

TEXT AND IMAGE IN LATE MEDIAEVAL  
ENGLISH VERNACULAR LITERARY MANUSCRIPTS

FOUR VOLUMES

VOLUME TWO

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APPENDIX 1

In this appendix I correlate the occurrence of champ initials in eleven Troy Book manuscripts and woodcuts in Pynson's print of the text to demonstrate the degree of agreement involved in their placement. The manuscripts are arranged in the order in which they appear in Bergen, using his abbreviation. In K the Lydgate text begins at l 1689 and ends at IV 5337, the remainder being supplied from Barbour's version. In H1 the text begins at l 3444 and spaces only are left for champ initials which were never completed. Cr. shows the major difference in layout: on every page where a miniature occurs, there is a blue or pink initial on a gold ground attached to a border; on other pages there are gold initials on a blue and red ground with champ sprays. Thus a hierarchy is indicated, the more important section of the text being associated with a miniature. Pynson's print (Py.) also suggests a hierarchy by means of chapter-headings and associated woodcuts, as opposed to other areas of the text indicated by large, sometimes decorative, initials.

Symbols

Miniatures with borders in Cr.; woodcuts in Py.;

champ initials in other manuscripts \*

Champ initials in Cr.; decorative initials in Py. +

Portion of text missing A

	C	D2	Rawl	A	R1	T	H1	D1	Cr.	R2	K	Py.
Prologue l												
0 mighty Mars that												
wyth thy sterne lyght	*	*	*	*	*	*		A	*	*		*
l l												
In þe regne & lond of												
Thesalye	*	*	*	A	*	*		*	*	*		*

		C	D2	Raw11	A	R1	T	H1	D1	Cr.	R2	K	Py.
1 121	By-cause he was												
	croked, lame & blynde	*	*	*	A		*						*
1 429	Cosyn Iason, take hed												
	what I schal seyn	*	*	*	*		*		*	*	*		*
1 511	When Iason had his												
	vncle vnderstonde				*				*	+	*		+
1 623	The tyme of 3 <sup>er</sup> , whan												
	þe schene sonne	*	*	*	*		*		*	*	*		+
1 723	Whan Hercules and												
	Iason on his hond	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*		*
1 977	The wise, worthi,												
	moste famos of renoun	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	+	*		*
1 1015	Whan Iason herd of												
	þe massanger				*	*			*	*	*		+
1 1095	'My frende' quod he,												
	'I have wel vnderst-						*			+			
	ande												
1 1197	The ny <sub>3</sub> t ypassed, at												
	spryngyng of þe day	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*		+
1 1242	Now in þis Ile, and												
	þis litel Ionde		*	*	*		*		*	+	*		+
1 1345	Whan þat þe kyng												
	hath sothly												
	vnderstonde	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*		+
1 1409	Ry <sub>3</sub> t worthi prince,												
	present in þis place	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	+	*		+
1 1449	And when þe kyng had												
	herd ceryously									+			



		C.	D2	Rawl	A	R1	T	H1	D1	Cr.	R2	K	Py.
I 1513	The tyme aprochep, & gan to nei <sub>3</sub> en faste	*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		+
I 1689	Be-cause of certein intersecaciouns											*	
I 1801	Whan hir fader hadde for hir sent								*	+	*		
I 1823	But o, allas, þer lakked hi <sub>3</sub> prudence					*							
I 1881	þei wil not cesse til al be assaied					*							
I 2097	þus liketh Guydo of wommen for tendite												+
I 2277	For on a day, after meridien								*	+	*		
I 2297	'lason,' quod she, 'of þin hi <sub>3</sub> e noblesse					*							*
I 2372	To whom lason with [ful] humble chere								*	*	*		+
I 2417	'þanne', quod sche, 'ful wysly in <sub>3</sub> our herte								*	+	*		+
I 2449	And lason þan, sitting at þe borde								*	+	*		+
I 2499	'þan', quod sche, 'sythen it is so								*	+	*		+
I 2549	' <sub>3</sub> is, sothly, lady,' seid lason tho								*	+	*		
I 2553	'þanne', quod sche, 'þer is no more to seyne												+

		C	D2	Rawl	A	R1	T	H1	D1	Cr.	R2	K	Py.
I 2583	'Sothly', quod Iason, 'al þis schal be do								*	+	*		+
I 2652	And whan sche sawe his grete stedfastnesse								*	+	*		
I 2695	To whom Iason lowly gan tencline								*	+	*		+
I 2723	þe mydday hoor is goon and ouerslide								*	*	*		
I 2813	Whan þat þe cok, comoun astrologer	*	*	*	*	*	*					*	+
I 2988	'Myn owne Iason, vnto me more dere					*							
I 3093	Whan þat þe rowes and þe raies rede	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	A	*	+
I 3159	And whan Iason had [de] herde þe kynge								*	+	A		
I 3201	Whan Titan had, with his fervent hete	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	A	*	+
I 3430	And whan Appollo of his daies arke	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	A	*	+
I 3589	And whan Iason after his Iourne	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	A		*
I 3721	First whan Iason & Hercules also	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	A	*	+
I 3789	And Pelleus, with- oute more abode								*	+	A		
I 3907	Whan þat þe soote stormes of Aprille	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	A	*	*

		C	D2	Raw11	A	R1	T	H1	D1	Cr.	R2	K	Py.
I 3957	And in þe morwe, whan þe larke song	*	*	*	*	*	*	*			A	*	+
I 3979	'O noble & worþi, of hi <sub>3</sub> e estate & lowe				*			*		+	A		
I 4063	And Lamedoun, whan he herde telle				*								*
I 4067	And whan þei were assemblid in þe felde							*		*	A		
I 4281	And in al hast, þis cruel Hercules							*		+			
II 1	The envious ordre of Fortunat meving	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	A	*	*
II 203	The same tyme whan þat Troye toun	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	+
II 385	And whiles Priam at þe sege laye				*					+			
II 479	The sorwe aswaged, & þe sy <sub>3</sub> es olde	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
II 711	Gold-smythes first, & riche lowellers				*								
II 731	And þoru <sub>3</sub> þis toun, so riche & excellent				*								
II 769	And to enhabite þis royal chef cite				*								
II 869	þe noble dedis, þat wer historial				*								
II 927	But I will furthe of þis story wryte				*	*							+

		C	D2	Rawl1	A	R1	T	H1	D1	Cr.	R2	K	Py.
11 1067	O hatful harm, whiche most is for to drede	*	*	*	*	*	*	A	*	*	*	*	*
11 1145	'O worþi lordis, þat ben [now] here present					*				+			
11 1323	This Troyan kny <sub>3</sub> t astonyed neuer-adel	*	*	A	*	*	*	A	*	*	*	*	+
11 1384	Whan Pelleus hym pleynly vnderstod								*	+			
11 1425	'Sir', quod he, 'with support of <sub>3</sub> our grace								*	+			
11 1559	'þe nobil kyng of Troye þe cite								*	+			
11 1661	'O þou', quod he, 'with alle þi wordis white								*	+			
11 1697	It was not holsom lenger to abide									*			
11 1745	This Anthenor hap first made mencion	*	*	*	*	*	*	A	*	+	*	*	+
11 1797	But seye, Priam, what infelicite								*	+			
11 1903	This worþi kyng, ever of o sentence	*	*	*	*	*	*	A	*	*	*	*	+
11 2063	Kyng Priamus, makyng þus his mone	*	*	*	*	*	*	A	*	*	*	*	+
11 2097	My dere sonys, so lovyng & so kynde									+			
11 2183	My owne lord, & my fader dere									+			

		C	D2	Rawl1	A	R1	T	H1	D1	Cr.	R2	K	Py.
11 2305	And whan Hector, by ful hi <sub>3</sub> e prudence	*	*	*	*	*	*	A	*	*	*	*	+
11 2369	First, <sub>3</sub> if þat <sub>3</sub> e remembryn in <sub>3</sub> our mynde					*							
11 2635	'Parys', quod he, 'lifte vp þin eye and se					*							
11 2711	But herk[e], frist, or þat þou procede								*	+			
11 2847	'My lord', quod he, ' <sub>3</sub> if þat every wi <sub>3</sub> t									+			
11 2898	And þanne as fast, ful discrete & sage									+			
11 2927	þe goddis han, by revelacioun					*							
11 3001	'O noble & worpi, sittyng enviroun									+			
11 3095	'O noble liges, beyng now present								*	+			
11 3161	'My lige lord, vn-to <sub>3</sub> our hi <sub>3</sub> e noblesse								*	+			
11 3319	The tyme aprocheþ whan þe sonne schene	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
11 3471	Ful wel be-seyn, & in kni <sub>3</sub> tly wyse					*							
11 3575	O mortal harme, þat most is for to drede		*			*				+			



		C	D2	Raw11	A	R1	T	H1	D1	Cr.	R2	K	Py.
11 3755	'Sirs', quod he, 'schortly to express	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		+
11 3975	'Now lady myn', panne quod Parys										+		
11 4097	Whan þe quene þat callid is Eleyne	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
11 4255	The vnhappy tyme & þe same while	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	+
11 4509	But for as-moche as Dares Frigius	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
11 4779	And first he seith how kyng Priamus				*				*	+			*
11 5067	The tyme nei <sub>3</sub> ep aftir þis nat <sub>3</sub> ore	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	+
11 5209	þe famous kyng, grete Agamenoun				*								+
11 5239	'Sirs', quod he, 'I praye <sub>3</sub> ou takeþ hede				*	*			*	+			+
11 5391	After þe tyme þat Agamenoun	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
11 5935	And to þe story resortep sone ageyn				*								+
11 5941	Of þe prestis þei han her counseil take					*							
11 5971	Of whiche answe Achilles glad & li <sub>3</sub> t				*								+
11 6055	Til on þe morwe, after þe sterry ny <sub>3</sub> t				*			*					+

		C	D2	Raw11	A	R1	T	H1	D1	Cr.	R2	K	Py.
11 6067	'O sirs', quod he,												
	'and my lordis dere				*	*				+			+
11 6153	And alle attonys þei												
	ben condescendid				*							*	*
11 6256	And swiche tyme												
	Agamenoun hath take						*						
11 6341	And to saille towarde												
	Tenedoun						*						
11 6395	Til at þe last, for												
	þei were so fewe					*							+
11 6500	And after þis, þe												
	kyng lete make a crye												*
11 6517	'Sirs', quod he, 'ful												
	worþi of degre	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	+	*		+
11 6613	And <sub>3</sub> it þis wordis to												
	<sub>3</sub> ou I nat sey						*						+
11 6669	And for al þis, <sub>3</sub> it												
	ne wite we						*						+
11 6715	But <sub>3</sub> it to forn, I												
	conseil takeþ hede						*						+
11 6751	And in þis court,												
	bilt so rially						*						
11 6823	Not forberyng presence												
	of þe kyng						*					*	
11 6824	Merueille nat nor haue												
	no wondring					*							+
11 6878	An- sodeinly kyng												
	Priamus abreide					*							+



		C	D2	Rawl	A	R1	T	H1	D1	Cr.	R2	K	Py.
11 6966	And Dyamedes þo began to smyle				*								+
11 6992	But þan in haste ageyn þis Dyamede				*								+
11 7039	And sodeinly þanne Eneas aros												+
11 7076	To whom anon ful proudly, Dyomede				*								+
11 7096	And þo Vlixes of þis Dyomede				*								+
11 7122	But or þat I make þer-of mynde				*								+
11 7163	As bokes olde make mencioun											*	
11 7164	But now ageyn to Agamenoun				*								*
11 7172	And seide, 'Sirs, amongis opir þinges									+			
11 7395	'Sirs' quod he, 'full worþi of degre					*				+			
11 7531	'Here lyth Teutran þe kyng, dout[e]les					*							
11 7562	Al-be þat he, liche as seith Guydo												+
11 7575	And after þis, to Agamenoun				*	*							
11 7611	And reherse how Dares Frigius									+			

		C	D2	Rawl	A	R1	T	H1	D1	Cr.	R2	K	Py.
11 7619	As in Dares plainly is made mynde					*							
11 7849	Wherfore, <sub>3</sub> e listers, taketh now good hede					*	*						
11 7941	'Sirs', quod he, 'pat be now here present									+			
11 8015	The next[e] morwe, wonderly be- tyme	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
11 8389	Til Perseus, of Ethiope kyng					*							+
11 8547	At whos partyng, Grekis eft preswme					*							+
11 8646	And in þis tyme, king Agamenoun					*							
111 1	Whan Aurora, with hir pale li <sub>3</sub> t	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
111 120	And whan Ector sawe pat al was wel									+			
111 535	And in her drede þus I lete hem dwelle					*							
111 536	And of Grekis furþe I wil <sub>3</sub> ou telle												+
111 563	þe manly kni <sub>3</sub> t, gret Agamenoun					*						*	
111 743	Eueryche warde stondynge in his place					*							
111 821	O gredy Iyoun, o wolfe most rauenous					*		*	*	*			

		C	D2	Rawl1	A	R1	T	H1	D1	Cr.	R2	K	Py.
III 1304	'O flour of kni <sub>3</sub> thod, rote of hardynesse					*				+			+
III 1775	And panne in haste, pis worbi Priamus					*							+
III 1779	Towards Grekis hath þe weye take					*							
III 1893	'O þow traytour, þe hour aprocheþ faste					*				+			
III 1983	Allas, freel, deuoide of sikernesse									+			
III 2061	Tokne or signe, or som apparence					*							
III 2147	þei han matere to compleyne sore												*
III 2160	Til on þe morwe Tytan, clere & bri <sub>3</sub> t							*					
III 2188	In whiche space, I fynde, how Achilles									+			
III 2251	And seide, 'allas' ful ofte, & 'wellawey'					*							
III 2319	And, first of al, how Pallamydes					*	*						+
III 2365	Like as þis stori makeþ mencion	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	+
III 2667	Whan Esperus, þe faire bri <sub>3</sub> t[e] sterre	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	+
III 2682	At whiche tyme Agamenoun þe kyng												+

		C	D2	Rawl1	A	R1	T	H1	D1	Cr.	R2	K	Py.
111 2745	Whan Aurora, with siluer dropes schene	*		*	*	*	*	*	*	+	*	*	*
111 2823	Repreued hath þis Troyan kni <sub>3</sub> t Enee				*								
111 3103	Til on þe morwe, þat þe rowes rede				*		*				*	*	
111 3279	To her meschef and confusioun				*								
111 3323	Whanne dried was þe lusty large pleyne	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	+
111 3411	So my <sub>3</sub> tely to falle on hem of Troye				*								
111 3485	While þei of Troye by help of þis archer				*								
111 3565	þat Phebus gan his bri <sub>3</sub> t[e] bemys shewe				*		*						
111 3573	þe rody morwe, til þe hote bemys											*	
111 3609	<sub>3</sub> if kyng Priam þer-to wolde assent.				*								
111 3665	þei fil in trete and in comwnyng				*								
111 3755	The trew affermyd, as <sub>3</sub> e han herd deuse	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
111 3875	'Sir Achilles, with- outen any faille									+			
111 4075	Allas Fortune gery and vnstable	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		+

		C	D2	Rawl1	A	R1	T	H1	D1	Cr.	R2	K	Py.
111	4197												
						*							
111	4263					*							
111	4449					*	*	*	*	*	+	*	*
		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
111	4575					*							
111	4645					*							
111	4743					*							
111	4759												
										+			
111	4815					*							
111	4889					*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
111	5027					*							
111	5204					*							
111	5423					*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
111	5579					*							
IV	1					*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

		C	D2	Rawl1	A	R1	T	H1	D1	Cr.	R2	K	Py.
IV 49	Now laude and honour to þe goddis alle								*	+	*		
IV 111	And while þe trewe endureth & þe pes								*	+	*		
IV 153	'Sothly', quod he, ' <sub>3</sub> if <sub>3</sub> <sup>e</sup> taken hede					*			*	+	*		
IV 263	At whiche tyme a conseil general								*	+	*		
IV 343	The trews passid and y-werid oute	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*	*	*
IV 545	At whiche tyme, with ful gret delyt					*			*	*	*		+
IV 653	'Allas', quod he 'how me is wo be-goon								*	+			
IV 785	And whan þe quene hath knownen his entent								*	+	*		
IV 791	'My frend', quod she, 'touching þi request					*							
IV 959	þis Achilles hath his tale gone					*	*						+
IV 1135	To whom anoon kyng Menelaus					*			*	+	*		
IV 1223	Dvring in oon þe dedly cruel hate	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	+
IV 1317	'O broþer myn, whom þat I louede so					*			*	+	*		
IV 1595	But Priam hath with gret[e] dilligence					*			*	+	*		



		C	D2	Rawl	A	R1	T	H1	D1	Cr.	R2	K	Py.
IV 1617	And after [pat] þei made no lettynge								*		*		
IV 1647	þat Troylus eft, most manly in bataille										*		
IV 1681	Agamenoun, as Guydo list endyte	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	+	*	*	+
IV 1701	Sir Achilles, most renomed of glorie								*	*	*		
IV 1806	And þan anon, þe hardy ferse Achille								*	+	*		
IV 1897	And þei anoon, with short conclusioun								*	+	*		
IV 1921	Now þat Hector and Dephebus were dede					*							+
IV 1978	And with þat word, Calchas gan to rise					*							+
IV 1981	'A, worþi princes, what þinke 3e to done								*	+	*		
IV 2029	The trewes passid of þe monþes tweyne	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	+
IV 2401	The cruel force & the mortal Ire	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
IV 2499	þe dredful noise and þe woful soun					*							
IV 2524	'Allas', quod he, 'how may 3e sustene								*	*	*		
IV 2589	And al þis while, for þis sodeyne þing					*							+



		C	D2	Rawl1	A	R1	T	H1	D1	Cr.	R2	K	Py.
IV 2627	Vp-on Troylus, þat stak ay in his mynde					*							
IV 2737	But þo, allas! what my <sub>3</sub> t his force avail					*							
IV 2763	And cast it forþe of cursed cruel herte					*							
IV 2784	O þou, Omer, for shame be now red					*							+
IV 2878	'O þou traitour! o þou scorpioun!					*							
IV 2991	But I wil telle how Grekis do þat day					*	*						+
IV 3083	King Priamvs dide his besy cure					*							*
IV 3107	'Parys', quod she, 'allas, sauf Goddis wille						*		*	*	*		
IV 3249	To Achilles of stonys precious						*						
IV 3271	'Sirs', quod he, 'Fortunys variaunce					*			*	*	*		+
IV 3363	The tyme of <sub>3</sub> er whan þe shene sonne	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
IV 3418	And Priamus wiyh hem of Troye toun					*							+
IV 3533	'Parys', quod he, 'as þis mortal wounde					*							
IV 3600	Now alle þe sonys of Priamus wer goon!					*							+

		C	D2	Rawl	A	R1	T	H1	D1	Cr.	R2	K	Py.
IV 3736	And telle I wil how kyng Priamus				*								*
IV 3749	Requeryng hym, of manhod like a kny <sub>3</sub> t					*							
IV 3879	And first of alle worpi Meneste				*								+
IV 3981	Born to be eyer of pis Achilles					*							
IV 4133	'O pou Pirre, sone of Achilles								*	+	*		
IV 4193	But po in hast pe kyng Phylmene								*		*		
IV 4279	The fatal hour, harde for to remewe	*	*	*	*		*	*	*	*	*	*	+
IV 4366	O <sub>3</sub> <sup>e</sup> Troyens! <sub>3</sub> <sup>e</sup> stonden in gret drede				*								+
IV 4440	O cruel Mars, pat hast made for to fyne				*								+
IV 4567	And here-vpon pei han her weie nome								*	+			
IV 4581	But, o allas! of fals iniquite				*								+
IV 4637	For on a day whan pat Priamus					*			*	*			
IV 4723	And with pat word vp roos Amphymacus								*	+			
IV 4729	'pou Anthenor, I have espied wel				*	*							+

		C	D2	Rawl	A	R1	T	H1	D1	Cr.	R2	K	Py.
IV 4789.	And shortly seide, for this conclusion					*							
IV 4797	And þei ben redy vppon vs to sette												+
IV 4921	And pitously, allone but þei tweyne					*							
IV 4947	And ri <sub>3</sub> t anoon þis Amphymacus								*	*			
IV 4951	But soth is seid of ful <sub>3</sub> ore a-goon												+
IV 5065	Wher-so be-falle þou be lefe or lothe					*							
IV 5315	And þe peple loude gan to crye					*							
IV 5332	But kyng Priam hath ay suspecioun												+
IV 5355	And while Priam gan thus [to] compleyne					*							+
IV 5392	So þat þe kyng callid Philymene					*							+
IV 5501	Of Anthenor þe story þif <sub>3</sub> e rede												+
IV 5559	Whiche þat I shal, so it be noon offence					*							
IV 5583	For þer cam doun from þe hi <sub>3</sub> e heuene					*							+
IV 5833	O Troye, allas! wel maistow mourne & wepe					*	*						*

		C	D2	Rawl1	A	R1	T	H1	D1	Cr.	R2	K	Py.
IV 5919	pe first[e] was, pat pe sacrid fire					*							
IV 6023	Bysshop Calcas, with his lokkes hore	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		+
IV 6215	But humblely forpe pei gan procede					*							
IV 6365	But waite his deth & his fatal ewre					*							+
IV 6441	'O pou traitour, most malicious!					*			*	+	*		
IV 6731	O <sub>3</sub> e almy <sub>3</sub> ti, pat pis world gouerne	*	*	*	*	*	A	*	*	*	*		+
IV 6821	O dethe, welcome! & no lenger lette												+
IV 7029	Her may <sub>3</sub> e sen how pe venym bites								*	+	*		
V 1	Whan Eolus, which dop pe windes rore	*	*	A	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*
V 45	'Sirs', quod he, 'so it <sub>3</sub> ow nat greue					*							+
V 161	Vlixes panne, in his aduertence				*	*			*	+	*		+
V 217	panne Thelamoun, in Ire ful feruent								*	*	*		
V 413	And poru <sub>3</sub> pe toun he made sende blive					*							
V 417	'Sirs', quod he, ' <sub>3</sub> e sen how pat fortune				*				*	+	*		+

		C	D2	Rawl1	A	R1	T	H1	D1	Cr.	R2	K	Py.
V 621	Home into Grece, ful many lusti man					*							
V 636	For whan Grekis effectuously best wene					*							
V 697	In Grece whilom was a worpi kyng	*	A	*	*	*			*	*	*		+
V 899	þis þe tale, þe stori telleth vs					*							+
V 1110	O vnsur trust of al worldly glorie	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		+
V 1207	In Grece was a kyndam wyde & large					*	*		*	*			+
V 1337	But, I fynde, þe Troyan Eneas					*							+
V 1468	It is requerid of equite & ri <sub>3</sub> t	*	A	*	*	*	*						+
V 1665	And whan þe myst & euery cloudy skye	*	A	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		+
V 1781	O Vlixes, by ordre in my writyng	*	A	*	*	*	*	*	*	+	*		+
V 1839	'My lord', quod he, 'shortly to express								*	*	*		
V 1843	First, whan þat I Troye lond forsook					*							
V 1977	How Vlixes, with face ded and pale					*							
V 2111	And þau <sub>3</sub> in hert he was constreyned sore								*	+	*		

		C	D2	Rawl	A	R1	T	H1	D1	Cr.	R2	K	Py.
V 2114	And Ydumeus lik a gentil kyng					*							
V 2317	Now mvste I ful besy ben a whyle	*	A	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*
V 2548	Atastus po, of entencioun					*							
V 2609	And þanne Pirrus, shortly for to seyne					*							+
V 2623	'Sirs', quod he, 'to 3ow is nat vnknowe					*			*	*	*		
V 2781	But þis was doon while Pirrus of corage					*							
V 2883	In þis chapitle I shal reherse anoon					*	*						
V 2884	þe noble quene of þis kyng Merion												+
V 2937	Lowe on my knees now I muste loute	*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		+
V 3096	Now, as þe story rehersted hath to-forne												+
V 3326	But now þe lanter and þe clere li <sub>3</sub> t												+
V 3519	For he þat was gronde of wel-seying												+
V 3563	To declare, þat in al worldly lust												+

The consistency of the pattern defined above can be demonstrated by Bodleian Rawl poet 144 (also, confusingly, R2 in Bergen's



abbreviations). It is a very modest manuscript on paper. Only the beginnings of books have been denoted by initials-- and these were never inserted -- but a consciousness of the original layout still pertains: a small paraph in the ink of the text is set against many of the lines which this appendix shows were usually denoted with an initial. The standard format is thus translated into less expensive terms.



APPENDIX 2

A comparison of the illustrative cycles of HM 268 and Harley 1766  
aligned with the chapters in Laurent

Symbols: A = folios of manuscripts missing at this point  
\* = champ initial  
+ = blue initial flourished red.

<u>LAURENT</u>	<u>HM 268</u>	<u>HARLEY 1766</u>
		Adoration of St. Edmund.
BOOK Ii Adam & Eve	A	BOOK Ii * 1. Temptation of Adam & Eve 2. The Expulsion from Paradise.
ii Against disobedience	A	ii *
iii Nimrod	A	iii * Destruction of the Tower of Babel.
iv Against proud men		
v Saturn; Vixoses; Nahor; Thanaus; Zoroaster; Ninus; Sodom; Pharoah;	Miniature: composite see text [Sloane]	iv * 1. Pharoah pursuing the Children of Israel. 2. Pharoah pursuing the Children of Israel.
Ogyus; Floods; Plague of heat; Isis; Apis; Erysichthon; daughters of Danaus; Philomela, Tereus, & Procne		
vi Europa; Cadmus; Semele;	Miniature: Europa & Cadmus. See text [Sloane]	v * 1. Cadmus consulting Apollo 2. Cadmus' bull 3. City of Thebes 4. Athamas about to dash Learchus against a rock 5. Death of Ino.
Acteon; Agave; Athamas		vi * 1. Jason & the Golden Fleece 2. Dismembered body of his
vii Oetes; Jason, Medea	A	

Minos, Nisus, Scylla;

Theseus, Hippolytus;

Sisera; Gideon

viii. Oedipus, Luis,  
Jocasta

Eteocles & Polynices

ix Atreus & Thiestes

x Theseus, Phaedra,  
Hippolytus

xi Against over-hasty  
belief

xii Althea

A

A

A

Princes being  
influenced; Hippolytus  
the hunter. See text.

A

son halting Oetes'  
pursuit of Jason &  
Medea.

3. Death of Creusa

4. Medea killing her  
two sons

1. Androgeus being thrown  
from tower.

2. Scilla killing Nisus

3. Scilla offering  
Nisus' head to Minos

4. The transformation of  
Nisus & Scilla

1. The minotaur

2. The abandoned Ariadne

3. Death of Hippolitus

4. Death of Phaedra

Jael & Sisera

vii \*

1. Luis consulting Apollo

2. Oedipus exposed on a  
tree

3. Oedipus consulting  
Apollo

4. Oedipus killing his  
father

5. Oedipus killing the  
sphinx

6. Oedipus tearing out  
his eyes

7. The cremation of Poly-  
nices & Eteocles

8. Death of Jocasta

9. Oedipus chained up

viii \*

1. Atreus killing  
Thiestes' children

2. Atreus serving up  
Thiestis his children

3. Egisthus murdering  
Atreus

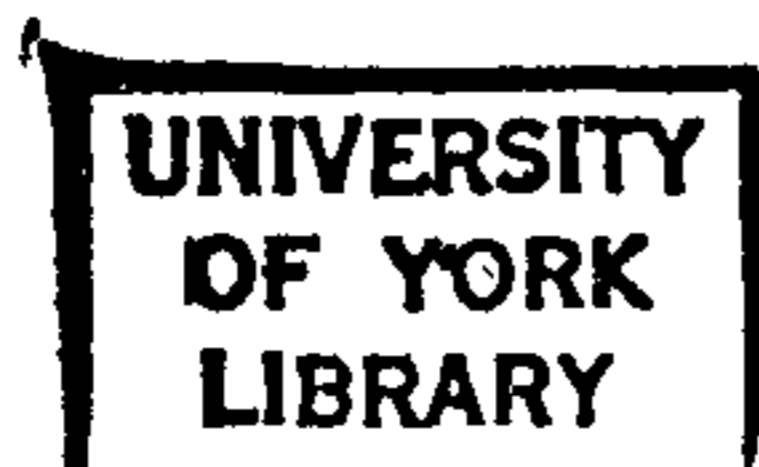
ix \*

x \*

xi \*

1. Queen Althaea taking  
the brand from the  
fire

2. Atalanta wounding the  
boar



Hercules

No division

3. Meleager killing his uncles
4. Queen Althaea throwing the brand on the fire
5. Death of Queen Althaea
1. Hercules
2. Hercules offering blood of Busiris to Jupiter
3. Hercules, having slain the Cretan bull, wearing the skin of the Nemean Lion
4. Hercules killing Cachus
5. Hercules plucking the Golden Apples of the Hesperides
6. Death of Nessus
7. Deianeira presenting Hercules with the shirt of Nessus

Narcissus

Narcissus

BOOK III \*

Biblis; myrrha

1. Drowning of Narcissus
2. A narcissus
1. Myrrha seducing Cynarus
2. The transformation of Myrrha
3. Death of Adonis
1. Orpheus & Euridice
2. Death of Orpheus

Orpheus; Marpesia;  
Lampedo

xiii Priam &amp; Hecuba

A

ii \*

xiv Against pride

Space

+

xv Agamemnon; Menelaus

Not in Lydgate

xvi In praise of  
poverty

Space

+

xvii Samson

Samson, composite  
Samson killing the  
lion; the lion with  
bees coming out of  
its mouth; Delilah  
cutting Samson's hair

\*

1. Two foxes with their tails tied round a burning brand
2. Samson killing Philistines with the jawbone of an ass
3. Samson bearing away the gates of Gaza
4. Delilah cutting Samson's hair
5. Samson in prison
6. Samson bringing down the temple on the heads of the Philistines

<u>LAURENT</u>	<u>HM 268</u>	<u>HARLEY 1766</u>
xviii Against women	Women making themselves up	iv *
xix Pyrrhus	Pyrrhus slaughtering Polyxena	v *
Canace & Macareus	Space Canace writing her letter; her death	1. Pyrrhus slaughtering Polyxena 2. Orestes slaying Pyrrhus before the statue of Apollo 1. Canace & Macareus in bed 2. Canace receiving a sword 3. Canace & her baby 4. Canace holding pen & sword 5. Death of Canace
BOOK III Prologue	Lydgate & Laurent/ Boccaccio	
ii Saul	Death of Saul	vi *
iii Praise of Obedience	Space	1. Samuel crowning Saul 2. Saul 3. David encountering Goliath 4. David soothing Saul 5. & 6. David taking Saul's spear 7. David reproving Abner 8. The witch of Endor calling up a spirit for Saul 9. Suicide of Saul
iv Various minor people	Not in Lydgate	vii +
v Rehoboam	Rehoboam on his throne: flatterers attended to. See text.	viii *
vi Against the pride of princes	Human figure, naked except for a loin cloth holding an orb with a cross on it in his right hand & a palm in his left, surrounded by churchmen, knights, labourers, etc.	Adoram being stoned to death BOOK IIII*

LAURENT

HM 268

HARLEY 1766

Mucius Scaevola

1. Mucius Scaevola slaying a prince
2. Scaevola holding his hand in the fire

Lucretia

Lucrece & Tarquin;  
death of Lucrece

1. Rape of Lucrece
2. Death of Lucrece

Virginia, Pausanias,  
etc.

vii Various Jewish  
kings: Jeroboam

A

- ii \*
1. Jadan reproving Jeroboam
  2. Jadan being attacked by lion
  3. Jeroboam & two knights being devoured by dogs

Zareas; Abab; Zimri;  
Ahab

viii Athalia

A

Jehoiada crowning Joash

ix Complaint

Not in Lydgate

x Against the Jews

Not in Lydgate

xi Dido

A

- iii \*
1. Flight of Dido
  2. Death of Dido

xii Praise of Dido

A

Envoy +

xiii Sardanapalus

A

- iv \*
1. Sardanapalus spinning
  2. Death of Sardanapalus

xiv Against Sardanapalus

A

xv Amazias; Uzziah;  
Hoshea

Jehoash giving his  
answer to the messenger  
of Amazias; the story  
of the thistle

Uzziah smitten with  
leprosy, having his face  
scorched

Sennacherib  
xvi Zedekiah

Zedekiah having his eyes  
torn out

xvii Generalised  
complaint.

A



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xviii Astyages; Cyrus	A	BOOK IVi *
		1. Astyages consulting his astrologers
		2. The finding of Cyrus
		3. Cyrus taking Astyages prisoner
xix The truth of dreams		
xx Candaules	Candaules showing wife to Gyges	ii *
Midas; Belshazzar		Candaules showing his wife to Gyges
xxi Croesus		1. The death of Atys
		2. Knight about to slay Croesus child speaking
		3. Croesus saved from burning
xxii Cyrus		1. The remains of King Cyrus floating in a tub of blood.
		2. Cyrus' remains thrown out to wild beasts.
Aemilius & Numitor; Romulus & Remus	Romulus & Remus	Omitted
xxiii Metius Suffetius	Space	Omitted
xxiv Complaint		Omitted
	The crystal & gold temples of Rome; Virgil's statues falling - Envoy	
BOOK IIIi Andalus	Heading	Omitted
Poverty & Fortune	Poverty & Fortune	Omitted
ii Tullius Hostilius; Ancus; Lucinio		Omitted
iii Tarquin & Lucrece	Death of Lucrece Heading	Omitted
iv Against luxurious princes	Space	Omitted
v Cambyses; Oropastes; Otanus; Darius; Coriolanus; Miltiades; Themistocles	A	Omitted
vi Xerxes	Flight of Xerxes	Omitted

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vii Complaint	Space -- Envoy	Omitted
viii Artabanas; Polantus etc.	Murder of Artabanas; imprisonment of his 7 sons	Omitted
ix Appius & Virginia	Death of Virginia	iv * (out of order)
x Against dishonest judges	Space	Lycurgus' bones being thrown into the sea (out of order)
xi Demosthenes; Nicias etc.	Not in Lydgate	
xii Alcibiades	Exile & murder of Alcibiades	Omitted
xiii Excuse for Alcibiades	Tantalus	Omitted
xiv Author excuses himself	Space	
xv Macheus & Cartalus Himilco	Death of Machaeus's son & his own death Feast of Hanno	Omitted
xvi Hanno		Death of Hanno
xvii Against covetous- ness	Mining scene; merchant being robbed	iii *
xviii Evagoras; Theo of Egypt; Amyntas; Epaminondas;  Haman	? Alexander killing Nectanebus?; death of Epaminondas	  Haman hanged
xix Artaxerxes & Cyrus		Omitted
BOOK IV	Author writing at his desk	
i Against various proud men	Space	Omitted
ii Marcus Manlius	Marcus Manlius being thrown from the Capitol into the Tiber	Omitted, but part retained in different order
iii Against ambitious people; description of Roman triumphs.		Omitted



<u>LAURENT</u>	<u>HM 268</u>	<u>HARLEY 1766</u>
iv Against tyrants; Nectanebus; Pausanias; Heliarchus	A	Omitted
v Dionysius of Syracuse	A	Omitted
vi Excusation of Fortune; Victurbius	] Polycrates' death	Omitted
vii Polycrates		Omitted
viii Aribas of Epirus; Callisthenes	Callisthenes in prison being given poison by Lysimachus	Omitted
ix Alexander of Epirus	Death of Alexander of Epirus	Omitted
x Darius	Darius taken prisoner by Alexander	Omitted
xi Alexander's heirs	] Battle scene	Omitted
xii Eumenes		Omitted
xiii Olympias	Death of Olympias	Omitted
xiv Agathocles	Agathocles in poverty	Omitted
xv Bersane & Roxana; Thessalonica & Antipater; Alexander; Demetrius; Peucestas & Amyntas; Sandrocottus; Seleucus; Lysimachus	?Murder of Bersane?/ ?Murder of Thessalonica by Antipater?	Omitted
xvi Arsinoe	A	Omitted
xvii Ceraunus; Belgius; Brennius	A	Omitted
xviii Pyrrhus	A	v * Death of King Pyrrhus
xix Aristotimus; Arsinoe	A	Arsinoe embracing Demetrius' dead body
xx Against beauty of the body (BOOK V)	A	
BOOK Vi Seleucus & Antiochus	A	BOOK Vi * Death of Seleucus
ii Laodomia; Cleomenes Hiero; Cornelius; Hannibal; Xanthippus	A	

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iii Marcus Regulus	No division		1. Marcus Regulus slaying the dragon 2. Marcus Regulus being cast into prison 3. Marcus Regulus welcomed to Rome 4. Death of Marcus Regulus ii * (out of order)	
iv Against unworthy citizens	Not in Lydgate			
v Ptolemy Philopater; Britomaris; Viridomarus	A			
vi Syphax	] No sign of division		Omitted	
vii Nabin			Omitted	
viii Antiochus	? Jeroboam & Jadan? See text		Omitted	
ix Hiero of Syracuse; Scipio Affricanus; Scipio Asian; Duke Philopoemen	Murder of the Scipios & Duke Philopoemen		Omitted	
x Hannibal	Death of Hannibal		Omitted	
xi Prusias	A		Omitted	
xii Perseus	A		Omitted	
xiii Capriciousness of Fortune Joachim, high priest of the Jews; Ammonias	No division		Omitted	
xiv Andriscus	Death of Alexander Balas		Omitted	
xv Alexander Balas			Omitted	
xvi Caius & Tiberius Gracchus; Hasdrubal; Aristonicus; Jonathan Maccabeus; Tryphon	A		Omitted	
xvii Demetrius II	] Jugurtha being thrown from Tarpeian rock		Omitted	
xviii Alexander Zebina			Omitted	
xix Conquest of Majorca by Metellus; Bituitus; Cleopatra				Omitted
xx Jugurtha				Omitted

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<u>LAURENT</u>	<u>HM 268</u>	<u>HARLEY 1766</u>
BOOK VII Boccaccio & Fortune	A Banishment of Metellus	Omitted
ii Gaius Merius	] ? See text ? Miniature knave sent by Sulla to cut off Marius' head?	Omitted
iii What constitutes nobility		Omitted
iv Three Cleopatras		Omitted
v Mithridates		Death of Mithridates
vi Eucratides; Alexander of Egypt	A	Omitted
vii Orodes	A	Omitted
viii Fimbria; Albynius; Adrian; Sotimus; Thrace	A	Omitted
ix Pompey	A	Omitted
x General	Not in Lydgate	-
xi People made unfortunate during wars of Pompey & Caesar; Caesar; end of conspirators	Death of Julius Caesar	Omitted
xii Cicero	] Death of Cicero	Omitted
xiii On philosophy & rhetoric		Omitted
xiv Sextus, son of Pompey; Triumvirs; Lucius Paulus	] ? See text? Miniature	Omitted
xv Anthony & Cleopatra		Omitted
BOOK VIII Anthony, son of Anthony; Caesarius Julia; Agrippa; Cassius; Gallus		Omitted
ii Herod	Death of Herod	Omitted
iii Antipas; Archelaus; Messalina, Caligula & Tiberius	Messalina, Caligula & Tiberius	iii *

<u>LAURENT</u>	<u>HM 268</u>	<u>HARLEY 1766</u>
iv Nero	Nero being chased from his palace	1. Nero having his mother's womb cut open 2. Death of Nero
v Eleazerus; Galba; Otho	Head of Galba being offered at the sepulchre of Nero	iv *
vi Vitellius		Disgrace of Vitellius
vii Against gluttony	Space	
	Space	v +
viii Destruction of Jerusalem	Destruction of Jerusalem	BOOK VII * ii 1. A Jewish woman roasting her child. 2. The priest of the temple standing in the doorway & showing Titus the treasures
ix Against the Jews	Not in Lydgate	
BOOK VIIIi Bochas & Petrarch	Bochas & Petrarch	iii +
ii Domitian; Commodus; etc.	Queen Zenobia in the triumph of Aurelius; & in prison	iv v vi vii viii ix
iii Valerian	A	x Sapor using Valerian as a mounting block
iv Against Sapor & Valerian	A	
v Gallienus; Quintilius Aurelian; Tacitus; Florianus; Probus; Clarus; Carinus	A	xi * xii xiii xiv xv
vi Zenobia	A	xvi

<u>LAURENT</u>	<u>HM 268</u>	<u>HARLEY 1766</u>
vii Diocletian; Carausias; Maximian		xvii
viii Maximian	A	
ix Galerius	A	xviii
x Maxetius; Lucinius; Crispus; Constantius; Dalmatius; Constans & Constantius; Magnentius & Decius	A	xix xx  xxi Death of Decius & Magnentius
	Peter & Paul appearing to the sleeping Constantine	xxii 1. Constantine suffering from leprosy 2. Constantine visited by Peter & Paul 3. Constantine making public confession of his misdeeds 4. A Tau cross
xi Julian the Apostate	A	xxiii * 1. A crown of laurel descending on Julian's head 2. Death of Julian 3. The tanned hide of Julian nailed to the palace gate
xii Against blasphemers	A	
xiii Valens; Firmus;  Hermanric; Gratian; Arbogastes; Valentinian; Eugenius Theodosius	A	xxiv Duke Firmus' head impaled on a pole  xxv xxvi Arbogastes hanging Maximus/Valentinian xxvii Theodosius praying to Christ xxviii Deaths of Arbogastes & Eugenius xix Ambrose reproving Theodosius
xiv Radagaisus	A	
xv Rufinus; Stilicho; Honorius; Constantine; Constans; Herenicus; Maximus; Attalus; Heraclian	Death of Rufinus; death of ?	xxx Death of Rufinus  Attalus' hand being cut off



xvi Odoacer

xxxi +

xvii Against Rome

BOOK VIII\*

xviii Trabstila; Busarus;  
Pheletus  
Marcian; Leo; Symak  
Boys

ii

xix Arthur

iii

1. Arthur receiving the Roman deputation
2. Arthur having slain 5 Saracen kings
3. Arthur's tomb

xx Against unnatural kindred

xxi Gelimer;  
Amarales; Sindbal;  
Totila; Turisund

iv

\*

v Death of king Sindbal  
vi

xxii Rosemond

vii

1. Death of King Alboinus
2. Death of Rosamond & Melchis

xxiii Against women

BOOK IX i Maurice;  
Phocas; Mahomet

viii

1. Mahomet preaching his doctrines
2. Mahomet devoured by hogs

Brunhilda

ix

ii Eraclius;  
Constantine

x

\*

Death of Constantine

iii Gisulf &amp; Romilda

xi Duchess Romilda  
yielding her castle  
to King Cakanusiv Justinian; Leontius;  
Tiberius; Philip;  
Anastasius;  
Irene; Lupus  
Alexis; Aribertus

BOOK VIII \*

ii The shipwreck of  
Aribertus

v Desiderius	King Desiderius in prison
vi Pope Joan; Arnulf; Louis	
vii Pope John xii	iii Pope Joan mutilating two cardinals
viii Against prelates; Charles of Lorraine Salomon of Hungary; Pietro	iv
ix Diogenes	
x Robert of Normandy; Henry; Josselyn	This is said to be chapter 5 in the table of contents, but there is no marginal note to this effect.
xi Andronicus	vi 1. Duke Isaac having head of messenger cut off 2. The humiliation of Andronicus
xii Against luxurious nobles	
xiii Isaac; Alexius; Sangot; Salech; Cathabady; Robert Surrentine	vii *
xiv William of Sicily	William of Sicily, blinded
xv Guy of Lusignan; John of Brienne	viii
xvi Duke Henry	Death of Duke Henry
xvii Recommendation of pity between father & son	
xviii Frederick; Manfred; Enxio; Frederick of Castille; Maumettus Agones	ix
xix Charles of Anjou	

LAURENT

HM 268

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xx Ugolino; Ailon; Sabath  
Pope Boniface

x \*

Pope Boniface eating  
his hands  
The death at the stake  
of Jacques de Molay

xxii Defence of the Templars

xxiii Philip le Bel;  
Charles of Tarentum

xi \*

Death of Charles of  
Tarentum

xxiv Gaultier

1. Death of Gaultier('s  
father)

xii

2. Death of William d'  
Assise & Gaultier's  
son

3. Death of Gaultier

xxv Excuse for including  
Philipott

xxvi Philipott

xiii

xiv Death of King Andreas

xxvii Sancho; Louis;  
John of France

xv \*

Capture of King John

## FOOTNOTES

### Introduction

1. Pen to Press (Baltimore, 1977), p.162.

### Chapter 1

1. 'Chaucer and the Visual Arts of His Time', in New Perspectives in Chaucer Criticism, ed. D.M. Rose (Norman, Oklahoma, (1981), pp. 121-36 (p.121). The seminal works in this respect are Charles Muscatine, Chaucer and the French Tradition (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1957), D.W. Robertson, A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspective (Princeton, 1962), Robert M. Jordan, Chaucer and the Shape of Creation (Cambridge, Mass., 1967). In general terms, the desire to see works of literature and works of art as proceeding from a unified sensibility has a venerable history. At the beginning of their paper, 'Pictorial Illustration of Late Medieval Poetic Texts: the Role of the Frontispiece or Prefatory Picture', in Medieval Iconography and Narrative: a Symposium, ed. F.G. Andersen (Odense, 1980), pp.100-123, Elizabeth Salter and Derek Pearsall provide a useful outline of approaches that have proved influential. They rightly criticize the over-abstraction of this method of analysis. A sign of the importance that literary critics attribute to the visual arts of the Middle Ages can be seen in the provision of a chapter on 'Chaucer and the Visual Arts' in the Chaucer volume of the Writers and their Background series, ed. Derek Brewer (London, 1974), in Fleming's article and in Derek Pearsall, 'The Visual World of the Middle Ages', in The New Pelican Guide to English Literature. 1. Medieval Literature. Part One: Chaucer and the Alliterative Tradition, ed. Boris Ford (Harmondsworth, 1982), pp.290-317. Manuscript scholars, S. Hindman and J.D. Farquhar, Pen to Press (Baltimore, 1977) remark p.160: 'Pictures not only functioned as alternate rubrics, but also as visual glosses on a text, providing yet another level of meaning to text and commentary'.
2. The Fifteenth-Century Book: the Scribes, the Printers, the Decorators (Philadelphia, 1960), p.162 n.29. Cf. Julius P. Gilson's slighting comment about some of Edward IV's illustrated books: 'Their productions give the impression of being bought by the pound, or rather by the hundredweight', British Museum Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections. I Royal MSS I A.i to II E. xi (London, 1921), p.xi. In the opinion of Ewald Jammers, quoted by F.P. Pickering, Literature and Art in the Middle Ages (London, 1970), p.25, n.2, the 'very format and the richness of appointment' of some of the Minnesänger manuscripts 'precluded their use'.
3. Detailed consideration of the second and third possibilities forms the bulk of this chapter.
4. Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford (Oxford, 1963), p.xi. See also Cecil Roth, 'Pledging a Book in Medieval England', The Library, 5th ser., 19 (1964), 196-200 (p.196) 'Books were among the objects which commonly served as security in the Middle Ages for



loans advanced by Jewish moneylenders in England as in other countries'.

5. See Chapter 2. Millard Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries, I (London, 1974), p.7 discusses the secular texts which were newly illustrated in fifteenth-century France. 'The subjects fall into four main categories: accounts of foreign travels, allegories, histories of the ancient world, and stories of eminent persons, chiefly of antiquity'. There seems to have been a sense of appropriateness, a concept of these texts as ones to be illustrated.
6. The Roman de la Rose: A Study in Allegory and Iconography, (Princeton, 1969). Fleming is here heavily indebted to the work of D.W. Robertson, particularly to his attempts to use iconographic information to endorse critical perceptions. Claire Richter Sherman, 'Some Visual Definitions in the Illustrations of Aristotle's Nichomachean Ethics and Politics in the French Translations of Nicole Oresme', Art Bulletin, 59 (1977) 320-330 (p.321, n.33) refers approvingly, from the perspective of an art historian, to Fleming's discussion of miniatures as 'visual glosses' on the text.
7. Allegorical Imagery: Some Medieval Books and Their Posterity (Princeton, 1966).
8. C.S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love (Oxford, 1939, repr. 1979) pp.231 ff. analyzes the 'weakening of the genuinely allegorical impulse'. See also Robertson, op.cit., pp.361 ff.
9. See F.W. Bourdillon, Early Editions of the Roman de la Rose, Bibliographical Society Illustrated Monograph, 14 (London, 1906), p.6: 'For over two hundred and fifty years, first in manuscript and then in printed editions, it enjoyed vast popularity'. Between 1480 and 1538 twenty-one printed editions were produced (ibid, p.3).
10. The documents of the 'Querelle' are edited by Eric Hicks, Le Debat sur le Roman de la Rose (Paris, 1977).
11. Tuve, op.cit., pp.237 ff.
12. Les Manuscrits du Roman de la Rose (Paris, 1910).
13. Alfred Kuhn, 'Die Illustration des Rosenromans', Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses, 31 (1913/14) 1-66 (p.20).
14. Charles Dahlberg, The Romance of the Rose by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun (Princeton, 1971), p.22.
15. Kuhn, op.cit., p.61.
16. Ibid. pp. 59 ff.
17. Prefatory picture; paintings on wall of garden; meeting of The Lover with Oiseuse at the door of the garden; the 'carole'; the well of Narcissus; the meeting with the God of Love; the Lover's flight; the wounding; the Lover's swearing of allegiance; the God of Love locking his heart; The Lover and Bel-Accueil; the Lover and Bel-Accueil by the hedge; Bel-Accueil, Dangier and the Lover;



Reason and the Lover; Amis and the Lover; Franchise and Pitié plead with Dangier for the Lover; Honte and Peur awaken Dangier; Jalousie builds a tower; Guillaume de Lorris at his desk.

18. The wheel of Fortune; Nero; battle between Manfred and Charles of Anjou; the Jealous Husband beats his wife; Faux-Semblant and Contrainte-Abstinence cut out Male-Bouche's tongue; Nature and Genius; Genius' sermon; Venus shoots at the castle; Pygmalion carves his statue.
19. See Kuhn, p.60.
20. Ibid. pp. 60-61. For other evidence of interest in classical stories see Meiss, op.cit., p.7.
21. This is the reading of the Roman suggested by Alan Gunn, The Mirror of Love: A Re-Interpretation of 'The Romance of the Rose' (Texas, 1952), pp.17 ff. That this was a concern of early readers has been demonstrated by Bourdillon, op.cit., p.3: 'There is a curious and almost pathetic evidence of this use of the book as a Lover's Bible, in the frequency with which we find copies of the early printed editions scored or marked or underlined in places, precisely in the same way as religious books are often treated'.
22. Tuve, op.cit., p.322. It is a well-documented manuscript: we know it was produced by Robinet Testard who also worked on the Hours of Charles d'Angoulême (Paris, BN MS lat. 1173). Douce 195 seems to have been owned by Charles' wife, Louise of Savoy (Otto Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford, I, German, Dutch, Flemish, French and Spanish Schools (Oxford, 1966), p.61).
23. In Kuhn, op.cit., Taf. I-XI and Dahlberg, op.cit., figs. 1-28.
24. All quotations and line-references are to the edition by E. Langlois, Le Roman de la Rose par Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun, Société des Anciens Textes Français, 5 vols (Paris, 1914-24).
25. See Kuhn, op.cit., Taf.III (fol. 5v); Taf.IV (fol. 9r, fol. 9v, fol. 10r); Taf.VI (fol. 21r, fol. 22v, fol. 23v); Taf.VII (fol. 23v, fol. 25r); Taf.VIII (fol. 27r, fol. 31v) for Vienna, K.K. Hofbibliothek, Cod. 2592 & Dahlberg, op.cit., figs.11,19,20,21,22,23, 24,26 for BN MS fr. 378.
26. Chaucer and the French Tradition, p.40.
27. Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy (Oxford, 1972), pp. 45 ff.
28. Historia Troiana: Studies in the History of Medieval Secular Illustration, Studies of the Warburg Institute, 32 (London, 1971), p.9.
29. For further details see Chapter 5.
30. Op.cit., p.16.
31. When the Histoire Ancienne was first compiled at the beginning of the thirteenth-century no narrative cycle for the Troy story existed. By

the time the second recension, which incorporates the Roman de Troie en prose, was compiled around the middle of the fourteenth century an extensive cycle illustrating Benoit's Roman was available for copying (Buchthal, loc. cit.). This only moves the problem back one stage: why were Benoit's illustrators concerned to give a full visual coverage of episode whereas early Histoire Ancienne illustrators were not?

32. 'Sacred and Profane Art: Secular and Liturgical Book-Illumination in the Thirteenth Century', in The Epic in Medieval Society: Aesthetic and Moral Values, ed. H. Scholler (Tübingen, 1977), pp.100-112 (p.101).
33. Indeed, a systematic investigation of these last two points would be worthwhile. I have no time to do so in this thesis.
34. Stones, op.cit.
35. 'Die Illustration', pp.20 and 22.
36. The Romance of the Rose, op.cit., p.24.
37. The Roman de la Rose, op.cit., pp. 36 ff.
38. See Kuhn fig. 11. Cf. Fleming The Roman figs. 8 and 17 where Oiseuse is almost identically posed. But see Dahlberg fig. 11 where no particular iconographic attributes are evident.
39. Robertson, op.cit., p.198: 'Thus Oiseuse carries the mirror and comb of Lechery to suggest that idleness is a prelude to that vice'.
40. Meg Twycross, The Medieval Anadyomene: A Study in Chaucer's Mythography, Medium Aevum Monographs, New Series 1 (Oxford, 1972), pp.70 ff.
41. The Roman, p.75. My use of this quotation is directly in opposition to his.
42. Twycross, op.cit., p.4.
43. 'Pictorial Commentaries to the Commedia', in P. Brieger, M. Meiss and C.S. Singleton, Illuminated Manuscripts of the Divine Comedy, 1 (Princeton, 1969), pp.83-113 (p.103).
44. Words and Pictures, Approaches to Semiotics, 11, ed. Thomas A. Sebeok (The Hague, 1973), p.9.
45. 'Cephalus and Procris', JWCI, 17 (1954), 260-287 (p.272).
46. See below pp,28-40.
47. 'Die Illustration', op.cit., p.50.
48. For discussion of this technique see Otto Pächt, The Rise of Pictorial Narrative in Twelfth-Century England (Oxford, 1962), p.8.
49. See Kuhn's description p.39.
50. See e.g. C. Couderc, Livre de la Chasse par Gaston Phebus Comte de Foix: Reproduction Réduite des 87 miniatures du Manuscrit Français 616 de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, 1909), fig.55.



51. In BL Harley MS 4431, an early fifteenth-century collection of Christine de Pizan's writings, for example, the device of roses on a trellis seems to be very much a decorative part of the courtly scene (Fig.5).
52. Allegorical Imagery, p.277 n.22.
53. Ibid. p.279 and fig. 100 for e. Mus. 65.
54. Loc. cit., n.23.
55. So does e. Mus. 65, as Tuve acknowledges.
56. Figs. 93-96; 99; 107-8.
57. Allegorical Imagery, p.254 n.13.
58. For discussion of this term see below p.39.
59. Allegorical Imagery, p.277.
60. The Roman p.146. See fig.33.
61. This interpretation was well-known to the Middle Ages; it was ridiculed by Augustine. (Beryl Smalley, English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century (Oxford, 1960), p.105).
62. Pächt and Alexander, op.cit., 3, British, Irish, and Icelandic Schools with addenda to Volumes 1 and 2 (Oxford, 1973), p.88.
63. See Fritz Saxl and Hans Meier, Verzeichnis Astrologischer und Mythologischer Illustrierter Handschriften des Lateinischen Mittelalters, 3, Handschriften in Englischen Bibliotheken, 2 (London, 1953) Taf.VII, Abb.20.
64. Fleming, The Roman, fig.4. See his discussion pp.23 ff. and p.248.
65. 'Le Roman de la Rose de la Bibliothèque de la Ville de Tournai', Scriptorium, 1 (1946-7), 213-239.
66. Ibid., p.231.
67. 'Pictorial Commentaries', pp.83-113.
68. M. Meiss, 'The Smiling Pages', in Illuminated Manuscripts of the Divine Comedy, 1, pp.33-80 (p.33).
69. Illuminated Manuscripts of the Divine Comedy, p.xvii.
70. Meiss, 'The Smiling Pages', p.45.
71. Brieger, 'Pictorial Commentaries', p.89.
72. Ibid., p.90.
73. Pen to Press, p.63.

74. For an extremely detailed account of a hypothetical consultation between purchaser and entrepreneur see Kathleen L. Scott, The Mirroure of the Worlde, Roxburghe Club (Oxford, 1980) pp.2-7.
75. 'Une Maquette de Manuscrit à Peintures (Paris, BN lat. 14643, ff. 269-283<sup>vo</sup>, Honoré Bouvet, Somnium prioris de Sallono super materia Scismatis, 1394)', Mélanges d'Histoire du Livre et des Bibliothèques offerts à Monsieur Frantz Calot (Paris, 1960), pp.43-51.
76. M. Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: the Late XIV Century and the Patronage of the Duke, 1 (London, 1967), p.14.
77. 'An Autograph Manuscript of Christine de Pizan?' Studi Francesci, 27 (1965), 452-457. See also Eric Hicks, 'The Second "Autograph" Edition of Christine de Pizan's Lesser Poetical Works', Manuscripta 20 (1976), 14-15.
78. Discussed and reproduced by L. Schaefer, 'Die Illustrationen zu den Handschriften der Christine de Pizan', Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft, 10 (1937), 119-208.
79. Meiss, Limbourgs, op.cit., p.378.
80. Loc. cit.
81. 'Christine de Pizan's Epistre Othea: An Experiment in Literary Form', Medievalia et Humanistica, NS 9 (1979), 127-142 (p.131).
82. Limbourgs, 1, pp.7 ff.
83. Ibid. p.23.
84. Gianni Mombello, La Tradizione Manoscritta dell' 'Epistre Othea' di Christine de Pizan (Torino, 1967), p.29.
85. Limbourgs, 1, p.34.
86. Transcribed from fol. 96v of Harley 4431.
87. Limbourgs, loc. cit. The whole of this point is indebted to Meiss's comments.
88. Ignatius, op.cit., p.134.
89. See Meiss, The Late XIV Century, 1, p.50.
90. Mombello provides the most up-to-date list. See also P.-G.-C. Campbell, L'Epître d'Othea: Étude sur les Sources de Christine de Pisan (Paris, 1924) who provides an incomplete list pp.9-16. Some of the manuscripts are extremely lavish, having 100 or more miniatures. Some profusely illustrated Epître manuscripts in England are BL Harley 4431; Bodleian MSS Laud Misc. 570, Bodl. 421; BL Royal MS 14 E.ii; Cambridge, Newnham College MS 5; Waddeston Manor, MS 8.
91. Limbourgs, 1, p.9.
92. Op.cit., p.133: 'We conclude that Christine intended her book more as an object of contemplation than a container of information. This is consistent with the emphasis on stunning visual effect ... .'



93. Because of the presence in Harley 4431 of this rubric, the similar one from a mid-fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Epître*, Bodley 421: 'Afin que les lisans puissent entendre en brief la significacion des histoires et figures de ce present livre, est assavoir que partout ou les ymaiges sont en mires, Cest a entendre que ce sont les figures des dieux ou deesses de qui la lettre ensuivant parle, selon la maniere de parler des anciens poetes. Et pour ce que verté est chose espirituelle et eslevee de terre, sont les ymaiges figurez en mires', transcribed by K. Chesney, 'Two manuscripts of Christine de Pisan', Medium Aevum, 1 (1932), 35-41 (p.36) cannot be by the illuminator as she suggests -- it is more likely to have been originally written by Christine herself and subsequently transcribed.
94. R. Tuve, 'Notes on the Virtues and Vices Part II', JWCI, 27 (1964), 42-72 (p.42).
95. Kathleen L. Scott, The Caxton Master and his Patrons, Cambridge Bibliographical Society Monographs, 8 (Cambridge, 1976), p.30.
96. The instructions were first noted by Samuel Berger and Paul Durrieu, Les Notes pour l'Enlumineur dans les Manuscrits du Moyen Age, extracted from Memoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France, 53 (Paris, 1893) who transcribe three of them pp.24-26. See also L.V. Delisle, Recherches sur la Librairie de Charles V Roi de France, 1337-1380, 1 (Paris, 1907), pp.243-46 for the instructions to VI-XV and E.G. Millar, An Illuminated Manuscript of La Somme le Roy, Roxburghe Club (London, 1953), pp.49-51 for the instructions for II-XV.
97. Berger and Durrieu, op.cit. p.24 n.1.
98. Tuve, 'Notes on the Virtues and Vices', pp.53-54.
99. See Chapter 2.
100. See Chapter 3.
101. A.S.G. Edwards, 'Poet and Printer in Sixteenth Century England: Stephen Hawes and Wynkyn de Worde', Gutenberg Jahrbuch, 55 (1980), 82-88 (p.83).
102. William Edward Mead, ed., The Pastime of Pleasure, EETS OS 173 (London, 1928).
103. Edward Hodnett, English Woodcuts 1480-1535. (1935, repr. Oxford, 1973), no.1011.
104. Florence Gluck and Alice B. Morgan, Stephen Hawes: The Minor Poems, EETS OS 271 (London, 1974).
105. Edwards, op.cit., p.87.
106. Rosemary Woolf, The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1968), p.184. The contribution of Lydgate in this respect will be discussed in Chapter 2. See also Chapter 3.
107. ed., Cesare Segre (Milan and Naples, 1957), p.7.



108. Ibid., p.35.
109. J.J. Stürzinger, Le Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine de Guillaume de Deguileville, Roxburghe Club (London, 1893), 11. 11475-82. This section was translated by the English prose translator: 'pilke beste was disgised soo vileliche, and so foule figured, þat of þe speche I shulde haue gret affray if I speke yow longe þerof. Ordeyned I haue þat peynted it be heere and figured, to þat ende þat who þat wole, mowe see it: ooperweyse chevice me cowde I nouht'. (transcribed from Avril Henry's forthcoming edition for the EETS of þe Pilgrimage of þe lyf of the Manhode 11.6171-75. I am grateful to Dr Henry both for allowing me to look at her edition before publication and for drawing this extract to my attention).
110. See Chapter 3.
111. The Fifteenth-Century Book, p.16.
112. Ibid., p.69. This extends to all facets of production in the opinion of Hindman and Farquhar: 'The personal involvement in a book of a group of artists and artisans is never as visible in a printed book as it is in a manuscript', Pen to Press, p.2.
113. See Bühler, The Fifteenth-Century Book, pp.84-87.
114. Pen to Press, p.161.
115. Delisle, Recherches, pp.156, 218, 229. For the Duke de Berry : see Meiss Late XIV Century, passim.
116. Scott, The Caxton Master, p.56.
117. Ibid., p.61.
118. Ibid., p.64.
119. For the use of illustrations in the service of propaganda see J.W. McKenna, 'Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy: Aspects of Royal Political Propaganda, 1422-1432', JWCI, 28 (1965), 145-162 who discusses the 'propaganda genealogy' of Henry which appears in several manuscripts and is designed to convince people that his claim to the throne of France is just. Aspects of this tendency appear on fol. 196r of BL Lansdowne MS 204 a mid-fifteenth-century manuscript of Hardyng's Chronicle. The illustration on fol. 196r is full-page and headed by the rubric 'The þe degre of Edwarde thryd to þe Reme of ffrance'. It is evidently a piece of propaganda. It sets out visually the claims of Edward III. At the top of the page three kings are arranged vertically in frames composed of a gold outer frame with scrollwork down the right and left and a gold inner frame. There is thus a good deal of lateral extension to the frame. The three kings, one beneath the other, are seated on throne with elaborate pinnacled backs. They are; 'Saynt Lowys kynge of ffrance'; 'Philippe his son king of ffrance' and 'Philippe þe ffayre his sonne kynge of ffrance'. To the right of Philippe in a small rectangular gold frame on a bench without an elaborate back sits 'Charles of valois Erle'. Below Philippe, in direct line of succession is a large rectangle containing his children all of whom are without 'issu' save for Isabel. They are all seated on a long joined bench whereas,

over to the right, in a solitary gold rectangle, is Charles's son, 'Philippe kyng of ffrance'. Isabel's son is 'Edwarde kyng of Englonde and of ffrance'. It is Edward's frame rather than that of his French rival which has the decorative detail of acanthus-leaf and daisy-flower issuing out in a spray to left and right.

120. See J. Porcher, 'Un Amateur de Peinture sous Charles VI: Jean Lebègue', Mélanges d'Histoire du Livre et des Bibliothèques offerts à Monsieur Frantz Calot (Paris, 1960), pp.35-41; J. Porcher, Jean Lebègue: Les Histoires que l'on peut Raisonnablement Faire sur les Livres de Sallust (Paris, 1962).
121. This is the prefatory miniature to Catalina, but Jugurtha is associated with it in manuscript (see Porcher, Les Histoires, op.cit., p.15). The visual information offered about Sallust himself thus holds good for both texts.
122. He makes a note of the phrase which the miniature is to precede.
123. 'Copistes, Éditeurs et Enlumineurs de la Fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> Siècle: La Production à Paris de Manuscrits à Miniatures', Actes du 100<sup>e</sup> Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes (1975) (Paris, 1978), pp.173-198 (p.173).
124. 'The Smiling Pages', p.39.
125. 'Some Visual Definitions', p.323.
126. Claire Richter Sherman, 'A Second Instruction to the Reader from Nicole Oresme, Translator of Aristotle's Politics and Economics', Art Bulletin, 61 (1979), 468-69 (p.469).
127. Loc. cit.
128. See Berger and Durrieu, op.cit.; H.M.R. Martin 'Les Esquisses des Miniatures' Revue Archéologique, 4 (1904), 17-45; E.G. Millar, 'Les Principaux Manuscrits à Peintures du Lambeth Palace à Londres' Bulletin de la Société Française de Reproductions des Manuscrits à Peintures, 9<sup>e</sup> Année (Paris, 1925), p.17 discusses the directions in French in Lambeth Palace MS 6 to a Flemish artist for the illustrations in an English text, a Brut; D.J.A. Ross, 'Methods of Book Production in a XIVth Century French Miscellany (London, BM, MS Royal 19 D.i)', Scriptorium, 6 (1952), 63-75 (pp. 65 and 66); Millard Meiss, The Late XIV Century, op.cit., the plate volume, passim, shows examples of marginal sketches; Robert Branner, Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis: A Study of Styles (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1977), p.12.
129. Martin, op.cit., p.26.
130. 'Notes on the Vices and Virtues', op.cit. p.56.
131. Moduli have been discussed by M.A. Stones, The Illustration of the French Prose Lancelot in Flanders, Belgium and Paris 1250-1340 (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1970), pp.29-30. Collections of patterns and aides memoires which could have served the artist as a guide have been reproduced by M.R. James, 'An English Medieval Sketch Book', The Walpole Society, 13 (1925), 1-17: D.J.A.



Ross, 'A Late Twelfth-Century Artist's Pattern Sheet', (JWCI), 25 (1962), 119-128; R.W. Scheller, A Survey of Medieval Model Books (Harlem, 1963). These have elaborate figure-types, but they show that the tendency to abstract images from context was prevalent throughout the middle ages. For a more general discussion of maquettes and patterns see James Douglas Farquhar, Creation and Imitation: the Work of a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illuminator, Nova University Studies in the Humanities, 1 (Florida, 1976), pp.42-43.

132. Op.cit. p.vii.

133. The Late XIV Century, op.cit., p.15.

134. 'Nectanebus in His Palace', JWCI, 15 (1952), 67-87.

135. French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Boucicaut Master (New York and London, 1968), p.51.

136. L.M.J. Delaissé, James Marrow and John de Wit, The James A. De Rothschild Collection at Waddeston Manor: Illuminated Manuscripts (London, 1977), p.17.

137. Pen to Press, pp.63-76.

138. Ibid., p.160.

139. Cedric E. Pickford, 'An Arthurian Manuscript in the John Rylands Library', Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 31 (1948), 318-344 discusses the lengthy rubrics that are found in prose romances of the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

140. 'The Influence of the Concepts of Ordinatio and Compilatio on the Development of the Book', in Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to R.W. Hunt, eds. J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976) pp.119-141 (p.115).

141. Op.cit., p.134.

142. Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the 'Manipulus Florum' of Thomas of Ireland, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Studies and Texts, 47 (Toronto, 1979), p.30.

143. The prologue is reproduced in L.W. and B.A. Daly, 'Some Techniques in Medieval Latin Lexicography', Speculum, 39 (1964), 229-239 (pp.229-33).

144. Rouse and Rouse, p.28.

145. C.F.R. De Hamel, 'Manuscripts of Herbert of Bosham' in Manuscripts at Oxford: An Exhibition in Memory of Richard William Hunt, eds., A.C. de la Mare and B.C. Barker-Benfield (Oxford, 1980), p.39.

146. De Hamel, fig.24. I am indebted to Professor R.H. Rouse for bringing this to my attention.

147. Ibid., p.39.

148. From Script to Print: An Introduction to Medieval Vernacular Literature (Cambridge, 1945), passim. See also Gilson in Warner and Gilson, British Museum Catalogue, 1: 'These huge volumes are not to be handled. They are to be placed on a high desk and read aloud by a standing lector, over whose shoulder the noble master or mistress may occasionally take a glance at a miniature, without inspecting it too closely in detail' (pp.xi-xii). He gives no evidence for this manner of reading: one might have expected manuscript illustration to reproduce this form of activity, but, to my knowledge, no such scene exists.
149. 'Christine de Pizan's Epistre Othea', p.137.
150. Hindman and Farquhar, Pen to Press, pp.158-59. In the Genealogy of the Gods, Chapter 6, however, he claims that poetry is a divine gift and contains 'a whole range of truths from the most arcane verities of revelation to the useful truths of ethics and political science'. Alex. Preminger, O.B. Hardison Jr., and Kevin Kerrane, eds., Classical and Medieval Literary Criticism: Translations and Interpretations (New York, 1974), pp.449-450.
151. The example of the Boucicaut associate who illustrated the Polycrates episode in the Cas may suggest that he did not. That later readers, at least, may have been puzzled by anomalies is perhaps indicated by two early printed books in the British Library. When Pynson came to issue his second edition of Lydgate's Fall of Princes in 1527 he based his woodcuts on the series used by Jean du Pré's 1483 version of Des Cas. In du Pré, Book V begins with a woodcut depicting the fate of Marcus Regulus. Having displeased his Carthaginian captors, he was pressed to death between two nailed boards; the woodcut shows him being tied down on a spiked plank. This is unusual: the MSS usually depict the stories of the brothers Seleucus and Antiochus at this point, since it is the first story in the book. The woodcut is thus at some distance from the narrative to which it refers, and some early reader has reminded himself of the referent by inscribing 'marcus actilius regulus' on the woodcut. In Lydgate, the woodcut is even further from its referent since Lydgate begins Book V with some material with which Laurent concludes Book IV. As Pynson's chapter-heading has it: 'Here Bochas writeth agaynst them that delite in beauty & semelyness/ calling to purpose howe a man borne in Tuscan/ whiche excelled in beauty and fayrnesse/ and for his beauty shulde nat gyue other occasyon to sinne/ he disfygured his visage & body/ with many a great wounde and spotte'. Pynson's 1527 blocks are a reversed and simplified version of du Pré: there is no indication of nails anywhere; Marcus Regulus looks as if he is being tied to a table. A 16th-century reader, evidently puzzled as to what the picture represents, has finally come to a satisfactory solution: 'beautie disfigured' he writes on the table and in so doing links it firmly, if inaccurately to the text immediately below.
152. Meiss 'The Smiling Pages', op.cit., p.43. In Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death (Princeton, 1951) pp.105-131, he discusses the point in more detail.
153. English Friars, pp.166-67.
154. Loc. cit. See also her discussion of Ridevall p.112.

155. For a discussion of literary imagery in this context see Alastair J. Minnis 'Langland's Ymaginatif and Late-Medieval Theories of Imagination', Comparative Criticism A Yearbook, 3 (1981), 71-103. I am grateful to Mr M.B. Parkes for drawing this article to my attention. As V.A. Kolvé 'Chaucer's Second Nun's Tale and the Iconography of Saint Cecilia', in New Perspectives in Chaucer Criticism, ed. D.M. Rose (Norman, 1981), pp.137-74 points out (p.137) we must bear in mind 'the mental images that medieval literature invited its readers and hearers to frame in their minds' eye as they read or listened to narrative. Ideas concerning the mental image played an important part in medieval theories of how a poet invents his material, how an audience remembers it afterward, and how an audience is affected by that experience'. Investigation of these 'mental images' represents a focus of interest somewhat different from that of this thesis.
156. M.W. Bundy, The Theory of Imagination in Classical and Medieval Thought, University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 12, 2-3 (Urbana, 1927), p.177.
157. *Ibid.*, pp.71 ff. The following account is much indebted to Bundy. This is a subject well outside my field of expertise, but it is important enough to raise briefly here. Kolvé, 'Chaucer and the Visual Arts', in Writers and their Background: Chaucer, ed. D. Brewer (London, 1974), pp.290-320 also discusses medieval theories of imagination.
158. Bundy, p.199.
159. Pamela de Wit, The Visual Experience of Fifteenth-Century English Readers (unpublished D. Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1977).
160. Li Bestiaires d'Amours, pp.4-5.
161. Donald R. Howard, The Idea of the Canterbury Tales (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1976), p.146.
162. Frances A. Yates, The Art of Memory (London, 1966), p.32. This section is much indebted to this book.
163. 'Pictorial Commentaries', p.84.
164. *Op.cit.*, p.95.



## Chapter 2

1. The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1968), p.2.
2. Matthew Paris, monk of St. Albans, historian and illuminator, becomes a key figure in the thirteenth century. He, or his style, is associated with such beautifully written and copiously illuminated saints' lives in Anglo-Norman as La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Roi (CUL MS Ee.iii.59, see M.R. James (ed.) La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei: The Life of Edward the Confessor, Roxburghe Club (London, 1920)) and the lives of Saints Alban and Amphibalus (Trinity College Dublin MS E.i.40). D.J.A. Ross, 'A Thirteenth Century Anglo-Norman Workshop Illustrating Secular Literary Manuscripts?', in Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune (Liege, 1968), pp.689-694 has noted two secular manuscripts which have affinities with Paris' style. These are BL Lansdowne 782 of the Chanson d'Aspremont which has forty-nine surviving pictures and Cambridge, Trinity College 0.9.34, a version of Thomas de Kent's Roman de Toute Chevalerie which retains 152 miniatures out of a probable 320. These two manuscripts Ross attributes to a lay workshop specializing in the production of secular Anglo-Norman manuscripts. On the other hand, M.A. Stones has found few Lancelot manuscripts that seem to have been made in England; she enumerates only BL Royal MS 20.C.vi, a manuscript comprising the Queste de Saint Graal and the Morte Artu which has two small miniatures (The Illustrations of the French Prose Lancelot in Flanders, Belgium and Paris 1250-1340 (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1970), p.95).
3. The developing status of English is a complex issue. It has been charted by Basil Cottle, The Triumph of English, 1350-1400 (London, 1969). Other, more specialized studies include R.M. Wilson, 'English and French in England 1100-1300', History, New Series 28 (1943) 37-60; M. Dominica Legge, 'Anglo-Norman and the Historian' History, New Series 26 (1941-2), 163-175. V.J. Scattergood, 'Two Medieval Booklists', The Library, 5th ser., 23 (1968), 236-9, publishes a list of the books owned by Sir Simon Burley and confiscated on his execution in 1388. Only one of them appears to have been in English. According to K.B. McFarlane, Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights (Oxford, 1972), p.119, French was still the language of polite society in early fifteenth-century England. Henry IV's will was the first royal will in English since the conquest while Henry V was 'the first king of England who preferred to conduct business in the vernacular and to encourage its use by others'. As D.A. Pearsall, John Lydgate (London, 1970), p.49 points out: 'Social, economic and political change help to explain the reassertion of English in the fourteenth century, but the pressure is all from below and does not necessarily affect the language of literary culture'. It is the language of literary culture which is, of course, vital for illustrated manuscripts.
4. See the checklist pp.55-77.
5. French manuscripts were produced on a commercial basis in fourteenth-century England -- a fact which speaks eloquently for the demand for such books: John II of France, captured by the Black Prince at the battle of Poitiers in 1356, bought books while in England as his accounts show. In 1359 he paid Margerite 'la relievesse' and Jacques, a bookbinder, for a French Bible, a breviary and a Roman de Guilon.

In December 1359 and May 1360 he bought a Roman de Renart, a Psalter, a Garin de Loharain and a Tournoiement de l'Antichrist from English book-dealers (see James Westfall Thompson, The Medieval Library, (Chicago, 1939), p.417). In the early fifteenth century to concentrate on just one author: of the sixteen manuscripts of Christine de Pizan's works which Campbell lists as being extant in British libraries, he considers that five were produced in England ('Christine de Pisan en Angleterre', Revue de Littérature Comparée, 5 (1925), 659-70 (pp.663-5)). Furthermore Charles d'Orleans must have procured at least one of his manuscripts, a Voie de Dieu now BN fr. 1792, in England during his captivity (P.Champion, La Librairie de Charles d'Orleans 1 (Paris, 1910), p.114).

6. Henry IV's French princess, like Richard II's, was his second wife -- Joan, widow of John IV Duke of Brittany (DNB).
7. 'The arrival and establishment in a commanding position of the young queen altered the situation by reintroducing the court as the highest embodiment of English society' (E.F. Jacob, The Fifteenth Century: 1399-1485 (Oxford, 1961), p.480).
8. See below pp.110-114.
9. Champion, op.cit., p.xxv; L.V. Delisle, Recherches sur la Librairie de Charles V Roi de France, 1337-1380, 1 (Paris, 1907), p.138.
10. McFarlane, Lancastrian Kings, p.23.
11. 'During the 130 years between 1400 and, say, the death of Berners ... it [the proportion of translated prose to original prose] probably was higher than in any other period of English literary history'. (Samuel K. Workman, Fifteenth Century Translation as an Influence on English Prose (Princeton, 1940), p.60).
12. See Chapter 6.
13. See Chapter 5.
14. See below pp.115-116.
15. See below pp.116-131.
16. See Chapter 1.
17. See below p.114.
18. See Chapter 3.
19. An example where this does not seem to have been the case would be the Troy Book (see Chapter 5); where this does seem to have been an important consideration, the California, Henry E. Huntington Library MS HM 268 of the Fall of Princes (see Chapter 6).
20. Writing of thirteenth-century Paris, Branner observes that it 'had more and wealthier patrons of the arts than any other city in Europe' (Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis: A Study of Style (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1977), p.1).

21. The Golden Age: Manuscript Painting at the Time of Jean, Duc de Berry (London, 1979) p.9.
22. Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: the Fourteenth Century (1310-1380) (London, 1978), p.9.
23. Ibid., p.10; see also Thomas, op.cit., p.8.
24. Though St Louis had established what Delisle, Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale, 1 (Paris, 1868), p.7, describes as a 'véritable bibliothèque'.
25. Avril, op.cit., p.23.
26. Delisle, Recherches, 1, pp.82 ff.
27. Champion, op.cit., 1, p.v.
28. Delisle, Recherches, 1, p.68.
29. Delisle, Le Cabinet, 1, p.54.
30. Millard Meiss, French Painting in the time of Jean de Berry: the Late XIV Century and the Patronage of the Duke, 2 vols. (London, 1967).
31. Thomas, op.cit., p.7.
32. Branner, op.cit., p.3 speaks of St Louis' 'virtually unlimited funds'.
33. M.B. Parkes, 'The Literacy of the Laity', in Literature and Western Civilisation: The Medieval World, eds., D. Daiches and A.K. Thorlby (London, 1973), pp.555-77 (p.567).
34. 'Les Manuscrits Français des Rois d'Angleterre au Château de Richmond', in Etudes Romanes dédiées à Gaston Paris (Paris, 1891), pp.1-13 (p.1).
35. See M. Kekewich, 'Edward IV, William Caxton and Literary Patronage in Yorkist England', MLR, 66 (1971), 481-7. Not that English kings were not booklovers: as Malcolm Parkes points out, op.cit., p.567, 'Edward III spent the enormous sum of £66 13s 4d on a book of romances that he kept in his own bedchamber (which suggests that he read it as well)'. This book would have undoubtedly been in French. The contribution of his grandson, Richard II, to book collecting is more controversial. R.S. Loomis, 'The Library of Richard II', in Studies in Language, Literature and Culture of the Middle Ages, eds., E. Bagby Atwood and Archibald A. Hill (Austin, 1969), pp.173-178, finds the contrast between Richard's library and that of his French relatives 'shocking' (p.173). On the other hand, Richard F. Green, 'King Richard II's Books Revisited', The Library, 5th ser., 31 (1976), 235-9 disputes Loomis' assumption that the document on which he is basing his conclusions ever constituted a full library list. 'The relevant membrane of the Memoranda Roll with which we are concerned records one stage in a legal enquiry into the whereabouts of certain valuables (jewellery and plate, as well as books), formerly in the custody of the Exchequer' (p.236). Furthermore, Parkes, 'The Literacy', p.567, points out that nine volumes of Richard's collection were rebound between 1386 and 1388. It is, however, probable that his



- books and those of his court were predominantly in French (E. Rickert, 'Richard II's Books', The Library, 4th ser., 13 (1932), 144-147 (p.146). McFarlane, The Nobility of Later Medieval England (Oxford, 1973), p.244, claims that a list of some 160 books belonging to Henry V is preserved and contains besides poetry and romances, historical, legal and devotional works in Latin and French. His editors have, however, been unable to trace the reference: 'P.R.O. E101/335/71 is a list of 110 volumes in Henry V's possession which he had captured at Meaux in 1422'.
36. For Humphrey, see Chapter 6.
  37. R. Weiss, 'The Library of John Tiptoft Earl of Worcester', Bodl. Quart. Rec. 8, (1935-8), 157-164, passim. For the Fall of Princes see p.161.
  38. See below Chapter 6.
  39. See below pp.116 ff.
  40. See below p.84 for use of this term.
  41. I use the term to refer to an initial containing a scene which is relevant to the text or its context. In this I distinguish it from a merely decorated initial.
  42. Reproduced in facsimile by Derek Pearsall and I.C. Cunningham, The Auchinleck Manuscript, National Library of Scotland Advocates MS 19.2.1 (London, 1977), who point out p.xv 'Originally the majority of items were preceded by miniatures'. Due to the exceptional interest of this manuscript I itemize separately each item which has evidence of illustration.
  43. Reproduced in facsimile by Sir Israel Gollancz, Pearl, Cleanness, Patience and Sir Gawain, EETS OS 162 (London, 1923).
  44. There are other manuscripts which have spaces left for miniatures, or missing folios which may have contained miniatures. In view of the forthcoming book by Pearsall, Griffiths and Harris, a complete list is unnecessary.
  45. Reproduced in facsimile by M.B. Parkes and Elizabeth Salter, Troilus and Criseyde, Geoffrey Chaucer: A Facsimile of Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 61 (Cambridge, 1978).
  46. Reproduced in facsimile by A. Egerton, The Ellesmere Chaucer Reproduced in Facsimile, 2 vols. (Manchester, 1911).
  47. Reproduced in facsimile by M.B. Parkes and Richard Beadle, Poetical Works: Geoffrey Chaucer: A Facsimile of Cambridge University Library MS Gg.4.27, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1979-1980).
  48. Reproduced in facsimile by John Norton-Smith, Bodleian Library MS Fairfax 16 (London, 1979).
  49. Reproduced in facsimile by S. Gaselee and H.F.B. Brett-Smith, The Metamorphoses of Ovid, Translated by William Caxton 1480, 2 vols. (New York and Cambridge, 1968).



50. Reproduced in facsimile by D.S. Brewer and A.E.B. Owen, The Thornton Manuscript (Lincoln Cathedral MS 91) (London, 1975).  
Rough amateur drawing in pen-and-ink is of a combat between a knight and a giant as described on the recto of the previous fol. (52v).  
The subject-matter is appropriate to the material in the text.
51. This is a section of 'The sworne booke of Honorys', a translation of a book of magic.
52. Reproduced in facsimile by William, Earl of Carysfort, The Pageants of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, Roxburghe Club (Oxford, 1908) and H.A. Dillon and W.H. St. John Hope, Pageant of the Birth, Life and Death of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick K.G. 1389-1439 (London, 1914).
53. Companion manuscript to Laud Misc. 740.
54. The present whereabouts of the manuscript is unknown. According to Joseph A. Lauritis, A Critical Edition of John Lydgate's Life of Our Lady (Pittsburgh, Pa. and Louvain, 1961), p.1, Mostyn manuscripts 257 and 87 were sold at Sotheby's July 13 1920.. The Courtauld Institute has a photograph of an historiated initial.
55. Numbering taken from N.R. Ker, Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, 2, Abbotsford-Keele (Oxford, 1977).
56. Reproduced in facsimile by James Hogg, An Illustrated Yorkshire Carthusian Religious Miscellany: British Library London Additional MS 37049 Volume 3: The Illustrations, Analecta Cartusiana, 95 (Salzburg, 1981).
57. 'Dirige' and 'Parce michi' are illustrated in identical manner as the same two items in Cambridge, Trinity College R.3.21.
58. The fifth chapter of the English translation of Heinrich Suso's Horologium Sapientiae -- in the original Book, II chapter 2.
59. Reproduced in facsimile by Kathleen L. Scott, The Mirroure of the Worlde, Roxburghe Club (Oxford, 1980).
60. Pearsall and Cunningham, The Auchinleck, p.vii.
61. Loc. cit.
62. The first pages of the other items have been cut out.
63. Edited by G.L. Brook and R.F. Leslie, Laȝamon: Brut. Edited from British Museum MS. Cotton Caligula A. ix and British Museum MS Cotton Otho C. xiii, EETS OS 250 and 277 (London, 1963 and 1978).  
Date provided by Derek Pearsall, Old English and Middle English Poetry, Routledge History of English Poetry. 1 (London, Henley and Boston, 1977) p.294.
64. M.R. James, Bibliotheca Pepysiana, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Library of Samuel Pepys, Part 3, Medieval Manuscripts (London, 1923), p.89.

65. Otto Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford. 3. British, Irish, and Icelandic Schools with Addenda to Volumes 1 and 2 (Oxford, 1973), p.75.
66. E.G. Millar, 'Les Principaux Manuscrits à Peintures du Lambeth Palace à Londres', Bulletin de la Société Française de Reproductions des Manuscrits à Peintures, 9<sup>e</sup> Année (Paris, 1925), p.16. For full description of the miniatures see pp. 17 ff.
67. Pearsall and Cunningham, The Auchinleck Manuscript, p.viii.
68. H.L.D. Ward, Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, 2 (London, 1893), p.199.
69. See D.J.A. Ross, Alexander Historiatus: a Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature, Warburg Institute Surveys, 1 (London, 1963), and Oxford, Bodley 264.
70. For descriptions of early fourteenth-century Tristan manuscripts see Ward, op.cit., 1, pp.356; 359; 361, and R.S. and L.H. Loomis, Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art (London, 1938).
71. Margaret Rickert, Painting in Britain: the Middle Ages (2nd ed., Harmondsworth, 1965), pp.122 ff.
72. Laura Hibbard Loomis, 'The Auchinleck Manuscript and a Possible London Bookshop of 1330-40', PMLA, 57 (1942), 595-627 (p.598).
73. 'Chaucer and the Breton Lays of the Auchinleck Manuscript', Studies in Philology, 38 (1941), 14-33 (p.15).
74. N.R. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain (2nd edn., London, 1964), p.xi.
75. According to Loomis, 'The Auchinleck Manuscript', p.599, there are five; according to A.J. Bliss, 'Notes on the Auchinleck Manuscript', Speculum, 26 (1951) 652-58, there are six. This figure is verified by Pearsall and Cunningham, The Auchinleck, pp.viii and xv.
76. Loomis, 'The Auchinleck Manuscript', p.601.
77. Ibid., p.599. As a generalized account this is adequate: a more careful discrimination between the ruling of the various scribes is provided by Cunningham, The Auchinleck Manuscript, p.xiv.
78. Bliss, op.cit., p.659.
79. Too little is known for confident generalizations to be made. A clearer picture is beginning to emerge thanks to the researches of A.I. Doyle, J.J. Griffiths, M.B. Parkes, and K.L. Scott.
80. See Thompson, The Medieval Library, p.654; Parkes, 'Literacy of the Laity', p.563.
81. Troilus and Criseyde, p.1.
82. Parkes, 'Literacy of the Laity', p.564; A.I. Doyle and M.B. Parkes, 'The Production of Copies of the Canterbury Tales and the Confessio Amantis in the Early Fifteenth Century', in Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays presented to N.R. Ker, eds.,



- M.B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (London, 1978) pp.163-210 (p.197).
83. See Graham Pollard, 'The Company of Stationers Before 1557', The Library, 4th ser., 18 (1937-8), 1-38.
  84. Ibid., p.2.
  85. Ibid., p.5.
  86. Doyle and Parkes, 'The Production', p.197. Kathleen L. Scott, 'A Mid-Fifteenth-Century English Illuminating Shop and Its Customers', JWCI, 31 (1968), 170-196 (p.195), suggests that he may have been the owner of the copying shop.
  87. The English Book-Trade (London, 1939), p.21.
  88. Ibid., p.124.
  89. Doyle and Parkes, 'The Production', passim.
  90. Ibid., p.167.
  91. 'A Mid-Fifteenth-Century English Illuminating Shop', passim.
  92. Ibid., p.195.
  93. Lucy Freeman Sandler, The Peterborough Psalter in Brussels and Other Fenland Manuscripts (London, 1974), p.13.
  94. 'A Mid-Fifteenth-Century English Illuminating Shop', p.194.
  95. Sandler, passim.
  96. Ibid., p.12.
  97. Ibid., p.134. On the other hand, Bruce Watson, 'The Artists of the Tiptoft Missal and the Court Style', Scriptorium, 33 (1979), 25-39 concludes after an analysis of the Tiptoft Missal (p.38): 'Rather than being a number of artisans grouped together over a period of time under a master illuminator, the missal workshop may have been composed of itinerant artisans gathered together by the "publisher" for this one commission'.
  98. Sandler, p.134.
  99. The Auchinleck Manuscript, p.ix.
  100. Loc. cit.
  101. The Gestes of King Alexander of Macedon (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), p.8.
  102. Reproduced by M.R. James, Romance of Alexander.
  103. 1. (Erased, but the third word retraced). According to E.W.B. Nicholson (quoted in the Romance of Alexander, p.2) it seems to have read: Chi definent le Romans d'Alixandre. li veu du pauon. les acomplis semens li Restors r le pris. Explicit explicat luder' scriptor eat.

2. Chi define li romans du boin roi Alixandre.  
Et les veus du pauon. Les acomplissemens.  
Le Restor du pauon. et le pris. qui fu pscript  
Le. xviiij. ior de decembre. Lan. M. CCC. XXXviiij.
3. Explicit iste liber. scriptor sit crimine liber  
Xpristus scriptorem custodiat ac det honorem
4. Che liure fu perfais de le enluminure  
au xviiij Jour. dauryl. Per iehan de  
grise.. Lan de grace. M. CCC. Xliiiij.
5. Laus tibi sit xpe. qm̄ liber explicit iste  
Nomen scriptoris. est Thomas plenus amoris  
Qui ultra querit
104. Nicholson, loc. cit.; H. Bober, 'Flemish Miniatures from the Atelier of Jean de Grise. MS 11142 of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique', Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art, 17 (1947-48), 15-21 (p.15).
105. Pächt and Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, 3, p.70. Gerhard Schmidt, 'Two Unknown English Horae from the Fifteenth Century', Burlington Magazine, 103 (1961), 47-54 (p.53), dates it as late as c.1410.
106. fols. 216r-217v are blank.
107. See Pächt and Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, 3, p.70; Nicholson, quoted in the Romance of Alexander, p.3. The proper title in English for the Marco Polo would be that chosen by A.C. Moule and Paul Pelliot in their English edition: Marco Polo: The Description of the World (London, 1938), according to Leonardo Olschki, Marco Polo's Asia: An Introduction to his 'Description of the World' called 'Il Milione' (California, 1960), p.1, n.1. Nonetheless, the nickname Il Milione is the one adopted by Italians, by Olschki and by R. Wittkower, 'Marco Polo and the Pictorial Tradition of the Marvels of the East', in Oriente Poliano: Studi Conferenze tenute all'Is. M.E.O. in Occasione del VII Centenario della Nascita di Marco Polo, eds., E. Balazs et. al. (Rome, 1957), pp.155-172; reprinted in Allegory and the Migration of Symbols (London, 1977), pp.75-92.
108. A judgement confirmed by Nicholson, Romance of Alexander p.3; F.P. Magoun, The Gestes, p.13.
109. As Skeat, The Romance of Alexander and Dindimus, EETS ES 31 (London, 1878, repr. 1930), p.ix, points out, the interpolation occurs at an inappropriate moment since it interrupts an episode. Skeat was concerned about the existence of the blank column on fol. 67r: 'We can hardly suppose it was left for the purpose of introducing an illumination, because the shape of the slender column is unsuited for this' (loc. cit.). There is little reason to accept this view since on fol. 20v such a picture exists, using the tall, narrow shape of the column to accentuate its depiction of a castle with tapering, slender pinnacles and ascending levels of turrets. But, more importantly, whenever a full page illumination occurs, as it does on fols. 21v, 43v, 51v, 67v, 88v, 101v, 164v, 188v, 196v, the recto of the



- page is left blank, in order to emphasise the luxury nature of the manuscript, its prodigal use of vellum. The existence of these blank spaces offered a later scribe ample opportunity to contribute his own comments and he seems to have chosen fol. 67v at random.
110. D.J.A. Ross, Alexander Historiatus, p.11.
  111. Ibid., pp.31-2. This is the 1<sup>2</sup> recension of Historia de Preliis.
  112. Romance of Alexander, p.5.
  113. Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford, 1, German, Dutch, Flemish, French and Spanish Schools (Oxford, 1966), p.23.
  114. C.P.M.R. iii 11, quoted by Pollard, 'The Company of Stationers', p.3.
  115. Other owners include: Thomas Smythe, fol. 215v; Jasper Fylolle (inside front cover); 'Egidiij Strangeways militis' (fol. 2r) and Gyles Strangeways.
  116. D.J.A. Ross, 'Nectanebus in his Palace', JWCI, 15 (1952), 67-87 has argued convincingly that this 'confused and much altered' derivative of the frontispiece found in certain manuscripts of the French prose Alexander, is modelled on BL Royal 19. D.i.
  117. Pächt and Alexander, 3, p.70.
  118. Pächt and Alexander, 1, p.23.
  119. F.P. Magoun, The Gestes, p.11 suggests that ten illustrations were originally planned: 'At the top of the first column of fol. 209r., immediately preceding v.1 of the English poem is the rubric "How Alexandre partyd pennys" without an accompanying illumination. Nevertheless it would appear that an illumination was intended at this point; for the rubrics do not appear to constitute a part of the original text, being regularly associated elsewhere with illuminations, nor are they especially appropriate or sufficiently comprehensive as section heads for the following text'. But this seems insupportable in view of the fact that no text space was left for an illumination and the rubrics are unlikely to have been written before the text itself. I do not see why it could not be a section heading.
  120. For discussion of the contents of the miniatures see Chapter 4.
  121. Fols. 211v, 212v, 214r.
  122. Fols. 232v, 234v, 241r, 254r, 255v, 257v, 258r, 263v, 264v, 265v, 268r, 271v.
  123. For discussion of the style(s) see Rickert, Painting in Britain, pp.165-6; Gereth M. Spriggs, 'Unnoticed Bodleian Manuscripts Illuminated by Herman Scheere and his School', Bodleian Library Record, 7 (1962-7), 193-203 (p.194).
  124. 'The best illustrators were probably commissioned for a book only when a customer supported the unusual expense', Kathleen L. Scott, 'A Mid-Fifteenth-Century Illuminating Shop', p.195.

125. Parkes and Salter, Troilus and Criseyde, p.2.
126. For full references see loc. cit., n.7.
127. These allusions are discussed by Salter, *ibid.*, pp.16-18; Derek Pearsall, 'The Troilus Frontispiece and Chaucer's Audience', YES, 7 (1977), 68-74 (p.71).
128. Admittedly one is comparing dissimilar texts -- the courtly masterpiece of a poet who moved in court circles with an alliterative poem, a form which, as the checklist shows, rarely received illustration.
129. Troilus and Criseyde, p.13.
130. See Parkes' calculation *ibid.*, p.4. See also John H. Fisher, 'The Intended Illustrations in MS Corpus Christi 61 of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde', in Medieval Studies in Honor of Lillian Herlands Hornstein, eds., Jess B. Bessinger, Jr. and Robert R. Raymo (New York, 1976), pp.111-121. Fisher offers the hypothetical subject-matter for each miniature. His hypotheses are weakened by the lack of suggested iconographic parallels.
131. But cf. Pearsall, 'Troilus Frontispiece', who suggests this as a possibility, p.69.
132. A. Brusendorff, The Chaucer Tradition (London and Copenhagen, 1925; repr. 1967), p.23; Margaret Galway, 'The Troilus Frontispiece', MLR, 44 (1949), 161-177 (p.161).
133. Troilus and Criseyde, p.4.
134. *Ibid.*, p.13.
135. *Ibid.*, p.2.
136. See the descriptions in R.K. Root, The Manuscripts of Chaucer's Troilus, Chaucer Soc., 1st Ser., 98 (London, 1914). On p.13 he points out that the copy of Troilus in CUL Gg. iv. 27 has had the first page excised. Parkes and Beadle, Poetical Works: Geoffrey Chaucer, 3, p.58 remark that: 'Leaves have been lost at the beginnings of the selection of lyrics, the Books of Troilus, the Canterbury Tales, and most of the individual Tales within that work. Some of the surviving stubs show traces of decoration ... suggesting that the leaves were removed because they contained decoration or illustrations'. There is, however, no unequivocal evidence to show that this manuscript had miniatures in the Troilus section.
137. Pächt and Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, 3, p.97.
138. For further discussion see Chapter 3.
139. According to Parkes, Troilus and Criseyde, p.11, the hand is late-fifteenth-century.
140. For references see *ibid.* p.12, n.37.



141. Pearsall, 'The Troilus Frontispiece', p.69 summarizing the popular view.
142. Parkes and Salter, Troilus and Criseyde, p.12.
143. Loc. cit.
144. Parkes and Salter, p.11; A.I. Doyle, 'More Light on John Shirley', Medium Aevum, 30 (1961), 93-101 (p.93).
145. For full description of contents see Norton-Smith; Bodleian Library MS Fairfax 16, pp.xxiii-xxix.
146. Reproduced by Pamela Robinson, Manuscript Tanner 346: a Facsimile (Norman, Oklahoma, and Suffolk, 1980).
147. Ibid., p.xxiv.
148. Norton-Smith, p.x.
149. Robinson, loc. cit.
150. Brusendorff, op.cit., pp.186-92; Norton-Smith, pp.viii and xxiii-xxix.
151. Norton-Smith, p.vii.
152. For full description see ibid., p.xiii.
153. During the early part of the fifteenth century, manuscripts of English vernacular texts can be associated with a group of stylistically related artists, but the range of texts illustrated is extremely narrow. Herman Scheere is particularly associated with Confessio Amantis manuscripts (see below p.139) though an associate of his provided the miniature in BL Arundel 38, Hoccleve's De Regimine Principum (Margaret Rickert, Painting in Britain, p.174). On the other hand, William Abell and associates in the later part of the century were involved in illustrating a wide variety of secular texts. Jonathan Alexander, 'William Abell "Lymnour" and 15th Century English Illumination', in Kunsthistorische Forschungen Otto Pächt zu seinem 70 Geburtstag, eds, Artur Rosenauer and Gerold Weber (Salzburg, 1972) pp.166-172, lists the manuscripts produced by Abell and followers; an itemization of the secular items will give some idea of the range of text:  
 Probably by Abell (according to Alexander):  
 Bodley 686 -- Canterbury Tales  
 Bodley 943 -- Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers  
 BL Cotton Tiberius A. vii -- Lydgate's Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine  
 Fairfax 16 -- Chaucer and Lydgate minor pieces  
 Cambridge, St John's College H.5 -- Epître d'Othea  
 Oxford, New College 266 -- Confessio Amantis  
 Abell associates:  
 Edinburgh, Nat. Lib. of Scotland, Adv. 18.1.7 -- Nicholas Love  
 Manchester, John Rylands Library Eng. 1 -- Troy Book  
 Laud Misc. 733 -- Brut  
 Norton-Smith, Bodleian Library MS Fairfax 16, p.xii, however, has doubts about some of Alexander's attributions. He feels that the term 'School of William Abell' is a more appropriate designation.

In some respects, Abell's workshop can be said to have been influential in secular illumination. Both Scheere and Abell were based in London.

154. Loc. cit.
155. Ibid., p.xiii.
156. For further details see below, Chapter 6.
157. Norton-Smith p.xii.
158. Chaucer and the Country of the Stars (Princeton, 1970), p.136.
159. Parkes, 'Literacy of the Laity', p.570. For more details of the Grete Boke see A.I. Doyle, 'The Work of a Late Fifteenth-Century English Scribe, William Ebesham', Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 39 (1957) 298-325. Doyle also concludes that a common joint source is likely for Lansdowne and M775 'if Lansdowne is not actually (as some readings suggest) derived from the Morgan manuscript' (p.306).
160. Curt F. Bühler, 'Sir John Paston's Grete Booke, A Fifteenth-Century "Best Seller"', MLN, 56 (1941), 345-351 (p.350).
161. Full description of contents and miniatures with reproductions of the latter is given by Viscount Dillon, 'On a MS Collection of Ordinances of Chivalry of the Fifteenth Century, Belonging to Lord Hastings', Archaeologia, 57 (1900), 29-70.
162. See Dillon, *ibid.*, p.34.
163. Information folder held by New York, Pierpont Morgan Library.
164. For this information I am indebted to the Pierpont Morgan Library's information folder and the courtesy of the librarian in allowing me to consult it.
165. Rickert, Painting in Britain, p.185.
166. The only other example known to me does not occur in a naturalistic context as this does: I am referring to the arming scenes in Le Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine.
167. See also the remarks on the Master of Game in Chapter 3.
168. Apart from the manuscripts already mentioned -- the Auchinleck, Bodley 264, Fairfax 16 and Pierpont Morgan M 775 -- there are:  
BL Cotton Nero A. x  
Pierpont Morgan M 876, Sir Generides  
BL Harley 326, The Three King's Sons  
Oxford, Queen's Coll. 357, Narrative of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem  
Cambridge, Magdalene Coll. F. 4. 34 and Pepys 2124, Metamorphoses  
BL Harley 2407, Lydgate's Chorl and Bird  
BL Harley 4826, Lydgate's Secrees of Old Philosophers (apparently to fit in with the format of the rest of the manuscript).  
Oxford University College 85, Alain Chartiere's Quadrilogue and the Secreet of Secrets.



- Cambridge, Trinity College 0.5.6., Sydrak (apparently to fit in with the format of the rest of the manuscript).
- BL Royal 17 A. xlii, Of the nature of angels and spirits  
 BL Harley 1764, The Book of the Knight of La Tour-Landry  
 BL Harley 2320, Miscellany  
 CUL Mm.iii.29, Ceremonial tracts  
 BL Cotton Julius E. iv, Lydgate's Kings of England  
 BL Add 48976, The 'Rous Roll'  
 BL Cotton Julius E. iv art. 6, The Beauchamp Pageants  
 BL Harley 1671, The Weye to Paradise  
 BL Royal 17 B. xliii, St. Patrick's Purgatory; Vision of Tundal.  
 BL Cotton Vespasian B.xii, Prologue to Twety's Art of Hunting  
 Huntington HM 155, Capgrave's Life of St Norbert  
 Bodleian, Laud Misc. 658, History of the Three Kings of Cologne  
 As can be seen from the checklist the non-narrative religious texts are particularly likely not to fall into groups: they seem to have caught the imagination of the individual pious reader. For exceptions to this generalization see Chapter 3.
169. The manuscript is thought to have been written c.1400 -- see E.V. Gordon, Pearl (Oxford, 1953, repr. 1974), pp.xliiii-xliv.
170. Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art, p.138.
171. Gervase Mathew, The Court of Richard II (London, 1968), p.117.
172. J.J. Anderson, Patience (Manchester, 1972), p.2; J.P. Oakden, 'The Scribal Errors of the MS. Cotton Nero A.x', The Library, 4th ser., 14 (1933), 353-8 (p.354).
173. According to Richard Morris, Early English Alliterative Poems, EETS OS 1 (London, 1864), pp.xxxvi-xxxix until its rebinding in 1964, the manuscript consisted of (fols. 1-36) the Latin panegyric oration on John Chedworth, archdeacon of Lincoln, by Justus de Justis, dated at Verona 16 July, 1468; (fols. 37-126) the four poems under consideration; (fols. 127-140v) theological excerpts in Latin in a handwriting of the end of the thirteenth century to the end of which is appended Epitaphium de Ranulfo Abbate Ramesiensi. The manuscript has subsequently been repaginated so that it begins on fol.41.
174. W.W. Greg, Review of Gollancz' facsimile, MLR, 19 (1924), 223-8, (pp.226-7).
175. Gordon, op.cit., p.x; Jennifer A. Lee, 'The Illuminating Critic: the Illustrator of Cotton Nero A.x.', Studies in Iconography, 3 (1977), 17-46 (p.19), argues that the painter 'was almost certainly an amateur'.
176. In contrast to the 'secondary and uncharacteristic episodes' lamented by Hugo Buchthal, Historia Troiana: Studies in the History of Medieval Secular Illustration, Studies of the Warburg Institute, 32 (London, 1971), pp.16 ff.
177. Op.cit., p.19.
178. The complex logical process by which the poet constructs and elaborates his argument has been amply demonstrated by much drawing of schemata and diagrams (see e.g. Robert J. Menner, Purity A Middle

English Poem (Yale, 1920, repr. 1970), pp.xiv-xlvii; A.C. Spearing, The Gawain Poet: A Critical Study (Cambridge, 1970), pp.43-4).

The motif of the feast plays a great part in welding the heterogeneous incidents together. The whole scene comes to life and is given added particularity by the retelling of the parable of the marriage feast (ll. 24 ff.). Belshazzar's feast, the great set-piece at the end of the poem balances and inverts the import of the initial banquet: the blasphemous orgy is thrown into relief by the previous notion of the feast as an emblem of man's relationship with God. Indeed, these two incidents are not merely the two pillars around which the edifice of the poem is constructed: the metaphor permeates the whole narrative. The small feasts where Abraham and Lot in turn give God or his angels food is a symbol of the continuing goodwill between man and deity.

179. The concern for poetic structure shown by the placing of the coloured initials is discussed by L.L. Hill, 'Madden's Divisions of Sir Gawain and the Large Initial Capitals of Cotton Nero A.x', Speculum, 21 (1946), 67-71 and James W. Tuttleton, 'The Manuscript Divisions of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight', Speculum, 41 (1966), 304-10.
180. Op.cit., p.56.
181. See J.R.R. Tolkien and E.V. Gordon, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, second edtn., ed., Norman Davis (Oxford, 1967).
182. Arthurian Legends, p.138.
183. A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspective (Princeton, 1962), p.113.
184. Tolkien and Gordon, op.cit., p.121.
185. 'The Illuminating Critic', p.18.
186. See Chapter 1.
187. 'The Company of Stationers', p.16.
188. 'The Production', p.203.
189. Rosemond Tuve, Allegorical Imagery: Some Medieval Books and their Posterity (Princeton, 1966), p.71.
190. C.F. Bühler, 'Sir John Fastolf's Manuscripts of the Epître d'Othea and Stephen Scrope's Translation of This Text', Scriptorium, 3 (1949), 123-8 (p.126); K. Chesney, 'Two Manuscripts of Christine de Pisan', Medium Aevum, 1 (1932), 35-41 (p.38, n.3).
191. 'We have copies of this work with prefatory lines addressed to King Charles VI, Louis (Duc d'Orleans) Philippe le Hardi (Duc de Bourgogne) and Jean (Duc de Berry)' (Curt F. Bühler Stephen Scrope: The Epistle of Othea, EETS OS 264 (London, 1970), p.xviii).
192. 'Two Manuscripts', p.39.
193. Pächt and Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, 1, p.54.



194. Millard Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries, 1 (London, 1974), p.23.
195. Tuve, Allegorical Imagery, p.34.
196. Ibid., p.320.
197. See Gianni Mombello, La Tradizione Manoscritta dell' 'Epistre Othea' di Christine de Pizan (Torino, 1967), pp.346-357.
198. Ibid. pp.28-9.
199. The most modern edition is that by Bühler for the EETS.
200. Bühler says in his edition: 'of the three surviving manuscripts of the Othea, none has been copied from another', p.xxi.
201. Jonathan Alexander, 'William Abel "Lymnour"', p.168.
202. Stephen Scrope: The Epistle of Othea, p.xv, n.2.
203. Ibid., p.xvi.
204. 'Two Manuscripts', p.39.
205. Ibid., p.38.
206. See e.g. Sir George Frederick Warner, The Epistle of Othea to Hector, Roxburghe Club (London, 1904), p.xxix.
207. 'Sir John Fastolf's Manuscripts'.
208. See Pächt and Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, 1, p.54.
209. Bühler, Stephen Scrope: The Epistle of Othea, p.xvii.
210. Ibid., pp.xxii-xxiii.
211. There were two other independent translations see Bühler, *ibid.* p.xii.
212. Cf. Gower's Confessio Amantis. See below pp.134 ff.
213. V.H. Paltsits, 'The Petworth Manuscript of Grace Dieu or The Pilgrimage of the Soul: an English Illuminated Manuscript of the Fifteenth Century', Bull. of the New York Public Library, 32 (1928), 715-20 (p.718).
214. Loc. cit.
215. Tuve, Allegorical Imagery, p.147: 'Twenty-two manuscripts out of all Stürzinger's list of seventy-two contain all three pilgrimages'.
216. BL MS Egerton 615; BL Add. MS 34193; New York Public Library Spencer MS 19; Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 237; MS Bodley 770; Oxford, University College MS 181; Cambridge, Gonville and Caius MS 124; CUL Kk.i.7; Melbourne, State Library of Victoria MS 096/G94;

- Hatfield House Cecil Papers Vol.270. These are the manuscripts listed by James Stanley Flynn, 'Pilgrimage of the Soul': An Edition of the Caxton Imprint (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Auburn University, 1973), p.2, n.4.
217. There is no modern published edition of the text. The version produced by Katherine Isabella Cust, The Booke of the Pylgremage of the Sowle translated from the French of Guillaume De Guileville (London, 1859) is bowdlerized along anti-papist lines -- most references to Purgatory and to the Virgin Mary are removed. A facsimile of the Caxton imprint has been published by Walter J. Johnson, Inc., Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd. as The Pylgremage of the Sowle (Amsterdam, 1975). The fourteen poems which occur in the text have been attributed to Hoccleve and published separately by F.J. Furnivall, Hoccleve's Works, 3, The Regement of Princes and Fourteen of Hoccleve's Minor Poems, EETS ES 72 (London, 1897). H.N. MacCracken, 'Hoccleve and the Poems from Deguileville', The Nation, 85 (1907) 280-81. only accepts Poem vii as being by Hoccleve (on the basis of rhyme tests): 'I believe that the unknown translator of the prose versions of the "Pilgrimage of the Sowle" made the poetical versions also, Poem vii alone excepted' (p.281).
218. See below pp.118 ff.
219. An attribution which has been disputed by Kathryn Walls, 'Did Lydgate Translate the Pèlerinage de Vie Humaine?', N&Q, 24 (1977) 103-105.
220. Pearsall, John Lydgate, p.173.
221. Tuve, Allegorical Imagery, p.149.
222. Jonathan Alexander, 'William Abell "Lymnour"', p.167. Full list of illustrations provided in F.J. Furnivall and Katherine B. Locock eds., The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, EETS ES 77, 83, 92 (London, 1899, 1901, 1904), pp.lxviii-lxix.
223. P. Lasko and N.J. Morgan, Medieval Art in East Anglia (Norwich, 1973), p.46; Rickert, Painting in Britain, p.184.
224. See Tuve, Allegorical Imagery, p.149. It was, however, Âme that was the text Caxton decided to publish.
225. The appearance, in the seventeenth century, of an illustrated version of Vie, does not invalidate this point. Cambridge, Magdalene College Pepys MS 2258 appears to be a copy, checked against a French source, of the illustrations of Laud Misc. 740, see Tuve, op.cit., pp.201-218.
226. Edmond Faral, 'Guillaume de Diguileville, Jean Galloppes et Pierre Virgin', in Études Romanes Dédiées à Mario Roques, Société de Publications Romanes et Françaises, 25 (Paris, 1946), pp.89-102 (p.101).
227. Tuve, Allegorical Imagery, p.150.
228. E.G. Millar, 'Les Principaux Manuscrits', p.14.
229. Ibid., p.15.



230. Samuel K. Workman, Fifteenth Century Translation, p.181.
231. See Eleanor Simmons Greenhill, 'The Child in the Tree: A Study of the Cosmological Tree in Christian Tradition', Traditio, 10 (1954), 323-71.
232. Paltsits, 'The Petworth Manuscript', p.715.
233. The will is reproduced by Edward Peacock, 'Sir Thomas Cumberworth's Will', The Academy, 16 (1879), 230-232, 284-285.
234. Pächt and Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, 3, p.81.
235. Op.cit., p.230.
236. Flynn, 'Pilgrimage of the Soul', p.188.
237. It is difficult to count exactly. The manuscript is written in double columns. Some miniatures occupy the width of a single column only; others go across both columns. The miniature to the green tree and the dry tree consists of two individual scenes, separately framed, in parallel columns. Conflated, these two scenes would make a single picture in the manner of Egerton 615, Spencer 19 and Additional 34193.
238. Extracts also appear in BL Add. 37049, to be discussed in Chapter 3.
239. See eg. Richard Morris, ed., Legends of the Holy Rood, EETS OS 46 (London, 1871), pp.26 ff. (Vernon MS -- fourteenth century and Bodleian Ashmole 43 -- late thirteenth century); 62 ff. (Harl. 4196); 154 ff. (Caxton's Golden Legend). The story is retold in Mandeville's Travels (see P. Hamelius, EETS OS 153 (London, 1919), p.7. A pictorial version appears in the Hours of Catherine of Cleves (see the facsimile by John Plummer (New York, 1966), figs. 79-87), a mid-fifteenth century retelling of the tale.
240. For another example of the literalization of the requiem mass as food for the dead see Plummer, op.cit., fig.46 where bread is being placed on an altar while a mass is being conducted, and fig.47 where an angel flies down with a cloth containing bread to a table in hell at which three naked souls kneel.
241. See e.g. M.R. James and E.G. Millar, The Bohun Manuscripts, Roxburghe Club (Oxford, 1936), Plate xxx, Bodleian MS. Auct D 4.4, fol.169r; Plate liv, Vienna Nat. Lib. Cod. 1826 fol.141r; Plate lxi, Copenhagen, Roy. Lib., Thotts Saml. 574, fol.32v; Plate lxxviii Lib. of T.H. Riches, Shenley, Herts. fol.207r-- all second half of the fourteenth century.
242. Wrath often carries a knife (see Morton W. Bloomfield, The Seven Deadly Sins (Michigan, 1952), pp.231,237 and 242. For envy see Laud Misc. 733 fol.7r: 'And yf peyntours be called to peynte an envyous man. they peynte a man sleyng hym self with a swerde and riding vpon a Bore'.
243. BL Lansdowne 204 fol.204r. has a similar artist and border-artist

to these two manuscripts. Lansdowne 204 is a copy of Hardyng's Chronicle.

244. Fols. 44r; 51v; 55r; 56v; 65r; 72r; 81r; 86r; 87v; 95r.
245. Or, strictly speaking, that in Egerton is contracted, since Spencer 19 is probably earlier (see M.B. Parkes, Troilus and Criseyde, p.5, n.15).
246. See J.J. Stürzinger, Le Pèlerinage de L'Âme, Roxburghe Club (London, 1895), pp. 75 ff.
247. E.g. Douce 305; Rosenbach 241/2; BL Add. 38120.
248. Allegorical Imagery, p.160.
249. See Chapter 3.
250. G.C. Macaulay, The Complete Works of John Gower, 1, The French Works, (Oxford, 1899), p.xliii.
251. Ibid. p.lxii.
252. It also appears in manuscripts which also contain Vox Clamantis -- for a full list see Macaulay, op.cit., pp.lxxxv-lxxxvi.
253. Macaulay, The Complete Works of John Gower, 4, The Latin Works (Oxford, 1902), p.lix.
254. Fisher's suggestion, Gower: Moral Philosopher and Friend of Chaucer (New York, 1964), p.145, that the threefold division represents the three estates, is untenable in view of the design on the globe -- see the frontispiece to Macaulay vol.4.
255. Macaulay, op.cit., 4, p.lx.
256. 'The original text of the Vox Clamantis seems to have been written by one and the same hand in the All Souls and Glasgow MSS. and this hand is also that of the lines supplied occasionally in the margin of the Harleian: the hand in which the text of the Cronica Tripertita is written in the All Souls MS. appears also in all the other three, and the same is the case with some of the correctors' hands', Macaulay, loc. cit.
257. Macaulay, ibid., p.lxvi.
258. See Chapter 6. According to Macaulay, The English Works of John Gower, EETS ES 81 (1900, repr. Oxford, 1969), p.clx, New Coll. dates from the first quarter of the fifteenth century, but if the miniatures are by William Abell as Alexander suggests, 'William Abell, "Lymnour"', p.168, it must be later. His work falls in the period between c.1440 and c.1465.
259. Except possibly for California, Henry E. Huntington Library EL. 26 A. 17 which has a miniature of Nebuchadnezzar's dream in the same place and a leaf missing which would have contained Pro. 1055-1 106 and might have contained a miniature (note left by Kate Harris in information folder at the Henry E. Huntington Library and kindly made available to me by Consuelo Dutschke).



260. The prevalence of the Nebuchadnezzar iconography can be shown by Beryl Smalley, Historians in the Middle Ages (London, 1974) in the notes to the illustrations facing pp.32 and 40.
261. Though it is not, in itself, an unusual scene -- see Chapter 3.
262. The English Works, p.cxxx.
263. Denise N. Baker, 'The Priesthood of Genius: A Study of the Medieval Tradition', Speculum, 51 (1976), 277-91.(p.277). For discussion of the development of the figure of Genius: see the remainder of the article and also E.C. Knowlton, 'The Allegorical Figure Genius', Classical Philology, 15 (1920), 380-384 and 'Genius as an Allegorical Figure', MLN 39 (1924), 89-95.
264. Gower has a more exalted view of Genius here than in Vox Clamantis. In Book IV chap. 14 he writes:  
 Quas Venus et Genius cellas modo rite gubernant,  
 Carnis non claustris iura tenere docent:  
 Conuentus custos Genius confessor et extat,  
 Et quandoque locum presulis ipse tenet:  
 Sub specie iuris in claustro visitat ipsas,  
 Quas veniens thalamis, iure negante, regit.  
 Sit licet in capa furrata, dum docet ipse,  
 Nuda tamen valde iure ministrat eis:  
 Iudicio Genii pro culpis sunt lapidate,  
 Set neque mortalis aggrauat ictus eas.  
 O virtus cleri cum sit custos animarum  
 Quanta sacerdotis gesta beata patent!
265. Meg Twycross, The Medieval Anadyomene: A Study in Chaucer's Mythography, Medium Aevum Monographs, New Series, 1 (Oxford, 1972), p.4.
266. Macaulay, The English Works, p.xciv.
267. *Ibid.*, p.clxvii.
268. The topic will be discussed by Pearsall, Griffiths and Harris.
269. For full details see G.M. Spriggs, 'Unnoticed Bodleian Manuscripts'.
270. Doyle and Parkes, 'The Production', p.177.
271. Margaret Rickert, Painting in Britain, pp.172-3.
272. Pächt and Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, 3, p.70.
273. *Op.cit.*, p.200.
274. *Loc. cit.*
275. Russell A. Peck, Kingship and Common Profit: in Gower's Confessio Amantis (London, 1978), p.xxiii.
276. *Prolog.* 1.19.



277. The Visual Experience of Fifteenth-Century English Readers  
(Unpublished D. Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1977).
278. Life of Our Lady, seven illustrated manuscripts, including two with spaces left for a miniature; Fall of Princes, five manuscripts; Siege of Thebes, three manuscripts including one with sixteenth-century illuminations; Troy Book, eight manuscripts including one in which the miniatures have been cut out; Death's Warning, two manuscripts depicting death as a skeleton; Life of St Edmund and St Fremund, five manuscripts; The Kings of England sithen William Conqueror, one manuscript; Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine, two manuscripts including one with spaces left for miniature, plus one possible fragment.
279. There is, unusually, no internal evidence for the attribution; Lydgate does not record in the text itself the date and circumstances of the commission.
280. Henry Noble MacCracken, The Minor Poems of John Lydgate, 1. The Lydgate Canon: Religious Poems, EETS ES 107 (London, 1911, repr. 1962), pp.250-2; 297-9.
281. Ibid., pp.268-279.
282. John Lydgate: A Study in the Culture of the XVth Century, (London, 1961), p.128.
283. MacCracken, op.cit., p.145.
284. MacCracken, op.cit., 2. Secular Poems, EETS OS 192 (London, 1934, repr. 1961), p.433.
285. Ibid. 1, p.291.
286. Ibid., 2, pp.668-701.
287. ed. C. Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge (Heilbronn, 1881), pp.376-445.
288. Pearsall, John Lydgate, p.26.
289. I 130-192.
290. John Lydgate, p.25.
291. P. Lasko and N.J. Morgan, Medieval Art in East Anglia 1330-1520 (Norwich, 1973), p.46.
292. II 220-224.
293. On the other hand, his father was only thirteen when he was put in charge of North Wales and the Marches (Jacob, Fifteenth Century, p.101), a possible indication that twelve was not considered as young in the Middle Ages as it is now.
294. First noticed and described by K.L. Scott in a forthcoming article for Viator. I am grateful to Dr Scott for allowing me to see this article in typescript.

295. DNB
296. Kathleen Scott, art. cit.
297. Harley 4826 alludes to 'sixte herry' every time a monarch is mentioned. At l. 43 (Horstmann's edition), the Banner of St Edmund, which occurs at the end of the later manuscripts rather than at the beginning as in Harley 2278, Ashmole 46 mentions 'fourte Edward' whereas Yates Thompson has 'Sixte herry' and Arundel is incomplete. Both Yates Thompson and Ashmole retain the allusion to Henry at ll. 175 ff. (Horstmann p.380), but whereas Ashmole and Arundel at l. 833 (Horstmann p.428), exhort St Fremund to 'save vj<sup>te</sup> herry', Yates Thompson refers to 'iiij Edward', subsequently altered back by Stowe whose hand appears in the manuscript. Ashmole and Arundel return to Edward at l. 1517 (Horstmann p.439): 'And to ffourte Edward Joye and Felicity' whereas Yates Thompson returns to 'syxte Herry'.
298. See Chapter 6.
299. K.L. Scott, art. cit.
300. It would seem more plausible to speculate on commercial activity in the town than to postulate a scriptorium at the abbey.
301. Art.cit.
302. P.7 Lydgate praying for help at St Edmund's tomb; p.12 Widow seeing sun shine out of Alkmond's breast; Alkmond visitng shrines in Rome; p.20 Reception of Offa by Alkmond, Siware and Edmund; p.23 Offa bestowing ring on Edmund; p.25 Departure of Offa; p.31 The office of the dead read over Offa; p.38 five wells springing up at Edmund's arrival at 'maydenborn'; p.44 The coronation of Edmund; p.61 Lothbrok hunting; p.63 Lothbrok presented to Edmund; p.72 Bern rescued, led before Ingwar and Ubba; p.98 Edmund being shot full of arrows; p.107 The finding of the head; p.109 Edmund's head being joined to body; p.129 Fremund setting out with two companions; p.135 Messengers finding Fremund; p.171 Death of Leoffstan.
303. J.B. Trapp, 'Verses by Lydgate at Long Melford', RES, New Series, 6 (1955), 1-11. Rosemary Woolf, 'English Imitations of the Homelia Origenis De Maria Magdalena', in Chaucer and Middle English Studies in Honour of Russell Hope Robbins, ed., Beryl Rowland (London, 1974), pp.384-91 (p.390, n.3) contends that this poem does not exist and is, in fact, a complaint of the Virgin. The point remains unaltered.



### Chapter 3

1. For the advantage of having a patron see H.S. Bennett, Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century (Oxford, 1947), pp.107-109; S. Moore, 'General Aspects of Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages', The Library, 3rd ser., 4 (1913), 369-92.
2. 'Pictorial Illustration of Late Medieval Poetic Texts: The Role of the Frontispiece or Prefatory Picture', in Medieval Iconography and Narrative: a Symposium, ed., F.G. Anderson (Odense, 1980), pp.100-123 (p.106).
3. For example in manuscripts of Lydgate's Troy Book.
4. For presentation pictures containing portraits of the recipient see Millard Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late XIV Century and the Patronage of the Duke, 2, (London and New York, 1967), figs. 382, Jean de Vaudetar presenting a Bible to Charles V; 486, Jaques Legrand presenting a book to the Duke de Berry; 487, Salmon presenting his manuscript to Charles VI (a portrait of the Duke de Berry can be seen among the attendant courtiers); 500 and 503, Premierfait giving a Boccaccio manuscript to the Duke.
5. According to Jerome Mitchell, Thomas Hoccleve: A Study in Early Fifteenth-Century English Poetic (Urbana, 1968), p.4, there is a certain amount of conventional poverty in Hoccleve's frequent complaints to his empty purse.
6. All quotations are taken from Hoccleve's Works: 3, The Regement of Princes and Fourteen Minor Poems, ed., F.J. Furnivall, EETS ES 72 (London, 1897).
7. BL MSS Arundel 38, Harley 4826, Royal 17 D.vi, Harley 4866; Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library 1083/30; Coventry Corporation Record Office MS Acc. 325/1. CUL MS Hh.iv.11 reveals the border-line between denotation and decoration. The degree of finish is not high. There is a ten-line pink and blue initial 'M' on a yellow ground in the top left-hand corner. Within the 'M' is a seated figure holding onto a lobe of the letter with each hand. A banderole goes diagonally above his head and the end trails in the left-hand margin. It reads: 'Bewar stodi not to sore'. However, other human figures and animals which seem to have only a sporadic reference to the text, if any, also animate the borders. On the same fol., for example, in the right-hand corner, is a small devil climbing amongst the foliage. So if the figure in the initial is an author picture, it is combined with a jeu d'esprit. Cf. also fols. 10r, 21r, 36r, 38v, 44r, 52r, 58r, 60v, 63v -- this has an historiated initial halfway down the page beginning the line: 'Now of Chastite wol I speke in haste'. It contains an appropriately dressed seated female figure wearing a veil and wimple, and holding a clasped book in her right hand and the lobe of the letter with her left -- 68v, 72v, 78v, 83v, 85v, 88v.
8. Sir George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, British Museum Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections, 2, Royal MSS 12 A.1 to 20 E.X and App.1-89 (London, 1921), p.252.



The figure of Henry on fol.40r reminds me of the standing figures in the Dicts manuscripts drawn by William Abell et al. See below pp.188 ff.

9. Aage Brusendorff, The Chaucer Tradition (London and Copenhagen, 1925), p.14, challenges the authority of the various manuscripts including that of Harley 4866 which Furnivall chose as the basis of his edition on the grounds of the portrait of Chaucer. Arundel has a leaf missing between fols. 90 and 91 containing the lines referring to Chaucer so the manuscript may originally have contained the full cycle of illustration.
10. A.I. Doyle and M.B. Parkes, 'The Production of Copies of the Canterbury Tales and the Confessio Amantis in the Early Fifteenth Century', in Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N.R. Ker, eds., M.B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (London, 1978), pp.163-210 (p.203 n.106) accept the usual assumption that the manuscript was made for Henry though Seymour, 'The Manuscripts of Hoccleve's Regiment of Princes', Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 4 (1955-71), 255-93 (p.255) is of the opinion that the presentation copy to Henry is no longer extant. On p.264 he notes the arms of the Fitz Alans, Earls of Arundel in the border-work as well as the 'royal arms of England differenced for the Prince of Wales'. He suggests that this manuscript may have been a presentation volume given, perhaps, to Thomas Fitz Alan (d.1415).
11. Margaret Rickert, Painting in Britain: the Middle Ages (2nd ed., Harmondsworth, 1965) pp.174-76; D.H. Turner, 'The Bedford Hours and Psalter', Apollo, 76 (1962), 265-270 (p.269); William A. Shaw, 'The Early English School of Portraiture', Burl. Mag., 65 (1934), 171-184.
12. Rickert, op.cit., p.174.
13. Furnival, op.cit., ll. 799-833. According to A.I. Doyle and M.B. Parkes, 'The Production', p.182, he was keen enough to do some freelancing on Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.2.
14. Otto Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford, 3, British, Irish and Icelandic Schools with Addenda to Volumes 1 and 2, (Oxford, 1973), p.161.
15. See Chapter 5 for further details.
16. Cf. Nebuchadnezzar in Fairfax 3 (Fig.13) and David in early-fourteenth-century psalters (for the Ormesby Psalter see Pächt and Alexander, op.cit., Pl. LX).
17. See Chapter 6.
18. See Chapter 2, pp.144 ff. Lydgate's translation of Le Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine is not convincingly associated with a presentation miniature: BL Cotton Tiberius is incomplete and Harley 4826 has only a picture without a text.
19. See Chapter 2, p.112.

20. All quotations are from the edition by Curt F. Bühler, Stephen Scrope: The Epistle of Othea, EETS OS 264 (London, 1970).
21. Other manuscripts of texts in which presentation miniatures occasionally appear are as follows:  
 Bodleian MS Douce 335, a copy of the Master of Game, has a simple composition in an historiated initial of Edward, second Duke of York presenting his book to Henry V (Slide 55); a late copy of the same text, BL Royal MS 18 C.xviii -- c.1500 -- also has an historiated initial containing a scene of presentation. The composition is equally simple.  
 The only known text of Capgrave's Life of St. Norbert -- San Marino, California, Henry E. Huntington Library MS HM 55 -- has an historiated initial showing Capgrave presenting his book to John Wigenhale, Abbot of West Dereham, Norfolk. This manuscript is apparently the author's autograph: the decorative work is fairly crude (see P.J. Croft, Autograph Poetry in the English Language: Facsimiles of Original Manuscripts from the Fourteenth to the Twentieth Century, I (London, 1973), p.182 for reproduction).  
 Finally, London, Lambeth Palace MS 265 which appears to have belonged to Edward IV (see M.R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace (Cambridge, 1932), p.412), is a verbatim copy of Caxton's printed edition of the Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers by Earl Rivers published November 1477 and is dated about six weeks later. On fol.1v is the picture of the presentation of the book to Edward IV.
22. See Chapter 2, p.78.
23. 'Pictorial Illustration', pp.115-16. They are: the author as teacher; the author as writer; the author as reader; the author as reporter; the author as preacher; the author as dreamer; the author as protégé of a patron; the author as protagonist, represented in a famous scene from his life.
24. Other motifs occasionally appear in manuscripts of texts which are translations: the author as preacher occurs in Bodleian MS Laud Misc. 740, a manuscript of Deguileville's Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine; the author as reporter occurs in Rosenbach Museum and Library MS 439/16, a manuscript of Lydgate's Fall of Princes; the author as reader, represented as reading from his book which he has before him on a lectern can be found in BL Harley 4789, a copy of Trevisa's De Proprietatibus Rerum which begins with an initial of a figure in a black gown or habit with a badly damaged head, standing, facing right, resting both hands on an open book which looks as if it ought to be resting on a lectern which was not painted or drawn in.
25. 'Illumination', in J.M. Manly and E. Rickert, The Text of the Canterbury Tales, I (Chicago, 1940), p.585.
26. Pächt and Alexander, op.cit., p.162, call him 'the narrator'. Some transitional types may be seen in Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries, 2 (London, 1974), fig.432, a portrait of St Jerome in his study by Tommaso da Modena, c.1360. The picture shows a well-stocked cubicle with shelves and lecterns. The seated saint has an open



book on his knee and points to an open book on the lectern on the right with his left hand. The work of the Brussels Initials Master displays similar iconography. On fol.17v of Parma, Bibl. Palatina lat.159 (see Meiss, Late XIV Century, op.cit., fig.728) St Matthew holds an open book in his right hand to which he points with the index finger of his other hand. In the portrait of St Mark in BL Add 29433 fol.16v (Meiss, ibid., fig.733) the saint rests his left foot on his right thigh and rests an open book against his left knee, pointing to the book with the index finger of his right hand. Rickert, 'Illumination', loc.cit., suggests that the gesticulating figure at the beginning of Bodley 686 was intended to be the 'person for whom the MS was made'. This is less plausible, though Oxford, All Souls College MS 98 indicates that the owner, too, could be transformed into a nota bene sign with a personality. In the initial 'S' on fol.1r there is a portrait of Archbishop Arundel in his robes and mitre pointing towards the text (G.C. Macaulay, The Complete Works of John Gower: 4 The Latin Works (Oxford, 1902) pp.lx-lxi) (Slide 56).

27. Sold at Christie's in 1974 to the House of El. Dieff of New York. The facsimile can be consulted as BL MS facs. 405 (17).
28. Hilton Kelliher, 'The Historiated Initial in the Devonshire Chaucer', N & Q, New Series, 24 (1977), 197 describes him as sitting on a grassy bank. It is confusing in a black and white photograph but the lines of a bench can be observed, see Manly and Rickert, op.cit., pp.117-18.
29. Op.cit., p.622.
30. Op.cit., p.197.
31. Loc.cit.
32. See Kathleen L. Scott, The Caxton Master and His Patrons, Cambridge Bibliographical Society Monographs, 8 (Cambridge, 1976), pp.3-10 for discussion.
33. Op.cit., p.118.
34. Ibid., p.586.
35. Op.cit., p.197.
36. M.B. Parkes and Elizabeth Salter, Troilus and Criseyde, Geoffrey Chaucer: A Facsimile of Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 61 (Cambridge, 1978), p.15.
37. Salter, Troilus and Criseyde, op.cit., pp.16-18; Derek Pearsall 'The Troilus Frontispiece and Chaucer's Audience', YES, 7 (1977), 68-74 (p.71).
38. See M. Galway, 'The Troilus Frontispiece', MLR, 44 (1949), 161-177 for an over-ambitious and tendentious statement.
39. The face of the lady does this, at least. From the angle of the head one can deduce that the man was looking also.



40. Pearsall, 'The Troilus Frontispiece', pp.71-72, plates II-IV; James H. McGregor, 'The Iconography of Chaucer in Hoccleve's De Regimine Principum and in the Troilus Frontispiece', Chau.R., 11 (1977), 338-50 (pp.338; 346-47).
41. Parkes and Salter, Troilus and Criseyde, p.19.
42. Ibid., p.17.
43. Chapter 1, pp.36-7.
44. Op.cit., p.338.
45. For a discussion see Pearsall, 'The Troilus Frontispiece', p.68.
46. See e.g. Derek Pearsall, Old English and Middle English Poetry, The Routledge History of English Poetry, 1 (London, 1977), pp.119; 189 ff.
47. C.F.E. Spurgeon, Five Hundred Years of Chaucer Criticism and Allusion 1357-1900, 1 (Cambridge, 1925), pp.x; xii-xiv; 14-43.
48. McGregor, op.cit., p.340.
49. Ibid., p.348.
50. For a different view see Salter, Troilus and Criseyde, p.22.
51. BL Harley MS 4826 originally had two author portraits -- Hoccleve and Chaucer.
52. BL Harley 4826 once had a Chaucer portrait but it has been cut out. Arundel 38 may have had a portrait on its missing leaf. The surviving portraits are in BL Harley 4866, Philadelphia, Rosenbach Museum and Library 1083/30, BL Royal 17 D.vi.
53. See e.g. M.H. Spielmann, The Portraits of Geoffrey Chaucer, Chaucer Soc., 2nd ser., 31 (London, 1900). On the other hand, Shaw, 'The Early English School', p.175 notes that the portrait of Chaucer in Harl.4866 'is repeated in a bust drawing on folio 54b, of MS 42131'. In other words, the portrait figure was part of the vocabulary of pictorial types habitually used by the illustrator.
54. Again, I seem to be arguing for the same broad conclusions as McGregor except that he has a tendency to be over-ingenious. He suggests, p.343, that Chaucer is being offered to Henry as model royal counsellor. It seems to me that it is impossible to be this precise.
55. I am adopting what appears to be a useful distinction between characterization and portraiture from Turner, 'The Bedford Hours', p.269: 'Throughout the middle ages English art can be credited with an increasing talent for characterisation. At the turn of the fourteenth century the Dominican John Siferwas was executing definite "portraits" of himself, of the scribe who collaborated with him, and of his patrons'.
56. Spielmann, op.cit., p.11.

57. For full details of panel paintings see Spielmann passim.
58. Lansdowne and C.C.C.C. 61 are unrelated to this prototype. As each portrays a younger looking man they have a superficial resemblance to each other.
59. Margaret Rickert, 'Illumination', p.592: 'There is a strong element of illustration in these pictures, and not much modelling in the faces or figures, which are differentiated rather as types than as individuals'.
60. H.C. Schulz, The Ellesmere Manuscript of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales (San Marino, 1966), p.3; Margaret Rickert, 'Illumination', p.596.
61. Schulz, loc.cit.
62. See e.g. Theo Stemmler, ed. The Ellesmere Miniatures of the Canterbury Pilgrims, Poetria Medievalis, 2 (Mannheim, 1976), p.xii; Mitchell, Thomas Hoccleve, p.111; Margaret Rickert, 'Illumination', p.589.
63. Op.cit., p.xiii.
64. According to R.S. Loomis, A Mirror of Chaucer's World (Princeton, 1965), p.1, the poem was begun in 1411; Schulz, op.cit., p.6 dates it 1410-12. But cf. Clive E. Driver, A Selection from our Shelves: Books, Manuscripts, and Drawings from the Philip H. and A.S.W. Rosenbach Foundation Museum (Philadelphia, 1973), item 2. The Rosenbach manuscript has a colophon dating it 1410. The manuscript contains both De Regimine Principum and Walton's translation of De Consolatione Philosophiae written by the same scribe all on the same paper with a watermark which suggests a date consonant with the date in the colophon. The Chaucer portrait is the only illustration in the book.
65. Rickert, 'Illumination', p.589.
66. In the case of Hoccleve they may have been one and the same. See Doyle and Parkes, 'The Production'. They find Hoccleve's hand in a manuscript of the Canterbury Tales, Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.2 (p. 182) which they date between 1408 and 1426.
67. Portraits of authors of course appear, but not usually in works by other people. In the Fall of Princes Petrarch appears to Boccaccio and this moment is illustrated (see Chapter 6), but this is not an exact parallel.
68. See Brusendorff, pp.129-30. According to Charles A. Owen Jr., 'The Alternative Reading of The Canterbury Tales: Chaucer's Text and the Early Manuscripts', PMLA, 97 (1982), 237-250 (p.237, n.1 and the authorities cited there), there is a consensus among scholars that the Ellesmere order represents Chaucer's order. This is not the view of, for example, Doyle and Parkes, 'The Production', or of J.S.P. Tatlock, 'The Canterbury Tales in 1400', PMLA, 50 (1935), 100-39.
69. Owen, op.cit., p.237. Hengwrt 'shows, through its makeup and various deficiencies, the lack of an established sequence of the whole



- collection', Doyle and Parkes, The Canterbury Tales: A Facsimile and Transcription of the Hengwrt Manuscript, with Variants from the Ellesmere Manuscript, ed., Paul G. Ruggiers. Introductions by Donald C. Baker and by A.I. Doyle and M.B. Parkes (Norman and Folkestone, 1978), p.xix.
70. For full description see Doyle and Parkes, 'The Production', pp.185 ff.
71. For this term I am indebted to Dr Kathleen Scott. I arrived at the idea independently, but a conversation with Dr Scott suggested the phrase. Owen, op.cit., p.238, indicates that the glosses of Ellesmere (and of Hengwrt) 'break down into three types. The first, the indexing marginalia, include the pointing hands, the "nota"s and "nota bene"s, the "verum"s, the "auctor"s, the names from the text and the summary titles of subject matter or incident, which, like the rubrics and the running heads, help readers find what they are looking for'. Thus, pointing nota bene signs were already a useful part of the apparatus of the text.
72. Op.cit., p.xx.
73. Jill Mann, Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire (Cambridge, 1973), p.13.
74. For the squire, no doubt parallels could be found in calendar pictures for April and May (see Salter and Pearsall, 'Pictorial Illustration', p.105); for the physician's scrutiny of his uroscopy flask see e.g. L.C. MacKinney, Medical Illustrations in Medieval Manuscripts, Publications of the Wellcome Historical Medical Library, NS, 5 (London, 1965), figs. 7-10; 15.
75. All quotations are from F.N. Robinson, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, 2nd, ed. (London, 1957).
76. Stemmler, op.cit., p.xv.
77. The Reeve is well and accurately characterized by his illustrator. He is extremely thin with long, lanky legs. His hairstyle and lack of beard also correspond to the textual description as do his clothes -- he wears a blue-grey coat tucked under his girdle. Some attention has also been paid to his horse, which has been dappled as described. The Pardoner is beardless and his long, lank, yellow locks fall over his shoulders. The wallet which is said to contain his hood is round his horse's neck rather than in his lap, but his headgear conforms to the text in every respect. He is bareheaded except for his cap and on the front of it can be clearly seen the 'vernycle'. In his left hand he holds a cross, presumably meant to represent the 'croys of latoun'. The Wife of Bath corresponds to the text in all but a few minor respects: she has a 'foot-mantel' round her hips, she wears spurs and her hat is large. The remainder of her headgear is lavish and seems to approximate to the description: the neck of her dress comes up high and may well be holding a wimple in place while the voluminous kerchiefs seem appropriate to character. She does not, however, wear red hose and her shoes seem ill-defined. The other characters mentioned show similar care in their creation.
78. Schulz, op.cit., p.4.



79. The picture does not deserve Loomis's stricture, A Mirror, p.68, that the 'receding forehead hardly suggests an intellectual type devoted to Aristotle and his philosophy', especially since the receding forehead, as Stemmler points out, op.cit., p.xvi, is an effect of perspective -- he is looking upwards; nor can I agree with Stemmler's own high estimate of the picture.
80. Schulz, op.cit., p.5.
81. See Kenneth Varty, Reynard the Fox: A Study of the Fox in Medieval English Art (Leicester, 1967), plates 24,25,28,29,30,32-36,38-42, 44-46.
82. In the Museum of London. Reproduced Derek Brewer, Chaucer and his World (London, 1978), p.172.
83. For a related view of the Ellesmere manuscript as a compilatio, and a more extensive consideration of the non-pictorial apparatus see Doyle and Parkes, 'The Production', pp.190-91.
84. Owen, op.cit., p.243.
85. M.B. Parkes and Richard Beadle, Poetical Works: Geoffrey Chaucer: A Facsimile of Cambridge University Library MS Gg.4.27, 3 (Cambridge, 1980), p.7.
86. Manly and Rickert, The Text, pp.173 and 396.
87. Op.cit., p.201.
88. Manly and Rickert, op.cit., p.170.
89. Parkes and Beadle, op.cit., p.42.
90. Margaret Rickert, 'Illumination', p.594.
91. Parkes and Beadle, op.cit., p.59.
92. Reproduced as a frontispiece to Rosenbach Company, An Exhibition of Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts and Books in Honor of the Six Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Geoffrey Chaucer (1340-1400) (New York, 1940).
93. A logical extension of the pilgrim motif can be seen in BL Arundel 119, a manuscript of Lydgate's Siege of Thebes which begins with a six-line historiated initial of a man in a black cloak and hood riding a horse. This is no doubt meant to represent Lydgate himself.
94. The folio is reproduced as a frontispiece to Manly's edition of the Canterbury Tales (London, 1935) where Manly states that it is probably intended to represent Chaucer, but in The Text of the Canterbury Tales, p.583, Margaret Rickert suggests that it is probably meant as Melibeus: 'One would expect to find ... a picture of the narrator, that is, Chaucer; but the figure seems absurdly unfit to represent him'. Why this should be so she does not say. The figure is only absurd if one is expecting any degree of portraiture. It is true that it bears no resemblance to

- 'authentic' portraits of Chaucer. Pächt and Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts, 3, p.164 also suggest tentatively that he is Melibeus.
95. Curt F. Bühler, The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers, EETS OS 211 (London, 1941), pp.xxxviii and xlii.
  96. D.J.A. Ross, Alexander Historiatus: A Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature, Warburg Institute Surveys, 1 (London, 1963), p.7 from whom this information is derived. Cahn and Marrow, 'Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts at Yale: A Selection', The Yale University Library Gazette, 52 (1978), 174-283 (p.220) point out: 'Of the series of Western translations stemming from the Arabic source, only the French and English versions appear to have fostered a tradition of illustration based upon representations of the philosophers. Whereas in some manuscripts each chapter begins with an image, in others, only the most significant philosophers are depicted'.
  97. Bühler, op.cit., p.xlviii.
  98. Ibid., p.48.
  99. Ibid., p.xxxii.
  100. Ibid., p.xxx.
  101. Ibid., p.xxxvii.
  102. 'A New Chaucer Manuscript', PMLA, 83 (1968), 22-34 (pp.23-24). The above information has been extracted from this article.
  103. Ibid., p.24.
  104. Loc.cit.
  105. Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Ital. 115, Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology, 35 (Princeton, 1961), p.xxiii.
  106. Gaston Phébus: Livre de Chasse, ed., Gunnar Tilander (Karlskrona, 1971).
  107. Ibid., p.22.
  108. W.A. and F. Baillie-Grohman, eds., The Master of Game by Edward, 2nd Duke of York: The Oldest English Book on Hunting, (London, 1904).
  109. H.S. Bennett, Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century, p.198; D.A. Pearsall, 'Hunting Scenes in Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts', Connoisseur, 196 (1977), 170-81 (p.170).
  110. Bror Danielsson, ed., William Twiti: The Art of Hunting 1327, Stockholm Studies in English, 37 (Stockholm, 1977), p.17.
  111. Baillie-Grohman, op.cit., pp.3-4. They write [sic] after 'for pi' as they take 'pi' to be an inadequate rendering of 'these' whereas

- I take 'for pi' to be the conjunction 'forpi' -- 'therefore'.
112. Ibid., p.22.
  113. Tilander, op.cit., pp.143-4.
  114. Ibid., pp.227-28. My italics.
  115. Ibid., p.257.
  116. Ibid., p.259. See also pp.262,264,etc.
  117. Ibid., p.261.
  118. A list of the manuscripts is provided by Baillie-Grohman, op.cit., pp.234 ff.
  119. Ibid., p.xxxvii.
  120. Meiss, The Limbourgs, p.60 mentions Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 616; BN fr.619 which he considers to be the earliest copy; New York, collection of Miss Clara Peck. To this can be added the early fifteenth-century BL Add 27699, stylistically inferior to the others. It does not always transcribe the composition exactly, but uses similar groupings and reduplicates the stances of the figures.
  121. Tilander, op.cit.; Pearsall, 'Hunting Scenes'; Baillie-Grohman, op.cit.; Illuminated Manuscripts: Medieval Hunting Scenes, Miller Graphics (Geneva, 1978); C. Couderc, Livre de la Chasse par Gaston Phébus Comte de Foix: Reproduction Réduite des 87 Miniatures du Manuscrit Français 616 de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, 1909).
  122. Meiss, Limbourgs, p.443, n.251.
  123. Tilander, op.cit., p.245-46.
  124. Derek Pearsall and Elizabeth Salter, Landscapes and Seasons of the Medieval World (London, 1973), p.111.
  125. Rachel Hands, English Hawking and Hunting in the Boke of St Albans (Oxford, 1975), p.xxxviii, n.1.
  126. Varty, Reynard the Fox, plates 5,11,13,16,17,19,21,23,28,30-42, 44-46,53,62,83.
  127. Ibid., plate 158.
  128. Ibid., pp.91;93; plates 152,155-57.
  129. Baillie-Grohman, p.xii.
  130. Danielsson, op.cit., p.17.
  131. Baillie-Grohman, op.cit., p.99.



132. Ibid., p.100.
133. See Tilander, op.cit., pp.178 ff. The details of the French text are more elaborate and meticulously laid out. A precise visual response to some of the information given would be in the nature of a butcher's diagram.
134. Pearsall, 'Hunting Scenes', p.174.
135. Reproduced by George Warner, Queen Mary's Psalter: Miniatures and Drawings by an English Artist of the 14th Century Reproduced from Royal MS 2 B. vii in the British Museum (London, 1912).
136. Pächt and Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts, 3, p.81.
137. The hare is interesting for a different reason since the animal appears in the text space rather than in the margin. On fol.12r the text finishes about two-thirds of the way down leaving a five-line space under which is written a chapter-heading in red: 'Of þe hare and of hure nature'. To the right of the space is a rough drawing of a hare. As the illustration does not make full use of the space provided it is difficult to judge whether the space was actually designed to be filled with a picture or whether the sketches were inserted later.
138. Pächt and Alexander, op.cit., p.81.
139. Baillie-Grohman, op.cit., p.17.
140. Ibid., p.78 -- not in the French.
141. Ibid., p.240.
142. Danielsson, William Twiti, fig.31.
143. Baillie-Grohman, op.cit., p.240.
144. Warner and Gilson, British Museum Catalogue, 2, op.cit., p.225.
145. ed., Danielsson, William Twiti.
146. IMEV.
147. Op.cit., p.15.
148. Tilander, Gaston Phébus, p.58.
149. Danielsson, op.cit., p.40.
150. IMEV.
151. My own impression is confirmed by Baillie-Grohman, p.239.
152. A sense of hierarchy in the layout is established by the fact that the chapter dealing with dogs only has a four-line initial whereas that to the table of contents is six-line and the text begins with a seven-line initial.

153. The decorative work relates the manuscript to a workshop used by patrons interested in Lydgate: the border decoration is identical with that in BL Yates Thompson MS 47, a copy of Lydgate's Life of St Edmund. I am indebted to Miss J. Backhouse of the BL who drew this similarity to my attention. She also drew my attention to Arundel 302, a Book of Hours, a similarity which, to my eye, was not as convincing. The illustrations to the prologue of Cotton Vespasian have a softness of style similar to the illustrations in Harley 2278, another copy of Lydgate's Life of St Edmund, though the Cotton illustrations are not of the same high quality.
154. Pacht and Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts, 3, p.86.
155. Lebeque, Les Histoires que l'on Peut Raisonnablement Faire Sur les Livres de Sallust, ed., Jean Porcher (Paris, 1962), provides the following instruction for his 'xvj histoire': 'Et si en aura aultres tous drois entre lasquelx en aura ung pelé à grant barbe, long vestu et saint bien lachement sur les rains, lequel fera semblant de parler devant tout le Senat en metant ses doiz d'une main sur l'autre comme ont accoustumé gens qui plaident (my italics). The illustration in Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, Français 54 shows a gesture identical to the one adopted by the figure in Douce 335.
156. Tilander, op.cit., pp.60-61.
157. Op.cit., p.152.
158. C.F. Bühler, The Fifteenth Century Book: The Scribes, the Printers, The Decorators (Philadelphia, 1960), p.71.
159. C.H. Talbot, Medicine in Medieval England (London, 1967), p.117.
160. Ibid., p.103.
161. For astrological manuscripts see F. Saxl and H. Meier, Verzeichnis Astrologischer und Mythologischer Illustrierten Handschriften des Lateinisch Mittelalters, 3, Handschriften in Englischen Bibliotheken, 2 vols. (London, 1953); for astronomical manuscripts see F. Saxl, 'Illuminated Science Manuscripts', in Lectures, 2 vols. (London, 1957), pp.96-110; for medical manuscripts see L. MacKinney, Medical Illustrations, op.cit., C.H. Talbot, op.cit., R.H. Robbins, 'Medical Manuscripts in Middle English', Speculum, 45 (1970), 393-415, Luisa Cogliati Arano, The Medieval Health Handbook: Tacuinum Sanitatis (London, 1976); for herbals see Robert T. Gunther, The Herbal of Apuleius Barbarus, Roxburghe Club (Oxford, 1925), Otto Pächt, 'Early Italian Nature Studies and the Early Calendar Landscape', JWCI, 13 (1950), 13-47, and Kurt Weitzman's remarks on pp. 135-36 of Illustrations in Roll and Codex, Studies in Manuscript Illumination, 2 (Princeton, 1947). More generally, H.S. Bennett, 'Science and Information in English Writings of the Fifteenth Century', MLR, 39 (1944), 1-8, may be consulted as may the first four volumes of Lynn Thorndike's, A History of Magic and Experimental Science (New York, 1923-1934).
162. Medical Illustrations, op.cit., pp.16, 73-74.
163. Perhaps the most striking example of a painful discrepancy between

picture and text is a miniature on fol.4v of Montpellier MS 89 bis a fourteenth-century manuscript of Rogerius Salernitanus's Chirurgia (MacKinney, fig.75). It depicts a man with an arrow sticking out of his arm being held by an assistant on the right while the surgeon on the left attempts brutally to pull out the arrow by main force. The accompanying text, however, details a much more humane and delicate procedure, involving a careful extraction of the barbs (MacKinney p.74). The illustration is neither very useful as a guide to the potential practitioner, nor is it very reassuring for the victim. The artist was evidently supplied with only rudimentary and simplified instructions.

164. Op.cit., p.81.

165. Ibid., fig.34.

166. Ibid., p.42.

167. In fact, the illustration would seem primarily to be a teaching miniature with the scene on the right representing a concrete visualization of Galen's words (cf. the example offered by Elizabeth Salter of the poet composing amidst events of his poem in Troilus and Criseyde, p.23, fig.19) rather than, as MacKinney suggests, p.42, a literal reportage of a physician directing his assistants. The physician's attention is directed towards the students rather than towards his assistants.

168. Op.cit., pp.27-28.

169. See *ibid.*, p.38. The ambiguous connotations of medical manuscripts are well demonstrated by MacKinney's antepenultimate category: 'Bathing for Health and Diversion', p.96, where the illustrations apparently stress the latter aspect.

170. Ibid., fig.13.

171. MacKinney, *op.cit.*, p.24 suggests that they helped amateur collectors.

172. Pächt, 'Early Italian Nature Studies', *op.cit.*, p.25.

173. Gunther, The Herbal, p.xix.

174. Pächt, 'Early Italian Nature Studies', p.26.

175. Ibid., p.27; Weitzman, *op.cit.*, pp.135-36.

176. *Op.cit.*, pp.xxiv-xxv.

177. Naturalism, the capacity to observe directly from nature, can be an indication of a habit of mind, of perception, as much as a function of artistic capability. As Pächt, 'Early Italian Nature Studies', p.27, observes, classical forms underwent a process of stylization during the early part of the Middle Ages, and herbal illustrations were no exception. Perhaps because of their practical utility, herbals were slower to conform with the general movement towards stylization (Pächt, *op.cit.*, p.26), but a combination of stylistic convention and workshop practice served seriously to undermine the



herbal as a reference work. With the decline in naturalism, there is a corresponding decline in usefulness, though it would be too great a simplification to trace a complete and thoroughgoing reliance on models at the expense of what could be perceived in the natural world. Pächt, op.cit., p.27 discusses the regeneration of natural observation in Southern Italy at the end of the eleventh century; Gunther, op.cit., p.xxiv remarks: 'while the main composition has been stereotyped, no power has been strong enough to prevent the artist from occasionally going back to Nature for certain details of form or treatment'.

178. Reproduced in full by Gunther, op.cit.
179. Ibid., p.111.
180. Ibid., p.xxv.
181. Arano, op.cit., p.29. Unfortunately she does not provide full references to the manuscripts cited.
182. Ibid., p.28.
183. Ibid., p.39.
184. Douglas Gray, 'A Middle English Illustrated Poem', in Medieval Studies for J.A.W. Bennett: Aetatis Suae LXX, ed., P.L. Heyworth (Oxford, 1981), pp.185-205 (p.187).
185. For references to John Mirk and the author of Diues et Pauper on this issue see V.A. Kolvé, The Play Called Corpus Christi (London, 1966), pp.5 and 6. See also Sister Mary Catharine O'Connor, The Art of Dying Well: The Development of the Ars Moriendi, Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, 156 (New York, 1945), p.115.
186. Bodleian MS e. Mus. 35, a copy from the second quarter of the Fifteenth century of Meditationes Vitae Christi had a drawing added on the flyleaf in 1475. It is an outline drawing of Christ nailed to an elaborate interlaced cross. Douce 25 a copy of Edmund of Canterbury's Mirror of the Church from the beginning of the Fifteenth century had a frontispiece-type illustration of a crucifixion, the Virgin, St John and a monk, added to it at the end of the fifteenth century.
187. The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1968), p.12.
188. Pächt and Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford, 1, German, Dutch, Flemish, French and Spanish Schools (Oxford, 1966), p.29.
189. See G. Schiller, Iconography of Christian Art, 2 (London, 1972), pp.197-211 for a description and account of the development of the iconographic type. As she notes on p.198: 'The image of the Man of Sorrows is unambiguously a devotional image'.
190. Pächt and Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts, 3, op.cit., p.92.

191. The version in BL MSS Royal 17.A. xxvii and Add. 22029 is printed by Richard Morris; Legends of the Holy Rood, EETS OS 46 (London, 1871), pp.170-93.
192. R.H. Robbins, 'The Arma Christi Rolls', MLR, 34 (1939), 415-21 (pp.417-18) points out that indulgences were often a part of the Arma Christi rolls proper. Morris, op.cit., p.192 prints the version from BL Add. 11748.
193. The lantern, 58r and v; the cloth 60r and v; the crown of thorns 62r and v; the sepulchre 69r and v.
194. 'The Five Wounds of Our Lord: IV', N & Q, 208, New Series, 10 (1963), 163-68 (p.168). Rosemary Freeman, English Emblem Books (London, 1948), p.60 remarks that the principle of emblem writing is 'the equating of pictorial detail with moral ideas'.
195. 'The use of the picture is evident, which is, that (having read over the booke) you may reade it (as it were againe) in the very picture.' Harington explaining the purpose of the engravings he had made for his translation of Orlando Furioso (quoted by Freeman, op.cit., p.15).
196. For transcription of the text and description of the illustrations see Douglas Gray, 'The Five Wounds of Our Lord: I', N & Q, 208, New Series, 10 (1963), 50-51. For discussion see *ibid.*, IV.
197. Op.cit., p.417.
198. Bodleian MSS: Bodley Rolls 16, Add.e.4; BL MSS Add.22029, Add. 32006; Stonyhurst LXIV; Blairs College 9; St Alphonsus Seminary; San Marino, California, Henry E. Huntington Library HM 26054.
199. Op.cit., p.418.
200. Douglas Gray, Themes and Images in the Medieval English Religious Lyric (London, 1972), p.133.
201. Op.cit., p.14.
202. *Ibid.*, pp.19-20.
203. T.W. Ross, 'Five Fifteenth Century "Emblem" Verses from Brit. Mus. Addit. MS 37049', Speculum, 32 (1957), 274-82 (p.275). Ian Doyle dates the manuscript late fifteenth century (quoted in James Hogg, 'Unpublished Texts in the Carthusian Northern Middle English Religious Miscellany British Library MS. Add. 37049', in Essays in Honour of Erwin Stürzl on his Sixtieth Birthday, Salzburger Studien zur Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 10 (Salzburg, 1980), 241-84 (p.244.n.8) though Hogg does not agree). In recent years interest has been taken in Add. 37049 as a collection and will be published in its entirety by James Hogg in Analecta Cartusiana, 95. I have only been able to see Vol.3; The Illustrations. In the meantime the edition by Brant Lee Doty, An Edition of British Museum Manuscript 'Additional 37049': A Religious Miscellany (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University, 1969), is available from University Microfilms International.



204. 'Some Popular Miniatures and their Rich Relations', in Miscellanea Pro Arte: Herman Schnitzler zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres am 13 January 1965 eds., Joseph Harter and Peter Bloch (Düsseldorf, 1965), pp.279-85.
205. IMEV item 4030 When þe day of dome sall be fol.18v  
 491 Beholde here as þou may see fol.19v  
 435 At þe begynnyng of þe chartirhows god did  
 schewe fol.22r  
 1735 Ihesus my luf my ioy my reste fol.24r  
 3476 þe saules þat to purgatory wendes fol.24v  
 \*38 If þai do so he wil þaim safe fol.25r  
 1079 Hayle se-sterne gods modyr holy fol.27v  
 269 Also take hede to þis insawmpyl here fol.28r  
 2282 Nakyd into þis warlde born am I fol.28v  
 1073 Hayle our patron & lady of erthe fol.29v  
 2589 O ze al whilk þ<sup>t</sup> by me cummes and gothe fol.31v  
 1563 In þe ceson of huge mortalite fol.33r  
 3416 þe luf of god who so will lere fol.36v  
 3478 The state of religioune fol.37v  
 3732 Thy myghty mercy kyng of blis fol.45r  
 \*61 þe tent ioy had our lady at þe feste of  
 Architriclyne fol.68r  
 2075 Man take hede on þe day or on þe nyght fol.68v  
 (col.1)  
 3251 Take hede man how þe lewes dyd cry fol.68v  
 (col.2)  
 637 Cum folow me my frendes vnto hell fol.74r  
 493 Behald man and þi þoght vp lede fol.80v  
 149 Allas ful warly for wo may I syng fol.84v  
 558 Fyrst þ<sup>u</sup> sal luf god and drede fol.85r  
 789 ffader sum tyme what was þou fol.86v  
 804 Fyrst þou sal make knowlege to god of  
 heuen fol.87v
206. Wormald, op.cit., p.279. Indeed, given its Northern affiliations, Wormald speculates, loc.cit., that the book may well have been produced in such a house as Mount Grace in the North of Yorkshire -- the foundation in which Love composed his translation.
207. Donald C. Baker, John L. Murphy and Louis B. Hall Jr, The Late Medieval Religious Plays of Bodleian MSS Digby 133 and E. Museo 160, EETS OS 283 (London, 1982), p.lxxvi n.2.
208. Ibid., p.lxxvi.
209. P.206.
210. P.375.
211. Old English and Middle English Poetry, p.139. Along the same lines, Hogg, 'Unpublished Texts', p.249, suggests that the manuscript may have been a collection of texts meant for a monk's private usage.
212. Pearsall, Old English and Middle English Poetry, p.138.
213. The English Religious Lyric, p.19; Themes and Images, p.243 n.73.



214. Themes and Images, p.52, referring to 'A Spiritual Encyclopaedia of the Later Middle Ages'; JWCI, 5 (1942), 82-142. The contents of the manuscript are fully listed in the British Museum Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum, 1900-1905 (London, 1907), pp.324-332.
215. Hogg, 'Unpublished Texts', p.247 offers evidence of varying degrees of damage to consecutive leaves to demonstrate that 'the items in the paper section were not always bound together -- or, at any rate, not in the present order'. The manuscript is bound as singletons mounted on strips of card so it is impossible to collate. What Hogg means us to infer from his comment is unclear since he admits that, apart from the Desert of Religion, the manuscript is written by the same scribe and thus the coherence of the relationship between picture and text is not at issue, nor is the essential homogeneity of the collection.
216. Fols.20r,23r,24r,26r,30r,33r,37r,45r,67v.
217. John Harthan, Books of Hours and their Owners (London, 1977), p.26.
218. *Ibid.*, pp.28-29.
219. Edited by J.M. Cowper, Meditations on the Supper of Our Lord and the Hours of the Passion, EETS OS 60 (London, 1875) though he does not mention this manuscript.
220. Sixten Ringbom, Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-Up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting, Acta Academiae Aboensis, Ser. A Humaniora, 31 (Abo, 1965)p.11 distinguishes two main kinds of religious images: 'the narrative representations and the cult images', designed, respectively to promote 'edification and adoration'.
221. Cf. Baxandall's comments quoted Chapter 1.
222. The text has been translated and the miniatures of Paris, BN MS Ital. 115 reproduced by Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green, Meditations on the Life of Christ: An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century.
223. *Ibid.*, p.xxviii.
224. *Ibid.*, p.xxiii.
225. Edited by L.F. Powell, The Myrroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ (Oxford, 1911). The manuscripts with the exception of New York, Pierpont Morgan MS M 648 have been listed and a brief description provided by Elizabeth Salter, Nicholas Love's 'Myrroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ', Analecta Cartusiana, 10 (Salzburg, 1974), pp.3-22.
226. Margaret Rickert, Painting in Britain, p.249 n.7 has noted the stylistic similarities of this manuscript with BL Harley 2278 the Life of St Edmund and with BL Cotton MS Faustina B. vi part 2 a copy of the Desert of Religion, though she considers the Trinity manuscript to be less fine.
227. Cf. fols.8r and 9r -- though the disposition of the figures is different, the idea of Christ surrounded by the apostles is the same.

See more particularly fols.14v, 16v and 20v.

228. Gray 'Five Wounds II', p.84.
229. Doty, 'Additional 37049', p.386; Hogg 'Unpublished Texts', p.268.
230. Chapter 2.
231. A similar juxtaposition of pride and mortality is to be found in CUL MS li.iv.9, fol.68v a text of 'Erthe upon Erthe'. A fashionably dressed youth stands on a greenmound while below his feet is a prone skeleton in a shroud. Elaborate banderoles come from the mouths of both corpse and man:  
SKELETON: In omni opere. memorare nouissima. et in eternum non peccabis  
YOUTH: Festina tempus et memento finis.  
This poem was similarly used as titulus verses on walls and tombstones (Hilda M.R. Murray, Erthe upon Erthe, EETS OS 141 (London, 1911) p.ix). The poem, particularly in its shorter form, relying as it does on verbal punning, does not have the same need for pictorial accompaniment though the picture makes the poem's profound ironic sense of man's aspirations more vivid.
232. The Minor Poems of John Lydgate, 2, Secular Poems, EETS OS 192 (London, 1934, repr. 1961), p.655. The three manuscripts are Douce 322, Harley 1706, CUL Ff.v.45.
233. Op.cit., p.105.
234. A.I. Doyle, 'Books Connected with the de Vere family and Barking Abbey', Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society, New Series, 25 (1960), 222-43 (p.222).
235. Rosemary Woolf, The English Religious Lyric, p.338.
236. Doty, op.cit., p.229.
237. 'Doyle attributes them to a Benedictine monastery and a nunnery, probably of the same Order, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, on account of the portrayal of St Hilda of Whitby, whose cult was concentrated in that area', Hogg, 'Unpublished Texts', p.244 n.8.
238. Themes and Images, p.211.
239. It is edited by K. Horstmann, 'Horologium Sapientiae', Anglia, 10 (1888), 323-89. Chapter Five is on pp.357-65.
240. It is published in Hoccleve's Works: The Minor Poems, eds., Frederick J. Furnivall and I. Gollancz, EETS ES 61 and 73 (revised edtn. London, 1970), pp.178-212.
241. Edited by C. Horstmann, Library of Early English Writers, 2, (London 1896), pp.406-20.
242. 'Books Connected with the de Vere Family', p.241.
243. Edited by K. Brünner, 'Mittelenglische Todesgeschichte', Archiv, 167 (1935), 20-35 (p.24). Surprisingly Ross, '"Emblem" Verses', p.275 claims



that there is no drawing accompanying the poem.

244. See Chapter 2.

245. Printed by Ross, "'Emblem' Verses', pp.279-8 . The prose is not printed as part of the work: Ross presents it in a footnote.

246. Cf., for example, BL Harley 2273 which has an extremely elaborate tree of vices on fol.22v.

247. Themes and Images, p.41.

248. *Ibid.*, p.40.

249. Edited by W. Hübner, 'The Desert of Religion', Archiv, 126 (1911), pp.58-74, 360-64. Hogg, 'Unpublished Texts', p.248 suggests that at one time the Desert of Religion 'formed a separate entity'. The bulk of the manuscript was written by one scribe who was also involved in the illustration to the extent of supplying labels. A different scribe wrote the Desert of Religion and also prepared the page differently, by ruling lines whereas Scribe A's portion is unlined. None the less, there are problems with Hogg's contention: Scribe A still seems to have been involved in the labelling of the tree diagrams and the picture of Rolle on fol.52v finds a parallel with the figure on fol.37r. Furthermore the iconography of the 'Vado Mori' which is associated with the Desert of Religion in Cotton Faustina and Stowe was known to the illustrator of the main part of the manuscript, as we have seen.

250. The Seven Deadly Sins (Michigan, 1952), p.179.

251. K. Schreiner, quoted by Hübner, *op.cit.*, p.360.

252. Eg. fol. 54r, 60r.

253. P.290.



#### Chapter 4

1. G.R. Owst, 'Some Books and Book-Owners of Fifteenth-Century St Albans', Transactions of the St Albans and Herts. Architectural Society (1928), pp.176-195 (p.183).
2. The major inquiry in English into Mandeville's sources was undertaken by Sir George Warner in his edition of the Egerton version which is printed, together with a French recension of the text, in The Buke of John Maundevill, Roxburghe Club (London, 1889). This can be supplemented by the list provided by M.C. Seymour, Mandeville's Travels (Oxford, 1967), pp.276-77. Seymour suggests that 'Mandeville' may have been an ecclesiastic to have had access to such a diverse collection of works.
3. M.C. Seymour, The Bodley Version of Mandeville's Travels, EETS OS 253 (London, 1963) p.175; Mandeville's Travels, p.xiii; The Metrical Version of Mandeville's Travels, EETS OS 296 (London, 1973), p.xvi.
4. See the handlist of manuscripts in Josephine Waters Bennett, The Rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville (London, 1954), pp.287-297 and M.C. Seymour, 'The English Manuscripts of Mandeville's Travels', Transactions of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 4 (1966), 169-210.
5. For a list of early printed editions see J.W. Bennett, op.cit., pp.337-85. For a discussion of the early English printed editions see M.C. Seymour, 'The Early English Editions of Mandeville's Travels', The Library, 5th ser., 19 (1964), 202-207.
6. See below p.284.
7. 'The Foreign Travels and Dangerous Voyages of the Renowned English Knight Sir John Mandeville, wherein he gives an Account of Remote Kingdoms, Countries, Rivers, Castles, Giants of a prodigious height and strength, the people called Pigmies, very small and of a low stature. To which is added an Account of People of odd deformities: some without heads. Also enchanted wildernesses, where are fiery Dragons, Griffins and many wonderful beasts in the country of Prester John. All very delightful to the reader. Printed and sold in Bow Church Yard'. Printed by Malcolm Letts, Sir John Mandeville: The Man and His Book (London, 1949), pp.125-26. The stress is, predictably, on the marvels and monsters.
8. M.C. Seymour, Mandeville's Travels, p.272; 'The Origin of the Egerton Version of Mandeville's Travels', Medium Aevum, 30 (1961), 159-69 (p.169 n.39). This version is studied by M.C. Seymour in 'The Scribal Tradition of Mandeville's Travels: the Insular Version', Scriptorium, 18 (1964), 34-48.
9. For an edition of the Defective Version see J.O. Halliwell, The Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundevile, Kt. (London, 1839).
10. Seymour, The Bodley Version, op.cit., pp.xi-xiv; 'A Medieval Redactor at Work', N&Q, 206 (1961), 169-71 (p.169).
11. The Cotton Version is the version presented by M.C. Seymour, Mandeville's Travels, op.cit.

12. Printed by Warner, The Buke of John Maundevill. Full discussion of manuscripts in M.C. Seymour, 'The Origin of the Egerton Version'.
13. M.C. Seymour, 'The Scribal Version', p.34. My italics.
14. Seymour, Mandeville's Travels, p.1. Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations are taken from this edition.
15. The evidence of illustrated manuscripts can help to reinforce this point. Rudolf Wittkower, 'Marco Polo and the Pictorial Tradition of the Marvels of the East', in Oriente Poliano: Studi Conferenze tenute all' Is. M.E.O. in Occasione del VII Centenario della Nascita di Marco Polo, eds., E. Balazs et al. (Rome, 1957), pp.155-72. (Reprinted, Rudolf Wittkower, Allegory and the Migration of Symbols (London, 1977) pp.75-92) writes: 'The illustrations of manuscript 2810 [containing Il Milione and Mandeville among other texts -- see below p.277] can teach us an important fact: the cycle of illustrations binds together the various texts so different in value and veracity if judged by modern standards. The uninterrupted sequence of these illustrations, similar in tenor from beginning to end, makes it evident that for the contemporary reader all these texts were on the same level of reality' (p.170).
16. Mandeville's Travels, EETS OS 153 and 154 (London, 1919 and 1923).
17. The Buke of John Maundevill, p.xv.
18. Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose (London, 1921, reprinted 1975), p.94.
19. Curiosity and Pilgrimage: The Literature of Discovery in Fourteenth-Century England (Baltimore, 1976), p.131. See also p.184 n.8 where Zacher points to the number of scholars who have commented on the two-part structure of the book, 'usually to stress that the pilgrimage portion is worthwhile and credible while the rest of the book is fanciful nonsense'. In support of this contention he quotes only Sisam who does not try to differentiate the merits of either part of the book.
20. 'The Beginnings of English Prose', Cambridge History of English Literature, 2 (Cambridge, 1912), pp.70-87.
21. Ibid., pp.80 and 85.
22. Op.cit., EETS OS 154, p.10. Admittedly he is discussing Jean d'Outremeuse, but since he considers him to be the author of the Travels, the point stands.
23. Op.cit. p.42.
24. Ibid., p.162.
25. Reproduced by J.O. Halliwell, op.cit., pp.v-xii. Halliwell's edition is a reprint of the edition of 1725 with the 'Editor's Preface to the Edition of 1727'.



26. Op.cit., p.19.
27. Ibid., p.49.
28. Ibid., p.17.
29. Ibid., p.4.
30. The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages (London, 1938), pp.155 ff.
31. 'The World of Mandeville's Travels', YES, 1 (1971), 1-17.
32. Op.cit., pp.130-57.
33. Ibid., p.145.
34. Ibid., p.154.
35. 'The Metamorphoses of Sir John Mandeville', YES, 4 (1974), 5-25.
36. 'The English Epitome of Mandeville's Travels', Anglia, 84 (1966), 27-58 (p.29).
37. Moseley, p.10.
38. M.C. Seymour, The Bodley Version, p.xii.
39. M.C. Seymour, 'A Medieval Redactor', p.170. The following observations supplement those of Seymour's.
40. Ibid., p.171.
41. Edited by M.C. Seymour, The Metrical Version.
42. Ibid., p.xvi.
43. See Moseley, op.cit., p.15 for details.
44. Howard, 'The World', p.16.
45. M.C. Seymour, 'Secundum Iohannem Maundvyl', English Studies in Africa, 4 (1960), 148-58 (p.148). Seymour transcribes the item.
46. Noted by Patrick J. Horner, 'Mandeville's Travels: A New Manuscript Extract', Manuscripta, 24 (1980), 171-75.
47. Edited by M.C. Seymour 'The English Epitome'.
48. M.C. Seymour, 'Mandeville and Marco Polo: A Stanzaic Fragment', Jnl. of Australasian Universities' Lang. and Lit. Assoc., 21 (1964), 39-52 (p.39). Seymour transcribes the item.
49. Op.cit., p.16.
50. M.C. Seymour, 'The English Manuscripts', p.173.



51. See Letts, Sir John Mandeville, p.172; J.W. Bennett, The Rediscovery, p.272; L. Delisle, Recherches sur la Librairie de Charles V Roi de France, 1337-1380, 1 (Paris, 1907), pp.275-76.
52. Op.cit., p.140.
53. Reproduced by Delisle, op.cit., 2, Plate VI.
54. A seated figure in chain-mail holds his book parallel with the picture-plane and points to lines of it.
55. This information is from J.W. Bennett ,op.cit., p.141 n.10.
56. Loc.cit.
57. Chapter 3.
58. In Bennett's list, Bibliothèque Firmin-Didot, No.59.
59. Bennett mentions two other French and Norman-French manuscripts which have illustrations. She provides no details so evidently the programmes are unexciting. BN fonds fr. 5635 (1402) has a miniature on fol. 2v; Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana Codex Reg. Lat. 750 (fourteenth Century) has 'some miniatures'.
60. Millard Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Boucicaut Master (London and New York, 1968), pp.38; 116. Reproduced by Henri Omont, Livre des Merveilles:Reproduction des 265 Miniatures du Manuscrit Français 2810 de la Bibliothèque Nationale 2 vols. (Paris, 1907).
61. Loc. cit., p.43.
62. 'Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters', JWCI, 5 (1945), 159-97 (p.176). Reprinted Allegory and the Migration of Symbols, pp.45-74.
63. M.R. James, ed. , Marvels of the East, Roxburghe Club (London, 1929), p.9. James reproduces the three manuscripts.
64. R. Wittkower, 'Marco Polo and the Pictorial Tradition' passim.
65. R. Wittkower, 'Marvels of the East', p.174.
66. Sir John Mandeville, p.106.
67. R. Wittkower, 'Marvels of the East', pp.176-77. The latter part of this paragraph is very indebted to Wittkower's article.
68. See Lillian Randall, Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts (Berkeley, 1966), pp.86 and 212.
69. See the images juxtaposed by Wittkower, 'Marvels of the East', Plate 46.
70. Reproduced in G. Warner, The Buke of John Maundevill, op.cit.

71. Though stylistically unremarkable, Harley 3954 is ambitious iconographically. Its visual rendering of a number of scenes is reminiscent of both Add. 24189 and fonds fr.2810 in general terms. The first picture on fol.2r of Harley shows a boat sailing between two spurs of land, top left and bottom right. The boat contains a pilgrim and another figure; both are pointing at a town on the right-hand spur of land. Fol. 3v of Add.24189 depicts in the foreground a party of pilgrims in a ship. In the background is the coast on which can be seen towns and villages depicted with a perspective control absent in the two-dimensional Harley. Similarly the illustration of Constantinople on fol. 3r of Harley bears some resemblance to its counterpart on fol.9v of Add.24189. Both show a walled city with a church in the centre and the statue of Justinian prominently displayed. Again, Add. is better proportioned and better articulated although Harley is more accurate to the text, showing the statue as equestrian. Thus the manuscripts share similar components though direct copying is unlikely. In terms of similarity of components we may also notice the affinity between fol.13r of Add. and fol.4r of Harley. Both depict Seth at the gates of Paradise trying to elicit the oil of mercy from the angel. The former composition, which perhaps has more affinities with a composition in the Hours of Catherine of Cleves, shows the angel actually giving a branch to Seth. The walls of Paradise divide the composition diagonally and the trees of Paradise can be seen at the top. The angel stands in a large, ornate gateway and hands the branch to Seth on the right. In Harley the composition is dominated by a large ornate gateway on the right. Seth kneels in front of it facing an angel who looks over a low crenellated wall at the left. Sometimes Harley seems to be a simplification of some of the motifs in Add. On fol.6v Add. depicts an altar on which a group of people are placing coins; at an angle to the altar is a tomb on which reclines a corpse, presumably that of Aristotle. This arrangement is set in front of a city built on an island and other city motifs can be seen in the corners of the composition. In the second illustration on fol.6r of Harl. the artist presents merely a tomb/altar round which are grouped a number of people. Similarly, fol.15r of Add. shows the philosophers on Mount Athos taking observations of the stars and writing in the dust. There are seven philosophers grouped in two registers: the three in front write with sticks and the four others gaze up at the sky which is filled with stylized stars. On fol.6v of Harley the seven philosophers have been reduced to two. They sit on the top of the mountain and unlike Add. do not look at the stars with instruments. The philosopher on the right writes in the dust while the philosopher on the left holds a sponge to his nose and mouth as prescribed in the text. The second miniature on this page depicts the same scene as fol.15v of Add. Both depict a tournament at the Hippodrome at Constantinople and both show a jousting pair of knights and assorted spectators though rather differently disposed. Similarly the two illustrations of the 'Foss of Memnon' (fol.16r in Add. and fol.10r in Harley) have the same iconographic components though differently arranged. In Add. the group of men carrying and digging gravel from the pit is at the top of the miniature and the glass-blowers at the bottom. But given the difference in style the treatment of the pit itself and the figure on the left of Harley bears some resemblance to the excavating figure on the left of the composition in Add. In the same way some of the illustrations in fonds fr. 2810 can be shown to have an affinity with Harley. The scene on fol.223r of a body being hacked up and fed to



the birds is reminiscent of the motifs of dismemberment which punctuate the latter folios of the Harley manuscript. Similarly the disposition of the composition on fol.179v with the monastery on the left and Mount Ararat with the ark perched on the right is similar to the illustration on fol.29r of Harley.

72. Sir John Mandeville, p.161.
73. J.W. Bennett, The Rediscovery, p.315.
74. J.W. Bennett, 'The Woodcut Illustrations in the English Editions of Mandeville's Travels', Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, 47 (1953), 59-69 (pp.59-60).
75. J.W. Bennett, The Rediscovery, p.320.
76. J.W. Bennett, 'The Woodcut Illustrations', passim.
77. Ibid., p.62.
78. They both contain texts of the Defective Version, Harley being a member of sub-group B which gives a duplicate account of Alexander's discomfiture by the virtuous islanders while Royal is an independently derived manuscript which includes the account of the rotundity of the world (see Seymour, 'The English Manuscripts', pp.169-71).
79. Ibid., p.188. Seymour locates the manuscript in Norfolk. It contains in addition to the Travels, The Childhood of the Saviour (fol.70r); The Merit of the Mass (fol.74r); The Virtues of Masses (fol.76r); The Seven Virtues (fol.78r); The Seven Works of Mercy (fol.81r); The Seven Sacraments (fol.82v); The Seven Principal Virtues (fol.85v); An A.B.C. poem on the Passion (fol.87r); fols. 88v-89v are blank; The Lament of the Virgin (fol.90r); Piers Plowman conflation of A and B texts (fol.92r).
80. For use of this term see M.B. Parkes, 'The Influence of the Concepts of Ordinatio and Compilatio on the Development of the Book', in Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to R.W. Hunt eds., J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), pp.119-41 (p.115).
81. But Mandeville's Travels is in prose whereas the other items are in verse.
82. Seymour, 'The English Manuscripts', p.188.
83. Loc.cit.
84. Piers Plowman: The A Version (London, 1960), p.11 n.2.
85. 'The English Manuscripts', p.188.
86. On fols. such as 33r there are four lines of text separating three miniatures. This effect is particularly pronounced where folios with a number of illustrations face each other, as they do fols.5v-6r; 12v-13r; 29v-30r; 32v-33r; 33v-34r; 34v-35r; 35v-36r; 37v-38r; 38v-39r; 39v-40r; 40v-41r; 41v-42r; 42v-43r; 43v-44r; 44v-45r; 45v-46r; 55v-56; 58v-59r; 60v-61r; 61v-62r; 63v-64r; 64v-65r.



87. Seymour, 'The English Manuscripts', p.188.
88. George Warner and Julius P. Gilson, British Museum Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections, 2, Royal MSS. 12 A 1 to 20 E.x and APP. 1-89 (London, 1921), p.250.
89. Seymour, 'The English Manuscripts', p.173.
90. Warner and Gilson, op.cit., p.250. count 110, but their method of counting is different from mine. They numerate 'þe sepulcre of our lord' and 'a lampe' on fol.19v separately whereas I conflate them; they conflate 'Mount Joye' and 'Mount Oliuete' on fol.24r whereas I number them separately; more importantly they conflate the fox and griffin on fol.53r whereas I count them as separate iconographic units since they relate to different portions of the text.
91. See e.g. fol.16r -- gloss '[Th]e Soudan': label -- 'Soudan of Babilon'; fol.24r -- gloss 'Judas': fol.23v label -- 'Judas Scarioth'; fol.24v gloss -- 'Seynt Julian': label -- 'Seynt Julian herbyger'; fol.32v gloss -- 'a tale of the soudan': label -- 'þe soudan of ierusalem'; fol.39r gloss -- 'Seynt Thomas': label -- 'Tumba sancti apostli Thome'. Sometimes they supplement each other -- e.g. fol.34v gloss -- 'Who mak[ide] Qui cumque u[ult]': label -- 'Seynt Athanas'.
92. Phrases transcribed from Royal.
93. Transcribed from Harley.
94. Cf. fr. 2810 where he is not conceived of as a pilgrim but as a nobleman. A Mandeville figure appears in some of the illustrations to Add.24189; here, too, he is a nobleman.
95. See also fol.55r where the text underneath the illustration of the becalmed ships growing vegetation (which shows on the left a pilgrim figure and two others in a ship gesticulating towards the overgrown ships on the right) reads: 'And in þe see. to presther Jonys lond I saw onys as I went seylyng. in þe see. as long as it had ben an lle of of [sic] tres & braunchys'. The illustration is precise in its response to textual detail.
96. The exceptions are nos. 13,20,46,60 and 61.
97. The phrase 'holy thing' is used in the actual text of Cotton, as it is not in Royal. In Cotton the text reads: 'and after he froteth him with the dong and with the vryne with gret reuerence for to ben fulfilt of the vertues of the ox and made holy be the vertue of that holy thing that nought is worth' (Seymour, p.125).
98. From the time of Homer, however, cyclopes have been associated with the consumption of human flesh. Weitzmann, Illustrations in Roll and Codex, Studies in Manuscript Illumination, 2, (Princeton, 1947), p.13 describes a Spartan cup from the sixth century BC which shows Polyphemus holding the leg of one of his victims. It is reproduced as Fig.1 in Weitzmann's text.

99. The incongruities and confusions on fols.19r,24r,39v and 45r seem to arise not so much from failure to synchronize picture and text as from imprecision in the iconography.
100. Fols.16r(1); 22r(1); 31r(1); 32v(2) -- this figure is seated; 49v(1). See also the three kings' sequence fols.17v and 18r.
101. Fols.26v(2); 36v(1); 38v(1). All the other mountain motifs are very similar in outline.
102. Fols.36r(2); 40r(1); 56v(1).
103. Fols.48v(2); 54v(3) -- bearded. For armour cf. standing figure 22v; for horse cf. fol.8v.
104. They are a common feature of Psalter illustrations as D. Pearsall, 'Hunting Scenes in Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts', Connoisseur, 196 (1977), 170-81, has shown.
105. See Lillian Randall, Images in the Margins, pp.108-109.
106. For a similar suggestion with reference to some Chaucer manuscripts see J.M. Manly and E. Rickert, The Text of the Canterbury Tales, 1 (Chicago, 1940), p.128.
107. H.W. Janson, Apes and Ape Lore In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (London, 1952, reprinted Kraus, 1976), p.146.
108. *Ibid.*, p.149.
109. Wittkower, 'Marco Polo', pp.168-69.
110. See above Chapter 1, p.39.
111. 'Marco Polo'.
112. *Ibid.*, pp.156-57 for the unicorn; pp.157-58 for the roc.
113. A.C. Moule and Paul Pelliot, Marco Polo: The Description of the World (London, 1938), p.378.
114. It also contains other travel texts. For full description see Warner and Gilson, British Museum Catalogue, pp.339-41.
115. The manuscript is described in detail Chapter 2 pp.88 ff.
116. See D.J.A. Ross, Illustrated Medieval Alexander Books in Germany and the Netherlands: A Study in Comparative Iconography (Cambridge, 1971), p.59; Richard Bernheimer, Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment and Demonology (London, 1952), *passim*.
117. Cf. Bernheimer, *op.cit.*, fig.48.
118. 'Marco Polo', p.163, *my italics*.
119. The iconography of Royal 19. D. i was familiar to at least one of the fifteenth-century artists of Bodley 264 since D.J.A. Ross 'Nectanebus in his Palace', JWCI, 15 (1952), 67-87, finds in one of the frontispieces to Bodley 264 a confused version of the frontispiece of Royal 19 D. i.



120. M.C. Seymour, Mandeville's Travels, p.127.
121. Validity in Interpretation (New Haven and London, 1967).
122. W.W. Skeat, Alexander and Dindimus, EETS ES 31 (London, 1878); F.P. Magoun, The Gestes of King Alexander of Macedon (Cambridge, Mass., 1929).
123. See Chapter 2 for discussion of Codex A.
124. G. Cary, The Medieval Alexander (Cambridge, 1956), p.31.
125. The moral tale which forms part of the Duke Melchis episode is of a different order. It tells the story of a marvellous stone which outweighed everything, but when covered with dust weighed nothing at all -- representing the human eye, never satisfied until it returns to dust. Interestingly there is no illustration of this crucial scene of the narrative in Codex A.
126. All quotations from Magoun, op.cit.
127. Op.cit., p.xviii.
128. Op.cit., pp.91-92.
129. Quotations from G.C. Macaulay, The English Works of John Gower EETS ES 81 and 82 (London 1900-1901). In Book V ll. 1452 ff. Gower includes Dindimus' indictment of Alexander's idolatry thus confirming medieval interest in this aspect of Dindimus' condemnation and the analysis of the belief of the Greeks.
130. Quotations from Henry Bergen, Lydgate's Fall of Princes EETS ES 121-24 (London, 1924-27).
131. See Chapter 6.
132. Alexander Historiatus: A Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature, Warburg Institute Surveys, I (London, 1963), p.32.
133. Ibid., p.57.
134. Alexander to Dindimus requesting an account of the Brahmans' customs; Dindimus to Alexander; Alexander's reply to Dindimus; Dindimus' riposte; Alexander's response.
135. Reproduced as Fig.58 in D.J.A. Ross, Illustrated Alexander-Books in Germany and the Netherlands: A Study in Comparative Iconography (Cambridge, 1971).



## Chapter 5

1. Edited H. Bergen, Lydgate's Troy Book, EETS ES 97, 103, 106 and 126 (London, 1906-1935). All quotations are taken from this edition.
2. V<sup>o</sup> 3368.
3. London BL MSS Royal 18 D.ii and Cotton Augustus A.iv; Oxford, Bodleian MSS Rawl. C. 446 and Digby 232; Cambridge, Trinity College MS 0.5.2; Manchester, John Rylands Library English MS 1; New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library MS M 876; Bristol, Public Library MS 8. The last manuscript to be cited has been mutilated for the picture.
4. BL MSS Arundel 99, Royal 18 D.vi; Oxford, Exeter College MS 129, St John's College MS 6, Bodleian MS Digby 230; olim Phillips 3113.
5. Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 144: 'Large spaces for illuminated initials are left at the beginning of the Prologue of each Book, and smaller initials elsewhere in the MS.' Bergen, EETS 126, p.51.
6. See G.C. Macaulay, The English Works of John Gower, EETS ES 81 (London, 1900) pp.2-4.
7. Derek Pearsall, John Lydgate (London, 1970), p.126.
8. Bergen, op.cit., EETS 97, quoting Skeat, p.ix n.1.
9. For an exception see below pp.361-3.
10. Hugo Buchthal, Historia Troiana: Studies in the History of Medieval Secular Illustration, Studies of the Warburg Institute, 32 (London, 1971), p.59. The most detailed account is that of J.S.P. Tatlock, The Legendary History of Britain (Berkeley, 1950), pp.116 ff. See also Buchthal, Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (Oxford, 1957), p.68 for Francus. For Brut see Friedrich W.D. Brie ed., The Brut, EETS OS 131 and 136 (London, 1906-8).
11. See Nathaniel Edward Griffin, Dares and Dictys: An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Versions of the Story of Troy (Baltimore, 1907), pp.4-5: 'Dares' history consists of an ill-assorted aggregation of meagre details, written in forty-four short chapters of barbarous Latin'.
12. R.M. Frazer Jr. (trans.), The Trojan War: The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian (Bloomington, 1966).
13. Buchthal, Historia Troiana, p.1.
14. Griffin, op.cit., pp.3-4.
15. Ibid. p.6.
16. 'Unhomeric Elements in the Medieval Story of Troy', JEGP, 7 (1907-8), 32-52 (p.39).

17. See R.M. Lumiansky, 'Structural Unity in Benoit's Roman de Troie', Romania, 79 (1958), 410-424.
18. Ed. L. Constans in six volumes for the Société des Anciens Textes Français (Paris, 1904-12). Constans suggests a date of between 1155 and 1160 (vol. 6, p.190); Buchthal, Historia Troiana, p.3 suggests 1160-70. Buchthal accepts the hypothesis that this is the same Benoit who in c.1175 wrote the Chroniques des ducs de Normandie for Henry II, a suggestion which Constans dismisses pp.165-181, although he does seem to think that V 13457-70, which he uses as a means of dating the poem, refer to Eleanour and Henry (p.189-90).
19. Buchthal, Historia Troiana, pp.4-5. Woledge, Bibliographie des Romans et Nouvelles en Prose Française Antérieurs à 1500 (Geneva, 1954), p.56 gives the contents of the first recension as follows: '1. Genese. 2. Premiers temps de l'Assyrie et de la Grèce. 3. Thebes. 4. Le Minotaure, les Amazones, Hercule. 5. Troie. 6. Enée. 7. Histoire de Rome (avec Alexandre Interpolé)'. In the first recension Troy material is based on Dares.
20. Edited Nathaniel Edward Griffin, Historia Destructionis Troiae, Medieval Academy of America Publication, 26 (Cambridge, Mass., 1936).
21. C. David Benson, The History of Troy in Middle English Literature (Suffolk, 1980), p.4.
22. R.M. Lumiansky, 'Legends of Troy', in A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500, ed. J. Burke Severs, 1 (New Haven, Connecticut, 1967), pp.114-118: Geste Historiale of the Destruction of Troy; the Laud Troy Book; and Lydgate. For the Scottish version see Lumiansky, p.116.
23. Pearsall, op.cit., p.125.
24. This does not occur in Guido.
25. See 11. 216-290.
26. EETS 126, p.50.
27. Trinity, Cotton Augustus, Eng.1, Royal 18 D.ii, Digby 232.
28. Bergen, EETS 126, p.2.
29. ? Also by Lydgate?
30. No doubt a translation of Deguilleville's Pèlerinage de l'Âme, perhaps even the same translation as that owned by Sir Thomas Cumberworth.
31. J.C. Wedgwood and Anne Holt, History of Parliament: Biographies of the Members of the Commons House 1439-1509 (London, 1936) p.176 n.5.
32. Who could object to being told, for example, to be courteous to strangers, since they may one day be in a position to do you an injury (l 1045 ff and ll 84 ff)? Or that it is dangerous to live just for the present (l 3641-3652)? The moralizing is often pragmatic



- rather than searching: the rape of Helen proves that women should stay at home (II 3608-3621). The political acumen displayed is of a similar order: treason is the worst fate that may befall a kingdom (IV 4515 ff); a man should take an opportunity when it presents itself, there is no point in being sorry later (III 2007-2026); advice given when you are out of favour is wasted (III 2297-2312).
33. S. De Ricci and W.J. Wilson, Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada, 2 (New York, 1937), p.1801.
  34. M.B. Parkes, 'The Literacy of the Laity', in Literature and Western Civilization: The Medieval World, eds., David Daiches and Anthony Thorlby (London, 1973), pp.555-77 (p.567).
  35. Wedgwood and Holt, History of Parliament, p.176.
  36. M.R. James, The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge 3 (Cambridge, 1902), p.298 is unable to distinguish the writing in Generydes from the writing in the rest of the manuscript. Cf. Bergen, EETS 126, p.21, who considers the writing to be similar but later. D.A. Pearsall, 'Notes on the Manuscript of "Generydes"', The Library, 5th ser., 16 (1961), 205-9 (p.208), seems to follow James.
  37. Pearsall, 'Notes', loc.cit.
  38. Generydes, EETS OS 55 (London, 1873), p.vi.
  39. 'Notes', p.205.
  40. Ibid., p.206.
  41. Generydes, p.vi.
  42. Pearsall, 'Notes', p.209.
  43. Ibid., p.208.
  44. Loc.cit.
  45. P. Lasko and N.J. Morgan, Medieval Art in East Anglia 1300-1520 (Norwich, 1973), p.48, give c.1450-60; Bergen, EETS 126, p.19 gives c.1440-50.
  46. Cf. Pearsall, 'Notes', p.208.
  47. Loc. cit.
  48. The above information is from Wedgwood and Holt, History of Parliament, pp.520-1.
  49. If we take 1460 as the date of the manuscript, William Knevet may even have commissioned it.
  50. Bergen, EETS 126, p.29, says third quarter of the fifteenth century.



51. J.J.G. Alexander, 'William Abell "Lymnour" and 15th Century English Illumination', in Kunsthistorische Forschungen Otto Pächt zu seinem 70. Geburtstag, eds., Artur Rosenauer and Gerold Weber (Salzburg, 1972), pp.166-72 (p.169 n.35).
52. EETS 126, p.32.
53. If it belonged originally before fol.1 there are two consecutive pages with worm holes; though they do not align with fol.173
54. 'William Abell', p.169 n.35. I am not totally convinced myself: the border-work on the singleton seems to be more delicate. The dimensions of the margin are, however, the same as the dimensions of the margin throughout the rest of the manuscript.
55. Alexander, loc.cit.
56. Wedgwood and Holt, History of Parliament, pp.154-5.
57. For detailed emblazoning see George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, British Museum Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections, 2, Royal MSS 12 A.1 to 20 E.X and App.1-89 (London, 1921), p.310.
58. See above Chapter 3, pp.159-60.
59. This is a pattern to be found in statute books --see Kathleen Scott, The Mirroure of the Worlde, Roxburghe Club (Oxford, 1980), pp.49-50; Figs.16-18.
60. Warner and Gilson, op.cit., p.310.
61. DNB
62. Op.cit., p.310.
63. It appears to originate with them since neither Ward, Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum, 1 (London, 1883), nor Bergen mention it.
64. Warner and Gilson, op.cit., p.177. For reproduction see 4, Plates plate 96.
65. For discussion see below pp.419 ff.
66. Warner and Gilson, op.cit., p.310.
67. Bergen, EETS 126, p.8.
68. Ibid., p.45.
69. Benson, The History of Troy, p.119.
70. According to Ward, op.cit., BL Add 22155 and Harley 176 have thirty-five books, as have Harley 4387 and Add. 15477. The table of contents of Harley 4123 follows the divisions propounded by Griffin more or less accurately, though it only numerates up to Book XXVIII. Though Harley 3637 is divided into only thirty books, it retains the

standard division of contents up to Book XXVIII. Books XXIX-XXX contain the rest of the material.

71. M.R. James, On the Abbey of St Edmund at Bury, Publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 28 (Cambridge, 1895), p.53; N.R. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain (2nd ed., London, 1964), pp.20-21.
72. Cotton Augustus A.iv; Rawl. C.446; Trinity College 0.5.2; the Bristol Manuscript has pages missing at the crucial points but it is evident that it was originally provided with a sequence of six.
73. A.I. Doyle and M.B. Parkes, 'The Production of Copies of the Canterbury Tales and the Confessio Amantis in the Early Fifteenth Century', in Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N.R. Ker, eds., M.B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (London, 1978) pp.163-210 (p.201 n.100).
74. Since the leaf has been cut out in the Bristol manuscript, one can only assume that this would have been the composition. For the other manuscripts, apart from Eng.1 see Table Five.
75. The complaint levelled against illustrations to the first recension of the Histoire Ancienne by Buchthal, Historia Troiana, p.16.
76. Griffin, Historia Destructionis Troie, p.5.
77. Op.cit., p.13.
78. Ibid., p.32. He is referring specifically to Madrid, Bibl., Nac., 17805 and Geneva Bibl. Bodmeriana.
79. There is no mention of Peleus and the Myrmidons in the Warburg iconographic index for the Troy story. I am grateful to the Warburg Institute for allowing me to consult their index. The model could conceivably have been an Ovid manuscript, but such a speculation is beyond the scope of this thesis. The point has been made: the artist is not slavishly following the tradition of Troy illustration; he is creating or possibly adapting for the specific requirements of the Lydgate manuscripts.
80. EETS 126, p.3.
81. Cf. St Michael over Castel Sant' Angelo sheathing his sword (Meiss, Limbourgs, 2, Fig.452). This represents a sign that the plague has ceased and is an indication that, iconographically, the notion of plague can be represented by a sword.
82. The relevant manuscripts are fewer in number here. The leaf in Trinity which would have contained the miniature has been torn out. In M 876 a space is left. Roy. only marks the Prologue.
83. EETS 126, p.11.
84. I am grateful to the Warburg Institute for allowing me to consult their photographic collection.
85. Griffin, Historia, p.43.



86. See H.R. Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature (Cambridge, Mass. 1927), pp.42-44.
87. Cf. Ernest Langlois, Le Roman de la Rose, Société des Anciens Textes Français, 2 (Paris, 1920), ll. 6002 ff.
88. EETS 126, p.3.
89. Ibid., p.20.
90. See e.g. ll. 884-5; ll. 1755-6 -- 'peyne' and 'tweyne' seem to be favourite rhymes in this context; in l. 2460 Hector smites Achilles on the basenet so that the blood runs down his face; Boetes is split to the navel by Hector ll. 2581-6, as are Archilagus and Prothenor a few lines later; Hector cuts off Cadius' arm from the shoulder ll. 3385-6 -- perhaps even closer to the content of the miniature; in ll. 4553 ff. Merion is also cut in half by Hector.
91. Reproduced by J. van den Gheyn S.J., Christine de Pisan: Epître d' Othea, Déesse de la Prudence à Hector, Chef des Troyens. Reproduction des 100 Miniatures du Manuscrit 9392 de Jean Mielot (Brussels, 1913).
92. Ward, Catalogue of Romances, p.43.
93. See also BL Roy. 20. 0. i, fol.114r.
94. EETS 126, p.8.
95. 'Hector's Tomb', in De Artibus Opuscula XL. Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky, ed., M. Meiss (New York, 1961), pp.29-36 (p.31).
96. See below, p.420.
97. Some continental manuscripts have small statues of Hector which, misunderstood, could quite readily be placed on an altar and regarded as an idol. For example, on fol.38r. of BL Add. MS 15477 the composition depicts, on the left, Achilles killing Hector, and, on the right, the city of Troy with a little statue of Hector inside it, labelled 'forma ectoris'.
98. EETS 126, p.23.
99. Ibid., p.20.
100. Ibid., p.24.
101. Bergen loc.cit.
102. Ibid., p.22.
103. Transcribed from the manuscript.
104. EETS 126, p.33.
105. English Woodcuts 1480-1535 (1935 repr. Oxford, 1973), p.44.



106. See discussion of presentation miniature pp.361-362 and below pp. 419 ff.
107. *Op.cit.*, p.361.
108. The same is true for II 1697 and 1745; III 1667 and 2745; IV 1681 and 1701.
109. Fol.7r. there is a break in the border where one of the windmill sails overlaps; on fol.8v the finial of the central border overlaps Jason's hat; on fol.24r one of the aroid flowers in the bottom border is painted over one of the trees; on fol.34v the rigging of the boats is drawn over the border; on fol.38v the gold of the bar border comes across the tower of the city; on fol.54v there is a break in the border before the miniature. It has been carefully finished off. The top of the turret goes underneath the initial; some portion of the composition has evidently been added later -- the work on the window has gone across 'Guido's' hat. On fol.57v the gold of the border goes over the trees; on fol.83v the finial in the left hand corner at the top seems to have been painted round the mountain; on fol.100r a little bit of heart-shaped flower is painted over the castle at the top; on fol.112r a gilt sun has been added over the border; on fol.121v a fragment of green paint of the tree has been painted over the gold of the border; on fol. 125v there is a bit of finial tendril over the horse's ear; on fol.126r a portion of the gold border goes over the castle.
110. See Chapter 2 n.153
111. Alexander, 'William Abell' p.169.
112. *Ibid.*, p.168.
113. This is very clear on fol.7r; where the figures are disposed in geometric formations by such overlapping, including overlapping of spears.
114. E.g. fol.1r -- the small figures outside the building to the left are on a totally different scale to the figures on the right, but it is the figures on the right which take the main narrative weight of the composition.
115. See also fols.31v and 57v, a figure carrying a bale; the standing man in the prow of a boat fols.10v, 21r, 22v; the groom on fols.8v and 18v.
116. For kneeling figures in a temple cf. fols.59v and 115r; for the stance of Ulysses on fol.153r cf. fol.151v though the artist on fol.151v has forgotten to draw in the left hand; the grouping of three figures on fol.155v is identical to that of the three major figures on fol.151v.
117. By 'conventional' I mean conventional to this manuscript.
118. Some manuscripts are quite faithful to the text here -- BL Stowe MS 54, a North French manuscript of the second recension of the Histoire Ancienne c.1400 also conflates the two scenes. Here Hecuba crowned and veiled is tied to a pillar. In the centre a figure holds stones

in the folds of a tunic; to the right another figure prepares to hurl a stone. In Roy. 20 D.i the scenes are not combined but are juxtaposed on the same page. It is very similar to Stowe 54 in its treatment of the death of Hecuba. In two manuscripts of Benoît that we have already seen to be closely related in the handling of Priam's reception of news of the destruction of Troy -- Paris, BN 782 fol.180r and Vienna Nat. Bibl. Cod. 2571 -- the two scenes are again combined. Here, however, inaccuracy of a kind found in Eng.1 appears. Hecuba is tied to a pillar as in Stowe, but the executioner wields a sword.

119. Alexander, 'William Abell', p.168.
120. Alexander, *ibid.*, p.169, points to two distinct types of bearded face in Abell's style which seem to have been ultimately derived from a Book of Hours at Trinity College, Cambridge: a squared off beard and a longer one divided into locks. Abell's mannerisms seem to have been adopted by other of his associates: analogues with the Eng.1 king-type with the long white beard can be found in the historiated initials of BL Royal MS 2 B.i, a selection of psalms made for Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.
121. Lydgate's actual mythographic source is at some remove from Fulgentius. The attributes allocated to his goddesses are similar, but the allegorical signification is different. Juno and Venus bear the most resemblance to Lydgate -- see L.G. Whitbread (trans.), Fulgentius the Mythographer (Ohio, 1971), pp.65-6. Mercury's attributes are exegetized in terms of the life of business! (*ibid.*, pp.58-9).
122. Otto Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford, 3, British, Irish, and Icelandic Schools with Addenda to Volumes 1 and 2 (Oxford, 1973), p.84.
123. Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl, 'Classical Mythology in Medieval Art', Metropolitan Museum Studies, 4, part 2 (1933), 228-280 (p.257).
124. Jean Seznec, The Survival of the Pagan Gods (Princeton, 1972), p.199
125. Pächt and Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts, p.88, plate XCVI.
126. See also fols. 50r, 52r, 115r, 129v, 149v.
127. Buchthal, Historia Troiana, p.38, points out that this scene is not illustrated in the fourteenth-century manuscripts of Benoît.
128. Seznec, *op.cit.*, p.178.
129. Buchthal, Historia Troiana, p.2.
130. See Fritz Saxl, 'The Troy Romance in French and Italian Art', in Lectures, The Warburg Institute, 1 (London, 1957) pp.125-138 and Buchthal, *ibid.*, *passim*.
131. A resemblance of a general type can be discerned between the death of Agamemnon on fol.157v and the equivalent scene in Royal 16. F. ix. In Eng.1 it is just one element in the composition.
132. Historia Troiana, p.33.



133. See fols.157v and 161r.
134. The Mosaics of Monreale (Palermo, 1960), p.43.
135. Ibid., p.63.
136. For this ugly but apt phrase I am indebted to Claire Richter Sherman, 'Some Visual Definitions in the Illustrations of Aristotle's Nichomachean Ethics and Politics in the French Translations of Nicole Oresme', Art Bulletin, 59 (1977), 320-330 (p.320).
137. See especially the lady in Ulysses' dream on fol.168r.
138. E.g. fols.7r, 10v, 162r, and the generalized council scenes.
139. Warner and Gilson, British Museum Catalogue, p.308.
140. For details see Warner and Gilson, ibid., p.310.
141. Loc.cit.
142. Bergen, EETS 126, p.16.
143. Pächt and Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford. I German, Dutch, Flemish, French and Spanish Schools (Oxford, 1966), p.57, pl.LVII.
144. Fols.74r and 75r are misplaced.
145. Fritz Saxl and Hans Meier, Verzeichnis Astrologischer und Mythologischer Illustrierter Handschriften des Lateinischen Mittelalters, 3, Handschriften in Englischen Bibliotheken, I (London, 1953), p.216.



## Chapter 6

1. To give some idea: Bergen's description of the manuscripts, Lydgate's Fall of Princes, 4, EETS ES 124 (London, 1927), pp.3-105 classifies them in sizes ranging from large to small folio.
2. Of the manuscripts I have seen personally or for which I have seen a description, the manuscripts which do more than decorate the first page are as follows: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 263, Hatton 2, e. Mus. 1; London BL Add. 39659, Royal 18 D.iv, Harley 1766, Sloane 2452; Lambeth 256; Manchester, John Ryland Library, English 2; Belvoir Castle; Longleat 254; Glasgow University Library, Hunterian 1. 50; San Marino, California, Henry E. Huntington Library HM 268; New York, Pierpont Morgan M 124; Rosenbach Museum and Library 439/16; Queenstown, Maryland, Houghton 9; formerly Wollaton Hall (Quaritch Sale Cat. 1931, Item 100; Cat 775, Item 5); Plimpton 225; McGill University Library 143.
3. A Renoir and C.D. Benson, 'John Lydgate', in A Manual of Writings in Middle English 1050-1500, ed., Hartung' 6 (New Haven, Connecticut, 1980), pp.2099-2100. They classify McGill as an extract, but it was evidently at one stage a complete manuscript.
4. Bodley 263; Harley 1766; Rosenbach 439/16; Huntington HM 268 and Sloane 2452; McGill 143. One may compare the relatively high number of illustrated Troy Book manuscripts.
5. Bergen, op.cit., pp. 99-100. For a modern collation see n.176 below.
6. This fragment was unknown to Bergen. The first published notice is A.S.G. Edwards 'The Huntington Fall of Princes and Sloane 2452', Manuscripta, 16 (1972), 37-40.
7. Exceptions: fol.17v Canace; fol.88v death of Alexander of Epirus.
8. See below, p.471.
9. See below, pp.436 ff.
10. This manuscript was unknown to Bergen. For a full description of the text see A.S.G. Edwards, 'The McGill Fragment of Lydgate's Fall of Princes', Scriptorium, 28 (1974), 75-77.
11. Book IX l. 2574.
12. But see below p.460.
13. The manuscript is paginated rather than foliated.
14. For fuller details of the frontispiece see below, pp.522 ff.
15. All quotations from Henry Bergen, Lydgate's Fall of Princes, Parts 1-3, EETS ES 121-3 (London 1924).
16. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (London, 1907), p.416.
17. BN MS fr. 12421 (Vickers, *ibid.*, p.437).

18. James Westfall Thompson, The Medieval Library (Chicago, 1939), p.405.
19. Derek Pearsall, John Lydgate (London, 1970), pp.244-5.
20. Bergen, op.cit., Part 1, pp.ix-x.
21. As there is also to the Life of St Edmund and St Fremund, ed., C. Horstmann, Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge (Heilbronn, 1881), pp.376-445. See 11. 135-92.
22. III 3857 ff; VIII 141-7. See also III 64-70 though here, as 11. 71 ff. indicate, some payment was evidently forthcoming.
23. The standard account of this aspect of the dealings between Lydgate and Humphrey is E.P. Hammond, 'Poet and Patron in the Fall of Princes: Lydgate and Humphrey of Gloucester', Anglia, 38 (1914), 121-136, in which she also discusses the connection with the Fall of Princes of the 'Letter to Gloucester' as found in BL Harley 2255; Harley 2251; Add. 34360; Lansdowne 699; Leyden Vossius 9; Cambridge, Magdalene College Pepys 2011; Pierpont Morgan 4. This account may be supplemented by John Norton-Smith, John Lydgate: Poems (Oxford, 1966), pp.114-118 and Pearsall, John Lydgate, pp.228-30.
24. This is not to suggest that Humphrey necessarily lost interest in the poem: his meanness as a patron is well exemplified in his relations with Pier Candido Decembrio (Pearsall, op.cit., p.225).
25. There is no modern edition.
26. Bergen, EETS 121, p.x.
27. M. Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late XIV Century and the Patronage of the Duke I (London, 1967), p.14.
28. Henri Hauvette, De Laurentio de Primofato Qui Primus Joannis Boccaccii Opera Quaedam Gallice Transtulit Ineunte Seculo XV (Paris, 1903), passim; Florence A. Smith 'Laurent de Premierfait's French Version of the De Casibus Virorum Illustrium with some Notes on its Influence in France', Rèvue de Litterature Comparée, 14 (1934), 512-26 (pp.512-13).
29. Bergen, EETS 121, p.xiii.
30. Loc.cit.; M. Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries, I (London, 1974), p.283.
31. There is no complete modern edition. Bergen, EETS 124 supplies extracts from all books. For an edition of Book I only see P.M. Gathercole, Laurent de Premierfait's Des Cas des Nobles Hommes et Femmes, Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 74 (Chapel Hill, 1968).
32. Bergen, EETS 121, p.xiv.
33. Carla Bozzolo, Manuscrits des Traductions Françaises d'oeuvres de Boccace: XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle (Padova, 1973), p.1. This is the most up-to-date list of manuscripts.



34. Patricia M. Gathercole, 'The Manuscripts of Laurent de Premierfait's "Du Cas des Nobles"', Italica, 32 (1955), 14-21 (p.20 n.5); A.S.G. Edwards 'The Influence of Lydgate's Fall of Princes c.1440-1559: A Survey', MS, 39 (1977), 424-39 remarks p.425 that there is no convincing evidence that Lydgate had access to Boccaccio.
35. Meiss, Late XIV Century, p.14.
36. See Bergen, EETS 121, p.xiv; Gathercole 'Manuscripts', p.20 n.7; Smith, op.cit. 522.
37. New York, Coll. Francis Kettaneh -- Boucicaut Master (M. Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: the Boucicaut Master (London and New York, 1967), p.102); Geneva, Bibl. publique et universitaire, fr. 190 -- Luçon Master; Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal 5193 -- Cité des Dames Master with assistance of an artist connected with the Bedford trend and another related to the Adelphi Master (Meiss, Limbourgs, 1, p.283); BL Add. 35321-- Francis Fouquet, the son of Jean (Edward Maunde Thompson, 'The Rothschild MS. in the British Museum of "Les Cas des Malheureux Nobles Hommes et Femmes"', Burlington Magazine, 7 (1905), 198-210 (p.201)); Munich, Staatsbibliothek Gall. 6 -- Jean Fouquet (Paul Durrieu, Le Boccace de Munich: Reproductions des 91 Miniatures du Célèbre Manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Royale de Munich (Munich, 1909), pp.39 ff); Bodley 265 -- Terence des Ducs Master (Bozzolo, op.cit. p.47); BL Royal 18 D.viii -- Fastolf Master (loc.cit.); Paris, BN fr.131 -- Cité des Dames Master (ibid., p.59); fr.226 -- collaboration of Bedford, Rohan and Cité des Dames Masters (ibid., p.60); fr.16994 -- Cité des Dames Master (ibid., p.74); fr.16995 -- Rohan Master (ibid. p.75).
38. So Bozzolo, though Durrieu in his facsimile of the manuscript calls it gall.369 (olim gall.6).
39. Durrieu, op.cit., p.20.
40. Transcribed from BL Royal MS. 20 C.iv.
41. A slight exception to this generalization occurs in Roy. 20 C.iv where the tables of contents are not provided until Book III. Previous to this are chapter headings only. In Roy. 14 E.v, the table to all nine books precedes the text rather than the table of contents being provided before each book.
42. Gathercole, Laurent, pp.221-222.
43. See F.A. Yates, The Art of Memory (London, 1966).
44. Op.cit., p.201.
45. For short cycles see Bozzolo, op.cit., passim. Particularly early manuscripts are: Paris, BN fr.228; 16994; fr.16995; Oxford, Bodley 265.
46. Meiss, Limbourgs, 1, p.283.
47. Loc.cit.



48. Loc.cit. Facsimile of Ars. edited by H.M.R. Martin, Le Boccace de Jean sans Peur: Des Cas des Nobles Hommes et Femmes (Brussels, 1911).
49. Meiss, Boucicaut, p.47; Limbourgs, I, p.283.
50. A table of comparative subject-matter is provided in Limbourgs I, pp.284-6.
51. Hauvette, De Laurentio de Primofato, p.55 n.l.
52. Op.cit., pp.10-13.
53. Ibid., p.10.
54. Loc.cit.
55. Op.cit., p.13.
56. Only Durrieu, Le Boccace de Munich, p.24, to my knowledge, considers that Ars. was the pictorial exemplar for Geneva.
57. Boucicaut; p.46.
58. Martin, Le Boccace de Jean sans Peur, Fig.4.
59. Cf. Munich Gall. 6 fol.21r (Durrieu Plate 4). The fall of Rehoboam is accompanied by a miniature of a king holding court (Martin fig. 20). Book IV Chap.5 (Martin fig.61) depicts a more lascivious violence -- Dionysus of Syracuse causing women to be stripped. In VI 7 Orodes crowns his son (Martin fig.98); VIII 19 shows the fellowship of the Round Table not its demise (Martin fig.126); IX 19 has the coronation of Charles of Anjou (Martin fig.145).
60. Martin, Fig.5.
61. See eg. Stowe 54 fol.2r; Add. 25884 fol.86r.
62. Martin, Fig.LVII.
63. Contrast Confessio Amantis, see below, pp.504 ff.
64. Durrieu, op.cit. pp.7; 12-15.
65. Ibid., p.31.
66. Ibid., p.6.
67. M.R. James, A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow (Glasgow, 1908), pp.151-2.
68. Op.cit., pp.19-20.
69. Ibid., p.31.
70. Some chapters apparently do not contain an adequately sustained narrative to which the artist cared to address himself. Thus,

the following chapters are unillustrated: III 17 ' ... contre les Richesses et contre la fole opinion que le peuple met cuidant que bienheurete soit en Richesse mondaine ... ' ; V 4 ' ... contre les mauuaiz citoiens etaultres hommes ... ' ; VI 3 ' ... vng pou de paroles parquoy lacteur en brief parle de noblesse mondaine ... ' ; VI 10 ' ... en brief le faisonnement de lacteur ... ' ; VI 13 ' ... blasme & reprend les gengleurs parlans contre la noble science de rhetorique<sup>T</sup>; VII 7 ' ... parle contre les gloux et dampne le vice de gloutonnie'; VIII 12 ' ... parle contre les blafemeurs du nom de dieu ... ' ; VIII 17 ' ... contre le present estat de la Cite de Romme ... ' ; VIII 20 ' ... parle contre les desloyaulx enfans enuers leurs peres ... ' ; VIII 23 ' ... parle contre les femmes'; IX 12 ' ... parle contre les mignotz et dissoluz soient louenceaulx ou vieillars ... ' ; IX 17 ' ... comment Jehan boccace aucteur de ceste livre approue et Recommande la pitie qui doit estre entre le pere et le filz ... ' ; IX 22 ' ... Recommande et enhorte la vertu de Patience ... ' ; IX 25 ' ... comment Jehan Boccace se excuse pour ce quil met Philippote la cathinoise entre les nobles femme ignoble ... ' .

71. II 2 contains the story of Saul while chapter 3 ' ... contient la recommandacion dobeissance'. 2 depicts Samuel anointing Saul while 3 is introduced by the scene of Saul committing suicide. II 8 contains the story of Athalia, while 9 is a complaint referring to material in 8. The picture for 8 in Ars. shows Athalia being dragged by the hair by the executioners, while that for 9 in both manuscripts depicts Athalia being beheaded. Since Geneva only has a miniature for 9, a process of choice can be observed: Geneva prefers to give weight to the chapter of complaint rather than of narrative. II 11 contains the story of Dido while 12 consists of 'la louange de Dido'. Unsurprisingly, then, two scenes from the life of Dido are depicted: 11 represents the murder of Dido's husband by her brother while 12 shows Dido's suicide. II 13 discusses Sardanapalus while 14 consists of invective against his way of life. The double illustration reflects visually the double verbal reference: 13 shows Sardanapalus, surrounded by his wives, being informed of the enemy's approach; 14 depicts his suicide. A similar modulation between narrative and generalized complaint can be found in II 16 and 17. 16 discusses Zedekiah and the miniature shows his being blinded; 17 is a generalized complaint given narrative precision by the illustration of Zedekiah dying in prison. See also III 6 and 7 (Xerxes); III 12 and 13 (Alcibiades); VII 8 and 9 (Destruction of Jerusalem and invective against the Jews).
72. In II 7 the focus is on Zimri though his story is preceded by an account of Jeroboam, Zareas and Abab. Although II 18 starts with Astyages the illustration relates to Cyrus. V 6 begins with the Gracchi but the miniature depicts the fate of Hasdrubal's wife. Cleopatra is the last narrative of V 19 but this is the scene which is illustrated. VI 11 is a composite chapter, but it focusses on Julius Caesar. In VIII 2 the first story discusses Domitian but the picture is of Commodus.
73. c.1420 Otto Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford, I, German, Dutch, Flemish, French and Spanish Schools (Oxford, 1966), pp.51-2.



74. See also New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS M 342-3; BL Royal MS 18 D. vii; BL Add. MS 18750.
75. A composition which also occurs in BL MSS Roy. 18 D. vii and Add. 18750.
76. F. Saxl and H. Meier, Verzeichnis Astrologischer und Mythologischer Illustrierter Handschriften des Lateinischen Mittelalters, 3 Handschriften in Englischen Bibliotheken, 1 (London, 1953), p.222.
77. See above, p.430.
78. In the absence of a satisfactory study, the best source for details is Bergen, EETS 124, passim, though he is occasionally inaccurate because he is following early printed sources which often compress manuscript material. Thus his claim (p.206) that IV 512-637 have no equivalent in the French is untrue: these lines represent Laurent's IV chapter 3, omitted in the printed version.
79. Ibid., p.170.
80. This story is told in Book II ll. 3187 ff. The text is edited by G.C. Macaulay, EETS ES 81 and 82 (London 1900 and 1901).
81. Op.cit. EETS 124, pp.11-105 passim.
82. A preliminary table comparing the chapter divisions in each manuscript has not yielded anything more precise than this: I therefore omit it.
83. Op.cit., EETS 124, p.4.
84. For full details of variants see Bergen, EETS 124, pp.31 ff. The observation about the change from Manlius to Regulus is my own.
85. Ibid., pp.7-8.
86. English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey (Durham N.C. and London, 1927), p.156. She actually concentrates on the fact that it is the majority of Books III-VI, the books which contain the majority of the classical material, which is absent; but her perception is correct. There seems to be a bias in the collection against classical material, a conscious policy on the part of the redactor. For fuller details see Appendix 2.
87. 'McGill Fragment', p.77.
88. The exceptions are: Book VI chap. ij; chaps. iv-x; xii-xxij; xxiiij-xxx; Book VII ii and iij; v-ix; xj; Book VIII ij-vi; viij and ix; xij-xiv where there is no special initial. Book II vij and Book VI iij have a blue flourished initial. Book V v also only has a two-line flourished initial as do the envoys; the heading here does, however, speak of the section being 'In the manere of a lenvoye'. The same thing happens with Book VI chapter xxxi.
89. See below p.454 ff.



90. Harl. 1245 has a brief table of contents on the verso of a fly-leaf in a contemporary hand -- possibly done by a reader rather than the scribe.
91. See below, p.455 ff.
92. 'McGill Fragment', p.76.
93. Edwards, 'McGill Fragment', p.77 and Kathleen Scott's forthcoming article in Viator.
94. Art historical evidence would confirm this: Kathleen Scott thinks that this manuscript either represents a late phase of the scribe's activity, or the miniatures were added later in spaces left for the purpose. Op.cit.
95. Kathleen Scott op.cit. The ensuing points in this paragraph are much indebted to Dr Scott's meticulous article and to conversations with her.
96. We can see a similar process of material being introduced in the margin and subsequently moved into the text space with the illustrated manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales.
97. Transcribed from the McGill manuscript.
98. Or, if I am correct in my suggestion that the table of contents was the last section of the manuscript to be completed, that the table of contents is a verbal transcription of the pictures.
99. This represents a far greater accuracy than that to be found in Rylands Eng.1 confirming that the hand of the labeller is that of the scribe who, presumably, knew what he was writing.
100. See also fols.195v; 196r; 203r; 208v; 221r; 230v; 233r; 235r for similar evidence of miniatures functioning as part of the chapter heading.
101. See below pp.464 ff for further discussion of narrative hierarchy.
102. Further evidence of co-ordination between table of contents and marginal annotation is the close correlation between names that appear in the table of contents and in the margins. That is to say, names which do not appear as part of the textual chapter headings and are part of the table of contents are separately noted at the appropriate point in the margin. Alternatively, they may appear in the table of contents because the table of contents records all marginal annotation.
103. 'The Influence', p.430.
104. See Edwards, 'McGill Fragment', p.76 n.7 where the details are conveniently set out.
105. Though he quotes the Harley catalogue and Warton to the effect that the miniature represents St Edmund on p.49, in his list of miniatures Bergen describes him neutrally as a prince in a 'raspberry shaped headdress', EETS 124, p.38. It is without doubt St Edmund.

106. Chapter 2, p.145.
107. These annotations are transcribed Bergen, EETS 124, pp.50-51. For the identification with Suffolk families see Kathleen Scott, op. cit.
108. N.R. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain (2nd edition, London, 1964), pp.xvi and 16.
109. Ibid., p.16.
110. DNB.
111. K.L. Scott, op.cit.
112. 'The Influence', p.429: 'British Library MS. Sloane 4031 once belonged to Battle Abbey. Lambeth Palace MS. 254 was possibly formerly in Lanthony Priory. And an inventory of Exeter Cathedral in 1506 contains only one vernacular work, a "Bocas in sermone Anglico". At least one priest had his personal copy: Richard Lincoln, rector of Rayleigh, Essex, bequeathed in 1492 "librum quod intitulator Bocas de casu principum, in nostrum vulgarem translatum"'. .
113. 'Patrons of Letters in Norfolk and Suffolk c.1450', PMLA, 27 (1912), 188-207; 28 (1913), 78-105. One might perhaps think of someone like John Howard, who in 1483 became Duke of Norfolk, and who had an account with Thomas Lymnour of Bury for 100s. 2d. (Moore Part 2, p.85).
114. Op.cit., p.250.
115. Edwards, 'The Influence', p.431; 'Selections from Lydgate's Fall of Princes: A Checklist', The Library, 5th. ser., 26 (1971), 337-42.
116. 'The Influence', p.431.
117. Chapter 2, p.147.
118. Edwards, 'McGill Fragment', p.77.
119. See his list of illustrations Part 4, pp.38-46.
120. The rudimentary landscape details on fol.30r are reduplicated in a slightly less complex form on fol.39r; the chariot on fol.24r. is very similar to that on 39r.; fol.43r. practically reduplicates the first miniature on fol.28r, though the pose of the praying figure is slightly different -- this in its turn is practically reduplicated on fol.44v; the figure on fol.45r with a sword practically reduplicates, though reversed, a similar figure on fol. 31r; Atreus killing Thiestis's children on fol.53r is similar to Medea killing her children on fol.33r except here the children are larger and not naked.; the figures on fol.63v have reminiscences of figure types on fols. 45r. and 46v.; Queen Althaea throwing the brand on the fire on fol.64v is practically identical to Althaea withdrawing the brand from the fire on fol.63r; on fol.87v the figure of Pyrrhus reduplicates that of Meleager on fol.63v; the pose of Polyxena on the same folio is similar to that of Atlanta also on fol.63v; the figure on 97v reduplicates that on fol.70r.



One could also compare fols. 100v and 45r; the pose of the central figure 123v and 70v; and of the central figure 156v and 46v; 201r and 132r; 209r and 132v; the female figure 222r and the female figure 171r; fol. 252r and 153v.

121. See also, particularly, the story of Samson fols. 83r-84r; of Saul 91v-95r; Jeroboam 107r-109r; Croesus 132r-133r.
122. I realize that I am speaking as if this was a conscious artistic choice rather than, more probably, a technical limitation. I merely phrase it this way to indicate that a limited vocabulary of compositions can be just as effective as more sophisticated drawings if one assumes that they were used in conjunction with the text rather than as an alternative to the text.
123. Nevertheless, some of the illustrations, particularly those in the earlier folios do betray an analogy with other manuscripts. Thus the first two narrative illustrations, the temptation of Adam and Eve and the expulsion from Eden, have a long tradition of illustration to which to allude and there is a similarity of conception here with the first miniature of Bodley 263 which conflates the two episodes, though in other cases where the manuscripts depict the same scenes the compositional types vary. Furthermore, the picture on fol. 43v, Oedipus hung to a tree by a rope piercing his ankles, is a simplified version of some of the Histoire Ancienne illustrations. The treatment of Candaulus showing his wife to Gyges on fol. 129r. is reminiscent of the composition in the two earliest French manuscripts.
124. For a similar example see the death of Adonis on fol. 75v, an incident not mentioned by Laurent; fol. 224r Muhammed devoured by hogs, a gory end which he does not receive in Laurent; Bishop Ambrose reproving Theodosius on fol. 206v is Lydgate's own contribution.
125. Ian Doyle's notes kept in an information file by the Huntington Library say 'xv med.', Parkes says 'xv med.-xv $\frac{1}{2}$ '. I am grateful to Consuelo Dutschke of the Huntington Library for making these available to me.
126. On fol. 63v is a four-line initial.
127. The manuscript contains two sequences of foliation since fol. 129r was originally placed at the beginning of the manuscript and fibreated as 1 so that the manuscript could start with a floreated border. The manuscript was subsequently rebound with the leaves in correct sequence. I am following the more recent foliation.
128. On fol. 33v a decorative 'L' has been completed -- for 'Lenvoye' presumably; fol. 43r, has the heading 'Lenvoy' -- the initial has a human face incorporated into it and there are birds on the green and red penwork flourishes above the 'envoy' portion; fol. 43r also has the heading 'Prologus terciij libri' and a human face has also been incorporated into the 'P'; on fol. 49r the space of a stanza has been left, possibly for an ornate heading for the envoy -- the space has, however, been filled in with a depiction of a man with a baton threatening a lion, a design which is a jeu d'esprit: it has no relation to the text; on fol. 50v the space of a stanza has been left above l. 1009 in which has been written 'Verba



lucrecie' in alternately violet and gold letters: the 'V' is elaborately flourished in violet and gold; in a space left on fol.79r is a well-executed letter 'T'; the same is true of fols. 88v and 97r; on fol.97v the space of one stanza has been left at the bottom of column 2 in which an ornate initial 'C' has been filled in.

129. E.g. BL Royal 18 D. iv; Add. 39659; Roy. 18 D. v; Sloane 4031; Harl. 4203.
130. The manuscript finishes at Book VIII l. 1414.
131. See Appendix 2.
132. The sections which Bergen prefaces with letters in heavy type are a good indication of where these occur in most English manuscripts. Variations in this pattern do not seem significant enough to warrant a separate table.
133. See eg. ll. 4348-4368.
134. EETS 124, p.101.
135. See below, p.482 ff.
136. EETS 124, p.101.
137. Verzeichnis Astrologischer und Mythologischer Illustrierter Handschriften des Lateinischen Mittelalters, 3, Handschriften in Englischen Bibliotheken, 1 (London, 1953), p.245. Photographs of the Sloane miniatures are in Vol.2 Taf. XLV, Abb. 118 and 119.
138. Bergen, EETS 124, p.143.
139. Gathercole, Laurent de Premierfait, p.118.
140. I have not come across a suitable model: as we have seen, the two earliest manuscripts show only Saturn devouring his children (see above). There is, however, an analogue in BL Harley MS 621, a late manuscript, c.1480 (Saxl and Meier, op.cit., 1, p.147), which indicates that this scene did occasionally receive illustration in French manuscripts. The composition is divided into two: on the left are scenes from the life of Isis, an aspect of chapter 5 which the Sloane artist or that of his model did not choose to depict; on the right, the crowned Tereus sits behind a table, a man to his right, while in the foreground Philomela holds out 'this' head on a plate. Procne stands on her right.
141. The heading in Harley 1766 gives slightly more prominence to the Europa section: 'here folwith afftir satourñ Jove kyng of Crete and of Agenor and his sons Cadmus with othir.'
142. Published sources: Bibl. de l'Arsenal depicts at this point Cadmus receiving the plan of Thebes from an architect while workers build the city, as does its sister manuscript Geneva. See Martin, Le Boccace de Jean sans Peur, Pl.1 fig.4. The Munich manuscript has a miniature showing the fates of Cadmus' various children: Acteon,

his grandson, eaten in front of his mother's (Antinoe's) eyes by his own dogs; Agave killing Pentheus; and Athamas and Ino. See Durrieu, Le Boccace de Munich, Plate 4. Manuscripts in the UK and USA: Glasgow University Library Hunterian MS 208, like the two earliest manuscripts, depicts the building of Thebes, as does BL Add. 35321. BL Harley 621 has a composite miniature showing Cadmus being sent out; consulting the oracle; finding the bull; constructing the city and holding audience. The miniature in San Marino, Henry E. Huntington Library HM 936 is possibly the most reminiscent of Sloane in that it depicts, on the left, the sea with two boats in it containing men in plate mail while on the shore two figures, one of them a king, stand watching. This presumably represents Cadmus setting off being watched by his father.

143. Saxl and Meier, op.cit., 1, p.246.
144. 'The Huntington Fall', p.39.
145. Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl, 'Classical Mythology in Medieval Art' Metropolitan Museum Studies, 4, part 2 (1930), 228-280 (p.247).
146. Saxl and Meier, op.cit., 2, Taf. XLI. Abb. 106; George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, British Museum Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections 2 Royal MSS 12 A. i. to 20 E. x and App. 1-89 (London, 1921), p.372. For once I agree with Warner and Gilson rather than Saxl as to date: Saxl, op.cit., 1, p.222 says 'Mitte des 15. Jahrh'.
147. Metamorphoses IV 536 ff.
148. Bergen, EETS 124, p.177.
149. For precision to the text see also particularly the miniature depicting the death of Julius Caesar on fol.132r: in addition to the figure of Caesar surrounded in a semi-circle by four men with daggers all poised to strike, there is an allusion to Calpurnia's dream in the sleeping figure shown in a small interior on the left.
150. Horstmann, Life of St Edmund, 11.942-983.
151. See Margaret Rickert, Painting in Britain: the Middle Ages (2nd ed., Harmondsworth, 1965), pl.170.
152. Note by Kathleen Scott in the information file held in the Huntington Library.
153. See e.g. fol. 15v, the Death of Polyxena; fol.27v, the Death of Lucrece; fol. 42r, the crystal and golden temple of Rome; fol.50r, the Death of Lucrece; fol.72v, mining scene, merchant being robbed of gold; fol.79v, an author writing his book; fol.93r, battle scene; fol.122v, banishment of Metellus. The rest either contain extremely precise narrative detail, or narrative detail which is somewhat puzzling.
154. Martin, Le Boccace de Jean sans Peur, figs.52 and 53.



155. EETS 124, p.102.
156. Ibid., p.235.
157. I should like to thank the librarian of the Princeton Index of Christian Art at UCLA for allowing me access to the catalogue.
158. See below p.501 ff.
159. Op.cit., p.101.
160. Macauley, EETS 82, 11. 2289-2316.
161. Ibid., p.521.
162. D.J.A. Ross, Illustrated Medieval Alexander - Books in Germany and the Netherlands: a Study in Comparative Iconography (Cambridge, 1971), pp.24-5, 133, 162, 171, 173; figs.180, 285, 320, 333, 362-6.
163. Ibid., p.60.
164. Ibid., fig.283.
165. Ibid., p.160; fig.310.
166. For wax tablets see R.W. Scheller, A Survey of Medieval Model Books (Harlem, 1963), p.2.
167. Jean Lebègue's instructions for the illustration of Sallust provide an example of instructions being written on sheets, though they are not separate -- see above Chapter I. He is, however, a professional scholar rather than an artisan. For sketchbooks see Scheller, op.cit., and D.J.A. Ross, 'A Late Twelfth-Century Artist's Pattern Sheet', JWCI, 25 (1962), 119-128. These establish the principle of models on sheets of paper, though some distinction would have to be made between these model books which are assemblages of compositional types drawn together from all genres and which formed part of the workshop repertory and this hypothetical sequence for one text for which I have found no parallel. The sketchbook which M.R. James mentions, for example, 'An English Medieval Sketch Book', The Walpole Society, 13 (1925) 1-17, is a collection of prototypes, particularly of birds and animals by various hands -- a step, one might say, preliminary to the one I have been envisaging. 'The book was the property of some atelier and additions were made to it rather at random', James, p.16.
168. Typescript in information folder held by the Huntington Library.
169. Book III 162 ff.
170. Meiss, Limbourgs, 2, fig.71.
171. The prefatory miniature to Book II depicting the death of Saul is slightly reminiscent of the equivalent scene in HM 268 in that a central mountain dominates the composition and there are corpses in the foreground. Otherwise, the actual means of despatching Saul is totally different: he lies on his back while someone cuts his



throat whereas in HM he stands on top of the mountain, apparently on the point of stabbing himself in the ear. Similarly the initial miniature to Book IV showing the death of Manlius has some general correspondences but it is not such a striking copy as the struggle between Fortune and Poverty. In both the Capitol is conceived as a moated castle, but in Roy. it is wider. There is a certain similarity in the way Marcus Manlius is flung from the wall: in both he is dangling headfirst held only by the ankles (by one ankle in HM). But the most convincing parallel other than Poverty and Fortune is that between Caecilius Metellus leading the Macedonian usurper Andriscus in triumph on fol.186v of Roy. (Slide 113) and Darius taken prisoner by Alexander on fol.90r of HM. The foreshortening of the horses in the top right hand corner of the miniature in Roy. is very similar to that in the equivalent position in HM. The cart is also similar in both, though one is the chariot of the conqueror rather than the conquered. Both have a man with a baton standing behind: in HM he rides but his pose is identical.

172. Warner and Gilson, British Museum Catalogue, 2, p.372.

173. This would not be unusual: see D.J.A. Ross, 'Methods of Book Production in a XIVth Century French Miscellany (London, BM MS Royal 19.D.1)', Scriptorium, 6 (1952), 63-75 (p.66). Admittedly he is talking about France.

174. EETS 124, p.102.

175. At first sight the note at the bottom of the page on fol.126r: 'the goyng away of ffort[une]' might appear to be an instruction to the illuminator. In fact this is not the case: it refers to the subject matter of the stanza above:

This wordis said ffortune made an ende  
She beet hir wynges took hir to the flight

This exemplifies the problem with notations on the manuscript. Sketches and notes are not automatically guidance for the illuminator: they may represent readers' doodles, but it is often difficult to be sure.

176. I assume it must have been a quire only because of the localization of the numbers to this one particular section. As can be seen from the collation:

1<sup>8</sup> (-4,-5) 2<sup>8</sup> (-4,-5) 3-4<sup>8</sup> 5<sup>8</sup> (-4,-5) 6-7<sup>8</sup> 8<sup>8</sup> (-4,-5) 9-11<sup>8</sup> 12<sup>8</sup>  
(-4,-5) 13-14<sup>8</sup> 15<sup>8</sup> (-4,-5) 16<sup>8</sup> (-2,-7) 17<sup>8</sup> (-2,-7) 18<sup>8</sup> 19<sup>8</sup> (-2 to 7)  
20-22<sup>8</sup> 23<sup>8</sup> (-2 to 7) 24<sup>8</sup> (-2 to 7); four quires missing at beginning and another four at end, as well as one between the fourth and fifth quires and one between the fourteenth and fifteenth quires -- collation provided in information file held by the Huntington Library -- fols.17v-24v are not in a single quire in HM.

177. The same story is told in Book VII of Confessio Amantis and the only illustration to this scene, a late one, also vividly conveys the discrepancy between two sorts of counsel. In the centre stands a young beardless king in front of a strip of tapestry. On the right is a group of bearded white-haired men facing right but turning their

heads to look at the king. He pushes them away with his left hand. On the left is a tightly clustered group of fashionably dressed youths. The king grasps the hand of the foremost (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M 126, fol.176v).

178. Bergen, EETS 124, p.171.

179. Ibid., p.101.

180. Ibid., p.102.

181. In some of the French manuscripts one finds that use of a prototype to which I have been referring. Roy. 14 E. v, although fairly naturalistic, has recourse to iconographic stereotypes. Cleopatra standing with a dress round her waist puts an asp to each naked breast. She thus has affinities with the figure of Luxuria. The problem of how far the reader is meant to catch the allusion is complicated by the constant use of the word 'luxure' in connection with her: 'elle qui en luxurieux embrassement auoit a plusieurs Jouenceaulx preste ses membres fardez de tous delices charnelz'.

182. See Appendix 2.

183. Bergen, EETS 122, p.499.

184. Not his death as well as Bergen claims.

185. On fol.110r is a miniature divided into two separate sections by the strategy of architecture. On the left is a tower with a wall cut away; abutting this is a gable-ended structure. There are two scenes in the tower; in the foreground a man in a tunic steps forward from the left holding a shallow cup in his outstretched hand towards a figure on the right seated on a bench with his hands clasped together. In the background a man, arms outstretched, has a cord round his neck which is being pulled by two men, one on each side. The interior of the gable-ended building represents a church. To the left is an altar; to the right a coffin draped with a pall with a cross on it. There is a large candle in a large candle-holder at the head and at the foot. According to Bergen this represents the murder of the Scipios, but the details of their deaths in the text are too vague to account for the details of the deaths in the miniature. Scipio Africanus died in exile -- the draped coffin presumably alludes to this. Scipio Asian was, we are merely told, 'moordred in prisoun' while Scipio Nasica was banished like Africanus. There is nothing in the lives of the Scipios to account for the poisoning, and nothing at all to account for the reference to strangulation, although it is perhaps a graphic enough visual response to the drab 'moordred in prisoun'. A better candidate for the poisoning presents himself: Duke Philopoemen, we are told, was: 'Among his enmyes brouht into prisoun ,/Ther maad an eende be drynkyng of poisoun'. The point to be made here is that the section is actually headed by a brief reference to Hieron of Syracuse, here passed over in favour of the Scipios and Duke Philopoemen. Similarly the miniature on fol.114v depicts the death of Alexander Balas although the first story in the chapter is that of Andriscus. Thus a hierarchy of incidents in the chapter is suggested. The same thing happens on fol.146v: the picture refers to the death of Galba though the first story is that of Eleazarus.

186. See the prologue ll. 1-11; 30-51 where Gower mentions that the fame of the noble ancients should be kept alive so as to preserve their example and also to inspire the same wish to have good deeds remembered in contemporaries. The same reason for telling the Troy story preoccupies Lydgate Prologue ll.149-194. In the Prologue to Book IV of the Fall writing is unequivocally associated with knowledge.
187. Provided by the colophon.
188. Macaulay, The English Works, EETS 82, p.480.
189. Macaulay, *ibid.*, p.522. There is a convenient summary in J.J. Murphy, 'Confessio Amantis and the First Discussion of Rhetoric in the English Language', PQ, 41 (1962), 401-11 (pp.409-10); for his indebtedness to the Secretum Secretorum see G.L. Hamilton, 'Some Sources of the Seventh Book of Gower's Confessio Amantis', MP, 9 (1912), 323-46, and A.H. Gilbert, 'Notes on the Influence of the Secretum Secretorum; the Seventh Book of Gower's Confessio Amantis; Speculum, 3 (1928), 84-98.
190. Society's problems are partly caused by a failure of order. Though the theme is division, the imagery also speaks of disorder: see ll. 118-121; 356-7; 567-70.
191. ll. 1565 ff.
192. The catalogue held in the Pierpont Morgan Library supplies the date for M 126. I am very grateful to the staff of the Pierpont Morgan Library for allowing me to see this. For New Coll. 266 see Jonathan Alexander, 'William Abell "Lymnour" and 15th Century English Illumination', in Kunsthistorische Forschungen Otto Pächt zu seinem 70. Geburtstag, eds., Artur Rosenauer and Gerold Weber (Salzburg, 1972), pp.166-72 (p.168) who puts the putative working life of 'William Abell' between c.1440 and 1465.
193. See above Chapter 2.
194. Kate Harris, 'John Gower's Confessio Amantis: the Virtues of Bad Texts', paper presented at a conference on 'Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts and Fifteenth-Century Literature' at the University of York 10-12 July 1981.
195. See the mise-en-page of the Des Cas manuscripts and that of Epître d'Othea manuscripts such as Harley 4431.
196. See for example the illustration of Piramus and Thisbe on fol.58v. This scene was one which appeared in Ovid manuscripts relatively frequently. See Kathleen L. Scott, The Caxton Master and his Patrons, Cambridge Bibliographical Society Monographs, 8 (Cambridge, 1976) p.22.
197. Pierpont Morgan Library catalogue.
198. These are: Nampius and the Greeks III 973 ff; Phebus and Daphne III 1685 ff; Icarus IV 1030 ff; Protesilaus IV 1901 ff; Saul IV 1935 ff; Education of Achilles IV 1963 ff; Argus and Mercury IV 1317; Midas V 141 ff; Tantalus V 363 ff; Phrixus and Helle -- a sensible exclusion here since the story is told not to exemplify a vice but to clarify the previous story V 4243; Babio and Croceus V



4781 ff; Neptune and Cornix V 6145 ff; Paris and Helen (!) V 7195 ff; Bacchus in the Desert VI 399 ff; Tristram VI 467 ff; Pirithous VI 485 ff; Galba and Vitellius 537 ff; Nero VI 1151 ff; Zoroaster VI 2367 ff; Julius and the poor knight VII 2061 ff; Antigonus and Cinichus VII 2114 ff; Caesar's Answer VII 2449 ff; Cambyses VII 2889 ff; Sardanapalus VII 4313 ff.

199. This is the composite picture prefacing the lines introductory to the section which draws correspondences between stars, gemstones and herbs (VII 1281 ff). Here there is a visual reference to the tradition of Nectanebus instructing Alexander, a tradition to which the Latin heading alludes.
200. Alexander, 'William Abell', p.168.
201. 1. Tale of Florent; 2. The Trump of Death; 3. Nabugodonosor; 4. The Three Questions; 5. Tale of Constance; 6. Constantine and Silvester; 7. Orestes; 8. Alexander and the Pirate; 9. Aeneas and Dido; 10. Rosiphelee; 11. Nauplius and Ulysses; 12. Hercules and Achelons; 13. Ceix and Alceone; 14. Midas; 15. Virgil's Mirror; 16. The Two Coffers; 17. The Two Beggars; 18. The King and his Steward's Wife; 19. Achilles and Deidamia; 20. Jason and Medea; 21. Adrian and Bardus; 22. Theseus and Ariadne; 23. Calistona; 24. Hercules and Faunus; 25. Ulysses and Telegonus; 26. Nectanebus; 27. King, Wine, Woman and Truth; 28. Spertachus; 29. Gideon; 30. Tarquin.
202. For description see Bergen, EETS 124, pp.90-1.
203. Bergen, EETS 121, p.xiii.
204. Fols.4r,9v,13r,28v,32r,35r,41r,47r,61r,73r,74v,85r,90r,96v,104v,109v,116r,117v,133r,147r,150r,159v,180r,175r,181r,205v,210v,226v,230r.
205. Bergen's suggestion that it may illustrate the winning of a Roman crown seems even more desperate than my own.
206. See H.R. Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), passim, especially pp.42 ff.
207. Bergen EETS 124, 246.
208. See Meiss, Limbourgs, 2, plates 65,66,69,71,72. Also Huntington HM 936; HM 937 -- the only miniature of which is a conflation of the usual presentation picture and the usual prefatory material to Book I and also contains a wheel of Fortune; Harley 621; Pierpont Morgan G. 35.
209. Cf. the moralized mythographic material in the Troy Book.
210. For some reason Bergen's description fails to note this.
211. Cf. Otto Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford. 3 British, Irish, and Icelandic Schools (Oxford, 1973), plate XCIX 1072 and 1070; e. Mus. 42 Genealogy of the Kings of England from c.1467-9 and Lyell 33, the same text c. 1469-70.

212. Even the artist of Douce 104, a 'C' text of Piers Plowman with illustrations in the margin, knows that. We see him contravening the text in his quest for a prototype.
213. Rosenbach Company, An Exhibition of 15th Century Manuscripts and Books in Honor of the Six Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Geoffrey Chaucer (1340-1400), (New York, 1940), p.14.
214. See above p.426.
215. For other manuscripts attributed to Ricardus Franciscus see K.L. Scott, 'A Mid-Fifteenth-Century English Illuminating Shop and its Customers', JWCI, 31 (1968), 170-196 (p.170 n.3).
216. Pierpont Morgan Library descriptive catalogue.
217. 'Bochas gayne the surquedous pride of thaim that trusten in thers Ryches seith thus' (fol.36v); on fol.37r occurs 'Nota' in red above the first stanza of the section dealing with patient poverty; 'A chapitle of Bochas discryuynge the malice off wommen' (fol.40r); 'The excuse off Bochas for his writynge ageyn misgouerned wommen in stede of a. Lenvoye' (fol.41r); in the margin: 'A letter of compleynt off Canace sent to Machaire hir brother' (fol.42r); 'The commendacioun off John Bochas uppon the uertue off Obedience' (fol.47r); 'A Lenuoye directe vnto wydowes of the translatur' (fol.57v); 'A Commendacion of Bochas of uertuous besynesse rehercyng names of foundours of diuerce sciences and konnynges in the repress off ydelnesse' (fol.58v); 'An exhortacion to Princis to be auised to doo ageyn goddes pretext' (fol.61r); 'Bochas ageyns doublenesse and fals Symulacion' (fol.71v); 'The compleynt of Bochas vppon the luxurie of Princis as by examples of diuerce myschaunces' (fol.78r); 'Bochas ageyn the vntrouthe of Juges' (fol.90v); 'Her Bochas maketh an exclamacioun of the extorcion of the officers of Rome' (fol.91v); 'Here Bochas maketh an Exclamacion vppon the deth of Alcibades' (fol.94r); 'Here Bochas seith ageyn the desires of the peple' (fol.94v); 'Bochas ageyn Idilnesse' (fol.95r); 'The auctor ageyn Couecious peple' (fol.97v); 'The destruccion of Jerusalem' (fol.178r).
218. EETS 124, p.4.
219. See above, p.445.
220. Bergen, EETS 124, p.4.
221. Loc.cit.
222. I am grateful to Dr Scott for confirming this.
223. Cf. n.217 and Bergen pp.184; 189; 194; 214; 262; 266; 278; 323; 360; 416; 419 -- the chapter-heading is in the same place, the wording is different; 430; 447. They do not correspond at all points, but many of the headings in Rosenbach are equivalent to those in Bodley.
224. Bergen, EETS 124, p.20.
225. See Appendix 2.

226. Though it must be admitted that the death of Callisthenes fol.86r is very restrained. The unfortunate philosopher had his hands and feet cut off, his eyes torn out and his lips and nostrils removed. He was then thrown into a cave filled with barking dogs. Finally Lysimachus gave him poison so as to alleviate his misery. The picture shows Callisthenes being offered poison: he still has his hands, nose and lips.



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Dd. ix. 18  
Gg. iv. 6  
Gg. iv. 27  
Hh. iv. 11  
Kk. i. 7

Gower, Confessio Amantis  
Scrope, Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers  
De Lorris and de Meun, Roman de la Rose  
Chaucer, Works; Lydgate, Temple of Glass  
Hoccleve, De Regimine Principum  
Deguileville, Pèlerinage de l'Âme (English trans.)

Kk. v. 30  
li. lv. 9  
Mm. ii. 21  
Mm. iii. 29  
Oo. vii. 45

Lydgate and Barbour, Troy Book  
Miscellany  
Gower, Confessio Amantis  
Historical tracts  
Love, Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ

Corpus Christi College

61

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l. 2. 10

Scrope, Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers

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62

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Gonville and Caius

124

Deguileville, Pèlerinage de l'Âme (English trans.)

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F. 4. 34 }  
Pepys 2124 }

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307

Gower, Confessio Amantis

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7

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G 8

Speculum Christiani

H 1

Trevisa, Dialogus inter Clericum et Militem;  
Polychronicon

H 5

Scrope, Epître d'Othea

Trinity College

B. 10. 12

The Privity of the Passion

B. 14. 15

The Doctrine of the Heart

B. 15. 42

Devotional miscellany

O. 5. 2

Lydgate, Troy Book; Siege of Thebes;  
Generydes

O. 5. 6

Scrope, Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers;  
Sydrak

O. 9. 1

Brut; Saints' Lives.

R. 3. 14

Langland, Piers Plowman

R. 3. 19

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R. 3. 21

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R. 3. 22

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Mandeville's Travels; Lydgate, Siege of Thebes

Trinity Hall

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Boethius etc.

## LONDON

## British Library

## Additional MSS:

10299	Le Fèvre, <u>L'Istoire de Jason</u> (in Dutch)
10596	Religious miscellany
11696	De Premierfait, <u>Dès Cas de Nobles Hommes et Femmes</u> (first recension)
15216	Prayers and religious exercises
15477	De Columnis, <u>Historia Destructionis Troiae</u> .
17335	Mandeville's <u>Travels</u> (Von Diemeringen trans.)
18750	De Premierfait, <u>Des Cas des Nobles Hommes et Femmes</u>
22029	<u>Arma Christi</u>
23139	Gower, <u>Confessio Amantis</u>
22937	Deguileville, <u>Les Trois Pèlerinages</u>
24189	<u>Mandeville's Travels</u>
24194	Trevisa, <u>Dialogus inter Clericum et Militem;</u> <u>Polychronicon</u>
25594	Deguileville, <u>Les Trois Pèlerinages</u>
27699	De Foix, <u>Livre de la Chasse</u>
31840	De Lorris and de Meun, <u>Roman de la Rose</u>
32006	<u>Arma Christi</u>
34193	Deguileville, <u>Pèlerinage de l'Âme</u> (English trans.)
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Faustina B.vi part 2	<u>The Desert of Religion</u>
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Nero A.x	<u>Pearl; Cleanness; Patience; Sir Gawain and the Green Knight</u>
Tiberius A.vii	Lydgate, <u>Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine</u>
Tiberius B.iii	Devotional miscellany
Vespasian B.xii	Twety, <u>Art of Hunting;</u> Duke of York, <u>Master of Game</u>
Vitellius C.xiii	Lydgate, <u>Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine</u>
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615	Deguileville, <u>Pèlerinage de l'Âme</u> (English trans.)
1991	Gower, <u>Confessio Amantis</u>
3245	Religious pieces
Harley MSS:	
51	De Columnis, <u>Historia Destructionis Troiae</u>
326	<u>The Three Kings' Sons</u>
614	Trevisa, <u>De Proprietatibus Rerum</u>
621	De Premierfait, <u>Des Cas des Nobles Hommes et Femmes</u> (1st recension)



629	Lydgate, <u>Life of Our Lady</u>
661	Hardyng, <u>Chronicle</u>
1568	<u>Brut</u>
1671	<u>The Weye to Paradise</u>
1706	Devotional miscellany
1764	<u>The Book of the Knight of la Tour-Landry</u>
1766	Lydgate, <u>Fall of Princes</u>
2278	Lydgate, <u>Life of St Edmund and St Fremund</u>
2320	Treatise on astrology; 'The days of the mone'; Treatise on lace-making
2338	<u>Meditations on the Soper</u>
2373	<u>'A Tretyse of pe Stodye of Wysdome pat Men Clepen Beniamin'</u>
2407 fols 76r-90v	Lydgate, 'Chorl and Bird'
3862	Lydgate, <u>Life of Our Lady</u>
3869	Gower, <u>Confessio Amantis</u> ;
3954	<u>Mandeville's Travels</u> ;
	<u>Langland, Piers Plowman</u>
4012	Devotional miscellany
4376	'Livre de la Boucachardiere'
4399	Deguileville, <u>Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine</u>
4425	De Lorris and de Meun, <u>Roman de la Rose</u>
4431	De Pizan, <u>Works</u>
4605	De Pizan, <u>Des Fais d'Armes</u>
4789	Trevisa, <u>De Proprietatibus Rerum</u>
4826	Lydgate, <u>Life of St Edmund and St Fremund</u> ;
	Lydgate, <u>Secrees of Old Philosophers</u>
	Hoccleve, <u>De Regimine Principum</u>
	Hoccleve, <u>De Regimine Principum</u>
	Genealogical Chronicle
4866	
King's 395	
Lansdowne MSS:	
204	Hardyng, <u>Chronicle</u>
285	Sir John Paston's <u>Grete Boke</u>
851	Chaucer, <u>Canterbury Tales</u>
Royal MSS:	
14 E.v	De Premierfait, <u>Des Cas des Nobles Hommes et Femmes</u>
17 A.xxvii	Religious miscellany
17 A.xlii	<u>The Sworne Booke of Honorys</u>
17 B.xliii	<u>Mandeville's Travels</u> ; Romances
17 A.lv	Duke of York, <u>Master of Game</u>
17 C.xxxviii	<u>Mandeville's Travels</u>
17 D. vi	Hoccleve, <u>De Regimine Principum</u>
17 E.ii	Le Fèvre, <u>Recueil des Histoires de Troie</u>
18 C.xviii	Duke of York, <u>Master of Game</u>
18 C.xxii	Gower, <u>Confessio Amantis</u>
18 D.ii	Lydgate, <u>Troy Book and Siege of Thebes</u>
18 D.iv	Lydgate, <u>Fall of Princes</u>
18 D.v	Lydgate, <u>Fall of Princes</u>
18 D.vi	Lydgate, <u>Troy Book</u>
18 D.vii	De Premierfait, <u>Des Cas des Nobles Hommes et Femmes</u>
19 B.xii	De Lorris and de Meun, <u>Roman de la Rose</u>
19 D.i	Romance and travel miscellany
20 C.iv	De Premierfait, <u>Des Cas des Nobles Hommes et Femmes</u>
Sloane MSS:	
1584	Commonplace Book
2452	Lydgate, <u>Fall of Princes</u>
Stowe 39	<u>Abbey of the Holy Ghost</u> ; <u>The Desert of Religion</u>



Yates Thompson

21

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De Lorris and de Meun, Roman de la Rose  
Lydgate, Life of St Edmund and St Fremund

MANCHESTER

John Rylands Library

English 1

English 63

French 2

Lydgate, Troy Book

Chaucer, Canterbury Tales

Dequileville, Les Trois Pèlerinages

OXFORD

Bodleian Library

Add. E. 4(R)

Arch. Selden B.24

Ashmole MSS:

46

764

Bodley MSS:

100

263

264

265

283

294

421

546

596

686

693

770

Rolls 3

Digby MSS:

230

232

233

Douce MSS:

1

25

104

195

196

305

322

335

353

356

e.Musaeo MSS:

23

35

65

160

Eng.poet.a.1

Arma Christi

Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde etc.

Lydgate, Life of St Edmund and St Fremund

Treatises on heraldry

Hilton, Treatise on Active and Contemplative  
Life

Lydgate, Fall of Princes

Romans d'Alexandre; Alexander B;

Polo, Il Milione

De Premierfait, Des Cas des Nobles Hommes et  
Femmes

Mirrore of the worlde

Gower, Confessio Amantis

De Pizan, Epître d'Othea

Chartier, Works

Duke of York, Master of Game

Lydgate, Life of Our Lady

Chaucer, Canterbury Tales, etc.

Gower, Confessio Amantis

Dequileville, Pèlerinage de l'Âme (English  
trans.)

Gower, Confessio Amantis

Scrope, Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers

Genealogical table

Lydgate, Troy Book

Lydgate, Troy Book

Trevisa, De Regimine Principum;

Walton, De Re Militari

Devotional miscellany

Mirror of the Church

Langland, Piers Plowman

De Lorris and de Meun, Roman de la Rose

Roman de Troie

Gallopez, Pèlerinage de l'Âme

Lydgate, Poems

Duke of York, Master of Game

Histoire Ancienne

Milet, Histoire de Troye

Aventure and Grace

Love, Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ

De Lorris and de Meun, Roman de la Rose

Devotional miscellany

Devotional miscellany

Fairfax MSS:	
3	Gower, <u>Confessio Amantis</u>
16	Chaucer and Lydgate, <u>Minor Poems</u>
Germ.d.1	De Columnis, <u>Historia Destructionis Troiae</u>
Hatton MSS:	
12	Devotional miscellany
18	<u>Speculum Vitae</u>
Holkham misc.37	De Columnis, <u>Historia Destructionis Troiae</u>
Laud misc. MSS:	
486	<u>Prick of Conscience</u> etc.
570	<u>Livres des Quatre Vertus</u> ; De Pizan, <u>Epître d'Othea</u>
609	Gower, <u>Confessio Amantis</u>
733	De Bado Aurea, <u>De Arte Heraldica</u> ; Brut
740	Deguileville, <u>Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine</u> (English trans.)
Rawlinson MSS:	
C.83	<u>Regimen Sanitatis</u>
C.86	<u>The Northern Passion</u>
C.446	Lydgate, <u>Troy Book</u>
poet. 144	Lydgate, <u>Troy Book</u>
poet. 223	Chaucer, <u>Canterbury Tales</u>
Selden Supra 53	Hoccleve and Lydgate, <u>Poems</u>
Tanner 17	<u>South English Legendary</u>
All Saints'	
98	Gower, <u>Vox Clamantis</u> , etc.
Corpus Christi College	
67	Gower, <u>Confessio Amantis</u>
New College	
266	Gower, <u>Confessio Amantis</u>
University College	
85	Chartiere, <u>Quadrilogue</u> , etc.
181	Deguileville, <u>Pèlerinage de l'Âme</u> (English trans.)

## CALIFORNIA

Henry E. Huntington Library	
El. 26 A.17	Gower, <u>Confessio Amantis</u>
El. 26 C.9	Chaucer, <u>Canterbury Tales</u>
HM 55	Capgrave, <u>Life of St Norbert</u>
HM 268	Lydgate, <u>Fall of Princes</u>
HM 936	De Premierfait, <u>Des Cas des Nobles Hommes et Femmes</u>
HM 937	De Premierfait, <u>Des Cas des Nobles Hommes et Femmes</u>

## NEW YORK

Public Library	
Spencer 19	Deguileville, <u>Pèlerinage de l'Âme</u> (English trans.)
Pierpont Morgan Library	
G 35	De Premierfait, <u>Des Cas des Nobles Hommes et Femmes</u>
G 39	Prayer Roll
M 124	Lydgate, <u>Fall of Princes</u>
M 125	Gower, <u>Confessio Amantis</u>
M 126	Gower, <u>Confessio Amantis</u>
M 342-343	De Premierfait, <u>Des Cas des Nobles Hommes et Femmes</u>
M 648	Love, <u>Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ</u>



M 690	Gower, <u>Confessio Amantis</u>
M 723	Polo, <u>Il Milione</u>
M 772	Deguileville, <u>Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine</u>
M 775	Scrope, <u>Epître d'Othea</u> ; Chivalric pieces.
M 817	Chaucer, <u>Troilus and Criseyde</u>
M 876	Lydgate, <u>Troy Book</u> ; <u>Generydes</u>

#### PHILADELPHIA

University of Pennsylvania

Eng. 3

Mirror to lewd men and women

Rosenbach Museum and Library

241/2

Deguileville, Les Trois Pèlerinages

439/16

Lydgate, Fall of Princes

1083/30

Hoccleve, De Regimine Principum;

Walton, De Consolatione Philosophiae

1084/2

Chaucer, Canterbury Tales

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096/G94

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