves. In France, three of Boccaccio's works were extremely popular during the early years of the fifteenth century: his De Mulieribus Claris was translated into French in 1401; his De Casibus in 1400 and again in 1409; and the Decameron in 1414 (27). The last two were translated by Laurent de Premierfait, clerk of the diocese of Troyes (28). His first translation of De Casibus was a fairly close transcription of the original (29) and made little impact (30). In 1409 he revised his translation completely, dedicating it to Jean, Duke de Berry (31). In this second version Laurent expanded greatly on his original work, adding information gleaned from his reading and treating every name mentioned in considerable detail (32). This recension became immediately popular; in fact, one of the most popular secular texts of the time. There are sixty-nine manuscripts still extant (33). Bozzolo explains its popularity by its encyclopedic nature. Certainly a vast mass of fact, anecdote and information is collected together. One might add a further reason for its popularity: the integration of Biblical and secular stories and the dovetailing of Biblical and mythological chronologies, particularly in the earlier books, thus making it a compendium of historical knowledge. It is this later version which was the basis for Lydgate's translation (34).

It was in France rather than in Italy that cycles of miniatures were developed and became popular (35). Of the manuscripts of Des Cas listed by Bozzolo, fifty-seven have miniatures or spaces left for miniatures. It seems, then, to have rapidly become a text for which some kind of illustration was de rigueur, a mark of its fashionable status. Beautifully illuminated copies were owned by many of the important families of fifteenth-century Europe (36) and some of the finest artists in France were employed on its illustration (37). It was also a text which could be given a poignant contemporary topicality:



Charles of Orleans is said to have requested a copy of De Casibus when he was in prison in England and the frontispiece of Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Gall. 6 (38) further gives evidence of a flexible use of the text to make comment on contemporary issues. It depicts the 'Lit de Justice' held at Vendôme in 1458 with Charles VII presiding in which the death sentence was pronounced on Jean, Duke d'Alençon (39); this brings Des Cas very much up-to-date.

The manuscript tradition of this second recension is remarkably constant as regards layout. In both recensions, following Boccaccio, Laurent divides his work into nine books; he further subdivides each book into a number of chapters, each of which is supplied with a heading, usually written in red ink to attract the eye. These range from the informative: 'Le . viij<sup>e</sup>. chapiltre contient le cas de Jocasta Royne de Thebes et de Edipus son filz et son mari et commence ou latin Erat equidem et cetera', to the generalized: 'Le . xix<sup>e</sup>. et derrenier chapiltre contient les cas dauculns malheureurs nobles hommes et commence ou Latin Nondum satis etcetera' (40). The consistency of wording in the chapter headings of the manuscripts of Des Cas which I have seen, including the practice of giving the Latin incipits, is remarkable, suggesting that Laurent may well have provided them himself. Other aspects of the layout appear to be constant also: each book is prefaced by a table of contents supplying a transcript of the chapter headings which are to be used in the ensuing book (41). At the end of Book I, Laurent provides a rationale for dividing his work into books. Since Des Cas is a collection of stories with a controlling theme -- 'car toute la generale entencion de cest oeuvre tend a vne mesme fin' -- it would seem that chapter divisions would be more useful in locating favourite stories than division into books, but Laurent is quite clear on this point and the imagery he uses is striking:

Mais nous divisons ceste oeuvre afin que nous facions selon la maniere des pelerins errans qui partent leur chemin par certaines bournes aulcune foiz par une belle pierre, aulcune foiz par un vieil chesne ou par aulcun moustier, ou par aulcune

fontaine clere; afin qu'ilz mesurent plus legierement combien de chemin ilz ont fait, et combien ilz en ont a faire. Et affin aussi que les pelerins puissent plus clerement monstrer en racomptand leurs adventures, aussi nous partirons ceste oeuvre par neuf livres distinctez, combien que elle peust proceder par un mesme chemin sanz faire division (42).

The two issues with which he is concerned here are those of pacing and of memory. It is worthy of particular note that he relates memory to the physical layout of the manuscript and that the physical layout of the book is related so precisely to physical objects. Such a device may remind us of the techniques of artificial memory current in the Middle Ages, particularly the placing of objects in a physical environment (43).

There is also a consistency of format in the pictorial tradition. E.M.Thompson's comment: 'A large miniature stands at the head of each of the nine books into which the work is divided, generally filling half the page, and a series of small miniatures are introduced into the body of the text in illustration of particular stories' (44) is a slight over-simplification; but it indicates that a number of the manuscripts are in accord with Laurent's own theory -- they mark the beginning of each book with some visual sumptuousness. There seem, in fact, to have been two distinct ways of illustrating Des Cas manuscripts: a short cycle involving nine or ten miniatures to the prologue and each of the books and a long cycle of some seventy plus miniatures marking the book and some of the chapter divisions. The long cycle seems slightly to have preceded the short, though manuscripts containing both long and short cycles date from the first quarter of the fifteenth century (45).

The original presentation copy of the 1409 text owned by the Duke de Berry is still extant as Geneva, Bibl. Publique et Universitaire fr. 190. It came into the Duke's possession through an intermediary, as a New Year's gift from Martin Gouge, Archbishop of Chartres in 1411 (46), rather than being directly presented by the author; however, Meiss finds that this was by no means an unusual way for the Duke to

acquire copies of texts commissioned by him (47). The manuscript itself was illuminated by a single workshop, that of the Luçon Master immediately after the completion of the work. This, the earliest sequence of illustration is closely related to Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal MS 5193 which was recorded in the inventory of Jean sans Peur made in 1420 (48). Though the same artists were not involved -- the Arsenal manuscript was illuminated mainly by the workshop of the Cité des Dames Master with the assistance of an artist related to the Adelphi Master and another connected with the Bedford trend -- the two concur, for the most part, as to the subject matter of their illustrations (49). The pictorial programme for the earliest manuscripts was a lavish one. Geneva has 144 miniatures with two frames left blank; Ars. has 150 miniatures and two frames left blank (50). It was thought at one time that Ars was an autograph manuscript (51) but Martin (52), in reviewing the evidence, concludes only that it must have been produced under Laurent's direction. Given Laurent's evident alertness to the physical layout of his text, such interest would not be unexpected. To judge from Martin's discussion, however, even this much is doubtful. The reasons for supposing that Laurent was intimately connected with the production of Ars. are as follows: at the end of the dedication to the Duke de Berry (fol. 6r) occurs, on a separate line, the word LAURENS 'placé comme une véritable signature' (53); furthermore, a manuscript in the Vatican, Palatinus 1989, Laurent's translation of the Decameron and also part of the library of Jean sans Peur, is written by the same scribe and has the same signature, this time at the end of the text. After the twenty-third chapter of Book IX (Ars. fols. 394v - 395r), a blank space was originally left for an addition, a paragraph which was subsequently inserted in the same hand as that which wrote the majority of the manuscript. Martin (54) appears to regard this as an early revision and thus proof positive that Laurent was at least supervising the production of the manuscript since a revision was incorporated so



quickly and easily. It may equally have been that the scribe was aware that additional material existed, but he did not have it to hand and had to insert it at a slightly later date. A more pressing reason against supposing that Laurent was closely involved is the quality of the scribe: Martin (55) supplies the evidence to support his conclusion 'que le copiste n'etait pas un lettré', evidence of mistakes that, were Laurent proof-reading the text, he would surely have picked up. It is more probable that, were Laurent involved in a production of a manuscript of Des Cas, it would have been the Geneva manuscript, the copy presented to Jean de Berry and which served as a model for Ars. (56).

None the less, even if Laurent were not involved, the programme of both Geneva and Ars. is significant as an attempt to construct a pictorial sequence for a previously unillustrated text. The placing of the miniatures and the choice of scenes to illustrate represents an early contemporary 'reading' of the text, no matter how pragmatic. Since a series of characters confront Boccaccio in his study, the artist has an immediate choice: whether to address himself to the framework and to present it as a series of dialogues, or to refer to the subject matter of their complaints and to present it as a collection of narratives. Both Geneva and Ars. adopt this second alternative.

The subject-matter contained in the various chapters and books offers an opportunity for a series of portrayals of grisly tortures, dismemberments and other malignant human activities. As Meiss (57) observes, Des Cas provides a secular equivalent of the martyrdoms of saints: the devising of hideous methods of death is not reserved for the enemies of the Christians. In the two earliest manuscripts some miniatures depict the princes' violent death or humiliation; others are more concerned to show a scene from the life. Though most of the miniatures concentrate on violent death, some balance is maintained between gruesome incident and more generalized anecdote. For example, Book I chapter 6 (58) is prefaced by a picture of Cadmus constructing

the city of Thebes rather than engaging with aspects of his fall: the violent fates of various of his children (59). In constructing some of his compositions, the artist naturally refers to well-known prototypes. As a compilation of narratives, some of the stories in Des Cas had received illustration in other contexts. Thus Book I chapter 8 deals with the whole of the story of Thebes from the birth of Oedipus to the deaths of Polynices and Eteocles. The scene doing duty for the whole narrative is that of the infant Oedipus being rescued by a shepherd (60). Such a scene often introduces the Thebes section of the Histoire Ancienne (61). Sometimes the miniatures fail to be violent because they lack individuality: the illustration to Book III chapter 18 depicts three standing kings who indicate by gesture that they are disconsolate (62). The manuscript, then, is not entirely a visual catalogue of torture and aberrant behaviour: there is some modulation between tones.

At first sight, the illustrations seem mainly to be part of the apparatus designed to facilitate the use of the book. For the most part, they are placed so as to introduce a chapter. Throughout this thesis I have been suggesting that in some cases illustrations may form the culmination of those devices that help a reader find what he requires from a given book; here we have a prime example of a text that may rarely have been read straight through. Laurent's justification for dividing his work into nine books rests partly on the premise that the reader needs some reassurance other than an estimate of sheer numbers of pages as to how much of the text is still to go, in relation to that already read. Though this fact suggests that he anticipated that his reader would begin at the beginning and continue to the end, there is no intrinsic case why this should be so. There is no relationship between stories other than that of chronology, and the flexible framework of a procession of characters seems to have been adopted with the express purpose of compiling a collection of short narratives with the

minimum of formal constraints (63). Though the catalogue of dreary woe becomes more pervasive if Des Cas is read through, the point is equally well made through judicious selection. The illustrations, especially as designed, aid markedly in the finding of particular narratives. By and large they depict a crucial scene in the narrative -- usually the moment of torture or death, but not inevitably.

It would be too much to say that these pictures represent a concept of what was the most important scene in the narrative, but, by providing a single incident, some indication of the content of the ensuing narrative is given. They are, in a general sense, a subject guide to the main topic discussed in it. A later manuscript, Munich, Staatsbibliothek Gall. 6, written in 1458 for Laurens Gyrard (64), develops this idea more fully so that a number of the miniatures provide a summary visual narrative of each chapter by juxtaposing a number of scenes. Sometimes the illustrations refer to different episodes from the same story, such as that to Book I chapter 8, which shows Oedipus being cut down by the shepherd, Oedipus killing his father, and Oedipus marrying his mother; sometimes they depict a combination of various stories, such as the fates of the three Cleopatras told in Book VI chapter 4 where one Cleopatra drinks poison, another, clutching an idol, is assailed by two assassins with swords, and a third Cleopatra is decapitated. All the miniatures, no matter what the narrative technique adopted, are extremely accurate to the text. In consequence: 'Pour en saisir toutes les allusions, il faut d'abord s'être pénétré de la lecture du traité des Cas; il faut ensuite avoir examiné longuement chaque tableau, sans en négliger aucune parti' (65). Once the reader is acquainted, however superficially, with the text, the miniatures, particularly the composite ones, form an effectively detailed aide memoire to the contents of the chapters which they preface. They enable the reader to remember more vividly the contents of the story.

Furthermore, in the cycle of miniatures in the two earliest



manuscripts, a certain discrimination between the stories is implied; not every chapter in these two manuscripts is illustrated. The system of illustration is thus not totally mechanical: some chapters are subordinated in the decorative hierarchy. There are manuscripts, such as that produced for Antoine de Bourgogne, now Bibl. de l'Arsenal MS 5192 (66), which make no such discrimination, but a miniature to every chapter was not envisaged by the devisors of the earliest sequence. Thus, there is no visual notice of Book I Chapter 7, an eminently illustratable section containing the stories of Oetes, Jason, Medea; Minos, Nisus, Scylla; Theseus, Hippolytus; Sisera; and Gideon. The last chapter of Book IV: 'Le .xx<sup>e</sup>. et derrenier chapiltre [qui] parle contre la beaulte de corps et contre deshonneste amour ...' has no miniature though it contains the narrative of Spurina, a youth of exceptional beauty whose dedication to morality was so great that he mutilated his face and body rather than be an incitement to sin. That it was possible to provide an illustration for this chapter is demonstrated by Glasgow, Hunterian Museum MS 208 painted by a Flemish artist in the last quarter of the fifteenth century (67) which depicts the youth's disfigurement on fol. 179r. More surprisingly, perhaps, the beginning of Book VII which offers a choice between the stories of Anthony, son of the triumvir; Caesarius; Julia; Agrippa; Cassius; and Gallus, receives no miniature. On the other hand, some stories receive double attention. Book III, chapter 3, which '... contient le cas de Tarquin lorgueilleux Roy des Rommains' has provision for two miniatures in both manuscripts. In each case the chapter begins with the murder of Tarquin and shows at a subsequent stage the suicide of Lucretia. In Ars. the story of Hercules has also been selected for special notice: two blank spaces for illustration were left by the scribe. The same composition, Hercules, wearing the shirt of Nessus destroying rocks and trees, has been depicted in each space. Martin's explanation for this anomaly seems a reasonable one (68). He suggests

that the second illustration was overlooked during work on the manuscript and the space was only discovered when the manuscript was checked.

The reviser then hastily inserted a composition, copying the iconography of the first. It seems evident that, when the manuscript was first planned, two different scenes were to be illustrated and that this chapter was to be accorded the same kind of status as the Tarquin chapter.

Slight differences of this kind suggest that, though the two manuscripts are closely connected, some individual tailoring was involved, perhaps with the wishes of the original commissioners in mind. Geneva does not supply a miniature for Book I chapters 16 and 18. Admittedly, these are not chapters with a strong narrative thread: 'le .xvi<sup>e</sup>. chapiltre contient la loange et la recommandacion de pourete ...'; 'Le .xviiij<sup>e</sup>. chapiltre parle contre les femmes en general et en especial ...' but Ars. manages some sort of composition at these points: Diogenes in a barrel watching a boy drinking from his hands, alluding to Diogenes' realizing how he could cut back even further on his possessions by abandoning his bowl (69); and as a generalized warning against the wiles of women, a queen caressing a king. Similarly Book III chapter 4 'contre les princes luxurieux' is unillustrated in Geneva whereas Ars., again with a generalized notion of the insatiable sensuality of women, shows a king addressing a woman. One could account for the absence of these scenes in Geneva by suggesting that the devisor of the first pictorial sequence recognized the difficulty of finding anything to illustrate and thus deliberately directed the scribe not to leave a blank space at the head of these chapters. The devisor of the Ars. programme then saw some, admittedly not very convincing, narrative possibilities and caused the scenes to be added. Each devisor seems to have been over-ambitious in the case of Book II chapter 10 'Le .x<sup>e</sup>. chapitre parle contre les Juifs qui a tort se complainent de fortune ...'; in both manuscripts a space has been left.

for a miniature which was never completed.

Such omissions may be attributed to exigencies of production. Other variations between the manuscripts may perhaps be the result of conscious choice. Geneva provides no visual notice of Book II chapter 8 whereas Ars. shows 'Queen Athaliah' being dragged by her hair. Similarly absent in Geneva alone are Book VI chapter 12, Cicero, and Book IX chapter 24, Duke Gaultier. Book VI chapter 14, the Roman civil wars, is unillustrated in Geneva while Ars. provides a generalized picture of two dead soldiers being mourned by two others. Ars. is not, however, simply an expansion of Geneva. Book VI chapter 4, dealing with three Cleopatras; Book VII chapter 5, Eleazarus, Galba and Otho; and Book IX chapter 20, Ugolino, Aiton, Sabath and Pope Boniface are chapters which are not illustrated in Ars. but do receive miniatures in Geneva. The slight differences between these two earliest manuscripts thus seem to confirm that some sense of discrimination between the chapters was envisaged. The two sets of artists were evidently working with the same or similar models and therefore discrepancy in the selection of scenes cannot be solely fortuitous.

Designers of both manuscripts evidently felt that illustration for each chapter was neither desirable nor possible (70). In an attempt to provide a miniature for nearly every chapter, however, some stories receive two illustrations. For example the miniature to Book I chapter 13 which relates the fall of Priam, depicts Priam being murdered in front of an altar by Pyrrhus; the miniature which announces chapter 14 shows Hecuba, her arms raised in dismay, watching a Greek soldier beat her child's head against a wall. The story of Troy, particularly its closing episodes, thus gets double visual notice. This is due in part to the modulation of Laurent's text. Narrative chapters are frequently followed by chapters of generalized complaint or moral invective. Thus chapter 13 contains the narrative, while chapter 14 the moral conclusions to be drawn: 'Le .xiiij<sup>e</sup>. chapitre parle contre les nobles orgueilleux'.



An artist wishing to provide a miniature for this chapter might well need to have recourse to material in a previous chapter. Whether this particular chapter is illustrated as a means of drawing attention to the significance of chapter 14 and therefore the precise subject of the miniatures is insignificant; or whether the opportunity was taken to provide two fall of Troy compositions as a means of drawing attention to the fall of Troy, it is impossible to say. Other stories receive double illustration in much the same way and for much the same reason. They do, however, seem to occur earlier on in the manuscript: there are six such occurrences in Book II, almost as if someone was keen that each chapter in Book II should receive illustration; two in Book III; and one in Book VIII (71).

Possibly the most surprising are the miniatures which preface Book II chapters 5 and 6. Chapter 5 deals with the tale of Rehoboam while chapter 6 announces itself as containing invective 'contre les Roys et princes orgueilleux'. In fact after supplying the promised complaint, Laurent goes on to give examples of victims of their own or others' pride: Mucius Scaevola and, briefly, Lucretia and Virginia. The illustration to chapter 5 in both Geneva and Ars. shows King Rehoboam holding court while that to chapter 6 depicts the king of Egypt and Rehoboam, the former holding the latter angrily by the shoulders. Since there is narrative information from which to construct a composition in chapter 6 without alluding retrospectively to chapter 5, it may be that the deviser of Geneva wished to place particular visual emphasis on the story of Rehoboam and that the Ars. artist followed him. Confirmation of this can be found. This is also one of the chapters for which two illustrations are provided in each manuscript. Half-way through the chapter is a miniature of Mucius Scaevola burning his right hand. There seems thus to have been a desire to draw the reader's attention to the moral reflections on Rehoboam, but also to allude precisely to the subsequent narrative content of the chapter. Even more

marked is the emphasis on the chapter of moral reflection in Book VIII chapter 4. Book VIII chapter 3 discusses the fate of Valerian, a cruel man who abused his authority by persecuting Christians. He was finally defeated by Sapor, and his abuse of power punished by humiliation: Sapor used him as a mounting block when he wished to ride his horse. Chapter 4 continues the theme in more general terms: that of pride abased. Valerian is seen as essentially dishonourable in choosing his life under these circumstances to a noble death. Neither Ars. nor Geneva chooses to provide an illustration to chapter 3; it is chapter 4 which is selected for visual notice and the composition shows Sapor stepping on Valerian to mount his horse. Thus the narrative information provided at the end of the previous chapter becomes the symbolic keynote of chapter 4. This seems to be evidence of a discrimination between the two chapters; and it is the complaint rather than the narrative which is seen as pre-eminent.

There appears to have been a degree of selectivity about which chapters received illustration; there also appears to have been a degree of selectivity about which scenes in those chapters were depicted. As we have seen, the governing principle about the subject-matter of those illustrations in the Troy Book which also indicate structural divisions is that they depict the first scene suitable for illustration. This is by no means consistently the principle in the minds of the devisors of the earliest Des Cas programme. Many chapters deal with the fall of one particular prince and there the choice was merely which scene from the life to illustrate. Other chapters, however, are a compilation of shorter narratives and it is there that the selection of scene perhaps takes on some significance. Book I chapter 5 is a lengthy chapter dealing with a whole range of people and incidents, from Saturn to the rape of Philomela. Here the artist depicts the first scene and shows Saturn devouring his children. On the other hand, chapter 12 of the same book deals with the narrative of Althea before moving on to Hercules; the visual focus is, however, very much on the fate of Hercules, as we

have seen (72).

I have spent some time on the illustrations of Geneva and Ars. because they throw into relief the kinds of decisions that may have been involved in constructing for the first time a pictorial cycle for a popular text. Some degree of intelligence and sensitivity to the text can be observed; more importantly an element of discrimination between narratives and aspects of narratives may be seen to be at work.

The short cycle which marks the beginnings of books only, also involves a choice of which scenes to depict. Here the compositions chosen often refer to the first scene in each section. It would be over-simplified to say that the manuscripts containing the short cycle inevitably depict the same scene, but, broadly speaking, the compositions which head each book are as follows:

1. Prologue: Some kind of presentation scene.
2. Book I: Adam and Eve.
3. Book II: Death of Saul.
4. Book III: Struggle between Fortune and Poverty.
5. Book IV: Death of Marcus Manlius.
6. Book V: Death of Antiochus and Seleucus.
7. Book VI: Fortune appearing to Boccaccio.
8. Book VII: Death of Marcus Antonius, son of the triumvir.
9. Book VIII: Petrarch appearing to Boccaccio.
10. Book IX: Death of Brunhilda.

Such indeed is the sequence which occurs in Bodley 265 (Slides 101-110), an early fifteenth-century copy of Des Cas (73) except that the prefatory miniature to Book VI shows three men hanging from a gibbet and two men being beheaded: the kind of incident described by Fortune, rather than Fortune's own appearance (74). Here, the presentation miniature is divided into four compartments showing the three estates as well as the presentation of the work to the Duke de Berry (75), thus indicating that the work is as much about good government, since the prince is the microcosm for the state, as it is about the falls of individual princes. There are, of course, variations within this pattern, but not substantially so. The utility of the pictures in helping the reader find his way about the work is inevitably reduced as the number is limited.

The format of prefacing book or chapter heading with illustra-



tions offers opportunities at once to indicate the main structural divisions, but also to emphasize particular stories. Perhaps the most interesting suggestion of choice between various possibilities comes in a manuscript such as BL Royal 20 C. iv which seems to represent a conflation of alternatives. It is an early manuscript, dating from around 1430 (76), and contains fourteen miniatures. Ten of these denote the prologue and each of the nine books with the usual sequence, except that the prefatory miniature, instead of the usual scene of presentation, depicts a blindfolded and winged Fortune turning a wheel. The illustration is conventional enough, but it serves to announce one theme of the text. Another slight difference is that the miniature which announces Book VII shows the suicide of Mark Anthony, thus alluding to material at the end of Book VI, rather than, as is more usual, the murder of his son. The additional four illustrations, equally conventionally, mark the beginnings of chapters; but because there are so few of them, the chapters so marked seem to have been specially selected for visual attention as possibly indicating someone's individual taste or interest. Their very paucity confers an additional emphasis upon them. Thus it would appear that, from Book I, the scene of the death of Priam which heads chapter 13 had special significance to someone, as, more individually, did the death of Barsine and her son Hercules which introduces Book IV chapter 15; Caecilius Metellus leading Andruscus in triumph, the scene heading Book V chapter 14; and the Destruction of Jerusalem from Book VII chapter 8.

All these issues: the placement of miniatures; the selection of scenes; their function in dividing the text into accessible units and as aides memoire; the indication of discrimination between various stories and the possible evidence of patronal interest, must be borne in mind when discussing the illustrated English manuscripts of the Fall of Princes. All these issues are pertinent, particularly with reference to Huntington HM 268 and Harley 1766.

## 2. The Text of the Fall of Princes.

As with the Troy Book, Lydgate contributes a sense of the work's structure different from that of the author he is translating. But whereas Lydgate's altering of the structure of Guido's work was a decisive one, the overall structure of the Fall of Princes, with an important exception, remains constant: there are still nine books. The most immediately apparent difference in the conception of the text is that Laurent's is a series of chapters, whereas Lydgate's, as we are told, under the direction of Duke Humphrey (77), is a series of chapters and envoys. This device serves to intensify the morally improving aspect of the text rather than radically to alter the reader's perception of its structure. Naturally, Lydgate does not slavishly translate chapter by chapter; he adds and compresses material, sometimes altering the places at which chapter division occurs (78). The most obvious example of compression is the Troy story in Book I where Lydgate hurries over Laurent's chapters 13 and 14 on the grounds that he has dealt with it already in the Troy Book, and omits chapter 15 on Agamemnon and Menelaus altogether; of addition, the extended treatment of Canace and Macareus in Book I where Laurent supplies only a few lines (79) and the complete interpolation of the Constantine and Silvester episode in Book VIII. It must be noted that both of these probably have a very English source: Gower's Confessio Amantis (80).

The question of changing the sense of chapter division is more complex: since the chapter headings supplied by the Fall of Princes manuscripts are by no means as consistently provided as in Des Cas manuscripts, the most reliable indication that a fresh chapter has begun is the presence of a champ initial. It could be argued that the presence of an envoy is an even more pertinent indicator of where one chapter begins and another ends, but manuscripts such as Bodley 263 and Manchester, John Rylands Library MS Crawford English 2, both of which have an extensive series of headings, often further subdivide the text

by adding initials identical to the ones which follow the headings. There are thus more chapters than envoys. Visually, too, the presence of champ initials is often a better guide, since some manuscripts are quite scrupulous about the decorative hierarchy: BL Add. MS 39659, for example, places four-line blue initials flourished red before each chapter and three-line initials before each envoy. The main point to be made is that the manuscripts of the Fall of Princes are not as scrupulously consistent about dividing the text up into chapters as the French manuscripts. As Bergen (81) constantly points out, all the chapter divisions are not indicated in each manuscript and there is a slight disagreement as to where chapters should be (82). There is even a slight disagreement as to where books should begin: both Add. 39659 and Harley 1245 begin Book V at l. 2640 of Book IV with the story of Agathocles; most other manuscripts continue this book for another two thousand lines. Lambeth Palace 254, on the other hand, begins Book V at l. 841 with the narrative of Ptolomy Philopater, thus making the invective against physical beauty, the stories of the brothers Seleucus and Antiochus, and of Marcus Regulus, part of Book IV. These minor variations among manuscripts as to where the book and chapter divisions should occur confirm the impression, gained from the format of illustrative cycles, that Fall of Princes manuscripts are more individual in their layout than are those of the Troy Book. Indeed, as Bergen (83) observes, none of the extant manuscript 'appears to be a transcript from Lydgate's copy or even a transcript at second hand; nor does it seem that any manuscript was copied directly from another'.

This evidence of diversity is confirmed by an investigation of the text itself. Whereas there is a textual consistency in all Troy Book manuscripts there are two distinct recensions of the Fall of Princes. The first recension is the translation of Laurent, with minor variations, discussed above; the second is a compressed and reordered version consisting of eight books which appears in its entirety in BL Harley MS



1766 (microfilm 3), dating from about the middle of the fifteenth century (84). Although Bergen admits that the text of Harley 'must have been taken from a very fine copy ... the text ... is exceptionally correct' (85), in his more detailed discussion of the manuscript he dismisses it as a 'more or less garbled version'. This is unfair: the manuscript bears signs of careful and intelligent editing. This is particularly evident in the re-working and relocation of a passage in Book IV. The story of Marcus Regulus (Book V in both recensions) is concluded by an envoy which stresses Regulus' commitment to the good of the community. In Harley this is immediately followed by an episode from Book IV (ll. 239-322) the story of Marcus Manlius, which discusses various crowns awarded for various services to the state. The original lines introducing this passage:

For as Agellius maketh mencion  
Ther wer in Rome deuised straunge crouns (ll. 239-40)

are altered in Harley to:

Whylom in Rome as made is mencion  
ther wer foure knyghtes ordeyned diuers crouns.

Furthermore, where 1.318 reads 'Marcus Manlius in manhode souereyne' Harley has altered 'Manlius' to 'Regulus'. The changes have thus been made attentively: the copyist has either mistaken Marcus Manlius for Marcus Regulus, or, more plausibly, has made a conscious effort to dovetail the two stories. Most of the omissions, as E.P.Hammond (86) has pointed out, are of classical material from the end of Book II to Book VII. Biblical and mythological material is retained (apart, strangely enough, from most of the section on Herod at the beginning of Book VII) as are the sections on more modern history: the excisions betray lack of interest in Roman, Greek and Persian history, though figures such as Nero are given full coverage and Cyrus is particularly singled out for attention.

Edwards (87) suggests that the Harley manuscript represents an earlier version of the poem and that it was subsequently revised by

Lydgate. This abridged version would then constitute Lydgate's first recension. This seems unlikely for two reasons. Firstly, in terms of the structure of the poem, it would appear more reasonable to suppose that Lydgate would be closer to Laurent in his first rather than his second recension. Secondly, and more significantly, there are minor verbal slips that indicate that the Harley version is the abridgement of a longer version. On fol. 183v, though the running title indicates that the reader is in Book VI, the first lines on the page read:

As I seide Erst yit lefft vp thi look  
 Forsak thy bed Rys up anoon for shame  
 woldestow Reste at thy vjte book  
 and leue the viijte ... ? (VIII 113-116).

The Harley version of line 135 retrieves the potential mistake and changes 'bokis seune' to 'bookys sixe', an alteration which involves the reworking of an entire stanza. Instead of:

I meene as thus: the shipp of thi trauaille,  
 Which hath passid the se of bookis seune.  
 Cast nat anker til thou ha good ryuaille!  
 Lat no tempest of thundir, reyn nor leuene,  
 Nor no wyndis of the cloudi heuene,  
 Nor no fals ianglyng of demeres that wil blyue  
 Depraue thi labour, let thi shipp taryue (VIII 134-140).

Harley has:

I mene as thus/ the ship of thy travaylle  
 Which passyd the see of bookys sixe  
 Cast nat thyn ankyr/ tyl thowe haue good Ryvaylle  
 lat no tempest of thondir/nor Reyne the vexe  
 Nor no wyndes of the Cloudys wexe

The last couplet is the same. In view of this intelligent editing it might be tempting to say the 'viijte' is a mere slip of the pen for 'vijte', but later on the scribe transcribes quite happily IX 3457: 'Off this matere ther be bookys nyne'. Neither mistake can be explained as a too literal translation of the French: these numerical references are Lydgate's own. Such lapses in attention are uncharacteristic of what seems to have been an enthusiastically capable reworking of the entire poem.

The question of whether Lydgate himself was the reviser and under what circumstances and for what purpose the revision took place,

is an intriguing one. Not only has the manuscript been carefully and intelligently edited, it has been provided with careful and intelligent apparatus. Of all the Fall of Princes manuscripts, this has the most sophisticated layout. In terms of enabling the reader to locate required material Harley has the most developed system both verbal and visual. It is provided with running titles in red giving the number of the book and a full series of chapter headings in red in the margin, providing not only a synopsis of the contents, but also, uniquely for Fall of Princes manuscripts, the number of the chapter. The chapters themselves are usually, except for the latter sections, marked by three-line gold initials on a blue and red ground while the envoys are prefaced by blue initials flourished red, thus providing a scrupulous decorative hierarchy (88). Names of characters who appear in the text are frequently written in red in the margin, and an occasional reference to a source is also written in red (89). The decorative hierarchy does not, however, mark the transition between books in any particularly elaborate way. An illuminated half-border introduces the Prologue to Book I; only an increase in the size of the initial, from three to four lines, indicates a change of book subsequent to this. The visual impact is similar, therefore, to the beginnings of chapters. This concentration on chapters rather than on books confirms the impression that the text could be viewed as a collection of stories rather than as a collection of groups of stories.

Furthermore, almost uniquely among Fall of Princes manuscripts, Harley has a table of contents (90). Though the table of contents agrees with the wording of the chapter headings in the margin, these headings are sometimes more elaborate than those in the table. The table of contents forms a separate unit in the manuscript. It is written on a separate gathering, a quaternion, by the scribe of the remainder of the manuscript. Only thirteen lines have been written on fol. 4r which has only the box-frame ruled; the rest of the page is blank. Fol. 4v has



been ruled for writing but nothing has been inserted. It is possible that the table of contents was added after the rest of the manuscript was written and that it was constructed in consultation with the chapter headings written in the margin. There is certainly evidence, as we shall see, of close co-ordination between the two (91). The table of contents begins with a four-line gold initial on a blue and red ground introducing a prefatory stanza which, to my knowledge, is unique to this manuscript. It is in rhyme royal, the stanza form adopted by the text:

This famous werk to putte in Remembraunce  
The sodeyn Chaunce trefyng of many Estat  
The pe de gre and thallyaunce  
newly translatyd by the Poete laureat  
Monk of bury namyd John lydgat  
From lyne of Adam Evene descendyng down  
This table doth Conveye with oute varyacioun.

The impersonal tone and the halting manipulation of the line suggests that it was not written by Lydgate himself; the verbal reminiscence in the first line of the first line of the Life of St Edmund and St Fremund ('The noble story to put in remembrance') suggests that the composer was very familiar with Lydgate's work.

Harley is not the only extant manuscript of the second recension. It is the form of the text in the fragment of the Fall of Princes in McGill 143. Edwards (92) gives details of the textual variations which they both share. Though McGill does not, from the evidence of four leaves, appear to transcribe the elaborate chapter headings in Harley, it has taken over other elements of the apparatus. Its two- and three-line initials concur in their placement and hierarchy with Harley. On fol. 1v names of characters who appear in the text are written in the outer margin in a different script. Each is prefaced by a flourished paraph. Both Harley and McGill choose the same names to note. This, one might have thought, is hardly surprising: the passage, Book V 841-882, concerned with Ptolemy Philopater and Britomaris is not exactly peppered with names. On the other hand, other folios have many proper names which are not given particular notice -- as they are not in

Harley. Both manuscripts, moreover, apparently agree in making the same mistake. When Ptolemy is first mentioned in 1.842 both manuscripts write 'Tholome' in the margin by the line: Ptolemy died in the arms of his concubine Agathoclea, and, where her name is mentioned for the first and only time, both manuscripts write 'Agothoyda' in the margin by 1. 869. The next stanza begins the narrative of Britomaris but starts with a concluding reference to Ptolemy: 'Next Philopater this wrecche called thoo'. Both manuscripts take Philopater to be a fresh character and write 'Philopater' rather than 'Abytomarus' in the margin. But this is not a meaningless picking out of proper names: nowhere in these two manuscripts are the names Ptolemy and Philopater associated. Whereas the first recension reads '... ther cam Tholome/ Cald Philopater ...' (V 842-3) Harley and McGill have: 'Vicyous of lyff Cam Tholome/ That was of Egypt king'. Philopater appears to be a totally fresh character.

This consistency of text and apparatus is, perhaps, not as surprising as might first appear. Both manuscripts were probably written by the same scribe (93) who, it is possible, had found a format for the text which pleased him or another prospective purchaser and copied it from one manuscript to another. McGill was probably completed later since there appears to have been a development in the layout regarding the miniatures (94). As Kathleen Scott (95) points out, the technique of placing illustrations in the margin is a masterly and economical solution to certain production problems. If the text, or this version of it, were being illustrated for the first time there would be no indication in the exemplar as to where the miniatures should be inserted in the text. The placement of the miniatures in the text involves anticipation early on in the composition of the manuscript: the scribe has to take account of projected miniatures by leaving spaces at correct intervals while copying the text. If the illustrations are to be in the margin, the scribe is relieved of this responsibility and can copy his exemplar more quickly and efficiently. Moreover, since Harley is

set out in a single column, there is plenty of room in the outer margin on the recto for the insertion of miniatures: each page, potentially, can be supplied with illustrations -- there is no need to make decisions at this point as to the extent of the decorative programme. The only miniature which occurs within the field of the text is the first one, for which it must have been relatively easy to calculate the space to be left. Further indication that it was possibly felt useful to write the text straight through with the minimum planning at the transcribing stage is the decision not to leave a line between the stanzas; instead they are noted by coloured letters, alternately red and blue.

The McGill fragment is set out in double columns with a line left between each stanza. Certain of the apparatus is now taken into the text space: where the heading 'The lenvoy' occurs, as it does on fol. 1r, it is written in the space between the stanzas rather than, as in Harley, in the margin. Similarly, the heading 'Ca<sup>o</sup> xj<sup>o</sup>' on fol. 3r is above the stanza and not in the margin. More significantly, the two extant miniatures are also in the text space (96). Each occupies the space of nine lines; that is, one stanza plus intervening lines. The scribe is thus still attentive to exigencies of ruling in his layout. One can, however, see in the comparison between the two manuscripts the page becoming progressively organized and the apparatus increasingly integrated with the text. On fol. 3r, at the bottom of column two, a bit of the page has been cut away. About seventeen lines of the page have been lost, but only eight lines of text, suggesting that a miniature has been removed. Harley has an illustration of the death of Charles of Tarentum at this point in the margin, extending from IX 2490-2514. Bearing in mind the congruence between the two manuscripts, it would not be too much to suppose that a miniature depicting such a scene was originally part of fol. 3r. The first extant illustration, on fol. 3v (Fig. 79), occurs between IX 2572 and 2573, a passage devoted to Duke Gaultier. In Harley the marginal illustration



runs from 1. 2556-2572, so there is some alignment in positioning. There is, furthermore, alignment in content: 1. 2572 reads 'Of his despight in haste smet of his heed' (97). Both illustrations depict a scene of execution: Harley shows a kneeling, headless trunk, with the head placed to one side, and an executioner wielding a sword above his head with both hands; the composition in McGill is practically identical, though reversed, except that the executioner holds the sword upright in his extended right hand. In Harley a label beneath reads 'duk gawlteer'; in McGill this label has been retained: a marginal side-note to the miniature reads 'Duke Gawlter'. The practice of annotating the miniatures, of keying them into the text, widespread in Harley, seems here to have been adopted by McGill. In fact, the conjunction of picture and label is not particularly appropriate. The text here speaks of the death by decapitation of Gaultier's father rather than Gaultier himself. The composition is thus faithful to the text but the label seems to misattribute it. This is particularly strange in the case of Harley (and perhaps in the case of McGill also were the complete manuscript still available) in that three folios later, on fol. 225v, is a depiction of the death of Gaultier himself -- also by beheading. Here there is no label.

To discuss this apparent anomaly, it seems an appropriate moment to speculate on the possible function of the illustrations in Harley before returning to McGill and the question of Lydgate's possible involvement in this second recension. It seems clear that in some cases the illustrations with their labels were seen as part of the chapter headings. Particularly towards the end of the manuscript, where the chapters become shorter and the headings consequently more numerous, it becomes difficult to say whether the marginal rubric is a label to the miniature or a chapter heading, or whether the miniature plus label should be seen as a component part of the chapter heading. The first indication of the blurring of function between miniature and chapter

headings comes on fol. 180r. The illumination by a section of the text dealing with the destruction of Jerusalem, depicts a starving Jewish woman roasting her child on a spit. Below, a rubric in red reads: 'Of a woma rostyd hire child at the sege of Jerusalem'. This is certainly descriptive enough of the miniature, though slightly more detailed than the usual labelling which, hitherto, has provided merely the names of the protagonists. Beneath the rubric, as if to a chapter heading, is the chapter numeration: 'Ca<sup>o</sup> ij<sup>o</sup>'. The chapter headings usually preface the section to which they refer; if the rubric is part of the chapter heading, it is mislocated since the portion of the text which it indicates deals with the fate of Jerusalem after rather than before conquest. The heading in the table of contents to Book VI chapter 2, which, as we have seen, was conceivably written after the rubrics and in conjunction with them, reads: 'And of a woman Rostyd hire Chyld & how the prestes of the temple brought to Tytus the Jewellys of the temple'. There is a miniature on fol. 180v, beginning some twenty lines later, opposite the appropriate portion of text which does in fact relate to the second half of the chapter heading; it shows the priest of the temple standing in a doorway and showing the treasures to Titus. There is a label below which says 'Titus' and another on the right which says 'Jerusalem'. Both sections of the chapter heading in the table of contents thus have a visual equivalent in the marginal apparatus. In this instance it appears that the illustrations act as a kind of visual key to the table of contents (98).

There is some indication that some of the rubrication was done before the insertion of the miniatures. On fol. 141v, running from III 4828 - III 4067 (the stanzas have been re-ordered) is a picture of Haman hanging from a gibbet. Below is a label: 'Amaan'. As with all the miniatures, the gibbet stands on a curved green ground, the wash of which only partly obscures the annotation 'hymylco' which was inscribed by l. 4063, the first occurrence of the name. For some

reason Haman took precedence over Himilco in the decorative hierarchy as it finally emerged; possibly because the story is longer and more narratively detailed. On fol. 171v the words 'The Lenvoy' have been scraped off so that a miniature depicting the death of Nero could be superimposed. Again, either some of the rubrics were done first or the decorative scheme was changed here. It is unlikely that the labelling of the actual miniatures was done before the miniatures themselves were drawn; the evidence that some of the rubrics precede work on the illustration does, however, suggest that picture and rubric on fol. 180r must have been conceived as a composite chapter heading. The depiction of the Jewish woman devouring her child is perfectly aligned with the relevant section of text; the rubric is not. Were the chapter heading supplied without mental reference to a picture one might have expected it to be written in the margin closer to the portion which it describes. As it is, the fact that the chapter numeration is below rather than above the miniature gives the impression that the material to which it refers is still to come.

The series of miniatures from fols. 204v - 206v raises similar issues and is similarly keyed-in to the table of contents. That on fol. 204v depicts the death of 'Maximus' at the hands of Arbogastes. The illustration itself is parallel to the events it describes: the initial stages of Arbogastes' bid for power in a section which, according to the heading in Rylands Eng. 2, is focussed on Theodosius. The labelling appears to be incorrect for the first time (99): according to the text Arbogastes hangs Valentian from a tower but according to the label on the left of the turret-top the victim is 'Maximus', a name derived from the previous narrative. Interestingly enough, this mistake is repeated in the table of contents -- 'aftir comyth Maximus the Emperour slayn be Arbogastes Ca<sup>o</sup> xxvj<sup>o</sup>' -- thus confirming the close relationship between the two. Below the illustration is the label 'Arbogastes' and below that the chapter numeration so that the heading



and numbering succeed rather than precede the information to which they refer. The miniature on the folio facing, 205r, comes only a few lines later and here the labelling of the miniature and its function as a chapter heading are better co-ordinated. It portrays Theodosius praying for divine assistance in his battle against Arbogastes. Half-way down the miniature is a label to the left 'Rex theodosius' and to the right 'ca<sup>o</sup> xxvij'. The remainder of the folio and its verso, concerned as they are with Theodosius' prayer, do not offer anything to illustrate, but at the next illustratable episode, the deaths of Arbogastes and Eugenius, there is a miniature and, below, at the conclusion of the relevant material, the chapter numeration as part of the labelling. All these pictures illustrate episodes from the career of Theodosius, as the table of contents seems to recognize in its account of the last 'chapter' in the sequence -- 'next comyth ambrose & the seid theodosius Ca<sup>o</sup> xxix<sup>o</sup>'. The miniature is concerned with Ambrose forbidding Theodosius entry to Milan cathedral because he had ordained a massacre. The participants in this small section of narrative are carefully labelled, as usual: 'Ambrose' to the left and 'Rex Theodosius' and 'Ca<sup>o</sup> xxix<sup>o</sup>' beneath. (100).

It can be seen that in this section the chapter headings are perfunctory; furthermore there are no decorative initials. The brevity of the headings is unsurprising when the profusion of the illustrations and their obvious function as an ancillary part of the chapter heading is considered. The lack of champ initials perhaps reflects changing decisions about the division of the text as work on the manuscript proceeded. It may be that the illustrations were made into chapter divisions as it was decided, at a stage subsequent to the actual transcribing of the text, to increase the number of chapters at this point. It can thus be seen that the label beneath the miniature on fol. 252v which, strictly speaking, depicts the death of Gaultier's father rather than of Gaultier himself, may have been a way of

indicating generally that the Gaultier narrative is about to begin. In Laurent Gaultier gets a section to himself as Chapter 14 of Book IX. In Harley his story is oddly split: half is part of Book VIII chapter 11 -- 'anothir story bochas treftyth of phelip la belle kyng of fraunce and of his thre sonys lowys and phelipe & duk Charlys & of duk gawlteer which was discendid of the blood Royal', as the table of contents has it -- and the other half is part of chapter 12 -- 'anothir which was callyd Reynier that was an officer and of the destruccioun of Guyllyaum & the sone of Gawlter'. The motive behind the chapter division seems somewhat obscure: Reynier is merely an officer of Gaultier's and may well have started life as a rubricated notation of a proper name to which a chapter number was subsequently added. This is perhaps confirmed by the absence of a champ initial. William d'Assise and Gaultier's son are only briefly mentioned: they are hanged while acting on behalf of Gaultier himself. This scene is illustrated. In view of the precision of the chapter heading in the table of contents and the perfunctory nature of the chapter heading in the margin, it is worth noting that the miniature of Gaultier's actual death is not labelled. The label 'duk gawlteer' at the beginning of his tale but half-way through a chapter may have been a way of imposing unity on a narrative that is otherwise fragmented. The heading was then copied as a side-note in McGill as part of the transfer of apparatus to that manuscript.

That this use of miniatures as part of elaborate chapter headings is not universally their function in this manuscript is perhaps demonstrated by fol. 255v. Book VIII chapter 13 is noted in a perfunctory way: there is no initial or major chapter heading, only 'Phelipe Cathenoyse Ca<sup>o</sup> xiiij<sup>o</sup>'. This laconic rubric is written in the gutter margin side of the text, partly on the portions of ruling not occupied by the verse instead of, as is more usual, being in the outer margin. This is to distinguish it from the miniature which occupies the outer



margin and refers to the previous chapter. It depicts the death of Duke Gaultier himself though it is not labelled. In the narrative hierarchy of the manuscript the story of Gaultier seems to take pre-eminence over that of Philipot Cathenoise (101). It is significant that care has been taken at this point to distinguish modes of reference: it is the chapter heading which is rubricated while the purely narrative illustration remains unembellished.

It is evident, then, that Harley -- and McGill as far as one can tell from its fragmentary state -- was carefully prepared for reading. The cross-indexing between the miniatures and the table of contents makes them part of a potential information retrieval system: by co-ordinating table of contents and illustration the reader is able to find most narrative aspects of the text that he would wish to consult (102). One may compare the apparatus of this manuscript with a luxury copy of Lydgate's Troy Book such as Cotton Augustus A. iv which has no such system of guiding the reader about the text. The Fall, as Edwards observes (103), was made to be read rather than to be looked at. Admittedly this comment is prompted by the relative scarcity of Fall of Princes manuscripts which contain miniatures but his point seems to be confirmed rather than otherwise by this manuscript designed for facility of reference.

To return to the question of Lydgate's involvement in this second recension: though it is abridged it may be significant that it contains full references to circumstances of patronage. The end of Harley retains all the literary devices by which Lydgate attempts to create a relationship with his audience: the envoy to Duke Humphrey; the apology for the book; and the sending it forth on the world. The appearance of these final sections is comparatively rare in Fall of Princes manuscripts (104). Having noted the congruity of apparatus in Harley and McGill, one discrepancy must be noted, though it is indicative of the progressive stages of organization which appear to have taken



place between the two manuscripts. Whereas Harley has a heading in the margin by IX 3303: 'A lenvoye compyled vpon the book wryten by the translatour specially direct to hym that causyd the translacioun & secundely to alle othir it shal seen', McGill substitutes a miniature which prefaces the stanza (Fig. 80). The theme of the illustration is presentation: a kneeling monk offers a clasped book to a figure sitting on a canopied throne which is presumably intended for the Duke of Gloucester. It is essentially a visualization of the material in Harley's heading and is a logical composition to supply. In context it appears as much a description of the text as a celebration of Humphrey's patronage. It is possible that the prefatory miniature in McGill was a presentation miniature also and that there were two, one near the beginning and one near the end.

The prefatory miniature in Harley is, however, a slightly unusual one. It depicts, not Humphrey's patronal support of Lydgate and Lydgate's humble offering of his book as we see in the second illustration of McGill, but the dedication of two Benedictine monks to St Edmund (105). St Edmund haloed and holding an arrow in his left hand sits on a canopied throne. Before him kneel two monks with their hands clasped in prayer. From the shoulder of each monk extends a white scroll, one of which has not been filled in, on the other of which has been written, but not by the scribe, 'dan Iohn Lydgate'. As we have seen (106), this composition relates to traditions of illustration of the Life of St Edmund. Furthermore, although the manuscript does not indicate, by way of coat of arms, who owned or commissioned it, annotations on the fly-leaves suggest that the manuscript was owned by Suffolk families in the sixteenth century (107). It is probable then, that the manuscript was commissioned by a Suffolk family and, because of the allusion to the iconography of a manuscript owned by the abbey, produced in Bury St Edmunds itself.

What is the significance of the St Edmund picture? Harley is

the only manuscript with a prefatory miniature: HM 268 is, unfortunately incomplete, as is McGill; neither Rosenbach nor Bodley 263 include a presentation miniature of any kind in their programme. It is positioned at such a point in the text that a presentation miniature would not be inappropriate. Did the commissioner of the manuscript wish to stress the local connection: Bury St Edmund's rather than the court? Was he aware enough of the original presentation copy to know that it did not receive illustration and that therefore a presentation picture, as such, would be inappropriate? Yet Lydgate's association with Humphrey was obviously important, hence the retention of the final envoys. The conjunction of the St Edmund picture with these final envoys seems to me to suggest that the commissioner of the manuscript took intense pride in Lydgate as a prestigious but local poet. The St Edmund picture links the text firmly with place and the most logical area on which to turn a speculative eye would be the Abbey itself. If it were the Abbey's own copy of the Fall of Princes, produced by Lydgate for inclusion in the library, this would account for the elevation of the saint at the expense of the prince; but the retention of the end of the manuscript indicating that Lydgate is a poet who writes, however thanklessly, for princes, suggests legitimate self-respect. On the other hand, there is, crucially, no indication by way of ex libris inscriptions -- a practice common as a way of marking books at Bury after 1300 (108) -- and press-marks which were 'written at the top of the outer margin on the first leaf of text' (109). Though the manuscript may have been produced during Lydgate's lifetime (he is thought to have died c. 1451 (110)), it must have been made very close to the date of his death (111). Were the library at Bury to acquire a manuscript of the Fall of Princes one would have supposed that it would have done so sooner after the date of completion. Finally, why would the library of the Abbey require an abridged version? The consistent omission of stories relating to classical history suggests that the text has been tailored



for an individual taste; the absence of the majority of the story of Herod from Book VII would perhaps be unusual in a manuscript intended for monastic ownership though, as Edwards points out, a number of copies were in clerical hands: 'Untypically, the Fall seems to have been regarded as a suitable contemporary non-devotional vernacular work for religious reading' (112). I myself am more inclined towards secular patronage, perhaps coming from among that group of East Anglian patrons of letters partly mapped out by Moore (113).

The substantial reworking which the second recension has undergone does not necessarily indicate that Lydgate had a hand in it. Though the wholesale reshaping is unusual, the process of anthologizing the Fall of Princes is not unknown. Like Mandeville's Travels, the Fall appears to have been a quarry from which people took the material which they required. There is a full-scale tradition of excerpting the poem: Pearsall's (114) sense that the poem is too long for normal use is confirmed by its wide transmission in the form of a collection of extracts. There are nearly forty additional manuscripts which contain selections (115). As Edwards points out, the perspective on the poem indicated by the principle behind these selections is an interesting one: few of them show any concern with the actual narratives that Lydgate translates: 'It is rather Lydgate's own sententious generalities that seem to have struck a sympathetic note with his reader' (116). For this reason, material from the envoys is particularly favoured by the anthologizers. The Harley/McGill text must be classified as a separate recension and not an anthology because the text is fully reworked rather than being merely extracted. The selections of the second recension, while not following the normal pattern of excerpting, also suggest a perspective on the part of the recensor: a bias against classical history.

Bergen feels that the additional stanzas in Harley are not the work of Lydgate and may have been 'the work of the copyist who was



responsible for the manuscript'. There is much to be said for this view. It seems plausible that whoever was responsible for the introductory stanza to the table of contents may have been responsible for the inserted stanzas in the body of the text. Since the table of contents may have been added at a late stage in the manuscript production and therefore the stanza could be unique to this manuscript it seems possible that the poetaster was the scribe of Harley 1766 -- or someone else connected with the production of the manuscript. I have already shown that there was an entrepreneur at work in the Bury region catering to a demand for illustrated St Edmund manuscripts (117); what is more likely that that this demand would extend to other Lydgate texts? Furthermore, the scribe of Harley was obviously a professional: not only is his hand to be found in the group of four St Edmund manuscripts already discussed, it can also be discerned in BL Arundel 99 of the Troy Book and Sloane 2464 of the Secrees (118). It would not be beyond the capabilities of such a Lydgate specialist to produce a stanza in the Lydgate manner and to edit his work.

To review the discussion: I have suggested that Harley forms the second, not the first recension of the Fall and that the recensor was someone involved in the Bury area rather than Lydgate himself. Details of production of Harley suggest that the illustrative programme was being worked out in the margins of the manuscript rather than being copied from an exemplar. It seems to have been produced specially for someone with a genuine, if somewhat partial, interest in the Fall since the programme is scrupulously co-ordinated to guide the reader through the text. Harley obviously represents a special commission; this format then proved so pleasing to the scribe or so popular among purchasers that he produced another, more developed, version of the same apparatus.

Though hitherto I have been discussing the illustrations of Harley as part of the indexing apparatus -- and this is one function

which they did undoubtedly serve -- they also give a weight to some of the narratives. After all, illustrations have a narrative as well as a functional relationship with the text. Since some stories receive copious illustration and some none at all, as with the French manuscripts of Des Cas, there is discrimination between stories; a narrative hierarchy is thus produced. It is to be noted, too, that one of the principles of revision was to discriminate between stories: to omit many of those connected with classical history. This consistency must, it seems to me, reflect the personal interests and prejudices of one particular individual: either the redactor or the commissioner to whose orders he was working. In some cases a story is given added prominence by dividing a simple composition into a number of scenes. For example, on fol. 28r, there are, according to Bergen (119), three illustrations: Cadmus consulting Apollo; Cadmus's bull; the city of Thebes. Reading downwards we have the individual components of one aspect of the story although portrayed only in outline and without any dramatic cohesion: the consultation; the sign; the city. One could readily imagine a treatment of this scene which would unify them into a single composition. Most of the illustrations usually involve single figures in a simple landscape. Thus the first illustration on fol. 28r is poorly composed: the figures are integrated neither by being set in a coherent space, nor in terms of two-dimensional design. On the left Cadmus kneels on a small mound with stylized yellow vegetation on it; above and to the right of the mound Apollo, a deity carrying a shield and spear stands on a shallow plinth. The city of Thebes is merely represented as a gateway with three turrets.

Though the narrative style is inarticulate, the idea apparently being to indicate the major protagonists in any action without necessarily giving much sense of the action in which they are involved, this technique of splitting a composition into its component units enables the artist to make a more extended visual impact down the sides of the

folio. The artist is at once perfunctory but lavish: the story of Constantine has four miniatures, but the last one, that on fol. 199r, by the lines relating his vision of how Christ showed him a cross saying:

Be nat afferd upon thi foon to falle,  
For in this signe thou shalt ouercome hem alle (VIII 1427-8)

depicts merely a Tau cross on a green base. Similarly the illustrations on fol. 30r showing above, Athamas about to strike his son Learchus against a rock, and below, Athamas standing in the background while Ino, with her other child in her arms pitches forward into the sea, splits in two a composition which is integrated in Bodley 263. It cannot be argued that the space available is a problem: as the manuscript is set out in a single column, the text takes up about three-quarters of the width of the ruled space, the other quarter is potentially liberated for the use of the artist on the recto. Furthermore, because the miniatures are added in the margin he is not limited to providing one illustration only per chapter as were the artists of the Des Cas manuscripts. This means that, theoretically, every aspect of every narrative could be illustrated; every margin could be filled with miniatures. That it is not is no doubt in part attributable to financial constraints, but any form of selection is bound to involve choice -- as we have seen with the actual form of the text. It is my contention that the choice of which stories to illustrate and how many miniatures were to be allocated must, in part, be an expression of personal interest or personal preference on behalf of either the person commissioning the manuscript or the person preparing it.

It seems unlikely that the artist would have been constrained by the lack of availability of models. His compositions are so formulaic and so reliant on recurrent figure types (120) that it seems probable that they were largely cobbled together ad hoc. Thus, for example, the illustration on fol. 24r which represents the army of Pharaoh pursuing the people of Israel is very undifferentiated. It



depicts tiers of helmets between two stylized mountains. One would not really know what it was meant to show were it not for the red label to the left: 'Pharao' and because of the contextualization. This reinforces an important point about the use of illustration in these manuscripts: they are not there to communicate material to readers ignorant of the story; they provide a brief outline so that those who already know the story can savour it in fresh form. From this point of view, extensive visual narrative detail is superfluous.

The function of guiding the reader's eye to particular lines in the story appears to have been a pertinent one. The miniatures are usually by the side of the lines to which they relate. Except where they are functioning as part of the chapter heading, they are not necessarily positioned at the beginning of the chapter. Bearing in mind the limitations of the format adopted by the French manuscripts, one can see how much more precisely the format of Harley can direct attention to specific aspects of the narrative. In some of the stories which receive fairly extensive illustration, the main stages seem to have been selected. Thus, through the use of stereotyped figures, the narrative development of the tale of Althaea is traced. We see her taking the brand from the fire, the action which preserves her son's life; Atalanta wounding the boar, the cause of contention with Meleager's uncles: Meleager killing his uncles, thus motivating his mother's wrath; Althaea casting the brand on the fire; and Althaea's suicide (121). Because the figures are clichéd rather than narratively complex, a single figure can be used to draw attention to lines which, though important, have little illustratable content (122). The story of Canace and Macareus is a point at which Lydgate expands his French source. The narrative element is not elaborated; what Lydgate adds, following Ovid and Gower, is a lengthy and poignant letter which Canace sends her brother before her enforced suicide. A picture of Canace seated with her child on her lap marks the beginning of the letter, while

an almost identical illustration, this time with Canace holding a pen in her right hand and a sword in her left, marks its end. It is thus carefully visually framed.

The compositional types used by the artist of Harley suggest the use of moduli rather than of models (123). It seems probable that the illustrations were constructed primarily on the basis of the text with the artist bringing into service his vocabulary of stereotypes as required. The text is conveniently by the side of the pictures he is composing; he needs only to cast his eyes to one side to find the material for his composition. The fairly precise relation between the content of the lines and the subject-matter of the illustrations with which they are aligned perhaps suggests localized and sporadic reading of this kind. For example, though Laurent fails to mention the transformation of the incestuous Myrrha into a tree, on fol. 75r of Harley occurs an illustration of a green tree on the left, very similar to that provided on fol. 69r for the tree bearing the golden apples of the Hesperides while on the right a crowned, beardless figure raises a sword as if to strike, in a pose similar to that which has already occurred on fol. 31r. This is positioned parallel to the lines:

In Arabie, the houte myhti lond,  
King Cinarus hath his douhter founde,  
And crueli he gan enhaunse his hond,  
With his suerde tayouen hir a wounde;  
But the goddis, off merci most habounde,  
Han fro the deth[e] maad hire [to] go fre  
And thorouh ther power transfourmed to a tre (l 5734-40)

It is possible, therefore, to see the artist, required to place a composition at this point, translating it in terms of the stereotypes available to him (124).

The illustrations are carefully co-ordinated with the text both in terms of the function they serve, but also as an indication of a personal hierarchy of stories. Appendix 2 sets out the numbers of illustrations allocated to each narrative. It can be seen that they are especially concentrated around the first book which contains much of



the mythological material. The Theban story from its founding by Cadmus to the death of Eteocles and Polynices is particularly well-represented, as is the story of Minos if one includes the episode of Scylla and Nisus. The legend of Hercules is lavishly illustrated. Biblical narratives in Book I and the beginning of Book II are spaciouly treated: the story of Samson receives six miniatures while Saul has nine episodes from his tale picked out for special notice. Yet even in Book I some discrimination is apparent. The 412 lines which correspond to Laurent's chapter 5 and which contain a brisk resumé of a number of episodes only receive two illustrations alluding to the same topic: the pursuit by Pharaoh of the children of Israel.

Here a paradox must be noted. Though most extractors seem only to be interested in the sententious aspect of the text, the miniatures of Harley focus attention squarely on the narrative aspect. It is not that the artist, of necessity, must use narrative information to construct a scene to throw into visual prominence a passage of more abstract sententiousness; rather it is that he fails to provide any miniature for any such passage. As can be seen from the appendix, none of the chapters dealing with abstract themes, of complaint or invective or exhortation, is illustrated at all. The treatment of Canace would seem to indicate that this is not a technical limitation only. It thus seems plausible from the manuscript evidence to suggest that two ways of reading the Fall were current: emphasis was either placed on the moral apparatus or it could be seen from the narrative point of view as a collection of stories. The pattern of reading suggested for the Fall of Princes by Harley and McGill is very different from that suggested by Troy Book manuscripts. The format of a manuscript like Harley actively encourages anthologizing and extracting in a way Troy Book manuscripts, until Rylands Eng. 1, do not. In Harley, unlike other attempts to anthologize the Fall, the emphasis is on narrative rather than morality.



### 3. Huntington HM 268: Format

Huntington HM 268 (Microfilm 5) is the only other manuscript with a full cycle of illustrations; that is, a cycle which responds to individual narratives. It was produced during the third quarter of the fifteenth century (125) and is, in many ways the most elaborate and sumptuously laid out of the Fall of Princes manuscripts. Though it has no running titles and there are no extant chapter headings, provision was made to note major and minor divisions in a visually arresting way. A scrupulous decorative hierarchy is maintained. Stanzas are introduced by paraphs, alternately blue flourished red and gold flourished brown. Minor divisions are indicated by eight lines of text space, the space of a stanza, being left before the beginning of the salient portion while the text below is introduced by a two- or three-line gold champ initial on a blue and rose ground (126). Later on in the manuscript the initials are either gold flourished red or blue flourished red. It becomes apparent that the stanza-spaces were left for ornate penwork headings, most of which were never filled in. On fol. 13v (127) is the heading 'Lenvoye' with the initial 'L' decoratively enhanced with penwork designs (128). Most of these minor divisions correspond with the envoys, but there are also chapter divisions which were evidently not considered as important and were only to be allocated a heading. Notes for some of the projected headings remain: in the margin by the space on fol. 16r are what were presumably the directions to the rubricator written in ink in a more cursive hand: 'here speketh the auctor Johan b. ageyns the [trimmed off] pride of hem that truste in richesse'; fol. 16v: 'here Johan bochas put a gret preysyng & a commenda[tion] of surete that stonde[th] in pouerte'; fol. 148v: 'a chapitre ageyn glotonye'. The major divisions, which usually correspond with a chapter, are marked by a miniature and a two- to four-line initial, mainly four-line, on a gold ground attached to a three-quarter bar and foliage border. The majority of miniatures are thus accompanied by a border.

The eight leaves of Sloane 2452 containing Book I.11.1023-2100 are in a slightly further advanced state of completion. A full description will give some insight into the decorative programme of the manuscript and some of the questions arising from it. On fol. 2v the paraph to l. 1282 seems to be slightly extended, but otherwise no further notice is taken of what, in some other manuscripts (129), is a subsection corresponding to Laurent's chapter 4. This further reinforces the individuality of English manuscripts as regards the question of chapter division. On fol. 3v is an envoy prefaced by a heading: 'The lenvoie of this Tragedie'. The usual blank space has been carefully filled in and one can gain a brief glimpse of the sumptuous decoration that was projected for the whole manuscript. The 'T' is an elaborate strapwork initial carefully patterned in black and red ink -- there is no other such initial either in the Sloane fragment or in HM 268. The rest of the heading is filled with coloured inks: the first line is red; the second line violet; the third line black. Unusually, the envoy is followed by a coloured initial on a gold ground. At the top of column two on the same page is a miniature which occupies the space of a stanza and three lines. This is unusual: most of the miniatures take up the space either of one or of two stanzas and do not have this irregular height. Below is the only chapter heading to accompany a miniature introduced by a calligraphic letter 'T': 'The thrird Tragedye of Satourne'. The irregular shape of the miniature may be conditioned by the desire to provide a heading: the other miniature in the fragment, on fol. 7r, occupies the space of two stanzas and has no heading. On fol. 6v the space of a stanza is left between the end of the chapter and the beginning of the envoy. It is filled with writing in black ink darker than that of the text and begins with a calligraphic letter 'L' for 'Lenvoye'. Uniquely, this is followed by a three-line blue initial on a gold ground attached to a partial border.

In format HM 268 corresponds most closely with the French



manuscripts of Des Cas with its series of miniatures marking chapter divisions. There is not, however, the correlation of miniature and chapter heading that gives some of the miniatures in the French manuscripts their specificity. An occasional stanza space is left before a miniature, possibly for a heading never provided, but also possibly on fols. 3r, 15v, 33v and 79v to allow the miniature to head column two rather than being at the foot of column one. Furthermore, HM 268 is not as scrupulous as the French manuscripts about marking the beginnings of books. Book II begins on fol. 18v with an initial and border. Admittedly the initial is larger than usual (five-line), but there is no verbal indication of the transition in the way of incipit and explicit apart from 'liber secundus' hastily written in the margin. No space has been left for a heading to be introduced later: there is a two-stanza miniature at the bottom of column two on the recto. The beginning of the book is thus no different from the beginning of a chapter. A calligraphic heading notes the prologue to Book III though there is no border work, and there is no further indication as to where the book proper begins. The first miniature, the occurrence of which may perhaps be taken to mark the beginning of the book, is positioned between lines 91 and 92, a conception unusual among English manuscripts as to where Book III begins. Its subject-matter, the battle between Poverty and Fortune is, however, the book-indicator in short-cycle French manuscripts. Provision has been made for notice of the transition between books III and IV though no advantage has been taken of it: a space has been left at the bottom of column one while the prefatory miniature heads column two. The folios containing the beginnings of Books V and VI are missing. No notice at all is taken of the beginning of Book VII either as a major or minor division in the text while the beginning of Book VIII is as Book II, including 'hic incipit liber viijus' written in the central margin (130). It is thus the division into chapters which concerned the makers of HM 268 far more than the division into books.



All the impulses which may have lain behind the provision of illustration for the full-cycle Des Cas manuscripts can be discerned in the miniatures of HM 268. The first issue, the placement of miniatures, has already been dealt with. By choosing the chapter rather than the book as unit, the manuscript concentrates far more on the individual narrative rather than groups of narrative and divides up the text into accessible blocks of reading matter. As the appendix demonstrates, the sense of division into chapters which HM 268 offers is not identical in all respects with that of the French if we take the appearance of a miniature to indicate the beginning of a fresh chapter. In Appendix 2 the word 'space' indicates that a stanza has been left blank before the section. Since there is usually nothing corresponding with the envoys in Laurent, no reference is made to them unless Lydgate used one of Laurent's chapters as material for an envoy. Books I and II may be taken as representative of the kind of divergence from the structure of the French that is involved. In Book I we get an additional subdivision with the story of Narcissus and, to some extent, that of Canace (131). Book II conflates into one chapter the stories of Candalus and Giges, Midas, Belshazzar, Croesus, Cyrus, Aemilius and Numitor, while throwing a subtle weight on the narrative of Romulus and Remus by having it head a chapter. But the variations in nuance attained by the location of the picture is more subtle than this: the miniature depicting the death of Lucrece on fol. 27v is positioned not by the commencement of the narrative, which is given no special decorative notice at all, but at the beginning of Lucrece's complaint, a lengthy interpolation by Lydgate. It is thus a section of rhetoric rather than of narrative that is singled out for special notice. It will be noted that the only heading completed in this section of the manuscript is the 'Verba lucrecie' on fol. 50v to the second telling of the story of Lucrece. It may be added that HM 268 is closer in its sense of chapters to its French prototypes than are many other English manuscripts (132).

A further glance at the appendix will show which chapters received less weight in the decorative hierarchy by being provided only with a heading. As the notes to the rubricator which I have transcribed may have indicated, these are often the chapters which are of a sententious nature. Thus, the praise of obedience, against luxurious princes, against dishonest judges and the like are treated as minor divisions. It would appear, then, that as with Harley 1766, the deviser or commissioner of HM 268 was more interested in narrative than abstract moralization. There are, however, four miniatures which test this generalization, for HM does not discriminate against the sections of moralization as rigorously as does Harley. The illustration on fol. 69r is quite enlightening for a view of the miniatures as indicating a hierarchy of sections. The chapter it prefaces corresponds with Laurent III 13: 'l'excusacion de Alcibiades qui par tans de foys sexposa a fortune', but is very different in tone. Whereas Laurent acknowledges to some extent the lure that worldly honours might have for ambitious and active men, Lydgate systematically excoriates any vainglory:

The feruent flawme of ther gredi desir[e]s  
 In mekil gadryng fynt no suffisance;  
 Ther hungri etik kyndelethe so the fires  
 Of auarice be long contynuaunce,  
 That her thrust of wordli habundaunce  
 On Tantalus ryuer abraideth euer in oob;  
 Drownid in drynkyng, & deeme ther part is non (III 3725-31)

The chapter continues in this vein for seven more stanzas. Naturally enough, Tantalus does not appear in the French. The introductory miniature to this section of HM depicts Tantalus as a naked figure standing up to the chin in water. The chapter was obviously considered an important one in the decorative hierarchy, important enough for illustration, but it contains little narrative. The artist thus has to allude visually to the brief metaphor in the second stanza of the section for his material. A narrative medium is here being used to intensify the impact of a rhetorical passage of the text.

A similar phenomenon can be observed on fol. 72v corresponding broadly with Laurent's III 17. As with the miniature on fol. 69r, the illustration heads not a narrative section but a complaint against covetousness. The artist thus has to refer to any concrete visual material he can. He shows people mining and a merchant being robbed. The picture precedes l. 4236; the miners are alluded to in ll. 4241-2 and 4254-8 while the brigands are mentioned even more briefly in ll. 4264-5. The material is culled from near the beginning of the complaint. It would be difficult to choose a sensible representative scene for this section which is distinguished principally by its collocation of reference to classical story used casually to describe (rather than to define) moral states (133). The illustrations here indicate division solely, rather than providing the kind of detailed visual summaries that other miniatures do. In both these cases the miniatures conform to the pattern of the majority of illustrations in this manuscript by occupying sixteen lines of the text space.

The two miniatures to generalized chapters in Book I are only seven lines high: the space of one stanza. The first, corresponding with Laurent's chapter 11, against over-hasty belief, one that is not illustrated in Geneva or Ars., is described by Bergen (134) as showing the 'Exile of Hippolytus'. That Hippolytus should appear in the composition is unsurprising. Nevertheless, running off in a chariot and being killed in a landslide can hardly be construed as going into exile. What the miniature appears to show is in fact more appropriate to the less specific nature of the chapter. It is divided into two unequal portions. On the left is an interior containing two groups of figures. On the left three closely grouped figures lean towards a bearded king in the centre; on the right are three more figures, one of whom is a woman, in a semi-circle, to the right of another seated figure, this time a youth. Further right, outside the building is a figure dressed as a hunter with a bow and arrow in his left hand and



a hunting horn over his left shoulder. A dog can be seen behind his left calf. In fact, the pose is very similar to that of Narcissus the hunter on fol. 8v. It would appear to me that the miniature depicts the contrast between princes surrounded by gossipers and Hippolytus in his lonely integrity. If this is so, some care has been taken at some stage in the production or transmission of the pictorial cycle, to construct an appropriate ideograph of the chapter.

The chapter on the 'malice of women' is similarly prefaced by a stanza-high miniature showing women preening themselves in various ways. This refers to the earlier stanzas in which Lydgate reveals the cosmetic arts by which women entrap men and sustains some of his most vigorous writing. There are only two other occasions on which the miniature occupies the space of one rather than two stanzas. One is on fol. 17v where an illustration of this kind appears to divide Laurent's Book I 19 by picking out the largely interpolated material of Canace and Macareus. As with the illustration of Lucrece on fol. 27v mentioned above, the miniature does not actually mark the beginning of the narrative itself; this has no particular notice taken of it by way of initials. There is, however, a space of one stanza left before l. 6882, the commencement of 'The lettre of compleynt of Canace to hir brothir Macharie' as both Bodley 263 and Rylands Eng. 2 have it. The miniature does not mark a moment of rhetorical expansion of this kind, but is inserted before l. 7022 where Canace is about to finish her letter and kill herself. In fact the picture portrays both actions: on the left she writes her letter and on the right she kills herself. But the strangest thing about the decorative hierarchy at this stage is that the initial following this miniature is not attached to a bar border as is customary. It is almost as if the two stanza spaces which divide the Canace narrative were originally merely left blank for calligraphic headings but it was subsequently decided to insert a picture. This may have been the case with all the illustrations which only take up seven

lines of the text space.

It may perhaps also have been the case with the Lucretia illustration. The story is told twice at length in Lydgate: Laurent only gives her a brief mention in Book II 6 reserving his major account for III 3. Lydgate expands the reference into an account which concentrates on Lucrece's distress rather than on the actual violation. Whereas Laurent tells the whole story in Book III, Lydgate again hurries over the narrative, providing yet another complaint. In HM this chapter is prefaced by a full-size miniature depicting Lucrece pressing a dagger to her chest while three men on the right expostulate with her and a fourth, possibly Tarquin, steps away through an archway on the left. Eleven stanzas later is the heading 'Verba lucrecie' mentioned before. It is apparent that the decorative programme here seems to be following a pattern of decorum established by the French: the story is not told in full until Book III and it is the version in Lydgate's Book III which is accorded higher visual status by having a sixteen-line miniature and heading rather than, possibly, a projected heading changed to a half-size miniature.

It is thus possible that the one-stanza miniatures may represent a slight change of plan in the construction of the manuscript. This may be confirmed by the evidence of a more major change of plan on fol. 100v. Such evidence is a good example of the kind of carelessness in execution which seems to have been tolerated even in a manuscript as sumptuous as this one. At the top of column two is a three-line gold initial on a blue and rose ground introducing the lines:

The gret myscheuis of fortunys myght  
The woful falles from hir whele in dede  
Of Princes Princesses who list loke a right  
Be lamentable

Then, as if he realized that this was intended to be a major rather than a minor division, the scribe broke off, left the remainder of the stanza (three lines) and another stanza blank for the artist and began again below ('The gret myschevis') as if nothing had happened, without even

scraping off his first attempt. Such a mistake may also suggest that the chapter divisions were being selected individually for this manuscript rather than being copied straight from the exemplar. Other aspects of the production also seem to suggest that there was not an illustrated exemplar -- or, at least, not a fully illustrated one (135) -- in the workshop.

Though HM is occasionally independent of other manuscripts in its concept of textual division, it is consistent about the hierarchy it adopts. At the end of Book II Lydgate adds an Envoy on Rome, one of the finest pieces of writing in the book and completely original. The refrain rings changes on the theme of ruin. In the first half, an ubi sunt lament contemplates all that is Roman 'be processe come onto ruyne'; the second half, an exhortation to leave false gods and return to Christ, is characterized by the idea of being saved from ruin. HM 268 treats this as a chapter division with a sixteen-line prefatory miniature, admittedly not very precise, but conveying well the idea of ruin. It shows a walled city with a gateway in front. On the left is a cluster of small gable-ended buildings. In the centre is a gilt structure with three pinnacled niches from which gilt idols pitch forward. On the right in the background is a silver building. These buildings may well, as Bergen suggests (136), be intended to represent the crystal and golden temple of Rome; the visual allusion to falling statues (not described by the text) may also be a reference to the temple built by Virgil with images for every region controlled by Rome of 11.4495 ff. This stanza is in column two just below the miniature in the first column and therefore convenient enough to consult were the miniature being constructed straight from the text at this point, a fact which seems plausible enough under the circumstances. If the envoy is treated as a fresh chapter, it becomes apparent that this is because the devisors of the manuscript viewed it as such. Before the last stanza is a calligraphic heading 'Lenvoye' of the usual type, dividing Lydgate's envoy into chapter plus envoy. Though this may betray an insensitivity to the controlling structure of the envoy, that is, the



presence of the refrain; it reveals a consistency in the concept of what was appropriate to a chapter and what to an envoy.

Though in HM the miniatures serve more obviously to divide up the text than they do in Harley, the distinction between one- and two-stanza miniatures does impose a rudimentary sense of narrative hierarchy, since one-stanza miniatures evidently accompany a story considered less important than one supplied with a two-stanza miniature. It must be added that a more sophisticated sense of hierarchy is suggested by choice of subject matter.

#### 4. Huntington HM 268: Compositions

The placement and size of the miniatures has proved a fruitful area of speculation as to their function. Their choice of subject matter, too, may serve to discriminate between stories. The miniatures of Sloane 2452 HM 268 have never been adequately described. The Sloane fragment was unknown to Bergen and his account of the illustrations of HM 268, unlike his description of Harley 1766, is often inaccurate in detail. The best description of the two heavily retouched Sloane miniatures is that of Fritz Saxl (137). A transcription of his account may help to clarify the problem faced by the iconographer:

Bl. 3v: Zu V. 1401 ff. L. sitzt Satourne, weissbärtig, mit Krone, mit beiden Händen ein Kind zum Mund führend. Zu seiner L. drei weitere nackte Kinder. In der Mitte sitzt in einem Haus ein König an einer Tafel, dem ein Mädchen auf einer Schüssel, deren Deckel sie hebt, ein Haupt bringt (Erisichton?). R. im Vgr. zwei in einer Flut Ertrinkende; dahinter von den Sonnenstrahlen getöte Menschen und Tiere (Athen unter Cycrops). L. davon ein Berg (Pernaso?). Der J. Teil des Hgr. ist mit der Darstellung des Untergangs der Agypter im Roten Meere ausgefüllt.

It is apparent that this miniature (Slide 111) is a composite one, offering a visual conspectus of the ensuing chapter -- 'The thrid Tragedye of Satourne', Laurent's 15 -- in the manner of some of the illustrations of the Munich Boccaccio. Since this chapter, more than any, conflates a number of brief episodes, a visual summary would be particularly useful. The problem appears to be that, as a visual

summary, it is not uniformly clear. The left hand side of the composition is obvious enough and addresses itself to two important incidents: Saturn devouring his children and Pharaoh drowning in the Red Sea (11.1574-5 and 1592-1610). The right hand refers to natural disasters mentioned in the text: the plague of heat during Cecrops' reign in Athens (11.1645-59) and numerous floods (11. 1615-45). The illustration thus far is precisely responsive to the text; in fact, the picture of Saturn goes some way towards clarifying an obscurity of Lydgate's translation. The first stanza of this chapter reads:

These olde poetis with ther sawes swete  
Ful couertli in ther vers do feyne,  
Howe olde Saturne was whilom kyng of Crete,  
And off custum dede his besy peyne,  
Off his godhed list for to ordeyne  
That he sholde, as off his nature,  
Echon deuoure as by his engendrure (l 1401-7).

Since Lydgate fails to mention Saturn's children, line 1407 is somewhat confusing. It is a fault of translator rather than of source: Laurent says crisply 'saturnus roy de crethe deuoreroit les enfans engendrez de luy' (138). The illustration by supplying the children omitted by Lydgate makes much more sense of the first stanza and is incidentally closer to the French.

This closeness to the French offers a solution for the main problem of the composition: to what does the small edifice containing a woman presenting a head on a plate to a king as part of a feast refer? Saxl's suggestion that it represents Erysichthon does not fit: this unfortunate noble ate his own 'membris', not those of someone else. A comparison of Laurent's chapter 5 reveals that Lydgate has omitted to translate all but the briefest mention of the important story of Philomela, Tereus and Procne, a narrative told at length in the French but deleted by Lydgate on the grounds that Chaucer has told the story elsewhere. It will be recalled that as a punishment for his rape of Philomela, Procne served up his son to Tereus, allowing Philomela to appear at the climactic moment:

Finblemant Prognés lança son courroux contre son petit enfant Itis, qui faisoit feste a sa mere Prognés, laquelle lui copa la gorge et fist cuire l'enfant, et le donna en viande a son mary Thereus qui avoit de coustume soy desjuner a matin ... Car ainsi que Thereus levast de table, Philomela qui sailli hors d'une chambre mist en un plat la teste de Itis son enfant (139).

It can be seen that the composition in the centre of the miniature is an exact visual transcription of the last sentence I have quoted. The model for Sloane was almost certainly a French copy of Des Cas. The picture itself is a scrupulous visual summary of the chapter, but it is a visual summary of Laurent rather than Lydgate. In the case of Saturn the miniature supplements the reader's understanding of the text; in the case of Philomela it may well have confused him -- unless he knew the story already and could identify it as information additional to that contained in the actual text (140).

The second miniature (Slide 112), corresponding with the beginning of Laurent's I chapter 6 is more complex in its allusion. Again, it is a composite picture, but instead of a visual concentration on events in the life of Cadmus as one might have expected from the detail given in the chapter, the French chapter heading: 'Le. vj<sup>e</sup>. chapiltre contient le cas de Cadmus Roy et fondeur de la cite de Thebes' (141), and from the composition presented here by many of the French manuscripts (142), the weight of the visual reference is on Europa:

Bl. 7r: Zu V. 1842 ff. L. im Vgr. reitet Europa auf dem Stier nach r. R. im Vgr. auf einer Wiese Cadmus und sein Weib als Drachen. R. im Mgr. der Stier des Cadmus ruhend. Im Hgr. ein Schiff, darauf ein Gott mit Strahlenkranz, der sich gegen eine Frau neigt, die wie Europa gekleidet ist und die Hände abwehrende hebt (143).

Europa appears twice: once as a classically educated reader would tend to think of her, riding, if somewhat staidly, on the back of the transformed Jupiter; and secondly, in a boat with a god. Admittedly the abduction of Europa was the ultimate cause of the founding of Thebes but the concentration of the miniature upon her is the more surprising



when one considers the brevity with which her abduction is treated in the text. Laurent states merely: 'Assez commune chose est envers les ancians historians que Jupiter, roy de l'isle de Crete, ravist et prist par force Europa la fille de Agenor', a sentence which Lydgate expands slightly by reconferring on Jupiter his godhead. Otherwise no further details are given: there is no metamorphosis and nothing to account for her presence in a ship with a god. Edwards' suggestion (144) that this part of the composition represents Cadmus and his wife Hermione sailing into exile after being banished from Thebes is untenable in view of the aureole with which the male figure is surrounded. He is evidently a god. A closer inspection reveals that not only has the artist gone to other sources to find material for the rape of Europa, but he offers two alternative versions.

One version of the rape of Europa is derived from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In Lyons, Bibl. de la Ville MS 742, a fourteenth-century Ovide Moralisé, Europa sits on a bull while her companions look on (145): the basic idea is the same as Sloane. Another version is that given in Des Mulieribus Claris:

... la belle gracieuse uierge vint des montaignes ou elle estoit aux riuages des pheniciens en seignant les tropeaux des grosses bestes de son pere. Et de la fu tantost rauie et mise en une nef de qui lenseigne ou le signe estoit vn toreau blanc.

Here the bull is accounted for by other than supernatural means. BL Royal MS 20 C. v, an early fifteenth-century manuscript, from fol 19r of which I have transcribed Boccaccio's account, has a miniature preceding the chapter on Europa which depicts on the right a youth seen from above the waist reaching out from a ship to seize Europa while an old woman on the left attempts to intervene (146). It provides a visual analogue of sorts to the composition in the background of the miniature in Sloane fol. 7r. Boccaccio is almost certainly the ultimate source. It does not seem probable that the artist of the Sloane fragment or of his model was unaware that the two compositions involved a degree of

reduplication: the figure is dressed the same and is evidently meant to represent the same lady being abducted in two different ways.

The Sloane artist either combined the elements of the composition for himself from various sources or they were already juxtaposed for him in his model. If the latter is the case, the model was not, unlike that for the miniature on fol. 3v, a Des Cas manuscript. Not only is the visual information conveyed unrelated in detail to the contents of Laurent's chapter 6, but where the detail does relate to the story of Cadmus rather than that of Europa, it is derived from Lydgate's rather than Laurent's version. The two dragons with crowned human heads in the bottom right hand corner refer to the transformation of Cadmus and his wife into serpents during their old age (l 2143-49), another allusion to Ovidian material (147). There is nothing about the serpents in either Laurent or Boccaccio. The other element in the composition, a bull, is used symbolically to refer to the whole circumstances of founding Thebes, as is the bull in Harley.

Both the miniatures in the Sloane fragment respond to the text, but in a different way. The illustration on fol 3v provides a synoptic account of the chapter by selecting a major incident, a moment of disaster, from a number of the narratives with which it deals. That on fol. 7r seems to respond in a more quirky way to the chapter by supplying information extraneous but relevant to the text on the one hand, and by referring to the ultimate fate of Cadmus on the other, with a brief allusion to the founding of the city of Thebes. While the first is derived closely from Laurent's text, the second appears to be cobbled together from any source but Laurent. It is possible that both Europa riding her bull and the transformed Cadmus were derived from an Ovid Moralisé manuscript but it is difficult to imagine another context in which scenes from Des Cleres Femmes would be conflated. The question remains a frustrating one: is the composition on fol. 7r., unusual as it is, the result of a purely pragmatic workshop decision or does it

represent a specific interest in aspects of the Europa story which were not present in the text and thought wanting? All that can be said is that the illustration on fol. 3v evidently does seem to be the result of pragmatism -- a convenient model insufficiently adapted for its new context.

Miniatures in the Huntington portion of the manuscript also respond to the text, occasionally in some detail, and, as with the miniature on fol. 7r, to detail present in the English version and not in the French. We have already seen that the illustration of Tantalus on fol. 69r alludes to material fresh to Lydgate's version. Admittedly the composition is a simple one, but it does indicate that, where required, the English text may have been read with some attention. The illustration on fol. 29v is more sophisticated both narratively and formally. It represents an episode in the life of Amazias: in his pride he sent a letter to Jehoash demanding his allegiance. Jehoash responded with the allegory of the thistle demanding the cedar's daughter in marriage to make clear the inappropriateness of the demand. The rest of the story is an implied threat: incensed by the thistle's presumption the wild beasts trod the thistle down. The illustration shows both the receipt of the message and the reply. On the left is a turret-like structure with a wall removed to show Jehoash seated on a throne under a canopy receiving a letter from a kneeling messenger. On the right is a landscape with trees to denote a forest. In the background can be seen a unicorn and tiger; in the middle ground an elephant and lion, two thistles are behind the lion and three more in the foreground. This is a precise evocation of the major incident in the story -- major in the number of lines allocated to it. Previous to the message and reply Lydgate delineates Amazias' pride; after recounting Jehoash's allegory Lydgate exegizes its significance to his own satisfaction -- royalty should not marry persons of low degree and it is this which gives the whole episode its length. Amazias, angered



by the reply, made war on Jehoash, but was taken prisoner.

The story of Amazias in Laurent's Book II chapter 15, to which this section notionally corresponds, is very different. Most importantly, lines 2584 ff. do not refer to anything in the French, being taken partly from the Old Testament and partly from Josephus' De Antiquitatibus (148). Laurent's treatment of Amazias is brief: he merely comments on his imprisonment and death at the hands of Jehoash. The cause of the enmity is not discussed. Thus, not only is the HM illustration at this point responsive to the proportions of the narrative, it is also responsive to the English rather than the French. The miniature on fol. 140v depicting the death of Herod is also precise to the detail of the text, detail which differs slightly from Laurent. According to Lydgate, as a result of the Massacre of the Innocents, a terrible disease was visited on Herod which so maddened him that he tried to commit suicide:

In tokne he was weri of his liff,  
So importable was his mortal peyne,  
To pare an appil he axed a sharp knyff, --  
His malladie did hym so constreyne, --  
Fulli in purpose to kutte his herte in tweyne,  
The knyffe he rauhte, leiser whan he fond; --  
Oon stood beside, backward drouh his hond (VII 225-31)

The illustration proposes a visual equivalent of this which is exact at almost every point. Herod, slightly to the left of centre, is made to look maddened by means of the prancing position of his legs and the scarf-like section of his hat which floats up in the air in an agitated manner. He holds a golden apple in his left hand and a short dagger in his right. On the left a man grasps Herod's right arm with his left to prevent his stabbing himself with the paring knife. On the right is a super-numerary figure: an attendant turning to contemplate the scene. Lydgate's translation of Laurent is here very free. In Laurent we are told merely that Herod wished to put an end to his torment: 'Et certain est que herodes eust soy mesmes tresperce dune espee se archelaus son amy ne eust contregarde et retenu le coup'.

There is no reference to an apple or paring knife. The impression that

this must have been derived from the English text is perhaps confirmed by the presence of a sketch in the margin showing the relationship between Herod and the restraining attendant. The artist was evidently not copying an illustrated exemplar here: the director of the manuscript needed to provide him with guidance for his composition by some other means (149).

On fol. 24v we see the artist at the task of creating an image to accompany another portion of the text interpolated by Lydgate. It comes in the equivalent position to Laurent's Book II chapter 6 'contre les Roys et princes orgueilleux' but bears little resemblance to it. The chapter heading in Harley gives some clue as to the main centre of concern: 'here bochas declarith shortly ... how prynces & euery greet stat that hath Rewle shulde gouerne his peple and his Reem'. The chapter itself is an extended metaphor in which the body politic is viewed as a literal body with princes at the head, knights as arms, judges for eyes, burgesses for a torso, contemplative folk for a soul and labourers as feet and legs (II 827-896). Lydgate used the same imagery in his Life of St Edmund and St Fremund composed while he was engaged on the Fall of Princes. Here the analogy between state and body is used to confirm Edmund as a perfect king (150). In BL Harley 2278 this section receives an illustration. It is one of the more modest pictures in the manuscript, being only eight lines high and is prefaced by:

Thus first of prynces the notable excellence  
And of the cherch the preued perfeccion  
And of the Juges thauyse prouydence  
And of knythod the marcial hih renon  
And of marchantis the hih discrecion  
With all the residue in oon ymage knet  
Wer. by kyng Edmund in ther dew ordre set.

In the picture Edmund himself is turned into the image. He is seated in a landscape on his throne. On his shoulders stand two gilt kings, their swords over their shoulders. Each touches his crown with one hand. On each arm stands a knight, each holding a banner. In the

centre of his chest is a bishop and, directly below, on his stomach is a church. Below that, in his lap, is a boat and on the hem of his robe is a man with a plough.

To construct this image, the artist of Harley 2278 has created a kind of clothed and terrestrial zodiac man. The zodiac man in the Calendar of Nicholas of Lynn (151), for example, is a human figure with representative objects on limbs and torso. Though the miniatures of the later HM 268 probably derive stylistically from Harley 2278 (152), there is little iconographic connection. But the sight of two artists creating a visual equivalent of the same verbal image is an instructive one. In the centre of the HM miniature is a human figure naked except for a loincloth. He holds an orb with a cross on it in his right hand and a palm leaf in his left. He is surrounded by an oval mandorla with acanthus-leaf designs on its ground. There are eight figures on it. At the top two aristocratically dressed seated figures lean towards the apex. Below are two more seated figures: that on the left wears a coif; that on the right has an open book on his knees to which he points with a forefinger -- these are evidently meant to represent judges and scholars. The figures below stand: two figures holding swords, one in plate armour, are followed by two labourers; the peasant on the left has a shovel and pick while that on the right pushes a plough. The central figure is somewhat of a puzzle: the orb confers authority and the palm martyrdom, so his connection with the ideal prince is obscure. The standing figure in the centre of a mandorla with designs on it is, however, reminiscent of the anatomical man on fol. 24v of the *Tres Riches Heures*. Here there are two figures, back to back, and the designs are the signs of the Zodiac, but the general impression is the same. It is an odd co-incidence that both artists set the task of designing an appropriate picture for the same image seem to have adapted a similar kind of prototype.

Enough has been said to indicate that some of the miniatures



are co-ordinated very closely with the text, not only because they provide a generally appropriate composition -- which they do on a number of occasions (153) -- but because they respond quite vividly to textual detail. As has already been argued, the original sequence of miniatures evolved for Des Cas was derived from the text with the purpose of beautifying and clarifying its contents. In view of all this, it seems a reasonable assumption that the illustrations of HM 268 were intended to do the same. It must be admitted, however, that some of the miniatures appear to be arbitrary and haphazard, having no point of contact with the text at all. Since this consorts oddly with the evidence of care in other portions of the manuscript perhaps some explanation may be provided. One minor error of detail can perhaps be quickly accounted for. The illustration on fol. 65v depicts the exile and death of Alcibiades. Like many of the miniatures in this manuscript, it is reasonably complex, being a conflation of what, in fact, are two scenes in Ars. (154). In the background on the left is a single-masted ship with carefully drawn foc's'le and rigging containing three standing figures, one of whom is presumably Alcibiades. In the centre a figure carrying a halberd enters the doorway of Alcibiades' house. Inside the house Alcibiades lies naked in a canopied bed while two figures, one in civilian dress and one in plate mail plunge swords into his chest. The blood spurts out in thin streams. In both Laurent and Lydgate Alcibiades was burnt to death in his bed by his enemies. It is possible that the artist misinterpreted the flames from torches in his model as blood and converted torches into swords as a consequence.

The miniature on fol. 109v is more puzzling. It occurs at the beginning of a section on Antiochus and is described by Bergen as 'Death of Antiochus while robbing the temple of Jupiter at Dodona' (155). The setting is an interior divided into three by two narrow columns. At the back of the central section is an altar on which are two naked idols, one on the left crowned and standing on a crescent

moon; the other on the right painted gilt, wearing a turban and standing on a star-fish like sun. In the centre foreground is another idol falling from the altar. It has a crescent moon and star between its feet and holds a shield in its left hand and a spear in its right. In the foreground on the right is a male figure wearing a conical hat and carrying a staff in the right hand and, to the right, a female figure. On the left are a number of closely congregated male figures. The foremost figure of this group, more lavishly dressed than the others with a gilt hat on his head has a short staff in his right hand with which he is pointing down towards the idol. Before going any further it can be seen that were this composition not contextualized it might well be taken as a picture of some Hebrew prophet or Christian saint proving the potency of his faith against the idols of the heathen.

In fact the miniature does not depict the events of the narrative very clearly. Constantly defeated by Rome, Antiochus resorted to robbing merchants and temples as a means of getting money:

And fro lubiter callid Dodonyan  
Took alle the reliques, the story telle can.

Dide sacrilege & entrid in that cloos  
Withoute reuerence or any obseruaunce  
For which the temple ageyn[es] hym aroos  
And, as it is put in remembraunce,  
Bi the goddis ther fill a gret vengauce  
Vpon this tiraunt, quakyng in his dreed --  
Al sodenli he fill to grounde ded (V 1581-9).

There is very little visual reference to the spoliation -- unless the mysterious falling from the altar of the idol can be construed as such -- and even less to the king's sudden death. Though Lydgate makes it appear that the gods suddenly struck Antiochus down, Laurent attributes his death to a human agency: 'tous les hommes du pay demourans a lenuiron du temple se assemblerent en batailles et soubdainemen[t]e assaillirent le roy antiochus et ses compaignons et tant aduint que le roy antiochus garde du pillage de ce temple cheut mort & fut occis et aussi ses compaignons' (156). This incidentally explains the odd phrase

about 'the temple ageyns hym aroos'. Reference to the source, then, does not account for the loose relationship between picture and text. The only point of contact is the fact that the scene is a temple and that some momentous event is taking place.

Another narrative told in the Fall of Princes accounts much better for the details of this illustration. The main incident in the tragedy of Jeroboam is his encounter with the prophet Jadan. Jeroboam was an idolater who set up two golden calves on an altar. God sent Jadan to rebuke him and warn him that Joshua would destroy his priests:

Afftir this prophete, Iadan, hadde told  
These said[e] signes pleyntli to the kyng,  
His auter fill on pecis manyfold,  
And ouerturned bakward his offrying;  
For which the kyng, furiousli lokyng,  
Put foorth his hand, the story maketh mynde,  
Bad his men the prophete take and bynde

And as he his arm rauht out on lengthe,  
Hadde no power it to withdrawe ageyn (ll 1506-14).

In this case the figure on the left would be Jeroboam and his extended arm would be the paralysed one. The figure on the right would be Jadan and the falling idol would denote the altar falling to pieces. Since all this material is interpolated by Lydgate, no visual parallel is to be found in Des Cas manuscript. Lydgate is, however, quite close to the Biblical account (1 Kings xiii). Unfortunately, the Princeton Index of Christian Art does not have a reference more recent than the mid-fourteenth century. A transcription of the entry for this particular composition will give a clear idea of what appears to have been the regular iconography of this scene. It occurs on fol. 152v of Lillienfeld, Lib., Stiftsbibliothek, 151, Ulrich of Lillienfeld's *Concordantie Caritatis* as part of a composite page:

3. Jeroboam, Hand withered -- Man of God, inscribed, scroll inscribed ORO DNE SANA ILLU in L. hand, R. indicating Jeroboam crowned, name inscribed, foliate sceptre in L. hand, withered R. extended toward draped altar on which are candles in candlesticks (157)

It can be seen that though the use of figures is much sparer, this miniature has the essential element of the HM composition: two men on



opposite sides of the altar while Jeroboam extends his withered right hand. Some versions show the golden calves falling from the altar. The transformation into human idols does not necessarily contradict my arguments. Harley also illustrates the Jadan and Jeroboam episode. Jeroboam is shown seated on his throne while Jadan stands at his right hand. In the foreground an idol is falling from the altar, a representation achieved by painting the devil on a chest altar usual to this manuscript but upside down. As ever, the Harley artist uses his own repertoire of stereotypes.

I have proved to my own satisfaction that, iconographically, the miniature depicts Jeroboam and Jadan, thereby exonerating the artist from a charge of imprecision in this case. Practically speaking, however, the effect is like that produced by the labeller to the Rylands Troy Book manuscript. The exact relationship between picture and text is a puzzle to those who consider the problem carefully: to the more casual viewer the context apparently makes this quite an adequate picture of the death of Antiochus while robbing the temple of Jupiter at Dodone. Unfortunately the section of HM which contained the Jeroboam episode is missing; otherwise it would have been instructive to see the miniature provided here. One of two things may have happened: either the miniatures were carefully co-ordinated with the text and some mistake in production caused the misalignment: or it is the result of a more cynical pragmatism. It is possible that the composition was seen as loosely appropriate and was therefore used, not quite at random, to fill a space.

The iconography of the miniature on fol. 74v seems to be even more complex and context seems to be inadequate to impose meaning on it. It heads Lydgate's equivalent of Laurent's Book III chapter 18 containing the stories of Evagoras, Theo of Egypt, Epominondas and Haman. Since there is no division before Laurent's chapter 19, this section also contains the narrative of Artaxerxes and Cyrus. There is thus

plenty of material from which the artist could create a composition, and as we shall see (158), the miniature prefacing each section does not automatically relate to the first narrative. The composition is divided into two by means of overlapping. In the background is a rectangular flat-roofed structure set corner-on to the picture plane. From a doorway a drawbridge stretches into the foreground on the left; on the drawbridge stands a richly dressed figure with a conical hat and a houppelond with full sleeves gathered at the wrists. His gestures are dramatic -- his arms are at an angle of  $180^{\circ}$ , the right pointing upwards towards the sky and the left downwards. A figure dressed in a red scholar's tunic and black beret falls from the drawbridge, as if flung by the figure on the left.

In the foreground on the right is a totally different scene: a tent in which a figure holding a shield reclines on a couch. His crown is on a post behind the couch. On the left is a kneeling figure; on the right a group of figures behind the tent look in. For some reason Bergen describes the conflated composition as 'Fate of Theo King of Egypt (continuous method)' (159). This is plainly not the case; not many details are provided about King Theo; certainly none which fit this composition. All we are told about Theo is that Fortune induced him to make war on Artaxerxes, he was defeated and fled into Arabia (III 4501-29). An incident later on in the chapter provides a more convincing insight into the subject-matter of the right-hand side of the composition. Of the death of Epominondas we are told:

He was hom born vnto his pauyllioun,  
Al in his armure with blood steyned red  
And on a couch[e] bi his men leid down,  
And gan abraide as he lay half ded:  
'Sires', quod he, 'of o thyng taketh heed,  
Hath any enmy this day in the feeld,  
Whan I was woundid, taken up my sheeld?'

And whan his knihtis hadde told hym nay,  
Bi a maner of knihtli reioysshyng  
He hem comaunded, withoute mor delay  
To his presence that thei sholde it bryng.  
And thereupon ful pitousli lookyng,

Ful lik a kniht, & with a mortal cheere  
He kissid it ... (III 4712-25)

The combination of lassitude, the knight and the shield makes the composition very precise to the text, which is itself a fairly close translation of the French.

There is nothing in the chapter to account for the left-hand side of the composition, even including the stories of Artaxerxes and Cyrus. The only suitable candidate is a brief allusion to Nectanebus in Book IV:

Sauf of his deth[e], Bochas writ riht nouht,  
Remembryng nouthur the tyme nor the date,  
How Alisaundre and he togidre han souht  
The cours of sterris toward eue late  
And how his sone, lik as was his fate,  
Doun from a bregge bi ful mortal wrak  
Cast hym bakward, & so his nekke brak. (IV 722-8)

Not only is the incident extremely brief, it has no counterpart in Laurent. Gower tells the story more fully in Book VI of Confessio Amantis (160). Nectanebus who begot Alexander on Olympias by sorcery was delegated to be his son's tutor. One night he took him up to the top of a tower to teach him astrology, but saw in the stars that he was destined to be killed by his own son. Whereupon Alexander, to confute this prophecy, pushed him off the tower, mocking his lack of prescience as he lay dying -- 'he saugh nat that'. Gower follows the Historia de Preliis at this point (161). This scene received illustration (162). A miniature in the Hague Royal Library 78 .D. 38 made in a Carthusian monastery in Utrecht in 1425 (163) combines the motif of Nectanebus dressed as a scholar falling backwards (here off a hill) with Alexander crowned and pointing up at the sky with his left hand, presumably at the stars Nectanebus has failed accurately to read (164). A copy of this miniature can be found in Brussels Bibl. Royale 9018-23 made in the monastery five years later (165). Both miniatures have a continuous narrative: the second scene is of Alexander carrying the broken body of Nectanebus on his back when he realizes he is his father.



Such a visual parallel as well as the verbal information of Book IV convinces me that, iconographically, the scene is of Alexander killing Nectanebus. Interestingly, the composition seems to have been created with some attention to Lydgate or a parallel source. Nectanebus falls from a drawbridge rather than a hill or tower. According to MED 'brigge' 1(b) means 'a drawbridge (as over the moat of a fortified city or a castle)'. Presumably 'bregge' is a misunderstanding at some point in the transmission of the story of 'berg'. This miniature is more paradoxical than that on fol. 109v. If I am correct in my identification, both components of the miniature relate closely to the text and, in the case of the Alexander half, to the English text at that. We have seen that there is evidence of some attentiveness to the English text in other compositions, but here the scene is not only misplaced, it is misconflated. The folio containing the text about Nectanebus' death at Alexander's hands is unfortunately missing from HM. Were it still extant, some information about the way the miniatures were produced might have been forthcoming. The only way I can account for the conflation of two scenes from two separate books is to suppose that some of the projected compositions were either drawn out individually on separate rough sheets of paper or wax tablets (166) and the artist combined the wrong two into his composition. Alternatively he may have been working from full written instructions on loose leaves at this point which perhaps got disordered (167). It seems reasonable to assume that the miniatures which bear no relationship to the text are a result of a failure in supervision rather than the result of conscious policy.

Some indication of the complexity of the methods used to produce this manuscript has already been given. There is evidence from one of the Sloane miniatures that a French model was used, though I have not found a suitable manuscript. On the other hand there is also the evidence of the sketch by the Herod miniature to suggest that the artist

was working from a far less detailed source, perhaps derived from the text. This is perhaps an appropriate moment at which to review the indications, from internal evidence, as to how the manuscript was produced. There are signs of ingenuity and eclecticism in assembling a cycle from a number of different sources and by a number of different methods. The manuscript shows every sign of being a commercial production where quite a few artists were available: Schulz distinguishes three main styles in the borders and two other borders which do not fit into any of his categories (168). There are indications of at least three methods by which the pictorial cycle was constructed.

(1) The use of models. The French influence in the format, though the location of the miniatures occasionally differs, is not the only French influence in this manuscript. The prefatory illustration to Book III, the struggle between Poverty and Fortune is iconographically dependent on French prototypes. The story is as follows (169): one day, Fortune came across Poverty dressed in rags. Fortune laughed condescendingly at Poverty's plight whereupon Poverty, to demonstrate her independence challenged Fortune to a contest, the victor to bind the other to obey his will. To Fortune's surprise Poverty won, her terms being that Misfortune should be taken from Fortune and bound to a stake so that everyone could thereby recognize how little jurisdiction Fortune in fact has. The illustration in HM shows a number of these events occurring simultaneously. On the left Misfortune sits bound by the wrists to a stake. In the centre foreground, Poverty, dressed in rags, clasps a supine crowned, winged and blindfolded Fortune round the neck with her left hand while resting her left knee in the middle of Fortune's stomach. On the right two observers lean forward apprehensively. This is an almost verbatim transcription of fol. 77v of BL Royal MS. 20 C. iv (170). A search of this manuscript, however, reveals few other convincing parallels (171).

As has already been noted, Roy. 20 C. iv is a slightly expanded short cycle manuscript so that, even were it the identical manuscript

from which the Poverty and Fortune miniature was copied, it could not have supplied the whole cycle for HM. It is, however, possible that Roy. was the very manuscript from which the scene was derived: we know that the manuscript was in England, certainly in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries since the joined initials H R of Henry VII or VIII occur on fol. 1 (172). This is when it came into royal possession: It would be intriguing to know where it was before. But it could only have provided a partial model since some of the miniatures illustrate scenes which refer to incidents in the English but not in the French. This would suggest a certain eclecticism in the construction of the programme.

(2) Instructions to the illustrator. Traces of sketches in the margin remain. They are neither very numerous nor, apart from the Herod illustration, very explicit, but they are further evidence of the means by which the artist received instructions for his compositions. On fol. 72v, the miniature is of a mining scene and a merchant being robbed which contains a figure raising a pick and another leaning on a shovel; there is a small sketch in the margin of a pick and shovel. If this is indeed a direction to the illustrator it suggests a very different procedure from that outlined in (1). The close similarity at all points with Roy. suggests that the artist was merely transferring a model into the manuscript on which he was working; such a brief marginal sketch indicates that the artist was merely being given clues for a composition which it was his task fully to articulate. Perhaps his instructions were supplemented by verbal ones from the director of the atelier; or perhaps this particular sketch is merely a preliminary pen-trial.

The sketches do not always bear a very close relationship to the finished miniature. In the margin on fol. 126r is a crayon sketch which appears to show three standing figures round a lectern, and below that is an axe. The picture as we have it does not correspond in



detail with the sketch (173). In the foreground and centreground on the left are two mountains parallel with each other. Between them a man with an axe like the one in the sketch over his shoulder walks towards a gateway in the background. In the foreground, overlapping the mountain is a standing figure in profile facing left. On the right a tower with the wall cut away abuts the gateway. Inside, a scene of council seems to be going on. In the centre at the back is a seated figure with two standing figures to the right. To the left is a doorway through which can be seen the heads and shoulders of three men. In front of them is a figure holding a letter or document. In the centre foreground is a man with his back to the viewer. The disposition of some of the figures is not unlike that in the sketch, but anything corresponding to the lectern is absent. The whole miniature is puzzling: it is detailed but not narratively clear. It heads a section which includes Gaius Marius and the three Cleopatras and is one of the miniatures the subject of which I cannot fully account for. Bergen (174) describes it as 'Escape of Marius (continuous method)'. The man with the axe may represent the knave sent by Sulla to cut off Marius' head (VI ll. 1126-7); the man lurking on the other side of the mountain may represent Marius though not particularly aptly. The important element about Marius' escape is the theft of an ass from a nearby stable; it would not have been beyond the capabilities of the artist to draw him riding a donkey at least. I cannot venture an opinion on the subject of the scene on the right. There is nothing in the story of Marius that would make the receipt or issuing of a document or a message of particular significance, and yet the sketch appears to relate to this section of the composition (175).

So far we have detected a combination of complete models from an illustrated exemplar of Lydgate's source manuscript and notations in the margins for the artist to flesh out. A third method can also be detected.

(3) The five miniatures on fols 17v - 24v have small Arabic numbers by the top left hand corner of the frame. They run in sequence from 2 to 6 though miniature number 2, Canace writing her letter and her death, is the sixth illustration in the Huntington fragment and the eighth in the incomplete cycle as we have it. It seems possible that these numbers were intended to key into their proper places in the manuscript designs either visual or verbal. Alternatively, these numbers may refer to miniatures already in sequence in a loose quire of an illustrated exemplar. This would account for the fact that the numeration occurs only in this section of the manuscript. I am slightly more inclined towards the first alternative since the sequence of five is an odd mixture of the formulaic and scenes which occur regularly in French manuscripts of the Des Cas combined with reference to incidents which occur only in the English. As with the conflation of scenes on fol. 7r of the Sloane fragment, it is difficult to conceive of a context other than a Fall of Princes manuscript in which these scenes would be amalgamated. We must either postulate a lost illustrated copy of the Fall, a quire of which found its way into the workshop (176), or a separate series of sketches or instructions to which the numbers refer.

The first illustration, that marked '2' on folio 17v depicts Canace writing a letter and killing herself. It relates to material which is not given much prominence in the French and it is achieved by the combination of two fairly simple scenes. Miniature 6 depicts material that is only present in the English -- the body politic seen in terms of a living human body. On the other hand, miniatures 4 and 5 can readily find analogues in French manuscripts. That on fol. 19v, the death of Saul, as we have already seen, is faintly reminiscent of the composition in Royal 20 C. iv. Miniature 5 on fol. 23r prefacing the chapter on Rehoboam depicts a court scene as does Ars. at the equivalent point. HM, however, much more vitally suggests Rehoboam's susceptibility to

flatterers. Whereas *Ars* shows a court scene at Sicheu where the deputies petitioned Rehoboam to treat his subjects well, HM portrays Rehoboam on his throne ignoring the petitioners and paying attention to youthful flatterers. On the left two older councillors, one bearded, converse together some distance from Rehoboam sitting in the centre under a canopy and inclining his head towards the right where a young figure kneels in the foreground while another leans insinuatingly against the throne and whispers in the king's ear (177). A detail suggests a French prototype: Rehoboam holds a distinctive three-thonged whip in his right hand. This may refer to the threat, expressed quite forcibly in the French, but omitted in the English: 'Car se feu mon pere salomon vous a batuz & destrenchiez de verges, ie vous despieceray de scorpions' (178). This miniature which bears some relationship to the French and yet responds vividly to ll 626-44 is different again from miniature 3 which prefaces Book II. Bergen describes this as 'Lydgate presenting his book to Duke Humphrey' (179) though there are no textual reasons why the presentation miniature should come here. Furthermore, although the figure on the right is certainly a monk dressed in the black habit of a Benedictine and is therefore probably Lydgate, he is seated and not kneeling, an odd assertion of equality which the patronage system does not justify. The figure on the left is not an aristocrat: he is a scholar wearing a beret surrounded by the accoutrements of his profession. Although they are both holding the edge of a clasped book it is unclear as to who is presenting it to whom. The miniature either represents Boccaccio/Laurent presenting Lydgate with material, or Lydgate commending his work to Boccaccio/Laurent. At all events, the composition is in many respects an extension of the formula of the writer in his study.

It seemed reasonable to argue that the illustrations to Harley were composed from stereotypes on the basis of the text and that therefore the selection of scenes was to some extent purposive. Even adequate-



ly to describe the miniatures of HM it has been necessary to discuss some of the methods by which the cycle was apparently produced so as to account for the discrepancy between detailed and sophisticatedly narrative miniatures and their occasional failure to respond to the text. Apart from the Gaius Marius illustration, this failure, so far, has revealed itself to be more apparent than actual. A further layer of complexity is added when one contrasts the iconographic meaning of an illustration with its significance in context. In the case of 'Antiochus' the context is superficially adequate; in the case of one half of the 'Theo' miniature, the context is not. A similar miniature presents itself on fol 139r though in this case I am unable to account for the genesis of the iconography.

The story apparently being told does not have much in common with anything in the section to which it refers. The composition is divided into two by a balustrade set along an orthogonal. In the background on the left, a king flanked by two courtiers sits under a canopy and points with his right index finger towards two figures in the foreground. Since one is holding the other by the upper forearm it appears that one figure is being led off by the other under the direction of the king. In the foreground on the left is another king; on the other side of the balustrade on the right the prisoner kneels while a man in plate armour raises a sword preparatory to strike and another drives a sword down into the prisoner's back with both hands. In the background is a small rectangular building the side wall of which has been cut away to reveal a queen leaning slightly backwards as if in distress. Bergen describes this as the 'Death of Anthony and Cleopatra' (180). Since the illustration prefaces a long chapter composed of an abbreviated version of Laurent's Book VI chapter 14 containing Sextus, the triumvirs, and Lucius Paulus; chapter 15 Anthony and Cleopatra; and Book VII chapter 1 Anthony's son Caesarius, Julia, Agrippa, Cassius, Gallus, the identification has the merit of being

superficially appropriate. It is the only story in this section for which the illustration of a queen in distress at the sight of a man's death is significant, though the means of that death is totally inaccurate (181). Whether the slight resemblance to one of the narratives was adequate to aid the reader, or whether context was powerful enough to impose meaning it is impossible to say. It is possible that this miniature represents a totally different scene in the Fall of Princes which I have as yet been unable to identify and was misplaced, as were the other two miniatures I have discussed. It is possible, too, that this miniature was just created arbitrarily to fill a space, though given the clear story which seems to be articulated and the detail involved, this would seem unlikely.

In view of these difficulties, it will be seen that the value of the illustrations as topic indicators and as visual summaries is restricted at some points in the manuscript though in others the miniatures are as detailed and as precise as some of the French manuscripts. I have nevertheless suggested that the miniatures may serve to discriminate between stories by their selection of scenes. The two miniatures in the Sloane fragment show in their different ways how this can be done though there is no exact parallel for their narrative style in the remainder of the manuscript. The miniature on fol. 3r provides a conspectus of some of the narratives contained in the chapter -- and indeed, one which is not -- but the synopsis does not include the stories of Isis, Erysichthon and Danaus' daughters. The illustration of fol. 7r is the most unusual in that it supplies material not in the text and puts the weight of the visual narrative on an incident that is given only minor consideration in the verbal narrative. In the HM section the miniatures operate more in the manner of the French manuscripts. Often they illustrate the first narrative in the section which they preface, as do the illustrations in the Troy Book (182). Occasionally, however, they do not, and then there appears to have been some decision

made about the hierarchy of narratives in a particular section.

This is particularly the case where the sense of chapter division in the English text does not correspond with that of the French. For example, HM divides Laurent Book V chapter 16 half-way through with a miniature at the beginning of the story of Jonathan Maccabeus. The section thus defined includes all the rest of Book V, four more separate chapters in Laurent. There are chapters each of which receives illustration in Ars. and Geneva. Yet it is the last story, the tale of Jugurtha, which provides the subject-matter for this lengthy section, thus giving this story most emphasis. This was either conceived of as the most important moment, or this provided the most convenient prototype. Laurent VI chapters 11-13 are similarly redivided and realigned. The conflation of chapters 12 and 13, the fate of Cicero and a defence of rhetoric, makes a coherent unit. More surprising is the division in half of chapter 11 so that the fate of Caesar's assassins now belongs as part of what is otherwise a thematically consistent whole. The miniature which depicts the death of Cicero serves to re-assert the integrity of the section. The illustration to the equivalent of Laurent Book VIII chapter 2 marks the most important story in what presumably would have been a very long chapter. It depicts Queen Zenobia being led in Aurelius' triumph and in prison, a subject which does not occur until chapter 6 in Laurent. Many of the relevant folios are missing, but the topic of the prefatory miniature seems to indicate that the chapter would have continued to at least this point in HM.

These compositions seem to represent some kind of decision about the relative importance of various narratives. The case of the illustration on fol. 85r serves as a reminder that the sense of division in HM may be rhetorical rather than narrative. This particular chapter combines into one material which is two chapters in Laurent and is often presented separately in English manuscripts also. The first, as the heading in Bodley 263 has it, consists of a complaint: 'Thauctour ageyn



presumpcious [peple and] Princis halding þem-self goddis' (183); the second contains the story of Polycrates. As the miniature illustrates the death of Polycrates, the distinction here is not between two narratives but between moralization and narrative. Since moral abstractions do not give the artist much to work on, it is perhaps unsurprising that it is the anecdote that is illustrated. Yet one wonders why the miniature was placed at l. 939 rather than directly above the section to which it visually refers and which begins at l. 981. Could it be that some means was sought of drawing attention to this section of the text and it was achieved through placement of the miniature rather than the subject-matter? This manuscript, unlike Harley, does not seem to have had a consistent policy of discriminating against the moralizing sections, though, as we have seen, at other points where there is a headnote miniature to such a passage, the artist has had to have recourse to any narrative information he can find.

Where the chapters contain a series of narratives, unless a synoptic illustration is planned, the artist of necessity has to select one particular episode to depict. If it is not the first episode in the section this would suggest that the process of illustration is not entirely a mechanical one: the artist is not responding to the first available piece of narrative information. Even if the discrimination between stories thus arising is produced by considerations such as the models available in the workshop, the result for the reader is the same: visual emphasis is placed on some stories rather than on others. The narrative hierarchy thus created is of necessity less obvious than that in Harley since it does not depend on the sheer quantity of illustration. For example, the translation of Laurent's Book III chapter 15, the first story of which concerns Machaeus and Cartalus, is prefaced by a miniature synoptic of the main events of the story. On the left Cartalus bishop of Tyre is shown paying due reverence to the gods rather than obeying his father immediately; in the centre Cartalus is shown hanging from

the gibbet where his exasperated father had placed him; and in the foreground on the right Machaeus' murder at the hands of his own subjects is shown. Laurent's chapter is then divided by means of a picture so that the next chapter in the English is composed of the stories of Himilco and Hanno. Though Himilco is the subject of the first narrative, he is not the subject of the miniature which shows the feast of Hanno (184). The Hanno episode is much more detailed than the lines dealing with Himilco so the miniature reflects the narrative interest of the text. Thus a notion of hierarchy possibly asserts itself. Not only is Hanno thrown into prominence at the expense of Himilco, but Machaeus is also emphasized by being a discrete unit (185).

It can be seen that many of the issues raised in discussing the construction of the pictorial cycle for the two earliest Des Cas manuscripts are relevant here. At the simplest level the miniatures divide the text into accessible units. At a slightly more sophisticated level they function as the visual equivalent of chapter headings since their subject matter is a detailed, though not consistently reliable, guide to the contents of the ensuing section. In this respect they are part of a sophisticated and decorative indexing system, enabling the reader to find the story that he requires. The reliability of this indexing apparatus seems to have been somewhat modified by the exigencies of workshop practice and the evident complexity of the procedures by which the cycle was constructed. On the other hand, many of the pictures respond to the details of the English poem, suggesting that some attention was given to the actual text. Since many of the illustrations are detailed they provide a careful synopsis of a scene or even scenes. It is thus possible that they were able to operate as aides memoire by reminding a reader of the contents of the ensuing narrative, an extremely useful apparatus to have in a lengthy collection of narratives, as I myself can testify. As not all the narratives receive illustration some discrimination between narratives is inevitably made. If the pictures

are part of the apparatus used to guide the reader through the book, it is instructive to see the parts of the text towards which he is guided. The final question as always remains. To what extent are all these things pragmatic workshop decisions or to what extent are they produced consciously under the shaping eye of a stationer or interested patron? In other words are we dealing with a personal conception of the text or with a version of the text which though it certainly seems at times to offer a 'reading' of the work is a result of chance rather than of design?

#### 5. Other Information Retrieval Systems: The Confessio Amantis

A parallel for this format, the division of a collection of narratives into units headed by a narrative illustration can be found in one other English work: the Confessio Amantis. Later manuscripts of this work provide it with a sophisticated indexing system of the kind I have been describing. The reasons for this are perhaps, at first sight at least, more pressing than for the Fall of Princes since Confessio Amantis represents a complexly multiple process of ordering. Like the Fall, Confessio Amantis is a collection of stories within a moral framework; Gower, like Lydgate, sees one of the tasks of the poet as transmitting to posterity ancient stories whose truth will conduce to virtue (186). Both works draw heavily on classical material and both, by embedding them in another structure present that material in a thoroughly medieval context. Here the comparison ends: Gower's architectonics are more sophisticated than those of Laurent or Lydgate.

So as to impose order on his material, Gower made superb use of a number of the mechanisms by which medieval man habitually ordered his experience. The form of the poem, as implied by the title (187), is that of the confession with its set form of question and response indicated by the repeated rubrication in the margins 'Opponit Confessor', 'Respondet Amans'. To the end that Amans may search his conscience and be absolved he is urged to think of human experience as contained by



the rigid structure of the vices, their various branches and their remedies. This way of ordering experience is a way of ordering thought in the confessional; it is also a way of ordering narratives: Gower can thus organize his stories under a number of thematic headings. Furthermore, the poem takes on overtones of the sermon, since at each point Amans asks to be taught what the sin is before he can confess his relative guilt or innocence. The stories are, in fact, presented as exempla in a penitential framework. Though his form is that of the confession and the sermon, his ostensible theme is that of love. He thus manipulates traditional structures in a new direction: the sins are given familiar names -- Pride, Envy, etc. -- but they are all seen as sins, not against God but against the human beloved. Gower's ultimate theme, however, like that of Lydgate, is, we have seen, the use of power: what constitutes good government.

For this reason, the intrusion of material from a different genre into Gower's carefully constructed moral schema is not arbitrary. Book VII deals with the teachings of 'Aristotle' relevant to the education of a prince. The colophon in some of the manuscripts explicitly draws attention to it: 'Tractat eciam secundum Aristotilem super hiis quibus rex Alexander tam in sui regimen quam aliter eius disciplina edoctus fuit' (188). But though the genre is different, having more in common with such encyclopaedic compilations as Brunetto Latini's Tresor (189), the form is still very much the same. Gower continues to categorize though here he is dealing with branches of knowledge rather than branches of sin. The vices are classified into their various subdivisions and control of the overall schematization is maintained by making the relation of the parts to the whole abundantly clear. Thus Pride has five 'pointz'; Gluttony two major subdivisions, and so on. In the same way the various elements of knowledge are grouped into various headings, though here the mechanism by which Gower breaks down his material into subdivisions is possibly more overt. Knowledge can be

divided into three main categories: 'Theoretique'; 'Rhethorique' and 'Practique'. 'Theoretique' has three sub-divisions: 'Theologie'; 'Physique'; and 'Mathematique', the last of which is divided into four sub-categories, and so on. It will be seen that this is a far more strenuous form of division than is that of the other books. After the discussion of the physical world Gower moves on to its microcosm: the conduct of the well-governed ruler and here the exemplary stories begin to reassert themselves.

While initially following one form of structuring his material, Gower interrupts it with another since, following the tradition of the Roman de la Rose, a study of the forms of knowledge is not inappropriate to a discussion of the forms of love. An indication as to the purpose behind this ordering of material is given in the prologue where Gower himself makes a connection between an orderly presentation of material in a book, memory and knowledge:

For this prologe is so assised  
 That it to wisdom al belongeth:  
 What wysman that it underfongeth,  
 He schal drawe into remembrance  
 The fortune of this worldes chance,  
 The which noman in his persone  
 Mai knowe, but the god al one (66-72)

Admittedly this applies only to a local structure, but it would not be too much to say that Gower regarded the prologue as a microcosm of his whole work (190). Gower's concept of the power of ordered exposition, supplemented, one might add, by the tribute to the power of language in the discussion of rhetoric in Book VIII (191), is more metaphysical and less pragmatic than that of Laurent. Nevertheless, they both share the sense that a work's structure is related to the reader's capacity to remember it.

Given the author's evident concern for the patterning of his material and his careful use of traditional structures -- the dissection of the vices; the sermon; the encyclopedia -- any additional attempt, reflected in the organization of the work in manuscript form, to impose

a structure on the work is doubly of interest. Both New York, Pierpont Morgan MS 126 (microfilm 6) and Oxford, New College MS 266 (microfilm 7) are late manuscripts, dating from the second half of the fifteenth century (192), and bear no relationship to the modest tradition of illustration established for Confessio Amantis earlier in the century (193). The ordering imposed on the text by illustration and decoration may thus bear witness either to a new conception of the text, or to a new conception of how luxury English vernacular manuscripts should look. Since there are two manuscripts, and each approaches the task of providing a full cycle of illustration slightly differently, some insight can be gained into the kinds of decision involved.

It must be immediately observed that both manuscripts provide narrative illustrations. If the new approach to English vernacular texts required only that they be divided into assimilable units in some visually arresting way, a convenient prototype, and one that was used in the earlier manuscripts, immediately presents itself. It would be possible, if some form of visual punctuation or decoration only were desired, to provide some variation of the confessor and Amans stereotype. This would fulfil the function of breaking up the page. But evidently some visual account of the stories was thought appropriate, thus suggesting their more precise function as indexing devices and as possible mnemonic devices. Both manuscripts divide the text up very carefully visually. The format is very similar to that of HM 268 in the combination of narrative illustrations in the text space followed by initials with partial borders. There are, however, in both additional initials and borders which further subdivide the text, though the absence of illustration subordinates these sections in the narrative hierarchy.

And it is largely a narrative hierarchy which is imposed. I have discussed Gowers' careful division of his work. His ordering of matter into eight books is conceptually purposive in a way that Laurent's division of his work into nine books is not: in the latter the stories



are grouped purely chronologically. Yet in these two manuscripts with indexing systems the division into books is consistently subordinated. Like HM, Morgan provides no running titles and, apart from calligraphic explicits and incipits, the beginnings of books are treated like the minor divisions, with a two- to four-line initial attached to a small section of feather work border. New Coll. is more complex: no great play is made of some book division. Near the top of column two on fol. 35v is written in a larger, more formal script: 'Explicit liber primus. Incipit liber secundus' which is followed by an eight-line initial attached to a partial border after the Latin heading. A similar treatment is accorded to the transition between Books II and III, except that Book III only gets a five-line initial, and between IV and V; V and VI; VI and VII; VII and VIII. These initials are no larger than some of those which mark major divisions. On the other hand, the placement of the miniature on fol. 70v is a formal and rhetorical marker in the manner of some of the illustrations in HM. A heading at the bottom of column two on the previous recto announces the beginning of Book IV; at the top of the column one on fol. 70v is a miniature showing Aeneas riding off and Dido killing herself. The picture is positioned so as to serve notice of the beginning of the book rather than the beginning of the story. It marks the abstract discussion of 'Lachesse' rather than the narrative material about Dido and Aeneas.

Other than this neither manuscript pays particular attention to Gower's carefully articulated framework. The modulation between concrete example and moral generalization is much more carefully motivated in Confessio Amantis as part of the penitential format than is the similar modulation in the Fall. The confessor describes the sin and then tells a story to provide it with some moral definition. It is the exemplary story at all points which is illustrated; not the conceptual description. To the charge that abstract categories do not provide the narrative information that exemplary tales do, two answers

can be made: firstly it is often possible to seize on something adequately concrete, as the illustration of Tantalus in HM would exemplify; secondly there is always the question of placement. Why, if not to help in the location of narratives rather than the morally improving framework, do the miniatures head the beginning of the stories rather than the discussion of the sin they define? In other words this particular format converts the Confessio Amantis into a reference manual of classical stories, rather than a collection of stories with an ordered didactic purpose.

As with the Fall there is an excerpting tradition for Confessio Amantis, but here it is the narratives which are excerpted (194), an interest which agrees with the conception of the text offered in these two lavishly illustrated manuscripts. One might incidentally attribute excellent judgement to the late fifteenth-century reader: Lydgate's best writing is contained in his moral envoys and it is these which are usually extracted. One final general point remains to be discussed before considering the individual presentation of the text in each manuscript. That the placement of the miniatures represents a new conception of the poem can, I think, be plausibly argued; but it is certainly true that a new conception of how to present an English vernacular text seems to manifest itself by the middle of the fifteenth century. It is noteworthy for example that the Troy Book only receives extensive illustration in later manuscripts. The illustration for the Fall and Confessio Amantis is a slightly different matter since they are both collections of narratives and the illustration is thus a topic indicator. It is striking, however, that this method of laying books out is commonplace in France by the beginning of the fifteenth century (195).

The decisions facing the devisors of a pictorial cycle for the Confessio Amantis are identical to those facing the devisors of a programme for Laurent's Des Cas. They are confronted with the task of

illustrating a collection of narratives, some of which have received illustration before in other contexts (196), but the precise selection and ordering of which is original. The range of options open to them is similar to that available to the illustrators of Laurent: whether to address themselves to the framework; whether to use the illustrations as structural markers; or whether to allude, reasonably precisely, to the various narratives only. Since this last option, with some minor variations, is the one selected by both manuscripts, it is apparent that the choice of which stories to illustrate becomes an important one. The decision to illustrate one story rather than another, consciously or unconsciously, creates a hierarchy. Though both manuscripts occasionally concur as to which narrative should receive illustration, they appear to be largely independent and thus provide individual solutions to the problem of how to present the text. There are no prestigious French manuscripts available for copying, though they possibly represent an attempt to give a French cast to an indigenous English text.

Morgan M 126 supplies an illustration for practically every story whereas New Coll. 266 does not. There were originally 108 miniatures in the former manuscript, of which nine were cut out around 1771 but seven were subsequently replaced (197). There are still two gaps: on 48v, the story of Constantine and Sylvester; and 171v the cruelty of Leontius. Furthermore, M 126 addresses itself to both levels of the fiction -- the framework of Amans confessing -- as well as to the discrete narratives. It is in some ways an expansion of the original sequence of two miniatures since it retains the illustrations of Nebuchadnezzar's dream and the confession scene, but it deploys them very differently. There are two illustrations in the prologue. Since one is placed at l. 594 and the other at l. 1052, thirty-six lines before the end, it does not seem probable that the miniatures serve a decorative function, imposing a sense of proportion visually on this passage. In



fact, they seem to have been selected with some care. Both relate to narratives, but both narratives, as here presented, have a symbolic function.

The first is, as one might have expected, Nebuchadnezzar's dream, with the usual compositional components, though the statue is of somewhat unusual type. The second depicts Arion's harping bringing concord. On the left is Arion with his harp. In the centre two male figures shake hands while on the right are three tiers of paired animals -- the greyhound with the rabbit; the wolf with the lamb; the lion with the stag. These two miniatures are, in themselves, quite a sensible contrastive pair. They represent two antithetical political states. The first relates to a Biblical prophecy of the world hastening towards its end and embodies in emblematic form the statue as principle of change. To someone of Gower's political conservatism this is intrinsically evil, a falling off from ancient perfection. The classical motif, on the other hand, symbolizes stasis and concord, the ideal state of the kingdom. Through selection these miniatures, incidentally, have a symbolic aspect which they do not have elsewhere in the manuscript. The other two miniatures near the beginning are the only two which do not stand as keynote illustrations for narratives. They do, however, address themselves very literally to the setting of the narrative. On fol. 8v is a picture of Gower meeting Venus and Cupid, the iconography of which refers specifically to lines 139-147 where the god of love pierces him with a fiery dart. On fol. 9r is a Confession picture, which again refers the programme to earlier manuscripts.

Since the pictorial cycle is so extensive, it is possible to see in the failure to illustrate a certain story an element of discrimination between the narratives. It is possible, I think, from the evidence of the treatment of the prologue to see the devisors of the pictorial programme as intelligent and responsive towards the text. There is also an apparently purposive discrimination about where the keynote illustrations

should begin: they do not occur until the deadly sins themselves are involved. Though there are illustratable narratives defining the more generalized sins of the senses, these are passed over in favour of the other method of structuring wrong-doing. With the sin of Pride, the first two exempla, defining the subsidiary vice of Hypocrisy, are carefully picked out with an illustration descriptive of the contents of the narrative. The next sub-section, the sin of Inobedience, has only one exemplum relating to it: the tale of Florent. Surprisingly, in view of its length and its connection with Chaucer, this story has no illustration. The omission does not seem to be the result of practical problems such as the inability of the artist to find suitable models; New Coll. 266, the narrative style of which is considerably less complex than that of M 126, comes up with a composition at this point. It seems possible, then, that the failure to provide an illustration may have been due to lack of interest in the sin of Inobedience, or, more to the point, in the tale of Florent. Similarly, from Book I, the sole exemplum discussing the sin of Vain Glory, Nebuchadnezzar's punishment, is missing though it was a topic of illustration in New Coll.

By discriminating against narratives in the above case, the artist is apparently discriminating against sins also. In the case of the story of Geta and Amphitrion, it is only the first of three stories dealing with Supplantation and therefore seems to betray a sense that this is a less important or interesting example than the tale of the false bachelor and Pope Boniface. Sometimes the discrimination seems to be on the question of length: the story of Tiresias and the snakes (III 361-80); Jupiter, Juno and Tiresias (III 731-67); Phebus and Cornide (III 783-817); and Jupiter and Laar (III 818-830) are all told in a laconic manner so that absence of illustration bespeaks a certain amount of judgement. The illustrations to Book III are, generally speaking, sparser than those to other books. Whereas the first two books have a series of stories defining the sins, with one final story



in each case setting forth the virtue which is the remedy for the sin, Book III is counterpointed throughout with stories descriptive of various virtues. Thus the tale of Socrates and his wife exemplifies patience; Diogenes' replies to Alexander give insight into will ruled by reason; while Athamas and Demophon take advantage of good counsel. All these stories are illustrated, while only four of the stories concerning vices receive pictures in the whole book. The final virtue, mercy, does not, however, receive a picture. Otherwise the programme to Book III seems purposive: to impose proportion on the book by punctuating stories of vice with those of virtue. I cannot discern a pattern to the other omissions (198) but, given the other evidence of intelligent 'editing' I would be reluctant to conclude that they are capricious.

M 126 is not merely a reference manual of narratives. Illustration is also used to provide an indexing system for Book VII, apparatus which intensifies its aspect as a manual of information. Here, admittedly, there appear to have been convenient prototypes for the artist to reduplicate. Under the category of Astronomy comes a discussion of the signs of the zodiac, all of which are fully illustrated at the relevant places in the text. No doubt calendar pictures could have provided convenient models. In the description of the seven stars on fol. 153v which precedes the section on Astronomy, there is a miniature which consists of a blue sky with a strip of landscape at the bottom, in which are seven stars with labels. It would not have taken much ingenuity to construct this; nor would it have taken much ingenuity to provide the fifteen miniatures on fols. 158v-159v which depict stylized stars shining on a city in a landscape. Until the exemplary narratives under the category of 'Practique' there is only one composition which is unsteretyped (199). Two other formulaic ways of providing a miniature are also to be found in this book. Above l. 145 where Gower introduces Mathematics as the third point of Theoretic, is a portrait of a figure in



a study. A similar portrait appears on fol. 155v which is possibly meant to represent Astronomy and draws attention to the section preliminary to the detailed exposition of the twelve signs of the zodiac. This in itself seems evidence of a selective approach towards material and imposes a perfectly sensible hierarchy upon Gower's categorizations. It would have been easy enough to preface every one of Gower's sub-divisions of knowledge with a scholarly figure in his study. In fact, Mathematics, in terms of lines allocated to it, appears to be the most important branch of 'Theoretique' with Astronomy as its most important sub-category.

There is, furthermore, a lengthy passage in Book V where the decorative insertion of single, representative figures would have been perfectly possible. At the end of the tale of Vulcan and Venus a question of Amans' leads Genius to speak of various pagan gods and goddesses. His discussion of the beliefs of the Chaldeans and Egyptians is fairly superficial but as he gets on to the belief of the Greeks he becomes more specific, discussing each god and the major myths associated with him. His stance is euhemeristic: gods are reduced to men, but it still forms a useful compilation of mythological material. The wish to subdivide the text by indicating each discrete unit adds considerably to the quota of partial featherwork borders in the manuscript, but the additional precision of an illustration, even an undifferentiated standing figure, is lacking. It is possible that there was a decorum behind the illustration: Book VII is the encyclopaedic section; it may also be that, to the deviser of the programme Astronomy was more important than mythology.

The illustrations of New Coll 266, possibly supplied by William Abell (200), are much more sparsely scattered throughout the text. Furthermore the manuscript seems to be totally independent of earlier prototypes. No miniature or space left for a miniature occurs on leaves concerning Nebuchadnezzar's dream or Daniel's interpretation of it. There is similarly no indication that a miniature

was ever projected for the leaves which deal with the confession. The manuscript is, however, very damaged. A folio is missing between the folios which are presently numerated 6 and 7. Here Book I originally began. On a line count, calculating forty-six lines per column, four columns per folio, it is possible that a miniature may have been lost. If this is the case, the miniature is an indicator of structure rather than of topic as are the majority of the other pictures in this manuscript since the miniature would probably have marked the beginning of the book.

Discounting this possibility, there were originally thirty miniatures at least, and maybe thirty-three if Macaulay's hypothesis that three miniatures have been cut out of the story of Apollonius of Tyre is correct. Of these only nineteen remain; the rest have been cut out but it is possible to deduce what were the stories that originally received illustration (201). Thus, from the beginning, the majority of the stories were usually decorated by a border only. The presence of miniatures therefore appears a positive discrimination in favour of the stories by providing additional precision, whereas in the case of M 126, failure to provide illustration seemed more of a discrimination against. It is noteworthy that the restricted programme of New Coll 266 occasionally engages with narratives with which the more elaborate programme of M 126 does not concern itself. The first narrative sequence in Book I, concerned with the sin of Hypocrisy, does not receive special attention: it is the tale of Florent, unillustrated in M 126 which gets a picture. Furthermore, the punishment of Nebuchadnezzar, another narrative discriminated against by M 126 was originally illustrated although the miniature has now been cut out. The two manuscripts are thus largely independent in their sense of what were the crucial narratives.

Where they do agree in illustrating the same story they do not always concur in which scene to select. For example, whereas for the

Trump of Death, M 126 shows the King of Hungary dismounting to embrace a pilgrim, the equivalent picture in New Coll. depicts the actual trumpet sounding outside the brother's house. They do, however, correspond as to the placement of the miniature: directly above the narrative to which they relate. The major exception to this is the location of the picture showing Dido's suicide discussed above. Another slight discrepancy involves the two stories in Book VII in which Tarquin figures. The first concerns his betrayal of the citizens of 'Gabie', the second contains the more familiar narrative of the rape of Lucrece. M 126 illustrates both; New Coll. only the first. Since the miniature has been cut out, it is impossible to say what the subject-matter was. It would be interesting to know if the miniature related to the first Tarquin story or whether it acted as a general topic-indicator for the whole of that section by providing a rape of Lucrece scene.

These two Confessio Amantis manuscripts are a useful comparison for the Fall of Princes manuscripts. They represent an approach to a collection of narratives within a framework made in the middle of the century which is formally similar. They also offer a similar perspective on the poem: seeing it largely as a collection of stories which are carefully 'indexed' by means of the additional precision the illustrations offer over chapter headings. Finally, they are not mechanically illustrated; some sort of narrative hierarchy is intimated by both.

#### 6. Other Illustrated Manuscripts of the Fall of Princes.

The formats adopted by the other two manuscripts still to be discussed do not raise the same issues. Rosenbach 439/16 may in some senses be seen as equivalent to the French short cycle manuscripts since it notes the beginnings of all the books except II and VIII with a miniature. The miniatures are, however, unusual among English manuscripts of the Fall and many French manuscripts of Des Cas in that they visually address themselves to the framework rather than to the



narratives contained within that framework (202). With two exceptions we see a series of figures presenting themselves to Boccaccio in his study as he sits with a writing board across his lap, or with some other accoutrement suggesting the act of composition, ready to transcribe their woes. One exception represents a similar conception: the miniature which heads Book III after the prologue depicts Andalus with writing board faced by three students seated on a bench. The artist thus has a formula, that of a seated figure in a chair, which he is able to use in nearly every composition. Though the figure types are simple, the study is constructed with attention to detail. Attention to the framework means that attention to the text need only be minimal; gone is the sense of the Fall of Princes as a collection of narratives; a totally different structure is imposed.

References to the framework as well as to the narratives are not unknown in French manuscripts. BL Add. MS 11696, a manuscript of Laurent's first recension (203) combines both themes. Like Rosenbach, it is a short cycle manuscript though the miniatures to Books VI and IX are missing. Those to VII and VIII are most analogous to the programme in Rosenbach: Book VII depicts Boccaccio sitting in a study while four kings and a queen appear to him; Book VIII shows Boccaccio dictating to a scribe while surrounded by kings, princes and queens, all in various attitudes of distress. The other miniatures, apart from that to Book II, combine a scholar figure with reference to an aspect of the narrative which occurs in the ensuing book. Thus, for example, the illustration to Book IV shows, on the left, a scholar in an interior expounding to four men; on the right is the death of Marcus Manlius treated as a continuous narrative. Similarly, California, Henry E. Huntington Library MS HM 936 which contains ninety-three miniatures pads out its cycle of narrative miniatures with allusions to the frame. The sequence is punctuated by illustrations of people appearing singly or in groups to a standing or occasionally writing figure, presumably

meant to represent Boccaccio (204). This is a convenient stereotype to adopt when wanting to embellish the manuscript without going to the trouble of evolving a more precise composition. With HM 936, it is often the case that where the chapter heading is vague, specifying only that it contains the tales 'd'aulcuns malheureurs nobles', the miniatures are correspondingly vague.

That the artist of Rosenbach may be using formulae for these pragmatic sorts of reason may be perhaps confirmed by the miniature which heads Book IV after the prologue. For some reason it is a narrative miniature, but of a conventional and seemingly random type. It depicts two knights on foot outside a turreted fortress. One holds the other down with his knee and is about to pierce his throat with a sword. Since many short cycle manuscripts allude to the story of Marcus Manlius, the picture may perhaps represent one of his exploits (205) but the connection is arbitrary to say the least.

In view of the reliance of the artist on stereotype the prefatory illustration to Book VI is somewhat surprising. Since this is the only episode in the typical short cycle programme which relates to the frame, Rosenbach, for once, depicts a scene common in French manuscripts: Fortune appearing to Boccaccio. As a slight variation on the formula Boccaccio is shown asleep resting his left elbow on an open book on the table. On the right appears Fortune. Boccaccio's description of Fortune is a genuine contribution to the iconography of this figure, a departure from the usual blindfolded queen turning a wheel (206). Fortune:

auoit les yeulx ardans et sembloit que ilz menassassent  
ceulx quelle regardoit/ fortune auoit la face cruelle et  
horrible/ elle auoit ses cheueulx espes/ longs et pendans  
sur sa bouche. le croy que fortune en son corps auoit cent  
mains et autretant de bras pour donner & pour tollir aux  
hommes les biens mondains et pour abatre en bas & pour  
leuer en haulte les hommes de ce monde. Fortune auoit robe  
de maintes et diuerses couleurs (207)

Many illustrators of the French text do not respond fully to these details, preferring to have recourse to the earlier stereotype (208).

Lydgate's translation of Laurent is accurate in broad outline but slightly different in detail. The verbal reminiscences of Chaucer in 11. 27 and 28 perhaps indicate that his imagination is working at full tilt as he lovingly expands upon one of his favourite tropes: personification of abstractions (209):

Whil Bochas pensiff stood sool in his librarie  
With cheer oppressid, pale in his visage,  
Sumdeel abasshed, alone & solitarie,  
To hym appered a monstrous ymage,  
Partid on tweyne of colour & corage,  
Hir riht[e] side ful of somer flours,  
The tothir oppressid with wyntres stormy shours

Bochas astonid, feerful for to abraide  
Whan he beheeld the wonderful figure  
Of Fortune, thus to hymself he saide:  
'What may this meene? is this a creature  
Or a monstre transffoormyd ageyns nature,  
Whos brennyng eyen sparklyng of ther liht  
As doon sterris the frosti wyntres niht?'

And of hir cheer[e] ful good head he took,  
Hir face seemyng cruel & terrible,  
And bi disdeyn[e] manacyng of look,  
Hir her vntressid, hard, sharp & horrible,  
Froward of shappe, lothsum & odible.  
An hundred handis she hadde on ech part  
In sondri wise hir giftes to depart (VI 15-35)

.....

Hir habit was of manyfold colours (VI 43)

I have quoted Lydgate and his source at length because I want to make two observations: firstly, before discussing her costume Lydgate inserts a reference of a different kind to a symbolically divided body; secondly, though, following Laurent, he mentions Fortune's hundred hands, he fails to specify the hundred arms to which these hands are attached.

The figure of Fortune which appears in Boccaccio's study in Rosenbach is not of the conventional type; nor does it bear any relation to those depictions of Fortune that are accurate to Boccaccio's text. She is naked, with long, flowing hair and her eyes have been painted round with fine vertical lines to make them appear to stare. Her left side is painted with stylized foliage and flowers, her right with brown twigs and branches. Most significantly of all, at the end of each of her two



arms is a collection of hands, hanging like bunches of bananas on a stalk (210). It is clear that the picture is an accurate transcription of the text, and Lydgate's text at that. The portrait fails to reconcile the slight discrepancy between the representational content of Fortune's divided body and her multi-coloured costume; Lydgate prefers symbolism to visual consistency and the artist has wisely decided to choose only one element. The surprising thing is the sudden quickening of interest in the contents of the text at this point. The first miniature, admittedly, also has a more precise reference to the text (Fig. 81): Adam and Eve present themselves to Boccaccio; Adam is actually inside the study while Eve, an apple in her right hand, stands in a landscape with a female-headed serpent twined round the Tree of Knowledge to her right. The artist has thus combined the idea of complaint with the more common iconographic type of Adam and Eve, one on either side of the tree. Here Adam turns away to address Boccaccio, but the idea is similar (211). On the other hand, this reference to conventional iconography further complicates matters. If the artist is familiar with established ways of depicting Adam and Eve, it would seem probable that he would be aware of how Fortune is usually portrayed (212). It seems apparent, therefore, that the decision to depict Fortune in accordance with the text was a conscious one: the artist or devisor was not driven to read the manuscript in order to extract information for the subject-matter of a composition; indeed the evidence of the miniature to Book IV might suggest he would be undeterred by not having a precisely defined content.

The manuscript itself is a late one, dating from c. 1475 (213). It is well set out with generous margins at the bottom and sides. Though not every book is marked with illustrations, the beginning and end of each book is carefully noted by means of incipits and explicits in ornately calligraphic script. Furthermore, these headings denote not only the beginnings and endings of books, but also the beginnings and endings of prologues. As I have pointed out (214), the miniatures

preface the beginnings of the books proper rather than the prologues. At the beginnings of books and chapters are champ initials normally of six lines; there are no decorative borders though sometimes the feather-work sprays to the initials are extremely elaborate. A further decorative feature is the elongation of the ascenders in the line at the top of each page. These and the ascenders and descenders in the incipits and explicits are sometimes surrounded by scrolls which are occasionally filled with phrases such as 'Roy Lavine'. Such phrases also occur in scrolls around the calligraphically embellished ascenders in Morgan M 126. This scribe has been identified as 'Ricardus Franciscus' (215) and I would tentatively ascribe the Rosenbach manuscript to him as well. It might be further noted that the artist of M 126 is Anglo-Flemish (216) as is the artist of Rosenbach, but they are not the same man.

There are no running titles in Rosenbach but after fol. 36v there is the occasional rubricated chapter-heading. These mainly relate to the moral aspects of the text which receive such minimal visual notice in Harley (217). Thus far the apparatus of Rosenbach seems to distinguish it utterly from a manuscript like Harley or HM 268. It is divided conspicuously into books; the usual lack of specific relation between picture and text suggests that it was visual relief from vast areas of script that was required rather than guidance as to the contents of the ensuing book. If anything, the illustration other than the miniature of Fortune at the beginning of Book VI seems to be decorative rather than denotative. Though the miniatures in HM 268 occasionally allude to a section of moral generalization, none of the manuscripts so far have apparatus relating so consistently to the sententious aspects of Lydgate's text. On the other hand, one further aspect of the layout needs to be noted. On fol. 39r and v, containing part of the story of Samson which begins on fol. 38v, the word 'Sampson' appears both in the outer margin and the gutter margin as if it were a running title. From this point on, every relevant proper name which is the main subject

of a narrative appears in this position on the appropriate folios. They are, to some extent, the verbal equivalent of the visual indexing system of Harley, though not, of course, as precise since they refer only to the narrative in general rather than to specific aspects of it. They occur in the same position, in the margin. Though they seem to confirm that an interest in the stories as well as the moral verities provided elsewhere in the poem still governs the production of illustrated manuscripts of the Fall, these marginal running titles do not discriminate between the narratives as the miniatures in other manuscripts do.

The format of Bodley 263, another manuscript dating from about the middle of the century, similarly does not allow for discrimination between narratives. It will be recalled that this manuscript removes the illustrations from context by assembling a number of incidents from Book I into a frontispiece. A description of the scenes contained in the frontispiece (Fig. 82) reveals a modulation between the formulaic and idiosyncratic; a similar modulation to that to be observed in the Rosenbach manuscript.

Twelve scenes from Book I are arranged in four tiers of three scenes. Though the majority of the scenes occur in a landscape, they are divided from each other by means of a river with curl-shaped waves which surrounds the islands on which the characters stand. This indicates that each of the twelve scenes was originally a separate unit and that the artist of Bodley has conflated without cohering them. The twelve subjects have been fully described by Bergen (218) but since the implications of the choice need to be considered I shall briefly recapitulate: (1) A composite unit showing the temptation of Adam and Eve and their expulsion from Paradise; (2) Nimrod watching his tower tumbling down; (3) Noah and his wife in the ark; (4) A crowned knight in plate-armour killing another crowned knight, also in plate-armour. Bergen suggests that they might be intended for Ninus and Zoroaster; (5) Athamas breaking Learchus' bones on a rock while Ino,



carrying her other son, falls backwards into the sea; Ino and her son swimming; (6) Erysichthon eating his own foot, cut off below the knee; (7) Jael murdering Sisera; (8) Althea piercing herself with a sword held in her left hand while casting the brand into the fire with her right; (9) Hercules holding an uprooted tree standing on his own funeral pyre; (10) a simultaneous miniature -- Narcissus gazing into the well and falling in headlong with his legs sticking out; (11) Samson casting down the pillars of the temple; (12) Priam slain while praying in front of the statue of Apollo.

The selection of scenes is very curious. The presence of Priam might suggest that the manuscript from which the artist may have derived his single scenes was a French one and that, as happened with the first miniature in the Sloane fragment, it was insufficiently tailored for its English context. It will be remembered that Lydgate abridges the fall of Priam whereas Laurent devotes a whole chapter and complaint to it. In manuscripts designed to have a miniature at the beginning of most of the chapters, provision is thus made for the death of Priam to be depicted, and in a manuscript like Roy. 20 C. iv it is an incident which is specially picked out (219). On the other hand, in Laurent the stories of Althaea and Hercules occur in the same chapter so that opportunities for illustrating both are more limited. Furthermore, the death of Narcissus follows the English rather than the French text in its allusion to his drowning. More curious is the presence of Noah's ark. It is relevant neither in content nor in the weight given to it in the text: in both Laurent and Lydgate Noah's flood is mentioned very briefly in chapter 5 in the context of the difficulty of finding source material for antedeluvian incidents. At all events, this is not an example of a disastrous fall -- at least not for Noah and his family. A depiction of this scene in the frontispiece is not even superficially appropriate.

One might be tempted to see this as a convenient prototype

seized on by the producer of the manuscript to eke out the compositions required to fill the twelve notional spaces. This might be confirmed by the anonymous pair of knights who fight each other in the first composition of the second row, Noah and his ark, incidentally, being the last composition of the top row. Bergen's surmise about Ninus and Zoroaster is not a convincing one: this is not a major episode. There are, however, few other eligible candidates. Again, it just seems to have been used as a convenient filler. This evidence of pragmatism, the use of compositions appropriate to another version of the text, or not appropriate to this text at all, might indicate that these scenes were assembled into a composite frontispiece for their purely decorative or entertaining quality. A generalized rather than a specific sense of Book I was required. The reader was intended to be lured and intrigued by the series of chaos and sudden death portrayed there to begin and continue to read the text it prefaces. The frontispiece is only partly a visual substitute for a table of contents which its position might otherwise suggest. There is no indication that this manuscript was valued because of the relationship of the text contained in it with Duke Humphrey: the frontispiece concentrates on the narratives contained in the first book rather than a scene of presentation; while both envoys to Duke Humphrey are omitted (220). It is evidently as a collection of stories that the manuscript appears to be represented.

The frontispiece does not, as Bergen claims (221), closely resemble the miniatures in Harley 1766. They are, in fact, by the same artist as HM 268 (222). The difference in approach adopted in the two manuscripts indicates that there was not a formula evolved for the Fall in the same way as for the Troy Book. The folios where equivalent scenes would be painted are often missing in HM and, where they are not, different material was selected or different scenes depicted. The Samson illustration is a case in point: in HM it



conflates three episodes from Samson's life: killing the lion; the riddle -- the dead lion with bees round its mouth; and Delilah cutting his hair; it does not, however, portray Samson destroying the Philistines. None the less, the Narcissus illustration in Bodley is an almost verbatim transcription of two of the three elements in HM. The setting out of the stanzas on the page in Bodley 263 also provides a similar visual impression to HM 268 with its spaces between stanzas and the alternate paraphs, blue flourished red and gold flourished brown.

Unlike HM, however, there is more attention paid to the formal division of the work into books than into smaller units. The chapter headings, though completed, are more selective than the projected sequence in HM, almost without exception relating to the chapters of complaint or moral generalizations. This bespeaks an interest in the text that is at variance with that expressed by the frontispiece. Instead of the collection of narratives promised by the frontispiece, once the first quire is perused, it becomes easier to locate sententious than narrative passages. This kind of apparatus links the later folios of the manuscripts more to the perspective on the text indicated by the interests of the excerpters. Furthermore, the wording of some of the headings is identical to those which appear in the Rosenbach manuscript (223). Though the appearance of chapter-headings is not as integral a part of Fall manuscripts as it is of Des Cas manuscripts and, where they do appear, not as extensive, there is occasionally a consistency of wording between them, suggesting that a rudimentary tradition may have been established in a way it was not for the pictorial cycle (224).

There appear to have been two ways of viewing the Fall in the fifteenth century: as a collection of stories and as a collection of moral generalizations. The apparatus of Bodley 263 links it tentatively with both. It expresses the dual function of literature which became commonplace among literary theorists from Horace onwards and is perhaps



most conveniently expressed for late medieval England by Gower:

Bot for men sein, and soth it is,  
That who that al of wisdom writ  
It dulleth ofte a mannes wit  
To him that schal it aldai rede,  
For thilke cause, if that ye rede,  
I wolde go the middel weie  
And wryte a bok betwen the tweie,  
Somwhat of lust, somewhat of lore (Prol. 12-19).

In this manuscript only a very general sense of the ensuing text proved adequate; extensive indexing systems such as those present in HM 268 and Harley were not required here. That such a treatment of the text was not a workshop formula can be determined by the fact that Bodley and HM 268 share the same artist.

The patterns of reading of the Fall as deducible from manuscript evidence, seem to be different from that suggested by manuscript of the Troy Book other than Rylands Eng. 1. Some of the manuscripts present the text as a collection of stories already anthologized, as it were, by means of a visual index. It is to be noted that, in the English, as in the French, the selection of a scene from a narrative as a topic indicator usually involves a gory or gruesome scene. The latter illustrations of Harley 1766 in particular almost invariably involve a decapitation or mutilation (225) and HM 268 has its fair share of grisly moments (226). This presumably added to the entertainment value of these manuscripts. Only Rosenbach omits visual allusion to death and disaster. The decorum preserved by this manuscript is of a very different kind. The large pattern of formal division into books, early adopted by the French manuscripts, is ignored by Harley and HM 268 and is only of importance for Bodley 263 and the Rosenbach manuscript. But it is only this latter manuscript which presents the text as blocks of stories rather than collections of individual stories. In both the Troy Book and the Fall the miniatures serve to indicate a hierarchy, but whereas in the Troy Book the hierarchy is a structural one, in the Fall, though illustrations indicate structure,

the hierarchy serves to discriminate between stories. Finally, the illustrations, in HM. in particular, help to recall the essential outline of certain stories to the reader already familiar with the story. In this way they may have acted as visual mnemonics.

## CONCLUSION

The evidence of manuscript illustration has been used by critics such as D.W. Robertson, J.V. Fleming and Rosemond Tuve in an attempt to recover the meaning of medieval texts to their original audience. This thesis, by analyzing manuscripts or groups of manuscripts in detail, has tried to assess the legitimacy of such a method. The difficulty of making any general pronouncement on the relationship between text and image in medieval manuscripts can be demonstrated by the extent to which the three broad categories of functions which illustrations may have served -- decorative, interpretative, and organizational -- overlap.

At first sight, the miniatures in the Troy Book manuscripts may seem to be an entirely decorative feature. Here, one might have thought, is a prime example of Bühler's notion of the magnificent book as an item of furniture. Many of the manuscripts lack the tables of contents, running-titles and chapter headings which make a lengthy work easy to consult. Furthermore, there is an emphasis on relating the text to its milieu in the emphasis on the circumstances of presentation in the pictorial cycle. Yet the idiosyncrasies of the programme in Royal 18 D.ii demonstrate that at least one patron took a more personal interest in the miniatures. Moreover, in dividing the poem up into its constituent Books, the illustrations are an important part of the organizational devices by which the text is separated into units. This is particularly marked in the case of Rylands Eng. 1 where the pictures become visual chapter headings and where the labelling contributes to the utility of the apparatus. The miniatures can therefore be used as an aid in locating the required portion of the text as well as providing a parallel visual narrative for those readers already familiar with the contents of the poem. They thus form a crucial part of the apparatus designed to guide the reader through the work. This concern with structure is confirmed by the correlation between the positioning of the illustrations and the location of decorative initials in earlier manuscripts.



A combination of decoration and utility can be found in Master of Game manuscripts. Though the illustrations to the text itself presumably formed a source of additional enjoyment rather than of information, the frontispieces of Bodley 546 indicate that miniatures may have been used as an aid in recalling categories or groupings. The illustrated prologue in Cotton Vespasian B. xii would confirm this point. Naturally, the function of decoration is one that all miniatures in all illustrated manuscripts would have served; it is, however, apparent that it is difficult to dismiss any illustration as being purely for the sake of embellishment.

The second category, that of interpretation, is equally complex. There is little doubt that the illustrations for medieval texts were often produced in circumstances which did not encourage a close congruence between the meaning of the text and the meaning of the image. In a manuscript like Cotton Nero A. x where the selection of scene was evidently important but the detailed working out of the composition is at variance with textual detail, this discrepancy is particularly apparent. In manuscripts where a cycle had to be evolved de novo, the tendency to recombine the visual clichés of the artist into a broadly appropriate scene becomes noticeable. The analysis of the compositional mannerisms of the artists of Rylands Eng. 1 and of Harley 3954, a manuscript containing Mandeville's Travels, supports this observation. A similar use of the generally appropriate rather than the specifically relevant scene can be found in CUL Kk.i.7, a Pèlerinage de l'Âme manuscript, where iconography of the Last Judgment is substituted for the judgment of the individual soul.

None the less the selection of the actual narrative moment to illustrate may well play an important rôle in creating a 'reading' of a text. Despite all the evidence of expediency and pragmatic use of formulae in the construction of the pictures in Harley 3954, Royal 17 C. xxxviii and the Alexander B section of Bodley 264, the interpretation

of the text which emerges is too consistent to be the result of mere chance. The devisor of the cycle or the patron who commissioned the manuscript evidently had a clear idea about how the text should be presented. It is impossible to use miniatures to make fine critical discriminations, but the decision to illustrate one part of a work rather than another is itself a critical act. Though moduli are used in devising the actual compositions, the selection of scene may offer one way of reconstructing possible audience responses to texts in the Middle Ages. In the case of Mandeville's Travels, manuscript evidence suggests a plurality of possible response.

It is not only the selection of narrative moments that may create a reading of a literary work. The devisor of the sequence of pilgrims in the Ellesmere manuscript of the Canterbury Tales was, in effect, one of the earliest readers of the poem. In his decision to concentrate on the fictional context in which the tales were recounted, rather than their content, he provided a principle of organization for the whole work. He was able to suggest the homogeneity as well as the diversity of the collection. The illustrations are distributed throughout the manuscript, yet each pilgrim portrait, in the main, forms a useful visual key to details in the 'General Prologue'.

This stress on unity in a text which contains a variety of narratives is unusual. The increasing tendency, as the fifteenth century progresses, is to stress the division of such a text into narrative units by providing an illustration which offers a visual synopsis of the story to follow. This is the way the Fall of Princes is presented in Huntington HM 268 where the size and placement of the miniatures serves to impose a narrative hierarchy. A similar discrimination between narratives can be observed in Harley 1766 but here the illustrations have been co-ordinated with the table of contents so they form part of the indexing apparatus of the manuscript. In both manuscripts the stories are ordered in importance and in both the illustrations are a

major part of the means by which the text is organized into accessible units for the reader.

These two Fall of Princes manuscripts, together with a New Coll. 266 and Pierpont Morgan M 126 of the Confessio Amantis and Rylands Eng.1, represent the culmination of the use of visual devices to aid the reader in locating required portions of a text. In their provision of narrative synopses the miniatures may have served as aides memoire, enabling the reader to recall at a glance the contents of the ensuing portion of text. Equally importantly they may represent a new concept of how a luxury text in the English vernacular should be designed. The profusion of the narrative miniatures and their distribution throughout the text would seem to relate these manuscripts to Ignatius' notion of new eye-oriented ideas of reading. Just as the 'Auchinleck' manuscript may have been an attempt to emulate fourteenth-century French book design, so these manuscripts may represent a translation into an English context of new concepts of manuscript layout to be observed in early fifteenth-century French texts such as the works of Christine de Pizan and Laurent de Premierfait. Some of these new ideas, particularly the multiplication of illustrations can be seen in later manuscripts of the Roman de la Rose. Kuhn's observations about the importance of scenes of classical narrative to later purchasers of the Roman may shed additional light on the design of HM 268, New Coll. 266, Pierpont Morgan M 126 and Rylands Eng. 1. The illustrative programme facilitates their use as florilegia of classical stories.

The attempt to recover the meaning of a text to its original audience is a complex one: the presentation of texts such as Mandeville's Travels and the Fall of Princes, which seems to have been viewed either as a collection of narratives or as a compilation of moral sententiae, suggests the diversity of possible interpretation. Furthermore, a knowledge of developments in the design of secular books in general would contribute significantly to the analysis of individual manuscripts.



Such a study has yet to be written.